

The Rise of Authoritarian-Populism

DPI-418 Fall 2019

Pippa Norris



When: Monday/Wednesday 11.45-1.00pm
Where: Littauer Bldg L230 (Harvard Kennedy School of Government)
Shopping: Wed 4 September 2019
First class: Mon 9th Sep 2019
Last class: Wed 4th Dec 2019
Lecturer: Pippa Norris, McGuire Lecturer in Comparative Politics
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Class website: <https://canvas.harvard.edu/courses/52622>
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Assessment: Course assignments, no exam

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1. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The rise of authoritarian populist forces in recent years has generated new challenges in many affluent societies and long-established democracies, such as the US, UK, Germany, Italy, Greece, and France, as well as destabilizing states worldwide, such as in Venezuela, Brazil, Hungary, Turkey, the Philippines, Thailand, and India.

- What explains the rise of these forces?
- What are the consequences?
- And what can be done to mitigate the risks?

This course analyzes these issues from a comparative perspective, to understand the US and the Trump administration in a broader context. The course covers:

- (i) The core concept of populism and the classification of authoritarian and libertarian varieties of populist parties and leaders in different world regions;
- (ii) Market model explanations focused on 'demand-side' cultural value change, economic grievances, and patterns of immigration, and also 'supply-side' electoral rules and party competition;
- (iii) The consequences for the civic culture and the policy agenda; and
- (iv) Alternative strategic policy responses.

2. ASSESSMENT AND EVALUATION

The course is assessed through class participation and three written assignments.

General points for all assignments:

- Participants are expected to keep up with the required readings and to attend classes every Monday and Wednesday.
- Assignments are due to be handed in *at the start of the class* on the specified deadlines.
- Late policy: Barring an extraordinary excuse, all late assignments will be marked down a third of a grade (such as from A to A-) for each day following the due date.
- Your assignments are designed to be crafted as evidence-based research papers or policy analysis reports, in both cases reflecting the leading academic research on each topic. Your work needs to be carefully written and supported by direct evidence derived from the available data and from citations to existing peer-reviewed research from books and journals.
- Use effective endnote references for citing sources from the peer-reviewed research literature, as suggested from the extensive readings listed in the syllabi and others related publications. Use endnotes to support any contentious claims and to acknowledge any data sources.
- You should consult the Harvard Guide to Using sources for proper citation styles. Sequential endnotes rather than in-text citations or footnotes are recommended. See <https://usingources.fas.harvard.edu/>

Assignment 1: Due for submission in the start of class on Wednesday 25 Sept (20%)

Blog commentary. Choose ONE of the topics listed in the syllabus in classes 2-5. Select two topical country cases contrasting the electoral fortunes of contemporary populist leaders or parties, such as in the US and Canada, the UK and US, Hungary and the Czech Republic, France and Germany, Spain and Italy, or Venezuela and Mexico. Write a blog which describes, compares and explains the contrasts between these cases by presenting evidence for the social and attitudinal basis of support they attract in the electorate. What are the broader lessons from these cases?

The blog should be around 800-900 words in length, designed for an informed general readership and an outlet such as the *LSE blog*, *The Conversation* or the *WoPo Monkey Cage*. It must contain embedded hyperlinks to support contentious claims and point to your sources of evidence. The blog must include a short catchy headline, an illustrative copy-right free photo, and two effective graphics. The style and grammar should be clear, concise and polished. The best ones in the class are recommended to be submitted for possible publication.

Assignment 2: Due for submission in the start of class on Monday 28 Oct (35%)

Research paper. Choose ONE of the topics covered in classes 1-12 (demand-side). Specific topic questions will be distributed in class. Your report paper needs to include a thorough literature review which should *draw upon the recommended readings and research literature* on the selected topic listed in the syllabus, as well as upon any online resources and publications. Your report should be structured with subheadings to cover the following topics:

- i. The question you address, the executive summary of your report and the major conclusions;
- ii. The importance of the core topic;
- iii. Review of the research literature, organized thematically;
- iv. Presentation of new evidence;
- v. Conclusions and implications;
- vi. Technical appendix (including longer tables, larger graphs/figures, definition of indicators and sources, if used.)
- vii. Endnotes: comprehensive list of literature and references used in the report.

