# McMaster University Department of Political Science

# POLSCI 705 / GLOBALST 705 Global Public Policy Fall Term, 2016-17

Instructor: Dr. Stephen McBride Seminar: Fridays, 08.30 am – 11.20 am

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# **Description:**

Few policy areas are truly either national or global. Most demonstrate some degree of interaction between global and national regimes This course examines the dynamics of global-national interaction in a variety of policy areas drawn from areas like the welfare state, economic management, trade and investment, privatization, un/employment, migration, and health. Debates around the role of ideas, structures and institutions, and issues of policy continuity and change frame discussions around global governance, the re-focusing of the state, and its response to crises, including austerity policies and their alternatives.

**Course Organization:** There will be a three-hour seminar each week.

#### **Course Evaluation:**

Participation	20%
Short Reports (2 @ 10 each)	20%
Draft Research Paper	20%
Research Paper	40%

SYLLABUS: TOPICS AND READINGS

Week 1 September 9 Course Organisation and Introduction

Week 2 September 16 Policy Change: Structures, Crises and the Big Picture

# Required:

Kari Polanyi Levitt.2013. "From Mercantilism to Neoliberalism and the Financial Crisis of 2008" Chapter 10 in Polanyi Levitt, *From the Great Transformation to the Great Financialization* (Halifax: Fernwood)

Peter Gourevitch. 1986. "Explaining Policy Choices", Chapter 2 in Gourevitch, *Politics in Hard Times: Comparative Responses to International Economic Crises* Ithaca: Cornell University Press

Kevin Farnsworth and Zoe Irving. 2011. "Varieties of Crisis" Chapter 1 in Farnsworth and Irving eds. *Social Policy in Challenging Times: Economic Crisis and Welfare Systems* Bristol: Policy Press

Amin Samman.2015. "Crisis Theory and the Historical Imagination" *Review of International Political Economy* Vol 22:5, pp. 966-995

#### **Recommended:**

Mathias Koenig-Archibugi, "Global Dimensions of Policy" Global Policy Vol 1:1

G. Esping-Anderson.1989. "Three Political Economies of the Welfare State." *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*. February

Peter Burnham.2000. "Globalization, Depoliticization, and 'Modern' Economic Management" in Werner Bonefeld and Kosmas Psychopedis. *The Politics of Change: Globalization, Ideology and Critique* (Hampshire: Palgrave)

Bob Jessop, "Narratives of Crisis and Crisis Response: Perspectives from North and South" in Peter Utting et.al. The Global Crisis and Transformative Social Change (London: Palgrave Macmillan /UNRISD), Chapter 1

Week 3 September 23 Economic and Other Crises

#### Required:

Michael Hill. 2011. "The economic crisis and paradigm change" Chapter 2 in in Farnsworth and Irving eds. *Social Policy in Challenging Times: Economic Crisis and Welfare Systems* (Bristol: Policy Press)

Peter A. Hall. 2014. Varieties of Capitalism and the Euro Crisis, *West European Politics*, 37:6, pp. 1223-1243

Simon Rushton. 2011. "Global Health Security: Security for Whom? Security From What? *Political Studies* Vol 59

David Held. 2016. "Climate Change Migration and the Cosmopolitan Dilemma", *Global Policy* Vol 7:2

#### **Recommended:**

Joseph Stiglitz. 2011. "Rethinking Macroeconomics: What Went Wrong and How to Fix It: *Global Policy* 2:2

Stephen Castles .2011. "Migration, Crisis, and the Global Labour Market", *Globalizations*, Vol 8:3

# Week 4 September 30 Global Policy: Ideas, Interests, Institutions

## **Required:**

Hall, Peter A.1993. "Policy Paradigms, Social Learning, and the State: The Case of Economic Policymaking in Britain." *Comparative Politics* 25(4): 275-96.

David Harvey. 2005. "The Neoliberal State," in David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

Vivien A Schmidt and Mark Thatcher. 2013. "Theorizing Ideational Continuity: The resilience of neo-liberal ideas in Europe" in Schmidt and Thatcher. *Resilient Liberalism in Europe's Political Economy* (Cambridge University Press)

Stanley, Liam. 2014. "'We're reaping what we sow': Everyday Crisis Narratives and Acquiescence to the Age of Austerity" *New Political* Economy Vol 19:6, pp. 895-917

#### **Recommended:**

Tony Porter and Michael Webb. 2008. "Role of the OECD in the Orchestration of Global Knowledge Networks" in Rianne Mahon and Stephen McBride eds. *The OECD and Transnational Governance* (Vancouver UBC Press)

William K. Carroll. 2010. "Introduction" and "Conclusion" to William K. Carroll, *The Making of a Transnational Capitalist Class: Corporate Power in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (London: Zed Books)

Meseguer, Covadonga and Gilardi, Fabrizio.2009. 'What is new in the study of policy diffusion?', *Review of International Political Economy*, 16: 3, pp. 527-543.

