

## Master seminar

### How to Study the International Effects of Populism

#### Syllabus

#### Summary

One of the most remarkable political developments of the past decades has been the global rise of populism and the formation of populist governments in countries ranging from Poland to the Philippines, from India to Hungary, from Brazil to Italy. While comparative politics and political theory have long studied the phenomenon of populism at the domestic level, the international implications and effects of populism have long remained unexplored. Over the past few years, however, a burgeoning strand of literature has emerged, which addresses the impact of populism on foreign policy and international politics. This seminar will introduce students into fundamental conceptual debates on populism, before moving on to study the international consequences of this phenomenon. The seminar will in particular focus on the question of how to study such consequences. The highlight of the course will be a two-day international workshop that will bring together the students with some of the leading experts in the field of research on populism and foreign policy. Students will learn to engage in academic conversations and will have the opportunity to discuss their own research designs with the experts invited. The seminar will therefore convey a range of academic skills, besides allowing students to broaden their knowledge of populism and international politics in different world regions.

#### Office Hours

My office hours take place online over Zoom. You can find the link to the booking tool Calendly on my profile page on the website of the University.

#### Requirements

This is a Masters seminar open only to students at the MA level. The entire seminar will take place in English. The seminar is basically structured in three phases:

- a) the first weeks are focused on learning about existing research in the field. The first sessions are therefore quite literature-intensive. Students are required to read and process a rather substantial amount of literature in a few weeks. During these initial weeks, classes will consist of in-depth discussions of the literature, and all students are expected to be prepared to reply to questions on the required readings.
- b) the second phase of the seminar will be devoted to the development of research designs on the part of the students. They will work in small groups and discuss their research designs with Prof. Destradi at her office hours. The outcome of this phase will be posters to be presented at the workshop in early July.
- c) the third part of the seminar – and its highlight – will be the international workshop that will take place in Freiburg on 6-7 July 2023. Students will be required to read at least five of the papers submitted by the workshop participants and to prepare questions on them so as to participate in discussions at the

workshop. Moreover, they will present their posters with the research designs and get their feedback from the scholars invited to the workshop.

Depending on your curriculum, you have the following requirements (I am copying in the rules in German so as to avoid confusion with translations; please feel free to contact me if you need information on this in English). Students who need to write a term paper (Hausarbeit) are welcome to use the research design developed during the seminar. Since the research designs will be developed by small groups, single students should try to carve out one aspect or case study in the broader research design their group develops. Each term paper will need to be an individual effort by one student, but it is not a problem if, for example, the broad theoretical framework is similar to the one adopted by the other members of the small group in their term papers.

### Leistungsanforderungen in Haupt- und Masterseminaren

Studiengang	Leistungsanforderungen		ECTS-Punkte
B.A. (HF) (PO 2011)	Prüfungsleistung	Hausarbeit (6000-7500 Wörter)	8 ECTS
	Studienleistung	Mündliche Prüfung (20 Min.) und Essay (1500-1800 Wörter)	
B.A. (HF) (PO 2022)	Prüfungsleistung	Hausarbeit (6000-7500 Wörter) oder Mündliche Prüfung (20 Min.)	8 ECTS
B.A. Angewandte Politikwissenschaft	Mündliche Prüfung (20 Min.) und Essay (Der Essay ist eine Studienleistung. Die Prüfungsleistung und damit entscheidend für die Note ist allein die mündliche Prüfung.)		8 ECTS
M.A. (PO 2013)	Besuch als Hauptseminar	Hausarbeit (6000-7500 Wörter)	8 ECTS
	Besuch als Masterseminar	Hausarbeit (6000-7500 Wörter) und Essay (1500-1800 Wörter)	10 ECTS
M.A. (PO 2022)	Besuch als Hauptseminar	Hausarbeit (6000-7500 Wörter) oder Mündliche Prüfung (20 Min.)	8 ECTS
	Besuch als Masterseminar	Hausarbeit (6000-7500 Wörter) und Essay (1500-1800 Wörter)	10 ECTS
M.A. Angewandte Politikwissenschaft	Hausarbeit (6000-7500 Wörter)		8 ECTS
M.Ed.	Hausarbeit (4500-6000 Wörter)		6 ECTS
Zwei-Fach-B.A. (PO 2015)	Hausarbeit (6000-7500 Wörter)		8 ECTS
Zwei-Fach-B.A. (PO 2022)	Mündliche Prüfung (20 Min.)		8 ECTS
M.Ed. Erweiterungsfach (PO 2021)	6 ECTS	Hausarbeit (4500-6000 Wörter)	6 ECTS
	8 ECTS	Hausarbeit (6000-7500 Wörter)	8 ECTS
M.Ed. Erweiterungsfach (PO 2022)	6 ECTS	Hausarbeit (4500-6000 Wörter)	6 ECTS
	8 ECTS	Mündliche Prüfung (20 Min.)	8 ECTS

