

PSCI / ECON 349 | Reimagining Profitability in the Age of Populist Politics | Lessons from Ancient & Modern Athens
Summer 2025 | Session I | May 26 – June 20, 2025

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Course Description

The specter of populism is haunting the West.¹ Populism is spreading globally, extending far beyond Latin America to countries like Germany and Sweden, Austria and the United States, countries previously considered immune to its appeal. Many argue that the wave of authoritarian populism poses an existential threat to the liberal world order, democracy, open markets, protection of minorities, immigrants, civil liberties, and constitutional checks and balances. Since Brexit, the European Union has lost a member, while an increasing number of Europeans views the Union with skepticism.² Voters question the merits of globalization, protectionism is on the rise, and attacks on experts, facts, and the mainstream media are increasingly common. Hate crimes against immigrants, minorities, and antisemitism, often fueled by populists, is also rising. We are in the midst of a historic battle on behalf of liberty.

The past decade has been transformational. A global pandemic, world at war, planet on fire, and AI Agora have infused international relations with the discord of populism, accelerated by stalled economic growth, and externalities of deepening wealth inequality. Information diffusion, a weakening pro-union labor movement and converging political, economic, social, and environmental forces complicate the already difficult task of bridging triple bottom line development goals protecting people, profits, and planet, with enlightened policies designed to make business a better partner with government and civil society within the conceptual frameworks of the power transition theory.

This course asks students to critically consider the history of ancient Athenian foreign policy and trade – what Plutarch believed were the foundations of international commerce that brought cooperation and friendship – thrashed against contemporary Greek and European policy efforts. Students will travel and explore the sites, museums, monuments, and history of Athens, Delos, Delphi, Corinth, Crete, and Mykonos, as well as meet with nonprofit and corporate leadership. The combination asks students to consider blueprints from ancient history that illustrate models of purpose-driven leadership and more equitable political and economic development efforts while avoiding the failures of past empires.

As importantly, this class affords students embarking on a career in international relations, business, public policy, nonprofit, consulting, or financial investment with global perspectives to better anticipate, predict, and manage how countries and enterprises develop strategic and policy measures ensuring they contribute to building a more peaceful and prosperous world both at home and abroad.

Course Objectives and Learning Outcomes

The course will expose students to the relationship between populism and democratic political and economic institutions while exploring the rise of authoritarian populist forces; how populists rise to power and use that power once in office; consider the consequences of rising populism and determine if it is a problem, what can societies do to mitigate the risks; understand the origins of populism in ancient Athens and its modern post-18th century evolution; develop both an individual and collaborative research project and presentation developed through literature review and empirical research, survey, and interviews in-country incorporating readings, lectures, and archeological epigraphy in Greece; gain global insight bridging course learning to support student's area of study at home institution.

¹ The first time the famous Marx and Engels quote was rephrased as an opening sentence in a study of populism was probably in Ionescu and Gellner (1969, p.1). More recently, it was also done in Mueller (2016, Ch. 1) and Algan et al. (2017) in Guriev and Papaioannou (2020).

² IBID.

Course Requirements

FINAL Original White Paper	50%
IN-FIELD Ethnographic Data Collection & Survey	15%
Team Ethnographic Presentation	15%
Engagement Participation	20%

Final White Paper:

A well-researched white paper on one of the core issues linked to the course. Each student will submit an abstract for instructor approval and will be develop an original thesis and white paper. Each student will be expected to develop an original argument regarding the issue and explore it using the theories, readings and your individual academic motivation for enrolling in this study abroad course.

Grades are intended to give you a sense of the quality of a particular piece of work: roughly speaking, a B means that you have done a good (above average) job with the writing, the ideas, and the organization of the work; a C conveys that the work lacks some important qualities and has some problems, while an A means that the work is exemplary in some key ways: the writing is particularly clear, the ideas thoroughly treated and original, the organization of the presentation well considered and effective.