Johnathan Kirshner. 1999. "Keynes, capital mobility and the crisis of embedded liberalism." *Review of International Political Economy*. Vol 6:3, Autumn, pp. 313-337.

### Week 5 October 7 The Curious Politics of Austerity Policies

# Required:

OECD, Fiscal Consolidation: How Much, How Fast and by What Means? Paris 2012

Mark Blyth. 2013. *Austerity: The History of a Dangerous Idea* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 1-20 and 205-226

John Clarke and Janet Newman. 2012. "The Alchemy of Austerity", *Critical Social Policy* August. 32:3, pp. 299-319

Wolfgang Streek. 2014. "Neoliberal Reform: From Tax State to Debt State" in Streek *Buying Time: The Delayed Crisis of Democratic Capitalism* (London: Verso)

#### **Recommended:**

Armin Schafer and Wolfgang Streek, "Introduction: Politics in an Age of Austerity", chapter 1 in Schafer and Streek, *Politics in the Age of Austerity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013)

Week 6 October 14 READING WEEK NO CLASS

Week 7 October 21 Policy restructuring: labour markets

#### **Required:**

Gilens, Martin and Benjamin I. Page. 2014. "Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups and Average Citizens" *Perspectives on Politics* Vol 12:3

Guy Standing.1999. "The Pursuit of Flexibility" in Standing, *Global Labour Flexibility* (London: MacMillan)

Jason Heyes, "Flexicurity in Crisis: European Labour market policies in a time of austerity", *European Journal of Industrial Relations* Vol 19:1, 2013

Ross Fergusson and Nicola Yeates. 2013. "Business, as usual: the policy priorities of the World Bank's discourses on youth unemployment, and the global financial crisis", *Journal of International and Comparative Social Policy* Vol 29:1

#### **Recommended:**

Wayne Lewchuk <u>et.al.</u> Its More than Poverty: Employment Precarity and Household well-being PEPSO

Stephen McBride, Kathleen McNutt and Russell Williams. 2008. "Policy Learning? The OECD and its Jobs Strategy." In Rianne Mahon and Stephen McBride eds. *The OECD and Transnational Governance* (Vancouver UBC Press)

Scott Greer. 2014. "Structural Adjustment Comes to Europe: Lessons For the Eurozone From the Conditionality Debates", *Global Social Policy* 14:1, pp. 51-71

Jon Kvist. 2013. "The post-crisis European social model: developing or dismantling social investments?" *Journal of International and Comparative Social Policy* Vol. 29:1

# WEEK 8 October 28 Privatization and de/reregulation (national and global)

#### Required:

David Harvey. 2008. "Accumulation by Dispossession." In *The New Imperialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

Graeme A. Hodge. Privatization: an international review of performance. Westview: USA, 2000; and

Dieter Bos, "Arguments on Privatization." In *Privatization: a theoretical treatment* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991)

Heather Whiteside. 2012. "Crises of Capital and the Logic of Dispossession and Repossession", *Studies in Political Economy*, Vol 89 Spring, pp. 59-78

## **Recommended:**

John Loxley.2012. "Public-Private Partnerships After the Global Financial Crisis: Ideology Trumping Economic Reality", *Studies in Political Economy*, Vol 89, 7-38

S. Andreasson. 2006. "Stand and Deliver: private property and the politics of dispossession." *Political Studies* Vol 54:1, pp. 3-22.

Terence J. Byres, "Neoliberalism and Primitive Accumulation in Less Developed Countries" in Saad Filho and Johnson, *Neoliberalism: A Critical Introduction*.

