

BOSTON UNIVERSITY

Pardee School of Global Studies and Department of Political Science

Fall Semester 2021

Course Offering IR 500

Democracy and the Populist Challenge in Europe and North America

Class Hours: Wednesdays, 2:30-5:15PM

Location: IRC 220

Vivien A. Schmidt

Jean Monnet Professor of European Integration
Professor of International Relations and Political Science

Office: 154 Bay State Road room 303

Boston, MA 02215

Tel: +1 617 358-0192

Email: vschmidt@bu.edu

Website: <http://blogs.bu.edu/vschmidt/>

Office Hours: Tuesdays 4:00-6:00 pm, Wednesdays 1:15-2:15pm
and by appointment

Democracy and the Populist Challenge in Europe and North America

Catalogue Description: Focuses on the crisis of liberal democracy in Europe and North America and the challenges of populism. Examines different possible sources of populist discontent, including economic, social, and political. Explores comparatively the populists' playbook while in (and out) of power.

Course Content:

Over the past decade or so, Europe and North America have suffered from a wide range of crises, including of economics, migration, terrorism, disintegration (Brexit), and a health pandemic. Each on its own would have been enough to trigger what has come to be known as the 'populist revolt.' But many of the problems underlying these crises have been going on for a long time during which there have been prior crisis moments, none of which generated the kinds of responses we see today. So why now? Why in this way? Is it about the structural sources of populism, in which advanced industrialized countries have seemingly reached a breaking point in response to the slow economic slide of the working classes, the rising social concerns of the middle classes, the increasing erosion of political institutions and diminishing trust in government? Or is it about the presence of a new breed of charismatic leader able to express 'the people's' discontent with 'the elites' in ways that resonate emotionally as much as rationally? And who are these 'populist' leaders and their parties? Are they mainly on the extremes of the nationalist right and the anti-capitalist left? Or can politicians even in the mainstream be called populists if they adopt the style of discourse? So is it what they say or how they say it? Moreover, is it what they say and how they say it while on the outside or also what they do when on the inside, in opposition or government? And once in government, do populists necessarily undermine the institutions of liberal democracy, leading to an authoritarian drift, or can they be sources of democratic revival?

Many questions, then, and no single answer to the puzzles surrounding populism. In order to explain it, we also need to understand what it is pushing against—liberal democracy. This course therefore begins with a consideration of the nature of liberal democracy in Europe and North America, and then considers the many different ways in which populism is defined. It next explores the possible sources of populist discontent and the crisis of democracy. We first look at the socio-economic and socio-cultural sources, weighing scholarly views that emphasize the effects of economic decline against those privileging fears about loss of social status or the other. We follow with a focus on the political sources of discontent, where concerns about a loss of democratic control are central. The course subsequently considers the populist playbook in terms of discourse, leadership, and organization, as well as populists communicative skills and post-truth communicative tools via the social media and traditional media. The last part of the course examines populists in power in the United States and in the UK, followed by populists in

(and out) of power in countries in Western Europe and in Central and Eastern Europe. We conclude with a discussion of the future, accompanied by students' paper presentations.

Course Outline:

- 1 Introduction: Liberal Democracy and its Populist Challengers
- 2 Defining Democracy
- 3 Defining Populism
- 4 Socio-Economic Sources and Populist Manifestations of the Crisis of Democracy
- 5 Socio-Cultural Sources and Populist Manifestations of the Crisis of Democracy
- 6 Political Sources and Populist Manifestations of the Crisis of Democracy
- 7 The Populist Playbook: Discourse, Leadership, and Organization
- 8 The Populist Playbook: Communication and Post-Truth
- 9 Democracy and Populism in the US
- 10 Democracy and Populism in the UK
- 11 Democracy and Populism in Western Europe
- 12 Democracy and Populism in Central and Eastern Europe
- 13 Conclusion: Looking toward the Future (and class presentations)

COURSE READINGS (ALL BOOKS ORDERED FOR THE BOOKSTORE):

(required for purchase)

