

Populist Trends on the world Stage: Contextualizing the Populist World Order

Md. Riyad Siddiquei¹

Abstract: *The ‘populist world order’ challenges globalization, international institutions and the ‘neoliberal world order’. It is based on the concept of “elite against the people’. It emphasizes nationalism, sovereignty and anti-establishment ideology. The source of undemocratic political system of a country is the unprogressive social system of that country. And the social system is formed depending on the culture of that country. The behavior of citizens and the political system complement each other. In the larger sense, the government and the people are each responsible in their respective capacities, which is a consideration within the criterion of fairness. This qualitative study examines the populist trends on the world stage. The populist government of Georgia Meloni is promoting nationalist and right-wing activities, which are creating divisions in society and eroding democratic values while promoting the hegemony of the populist world order. Poland’s government is flouting EU law and fundamental human rights through populist policies, which has a negative impact on the country’s international relations. Mexico emphasizes national sovereignty, wealth redistribution and social justice, and at the same time opposes the liberal world order. Victor Orban is attacking Hungary’s freedom of speech, judiciary and media freedom with his populist regime, pushing the country towards an undemocratic environment. In 2021, the democratic government was ousted by a military coup in Myanmar. In 2022, a large-scale crackdown was carried out to suppress the movement against the mandatory hijab law in Iran. Ahead of Russia’s 2024 Presidential election, opposition political parties have been severely banned. A major political crisis has arisen in Venezuela in 2024 with Presidential elections. The 2020 Presidential election in Belarus has been accused of massive rigging by opposition political parties. In Hungary, Victor Orban controls the media and the judiciary. In Mali, the military overthrew the interim government in 2021. In 2022, President Roch Marc Christian Kabore was ousted in a military coup in Burkina Faso. Therefore, this study highlights the populist trends on the world stage based on secondary data.*

Keywords: Populist trends, World stage, Populist world order.

¹ Independent Researcher, Ph.D. (Department of Government and Politics), Jahangirnagar University, Savar, Dhaka, E-mail: riyadjugp@gmail.com

Introduction

After the ‘neoliberal world order’, the ‘populist world order’ has emerged in the world. Especially, since 2019, it has been spreading its influence in the world. However, since 2008, it has started to challenge international institutions. It is a reflection of the backsliding of democracy in various countries. The spread of populism and undemocratic trends in various countries led to the emergence of a ‘populist world order’. For more than two decades, the tide of democracy in the world has gone backwards. Some countries in Asia, Africa, South America and Australia have seen a decline in democracy since 2006. Apart from this, some countries in Europe and North America are also being targeted. However, there is a difference in the level of democracy decline in some countries in Asia, Africa, South America and Australia, and some countries in Europe and North America. For example, there are populism, illiberal populism, autocracy, illiberal autocracy, and the distinction between left and right. Apart from this, the decline of democracy on the basis of ‘extreme nationalism’ and ‘religion’ can be observed in different countries. These identity politics are different in different countries according to their own culture. International relations scholars have long mentioned world order, which I realize here as: "the distribution of power and authority among the political actors on the global stage" (Falk, 1999, p. 29). Despite some progress in democracy after 2010, the structure of democracy was destroyed by a military coup in Myanmar after 2021. Since then there has been violence, political imprisonment and the electoral process has ended. Russia’s democratic decline has intensified under the rule of Vladimir Putin. A long-term autocratic regime has been established in Russia, with restrictions on the media, the elimination of opposition and changes to the constitution. The decline of democracy in Venezuela has accelerated under the regime of Nicolas Maduro. There has been rigging of elections, disruption of the balance of power and severe repression of opposition political parties. In 2020 and 2021, a military-led regime was installed in Mali through successive military coups. Two military coups in Burkina Faso in 2022 weakened democratic structures. The military coup threatened the democracy established after the 2014 popular uprising. Under Victor Orban’s government, the independence of the judiciary and the media have been eroded and executive power has been seized. The decline of democracy in Belarus has intensified under the rule of Aleksandr Lukashenko after the disputed 2020 presidential election. There has been widespread election rigging, and there has been repression of protests. Since 2006, the decline of democracy in Iran has deepened. Violent repression has continued to escalate in Iran, with repression of dissent, limited electoral competition, particularly during the 2009 Green Movement and 2022 protests

