

# POSC 164: The Nation-State and Capitalism

University of California, Riverside

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Summer Session B, 2019

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Office Hours: M, 10 AM - 1 PM / Th, 1 PM - 4 PM

Office: Watkins 2121E

Course Site: [ilearn.ucr.edu](https://ilearn.ucr.edu)

Class Hours: T/Th, 5:40 - 8:30 PM

Class Room: Watkins 2240

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## Course Description

This course focuses on the comparative political economy of advanced industrialized countries. We have seen inequality increase substantially since the 1970s, resulting in the erosion of the middle class on which prosperity and modern democracies depend. The Global Financial crisis of 2007-2009 and the Great Recession and Eurozone Crisis that followed it have undermined the legitimacy of political and economic orders at the domestic and international levels, as reflected in the rise of right-wing populism here and abroad, with more political and economic instability on the horizon. Today, we are still living through the aftermath of the worst political economic crisis since the Great Depression with consequences that have left the developed economies of the West anemic and fragile, while the global economy appears increasingly vulnerable to another potentially shattering financial contagion and crisis. The role of the state and government in the economy (along with its corruption, decay, and abdication) looms large in this story.

The state plays a crucial role in the creation of capitalism and the structure and functioning of any industrialized market economy. This course deals with two overarching aspects of the relationship between the state and the economy. First, we will address the differences among national "varieties of capitalism" that developed and flourished in the post-World War II period. Second, we will examine the wrenching crises and changes undergone by these national economies since the 1970s, initially spawning neo-liberal (or corporate-driven) globalization, then culminating (so far) in the global financial crisis and Great Recession. Third, we will examine the ongoing increasingly political crises that have followed from this near catastrophic economic collapse in the form of rising radicalized and populist parties and protests worldwide.

## Course Objectives

An understanding of the subject matter and material covered in this class has become indispensable to understanding the economic and political upheavals happening before our eyes and that will in no small measure determine what kind of world we will live for decades to come. Understanding where we have been will help us comprehend where we are. As we focus on the following objectives in the course:

1. Developing a strong understanding of the "Varieties of Capitalism" literature.
2. Developing an understanding of financial crises and their consequences in the United States and abroad
3. Developing an understanding of when, where, and how the radical right arose in some countries (and develop theories on why it did not arise in other countries... yet).
4. Developing the ability to apply game theoretic models to different country cases.

## Prerequisites

Upper-division standing or consent of instructor.

## Course Structure

### Class Structure

As this is a 4-unit course, grading is facilitated through one exam, two assignments (memos) that are turned in online via iLearn, an interactive lecture component, and a term paper also turned in via iLearn.

### Assignments

The weights associated with each of the course assignments are as follows:

- Memo 1 (Assigned Week 1, Due Week 3: 25%)
- Midterm Exam (In-Class Week 3: 20%)
- Lecture Attendance (5%)
- Lecture Discussions (3 Total, 5% each: 15%)
- Term Paper (35%)

There is one guaranteed opportunity for extra credit in the course.

- Memo 2 (Assigned Week 4, Due Week 5: 5% Extra Credit)

## Lecture Attendance and Lecture Discussions

Lecture Attendance will be taken randomly once per week. As there are five (5) weeks during the Summer, this amounts to 1% per week.

During three specific lectures outlined in the course schedule, students will be presented with questions relating to the material that week. Students will need to answer these questions in groups and be asked to present their responses in class. These questions are open-book and require critical thinking rather than definitional knowledge. In this way, if you are following along with the lectures and supplemental readings, it is suggested you read and review *before* the discussion.

## Term Paper

Information on the term paper will be distributed at the end of the first lecture.

## Grading Policy

The typical University of California, Riverside grading scale will be used. I reserve the right to curve the scale dependent on overall class grades at the end of the quarter (not before it). Any curve will only ever make it easier to obtain a certain letter grade.

The grade grading scale is as follows:

A+ = 100%	B+ = 87 - 89.99%	C+ = 77 - 79.99%	D+ = 67 - 69.99%
A = 94 - 99.99%	B = 84 - 86.99%	C = 74 - 76.99%	D = 64 - 66.99%
A- = 90 - 93.99%	B- = 80 - 83.99%	C- = 70 - 73.99%	D- = 60 - 63.99%

Grades 59.99% and lower will receive an F.

