

POLITICAL SCIENCE 624-600

Seminar in Regional Studies: Post-Communist Systems

Fall 2006

Instructor: Alexander Pacek
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Office Hours: W 10:00-11:00 and by appointment
Course Time: R 9:00-11:50
Location: Allen 2064

I. Course Purpose

This seminar is designed to cover a broad range of theoretical and substantive research issues salient to the post-communist transition states of East Central-Southeastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Throughout the semester we will identify and focus on key areas of research, debates over certain issues, and difficulties accompanying studies of these regions.

The seminar is not designed solely for students with an overriding interest in these regions of the world. While this IS a comparative politics seminar, throughout the semester we will address the broader concerns of political science as a whole, and hopefully discover the overlap with other sub-fields of political science. Therefore, you should not necessarily assume a broad substantive knowledge of the regions' history, culture, and politics is essential for the successful completion of this course.

II. Assignments

(1). Students should be prepared to read and discuss the required materials here extensively.

Following from professor Guy Whitten, I am adopting the practice of student "talking points" to frame each seminar discussion. Each student will be required to submit three talking points on THREE of each week's readings. These will be due by email (E339ap@polisci.tamu.edu) by Tuesday, 5:00 of each week, prior to Thursday's seminar. The talking points should be the most interesting questions or arguments that the student has identified based on the selection of the week's readings. They should be submitted in the form of a short paragraph or argument. Each talking point should refer to one or more specific sections of the weekly readings (with appropriate page references). Each talking point should refer to a different chapter or article from the weekly readings. Talking points in excess of 160 words will not be accepted and talking points that arrive late will not be accepted.

(2). Each student will compile a research paper. This paper should present a clear and

incisive argument on an issue of your choice, critically review relevant literature in the area, coherently explain the approach/method to be used, and discuss results (or expected results) and implications all within the canons of accepted social science research. A detailed outline of the paper should be submitted at least five weeks before the paper is due. Students are also required to meet with me at intervals to discuss paper ideas, dates to be announced.

Key dates concerning projects:

1. A one page project proposal is due by Election Day (November 7 2006).
2. First draft due for comments by official last day of classes (December 5 2006)
3. Final draft due by December 15 2006.

III. Grading

The final grade will be determined as follows:

80%	Research project
60%	--final draft
10%	--initial draft
10%	--one page proposal
20%	Talking Points

IV. Weekly Topics and Readings

Below are weekly topics for reading and discussion. All students should complete the required readings before class. All readings will be on electronic reserve at PSEL. Follow the pathways to my name, and the readings will be available there:

<http://ereserves.tamu.edu/eres/courseindex.aspx?error=&page=search>

August 31: Introduction

September 7

1. Post-Communist Systems and Political Science

- (A). Hanson, Stephen E. 1995. "Social Theory and the Post-Soviet Crisis: Sovietology and the Problem of Regime Identification." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*. 28: 119-30.
- (B). Chandler, Andrea. 1994. "The Interaction of Post-Sovietology and Comparative Politics." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*. 27: 3-17.
- (C). King, Charles. 2000. "Post-Communism Transition, Comparison, and the End of 'Eastern Europe'." *World Politics*. 53: 143-172.

- (D). Schmitter, Philip C. and Terry L. Karl. 1994. "The Conceptual Travels of Transitologists Consolidationists: How Far to the East Should They Attempt to Go?" *Slavic Review*. 53: 173-185.
- (E). Bova, Russel. 1991. "Political Dynamics of the Post-Communist Transition: a Comparative Perspective." *World Politics*. 44: 113-138.
- (F). Terry, Sarah Meiklejohn. 1993. "Thinking about Post-Communist Transitions: How Different Are They?" *Slavic Review*. 52: 333-337.
- (G). Janos, Andrew. 1991. "Social Science, Communism, and the Dynamics of Political Change." *World Politics*. 44: 81-112.