for Mahsa Amini. Other works insist ways in which populist leaders seek to highlight populist themes in foreign policy, provoking a sense of crisis, choosing outside disputes that their chosen perspective of "the people" versus "the other", and general derision for international law (Leslie, 2017; Hall, 2021)

For instance, some scholars have observed the role of populist parties inside coalition governments, identifying that even when they oppose with their allies on larger questions, populists do not cause the fall of the government over foreign policy issues (Verbeek and Zaslove, 2015; Coticchia and Davidson, 2018). While the current liberal world order is firmly formal, less formal rules can also offer the basis for order (Lascurettes, 2020). This study analyzes the populist trends on the world stage.

Methodology

This study used qualitative research methods, and the conclusions are based on data from secondary sources. I used a variety of sources. These sources included available diplomatic documents, reports, and statistics made by the governments. In addition, sources from the internet, books, journals, research reports, seminar reports, reviewing reports, and editorials from national or international dailies were used for the study. In order to draw a conclusion from this study, I state my position as follows: I look into the things that are populist trends on the world stage.

Theoretical Framework

Ivan Krastev argues that the populist wave is a reaction to the failure of liberal democracy to address economic and cultural challenges. Populism thrives in a context of frustration with traditional political elites, globalization and immigration. Populists seek to weaken international organizations and frameworks, promoting nationalism over multilateralism. This leads to a more fragmented global system, where states pursue bilateral or even isolationist policies instead of collective international solutions. The rise of populism is not only economic but also cultural. Populist movements often emphasize a return to national identity, traditional values, and the preservation of national sovereignty. This reaction is against the perceived imposition of foreign cultures, norms, or migration policies from global elites. Krastev notes that populism results in a deep distrust of both national institutions (such as political parties or governments) and international organizations) like the European Union or the United

Nations). Populist leaders often champion a direct connection with the people bypassing traditional democratic institutions (Krastev, 2008).

The populist world order represents a transformative phase in global politics, where populist movements and leaders reshape the international system. Populist leaders exploit societal grievances, presenting themselves as the voice of the people against perceived corrupt elites. Populists often oppose liberal, multilateral institutions, such as the WTO or UN, accusing them of undermining national sovereignty. Economic nationalism, trade protectionism, and skepticism toward immigration redefine global economic and political alignments. Populist leaders often bypass traditional diplomatic channels, favoring bilateral negotiations to assert personal authority (Lee, 2022).

About the process of democratic decline, the pioneering studies of Nancy Bermeo (2016) and Levitsky and Ziblatt (2018) are most renowned and extensively analyzed. In the piece 'On Democratic Backsliding', Bermeo (2016) asserts that the ongoing tendencies in de-democratization pursue three ways- promissory coups, executive aggrandizement, and tactical maneuvering of election. Promissory coups imply the overthrow of an elected government as a safeguard of democratic legality and making a public pledge to conduct elections and reinstate democracy promptly. Executive aggrandizement occurs when elected executives restrain the power of the opposition influences to by initiating a sequence of institutional adjustments in order that they cannot contest the executives' preferences. Strategic maneuvering of election occurs by limiting media access, utilizing government finances for incumbent electioneering, keeping opposition candidates off the ballot, hindering voter registration, controlling electoral commissions, and annoying rivals (Bermeo, 2016).

Although Bermeo's piece proposes empirical evidence of these inclinations among backsliders and help us to recognize the nature of backsliders, it offers no particular procedure of each of these plans and how each process reveals. Her analysis does not provide any particular guidelines about which political institutions are arranged first by the backsliders and which one last, when is the process begins and when it finishes. Without these points, a standardized process for democratic backsliding cannot be comprehended.

