

POL410H1/POL2391H1F  
TOPICS IN COMPARATIVE POLITICS III  
(Politics and policy in the Nordic Region)  
Fall 2018

Thursday, 6-8pm  
Room: TC22

Instructor: Francisco Beltran

Room 303N  
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***1. Office hours:***

Wednesday, 4-6pm, Thursday, 1:30-2:30pm, or by appointment.

***2. Course description:***

This course on the Nordic region (Norway, Sweden, Finland, Denmark and Iceland, and other Nordic territories) looks in detail at some of the political institutions and policies presented in POL300H1F Topics in Comparative Politics (Introduction to the Politics and Society of Northern Europe). We will review first the main political parties, trade unions and social movements in the Nordic countries, including the recent surge of populism. Then we will look at the politics of the welfare state, labour markets and income equality. The last part of the course will be devoted to migration and integration aspects, foreign policy and diplomacy, and other important challenges to the sustainability of the Nordic political model.

***3. Intended learning outcomes:***

- To get acquainted with the most important political institutions and processes in the Nordic region.

- To understand the typology of socioeconomic models in the Nordic countries.
- To become familiar with the main policies and the political motives and forces that structure the welfare state in the Nordic region.
- To comprehend the similarities and differences among policy and industrial relations in these countries.

#### ***4. Prerequisite:***

Two courses in comparative politics or permission of instructor.

#### ***5. Lectures, communication, and attendance:***

**Students are required to attend every class meeting.** Accommodation of absences for religious or medical reasons is possible but should be discussed with the instructor. In any case, missing more than two or three classes may imply zero points in the participation component of the final grade.

**Students are expected to read the materials before each class,** according to the schedule outlined in section 7 below. The instructor will devote part of the class to summarize the most relevant concepts and ideas included in the materials, to explain the connections between them, and to respond to any doubts. This lecture part, however, will not cover the materials in their entirety, and that is why students should have read them beforehand. The rest of the class will be devoted to a seminar-type discussion.

**Students are also expected to participate in the discussions and debates held in each class. In addition, every student has to direct a seminar-type discussion in class.** Each week, one or two students will prepare and lead a class discussion based on the topics addressed in the lectures.

**This course has a Quercus site.** The instructor will use it to communicate important information regarding the course, including assignments' grades, as well as to upload essential readings and materials. Students are expected to check out the Quercus site regularly (ie. every other day).

**Quercus is the preferred way of communication** between the instructor and the students. Students can expect a reply to their messages in the following 24 hours, weekends excepted.

The Faculty of Arts and Science **deadline to cancel the course** without academic penalty is November 5, 2018.

*6. Assessment and assignment submission policy:*

**The course assessment is based on participation, class discussions, and assignments.** There will be no exams. **Term work** requirements consist of:

**(1) Participation** in class discussions (10% of the final grade).

Expectations: Students are expected to participate in the class discussions on a regular basis. An intervention during the seminar discussion may consist in giving a reasoned opinion, posing questions to the rest of the class, or both. you have to show you have read and understood the material. What I value is engaging, provocative interventions, questions, answers or thoughts that establish links among the readings, the questions and/or current or historical events. At the bare minimum, you have to show you have read the material. Rambling or talking at length off-topic, or showing you have not worked on the material, will accrue you no points.

**(2) Preparing and leading a class discussion** based on the topics addressed in the lectures (15% of the final grade).

Requirements and assessment: Class discussions work as follows. Each discussion will last roughly 45 minutes, and will be led by one or two people. Everyone (both the leader(s) of the discussion and the rest of the class) should do the readings for the day in question. The leader(s) should prepare questions covering the readings or current topics directly related to the materials or the issues we are discussing that week, and pose these questions to the class.

Students will choose which week they want to lead the discussion by **emailing the instructor individually their three preferred dates by September 13**. The instructor will form the groups assigning dates on a first come, first serve basis.

The student or group should email the questions to the instructor **at least three days in advance**, so he can complement them with his own questions in case there are important aspects not addressed by them.

In terms of assessment, what I value of leading the discussion is presenting engaging, provocative questions, answers and thoughts that establish links among the readings, the questions and/or current or historical events.

**(3) Assignment 1: an outline of the research paper** (mandatory, but no points awarded).

The outline is a description of the intended research to be presented, and should be between 100 and 200 words. After submitting it, students will get immediate feedback and advice on how to proceed with the paper proposal.

