

GLOBALIZATION AND THE CANADIAN STATE

Term1, Fall 2018

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Course Description

Canada has always been a global (nation) state, integrated with the international political economy and having close political, economic and cultural ties with succeeding hegemonic powers. An active player on the global stage, Canada has also had to adapt and respond to intellectual and policy paradigm shifts embedded in global relations, while taking into accounts its federal structure and diversity based on issues of region, class, indigeneity, and nationality. This course examines the relationship between the Canadian state and globalization, old and new.

Course Objectives

By the end of the course students should be able to:

- Understand and discuss the main theoretical and empirical debates about the interaction of globalization and the Canadian state.
- Complete a significant research paper on the topic.
- Constructively comment on and critique academic writings and peer papers.

Required Materials and Texts

There is no required textbook. Students will have assigned readings as listed under the Weekly Course Schedule and Required Readings section.

See below under Weekly course schedule and required readings.

Class Format

The course will adapt a seminar format.

Course Evaluation – Overview

1. Seminar Participation – 20%
2. Short Reports (2 @ 10%) – 20%
3. Draft Research Proposal - 20%, due Friday, October 12th
4. Final Research Paper – 40%, due two weeks after class presentation

Course Evaluation – Details

Seminar Participation (20%)

The success of any graduate class depends on the active participation of students. So, of course, you are expected to attend all sessions and to show that you have prepared for the seminar discussion, by drawing out questions and issues from the assigned materials and giving your own reflections on the significance of the points made by authors of those materials.

In the first part of the course this will be through taking part in discussions of the assigned readings and in the last part of the course, it will be through discussion of other students' papers, which will have been circulated electronically in advance of the seminar. Constructive criticism and suggestions for improvement are especially appreciated as these papers are drafts with opportunities to revise and improve them before the final version is submitted.

Short Reports (2 @10%) 20%

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 "recommended" readings** – a journal article or book chapter.

The written 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 written 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.

Report 2 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.

Draft Research Proposal (20%), due Friday, October 12th

The paper should be on a *topic relating globalization and some aspect of the Canadian state* (for example, institutions, political processes, policies, political economy). 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. It's a good idea to check with instructor that the topic is 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 me during the week of ***October 1st, 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 12.*** 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 15).***
- 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 18*** and circulated to all class members by email). The presentations themselves will be during the last 3 weeks of class – ***Nov 15, 22 and 29.***
- 5. DRAFT PAPER DUE:** ***Authors will electronically circulate the draft paper to all members of the class by 10 am on the Monday prior to the day the paper will be presented.***

Final Research Paper (40%), due 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).

Weekly Course Schedule and Required Readings

Week 1 (Sept 6) Introduction

Topic: Course Organization and Introduction

Required Readings: n/a

Week 2 (Sept 13) Key Concepts

Topic: Key Concepts and the Globalization/Nation-State Debate

Required Readings:

- Paul Hirst, Grahame Thompson and Simon Bromley, “Contours of Globalization” from *Globalization in Question*, 3rd edition, 2002.
- Thomas I. Palley, “Three Globalizations not Two: Rethinking the History and Economics of Trade and Globalization”, *FMM Working Paper*, 2018.
- Grace Skogstad and Vivien Schmidt, “Introduction: Policy Paradigms, Transnationalism, and Domestic Politics” in Skogstad, (ed.), *Policy Paradigms, Transnationalism, and Domestic Politics* (University of Toronto Press, 2011).
- William Mitchell and Thomas Fazi, “Destined to Fail: Understanding the Crisis of Keynesianism and the Rise of Neoliberalism”, Chapter 3 in Mitchell and Fazi, (eds.) *Reclaiming the State* (London: Pluto Press, 2017).

Week 3 (Sept 20) Theories and Practices

Topic: Theories and Practices of the Canadian State

Required Readings:

- Denis Pilon, “The Contested Origins of Canadian Democracy”, *Studies in Political Economy*, Vol.98:2 (2017), pp. 105-123.
- E. A. Heaman, “The Liberal State in the Nineteenth Century”, in Heaman *A Short History of the State in Canada* (University of Toronto Press, 2015), Chapter 3.
- Gregory Albo and Jane Jenson, “A Contested Concept: The Relative Autonomy of the State” in Wallace Clement and Glen Williams *New Canadian Political Economy* (McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1989), Chapter 9.
- Kenneth Roberts, “Canada and the Multinational State”, *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 34:4 (December, 2001), pp. 683-713.