The Process of Democratic Backsliding

Table-1: Three - Steps Model of Backsliding

Step-1	Step-2	Step- 3
Target the Referees of the State: The Judiciary, Law Enforcement Regulation Agencies	Target the Opponents of the Government: Political Opponents ,Critical Media, Business Leaders	Change the Rules of the Governing: Legislation, Constitution, Electoral System

Source: Developed by the authors from Levitsky & Ziblatt (2018).

In the seminal books (How Democracies Die), Levitsky and Ziblatt (2018) asserted that democratic decline begins in a slow way. As per them, in the first step, the incumbent aims the referees which are vital to safeguarding the fairness of the state and the rights of citizens (Levitsky and Ziblatt, 2018, 78-81). These referees contain the judicial system, law and enforcement bodies, regulatory agencies. In the second step, incumbents confront the rivals of the government such as opposition politicians, business leaders, critical media (Levitsky and Ziblatt, 2018, 81-87). In the third step, incumbents alter the rules of the game by rewriting constitution and legislative bodies and electoral system to reinforce dominance (Levitsky and Ziblatt, 2018, 87-88).

A Review of the Trajectory of Populist Trends

Italy

Led by leaders such as Giorgia Meloni, Italy continues to exert influence in a populist world order where policies emphasize nationalism and traditional values. Italian populism strongly opposes mass immigration, citing it as a threat to national identity and economic stability. Governments often challenge the EU's authority and advocate the sovereignty of member states. Italian populism emphasizes economic protectionism and cultural preservation. In effect, Italy strengthened populist movements across Europe and encouraged anti-globalism. Populism's fundamentally undemocratic nature stems from the fact that it is anti-pluralist as well as anti-elitist (Mueller, 2015).

Poland

Poland's Law and Justice Party made nationalism and Catholicism central to their populist agenda. The government has often clashed with the European Union over judicial reform and the erosion of democracy. Anti-immigration rhetoric and policies are an important part of Poland's populist strategy, which aims to preserve national identity. Poland's leadership seeks to strengthen ties with other populist governments and resists progressive globalist pressures. As part of the populist block of Eastern Europe, Poland is playing an important role in shaping regional and global populist dynamics. Cosmopolitan liberalism is losing ground to nationalist-authoritarian ideology (Weiss, 2003).

Hungary

In 2006, Prime Minister Ferenc Gyurcsany's incident led to public distrust of the socialist party, and the country faced economic challenges. In the context of this event, Viktor Orbán became Prime Minister when the Fidesz party won the 2010 parliamentary elections. A new constitution was adopted in Hungary in 2011 without the participation of opposition parties. Through this process the independence of the judiciary is reduced and power is centralized. In this way, Viktor Orbán reformed electoral laws, controlled the media, suppressed civil society, established corruption and nepotism in Hungary. Populist leaders are not simply listeners-in-chief, rather, they seek to rhetorically embody the people as Vox Populi (Urbini, 2019). Viktor Orbán entered politics as a liberal, before accepting a plan of illiberal democracy (Lendvai, 2018.). Viktor Orbán's Russian-friendly mindset is proven. (Hopkins, Peel and Foy, 2019). Hungarian policy prioritizes national sovereignty and opposes supranational institutions such as the European union. Hungary's stance is inspiring other countries to adopt nationalist and anti-globalist policies, while also influencing the formation of a populist world order.

Mexico

Claudia Scheinbaum's populist political goals are consistent with the larger framework of the populist world order. It emphasizes national sovereignty, redistribution of wealth and social justice, and opposes traditional aristocracy and global liberal structures. Overall, her roles reinforce the populist world order. Populism can be viewed in a variety of ways, as demonstrated by a review of the literature. These include as an ideology, a movement, a particular political culture, a moralistic view of politics, a socio-technique, a syndrome, logic, demagoguery, electioneering, a style, a post-fascist

(or possibly neo-fascist) contestation of democracy, a symbol, symptom, or pathology of democracy, a form of political expression, a method of persuasion, and a method of political practice, or as conversation. In the social sciences, populism has emerged as one of the most controversial ideas (Rupnik, 2007).

