

Fall 2023

University of Toronto
Faculty of Arts and Science
Department of Political Science

POL 492/2392 Topics in Comparative Politics IV:
Populism, Development, and Globalization in the Global South

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Office Hours, Thursdays, 1.00-2.00 pm
And via zoom by appointment

Course objectives and Learning Outcomes

The course seeks to introduce students to the scholarly debates on the origins and nature of populism with a focus on the Global South, and with a particular emphasis on Latin America. It also seeks to build critical analytical and writing skills. Students will have the opportunity to develop and to demonstrate these skills in the various components of the course.

Upon the completion of this course, students will be able to:

1. Engage in critical thinking on an increasingly pervasive political phenomenon,
2. Develop a deeper understanding of the link between populism and issues of inequality and racial/cultural/social and economic exclusion—features that have deep historical origins and have been intensified over the last several decades by economic globalization
3. Improve their writing and analytical skills through discussions and written assignments.
4. Understand the need to take historical and current context into account in research
5. Improve their understanding of the historical narrative of development, the relationship between power and the economy, and activism and resistance in development.

Course Overview

The rise and impact of populism has been the focus of much media and scholarly attention. Observers, both scholarly and otherwise, have attempted to identify core features of the phenomenon, applying it to a wide array of movements and leaders. Most observers focus on its negative impact on liberal democracy. This course challenges this overly generalized perspective while encouraging students to question the applicability of the term “populism” to widely disparate cases. We begin by examining the ways populism has been defined in the most recent literature. We then turn to a discussion of the earlier literature linking populism to modernization and development. This section introduces students to the most important Latin American scholars who have written on the topic, particularly on its structural origins: Gino Germani, Torcuato di Tella, and Ernesto Laclau.

The course then considers the debates on the impact of populism on liberal democracy, giving close attention to the concepts of populism, democracy, and fascism. We then examine

the case of the most well-known populism of the twentieth century: that of Peronism, paying particular attention to the nature of the movement and the conditions that gave rise to it. We follow this up with a comparison of 21st century North and South populisms, highlighting their distinct historical and contextual origins, the divergent impacts of economic globalization, and the distinct features of left Latin American populism, right Global South populisms, and Global North variants. Chavismo serves as our in-depth case study of left twenty-first century populism, with the case providing insight into the links between populism, economic globalization, democracy, and inclusion.

Our examination of Global South right populism opens with a discussion of the distinct ways religion and gender issues have been incorporated into the ideological appeals of European and Global South populisms. We then examine two case studies of Global South right populism: the regimes of Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil, and that of Narendra Modi, of India, focusing on their historical origins, coalitional basis of support, ideological appeal, and commitment to neoliberalism. We raise the question of whether, or to what extent, the term “populism” provides useful insights into such cases.

The course concludes with a consideration of the relevancy of psychological and emotional explanations for populist appeals.

Format: The literature on populism is vast, contradictory, complex, and often confused, and confusing. To help students navigate this material there will usually be an introductory lecture before the class discussion/debate.

Course Materials: There is no text for the course. Readings (articles and book chapters) are available from the Quercus website.

Course requirements (undergraduates)

2 reflection papers (3 pages each), due: Oct. 19 and Nov. 30 (10 X 2)	20
Debate leadership	15
Attendance	07
Participation	08
Course reflection essay, due, Dec. 13	50

Course requirements (graduate students)

MA students

2 reflection papers (5 pages each), due Oct. 19 and Nov. 30 (10X2)	20
Debate leadership	15
Attendance	07
Participation	08
Course reflection essay, due, Dec. 13	50

PhD Students

2 reflection papers (4 pages each), due Oct. 19 and Nov. 30 (10X2)	20
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Debate leadership	10
Verbal commentary on 2 debates (10 X 2)	10
Attendance	07
Participation	08
Course reflection essay, due Dec. 13	45

Reflection papers (undergraduate students)

- For your first reflection paper, due Oct. 19, choose one week from weeks 2 to 6 inclusive. Write a 3-page reflection paper explaining how the required readings, lectures, and the class discussion/debate for that session has shaped/impacted your views on that week's discussion/debate topic.
- For your second reflection paper, due Nov. 23, you will carry write a second reflection paper for another week's topic (weeks 7 to 10).

