CPO 6908: Eastern European Politics Independent Study

Summer Session C

Instructor: Konstantin Ash (Konstantin.Ash@ucf.edu) Office Hours: By appointment

Prerequisites: Admission to a graduate degree-seeking program or C.I. or instructor approval.

Course Description

There are several learning goals for the course. **First,** the readings are intended for you to gain a broad understanding of research on Eastern European politics and be able to engage with the topic as fellow researchers. **Second,** as graduate students and potential future practitioners in the field, it is vital for you to engage critically with the work already done, thus, we will do our best to not only understand the readings, but to find flaws in them and potential avenues for improvement in future research. **Third,** It is vital that, again, as researchers, you are able to produce your own research that both engages with prior work on authoritarian regimes AND clearly improves upon that work in some capacity. This is why you will be required to develop a research paper in this class through several set deadlines. As we are on a semester system, we have the advantage of being able to delve deeper and develop more complete research products.

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Assignments

Research Paper

Students will be expected to complete a research paper during the course. The research paper should take the form of an academic article that students could conceivably submit for publication and/or submit to a conference. In order to facilitate the smooth flow of research throughout the semester, there will be several deadlines for developing the paper:

- May 31 @ 11:59p. Submit research question and *at least* five articles or books that have answered the same research question or a similar question.
- June 21 @ 11:59p. Submit critical literature review that incorporates previous articles or books, as well as other relevant or suggested articles or books, along with your answer to your research question, which should take up the theory.

- July 12 @ 11:59p. Submit hypotheses based on your theory and ways you envision testing the hypotheses. This could include, but is not limited to, qualitative case study methods, survey methods or large-N statistical analysis. If using qualitative methods, please outline which cases you are selecting and why they are appropriate. If using quantitative methods, please identify potential data sources or feasible original ways of gathering data within the next month.

Please submit the above three assignments to me through e-mail. The only boundary for this article is that it must, in some conceivable fashion, fall in the realm of the study of authoritarian regimes.

Original work for this type of paper is preferred, but please talk to me if you would like to continue on working on a project you have submitted for a previous class (I will probably like to see what you have done in advance) or if you would like to continue on something you've been working on independently as a side project (this is more acceptable and even encouraged). I must approve the use of projects from a previous class *before* the research question deadline for the assignment.

Multiple submissions to this class and another class you're taking this semester are discouraged. More in-depth empirical work must be conducted (beyond the scope of the paper you would have written for just this class) for this to be acceptable. Please consult with me for further information before submitting a research question.

The research paper is due on **Monday, August 3 @ 12:00p**. If you conduct empirical statistical tests (i.e. descriptive statistics, regressions, etc.) you must include the data you used and the regression code so I may replicate your analysis.

Discussion Papers

For **two** of the weeks after week 1, students are expected to submit discussion papers and then lead discussion that week. The discussion papers should be 4-5 page **critical analyses** of **at least** three of the required or recommended readings from the assigned week. As part of a critical analysis, students should include a **brief** summary of an author's argument or research design, a passage on how the papers fit together as part of the broader research agenda for that week and a broader passage on aspects of either/both the papers or the broader research agenda that the student believes could be improved upon.

In addition to the paper, students writing papers in a particular week are expected to write **3-5** questions that are intended to provoke discussion in the class and to briefly discuss their findings and present the discussion questions during class in the relevant week.

Summaries of the readings alone submitted as discussion papers will receive at least a letter grade penalty. Please coordinate with your classmates to ensure that you are not writing a paper on the same readings if two people are writing discussion papers on the same week.

Participation

Since this is a graduate seminar, participation is integral for the smooth flow of the course. My role is not to lecture or even present the readings to a great extent, but to facilitate discussion. This means that your participation is necessary for the class, both in relaying the topics of the assigned readings and then analyzing and criticizing the arguments and empirical approaches in those readings.

Plagiarism

There is a ZERO tolerance policy on plagiarism. If you are found having copied any substantial portion of your paper from other sources without having first accredited them, you will either have large amounts of points deducted from your paper grade or will fail the class altogether. Please consult the UCF Office of Student Conduct's Rules of Conduct for more information.

Grade Breakdown

Research Paper – 40%
Discussion Papers – 20% each
Participation – 20%

Course Schedule and Readings

Each week's courses will follow the same structure. There are required readings that should be done before each class and recommended readings that you should look at if you are either the discussant for that week or writing a research paper on a subject that broaches the week. This is also a good list to have for future literature reviews on papers related to politics of authoritarian regimes.