Russia

Vladimir Putin was president from 2000 until becoming prime minister in 2008. He brought control over the media and the opposition. He was criticized for the lack of transparency in the parliamentary elections in 2007 and the presidential elections in 2008. Russian President Vladimir Putin advocated populist parties when their Euroscepticism unified with his tactical aims (Polyakova, 2014; Chrysosgelos, 2017). Opposition participation in the elections was limited. In 2012, Putin became president again for a third term. Prior to this, in 2011, there was widespread protest in Russia due to allegations of rigging in the parliamentary elections. NGOs are attacked. In 2013, LGBTQ+ rights faced obstacles. Russia's annexation of Crimea in 2014 drew international sanctions. Opposition political leaders were severely repressed. The people of Russia protested a lot over the events of opposition leaders Boris Nemtsov (2015) and Alexei Navalny (2024). Vladimir Putin amended the constitution to allow him to stay in power until 2036. Elections in Russia have gradually become less competitive over the past few years. The occupation of Ukraine resulted in the suppression of any dissent within the country. As a result, democratic institutions are gradually weakening. They similarly analyze China and Russia's advancement of counter-order movements as part of a larger effort to restructure world order (Nexon and Cooley, 2020). Putin was happy to involve with organizations like the World Congress of Families uniting jointly right-wing activists around the world to involve in activities like framing, shaming, naming, and pressure politics discussed by scholars (Keck and Sikkink, 1998).

Venezuela

Beginning with the regime of Hugo Chavez and especially under Nicolas Maduro, there have been allegations that state laws have been used for personal gain to suppress opposition political parties. Populist parties themselves current clashing visions-from the Chávez's anti-neo-liberal ALBA, to the hyper capitalist Singapore-Upon-Thames of the Brexiteers (Baker and Lavery, 2018). Several elections, including the presidential election of Venezuela in 2024, were not recognized internationally by

several countries. Civil liberties are on the decline in Venezuela. Nicolas Maduro's government is increasingly relying on the military to maintain power. People are leaving the country due to lack of food, health care, and oppressive conditions. International organizations such as the United Nations and the Carter Center have identified Venezuela as failing to meet democratic and human rights standards. Through these events, Venezuela is gradually entering the undemocratic trend. Since populists often collapse to pursue the will of the people, some scholars have instead concentrated on the "thick" aspects of populism (Art, 2020). Faced with declining oil prices, Maduro aimed to pay for Chávez era policies via monetary policy, occurring in hyperinflation (Pittaluga et al., 2021).

Belarus

Lukashenko won the 2006 presidential election. Allegations of fraud were raised in this election. Protests called Jeans Revolution were suppressed. Freedom of the media was curtailed, including suppression of opposition political leaders. In the 2010 presidential election, opposition candidates were jailed and post-election protests were severely suppressed. Civil society is under strict surveillance. There were allegations of massive fraud in the 2020 presidential election. Opposition leaders Sviatlana Tsikhanouskaya was forced to flee the country under threats and dissident journalist Roman Protasevich was arrested. Political prisoners are increasing day by day in Belarus. Activists, journalists and ordinary citizens are threatened by the government. As a political tactic, populism uses emotionally charged rhetoric and is frequently employed cynically and opportunistically (Bourdieu, 1991)

Iran

The 2009 presidential election was accused of massive fraud. This protest is known as the Green Movement. Mahmoud Ahmadinejad was declared the winner of the election. Dissidents were suppressed and freedom of the press was curtailed. The Guardian Council tries to keep reformist and moderate candidates out of the election. Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps is used to suppress dissent. In the 2021 presidential election, hardliner Ebrahim Raisi became the President. Reformist and moderate candidates do not always have equal opportunities. The Mahsa Amini incident in 2022 shows that there is a lack of women's freedom. Supreme leader's dominance, guardianship of the Islamic jurist, Islamic revolutionary guard corps are obstacles in the way of reform. Mass clientelism-emphasizing economic policies that reallocate

resources to allies while omitting opponents-is one avenue by which populist leaders can shape durable political coalitions (Müller, 2016).