Reflection Papers (graduate students)

M.A. Students. As above, but must include recommended readings.

PhD. Students. As above, but must include recommended and two further readings.

Class debates

In the real world, answers to the questions raised in any debate are seldom black or white. The debate format is an exercise in developing your analytical skills, to get you thinking, and to spur further discussion.

You will find the debate question/topic at the end of each week's readings, below. I will randomly designate the position each group will take for each debate. You will not know your group's position ahead of time, a strategy I hope will encourage you to consider both sides of the issue. Under the supervision of the debate leader, group members will present their ideas/points to the group, discuss the points raised, and prioritize the main points either for or against the debate question. Debate leaders are responsible for noting down these main points; one of their most important tasks is to ensure that everyone participates by asking questions, seeking clarifications, and contributing to the points that the group will present.

After each side has organized their position and prioritized their points, the debate leaders will present the main points developed by their group to the class (about 10 minutes). After the debate leaders for each side have presented their cases, members of the opposing group will have a chance to respond to the points raised by their opposition. Everyone is then encouraged to join in and offer observations, arguments, and relevant commentary.

I will, of course, intervene with questions.

Depending upon the size of the class, some students may provide commentary on the debate (rather than lead the debate), that is, an assessment of what are the best/most effective arguments. However, spots for debate leadership will be allocated first.

The student information form gives you the opportunity to select which topics you prefer for debate leadership. I will do my best to accommodate student preferences, but I cannot promise to do so. Please fill this out and submit it to me as soon as possible.

Debates will begin in **week 4**.

Participation: Participation includes asking thoughtful questions in class, responding to questions asked by the instructor in a way that demonstrates consideration of course material, participating in your class debate break-out group by offering points for the support your side of the debate, and offering thoughtful comments during the general class discussions.

Course Reflection Essay:

This is not a research paper. It is a think piece that requires you to show in-depth knowledge of course material. Since no outside reading is required for this assignment, or for any of the other assignments in the course, it is expected that you pay close attention to course readings, lectures, and class discussions.

The essay will be discussed in class and more information posted on Quercus.

You can find topics and requirements for the essay on the last page of this course outline. **Note:** different requirements for undergraduate and graduate students.

Other Essential Pieces of Information and Advice

Late submission policy: A late penalty of .5 (one-half a mark) per day will apply to all late submissions. The due date for the written assignments will be extended and the penalty waived only upon the presentation of acceptable documentation.

The following are recognized forms of documentation:

Absence Declaration via ACORN (updates from the University guidelines for 2023–24 will be posted mid-August)

U of T Verification of Illness or Injury Form (VOI)

College Registrar's letter

Letter of Academic Accommodation from Accessibility Services

PLEASE NOTE: University regulations stipulate that the instructor can give informal extensions of up until 7 days after the end of the Final Assessment Period, but not beyond. After that point, a student must petition for an extension through their College Registrar's Office.

Keep copies of your written work

Copies of all essays/assignments should be kept by students until the marked essays/assignments have been returned to them and the grades are posted on ACORN.

Re-marking Policy: Students have up to two weeks after the return of the assignment to query the grade and to seek a re-marking of the assignment. As per departmental policy, a re-marking will involve the entire piece of work, and may raise or lower the mark. A request for re-marking must be accompanied by one page (single-spaced) explaining the reasons for the request for a re-mark of the assignment.

Course drop date: Monday, November 6.

