

## **POLI 639: Politics of Developed Areas: The Europeanization of Eastern Europe**

POLI 639  
Fall 2008  
Leacock 541  
M 10:05am - 12:55pm

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### **Course description**

Nearly twenty years after the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe, the Central European countries, Slovenia, Bulgaria, and Romania have completed their “return to Europe” by joining the European Union and NATO. The rest of the Balkan countries are heading along the same trajectory, albeit at a different pace. In this course, we will explore the unprecedented “triple transition” in national identities, political institutions, and economic systems that resulted from the breakdown of the Communist regimes. Some of the questions, which our discussion will address include: Have the transition and consolidation of democratic regimes in the region been completed? Does the “return to Europe” mean that Eastern European democracies are now undistinguishable from their Western European counterparts? Or has Communism left an indelible mark on the new post-Communist regimes? While due attention will be paid to the main historical developments, the focus of this course will be on *theoretical* attempts to explain various facets of the “triple transition.”

### **Course requirements**

This is a graduate seminar, so class time will be devoted exclusively to the discussion of the assigned readings, rather than to lecturing on my part. This means that you should read the assigned material for the week *before* class. The seminar has two main goals: 1) to introduce you to the main research topics in the Eastern European studies subfield of comparative politics; and 2) to help you develop your research design skills. The requirements for the course seek to assist you in achieving these two goals.

#### **1) Weekly Reviews (20%)**

In order to cover the significant regional and temporal scope of the transition away from Communism in Eastern Europe, this course will require reading and evaluating a *large* amount of material. To facilitate the discussion and to make sure no one falls behind on the reading, each student will submit a weekly review for *each* assigned reading.

The written review should include concise answers (**one or two sentences max!**) to the following five questions for *each* assigned reading:

- 1) What is the most important argument of each reading? What major point is the author trying to make?
- 2) What methodology does the author use to support his/her argument?

3) What is the most important insight and/or fact that you learned from this reading? What do you now understand or know that you didn't before doing this reading? What was most valuable to you about this reading?

4) What is the main weakness of this reading? Consider methodology, logic, biases, empirical inaccuracies, omissions, etc.

5) If you heard the author(s) present this work at a conference, what probing question would you ask him/her?

The reviews can be written in outline form and they are due in class each week, beginning Week 2. Their main goal is to help you structure your thoughts about the readings *before* you come to class, so I will not accept late reviews under any circumstances. The reviews will be graded either “check”, “check minus” or “check-plus,” the last grade being reserved for particularly thoughtful and illuminating answers. You will receive an A for this part of the course if your reviews average a “check”. Each check-minus (that is not offset by a check-plus) will reduce your grade by half a grade.

### **2) Attendance and participation (20%)**

You should participate actively and regularly in class discussions. While just showing up for class will certainly not be enough to get a high attendance/participation grade, showing up sporadically will not be sufficient either, even you offer brilliant insights. Since this is a small seminar, its success is highly contingent on full participation and you should make every effort to attend all meetings.

### **3) Paper proposal (5%)**

A 3-page proposal that outlines your research question, the relevant literature that your paper will address, and the type of data you would need in order to answer your research question. The proposal is due in class on October 20<sup>th</sup>.

### **4) Paper discussant (5%)**

The last two meetings will be run as a research workshop, where each of you will present a first draft of your paper and benefit from extensive class discussion on it. A fellow student will start off the discussion with a brief presentation that summarizes the paper and offers constructive criticism and suggestions as to how to improve it. The discussant paper will be evaluated. You should all distribute your paper drafts to the class by the end of the day on Saturday, November 29<sup>th</sup>. The goal is for the whole class to be able to participate in the discussion and to offer comments to the paper writer on how to improve the final product.

### **5) Research/research design paper (50%)**

The main requirement for the course is a 20-25 page paper on a topic of your choice. You have two main options for this paper-- you can aim either for a publishable stand-alone paper or for a potential thesis prospectus. If you want to take the first route, there

are several viable options. You can pick an existing hypothesis and test it on an empirical case not discussed in the original source. You can challenge an existing argument either on the basis of its empirical claims or on the basis of its theoretical coherence. Of course, you should consider data availability—some empirical questions may require primary research, which you cannot undertake in the span of just one semester. Alternatively, you can propose a new hypothesis based on existing empirics and evaluate the explanatory power of your hypothesis against that of the original article you are reacting to. If you choose the thesis prospectus route, you should produce a research design—i.e. briefly review existing literature on your dependent variable of interest and then propose how a leading theory (or your own new hypothesis) may be tested on a given set of cases. To do that you should explain your case selection, explain the type of data that you need to test your propositions, where and how you might find this data, and what exactly you would do with the data to answer your theoretical or empirical question. The paper is due on December 15<sup>th</sup>. Email it to me and leave a hard copy in my mailbox.