The deadline for the submission of term papers is **15 September 2023**. If you fail to submit your paper by that date, I will need to grade it with 5 (not submitted). In that case, you are allowed to submit the paper in the following semester without the need to attend the course again. Please inform me via email in case you choose this option. Please submit your papers via email to [Sandra.destradi@politik.uni-freiburg.de](mailto:Sandra.destradi@politik.uni-freiburg.de).

All term papers MUST include the following two forms:

<http://www.politik.uni-freiburg.de/medien/pdf/studium/deckblatt-hausarbeit-essay-neu.pdf>

<https://www.politik.uni-freiburg.de/medien/pdf/studium/Eidesstattliche%20Erkla308rung%20neu%20deutsch.pdf>

Please note that **failure to include the forms equals to not submitted (grade 5)**. The forms are an essential part of the paper.

Please use **Harvard style in-text citations**, e.g. Author (year: page). Please use the following formatting: **Times New Roman 12 points or Arial 11 points; 1,5-spaced; margins of 2 cm on all sides**.

Structure of the Seminar		
Session	Date	Topic
1	Tue 18 April 16:15-17:45	<p><b>Introduction and Definitions of Populism</b></p> <p><u>Required readings:</u></p> <p>Mudde, Cas (2004). The Populist Zeitgeist, <i>Government and Opposition</i> 39(4): 541-563. (the most widespread approach to populism nowadays)</p> <p>Rovira Kaltwasser, Cristóbal, Paul Taggart, Paulina Ochoa Espejo und Pierre Ostiguy (2017). Populism: An Overview of the Concept and the State of the Art, in: Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, Paul Taggart, Paulina Ochoa Espejo und Pierre Ostiguy (Hrsg.), <i>The Oxford Handbook of Populism</i>. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1-24. (only read until p. 13). (overview of the historical development of populism)</p> <p>Hawkins, Kirk A. and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser (2019). Introduction: The Ideational Approach, in: Kirk A. Hawkins, Ryan E. Carlin, Levente Littvay, and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser (Hrsg.), <i>The Ideational Approach to Populism: Concept, Theory, and Analysis</i>. London und New York: Routledge, 1-24. (overview of explanations for the success of populists)</p> <p>Moffitt, Benjamin und Simon Tormey (2014). Rethinking Populism: Politics, Mediatisation and Political Style, <i>Political Studies</i> 62(2): 381-397. (another summary of existing approaches and a definition of populism as a style)</p> <p><u>Additional readings:</u></p> <p>Aslanidis, Paris (2015). Is Populism an Ideology? A Refutation and a New Perspective, <i>Political Studies</i> 64(1): 88-104. (a critique of the ideational approach)</p> <p>Hawkins, Kirk A. (2009). Is Chávez Populist? Measuring Populist Discourse in Comparative Perspective, <i>Comparative Political Studies</i> 42(8): 1040-1067. (a useful description of how to empirically assess populism by analysing speeches of populist leaders)</p> <p>Laclau, Ernesto (2005). <i>On Populist Reason</i>. London und New York: Verso, 2-30 und 67-124. (classic statement of populism as a discourse/political logic).</p> <p>Weyland, Kurt (2001). Clarifying a Contested Concept: Populism in the Study of Latin American Politics, <i>Comparative Politics</i> 34(1): 1-22. (the classic statement of the strategic approach)</p>
2	Tue 25 April	<b>Populism and Foreign Policy</b>