Assignment 1 is due by October 4.

**(4) Assignment 2: a formal research paper proposal** (15% of the final grade).

Requirements: The proposal must include a preliminary title, an abstract of 200 words, a clear research question, a clear hypothesis (which is a preliminary answer to the research question, which you would have to validate), and an annotated preliminary list of 7-10 references (5-8 lines per entry, excluding the entry itself, explaining why the reference is useful for the proposed research).

Once submitted, the research proposal topic cannot be changed, since the final research paper develops the submitted proposal.

Marks for the paper proposal will be available approximately one week after the submission deadline, and students will get feedback and advice on how to proceed with the research paper.

The proposal is due by October 18.

**(5) Assignment 3: 1st short comment on an article** (10% of the final grade).

Requirements: One week before the submission deadline the instructor will upload a few newspaper articles related to topics we will have already seen in class. You will then have a week to submit a short comment (800 words, approximately 1,5 pages) on one of them. You have to use at least the relevant references from the syllabus, though you can use more than that. In your comment, you will have to explain the connections between the references and the article. The article you choose cannot be on the same topic you chose for your research paper.

Assignment 3 is due by November 1.

**(6) Assignment 4: 2nd short comment on an article** (10% of the final grade).

Requirements: See description for assignment 3 above.

Assignment 4 is due by November 22.

**(7) Assignment 5: a final research paper** (35% of the final grade).

Requirements: Length: around 20 pages, excluding bibliography, double spaced, building on the previous research proposal. It is compulsory to use in the paper the relevant literature from the list of readings in this syllabus.

The structure of the research paper might vary depending on the chosen topic, number of cases, research question, etc, but at the bare minimum it has to include a general introduction of the research and explain why it is relevant; a clearly stated comparative research question, that is, one that tries to explain an issue through a comparison of cases, rather than describing events; one or more hypotheses, which are the preliminary answer to the research question, and which will be validated or rejected in the paper, fully or in part; a literature review, that is, what other authors have said about the issue, topic or problem we are researching; an argumentation in support of your hypothesis, based on relevant literature (this is the main part of the paper); a conclusion, where you validate, reject, or qualify your hypothesis, and perhaps come up with an alternative explanation for the problem.

The research paper, its requirements and what the instructor expects will be explained in detail in the first class (along with the other assignments), and on meetings during office hours.

The final paper is due by November 29.

**(8) Attendance to events and conferences** organized by the *Nordic Studies Initiative* during the term (5% of the final grade).

**All these assignments must be completed** to receive credit for the course.

**Students should start thinking soon about ideas for the research paper**, and discuss with the instructor the research outline and proposal well before the submission deadlines. **They are both encouraged and expected to discuss the research paper** with the instructor as they are working on it during the term, and to contact him as

much as they need. Waiting until the last week or days before the deadline to discuss the paper -not to speak of submitting it without discussing it at all- is strongly discouraged.

**Students are required to submit an electronic copy of the assignments by the deadline.** No hard copy is required.

**Students are also strongly advised to use Turnitin to submit the assignments,** a tool integrated in Quercus.

“Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to Turnitin.com for a review of textual similarity and detection for possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University’s use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com web site”.

That said, the use of Turnitin is voluntary. If you prefer not to use this tool, come talk to me regarding alternative means of submitting the assignments.

When submitting assignments via Turnitin, students **must double-check the file was uploaded properly and on time.** Corrupted files will not be considered as submitted, and will be given a zero grade.

**Students should upload to Quercus a signed copy of the *Academic Integrity Checklist*** (the form is at the end of the syllabus and on the course Quercus site) by September 20. Otherwise the assignments will not be graded. Computer issues are not a valid reason for not submitting an assignment, or submitting it late, so remember to back up your work.

**Late delivery of assignments carries a penalty of 3% of the assignment’s grade per day,** with a limit of seven days. This means assignments delivered eight or more days after the deadline will not be accepted.

## **7. Course overview:**

The following is a list of the classes held during the term, with their respective dates, readings, and the assignments' due dates.

Students should read the materials before each class. Some of the materials will be placed on reserve (R) at the Robarts Library at the beginning of the term, and/or available from the course Quercus site (Q), either as a link to the source or a pdf document.

The list of readings might be complemented with specific materials (journal and newspaper articles, statistics) for each session. The additional materials will be available from the Blackboard site as well.

