

**PSCI 686/ GGOV 611 Emerging Economies in Global Governance**  
University of Waterloo and Balsillie School of International Affairs, Winter 2012

Professor Kathryn Hochstetler  
BSIA 3-19, 226-772-3096, hochstet@uwaterloo.ca  
Office Hours: Tuesdays 12:30-2:30 and by appointment

**Course Description and Objectives:** This is a course about four countries, Brazil, China, India, and South Africa, the BASIC countries. 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 BASIC countries be factored into the 21<sup>st</sup> century’s policy challenges, such as climate change or reworking international financial institutions after the recent economic crisis? What do the experiences of the BASIC countries mean for the many people who still lack access to such growth – including over a billion citizens of these countries themselves?

**Course Format:** Weekly seminar on Tuesdays 10-11:50, in BSIA 1-31.

**Requirements:**

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.
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) about the readings of either January 10 or January 17. The essay should address one or more of the questions posed on the syllabus for that day, presenting and defending an argument with respect to the question(s). You should show understanding of all the articles and how they relate to each other (which share common assumptions, which are opposed to each other, and so on), citing specific articles as you make your argument, but should *not* summarize the contents of each reading without analysis. This is an analytical, not descriptive exercise. No additional sources are required, and you should focus on the assigned works. The essay is due on Thursday, February 2. Late papers will receive penalties of 3% per day, including weekends.
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 the BASIC countries as long as you are addressing themes of this course. The due date is Friday April 20. There is no late penalty for this assignment, but late papers will receive fewer comments. By February 9, 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.

***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. [Check <http://www.uwaterloo.ca/academicintegrity/> for more information.]

**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>. For typical penalties check Guidelines for the Assessment of Penalties, <http://www.adm.uwaterloo.ca/infosec/guidelines/penaltyguidelines.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>. When in doubt please be certain to contact the department’s administrative assistant who will provide further assistance.

**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 (UW):** <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.

**Dates, topics, and specific readings:**

**Readings:** 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.

**January 3 Course introduction**

No readings

### **January 10 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? If you are not very familiar with international relations theory, you may want to read this overview article which will help you understand some of the underlying arguments: Hurrell, Andrew. 2006. Hegemony, Liberalism and Global Order: What Space for Would-Be Great Powers? *International Affairs* 82(1): 1-19.

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.

Hampson, Fen Osler and Paul Heinbecker. 2011. The "New" Multilateralism of the Twenty-First Century. *Global Governance* 17(3): 299-310.

Hurrell, Andrew and Ngaire Woods. 1995. Globalisation and Inequality. *Millennium – Journal of International Studies* 24(3): 447-470.

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

Arrighi, Giovanni. 2007. *Adam Smith in Beijing: Lineages of the Twenty-First Century*, Ch. 11, States, Markets, and Capitalism, East and West. London: Verso. 309-350.

Katzenstein, Peter J. 2005. *A World of Regions: Asia and Europe in the American Imperium*, Ch. 1, American Power in World Politics. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1-36.

### **January 17 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.

Gerschenkron, Alexander. 1962. *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective: A Book of Essays*, Ch. 1 Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 5-30. (cont.)

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

### **January 24 Development Choices in China and India**

- 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.
- Kim, Min-Jeong and Jai S. Mah. 2009. China's R&D Policies and Technology-Intensive Industries. *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 39(2): 262-278.
- Tsai, Kellee S. 2006. Adaptive Informal Institutions and Endogenous Institutional Change in China. *World Politics* 59(1): 116-141.
- Herring, Ronald J. 1999. Embedded Particularism: India's Failed Developmental State. In *The Developmental State*, ed. M. Woo-Cumings. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 306-334.
- Kohli, Atul. 2007. State, Business, and Economic Growth in India. *Studies in Comparative International Development* 42(1-2): 87-114.
- Dreze, Jean and Amartya Sen. 2002. *India, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition: Development and Participation*, Ch. 9, Well Beyond Liberalization. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 306-346.

### **January 31 China in the International Political Economy**

- Legro, Jeffrey W. 2007. What Will China Want: The Future Intentions of a Rising Power. *Perspectives on Politics* 5(3): 515-534.
- Foot, Rosemary. 2006. Chinese Strategies in a US-Hegemonic Global Order: Accommodating and Hedging. *International Affairs* 82(1): 77-94.
- Yiang, Yang. 2010. China's Pursuit of Free Trade Agreements: Is China Exceptional? *Review of International Political Economy* 17(2): 238-261.
- 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.
- Bell, Stephen and Feng, Hui. 2007. Made in China: IT infrastructure policy and the politics of trade opening in post-WTO China. *Review of International Political Economy* 14(1): 49-76.

