PO8059: Political Illiberalism
Hillary Term 2020-21
Tuesday 12:00-14:00

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1 Module Description

With the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the ending of the Cold War, the future for liberal democracy seemed as bright as ever. The spread of democratic governance, free-market capitalism, and respect for human rights during this era seemed to be propelling humanity toward an "end of history." Liberal democracy seemed to be the only game in town. The successes of illiberal political leaders in recent years would have us think twice about the inevitable dominance of liberal democracy over other more authoritarian forms of political organization.

This graduate seminar examines the threats facing contemporary liberal democracies by such illiberal political forces. We first review the theoretical foundations of liberalism and democratic governance. Next, we review contemporary views on the main threats to liberal democracy. What are the main sources of discontent with liberal democracy among citizens in advanced democracies? Has the success of liberalism created the seeds of its own destruction? We next move our attention to radical right-wing populism and the threats it poses to liberal democracy. Lastly, we will think about responses to these threats and what can be done to safeguard liberal democratic structures.

2 Module Requirements and Policies

2.1 Participation (20%)

Student participation in class discussion and debate on the readings is a central element of the seminar. Students are expected to have read all required readings and to have acquired detailed knowledge and developed informed critiques of the readings *prior to the class meeting*. This means active engagement in class discussion: listening to your peers' views and constructively engaging with them, while also demonstrating a clear understanding of the weekly readings. Students will be evaluated on the quality of their input in class discussion and debate—merely attending class is not a sufficient condition for achieving a passing participation mark. Seminar attendance is mandatory and absence may result in a lowered *overall* module grade if no medical certificate or similar documentation is provided.

2.2 Response Papers (30%)

Students will be required to submit two (2) response papers over the duration of the module. Response papers are not mere descriptions or summaries of the readings, but rather offer original insight and commentary on the weeks readings. An example of an effective response paper is one where the author offers a critical evaluation of the research design of a set of readings and provides suggestions for overcoming limitations and extending the research. Response papers must engage with the required readings

from the week, but may also include the suggested readings as well. Submitted response papers may be circulated in class to add to the discussion.

The required length of the response papers is between 600-900 words, double-spaced pages. The deadline for submission on Blackboard is by **5pm the day before class**. Late submissions will not be accepted. To ensure engagement over the entire module, you will not be permitted to submit two response papers in the final two weeks.

2.3 Critical Literature Review (50%)

Students will be required to submit an extended literature review on research relevant to a theme covered in the module. The objective of the critical literature review is not to simply summarize existing research. Rather, the purpose of the paper is to evaluate the student's ability to effectively review, synthesize and critically evaluate published research dealing with a specific aspect of populism and illiberal democracy. Students should provide an original, thorough and coherent discussion on the goals of the studies being covered, as well as a critical evaluation of the effectiveness of their respective approaches, analyses, and evidence. Effective papers will offer an informed discussion on which direction research should move given existing knowledge and limitations in the field.

Excellent examples of effective literature review essays can be found within the *Annual Review of Political Science* http://www.annualreviews.org/journal/polisci.

The required length of the critical literature review is approximately 3,000 words, double spaced pages. The deadline for submission on Blackboard is **5PM on Friday April 30th, 2021**. Five (5) points will be deducted for every day that a paper is late.

2.4 Written Work Submission Guidelines

- **Academic & Professional Ethics**: Please do not plagiarize. Academic dishonesty is a serious matter, with serious consequences that can result in receiving no credit for an assignment, a failing grade for the module, and even expulsion from the programme. It is never permissible to turn in any work that contains others' ideas without proper acknowledgment. It is your responsibility to make sure that your work meets the standard of academic honesty set forth in the College Calendar (see http://tcd-ie.libguides.com/plagiarism/calendar). Useful information is available at http://tcd-ie.libguides.com/plagiarism. If you are paraphrasing, cite the source. If you are quoting, use quotation marks and appropriate citation. Remember that academic integrity is a reflection of one's character. In addition, we strongly recommend that you visit http://www.plagiarism.org/ for more information on what *is* and *is not* plagiarism. Lastly, students are required to only submit "new work" in each module, which means work that has not been submitted previously in any other university module. Students who wish to use previously submitted work as part of a new project will need the approval of the lecturer.

- The Assignment Submission Form available from the Departmental website should be filled out and included as the first page of all your submissions.

- All written assignments are to be submitted through `turnitin` which is embedded in the `Blackboard` site of our module.

- All papers should be typeset in a 12 point font, using 1.5pt spacing. When in doubt follow usual practices for academic work, as exemplified by articles in major political science journals. Use a consistent reference style throughout the paper (author-year is preferred).

2.5 Syllabus Modification Rights

I reserve the right to reasonably alter the elements of the syllabus at any time. More often than not this will mean adjusting the reading list to keep pace with the course schedule, although I may add reading assignments as well.

3   Readings

The module readings are detailed in the module schedule below. All readings and other relevant materials are available in the module Dropbox folder found at XXXX.