Class Participation

The benefit of this hybrid study aboard pedagogy depends upon the extent to which you engage and share your own viewpoints and conclusions to the critical judgment of the class. You should view class participation both as an opportunity to ask questions to enhance your understanding AND demonstrate your command of the material. It is imperative that you read all the material assigned for each class and come to class with a series of comments that you think will contribute to the tone and tenor of daily discussion. Lectures will provide the opportunity for class debate and discussion. **Your participation grade is calculated based on your active, engaged contribution to class discussion.**

Attendance

Students are expected to report for classes promptly each morning as indicated on the daily schedule. When traveling, students will be staying at hotels where we will begin together over breakfast.

Policy on Original Work | Use of AI:

NO academic dishonesty and misconduct, in all forms, including plagiarism, cheating, misrepresentation, fabrication, and falsehoods will be tolerated. Academic integrity is critically important to this – and all classes. Plagiarism or cheating on the part of the student in individual or group academic work will result minimally in the instructor assigning the grade of "F" for the assignment. In addition, all instances of academic dishonesty will be reported to the CYA Academic Dean. All submitted work must be original work. Any excerpts from the work of others must be clearly identified as a quotation, and proper citation. **AI is a means, not an end.** AI is ubiquitous and already embedded in much of the technology commonly in use (e.g., Grammarly, online translators, autocomplete). Prohibiting the use of AI is unrealistic. Therefore, any use of AI MUST be cited and transparent. When you use AI tools, always cite the source.

Required Books, Course Materials

Instructor Provided Reading Packet Will Be Uploaded Prior to First Class

The Rise and Fall of Classical Greece

Josiah Ober
Princeton University Press, Princeton and Oxford, 2015
ISBN 978-0691140919

How Democracies Die

Steven Levitsky & Daniel Ziblatt.
Crown, New York, 2018
ISBN 1524762938

Modern Greece: What Everyone Needs to Know

Stathis N. Kalyvas
Oxford University Press, New York 2015
ISBN 978-0-19-994877-2

Twilight of Democracy

Anne Applebaum
Vintage, 2021
ISBN 1984899503

CYA Regulations and Accommodations

Attendance Policy

CYA regards attendance in class and on-site (in Athens or during field study trips) as mandatory. Absences due to illness or other such compelling reasons which result in absences should be reported immediately to faculty and the Student Affairs Office.

Academic Accommodations

If you are a registered (with your home institution) student with a disability and you are entitled to learning accommodation, please inform the Office of Academic Affairs and make sure that your school forwards the necessary documentation.

Policy on Original Work

Unless otherwise specified, all submitted work must be original work. Any ideas taken from the work of others must be clearly identified as quotations, paraphrases, summaries, figures etc., and accurate internal citations and/or captions (for visuals) as well as an accompanying bibliography must be provided.

