

# Advanced study course: Globalisation, Populism and the Radical Right in Europe

## About the course

subject	Forvaltning / Politik og Administration / International Public Administration and Politics
activitytype	master course
Teaching language	English
Registration	<p>Tilmelding sker via <a href="#">stads selvbetjening</a> indenfor annonceret tilmeldingsperiode, som du kan se på <a href="#">Studieadministrationens hjemmeside</a></p> <p>Når du tilmelder dig kurset, skal du være opmærksom på, om der er sammenfald i tidspunktet for kursusafholdelse og eksamen med andre kurser, du har valgt. Uddannelsesplanlægningen tager udgangspunkt i, at det er muligt at gennemføre et anbefalet studieforløb uden overlap. Men omkring valgfrie elementer og studieplaner som går ud over de anbefalede studieforløb, kan der forekomme overlap, alt efter hvilke kurser du vælger.</p> <p>Registration is happening through <a href="#">stads selvbetjening</a> within the announced registration period, as you can see on the <a href="#">Studyadministration homepage</a>.</p> <p>When registering for courses, please be aware of the potential conflicts between courses or exam dates on courses. The planning of course activities at Roskilde University is based on the recommended study programs which do not overlap. However, if you choose optional courses and/or study plans that goes beyond the recommended study programs, an overlap of lectures or exam dates may occur depending on which courses you choose.</p>
Learning outcomes/ Assessment criteria	<p>Knowledge</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>● Specialised knowledge of a particular topic within one of the three themes of Global Studies.</li><li>● Advanced knowledge of academic and methodological debates relating to the topic.</li></ul> <p>Skills</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>● Skills in selecting and critically applying relevant theories and methods.</li><li>● Skills in communicating and discussing theories and empirical results.</li></ul> <p>Competencies</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>● Competency to take responsibility for and reflect on one's own learning and that of colleagues by actively participating in group work, presentations and discussions.</li><li>● Competency to critically, independently and creatively select and utilise academic literature that is relevant to a particular issue.</li></ul>
Overall content	<p>The object of the advanced study course is to provide students with advanced knowledge in a specific research area within one of the three themes of Global Studies: Global Politics, Global Sociology or Global Political Economy. At least two advanced study seminars are offered each semester. The range of courses will change each semester, within the following topics:</p> <p>Global Politics:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>● International state institutions and global governance</li><li>● Regionalisation and regional integration in international politics</li><li>● International security</li><li>● International law and human rights</li></ul> <p>Global Sociology:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>● International mobility and information flow</li><li>● International political movements and social change</li><li>● International civil society, law and defence</li><li>● Contentious identities and new global players</li></ul> <p>Global Political Economy: - Work and globalisation - Natural resources and geopolitics - Trade, investment and global production networks - International financial economics</p>
Detailed description of content	<p>In recent decades, various radical right and populist movements have emerged in Europe, making their impact felt in a popular backlash against European integration (eg. Brexit); globalisation and immigration; a politicization of political and cultural identities (eg new rules on wearing of clothing with religious significance in public spaces); and the success of political parties such as the French National Front, Golden Dawn in Greece, United Kingdom Independence Party in Britain, the Danish</p>

People's Party and the Law and Justice Party in Poland. This course examines the changing nature and fortunes of populist and radical right movements in Europe in the context of globalization and particularly since the financial crisis. It pays particular attention to the role of globalization in theoretical accounts of the evolution of populist and radical right movements; the role of anti-globalisation, Eurosceptical and anti-immigration discourses in nationalist ideology; changing opportunity structures for movements and parties both at home and abroad; collaboration and transnational learning between movements and parties in different parts of Europe (and beyond); the responses of national and international bodies and courts in the regulation of permissible scope of the speech and activities of populist and radical right movements.

