

GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION IN THE POST-SOVIET WORLD

POLS 430/530
Miami University
Spring 2012
TR: 4:10-5:50pm
Room Harrison 313

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Office Hours: Wed 1-4 or by appointment

Course Description:

Comparative politics uses the general to explain the specific and the specific to illuminate the general. This course uses cases from the post-Soviet world to examine general questions in the study of regime change, political institutions, and non-democratic politics. We will begin the course by examining theories of democratization in light of the post-Soviet experience. We will examine questions such as: Why are some countries in the region more democratic than others? What is the role of cultural, sociological, historical, institutional, and economic factors in explaining regime differences? Do these regime differences matter for other political and economic outcomes?

Since every country in the region is either an authoritarian or hybrid regime, we will devote much of the course to the examination of non-democratic politics in the region. How do these regimes rule? How do they derive legitimacy? What is the role of the opposition? How do politics and economics interact in these regimes? What is the importance of natural resource wealth? And what is the role of nominally democratic institutions in non-democratic regimes?

Throughout the course there will be a focus on how institutions structure competition and political exchange. We will examine elections, parties, legislatures, and executives. Informal institutions will also receive ample attention as we examine political machines, clan politics, and clientelist linkages.

As the largest, most important, and most studied post-Soviet country, Russia will receive special attention in our course, but we will also have readings on Ukraine, Belarus, Central Asia, and the Caucasus.

Course Objectives:

In this course you will:

1. gain a firm understanding of the difference between democratic and authoritarian regimes
2. become familiar with theories of regime change through their application to a prominent world region
3. use the countries of the post-Soviet region to evaluate theories of regime change, democratization, and political development.
4. gain 'real-world' knowledge about politics in the post-Soviet region
5. use the analytic toolkit of social science to examine why we observe certain political outcomes in the region

Requirements:

- 1) Attend class sessions and participate
The format of this seminar will be discussion. Your participation includes both attendance and engagement in class discussion.

I will lecture briefly at times, but most of our class time will be spent discussing the themes and arguments presented in our readings. Everyone should have something to say in every class. Your comments need not dazzle every time. Often times, the most productive contributions to class discussions are questions. If you don't understand something in the readings, say so. The authors we read are not perfect; their prose may not always be clear and their arguments will never be bulletproof. Speak up and air your grievances if you are confused. We will all be better for it and you will be rewarded come evaluation time.

Attendance is mandatory. Unexcused absences will negatively affect your participation grade. Our class is very small, and therefore, you cannot free ride on your fellow classmates. Your absences will be noticed by all and have a palpable impact on our sessions. Please let me know in advance if you will need to be absent.

2) Complete assigned readings before the date indicated on the syllabus.

In order to participate effectively in discussion, you will need to have done the required readings for that day. Much is expected in terms of reading, but you are up to the task. The suggested readings are not required, but are listed to help you if you want to go deeper into a topic for your paper or for your own edification.

Graduate Students are also required to read the readings marked **[G]** in the suggested readings section.

3) Blog the News in Eurasia

Politics in Eurasia are volatile. The recent protests in Russia testify to this fact. This semester may coincide with some profound and dramatic political changes in Russia. Our class will stay abreast of these changes by blogging the news. Each of you will follow political events in the region and post on our class blog at <http://pols430.edublogs.org/>. I will send login information to each of you. I am the administrator of the blog and you are each contributing authors.

Posting:

The content of the posts is up to you, but a typical blog post should contain

1. A link to a news story that relates to regime change, parties, or elections in the post-Soviet region.
2. A quick summary if the story is in Russian
3. A couple sentences about why the news story is interesting and how it relates to something we have discussed in class (you might reference specific readings). Alternatively, the blog post may be related to your final research project and you can use the news blog as a way to get feedback on your project. Indeed, I encourage you to use the blog as a public workshop for your papers.