- Achen, Christopher H. and Bartels, Larry (2016) *Democracy for Realists: Why Elections do not Produce Responsive Government* Princeton: Princeton University Press
- Berman, Sheri (2019) *Democracy and Dictatorship in Europe: From the Ancien Régime to Today* New York: Oxford University Press
- Dahl, Robert (1998/2015) *On Democracy* 2nd edition New Haven: Yale University Press
- Fieschi, Catherine (2019) *Populocracy* London: Agenda
- Graber, Mark A., Levinson, Sanford, and Tushnet, Mark (2018) *Constitutional Democracy in Crisis?* New York: Oxford University Press
- Hopkin, Jonathan (2020) *Anti-System Politics: The Crisis of Market Liberalism in Rich Democracies* New York: Oxford University Press
- Judis, John B. (2018) *The Nationalist Revival: Trade, Immigration, and the Revolt against Globalization* New York: Columbia Global Reports
- Kuttner, Robert (2018) *Can Democracy Survive Global Capitalism?* New York: Norton, pp. 49-211
- Levitzky, Steven and Ziblatt, Daniel (2018) *How Democracies Die: What History Reveals about our Future* New York: Penguin Random House

Müller, Jan-Werner (2016) *What is Populism?* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, pp. 1-74

Zielonka, Jan (2018) *Counter-Revolution* Oxford: Oxford University Press

READINGS:

Students are required to complete all reading assignments before class. This is a working seminar, and discussions will require a thorough understanding of the readings.

ONLINE PARTICIPATION: We will be using Piazza for weekly class discussions prior to the start of class. Piazza has two functions: one for practical course questions, and the other for facilitating online discussion. For practical questions, I prefer that you first post any inquiries to Piazza (logistics) before emailing the professor. It is likely that you will get an answer to your question much faster if you pose it to your peers first on Piazza, and then I can validate or follow up on any answer when I'm available to do so. Piazza has an anonymous function for this purpose.

**** Piazza weekly online discussions: The online comment will be due by 10 am the morning of class. Participating in the online discussions in piazza is very important, particularly to encourage student-to-student interaction through the system.

In order to receive participation credit, you must have at least one meaningful (2+ paragraph or 300 word +) discussion contribution in every week the course is taught. The comment or contribution must take at least 2-3 readings into account. It is not a work of perfection or brilliance: it is a conversation. It can pose more questions than answers. I want you to take risks and really enter an evolving debate and conversation. In a topic as complex and messy as populism, there is no 'right' answer. The only way to be wrong is to not participate, or to have strong preexisting biases you are not willing to address and evaluate. Additional contributions (answers and follow-up comments) will garner up to five extra credit points for the semester.

Find our class linkup page at: <https://piazza.com/bu/fall2021/ir500> with the access code: Democracy

COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

The course will be run as a seminar. Students are expected to do all the readings and to be prepared to discuss them. This means reading and reflecting analytically on the readings, posting online comments on Piazza before class, and engaging in the seminar discussion. It also means you will prepare a puzzle-driven original research project, using your own original research based on primary sources, and present the project in-class.

Each class will begin with an overview of the key issues in the session topic by the class instructor in discussion with students, followed by book/article reports by students focused on the recommended readings (5-7 minutes each), with student discussion of the issues raised by the readings for the remainder of the session. Each student will be expected to present two book/article reports over the course of the semester. The first book report should be written up as an essay that considers it in the context of the other readings for the session. Students will write a final paper on one or two leaders, parties, or aspects of populism in one or two countries. In addition, throughout the course, students will post comments on the Piazza interactive platform on 2-3 readings each week of the course.

1. **Weekly readings** of 150-200 pages. Knowledge and synthesis will be evaluated through weekly Piazza comments on readings as well as discussion participation in class and presentations (**20% of the grade**).
2. **Two book/article presentations** chosen from the recommended readings (**10% of the grade**). The first presentation should come from readings during sessions 4 to 8, the next from sessions 9-12.
 - Oral presentations should briefly summarize the reading, focusing on the main points, make critical comments where appropriate, and set it into the context of the readings for the session.
3. **One essay** based on the book/article presentation of about 2000 words for undergraduates, 3000 words for graduate students that is a write-up of the first book/article presentation in conjunction with the other required readings for the session (**30%**). **Due one week after the class session.**
 - This paper is intended to demonstrate that you have read and analyzed the assigned readings, so please be sure to write your essays with specific reference to relevant readings.
4. **A paper** on the topic of the student's choice related to populism and the crisis of democracy—3000 words for undergraduates, 4000 for graduate students (**40% of grade**)
 - The papers should be on one country (two optional for undergrad, required for grad students), for which you choose one or two populist parties to follow and/or one main theme involving populists, e.g., economic, social, political, post-truth communication, use of social media, activist networks, etc..
 - In your introductory and theory sections, in addition to introducing the issues related to your choice of topic, you should set it into context, using as many of the relevant theoretical and empirical course materials as possible (with citations from the readings).
 - As a research paper, you will need to weigh all the evidence carefully, make an argument about the nature of the problem, the background issues, and the various ways in which the issue has been viewed. It is not speculative, meaning it cannot ask a puzzle about the future (i.e. NOT “what will Brexit do to Britain in 20 years...”). It is also not normative (i.e. NOT “is Hungary’s illiberal drift good or bad/right or wrong”).
 - The paper is expected to use the class readings to help analyze the topic. It should also use original primary research (primary sources: websites, statistics, newspaper

- articles, speeches, party manifestos, policy memos, legislation, etc), and cite at least 20 secondary sources (refereed articles/chapters in books/or books).
- You will provide an oral presentation on your draft research paper or policy brief in the last class (approx 5-7 minutes including question-and-answer session with fellow students).

