

PLIR2500
International Cooperation, Coercion and Development
Summer 2025, Session II
Synchronous online 08:00am – 10:15am

Instructor: Melle Scholten
Pronouns: he/him
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Office Hours: By appointment

This syllabus is subject to change up until the first day of class

Course description: Why are some countries rich, while others are poor? Despite decades of foreign aid and international treaties and investment agreements meant to promote economic development, a large part of the world's population remains mired in abject poverty. In this class, we will ask what the international causes of global development, wealth, poverty, and inequality are. Over the course of the class, we will engage with different international relations theories that provide different predictions for why and how states seek to cooperate with or coerce one another, and what the consequences are for economic and political development of those countries, especially in what is sometimes called the “Global South.” We will consider developmental success stories like South Korea, perpetual underachievers like Afghanistan, and countries that showed economic growth before collapsing like Venezuela. Specific topics to be discussed will include the importance of colonial legacies, different industrialization strategies employed during the 20th century, domestic political institutions, international organizations, economic globalization, and migration.

Learning outcomes (LOs): At the end of this course, students will be able to:

- a. Explain rationalist approaches to international cooperation, and how these approaches predict different development outcomes (sessions 1 to 4).
- b. Explain the historical origins of contemporary (under)development (sessions 5 to 8).
- c. Explain contemporary global causes of (under)development (sessions 8 to 16).
- d. Reflect on the role played by identity-based factors (gender & race) in explaining (under)development (sessions 17 and 18).

Required readings and software: This is a zero-cost materials class. All readings will be accessible digitally through the university library or the internet at large and linked in the syllabus.

Grading and assignments: Mastery of the LOs is tested by the following assignments:

1. **Attendance and participation (20%)** throughout the course. Please note that this will be graded *not only* based on your engagement with the instructor *but also* based on your engagement with your fellow students. Getting an A on this component will require you to respond to points raised by your fellow students, *respectfully and in good faith*.
2. **A start of the course essay (20%)**, between 200- and 500-words total, detailing what aspect of global development you are personally interested in and/or hope to learn more about. It is due by the second day of class (**June 17**). For students that join the course late, it will be due on the day after the first class attended.
3. **Flipped classroom assignment (30%)**, which depending on the number of people to sign up for this class will be a 2- or 3-person project. People will be assigned randomly to groups after the drop deadline (June 27). Flipped classroom assignments will take place over the course of sessions 9 through 18. On a flipped classroom day, the first half of class will be an interactive lecture as normal. The second half of class, instead of a seminar style discussion of the readings, the group members will run an interactive activity of their own choosing. This can be whatever the group members want, with the following limits: a) the activity must relate to the day's topic and the readings, b) the activity must be interactive, i.e. non-presenting students must be involved in some way. Examples of admissible activities include, but are not limited to, a gameshow style quiz, a moderated debate, or a negotiation simulation. Groups are welcome to discuss their ideas for this assignment with the instructor in advance. *Grades will be jointly determined by non-presenting students (based on the interactivity and fun of the activity) and the instructor (based on the creative use of readings / the daily topic)*.
4. **Final exam (30%)** to be held on the exam date designated by the registrar, i.e. **Saturday July 12, from 08:00 to 10:30**. The final exam will include a short answer component and a short essay component. The short answer portion of the final is intended to test your mastery of the main concepts covered in the class. The essay portion is intended to probe

you to formulate a coherent, theoretical discussion of the literature on cooperation, coercion, and development at large, and how it relates to real world developmental challenges. An answer model will be released after the final exam.

- 5. There are 2 extra credit opportunities.** First, any student who fills out the official course evaluation at the end of class will get 1 point (on a 100 scale) added to their final course grade. Note that, while I can see which students filled out the form and which ones did not, I cannot see who said what: your responses are fully anonymous and only available to me after your final grades are finalized in SIS. Second, any student who keeps their camera turned on for in-class meetings (within reason) will get 1 point (on a 100 scale) added to their final course grade. **No other extra credit opportunities will be given during this course.**

Course policies:

- **Attendance and Participation**
 - Be on time for class. Be prepared for class. If you have obligations outside of the classroom that may affect your ability to attend and participate, reach out to me.
 - If you are someone who struggles with shyness or speaking in front of large groups, reach out to me.
 - Please leave your camera turned on during class but mute your zoom unless actively talking. Your classmates and I much prefer engaging with a person to engaging with a screen.
- **Grades**
 - Chat-GPT or other Large-Language Model based tools (colloquially called AI) are conditionally allowed. My full AI policy can be found in the appendix.
 - If you require an Incomplete, make sure you reach out to your academic Dean and me in a timely fashion.
 - Grades will be assigned 0-100. Final grades will be determined based on the following distribution of the weighted average of your assignments. Only courses with a grade of at least a C count toward major or minor requirements in the Politics Department. For more information see:
<https://politics.virginia.edu/undergraduate-major-and-minor>

