



**IPED**  
FORDHAM UNIVERSITY

THE GRADUATE PROGRAM IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY & DEVELOPMENT, FORDHAM UNIVERSITY

# GLOBAL BRIEFS

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## FORDHAM | IPED

Fordham University's graduate program in International Political Economy and Development trains graduate students in the advanced interdisciplinary analysis of global economic relations and international development issues. Graduates frequently pursue professional careers in international finance and banking, international economic policy, and in international relief and development.

*Global Briefs* is a student-run newsletter of Fordham's IPED program. It aims to share the public policy insights of students, alumni and faculty on global economic relations, international development, and regional conflict.

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## Alumnus Sandra Yu Fights for Workers' Rights

**S**andra Yu is currently serving as a Local Strategies for Decent Work Specialist for the International Labour Organization (ILO) in Thailand.

The ILO is a specialized agency of the United Nations whose strategic objective can be summed up in the words "Decent Work": aiming at workers having basic rights, opportunities for gainful employment, access to social protection, and voice and representation on matters that affect their lives and well-being.

Although she is based in Bangkok, Sandra belongs to the sub-regional office which supports country offices in East and Southeast Asia, and the Pacific Islands. As her title suggests, her thematic focus is local economic development, with additional attention to rural employment and the informal economy. Sandra says that she feels "very fortunate to be able to work on both policy- and ground-level work, while calling upon the wealth of expertise in their organization to support the inter-related requirements in the local economy." Throughout the past years, she has actively worked in Cambodia, Indonesia, Lao PDR, the Philippines, Mongolia and Vietnam.

Furthermore, in her career, Sandra shares that she has had the privilege of combining research and project management. She has focused on topics such as business development support, facilitating enterprise growth, local economic development, and the informal economy. Research consultancies have brought her to a number of regions including Asia, Africa and the Caribbean. "Research" she says "has given me the technical reference and compass that guided decisions in project management. In turn, project management gave me a platform to test things out; it provided experiential reference to understanding the relevance of my research."



As a side project, Sandra has also continued to maintain her community volunteer work which she started in her university days. "It helps keep my feet firmly on the ground" she says. The urban poor community in the Philippines where she volunteered as a student has grown into a nationwide savings movement consisting of low income communities saving for land tenure. "I am very proud to have been part of these community-led processes, where I have learned a lot about giving people ownership of their development and trusting in them while giving them the technical tools, once the province solely of professionals. Every day, I bring these lessons with me to my work with ILO."

When asked about her time at IPED, Sandra shared that the program oriented her to analytical perspectives from different schools of thought, while allowing her to deepen her inquiries along progressive lines. "Furthermore" she adds, "it prepared me for inter-disciplinary work, which I have found useful in understanding and later addressing interconnected development issues."

## Heterogeneity and Governance: Arguments for nation building in Sub-Saharan Africa

BY MAMADOU PATHÉ BAH

Since the 1960's, Sub-Saharan Africa has remained one of the poorest regions in the world. The post-colonial institutions which brought hope to the African people have mostly failed to deliver good governance, a precondition for prosperity. A widely accepted belief is that heterogeneity accounts for the poor quality of political institutions in Sub-Saharan Africa. Proponents of this view argue that heterogeneity hinders collective action which in turn prevents the emergence of good governance. However, if we accept this argument, then we would expect two countries with similar levels of heterogeneity to have similar levels of governance. Yet, Senegal scored 68% better than Guinea on the World Bank government efficiency indicators in 2014, even though the two countries have very similar levels of ethnic fractionalization. Senegal did better because its leaders were more successful at building an integrated nation from a very diverse society. This was not the case for Guinea.

Senegal's first president was able to transcend tribal divisions as a leader. He used ideas of Negritude and African Socialism to bridge the many social cleavages that existed in the Senegalese society. He also worked hard to rally Senegalese societies behind a national ideology consisting of a combination of negritude and a sort of socialism adapted to the Senegalese reality. Guinea's first president, on the other hand, endeavored to build an ideology centered on his person as the leader of independence and the father of the nation. Maintaining this ideology meant suppressing any voices that opposed it. Furthermore, he ceded to his ethnic group's demand for political entitlements which antagonized other ethnic groups and made them feel left out. This comparison helps us understand why an ideology centered on shared values and culture could gain common acceptance in

Senegal while the one-man ideology in Guinea was doomed to fail and the political process with it.

Another notable difference between Guinea and Senegal is the prevalence in Senegal of Wolof as the de facto official language spoken by everyone. One of the advantages of having a common language that everyone can speak without going to school is that political information is accessible to all. Though, it is quite the contrary in Guinea. French is the official language for communication but the adult literacy rate in Guinea was only 25.3% in

more likely to be held accountable regardless of ethnicity while in Guinea it is more likely that ethnic groups will seek power to correct perceived unfairness. This leads to an inefficient ethnicity driven political process and precludes winning groups from holding the leaders they elect accountable.