You are encouraged to contribute frequently. At a minimum, you should make 5 blog posts before Spring break and 6 blog posts after spring break. This is a minimum. Beyond that, posts will be evaluated on the basis of both quantity and quality.

I will also post news stories on the blog. Be sure to check the blog before class, as I will post interesting news items for us to discuss in class. You will be responsible for having read those posts.

Comments:

Commenting is encouraged. It is especially encouraged if one of your fellow student's blog posts relates to their research project. Feedback is important in the research process. This blog will be one way that you can give and receive constructive input on your projects before the first draft is done. Your final blogging grade will depend in part on your comments.

4) Response Papers/Discussion Leadership

You will be responsible for writing two 2-4 page response papers over the course of the semester.

These papers should have three components:

- 1) The paper should briefly (one paragraph) sum up the main argument made by the author and the evidence provided.
- 2) It should contain an evaluation and critique of the author's argument and evidence. Does the author's argument make sense? Why or why not? Does his evidence (if any) comport with his/her argument? Why or why not? Do you know of other evidence that undermines (or supports) the author's argument? Does one of the other readings for that day offer a perspective that is discordant with the perspective offered by the author? This section should constitute the lion's share of the paper.
- 3) The paper should conclude with some questions for the class that flow from your evaluation/critique.

You will give a short 5-minute presentation on your paper to kick off our discussion of that reading. Students are encouraged to be creative in the presentational style. You may use video clips, news items, or simulations for example. Students will be evaluated on how well they are able to generate discussion of their reading.

Each week we will determine who will write reaction papers for the following week. I will ask for volunteers.

Graduate students are responsible for four reaction papers over the course of the semester. Graduate students should write three of their four papers on the supplemental graduate readings marked **[G]** on the syllabus. For their presentations on these articles, graduate students will be asked to tell the class how the given reading related to the other articles read that day. Did it resolve any debates in those readings? Did it use an innovative methodology to answer a question posed in those readings? Did it offer a new theory to explain empirical phenomena in the main readings? These are the types of questions that should be addressed in these presentations.

5) One Final Paper

Your most important assignment in this class will be a 15-30 page research paper. In this paper, you will undertake original research on a topic related to democratization, authoritarianism, elections, and political parties in the post-Soviet world. I will distribute a list of sample topics for the paper in the coming weeks, and we will discuss in class.

The research paper should contain an argument and evidence for that argument. Either the argument or the evidence should be original. In other words, you can develop your own theoretical argument and bring original evidence to bear on it. Or you can take a theoretical argument that we examine in the course and test its validity against new empirical evidence. Or you can use existing data or case material to examine a novel theoretical argument. Any of these strategies are acceptable.

I am open to many strategies of empirical testing in your paper. The evidence you choose to support your argument can be statistical, or you can compare several cases (e.g. countries, regions, leaders, historical episodes) that vary on a key variable. Alternatively, you can use temporal variation in a single case. Here you might compare Ukraine before and after regime change or Kazakhstan's human rights record over time. You can also examine a single case (possibly with no variation). BUT if you choose this option, then the case must be 'surprising' in light of some existing theoretical argument AND you must provide a provisional argument for why it does not conform to the predictions of existing theory. We will discuss this paper strategy more at a later date.

In January and February, I will solicit individual appointments with each of you to discuss your strategy. Then, on March 1, you will submit a topic along with a brief outline.

A complete draft of the paper will be due on April 19th. This draft will be evaluated separately from subsequent revisions and will constitute the primary grade on the paper. I will read all of your papers and provide comments for revision.

The final revision of your paper will be due by email to me on May 5th. NOTE: This is not a revision to change the final grade on your complete draft. Only your revisions will be graded for this component.

More will be expected from graduate students on final papers in terms of critical thinking, research design, and exposition.

- 6) One Midterm
In-class on March 1
- 7) One take-home final
Distributed on April 26th and due on Tuesday May 1st by email.

