

The Political Economy of Regionalism

GO 357/Colby College

Spring 2020
T&Th 2:30-3:45

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Office Hours:
T 4-5; W 10-11 and 3-4; and by app't.
Diamond 265
on-line most M evenings

Course description:

Globalization is one of the hottest topics in politics today. But much of what passes for globalization is actually *regionalization* – a market-driven process in which goods and services, capital, technology, and labor flow across national borders but remain within a specific region of the world such as Europe, North America, or Asia. States often encourage this process by building regional institutions (*regionalism*) that aim to lower barriers to cross-border, intra-regional trade and investment. In this class, we will use theories of international political economy to examine the increasingly important phenomena of regionalization (economic integration within a region) and regionalism (the creation of institutions to promote such integration). Among other questions, we will be asking: Why do nation-states agree to sacrifice a degree of sovereignty by creating regional institutions that coordinate economic policies? And why do these arrangements differ so much from region to region? We will use a comparative approach, and will focus on three regional cases: Europe, the Americas, and East Asia.

Course Objectives:

In addition to introducing you to theories of international political economy, and having you use them to investigate three different cases of regionalism and regionalization, this course is designed to help you improve the following skills:

- a) Analysis (the ability to use theory, logic and evidence to think and write analytically)
- b) Research (the ability to independently explore a puzzle).
- c) Written exposition (the ability to effectively organize and communicate your ideas).
- d) Teamwork (the ability to collaborate; specifically, to develop and present story maps)
- e) Collegial Discussion (the ability to make cogent comments to peers, listen carefully as they do the same, and work together to make sense of difficult, often abstract problems)

Class format:

On most days, I will spend a half hour or so covering what I view as important points in a lecture format, and then will use the remaining time to lead/facilitate a discussion of issues raised in lecture and class readings. Please come to class having read and considered the assigned materials for that day. (For all readings, you should ask yourself: What is the author's argument?) This will not only help raise your class participation grade; it will also make our time together much more productive and interesting.

Required materials:

One book is available at the Colby Book Store:

- Walter F. Hatch, *Asia's Flying Geese: How Regionalization Shapes Japan* (Cornell University Press, 2010). Known here as **WFH**.

Most of the readings, however, are from academic and trade journals or newspapers, and you should be able to find them easily by searching online in the Colby e-library or via google (and especially google scholar). I will post less accessible pieces on the course moodle site.

Hatch House Rules:

- In most cases, I do not give make-up examinations. Adjust your travel plans accordingly – or see me as early as possible if you think you have an unbreakable obligation. Typical exceptions to this rule include illness or injury that you can document (with, for example, a note from your doctor), or a verifiable family emergency.
- Papers and other assignments are due at the beginning of class on the assigned date. Any work received after the assigned date will be penalized at the rate of one-half letter grade per day. I will not extend deadlines, or waive the penalty, except in the extraordinary case of a verifiable family emergency or documented medical problem. Plan ahead and build a cushion into your time budget so that you aren't derailed by last-minute surprises (like a broken printer or a computer virus).
- You cannot pass this course without turning in all assignments and attending class routinely. Please do not ask my permission to miss a class meeting, or spend time explaining your absence. I am interested in you, but not the particulars of your daily schedule. Anyone who misses three (3) class meetings risks being dropped from the course.
- I will vigorously enforce Colby's policy on academic dishonesty, which includes cheating on exams and plagiarizing the work of others. The policy is outlined in your student handbook, in the 2014-15 course catalogue, and here: <http://libguides.colby.edu/avoidingplagiarism>
- If you have any questions about what constitutes plagiarism and/or how to avoid it, please refer to the Colby library site (above) or to this CBB site: <http://abacus.bates.edu/cbb/index8698.html?q=node/60>
- Please treat other members of this class with respect. I will do my best to maintain the integrity of this community by discouraging any action or speech that denigrates the race, gender, religion, sexual orientation, social class, or political ideology of others.
- No audio, video, or photographs of the class may be recorded without my explicit consent.
- I discourage (for pedagogical reasons) the use of a laptop computer. If you think you must, I will allow you to use it – but only for note-taking.
- Please turn off and put away your cellphone. I don't want to ever hear or see it during class.
- I reserve the right to modify the syllabus.