This course uses Quercus. Hence, you are required to consult the course Quercus website regularly. You will use Quercus:

1. To check course announcement and access information essential to the course
2. To access required readings.
3. To hand in all written assignments

Regular class attendance. Class attendance is essential. There will be lectures that supplement reading material in addition to class discussions and debates. Please note that there is a grade for class attendance and participation. Also, bear in mind that knowledge of readings, lectures, discussions, and debates is essential for success in course assignments.

E mail protocol: I am happy to answer e-mail queries as long as questions are straightforward, and I can answer them in one or two sentences. Please bring any question requiring a complicated or long answer to me in my office hours. I will do my best to respond to emails within 24 hours. Please be patient.

Recording. Students wishing to record lectures or other course material in any way are required to ask the instructor's explicit permission and may not do so unless permission is granted. This includes audio and video recording, and photographing slides or other course materials.

Granting permission to record applies only for that individual student's own study purposes and does not include permission to "publish" or distribute them in any way. It is forbidden for a student to publish an instructor's notes on a website or to sell them in other form without formal permission.

Academic Integrity

Academic integrity is essential to the pursuit of learning and scholarship in a university, and to ensuring that a degree from the University of Toronto is a strong signal of each student's individual academic achievement. As a result, the University treats cases of cheating and plagiarism very seriously. The University of Toronto's Code of Behavior on Academic Matters (<http://www.governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/Assets/Governing+Council+Digital+Assets/Policies/PDF/ppjun011995.pdf>) outlines the behaviors that constitute academic dishonesty and the

processes for addressing academic offences. Plagiarism will be discussed in more detail in class prior to the submission of the first written assignment.

The course uses the plagiarism detection tool, Ouriginal.

Normally, students will be required to submit their written work to the University's plagiarism detection tool for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the tool's reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of this tool are described on the Centre for Teaching Support & Innovation web site (<https://uoft.me/pdt-faq>).

Read carefully the following definition of plagiarism. It is a serious academic offence.

Plagiarism: to represent as one's own any idea or work of another. This means that you must provide full citations for all materials taken from others even those you do not quote directly.

Use of AI (artificial technology) is prohibited in this course.

The use of generative artificial intelligence tools or apps including tools like ChatGPT and other AI writing or coding assistants, for the short reflection papers and for the course reflection essay, is prohibited. This course policy is designed to promote your learning and intellectual development and to help you reach course learning outcomes.

The instructor may ask for notes and drafts used in the preparation of assignments.

Equity, Diversity and Inclusion

The University of Toronto is committed to equity, human rights, and respect for diversity. All members of the learning environment in this course should strive to create an atmosphere of mutual respect where all members of our community can express themselves, engage with each other, and respect one another's differences. U of T does not condone discrimination or harassment against any persons or communities.

Mental Health and Well-Being

As a student, you may experience challenges that can interfere with learning, such as strained relationships, increased anxiety, substance use, feeling down, difficulty concentrating and/or lack of motivation, financial concerns, family worries and so forth. These factors may affect your academic performance and/or reduce your ability to participate fully in daily activities. Everyone feels stressed now and then – it is a normal part of university life. Some days are better than others, and there is no wrong time to reach out. There are resources for every situation and every level of stress.

There are many helpful resources available through your College Registrar or through Student Life (<http://studentlife.utoronto.ca> and <http://www.studentlife.utoronto.ca/feeling-distressed>). An important part of the University experience is learning how and when to ask for help. Please take the time to inform yourself of available resources.

Religious Accommodations

As a student at the University of Toronto, you are part of a diverse community that welcomes and includes students and faculty from a wide range of cultural and religious traditions. For my part, I will make every reasonable effort to avoid scheduling tests, examinations, or other compulsory activities on religious holy days not captured by statutory holidays. Further to University Policy, if you anticipate being absent from class or missing a major course activity (such as a test or in-class assignment) due to a religious observance, please let me know as early in the course as possible, and with sufficient notice (at least two to three weeks), so that we can work together to make alternate arrangements.

