

**McMaster University**

**Political Science 4NN3E – Issues in Global Political Economy**

Fall Term 2013

Wednesday, 7:00 PM – 10:00 PM

Chester New Hall, Room 207

**Instructor:** Michael Di Gregorio ([digregmn@mcmaster.ca](mailto:digregmn@mcmaster.ca))

**Office:** KTH-505

**Office Hours:** Wednesday, 5:30 PM – 6:30 PM

**Skype:** digregmn

**Neoliberalism and its Critics**

It is common today to speak and think of economics and politics as *separate* spheres of our daily life, insofar as we think of them at all. This separation, however, is an entirely modern phenomenon. It is going to be our aim in this seminar to recapture the natural unity in how we speak and think economically and politically by considering the roots of our Neoliberal world, and what it means to participate in this global way of life.

**Course Format:**

|                            |                           |
|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| On-line Reflections:       | 10% (five total, 2% each) |
| Participation:             | 15%                       |
| Presentations:             | 20%                       |
| Book Review / Short Essay: | 20%                       |
| Research Essay, ~15pp:     | 35%                       |

This course has an **Avenue to Learn** page that we will be using for discussion, reflections, and assignment submission. Be sure to check it often.

**On-line Reflections (10%):**

Use these reflections as an opportunity to engage with some aspect of the week's readings that you find exciting, controversial, problematic, confounding, opaque, or simply grabs your interest. These should be approximately a single-spaced page and should be submitted to the appropriate topic forum on the avenue page **no later than** 11:59 PM on Tuesday(s) *before* our class meets. Students are expected to post **FIVE** reflections during the term. The weeks are entirely of your choosing, but do yourself a favour and start early. These will be marked on a pass/fail basis, and will not be accepted late.

**Participation (15%):**

Students are expected to come to class having read, considered, and reflected on the week's required readings. As this is a seminar course, regular attendance, preparation, and participation is required of all students. Energetic and engaging participation is both welcome and expected.

**Presentations / Facilitation (20%):**

Each student will be required to prepare **two** seminar presentations. Presentations will take place at the beginning of class, and while they should be based on

the week's material they should do more than simply summarize or synthesize the readings, and should be approximately 15 minutes in length. Including real world cases and historical examples, and doing a modest amount of scholarly research to prepare for your presentation (e.g. books or articles not on the required readings list) is strongly encouraged. Part of the responsibility for the presenter will be to perform some duties as a facilitator of class discussion, and so the presentation should be treated as a way to *encourage group discussion*, highlight important questions raised by the issues and approaches being discussed, and generally awaken the curiosity of your colleagues.

**Small Essay / Book Review (20%):**

This short (approximately 5-6pp.) paper should critically engage the arguments, approaches, and analyses found in one of the suggested books, or a book of your own choosing, or a sustained analysis of one week's material. This can be handed in anytime you choose *before* the due date, and—in the hopes of discouraging scholarly timidity—any week of course material is fair game. This paper is **due no later than October 30th** at the beginning of class in order to provide sufficient time for feedback before the final assignment is due.

**Research Essay (35%):**

Students are asked to develop and submit an original research paper (approximately 15pp.) on a topic of their choosing related to any aspect of course content and overall theme of the course. This essay should engage course material as well as academic and scholarly resources discovered as a result of your independent efforts. This should include scholarly articles, essays, and books. You may also include other writing and media of appropriate quality and relevance for this type of academic research. These latter sources can be a worthwhile supplement to—but not a substitute for—more orthodox material. Clear organization, presentation, argumentation, and demonstrating that you have engaged with the material at a high level will be rewarded. This essay is due on **Wednesday, December 4<sup>th</sup>, 2013** at the beginning of class.

- *N.B.* developing an original essay topic and research question can sometimes be a daunting and weary task, though in the end far more rewarding for the effort. With this in mind, please make sure to have a conversation with me as early as possible (but especially before the beginning of November) about your topic.
- *Note on Spelling and Grammar:* While your spelling and grammar may be corrected or commented upon for the sake of future learning, minor technical missteps will not be marked directly. However, the clear articulation of sophisticated ideas requires careful and precise language. Thus, careful and deliberate writing is crucial to the composition of an excellent paper. A very good writing resource is William Strunk & E.B. White's famous (and short) *The Elements of Style* (4<sup>th</sup> Ed.).