Graduate students will not take the final exam. Elevated final paper expectations, more extensive reading requirements, and additional response papers substitute for it

Evaluation:

Class Attendance and Participation: 20%

Blogging the News: 10%

Response Papers and Discussion Leadership: 10%

Mid-term quiz: 10%

Final quiz: 15%

Final Draft of Paper: 23%

Revisions to Paper: 7%

*****Evaluation for Graduate Students*****

Class Attendance and Participation: 25%

Blogging the News: 10%

Response Papers and Discussion Leadership: 15%

Mid-term quiz: 10%

Final Draft of Paper: 30%

Revisions to Paper: 10%

Required Texts for Purchase:

Fish, Steven. 2005. *Democracy Derailed in Russia: The Failure of Open Politics*. New York: Cambridge.

Hale, Henry. 2006. *Why Not Parties in Russia? Democracy, Federalism, and the State*. New York: Cambridge

Recommended Texts:

Bunce, Valerie and Sharon Wolchik. 2011. *Defeating Authoritarian Leaders in Post-Communist Countries*. New York: Cambridge.

Knowledge of the Former Soviet Union:

This class presumes no prior knowledge of Russian politics. Students can succeed in this course without any prior exposure to the region. However, some of you may find that you get more out of the readings and can participate more effectively if you have a quick primer on politics, society, history, and economics in the region. Here are just a few books on Russia and Ukraine that I recommend for this purpose:

McFaul, Michael. 2002. *Russia's Unfinished Revolution: Political Change from Gorbachev to Putin*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP.

Remington, Thomas. 2011. *Politics in Russia 7th Edition*. New York: Longman

White, Stephen, Richard Sakwa, and Henry Hale (eds). 2009. *Developments in Russian Politics 7th Edition*. Durham, NC: Duke UP.

D'Anieri, Paul. 2006. *Understanding Ukrainian Politics: Power, Politics, and Institutional Design*. M.E. Sharpe

January 10-Introduction and Overview

January 12-No Class

PART 1: DEMOCRACY IN THE POST-SOVIET WORLD

January 17-Regime Type. What is democracy? Are we heading toward a more democratic world? How do we know a democracy when we see one?

Required:

Fukuyama, Francis. 1989. "The End of History?" *National Interest* 16 (Summer 1989) Article can be accessed here <http://www.wesjones.com/eoh.htm>

Fish, 15-20.

Philippe C. Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl. 1991. "What Democracy Is...and Is Not," *Journal of Democracy*. 2(3): 75-88

Przeworski, Adam. 1991. *Democracy and the Market*. New York: Cambridge pg 10-40. [Niihka]

Suggested:

"Democracy and Dictatorship Revisited" 2009. Cheibub, Jose, Jennifer Gandhi, and James Vreeland. *Public Choice*. [G]

Dahl, Robert. 1971. *Polyarchy*. Chapter 1-2, pp. 1-33

Berlin, Isaiah. 1958 [1969]. Two concepts of liberty. *Four Essays on Liberty*

Sen, Amartya. 1999. "Democracy as a Universal Value" *Journal of Democracy*. 10, 3. pp3-17.

Schumpeter, Joseph. 1943. *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*. Chapter 21, pp250-256 and Chapter 22, pp 269-273

Held, David. 1987. *Models of Democracy*. pp71-89

Dahl, Robert. 1989. *Democracy and its Critics*. Chapter 4-7, pp53-106.

January 19 Hybrid Regimes. The gray zone between dictatorship and democracy. Are these the only 'modern' form of non-democratic regime? Are politics different in these regimes different from politics in both democracies and dictatorships?

Required:

Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way. 2002. "The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism," *Journal of Democracy*, 13(2): 51-65.

Roessler, Philip and Marc Howard. "Post-Cold War Political Regimes" in Lindberg, Staffan ed., *Democratization by Elections: A New Mode of Transition*. Chapter 4, pp 101-127. [Niihka]

Zakaria, Fareed. 1997. "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy." *Foreign Affairs* 76(6): 22-43.

