

INTL190 FA21 060: The Rise and Fall (?) of Populism in Western Democracies

Fall 2021

Thursdays 2:00-4:50 PM, Room RBC 3202

Course website: <https://canvas.ucsd.edu/courses/29922>

Instructor: Jeffrey F. Scott

Email: jfscott@ucsd.edu

Cell: (703) 507-0217

Office Hours: Immediately before or after class, and by appointment

Course Objective

Much has been written about the causes and implication of 21st Century populism in Western democracies, with a particular focus on its origins and its electoral implications. Less has been written about the impact of populism on policy itself, either as populists have entered government and contributed to the making of public policy, or as governments have attempted to block populist parties at the voting box, whether by coopting their policies or opposing them outright.

The course will begin with an introduction to/definition of populism in modern democracies. The course will adopt a comparative and interdisciplinary lens in studying populism in key countries including Italy, the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Hungary, India, and others. In the process, we will study the implications of populism on governance, economic policy, social policy, and foreign policy. Through these case studies, the course will seek to draw conclusions about the circumstances underlying the success or failure of populist parties in shifting the public agenda, enacting legislation, and implementing substantive change.

We will conclude with thoughts on the types of actions local, national, and international actors can take to encourage populist parties and governments to operate within internationally recognized standards of governance and policy norms.

Learning Objective and Expectations

In addressing these questions, the course will take a strictly analytic perspective. Students will learn to:

1. Define modern populism in an international and policy context
2. Identify and analyze the political, economic, and other challenges facing countries
3. Map the major factors contributing to the rise of populism
4. Identify the positions taken by populist and other governments with respect to key policy areas
5. Assess/evaluate policies
6. Organize, conduct, and draft a major piece of research
7. Organize and draft a short policy memorandum addressed to a senior government official.

The course will integrate a political science and a policy analysis lens. These perspectives are distinct but complementary. The political science lens enables the researcher to understand and explain key phenomena. The policy lens encourages the researcher to put her/himself in a policy-maker's position, identify key policy issues, assess a range of policies, and conclude with a recommendation/path forward.

This is a research course taught from the perspective of the practitioner. The emphasis is on using political and policy analysis to draw appropriate policy conclusions. The course will serve students well in graduate public policy education, law school, and related public service and consulting careers.

Course Assignment and Grading

Seminar discussion and participation	30%	
General Participation	– 15%	
Country briefing	– 15%	Multiple dates
Research Question	5%	Due October 8 at 5 PM in Canvas
Annotated Bibliography	5%	Due October 22 at 5 PM in Canvas
Argument and Research Outline	5%	Due November 5 at 5 PM in Canvas
Research Presentation	5%	Due December 1 at 5 PM
Research paper (20 pages)	40%	Due December 7 at 5 PM in Canvas
Policy Memorandum (2 pages)	10%	Due December 7 at 5 PM in Canvas

Teaching Philosophy

Good public policy relies on sound research, solid analysis, creative problem solving, clear writing, and persuasive oral presentation/discussion. Class readings, cases, discussions, and exercises are designed to emulate the experience of public officials in major government departments responsible for the analysis of economic/social policy, foreign policy, defense policy, and other fields of public policy.

Readings and Videos

Readings and videos will be available electronically through UCSD Library, Google Scholar, or as posted on Canvas. Students are responsible for assigned reading/viewing assigned materials before class.

Country Briefing

Early in the quarter, students will select/be assigned one of the countries addressed in the course, preferably related to their research project. Students assigned the same country will work as a team to introduce the country in class, describe the political, economic, social, and policy situation, and launch the class conversation. While class readings will form the basis for the country briefing, supplemental research may be required.

Research Project and Interim Research Assignments

The primary deliverable of the course is a **20-page double-spaced** research paper and a related **two-page single-spaced** decision memorandum addressed to a specified senior policy official.

The research paper will address a major research question of interest to the student, the research community, and practitioners. Generally, it should follow an outline including an Introduction (question), Background (general background and literature review), Development (argument and evidence), Conclusions, and Opportunities for Research.

The decision memorandum will generally include a Statement of the Issue, Background, Options/Alternatives, Evaluation, Recommendation, and Thoughts on Implementation.

To ensure progress across the quarter, students will prepare, discuss, and present their research work at various stages during the course.

