

## Exploring Global Populisms

CAS 104 M 6-8:45pm

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Office Hours: MWF 1-2pm; and by appointment as needed.

**Abstract:**

The 2008 Global Financial Crisis, dubbed the Great Recession by many commentators, caused average people around the world to question the generally positive views of economic globalization. Prior to 2008, politicians, CEOs, and political commentators made careers off their support and promotion of the global integration of markets. The *New York Times* opinion writer and respected journalist, Thomas Friedman, practically gushed in his books and Op/Ed articles about the inevitability of globalization as a force of nature that would lift all economic boats and bring peace and democracy to the world. This view of global capitalism as an unquestionable force for peace and prosperity was severely tested when in 2008 the global financial crisis wrought only prosperity for a few while the rest saw their houses lose value, their retirement plans reduced or wiped out, and their jobs disappear. Indeed, at its lowest point, hundreds of thousands of US workers and millions of Chinese workers were losing their jobs. Calling Britain's vote to leave the European Union (aka Brexit), the election of Donald Trump, the repressive policies of Duterte in the Philippines, the election of Brazilian right-wing populist Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil, and Mexico's left-wing populist Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador a "populist explosion,"<sup>1</sup> commentators have begun to write globalization's obituary. This course explores the veracity of the death of globalization at the hands of a rising populism.

**Course objective:**

This course is designed to introduce students to the theoretical debates over populism and a broad range of cultural, economic, political, and social issues that seem to be causing this global "populist explosion." The course is structured around three thematic questions. 1) What is the relationship between populism and democracy? 2) Does populism have a coherent ideology associated with it? And 3) what, if any, relationship does populism have with globalization? These questions are designed to capture principal dimensions of the multifaceted aspects of this complex and contested global phenomenon.

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<sup>1</sup> John B. Judis, *The Populist Explosion : How the Great Recession Transformed American and European Politics* (New York: Columbia Global Reports, 2016).

**Required Reading (i.e. you must buy these books):**

Texts:

1. Rovira Kaltwasser, Cristóbal, Paul A. Taggart, Paulina Ochoa Espejo, and Pierre Ostiguy. *The Oxford Handbook of Populism*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2019.
2. Steger, Manfred. *Globalisms: Facing the Populist Challenge*. Globalization. Fourth edition. ed. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2019.
3. Perry, Samuel L., and Philip S. Gorski. *The Flag and the Cross: White Christian Nationalism and the Threat to American Democracy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2022: Introduction: Eruption.
4. de la Torre, Carlos, and Treethep Srisa-nga. *Global Populisms*. London and New York: Routledge, 2021: Preface and Chapter 1

**Film Screening**

TBD.

**News**

Because there is already quite a bit of reading for this class, students are not required to keep up with the news regarding populism—although this is *highly* recommended. I will post links to good news sources on the class' Canvas website.

**Office Hours**

I really enjoy meeting with students during office hours and encourage all students to stop by. I have traditional office hours from **MWF 1-2pm; and by appointment as needed**. In addition, anyone who cannot meet me during this time should contact me via email to schedule an appointment. I am available by email and will respond to your emails within one *working* day.

**Student Learning Outcomes:**

By the end of this course students will be able to:

- Classify, describe, and distinguish the left-wing, right-wing, and other forms of populism.
- Classify, describe, and distinguish the major ideological viewpoints on populism.
- Classify, describe, and distinguish some of the major empirical examples of historical populism and cotemporary populism.
- Define several different types of populism (or at least the scholarly debates).
- Choose and apply differing ideological and theoretical approaches to the study of populism.
- Analyze and appraise competing ideological descriptions of global political phenomena that might relate to the rise of populism in the contemporary period.
- Critically appraise competing approaches to the study of populism
- Conduct research on a particular case of populism in the world

## Assignments (Assessment of Student Learning Outcomes)

It is important to me to encourage you to maintain an exploratory mind and create your own active learning environment—not solely interacting with me, but with each other as well. I will facilitate student discussions by creating a safe context that allows you to speak up freely. But I do not accept the equation of subjective experience with “truth.” You must be able to confront the questions I ask, regardless of your own preferences. Most of all, I am interested in preparing you for independent research which requires a tolerant, reflective mind, best summarized by Immanuel Kant’s dictum: “*Sapere aude*”—“Have the courage to use your *own* understanding!”

The course readings, assignments, and videos have been carefully selected to generate broad in-class discussions and oral presentations, ultimately guiding students to write informed essays. Responsible participation in class discussions will be based on weekly assignments.