September 14

2. The Communist Legacy: Attitudes and Beliefs

- (A). Rose, Richard, William Mishler, and Christian Haerpfer. 1998. *Democracy and its Alternatives: Understanding Post-Communist Societies*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Chapter 5

Chapter 7

- (B). Miller, Arthur, Vicki Hesli, and William Reissinger. 1997. "Conceptions of Democracy among Mass and Elite in Post-Soviet Societies." *British Journal of Political Science*. 27: 157-190.
- (C). Kluegel, James, David Mason, and Bernd Wegener. 1999. "The Legitimation of Capitalism in the Postcommunist Transition: Public Opinion about Market Justice." *European Sociological Review*. 15: 251-283.
- (D). Finifter, Ada, and Ellen Michiewicz. 1992. "Redefining the Political System of the USSR: Mass Support for Political Change." *American Political Science Review*. 86: 857-874.
- (E). Powers, Denise, and James Cox. 1997. "Echoes from the Past: The Relationship between Satisfaction with Economic Reforms and Voting Behavior in Poland." *American Political Science Review*. 91: 617-634.
- (F). Kullberg, Judith, and William Zimmerman. 1999. "Liberal Elites, Socialist Masses, and Problems of Russian Democracy." *World Politics*. 51: 323-358.

September 21

3. Democratic Consolidation in Post-Communist Systems

- (A). Duch, Raymond. 1998. "The Electoral Connection and Democratic Consolidation." *Electoral Studies*. 17: 149-174.
- (B). Solnick, Steven. 1999. "Russia's 'Transition': Is Democracy Delayed, Democracy Denied?" *Social Research*. 66: 789-824.
- (C). Waldron-Moore, Pamela. 1999. "Eastern Europe at the Crossroads of Democratic Transition: Evaluating Support for Democratic Institutions, Satisfaction with Democratic Government, and Consolidation of Democratic Regimes." *Comparative Political Studies*. 32: 32-62.
- (D). McFaul, Michael. 2002. "The Fourth Wave of Democracy and Dictatorship: Noncooperative Transitions in the Postcommunist World." *World Politics*. 54: 212-244.
- (E). Munck, Gerardo. 1997. "Bringing Postcommunist Societies into Democratization Studies." *Slavic Review*. 56: 542-550.
- (F). Rose, Richard and Doh Shin. 2001. "Democratization Backwards: The Problem of Third Wave Democracies." *British Journal of Political Science*. 31: 331-354.
- (G). Bunce, Valerie. 2000. "Comparative Democratization: Big and Bounded Generalizations." *Comparative Political Studies*. 33: 703-734.

September 28

4. Attitudes Toward Democracy/Democratic Satisfaction

- (A). Evans, Geoffrey, and Stephen Whitefield. 1995. "The Politics and Economics of Democratic Commitment: Support for Democracy in Transition Societies." *British Journal of Political Science*. 25: 485-514.
- (B). Delhey Jan, and Verena Tobsch. 2003. "Satisfaction with Democracy and its Sources: The Cases of East Germany and Hungary." In Detlef Pollack, et al (eds). *Political Culture in Post-Communist Europe: Attitudes in New Democracies*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- (C). Gibson, James, Raymond Duch, and Kent Tedin. 1992. "Democratic Values and the Transformation of the Soviet Union." *Journal of Polity*. 54: 329-371.
- (D). Anderson, Christopher, and Yuliya Tverdova. 2001. "Winners, Losers, and Attitudes about Government in Contemporary Democracies." *International Political Science Review*. 22: 321-338.
- (E). Miller, Arthur, Vicki Hesli, and William Reisinger. 1994. "Reassessing Mass Support for Political and Economic Change in the Former USSR." *American Political Science Review*. 88: 157-190.

- (F). Gibson, James. 1996. "Political and Economic Markets: Changes in the Connections Between Attitudes Toward Political Democracy and a Market Economy Within the Mass Culture of Russia and Ukraine." *Journal of Politics*. 58: 954-984.