The discussions during class will provide some ideas on these topics and you are encouraged to work collaboratively with others, but each student should submit his or her own report for an individual grade. The report should be about 2,500-3,000 words in length in professional format. More details will be given out in class nearer the deadline.

Assignment 3: Due for submission in the start of class on Wednesday 4 December (35%)

Policy consultancy reports. What reforms would you recommend to a nominal client, in seeking to respond to the rise of populism? Specify your nominal client, such as the DNC or RNC in the US, another major party or candidate running for office, or an NGO. Choose ONE of the topics listed in the syllabus in classes 12-19 (supply-side). Reports should be structured as follows:

- i. The nominal client and issue you address, the executive summary of your report and 3-4 major policy recommendations;
- ii. The importance of the problem;
- iii. Review of the research and policy literature, organized thematically;
- iv. Presentation of new evidence;

- v. Implication and policy recommendations;
- vi. Conclusions and next steps for your client;
- vii. Technical appendix (including longer tables, larger graphs/figures, definition of indicators and sources, if used.)
- viii. Endnotes: comprehensive list of literature and references used in the report.

The discussions during class will provide some ideas on these topics and you are encouraged to work collaboratively with others, but each student should submit his or her own report for an individual grade. The report should be about 2,500-3,000 words in length in professional format, single spaced, with effective layout. More details will be given out in class nearer the deadline.

Class participation: (10%)

Lastly, everyone will be expected to participate in class, including through regular class exercises. Sessions will involve group discussions, hand-on practical online sessions, report presentations, case studies, and debates about controversial issues.

3. ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

The course follows the general principles established in the HKS academic code.

<https://www.hks.harvard.edu/educational-programs/academic-calendars-policies/student-handbook/general-regulations-and-1>

This specifies that all students are committed to:

- Doing your own work.
- Citing any ideas and words that are not your own in all assignments, e.g., any fact, phrase, or sentence from any sources. Failure to do so may result in any of the full range of disciplinary actions by HKS. In academic writing, it is considered [plagiarism](#) to draw any idea or any language from someone else without adequately crediting that source in your paper. Crediting the source also adds authority to your work, shortens the need for lengthy expositions, and allows readers to find further materials.
- Strictly following the guidelines for each assignment.
- Not doing another student's work or providing answers to another student.
- It is expected that all work submitted will have been done solely for this course. If the same or similar work is submitted to any other course, the prior written permission of all instructors involved must be obtained.

4. SCHEDULE

Class	Date	Topic	Due dates
		INTRODUCTION	
1	M 9 Sept	What is populism? Concepts and measures	
		I: VARIETIES OF POPULISM	
2	W 11 Sept	Populism in the US: Trump and Sanders	
3	M 16 Sept	Populism in Europe	
4	W 18 Sept	Populism in the UK: Brexit	
5	M 23 Sept	Populism in Latin America, Asia and Africa	
		II: DEMAND-SIDE EXPLANATIONS	
6	W 25 Sept	Cultural backlash	Report 1
7	M 30 Sept	Cultural backlash	
8	W 2 Oct	Economic grievances	
9	M 7 Oct	Economic grievances	
10	W 9 Oct	Immigration/race/ethnicity	
11	M 21 Oct	Immigration/race/ethnicity	
12	W 23 Oct	<i>Hands-on class workshop: ESS</i>	
		III: SUPPLY-SIDE EXPLANATIONS	
13	M 28 Oct	Electoral systems	Report 2
14	W 30 Oct	Party competition and polarization	
15	M 4 Nov	Leadership rhetoric	
16	W 6 Nov	Populism and social media	
17	W 13 Nov	<i>Hands-on class workshop:</i>	
		IV: CONSEQUENCES & POLICY RESPONSES	
18	M 18 Nov	Impacts on the civic culture	Report 3
19	W 20 Nov	Backsliding in liberal democracy	
20	M 25 Nov	Mobilizing populist forces and the resistance	
21	M 2 Dec	<i>Workgroup report presentations and discussion</i>	
22	W 4 Dec	Conclusion & wrap up	

Note: Official Harvard University holidays during Fall 2019 are as follows: Labor Day: 2 Sept; Columbus Day: Oct 14; Veteran's Day: Nov 11 (Observed); Thanksgiving: Nov 27-29. End of semester, 6 Dec. Guest speakers may be arranged on several topics.