University Land Acknowledgement

We wish to acknowledge this land on which the University of Toronto operates. For thousands of years it has been the traditional land of the Huron-Wendat, the Seneca, and most recently, the Mississaugas of the Credit River. Today, this meeting place is still the home to many Indigenous people from across Turtle Island and we are grateful to have the opportunity to work on this land.

Topics and readings

All reading can be accessed through the Quercus website.

About the readings listed below:

Undergraduate students are responsible for keeping up with the required reading only.

Graduate students are responsible for required and recommended readings and for consulting further readings as appropriate for assignments and class commentary.

1. (Sept. 7) **Organization and requirements**

A discussion of the course organization, requirements, and content.

2. (Sept. 14) **What is populism: “thin” ideology, discourse, style, manipulation, or just politics?**

Required:

Benjamin Moffitt and Simon Tormey. 2014. Rethinking populism: Politics, mediatization and political style. *Political Studies* 62: 381-397.

Daniel Rueda. 2021. Is populism a political strategy? A Critique of an enduring approach. *Political Studies* 69(2): 167-184.

Recommended

Kirk A. Hawkins, and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser. 2017. The ideational approach to populism. *Latin American Research Review* 52(4): 513-528.

Further Reading

Casnueva, Baptiste Alonso, and Raul A. Sanchez Urribarri. 2018. Why populism(s)? *Theses Eleven*. Vol 149 (1): 3-9.

Castanho Silva, Bruno et. al. 2019. Public opinion surveys. A new scale. In Kirk A. Hawkins, Ryan E. Carlin, Levente Littvay, and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser (eds.), *The Ideational Approach to Populism*. New York: Routledge, pp. 151-171.

Mudde, Cas and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser. 2018. Studying populism in comparative perspective. Reflections on the contemporary future research agenda. *Comparative Political Studies*. 15(13): 1667-93.

Weyland, Kurt. 2017. Populism: A political-strategic approach. In Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, Paul Taggart, Paulina Ochoa Espejo, and Pierre Ostiguy (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Populism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 48-72.

For reflection and discussion:

Which one(s) among these interpretations of what populism is fits with what you have heard/read in the popular media or elsewhere? You may consider any leader widely regarded as populist, whether in the Global North or Global South.

3. (Sept. 21) Populism as a stage in modernization and development

Required:

Giovanna Campani and Mojca Pajnik. 2016. Populism in historical perspectives. In Gabriella Lazaridis and Giovanna Campani (eds.), *Understanding the Populist Shift*. New York: Routledge. Read pages 13-22 only.

Manuel Anselmi. 2018. *Populism. An Introduction*. New York: Routledge. Chapter 4.

Gino Germani. 2019. *Authoritarianism, Fascism, and National Populism*. London and New York: Routledge [originally published in 1978]. Chapter 8, read pages 229-236 [Differences and similarities between fascism and national populism].

Torcuato di Tella. 1965. Populism and reform in Latin America. In Claudio Veliz (ed.), *Obstacles to Change in Latin America*. London: Oxford University Press. Read pages 44-57 only.

Recommended:

A. E. Van Niekerk. 1974. *Populism and Political Development in Latin America*. Rotterdam: Rotterdam University Press. Introduction.

Further Reading

Peter Worsely. 1969. The concept of populism. In Ghita Ionescu and Ernest Gellner (eds.) *Populism. Its Meaning and National Characteristics*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Other articles in this volume.

For reflection and discussion

“Structural explanations that link populism to modernization are no longer relevant.”
Agree/disagree. If you disagree, what insights does this older literature offer?

4. (Sept. 28) Populism, democracy, and fascism**Required:**

Christophe Jaffrelot. 2022. Populism against democracy or people against democracy? In Alain Dieckhoff, Christophe Jaffrelot, and Élise Massicard (eds.), *Contemporary Populists in Power*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. Read pages 32-52 only. [standard discussion of why populism is not democratic].

Margaret Canovan. 2005. *The People*. Cambridge: Polity Press. Read pages 83-90.

Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser. Scholars should not just assume that populism is bad for democracy . . . “LSE blog. <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/16379079.pdf> (3 pages).

Carlos de la Torre. Fascism and Populism. 2022. In Michael Oswald (ed.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Populism*. Switzerland: Springer Nature Switzerland AG., pp. 163-175.

Recommended:

Ernesto Laclau. 2005. *On Populist Reason*. New York: Verso. Read pages 71-101 or as much as you can manage. [Laclau’s work is central to the scholarship on populism, but he is tough read.]

Further Reading

de la Torre, Carlos. 2015. Introduction. Power to the people? Populism, insurrection, democratization. In Carlos de la Torre (ed.), *The Promise and Perils of Populism. Global Perspectives*. Lexington: University of Kentucky.

Macpherson, C.B. 1992 [originally published 1964]. *The Real World of Democracy*. Toronto: House of Anansi Press.

Stavrakakis, Y. 2018. Populism, anti-Populism and democracy. *Political Insight* 9(3): 33–35.

Urbinati, Nadia. 2019. Political theory of populism. *Annual Review of Political Science* 22: 111-127.

For reflection, debate, and Discussion

Populism: Good or bad for democracy?

5. (Oct. 5) **Classic Populism: Peronism (Juan Perón, President of Argentina, 1946-55)**

Federico Finchelstein. 2014. *The Ideological Origins of the Dirty War. Fascism, Populism, and Dictatorship in Twentieth Century Argentina*. New York: Oxford University Press, Chapter 4, pp. 65-92.

Ernesto Semán. 2018. Populism is not in the air (but maybe it should be). *International Labor and Working-Class History* 93: 125-134.

Recommended:

Judith Teichman. 2022. Exploring the origins of polarizing populism: Insights from the Peronist struggle over rights. *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies/Revista Europea de Estudios Latinoamericanos y del Caribe* 114: 67-87.

Further Reading:

Horowitz, Joel 2012. Populism and its legacies in Argentina. In Michael L. Conniff (ed.), *Populism in Latin America*. 2nd edition. Tuscaloosa Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, pp. 23-47. [good overview chapter].

James, Daniel. 1988. *Resistance and Integration. Peronism and the Argentine Working Class*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1 [Peronism as a movement for full citizenship rights].

Karush, Matthew B. and Oscar Chamosa. 2010. Introduction. In Matthew B. Karush and Oscar Chamosa (eds.), *The New Cultural History of Peronism: Power and Identity in Mid-twentieth Century Argentina*. Durham NC: Duke University Press, pp. 1-19.

Lewis, Paul H. 1980. Was Peron a fascist? An Inquiry into the nature of Fascism. *The Journal of Politics* 42(1): 242-256. [argues that Peronism was fascist].

For reflection, discussion, and debate:

“Peron was not a democrat, in any sense of the term.” Agree/Disagree.

6. (Oct. 12) **Globalization. north/south, left/right, exclusionary/inclusionary populisms**

Required:

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

John Postill. 2018. Populism and social media: a global perspective *Media, Culture & Society* 40(5) 754–765

Recommended:

Vedi R Hadiz and Angelos Chrysosgelo. 2017. Populism in world politics: A comparative cross-regional perspective. *International Political Science Review* 38(4): 399–411

Further Reading

Brubaker, Roger. 2017. Why Populism. *Theory and Society* 46: 357-385

de la Torre, Carlos. 2018. Populism revived. Donald Trump and the Latin American populists. *The Americas* 75(4): 733-753.

Mudde, Cas and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser. 2013. Exclusionary versus inclusionary populism: Comparing contemporary Europe and Latin America. *Government and Opposition* 48(2): 147-174. Read pages 155-174.

Rodrik, Dani. 2018. Populism and the economics of globalization. *Journal of International Business Policy*. Read pages 12-13; 18-19; 23-27.

