

PSCI 686/ GGOV 611 Emerging Economies in Global Governance

Winter 2013, Tuesdays 9:30-12:20

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Course Description and objectives: This is a course about three countries, Brazil, China, and India. It is about how they became “emerging economies”, marshalling substantial resource endowments and large populations to industrialize, grow at rapid rates, and occupy central positions in their regions and in the international political economy. The experiences of these countries also offer us the opportunity to think about larger questions of global order and national development. What is power in the global political economy and how is it/should it be/is it beginning to be (re)distributed? How can states and markets work together to generate equitable and participatory growth? Is that even possible? How should emerging economies be factored into the 21st century’s policy challenges, such as climate change or reworking international financial institutions after the recent economic crisis? What do the experiences of the emerging economies mean for the many people who still lack access to such growth – including over a billion citizens of these countries themselves?

University Regulations:

Cross-listed courses:

Please note that a cross-listed course will count in all respective averages no matter under which rubric it has been taken. For example, a PHIL/PSCI cross-list will count in a Philosophy major average, even if the course was taken under the Political Science rubric.

Academic Integrity:

Academic Integrity: In order to maintain a culture of academic integrity, members of the University of Waterloo are expected to promote honesty, trust, fairness, respect and responsibility.

Discipline: A student is expected to know what constitutes academic integrity, to avoid committing academic offences, and to take responsibility for his/her actions. A student who is unsure whether an action constitutes an offence, or who needs help in learning how to avoid offences (e.g., plagiarism, cheating) or about “rules” for group work/collaboration should seek guidance from the course professor, academic advisor, or the Undergraduate Associate Dean. When misconduct has been found to have occurred, disciplinary penalties will be imposed under Policy 71 – Student Discipline. For information on categories of offenses and types of penalties, students should refer to Policy 71 - Student Discipline, <http://www.adm.uwaterloo.ca/infosec/Policies/policy71.htm>.

Grievance: A student who believes that a decision affecting some aspect of his/her university life has been unfair or unreasonable may have grounds for initiating a grievance. Read Policy 70 - Student Petitions and Grievances, Section 4, <http://www.adm.uwaterloo.ca/infosec/Policies/policy70.htm>.

Appeals: A student may appeal the finding and/or penalty in a decision made under Policy 70 - Student Petitions and Grievances (other than regarding a petition) or Policy 71 - Student Discipline if a ground for an appeal can be established. Read Policy 72 - Student Appeals, <http://www.adm.uwaterloo.ca/infosec/Policies/policy72.htm>.

[Academic Integrity website \(Arts\): http://arts.uwaterloo.ca/arts/ugrad/academic_responsibility.html](http://arts.uwaterloo.ca/arts/ugrad/academic_responsibility.html)

[Academic Integrity Office \(uWaterloo\): http://uwaterloo.ca/academicintegrity/](http://uwaterloo.ca/academicintegrity/)

Accommodation for Students with Disabilities:

Note for students with disabilities: The Office for Persons with Disabilities (OPD), located in Needles Hall, Room 1132, collaborates with all academic departments to arrange appropriate accommodations for students with disabilities without compromising the academic integrity of the curriculum. If you require academic accommodations to lessen the impact of your disability, please register with the OPD at the beginning of each academic term.

Texts:

Most of the readings can be obtained electronically through the University of Waterloo's electronic journals system and/or will be available through its "eReserves" system: <http://www.ereserves.uwaterloo.ca/ereservesSearch.cfm>. They are listed under the course numbers. One book has been ordered for the course and is available in the UW bookstore. It is:

Alexandroff, Alan S. and Andrew F. Coopers, eds. 2010. *Rising States, Rising Institutions: Challenges for Global Governance*. Waterloo: CIGI and Washington, DC: Brookings. [A&C]

Course Requirements, Expectations, and Standards:

Assignments:

Assignment #1:

Seminar participation (15% of the final grade). Since this is a seminar, your thoughtful participation in class is critical for the course's success. You are expected to complete all readings and attend all seminars. If you are not on track to receive full credit for this part of the course, I will let you know by the time of the term break.