Course Requirements

- *Papers* (60% of course grade). You will write three papers, each 1,000-1,400 words in length (and each worth 20 percent of your overall grade), due respectively on March 10, April 9, and May 1. These are critical papers, not research papers; you will be trying to use logic and evidence (from class readings, lectures, and discussions) to provide a persuasive answer to a question I will pose in advance to the entire class.
- *Final examination* (25%) on May 13th (Wednesday)
- *Class participation* (15%), which includes attendance and engagement. Being engaged means a) carefully listening to others in class, and trying to understand them; b) doing your part to make your group successful; and c) occasionally raising important questions or offering thoughtful comments – unless, of course, you are just shy. To encourage deeper engagement, I will frequently ask you to write something about our assigned readings; you will submit that work on the day we are scheduled to discuss the assigned reading. Finally, if it appears necessary, I may use pop quizzes to determine if confusion and/or silence is due to shyness or lack of preparation. I will probably grade these engagement exercises “plus,” “check,” or “minus.” There will be no make-up quizzes.

Course plan

Week One: Introduction to Regions, Regionalism, Regionalization

February 6 (Th): Globalization and Regionalism (FTAs, CUs, etc.)

Week Two: Thinking Big

February 11 (T): IPE Theory

Tanja A. Börzel, “Theorizing Regionalism: Cooperation, Integration and Governance,” in Tanja A. Börzel and Thomas Risse, *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Regionalism* (OUP), 2015

<https://cbbcat.net/record=b4685687~S19>

Click on “Colby access;” click on “Oxford Handbooks Online;” and search into Fredrick Söderbaum, “Old, New and Comparative Regionalism: The History and Scholarly Development of a Field,” in Tanja A. Börzel and Thomas Risse, *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Regionalism* (OUP), 2015

February 13 (Th): Explaining Variation

Milner, “Industries, Governments, and Regional Trade Blocks,” in Mansfield and Milner, editors, *The Political Economy of Regionalism* (Columbia University Press, 1997), pp. 77-106

Grieco, “Systemic Sources of Variation,” in Mansfield and Milner, *The Political Economy of Regionalism* (Columbia University Press, 1997), pp. 166-187

Christopher Hemmer and Peter J. Katzenstein, “Why is There No NATO in Asia? Collective Identity, Regionalism and the Origins of Multilateralism,” *International Organization* (56:3), summer 2002, pp. 575-607

Week Three: Welcome to Europe

February 18 (T): The European Project

Desmond Dinan, ed., *Encyclopedia of the European Union* (read entries on Jean Monnet, Robert Schuman, European Coal and Steel Community, Charles deGaulle, Konrad Adenauer, European Community)

Kevin H. O'Rourke, "Why the EU Won," IIS Discussion Paper No. 361, March 2011

<https://ideas.repec.org/p/iis/dispap/iisdp361.html>

Stephen Walt, "Europe's Post-Brexit Future is Looking Scary," *Foreign Policy*, February 6, 2020

<https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/02/06/europes-post-brexit-future-is-looking-scary/>

February 20 (Th): The Single European Act

Andrew Moravcsik, "Negotiating the Single European Act," in *International Organization* (45:1, winter 1991), pp. 19-56

Wayne Sandholtz and John Zysman, "1992: Recasting the European Bargain," in *World Politics* (42:1, 1989), pp. 95-128

Week Four: European Money and Minorities

February 25 (T): Monetary Integration (EMS) and Currency Union (EMU)

Wayne Sandholtz, "Choosing Union: Monetary Politics and Maastricht," *International Organization* (47:1, Winter 1993), pp. 1-39

Lloyd Gruber, "Interstate Cooperation and the Hidden Face of Power: The Case of European Money," Harris School Working Paper 99:16

Thomas Risse, Daniela Engelmann-Martin, Hans-Joachim Knopf, and Klaus Roscher, "To Euro or Not to Euro? The EMU and Identity Politics in the European Union," *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 5 No. 2, 1999, pp. 147-187

February 27 (Th): Subregionalism

Michael Keating, "European Integration and the Nationalities Question," *Politics and Society*, vol. 32, no. 3, 2004, pp. 367-388

BBC, "Catalonia's bid for independence explained," October 18, 2019

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-29478415>

Week Five: Consolidating Europe

March 3 (T): European Court of Justice

G. Frederico Mancini, "The Making of a Constitution for Europe," in Keohane and Hoffman, *The New European Community*, pp. 177-194