5. ESSENTIAL READINGS

Note that classes will draw upon Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart. 2019. [Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit and Authoritarian-Populism](#) (NY: CUP). All chapters (uncorrected draft) are available for download [online](#). Hereafter referred to as Norris-Inglehart *Cultural Backlash*.

Class	Date	Topic	Due dates
		INTRODUCTION	
1	M 9 Sept	<p>What is populism? Concepts and measures</p> <p>Margaret Canovan. 1999. 'Trust the people! Populism and the two faces of democracy.' <i>Political Studies</i>, XLVII: 2-16.</p> <p>Kirk Hawkins. 2009. 'Is Chávez populist? Measuring populist discourse in comparative perspective' <i>Comparative Political Studies</i>, 42(8): 1040-1067.</p> <p>Cas Mudde. 2004. 'The populist zeitgeist.' <i>Government and Opposition</i>, 39(4): 541-563.</p> <p>Paris Aslanidis. 2016. 'Is populism an ideology? A refutation and a new perspective.' <i>Political Studies</i> 64 (1): 88–104.</p>	
		I: VARIETIES OF POPULISM	
2	W 11 Sept	<p>Populism in the US: Trump</p> <p>Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris. 2016. Trump, Brexit, and the rise of populism: Economic have-nots and cultural backlash SSRN/HKS Research Paper</p> <p>J. Eric Oliver and Wendy M. Rahn. 2016. 'Rise of the Trumpenvolk: Populism in the 2016 Election.' Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 667 (1): 189-206.</p> <p>Bart Bonikowski and Noam Gidron. 2016. 'The populist style in American politics.' <i>Social Forces</i> 94(4) 1593–1621.</p> <p>John Sides, Michael Tesler, Lyn Vavreck. The 2016 U.S. election: How Trump lost and won.' <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 28(2): 34-44.</p> <p>Norris-Inglehart <i>Cultural Backlash</i>. Ch 10.</p>	
3	M 16 Sept	<p>Populism in Europe</p> <p>Hanspeter Kriesi. 2014. 'The populist challenge.' <i>West European Politics</i>, 37(2): 361- 378.</p> <p>Yannis Stavrakakis and Giorgos Katsambekis. 2014. 'Left-wing populism in the European periphery: The Case of SYRIZA.' <i>Journal of Political Ideologies</i> 19 (2): 119- 142.</p>	

4 W 18 Sept

Laurenz Ennser. 2012. 'The homogeneity of West European party families: The radical right in comparative perspective.' *Party Politics* 18(2): 151-171.

Alina Polyakova. 2015. 'The backward East? Explaining differences in support for radical right parties in Western and Eastern Europe.' *Journal of Comparative Politics* 8(1): 49-74.

Trevor J. Allen. 2017. 'All in the party family? Comparing far right voters in Western and Post-Communist Europe.' *Party Politics*, 23(3): 274-285.

Norris-Inglehart *Cultural Backlash*. Ch 7.

Populism in the UK: Brexit

Matthew J. Goodwin and Oliver Heath. 2016. 'The 2016 referendum, Brexit and the left-behind? An aggregate-level analysis of the result.' *Political Quarterly*, 87(3):323-332.

Sara Hobolt. 2016. 'The Brexit vote: A divided nation, a divided continent.' *Journal of European Public Policy* 23(9): 1259-1277.