Suggested:

Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way. 2010. *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War*. New York: Cambridge

Gandhi, Jennifer and Ellen Lust-Okar. 2009. "Elections Under Authoritarianism" *Annual Review of Political Science*. 12.

Magaloni, Beatriz. 2006. *Voting for Autocracy*. Introduction and Chapter 1, pp 1-82

Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way. 2002. "The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism," *Journal of Democracy*, 13(2): 51-65.

Schedler, Andreas. 2010 "Authoritarianism's Last Line of Defense" *Journal of Democracy* 21(1): 69-80

January 24: Transitions from Dictatorship: Applications to the Fall of the Soviet Union. What is a deomocratic transition? How do they unfold? What is "transitology"? Is transitology applicable to the fall of the Soviet Union?

Required:

O'Donnell, Guillermo and Philippe Schmitter. 1986. "Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP. Chapter 3, pp15-36 ONLY [Niihka]

Michael McFaul. 2002. "The Fourth Wave of Democracy and Dictatorship: Noncooperative Transitions in the Post-Communist World," *World Politics*, 54(2). pp. 212-244. [33]

Bunce, Valerie. 2003. "Rethinking Recent Democratization: Lessons from the Post-Communist Experience. *World Politics*. 55 pp167-179 ONLY

Suggested:

Przeworski, Adam. 1991. *Democracy and the Market*. New York: Cambridge Chapter 2.

Carothers, Thomas. 2002. "The End of the Transition Paradigm." *Journal of Democracy* 13(1)

Bunce, Valerie. 2000. "Comparative Democratization: Big and Bounded Generalizations." *Comparative Political Studies*. 33 (6-7)

Bunce, Valerie. 1997. "Should Transitologists be Grounded?" *Slavic Review*. 55: 111-127.

Solnick, Steven. 1996 "The Breakdown of Hierarchies in the Soviet Union and China: A neoinstitutinoal perspective." 48(2) [G]

O'Donnell, Guillermo and Philippe Schmitter. 1986. "Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP. Entire.

January 26 Post-Communist Regime Diversity: Historical Legacies. Do historical legacies explain variation in post-Soviet regime type? How long does a 'legacy' last? Are legacies different from variables? What is causation? What serves as a 'satisfying' causal explanation?

Required:

Kitschelt, Herbert. 2003. "Assessing Post-Communist 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.

https://netfiles.uiuc.edu/fesnic/fspub/Kitschelt_Good_Cause.pdf

Darden, Keith and Anna Grzymala-Busse. 2006. "The Great Divide: Literacy, Nationalism, and the Communist Collapse." *World Politics* 59: 83-115

Suggested:

"How to Read a Regression Table" [Niikka]

Pop-Eleches, Grigore. 2007. "Historical Legacies and Post-Communist Regime Change" *Journal of Politics* 69(4).

January 31 Classifying Post-Soviet Political Regimes. Are post-Soviet countries democracies or dictatorships, or neither? What features make them authoritarian? What features make them democratic?

Required:

Fish 20-81

Colton, Timothy and Henry Hale. 2009. "The Putin Vote: Presidential Electorates in a Hybrid Regime" *Slavic Review* 68(3)

Suggested:

Sakwa, Richard. 2010. "The Dual State in Russia" *Post-Soviet Affairs* .26(3).

Wilson, Andrew. 2005. *Virtual Politics: Faking Democracy in the Post-Communist World*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Hale, Henry. 2010. "Eurasian Politics as Hybrid Regimes: The Case of Putin's Russia," *Journal of Eurasian Studies* 1(1).

Rose, Richard and Neil Munro. 2002. *Elections Without Order*. NY: Cambridge University Press.

