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Office Hours (WH 407):  
Monday 10:00-1:00, and by appointment

Fall 2016

### **POLS 657: Post-Communist Politics**

The collapse of the Soviet Union and its empire produced widespread optimism that the Communist authoritarian regimes would give way to stable capitalist democracies across the successor states. In reality, political development across the region has been uneven and ambiguous, raising countless questions about the nature of regime transition, the factors that shape regime outcomes, the importance of Soviet-era legacies, and the formation of civil society. This course will examine this outcome through the lens of a number of critical debates: the failure of our dominant research paradigm, the rise of hybrid regimes, electoral competition, the use of symbols and economic appeals to win regime support, and the phenomena of post-election protest—or lack of protest. We will also go back to the debates over the causes of the collapse examining two important new works in the field.

The course is designed to address contemporary debates in political science as they are applied to post-Communist states. The syllabus is designed with three goals in mind. The first goal is to provoke students to think about regional studies in the process of theory-building (what does the application of the theory to the region tell us about omitted variables or misspecification of the theory), research design, and theory testing (when theories travel what do they tell us about the region). Second, to understand important debates in our field and their relevance for real world politics. Third, to develop the practical skills of presenting insightful analysis in a number of different forms: short papers, discussion, book reviews, grant applications, and policy memos.

**Reading:** Given the focus on debates, the course readings are article-based and available in electronic form at the library's website. If the required reading includes book chapters, I have had them scanned and put them on Canvas/readings. If you would like to do the same for some of the suggested readings, you are free to borrow my copy and scan it and I will upload for everyone. I have tried to be expansive in selecting readings for the course. However, I encourage students with an interest in a particular country to substitute an appropriate country-specific reading for one or more of the applied articles listed on the syllabus. In some weeks, choosing country/region specific reading is part of the course design. This element is intended to help you build a bibliography for your own work. Students who are not regional specialists might add relevant large-N or comparative work to their reading.

You will also read two books by prominent scholars in our field that also fit with your research agenda. The first book should be a single-country study. The second book will be a classic in our field, *Subversive Institutions*, by Valerie Bunce.

**Course Requirements:** Grading will be based on three components with choice on the structure of the final project.

**Participation and Preparedness** (40 percent of your grade): This portion of your grade will be based on your participation in class.

- 1) All students are expected to come to class prepared and participate actively in class discussion.
- 2) You will be responsible for two discussant exercises during the semester to be outlined in class.
- 3) On one of the weeks where you can choose readings that focus on your country/area of interest, please be prepared to summarize that work for the class on how the debate has emerged in that literature. For weeks when you are adding readings to the core set of papers, please be sure to send me full citations for your readings so that I can add them to the supplemental reading list.

**Book Review** (10 percent of your grade): Students will write one 1200 word book review on a recent single country case book of their choice. Your review should be modeled on a review that might appear in *Perspectives on Politics*. A model review and review instructions are included on the course website under files/class materials. There are also some useful guides available on the web:

<http://depts.washington.edu/pswrite/bookrev.html>

[http://www.indiana.edu/~wts/pamphlets/book\\_reviews.shtml](http://www.indiana.edu/~wts/pamphlets/book_reviews.shtml)

<http://writing.wisc.edu/Handbook/CriNonfiction.html>

**Writing Component (50 percent of your grade):**

**For all Students:**

**Syllabus Construction Assignment:** You will identify five papers that you might include on single session of a graduate syllabus on your country/topic of interest. This assignment can be a precursor to your annotated bibliography. You should also write a three-page essay (750 words) on the main themes of the class, the debates that you are addressing, the points of agreement and disagreement among the papers, and any other issues that you might address based on these readings. Please upload the citations for your seminar session and the essay by noon on Monday, November 17 so that I can read them prior to class and upload them for the rest of the class.