93 or more	A	73 – 76.99	C
90 – 92.99	A-	70-72.99	C-
87-89.99	B+	67-69.99	D+
83-82.99	B	63-66.99	D
80-82.99	B-	60-62.99	D-
77-79.99	C+	59.99 or less	F

- **Communicating with your Instructor and Fellow Students**

- For most, college represents a transition from adolescence / high school to adulthood / professional life. As a result, I expect you to make a good faith effort at behaving professionally and responsibly. I will not hold it against you if you slip up: this is a time where you can figure these things out.
- I will respond to emails within 12 hours (and usually much faster) on weekdays if received between 7am and 8pm.
- A Google Form will be made available for those who wish to provide anonymous feedback to the course prior to the opening of the final course evaluation. This form will be distributed by the end of the first week of class.

- **Timeline**

- The Drop Deadline for this class is June 27. The last day to withdraw is July 4.
- Note that UVA observes Juneteenth and Independence Day as University Holidays. There will be no meeting on Thursday, June 19 or Friday, July 4. There will be a meeting on Saturday, June 28.
- For more information see: <https://summer.virginia.edu/calendars>

Student resources:

My door is always open if you want to talk about college life, future job prospects, or how to approach your graded assignments. However, I am not a trained counselor, and I cannot overstep the professional bounds of my position as instructor. The following resources are provided to students by the University of Virginia, in case informal connections prove inadequate. **Do not hesitate to reach out to them. There is absolutely no shame in doing so.**

UVA Writing Center

The Writing Center is available for use by all current UVA students, regardless of year, school, or major. It advises on any kind of writing, at all stages of the writing process, regardless of whether the student is a native speaker or a learner of English. Information about how to schedule a meeting can be found at: <https://writingrhetoric.as.virginia.edu/welcome-writing-center>

Student Disability Access Center (SDAC)

SDAC provides academic accommodations, support services, and advocacy throughout the UVA community. If you have a learning disability, such as but not limited to AD/HD, blind or low vision, autism spectrum disorder, or chronic health conditions, have your SDAC officer reach out to me. You can find them at: <https://www.studenthealth.virginia.edu/SDAC>

Just Report It (JRI)

JRI is the University's online system for individuals experiencing sexual and gender-based harassment and violence, bias and discrimination, hazing, interference with speech rights, and other forms of intimidation. In case you or anyone you know is experiencing these things, you can find them at: <https://justreportit.virginia.edu/>

Counseling & Psychological Services (CAPS)

CAPS is the primary student mental health clinic on Grounds. It provides professional consultation and referral services to students, faculty, and staff. Do not let the stigma about seeking help stop you from contacting them. If you are experiencing severe mental stress, you can find them at: <https://www.studenthealth.virginia.edu/CAPS>

Maxine Platzer Lynn Women's Center

The Women's Center provides individual, couples, and group counseling services to the UVA and Charlottesville communities. They can help students who have relationship problems with their partner and/or family. You can find them at: <https://womenscenter.virginia.edu/>

Course planning:

For each of the readings, particularly the research articles, please focus on theory, history, and conclusions. You are invited to engage with the statistical and formal components, and I will answer any and all questions you have about methods during office hours, but these parts of the readings will not be tested on the final.

Hot tip: for each of the assigned reading, have a look at when they were originally published, and ask yourself what the circumstances at the time were. Was it during the Cold War or after? Before, during, or after the Crisis of 2008? This kind of contextual information will help you make sense of the articles.

Session 1. June 16: Introduction

Reading 1. This syllabus

Reading 2. James Arvanitakis & David J. Hornsby. January 15, 2017. “Global Poverty and Wealth.” In Stephen McGlinchey (ed.). *International Relations*. Read here:

<https://www.e-ir.info/2017/01/15/global-poverty-and-wealth/>

Reading 3. Melissa Dell. October 29, 2024. “Institutions and prosperity: The 2024 Nobel laureates.” *CEPR VoxEU Column*. Read here:

<https://cepr.org/voxeu/columns/institutions-and-prosperity-2024-nobel-laureates>

Session 2. June 17: What is Development?

Reading 1. Gunnar Myrdal. 1974. “What Is Development?” *Journal of Economic Issues*, 8(4), 729-736.

Reading 2. Amartya Sen. 1999. “Chapter 1: The Perspective of Freedom.” In *Development as Freedom*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Reading 3. John Rapley. 2004. “Development studies and the post-development critique.” *Progress in Development Studies*, 4(4), 350-354.

