



Comparative Politics of Regulating Infrastructure and Development in Asia

Summer Semester 2019



Seminar Handout

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1. Important Information

- Seminar time: Wednesdays 14:15 to 15.45
- Seminar place: Voßstr. 2, CATS / EG SR 01
- First session: Wednesdays 24 April 2019
- Last session: Wednesdays 24 July 2019
- Lecturer: Dr. Seved Hossein Zarhani
- Office: SAI, 1st floor, Room 3
- Office Hours: Mondays 14–15:30 and upon arrangement
- Email: zarhani@uni-heidelberg.de
- Seminar Website: https://elearning2.uni-heidelberg.de/ then Fakultät für Wirtschaftsund Sozialwissenschaften then Politische Wissenschaft
- Assessment: Attendance, presentation, and essay

2. Course Description

In the last quarter of the twentieth century and after the regulatory reforms in the advanced capitalist countries as an aftermath of the dominance of neo-liberal paradigm, the notion of the regulatory state emerged to display a distinctive mode of governance. Both neo-institutionalism and new governance perspective have focused on the structure of the relationships among regulatory actors the as well types of regulatory mechanisms in this new institutional setup. Nevertheless, the appearance and development of Chinese illiberal regulatory state and the emergence of India as one of the fastest growing economies despite what had been labeled as 'embedded particularism' challenge the conventional conceptualization of the regulatory state, which has been developed based on experiences of advanced liberal democratic states.

The seminar will deal with the political economy of regulation and regulatory governance in the non-western contexts. This seminar will explicate how regulation gets made and implemented—and who influences regulatory decisions in order to get what, when, and how, exemplifying some selected cases from Asia like India, China, and Iran. The seminar will be divided into three parts:

- 1. The seminar will discuss the socio-economic context of the emergence of the notion of the regulatory state as an alternative to the welfare state and the developmental state.
- 2. The second part of the seminar will introduce the comparative research designs in the study of regulation and their implication for our course.

3. The third part of the seminar will be case-oriented analysis and comparative understanding of regulation in infrastructure and development in selected cases like the power sector or telecommunication.

At the end of the seminar, students should be able to analyze regulatory problems from a political-economic perspective grounding their analysis in theoretical, historical and comparative knowledge.

3. Prior Requirements

This is an MA level class. What is required is a commitment to South Asia and social science theory. The language of instruction will be English and students are expected to have prior knowledge of political economy. Students are required to go through the readings mentioned just below the titles.

4. Organization

This seminar is based on lectures, student presentations, and in-class discussions. The first meeting will be a discussion on how we will run the seminar. The theory and historical lecture will be given in the second session. The student presentations will take place in the next sessions based on the reading materials.

5. Course Text

The seminar will consist of the reading of a selection of the academic literature on regulatory politics and its institutions, structures, and process. There is no single text. No reader. For each session, two or three texts have to be read by all participants. They are the basis for a discussion in the seminar. The course is taught as a political science course; however, the approach is multi-disciplinary, making use of texts from diverse fields of study like public administration, political economy or public policy to highlight the complex nature of the phenomena.

Students are encouraged to ask critical questions and develop interdisciplinary reflections in understanding the different issues. Their respective diverse backgrounds and majors, as well as cultural experience and political knowledge, are highly valued.

6. E-learning platform

The seminar is registered in the university eLearning platform. You will find it opening "Fakultät für Wirtschafts-und Sozialwissenschaften" and then "Politische Wissenschaft." The enrollment key is *Infrastructure19*. All course materials and other details will be uploaded there. Students who desire a "Schein" must register on Moodle.

7. Class Organization and Presentations

There will be no student presentations in the first two sessions of the seminar, which will provide an introductory framework including a discussion of theories, important terminologies, and a review of key concepts. The allocation of presentation themes will be done on 8 May session.

Students will be expected to present at least once. Presentations must be between 30 to 40 minutes and should aim at answering a central question. After that, it will be a general discussion. All participants are expected to read all the essential readings. Presenters are expected to draw on additional information and **must** provide their colleagues with a handout.

8. Schedule

April 24

Introduction and Organizational issues

May 8

Politics of Regulation, Concepts, Debates, and Theories

- Carrigan, Christopher, and Cary Coglianese. "The politics of regulation: From new institutionalism to new governance." *Annual Review of Political Science* 14 (2011): 107-129.
- Baldwin, Robert, Martin Cave, and Martin Lodge. "Introduction: Regulation—the Field and the Developing Agenda." In *The Oxford Handbook of Regulation*.: Oxford University Press (2010).
- Baldwin, Robert, Martin Cave, and Martin Lodge. Understanding regulation: theory, strategy, and practice. Oxford University Press (2012). Introduction and Part 1 (sections 1, 2 and 3)

May 15

Methodology: Comparative Research Design in Study of Politics of Regulation

- Levi-Faur, D. (2004). Comparative research designs in the study of regulation: How to increase the number of cases without compromising the strengths of case-oriented analysis. *The politics of regulation: Institutions and regulatory reforms for the age of governance*, 177-199.
- Bengtsson, Bo, and Hannu Ruonavaara. "Comparative Process Tracing: Making Historical Comparison Structured and Focused." *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* 47, no. 1 (2017): 44-66.