- In **Week 3**, you will identify a research question and discuss it with the class, including an explanation of why the question is of interest you, other researchers, and practitioners.
- In **Week 5**, you will prepare an annotated bibliography including at least 10 academic references (books, articles, other publications) as well as 5 news or professional references (articles, studies, etc.) informing your research question.
- In **Week 7**, you will prepare a tentative outline of your research paper, including your thesis statement, data sources, preliminary findings, and conclusions.
- During **Week 9**, you will present your research/policy briefing to the class.

Research Sources

It is critical to start thinking about data sources as you begin to identify, refine, and select your research topic. Students should become familiar with the following:

- The New York Times, the Washington Post, and foreign newspapers such as the London Times, the Financial Times, Le Monde, Die Zeit, and others
- The Economist
- Euronews, CNN, and other televised news outlets
- Foreign Affairs, Foreign Policy, and European academic/policy journals
- Govinfo (US Government information and publications)

As primary sources, you may want to review the speeches and publication of government officials, press releases, parliamentary testimony, and studies performed by major think-tanks, including the American Enterprise Institute, the Brookings Institution, the Center for Strategic and International Affairs. **Please make sure up-front that you have access to sufficient documentation to complete your research.**

Late Assignments

All assignments are due in Canvas by the due date. No late assignments without prior approval.

Course Behavior

Students are expected to behave in a courteous manner as required by UCSD policies. Any inappropriate, insensitive, or threatening behavior will not be tolerated.

Academic Integrity

Academic integrity is expected of everyone at UCSD. All assignments will be assessed through Turnitin.com. Any attempts to get help or to help another student in a way that involves cheating, lying, or dishonesty will be reported to the Academic Integrity Office. Please note in your bibliography any support services used. Students may not use online editorial services as writing help is available on campus. If you have any questions about what behavior is allowed, please ask the instructor.

Week 1 (September 23): Introduction

Class Outline

- Introduction and Logistics
- Syllabus
- The Research Process
- Defining populism

Research Method: Introduction to Research and Policy Evaluation

Booth, W. et al. (2016). *The Craft of Research*. Chicago: Chicago University Press. Chapters 1 and 2, pp 3-31, (28 pages)

Bardach, E. and Patashnik, E. (2020). *A Practical Guide for Policy Analysis*. Thousand Oaks: CQ Press. Introduction (6 pages)

Ministry for Foreign Affairs. *Evaluation Policy and Guidelines for Evaluations*. The Hague, Netherlands. Available at <https://www.oecd.org/dac/evaluation/iob-evaluation-policy-and-guidelines-for-evaluations.pdf>. pp 4-22 (18 pages)

Populism Readings

Kaltwasser, R. et al. (2017). Populism: An Overview of the Concept and State of the Art. In *Oxford Handbook of Populism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (~15 pages)

Van Herpen, M. *The End of Populism*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Chapters Introduction and Chapter 1. pp 1-32 (33 pages)

Questions for Discussion

- What is research?
- How are political science and public policy research similar and different?
- What is modern populism?
- What is policy evaluation?
- What are some policy themes and initiatives related to populism?

Week 2: September 30. Toward a Definition of Modern Populism

Class Outline

- The Research Question
- The Policy Question
- Policy evaluation process
- Drivers of populism
- The populist agenda

Research Method: Asking the Research Question/Defining the Problem

Booth, Chapters 3 and 4, pp 27-64 (37 pages)

Bardach, Part 1, pp 1-14 (14 pages)

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, pp 27-38 (10 pages)

Populism Readings

Bourguignon, Francois. (2016). Inequality and Globalization: How the Rich Get Richer as the Poor Catch Up. *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2016). pp. 46-54 (9 pages). Best read on JSTOR.

Muddle, Cas. (2016) Europe's Populist Surge: A long Time in the Making. *Foreign Affairs*, (November/December 2016). pp. 25-30 (5 pages)

Zakaria, F. (2016) Populism on the March: Why the West is in Trouble. *Foreign Affairs*, (November-December 2016). pp 9-15 (6 pages)

Grygiel, J. (2016). The Return of Europe's Nation States. *Foreign Affairs*, (September-October 2016). pp 94-101 (8 pages)

Mounk, Yascha. (2016). Pitchfork Politics: The Populist Threat to Liberal Democracy. *Foreign Affairs*, (September-October 2014). pp 27-35 (7 pages)

Van Herpen. Chapters 2-5. pp 21-75 (57 pages)

Questions for discussion:

- What is populism?
- Is populism new?
- What are the major drivers of modern populism in Western Democracies?
- What policy considerations does modern populism raise?
- What policy directions would you consider to strengthen failing democracies?