**Annotated Bibliography.** Final assignment preparation. Construct an annotated bibliography of at least ten resources that will facilitate your final project for this course. You should write a review essay (no more than 2250 words) that integrates at least five of the books or articles to support your final project. We will discuss strategies for essays prior to the due date. **Due: December 4, 2016**

There are many online resources available as models of the annotated bibliography:

<http://guides.library.cornell.edu/annotatedbibliography>  
[http://www1.crk.umn.edu/library/researchresources/CRK\\_CONTENT\\_119694.html](http://www1.crk.umn.edu/library/researchresources/CRK_CONTENT_119694.html)  
<http://writingcenter.unc.edu/handouts/annotated-bibliographies/>

**Each Student Should Also Pick One of the Following Options:**

**Option 1:** PhD and MA candidates in political science can choose to write a research design proposal that precisely follows the format for dissertation enhancement grants from any relevant funding agency, including the IU Mellon Fellowship Competition or other university-based funding. Scholars from other disciplines may suggest an alternative proposal format or funding source. The research design should be based on your own research interests or works in progress as it is applied to the region. Ideally, the design will incorporate some of the variables or theoretic frames addressed throughout the class. This is a great option for students thinking about applying for field research support in spring/summer 2014. For a guide to the NSF format see:

<http://www.nsf.gov/sbe/ses/polisci/ddrip1.jsp>. Please take a look at the requirements early in the semester. The website and program announcement have excellent discussions of what constitutes an excellent grant proposal. For additional guidance, see [http://www.ssrc.org/fellowships/art\\_of\\_writing\\_proposals.page](http://www.ssrc.org/fellowships/art_of_writing_proposals.page).

**Option 2:** In lieu of the final research design proposal, MA students may choose to write either two brief (3-4 page) policy memos or a literature review for to explore topics for their MA essays.

Memos: The memos may discuss a narrow aspect of the theory/application of the topic of the week to any post-Communist state. You may write about the policy implications of the literature or what we learn from applying the ideas evident in the readings. For example, you might wish to think about how the readings on the colored revolution apply to protests in Belarus or Moldova or how property rights distribution was different in Poland or Hungary. Or a memo might focus on your own area of interest but be framed in terms of political science theory. You might want to think of this assignment of a precursor to framing a thesis topic. Excellent memos will either apply a new framework to clarify a puzzle or question in the region or present new evidence that speaks to a puzzle or question. Writing style is critical here. Memos must be precise and parsimonious. For examples of short policy memos, please see the extensive list of memos by Russian and American scholars at: <http://www.csis.org/ruseura/ponars/>. Please identify your class-related memo topics at the third class meeting and your final memo topic in your annotated bibliography. Memos relating to the course subject are due on the day that the subject is discussed.

Literature Reviews: Literature reviews synthesize the existing state of research on your topic and establish a foundation for hypothesis formation for a research project.

**Option 3:** All students may also take a final exam that is modeled in the comparative politics preliminary exam—three questions from three different sections. The difference

between this simulated exam and the prelim will be that you should answer the questions relying extensively, but not exclusively, on the readings from this seminar. I will choose the questions from past exams and modify them to make this approach possible. If you choose this option, you can choose to take the exam any day before December 17 and write the exam in the required eight-hour framework. The exam questions will be posted on Canvas in the last week of class. Please do not open that file prior to taking the exam. You do not need to be physically present in the department to take the exam. You need only note the start and end times on your exams before you submit them. I will also post the guidelines for the comparative exam on Canvas and will expect you to follow the rules of the exam to make the simulated exercise as useful as possible.

**\*\*\*All Final Projects Must be Submitted by December 12, 2016\*\*\***

### **Week 1: Monday, August 22, Post-Communism and Comparative Politics**

Studying post-Communist cases raises a series of questions at the heart of comparative politics. These questions are our focus this week: is post-Communism a relevant construct, area versus science, approaches in political science, strategies of comparison.

#### **Reading:**

Charles King, "Transition, Comparison, and the End of 'Eastern Europe'," *World Politics*, 53:1 (October 2000): 143–172

Ekiert, Grzegorz. "Three Generations of Research on Post Communist Politics—A Sketch." *East European Politics & Societies* 29.2 (2015): 323-337.

#### **Either/or:**

Vachudova, Milada Anna. "External Actors and Regime Change How Post-Communism Transformed Comparative Politics." *East European Politics & Societies* 29.2 (2015): 519-530.

Kubik, Jan. "Between Contextualization and Comparison A Thorny Relationship between East European Studies and Disciplinary "Mainstreams"." *East European Politics & Societies* 29.2 (2015): 352-365.