ABSENCES AND LATE WORK:

Students are expected to attend all class sessions and to hand in assignments at the scheduled times, unless documentation is given excusing an absence for medical, religious or personal reasons, or for official university business. Every effort should be made to notify the instructor **in advance** of the reason for the absence. Unexcused late papers will be penalized 5% for the first day late, and 2% each day thereafter.

INFORMATION

The College of Arts and Sciences (CAS) Dean's Office has requested that you be informed of the following: The last day you may drop the course without a W grade is Thursday October 7. The last day you may drop the course with a W grade is Friday November 5. You are responsible for knowing the provisions of the CAS Academic Conduct Code (copies are available in CAS 105). Cases of suspected academic misconduct will be referred to the Deans' Office.

Academic Misconduct: All class members are expected to maintain high standards of academic honesty and integrity. You are expected to provide citations in papers for all quotations, paraphrases, and ideas taken from any source other than your own original thoughts. Boston University has very strict standards for intellectual integrity, and punishment for plagiarism is severe, and can include permanent expulsion from the university. For more on the definition of plagiarism and the standards to which you will be held, see the [CAS Academic Conduct Code](#), or the [GRS Academic Conduct Code](#).

Disabilities: Boston University is committed to providing equal access to our coursework and programs to all students, including those with disabilities. In order to be sure that accommodations can be made in time for all exams and assignments, please plan to turn in your accommodations letter as soon as possible after the first class to the instructor. After you turn in your letter, please meet with me to discuss the plan for accommodations so that we can be sure that they are adequate and you are supported in your learning. If you have further questions or need additional support, please contact the Office of Disability Services (access@bu.edu).

Academic Integrity

All members of the University are expected to maintain the highest standards of academic honesty and integrity, and the CAS Academic Conduct Code will be strictly enforced. The Conduct Code can be found at <http://www.bu.edu/academics/policies/academic-conduct-code/>.

The online environment does not change your responsibility to follow the Academic Conduct Code. The work you submit must be your own, with clear and accurate citations for the source of any quotations, data, or ideas. Collaboration among students on assignments is not allowed except where explicitly permitted, although I strongly encourage you to study in groups, which

facilitates learning. When you submit written assignments, you will be required to affirm your adherence to the Academic Conduct Code.

Digital Conduct Code

Misuse of classroom video and recording can violate the Academic Conduct Code, the Student Conduct Code (<https://www.bu.edu/dos/policies/student-responsibilities/>), the Policy on Computer Ethics (<http://www.bu.edu/policies/conditions-of-use-policy-computing-ethics/>), and in some cases Massachusetts state law. Expectations for proper behavior are based on simple principles of privacy and mutual respect, by which all students must abide. Expectations for digital conduct include but are not restricted to:

- Students may not record class sessions without permission.
- Students may not share recordings made by the instructor or others with anyone who is not enrolled in the class.
- Students may not share other students' personal or contact information that is revealed in class.
- Harassment of fellow students is strictly forbidden.
- Only students are allowed to participate in class electronically, except with the express permission of the instructor. In order to prevent "Zoom bombing," harassment, and surveillance of your fellow students, do not share the remote participation links and passwords.
- If you have questions as to whether a particular action conforms with or violates these expectations, please consult with the instructor.