Rose, Richard, William Mishler, Neil Munro. 2006. *Russia Transformed: Developing Support for a New Regime*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

February 2: Symptoms of Authoritarian Retrenchment in Eurasia: Part 1, Electoral Fraud. Why do leaders perpetrated fraud? Can election observers limit fraud? How is fraud perpetrated?

Required:

White, Stephen. 2011. "Elections: Russian Style" *Europe-Asia Studies*. 63(4).

Hyde, Susan. 2007. "The Observer Effect in International Politics: Evidence from a Natural Experiment" *World Politics*. 60(1).

Suggested:

Lehoucq, Fabrice. 2003. "Electoral Fraud: Causes, Types, and Consequences" *Annual Review of Political Science*. 6

Ziblatt, Daniel. 2009. "Shaping Democratic Practice and the Causes of Electoral Fraud: the Case of Nineteenth Century Germany" *American Political Science Review*. 103(1). [G]*

February 7 Symptoms of Authoritarian Retrenchment in Eurasia: Part 2, Coercion and Cooptation

Does authoritarianism require coercion? How does coercion work? When do leaders use coercion as opposed to cooptation? How can cooptation be used to strengthen an authoritarian regime? What are "administrative resources"?

Required:

Robertson, Graeme. 2009. "Managing Society, Civil Society, and Regime in Putin's Russia" *Slavic Review*. 68(3).

Allina-Pisano, Jessica. 2010. "Social contracts and authoritarian projects in the post-Soviet space: the use of administrative resource." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*. 43: 373-382

Suggested:

Gandhi, Jennifer and Adam Przeworski. 2007. "Authoritarian Institutions and the Survival of Autocrats," *Comparative Political Studies* 40(11): 1279-1301.

Gandhi, Jennifer and Adam Przeworski. 2006. "Cooperation, Cooptation, and Rebellion under Dictatorship" *Economics and Politics* 18:1-26. [G]

February 9 Symptoms of Authoritarian Retrenchment in Eurasia: Part 3, The Media and Society

How do leaders maintain popular support? Is popular support necessary? Use of the media. Political persuasion.

Required:

Gehlbach, Scott. 2010. "Reflections on Putin and the Media" *Post-Soviet Affairs*. 26(1): 77-87

Schatz, Edward. 2009. "The Soft Authoritarian Tool Kit: Agenda Setting Power in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan." *Comparative Politics*. 41(2).

Suggested:

Oates, Sarah. 2006. "Television, Democracy, and Elections in Russia" New York: Routledge.

Enikolopov, Ruben, Maria Petrova, and Ekaterina Zhuravskaya. 2011. "Media and Political Persuasion: Evidence from Russia" Forthcoming. *American Economic Review*. Available at <http://ideas.repec.org/a/aea/aecrev/v101y2011i7p3253-85.html>

PART II: EXPLAINING DEMOCRATIZATION IN THE POST-SOVIET WORLD, 1991-2011

February 14 Explaining Regime Variation in the Post-Soviet World: Economic Development—Can levels of economic development explain the democratic deficit in Russia? Why are most democratic countries rich? Is economic development endogenous?

Required:

Fish, Chapter 4

Suggested:

Lipset, Seymour. 1959. "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy" *American Political Science Review*. 53(1)

Boix, Carles. 2003. *Democracy and Redistribution*. New York: Cambridge.

Acemoglu, Daron and James Robinson. 2006. *The Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. New York: Cambridge.

Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson, and James Robinson. 2001. "The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development." *American Economic Review*. 91:5 1369-1401.

Boix, Carles and Susan Stokes. 2003. "Endogenous Democratization" *World Politics*. 55, July 2003.

[G]

Epstein, David, Robert Bates, Jack Goldstone, Ida Kristensen, and Sharyn O'Halloran. 2006. "Democratic Transitions" *American Journal of Political Science*. 50(3).

February 16 Explaining Regime Variation in the Post-Soviet World: Political Culture. Is culture a variable? Can culture be used to explain differences in regime? Are post-Soviet publics undemocratic?