Assignment #2:

First paper (35% of the final grade). You will write an essay of 6 double-spaced pages (not less than 5 or more than 7) that relate the readings of either January 15 or January 22 to the experiences of Brazil, China, or India. On January 22nd, you will be given the actual questions. No additional sources are required, and you should focus on the works assigned to the class. The essay is due on Thursday, February 14 at 5 p.m. Late papers will receive penalties of 3% per day.

Assignment #3:

Final paper (50% of the final grade). Write a 10-page (double-spaced) proposal for how you would conduct extended research (an MA thesis or PhD dissertation) on a topic related to this class. The proposal should identify a specific research question, briefly describe existing literature relevant to the question, and set out a clear methodology and plan for empirically researching the question. Additional reading for this assignment will be primarily within academic sources. Note that you do not have to actually be writing about emerging powers as long as you are addressing themes of this course. The due date is Friday April 19. There is no late penalty for this assignment, but late papers will receive fewer comments. By January 31, I need a one-page summary of your initial proposal for this final assignment. Since these assignments will require sources in addition to the course readings, attach a preliminary bibliography for your planned paper. Please feel free to consult with me about your options. Presenting the unattributed work of others as your own is plagiarism and will result in a failing grade.

Schedule:

Week 1 January 8 Course introduction

No readings

Week 2 January 15 Interpretations of the Impact of the Emerging Powers on Global Order

This week's readings offer a number of different perspectives relevant to understanding the implications of the presence of emerging powers for global order. As you read them, consider how each would answer the following questions: What is power in the global political economy and how is it/should it be/is it beginning to be (re)distributed? Which specific institutions or actors are seen to embody different positions in this power distribution? What purposes are attributed to these? What are the sources of change in the global order? Are the arguments temporally or spatially circumscribed?

Cooper chapter in A&C: 63-79.

Hurrell, Andrew. 2006. Hegemony, Liberalism and Global Order: What Space for Would-Be Great Powers? *International Affairs* 82(1): 1-19.

Mearsheimer, John J. 2006. China's Unpeaceful Rise. *Current History* 105(690): 160-162.

Ikenberry chapter in A&C: 17-47.

Wade, Robert. 2011. Emerging World Order? From Multipolarity to Multilateralism in the G20, the World Bank, and the IMF. *Politics and Society* 39(3): 347-378.

Radice, Hugo. 2009. Halfway to Paradise? Making Sense of the Semi-periphery. In *Globalization and the 'New' Semi-periphery*, eds. O. Worth and P. Moore. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. 25-39.

Vieira, Marco Antonio and Chris Alden. 2011. India, Brazil, and South Africa (IBSA): South-South Cooperation and the Paradox of Regional Leadership. *Global Governance* 17(4): 507-528.

Week 3 January 22 Domestic Foundations of Emerging Powers: Development Choices

The BASIC countries all developed through economic formulas that included significantly more state participation in the economy than the neoclassical economic model recommends. Later in the course, we will look at the specific choices each made. This week's readings place their choices in a broader theoretical context by examining long-standing arguments about the proper roles of state and market in economic development. As you read them, consider how each would answer the following questions:

What should be the balance between state and market for engendering development, and which countries appear as examples of the right (and wrong) balance? To what extent does the appropriate development choice depend on specific conditions and contexts? What vision of development is invoked, and what would be empirical indicators of that vision? To what extent can development outcomes be actively chosen and pursued? Note: This is an enormous literature, and I have selected just a few representative pieces. For empirical background on the economic conditions of the emerging powers, see: Armijo, Leslie Elliott. 2007. The BRICs Countries (Brazil, Russia, India, and China) as Analytic Category: Mirage or Insight? *Asian Perspective* 31(4): 7-42.