	16:15- 17:45	<p><u>Required readings:</u></p> <p>Destradi, Sandra, David Cadier, and Johannes Plagemann (2021). Populism and Foreign Policy: A Research Agenda (Introduction), <i>Comparative European Politics</i> 19(6): 663-682. (article that develops hypotheses on the impact of populism on foreign policy, taking into account various understandings of populism).</p> <p>Verbeek, Bertjan und Andrej Zaslove (2017). Populism and Foreign Policy, in: Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, Paul Taggart, Paulina Ochoa Espejo und Pierre Ostiguy (Hrsg.), <i>The Oxford Handbook of Populism</i>. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 384-405. (this chapter discusses variations in populist parties' foreign policy preferences)</p> <p>Wehner, Leslie E. and Cameron G. Thies (2021). The Nexus of Populism and Foreign Policy: The Case of Latin America, <i>International Relations</i> 35(2): 320-340. (this article combines the study of populist foreign policy with a role-theoretical framework, and applies it to the cases of Argentina and Venezuela).</p> <p><u>Additional readings:</u></p> <p>Chryssogelos, Angelos (2017). Populism in Foreign Policy, in: <i>Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics</i>, available at: <a href="http://politics.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-467">http://politics.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-467</a> (accessed 28 April 2018).</p> <p>Destradi, Sandra und Johannes Plagemann (2019). Populism and International Relations: (Un) predictability, Personalisation, and the Reinforcement of Existing Trends in World Politics, <i>Review of International Studies</i> 45(5): 711-730. (this article compares four populist governments in the Global South, building upon the plausibility probe in Plagemann/Destradi 2019)</p> <p>Liang, Christina Schori (2007). Europe for the Europeans: The Foreign and Security Policy of the Populist Radical Right, in: Christina Schori Liang (Hrsg.), <i>Europe for the Europeans: The Foreign and Security Policy of the Populist Radical Right</i>. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1-32. (this was one of the first works to address the foreign policy of populists, with a focus on Europe)</p> <p>Plagemann, Johannes und Sandra Destradi (2019). Populism and Foreign Policy: The Case of India, <i>Foreign Policy Analysis</i> 15(2): 283-301. (in this piece, we developed our first hypotheses on populism and carried out a plausibility probe for the case of India)</p> <p>Wajner, Daniel F. (2022). The Populist Way Out: Why Contemporary Populist Leaders Seek Transnational Legitimation, <i>The British Journal of Politics and International Relations</i> 24(3): 416-436. (this article discusses the links between domestic and international legitimization strategies of populists)</p>
3	Tue May 16:15- 17:45	<p><b>Populist Communication and Populist Discourse in World Politics</b></p> <p><u>Required readings:</u></p> <p>Lacatus, Corina und Gustav Meibauer (2022). 'Saying It like It Is': Right-wing Populism, International Politics, and the Performance of Authenticity, <i>The British Journal of Politics and International Relations</i> 24(3): 437-457. (this article carries out a qualitative content analysis of Boris Johnson's and Donald Trump's political communication to assess the performance of 'authenticity' in their political communication with reference to international issues)</p>