Session 3. June 18: Cooperation & Coercion in International Affairs I

Reading 1. Robert O. Keohane. 1984. “Chapter 5. Rational Choice and Functional Explanations.” In *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Reading 2. Charles P. Kindleberger. 1981. "Dominance and Leadership in the International Economy: Exploitation, Public Goods, and Free Rides." *International Studies Quarterly*, 25(2), 242-254.

Session 4. June 20: Cooperation & Coercion in International Affairs II

Reading 1. Lloyd Gruber. 2000. "Chapter 3. Winners and Losers: The Case for Theoretical Reorientation." In *Ruling the World: Power Politics and the Rise of Supranational Institutions*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Reading 2. Allison Carnegie. 2014. "States Held Hostage: Political Hold-Up Problems and the Effects of International Institutions." *American Political Science Review*, 108(1), 54-70.

Session 5. June 23: Colonial Legacies I

Reading 1. Daron Acemoglu & James A. Robinson. 2017. "Chapter 7: The economic impact of colonialism." In Stelios Michalopoulos & Elias Papaioannou (eds.). *The long economic and political shadow of history – Volume I. A global view*. London: CEPR Press.

Reading 2. Pavithra Suranarayan. September 28, 2020. "Colonial Institutions and Long-run Development in India" *Broadstreet Blog*. Read here:

<https://broadstreet.blog/2020/09/28/colonial-institutions-and-long-run-development-in-india/>

Session 6. June 24: Colonial Legacies II

Reading 1. William Roberts Clark, Matt Golder & Sona N. Golder. 2017. "An Exit, Voice and Loyalty Model of Politics." *British Journal of Political Science*, 47(4), 719-748.

Reading 2. Daniel Treffer & Christian Dippel. November 5, 2017. "Labour coercion and outside options." *CEPR VoxEU Column*. Read here:

<https://cepr.org/voxeu/columns/labour-coercion-and-outside-options>

Session 7. June 25: Industrialization Strategies

Reading 1. Neng Liang. 1992. "Beyond import substitution and export promotion: A new typology of trade strategies." *The Journal of Development Studies*, 28(3), 447-472.

Reading 2. David A. Steinberg. 2016. "Developmental states and undervalued exchange rates in the developing world." *Review of International Political Economy*, 23(3), 418-449.

Session 8. June 26: The Washington Consensus

Reading 1. Moisés Naím. “Washington Consensus or Washington Confusion?” *Foreign Policy*, 118, 86-103.

Reading 2. Sarah Babb. 2013. “The Washington Consensus as transnational policy paradigm: Its origins, trajectory and likely successor.” *Review of International Political Economy*, 20(2), 268-297.

Session 9. June 27: The Conflict-Development Nexus I

Reading 1. Charles Tilly. 2017. “War Making and State Making as Organized Crime.” In Ernesto Castañeda and Cathy Schneider (eds.). *Collective Violence, Contentious Politics, and Social Change*. New York: Routledge.

Reading 2. Yuhua Wang. February 24, 2021. “Why War Didn’t Make the Chinese State.” *Broadstreet Blog*. Read here: <https://broadstreet.blog/2021/02/24/why-war-didnt-make-the-chinese-state/>

Reading 3. Yuhua Wang. December 1, 2021. “Love, Not War, Made the Chinese State.” *Broadstreet Blog*. Read here: <https://broadstreet.blog/2021/12/01/love-not-war-made-the-chinese-state/>

Session 10. June 28: The Conflict-Development Nexus II

Reading 1. Paul Collier. 2007. “Chapter 2. The Conflict Trap.” In *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries Are Failing and What Can Be Done About It*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Reading 2. Jacob Gerner Hariri and Asger Mose Wingender. October 29, 2024. “The Perils of Modern Arms.” *Broadstreet Blog*. Read here: <https://broadstreet.blog/2024/10/29/the-perils-of-modern-arms/>

Session 11. June 30: International Organizations I

Reading 1. Michael N. Barnett & Martha Finnemore. 1999. “The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations.” *International Organization*, 53(4), 699-732.

Reading 2. Allison Carnegie & Richard Clark. 2023. “Reforming Global Governance: Power, Alliance, and Institutional Performance.” *World Politics*, 75(3), 523-565.

Session 12. July 1: International Organizations II

Reading 1. Amrita Narlikar. 2010. “New Powers in the Club: The Challenges of Global Trade Governance.” *International Affairs* 86(3), 717-728.

Reading 2. Leslie Johns, Krzysztof J. Pelc & Rachel L. Wellhausen. 2019. "How a Retreat from Global Economic Governance May Empower Business Interests." *The Journal of Politics* 81(2), 731-738.