Spruyt, Bram, Gil Keppens, and Filip van Droogenbroeck. 2016. Who supports populism and what attracts people to it? *Political Science Quarterly* 69(2): 335-346 [on Europe].

For reflection, discussion, and debate:

We cannot generalize about the origins, nature and support base of populisms. Leaders and movements labelled populist are so different that designating them with the same label offers little to no insight. We also cannot generalize about populisms' use of the media"
Agree/Disagree.

7. (Oct. 19) **Chavismo (Hugo Chávez, President of Venezuela, 1998-2013)**

First Reflection paper due today!

Required:

Barry Cannon. 2008. Class/race, polarization in Venezuela and the electoral success of Hugo Chavez: A break with the past or the song remains the same. *Third World Quarterly* 29(4): 731-748.

Carlos de la Torre. 2017. Populism and nationalism in Latin America. *Javnost - The Public, Journal of the European Institute for Communications and Culture* 24(4): 375-390. [on Peronism and Chavismo and how both are basically undemocratic even though they are pluralist]

Recommended:

Sahar Abi-Hassan. 2019. Populism in Venezuela: The role of the opposition. In Kirk A. Hawkins, Ryan E. Colin, Levente Littvay, and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser (eds.), *The ideational Approach to Populism. Theory and Analysis*. New York: Routledge, pp. 311-329.

Further Reading

Ciccariello-Maher, George. 2013. *We created Chávez. A people's History of the Venezuelan Revolution*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. Available at Robarts but not online.

Hetland, Gabriel. 2018. The promise and perils of radical left populism: The case of Venezuela. *Journal of World Systems Research*. 24(2): 277-292.

López Maya, Margarita. 2011. Venezuela: Hugo Chávez and the populist left. In Steven Levitsky and Kenneth M. Roberts (eds.), *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 213-238.

Rhodes-Purdy, Matthew. 2015. Participatory populism: Theory and evidence from Bolivarian Venezuela. *Political Research Quarterly* 68(3): 415-427.

Teichman, Judith. 2022. Class and race in Latin America's left populist politics. *Race and Class* 64(2): 55-74.

For reflection, debate, and discussion

“Chavismo’s goal of raising the dignity and material welfare of the racialized masses does not outweigh the damage Chavismo did to Venezuelan democracy.” Agree/disagree.

8. (Oct.26) **Populism, Nationalism, Religion, and Gender**

Sahar Abi-Hassan. 2017. Populism and gender. In Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser et al. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Populism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 426-44.

Isabel Heinemann and Alexandra Minna Stern. 2021. Gender and the far-right nationalism: Historical and international dimensions. Introduction. *Journal of Modern European History* 20(3): 311-321.

Efe Peker and Emily Laxer. 2021. Populism and religion. Toward a global comparative agenda. *Comparative Sociology* 20: 317-343. Omit sections on Quebec and France.

Recommended:

Yilmaz Ihsan and Nicholas Morieson. 2021. A systemic review of populism, religion, and emotions. *Religions* (12)172. Read especially pages. 5-16.

Further Reading

Kempwirth, Karen. 2010. Introduction. In Karen Kempwirth (ed.), *Gender and Populism in Latin America*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, pp. 1-24. Google books has the chapter at:

https://books.google.ca/books?id=usOhYREnMAoC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false The book is available at Robarts but not online.

Roth, Julia. 2021. The gendered politics of right-wing populism and intersectional feminist contestations. In Michael Oswald (ed.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Populism*. Cham, Switzerland: Springer Nature Switzerland AG, pp. 291-301.

Zúquete, Jose Pedro. 2017. Populism and religion. In Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, Paul Taggart, Paulina Ochoa Espejo, and Pierre Ostiguy (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Populism*, pp. 445-466.

For reflection, debate, and discussion

“We cannot make any generalizations about the role of gender issues and religion in explaining the appeal of populisms.” Agree/Disagree.