Myanmar

The State Peace and Development Council maintained strict control over Myanmar under military rule from 2006 to 2011. The military suppressed the National League for Democracy, which specially led by Aung San SuuKyi, the military seized power in 2008 by controlling certain seats and key ministries in the constitution. From 2011 to 2016, the quasi-civilian government was formed under the leadership of TheinSein, but it could not play an effective role. They could not do anything except release the political prisoners and allow the NLD party to participate in the elections. From 2016 until the 2021 military coup, the NDL's government came under international criticism for widespread violence and agitations of genocide against the Rohingya minority. Although it was the elected government of 2015. The 2021 military coup led to the formation of the State Administration Council under the leadership of senior general Min Aung Hlaing. The State Administration council came to power by falsifying the NLD's big victory in the 2020 elections and launched a crackdown. In this context, they were isolated internationally and this led to an economic crisis within the country. The faced armed resistance within the country by opposition groups such as National Unity Government and the People's Defense Forces. Populists are, at best, conflicted about democracy; at worst, they wish to see it destroyed. (Finchelstein, 2014).

Burkina Faso

President Blaise Compaore took power in a military coup. He prolonged power through constitutional changes, political repression and control of the security forces. Between 2014 and 2015, an interim government was formed with civilian and military cooperation. Roch Marc Christian Kabore won the 2015 election and became president. He was re-elected president in 2020. As Islamic insurgency grew in the Sahel region, the government's power weakened. As a result, the influence of the military increased and support for the government within the country decreased. Paul-Henry Sandago Damiba staged the first military coup between 2022 and 2024. Ibrahim Traore came to power byousting him through a coup. Burkina Faso, under the leadership of Ibrahim Traore, abandoned the democratic process, postponed elections and turned to autocracy. Burkina Faso's relationship with Russia signals a move away from the West.

Mali

Although Mali had an elected government in 2006, underlying problems such as corruption, economic problems, and insurgency in the north persisted. In 2012, there was a military uprising against the government's alleged failure to deal with an insurgency in the north. Ibrahim Boubacar Keita was elected in the 2013 presidential election in Mali. He won again in the 2018 election. But, some people throw this election into controversy. After this incident, there were two consecutive military coups in 2020 and 2021. Incumbent president Assimi Goita has indefinitely postponed national elections in 2024. The current government has been accused of suppressing opposition political parties, curtailing press freedom and human rights violations. In January 2012. The Tuaregrebels' organization the Nationalist Movement for Liberation of Azawad (MNLA), along with the Islamist extremist group Ansar Dine, and terror group Al Qaeda of Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), started focused assaults on military establishments in Northern Mali and ensured victory (Bleck&Mitechlitch, 2015). Many also debated that the disputes persuaded by the advocated constitutional changes by President ATT, along with the rebellion of the Tureg rebels, pushed Mali into a political turmoil which delivered the ground for the 2012 military coup to happen (Wing, 2015, p. 453). However, the proposed constitutional amendments would have given added influence to the president (Reuters, 2017). Bribery and threats to command media content were also excessive in recent years in Mali (Freedom House, 2016).

Other Notable Populist Parties in the World

A time of populism is passing all over the world. Populist parties are ruling the country in Hungary, Italy, Slovakia, Turkey, India, Argentina. These populist political parties are Brothers of Italy, Justice and Development Party, Fidesz, Bharatiya Janata Party, La Libertad Avanza, Direction- Social Democracy, Voice- Social Democracy Slovak National Party. First and foremost, populism thrives on political dissatisfaction. Meanwhile, formerly powerful populists feed this kind of unhappiness (Rooduijn, Van der Brug, de Lange, 2016).