Required:

Richard Pipes. 2004. "Flight From Freedom: What Russians Think and Want." *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2004. 9-15.

Colton, Timothy and Michael McFaul. 2001. "Are Russians Undemocratic?" Available Electronically at <http://carnegieendowment.org/files/20ColtonMcFaul.pdf>

Suggested:

Putnam, Robert. 1993. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP.

Inglehart, Ronald. 1989. "The Renaissance of Political Culture" *American Political Science Review*. 82(4).

Rose, Richard, William Mishler, Neil Munro. 2006. *Russia Transformed: Developing Support for a New Regime*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

February 21 Explaining Regime Variation in the Post-Soviet World: Natural Resources

Required:

Fish, Chapter 5

Ross, Michael. 2001. "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?" *World Politics*. 53(3).

Suggested:

Dunning, Thad. 2008. *Crude Democracy: Natural Resource Wealth and Political Regimes*. New York: Cambridge.

Haber, Stephen and Victor Menaldo. 2010. "Do Natural Resources Fuel Authoritarianism? A Reappraisal of the Resource Curse" *American Political Science Review*. 105(1).

February 23 Explaining Regime Variation in the Post-Soviet World: Economics Economic liberalization and regime change. Privatization and politics. How does the economic system affect regime type? Does economic crisis lead to regime breakdown? Economic determinants of the vote.

Required:

Fish, Chapter 6

Treisman, Daniel. *The Return: Russia's Journey from Gorbachev to Medvedev*. New York: Free Press. Chapter 7, [\[Niuhka\]](#)

Suggested:

McMann, Kelly. 2006. *Economic Autonomy and Democracy*. New York: Cambridge, Chapters 1, 2 and 5 [\[Niuhka\]](#) **[G]**

Tucker, Joshua. 2001. "Economic Conditions and Vote for the Incumbent Parties in Russia, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic from 1990-1996" *Post-Soviet Affairs*. 17(4).

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

Treisman, Daniel. 2011. "Presidential Popularity in a Hybrid Regime: Russia under Yeltsin and Putin" *American Journal of Political Science*. 55(3).

February 28 Explaining Regime Variation in the Post-Soviet World: Political Institutions. Are political institutions to blame for the democratic deficit in the post-Soviet world? Does presidentialism impede democratic development? How?

Required:

Fish Chapter 7

Suggested:

Hale, Henry. 2005. "Regime Cycles: Democracy, Autocracy, and Revolution in Post-Soviet Eurasia," *World Politics*, 58(1).

Frye, Timothy. 1997. "A Politics of Institutional Choice: Post-Communist Presidencies" *Comparative Political Studies* 30(5) [G]

Cheibub, Jose Antonio. *Presidentialism, parliamentarism, and democracy*. New York: Cambridge.

Linz, Juan. 1994. "Presidential or Parliamentary Democracy: Does it make a difference?" in Linz, Juan and Arturo Valenzuela eds. *The Crisis of Presidential Democracy: The Latin American Evidence*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP. [Niihka]

March 1-In-Class Mid-Term Quiz

PART III: REGIME CHANGE IN THE POST-SOVIET WORLD

March 13: Case Study #1: Ukraine's Orange Revolution

Required:

Bunce and Wolchik, Chapter 5, [Niihka]

Katarnycky, Adrian. 2005. "Ukraine's Orange Revolution" *Foreign Affairs* 84(2).

[We will watch CBC's "Anatomy of a Revolution" in class]

March 15: Case Study #2: Georgia and Kyrgyzstan, The Rose and Tulip Revolutions

Required:

Bunce and Wolchik, Chapter 6. [Niihka]

Radnitz, Scott. 2006. "What Really Happened in Kyrgyzstan?" *Journal of Democracy*. 17(2)

Suggested:

Welt, Cory. 2009. "Georgia's Rose Revolution: From Regime Weakness to Regime Collapse" in Bunce, Valerie, Michael McFaul, and Kathryn Stoner-Weiss (eds) *Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Post-Communist World* New York: Cambridge.