DEMOCRACY AND THE POPULIST CHALLENGE IN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA

1 Introduction: Liberal Democracy and its Populist Challengers

(Sept. 8)

Mounk, Yashka (2018) *The People vs. Democracy: Your Freedom is in Danger and How to Save It* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, Chapters 1 & 2, pp. 29-98

Zielonka, Jan (2018) *Counter-Revolution* Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 1-113

Levitzky, Steven and Ziblatt, Daniel (2018) *How Democracies Die: What History Reveals about our Future* New York: Penguin Random House, Chapter 1, pp. 11-31

John Cleese, clip on what the extremes have in common

<https://twitter.com/JohnCleese/status/1271535485467283457>

2 Defining Democracy

(Sept. 15)

Dahl, Robert (1998/2015) *On Democracy* 2nd edition New Haven: Yale University Press, Chapters 4-8, pp. 35-99, Chapters 13-14, 166-179

Achen, Christopher H. and Bartels, Larry (2016) *Democracy for Realists: Why Elections do not Produce Responsive Government* Princeton: Princeton University Press, Ch's 1, 2, 4, 8, pp. 1-51, 90-115, 213-231

Galston, William (2017) (2018) "[Getting Real about Realism](#): Voters Are More Reasonable, and Democracies More Responsive, than Achen and Bartels Suggest," *Critical Review*, 30:1-2, 57-70

*Wolfgang Muller (2021) "[Crisis of Democracy](#): Books on how to fix the system," *Project Syndicate* (August)

Recommended Readings:

Tilly, Charles (2007) *Democracy* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 1, "[What is Democracy?](#)" and "[Democracy in History](#)," pp. 1-50; "[Trust and Distrust](#)," pp. 80-105;

White, Jonathan (2015) 'Emergency Europe', *Political Studies* 63 (2): 300-318

3 Defining Populism

(Sept. 22) *reschedule in person or via zoom Sept. 23, 24, or 27*

Müller, Jan-Werner (2016) *What is Populism?* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, pp. 1-74

Mansbridge, Jane and Macedo, Stephen (2019) "[Populism and Democratic Theory](#)," *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 2019. 15 (30): 1-19

- Pappas, Takis (2019) *Populism and Liberal Democracy* Oxford: Oxford University Press, Ch. 2, “How to Distinguish Populists from Non-Populists,” pp. 57-78
- Schmidt, Vivien A. (2021) “The Discursive Construction of Discontent,” *Journal of European Integration* (forthcoming) (on blackboard)

Recommended Readings:

- Urbinati, Nadia (2019) “Political theory of populism,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 22: 111–127
- Canovan, Margaret (1999) “Trust the People! Populism and the Two Faces of Democracy,” *Political Studies* XLVII, 2-16
- Art, David (2020) “[The Myth of Global Populism](https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592720003552),” *Perspectives on Politics* DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592720003552>
- Laclau Ernesto. 2002. *On Populist Reason*. London: Verso
- Mudde, Cas and Rovira Kaltwasser, Cristobal (2012) “[Populism and Liberal Democracy](#)” in *Populism in Europe and the Americas : Threat or Corrective for Democracy?* New York: Cambridge University Press

4 Socio-Economic Sources and Populist Manifestations of the Crisis of Democracy

(Sept. 29)

- Kuttner, Robert (2018) *Can Democracy Survive Global Capitalism?* New York: Norton, pp. 49-211
- Hopkin, Jonathan (2020) *Anti-System Politics: The Crisis of Market Liberalism in Rich Democracies* New York: Oxford University Press, Chapter 2 “Explaining the Rise of Anti-System Parties: Inequality, Debt, and the Crisis,” pp. 50-86
- Sitaraman, Ganesh (2018) “Economic Inequality and Constitutional Democracy” in Graber, Mark A., Levinson, Sanford, and Tushnet, Mark *Constitutional Democracy in Crisis?* New York: Oxford University Press, Chapter 30, pp.533-549
- *Mark Blyth on the differences between European and American political economies: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3rgANzx8hXs>
- * Stiglitz, Joseph E. “[The End of Neoliberalism and the Rebirth of History](#).” *Project-Syndicate*. November 4, 2019
- *Gerbaudo, Paolo (2021) “Why the battle between left and right protectionism will shape the post-Covid world,” *The New Statesman* (April 22) <https://www.newstatesman.com/international/2021/04/why-battle-between-left-and-right-protectionism-will-shape-post-covid-world>

Recommended Readings:

- Eichengreen, Barry (2018) *The Populist Temptation: Economic Grievance and Political Reaction in the Modern Era* New York: Oxford University Press

- Standing, Guy (2011) *The Precariat: The New Dangerous Class*, London: Bloomsbury
- Rodrik, Dani (2018) "Populism and the Economics of Globalization," *Journal of International Business Policy* 1,12–33
- Gamble, Andrew (2021) "Making Sense of Populist Nationalism," *New Political Economy* 26 (2): 283-290

5 Socio-Cultural Sources and Populist Manifestations of the Crisis of Democracy

(Oct. 6)