October 5

5. Civil Society/Trust in Post-Communist Systems

- (A). Bernhard, Michael. 1993. "Civil Society and the Democratic Transition in East Central Europe." *Political Science Quarterly*. 108: 307-326.
- (B). Dowley, Kathleen, and Brian Silver. 2002. "Social Capital, Ethnicity and Support for Democracy in the Post-Communist States." *Europe-Asia Studies*. 54: 505-527.
- (C). Howard, Marc Morje. 2002. "The Weaknesses of Postcommunist Civil Society." *Journal of Democracy*. 13: 157-169.
- (D). Marsh, Christopher. 2000. "Social Capital and Democracy in Russia." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*. 33: 183-195.
- (E). Mishler, William, and Richard Rose. 2001. "What are the Origins of Political Trust? Testing Institutional and Cultural Theories in Post-Communist Societies." *Comparative Political Studies*. 34: 30-62.
- (F). Green, Andrew. 2002. "Comparative Development of Post-Communist Civil Society." *Europe-Asia Studies*. 54: 455-471.

October 12

6. Institutional Choice and Design

- (A). Luong, Pauline. 2000. "After the Break-Up: Institutional Design in Transitional States." *Comparative Political Studies*. 33: 563-592.
- (B). Benoit, Kenneth and John Schiemann. 2001. "Institutional Choice in New Democracies: Bargaining Over Hungary's 1989 Election Law." *Journal of Theoretical Politics*. 13: 153-182.
- (C). Kostadinova, Taitiana. 2002. "Do Mixed Electoral Systems Matter? A Cross-National Analysis of their Effects in Eastern Europe." *Electoral Studies*. 21: 23-34.
- (D). McGregor, James. 1996. "Constitutional Factors in Post-Communist Central and Eastern Europe." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*. 29: 147-166.
- (E). Remington, Thomas, and Steven Smith. 1996. "Political Goals, Institutional Context and the Choice of an Electoral System: the Russian Parliamentary Election Law." *American Journal of Political Science*. 40: 1253-1279.

- (F). Smithey, Shannon Ishiyama, and John Ishiyama. 2000. "Judicious Choices: Designing Courts in Post-Communist Politics." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*. 33: 163-182.

October 19

7. Institution-Building: Executive-Legislative Relations

- (A). Baylis, Thomas. 1996. "Presidents Versus Prime Ministers: Shaping Executive Authority in Eastern Europe." *World Politics*. 48: 297-323.
- (B). Easter, Gerald. 1997. "Preference for Presidentialism: Postcommunist Regime Change in Russia and the NIS." *World Politics*. 49: 184-211.
- (C). Ishiyama, John. 1998. "Presidential Power and Democratic Development in Post-Communist Politics." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*. 31: 217-233.
- (D). Remington, Thomas, and Steven Smith. 1998. "Theories of Legislative Institutions and the Organization of the Russian Duma." *American Journal of Political Science*. 42: 545-572.
- (E). Olson, David, and Philip Norton. 1996. *The New Parliaments of Central and Eastern Europe*. London: Frank Cass.
- Olson & Norton: "Legislatures in Democratic Transition"
Norton & Olson: "Parliaments in Adolescence."
- (F). Herron, Erik. 2002. "Electoral Influences on Legislative Behavior in Mixed-Member Systems: Evidence from Ukraine's Verkhovna Rada." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. 27: 361-381.
- (G). Agh, Attila. 1995. "The Experiences of the First Democratic Parliaments in East Central Europe." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*. 28: 203-214.

October 26

8. Political Parties

- (A). Kitschelt, Herbert, Zdenka Mansfeldova, Radoslaw Markowski, and Gabor Toka. 1999. *Post-Communist Party Systems: Competition, Representation, and Inter-Party Cooperation*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Chapter 6
Chapter 7

- (B). Moser, Robert. 1999. "Electoral Systems and the Number of Parties in Postcommunist

States.” *World Politics*. 51: 359-384.