Session 3: October 7. Italian Populism and Foreign Policy

Class Outline

- Finding and exploiting research sources
- Group 1 Country Briefing – Italy
- The development of populism in Italy
- The policy agenda of Italian populism and foreign policy

Research Method: Evidence, Sources, and Policy Alternatives

Booth, Chapters 5 and 6, pp 65-104 (39 pages)

Bardach, Part 1, pp 14-21 (7 pages)

Populism Readings

Tarchi, M. (2015). Italy: The Promised Land of Populism? *Contemporary Italian Politics*, Volume 7, 2015 – Issue 3. pp 273-285 (12 pages)

Vassalo, S. (2007). Government under Berlusconi: The Functioning of the Core Institutions of Italy. In *West European Politics*, Volume 30, 2007 – Issue 4: Italy: A Contested Polity. pp 692-710. (18 pages)

Verbeek, B and Zaslove, A. (2018). Populism and Foreign Policy. *The Oxford Handbook of Populism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (~12 pages)

Diodato, E. and Niglia, F. (2018). *Berlusconi the “Diplomat”: Populism and Foreign Policy in Italy*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave. Chapters 2 and 7. pp 23-52 and 169-190 (50 pages)

Van Herpen. Read one chapter of interest among the following: Chapter 9, 10, and 12. (15 pages)

Video Assignment

My Way: The Rise and fall of Silvio Berlusconi. Available on Netflix

Questions for Discussion

- What factors brought Berlusconi to power?
- What were Berlusconi’s policy priorities?
- What made Berlusconi’s domestic and foreign policies populist?
- How do you assess/evaluate Berlusconi’s foreign policy?
- What ended his experiment with populism?

ASSIGNMENT: RESEARCH QUESTION DUE IN CANVAS OCTOBER 8, 2021 AT 5PM

Session 4: October 14. US Populism and Immigration Policy

Class Outline

- Building and defending an argument
- The Annotated Bibliography
- Group 2 Country Briefing - The United States
- The origins of populism in the United States
- Trump, populism, and immigration Policy

Research Method: 1) The Research Argument, 2) Policy Alternatives, and 3) The Annotated Bibliography

Booth: Chapters 7-8 (27 pages)

Bardach: Part 1, 21-30 (10 pages)

Reference: APA 7th Edition Guide: Components of an Annotated Bibliography (Available online)

Populism Readings

Lowndes, J. (2017). Populism in the United States. *The Oxford Handbook of Populism*. Oxford, Oxford University Press. (~12 pages)

Norris, P. and Inglehart, R. (2019). *Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit, and Authoritarian Populism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 10. pp 331-367 (37 pages)

Beland, D. Right-Wing Populism and the Politics of Insecurity: How President Trump Frames Migrants as Collective Threats. *Political Studies Review*, Volume 18, 2. pp 162-177 (15 pages)

Pierce, S. Bolter, J., and Selee, A. (2018). *U.S. Immigration Policy Under Trump: Deep Changes and Lasting Impacts*. Transatlantic Council on Migration. pp 1-16 (15 pages).

<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/publications/TCMTrumpSpring2018-FINAL.pdf>

Mayda, AM and Peri G. (2020). The Economic Impact of US Immigration Policy in the Age of Trump. In Brown, C. ed. *Economics and Policy in the Age of Trump*. London: Center for Economic Policy Research. pp 69-74 (5 pages). Available at

<https://voxeu.org/https://voxeu.org/article/new-ebook-economics-and-policy-age-trump>

Van Herpen. Read a chapter of interest among the following: Chapter 13, 15 and 19. (15 pages)

Video Assignment

View President Trump's inaugural speech at [President Trump's Full Inaugural Address - YouTube](#)

Questions for Discussion

- How has populism evolved in the United States over the last century?
- How is populism similar to or different from European populism?
- What makes immigration a powerful issue in the American context?
- What initiatives did President Trump pursue and how would you evaluate them?
- What criteria would you use to evaluate future immigration policies?