Krueger, Anne O. 1990. Government Failures in Development. *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 4(3): 9-25.

Leftwich, Adrian. 1995. Bringing Politics Back In: Towards a Model of the Developmental State. *Journal of Development Studies* 31(3): 400-427.

Dreze, Jean and Amartya Sen. 2002. *India, 2nd Edition: Development and Participation*, Ch. 2, Economic Development and Social Opportunity. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 34-63.

Breznitz, Dan and Michael Murphree. 2011. *Run of the Red Queen: Government, Innovation, Globalization, and Economic Growth in China*, Introduction. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1-9.

Sabel, Charles F. 2007. Bootstrapping Development: Rethinking the Role of Public Intervention in Promoting Growth. In *On Capitalism*, eds, V. Nee and R. Swedberg. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 305-341.

Week 4 China at Home and Abroad

Arrighi, Giovanni. 2007. *Adam Smith in Beijing: Lineages of the Twenty-First Century*, Ch. 12, Origins and Dynamic of the Chinese Ascent. London: Verso. 351-378.

Gallagher, Mary. 2002. "Reform and Openness" Why China's Economic Reforms have Delayed Democracy. *World Politics* 54(3): 338-372.

Tsai, Kellee S. 2006. Adaptive Informal Institutions and Endogenous Institutional Change in China. *World Politics* 59(1): 116-141.

Breznitz, Dan and Michael Murphree. 2011. *Run of the Red Queen: Government, Innovation, Globalization, and Economic Growth in China*, Ch. 1. New Haven: Yale University Press. 10-34.

Chin in A&C: 83-104.

Legro, Jeffrey W. 2007. What Will China Want: The Future Intentions of a Rising Power. *Perspectives on Politics* 5(3): 515-534.

Week 5 February 5 India at Home and Abroad

Kohli, Atul. 2007. State, Business, and Economic Growth in India. *Studies in Comparative International Development* 42(1-2): 87-114.

D'Costa, Anthony P. 2009. Economic Nationalism in Motion: Steel, Auto and Software Industries in India. *Review of International Political Economy* 16(4): 620-648.

Dreze, Jean and Amartya Sen. 2002. *India, 2nd Edition: Development and Participation*, Ch. 9, Well Beyond Liberalization. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 306-346.

Narlikar in A&C: 105-127.

Mukherjee, Rohan and David W. Malone. 2011. From High Ground to High Table: The Evolution of Indian Multilateralism. *Global Governance* 17(3): 311-329.

Week 6 February 12 Brazil at Home and Abroad

- Evans, Peter. 1979. *Dependent Development: The Alliance of Multinational, State, and Local Capital in Brazil*, Ch.2. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 55-100.
- Hochstetler, Kathryn and Alfred P. Montero. 2012. Inertial Statism and the New Developmentalist State in Brazil. Manuscript.
- Hurrell in A&C: 128-150.
- Lima, Maria Regina Soares de and Monica Hirst. 2006. Brazil as an Intermediate State and Regional Power: Action, Choice, and Responsibilities. *International Affairs* 82(10): 21-40.
- Burges, Sean W. 2009. *Brazilian Foreign Policy after the Cold War*, Introduction and Chapter 4. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 1-16; 92-124.

Week 7 February 19 – Break, no class

Week 8 March 5 A New International Economic Order in the 21st Century? Who Decides How?

- Odell, John S. 2009. Breaking Deadlocks in International Institutional Negotiations: The WTO, Seattle, and Doha. *International Studies Quarterly* 53(2): 273-299.
- Beeson, Mark. 2009. Comment: Trading places? China, the United States and the evolution of the international political economy. *Review of International Political Economy* 16(4): 729-741.
- Germain, Randall D. 2001. Global Financial Governance and the Problem of Inclusion. *Global Governance* 7: 411-426.
- Alexandroff and Kirton in A&C: 177-195. (cont.)
- Beeson, Mark and Stephen Bell. 2009. The G-20 and International Economic Governance: Hegemony, Collectivism, or Both? *Global Governance* 15(1): 67-86.