Week 1 – Romania and Moldova: Case Narratives

Required Reading:

- King, Charles. The Moldovans: Romania, Russia, and the politics of culture. Hoover Press, 1999. Chapters 4-6.
- Roper, Stephen D. Romania: the unfinished revolution. Routledge, 2004. Chapters 3 and 4.

Week 2 - The Communist System and its Fall

Required Reading:

- Janos Kornai, The Socialist System (Princeton UP, 1992) Chapters 3, 4 and 5.
- Ivan Szelenyi and Balazs Szelenyi, "Why Socialism failed: towards a theory of system breakdown," Theory and Society v. 23, no. 2 (April 1994), pp. 211-232.
- Beissinger, Mark R. 2002. Nationalist mobilization and the collapse of the Soviet State. Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press., Chapters 2 and 4.
- Lewis, Paul G. 2000. Political parties in post-communist Eastern Europe. London ; New York: Routledge., Ch.1.

Recommended Reading:

- Kern, Holger Lutz, and Jens Hainmueller. "Opium for the masses: How foreign media can stabilize authoritarian regimes." Political Analysis 17, no. 4 (2009): 377-399.
- Katherine Verdery, What Was Socialism and What Comes Next (Princeton UP 1996).

- Roeder, Philip G. 1993. Red sunset : the failure of Soviet politics. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Solnick, Steven Lee. 1998. Stealing the state : control and collapse in Soviet institutions. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- McFaul, Michael. 2001. Russia's Unfinished Revolution : Political Change from Gorbachev to Putin. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

Week 3 – Politics of Economic Reform

Required Reading:

- Hellman, Joel, "Winners Take All: The politics of Partial Reform in Postcommunist Transitions" World Politics, vol.50 (January 1998) p.203-34
- Murrell, Peter, "What is Shock Therapy? What Did it do in Poland and Russia?" Post-Soviet Affairs, 9 (2) (1993) p.111-140.
- Steven Fish, "The Determinants of Economic Reform in the Post-Communist World," East European Politics and Societies, v. 12, no 1 (Winter 1997), pp. 31-78.
- Przeworski, Adam. Democracy and the Market: Chapter 4
- Verdery, Katherine. The vanishing hectare: property and value in postsocialist Transylvania. Cornell University Press, 2018. Chapter 2.

Recommended Reading:

- Frye, Timothy. 2000. Brokers and Bureaucrats : Building Market Institutions in Russia. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Guriev, Sergei and Andrei Rachinsky. 2005. "The Role of Oligarchs in Russian Capitalism." Journal of Economic Perspectives. 19:131âĂŞ150.
- Gerber, Theodore P., and Michael Hout. "More shock than therapy: Market transition, employment, and income in Russia, 1991âĂŞ1995." American Journal of Sociology 104, no. 1 (1998): 1-50.

Week 4 – Political Institutions after Communism

Required Reading:

- Frye, Timothy 1997. "A Politics of Institutional Choice: Post-Communist Presidencies." Comparative Political Studies 30: 523-552.
- Anna Grzymala-Busse and Pauline Jones-Luong, "Reconceptualizing the State: Lessons from Post-Communism," Politics and Society, v. 30, no. 4 (December 2002), pp. 529-554
- Benoit, Ken, and Jacqueline Hayden. 2004. "Institutional Change and Persistence: The Origins and Evolution of Poland's Electoral System 1989-2001." Journal of Politics. 66 (2):396-427.
- Benoit, Kenneth , and John W. Schiemann. 2001. "Institutional Choices in New Democracies: Bargaining over Hungary's 1989 Electoral Law." Journal of Theoretical Politics. 13 (2):153-82.

- Pop-Eleches, Grigore. “Historical legacies and post-communist regime change.” The Journal of Politics 69, no. 4 (2007): 908-926.

Recommended Reading:

- Treisman, Daniel. 1999. After the Deluge: Regional Crises and Political Consolidation in Russia. University of Michigan Press.
- Fish, M. Steven. ”The pitfalls of Russian superpresidentialism.” Current History 96 (1997): 326.

Week 5 – Political Parties and Elections after Communism

Required Reading:

- Lewis, Paul G. 2000. Political parties in post-communist Eastern Europe. London ; New York: Routledge., Chapters 2 and 4.
- Grzymala-Busse, Anna. 2002. Redeeming the Communist Past : the Regeneration of Communist Parties in East Central Europe. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press., Chapter 1.
- Tavits, Margit. 2005. ”The Development of Stable Party Support Dynamics in Post-Communist Europe.” American Journal of Political Science. 49 (2):283-98.
- Kitschelt, Herbert, Zdenka Manfeldova, Radoslaw Markowski, and Gabor Toka. 1999. Post- Communist Party Systems: Competition, Representation, and Inter-Party Cooperation. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press., Chapters 5 and 6.