- (C). Brader, Ted, and Joshua Tucker. 2001. “The Emergence of Mass Partisanship in Russia 1993-1996.” *American Journal of Political Science*. 45: 69-83.
- (D). Markowski, Radoslaw. 1997. “Political Parties and Ideological Space in East Central Europe.” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*. 30: 221-254.
- (E). Miller, Arthur, and Thomas Klobucar. 2000. “The Development of Party-Identification in Post-Soviet Societies.” *American Journal of Political Science*. 44: 667-686.
- (F). Tavits, Margit. 2005. “The Development of Stable Party Support: Electoral Dynamics in Post-Communist Europe.” *American Journal of Political Science*. 49: 283-298.

November 2

9. Voting and Elections

- (A). Duch, Raymond, and Harvey Palmer. 2002. “Strategic Voting in Post-Communist Democracies?” *British Journal of Political Science*. 32: 63-91.
- (B). Richter, Kaspar. 2006. “Wage Arrears and Economic Voting in Russia.” *American Political Science Review*. 100: 133-145.
- (C). Tucker, Joshua. 2006. *Regional Economic Voting: Russia, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic, 1990-1999*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Chapter 1

Chapter 2

- (D). Colton, Timothy. 2000. *Transitional Citizens: Voters and What Influences Them in the New Russia*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Chapter 1

Chapter 2

- (E). Kostadinova, Tatiana. 2003. “Voter Turnout Dynamics in Post-Communist Europe.” *European Journal of Political Research*. 42: 741-759.
- (F). Rose, Richard, Evgeny Tikhomirov, and William Mishler. 1997. “Understanding Multi-Party Choice: The 1995 Duma Election.” *Europe-Asia Studies*. 49: 799-823.

Recommended:

Tucker, Joshua. 2002. “The First Decade of Post-Communist Elections and Voting: What

Have We Studied and How have We Studied It?" *Annual Review of Political Science.* 5: 271-304.

November 9

10. Ethnic, Regional Politics

- (A). Bahry, Donna, Mikhail Kosolapov, Polina Kozyreva, and Rick K. Wilson. 2005. "Ethnicity and Trust: Evidence from Russia." *American Political Science Review.* 99: 521-532.
- (B). Gorenburg, Dmitry. 2003. *Minority Ethnic Mobilization in the Russian Federation.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Chapter 8

- (C). Tishkov, Valery. 1999. "Ethnic Conflicts in the Former USSR: The Use and Misuse of Typologies and Data." *Journal of Peace Research.* 36: 571-591.
- (D). Treisman, Daniel. 1997. "Russia's Ethnic Revival: The Separatist Activism of Regional Leaders in a Postcommunist Order." *World Politics.* 49: 212-249.
- (E). Filippov, Mikhail and Olga Shvetsova. 1999. "Asymmetric Bargaining in the New Russian Federation: A Path-Dependence Explanation." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies.* 32: 61-76.
- (F). Treisman, Daniel. 1999. *After the Deluge: Regional Crises and Political Consolidation in Russia.* Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Chapter 5

- (G). Hale, Henry. 2005. "The Makeup and Breakup of Ethnofederal States: Why Russia Survives Where the USSR Fell." *Perspectives on Politics.* 3: 55-70.

November 16

11. The Political Economy of the Transition

- (A). Duch, Raymond. 1995. "Economic Chaos and the Fragility of Democratic Transitions in Former Communist Regimes." *Journal of Politics.* 57: 121-158.
- (B). Hellmann, Joel. 1998. "Winners Take All: The Politics of Partial Reform in Postcommunist Transitions." *World Politics.* 50: 203-234.
- (C). Cook, Linda, and Mitchell Orenstein. 1999. "The Return of the Left and its Impact on the Welfare State in Poland, Hungary, and Russia." In Linda Cook, Mitchell Orenstein, and Marilyn Rueschemeyer, eds. *Left Parties and Social Policy in Postcommunist Europe.*

Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

- (D). Lipsmeyer, Christine. 2002. "Parties and Policy: Evaluating Political Party Influences on Welfare Policy Spending During the Post-Communist Transition." *British Journal of Political Science* 32(4): 641-661.
- (E). Stark, David, and Laszlo Bruszt. 2001. "One Way or Multiple Paths?: For a Comparative Sociology of East European Capitalism" *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 106, no. 4, pp. 1129-1137.
- (F). Stark, David, and Laszlo Bruszt. 1998. *Postsocialist Pathways: Transforming Politics and Property in East Central Europe*. Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press.

