

Political Science 144A: Democratization in Eastern Europe

Winter 2020

Monday and Wednesday, 2:10 to 3:30 in Wellman 230 (sections meet in 451 Kerr Hall)

Professor: Josephine Andrews
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Course description:

In this course, we study democratization in the post-communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe. With the collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s, most of these countries embarked on a path of democratization and market reform. The set of twenty post-communist countries considered in this course includes: Poland, Hungary, the Czech and Slovak Republics, Romania, Bulgaria, former republics of the Soviet Union – Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Ukraine, Russia and Moldova, the former republics of Yugoslavia – Slovenia, Bosnia, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, Kosovo, and the small Yugoslavian satellite, Albania. We consider this set of countries as a kind of ‘natural experiment.’ All exhibited similarities of communism, and all embarked on political and economic transition at about the same point in time, yet the success of both democratic and market reforms varies greatly. The manner in which these countries proceeded through transition and the relative success of transition will be the focus of our course.

For example, Poland, Hungary, the Czech and Slovak republics as well as a few others got off to strong starts and continued without serious problems along a course of political and economic reform. Each is now a member of the European Union and will soon join the ranks of the world’s “advanced industrialized nations.” Other countries, such as Bulgaria, Romania, Ukraine, Russia and Moldova and several of the former Yugoslavian republics got off to rocky starts. For several years it seemed as if none would fully democratize. Then, in the late 1990s, Bulgaria and Romania began to show signs of true democratization and deepening economic reform. Both are now members of the European Union. Two former republics of Yugoslavia, Slovenia which joined in 2004 and Croatia which joined last year, are also a members of the EU, Macedonia and Serbia are not far behind. The situations of Russia, Moldova and Ukraine are more complex.

In this course, I use historical experiences as well as economic, political and sociological data to study democratization. As students in this course, you will be required to write a research paper based on your own original analysis of data that I will provide (although you are free to collect your own data from alternative sources). Data sets will include: Public opinion data, World Bank economic data, electoral data, data on party platforms and ideology, turnout, etc. All data will be made available to you on our course website, accessible via Canvas. The analysis of this data will be an integral part of the course and a key part of your grade. You will not be required

to use any statistical program more sophisticated than Excel, and we will provide detailed instructions on how to proceed.

Weekly Sections:

To aid you in using and analyzing data, and in writing an original and meaningful paper, we will be holding weekly sections in 451 Kerr Hall, the Political Science computer lab. Sections are mandatory; there will be assignments due weekly, and much of the paper is based on work you will do in section. We will provide more information about section participation and grading in the sections.

WEEKLY SECTIONS begin the second week of class (week of January 13).

The lectures are designed to give you necessary historical and theoretical background, as well as guidance on how to develop an appropriate question to study. Readings from the textbook are intended to provide a broad comparative perspective on transition across the region. Assigned articles demonstrate current research on transitions in Central and Eastern Europe. These articles also provide examples of analyses using data we will be working with in class and in your papers. These articles provide concepts and theories, which you can use as starting points for your thinking. Of course, you will need to cite literature/sources in your papers, and the course readings can be used for this as well. In addition to the assigned articles, I will post to Canvas additional articles on possible paper topics; these articles will serve as resources to help you in researching and writing your papers.

Course requirements:

There are three written assignments for the course. The written assignments include one midterm, one research paper, and a final exam.

MIDTERM: The midterm will be an in-class essay and short answer exam designed to test your knowledge of the material from the lectures and readings. The midterm is on February 10.

RESEARCH PAPER: You are required to write an 8-12 page research paper. In this paper, you will state a basic hypothesis (or relationship) that you find interesting. You will use basic data (such as election results, voter turnout, economic data, or public opinion data) to support (or refute) your hypothesis. I will provide detailed paper guidelines, divided up into tasks. We will spend most of our section time discussing and working on these tasks and in locating and analyzing the data for your papers. The paper is due to your TA in section during Week 10.

FINAL EXAM: The final exam will be a short, fact-based exam. The final exam is on Tuesday, March 17, 6:00 to 8:00pm

Summary of course requirements:

- (1) Midterm exam
- (2) Research paper
- (3) Final exam
- (4) Attendance and participation in sections (including homework assignments)

Grades will be assigned according to the following formula:

Midterm:	30%
Research paper:	40%
Final exam:	20%
Section & participation:	10%

Readings:

The readings for this course come from several sources. We will read chapters from one book, listed below.

Central and East European Politics: From Communism to Democracy, eds. Sharon Wolchik and Jane Leftwich Curry.