March 20 Case Study #3: Armenia, Belarus, and Azerbaijan

Required:

Bunce and Wolchik, Chapter 7 [Niuhka]

March 22 Opposition unity and opposition tactics. What is an “opposition”? What can the opposition do to force regime change? Does the nature of the opposition matter in authoritarian regimes?

Required:

Howard, Marc and Philip Roessler. 2006. “Liberalizing Electoral Outcomes in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes” *American Journal of Political Science* 50(2).

Bunce, Valerie and Sharon Wolchik. 2010. “Defeating Dictators: Electoral Change and Stability in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes” *World Politics*. 62(1).

March 27 State Strength and International Influences

Required:

Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way. 2010. *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War*. New York: Cambridge Chapters 2 and 5 [Niuhka]

Suggested:

Way, Lucan. 2009. "The Real Causes of the Color Revolutions " *Journal of Democracy*. 19(3).

Way, Lucan. 2009. "Debating the Color Revolutions: A Reply to My Critics" *Journal of Democracy*. 20(1).

Brownlee, Jason. 2007. *Authoritarianism in an Age of Democratization*. Introduction and Chapter 1 pp1-44.

Magaloni, Beatriz. 2008. “Credible Power-Sharing and the Longevity of Authoritarian Rule.” *Comparative Political Studies* 41(4): 715-741.

Geddes, Barbara. 1999. “What Do We Know About Democratization after 20 Years” *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2. (Pay Particular Attention to Geddes’ Discussion of Authoritarian Regime Types pp121-130) [G]

Bunce and Wolchik, Chapter 10 [Niuhka]

Mcfaul, Michael. 2007. “Ukraine Imports Democracy: External Influences on the Orange Revolution,” *International Security*. 32(2).

March 29 The Protest Phenomenon Are protests inherently unpredictable? Why do individuals join protests? When can protests be effective?

Required:

Tucker, Joshua. 2006. "Enough! Electoral Fraud Collective Action Problems and Post-Communist Colored Revolutions," *Perspectives on Politics* 5(3): 535-551.

Kuran, Timur, "Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989," *World Politics* 44(1): 7-48

Suggested:

Kuntz, Philipp and Mark R. Thompson. 2009 "More than Just the Final Straw: Stolen Elections as Revolutionary Triggers." *Comparative Politics*. 41(3)

April 3 Elections as Tools of Authoritarianism How can authoritarian leaders use elections to their advantage? Elite loyalty. Monitoring rivals.

Required:

Blaydes, Lisa. 2011. *Elections and Distributive Politics in Mubarak's Egypt*. New York: Cambridge Chapter 3 [Niihka]

Reuter, Ora John and Graeme Robertson. 2011. Sub-national Appointments in Authoritarian Regimes: Evidence from Russian Gubernatorial Appointments. Manuscript [Niihka]

Suggested:

Brownlee, Jason. 2010. "Portents of Pluralism: How Hybrid Regimes Affect Democratic Transitions" *American Journal of Political Science*. 53(3). [G]

Gandhi, Jennifer and Ellen Lust-Okar. 2009. "Elections Under Authoritarianism" *Annual Review of Political Science*. 12.

PARTY IV: PARTIES AND REPRESENTATION IN THE POST-SOVIET WORLD

April 5 Democratic Political Parties: Role, Function, and Importance-Are strong political parties important to democracy? Why? What makes a strong party? What makes a democratic party system institutionalized?

Required:

Hale, Chapter 1

Mainwaring, Scott. 1999. *Rethinking Party Systems in the Third Wave of Democratization*. Stanford: Stanford UP. Selection [Niihka]

Suggested:

Schmitter, Philippe C. 2001. "Parties are Not What They Once Were" in Diamond, Larry and Richard Gunther, eds., *Political Parties and Democracy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP.