Please note: because essays will be submitted using the dropbox function in Avenue papers will automatically be checked against the database at Turnitin.com. There are lots of useful and helpful reasons to use a service such as Turnitin, but if you have an objection to this let me know and we can make other arrangements.

**Late Marks:** In honour of Aristotle—the first philosopher to provide a critique of the free market—and his assertion that justice is treating like cases alike, **late marks of 4%**

**per day** will be deducted from all essay assignments received after the due date, without sufficient justification or documentation accounting for their truancy. Late papers will be read and evaluated but might contain less written feedback and fewer constructive comments. (Your online reflections are the sole exception to this rule, which will not be accepted late).

**\*\* A Note on the Readings \*\***

This is a seminar course, meaning that all of us will come having read and thought about the assigned readings. All of these readings are accessible from McMaster's online catalogue. However, in the case of some books you must **request** a loan of the e-book before you can access it for any amount of time longer than five minutes, and such a request can take anywhere from a few hours to a full day to be approved. So, when it comes to doing the readings, **plan ahead**. Adobe Digital Editions [<http://goo.gl/kfpd6>] is usually the easiest way to read these book chapters at your leisure (though the program itself is awful). I know that this isn't ideal, but it will keep your printing and book purchasing costs to a minimum and one should save trees when possible.

**\*\* A Further Note on the Readings \*\***

While acknowledging the status of syllabi as the social contracts of the academy, our course and aims should be receptive and mutable to political events as they happen. If something is especially relevant to one of our planned discussions we should do our best to include and adjust to these realities as we move along. I suspect such instances to be few and far between, but the attention to what is actually happening *right now* in the political world should not be cast aside because of fidelity to the syllabus.

**September 11, 2013**

**1. Introduction: The Individual and Society**

Recommended:

- Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*
  - Available online from McMaster University:  
<http://catalogue.mcmaster.ca/catalogue/Record/1264201>
- Friedrich von Hayek, *The Road to Serfdom*

**September 18, 2013**

**2. On “Interests” and Political Economy**

- Albert Hirschmann, *The Passions and the Interests*, pp.9-56.
- Albert Hirschmann, *Exit, Voice, & Loyalty* (Chapters 2, 3, 7)
  - Available online from McMaster Library:  
<http://catalogue.mcmaster.ca/catalogue/Record/1436721>
- Friedrich von Hayek, “Kind of Order in Society”
  - Available online from the Online Library of Liberty:  
[http://files.libertyfund.org/files/2493/Hayek\\_KindsOrder1964.pdf](http://files.libertyfund.org/files/2493/Hayek_KindsOrder1964.pdf)
- Frédéric Bastiat, “The State (1848)”
  - Available from the Online Library of Liberty:  
[http://files.libertyfund.org/files/2479/Bastiat\\_TheState1848.pdf](http://files.libertyfund.org/files/2479/Bastiat_TheState1848.pdf)

**September 25, 2013**

### **3. Roots of the Bourgeois Economy**

- Michel Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics* (Lectures Two, Three, and Nine)
  - Available Online from McMaster University Library:  
<http://catalogue.mcmaster.ca/catalogue/Record/1745881>
- Ellen Meiksins Wood, “Modernity, Postmodernity, or Capitalism?” *Review of International Political Economy*, Vol.4 No.3 (1997).
- Pierre Bourdieu, *Acts of Resistance: Against the Tyranny of the Market*, pp.29-44, 94-105
- Pierre Bourdieu, “The Essence of Neoliberalism”
  - <http://mondediplo.com/1998/12/08bourdieu>
- Giorgio Agamben, *The Kingdom and the Glory*, pp.1-52
  - Available Online from McMaster University Library:  
<http://catalogue.mcmaster.ca/catalogue/Record/2264169>

#### Recommended

- Ellen Meiksins Wood, *The Pristine Culture of Capitalism*, Chapters 3-5, Conclusion.
- C.B. Macpherson, *Political Theory of Possessive Individualism*
- Hiroyuki Tosa, “Anarchical Governance: Neoliberal Governmentality in Resonance with the State of Exception” *International Political Sociology*, 2009 3(4)
- Warren Magnusson, *Politics of Urbanism*, Chapter 4