In the third section of the course, students (in groups) will be responsible for a 30 min. *in-class presentation* on the readings (including leading class in the ensuing 25 min. discussion). Please clarify a suitable topic with me beforehand during my office hours. Please use supportive materials for your presentation (handouts, video clips, overhead, computer technology, etc.). Sign up for your presentation in the first three weeks of classes.

Moreover, you are required to write *three(3) interpretive essays* (1200 to 1500 word double-spaced, typed pages in length). Each paper should address *one* well-formulated theme or problem taken from a) weeks 1-5 (due in week 5); b) weeks 6-10 (due in week 10); and, c) weeks 10-15 (last day of class).

For the interpretive papers, you will pick your own theme/problem from the relevant readings of that particular section. In the paper, you should carefully explore the meaning of the theme/problem, and, with as much sophistication as possible, you should indicate how that theme/problem reveals something of political significance about the larger context from which it is taken. *No book reports or plot summaries please!* These short essays represent exercises in critical political thinking. **No late papers will be accepted.**

**Graduate students** must also complete a 25-page research paper thematically based on the course content. Topics are subject to Dr. Wahrab’s approval and must be decided by **September 11**.

### *A Note on Grading*

You must complete all assigned written and oral work in order to pass the course. Any student found guilty of plagiarism will fail the course.

Your in-class presentation will count for 15%, your three interpretive essays 75% (25% each), your attendance and participation 10%. Thus, your course grade will reflect your presentation, your willingness to participate in discussions, class attendance, and the overall quality of your written work. You are required to sign the circulating attendance sheet at the beginning of each class. You are allowed a total of **1 absence** (no documentation necessary); each additional absence will result in

a penalty of 5% (up to the total of 10%). Students who distinguish themselves during our class discussions will receive *extra credit*--meaning that if you find yourself between two grades at the end of the semester, you will receive the *higher grade*.

Please be advised that *overparticipation* and the monopolization of class discussion at the expense of your peers may count against you, especially if such actions consistently derail the course agenda. I reserve the right to cut off discussion at any point in order keep us on track and help *all* students to understand the relevant material. A significant element in the study of political theory is the ability to learn to listen to other voices.

For the purposes of this seminar, you should interpret the grades you receive in the following terms:

1) *In-Class Presentations:*

An “A” will only be given to presentations that are clearly superior in form as well as content. Typically, such presentations are coherent, well-organized, and adhere to the given time frame. “A” students show their thorough and careful reading of the text(s), bring in outside materials for reference, and generate genuine interest and excitement for their topic. They lead discussions effortlessly, distribute speaking time fairly, and stay focused on their theme. Use Hand-outs which help students follow along and suggest further readings (reference list to books and journal articles that you used).

If this grade is to mean something, just doing a “good job” is not good enough for an “A.” You must demonstrate your ability to go *beyond* the expected.

2) *Interpretative Essays:*

Much of the above pertains to essays/papers as well. In addition to treating the subject in a sophisticated and creative manner, “A” papers exhibit elegant and clear prose. Such papers draw connections between nonobvious points; they are well organized and furnish adequate citations of primary and secondary sources without losing their own unique and distinct “voice.” An “A” term paper in an advanced undergraduate course should add a “new wrinkle” to the existing body of literature on this topic.

A useful style manual will help you with citation formats. I recommend: Kate L. Turabian et al., *A Manual for Writers of Research Papers, Theses, and Dissertations : Chicago Style for Students and Researchers*, 9th edition. (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2018) (~\$11.20)

***Late paper policy***

Papers will be marked down one third of a grade every (business) day they are late (i.e. 24 hours late turns a B+ into a B). If you do not turn in a paper you get zero points. If a paper is late two weeks or more you will automatically receive an F (59%). It is in your interest to turn all assignments in,

even if they are late, since failing to turn in even one paper makes it almost mathematically impossible to pass the class.

NOTE: This fairly lenient late policy will be compensated for by the fact that there will be NO extensions given, except in case of an extreme emergency. If an emergency arises, documentation is required (police reports, obituaries, etc.) and I should be notified as soon as possible.

### *Turing in papers*

Papers will be turned in via canvas/turnitin. *Later papers will receive grades only, no comments.*

### **Assignments and Grades**

**“A” paper**—provides an original, insightful, and well argued thesis which is defended systematically using significant citation; demonstrates a sophisticated understanding of the course material; is elegantly written and thoroughly proofread.

**“B” paper**—proves a coherent thesis which is defended; uses sufficient citations; demonstrates an understanding of the course material; is well written.

**“C” paper**—provides a more-or-less coherent thesis; uses adequate citations; demonstrates a basic understanding of the course material; is readable.

**“D” paper**—provides a basic argument; uses minimal or no citations; demonstrates minimal understanding of the course material; is poorly written

**“F” paper**—Paper is turned in but does not meet basic requirements (too short, does not answer the question, etc.). Not turning in a paper results in a zero.