Laszlo Horvath, Yordan Kutiyski, and Andre Krouwel. 2017. 'The malaise of the squeezed middle: Challenging the narrative of the 'left behind' Brexiter.' *Competition & Change* 21(3): 211-229.

David Cutts, Matthew Goodwin, and Caitlin Milazzo. 2017. 'Defeat of the People's Army? The 2015 British general election and the UK Independence Party (UKIP).' *Electoral Studies*. 48(3): 70-83.

Norris-Inglehart *Cultural Backlash*. Ch 11.

[Background briefing: [BBC News. Brexit: Your simple guide to the UK leaving the EU.](#)]

5 M 23 Sept

Populism in Latin America, Asia and Africa

Kurt Weyland. 1996: 'Neopopulism and Neoliberalism in Latin America: Unexpected Affinities.' *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 31(3): 3-31.

Carlos de la Torre, 2007. 'The resurgence of radical populism in Latin America.' *Constellations*, 14(3): 398-397.

Cas Mudde and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser. 2012. 'Exclusionary vs. Inclusionary populism in Europe and Latin America.' *Government and Opposition* 48(2):147-174;

Dani Filc. 2015. 'Latin American inclusive and European exclusionary populism: colonialism as an explanation.' *Journal of Political Ideologies* 20(3): 263-283.

		Erdem S. Aytac and Ziva Onis. 2014. 'Varieties of populism in a changing global context: The divergent paths of Erdogan and Kirchnerismo.' <i>Comparative Politics</i> 47(1): 41-49.	
		II: DEMAND-SIDE EXPLANATIONS	
6	W 25 Sept	Cultural backlash Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart. 2016. <i>Trump, Brexit and the Rise of Authoritarian-Populism</i> . HKS Research Paper . Daniel Cox, Rachel Lienesch, and Robert P. Jones, 2017. Beyond economics: Fears of Cultural Displacement Pushed the White Working Class to Trump . Diane Mutz. 2018. 'Status threat, not economic hardship, explains the 2016 presidential vote.' Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences 115 (19): E4330-E4339 Norris-Inglehart <i>Cultural Backlash</i> . Ch 2.	Report 1
7	M 30 Sept	Cultural backlash Matthew C. MacWilliams. 2016. 'Who decides when the party doesn't? Authoritarian voters and the rise of Donald Trump.' PS-Political Science & Politics 49(4): 716-721 Eefje Steenvoorden and Eelco Harteveld. 2018. 'The appeal of nostalgia: the influence of societal pessimism on support for populist radical right parties.' West European Politics , 41(1): 28-52. Steven M. van Hauwaert and Stijn van Kessel. 2017. 'Beyond protest and discontent: A cross-national analysis of the effect of populist attitudes and issue positions on populist party support.' European Journal of Political Research 57(1): 68-92. Norris-Inglehart <i>Cultural Backlash</i> . Ch 8.	
8	W 2 Oct	Economic grievances Italo Colantone and Piero Stanig. 2017. 'The trade origins of economic nationalism: Import competition and voting behavior in Western Europe'. <i>Carefen Working Papers</i> 2017-49. http://ssrn.com/abstract=2904105 Jon Green and Sean McElwee. 2019. 'The differential effects of economic conditions and racial attitudes in the election of Donald Trump.' Perspectives on Politics 17(2): 358-379. Elizabeth Ivarsflaten. 2008. 'What unites right-wing populists in Western Europe? Re-examining grievance mobilization models in seven successful cases.' <i>Comparative Political Studies</i> , 41: 3 – 23.	

		Norris-Inglehart <i>Cultural Backlash</i> . Ch 5.
9	M 7 Oct	<p>Economic grievances</p> <p>Daniel Stockemer. 2017. 'The success of radical right-wing parties in Western European regions: New challenging findings.' <i>Journal of Contemporary European Studies</i> 25(1): 41-56.</p> <p>Luigi Guiso, Helios Herrera, Massimo Morelli and Tommaso Sonne. 8 November 2017. 'Populism: Demand and supply.' CEPR Discussion Paper DP11871</p> <p>David Autor, David Dorn, Gordon Hanson and Kaveh Majlesi. 2017. 'A note on the effect of rising trade exposure on the 2016 presidential election.' <i>MIT Working Paper</i> https://economics.mit.edu/files/12418</p>
10	W 9 Oct	<p>Immigration/race/ethnicity: Europe</p> <p>Jens Rydgren. 2008. 'Immigration sceptics, xenophobes or racists? Radical right-wing voting in six West European countries.' <i>European Journal of Political Research</i>, 47: 737 –765</p> <p>Miguel Carreras, Yaremin Irepoglu Carreras and Shaun Bowler. 2019. 'Long-term, economic distress, cultural backlash and support for Brexit.' Comparative Political Studies 52(9): 1396-1424.</p> <p>Tjitske Akkerman. 2015. 'Immigration policy and electoral competition in Western Europe: A fine grained analysis of party positions over the past two decades.' <i>Party Politics</i>, 21(1): 54–67.</p> <p>Christopher Cochrane and Neil Nevitte. 2014. 'Scapegoating: Unemployment, far-right parties and anti-immigrant sentiment.' <i>Comparative European Politics</i> 12(1): 1-32.</p> <p>Norris-Inglehart <i>Cultural Backlash</i>. Ch 6.</p>
11	M 21 Oct	<p>Immigration/race/ethnicity: USA</p> <p>Lawrence D. Bobo. 2017. 'Racism in Trump's America: Reflections on culture, sociology, and the 2016 US presidential election.' <i>British Journal of Sociology</i> 68: 85-104.</p> <p>Mark Tesler. 2016. 'Economic anxiety isn't driving racial resentment. Racial resentment is driving economic anxiety.' <i>The Washington Post/ Monkey Cage</i> (August 22).</p> <p>Marc Hooghe and Ruth Dassonneville. 2018. 'Explaining the Trump vote: The effect of racist resentment and anti-immigrant sentiments.' <i>PS-Political Science & Politics</i> 51(3): 528-534.</p> <p>Brenda Major, Alison Blodorn and Gregory Major Blascovich. 2018. 'The threat of increasing diversity: Why many White</p>

12	W 23 Oct	<p>Americans support Trump in the 2016 presidential election.' <i>Group Processes & Intergroup Relations</i> 21(6): 931-940.</p> <p>Hands-on class workshop: Using the ESS data (Bring laptops to class)</p>	
		III: SUPPLY-SIDE EXPLANATIONS	
13	M 28 Oct	<p>Electoral systems</p> <p>Matt Golder. 2003 'Explaining variation in the electoral success of extreme right parties in Western Europe.' <i>Comparative Political Studies</i>. 36:4, pp. 432-466;</p> <p>Elisabeth Carter. 2004. 'Does Proportional Representation promote political extremism? Evidence from the West European parties of the extreme right.' <i>Representation</i> 40(2): 82-100.</p> <p>Norris-Inglehart <i>Cultural Backlash</i>. Ch 9.</p>	Report 2
14	W 30 Oct	<p>Party competition and polarization</p> <p>Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser and Paul Taggart (2016): 'Dealing with Populists in Government: A framework for analysis.' <i>Democratization</i>, 23(2): 201-220.</p> <p>Tjitske Akkerman, and Matthijs Rooduijn. 2014. 'Pariahs or partners? Inclusion and exclusion of radical right parties and the effects on their policy positions.' <i>Political Studies</i>. 62: 1-18.</p> <p>Joost van Spanje and Nan Dirk de Graaf. 2018. 'How established parties reduce other parties' electoral support: the strategy of parroting the pariah.' West European Politics 41 (1): 1-27.</p> <p>Rooduijn Matthijs, S.L. De Lange and Wouter van der Brug. 2014. 'A populist Zeitgeist? Programmatic contagion by populist parties in Western Europe', <i>Party Politics</i> 20(4): 563-575.</p> <p>Zulianello, Mattia. 2019. 'Varieties of populist parties and party systems.' Government and Opposition 1-21</p>	
15	M 4 Nov	<p>Leadership rhetoric and communication styles</p> <p>Michele Lamont, Bo Yun Park, and Elena Ayala-Hurtado. 2017. 'Trump's electoral speeches and his appeal to the American white working class.' <i>British Journal of Sociology</i> 68: 153-180.</p> <p>J. Jagers and Stephan Walgrave. 2007. 'Populism as political communication style: An empirical study of political parties' discourse in Belgium.' <i>European Journal of Political Research</i> 46(3): 319-345.</p> <p>Elena Block and Ralph Negrine. 2017. 'The populist communication style: Toward a critical framework.' <i>International Journal of Communication</i> 11: 178-197.</p>	