Recommended:

- Stephen McBride, “The Globalization Debate”, in *Paradigm Shift* (Fernwood: 2nd edition, 2005), pp. 4-9 and 13-26.
- Maria Gritsch, “The nation-state and economic globalization: soft geo-politics and increased state autonomy?” *Review of International Political Economy* Vol. 12:1 (2005), pp. 1-25.
- Peter Graefe, “The contradictory political economy of minority nationalism”, *Theory and Society*, Vol 34:5-6 (2005), pp. 519-549.

Week 4 (Sept 27) Embracing Globalization

Topic: Embracing Globalization

Required Readings:

- Philip Cerny, Georg Menz and Susanne Soederberg, "Different Roads to Globalization: Neoliberalism, the Competition State, and Politics in a More Open World", in Philip Cerny, Georg Menz and Susanne Soederberg, (eds.) *Internalizing Globalization* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).
- Stephen McBride, "The Theory and Politics of trade and Investment Agreements: Class and Nation at the Global Level", in *Paradigm Shift* (Fernwood: 2nd edition, 2005), Chapter 4.
- Stephen Clarkson, "NAFTA and the WTO as Supraconstitution", in Clarkson *Uncle Sam and US* (University of Toronto Press, 2002), pp. 49-72.
- Grace Skogstad, "Globalization and Public Policy: Situating Canadian Analyses", *Canadian Journal of Political Science* Vol. 33:4 (December, 2000), pp.805-828.

Recommended:

- Malcolm Fairbrother, "Trade Policymaking in the real world: Elites' conflicting worldviews and North American intergration", *Review of International Political Economy* Vol. 17:2 (May, 2010), pp. 319-347.

Week 5 (Oct 4) Canada

Topic: Canada: An (Always) Global (and Resource Dependent?) Nations/State

Required Readings:

- Daniel Drache, "Harold Innis and Canadian Capitalist Development" in Gordon Laxer (ed.) *Perspectives on Canadian Economic Development* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1991).
- Stephen McBride, "Canada: An (Always) Global Nation", in *Paradigm Shift* (Fernwood: 2nd edition, 2005), Chapter 2.
- Jim Stanford, "Staples, Deindustrialization, and Foreign Investment: Canada's Economic Journey Back to the Future" in *Studies in Political Economy* Vol. 82:1 (2008), pp. 7-34.
- "Staple Theory and the Bitumen Boom" (short articles by Thomas Gunton, Gordon Laxer, Daniel Drache and Jim Stanford) from Jim Stanford, (eds.) *The Staple Theory @ 50 Reflections on the Lasting Significance of Mel Watkins' "A Staple Theory of Economic Growth"* Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, (Ottawa, 2014), pp. 43-74.

Recommended:

- Stephen McBride, "The Political Economy Tradition and Canadian Policy Studies" in Laurent Dobuzinskis, et.al, *Policy Studies in Canada: The State of the Art* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), pp. 49-66.

- Paul Ciccantell, “NAFTA and the Reconstruction of U.S. Hegemony: The Raw Material Foundations of Economic Competitiveness”, *Canadian Journal of Sociology* Vol. 26:1 (Winter, 2001), pp. 57-87.
- Adam Wellstead, “The (Post) Staples Economy and the (Post) Staples State in Historical Perspective”, *Canadian Political Science Review* Vol. 1:1 (2007), pp. 8-25.

Week 6 (Oct 11) Fall mid-term recess, NO CLASS

Week 7 (Oct 18) Of Petro-States and Pipelines

Topic: Of Petro-States and Pipelines

Required Readings:

- Travis Fast, “Stapled to the Front Door: Neoliberal Extractivism In Canada”, in *Studies in Political Economy* Vol. 94:1 (2014), pp. 31-60.
- Angela V. Carter and Anna Zalik, “Fossil Capitalism and the Rentier State: Toward a Political Ecology of Alberta’s Oil Economy”, in Laurie E. Adkin, (ed.) *First World Petro Politics: The Political Ecology and Governance of Alberta* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), pp. 52-77.
- Rebecca Hall, “Diamond Mining in Canada’s Northwest Territories: A Colonial Continuity” *Antipode* Vol. 45:2 (2013), pp 376–393.
- Richard Carlson and Matthew Mendelsohn, *The Politics of Pipelines: Ontario’s Stake in Canada’s Pipeline Debate* (Toronto: Mowat Centre for Policy Innovation, University of Toronto, 2013).

