## **Globalisation and Public Policy**

## **Syllabus**

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Globalisation remains an essentially contested concept. For some, globalisation implies increased economic liberalisation of the global economy (seen as a move over time from national to quasi integrated global markets), others stress the importance of technological change and rapid advances in communication as aids to, or constraints on, the sovereign capabilities of the modern nation state. Yet others suggest it is a much more North American phenomenon than European one; others see it as a 'discourse of knowledge and power' that defines the range of policy options open to government in an era of neo-liberal hegemony.

As globalisation furthers interaction and communication, governmental and international intergovernmental agencies, corporations as well as non-state organisations will have greater interest in understanding convergence and divergence in policy goals and the impact of different policies on issues such as competitiveness, social exclusion and inter-regional policy making. The course is designed to bring about an awareness among participants of the considerable debate about what globalisation means and the degree to which it has become the principal structural constraint on the policy making autonomy of nominally sovereign states. The aim of this course, is therefore:

- 1. To understand, define and explain globalisation, regionalisation and multilaterism be it in its economic, political, socio-cultural and historical guises;
- 2. To identify the range of public challenges and policy implications that stem from these three phenomena and the ramifications that these influences have for the study of public policy;
- 3. To understand what kinds of constraints globalisation imposes on the potential for independent policy initiative on the part of both national policy makers and the new breed of non-state organisations and under what conditions these constraints might be enhanced or mitigated; and
- 4. To look at the role of those 'non traditional actors' in the policy process to be found outside the borders of the sovereign state. Special attention will be given here to inter-governmental international institutions (the IMF, World Bank, WTO) as well as to non-governmental organisations (NGOs).

A variety of teaching methods will be used:

Traditional seminars, Individual consultations Team projects.

Whilst the course has strong scholarly foundations, it has policy-related concerns and aspirations. One of the objectives of the course is to enable SUN-GAPP participants to better interact with counterparts beyond their home countries where policy and delivery of public services is more frequently co-ordinated at a regional level and/or influenced by the programmes and practices of international institutions.



#### **Course Prerequisites**

SUN-GAPP participants will be expected to have read the material included in this reader before arriving in Budapest. This reader also includes a number of on-line resources that should also be consulted prior

to the start of the SUN-GAPP course. It is a mix of academic, think tank and international organisation reports and articles. In addition, participants are required to produce a two-page 'brief' to be submitted 25<sup>th</sup> June 2004.

Prior knowledge required for participation in SUN-GAPP is three-fold. First, a good understanding of the activities of international actors such as multi-national corporations, international organisations and non-state actors is necessary. Second, a graduate education in one of the social science disciplines (sociology, economics, political science, etc) that provides conceptual competence with major theoretical developments in social science. Third, participants need to be well versed in current policy debates and international public issues.

## **Course Resources**

The course director is Professor Diane Stone, Marie Curie Chair and Director of the Master of Public Policy in the Center for Policy Studies (CPS) at the Central European University. She will contribute to seminars alongside other 'resource persons' for the course.

A CPS 'resource person' is Dr Violetta Zentai who is co-Director of the Center. (see www.ceu.hu/cps)

International 'resource persons' include:

- Dr Heribert Dieter, German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Berlin (http://www.swpberlin.org/);
- Professor Richard Higgott of the Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation, University of Warwick (<u>www.csgr.org</u>) and
- Professor Bob Deacon, Director of the Globalism and Social Policy Program, Sheffield University (<u>http://www.stakes.fi/gaspp</u>).

Collectively, these resource persons bring together disciplinary insights from Anthropology, Public Policy, International Political Economy, Sociology and Economics to the study of globalisation. All have recently completed or are in the processing of finalising books on some aspect of globalisation and regionalisation. Consequently, seminar discussions will be developed around the on-going research and professional interests of these resource persons.

The SUN-GAPP course co-ordinator will be Ivona Malbasic. She is the program co-ordinator of the Anti-Americanism project of the Center for Policy Studies.

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## **Participant Contribution**

Prior to coming to Budapest, participants are required to submit a two-page outline concerning your research project and your interest in globalisation. These 'briefs' should include:

- A paragraph about yourself education, country of origin/residence, etc;
- A <u>one-page</u> outline of your current research activities (e.g. a PhD. outline);

A discussion of how your research and/or professional interests inter-relate with globalisation dynamics.

These outlines will be compiled by Ivona Malbasic (<u>malbasici@ceu.hu</u>) for distribution to course participants along with any further materials concerning the course.