9. (Nov. 2) **Jair Bolsonaro (President of Brazil, 2019-2022)**

Rômulo Lima. 2021. Bolsonaro and the current stage of the Brazilian crisis. In Bernardo Bianchi, Jorge Chaloub, Patricia Rangel, and Frieder Otto Wolf, (eds.), *Democracy and Brazil. Collapse and Regression*. New York: Routledge, pp. 97-113.

Gabriel Feltron. 2020. Centripetal force: a totalitarian movement in contemporary Brazil. *Soundings: A Journal of Politics and Culture* 75: 95-110.

Recommended:

Stuart Davis and Joe Straubhaar. 2020. Producing antipetismo: Media activism and the rise of the radical nationalist right in contemporary Brazil. *The International Communication Gazette* 82(1): 82-100.

Further Reading

Barros, Amon and Sergio Wanderley. 2020. Businessmen movements, right-wing populism, and the (dis)connection between policy and politics. *Organization* 17(3): 394-404.

Cunha, Magali do Nascimento. 2021. Politics and religion in contemporary Brazil: The neoconservative turn in evangelical Christianity. In Bernardo Bianchi, Jorge Chaloub, Patricia Rangel, and Frieder Otto Wolf (eds.), *Democracy and Brazil. Collapse and Regression*. New York: Routledge, pp. 208-225.

Hunter Wendy and Timothy J. Power. 2019. Bolsonaro and Brazil's illiberal backlash. *Journal of Democracy* 30(1): 68-82.

Lapper, Richard. 2021. *Beef, Bible and Bullets: Brazil in the Age of Bolsonaro*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Rangel, Patricia and Eneida Vinhaer Dultra. 2019. Elections in times of neo-Coupism and populism. A short essay of Brazil's right wing presidential candidate's plans for governance and their proposals for gender and Afro-Brazilians. *Irish Journal of Sociology* 27(1): 72-79

David Rojas, Alexandre de Azevedo Olival, and Andrezza Alves Spexoto Olival. 2019. Cultivating alternatives to authoritarian populism in the Amazon. *Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 24(4): 958-981.

For reflection, debate, and discussion

“Bolsonaro is not the cause, but is a reflection, of Brazil's deep historical divisions”
Agree/Disagree

NOV. 6-10: READING WEEK

10. (Nov. 16) Narendra Modi (Prime Minister of India, 2014 to present)

Guest lecture by Professor Kanta Murali

Patrick Heller, 2020. The age of reaction: Retrenchment populism in India and Brazil. *International Sociology* 35(6): 590–609.

Giorgio Shani. 2021. Towards a Hindu Rashtra: Hindutva, religion, and nationalism in India. *Religion, State and Society* 49(3): 264-280.

Note: The Shani reading may be replaced.

Recommended:

Kiran Bhatta and Nandini Sundar. 2020. Sliding from majoritarianism toward fascism: Educating India under the Modi regime. *International Sociology*. 35(2): 632-650.

Further Reading

Chacko, Priya. 2018. The right turn in India: Authoritarianism, populism and neoliberalisation. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*. 48(4): 541-565.

Jaffrelot, Christophe. 2022. Populist welfarism in India: How Modi relates to the poor. In Christophe Jaffrelot, Dieckhoff, Massicard, Élise (eds.), *Contemporary populists in power*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 221-234.

_____. 2021. *Modi's India. Hindu Nationalism and the Rise of Ethnic Democracy*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press.

Peker, Efe. 2019. Religious populism, memory, and violence in India. *New Diversities*. 21(2): 23-36.

Singh, Gurharpal. 2019. Hindu nationalism in power: Making sense of Modi and the BJP-led National Democratic Alliance government, 2014–19. *Slkh Formations, Religion, Culture, Theory* 15(3–4): 314–331

Sinha, Subir. 2021. Strong leaders, authoritarian populism, and Indian developmentalism: The Modi moment in historical context. *Geoforum*. 121: 320-333.