### *Grade Scale*

100-93 = A

80-82 = B-

66-69 = D+

90-92 = A-

76-79 = C+

63-65 = D

86-89 = B+

73-75 = C

60-86 = D-

83-85 = B

70-72 = C-

0-59 = F

### *Academic Dishonesty*

The UT Tyler community regards cheating as an extremely serious matter and deals severely with those who violate the standards of academic integrity.

Examples of academic dishonesty include (but are not limited to):

- Copying from another person’s test paper
- During a test, possession of materials not authorized by the person administering the test
- Discussing the contents of an examination with another student who will take the examination or the divulging of examination contents to another when an instructor has allowed the exam to be kept by the student
- Working with others in taking tests or preparing academic assignments when not authorized by the course instructor

- Obtaining by any means another person's work and submitting that work as one's own. This includes the downloading of academic papers, the purchase of papers written by others, or use of chatgpt or other Artificial Intelligence (AI).

If a student is suspected of academic dishonesty, the classroom instructor may ask the student to meet with him or her to discuss the incident. A student may admit to allegations of academic dishonesty, waive the right to a hearing and accept penalties imposed by the instructor. The student may also deny all allegations and ask to see the Dean of Student Affairs. An accused student may accept the decision of the Dean of Student Affairs or ask for a hearing before an impartial hearing officer appointed by the university. Witnesses may be called and evidence presented. The hearing officer will consider all evidence and make a decision. The decision of the hearing officer may be appealed to the President by either the student or the Dean of Student Affairs. For a discussion of possible penalties, please see <http://www.uttyler.edu/mainsite/conduct.html>.

### DATES

<https://www.uttyler.edu/schedule/files/2023-2024/academic-calendar-2023-2024-main-20230614b.pdf>

## COURSE SCHEDULE

### Week 1: The Populist Explosion:

**Themes:** intro: popular and scholarly descriptions of and characterizations of the rise of contemporary global populisms.

### Required Reading:

- ! Rovira Kaltwasser, Cristóbal, Paul A. Taggart, Paulina Ochoa Espejo, and Pierre Ostiguy. *The Oxford Handbook of Populism*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2019: **Introduction**.
- ! Steger, Manfred. *Globalisms: Facing the Populist Challenge*. Globalization. Fourth edition. ed. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2019: **Introduction**.
- ! Perry, Samuel L., and Philip S. Gorski. *The Flag and the Cross: White Christian Nationalism and the Threat to American Democracy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2022: **Introduction**
- ! de la Torre, Carlos, and Treethep Srisa-nga. *Global Populisms*. London and New York: Routledge, 2021: **Introduction**.

## PART I: APPROACHES TO STUDYING GLOBAL POPULISMS

### Week 2: Ideational versus Strategic

- ! Cas Mudde, "Populism: An Ideational Approach," in *The Oxford Handbook of Populism*, ed. Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, et al. (Oxford University Press, 2017): 27-47.
- ! Kurt Weyland, "Populism: A Political-Strategic Approach," in *The Oxford Handbook of Populism*, ed. Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, et al. (Oxford University Press, 2017): 48-72.
- ! **TBA**

### Week 3: Socio-Cultural and the Normative debate in History

#### Themes: Socio-Cultural and History

- ! Pierre Ostiguy, "Populism: A Socio-Cultural Approach," in *The Oxford Handbook of Populism*, ed. Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, et al. (Oxford University Press, 2017): 73-100.
- ! Duncan Kelly, "Populism and the History of Popular Sovereignty," in *The Oxford Handbook of Populism*, ed. Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, et al. (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 2017): 511-534.
- ! **TBA**

### Week 4: Case Study: Western Europe

- ! Paul Taggart, "Populism in Western Europe," in *The Oxford Handbook of Populism*, ed. Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, et al. (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 2017): 248-266.
- 📺 See canvas for video clips

### Week 5: Discussion & Analysis of Assignment

#### ! **Guest Speaker (TBA):**

- ! Paul Taggart, "Populism in Western Europe," in *The Oxford Handbook of Populism*, ed. Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, et al. (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 2017): 248-266.