Class Schedule

Class Day	Location	Topics Readings Itinerary
Monday 5/26	Athens	Arrival Orientation at CYA Academic Center Welcome Dinner
Tuesday 5/27	Athens	<p>Birthplace of Democracy Visit Pnyx Hill Early Morning Visit Ancient Agora & Site Lecture Walking Tour of Central Athens & Central Market</p> <p>READING Mittelstaedt, Macromarketing as Agorology READING Kyriakos Mitsotakis on how to escape the grip of populism, The Economist, February 2024 Afternoon at CYA Classroom SCREEN Obama Delivers Foreign Policy Speech at Niarchos Center 11 16 16 BEGIN READING The Rise & Fall of Classical Greece</p>
Wed 5/28	Athens	<p>Introductions Expectations Readings Itinerary What is Populism? Why Populism? Address to Congress 2022 PM Kyriakos Mitsotakis Private Tour of Hellenic Parliament READING Mansbridge, Jane and Stephen Macedo. 2019. "Populism and Democratic Theory." Annual Review of Law and Social Science 15: 59-77. READING Aslanidis, Paris. 2016. 'Is populism an ideology? A refutation and a new perspective.' Political Studies 64 (1): 88-104. READING CFR Nation Branding Explained</p>
Thurs. 5/29	Athens	<p>Populism in Greece From Draco to Draghi Afternoon Visit to Acropolis & Acropolis Museum READING The Development of Athenian Democracy READING The Political Economy of Populism, Guriev and Papaioannou READING The Draghi Report: A Strategy to Reform the European Economic Model</p>
Fri 5/30	Corinth	<p>The Rise & Fall of Illiberalism The Modern Greek (EU) Story Coach to Corinth for the Day READING Populism in power and bailout conditionality: evidence from Greece Dimitris Katsikas & Emmanouil Tsantsani, European Politics and Society Volume 25, 2024 - Issue 4 READING The Pushback Against Populism: The Rise and Fall of Greece's New Illiberalism, Takis S Pappas, Journal of Democracy, April 2022. READING How Labor Defeated Populism, Anne Applebaum, The Atlantic, 2024 READING On Neoliberalism: An Interview with David Harvey</p>

WEEKEND FREE		Begin Reading How Democracies Die
Mon 6/2	Athens	<p>Past as Prologue Morning Lecture Begin Ethnographic Field Work READING Paparrigopoulos, History of Hellenic Nation READING Polanyi, Aristotle Discovers the Economy READING Huntington, The Clash of Civilizations BEGIN READING Modern Greece: What Everyone Needs to Know</p>
Tues 6/3	Athens	<p>Correcting Populism Building a 21st Century HUMAN Renaissance Visit Philhellenism Museum READING First Principles: What America’s Founder Learned from the Greeks and Romans and How That Shaped Our Country by Thomas E. Ricks RESEARCH European Values Study 2022 RESEARCH 2024 Edelman Trust Barometer READING Populism and the economics of globalization by Dani Rodrick, 2018 READING Populism and authoritarianism in the EU: what is the role of the euro? Dóra Gyórfy November 2022.</p>
Wed 6/4	Athens	<p>How Democracies Die Weaponizing Ethnicity The Home Project NGO Meeting READING: HRW Report Greece 2021 READING: UNHCR Report One and Two and Three READING Dinas, Elias, et al. 2019. "Waking Up the Golden Dawn: Does Exposure to the Refugee Crisis Increase Support for Extreme-Right Parties?" Political Analysis 27: pp. 244-254. READING Bansak, Kirk, Jens Hainmueller and Dominik Hangartner. 2016. "How Economic, Humanitarian, and Religious Concerns Shape European Attitudes Toward Asylum Seekers." Science 354(6309): pp. 217-222.</p>
Thurs. 6/5	Delphi	<p>Private Morning Coach to Delphi Lunch and Visit to Ditsomo WWII Memorial Check-In Amalia Hotel Free Afternoon READING Lessons from Delphi: Religious Markets & Spiritual Capitals Delphic Priestesses as World’s First Political Risk Consultants, Aeon Magazine SCREEN Dr. Michael Scott Delphi: The Bellybutton of the Ancient World</p>
Fri 6/6	Delphi	<p>The Omphalos of the Ancient World: Knowledge Hub Then vs Now Private Tour of Delphi Museum and Site READING N. Heller Republican Victory & the Ambience of Information READING R. Putman Bowling Alone: America’s Declining Social Capital Journal of Democracy, January 1995, Vol. 6, Issue 1, 65-78. Return to Athens via Coach</p>
WEEKEND FREE		Begin Reading Twilight of Democracy
Mon 6/9	Holiday	Ethnographic Field Work & Abstract Submission
Tues 6/10	Mykonos/ Delos	<p>Early Morning Ferry to Mykonos Hotel Check- In Free Afternoon/Evening READING Kalyvas, Modern Greece (20th Century Great Powers)</p>
Wed 6/11	Delos	<p>Mykonos v Delos Dilemma How Social Media Drives Polarization & Inequality Breakfast Lecture @ Hotel Morning Ferry to Delos Private Site Tour READING Pomerantsev, Peter. 2019. "The Disinformation Age: A Revolution in Propaganda." The Guardian. July 27, 2019. FREE DAY</p>
Thurs 6/12	Mykonos	<p>Free Day Late Afternoon Ferry to Athens READING A. Applebaum The Case Against Pessimism, October 2024</p>