The Republican Party of the USA is also considered a populist party. In a similar depiction of the supremacy of domestic politics, McDonnell and Werner (2020) look at the creation of party groups within the European Parliament by PRR parties. Trump disengaged the United States from the Paris Climate 14 agreement (Friedman 2019). Modi and Trump appreciated friendly ties and a compatible style (Menon, 2020).

Conclusion

Financial inequality, the breakdown of the middle class, the politics of mass immigration, and the demographic composition are the reasons for the growth of undemocratic trends all over the world. Economic Intelligence Unit, 2024 shows a global average score of 5.23 on a scale of 0 to 10. This makes a slight decline from the previous year's score of 5.29. Among the countries from which data is taken, full democratic countries are 24 (14.4%), flawed democratic countries are 50 (29.9%), hybrid regimes are 34 (20.4%), authoritarian regimes are 59 (35.3%) (Economic Intelligence Unit, 2024). The populist government of Georgia Meloni is promoting nationalist and right-wing activities, which are creating divisions in society and eroding democratic values while promoting the hegemony of the populist world order. Poland's government is flouting EU law and fundamental human rights through populist policies, which has a negative impact on the country's international relations. The 2020 Presidential election in Belarus has been accused of massive rigging by opposition political parties. In Hungary, Victor Orban controls the media and the judiciary. In Mali, the military overthrew the interim government in 2021. In 2022, President Roch Marc Christian Kabore was ousted in a military coup in Burkina Faso. In 2021, the democratic government was ousted by a military coup in Myanmar. In 2022, a large-scale crackdown was carried out to suppress the movement against the mandatory hijab law in Iran. Ahead of Russia's 2024 Presidential election, opposition political parties have been severely banned. A major political crisis has arisen in Venezuela in 2024 with Presidential elections. Mexico emphasizes national sovereignty, wealth redistribution and social justice, and at the same time opposes the liberal world order. Victor Orban is attacking Hungary's freedom of speech, judiciary and media freedom with his populist regime, pushing the country towards an undemocratic environment. Populist trends have become an important global reality on the world political stage today. These trends, while differing in local political, economic, and cultural contexts, bear hints of a common populist world order. The article shows that in the current world, a new type of political reality is being formed through the combination of popular aspirations and power politics. Future research should focus on how populism and other global phenomena interact, to better understand their long-term effects.