- Gidron, Noam and Hall, Peter A. (2017) '[The Politics of Social Status](#): Economic and Cultural Roots of the Populist Right', *The British Journal of Sociology* 68 (1): 57-68
- Inglehart, Ronald and Norris, Pippa (2017) "[Trump and the Populist Authoritarian Parties](#): The Silent Revolution," *Perspectives on Politics* 15 (2): 443-454
- Judis, John B. (2018) *The Nationalist Revival: Trade, Immigration, and the Revolt against Globalization* New York: Columbia Global Reports
- Wallace Goodman, Sara (2019): [Liberal Democracy, National Identity Boundaries, and Populist Entry Points](#), *Critical Review*, DOI: 10.1080/08913811.2019.1647679

Recommended Readings:

- Hochschild, Arlie Russell (2016) *Strangers in their own Land: Anger and Mourning on the Right* New York: The New Press
- Vance, J. D. (2016) *Hillbilly Elegy: A Memoir of a Family and Culture in Crisis* New York: Harper
- Gest, Justin (2016) *The New Minority: White Working Class Politics in an Age of Immigration and Inequality* New York: Oxford University Press
- Bonikowski, Bart (2017) "[Ethno-Nationalist Populism and the Mobilization of Discontent](#)," *British Journal of Sociology* 68 (1): 181-213
- Kaufmann, Eric (2018) *White Shift: Populism, Immigration and the Future of White Majorities* London: Allen Lane

6 Political Sources and Populist Manifestations of the Crisis of Democracy

(Oct 13)

- Berman, Sheri (2021) "[The Causes of Populism in the West](#)," *Annual Review of Political Science* 24: 71-88
- Schmidt, Vivien A. (2005) "[Democracy in Europe](#): The Impact of European Integration," *Perspectives on Politics* 3 (4): 761-779
- Bernard Yack (2019): [Of Scribes and Tribes](#): Progressive Politics and the Populist Challenge, *Critical Review*, 31 (3-4): 440-453

Weiler, Joseph H. H. (2018) “The Crumbling of European Democracy” in Graber, Mark A., Levinson, Sanford, and Tushnet, Mark *Constitutional Democracy in Crisis?* New York: Oxford University Press, Chapter 35, pp. 629-638

Elkins, Zachary (2018) “Is the Sky Falling? Constitutional Crises in Historical Perspective” in Graber, Mark A., Levinson, Sanford, and Tushnet, Mark (2018) *Constitutional Democracy in Crisis?* New York: Oxford University Press, Chapter 4, pp. 49-65

<https://www.democratic-erosion.com/about/> read blogs on democratic erosion of institutions

Recommended Readings:

Mair, Peter (2006) “[Ruling the Void](#)” *New Left Review* 42 (November-December): 25-51

Brown, Wendy (2018) “[Neoliberalism’s Frankenstein](#): Authoritarian Freedom in Twenty-First Century Democracies,” *Critical Times* 1 (1): 60-79

Sheri Berman, Maria Snegovaya (2019) “[Populism and the Decline of Social Democracy](#)” *Journal of Democracy*, 30(3): 5-19

Galston, William A. (2017) *Anti-Pluralism: The Populist Threat to Liberal Democracy* New Haven: Yale University Press

7 The Populist Playbook: Discourse, Leadership, and Organization

(Oct. 20)

Fieschi, Catherine (2019) *Populocracy* (London: Agenda) Ch. 2 and 7, pp. 23-41, 137-155

Pappas, Takis (2019) [Populism and Liberal Democracy](#) Ch. 3, “What Causes Populism,” pp.79-130

Levitzsky, Steven and Ziblatt, Daniel (2018) [How Democracies Die](#): *What History Reveals about our Future* New York: Penguin Random House, Chapters 8-9, pp. 176-203

Eatwell, Roger (2017) “Charisma and the Radical Right” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Radical Right* ed. Jens Rydgren Oxford: Oxford University Press

Tushnet, Mark (2018) “Comparing Right-Wing and Left-Wing Populism” in Graber, Mark A., Levinson, Sanford, and Tushnet, Mark *Constitutional Democracy in Crisis?* New York: Oxford University Press, Chapter 36, pp. 639-650

*[The Rules for Rulers](#) Adapted from 'The Dictator's Handbook;' see also [Death and Dynasties](#)

Recommended Readings:

Sinclair Lewis (1935) *It can't happen here* (novel)

Mouffe, Chantal (2018) *For a Left Populism*. London: Verso Books

Wodak, Ruth (2021) *The Politics of Fear: The Shameless Normalization of Far Right Discourse* 2nd edition London: Sage