4   Course Outline

Week 1	The Ideal of Liberal Democracy	p. X
Week 2	All Is Not Well: Challenges to Liberal Democracy	p. X
Week 3	The Rise of the Populists	p. X
Week 4	Assaulting Liberal Democracy	p. X
Week 5	Is Liberal Democracy Doomed?	p. X
30/4/21	*Critical literature review due, 5 PM*	

5   Course Schedule

Week 1. The Ideal of Liberal Democracy

Required readings:

- Dahl, R.A. (1998). *On Democracy.* Yale University Press. **Chapters 6-7; pp. 35-61.**

- Fukuyama, F. (1989). The End of History? *The National Interest*, (16) **pp. 3-18**.

- Deneen, P. J. (2019). *Why Liberalism Failed.* Yale University Press. **Chapters 1-2; pp. 21-63**.

Suggested readings:

- Schmitter, P. C., & Karl, T. L. (1991). What democracy is... and is not. *Journal of Democracy*, 2(3), 75-88.

Week 2. All Is Not Well: Challenges to Liberal Democracy

Required readings:

- Deneen, P. J. (2019). *Why Liberalism Failed.* Yale University Press. **Chapters 3-7; pp. 64-178**.

- Mounk, Y. (2018). *The People vs. Democracy: Why our Freedom is in Danger and How to Save It.* Harvard University Press. **Chapter 3; pp. 99-131**

- Diamond, L. (2015). Facing up to the democratic recession. *Journal of Democracy*, 26(1), **pp. 141-155**.

Suggested readings:

- Ikenberry, G. J. (2018). The end of liberal international order?. *International Affairs*, 94(1), 7-23.

- Zakaria, F. (1997). The rise of illiberal democracy. Foreign Affairs, 76, 22.

- Plattner, M. F. (2019). Illiberal Democracy and the Struggle on the Right. *Journal of Democracy*, 30(1), 5-19.

Week 3. The Rise of the Populists

Required readings:

- Mudde, C., & Kaltwasser, C. R. (2017). *Populism: A very short introduction.* Oxford University Press. **pp. 1-118**

- Bonikowski, B. (2019). Trump 's Populism: The Mobilization of Nationalist Cleavages and the Future of US Democracy. In K. Weyland & R. Madrid (Eds.) *When Democracy Trumps Populism: European and Latin American Lessons for the United States.* Cambridge University Press. **(Chapter 4; pp. 110-131)**.

Suggested readings:

- Akkerman, T., de Lange, S. L., & Rooduijn, M. (2016). Into the mainstream? A comparative analysis of the programmatic profiles of radical right-wing populist parties in Western Europe over time. In Radical Right-Wing Populist Parties in Western Europe (pp. 49-70). Routledge.

- Rooduijn, M., Van Der Brug, W., & De Lange, S. L. (2016). Expressing or fuelling discontent? The relationship between populist voting and political discontent. *Electoral Studies*, 43, 32-40.

- Dorn, D., Hanson, G., & Majlesi, K. (2020). Importing political polarization? The electoral consequences of rising trade exposure. *American Economic Review*, 110(10), 3139-83.

- Ferkiss, V. C. (1957). Populist influences on American fascism. *Western Political Quarterly*, 10(2), **pp. 350-373.**

- Golder, M. (2016). Far right parties in Europe. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 19, 477-497.

Week 4. Assaulting Liberal Democracy

Required readings:

- Levitsky, S., & Ziblatt, D. (2018). *How Democracies Die.* Crown Publishing Group. **Chapters 1, 2, 4-5; pp. 16-47, 63-98**

- Hawley, G. (2017). *Making Sense of the Alt-Right.* Columbia University Press.

- Beinart, P. (2017). The Rise of the Violent Left. *The Atlantic*, **pp. 1-9**

Suggested readings:

- Huber, R. A., & Schimpf, C. H. (2017). On the distinct effects of left-wing and right-wing populism on democratic quality. *Politics and Governance*, 5(4), 146-165.

- Halikiopoulou, D., Mock, S., & Vasilopoulou, S. (2013). The civic zeitgeist: nationalism and liberal values in the European radical right. nations and nationalism, 19(1), 107-127.

- Romarri, A. (2020) Do far-right mayors increase the probability of hate crimes? Evidence from Italy. *Working Paper*

Week 5. Is Liberal Democracy Doomed?

<u>Required readings:</u>

- Levitsky, S., & Ziblatt, D. (2018). *How Democracies Die.* Crown Publishing Group. **Chapters 8-9; pp. 144-187**

- Mounk, Y. (2018). *The People vs. Democracy: Why our Freedom is in Danger and How to Save It.* Harvard University Press. **Part 3; pp. 183-252**

- Madrid, R. L., & Weyland, K. Why US Democracy Will Survive Trump. **pp. 154-186**

<u>Suggested readings:</u>

- Van Spanje, J., & De Vreese, C. (2015). The good, the bad and the voter: The impact of hate speech prosecution of a politician on electoral support for his party. Party Politics, 21(1), 115-130.

- Van Spanje, J., & Weber, T. (2019). Does ostracism affect party support? Comparative lessons and experimental evidence. Party Politics, 25(6), 745-758.

- Hjorth, F. (n.d.) Establishment Responses to Populist Radical Right Challenges: The Politics of Moral Distancing. *Working Paper*