**AND:** Listen to Tim Frye's discussion of the evolution of our field: "Political Perestroika,"

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=me6q4NT7kTg>

### **Week 2, Monday, August 29: Transitology**

(Discussant [Simon Luo](#)) Thomas Carothers, "The End of the Transition Paradigm," *Journal of Democracy* 13:1 (January 2002), pp. 5-21.

(Salih Yasun, Discussant) Valerie Bunce, "Rethinking Recent Democratization: Lessons from the Postcommunist Experience," *World Politics* 55: 2 (January 2003), pp. 167-192.

Vachudova, M. A., & Snyder, T. (1996). Are transitions transitory? Two types of political change in Eastern Europe since 1989. *East European Politics & Societies*, 11(1), 1-35.

Add one paper on the transition trajectory of your region or country of study.

*Consider the Methodological Debate:*

Phillippe Schmitter and Terry Karl, "The Conceptual Travels of Transitologists and Consolidologists: How Far to the East Should They Attempt to Go?" *Slavic Review*, Spring 1994, pp. 173-185

Valerie Bunce, "Comparing East and South," *Journal of Democracy*, 6, 3 (July 1995), pp. 87-100.

Suggested Reading:

Kubicek, P. (2009). Problems of post-post-communism: Ukraine after the Orange Revolution. *Democratization*, 16(2), 323-343.

András Bozóki. "The Transition from Liberal Democracy: The Political Crisis in Hungary." *Mediations* 26.1-2 (Fall 2012-Spring 2013) 29-51.  
[www.mediationsjournal.org/articles/the-transition-from-liberal-democracy](http://www.mediationsjournal.org/articles/the-transition-from-liberal-democracy).

**Week 3, Monday, September 5: \*\*\*NO CLASS MEETING\*\*\***

**Research Design and Postcommunist Cases. What should be compared and how should we compare?**

This week we will focus on the value of single country studies in comparative politics. Each student should choose one book that examines their country of interest, preferably using an approach and focusing on a question or analytic area of interest. A good source of suggestions is the list at the Cambridge University Press list on Comparative Politics. Each student should write a book review that comports to the model of *Perspective on Politics* posted on the class website. Book Reviews are due on Sunday, September 18.

You should also read these articles that posit different strategies for single country research design:

Richard Snyder, "Scaling Down: The Subnational Comparative Method," *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 36, 1(Spring 2001): 93-110.

Lieberman, E. S. (2005). Nested analysis as a mixed-method strategy for comparative research. *American Political Science Review*, 99(03), 435-452.

**Week 4, Monday, September 12: Single Country Studies, continued....**

The discussion this week will be based on your book review, individual reading and also the articles.

**Week 5, Monday, September 19: Regime Change, part II**

Kitschelt, Herbert. 2002. "Accounting for Postcommunist Regime Diversity: What Counts as a Good Cause?" In *Capitalism and Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. Gregorz Ekiert and Stephen Hanson, Cambridge University Press. Available on Canvas.

(Discussant [Simon Luo](#)) Anna Grzymala-Busse and Pauline Jones Luong, "Reconceptualizing the State: Lessons from Postcommunism," *Politics & Society*, vol. 30:4 (December 2002), pp. 529-554.

(Discussant, [Yana Mommadova](#)) Way, Lucan, "Authoritarian State Building and the Sources of Regime Competitiveness in the Fourth Wave: The Cases of Belarus, Moldova, Russia, and Ukraine," *World Politics* - Volume 57, Number 2, January 2005, pp. 231-261

Herman, L. E. (2016). Re-evaluating the post-communist success story: party elite loyalty, citizen mobilization and the erosion of Hungarian democracy. *European Political Science Review*, 8(02), 251-284.

(Discussant, [Dima Kortukov](#)) McFaul, Michael. 2002. "The Fourth Wave of Democracy and Dictatorship: Noncooperative Transitions in the Postcommunist World." *World Politics*. 54: 212-244.

**Week 6, Monday, September 26: Legacies**

**Read one paper on methodology:**

Tuleh Falleti and James Mahoney, "The Comparative Sequential Method", in James Mahoney and Kathleen Thelen, *Advances in Comparative-Historical Analysis*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015. Available on Canvas.

Or

Timothy Frye (2012). In *From the Cold: Institutions and Causal Inference in Postcommunist Studies*. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 15, 245-263.