**October 2, 2013**

### **4. The Economy and the idea Governance**

- Robert Keohane, “International Liberalism reconsidered” in *Power and Governance in a Partially Globalized World*, pp. 39-63
  - <http://catalogue.mcmaster.ca/catalogue/Record/1405300>
- Susan Strange, “The Myth of Lost Hegemony” *International Organization*, Vol. 41 No.4 (1987)
- Henk Overbeek, *Restructuring Hegemony in the Global Political Economy: The Rise of Transnational Neo-Liberalism in the 1980s*. Chapter 1 (Overbeek and Van Der Pijl)
  - <http://catalogue.mcmaster.ca/catalogue/Record/1405348/>
- Stephen Gill, “New Constitutionalism, Democratisation, and Global Political Economy” *Pacifica Review*, Vol.10 No.1 (1998)

#### Recommended

- Robert Cox, “Gramsci, Hegemony, and IR: an Essay in Method” *Millennium*, Vol. 12 No.2 (1983)
- Stephen McBride and Simon Lee, *Neo-Liberalism, State Power and Global Governance*
  - <http://link.springer.com.libaccess.lib.mcmaster.ca/book/10.1007/978-1-4020-6220-9/page/1>
- Christopher Farrands & Owen Worth “Critical Theory in GPE: Critique? Knowledge? Emancipation?” in *Capital and Class*, 2005 29

**October 9, 2013**

**5. The (Post)Washington Consensus**

- David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, Chapters 2 & 3
  - <http://catalogue.mcmaster.ca/catalogue/Record/1934122>
- Ziya Onis & Fikret Senses, “Rethinking the Emerging Post-Washington Consensus” *Development & Change*, Vol.36 No.2, (1995).
- John Gerrard Ruggie, “International Regimes, Embedded Liberalism” *International Organization*, 35(2)

Recommended

- David Harvey, “Neoliberalism as Creative Destruction”, *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, Vol. 610 No.1, March 2007.
- Andrew Lang, *World Trade Law After Neoliberalism*, Chapter 8
  - <http://catalogue.mcmaster.ca/catalogue/Record/2218151>

**October 16, 2013**

**6. “The 1%” - The Collapse of Wall Street and the Financial Crisis**

- Daniel Drezner & Kathleen McNamara, “International Political Economy, Global Financial Orders and the 2008 Financial Crisis” *Perspectives on Politics*, 2013 11(1).
- Eric Helleiner, “A Bretton Woods Moment?” *International Affairs*, Vol.86 No.3, (2010)
- Timothy Sinclair, “Round up the Usual Suspects: Blame and the Subprime Crisis” *New Political Economy*, 2010 15(1)
- Benjamin J. Cohen, “The International Monetary System: diffusion and ambiguity” *International Affairs*, Vol.84 No.3 (2008)

Recommended

- Helleiner & Pagliari, “The end of an Era in International Financial Regulation?” *International Organization* 2011, 65(1).
- Discussion Forum – “Reforming the Global Financial Architecture” in *Socio-Economic Review* 2011, 9(3).
- Helen Hompson, “The Limits of Blaming Neo-Liberalism: Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, the American State and the Financial Crisis” *New Political Economy*, 2012 17(4)
- Tony Porter, *Globalization and Finance*, 2005.
- Barry Eichengreen, “The Last Temptation of Risk” *National Interest* 101:8-14, <http://nationalinterest.org/article/the-last-temptation-of-risk-3091>
- Louis Pauly, “Institutionalizing a Stalemate: National Financial Policies and the International Debt Crisis” *Journal of Public Policy*, 1990 10(1)
- Michael Lewis, *The Big Short: Inside the Doomsday Machine*, W.W. Norton & Co, 2011.