March 5 (Th): Expanding and Contracting the Union

Frank Schimmelfennig, "The Community Trap: Liberal Norms, Rhetorical Action, and the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union," in *International Organization* (55:1), winter 2001, pp. 47-80

Sara B. Hobolt, "A Victory for Ordinary People: Why Did the Voters Choose Brexit," *Policy Network*, June 29, 2016

http://www.policy-network.net/pno_detail.aspx?ID=5109&title

Peter Barnes, "Brexit: What happens now?" BBC, February 5, 2020

<https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-46393399>

Week Six: From Europe to North America**March 10 (T): Recap EU case by discussing papers**

Paper #1 Due

March 12 (Th): NAFTA (or USMCA)

Ann Capling and Kim Richard Nossal, "The Contradictions of Regionalism in North America," in *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 35, 2009, pp. 147-167

James McBride and Mohammed Aly Sergie, "NAFTA's Economic Impact," *CFR Backgrounders, Council on Foreign Relations*, updated January 24, 2017

<http://www.cfr.org/trade/naftas-economic-impact/p15790>

Beth Baltzan and Jeffrey Kucik, "NAFTA's Replacement Gives Labor Some Shelter From Globalization's Storms," *Foreign Policy*, January 16, 2020

<https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/01/16/usmca-mexico-canada-trump-workers-democrats-naftas-replacement-gives-labor-some-shelter-from-globalizations-storms/#>

Week Seven: NAFTA's Constituents**March 17 (T): Domestic Interests (the U.S.)**

William P. Avery, "Domestic Interests in NAFTA Bargaining," in *Political Science Quarterly* (113:2, Summer 1998), pp. 281 – 305

Recommended to understand current politics in U.S.:

Craig VanGrasstek, "Washington Slept Here: How Donald Trump Caught the Politicians Napping on Trade," European University Institute, Robert Schuman Center for Advanced Studies, *RSCAS 2017/02*, January 2017

March 19 (Th): Domestic Interests (Mexico)

M. Pastor and C. Wise, "The Origins and Sustainability of Mexico's Free Trade Policy," *International Organization* 48:3 (Summer 1994), pp. 459-89

Lloyd Gruber, "Power Politics and the Free Trade Bandwagon," in *Comparative Political Studies* (34:7, September 2001), pp. 703-741

Week Eight: Spring BreakWeek Nine: Crossing the Rio Grande**March 31 (T): NAFTA and Mexico's Political Economy**

Isidro Morales, "NAFTA: The Institutionalization of Economic Openness and the Configuration of Mexican Geo-Economic Spaces," in *Third World Quarterly* 20:5 (1999), pp. 971-993

Tamara Kay, "Labor Transnationalism and Global Governance: The Impact of NAFTA on Transnational Labor Relationships in North America," in *American Journal of Sociology* 111:3 (November 2005), pp. 715-56

April 2 (Th): NAFTA and Immigration

Peter Andreas, "The Escalation of U.S. Immigration Control in the Post-NAFTA Era," *Political Science Quarterly*, Winter 1998 (113:4) pp. 591-615

Nicole Trujillo-Pagan, "Emphasizing the 'complex' in the 'immigration industrial complex'," in *Critical Sociology*, Vol. 40 No. 1 (January), 2014, pp. 29-46

Jens Manuel Krogstad, Jeffrey S. Passel and D'Vera Cohn, "5 Facts about Illegal Immigration in the U.S.," *FactTank*, Pew Research Center, June 12, 2019

<https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/06/12/5-facts-about-illegal-immigration-in-the-u-s/>

Week Ten: Beyond NAFTA (to East Asia)**April 7 (T): NAFTA v Mercosur (the demise of the FTAA)**

Mario E. Carranza, "Clinging together: Mercosur's ambitious external agenda, its internal crisis, and the future of regional economic integration in South America," *Review of International Political Economy*, Vol. 13, No. 5 (December 2006), pp. 802-829

Marisa von Bülow, "Civil Society and Trade Negotiations: Constructing a New Field of Action in the Americas," in *RCCS Annual Review*, October 2, 2010

http://www.ces.uc.pt/publicacoes/annualreview/ficheiros/002/2034_Marisa_Bulow_Ing_r ev_27.10.10.pdf

April 9 (Th): Recap NAFTA case by discussing papers

Paper #2 due

April 14 (T): An Asian Difference?