Week 9 November 4 Global governance and limited democracy

## **Required:**

Stephen McBride. 2010. "The New Constitutionalism: International and Private Rule in the New Global Order", in Gary Teeple and Stephen McBride eds. *Relations of Global Power: Neoliberal Order and Disorder* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press)

Alexander E. Kentikelenis, Thomas Stubbs and Lawrence King. 2016. "IMF Conditionality and Development Policy Space 1985-2014", *Review of International Political Economy* 

Rorden Wilkinson.2011. "Measuring the WTO's Performance: An Alternative Account", *Global Policy* Vol 2:1

Daniel Drache -- China's Challenge to Global Governance \* to be circulated prior to class

Guest speaker: Daniel Drache

#### **Recommended:**

Richard Mansbach and Ellen B. Pirro. 2016. "Putting the Pieces Together: International and European Institutions After the Economic Crisis", *Global Governance* Vol22, pp. 99-115

Van Harten, Gus. 2005. "Private Authority and Transnational Governance: The Contours of the International System of Investor Protection", *Review of International Political Economy* Vol 12:4

Robert Wade. 2010. "After the Crisis: Industrial Policy and the Developmental State in Low Income Countries", *Global Policy* Vol 1:2

Grinspun, Ricardo and Robert Kreklewich. 1994. "Consolidating Neoliberal Reforms: 'Free Trade' as a Conditioning Framework" in *Studies in Political Economy*. Vol 43

Week 10 November 11 Issues in Global Governance: Health/ Migration

Ricci, J. (2009). Global Health Governance and the State: Premature Claims of A Post-International Framework. *Global Health Governance*, Vol 3:1, pp. 1-18.

Owain David Williams and Simon Rushton, "Are the Good times Over? Looking to the Future of Global Health Governance" *Global Health Governance*, V:I, Fall 2011.

Kathleen Newland. 2010. "The Governance of International Migration: Mechanisms, Processes, and Institutions" *Global Governance* Vol 16:3

Regine Paul, "Limits of the Competition State? The Cultural political economy of European labour migration policies" *Critical Policy Studies*, (December 2012) Vol 6:4, pp. 379-401

#### **Recommended:**

Hein, W., & Kohlmorgen, L. 2008. Global Health Governance: Conflicts on Global Social Rights. *Global Social Policy*, Vol 8:1, pp. 80-109.

Weeks 11, 12, 13 // November 18, 25, December 2 presentations and peer discussion of draft papers.

# Further on the course evaluation requirements

An explanation of what is involved in each of these categories follows.

#### **Participation**

Students are expected to attend all sessions and to demonstrate that they have prepared for the seminar discussion.

In the first part of the course this will be demonstrated by taking part in discussions of the assigned readings in such a way that it is clear that the material has been read, thought about, analysed and questioned.

In the second part of the course, this will be demonstrated by taking part in the discussion of other students' papers, which will have been circulated electronically in advance of the seminar, showing that they have been read and either critiqued or constructive suggestions made whereby the paper might be improved.

#### Reports

Each student will be responsible for the preparation and presentation to the seminar of **two reports** (max. length 750 words each). Each report will be presented orally in class with a written version being handed in the same day.

*Report 1* will deal with *one of the <u>"recommended"</u> readings* – a journal article or book chapter.

The report will present a summary and critique of the article/chapter. It should: summarise the main argument; then make a critique. The critique might: comment on its strengths/ weaknesses, relationship to other readings, for the week, say whether it seems to make a significant argument, point to obvious criticisms that could be made of its contents, perspective, methodology etc. In particular, *the oral presentation* of the report should make connections with other course readings and draw out questions or issues that are deserving of discussion by the class as a whole. In some cases it may also be necessary to update the empirical content of the article via brief web research.

<u>Report 2</u> will involve each student serving as chief *discussant for another student's paper* in the second part of the course. This is modelled on the procedure used at many academic conferences. The paper will be received in advance and the discussant will prepare a review (not unlike that in *Report 1*) but focused on identifying weaknesses and on suggesting improvements. This will be presented orally after the paper-giving student has finished an in-class presentation of his/her paper. A copy of the report will be given to *both* the instructor and to the paper-giver.

# **Research Paper Process**

The paper should be on some aspect of global public policy as considered in the course. The topic should be developed in consultation with the instructor. Papers will be expected to address some of the theoretical and empirical concerns that are reflected in the course readings.

There are a number of distinct stages in the development of the research papers for this course – some very brief and casual, other more substantial and formal.