**October 23, 2013**

**7. “The 99%” - The Occupation of Wall Street and the Political Crisis**

- *Theory & Event*, Volume 14, Issue 4, 2011 Supplement. Read as much as you can, but especially the essays by Wendy Brown & John Buell,

- [http://muse.jhu.edu.libaccess.lib.mcmaster.ca/journals/theory\\_and\\_event/toc/tae.14.4S.html](http://muse.jhu.edu.libaccess.lib.mcmaster.ca/journals/theory_and_event/toc/tae.14.4S.html)
- *Journal of Critical Globalization Studies*, “Occupy IR/IPE: A Symposium on the Global Occupy Movement” Issue 5, 2012. (Entire)
  - <http://www.criticalglobalisation.com/issue5.html>
- Sanford Schram, “Occupy Precarity” *Theory & Event*, 2013 16(1)
- David Held, *Global Covenant: The Social Democratic Alternative to the Washington Consensus* (Hoboken: Wiley, 2013). Chapters 1, 3, 10
  - Available online from McMaster Library:  
<http://catalogue.mcmaster.ca/catalogue/Record/2368659>
- Michael Hardt & Antonia Negri, *Multitude*, Chapter 2.2 “De Corpore”

#### Recommended

- Nuno Martins, “Globalisation, Inequality, and the Economic Crisis” *New Political Economy*, 2010 16(1)
- Fabian Balardini, “The Self-Destructive Logic of Capitalism and the Occupy Movement” *Socialism and Democracy*, 2012 26(2).
- The Berkeley Journal of Sociology has compiled an impressive list of writing, speaking, and thinking on Occupy. Check it out:  
<http://bjsonline.org/category/occupy/>

### **\*\* FIRST ASSIGNMENT DUE \*\***

**October 30 – Mid-term Recess, Thursday Oct 31 – Nov 2**

#### **8. International Development / Individual Flourishing**

- Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom*, Intro, Chapter 1, 3, 12.
- Amartya Sen, *Inequality Reexamined*, chapter 7, “Poverty and Affluence”
  - <http://catalogue.mcmaster.ca/catalogue/Record/2217072>
- Saskia Sassen, “Informal Economy” *Yale Law Journal*, Vol.103 No.8, (1994)
- Wanda Vrasti, *Volunteer Tourism in the Global South: Giving Back in Neoliberal Times*, Chapter 2

#### Recommended

- Rachel McCleary, “Religion and Economic Development” *Policy Review* No.148 Apr-May.
- Milford Bateman, *Why Doesn't Microfinance Work: The Destructive Rise of Local Neoliberalism*, Chapter Six.
- Andrew Lang, *World Trade Law After Neoliberalism*

**November 6, 2013**

#### **9. Democracy and the Market**

- Ulrich Beck, *German Europe (entire)*
  - <http://catalogue.mcmaster.ca/catalogue/Record/2346358>
- Mary Kaldor & Sabine Selchow. “The Bubbling up of Subterranean Politics in Europe” *Journal of Civil Society*, 2013 9(1). Also available:  
[http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/44873/1/The%20%E2%80%98bubbling%20up%E2%80%99%20of%20subterranean%20politics%20in%20Europe\(lsero\).pdf](http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/44873/1/The%20%E2%80%98bubbling%20up%E2%80%99%20of%20subterranean%20politics%20in%20Europe(lsero).pdf)

- John Peters, “The Rise of Finance and the Decline of Labour in the Advanced Capitalist Countries” *New Political Economy*, February 2011 16(1)

Recommended

- Review of Beck’s book by William Outhwaite:
  - <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/lsereviewofbooks/2013/05/03/book-review-german-europe/>

**November 13, 2013**

**10. Bottom Rungs**

- Juanita Elias, “Davos Woman to the Rescue of Global Capitalism: Postfeminist Politics and Competitiveness Promotion at the World Economic Forum” *International Political Sociology*, 2013 7(2)
- Christine Sylvester, “Gendered Development Imaginaries: shall we dance, Pygmalion?” *Feminist International Relations: An Unfinished Journey*, Chapter 11
- V. Spike Peterson, *A Critical Rewriting of the Global Political Economy*, “The Productive Economy” & “The Reproductive Economy”
- Saskia Sassen, “Towards a Feminist Analytics of the Global Economy” *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies*, Vol.4 No.1 (Fall, 1996)