Teaching and working methods	The course consists of 12 lectures, involving teacher-led discussions of core texts and related issues, group work, analysis of texts, pictures and videos and student-led debates.
Expected work effort (ECTS-declaration)	Classroom-based teaching (24 hours), preparation for lectures (184 hours), evaluation and feedback (2 hour), preparation and attendance at examination (60 hours) = 270 hours
Course material and Reading list	The course literature will be in English, drawing on relevant book chapters and journal articles rather than a specific textbook.
Form of examination	Individual oral examination on the basis of the syllabus. The oral examination has a total duration of 60 minutes, divided between 30 minutes of preparation time (including time to draw a question) and approximately 30 minutes for the oral examination, including assessment. The course teacher sets 8-15 examination questions which in sum cover the syllabus. The student draws two random questions at the start of the examination. These two questions form the starting-point for the examination, in which the student, after preparation time, presents and discusses the questions on the basis of the syllabus.  In the examination, questions may be asked relating to any part of the entire course syllabus. All examination aids are permitted in the preparation room. In the examination room, only notes written during the preparation time are permitted. The course teacher may however permit particular examination aids to be present in the examination room, such as prepared hand-outs or the like.
Form of re-examination	Re-examination takes the same form as the ordinary examination.
Examination type	Individual examination
Exam aids	all
Assessment	7-point grading scale
Moderation	Internal (i.e. course lecturer and an internal examiner assess)
Evaluation- and feedback forms	The course will be evaluated using a midways dialogical evaluation and a questionnaire completed at the end of the course. Student feedback will be given throughout the course in response to student participation in discussions and debates, following submission of written assignments and following the oral examination.
Responsible for the activity	Angela Bourne ( <a href="mailto:bourne@ruc.dk">bourne@ruc.dk</a> )
teacher	Allan Dreyer Hansen ( <a href="mailto:adh@ruc.dk">adh@ruc.dk</a> ) Angela Bourne ( <a href="mailto:bourne@ruc.dk">bourne@ruc.dk</a> ) Flemming Juul Christiansen ( <a href="mailto:fjc@ruc.dk">fjc@ruc.dk</a> )
STADS stamdata	master course workload : 10 ECTS                      activitycode : U41216 exam form : Mundtlig (ua)              grading : 7-point grading scale    censorship : Internal censor

Course days:

Hold: 1

## Advanced study course: Globalisation, Populism and the Radical Right in Europe, lecture 1 (FORV, IPAP, PA)

time 12-02-2019 08:15 til  
12-02-2019 10:00

forberedelsesnorm ikke valgt

forberedelsesnorm ikke valgt  
D-VIP

location 23.1-009 - teori (65)

Content

1. Defining 'populism' and the 'radical right' (Angela Bourne and Allan Dreyer Hansen)  
This lecture introduces debates about the meaning of 'populism', including disagreement about whether populism is best conceived as 'an ideology', a 'strategy', a 'discourse', a 'communication style' or something else. We also discuss how 'radical right populists' might be distinguished from other types of populists and how some distinguish populists from 'extremists'. We discuss the question of the significance of so-called 'populist turn' in European politics and society and the significance of globalization themes (eg. immigration, austerity, multiculturalism) in populist programmes and discourse

Reading list

Mudde, Cas (2004). 'The Populist Zeitgeist', *Government and Opposition*, 39, 542–63.

Moffitt, Ben (2016) Ch. 2 'The Problems with Populism' in *The Global Rise of Populism: Performance, Political Style and Representation* Stanford University Press.

Pappas, Takis S. (2016) 'Distinguishing liberal democracy's challengers', *Journal of Democracy*, 27:4, 22-35.

Muller, J-M (2016) Ch 1: 'What Populists Say' in *What is Populism?*

Paul Taggart (2004) Populism and representative politics in contemporary Europe, *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 9:3, 269-288

For more details see Moodle.

## Advanced study course: Globalisation, Populism and the Radical Right in Europe, lecture 2 (FORV, IPAP, PA)

time 19-02-2019 08:15 til  
19-02-2019 10:00

forberedelsesnorm ikke valgt

forberedelsesnorm ikke valgt  
D-VIP

location 23.1-009 - teori (65)

Content

1. Right vs. Left Populism (Allan Dreyer Hansen)  
2. Right vs. Left Populism (Allan Dreyer Hansen)

In the (northern) European debate, populism has largely been equated with more or less radical right wing, nationalist movements and parties. However, in southern Europe as well as in both North and Latin America, populism is a much broader phenomenon. However, how exactly should a left – right divide within populism be understood, and does it matter for the normative evaluation of populism?

## Reading list

Mudde, Cas, and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser. 'Exclusionary vs. Inclusionary Populism: Comparing Contemporary Europe and Latin America'. *Government and Opposition*, April 2013. <https://doi-org.ep.fjernadgang.kb.dk/10.1017/gov.2012.11>.

Judis, John B. *The Populist Explosion: How the Great Recession Transformed American and European Politics*. New York, NY: Columbia Global Reports, 2016.

Mouffe, Chantal. *For a Left Populism*. London; Brooklyn, NY: Verso, 2018.