Session 5: October 21. British Populism, Brexit, and Globalization

Class Outline

- Planning the research paper – from outline to first draft
- Group 3 Country Briefing – Great Britain
- Britain – the accidental populist
- Globalization, trade policy, and populism
- Lessons for national governance

Research Method: The Research Argument (Part 2) and Developing/Assessing Policy Alternatives

Booth: Chapters 9-10 (22 pages)

Bardach: Part I, pp 21-49 (28 pages)

Populism Readings

Norris, P. and Inglehart, R. (2019). *Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit, and Authoritarian Populism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 11. pp 368-405 (38 pages)

Flinders, M. (2020). Not a Brexit Election? Pessimism, Promises, and Populism 'UK-Style'. *Parliamentary Affairs*, Volume 73 (Supp_1). pp. 225-242 (18 pages)

Wood, J. and Ausserladscheider, V. (2020). Populism, Brexit, and the Manufactured Crisis of British Neoliberalism. *Review of International Political Economy*, Published online July 3, 2020. Available at <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09692290.2020.1786435>

Wenzl, N. (2019). This is about the kind of Britain we are. In *Discourses of Brexit*, ed. by Koller, V. et al. London: Routledge. pp 32-48 (17 pages)

Joppke, C. (2020). Immigration in the Populist Crucible: Comparing Brexit and Trump. *Comparative Migration Studies*, 2020-12-21, Vol 8 (1). pp 1-18 (19 pages). Available at <https://comparativemigrationstudies.springeropen.com/articles/10.1186/s40878-020-00208-y>

Van Herpen. Read one chapter of interest among the following: Chapters 7 and 14 (33 pages)

Questions for Discussion

- What were the major political and policy drivers of Brexit?
- Was Brexit the result of a well-thought-out set of political and policy judgments?
- What are the strengths and weaknesses of democracy by referendum?
- How did the Conservative party defuse the populist debate?
- What are the lessons of the British experience?

ASSIGNMENT: ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY DUE IN CANVASS ON OCTOBER 22, 2021 at 5PM

Session 6: October 28. French Populism, the Gilets Jaunes, and Economic/Social Policy

Class Outline

- Revising and tightening the draft
- Group 4 Country Briefing – France
- Populism and economic/social policy
- France: Elitism and its discontents: How to address exclusion

Research Method: Planning and Writing the Research Paper (Part 1) and Projecting Outcomes

Booth: Chapters 12-13 (including prologue) (25 pages)

Bardach: Part I, pp. 49-69 (20 pages)

Seminar Discussion

Taggart, P. (2017). Populism in Western Europe. *Oxford Handbook of Populism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (18 pages)

Read one of the following two selections:

- Guilluy, Christophe. (2016). *Twilight of the Elites*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Introduction and Chapter 1. pp 1-50 (51 pages)

- Drozdiak, W. (2020). *The Last President of Europe*. New York: Public Affairs, Hachette Book Group. Chapters 1-3. pp 3-66 (64 pages)

Le Pen, M. (2016). France's next Revolution: A conversation with Marine Le Pen. *Foreign Affairs*, Volume 95 (6), November-December 2016. pp. 2-8 (7 pages)

Van Herpen. Read one chapter of interest among the following: Chapters 17 and 18 (15 pages)

Video Assignment

Off the Grid - The Yellow Vests Driven By Despair. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XkS_dbsUCvk
Macron Addresses the Nation on Yellow Vest Protests. [Macron](#)

Questions for Discussion

- What is the structure of elitism in France, and how has it created social exclusion?
- How has Marine le Pen capitalized on social elitism and exclusion?
- What policies (structural, political, and social) has Macron implemented to counter this problem?
- Have Macron's policies succeeded? How do we know?

Session 7: November 4. Hungarian Populism and Civil Liberties

Class Outline

- Research Ethics
- The Policy Memo
- Country Briefing – Group 5: Hungary
- Hungarian Populism and Civil/Human Rights

Research Method: Planning and Writing the Research Paper (Part 2) and Confronting Tradeoffs

Booth: Chapters 14 and 16 (28 pages)

Bardach: Part I, pp 69-76 (7 pages)

Populism Readings

Stanley, B. (2017). Populism in Central and Eastern Europe. *Oxford Handbook of Populism*. Oxford: The Oxford University Press. (10 pages)

Becker, J. (2010). The Rise of Right-Wing Populism in Hungary. *SEER: Journal for Labor and Social Affairs*. Vol. 13, No. 1. (11 pages)

Csehi, R. (2021). *The Politics of Populism in Hungary*. London: Routledge. Introduction, Chapter 6, and one other chapter of interest. (50 pages). Available at

<https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/mono/10.4324/9781003035862/politics-populism-hungary-robert-csehi>

Csehi, R. and Zgut, E. (2020). “We Won’t Let Brussels Dictate to us: Euroscepticism in Hungary and Poland. *European Politics and Strategy*, Vol. 22, Issue 1. (15 pages)

Orban, V. (2017). Hungary and the Crisis of Europe. *Hungarian Review*. (10 pages)

