

BRICS in the WTO:

(Re-)Emerging Powers in Global Governance

PhD Concept

18/11/2014 - St. Petersburg State University
Faculty of Economics
Department of World Economy

1. Research Question
 - Example on economic aims
2. Theoretical Background
 - Example on economic sectors
3. Research Design
4. Methods
5. Open Questions and Discussion

1. Research Question

What are the roles or strategies of the BRICS in the WTO, how do they challenge and does these change the global economic order?

Three aspects of the research question:

- a) Evaluative : What do the BRICS want?
- b) Descriptive: How do the BRICS act?
- c) Explanatory: What might change in the global economic order? And why?

IBSA-States in the Doha Development Agenda

(Mildner, Husar 2007)

Brazil: Cairns-Group, G20+, NAMA11 -> more offensive policy on further liberalization of the agricultural sector, defensive in the industrial sector.

South Africa: G20+, NAMA11 -> offensive policies on the industrial sector and public sector mode 3, defensive in the public service sector mode 4.

India: G20+, G33, NAMA11 -> offensive in the liberalization of the public sector (mode 1+4), defensive in the industrial and agricultural sectors.

2. Theoretical Background



Rise of the Rest: The impact of (Re-)Emerging Powers

- Mearsheimer 2006: Pessimistic view -> Conflict will occur
- Ikenberry 2008: Optimistic view -> Integration in a liberal system
- Nel 2010: What BRICS want -> Recognition and Redistribution

International political and economical order:

- Kappel 2010: Growing Regionalism and regional *Leadership* vs. global ambitions
- Wade 2011: Hegemonic Blocs - Multilateral Cooperation - Westphalian Assertion

International political economy

- Nölke et al 2014: CME and LME vs. State permeated market economies
- Mildner/Husar 2007: Differences in-between economic aims in the DDA
- Chen/De Lombardi 2014: BRICS in regional and global trade relationships

Example on economic sectors

L. Chen, P. De Lombaerde / Journal of Policy Modeling 36S (2014) S111–S131

Table 1
The BRIC's market shares by categories, 2010.

	The BRICs	Brazil	Russia	India	China
Natural resource intensive products (%)	29.3	68.5	88.5	48.9	8.5
Unskilled labour intensive products (%)	19.1	2.5	0.9	13.5	26.0
Technology intensive products (%)	34.9	15.3	6.8	18.2	45.9
Human capital intensive products (%)	14.5	12.7	3.8	17.1	16.8
Primary products (%)	15.0	31.6	59.2	12.5	3.3
Resource based manufactures (%)	16.4	36.8	27.6	39.5	8.1
Low technology manufactures (%)	22.5	6.0	2.2	21.1	29.4
Medium technology manufactures (%)	20.9	19.2	9.4	19.1	24.0
High technology manufactures (%)	25.1	5.5	1.5	7.6	35.2

Source: [Chen \(2012\)](#), Table 4.

3. Research Design

- What has happened? Explaining the context
 - Theory on International Political Economy and the Global Order
 - Regionalism / New Development Bank / Crisis in the West
 - International Institutions and Global Governance
- What do the actors want? Roles, Strategies and Aims
 - What are the aims and self-perceptions of the BRICS, what are the perceptions from others ?
 - What are the strategies and roles of the BRICS?
- What is happening? Current developments in the WTO
 - Did and how did the BRICS influence the Bali-Package / DDA?
 - Can we find causalities in the Process?
 - Is there some kind of order, convergence or strategy shared by the BRICS as a bloc?
- What does this mean? Extrapolation
 - What do the findings tell about the current process in global economic institutions?

3. Research Design

1. Introduction
2. Theory
 - 2.1. Political Economy and International Institutions
 - 2.2. Approaches on the Transformation of Institutions
 - 2.3. Emerging and Economic Power Concepts
 - 2.4. Approaches on Global Governance
3. Institutional Integration
 - 3.1. From Bretton Woods to the New-Development-Bank
 - 3.2. WTO
 - 3.3. IMF and World Bank
 - 3.4. New-Development-Bank
 - 3.5. Regional Institutions
4. Methods
 - 4.1. Causality and Case Studies in Political Economy
 - 4.2. Process Tracing
 - 4.3. Expert Interviews
 - 4.4. Qualitative Content Analysis
5. Analysis (not completed yet)
6. Conclusion

4. Methods

What do BRICS want? Analyzing the Actors:

- Qualitative interviews with experts and state officials
- Qualitative content analysis of political documents and strategy papers

How do BRICS act? Analyzing the Status Quo:

- Case study and process tracing
 - Bali Package / Doha Development Agenda
- Quantitative methods/statistics on economic performance
 - Development of GDP / Markets / Economic sectors
 - Networks and regional integration
 - Investment and public goods

5. Open Questions

Any Questions or Comments?

- Still too large
- Access
- Putting the two analytic steps together in one big case study?

6. Literature

- *Chen, Lurong; De Lombarde, Philippe* 2014: Testing the Relationships between globalization, regionalization and the regional hubness of the BRICs, in: *Journal of Policy Modeling* 36S, 111-131.
- *Hurrell, Andrew* 2000: Some Reflections on the Role of Intermediate Powers in International Institutions, in: Hurrell, Andrew (Hrsg.): *Path to Power. Foreign Policy Strategies of Intermediate States*, 1–11.
- *Ikenberry, Gilford J.* 2008: The Rise of China and the Future of the West. Can the Liberal System Survive?, in: *Foreign affairs* 87: 1, 23–37.
- *Kappel, Robert* 2010: On the Economics of Regional Powers: Comparing China, India, Brazil, and South Africa, in: *GIGA Working Papers* 145.
- *Keohane, Robert O./Nye, Joseph S.* 2012: *Power and Interdependence*, Boston.
- *Mayring, Philipp* 2010: *Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse: Grundlagen und Techniken*, Weinheim.
- *Mildner, Stormy-Annika; Husar, Jörn* 2007: Indien, Brasilien und Süd-Afrika in der Doha-Runde. Handelspolitische Interessen und Entscheidungsstrukturen, in: *SWP Diskussionspapier* FG 4/3.
- *Nel, Philip* 2010: Redistribution and Recognition: what Emerging Regional Powers want, in: *Review of International Studies* 36, 951-974.
- Nölke et al. 2014 (unpublished): Domestic Structures, Foreign Economic Policies and Global Economic Order: Implications from the Rise of Large Emerging Economies.
- *Nye, Joseph S.* 2011: *The Future of Power*, New York, NY.
- *Schweller, Randall* 2011: Emerging Powers in an Age of Disorder, in: *Global Governance*: 17, 285–297.
- *Stephen, Matthew D.* 2012: Rising Regional Powers and International Institutions: The Foreign Policy Orientations of India, Brazil and South Africa, in: *Global Society* 26: 3, 289-309.
- *Vestergaard, Jakob* 2012: Establishing a New Global Economic Council: Governance Reform at the G20, the IMF and the World Bank, in: *Global Policy* 3: 3, 257-268.
- *Wade, Robert H.* 2011: Emerging World Order? From Multipolarity to Multilateralism in the G20, the World Bank, and the IMF, in: *Politics and Society* 39: 3, 347-378.