Kioupkiolis, Alexandros. 'Podemos: The Ambiguous Promises of Left-Wing Populism in Contemporary Spain'. *Journal of Political Ideologies* 21, no. 2 (3 May 2016): 99-120.

For more detail see moodle.

## Advanced study course: Globalisation, Populism and the Radical Right in Europe, lecture 3 (FORV, IPAP, PA)

time 26-02-2019 08:15 til  
26-02-2019 10:00

forberedelsesnorm 3.5 timer

forberedelsesnorm ikke valgt  
D-VIP

location 23.1-009 - teori (65)

### Content

1. Globalization and explanations for success of populism (Angela Bourne)  
What are so-called 'supply side' and 'demand side' factors that may account for the successes of radical right wing populist parties and movements? What role do global processes play? Are 'losers' of economic modernization and globalization more likely to support populist leaders? How convincing is the 'cultural backlash' thesis?

### Reading list

Rovira Kaltwasser, Cristóbal (2015) 'Explaining the emergence of populism in Europe and the Americas' in de la Torre, C (ed) *The Promise and Perils of Populism: A Global Perspective* .

Kriesi, H (2014), 'The Populist challenge', *West European Politics*, 37:2, 361-378

Norris, Pippa and Ingelhart, Ronald (2019) *Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit and authoritarian populism*, Ch 2 'The Cultural Backlash theory': For more details see moodle

Eatwell, Roger 'Ten theories of the extreme right' in Mudde, C (2016) *The Populist Radical Right: A Reader* (available at RUC <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/kbdk/reader.action?docID=4710543>)

## Advanced study course: Globalisation, Populism and the Radical Right in Europe, lecture 4 (FORV, IPAP, PA)

time 05-03-2019 08:15 til  
05-03-2019 10:00

forberedelsesnorm ikke valgt

forberedelsesnorm ikke valgt  
D-VIP

location 23.1-009 - teori (65)

### Content

1. Populism as 'anti-globalization' (Allan Dreyer Hansen) Many commentators have noted how globalization plays a role in explaining the 'populist explosion'. However, the links between globalization and populism are far from unambiguous: is populism anti-globalization plain and simple, or is globalization rather a part of the complex context for the appearance of populism?

### Reading list

Peters, Michael A. 'The End of Neoliberal Globalisation and the Rise of Authoritarian Populism'. *Educational Philosophy and Theory* 50, no. 4 (21 March 2018): 323-25.

Mouffe, Chantal. 'The "End of Politics" & the Challenge of Right-Wing Populism'. In *Populism and the Mirror of Democracy*. London: Verso, 2005.

Jonquières, Guy de. 'The World Turned Upside down: The Decline of the Rules-Based International System and the Rise of Authoritarian Nationalism'. *International Politics* 54, no. 5 (1 September 2017): 552–60.

Cannon, Barry. *Hugo Chávez and the Bolivarian Revolution: Populism and Democracy in a Globalised Age*. Oxford University Press, 2013.

Eskow, Richard. "'Open Borders": A Gimmick, Not a Solution'. *Bernie Sanders*, 5 August 2015. <https://berniesanders.com/open-borders-a-gimmick-not-a-solution/>.

'Immigration-Reform-Trump.Pdf'. Accessed 18 January 2019. <https://assets.donaldjtrump.com/Immigration-Reform-Trump.pdf>.

## Advanced study course: Globalisation, Populism and the Radical Right in Europe, lecture 5 (FORV, IPAP, PA)

time 12-03-2019 08:15 til  
12-03-2019 10:00

forberedelsesnorm ikke valgt

forberedelsesnorm ikke valgt  
D-VIP

location 23.1-009 - teori (65)

Content

### 1. Populism as a threat to democracy? (Allan Dreyer Hansen)

Is populism a threat to democracy, or is it rather the revitalization of popular rule? This is undoubtedly the normative question underlying almost all the debate on populism. To liberals the anti-institutionalism of populism, its demand for direct popular rule, is a matter of strong concern. However, viewed from the republican tradition things look quite different.

Reading list

Mudde, Cas, and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser. 'Populism and (Liberal) Democracy: A Framework for Analysis'. In *Populism in Europe and the Americas*, 1–26, 2012.

Hansen, Allan Dreyer: "Populism, the popular and democracy". Org: "Populismo, lo popular y la democracia", forthcoming

Laermans, Rudi. 'On Populist Politics and Parliamentary Paralysis: An Interview with Ernesto Laclau'. *Open Cahier on Art and the Public Domain*, no. 20 (2010): 70–83.