May 22

Rise of the Regulatory State in the non-Western Contexts

- Dubash, Navroz K., and Bronwen Morgan. "Understanding the Rise of the Regulatory State of the South." Regulation & Governance 6, no. 3 (2012): 261-281.
- Schmalz, Stefan, and Matthias Ebenau. "After neoliberalism? Brazil, India, and China in the global economic crisis." *Globalizations* 9, no. 4 (2012): 487-501.
- Križić, Ivo. "Regulating public procurement in Brazil, India, and China: Toward the regulatory-developmental state." Regulation & Governance (2019).
- Bloom, Gerald, Barun Kanjilal, and David H. Peters. "Regulating health care markets in China and India." *Health Affairs* 27, no. 4 (2008): 952-963.

May 29

China as an Illiberal Regulatory State: Dilemmas and Debates (1)

- Hsueh, Roselyn. *China's regulatory state: A new strategy for globalization*. Cornell University Press, 2011. Chapter 1, 2 and 10.
- Fukuyama, Francis. "Reflections on Chinese governance." *Journal of Chinese Governance* 1, no. 3 (2016): 379-391.

June 5

China as an Illiberal Regulatory State: Dilemmas and Debates (2)

- Pearson, Margaret M. "The business of governing business in China: Institutions and norms of the emerging regulatory state." *World Politics* 57, no. 2 (2005): 296-322.
- Yang, Dali L. "China's Illiberal Regulatory State in Comparative Perspective." *Chinese Political Science Review* 2, no. 1 (2017): 114-133.

June 12 (Reading Week, No class) Regulating the Power Sector in China

- Xu, Shaofeng, and Wenying Chen. "The reform of electricity power sector in the PR of China." *Energy Policy* 34, no. 16 (2006): 2455-2465.
- Yeh, Emily T., and Joanna I. Lewis. "State power and the logic of reform in China's electricity sector." *Pacific Affairs* 77, no. 3 (2004): 437-465.

June 19

Regulating the Telecommunication Sector in China

- Hsueh, Roselyn. China's regulatory state: A new strategy for globalization. Cornell University Press (2011). Chapter 3 and 4.
- Wu, Irene. From iron fist to invisible hand: The uneven path of telecommunications reform in China. Stanford University Press, 2008. Chapter 1, 2, 3.

June 26

India: Regulation in the Environment of Embedded Particularism (1)?

- Herring, Ronald J 1999. "Embedded particularism: India's failed developmental state."
 The developmental state, edited by Meredith Woo-Cummings, 306-334. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Naseemullah, Adnan. 2016. Development after Statism: Industrial Firms and the Political Economy of South Asia, South Asia in the Social Sciences. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 3

July 3

India: Regulation in the Environment of Embedded Particularism (2)?

- Rudolph, L., & Rudolph, S. H. (2001). Redoing the constitutional design: From an interventionist to a regulatory state. In *The success of India's democracy* edited by Atul Kohli. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 127-62.
- Mukherji, Rahul. "Ideas, interests, and the tipping point: Economic change in India."
 Review of International Political Economy 20, no. 2 (2013): 363-389.

July 10

Regulating the Telecommunication Sector in India

- Mukherji, Rahul. "Interests, wireless technology, and institutional change: from government monopoly to regulated competition in Indian telecommunications." The Journal of Asian Studies 68, no. 2 (2009): 491-517.
- Mukherji, Rahul. "The Politics of Telecommunications Regulation: State—Industry Alliance Favouring Foreign Investment in India." *The Journal of Development Studies* 44, no. 10 (2008): 1405-1423.
- Thiruvengadam, Arun K., and Piyush Joshi. "Judiciaries as crucial actors in Southern regulatory systems: A case study of Indian telecom regulation." Regulation & Governance 6, no. 3 (2012): 327-343.

July 17

Iran: Failure of a Regulatory State?

- Forozan, H., & Shahi, A. (2017). The Military and the State in Iran: The Economic Rise of the Revolutionary Guards. The Middle East Journal, 71(1), 67-86.
- Harris, K. (2013). The rise of the subcontractor state: Politics of pseudo-privatization in the Islamic Republic of Iran. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 45(1), 45-70.

July 24 Regulating the Telecommunication Sector in Iran

- Zarhani, Seyedhossein, Political Economy of Regulation and Privatization in Iran's Telecommunication Sector, Department of Political Science, South Asia Institute, an unpublished Material, a working draft
- Azad, Shirzad. "The politics of privatization in Iran." *Middle East Review of International Affairs* (Online) 14, no. 4 (2010): 60.

9. Assessment and Submission Dates

Students wishing to obtain a "Schein" and/or Credit Points for the block seminar would be required to:

- Attend each session of the seminar, be familiar with the core texts contained in the reader and actively participate in discussions. (2 CPs)
- Hold a 30-40 minute presentation on one of the topics of the seminar and prepare a handout and PowerPoint for this presentation, including, but not limited to, the corequestion, main points in a bullet-form and a selected bibliography. (2 CPs)
- Submit a paper (Seminararbeit), 5000 to 6000 words. The deadline for submission is September 30, 2019 (2 CPs).

10. Teaching Support and Student Feedback

As always, student feedback is essential to the success of the seminar, and your comments are welcome at any time. Please contact me if you have any difficulties with this seminar or if you wish to discuss your work and progress. My Office Hour: Mondays 14–15:30.

11. Seminar Evaluation

Student feedback is essential to the success of the seminar, and your comments are welcome at any time. Near the end of the semester, you will be asked to complete a questionnaire, which enables the Department to monitor the lecture and addresses any apparent problems or difficulties.

Please also contact me in the case of difficulties or if you wish to discuss your work and progress. In particular, please do not hesitate to inform me if a book or journal is not available in the library.