Chapter 1: Remaking the Political Field: Strategic Interactions and Contingent Choices.

Remaining two weeks will be devoted to last round of meetings on projects.

ALL PROJECTS ARE DUE DEC. 15, NO EXCEPTIONS!!!

V. Students With Disabilities

The Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) is a federal anti-discrimination statute that provides comprehensive civil rights protection for persons with disabilities. Among other things, this legislation requires that all students with disabilities be guaranteed a learning environment that provides for reasonable accommodation of their disabilities. If you believe you have a disability requiring an accommodation, please contact the Department of Student Life, Services for Students with Disabilities in Room 126 of the Koldus Building, or call 845-1637.

VI. Course Materials/Copyright and Plagiarism Statements; Academic Dishonesty

The handouts used in this course are copyrighted. By "handouts," I mean all materials generated for this class, which include but are not limited to syllabi, quizzes, exams, lab problems, in-class materials review sheets, and additional problem sets. Because these are copyrighted, you do not have the right to copy the handouts, unless I expressly grant permission.

As commonly defined, plagiarism consists of passing off as one's own the ideas, words, writings, etc., which belong to another. In accordance with the definition, you are committing plagiarism if you copy the work of another person and turn it in as your own, even if you should have the permission of the person. Plagiarism is one of the worst academic sins, for the plagiarist destroys the trust among colleagues without which research cannot be safely communicated. If you have any questions regarding plagiarism, please consult the Aggie Honor System Office website (<http://www.tamu.edu/aggiehonor>) or the latest version of the Texas A&M University Student Rules, under the section "Scholastic Dishonesty."

VII. POST-COMMUNIST DATA-SETS ONLINE

I. General Data Sets with Post-Communist Data

1. Archived general data sets: www.datalink.ropercenter.uconn.edu/other/international.html
2. World Values Survey: www.worldvaluessurvey.org
3. Penn World Tables: pwt.econ.upenn.edu
4. General European Data: Einstein.library.emory.edu/courses/eu.html
5. Economic freedom indices http://www.freetheworld.com/papers/John_Cummings.pdf

II. Post-Communist Data

1. General archives, Eastern Europe
www.gesis.org/en/cooperation/data_service/eastern_europe/index.htm
2. Russia-East Europe virtual library
www.ucis.pitt.edu/research
3. Public Opinion Surveys
 - 3a. New Democracy Barometer: www.cspp.strath.ac.uk/index.html?quest-index.html
 - 3b. ISSP archives of survey data by individual countries: www.gesis.org/en/data_service/ISSP/introduction.htm#Organisational%20aspects
 - 3c. Central and Eastern Eurobarometer 1990-1997:
www.gesis.org/en/Data_service/eurobarometer/ceeb/index.htm
 - 3d. Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2001-present:
www.gesis.org/en/data_service/eurobarometer/ceeb/index.htm
4. Good aggregate data sets
 - 4a. Joshua Tucker's homepage: www.wss.princeton.edu/~tucker/postcommlinks.html
 - 4b. Comparative Data Set for 28 Post-Communist Countries:
www.ipw.unibe.ch/mitarbeiter/ru_armingeon/CPD_Set_en.asp#cpdsII
5. European Governments: www.terra.es/persoanl2/monolith/00europa.html

6. Parties and elections: www.parties-and-elections.de/index.html
7. Elections data base: www.essex.ac.uk/elections/
8. European Political Resources: www.politicalresources.net/europe.htm
9. Ethnic Groups Data Set: wber.ucsd.edu/~roeder/data.htm