Canovan, Margaret. 'The People', 12 June 2008. <http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com.ep.fjernadgang.kb.dk/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199548439.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199548439-e-19>.

## Advanced study course: Globalisation, Populism and the Radical Right in Europe, lecture 6 (FORV, IPAP, PA)

time 19-03-2019 08:15 til  
19-03-2019 10:00

forberedelsesnorm ikke valgt

forberedelsesnorm ikke valgt  
D-VIP

location 23.1-009 - teori (65)

Content

### 1. Response to populism at home and abroad (Angela Bourne)

How should liberal democratic states respond to populist movements, if at all? Should they use repressive measures that prohibit certain forms of controversial behaviour or speech, or address underlying grievances? Is the international arena - especially the EU, an effective and legitimate governance arena to address what some have described as 'democratic backsliding' in Europe

## Reading list

Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser & Paul Taggart (2016) Dealing with populists in government: a framework for analysis, *Democratization*, 23:2, 201-220,

Malkopoulou, Anthoula and Norman, Ludvig (2018) Three Models of Democratic Self-Defence: Militant Democracy and Its Alternatives, *Political Studies*, 66:2, 442-458

Ulrich Sedelmeier (2017) Political safeguards against democratic backsliding in the EU: the limits of material sanctions and the scope of social pressure, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 24:3, 337-351.

For more details see Moodle

For more details see Moodle

## Advanced study course: Globalisation, Populism and the Radical Right in Europe, lecture 7 (FORV, IPAP, PA)

time 26-03-2019 08:15 til  
26-03-2019 10:00

forberedelsesnorm ikke valgt

forberedelsesnorm ikke valgt  
D-VIP

location 23.1-009 - teori (65)

### Content

#### 1. Populism and global governance (Angela Bourne)

How has globalization, European integration and the 'war on terror' shaped foreign policy goals of radical right populist parties in Europe? Does populism explain the Brexit vote in Europe? Can radical right populist parties and movements be considered transnational actors, despite their anti-globalization stance?

### Reading list

Schori Liang, Christina (2007) 'Europe for the Europeans' (ch 1) in Schori Liang (ed) *The Foreign and Security Policy of the Populist Radical Right*, Routledge.

Zúquete, José Pedro (2015) 'The new frontlines of right-wing nationalism', *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 20:1, p. 69-85

Norris, Pippa and Ingelhart, Ronald (2019) *Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit and authoritarian populism*, Ch 11 'Brexit', 368-408.

Verbeek, Bertjan and Andrej Zaslove (2017) 'Populism and Foreign Policy' in Rovira Kaltwasser et al (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Populism*

Calhoun, C (2017) *Populism, Nationalism and Brexit*, in Outhwaite, W (ed) *Brexit: Sociological responses*

## Advanced study course: Globalisation, Populism and the Radical Right in Europe, lecture 8 (FORV, IPAP, PA)

time 02-04-2019 08:15 til  
02-04-2019 10:00

forberedelsesnorm ikke valgt

forberedelsesnorm ikke valgt  
D-VIP

location 23.1-009 - teori (65)

### Content

#### 1. Case study: France (Angela Bourne)

What explains the increasing success of the Front National/National Rally? Has it become more mainstream? How and why has the French National Front evolved to position itself as an anti-globalization, anti-immigrant and Eurosceptical party? To what extent has the FN been a paradigm of Radical Right Populism in Europe? How has this party model diffused transnationally? How does FN deal with issues of gender in its policy and practice.

## Reading list

Gilles Ivaldi (2016) A new course for the radical right? The Front National and 'de-demonisation' in Akkerman, T, de Lange, S and Roodijn M (eds) Radical Rightwing Populist parties in Wester Europe: Into the mainstream? Routledge.

Rydgren, J. (2005) 'Is extreme right-wing populism contagious? Explaining the emergence of a new party family', *European Journal of Political Research*, 44: 413-437.

Benviniste, Annie and Pingaud (2016) Far-Right Movements in France: The Principal Role of Front National and the Rise of Islamophobia in Gabriella Lazaridis, et al (eds) *The Rise of the Far Right in Europe : Populist Shifts and 'Othering'*, Palgrave Macmillan

Scrinzi, F (2017) Gender and women in the Front National discoure and policy: from 'mothers of the nation' to 'working mothers'? new formations: a journal of culture/theory/politics, 2017, Vol.91, pp.87-101.