### **Sep. 6: Organizational meeting**

Readings:

No readings for this session.

### **Sep. 13: Research workshop at the Robarts Library**

Readings:

No readings for this session.

Deadline to choose a discussion date

### **Sep. 20: Political parties and party systems**

Readings:

Hansen, Kasper M., and Karina Kosiara-Pedersen, "Nordic voters and party systems", in Peter Nedergaard and Anders Wivel, eds., *The Routledge Handbook of Scandinavian Politics*, Oxon, Routledge, 2018, pp. 114-123 (R, Q).

Aylott, Nicholas, "Parties and party systems in the North", in Torbjörn Bergman and Kaare Strøm, eds., *The Madisonian Turn. Political Parties and Parliamentary*

*Democracy in Nordic Europe*, Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press, 2013, pp. 297-328 (R).

## Discussion 1

### Sep. 27: Governments and parliaments

#### Readings:

Ejnar Hansen, Martin, "Cabinets and ministerial turnovers in the Scandinavian countries", in Peter Nedergaard and Anders Wivel, eds., *The Routledge Handbook of Scandinavian Politics*, pp. 92-102 (R, Q).

Persson, Thomas, "The parliaments of the Scandinavian countries", in Peter Nedergaard and Anders Wivel, eds., *The Routledge Handbook of Scandinavian Politics*, pp. 103-113 (R, Q).

Bergman, Torbjörn, and Kaare Strøm, "The Nordics: Demanding citizens, complex polities", in Torbjörn Bergman and Kaare Strøm, eds., *The Madisonian Turn. Political Parties and Parliamentary Democracy in Nordic Europe*, Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press, 2013, pp. 356-387 (R).

## Discussion 2

### Oct. 4: Nordic populism

#### Readings:

Jungar, Ann-Cathrine, "Continuity and convergence: populism in Scandinavia", in Peter Nedergaard and Anders Wivel, eds., *The Routledge Handbook of Scandinavian Politics*, pp. 147-160 (R, Q).

Fryklund, Björn, "Populism – Changes over Time and Space: A Comparative and Retrospective Analysis of Populist Parties in the Nordic Countries from 1965 to 2012", in Ruth Wodak, Majid KhosraviNik and Brigitte Mral, eds., *Right-Wing Populism in Europe: Politics and Discourse*, London, Bloomsbury Academic, 2013, pp. 267-276 (Q).



Jungar, Ann-Cathrine, and Anders Ravik Jupskås, "Populist Radical Right Parties in the Nordic Region: A New and Distinct Party Family?", *Scandinavian Political Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 3, 2014, pp. 215-238 (Q).

### Discussion 3

Research project outline (assignment 1) and Academic Integrity Checklist due

## Oct. 11: Social democracy and trade unions in Scandinavia

### Readings:

Tsarouhas, Dimitris, "Sweden", in Jean-Michel de Waele et al, eds., *The Palgrave Handbook of Social Democracy in the European Union*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, pp. 247-371 (Q).

Stjernø, Steinar, *Solidarity in Europe*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005, pp. 109-132 (Q).

Raunio, Tapio, and Niko Laine, "Finland", in Elin Haugsgjerd Allern and Tim Bale, eds., *Left-of-Centre Parties and Trade Unions in the 21st Century*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2017, pp. 93-110 (Q).

Jansson, Jenny, "Two Branches of the Same Tree? Party–Union Links in Sweden in the Twenty-First Century", in Elin Haugsgjerd Allern and Tim Bale, eds., *Left-of-Centre Parties and Trade Unions in the 21st Century*, pp. 206-224 (Q).

Haugsgjerd Allern, Elin, et al., "Social Democrats and trade unions in Scandinavia: The decline and persistence of institutional relationships", *European Journal of Political Research*, Vol. 46, 2007, pp. 607–635 (Q).

### Discussion 4

## Oct. 18: The Nordic model and the welfare state

### Readings:

Greve, Bent, "Reflecting on the Nordic welfare state: continuity or social change?", in Patricia Kennett and Noemi Lendvai-Baiton, *Handbook of European Social Policy*, Cheltenham, UK, Edward Elgar Publishers, 2017, pp. 248-262 (Q).