Caiani, Manuela, Della Porta, Donatella, and Wagemann, Claudius (2012) *Mobilizing on the Extreme Right: Germany, Italy, and the United States* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Finchelstein, Federico (2017) *From Fascism to Populism in History* Oakland, CA: University of California Press

Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce and Smith, Alastair (2011) *The Dictator's Handbook: Why Bad Behavior is Almost Always Good Politics* New York: Public Affairs

8 Communication and Post-Truth

(Oct. 27)

Sven Engesser, Nicole Ernst, Frank Esser & Florin Büchel (2017) "[Populism and social media: how politicians spread a fragmented ideology](#)," *Information, Communication & Society*, 20 (8): 1109-1126,

Silvio Waisbord (2018) "The elective affinity between post-truth communication and populist politics," *Communication Research and Practice*, 4 (1): 17-34 DOI: 10.1080/22041451.2018.1428928

Hochschild, Jennifer and Einstein, Katie (2015) "[Do Facts Matter?](#) Information and Misinformation in American Politics," *Political Science Quarterly* 130 (4): 585-684

Kioupkiolis, Alexandros and Seane Perez, Francisco (2019) "Reflexive technopopulism: Podemos and the search for a new left-wing hegemony," *European Political Science* 18 (1): 24-36

Bobba, Giuliano (2019) "Social media populism: Features and 'likeability' of Lega Nord communication on Facebook," *European Political Science* 18 (1): 11-23

*Kuper, Simon (2020) [Why Donald Trump is Proving George Orwell wrong](#) *Financial Times* op-ed (Jan. 16)

*[Facebook and the Capitol Riots](#): "How Facebook failed to stop the Steal" *Buzzfeed* (April 22, 2021)

Recommended Readings:

Orwell *1984*

Baldwin, *Ctrl Alt Delete/ How Politics and the Media Crashed our Democracy* London: Hurst

Bernan, Dale (2019) *It Came from Something Awful: How a Toxic Troll Army Accidentally Memed Donald Trump into Office* New York: All Points Books

Muirhead, Russell and Rosenblum, Nancy L. (2019) *A Lot of People are Saying: The New Conspiracism and the Assault on Democracy* Princeton: Princeton University Press

Nichols, Tom (2017) *The Death of Expertise* New York: Oxford University Press

Ball, James (2017) *Post-Truth: How Bullshit Conquered the World* London: Biteback Publishing

Singer, P. W and Brooking, Emerson T. (2018) *LikeWar: The Weaponization of Social Media* New York: Houghton Mifflin

Frankfurt, Harry (2005) *On Bullshit*, Princeton: Princeton University Press

Sunstein, Cass (2017) *#Republic: Divided Democracy in the Age of Social Media* Princeton: Princeton University Press

9 Democracy and Populism in the US

(Nov. 3)

Hopkin, Jonathan (2020) *Anti-System Politics* Ch. 3 “American Nightmare: How Neoliberalism broke America,” pp. 87-116

Levitzsky, Steven and Ziblatt, Daniel (2018) [How Democracies Die](#): *What History Reveals about our Future* New York: Penguin Random House, Chapters 2-3, 6-8, pp. 33-71, 118-203

Hochschild, Jennifer L. (2018) “What’s New? What’s Next? Threats to the American Constitutional Order” in Graber, Mark A., Levinson, Sanford, and Tushnet, Mark *Constitutional Democracy in Crisis?* New York: Oxford University Press, Chapter 6, pp. 85-101

Balkin, Jack (2018) “Constitutional Crisis and Constitutional Rot,” in Graber, Mark A., Levinson, Sanford, and Tushnet, Mark (2018) *Constitutional Democracy in Crisis?* New York: Oxford University Press, Chapter 2, pp. 13-28

Posner, Eric (2018) “The Trump Presidency: A Constitutional Crisis in the United States?” in Graber, Mark A., Levinson, Sanford, and Tushnet, Mark (2018) *Constitutional Democracy in Crisis?* New York: Oxford University Press, Chapter 7, pp.103-116

Ronald Beiner (2019): [The Plague of Bannonomism](#), *Critical Review* 31 (3-4) : 300-314

*Lackoff, George (2016) ‘Understanding Trump’s Use of Language’, *Social Europe* Aug. 23, 2016

Recommended Readings:

Hacker, Jacob S. and Pierson, Paul (2020) *Let Them Eat Tweets: How the Right Rules in an Age of Extreme Inequality* New York: Liveright

Wolff, Michael (2021) *Landslide: The Final Days of the Trump Presidency* New York: The Bridge Street Press