All other readings are available on the course website, which is accessible via Canvas.

A few final points:

Make-up midterms will be given ONLY in cases of illness or family emergency, and you MUST inform the professor or your section leader BEFORE the midterm is given. Furthermore, you must provide written proof of illness. Absolutely NO make-up midterms will be given if the student fails to contact either the professor or section leader BEFORE the midterm. If this happens to you, please drop the course. NOTE: Under NO circumstances may you email the professor or your section leader the morning of the midterm and expect a makeup. You will get a zero for that midterm – absolutely NO exceptions. Also, if you claim a family emergency, you must provide written PROOF of that emergency. NO EXCEPTIONS.

Absolutely no makeup final exams will be given. Under no circumstances will final exams be given early to accommodate personal travel plans.

All papers are due in section during the last week of class (Week 10). Late papers WILL be graded down 2.5 points for every day late.

Course Schedule:

Part 1: Causes of transition

WEEK 1

January 6: Eastern Europe in Historical Perspective

Reading: *Central and East European Politics*, Chapter 1 page 3 – 28.

January 8: Collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union

Reading: Schöpflin, George. 1990. “The End of Communism in Eastern Europe,” *International Affairs* Vol. 66, No. 1, pp. 3-16.

Part 2: Democratic Transition and the Competitive Politics

WEEK 2

January 13: Democratization

Reading: *Central and East European Politics*, Chapter 2, page 3-28.

January 15: Constitutional Design

Reading: TBA

WEEK 3

January 20: **HOLIDAY** (Martin Luther King, Jr. Day)

January 22: Institutional Choices: Electoral Rules.

Reading: Birch, Sarah. 2003. “An Overview of Post-Communist Electoral Systems: Design and Measurement,” Chapter 2 in *Electoral Systems and Political Transformation in Post-Communist Europe*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan

WEEK 4

January 27: Civil Society and Political Parties

Reading: *Central and East European Politics*, Chapter 4, pages 89-111.

January 29: Voter Turnout

Reading: Alexander C. Pacek, Grigore Pop-Eleches and Joshua A. Tucker. “Disenchanted or Discerning: Voter Turnout in Post-Communist Countries,” *Journal of Politics* Vol. 71, No. 2, pp. 473–491

WEEK 5 (Sections will cover midterm review)

February 3: Economic Reform in Central and Eastern Europe

Reading: *Central and East European Politics*, Chapter 3, pages 57-87.

February 5: Corruption

Reading: Holmes, Leslie. 2009. "Crime, Organized Crime and Corruption in Post-Communist Europe and the CIS." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* Vol. 42, pages 265-287.

Part 3: Accession to the European Union

WEEK 6

February 10: **MIDTERM**

February 12: Reform and the Accession Process

Reading: Heather Grabbe. 2002. "European Union Conditionality." *International Political Science Review* Vol. 23, No. 3, pp. 249-268

WEEK 7 (Case Studies)

February 17: **HOLIDAY** (President's Day)

February 19: Successful Cases: Poland and the Baltics

Reading: *Central and East European Politics*, Chapters 7 and 12, pages 171-192 and 313-333.

WEEK 8

February 24: Problematic Cases: Bulgaria and Romania

Reading: *Central and East European Politics*, Chapters 13 and 14, pages 337-398.

February 26: Volatility and Unstable Party Systems

Reading: Hanley, Sean and Allan Sikk. 2016. "Economy, Corruption or Floating Voters? Explaining the Breakthroughs of Anti-establishment Reform Parties in Eastern Europe," *Party Politics* Vol. 22, No. 4, pages 522-533.

WEEK 9 (Finalize papers in section)

March 2: Governance Post-Accession

Reading: Fazekas, M. and Lawrence King. 2018. "Perils of Development Funding? The Tale of EU Funds and Grand Corruption in Central and Eastern Europe." *Regulation and Governance*, pp. 1-15.

March 4: Euroscepticism and Identity

Reading: Neil Fligstein, Alina Polyakova, and Wayne Sandholtz. 2012. "European Integration, Nationalism and European Identity." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 50, pp. 106-122.

WEEK 10 (Research papers due in section. Sections will cover final exam review.)

March 9: Populism and Democratic Backsliding

Reading: Dawson and Hanley. 2016. "What's Wrong with East-Central Europe? The Fading Mirage of the "Liberal Consensus." *Journal of Democracy* Vol. 27, No. 1, Pages 20-34

March 11: Security and Foreign Relations

Reading: *Central and East European Politics*, Chapters 8, pages 199-217.

FINAL EXAM Tuesday March 17, 6:00 to 8:00pm