**Read one take on defining legacies**

Jason Wittenberg. (2015). Conceptualizing historical legacies. *East European Politics & Societies*, 29(2), 366-378.

Or

Mark Beissinger and Steven Kotkin. (Eds.). (2014). *Historical legacies of communism in Russia and Eastern Europe*. Cambridge University Press. Available on Canvas.

**And Also Applications:**

(Discussant, Salih Yasun) Pop-Eleches, Gregori & , Josh Tucker (2014). Communist socialization and post-communist economic and political attitudes. *Electoral Studies*, 33, 77-89.

Lankina, T. V., Libman, A., & Obydenkova, A. (2016). Appropriation and Subversion: Precommunist Literacy, Communist Party Saturation, and Postcommunist Democratic Outcomes. *World Politics*, 68(2), 229-274.

Please add one additional reading on legacy on the country or region of your choice.

**Week 7, Monday October 3: Soft Authoritarianism and Post-Communist States Reading**

Schatz, Edward. "The Soft Authoritarian Tool Kit: Agenda-setting Power in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan." *Comparative Politics* (2009): 203-222.

(Discussant, Amanda Lawnicki) Koesel, K. J., & Bunce, V. J. (2013). Diffusion-proofing: Russian and Chinese responses to waves of popular mobilizations against authoritarian rulers. *Perspectives on Politics*, 11(03), 753-768.

Huskey, E. (2016). Authoritarian Leadership in the Post-Communist World. *Daedalus*, 145(3), 69-82.

(Discussant, Tonya Kenny) Guriev, S. M., & Treisman, D. (2015). How Modern Dictators Survive: Cooptation, Censorship, Propaganda, and Repression. Available at: <http://www.nber.org/papers/w21136>

**Week 8, Monday, October 10: Developments in Post-Communist Elections? The Rise of Electoral Authoritarianism in the Region?**

Morse, Y. L. (2012). The Era of Electoral Authoritarianism. *World Politics*, 64 (01), 161-198.

Kitschelt, H. (2015). Analyzing the Dynamics of Post-Communist Party Systems Some "Final Thoughts" on the EEPS Special Section. *East European Politics & Societies*, 29(1), 81-91.

Read three of these papers:

Reuter, O. J., Buckley, N., Shubenkova, A., & Garifullina, G. (2016). Local Elections in Authoritarian Regimes An Elite-Based Theory With Evidence From Russian Mayoral Elections. *Comparative Political Studies*, 49(5), 662-697.

Sharafutdinova, G. (2015). Elite Management in Electoral Authoritarian Regimes: A View From Bashkortostan and Tatarstan. *Central Asian Affairs*, 2(2), 117-139.

(Discussant, [Belkisa Hrustanovic](#)) Klačnja, M., Tucker, J. A., & Deegan-Krause, K. (2016). Pocketbook vs. Sociotropic Corruption Voting. *British Journal of Political Science*, 46(01), 67-94.

(Discussant, [Tonya Kenny](#)) Ezrow, L., Homola, J., & Tavits, M. (2014). When extremism pays: Policy positions, voter certainty, and party support in postcommunist Europe. *The Journal of Politics*, 76(02), 535-547.

Ahlquist, J. S., Ichino, N., Wittenberg, J., & Ziblatt, D. (2015). Slouching towards Authoritarianism? Evidence from survey experiments around the 2014 Hungarian elections. Available at: <http://politicalscience.ceu.edu/sites/politicalscience.ceu.hu/files/attachment/event/1126/aiwzceu3-8-15.pdf>

### **Week 8, October 17: No Class Meeting**

#### **Assignment Due, October 21: Syllabus Construction**

**Syllabus Construction Assignment:** For this week, you will identify five papers that you might include on single session of a graduate syllabus on your country/topic of interest. This assignment can be a precursor to your annotated bibliography. You should also write a three-page essay on the main themes of the class, the debates that you are addressing, the points of agreement and disagreement among the papers, and any other issues that you might address based on these readings. Please upload the citations for your seminar session and the essay by noon on Monday so that I can read them prior to class and upload them for the rest of the class.

### **Week 9. Monday October 24: Regime Change Part III – Color Revolutions, Take One**

Beissinger, Mark R., "Structure and example in modular political phenomena: The diffusion of bulldozer/rose/orange/tulip revolutions." *Perspectives on Politics* 5, no. 2 (2007): 259.