Mark Beeson, "Can China Lead?" in *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 34 No. 2, 2013, pp. 233-250

Stephan Haggard, "The Organizational Architecture of the Asia-Pacific: Insights from the New Institutionalism," ADB working paper 71, Asian Development Bank, January 2011

http://aric.adb.org/pdf/workingpaper/WP71_Haggard_Organizational_Architecture.pdf

Amitav Acharya, "Asian Regional Institutions and the Possibilities for Socializing the Behavior of States," ADB working paper 82, Asian Development Bank, June 2011

http://aric.adb.org/pdf/workingpaper/WP82_Acharya_Asian_Regional_Institutions.pdf

Recommended: John Ravenill, "East Asian Regionalism: Much ado about nothing?" in *Review of International Studies* Vol. 35, S1 (February 2009), pp. 215-235

Week Eleven: Explaining Regionalization in East Asia**April 16 (Th): Market Forces**

Naoko Munakata, "Has Politics Caught Up with Markets? In Search of East Asian Economic Regionalism," in Katzenstein and Shiraiishi, *Beyond Japan: The Dynamics of East Asian Regionalism* (Cornell University Press, 2006), pp. 130-157

Dilip K. Das, "Market-Driven Regionalization in Asia," in *Global Economy Journal* (Vol. 5 No. 3), 2005

Week Twelve: More Explanations**April 21 (T): Japanese Production Networks**

Walter F. Hatch, chapters 3, 5 and 7 from *Asia's Flying Geese: How Regionalization Shapes Japan* (Cornell U Press, 2010) [WFH]

April 23 (Th): Overseas Chinese Business Networks

Amy Chang, "Beijing and the Chinese Diaspora in Southeast Asia: To Serve the People," *NBR Reports*, National Bureau of Asian Research, June 2013

John Kao, "The Worldwide Web of Chinese Business," *Harvard Business Review*, March-April 1993, pp. 24-36

Michael Borrus, "Left for Dead: Asian Production Networks and the Revival of U.S. Electronics," BRIE Working Paper 100, April 1997, pp. 1-38
<http://repositories.cdlib.org/brie/BRIEWP100/>

Week Thirteen: Regionalizing Against Globalization**April 28 (T): Subregionalism**

James H. Mittelman, "Subregional Responses to Globalization," in Mittelman, *The Globalization Syndrome* (Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 147-161

Dajin Peng, "Invisible Linkages: A Regional Perspective of East Asian Political Economy," *International Studies Quarterly* (46:3), September 2002, pp. 433-438

May 1 (Fri: NOTE DIFFERENT DAY): Recap Asia case by discussing papers

Paper #3 due

Week Fourteen: New Moves – Obama's Pivot and Trump's Hostility to Asia**May 5 (T): Trade, Domination and Exclusion (without TPP)**

Alexandra Stevenson and Motoko Rich, "Trans-Pacific Trade Partners are Moving On, Without the U.S.," *New York Times*, November 11, 2017

<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/11/business/trump-tpp-trade.html>

Peter Baker, "Trump Abandons Trans-Pacific Partnership, Obama's Signature Trade Deal," *New York Times*, January 24, 2017

<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/23/us/politics/tpp-trump-trade-nafta.html>

Evelyn Chang, "Asia Pacific nations are tilting closer toward China as Trump declares 'America First'," *CNBC*, January 31, 2017

<http://www.cnbc.com/2017/01/31/asian-countries-are-tilting-away-from-the-us-toward-china.html>

Zhang Xuegang, "Will RCEP Counterbalance or Complement the TPP?" in Adrian H. Hearn and Margaret Myers, "Transpacific Integration: China, the TPP and Beyond," Lynne Reiner Publishers, 2017, pp. 61-76

May 7 (Th): A World of Blocs?

Victor D. Cha, "Complex Patchworks: U.S. Alliances as Part of Asia's Regional Architecture," *Asia Policy* (NBR), Number 11, January 2011, pp. 27-50

Stewart Patrick, "The Unruled World," in *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 93 No. 1, January/February 2014

Finals Week: Final Exam

May 13 (Wed): 1:30 – 3:30 pm