For more details see moodle

## Advanced study course: Globalisation, Populism and the Radical Right in Europe, lecture 9 (FORV, IPAP, PA)

time 16-04-2019 08:15 til  
16-04-2019 10:00

forberedelsesnorm ikke valgt

forberedelsesnorm D-VIP ikke valgt

location 23.1-009 - teori (65)

### Content

#### 1. Case study: Denmark (Flemming Juul Christiansen)

In Denmark, the Danish People's Party has increased its support to become the second largest party in the 2015 election. The party has also gained policy influence and affected the other parties in the party system. What explains its voter support - education seems as an important structural factor - and how does the party combine influence seeking with radical policy positions on globalization, including skepticism towards Europeanization and non-Western immigration?

### Reading list

Rydgren, J. (2004). Explaining the emergence of radical right-wing populist parties: The case of Denmark. *West European Politics*, 27(3), 474-502. Only for 10 ECTS.

Stubager, R. (2010). The development of the education cleavage: Denmark as a critical case. *West European Politics*, 33(3), 505-533.

Christiansen, F. J. (2016). The Danish People's Party: combining cooperation and radical positions. In *Radical Right-wing Populist Parties in Western Europe* (pp. 112-130).

## Advanced study course: Globalisation, Populism and the Radical Right in Europe, lecture 10 (FORV, IPAP, PA)

time 23-04-2019 08:15 til  
23-04-2019 10:00

forberedelsesnorm ikke valgt

forberedelsesnorm D-VIP ikke valgt

location 23.1-009 - teori (65)

### Content

#### 1. Case Study: Hungary

### Reading list

Batory, Agnes (2016) Populists in government? Hungary's "system of national cooperation", *Democratization*, 23:2, 283-303.

For more details see Moodle

## Advanced study course: Globalisation, Populism and the Radical Right in Europe, lecture 11 (FORV, IPAP, PA)

time 30-04-2019 08:15 til  
30-04-2019 10:00

forberedelsesnorm 3.5 timer

forberedelsesnorm ikke valgt  
D-VIP

location 23.1-009 - teori (65)

Teacher Angela Bourne ( bourne@ruc.dk )

Content

1. Case study: Italy (Angela Bourne)  
What makes Italy such a 'strong and enduring market for populism'? What explains the success of La Legal and the 5 Star Movement? How can we classify the 5 Star Movement? Is it a party of the right, left or post-ideological? What can the Italian case tell us about the populists in government? Does the EU set limits on what a populist government can achieve?

Reading list

Bobba, G and McDonnel, Duncan (2014) Italy: A Strong and Enduring Market for Populism in Kriesi and Pappas (eds) European populism in the shadow of the great recession, ECPR press, 163-79.

Fabio Bordignon & Luigi Ceccarini (2015) The Five-Star Movement: a hybrid actor in the net of state institutions, Journal of Modern Italian Studies, 20:4, 454-473,

Bertjan Verbeek & Andrej Zaslove (2016) Italy: a case of mutating populism?, Democratization, 23:2, 304-323

Zaslove, A (2011) 'Introduction: The Lega Nord and Radical Right Populism in The Reinvention of the European Radical Right: Populism, Regionalism and the Italian Lega Nord.

## Advanced study course: Globalisation, Populism and the Radical Right in Europe, lecture 12 (FORV, IPAP, PA)

time 07-05-2019 08:15 til  
07-05-2019 12:00

forberedelsesnorm 3.5 timer

forberedelsesnorm ikke valgt  
D-VIP

location 23.1-009 - teori (65)

Teacher Allan Dreyer Hansen ( adh@ruc.dk )  
Angela Bourne ( bourne@ruc.dk )

Content

9.00-10.00 Summary and feedback for course (Allen Dreyer Hansen and Angela Bourne)  
10.00-12.00 Populism and European Elections: Roundtable with invited speakers.

## Exam

time 11-06-2019 08:15 til  
11-06-2019 19:00

forberedelsesnorm ikke valgt

forberedelsesnorm D-VIP ikke valgt

# Re-exam

time 20-08-2019 00:00 til  
20-08-2019 00:00

forberedelsesnorm ikke valgt

forberedelsesnorm D-VIP ikke valgt

STADS master course

stamdata workload : 10 ECTS

exam form : Mundtlig (ua)

activitycode : U41216

grading : 7-point grading scale

mentorship : Internal mentor