### **Grading scale:**

<i>Grade</i>	<i>Grade Points</i>	<i>Grade Range</i>
A	4.0	>3.85
A-	3.7	3.51-3.85
B+	3.3	3.16-3.50
B	3.0	2.86-3.15
B-	2.7	2.51-2.85
C+	2.3	2.16-2.50
C	2.0	1.86-2.15
D	1.0	1.0-1.85
F	0.0	<1.0

### **On Academic Integrity**

McGill University values academic integrity. Therefore all students must understand the meaning and consequences of cheating, plagiarism and other academic offences under the Code of Student Conduct and Disciplinary Procedures (see [www.mcgill.ca/integrity](http://www.mcgill.ca/integrity) for more information).

L'université McGill attache une haute importance à l'honnêteté académique. Il incombe par conséquent à tous les étudiants de comprendre ce que l'on entend par tricherie, plagiat et autres infractions académiques, ainsi que les conséquences que peuvent avoir de telles actions, selon le Code de conduite de l'étudiant et des procédures disciplinaires (pour de plus amples renseignements, veuillez consulter le site [www.mcgill.ca/integrity](http://www.mcgill.ca/integrity)).

### **Required readings**

All assigned articles are available through McGill Library's online resources. I have also put them together in a course pack, which you can purchase from McGill Bookstore.

The following books are available at Paragraph Books, located at 2220 McGill College Avenue (corner of Sherbrooke Street):

Valerie Bunce, *Subversive Institutions: The Design and Destruction of Socialism and the State*, Cambridge UP, 1999

Anna Grzymala-Busse, *Redeeming the Communist Past*, Cambridge UP, 2002

Joshua Tucker, *Regional Economic Voting: Russia, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic, 1990-1999*, Cambridge UP, 2006

Katherine Verdery, *What Was Socialism and What Comes Next*, Princeton UP, 1996

## Course outline

### **September 8 (Week 1): Introduction**

- No readings assigned

### **September 15 (Week 2): Communism/socialism and its collapse**

- Grzegorz Ekiert and Stephen E. Hanson, "Time, Space, and Institutional Change in Central and Eastern Europe," in G. Ekiert and S. Hanson, eds., *Capitalism and Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe*, Cambridge UP 2003, pp. 15-48.
- Valerie Bunce, *Subversive Institutions: The Design and Destruction of Socialism and the State*, Cambridge UP, 1999, 1-19; 127-164
- Katherine Verdery, *What Was Socialism and What Comes Next*, Princeton UP, 1996, 19-38
- Stephen E. Hanson, "The Leninist Legacy and Institutional Change," *Comparative Political Studies* 28:2 (July 1995), pp. 306-314.
- Ken Jowitt, *New World Disorder: The Leninist Extinction*, University of California Press, 1993, 1-49

### **September 22 (Week 3): Nationalist mobilization and interethnic conflict**

- Stephen Deets, "Reimagining the Boundaries of the Nation: Politics and the Development of Ideas on Minority Rights," *East European Politics and Societies* 20:3 (2006), pp. 419-446.
- Zoltan Barany, "Ethnic Mobilization without Prerequisites: The East European Gypsies," *World Politics* 54:3 (April 2002), pp. 277-307.
- Veljko Vujacic, "Institutional Origins of Contemporary Serbian Nationalism," *East European Constitutional Review* 5:4 (1996), 51-61.

- David Lake and Donald Rothchild, "Containing Fear: The Origins and Management of Ethnic Conflict", *International Security*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (Autumn 1996), pp. 41-75

**September 29 (Week 4): Economic reform: privatization, shock therapy, legacies**

- Timothy Frye, "The Perils of Polarization: Economic Performance in the Postcommunist World," *World Politics*, Vol. 54, No. 3 (April 2002), pp. 308-337.
- Steven Fish, "The Determinants of Economic Reform in the Post-Communist World", *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol 12, No. 1, (Winter 1998), pp. 31-78.
- Nathan Jensen, "Rational Citizens Against Reform: Poverty and Economic Reform in Transition Economies", *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 36, No 9, pp. 1092-1111
- Hilary Appel, "The Ideological Determinants of Liberal Economic Reform: The Case of Privatization," *World Politics* 52:4 (July 2000), pp. 520-549.

**October 6 (Week 5): Transition and consolidation of democratic regimes**

- Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), pp. 3-38
- Grigore Pop-Eleches, "Historical Legacies and Post-Communist Regime Change," *Journal of Politics* 69:4 (November 2007), pp. 908-926.
- Keith Darden and Anna Grzymala-Busse, "The Great Divide: Precommunist Schooling and Postcommunist Trajectories," *World Politics* 59:1 (October 2006), pp. 83-115.
- Grzegorz Ekiert et al., "Democracy in the Post-Communist World: An Unending Quest?" *East European Politics and Societies* 21:1 (2007), pp. 7-30.
- Jacques Rupnik, "From Democracy Fatigue to Populist Backlash," *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 18, Number 4 October 2007, pp. 17-25

**October 13: No class -- Happy Thanksgiving**

**October 20 (Week 6): Elections (Paper proposal due in class)**

- Karen Dawisha and Stephen Deets, "Political Learning in Post-Communist Elections" *East European Politics and Societies* 20:4 (2006), pp. 691-728.
- Joshua Tucker, *Regional Economic Voting: Russia, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic, 1990-1999*, Cambridge UP 2006, 1-77, 276-308
- Jan Fidrmuc, "Political Support for Reforms: Economics of Voting in Transition Countries", *European Economic Review*, Vol. 44 (2000), pp. 1491-1513.
- Joshua Tucker, Alexander Pacek, and Adam Berinski, "Transitional Winners and Losers: Attitudes Towards EU Membership in Post-Communist Countries," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 46, No. 3, (2002), pp. 557-571.