A comparative analysis of Senegal and Guinea thus shows that heterogeneity is not a fatality. Through proactive and carefully designed nation building processes, states can bring their citizens to integrate and transcend ethnic cleavages. Neverthe-

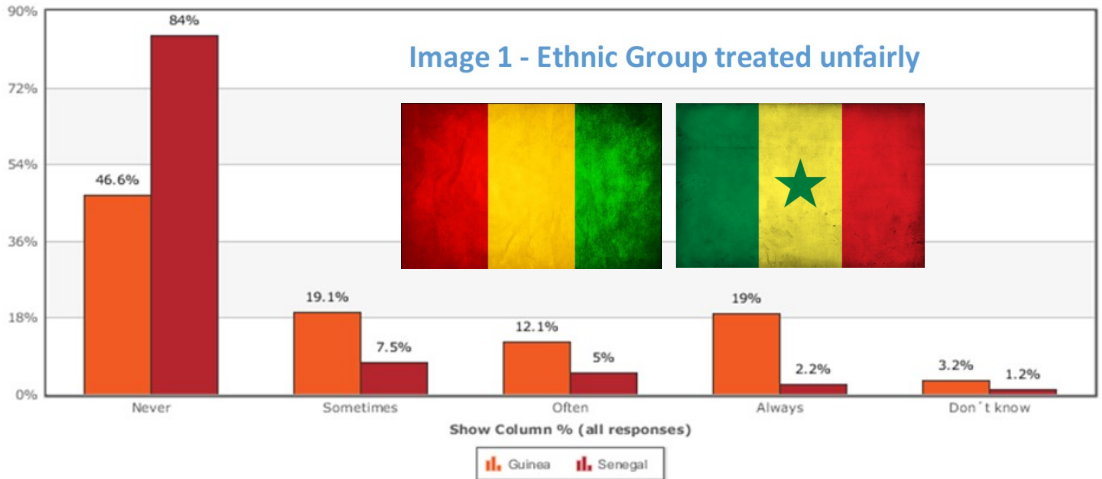
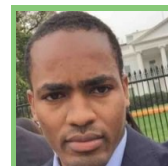


Image 1 above shows responses to the question "Do you feel like your ethnic group is treated unfairly?"

2010 per the World Bank, compared to 42.8% in Senegal. This means that only a quarter of the adult population is informed about policy issues. Therefore, Wolof plays a central role in improving policy debates in Senegal whereas the lack of a common language in Guinea only exacerbates ethnic issues.

Furthermore, a shared ideology and a common language can have direct consequences on how people perceive and collaborate with government. In fact, data from Afrobarometer shows that 84% of Senegalese who were interviewed feel that their ethnic group is treated fairly by the state against only 46% for Guineans (see Image 1). This result is an illustration of the difference in the perceived inclusiveness of the state in Senegal vs Guinea. Therefore, elected officials in Senegal are

less, nation building should not be perceived to be a set of policies like reviving national symbols, nationalizing companies, imposing a language or any other sort of coercive means. Nation building is first accepting the artificial nature of the modern African state and then bringing people to think about how they want to live together as a unit. However, for this to happen, nation building needs to be formally on the policy agendas of politicians across the continent. There is a long way to go but a thousand miles' journey begins with the first step.



Mamadou Pathé Bah is a Fulbright Scholar pursuing his MA in International Political Economy and Development at Fordham University.

## IDEASCAPE — Proposals in International Public Policy

## Environmental NGOs and the Trans-Pacific Partnership

BY KATHRYN MCCANN

The initial question of this research proposal was: can environmental interest groups affect the negotiations, adoption, or enforcement of the environmental commitments of the Trans Pacific Partnership (TPP)? While it may seem less relevant to a U.S. audience today, this research proposal may still be useful for the rest of the involved region, which could go forward with the agreement sans U.S. participation.

The TPP is a trade agreement which had the potential to impact 40% of the global economy by creating a partnership among Australia, Brunei, Canada, Chile, Japan, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Peru, Singapore, the U.S., and Vietnam. These are nations of varying sizes, economies, political structures, and natural resource stocks. It would be the largest trade deal of its kind outside of the World Trade Organization (WTO).

An agreement among these nations of diverse natural assets also has the potential to impact a sizable portion of our global natural resource stocks and the health of our environment. Recognizing this, the agreement devoted an entire chapter to the stipulation of commitments specifically regarding the environment. This is seen by some as a huge development, within the context of trade agreements, and by others as an unenforceable attempt to appease some stakeholders.

Table 1 offers an assessment of the positions of major sources of influence on the environmental concerns of the TPP. It is, by no means, exhaustive, but does include a variety of stakeholders, including environmental interest groups.

The interests of one of the most influential bodies within this framework, the United States Trade Representative (USTR), is represented in the TPP's environment chapter which pays special attention to the preservation of marine life and the protection of endangered species. Although the World Wildlife Foundation (WWF) and the Sierra Club are similarly

sized and mostly similar in purpose, they have different responses to the environmental protection mechanisms of the TPP. Why?

The focused interests of the WWF are more accurately represented in the environment chapter of the TPP than the broader, more comprehensive mission of the Sierra Club. The WWF, whose interests are also more closely aligned with those of USTR and the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), is mostly supportive of the agreement, while the Sierra Club, which did not have an influence on the initial negotiations and

Relevant Parties	Position on TPP
<b>USTR (under Obama):</b> Office of the United States Trade Representative	Very Supportive
<b>UNEP:</b> United Nations Environment Programme	Supportive with warning
<b>WWF:</b> World Wildlife Foundation	Mixed, mostly supportive
<b>Sierra Club</b>	Against

Table 1

whose interests are more broad, is not supportive of the agreement.

The relevant body of literature for this research proposal focuses on the role of Environmental NGOs (ENGOS) in contracting environmental agreements. There is less written explicitly about the role of ENGOS in trade agreements since, previously, they were not seriously considered stakeholders, but rather simply reactionary forces. Their absence from negotiations could also be an explanation of violations of environmental law which have been endemic in previous trade agreements.

What is written about ENGOS' role in inter-governmental negotiations, though, is important because it lends guidance for how they might be effective in the adoption of trade agreements in general and the TPP in particular. It will also continue

to be important since the role of ENGOS has grown substantially in recent years in inter-governmental environmental agreements and in the international community at large.

Based on relevant literature, trade theory, and an understanding of the broader themes of the politics of global economic relations, I hypothesize that an ENGO's efficacy in influencing the ratification or enforcement of the TPP's environmental conditions depends on three main factors: 1. The *size and interests* of the ENGO as compared to the dominant parties. 2. The *size and depth* of commitment the ENGO



can mobilize from civil society, which may be dependent on its ability to collaborate with other ENGOS. 3. The degree to which an ENGO can *access government leaders and stakeholders*.

While environmental interest groups and ENGOS only represent one aspect of consideration in the adoption and enforcement of the TPP, they do have the unique combined advantage of representing civil society, accessing experts and scientists, and often having the resources to influence decision makers about the stewardship of our global resources.

Looking forward, it will be important to note how and if these organizations have changed their positions in light of President Trump's rejection of the TPP. Do some of them actually share common ground with the 45th President of the U.S.? If so, (how) can they leverage that to influence U.S. environmental policy and future trade agreements?



Kathryn McCann is an Arrupe Fellow pursuing her MA in International Political Economy and Development at Fordham University.



## Faculty Feature: Dr. Raymond Kuo

**D**r. Raymond Kuo is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at Fordham University, teaching the Analysis of International Politics graduate course. Last year was his first year at Fordham, but he is already making a name for himself. With a strong belief in being a practitioner as well as a scholar, Dr. Kuo's experience and insight get his students to think critically in their political analyses.

Professor Kuo received a B.A. from the College of Social Studies at Wesleyan University, a M.Sc. in International Relations from the London School of Economics and Political Science, and a Ph.D. (and a M.A.) in Politics from Princeton University.

His academic credentials are impressive, but his professional experience is just as remarkable. In Taiwan, Dr. Kuo worked as a Foreign Policy Analyst for the Democratic Progressive Party of Taiwan, researching Chinese foreign relations and drafting speeches for state leaders. Then, in New York City, he worked for the United Nations' Department of Political Affairs as a consultant for East Asia and Middle East Divisions. There he conducted extensive policy research, drafted talking points for Secretary-General Annan on North Korea's nuclear program, and supported election monitoring in Iraq and West Bank/Gaza.

It doesn't end there. From the UN, Dr. Kuo made a move to the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs in Washington D.C. where he served as Program Officer for the Political Parties team: an in-house think tank. His focus there was to analyze and guide strategy for democracy support programs in over 50 countries.

Presently, we are lucky to have Dr. Raymond Kuo here at Fordham, and his IPED students are not shy about making it known. One student commented that "Professor Kuo is incredibly intelligent and has a very strong command of both the qualitative and quantitative aspects of political science. He holds students to a high standard, and always pushes us to think critically." Dr. Kuo said he likes to ask his students this question: "What would you do in this sort of political situation?"

In addition to teaching, Professor Kuo specializes in international security, American foreign policy, and his current research focuses on international order and security, and the political effects of technology and democratization. Dr. Kuo has published in top journals including International Security, International Relations, and Ethnopolitics.

When asked if there were any insights that he would like to share about the



IPED program, Professor Kuo chose to comment on the tight-knit community that the IPED program has. "Your colleagues are going to be your most valuable resource going forward. There is a marked difference of programs that have networks, and those that have communities. Take advantage of this, foster this in IPED, and it will serve you the rest of your lives."

For more information about Dr. Kuo and all the great work he is doing, on campus and beyond, please visit his website at [rkuo.weebly.com](http://rkuo.weebly.com).



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