Jensen, Carsten, and Kees van Kersbergen, "Goldilocks' Frankenstein monster: the rise, political entrenchment and transformation of the Scandinavian welfare states", in Peter Nedergaard and Anders Wivel, eds., *The Routledge Handbook of Scandinavian Politics*, pp. 69-79 (R, Q).

Bergman, U. Michael, et al., "Fiscal policy in the Scandinavian countries", in Peter Nedergaard and Anders Wivel, eds., *The Routledge Handbook of Scandinavian Politics*, pp. 189-201 (R, Q).

## Discussion 5

Research proposal (assignment 2) due

## Oct. 25: Flexicurity, labour markets and labour policies

### Readings:

Bengtsson, Mattias, "Towards standby-ability: Swedish and Danish activation policies in flux", *International Journal of Social Welfare*, Vol. 23, 2014, pp. S54-S70 (Q).

Jochem, Sven, "Nordic Employment Policies – Change and Continuity Before and During the Financial Crisis", *Social Policy and Administration*, Vol. 45, No. 2, April, 2011, pp. 131-145 (Q).

Andersen, Torben M, and Michael Svarer, "Flexicurity - Labour market performance in Denmark", *CESifo Economic Studies*, 2007, pp. 1-41 (Q).

Bjørsted, Erik, et al, "Lessons Learnt from the Nordics: How to Fight Long-term Unemployment", *Intereconomics*, 2016, pp. 172-178 (Q).

Lindén, Carl-Gustav, "Robots can save jobs", *Nordic Labour Journal*, April 11, 2014 (Q).

## Discussion 6

## Nov. 1: The welfare state, redistribution and equality

### Readings:

Bäckman, Olof, and Kenneth Nelson, "The egalitarian paradise?", in Peter Nedergaard and Anders Wivel, eds., *The Routledge Handbook of Scandinavian Politics*, pp. 25-35 (R, Q).

Bergqvist, Christina, "The welfare state and gender equality", in Jon Pierre, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Swedish Politics*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2016, pp. 55-68 (Q).

We will discuss at length the most recent global indicators and statistics on social mobility and inequality.

### Discussion 7

1st article comment (assignment 3) due

## Nov. 15: Migration and migrant integration policies

### Readings:

Brochmann, Grete, "Immigration policies of the Scandinavian countries", in Peter Nedergaard and Anders Wivel, eds., *The Routledge Handbook of Scandinavian Politics*, pp. 229-239 (R, Q).

Wickström, Mats, "Comparative and transnational perspectives on the introduction of Multiculturalism in post-war Sweden", *Scandinavian Journal of History*, Vol. 40, No. 4, 2015, pp. 512-534 (Q).

Vincent Olsen, Tore, "Danish Political Culture: Fair Conditions for Inclusion of Immigrants?", *Scandinavian Political Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 4, 2011, pp. 269-286 (Q).

Arly Jacobsen, Bryan, "Islam and muslims in Denmark", in Marian Burchardt and Ines Michalowski, eds., *After Integration. Islam, Conviviality and Contentious Politics in Europe*, Wiesbaden, Springer 2015, only pp. 183-183, though the whole chapter is interesting (Q).

Cato, Johan, "Islam in Sweden: Institutionalization, Public Debates and Discursive Paradoxes", in Marian Burchardt and Ines Michalowski, eds., *After Integration*, only pp. 278-280, though the whole chapter is interesting (Q).

Discussion 8

## **Nov. 22: Nordic diplomacy**

Readings:

Marcussen, Martin, "Scandinavian models of diplomacy", in Peter Nedergaard and Anders Wivel, eds., *The Routledge Handbook of Scandinavian Politics*, pp. 240-253 (R).

Out of the classroom session

2nd article comment (assignment 4) due

## **Nov. 29: Is the Nordic model sustainable?**

Readings:

Dølvik, Jon Erik, et al., *The Nordic model towards 2030. A new chapter?*, Oslo, Fafo Institute for Labour and Social Research, 2015, pp. 157-179 (Q).

Andersen, Torben M., "Challenges to the Scandinavian welfare model", *European Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 20, 2004, pp. 743–754 (Q).

Discussion 9

Research paper (assignment 5) due

### ***8. Academic integrity:***

Academic integrity is fundamental to learning and scholarship at the University of Toronto. Participating honestly, respectfully, responsibly, and fairly in this academic community ensures that the U of T degree that you earn will be valued as a true indication of your individual academic achievement, and will continue to receive the respect and recognition it deserves.