## Textbooks

As lectures, assignments, and exams will be predominantly based on the books listed below, it is highly recommended that students obtain the following:

- Hall, Peter and David Soskice. 2001. *Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage*. Oxford University Press.
- Hawkins, Kirk A., Ryan E. Carlin, Levente Littvay, and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser. 2018. *The Ideational Approach to Populism: Concept, Theory, and Analysis*. Routledge.
- Riker, William. 1988. *Liberalism Against Populism*. Prospect Heights: Waveland Press.

While the notes are comprehensive due to the intensive nature of Summer session courses, you will be held responsible for the material assigned from the books. Additional information will come from several of the supplementary readings listed in the **Weekly Schedule** section of the syllabus.

## Course Policies

### During Lecture

Mobile devices and electronic recording devices are allowed during lecture. However, while you are allowed to use electronic devices during lecture, this is not *carte blanche* to do whatever you wish during lecture on your mobile devices. Please refrain from using mobile devices for anything but activities related to the course.

Eating and drinking are allowed in lecture but please refrain from it affecting the course. Be courteous of others.

### Attendance Policy

As this is a summer course, we are moving through material twice as fast as we would otherwise. Moreover, the material is complex and may become overwhelming if you do not attend lecture. While I cannot force you to attend lecture, I suggest you attend as many lectures as you can. If there is an issue preventing you from attending, do come see me.

### Late Assignment Policy

Late assignments will be deducted one (1) whole letter grade for every twelve (12) hours it is late, up to a maximum of forty-eight (48) hours. After forty-eight (48) hours, the student will receive a grade of zero (0) for the assignment.

### Emergencies and Exceptional Circumstances

Should an emergency arise, a student must contact the Instructor as soon as possible, and preferably before a course session. Any emergencies must be accompanied by evidence (i.e., note from a Doctor as evidence of having been in a hospital). Routine checkups are not considered medical emergencies and should thus be discussed with the Instructor as soon as possible *before* they occur. Any accidents must be accompanied by photographic evidence by email. Failure to contact the Instructor in a timely manner will result in a judgment call on the Instructor's part and is completely dependent on the gravity of the situation. In all cases, the Instructor's decision on the matter is final.

### Challenging a Grade

Students who wish to challenge a grade are required to submit a written grievance, which includes: the reasons for their dissatisfaction, the grade received, and what grade they believe is merited. Reasons why the requested grade is merited should be supported by evidence from the assignment in question to justify this appeal. The written grievance should be submitted at least two business days before meeting with the Instructor to discuss the assignment. If you choose to appeal your grade, the Instructor reserves the right to issue a grade that is lower than the existing grade. This second, post-appeal decision is final. *The deadline to challenge and possibly change a grade is within forty-eight (48) hours after the posting of the grade on iLearn.*

### Academic Integrity and Honesty

UCR has a detailed and strict academic dishonesty policy. Please review [Section 6 of the Academic Senate Bylaws](#). There is zero tolerance for any type of academic dishonesty (note: using your own past work is plagiarism if it is not cited appropriately). **If you violate this policy, you will receive an "F" in the course and be reported to the Office of Student Conduct.**

### Students with Disabilities

Students with disabilities seeking accommodation services should contact the Student Disability Resource Center (SDRC) as soon as possible for accommodations. They are located at 125 Costo Hall and can be reached at (951) 827-3861. Accommodations take time and should be done well in advance. We cannot accommodate you last minute so it necessary you seek accommodations well in advance. For this reason, you should contact the SDRC within the first week of the course if you do need accommodations.

## **Respect for Others**

Discriminatory/hateful/pejorative and/or demeaning language will not be tolerated. All participants must feel comfortable asking questions and speaking, as voicing one's ideas is essential to the learning experience. Please be respectful of all questions, ideas and views. You will be asked to leave if you disrespect anyone and/or exhibit any form of the above, and you will automatically receive a zero (0) for any graded assignments due that day. This zero (0) grade cannot be made up under any circumstances.