Recommended:

- Maura Hanrahan, “Water (in)security in Canada: national identity and the exclusion of Indigenous Peoples”, *British Journal of Canadian Studies*, Vol 30:1 (2017), pp. 69-89.
- Brendan Haley, “From Staples Trap to Carbon Trap: Canada’s Peculiar Form of Carbon Lock-in”, *Studies in Political Economy* Vol. 88:1 (Autumn, 2011), pp. 97-132.

Week 8 (Oct 25) Globalization, Labour and Canadian Political Economy

Topic: Globalization, Labour and Canadian Political Economy

Required Readings:

- Alan G. Green and David Green, “The Goals of Canada’s Immigration Policy: A Historical Perspective” *Canadian Journal of Urban Research* Vol. 13:1 (August, 2004), pp. 102-139.

- Judy Fudge and Fiona MacPhail, “The Temporary Foreign Worker Program in Canada: Low-Skilled Workers as an Extreme Form of Flexible Labour” in *Comparative Labor Law and Policy Journal* Vol. 31:5 (2009), pp. 101-139.
- John Peters, “Neoliberalism, Inequality and Austerity in Rich World Democracies” in Donna Baines and Stephen McBride, (eds.) *Orchestrating Austerity: Impacts and Resistance* (Halifax: Fernwood, 2014), Chapter 4.
- Stephen McBride, “Dealing with Unions”, in McBride *Working?: Employment Policy in Canada* (Oakville: Rock’s Mills Press, 2017), Chapter 9.

Recommended:

- Suzanne Mills and Brendan Sweeney, “Employment Relations in the Neostaples Resource Economy: Impact Benefit Agreements and Aboriginal Governance in Canada’s Nickel Mining Industry”, *Studies in Political Economy* Col. 91:3 (2013), pp. 7-34.
- Harvey Krahn and Angela Chow, “Youth Unemployment and Career Scarring: Social-Psychological Mediating Effects?” *Canadian Journal of Sociology* Vol. 41:2 (2016), pp. 117-137.
- Robert Andersen and Josh Curtis, “Social Class, Economic Inequality and the Convergence of Policy Preferences: Evidence from 24 Modern Democracies” *Canadian Review of Sociology* Vol. 52:3 (August, 2015), pp. 266-288.

Week 9 (Nov 1) Canada’s Multilevel State

Topic: Canada’s Multilevel State and the National and Regional Questions

Required Readings:

- Nicolas Graham, Shannon Daub and Bill Carroll, “Mapping Political Influence: Political donations and lobbying by the fossil fuel industry in BC”, in *Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives* (March, 2017).
- Paul Kellogg, “Prairie Capitalism Revisited: Canada, Bitumen, and the Resource Colony Question” *Journal of Canadian Studies* Vol. 49:3 (Fall, 2013), pp. 222-255.
- Adam Harmes, “The Political Economy of Open Federalism” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* Vol. 40:2 (June, 2007), pp. 417-437.

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- Peter Graefe and X.H. Rioux, “Austerity of Imagination: Quebec’s Struggles in Translating Resistance into Alternatives”, in Bryan M. Evans and Stephen McBride, (eds.), *Austerity: the Lived Experience* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), Chapter 12.

OR

- Bryan Evans and Charles W. Smith, “The Transformation of Ontario Politics: The Long Ascent of Neoliberalism” in Evans and Smith, (eds.), *Transforming Provincial Politics* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015).

OR

- Heather Whiteside, “BC’s Recurrent Austerity: Victory Unfettered from Success” in Bryan Evans and Carlo Fanelli (eds.), *The Public Sector in an Age of Austerity* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2018), Chapter 1.