Familiarize yourself with the University of Toronto's *Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters* ([www.governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/policies/behaveac.htm](http://www.governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/policies/behaveac.htm)). It is the rule book for academic behaviour at the U of T, and you are expected to know the rules. Potential offences include, but are not limited to:

In papers and assignments:

- Using someone else's ideas or words without appropriate acknowledgement.
- Copying material word-for-word from a source (including lecture and study group notes) and not placing the words within quotation marks.
- Submitting your own work in more than one course without the permission of the instructor.
- Making up sources or facts.
- Including references to sources that you did not use.
- Obtaining or providing unauthorized assistance on any assignment including
  - working in groups on assignments that are supposed to be individual work,
  - having someone rewrite or add material to your work while "editing".
- Lending your work to a classmate who submits it as his/her own without your permission.

On tests and exams:

- Using or possessing any unauthorized aid, including a cell phone.
- Looking at someone else's answers
- Letting someone else look at your answers.
- Misrepresenting your identity.
- Submitting an altered test for re-grading.

Misrepresentation:

- Falsifying or altering any documentation required by the University, including doctor's notes.
- Falsifying institutional documents or grades.

To remind you of these expectations, and help you avoid accidental offences, I will ask you to include a signed Academic Integrity Checklist with every assignment (see checklist at the end of this document). If you do not include the statement, your work will not be graded.

The University of Toronto treats cases of academic misconduct very seriously. All suspected cases of academic dishonesty will be investigated following the procedures outlined in the *Code*. The consequences for academic misconduct can be severe, including a failure in the course and a notation on your transcript. If you have any questions about what is or is not permitted in this course, please do not hesitate to contact me. If you have questions about appropriate research and citation methods, seek out additional information from me, or from other available campus resources like the U of T Writing Website (<http://www.writing.utoronto.ca>). If you are experiencing personal challenges that are having an impact on your academic work, please speak to me or seek the advice of your college registrar.

Also, it is worth checking the Academic Integrity Section on the Faculty of Arts and Science site: [www.artsci.utoronto.ca/osai/students/academic-integrity-basics](http://www.artsci.utoronto.ca/osai/students/academic-integrity-basics)

### ***9. Accommodations for Disability:***

Students with diverse learning styles and needs are welcome in this course. In particular, if you have a disability/health consideration that may require accommodations, please feel free to approach me and/or Accessibility Services at 416-978-8060, [accessibility.utoronto.ca](http://accessibility.utoronto.ca).

### ***10. Religious Accommodations:***

The University has a general policy of accommodating absences for reasons of religious obligation, strongly articulated on the Provost's webpage ([www.viceprovoststudents.utoronto.ca/publicationsandpolicies/guidelines/religiousobservances.htm](http://www.viceprovoststudents.utoronto.ca/publicationsandpolicies/guidelines/religiousobservances.htm)). Students are expected to give reasonable advance notice of their absence.

### *Academic Integrity Checklist*

JRA410H1/POL2391H1F

TOPICS IN COMPARATIVE POLITICS III (Politics and Policy in the Nordic Region)  
Fall 2018

Instructor: Francisco Beltran

I, \_\_\_\_\_, affirm that the five written assignments listed in the section 6 of the syllabus represent entirely my own efforts.

I confirm that:

- ☐ I have acknowledged the use of another's ideas with accurate citations.
- ☐ If I used the words of another (e.g., author, instructor, information source), I have acknowledged this with quotation marks (or appropriate indentation) and proper citation.
- ☐ When paraphrasing the work of others, I put the idea into my own words and did not just change a few words or rearrange the sentence structure
- ☐ I have checked my work against my notes to be sure I have correctly referenced all direct quotes or borrowed ideas.
- ☐ My bibliography includes only the sources used to complete this assignment.
- ☐ This is the first time I have submitted these assignments (in whole or in part) for credit.
- ☐ Any proofreading by another was limited to indicating areas of concern which I then corrected myself.
- ☐ This is the final version of my assignments and not a draft.
- ☐ I have kept my work to myself and did not share answers/content with others, unless otherwise directed by my instructor.
- ☐ I understand the consequences of violating the University's academic integrity policies as outlined in the *Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters*.

By signing this form I agree that the statements above are true.

If I do not agree with the statements above, I will not submit my assignments and will consult the course instructor immediately.

Student name: \_\_\_\_\_ Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_