(Discussant [Dima Kortukov](#)) Valerie J. Bunce, Sharon L. Wolchik, "Defeating Dictators: Electoral Change and Stability in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes" *World Politics*, Volume 62, Number 1, January 2010, pp. 43-86

Hale, Henry E. 2005. "Regime Cycles: Democracy, Autocracy, and Revolution in Post-Soviet Eurasia," *World Politics* 58: 133-167.

Michael McFaul, "Transitions From Postcommunism," *Journal of Democracy*, 16, 3 (July 2005): pp. 5-19.

*Familiarize yourself with this methodological debate:*

Lucan Way, "The Real Causes of the Color Revolutions," *Journal of Democracy*. Volume 19, Number 3, July 2008, pp. 55-69.

Bunce, V., & Wolchik, S. (2009). Getting Real About "Real Causes" *Journal of Democracy*, 20(1), 69-73.

**Week 10, Monday, Week October 31:, Regime Change Part III, Individual Participation and Advances in Social Movement Theory**

Timur Kuran, "Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989," *World Politics*, Vol. 44, No. 1 (Oct., 1991), pp. 7-48.

(Discussant Amanda Lawnicki) Joshua Tucker, "Enough! Electoral Fraud, Collective Action Problems, and the "2nd Wave" of Post-Communist Democratic Revolutions," *Perspectives on Politics*, 53(5): 537-553.

Beissinger, M. R. (2013). The semblance of democratic revolution: coalitions in Ukraine's orange revolution. *American Political Science Review*, 107(03), 574-592.

TBD

**Week 11, Monday, November 7: Reading the Classics**

Bunce, Valerie. *Subversive Institutions: the Design and the Destruction of Socialism and the State*. Cambridge University Press, 1999.

**Week 12, Monday, November 14: Mechanisms of Regime Support - Symbolic Politics, Nationalism and Nation-building**

Required Reading

Alison Brysk. "Hearts and Minds": Bringing Symbolic Politics Back In." *Polity* (1995): 559-585.

(Discussant Yana Mommadova) Michael Bernhard and Jan Kubik, *Twenty Years After Communism. The Politics of Memory and Commemoration*, Introduction and Chapter 1, Available on Canvas.

Chwe, Michael Suk-Young. *Rational Ritual: Culture, Coordination, and Common Knowledge*. Princeton University Press, 2013.

Wedeen, L. (1998). Acting "as if": Symbolic Politics and Social Control in Syria. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 40(03), 503-523.

(Belkisa Hrustanovic, discussant) Grzymała-Busse, A. (2015). Thy Will Be Done? Religious Nationalism and Its Effects in East Central Europe. *East European Politics & Societies*, 29(2), 338-351.

Goode, J. Paul. "Nationalism in Quiet Times." *Problems of Post-Communism* 59, no. 3 (2012): 6-16.

Kuzio, T. (2005). Nation building, history writing and competition over the legacy of Kyiv Rus in Ukraine. *Nationalities papers*, 33(1), 29-58.

Snyder, T. (2014). Fascism, Russia, and Ukraine. *The New York Review of Books*, 20. Available at:  
[http://commonweb.unifr.ch/artsdean/pub/gestens/f/as/files/4760/33518\\_122239.pdf](http://commonweb.unifr.ch/artsdean/pub/gestens/f/as/files/4760/33518_122239.pdf)

**\*\*\*THANKSGIVING WEEK\*\*\***

**Week 13, Monday, November 28: No Class Meeting**

**Annotated Bibliography:** Please develop an annotated bibliography of at least ten readings that are relevant for your final project. Write a short paper that integrates at least five of these papers or books them around a common theme (leaders, political geography, monuments, history, symbols, discourse). You may choose any of the core readings as your point of departure or choose your own theme. You may focus on a single case or broadly on the post-Communist cases. If your own interest lies beyond the post-Communist world, you may want to include two or three papers from your region or country of interest. Bibliographies are due on Sunday, December 4. We will discuss the bibliographies, papers, and final assignments on Monday, December 5.

**Week 14, Monday, December 5: Project Consultation and Bibliography Development**

All work should be submitted by Sunday, December 4 as it will be distributed to the class for discussion and future reference.

**\*\*\*All Final Projects are Due on Monday December 12\*\*\***