### **October 27 (Week 7): Parties and party systems**

- Anna Grzymala-Busse, *Redeeming the Communist Past*, 1-18, 175-226
- Herbert Kitschelt, "The Formation of Party Cleavages in Post-Communist Democracies. Theoretical Propositions," *Party Politics*, Vol. 1, 1995, pp. 447-72
- Herbert Kitschelt and Regina Smyth, "Programmatic Party Cohesion in Emerging Postcommunist Democracies: Russia in Comparative Context", *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 10 (December 2002), pp. 1228-1256.
- Marek Kaminski, "Do Parties Benefit from Electoral Manipulation? Electoral Laws and Heresthetics in Poland, 1989-1993," *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 14:3 (2002), pp. 325-59

### **November 3 (Week 8): The State**

- Anna Grzymala-Busse, "Encouraging Effective Democratic Competition," *East European Politics and Societies* 21:1 (2007), pp. 91–110.
- Conor O'Dwyer, "Reforming Regional Governance in ECE," *East European Politics and Societies* 20:2 (2006), pp. 219–253.
- Venelin I. Ganey, "Post-communism as an Episode of State Building: A Reversed Tillyan Perspective," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 38:4 (December 2005), pp. 425-445.
- Anna Grzymala-busse and Pauline Jones Luong, "Reconceptualizing the State: Lessons from Post-communism," *Politics & Society* 30:4 (December 2002), pp. 529-554.
- Katherine Verdery. *What Was Socialism and What Comes Next*, Princeton UP, 1996, pp. 204-228.

### **November 10 (Week 9): Corruption and state capture**

- Joel Hellman, "Winners Take All: The Politics of Partial Reform in Post-Communist Transitions", *World Politics* 50.2 (1998), pp. 203-234
- Venelin Ganey, "The Dorian Gray Effect: Winners as State Breakers in Postcommunism," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 34:1 (2001), 1-25
- Joel Hellman, Geraint Jones and Daniel Kaufman, "Seize the State, Seize the Day." State Capture, Corruption, and Influence in Transition. Policy Research Working Paper. 2444. The World Bank and the European Bank of Reconstruction and Development. Washington: The World Bank, 2000.
- Andrew Barnes, "Comparative Theft: Context and Choice in the Hungarian, Czech, and Russian Transformations," *East European Politics and Societies* 17:3 (2003), pp. 533-565
- Jozsef Borocz, "Informality Rules," *East European Politics and Societies*, 14:2 (2000), pp. 348-80.

### **November 17 (Week 10): Civil Society**

- Marc Howard, "The Weakness of Postcommunist Civil Society", *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (January 2002), pp. 157-169

- Jan Kubik, "How to Study Civil Society: The State of the Art and What to Do Next," *East European Politics and Societies* 19:1 (2005), pp. 105–120.
- Paul Kubicek, "Organized Labor in Postcommunist States: Will the Western Sun Set on It, Too?" *Comparative Politics* 32:1 (1999), pp. 83-102.
- Simone Chambers and Jeffrey Kopstein, "Bad Civil Society," *Political Theory*, Vol. 29, No. 6, (Dec., 2001), pp. 837-865
- Michael Minkenberg, "The Radical Right in Postsocialist Central and Eastern Europe: Comparative Observations and Interpretations," *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol. 16, No. 2, (2002), pp. 335-362.

**November 24 (Week 11): EU conditionality and other international influences**

- Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier, "Governance by Conditionality: EU Rule Transfer to the Candidate Countries of Central and Eastern Europe", *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 11, No. 4 (August 2004), pp. 661-679.
- Judith Kelley, "International Actors on the Domestic Scene: Membership Conditionality and Socialization by International Institutions", *International Organization*, Vol. 58 (Summer 2004), pp. 425-457.
- Milada Vachudova, "The Leverage of International Institutions on Democratizing States: Eastern Europe and the European Union", *EUI Working Paper*, 2001, available at: <http://cadmus.iue.it/dspace/handle/1814/1742>
- Anna Grzymala-Busse and Abby Innes, "Great Expectations: The EU and Domestic Political Competition in East Central Europe" *East European Politics and Societies* 17, 2003, pp. 64-73
- Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way, "International Linkage and Democratization", *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (July 2005), pp. 20-34.

**December 1 and December 2 (Weeks 12 and 13): Research paper workshop—student presentations**