

Beyond US Hegemony in International Development

The Contest for Influence at the World Bank

JIAJUN XU

Peking University, Beijing



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Contents

<i>List of Figures and Tables</i>	page viii
<i>Foreword</i>	ix
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xi
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xiv
Introduction	1
I.1 Hegemonic Transition inside Multilateral Institutions	2
I.2 The World Bank-IDA: A Cornerstone of the US World Order	3
I.3 International Politics of Burden-Sharing	5
I.4 Hegemonic Transition in Action	7
I.5 The Roadmap of the Book	15
1 IDA Burden-Sharing: The Unresolved Puzzle	17
1.1 The Central Puzzles of IDA Burden-Sharing	17
1.2 The Mainstream Literature on Burden-Sharing: Insights and Gaps	22
1.3 Financing and Governing the World Bank's Aid Window	27
1.4 Conclusion	39
2 Three Power Plays behind the Politics of IDA Burden-Sharing	40
2.1 Structural Causes: External Threats from the East and the South	40
2.2 Challenger Power Play: Quid Pro Quo between Burden Shares and Voting Rights	42
2.3 Controlling IOs: Fairness and Legitimacy	46
2.4 Complementary Analytical Perspectives	52
2.5 Conclusion	52
3 IDA in the 1960s: Hegemonic Leadership amid Bipolar Geopolitics	55
3.1 Hegemonic Lag: The Soviet Threat Fosters US Leadership in IDA	56

3.2	Challenger Inertia	67
3.3	Who Runs the World Bank? The Role of Bank Management	76
3.4	Conclusion	82
4	IDA in the 1970s: A Turbulent Era with <i>Accelerated Burden-Shifting</i>	84
4.1	IDA-4 (FY1975-77): <i>Accelerated Burden-Shifting</i> for the First Time	85
4.2	IDA-5 (FY1978-80): Resurgent Geopolitical Threat Renews the <i>Hegemonic Lag</i>	96
4.3	IDA-6 (FY1981-83): <i>Accelerated Burden-Shifting</i> Resumes	105
4.4	Conclusion	120
5	IDA in the 1980s: The Rise and Retreat of the 'Reagan Revolution'	124
5.1	Empirical Puzzles	124
5.2	IDA-7 (FY1985-87): The Rise of the 'Reagan Revolution'	125
5.3	IDA-8 (FY1988-90): The Retreat of the 'Reagan Revolution'	140
5.4	A UK-Japan Quid Pro Quo Enables ' <i>Accelerated Burden-Shifting</i> '	150
5.5	The 'Hidden' US-Japan Quid Pro Quo	153
5.6	Conclusion	156
6	IDA in the 1990s: The Struggle for Power and Fairness in a Unipolar World	160
6.1	Empirical Puzzles	160
6.2	IDA-9 (FY1991-93): North-South Struggles Suspend the Fairness Concern	162
6.3	IDA-10 (FY1994-96): A Delicate Balancing Act between Contribution and Influence	169
6.4	IDA-11(FY1998-99)/IDA-12(FY2000-02): The Fairness Concern Renews ' <i>Hegemonic Lags</i> '	176
6.5	Conclusion	193
7	IDA in the New Millennium: Leadership in Transition?	197
7.1	Empirical Puzzles	198
7.2	Explaining the Watershed in IDA Burden-Sharing	199
7.3	Leadership in Transition? An Assessment of US and UK Influence	219
7.4	Conclusion	225
8	China's Ascendancy: Influence from Within and Impact from Outside	228
8.1	An Empirical Puzzle	229

8.2	Explaining Why China Became a New IDA Donor in IDA-15 (FY2009–11)	230
8.3	Explaining China's Increased Financial Contribution to IDA-16 (FY2012–14): Bank Management as Policy Entrepreneurs	249
8.4	China's Influence as Both an Insider and an Outsider	251
8.5	Conclusion	257
	Conclusion	260
C.1	A Synthesis of Power Dynamics in IDA Replenishment History	261
C.2	An Entrepreneurial China as a Reform-Minded Stakeholder	266
C.3	IDA as History and Looking Ahead	271
	<i>Bibliography</i>	275
	<i>Index</i>	299