**November 20, 2013**

**11. “Security” in a Neoliberal World**

- Anna Leander & Rens Vans Munster, “Private Security Contractors in the Debate about Darfur: Reflecting and Reinforcing Neo-Liberal Governmentality” *International Relations* 2007, 21(2).
- Rita Abrahamsen & Michael Williams, “Security Sector Reform: Bringing the Private In” *Conflict, Security, and Development* 2006, 6(1)
- Patrick J. McDonald, *The Invisible Hand of Peace: Capitalism, the War Machine, and International Relations Theory*, Chapter 5.
- Engin Isin, “Neurotic Citizen” *Citizenship Studies*, Vol.8 No.3 (2004)

Recommended

- Ulrich Beck, *Risk Society*

**November 27, 2013**

**12. The City, The Polis**

- Saskia Sassen, *The Global City*, Chapters 6 & 9
  - <http://catalogue.mcmaster.ca/catalogue/Record/2362015>
- Warren Magnusson, “Social movements and the Global City” *Millennium*, Vol.23 No.3 (1994)
- Warren Magnusson, *Politics of Urbanism: Seeing Like a City*, Chapter 1, Chapter 5
  - <http://catalogue.mcmaster.ca/catalogue/Record/2276648>

Recommended

- Remaining chapters from Sassen and Magnusson
- James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*

**December 4, 2013**

**13. Conclusion (Final Essays due in Class)**

- Henry Giroux “The Terror of Neoliberalism: Rethinking the Significance of Cultural Politics” in *College Literature*, Vol.32 No.1 (2005).
- Ronnie Lipschutz, “What Comes after Liberalism? More Liberalism!”
- Oscar Wilde, *The Soul of Man Under Socialism*
  - <http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/wilde-oscar/soul-man/>
- Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*, Chapter 3 “Labor” pp.79-135

Recommended

- Aristotle, *The Politics*, Book I

**RECOMMENDED BOOKS**

Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom*

Saskia Sassen, *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*

Michael Lewis, *Boomerang*

Ulrich Beck, *German Europe*

Tony Porter, *Globalization and Finance*

Patrick J. McDonald, *The Invisible Hand of Peace*

David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*

Michael Hardt & Antonia Negri, *Multitude*

Keith Banting & Will Kymlicka, *Multiculturalism and the Welfare State*

Philip Cerny, *Rethinking World Politics: A theory of Transnational Neopluralism*

Warren Magnusson, *Politics of Urbanism: Seeing Like a City*

Wanda Vradi, *Volunteer Tourism in the Global South: Giving Back in Neoliberal Times*

Richard Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class*

Christia Freeland, *Plutocrats: The Rise of the Global Super-Rich and the Fall of Everyone Else*

**Blogs worth following:**

*The Disorder of Things*

*Duck of Minerva*

*Monkey Cage*

*Worthwhile Canadian Initiative*

*The Current Moment*

*Next New Deal / Mike Konczal*

*The Vulgar Empiricist / Jacobin Magazine*

*Policy Shop / Demos.org*

**ACADEMIC DISHONESTY**

Academic dishonesty consists of misrepresentation by deception or by other fraudulent means and 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 kinds of academic dishonesty please refer to the Academic Integrity Policy, specifically Appendix 3, located at

<http://www.mcmaster.ca/policy/Students-AcademicStudies/>

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.

### **Statement on Electronic Resources**

In this course we will be using Email and/or AvenueToLearn. 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.

### **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

### **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 their McMaster email and course websites weekly during the term and to note any changes.

**Students with Disabilities:**

Students with disabilities who require special arrangements should contact the Centre for Student Development. More information is available through the CSD webpage <http://csd.mcmaster.ca> or by telephone @ 905 525 9140 Ext. 24711

**Evening Classes:**

Evening classes bring special challenges to class participation and attendance. Please make sure that you demonstrate the same level of engagement you would in a daytime class. If you feel uncomfortable walking alone after class, you may choose to call the Student Walk Home Attendant Team (SWHAT), a group of volunteers dedicated to ensuring that you are safe as you walk around campus and across the city. SWHAT is open from 7 pm to 1 am, 7 days a week from September to April. You can contact SWHAT by phone at: 905-525-9140 x27500 or email: [swhat@msu.mcmaster.ca](mailto:swhat@msu.mcmaster.ca)