Green, Joshua (2017/2018) *Devil’s Bargain: Steve Bannon, Donald Trump, and the Nationalist Uprising* New York: Penguin

Dionne, E. J. Jr., Ornstein, Norman J., and Mann, Thomas E. (2017) *One Nation After Trump: A Guide for the Perplexed, the Disillusioned, the Desperate, and the Not-Yet Deported* New York: St. Martin’s

Hochschild, Jennifer and Einstein, Katherine Levin (2015) *Do Facts Matter?* Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press

McCarty, Nolan (2019) *Polarization: What Everyone Needs to Know* New York: Oxford University Press

Hawley, George (2019) *The Alt-Right: What Everyone Needs to Know* New York: Oxford

Lebow, David (2019) "[Trumpism and the Dialectic of Neoliberal Reason](#)," *Perspectives on Politics* 17 (2): pp. 380-398

10 Democracy and Populism in the UK

(Nov. 10)

Schmidt, Vivien A. (2017) 'Britain-Out and Trump-In: A Discursive Institutional Analysis of the British Referendum on the EU and the US Presidential Election', *Review of International Political Economy* 24 (2): 248-269

Hopkin, Jonathan (2020) *Anti-System Politics* Ch. 4 "Taking Back Control: Britain turns against the Market," pp. 117-154

Fieschi, Catherine (2019) *Populocracy* Ch. 6 on the UK, pp. 117-136

Hay, Colin (2019) "[Brexistential Angst and the Paradoxes of Populism](#): On the Contingency, Predictability and Intelligibility of Seismic Shifts," *Political Studies* (March)
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0032321719836356>

*"The [Link between pub closures and support for UKIP](#)," *The Conversation*

* McTague, Tom (2021) "The Minister of Chaos: Boris Johnson knows just what he's doing," *The Atlantic* July/August issue (published online June 7)

Recommended Readings:

Donoghue, Matthew & Kuisma, Mikko (2021): "[Taking back control of the welfare state](#): Brexit, rational-imaginaries and welfare chauvinism," *West European Politics*, DOI:10.1080/01402382.2021.1917167

Evans, Geoffrey and Menon, Anand (2017) *Brexit and British Politics* Cambridge, UK: Polity Press

Shipman, Tim (2017) *All Out War: The Full Story of Brexit* London: William Collins

Delaney, Eric (2018) "Brexit Optimism and British Constitutional Renewal" in Graber, Mark A., Levinson, Sanford, and Tushnet, Mark (2018) *Constitutional Democracy in Crisis?* New York: Oxford University Press, Chapter 12, pp.191-214

James, Scott, Kassim, Hussein, and Warren, Thomas (2021) "[From Big Bang to Brexit](#): The City of London and the Discursive Power of Finance," *Political Studies*
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0032321720985714>

11 Democracy and Populism in Western Europe

(Nov. 17) *reschedule in person Nov 12 or via zoom Nov 15*

Berman, Sheri (2019) *Democracy and Dictatorship in Europe: From the Ancien Régime to Today* New York: Oxford University Press, Chapters 14, 18, pp. 284-302, 376-408

Schmidt, Vivien A. (2020) *Europe's Crisis of Legitimacy* Ch. 10, "Politics against Policy," pp. 279-290

Hopkin, Jonathan (2020) *Anti-System Politics* Ch. 5 “The New North-South Divide: Bailout Politics and the Return of the Left in Southern Europe,” pp. 153-186; Ch. 6 “Spain: Boom, Bust, and Breakup,” pp. 187-215; Chapter 7 “Basta: Anti-System Politics in Italy,” pp. 216-447

Fieschi, Catherine (2019) *Populocracy* London: Agenda
Chapters 3, 4, 5 on France, the Netherlands, Italy

*EP: “[Far Right Parties in the European Parliament Explained](#),” *Euractiv* July 28, 2021 (video)

Recommended Readings:

Hutter, S. and Kriesi, H. (2019) “Politicizing Europe in Times of Crisis,” *Journal of European Public Policy* 26 (7): 996-1017

Hailbronner, Michaela (2018) “Beyond Legitimacy: Europe’s Crisis of Constitutional Legitimacy” in Graber, Mark A., Levinson, Sanford, and Tushnet, Mark *Constitutional Democracy in Crisis?* New York: Oxford University Press, Chapter 17, pp. 277-293

Gomez, Raul, Morales, Laura, and Ramiro, Luis (2016) “Varieties of Radicalism: Examining the Diversity of Radical Left Parties and Voters in Western Europe,” *West European Politics* 39 (2): 351–79