Recommended Reading:

- Henry Hale, ”Why Not Parties? Supply and Demand on Russia’s Electoral Market,” Comparative Politics, v. 27, no. 2 (January 2005), pp. 147-166

Week 6 – Voting in Post-Communist Eastern Europe

Required Reading:

- Rose, Richard, and William Mishler. ”Negative and positive party identification in post-communist countries.” Electoral Studies 17, no. 2 (1998): 217-234.
- Tucker, Joshua A. 2006. Regional Economic Voting: Russia, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic, 1990-99. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 5, 6 and 7.
- KlaÅąnja, Marko, and Joshua A. Tucker. “The economy, corruption, and the vote: Evidence from experiments in Sweden and Moldova.” Electoral Studies 32, no. 3 (2013): 536-543.
- Pop-Eleches, Grigore. "Throwing out the bums: Protest voting and unorthodox parties after communism." World Politics 62, no. 2 (2010): 221-260.

Recommended Reading:

- Rovny, Jay. 2014. Communism, Federalism, and Ethnic Minorities: Explaining Party Competition Patterns in Eastern Europe. World Politics.

- Powell, Eleanor Neff, and Joshua A. Tucker. "Revisiting electoral volatility in post-communist countries: New data, new results and new approaches." British Journal of Political Science 44, no. 1 (2014): 123-147.
- Treisman, Daniel. "Presidential popularity in a hybrid regime: Russia under Yeltsin and Putin." American Journal of Political Science 55, no. 3 (2011): 590-609.
- Colton, Timothy J., and Henry E. Hale. "The Putin vote: Presidential electorates in a hybrid regime." Slavic review 68, no. 3 (2009): 473-503.
- Pop-Eleches, Grigore, and Joshua A. Tucker. Communism's shadow: Historical legacies and contemporary political attitudes. Princeton University Press, 2017.

Week 7 – Ethnicity and Conflict

Required Reading:

- King, C. (2001). The benefits of ethnic war: understanding Eurasia's unrecognized states. World politics, 53(4), 524-552.
- Blakkisrud, Helge, and Pal Kolsto. From secessionist conflict toward a functioning state: Processes of state-and nation-building in Transnistria. Post-Soviet Affairs 27, no. 2 (2011): 178-210.
- Aliyev, Huseyn (2019). The logic of ethnic responsibility and progovernment mobilization in east ukraine conflict. Comparative Political Studies
- Roeder, Philip G. National Secession: Persuasion and Violence in Independence Campaigns. Cornell University Press, 2018. Chapters 5 and 6.
- Milos Vasic, Filip Svarm, "Paramilitary Formations in Serbia: 1990-2000. The Stink of Crimes," in Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia, In the Triangle of State Power: Army, Police and Paramilitary, Helsinki Files No. 9 (Belgrade: Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia, 2001), pp.56-72.

Recommended Reading:

- Dannreuther, Roland, and Luke March. "Chechnya: has Moscow won?." Survival 50.4 (2008): 97-112.

Week 8 – Social Movements and Protest

Required Reading:

- Ekiert, Grzegorz, and Jan Kubik. 1997. "Contentious Politics in New Democracies: East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia, 1989-93." World Politics. 50 (4):547-72.
- Beissinger, Mark. 2013. "The Semblance of Democratic Revolution: Coalitions in Ukraine's Orange Revolution." American Political Science Review, 107(3), 574-592.
- Tucker, Joshua A. "Enough! Electoral fraud, collective action problems, and post-communist colored revolutions." Perspectives on politics 5, no. 3 (2007): 535-551.
- Way, Lucan. "The real causes of the color revolutions." Journal of Democracy 19, no. 3 (2008): 55-69.

- Kalandadze, Katya, and Mitchell A. Orenstein. ”Electoral protests and democratization beyond the color revolutions.” Comparative political studies 42, no. 11 (2009): 1403-1425.