#### The deadline for submission of the two-page briefs is: 25<sup>th</sup> June 2004

The main mode of participation during the two-week course will be in the form of teamwork via group construction of three documents. Individual participants can opt to go into one of three teams. Further details about the roles of team participants and the activities within each project team will be provided when SUN-GAPP participants arrive in Budapest. However, it is anticipated that individual research interests be incorporated into these team projects.

<u>Team One</u>: One team will be given the task of devising a new course outline. The team is to assume that they represent a small academic department establishing a new graduate course: a *Masters in Globalisation and Governance*. The 'faculty' is to develop a core course entitled 'Global Policy Analysis'. The objective is to construct a five-six page document outlining the rationale for such a course, aims and objectives, seminar outline, topics for discussion, reading lists, guest speakers, and exam/essay questions.

<u>Team Two:</u> The second team has a publication objective. The group is to pretend that it is convening a think tank workshop leading to the publication of an edited volume entitled Global Public Policy. It will draft a document detailing: the literature which it will review, contest and extend; the volume's source of originality and conceptual innovation; the type of contributors to the volume; the market to which it will appeal; the various chapters and content of each; etc. In other words, the document is to be targeted at three constituencies seeking to convince each of the value and importance of such a volume: an academic audience, the publisher and the policy community.

<u>Team Three:</u> The third team will have a more policy-oriented task. The group will constitute itself as an 'International Blue Ribbon Commission' (for example, in the style of the Commission on Global Governance or the Global Commission on Dams). The 'Commission' will respond to a pressing global or regional policy problem requiring a multilateral response. It will identify key stakeholders – from government, target community, business, international organisations – to deliberate and make recommendations. Consultation mechanisms are to be developed. An executive summary of recommendations will be written, mapping out a strategy for policy implementation, new institutional development, financing implications, and anticipated challenges.

The anticipated outcomes will be to utilise knowledge gained on the course and improved capacity to design documents that are tailored to the specific needs of academic, policy analyst and governmental audiences. Presentational skills will be enhanced. More generally, participants will have heightened comprehension of global and regional dynamics affecting policy making.

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#### **Daily Schedule**

Each day will start at 9.00 am. Seminar sessions will run for approximately 1 hour and 45 minutes interspersed with coffee and lunch breaks.

Aside from Day 2, there will be no more than three sessions each day.

#### **Overview of Seminar Sessions and Workshops**

### Week One: 19-23 July 2004 - Multilateral Processes and Institutions

<u>Day 1: Course Themes, Policy Trends and Global Processes (Diane Stone, Heribert Dieter and Richard Higgott)</u>

Introduction
Understanding Globalisation
The Transnationalisation of Public Policy

General discussion of participant expectations, readings, teamwork and paper presentations

Breakout into three teams in preparation for report writing.

Day 2: Multilateralism (Richard Higgott and Heribert Dieter)

Multilateralism in Theory and in Practice Trade and the WTO The Global Financial Order: A Brief History The International Financial Institutions

Day 3: Financial Globalisation (Richard Higgott and Heribert Dieter)

Bilateralism in Trade and Monetary Regionalism in Finance Comparative European and Asian Regionalisms

Afternoon Office Hour and Consultations (HD, RH & DS)

Continued work on team projects

Day 4: Global Public Policy (Diane Stone and Violetta Zentai)

Policy Networks Global Civil Society and The Open Society Institute

Independent study and continued work on team presentations

Day 5: Global Leadership and Resistance (Richard Higgott and Heribert Dieter)

The United States as a Global Leader? Globalisation in Question

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#### **Week One Reading Materials**

Roland Robertson, '*Globality'*, *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioural Science*, Elsevier Science, 2001.

Paul Hirst and Grahame Thompson 'The Future of Globalization', Cooperation and Conflict: *Journal of the Nordic Internal Studies Association*, 37(3) 2002: 247-266.

A.T. Kearney – Foreign Policy, 'Measuring Globalization: Economic Reversals, Forward Momentum, *Foreign Policy*, March – April, 12004.

Hans Krause Hansen, Dorte Salskov-Iversen, and Sven Bislev, 'Transnational Discourse Communities: Globalizing Public Management' in Richard Higgott and Morton Ougaard (eds). *Approaching the Global Polity*, London, Routledge, 2002.

Richard Higgott, 'Contested Globalisation: The Changing Context and Normative Challenges', *Review of International Studies*, 26, 131-54

Heribert Dieter, "The World Trade Organisation After Cancun', *SWP Comments* 16, November 2003.

Heribert Dieter, 'World Economy – Structures and Trends' in Paul Kennedy, Dirk Messner and Franz Nuscheler (eds) *Global Trends and Global Governance,* London, Pluto Press, 2002.