### **Thursday February 2 First Paper Due at 5 p.m.**

### **February 7 India in the International Political Economy**

- Narlikar, Amrita. 2006. Peculiar Chauvinism or Strategic Calculation? Explaining the Negotiating Strategy of a Rising India. *International Affairs* 82(1): 59-76.
- Hurrell, Andrew and Amrita Narliker. 2006. A New Politics of Confrontation? Brazil and India in Multilateral Trade Negotiations. *Global Society* 20(4): 415-433.
- Mukherjee, Rohan and David W. Malone. 2011. From High Ground to High Table: The Evolution of Indian Multilateralism. *Global Governance* 17(3): 311-329.
- 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.

### **Thursday February 9 Proposal for Second Paper Due at 5 p.m.**

### **February 14 Development Choices in Brazil and South Africa**

- 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. 2012. The Politics of Comparatively Good Times: Brazil in the Global Financial Crisis. Manuscript.
- Peet, Richard. 2002. Ideology, Discourse, and the Geography of Hegemony: From Socialist to Neoliberal Development in Postapartheid South Africa. *Antipode* 34(1): 54-84.
- Carmody, Padraig. 2002. Between Globalisation and (Post) Apartheid: The Political Economy of Restructuring in South Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 28(2): 255-275.
- Fine, Ben. 2010. Can South Africa be a Developmental State? In *Constructing a Democratic Developmental State in South Africa: Potential and Challenges*, ed. O. Edigheji. Cape Town: HSRC Press. Download from <http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/cpsi/unpan039020.pdf#page=11>

### **February 21 “Spring” Break – no class**

### **February 28 Brazil in the International Political Economy**

- Hurrell, Andrew. 2010. Brazil: What Kind of Rising State in What Kind of Institutional Order? In *Rising States, Rising Institutions: Challenges for Global Governance*, eds. A.S. Alexandroff and A.F. Cooper. Waterloo: CIGI and Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.
- 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.
- Moreira, Mauricio Mesquita. 2009. Brazil’s Trade Policy: Old and New Issues. In *Brazil as an Economic Superpower? Understanding Brazil’s Changing Role in the Global Economy*, eds. L. Brainard and L. Martinez-Diaz. Washington DC: Brookings Institutions. 137-156.

### **March 6 South Africa in the International Political Economy**

- 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.
- Alden, Chris and Mills Soho. 2005. South Africa’s Economic Relations with Africa: Hegemony and its Discontents. *Journal of Modern Africa Studies* 43(3): 367-392.
- Martin, W.G. 2008. Africa’s Future: From North-South to East-South? *Third World Quarterly* 29(2): 339-356.
- Rustomjee, Cyrus. 2006. Pathways Through Financial Crisis: South Africa. *Global Governance* 12(4): 431-448.

### **March 13 A New International Economic Order in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century?**

- Odell, John S. 2009. Breaking Deadlocks in International Institutional Negotiations: The WTO, Seattle, and Doha. *International Studies Quarterly* 53(2): 273-299.
- Gallagher, Kevin P. 2008. Understanding developing country resistance to the Doha Round. *Review of International Political Economy* 15(1): 62-85.
- Germain, Randall D. 2001. Global Financial Governance and the Problem of Inclusion. *Global Governance* 7: 411-426.
- Beeson, Mark and Stephen Bell. 2009. The G-20 and International Economic Governance:

Hegemony, Collectivism, or Both? *Global Governance* 15(1): 67-86.

Cooper, Andrew F. and Thomas Fues. 2007. Do the Asian Drivers Pull their Diplomatic Weight? China, India, and the United Nations. *World Development* 36(2): 293-307.

### **March 20 The BASIC Countries in Climate Change Debates**

Roberts, J. Timmons, Peter E. Grimes, and Jodie L. Manale. 2003. Social Roots of Global Environmental Change: A World-Systems Analysis of Carbon Dioxide Emissions. *Journal of World Systems Research* 9(2): 277-315.

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.

Lecocq, Franck and Philippe Ambrosi. 2007. The Clean Development Mechanism: History, Status, and Prospects. *Review of Environmental Politics and Policy* 1(1): 134-151.

### **March 27 The Rise of “The Rest”? Emerging Powers and Lesser Developed Countries**

Amsden, Alice H. and Takashi Hikino. 2000. The Bark is Worse than the Bite: New WTO Law and Late Industrialization. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 570: 104-114.

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.

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.

Mol, Arthur P.J. 2011. China’s Ascent and Africa’s Environment. *Global Environmental Change* 21(3): 785-794.

Hausmann, Ricardo, Dani Rodrik, and Andres Velasco. 2006. Getting the Diagnosis Right: A New Approach to Economic Reform. *Finance and Development* 43(1): 12–15.

### **Friday April 20 Second Paper Due**