Recommended Reading:

- Lohmann, Susanne. 1994. “Dynamics of informational cascades: the monday demonstrations in Leipzig, East Germany, 1989-1991.” World Politics 47: 42-101.
- Kuran, Timur (1991). “Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989.” World Politics 44: 7-48.
- Brancati, Dawn. 2014. Pocketbook Protests: Explaining the Emergence of Pro-Democracy Protests Worldwide. Comparative Political Studies
- Lorentzen, Peter L. Regularizing rioting: Permitting public protest in an authoritarian regime. Quarterly Journal of Political Science 8, no. 2 (2013): 127-158.
- Rosenfeld, Bryn, 2017. Reevaluating the Middle-Class Protest Paradigm: A Case-Control Study of Democratic Protest Coalitions in Russia. American Political Science Review, 111(4), pp.637-652.

Week 9 - Rise of Populism and Authoritarianism

Required Reading:

- Weyland, Kurt. "Neoliberal populism in Latin America and eastern Europe." Comparative Politics (1999): 379-401.
- Pirro, Andrea LP. ”Populist radical right parties in Central and Eastern Europe: The different context and issues of the prophets of the patria.” Government and Opposition 49, no. 4 (2014): 600-629.
- Batory, Agnes. ”Populists in government? Hungary’s “system of national cooperation.” ” Democratization 23, no. 2 (2016): 283-303.
- Pappas, Takis S. “Populist democracies: Post-authoritarian Greece and post-communist Hungary.“ Government and Opposition 49, no. 1 (2014): 1-23.
- Hale, Henry E. "Regime cycles: democracy, autocracy, and revolution in post-Soviet Eurasia." World Politics 58, no. 1 (2005): 133-165.

Recommended Reading:

- Pirro, Andrea LP. The populist radical right in Central and Eastern Europe: Ideology, impact, and electoral performance. Routledge, 2015.
- McFaul, M. and Stoner-Weiss, K., 2008. The Myth of the Authoritarian Model-How PutinâĂŹs Crackdown Holds Russia Back. Foreign Affairs, 87, p.68.
- Bader, M., & van Ham, C. (2015). What explains regional variation in election fraud? Evidence from Russia: a research note. Post-Soviet Affairs, 31(6), 514-528.

Week 10 - Politics and Effects of EU Integration

Required Reading:

- Frank Schimmelfennig, "European Regional Organizations, Political Conditionality, and Democratic Transformation in Eastern Europe," East European Politics and Societies 21 (1) (2007), pp. 126-141.
- Kristi Raik, "EU Accession of Central and Eastern European Countries: Democracy and Integration as Conflicting Logics," East European Politics and Societies 18(2004): 567-594.
- Levitz, Philip, and Grigore Pop-Eleches. "Why no backsliding? The European Union's impact on democracy and governance before and after accession." Comparative Political Studies 43, no. 4 (2010): 457-485.
- Sedelmeier, Ulrich. "Anchoring Democracy from Above? The European Union and Democratic Backsliding in Hungary and Romania after Accession." JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies 52, no. 1 (2014): 105-121.
- Borzel, Tanja A., and Frank Schimmelfennig. "Coming together or drifting apart? The EU's political integration capacity in Eastern Europe." Journal of European Public Policy 24, no. 2 (2017): 278-296.

Recommended Reading:

- Levitz, Philip, and Grigore Pop-Eleches. "Monitoring, money and migrants: Countering post-accession backsliding in Bulgaria and Romania." Europe-Asia Studies 62, no. 3 (2010): 461-479.
- Kelemen, R. Daniel. "Europe's other democratic deficit: National authoritarianism in Europe's Democratic Union." Government and opposition 52, no. 2 (2017): 211-238.

Weeks 11 and 12 - Work on Final Paper

Research Paper due Monday August 3 @ 12:00p through WebCourses

Questions to answer while reading an academic article or book (maybe in this order)[1]

- What is the point of the article?
- What is the author's agenda?
- Is the author trying to explain something? What is it?
- What have other people said about the subject the author is trying to explain?
- Does the author contribute anything beyond what these other people have said?
- What broader research agenda is the author adding to?
- What broader research agenda is the author trying to get rid of?
- What is the author's argument to explain this outcome?
- What claims does the author use to bridge his/her explanation of the outcome with the outcome itself?
- What assumptions does the author make in making these claims?
- How does the author test the claims that he/she made?
- Is this the best possible way to test these claims? Why or why not?
- Does the author test the theory in the appropriate place/time?
- Does the author's test adequately take alternative explanations into account?
- Does the author's test adequately account for biases, such as endogeneity, selection or ecological inference?
- What are the author's findings?
- Are the findings generalizable to other cases?
- How do the findings affect our understanding of the author's research agenda? Other research agendas?
- Has the author convinced you that his/her explanation for the chosen outcome is better than what others have done?

[1] It's also good practice to do this with your own work.