Heribert Dieter and Richard Higgott, 'Exploring Alternative Theories of Economic Regionalism: From Trade to Finance in Asian Cooperation', *Review of International Political Economy*, 10(3), 2003: 430-54.

Pierre de Senarclens, 'International Organisations and the Challenges of Globalisation', *International Social Science Journal*, 53(170), November 2001: 509-522.

Thorsten Benner, Wolfgang Reinicke and Jan Martin Witte, 'Shaping Globalization: The role of global public policy networks', downloaded from GPPI website at:<u>http://www.gppi.net/cms/public/66332099a66e4e02b78fe3333903cf8cShaping%20Globalization%2007082002final.pdf</u>

Richard Price, 'Review Article: Transnational Civil Society and Advocacy in World Politics', *World Politics*, 55, July 2003: 579-606.

Mary Kaldor, Global Civil Society: An Answer to War, Polity, 2003. Ch. 3

Richard Higgott, 'US Foreign Economic Policy and the Securitisation of Globalisation', *Development and Change*, 2004, forthcoming.

Barry Buzan, *American Exceptionalism, Unipolarity and September 11: Understanding the Behaviour of the Sole Superpower*, Montreal, International Studies Association, March 2004.

John Ikenberry, 'The End of the Neo-Conservative Moment', Survival, 46 (1): 2003: 7-22

Web-Sites and On-line Resources

DGF – Development Grant Facility of the World Bank, 'Governing Global Programs: Challenges, Principles and Practice', Technical Note, October, Washington DC., World Bank, 2001. <u>http://wbln0018.worldbank.org/dgf/dgf.nsf/Main+Documents/DGF+Evaluation+and+Learning?OpenDocument</u>

Bretton Woods Project: http://www.brettonwoodsproject.org

CEE Bankwatch Network -- http://www.bankwatch.org/

Centre for the Study of Globalisation & Regionalisation: http://www.csgr.org

Focus on Global South: <u>http://www.focusweb.org</u>

Foreign Policy In Focus -- http://www.fpif.org

German Advisory Council on Global Change: <u>www.wbgu.de/wbgu\_home\_engl.html</u>

Globkom: www.globkom.net/english.phtml

Global Public Policy Net: www.globalpublicpolicy.net/

International Forum on Globalisation: http://www.ifg.org/

International Monetary Fund: http://www.imf.org

Open Society Institute: www.osi

World Bank: http://www.worldbank.org

World Trade Organisation: http://www.wto.org

## Week 2: July 26-30 2004 - Policy Debates, Public Challenges and Global Reforms

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Day 6: Global and Regional Policy (Bob Deacon and Diane Stone)

Globalisation and Welfare States Knowledge Networks and International Development

Day 7: Global and Regional Policy (Bob Deacon and Diane Stone)

The International Diffusion of Policy The Global Social Protection Discourse

Day 8: Global and Regional Policy (Bob Deacon and Diane Stone)

Diseases of Globalisation
Socially Responsible Globalisation and Global Social Governance

Afternoon office hour and consultations (BD, HD, RH, & DS)

Day 9: Towards A Global Polity? (Bob Deacon, Richard Higgott and Diane Stone)

Towards a Global Polity

Team Presentation 1: The New University Course on 'Global Policy Analysis'

Day 10: SUN-GAPP Conclusion

Team Presentation 2: The Edited Volume and Think Tank Workshop on 'Global Public Policy'

Team Presentation 3: 'The International Blue Ribbon Commission'.

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#### Week Two Reading Materials

Deacon, B (2000) 'East European Welfare States: The impact of the politics of globalisation' *Journal of European Social Policy*. 10 (2).

*A Fair Globalization: Creating Opportunities for All*, World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization, ILO, Geneva, 2004. Synopsis, Annex 1.

Michael Jacobs, Adam Lent and Kevin Watkins, *Progressive Globalisation: Towards and International Social Democracy*, Fabian Society, London, September 2003.

Nicola Yeates, 'The Globalization of Social Conflict and Political Struggle', in Nicola Yeates: *Globalization and Social Policy*, Sage. Chapter 5.

Bob Deacon, *The Politics of Global Social Policy Change*, paper at UNRISD conference on Social Knowledge and International Policy, April 20-21, 2004.

Diane Stone,' Knowledge Networks and Global Policy', in Diane Stone and Simon Maxwell (eds) *Bridges Across Boundaries: Global Knowledge Networks and International Development*, London, Routledge.

Sykes R. Palier B. Prior P.(eds) *Globalization and the European Welfare States*: *Challenges and Changes*. MacMillan 2001. Chs. 1., 4., & 10.

Daniel. W. Drezner, 'Globalization and Policy Convergence', *International Studies Review*, vol. 3, no. 1, 2001. pp. 53-78.

Orenstein M (2003) 'Mapping the Diffusion of Pension Innovation', in Holzmann R et al. *Pension Reform in Europe: Process and Progress*. World Bank, Washington

Bob Deacon, 'Global Social Governance Reform: From Institutions and Policies to Networks, Projects and Partnerships', in Deacon, B (eds) (2003) *Global Social Governance: Themes and Prospects*. Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. <u>http://www.gaspp.org/publications/index.html</u>

Inge Kaul, et al., 'How to Improve the Provision of Global Public Goods', *Global Public Goods: Managing Globalization*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2003.

Selection of short articles from the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, May 1<sup>st</sup> 2002, vol. 287, No. 17.

Morten Ougaard & Richard Higgott, (Eds) Towards a Global Polity, London, Routledge, 2002. Chapter 1.

James Brassett and Richard Higgott, 'Building the normative dimension(s) of a global polity, *Review of International Studies*, 29, 2004: 29-55.

Web-Sites and On-Line Resources

Deacon B. (2000) *Globalization and Social Policy*, UNRISD. <u>http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/(httpPublications)/815BC5D09E74323A80256B6700</u> <u>5B740A?OpenDocument</u>

DFID (2000) Realising Human Rights for Poor People. UK gov DFID. (www.dfid.gov.uk)

Holzmann R and Jorgensen S (2000) *Social Risk Management: A New Conceptual Framework for Social Protection*, World Bank Social protection Discussion Papers No. 6. Accessed at: <u>http://wbln0018.worldbank.org/HDNet/hddocs.nsf/0/5125006103900b86852568a90073019a/\$FILE/00</u>06.pdf

Huber E and Stephens J (2000) *The Political Economy of Pension Reform*, UNRISD, Geneva 2000 Occasional Papers 7): Accessible at:<u>http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/httpNetITFramePDF?ReadForm&parentunid=8B4547EB0B</u> 94076480256B67005B742A&parentdoctype=paper&netitpath=80256B3C005BCCF9/ (httpAuxPages)/8B4547EB0B94076480256B67005B742A/\$file/huber.pdf

International Labor Organization, *A Fair Globalization: Creating Opportunities For All,* ILO, Geneva, February 2004 (Full Report) http://www.ilo.org/public/english/wcsdg/

Krizsan A and Zentai V (2003) *Reshaping Globalisation : Multilateral Dialogues and New Policy Initiatives,* CPS Books Central European Press.<u>http://www.ceu.hu/cps/pub/pub\_books\_globalization\_introduction.pdf</u>

Singh A and Zammit A (2000) *The Global Labour Standards Controversy*. South Centre, Geneva. (www.southcentre.org)

UNDP (2003) Human Development Report 2003. Millennium Development Goals. <u>http://hdr.undp.org/reports/global/2003/</u>

Commission on Global Governance: www.cgg.ch

Development Grant Facility: www.worldbank.org/dqf

Earth Summit 2002 Briefing papers on global public goods: <u>http://www.earthsummit2002.org/es/issues/GPG/gpg.htm</u>

Future Governance Programme http://www.hull.ac.uk/futgov

GASPP -- Globalism and Social Policy Program: http://www.stakes.fi/gaspp

Global Health Council: http://www.globalhealth.org/

International Labour Organisation: <u>www.ilo.org/ses</u>

London School of Hygience and Tropical Medecine: <a href="http://www.lshtm.ac.uk/hpu/globalisation.htm">http://www.lshtm.ac.uk/hpu/globalisation.htm</a> Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development <a href="http://www.oecd.org">http://www.oecd.org</a> Overseas Development Institute: <a href="http://www.oecd.org">www.oecd.org</a> Global Development Institute: <a href="http://www.oecd.org">www.oecd.org</a> Global Development Network: <a href="http://www.oecd.org">http://www.oecd.org</a> Global Public goods Network (gpgNet): <a href="http://www.globalpublic.org">http://www.globalpublic.org</a> Global Public Policy Networks: <a href="http://www.globalpublic.org">http://www.globalpublic.org</a> United Nations: <a href="http://www.un.org">www.un.org</a> World Health Organisation: <a href="http://www.who.org">www.who.org</a> Links on WTO and GATS: <a href="http://www.are-regions-europe.org/COMMUN/A214b8GATSCultEduc.htm">http://www.are-regions-europe.org/COMMUN/A214b8GATSCultEduc.htm</a>