Friday 6/13	Athens	Individual Instructor Student Thesis Approval
Sat 6/14	Chania	LATE OVERNIGHT FERRY FROM PIREAUS TO CHANIA CRETE How Culture & Religion Drive Polarization READING Treisman, Daniel . May/June 2022. "Putin Unbound: How Repression at Home Presaged Belligerence Abroad." <i>Foreign Affairs</i> .
Sun 6/15	Chania Crete	Breakfast Upon on Early Morning Arrival Morning Hike Katholiko Gorge and Cave of St John the Hermit Visit Gouverneto Monastery Afternoon Swim at "Zorba" Beach Check-In to Hotel Free Afternoon & Evening in Chania
Mon 6/16	Chania Crete	Crete and WWII Resistance Faith, Family, Fortitude How Culture & Religion Drive Polarization Tour of Central Chania Harbor and Market Visit Etz Hayyim Synagogue, Chania Free Evening READING Treisman, Daniel . May/June 2022. "Putin Unbound: How Repression at Home Presaged Belligerence Abroad." <i>Foreign Affairs</i> .
Tues 6/17	Chania Crete	Venizelos Tomb & Lecture MORNING Museum of National Resistance 1941-1945 READING The Messiah and the Bourgeoisie: Venizelos and Politics in Greece, 1909- 1912, Mark Mazower, 1992. Free Afternoon Evening Ferry to Athens
Wed 6/18	Athens	Research Day in Athens
Thurs. 6/19	Athens	Final Research Plan Review & Presentations
Fri 6/20	Athens	Final Lecture at Aristotle's Lyceum The State, The Market, The Community. How YOU Build A Better World. READING How the Ivy League Broke America by David Brooks 2024 Farewell Luncheon
Sat 6/21	Athens	Noon Check-Out of CYA Apartments

N.B.: This class may deviate from the course outline above.

The instructor reserves the right to make changes as needed to the course syllabus in order to benefit student learning and accommodate the latest research and schedules.

Additional Bibliography

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<http://www.jstor.org/stable/23526835>.

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Huntington, Samuel. "The Clash of Civilizations Revisited." *New Perspectives Quarterly* 30, no. 4 (2013): 46–54.

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Ober, Josiah. *The Rise and Fall of Classical Greece*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015.

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Ricks, Thomas E. *First Principles: What America's Founders Learned from the Greeks and Romans and How That Shaped Our Country*. Harper, 2020.

Sandel, Michael J. *What Money Can't Buy: the Moral Limits of Markets*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2013.

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<https://michaelscottweb.com/documentaries/guilty-pleasures/>.

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<https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/nation-branding-explained>.

"The Global Report." UNHCR. Accessed October 2, 2023. <https://www.unhcr.org/what-we-do/reports-and-publications/global-report>.

The World Happiness Report. Accessed October 2, 2023. <https://worldhappiness.report/>.

"World Report 2021: Rights Trends in Greece." Human Rights Watch, January 13, 2021. <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2021/country-chapters/greece>.

Research Resources

<https://sdgcompass.org>

<http://www.unwto.org>

<http://www.sete.gr>

<http://www.gnto.gr>

**INSTRUCTOR RESERVES THE RIGHT TO CHANGE SYLLABUS.
ALL FINAL PAPERS MUST BE SUBMITTED BY SAT 6/21/25 @ NOON,
NO LATE PAPERS WILL BE ACCEPTED.**