Orban, V. (2015). Notes towards a Definition of Civic Conservatism – Reflections on Five Years of Governance. *Hungarian Review*. (5 pages)

Gostynska-Jakubowwska, A. and Bond, I. (2020). The Rule of Law: Bastion of Democracy, or Barrier to it? In Blockmans, S. and Russack, S. *Deliberative Democracy in the EU*. London: Rowman and Littlefield. Chapter 14. (17 pages)

Video Assignment

Prime Minister Viktor Orban: Interview with Chris DeMuth. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9Wp8xzxH7YY>
Hungary under Orban. [Orban](#)

Questions for Discussion

- What are the critical ethical constraints on research?
- How did Victor Orban come to power?
- How have Hungary’s liberties been curtailed?
- How would you assess Victor Orban’s policies?

ASSIGNMENT: RESEARCH PAPER OUTLINE DUE IN CANVAS ON NOVEMBER 5, 2021 AT 5PM

Session 8: November 18. Indian Populism and Defense Policy

Class Outline

- Presenting research to academic and government audiences
- Group 6 Country Briefing – India
- Indian populism and policy agenda
- Populism and Indian defense policy

Research Method: 1) Polishing the Research Paper and 2) Presenting, and 3) the Policy Memo

Booth: Chapter 17 and Section V, 248-275 (27 pages)

Bardach: Part I, pp 77- 96 (19 pages)

Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Evaluation Policy ... pp 41-46

Populism Readings

Jaffrelot, C and Tillin, L. (2017). Populism in India. *Oxford Handbook of Populism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (10 Pages)

Chacko, P. (2018). The Right Turn in India: Authoritarianism, Populism, and Neoliberalisation. *Journal of Contemporary India*, Vol. 48, No 4. pp 541-565. (26 pages)

Sinha, Subir. (2021). Strong leaders, authoritarian populism, and Indian developmentalism: The Modi moment in historical context. *Geoforum*, Volume 124, pp 320-333 (14 pages)

Pant, H. (2016). Indian Foreign Policy: An overview. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press. Chapter 2, 3, 15, 16 (54 pages). Available through UCSD library at https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctvnb7mkr.2?refreqid=excelsior%3A07cd64de4c7d34b990b23a22db77ef0a&seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents

Hall, I. (2019). *Modi and the Reinvention of Indian Foreign Policy*. Bristol: Bristol University Press. Chapter 7. pp 125-146 (22 pages)

Plageman, J and Destradi, S. (2019). Populism and Foreign Policy: The Case of India. *Foreign Policy Analysis* (2019) 15. pp 283-301 (18 pages).

Menon, S. (2020). League of Nationalists: How Trump and Modi Refashioned the US-India Relationship. *Foreign Affairs* 2020-09-01, Vol.99 (5). pp 132-138 (7 pages)

Questions for Discussion

- What was the origin of democracy and populism in India?
- How does Indian populism differ from European or American populism?
- Is there a legacy of colonialism in how populism has affected India?
- How has Indian populism affected social, foreign, and defense policy?
- What is the effect of domestic policy of Indian foreign and defense policy?

Session 9: December 2. Living with Populism: Risk and Opportunity

Class Outline

- Student presentations
- Populism – risk and opportunity
- Integrating populism and the international community
- Final thoughts

Seminar Discussion

Bartha, A., Boda, Z, and Szikra, D. (2020). When Populist Leaders Govern: Conceptualizing Policy Making in the Making. *Politics and Governance*, 2020, Volume 8, Issue 3. pp 71-81 (11 pages)

Richardson, J. (2018). Brexit: The EU Policy-Making State Hits the Populist Buffer. *In The Political Quarterly*, Vol. 89, No 1, January -March 2018. pp 118-126 (9 pages)

Pappas, T. (2120). The Pushback against Populism: The Rise and Fall of Greece's New Illiberalism. *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 31, No 2, April 2020. pp 54-68 (15 pages)

Kuicz, J and Wigura, K. (2020). The Pushback Against Populism: Reclaiming the Politics of Emotion. *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 31, No 2, April 2020. pp. 41-53 (13 pages)

Van Herpen: Conclusion, pp 260-269 (9 pages)

ASSIGNMENT: 5-7 MINUTE RESEARCH PRESENTATION, DELIVERED IN CLASS

ASSIGNMENT: RESEARCH PAPER AND POLICY MEMORANDUM DUE DECEMBER 7, 2021 AT PM IN CANVAS