Session 13. July 2: Economic Globalization I

Reading 1. Nita Rudra & Jennifer Tobin. 2017. "When Does Globalization Help the Poor?" *Annual Review of Political Science*, 20, 287-307.

Reading 2. Nita Rudra. 2005. "Are Workers in the Developing World Winners or Losers in the Current Era of Globalization?" *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 40, 29-64.

Session 14. July 3: Economic Globalization II

Reading 1. Amanda Aronczyk, Jeff Guo, Greg Rosalsky, Willa Rubin & Keith Romer. October 21, 2022. "The high cost of a strong dollar." *NPR Planet Money*. Listen here: <https://www.npr.org/2022/10/21/1130640816/strong-dollar-us-latin-america-inflation-peso-mexico-argentina-chile>

Reading 2. Pablo M. Pinto & Boliang Zhu. 2016. "Fortune or Evil? The Effect of Foreign Direct Investment on Corruption." *International Studies Quarterly*, 60(4), 693-705

Session 15. July 7: Foreign Aid

Reading 1. Sarah Bermeo. February 7, 2018. "Development, self-interest, and the countries left behind." *Brookings Institute*. Read here: <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/development-self-interest-and-the-countries-left-behind/>

Reading 2. Christopher J. Coyne. 2013. "Chapter 4: Political Competition Replaces Market Competition." In *Doing Bad by Doing Good: Why Humanitarian Action Fails*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press.

Session 16. July 8: Migration & Remittances

Reading 1. Michael A. Clemens, Çağlar Özden & Hillel Rapoport. 2014. "Migration and Development Research is Moving Far Beyond Remittances." *World Development*, 64, 121-124.

Reading 2. Malcolm R. Easton & Gabriella R. Montinola. 2017. "Remittances, Regime Type, and Government Spending Priorities." *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 52, 349-371.

Session 17. July 9: Gender & Development

Reading 1. Esther Duflo. 2012. “Women Empowerment and Economic Development.”

Journal of Economic Literature, 40(4), 1051-1079.

Reading 2. Margrethe Silberschmidt. 2001. “Disempowerment of Men in Rural and Urban East Africa: Implications for Male Identity and Sexual Behavior.” *World Development*, 29(4), 657-671.

Session 18. July 10: Race, Ethnicity & Development

Reading 1. Bianca Freeman, D.G. Kim & David A. Lake. 2022. “Race in International Relations: Beyond the “Norm Against Noticing.”” *Annual Review of Political Science*, 25, 175-196.

Reading 2. Nikhar Gaikwad & Pavithra Suryanarayan. June 3, 2019. “Attitudes toward Globalization in Ranked Ethnic Societies.” Available here:

<https://ssrn.com/abstract=3398262>

Session 19. July 11: Question Day

Reading 1. There are no readings on July 11. Instead, students are expected to review their notes and come prepared to ask any questions about what is still unclear to them.

Session 20. July 12: Final Exam

Course AI Policy

Large-Language Model based tools, colloquially called AI, can enhance student learning and time management, but that beneficial effect is conditional on students understanding how / when its use is appropriate. Let me try to explain with an analogy.

Forklift trucks are a great tool. They help human beings lift large amounts of weight with minimized risk of injury. In a warehouse, construction, or similar, no one will have a problem with people using a forklift. Now imagine someone drove a forklift into a gym, lifted weights with the forklift, then turns to you, smiles, and says confidently: “Wow! I worked up such a sweat!”

Using AI to replace activities that are supposed to train you to think creatively or memorize things is using a forklift in a gym. Using AI to help you with tasks that are tangential to that learning process is using a forklift in a warehouse.

To that end, it is important that you review the course Learning Outcomes (LOs) in this syllabus. Any use of AI that replaces your learning process to achieve those LOs **is prohibited in this course**. For example, you are not allowed to use AI to summarize readings or concepts: engaging in reading and summarizing notes is an important activity to help you understand the material. Furthermore, **you are not allowed to use AI on the final exam, or the start of the course essay. Doing so will constitute a violation of the Honor Code and UVA’s Community of Trust.**

You are allowed to use AI for other time saving purposes. For example, since teaching English grammar is not a LO of this course, you may use an AI based spellcheck. If, for example, you intend to use PowerPoint slides for the flipped classroom assignment, you are allowed to use AI to help suggest slide structures or order.

Lastly, please always follow the following two instructions regarding AI:

- 1) If you are ever uncertain whether your use of technology is permitted, ask your instructor.
- 2) Take full personal responsibility for whatever material you submit for credit in this course.