Week 9 March 12 Finance and Investment Authorities and Practices

- Easterly, William. 2002. How Did Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Become Heavily Indebted? Reviewing Two Decades of Debt Relief. *World Development* 30(10): 1677-1696.
- Helleiner, Eric. 2008. The Mystery of the Missing Sovereign Debt Restructuring Mechanism. *Contributions to Political Economy* 27(1): 91-113.
- Van Harten, Gus. 2005. Private Authority and Transnational Governance: The Contours of the International System of Investor Protection. *Review of International Political Economy* 12(4): 600-623.
- Desai, Raj M. and James Raymond Vreeland. 2011. Global Governance in a Multipolar World: The Case for Regional Monetary Funds. *International Studies Review* 13(1): 109-121.
- Chin, Gregory. 2010. Remaking the Architecture: Emerging Powers, Self-Insuring and Regional Insulation. *International Affairs* 86(3): 693-715.

Week 10 March 19 Old and New Trade Orders

- Wade, Robert. 2003. What Strategies are Viable for Developing Countries today? The World Trade Organization and the Shrinking of the “Development Space”. *Review of International Political Economy* 10(4): 621-644.
- Steinberg, Richard. 2002. In the Shadow of Law or Power? Consensus-Based Bargaining and Outcomes in the GATT/WTO. *International Organization* 56(2): 339-374.
- Gallagher, Kevin P. 2008. Understanding developing country resistance to the Doha Round. *Review of International Political Economy* 15(1): 62-85.
- Hurrell, Andrew and Amrita Narliker. 2006. A New Politics of Confrontation? Brazil and India in Multilateral Trade Negotiations. *Global Society* 20(4): 415-433.
- Yiang, Yang. 2010. China’s Pursuit of Free Trade Agreements: Is China Exceptional? *Review of International Political Economy* 17(2): 238-261. (cont.)

Quark, Amy A. 2011. Transnational Governance as Contested Institution-Building: China, Merchants, and Contract Rules in the Cotton Trade. *Politics and Society* 39(1): 3-39.

Week 11 March 26 Emerging Powers in Global Environmental Debates

- Roberts, J. Timmons. 2011. Multipolarity and the New World (Dis)Order: US Hegemonic Decline and the Fragmentation of the Global Climate Regime. *Global Environmental Change* 21(3): 776-784.
- Davis, Steven J. and Ken Caldeira. 2010. Consumption-Based Accounting of CO2 Emissions. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 107(12): 5687-5692.
- Hochstetler, Kathryn. 2011. Climate Rights and Obligations for Emerging States: The Cases of Brazil and South Africa. Manuscript.
- Hochstetler, Kathryn. 2013. South-South Trade and the Environment: A Brazilian Case Study. *Global Environmental Politics* 13(1).
Leverett in A&C: 240-265.

Week 12 April 2 The Rise of “The Rest”? Emerging Powers and Lesser Developed Countries

- Woods, Ngaire and Domenico Lombardi. 2006. Uneven Patterns of Governance: How Developing Countries are Represented in the IMF. *Review of International Political Economy* 13(3): 480-515.
- Alavi, Amin. 2007. African Countries and the WTO’s Dispute Settlement Mechanism. *Development Policy Review* 25(1): 25-42.
- Mol, Arthur P.J. 2011. China’s Ascent and Africa’s Environment. *Global Environmental Change* 21(3): 785-794.
- Gallagher, Kevin, Amos Irwin, and Katherine Koleski. 2012. The New Banks in Town: Chinese Finance in Latin America. Inter-American Dialogue Report, February, 2012.
- White, Lyal. 2010. Understanding Brazil’s New Drive for Africa. *South African Journal of International Affairs* 17(2): 221-242.
- Chin, Gregory and Fahimul Quadir. 2012. Rising States, Rising Donors, and the Global Aid Regime. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*.