## **DISCLAIMER: This Course Contains Mature Content**

Like most university-level courses, this course deals with material that may be controversial and sensitive for some people. Often, these topics may invoke strong responses based on political affiliation, religious beliefs, personal identity, and experiences. While we will need to engage with such details at times, they will not be the focus of our inquiry. You should nevertheless be prepared to encounter these references. If you have any concerns about any of the material we will be covering in this course at any time, please see do not hesitate to come see me.

## Weekly Schedule

The schedule is tentative and subject to change. As this is a Summer course, every course session is equivalent to approximately one (1) week's worth of material during the regular quarter session.

### **Week 01, 07/29 - 08/02: Introduction, Institutions, The New Institutional Economics, Varieties of Capitalism, the Financial Crisis**

*Tuesday, July 30*

- Agenda:
  - Introduction
  - Institutions
  - The New Institutional Economics
  - What's Wrong with Neoclassical Theory?
  - Varieties of Capitalism
- Readings:
  - Hall and Soskice (2001): Ch. 1
- Assignments:
  - **Term Paper Assigned**

*Thursday, August 1*

- Agenda:
  - Varieties of Capitalism (Cont.)
  - The Financial Crisis
- Readings:
  - Hall and Soskice (2001): Ch. 2
- Assignments:
  - **Memo 1 Assigned**
  - **Lecture Discussion**

### **Supplementary Readings for Week 1:**

- Hall, P.A. and Thelen, K., 2009. Institutional Change in Varieties of Capitalism. *Socio-economic Review*, 7(1): 7-34.
- Rueda, D. and Pontusson, J., 2000. Wage Inequality and Varieties of Capitalism. *World Politics*, 52(3): 350-383.
- Pontusson, J., 2005. "Varieties and Commonalities of Capitalism." In David Coates (ed.) *Varieties of Capitalism, Varieties of Approaches* (163-188). Palgrave Macmillan, London.
- Hall, P.A. and Gingerich, D.W., 2009. Varieties of Capitalism and Institutional Complementarities in the Political Economy: An Empirical Analysis. *British Journal of Political Science*, 39(3): 449-482.
- Allen, M., 2004. The Varieties of Capitalism Paradigm: Not Enough Variety?. *Socio-Economic Review*, 2(1): 87-108.
- Hicks, A. and Kenworthy, L., 2003. Varieties of Welfare Capitalism. *Socio-economic review*, 1(1): 27-61.

**Week 02, 08/05 - 08/09: Effects of the Financial Crisis: Consequences, the Nation-State, Globalization, Radicalization and Populism, Cases in North America**

*Tuesday, August 6*

- Agenda:
  - Consequences
  - The Nation-State
  - Globalization
- Readings:
  - Hall and Soskice (2001): Ch. 3
  - Riker (1988): Ch. 1
  - Riker (1988): Ch. 2
  - Riker (1988): Ch. 5

*Thursday, August 8*

- Agenda:
  - Radicalization and Populism
  - The United States
- Readings:
  - Riker (1988): Ch. 10
  - Hawkins, Carlin, Kaltwasser (2019): Introduction
  - Hawkins, Carlin, Kaltwasser (2019): Ch. 8
  - Hawkins, Carlin, Kaltwasser (2019): Ch. 15
- Assignments:
  - **Lecture Discussion**

**Supplementary Readings for Week 2:**

- Meyer, J.W., Boli, J., Thomas, G.M. and Ramirez, F.O., 1997. World society and the nation-state. *American Journal of sociology*, 103(1): 144-181.
- Mann, M., 1997. Has Globalization Ended the Rise and Rise of the Nation-state?. *Review of International Political Economy*, 4(3): 472-496.
- Berger, M.T., 2001. The Nation-State and the Challenge of Global Capitalism. *Third World Quarterly*, 22(6): 889-907.
- Mudde, C. and Kaltwasser, C.R., 2017. *Populism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford University Press.
- Cole, A., 2005. Old Right or New right? The Ideological Positioning of Parties of the Far Right. *European Journal of Political Research*, 44(2): 203-230.
- Bos, L. and Van der Brug, W., 2010. Public Images of Leaders of Anti-immigration Parties: Perceptions of Legitimacy and Effectiveness. *Party Politics*, 16(6): 777-799.
- Stanley, B., 2008. The Thin Ideology of Populism. *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 13(1): 95-110.