		<p>[Background briefing: Paul Lewis et al. 6 Mar 2019. The Guardian. ‘Revealed: The rise and rise of populist rhetoric.’]</p> <p>[Background data: Team Populism]</p>
16	W 6 Nov	<p>Populism and social media</p> <p>Gunn Enil. 2017. ‘Twitter as arena for the authentic outsider: Exploring the social media campaigns of Trump and Clinton in the 2016 US presidential election.’ <i>European Journal of Communication</i> 32(1): 50-61.</p> <p>Ramona Kreis. 2017. ‘The “Tweet Politics” of President Trump.’ <i>Journal of Language and Politics</i> 16(4): 607-618.</p>
17	W 13 Nov	<p>Hands-on class workshop: Using the CHES data (Bring laptops to class)</p>
IV CONSEQUENCES & POLICY REFORMS		
18	M 18 Nov	<p>Impacts on the civic culture</p> <p>Matthijs Rooduijn, Wouter van der Brug, W and Sarah de Lange. 2016. ‘Expressing or fueling discontent? The relationship between populist voting and political discontent.’ <i>Electoral Studies</i> 43: 32-40.</p> <p>Agnes Akkerman, Cas Mudde, and Andrej Zaslove. 2014. ‘How populist are the people? Measuring populist attitudes in voters.’ <i>Comparative Political Studies</i> 47:1324–53</p>
19	W 20 Nov	<p>Backsliding in liberal democratic institutions, press freedom and rule of law</p> <p>Cas Mudde. 2013. ‘Three Decades of Populist Radical Right Parties in Western Europe: So What?’ <i>European Journal of Political Research</i>, 52(1): 1-19.</p> <p>Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way 2002. ‘The rise of competitive authoritarianism.’ <i>Journal of Democracy</i>, 13(2): 51-65.</p> <p>Robert A. Huber and Christian H. Schimpf. 2016. ‘Friend or foe? Testing the influence of populism on democratic quality in Latin America.’ <i>Political Studies</i> 64(4): 872-889.</p> <p>Robert Kaufman and Stepan Haggard. 2019. ‘Democratic decline in the US: What can we learn from middle income backsliding?’ <i>Perspectives on Politics</i> 17(2): 417-432.</p> <p>Lieberman, et al. 2017. Trumpism and American Democracy. Bright Line Watch Democratic Erosion</p>

20	M 25 Nov	Mobilizing activists: populists and the resistance Michael Heaney. 2018. 'Making protest great again.' Contexts , 17(1): 42-47. Crowd Counting Consortium	
21	M 2 Dec	Workgroup report presentations and discussion	
22	W 4 Dec	Conclusion & wrap up	Report 3

6. SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

The comprehensive bibliography on populism is available to search via the [Canvas course website](#), including a wide range of recommended books and articles

To find other journal literature, use the SSCI *Web of Science* index. A guide to using this for effective literature reviews will be given in class. You can get access here:

<http://eresearch.lib.harvard.edu/V/1MRP6QDQ83C7MHEPFH9CGT7JUBR25SFETH5EJ62DIL3KARRGYH-26745?func=native-link&resource=HVD02803>

For book searches, use Harvard's Hollis catalogue <http://lib.harvard.edu/> which links to Google books. The recommended readings and supplementary resources allow you to follow up with research on particular topics for your reports.