For reflection, debate, and discussion

a) “Modi and Bolsonaro share more similarities than differences.” b) “Modi’s movement is more populist than fascist.” Agree/Disagree

11. (Nov. 23) **Charismatic Authority: the psychological, emotional, and identity appeal of populism in contexts of socio-economic dislocation and rising inequality.**

Douglas Madsen and Peter G. Snow. 1991. *The Charismatic Bond. Political Behavior in Time of Crisis*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Chapter 1, Read pages 1-23.

Alina R. Oxendin 2019. The political psychology of inequality and why it matters for populism *International Perspectives in Psychology: Research, Practice, Consultation* 8(4): 170-195.

Recommended:

Darren G. Lilleker and Nathalie Weidhase. 2022. The Psychology of populism. In Michael Oswald (ed.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Populism*. Cham, Switzerland: Springer Nature Switzerland AG, pp. 103-114 [Applicable to the appeal of Bolsonaro and Modi?].

Further Reading

Note: The references below deal with Global North populism. There is little to no research on the psychological and emotional appeal of Global South populisms.

Batrach, Jay, S.,A., Jetten, J., McGarty, C., & Muldoon, O. T. 2019. Economic inequality and the rise of far-right populism: A social psychological analysis. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology* 29(5): 418–428.

Greitemeyer, T. 2012. Boosting one’s social identity: Effects of social exclusion on ethnocentrism. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology* 34(5): 410–416.

Paskov, M., Gërkhani, K., and H. G. van de Werfhorst, 2013. Income inequality and status anxiety. GINI Discussion Paper 90. Growing Inequality Impacts, 1–46. https://gini-research.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/DP_90_Income-Inequality-and-Status-Anxiety.pdf

Rhodes-Purdy, Matthew, Rachel Navarre, and Stephen M. Utych. 2021. Populist psychology: economics, culture, and emotions. *The Journal of Politics* 83 (4): 1559-1572.

For reflection, debate, and discussion:

“The psychological/emotional approach to understanding populism is essential to understanding its appeal in the Global South.” Agree/Disagree.

12. (Nov. 30) **Populism: A Useful Concept?**

Your second reflection paper is due today!

Final discussion and review

The Essay

For Undergraduates:

Write a paper of 8-9 pages on one of the topics listed below. This essay must draw from a wide cross section of the required readings (at least 8 of the required readings) for this course. It is a “think” piece, not a research paper and has been designed for the purpose of allowing you to demonstrate your analytical and writing skills and to show knowledge of course material. Your paper must provide in-depth discussions of the specific cases dealt with in this course to demonstrate arguments. In addition to required readings, your essay should also draw material from lectures and classroom debate where appropriate.

For Graduate Students

Graduate students are expected to write a “think” piece of 15-16 pages, drawing from lectures, class discussions and debates, and required, and recommended readings (MA students) and from required, recommended and further readings for Ph.D. students. General guideline for Ph.D. students: minimum of 8 references from required readings, 4 from recommended readings, and 4 from further readings. For MA students: 4 from required readings, 4 from recommended readings.

Paper Topics

1. “Populism in the Global South is so fundamentally different from populism in the Global North that we should not be using the same term to refer to such disparate phenomena.” Discuss. Discuss at least of three of the case studies dealt with in this course.
2. Does the critique that populism as inherently anti-democratic offer important, relevant or useful insights into the root causes and nature of populism? Include at least three of the course case studies in your answer.
3. “Populism is basically irrational, driven by base emotions. The ‘solution’ therefore is to provide citizens with accurate and truthful information.” Discuss. Include at least three of the case studies in your answer.

4. “Right-wing Global South populism is more destructive to democracy than Global South left populism.” Discuss. Discuss all four cases in your essay.

5. “While there has been considerable debate about the meaning of the term ‘populism,’ the term is useful in identifying important similarities among leaders and movements.” Discuss with reference to the four cases dealt with in this course.