References

- Arief, Alexis. 2013. "Crisis in Mali." Congressional Research Service (CRS). Retrieved January 14, 2020 (<https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R42664.pdf>).
- Art, David. 2020. The Myth of Global Populism. Perspectives on Politics, 1-13. Online First.
- Bermeo, Nancy. 2016. "On Democratic Backsliding." *Journal of Democracy* 27(1):5-19.
- Bleck, Jaimie. 2012. "Countries at the Crossroads 2011: Mali." Freedom House. <https://www.refworld.org/docid/4ecba6492f.html>.
- Bleck, Jaimie and Kristin Michelitch. 2015. "The 2012 Crisis in Mali: Ongoing Empirical State Failure." *African Affairs* 114(457): 598-623.
- Bourdieu, P. 1991. *Language and symbolic Power*. Cambridge: Polity press.
- Chrysogelos, Angeles. 2017. Populism in foreign policy. In: *Oxford Encyclopedia of Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Cooley, A. and D. Nexon. 2020. *Exit from hegemony: The unraveling of the American global order*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Coticchia, Fabrizio and Jason Davidson. 2018. The Limits of Radical Parties in Coalition Foreign Policy: Italy, Hijacking, and the Extremity Hypothesis. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 14: 149-168.
- Diwara, Sidi M. 2017. "Mali: Peace Process, Constitutional Reform, and an Uncertain Political Future." The Constitution Project, International IDEA (Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance). Retrieved June 1, 2020 (<http://constitutionnet.org/news/mali-peace-process-constitutional-reform-and-uncertain-political-future>).
- Falk, Richard, 1999. World orders, old and new. *Current History*, 98(624): 29-30.
- Finchelstein, F. 2014. Returning Populism to History, *Constellations* 21(4):465-478.
- Freedom House. 2016. "Freedom of the Press: Mali." Washington, D.C.: USA. Retrieved April 19, 2020 (<https://www.justice.gov/eoir/page/file/915851/download>).
- Freedom House. 2018. "Freedom in the World". Washington, D.C.: USA.
- Friedman, Lisa. 2019. Trump serves notice to quit Paris Climate Agreement. Nov 4, New York Times.
- Hall, Jonny: 2021. In search of enemies: Donald Trump's populist foreign policy rhetoric. *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 41(1): 48-63.
- Hopkins, Valeric, Michael Peel, and Henry Foy. 2019. Orban-Putin talks compound disquiet over Hungary's Russia October 30, Financial Times.
- Keck, Margaret and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998, *Activists Without Borders*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Krastev, Ivan 2008. The Populist Moment, *The New Presence: The Prague Journal of Central European Affairs*, Volume, 10, Issue, 1, Pages, 24-27.
- Lascurettes, Kyle. 2020. *Orders of Exclusion: Great Powers of the Strategic Source of Foundational Rules in International Relations*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Lee, Michael 2022. A Populist World Order? Origins and Predictions, *Cosmos +Taxis*, Volume:10, Issue:9+10, Pages: 94 -112.
- Lendvai, Paul. 2017. *Orbán: Europe's New Strongman*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Leslie, Jonathan. 2017. Netanyahu's Populism: An Overlooked Explanation for Israeli Foreign Policy. *SAIS Review*, 37(1): 75-82.
- Levitsky, Steven and Daniel Ziblatt. 2018. *How Democracies Die*. New York : Penguin Random House.
- McDonnell, Duncan and Annika Werner. 2020. *International Populism : The Radical Right in European Parliament*. New York : Oxford University Press.
- Menon, Shivshankar. 2020. League of Nationalists: How Trump and Modi Refashioned the U.S.-India Relationship. *Foreign Affairs*, 99 (5): 132-139.
- Mueller, J.W. 2015. Parsing Populism. Who Is and Who Is not a Populist These Days? *Juncture* 22(2):80-89.
- Müller, Jan-Werner. 2016. *What is Populism?* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Pittaluga, Giovanni, Elena Seghezze and Pierluigi Morelli, 2020. The political economy of hyperinflation in Venezuela. *Public Choice*, 186.337-350.
- Polyakova, Alina. 2014. Putin and Europe's Far Right. *World Affairs*, 177(3): 36-40.
- Rooduijn, M. Van Der Brug, W., De Lange, S. 2016. Express Info or Fuelling Discontent? The Relationship between Populist Voting and Political Discontent. *Electoral Studies* 43:32-40.
- Rupnik, J. 2007. From Democracy Fatigue to Populist Backlash. *Journal of Democracy* 18 (4):17-25.
- Sangare, Idrissa. 2017. "Thousands March against the Referendum, Extra Powers for Mali President." Reuters. Retrieved May 26, 2020
- Urbinati, Nadia, 2019. *Me The People: How Populism Transforms Democracy*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Verbeek, Bertjan and Andrej Zaslove. 2015. The impact of populist radical right parties on foreign policy: the northern leagues as junior coalition partner in the Berlusconi governments. *European political science Review* 7(4): 525-546.
- Weiss, H. 2003. A Cross-National Comparison of Nationalism in Austria, the Czech and Slovak Republics, Hungary and Poland, *Political Psychology* 24(2):377-401.
- Wing, Susanna D. 2015. "Hands Off My Constitution: Constitutional Reform and the Workings of Democracy in Mali." *Journal of Modern African Studies* 53(3): 451-475.