- 1. During the first three to four weeks of class each student should identify a general topic and check with instructor that it is generally acceptable. This can be done in a casual conversation or by a brief email exchange.
- **2.** Each student will be expected to schedule a 5-10 minute meeting with the course instructor during the week of **October 3-7**, or earlier, to discuss ideas for the essay, agree on a precise topic etc.
- 3. Following that meeting students will prepare a draft research proposal and may engage in some discussion with the instructor, either in person or by email, about the development of the proposal. The formal Research Proposal will be due, by email attachment (in WORD not pdf) on Friday October 21) It should contain: a title, a description of the topic or question to be investigated; the main theoretical issues raised by the research topic or question; a preliminary thesis statement; a very short literature review; an identification of types of evidence to be used

in investigating the topic; and a bibliography. (maximum length of the proposal, not including the bibliography = 750 words). Written feedback will provided during **the week of (October 24-28)** 

- **4.** On the basis of this research proposal and feedback received, students will then prepare a draft research paper which will be presented in one of the seminars in the last part of the course (**Scheduling** of the order of presentations, and assignment of a discussant for each paper, will be done **by October 24** and circulated to all class members by email)
- 5. DRAFT PAPER DUE: Authors will electronically circulate the draft paper to all members of the class by 10 am on the Tuesday prior to the day the paper will be presented.

# FINAL PAPER Due Date: Two weeks after in-class presentation

Length Guideline: 5000 words (not including bibliography or Appendix 1 – see below).

As an **Appendix to the paper**, each student will include a 750 word response to comments, criticisms, and suggestions received during the presentation of their paper. This might include reasons why particular criticisms/ suggestions were accepted or rejected in the writing of the final paper.

(*Note:* You will receive written comments from your discussant and the instructor but will need to take notes of comments by your peers)

# **University Policies**

### **Academic Dishonesty**

You are expected to exhibit honesty and use ethical behaviour in all aspects of the learning process. Academic credentials you earn are rooted in principles of honesty and academic integrity.

Academic dishonesty is to knowingly act or fail to act in a way that results or could result in unearned academic credit or advantage. This behaviour can result in serious consequences, e.g. the grade of zero on an assignment, loss of credit with a notation on the transcript (notation reads: "Grade of F assigned for academic dishonesty"), and/or suspension or expulsion from the university.

It is your responsibility to understand what constitutes academic dishonesty. For information on the various types of academic dishonesty please refer to the Academic Integrity Policy, located at www.mcmaster.ca/academicintegrity

The following illustrates only three forms of academic dishonesty:

- 1. Plagiarism, e.g. the submission of work that is not one's own or for which other credit has been obtained.
- 2. Improper collaboration in group work.
- 3. Copying or using unauthorized aids in tests and examinations.

#### **Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities**

Students who require academic accommodation must contact Student Accessibility Services (SAS) to make arrangements with a Program Coordinator. Academic accommodations must be arranged for each term of study. Student Accessibility Services can be contacted by phone 905-525-9140 ext. 28652 or e-mail sas@mcmaster.ca. For further information, consult McMaster University's Policy for Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities.

# Faculty of Social Sciences E-Mail Communication Policy

Effective September 1, 2010, it is the policy of the Faculty of Social Sciences that all e-mail communication sent from students to instructors (including TAs), and from students to staff, must originate from the student's own McMaster University e-mail account. This policy protects confidentiality and confirms the identity of the student. It is the student's responsibility to ensure that communication is sent to the university from a McMaster account. If an instructor becomes aware that a communication has come from an alternate address, the instructor may not reply at his or her discretion. Email Forwarding in MUGSI:

http://www.mcmaster.ca/uts/support/email/emailforward.html

\*Forwarding will take effect 24-hours after students complete the process at the above link (Approved at the Faculty of Social Sciences meeting on Tues. May 25, 2010)

#### **Course Modification Statement**

The instructor and university reserve the right to modify elements of the course during the term. The university may change the dates and deadlines for any or all courses in extreme circumstances. If either type of modification becomes necessary, reasonable notice and communication with the students will be given with explanation and the opportunity to comment on changes. It is the responsibility of the student to check his/her McMaster email and course websites weekly during the term and to note any changes.

#### **Avenue to Learn**

In this course we will be using Avenue to Learn. Students should be aware that, when they access the electronic components of this course, private information such as first and last names, user names for the McMaster e-mail accounts, and program affiliation may become apparent to all other students in the same course. The available information is dependent on the technology used. Continuation in this course will be deemed consent to this disclosure. If you have any questions or concerns about such disclosure please discuss this with the course instructor.