Stockemer, D. and Amengay, A. (2015) “The Voters of the FN under Jean-Marie Le Pen and Marine Le Pen: Continuity or Change?” *French Politics* 13 (4): 370–90

Roussellier, Nicolas (2018) “France and the Fifth Republic: Constitutional Crisis or Political Malaise?” in Graber, Mark A., Levinson, Sanford, and Tushnet, Mark *Constitutional Democracy in Crisis?* New York: Oxford University Press, Chapter 13, pp. 215-225

Roberto D'Alimonte (2019) [How the Populists won Italy](#) *Journal of Democracy*, 30 (1): 114-127

Passarelli, G. and Tuorto, D. (2018) ‘The Five Star Movement: Purely a matter of protest?’, *Party Politics* 24(2): 129–140

Pappas, Takis (2020) “The Pushback Against Populism: The Rise and Fall of Greece’s New Illiberalism,” *Journal of Democracy* 31 (2): 54-68

Paris Aslanidis & Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser (2016) “Dealing with populists in government: the SYRIZA-ANEL coalition in Greece,” *Democratization*, 23:6, 1077-1091

Stavrakakis, Yannis and Katsambekis, Giorgos (2019) “The Populism/Anti-Populism Frontier and its Mediation in Crisis-Ridden Greece: From Discursive Divide to Emerging Cleavage?” *European Political Science* 18 (1): 37-52

12 Democracy and Populism in Central and Eastern Europe

(Dec. 1)

Berman, Sheri (2019) *Democracy and Dictatorship in Europe: From the Ancien Régime to Today* New York: Oxford University Press, Chapters 17, pp. 347-375.

Jan Zielonka & Jacques Rupnik (2020) “From Revolution to ‘Counter-Revolution’: Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe 30 Years On,” *Europe-Asia Studies*, 72:6, 1073-1099

- Licia Cianetti, James Dawson & Seán Hanley (2018) Rethinking ‘democratic backsliding’ in Central and Eastern Europe – looking beyond Hungary and Poland, *East European Politics* 34 (3): 243-256
- Scheppele, Kim Lane (2018) “The Party’s Over” in Graber, Mark A., Levinson, Sanford, and Tushnet, Mark *Constitutional Democracy in Crisis?* New York: Oxford University Press, Chapter 28, pp. 495-513
- * Zerofsky, Elisabeth (2020) “[How Viktor Orbán used the Coronavirus](#) to Seize more Power,” *New Yorker* April 9 (not for student presentation!)

Recommended Readings:

- Milada Anna Vachudova (2019) “From Competition to Polarization in Central Europe: How Populists Change Party Systems and the European Union,” *Polity* 51 (4): 689-706
- Krekó, Péter and Enyed, Zsolt (2018) Explaining Eastern Europe: [Orbán's Laboratory of Illiberalism](#) *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 29, No. 3, (July): 39-51
- Kelemen, Dan and Ornstein, Mitchell (2016) “Europe’s Autocracy Problem” *Foreign Affairs* Jan. 7, 6 <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/poland/2016-01-07/europes-autocracy-problem>
- Wodak, Ruth (2019) Entering the ‘post-shame era’: The rise of illiberal democracy, populism and neo-authoritarianism in Europe, *Global Discourse* 9 (1): 195-213, DOI: 10.1332/204378919X15470487645420
- Halmai, Gabor (2018) “A Coup against Constitutional Democracy: The Case of Hungary” in Graber, Mark A., Levinson, Sanford, and Tushnet, Mark *Constitutional Democracy in Crisis?* New York: Oxford University Press, Chapter 15, pp. 243-256
- Sadurski, Wojciech (2018) “Constitutional Crisis in Poland” in Graber, Mark A., Levinson, Sanford, and Tushnet, Mark *Constitutional Democracy in Crisis?* New York: Oxford University Press, Chapter 16, pp. 257-275

13 Conclusion: Which Way Forward?

(Dec. 8)

- Kuttner, Robert (2018) *Can Democracy Survive Global Capitalism?* New York: Norton, pp. 283- 309
- Levitzky, Steven and Ziblatt, Daniel (2018) *How Democracies Die: What History Reveals about our Future* New York: Penguin Random House, Chapter 9, pp. 204-231
- Berman, Sheri (2020) ‘[Can Social Democrats Save the World \(Again\)?](#)’ *Foreign Policy* (Jan 15)
- Acemoglu, Daron (2020) “[Four Possible Trajectories after Covid-19](#),” *Project Syndicate* June 6

Student Paper Presentations: