

#### PS302 Global Public Policies and their Impact on the Global South

Seminar Leader: Gale Raj-Reichert

Course Times: Tuesdays & Thursdays 10:45 -12:15

Email: g.rajreichert@berlin.bard.edu Office Hours: By appointment

### **Course Description**

This course focuses on examining global public policies and their impacts on lower-income countries located in the Global South. We understand 'global' public policy to mean policies which have a cross-border or transnational effect both directly and indirectly. This includes policies developed and enforced at the national level which 'reach' countries in the Global South and policies established at the intergovernmental or international level which set out rules for many countries. The aim of the course is for students to understand which questions to ask and generally to critically examine and assess global policy impacts on economies, communities, and the environment in the Global South. An important aspect of our discussions will be focused on understanding the ways in which different policymaking institutions function and the influence different actors (and their politics) have on the policymaking process and outcomes. The specific global policies and issues covered in the course are climate change, intellectual property rights rules (and their impacts on vaccines), and international labour standards.

We will engage with a wide and interdisciplinary set of readings and concepts and interrogate how they are in conversation with each other and relate to each other through commonalities and differences. During the weeks on the global policy case studies, we will look read policy-related publications and available data on policy implementation and impact discuss how the current policies affect the Global South specifically.

### Requirements

#### Required Textbook and readings:

Readings will be posted on Google Classroom. A Course Reader is planned to be made available after week 2.

#### <u>In-class participation</u>

It is expected that core readings are completed *before* each seminar as our discussions will be based on them. Please read actively – try to relate what you are reading with what you already know and have gained knowledge about the topic from other courses or from your own personal interests and explorations (engage in a personal self-reflective discussion). Take notes, be critical, ask questions, and come to class prepared to share!

We will be engaging in and discussing current issues of global public policies. Many if not most of the issues will be news-worthy items and part of current public debates. It is highly recommended that you regularly check the news and/or other policy related reporting outlets (newspapers, blogs, policy briefs, Twitter, etc.) for insights and different opinions that relate to the topics in the course – which can be shared during class discussions.



Participating in different ways, either through larger group discussions or in small group/partner exercises, is an integral part of the learning process and it is expected that every student makes a good effort in this regard.

Course assignments, grade breakdown and deadlines

### Discussion participation

20%

Half of this grade will be based on in-class discussions of the readings and also include participation in small group work or in pairs. The second half of this grade will be based on discussions of your policy memo outline and presentation of your research report outline.

#### One policy memo

30%

Please choose one policy problem and present points on two policy options weighing their costs and benefits. One of these policies will be recommended and expanded on as the best policy option based on analysis and evidence. The policy memo must be between 1,000 and 1,500 words (1.5-spaced, 12 pt., Times New Roman). Please use the Chicago Style of Referencing.

The policy memo must be written from the perspective of a particular actor chosen from the following list:

- Staff for a member of parliament or congress
- Industry lobby group
- Nongovernmental campaign organisation
- Trade union representative
- A different actor (based on discussion with and approval of seminar leader)

We will discuss the format of the policy memo in class. Students will discuss their policy memo outlines for comments and feedback in class during Week 7.

Policy memo deadline: Friday 5 November 2021, 6pm vial email.

#### Policy research paper

50%

The paper must introduce a policy problem affecting the Global South, the background and context behind the problem, an existing or current policy in place to address the problem, and an analysis of its opportunities and challenges, including alternatives. A policy research paper between 4,000 to 4,500 words (1.5-spaced, 12 pt., Times New Roman). Please use the Chicago Style of Referencing.

Students will make a presentation of their outline for their research report for comments and feedback in class during Week 12.

Research paper deadline: Friday 10 December, 6pm via email.

## **Academic Integrity**

Bard College Berlin maintains the highest standards of academic integrity and expects students to adhere to these standards at all times. Instances in which students fail to meet the expected standards



of academic integrity will be dealt with under the Code of Student Conduct, Section 14.3 (Academic Misconduct) in the Student Handbook.

#### Attendance

Attendance at all classes is a crucial part of the education offered by Bard College Berlin. To account for minor circumstances, two absences should not affect the participation grade or require documentation.

Bard College Berlin does not offer credit for any course in which a student has missed more than 30% of classes, regardless of the reasons for the absences. The full Bard College Berlin attendance policy can be found in the Student Handbook, Section 2.8.

SPECIAL CONSIDERATIONS FOR FALL 2021: Some students may need to begin the semester remotely due to travel restrictions caused by the pandemic. In addition, all students and instructors must refrain from in-person attendance if they are feeling ill. Instructors should make efforts to offer alternatives to in-person attendance where needed, including remote participation or asynchronous options.

## Policy on Late Submission of Papers

Written assignments that are up to 24 hours late can be downgraded up to one full grade (from B+ to C+, for example). Instructors are not obliged to accept essays that are more than 24 hours late. Where an instructor agrees to accept a late essay, it must be submitted within four weeks of the deadline. Thereafter, the student will receive a failing grade for the assignment. Grades and comments will be returned to students in a timely fashion. Students are also entitled to make an appointment to discuss essay assignments and feedback during instructors' office hours.

Students receive mid- and end-of-semester grades for their seminar work. Students are entitled to make an appointment with an instructor to discuss seminar participation, or may be asked to meet with the instructor at any stage in the semester regarding class progress.

#### Schedule

Weeks 1 to 8 – Conceptualising global public policy: processes, actors, and institutions

## Week 1 – Globalisation and public policies

We begin by exploring public policy research that is concerned with policy problems which are cross-border or transboundary in nature. Much of this is tied to discussions of public policy in the era of 'globalization'. Readings for this week disentangle and unpack how we can think about public policies in a world of interconnected problems, including their impacts in the Global South. The set of readings this week are inter-disciplinary. How do the different concepts and perspectives agree or disagree with each other?

#### Tuesday 31 August



Knill, C. and Tosun, J. (2020) 'Chapter 10: Public Policies beyond the Nation State', *Public Policy: a new introduction*.

## Thursday 2 September

Dobbin, F., Simmons, B., and Garrett, G. (2007) The Global Diffusion of Public Policies: Social Construction, Coercion, Competition or Learning?. Annual Review of Sociology 33:449-72.

Temenos, C. and McCann, E. (2013) Geographies of Policy Mobilities. Geography Compass, 7: 344-357.

## Week 2 – Transnational policy networks and the 'rising powers'

Policy problems which contend with globalisation are taken up global policymaking spaces that include global networks of actors and global institutions. Research on understanding these processes is largely focused on transnational 'networks' of policymaking. Readings this week focus on state or government actors and institutions within these networks and also address how they interact with non-state or non-governmental actors. An important question in the functioning of these transnational networks is the inclusion of and the decision-making powers of governments and non-state actors in the Global South.

# Tuesday 7 September

Diane Stone (2004) Transfer agents and global networks in the 'transnationalization' of policy. Journal of European Public Policy, 11:3, 545-566

Martinez-Diaz, L. and Woods, N. 2009. 'Chapter 1- Introduction: Developing Countries in a Networked Global Order', in *Networks of Influence?: Developing Countries in a Networked Global Order*. (read sections 1 to 4)

## Thursday 9 September

Hoffman, S.J. (2012), Mitigating Inequalities of Influence among States in Global Decision Making. Global Policy, 3: 421-432.

Slaughter, A-M. and Hale, T. (2010) Chapter 2: "Transgovernmental Networks and Emerging Powers", in *Rising States, Rising Institutions.* 

## Week 3 – Private actors in global governance

Non-state actors also shape and help implement global policies. They are actors that engage in both contestation and cooperation in global policymaking. This includes global social movements and their power to influence global policies (including their representation of and participation by actors in the Global South). Readings this week introduce these non-state actors and the different ways in which they engage in global policymaking.

#### Tuesday 14 September



Krawczk, K. A. (2019) Chapter 9: 'International NGOs, Transnational Civil Society, and Global Public Policy: Opportunities and Obstacles in the Twenty-First Century', in *The Oxford Handbook of Global Policy and Transnational Administration*.

Borzel, T. and Risse, T. (2005) Chapter 9: 'Public–Private Partnerships: Effective and Legitimate Tools of Transnational Governance?', in *Complex Sovereignty: Reconstituting Political Authority in the Twenty-first Century.* 

## Thursday 16 September

O'brien, R., Goetz, A.M., Scholte, J.A., Williams, M. (2000) Chapter 1: Contesting governance: multilateralism and global social movements', in *Contesting global governance: Multilateral economic institutions and global social movements.* 

Choudry, A. (2016) Chapter 2: 'Global Justice? Contesting NGOization: Knowledge Politics and Containment in Antiglobalization Networks', in *Learning from the Ground up: Global Perspectives on Social Movements and Knowledge Production.* 

## Week 4 - Bretton Woods institutions

For weeks 5 to 8 we focus on global policy institutions. Readings will introduce the historical and political origins of various institutions and how they impacted outcomes for the Global South.

#### Tuesday 21 September

Woods, N. (2014) 'Introduction' & Chapter 1: 'Whose Institutions?', in *The Globalizers: the IMF, the World Bank, and their Borrowers*.

Woods, N. (2014) Chapter 2: 'The Globalizing Mission' & Chapter 3 'The Power to Persuade', in *The Globalizers: the IMF, the World Bank, and their Borrowers*.

## Thursday 23 September

Bello, W. (2000) The Iron Cage: The World Trade Organisation, the Bretton Woods Institutions and the South. Capitalism, Nature, Socialism, Vol. 11, No. 1.

Mkandawire, T. (2007) 'Good governance': the itinerary of an idea. Development in Practice, 17:4-5, 679-681.

## Week 5 – The World Trade Organization

# Tuesday 28 September

Narlikar, A. (2005) Chapter 2 – The creation of the World Trade Organization, in The World Trade



Organization: A Very Short Introduction.

Rodrik, D. (2007) The Global Governance of Trade As If Development Really Mattered, in *One Economics, Many Recipes: Globalization, Institutions, and Economic Growth.* 

#### Thursday 30 September

Khor, M. (2008) Chapter 11 – The World Trading System and Development Concerns, in *The Washington Consensus Reconsidered: Towards a New Global Governance.* 

Wade, R. (2003) What strategies are viable for developing countries today? The WTO and the shrinking of development space. Review of International Political Economy, Vol.10, (4): 621-644.

#### Week 6 - United Nations

## Tuesday 5 October

Morris, J. (2018) 'Origins of the United Nations', in The Oxford Handbook on the United Nations.

Weiss, T.G. and Daws, S. (2018) 'The United Nations: Continuity and Change' in *The Oxford Handbook on the United Nations*.

#### Thursday 7 October

Standing, G. (2008) The ILO: An Agency for Globalization?. Development and Change, 39: 355-384.

Van der Linden, M. (2019) 'The International Labour Organization, 1919-2019: An Appraisal'. Labour: Studies in Working-Class History, 16, No. 2.

# Week 7 - Policy memo discussions

## Tuesday 12 October & Thursday 14 October

#### -- Fall semester break --

### Week 8 – European Union

## Tuesday 26 October

Müller, P. and Falkner, G. (2014) Chapter 1: 'The EU as a policy exporter? The conceptual framework', in EU Policies in a Global Perspective: Shaping or taking international regimes?.

Orbie, J. (2012) The EU's Role in Development: A Full-Fledged Development Actor or Eclipsed by Superpower Temptations?, in *The European Union and Global Development*.



#### Thursday 28 October

Farrell, M. (2005) A Triumph of Realism over Idealism? Cooperation Between the European Union and Africa. Journal of European Integration, 27:3, 263-283

Sebhatu, R.W. (2020) 'Applying postcolonial approaches to studies of Africa-EU relations, in *The Routledge Handbook of EU-Africa Relations*.

## Weeks 9 to 14 - Global policy case studies

In this second themed focus of the course, we will discuss a variety of global policy case studies. Readings will introduce the policy problem and the policy solutions or ongoing negotiations (there are online policy sources provided and feel free to do your own additional search and readings), followed with writings from the perspective of policy analysis on the impacts of these global policies for countries of the Global South. In our discussions we will relate back to the conceptual and institutional readings from the previous weeks.

#### Week 9 - International labour standards

## Tuesday 2 November -

Read about the ILO Core Labour Standards at:

https://www.ilo.org/global/standards/introduction-to-international-labour-standards/conventions-and-recommendations/lang--en/index.htm

Read about the ILO's Decent Work Agenda at:

https://www.ilo.org/global/topics/decent-work/lang--en/index.htm

## Thursday 25 November

Fransen, L. and Burgoon, B. (2017) Introduction to the Special Issue: Public and Private Labor Standards Policy in the Global Economy, Global Policy, Vol. 8, Issue S3

Haufler, V. (2018) Look at Producing Global Governance in the Global Factory: Markets, Politics, and Regulation, Global Policy, Vol. 9, Issue 1

## Week 10 - Intellectual property rights rules and global vaccines: focus on Covid-19

Tuesday 9 November –

Guest lecture by Professor Dalindyebo Shabalala, Associate Professor of Law, University of Dayton School of Law



For current vaccination rates in different countries take a look at: <a href="https://ourworldindata.org/covid-vaccinations">https://ourworldindata.org/covid-vaccinations</a>
<a href="https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/world/covid-vaccinations-tracker.html">https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/world/covid-vaccinations-tracker.html</a>

Shabalala, D. (2021) "How to get COVID-19 vaccines to poor countries – and still keep patent benefits for drugmakers", *The Conversation*. <a href="https://theconversation.com/how-to-get-covid-19-vaccines-to-poor-countries-and-still-keep-patent-benefits-for-drugmakers-158384">https://theconversation.com/how-to-get-covid-19-vaccines-to-poor-countries-and-still-keep-patent-benefits-for-drugmakers-158384</a>

Shabalala, D. (2021) "US support for waiving COVID-19 vaccine patent rights puts pressure on drugmakers – but what would a waiver actually look like?", *The Conversation*. <a href="https://theconversation.com/us-support-for-waiving-covid-19-vaccine-patent-rights-puts-pressure-on-drugmakers-but-what-would-a-waiver-actually-look-like-160582">https://theconversation.com/us-support-for-waiving-covid-19-vaccine-patent-rights-puts-pressure-on-drugmakers-but-what-would-a-waiver-actually-look-like-160582</a>

Vawda, Y. (2021) "The TRIPS COVID-19 Waiver, Challenges for Africa and Decolonizing Intellectual Property", *South Centre* Policy Brief No. 99. https://www.southcentre.int/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/PB-99.pdf

Mercurio, B. (2021) The IP Waiver for COVID-19: Bad Policy, Bad Precedent. IIC. https://doi.org/10.1007/s40319-021-01083-5

Supplementary:

WTO Vaccine Report <a href="https://www.wto.org/english/tratop-e/covid19-e/vaccine-report-e.pdf">https://www.wto.org/english/tratop-e/covid19-e/vaccine-report-e.pdf</a> Watch: <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GXWhMwixtws">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GXWhMwixtws</a>

#### Thursday 11 November

Declaration on the TRIPs agreement and public health <a href="https://www.wto.org/english/thewto">https://www.wto.org/english/thewto</a> e/minist e/min01 e/mindecl trips e.htm

Deere, C. (2009) Chapter 1, also Chapter 2, 6 (on global HIV/AIDS drugs campaign), 7 and 8, in *The implementation game: The TRIPS agreement and the global politics of intellectual property reform in developing countries.* (please read at least 2 chapters)

Supplementary reading:

Sterckx, S. (2004), Patents and Access to Drugs in Developing Countries: An Ethical Analysis. Developing World Bioethics, 4: 58-75

Stiglitz, J. and Wallach, L. (2021) "Will Corporate Greed Prolong the Pandemic?", *Project Syndicate*. https://www.project-syndicate.org/onpoint/big-pharma-blocking-wto-waiver-to-produce-more-covid-vaccines-by-joseph-e-stiglitz-and-lori-wallach-2021-05

## Week 11 – Research report outline presentations



## Tuesday 16 November & Thursday 18 November

# Week 12 – Climate change

# Tuesday 23 November

Guest lecture by Andreas Sieber, Head of Policy Advocacy of Climate Action Network-International

Mathiesen, K. and Harvey, F. (2015) 'Climate coalition breaks cover in Paris to push for binding and ambitious deal', *The Guardian*, 8 December.

https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2015/dec/08/coalition-paris-push-for-binding-ambitious-climate-change-deal

Monbiot, G. (2015) 'Grand promises of Paris climate deal undermined by squalid retrenchments', *The Guardian*, 12 December.

https://www.theguardian.com/environment/georgemonbiot/2015/dec/12/paris-climate-deal-governments-fossil-fuels

Carbon Brief (2019) COP25: Key outcomes agreed at the UN climate talks in Madrid. https://www.carbonbrief.org/cop25-key-outcomes-agreed-at-the-un-climate-talks-in-madrid

Dagnet, Y. et al. (2020) 'INSIDER: 4 Key Topics Climate Negotiators Must Resolve by COP26', World Resources Institute.

https://www.wri.org/insights/insider-4-key-topics-climate-negotiators-must-resolve-cop26

\*\*Please familiarize yourself with <u>at least</u> one set of climate change policies originating in the Global North and one in the Global South

European Climate Law

https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/climate-change/

United States policies on climate change

https://css.umich.edu/factsheets/climate-change-policy-and-mitigation-factsheet

Take a look at <a href="https://climateactiontracker.org/">https://climateactiontracker.org/</a> for climate change policies on a number of countries, including in the Global South

Supplementary:

The Paris Agreement

https://unfccc.int/process-and-meetings/the-paris-agreement/the-paris-agreement

## Thursday 4 November

Moellendorf, D. 2018. 'Development and climate ethics', in Lever, A. and Poama, A. (eds.) *The Routledge Handbook of Ethics and Public Policy*, Routledge.

Chakraborty, R. and Sherpa, P.S. (2021) From climate adaptation to climate justice: Critical reflections



on the IPCC and Himalayan climate knowledges, Climatic Change, 167: 49.

Chin-Yee, S. (2019) Climate Change and Human Security: Case studies linking vulnerable populations to increased security risks in the face of global climate challenge, King's College London.

Supplementary readings:

World Food Programme (2021) Climate Chain in Southern Africa. https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/WFP-0000129074.pdf

"It's not just Greta Thunberg: why are we ignoring the developing world's inspiring activists?" By Chika Unigwe, available at <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/oct/05/greta-thunberg-developing-world-activists">https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/oct/05/greta-thunberg-developing-world-activists</a>

# Week 13 – Group exercise

# Tuesday 30 November

\*\*We will choose a public policy issue to debate and compulsory readings will be assigned

## Thursday 2 December

\*\*Policy debate

## Week 14: Post Covid-19 recovery and global public policies

## Tuesday 7 December

Maffettone, P. and Oldani, C. (202) COVID-19: A Make or Break Moment for Global Policy Making. Global Policy, Vol. 11, Issue 4

# Thursday 9 December

Wrap-up discussion