**Week 03, 08/12 - 08/16: Cases in Western Europe**

*Tuesday, August 13*

- Agenda:
  - The United Kingdom
  - Germany
- Readings:
  - Hall and Soskice (2001): Ch. 6
  - Hall and Soskice (2001): Ch. 7
  - Hawkins, Carlin, Kaltwasser (2019): Ch. 9
- Assignments:
  - **Memo 1 Due (Online via iLearn)**

*Thursday, August 15*

- Agenda:
  - The United Kingdom (Cont.)
  - Germany (Cont.)
  - The Europe Effect?
- Readings:
  - Hall and Soskice (2001): Ch. 10
  - Hawkins, Carlin, Kaltwasser (2019): Ch. 11
- Assignments:
  - **Midterm Exam (In-class)**

**Supplementary Readings for Week 3:**

- Golder, M., 2016. Far right parties in Europe. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 19: 477-497.
- Golder, M., 2003. Explaining variation in the success of extreme right parties in Western Europe. *Comparative political studies*, 36(4): 432-466.
- Mudde, C., 2013. Three Decades of Populist Radical Right Parties in Western Europe: So What?. *European Journal of Political Research*, 52(1): 1-19.
- Kitschelt, H., 2007. Growth and Persistence of the Radical Right in Postindustrial Democracies: Advances and Challenges in Comparative Research. *West European Politics*, 30(5): 1176-1206.

**Week 04, 08/19 - 08/23: Cases in Asia, Consequences of the Radical Right**

*Tuesday, August 20*

- Agenda:
  - Japan
  - Taiwan
- Readings:
  - Hall and Soskice (2001): Ch. 5
  - Hawkins, Carlin, Kaltwasser (2019): Ch. 11
- Assignments:
  - **Memo 2 (Extra Credit) Assigned**



Thursday, August 22

- Agenda:
  - Hong Kong
  - Consequences of the Radical Right
- Readings:
  - Hawkins, Carlin, Kaltwasser (2019): Ch. 16
  - Hawkins, Carlin, Kaltwasser (2019): Ch. 17
- Assignments:
  - **Lecture Discussion**

#### **Supplementary Readings for Week 4:**

- Szymkowiak, K. and Steinhoff, P.G., 1995. Wrapping up in Something Long: Intimidation and Violence by Right-wing Groups in Postwar Japan. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 7(1): 265-298.
- Tsutsui, K. and Shin, H.J., 2008. Global Norms, Local Activism, and Social Movement Outcomes: Global Human Rights and Resident Koreans in Japan. *Social Problems*, 55(3): 391-418.
- Weller, R.P., 2000. Living at the Edge: Religion, Capitalism, and the End of the Nation-State in Taiwan. *Public Culture*, 12(2): 477-498.
- Constable, N., 2009. Migrant Workers and the Many States of Protest in Hong Kong. *Critical Asian Studies*, 41(1): 143-164.

#### **Week 05, 08/26 - 08/30: Consequences of the Radical Right**

Tuesday, August 27

- Agenda:
  - Consequences of the Radical Right (Cont.)
- Readings:
  - Hawkins, Carlin, Kaltwasser (2019): Conclusion
- Assignments:
  - **Memo 2 (Extra Credit) Due (Online via iLearn)**

Thursday, August 29

- Agenda:
  - Consequences of the Radical Right (Cont.)
  - Moving forward?
  - Concluding Thoughts
- Assignments:
  - **Term Paper Due (Online via iLearn)**

#### **Supplementary Readings for Week 5:**

- Rooduijn, M., 2014. Vox Populismus: A Populist Radical Right Attitude Among the Public?. *Nations and Nationalism*, 20(1): 80-92.
- Immerzeel, T. and Pickup, M., 2015. Populist Radical Right Parties Mobilizing 'the people'? The Role of Populist Radical Right Success in Voter Turnout. *Electoral Studies*, 40: 347-360.
- Jacobs, K., Akkerman, A. and Zaslove, A., 2018. The Voice of Populist People? Referendum Preferences, Practices and Populist attitudes. *Acta Politica*, 53(4): 517-541.