#### **ASSIGNMENT #1 DUE:**

Interpretive Essays due: 5-7 pages reviewing the approaches and identifying shortfalls and benefits. The focus of this paper is on the different approaches but if you can find examples that are historical or current to include and discuss briefly, you may find that your paper writing goes easier. Examples abound and are not limited to: Chavez in Venezuela, Bolsonaro in Brazil, Trump in the U.S., Orban in Hungary, Farage in the U.K., be sure that whoever you choose has been reasonably

identified as a populist. You should also include some discussion of globalization (how is it used to explain contemporary populism?) **Rough draft due on Monday, final draft due on Friday.**

## **PART II: Case Studies**

### **Week 6: Populism in Africa and Latin America**

#### **Themes: Africa and Latin America**

- ! Danielle Resnick, "Populism in Africa," in *The Oxford Handbook of Populism*, ed. Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, et al. (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 2017): 101-120.
- ! Carlos de la Torre, "Populism in Latin America," in *The Oxford Handbook of Populism*, ed. Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, et al. (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 2017): 195-213.

### **Week 7: Populism in East Asia and India**

#### **Themes: East Asia and India**

##### **Readings:**

- ! Olli Hellmann, "Populism in East Asia," in *The Oxford Handbook of Populism*, ed. Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, et al. (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 2017): 161-178.
- ! Christophe Jaffrelot and Louise Tillin, "Populism in India," in *The Oxford Handbook of Populism*, ed. Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, et al. (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 2017): 179-194.

### **Week 8: Populism in Australia, New Zealand, and the United States**

#### **Themes: Australia, New Zealand, and the United States**

##### **Readings:**

- ! Benjamin Moffitt, "Populism in Australia and New Zealand," in *The Oxford Handbook of Populism*, ed. Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, et al. (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 2017): 121-139.
- ! Joseph Lowndes, "Populism in the United States," in *The Oxford Handbook of Populism*, ed. Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, et al. (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 2017): 232-247.



**Week 9: Populism in the Post-Soviet States, Central, and Eastern Europe****Themes: Post-Soviet States, Eastern and Central Europe****Readings:**

- ! Ben Stanley, "Populism in Central and Eastern Europe," in *The Oxford Handbook of Populism*, ed. Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, et al. (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 2017): 140-160.
- ! Luke March, "Populism in the Post-Soviet States," in *The Oxford Handbook of Populism*, ed. Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, et al. (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 2017): 214-231.

**Week 10: Analysis & Papers**

**SECOND ESSAY DUE:** review the challenges and consider each perspective with care. To what extent do these challenges merit responses? 5-7 pages. **Rough draft due on Monday, final draft due online on Friday.**

**Part III: Integrating Case Studies: Issues and Debates****Week 11:**

- ! Abi-Hassan, Sahar. "Populism and Gender." In *The Oxford Handbook of Populism*, edited by Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, Paul Taggart, Paulina Ochoa Espejo and Pierre Ostiguy, 426-44. London and New York: Oxford University Press, 2017.
- ! De Cleen, Benjamin. "Populism and Nationalism." In *The Oxford Handbook of Populism*, edited by Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, Paul Taggart, Paulina Ochoa Espejo and Pierre Ostiguy, 342-62. London and New York: Oxford University Press, 2017.
- ! Eatwell, Roger. "Populism and Fascism." In *The Oxford Handbook of Populism*, edited by Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, Paul Taggart, Paulina Ochoa Espejo and Pierre Ostiguy, 363-83: Oxford University Press, 2017.

**Week 12:**

- ! Hawkins, Kirk, Madeleine Read, and Teun Pauwels. "Populism and Its Causes." In *The Oxford Handbook of Populism*, edited by Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, Paul Taggart, Paulina Ochoa Espejo and Pierre Ostiguy, 267-86. London and New York: Oxford University Press, 2017.
- ! Kaltwasser, Cristóbal Rovira. "Populism and the Question of How to Respond to It." In *The Oxford Handbook of Populism*, edited by Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, Paul Taggart, Paulina Ochoa Espejo and Pierre Ostiguy, 489-507. London and New York: Oxford University Press, 2017

**Week 13: Ideology**

- ! Steger, Manfred. *Globalisms: Facing the Populist Challenge*. Globalization. Fourth edition. ed. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2019: 1-100

**Part IV:****Week 14: Course wrap-up and final analyses**

- ! Steger, Manfred. *Globalisms: Facing the Populist Challenge*. Globalization. Fourth edition. ed. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2019: 101-finish the book

**Final Assignment Due:**

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**Final Assignment Due** (this will take the place of the final exam).

Third Essay Due: five to seven pages offering a sophisticated analysis of your case study (taken from your presentation in weeks 11-14) that uses the theoretical approaches discussed in weeks 2-5 and/or challenges discussed in weeks 11-13. Conclude by discussing to the extent that your case helps see the value of studying populism. This assignment is meant to tie together the entirety of the course by combining the theoretical approaches from the beginning to practically applied portions of Part III (weeks 11-13). Please note that you will receive a grade only for this final paper as I will not have time to make comments and get grades into the registrar in a timely fashion. **Paper due** .