		<p>Taş, Hakkı (2022). Continuity through Change: Populism and Foreign Policy in Turkey, <i>Third World Quarterly</i> 43(12): 2869-2887.          (this article takes a discourse-theoretical approach to study the 'chamaleonic' qualities of populism in Turkey)</p> <p>Wojczewski, Thorsten (2020). Populism, Hindu Nationalism, and Foreign Policy in India: The Politics of Representing "the People", <i>International Studies Review</i> 22(3): 396-422.          (this article takes a poststructuralist approach to study how the people vs. elite antagonism is related to foreign policy issues in India)</p> <p><u>Additional readings:</u></p> <p>Holliday, Shabnam J. (2020). Populism, the International and Methodological Nationalism: Global Order and the Iran–Israel Nexus, <i>Political Studies</i> 68(1): 3-19.          (this interesting analysis of Iran focuses on the discursive construction of the 'other' in populism)</p> <p>Homolar, Alexandra und Georg Löfflmann (2021). Populism and the Affective Politics of Humiliation Narratives, <i>Global Studies Quarterly</i> 1(1),  <a href="https://doi.org/10.1093/isagsq/ksab002">https://doi.org/10.1093/isagsq/ksab002</a>.          (this article focuses on emotions, and especially on the notion of humiliation, in populists' mobilization efforts, providing examples from the US, UK, and France)</p> <p>Löfflmann, Georg (2022). 'Enemies of the people': Donald Trump and the security imaginary of America First, <i>The British Journal of Politics and International Relations</i> 24(3): 543-560.          (this piece analyzes Trumps' populist discourse, focusing on the construction of links between domestic and external 'others')</p> <p>Wojczewski, Thorsten (2020). 'Enemies of the People': Populism and the Politics of (In) security, <i>European Journal of International Security</i> 5(1): 5-24.          (this article takes a poststructuralist approach to study populism and securitization under Trump)</p>
4	Tue May 9  16:15-17:45	<p><b>Processes of Foreign Policy Making, Personalization, and the Characteristics of Populist Leaders</b></p> <p><u>Required readings:</u></p> <p>Drezner, Daniel W. (2019). Present at the Destruction: The Trump Administration and the Foreign Policy Bureaucracy, <i>The Journal of Politics</i> 81(2): 723-730.          (this piece describes how a populist government weakened the traditional foreign policy 'elite').</p> <p>Özdamar, Özgür and Erdem Ceydilek (2020). European Populist Radical Right Leaders' Foreign Policy Beliefs: An Operational Code Analysis, <i>European Journal of International Relations</i> 26(1): 137-162.          (this article applies operational code analysis to the study of populist leaders)</p> <p>Thiers, Consuelo and Leslie E. Wehner (2022). The Personality Traits of Populist Leaders and their Foreign Policies: Hugo Chávez and Donald Trump, <i>International Studies Quarterly</i> 66(1): sqab083.          (this article applies leadership trait analysis to study of the foreign policies of populists)</p> <p><u>Additional readings:</u></p>

		<p>Fouquet, Stephan and Klaus Brummer (2023). Profiling the Personality of Populist Foreign Policy Makers: A Leadership Trait Analysis, <i>Journal of International Relations and Development</i> 26(1): 1-29. (this article applies leadership trait analysis to eight populist leaders to find out if there are some peculiarities in populist leaders' personalities)</p> <p>Friedrichs, Gordon M. (2022). Populist Minds Think Alike? National Identity Conceptions and Foreign Policy Preferences of Populist Leaders, <i>Foreign Policy Analysis</i> 18(2): orac004.</p> <p>Lequesne, Christian (2021). Populist Governments and Career Diplomats in the EU: The Challenge of Political Capture, <i>Comparative European Politics</i> 19: 779-795. (this article compares different patterns of centralization of decision making and marginalization of foreign ministries under populist governments)</p>
5	<p>Tue 13 June 16:15-17:45</p>	<p><b>First Discussion of Research Questions and Reflections on the Broader Impact of Populism on International Politics</b></p> <p><u>Required readings:</u> Spandler, Kilian and Frederik Söderbaum (forthcoming). Populist (de)legitimation of International Organizations, <i>International Affairs</i> 99(3), doi: 10.1093/ia/iaad048.</p> <p><u>Additional readings:</u> Voeten, Erik (2020). Populism and Backlashes against International Courts, <i>Perspectives on Politics</i> 18(2): 407-422.</p>

Part 2: Workshop		
Sitzung	Datum	Thema
6-8	<p>Thu 6 July 13:00-18:00</p>	<b>WORKSHOP</b>
9-12	<p>Fri 7 July 9:00-15:00</p>	<b>WORKSHOP</b>
13	<p>Tue 11 July 16:15-17:45</p>	<p><b>Final session</b></p> <p>Discussion: what have we learned? Ideas for improvement of research designs? Areas for further research on the international implications of populism?</p>