OR

- Keith Brownsey, “Alberta and the Great Recession: Neoliberalism, Conservative Governments, and Public Finance” in Bryan Evans and Carlo Fanelli (eds.), *The Public Sector in an Age of Austerity* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2018), Chapter 2.

Recommended:

- Ellen Russell, “The Strategic Use of Budget Crisis” in Donna Baines and Stephen McBride, (eds.) *Orchestrating Austerity: Impacts and Resistance* (Halifax: Fernwood, 2014), Chapter 3.
- Peter Graefe, “The High Value-Added, Low-Wage Model: Progressive Competitiveness in Quebec from Bourassa to Bouchard” *Studies in Political Economy* Vol. 61:1 (Spring, 2000), pp. 5-30.
- Julie Tomiak, “Navigating the contradictions of the shadow state: the Assembly of First Nations, state funding, and scales of Indigenous resistance” *Studies in Political Economy* Vol. 97:3 (2016), pp. 217-233.

Week 10 (Nov 8) Globalization, Canadian Pol Econ & Democratic Malaise

Topic: Globalization, Canadian Political Economy and Democratic Malaise

Required Readings:

- E.A. Heaman, “The People’s State in the Twentieth Century” in *A Short History of the State in Canada* (University of Toronto Press, 2015), Chapter 4
- John Peters, “Post-Democracy and the Politics of Inequality: Explaining Policy Responses to the Financial Crisis and the Great Recession” in Stephen McBride and Bryan M. Evans, (eds.), *The Austerity State* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), Chapter 3.
- Readings on NAFTA Renegotiation: Scott Sinclair, Stuart Trew and Hadrian Merkins-Kirkwood, “Submission to Global Affairs Canada on the renegotiation and modernization of NAFTA” Canadian Centre of Policy Alternatives (CCPA), July 2017; Tony Payan, “NAFTA Renegotiations: Constraints and Likely Outcome”, Rice University’s Baker Institute for Public Policy, Issue Brief, 2017.
- Lorna Stefanik, “Blurring the Boundaries of Private, Partisan and Public Interests: Accountability in an Oil Economy” in Meenal Shrivastava & Lorna Stefanick, (eds.), *Alberta Oil and the Decline of Democracy in Canada* (Edmonton: Athabasca University Press, 2015), Chapter 14.
- Jeffrey Monaghan and Kevin Walby, “Surveillance of environmental movements in Canada: critical infrastructure protection and the petro-security apparatus”, in *Contemporary Justice Review* Vol. 20:1 (2017), pp. 51-70.

Recommended:

- David Schneiderman, "Investment Rules in Action" in David Schneiderman *Constitutionalizing Economic Globalization* (Cambridge University Press, 2008), Chapter 3.
- Chris Southcott and David Natcher, "Extractive industries and Indigenous subsistence economies: a complex and unresolved relationship", *Canadian Journal of Development Studies* Vol. 39:1 (2016), pp. 137-154.

Week 11 (Nov 15) Presentations

Topic: Presentation and Peer Discussion of Draft Papers

Readings: n/a

Week 12 (Nov 22) Presentations

Topic: Presentations and Peer Discussion of Draft Papers

Readings: n/a

Week 13 (Nov 29) Presentations

Topic: Presentations and Peer Discussion of Draft Papers

Readings:

Course Policies

Submission of Assignments

Written work must be submitted in hard copy in class and cannot be accepted electronically or by fax.

Grades

Grades will be based on the McMaster University grading scale:

MARK	GRADE
90-100	A+
85-90	A
80-84	A-
77-79	B+
73-76	B
70-72	B-
69-0	F

Late Assignments

Late papers will be accepted, but will be subject to a late penalty of 1 per cent per weekday to a maximum of 5 days, after which they will not be accepted and a mark of 0 will be recorded. In the interest of fairness to all students, there will be no exceptions to this unless you have arranged with me in advance for an extension. Papers submitted after deadlines (including excused late papers) will be marked, but comments will not be provided.

Absences, Missed Work, Illness

Please inform me of any absences or problems with the course.

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.

University Policies

Academic Integrity Statement

You are expected to exhibit honesty and use ethical behavior 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 behavior 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 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.

Course Modification

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.