April 10 Russia's Party System. How institutionalized is (was) Russia's party system? What role do parties play in Russian politics? How do voters relate to political parties? Are these patterns typical for the rest of the former Soviet Union?

Required:

Hale, Chapter 2 and 3

Suggested:

Hanson, Stephen. 2003. "Instrumental Democracy: The End of Ideology and the Decline of Russian Political Parties." in Hesli, Vicki and William Reisinger eds. *The 1999-2000 Elections in Russia*. New York: Cambridge. [G]

April 12 Political Machines and Clientelism—What is clientelism? How does this system of representation work? Is it democratic? Why are some regions/countries more clientelist than others? What is a political machine? How does it work?

Required:

Kitschelt, Herbert and Steven Wilkinson 2007. "Citizen-politician Linkages: an introduction" in Kitschelt, Herbert and Steven Wilkinson (eds) *Patrons, Clients, and Policies: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition*. New York: Cambridge.

Hale, Henry. 2003. "Explaining Machine Politics in Russia's Regions: Economy, Ethnicity, and Legacy." *Post-Soviet Affairs*. 19(3).

Suggested:

Bruce E. Cain, John A. Ferejohn, Morris P. Fiorina. 1984. "The Constituency Service Basis of the Personal Vote for U.S. Representatives and British Members of Parliament," *American Political Science Review* 78 (1).

Shefter, Martin. 1994 *Political Parties and the State. The American Historical Experience*. Princeton University Press, esp. chapters 1-4.

Kitschelt, Herbert, Zdenka Mansfeldova, Radek Markowski, and Gabor Toka, *Post-Communist Party Systems. Competition, Representation, and Inter-Party Collaboration*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Kitschelt, Herbert and Regina Smyth. 2002. "Programmatic Party Cohesion in Postcommunist Democracies: Russia in Comparative Context," *Comparative Political Studies*, 35(10). [G]

April 17 Why are Russian political parties weak? How political machines undermine party building.

Required:

Hale, Chapter 4

April 19 Dominant Parties Ruling parties. Their role and function. Why did a dominant party emerge in Russia? What are its effects on politics?

Required:

Reuter, Ora John and Thomas Remington. 2009. "Dominant Party Regimes and the Commitment Problem." *Comparative Political Studies*. 42(4).

Hale, Chapter 5, pp 204-234 only

Suggested:

Smith, Benjamin. 2005. "The Life of the Party: The Origins of Regime Breakdown and Persistence Under Single party Rule" *World Politics* 57(3) [G]

Magaloni, Beatriz. 2008. "Credible Power-Sharing and the Longevity of Authoritarian Rule." *Comparative Political Studies* 41(4): 715-741.

April 24 Managed Opposition –When do opposition parties unite? How does the state manipulate the opposition? Is state-sanctioned opposition an oxymoron?

Required:

Lust-Okar, Ellen. 2004. "Divided They Rule: The Management and Manipulation of Political Opposition" *Comparative Politics*. 36(2): 159-179

March, Luke. 2009. "Managing Opposition in a Hybrid Regime: Just Russia and Parastatal Opposition" *Slavic Review*. 69(3)

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Huskey, Eugene. 2010. "Barriers to Intra-Opposition Cooperation in the Post-Communist World: Evidence from Kyrgyzstan." *Post-Soviet Affairs*. 26(3). [G]

Gel'man, Vladimir. "Political Opposition in Russia: A Dying Species?" *Post-Soviet Affairs*. 21(3).

April 26 Clans—What is a clan? Kinship ties. The political significance of clan identity. How deep are clan ties.

Required:

Collins, Kathleen. 2002 "Clans, Pacts and Politics in Central Asia" *Journal of Democracy* 13(3)

Edgar, Adrienne. 2001. "Genealogy, Class, and "Tribal Policy" in Soviet Turkmenistan, 1924-1934." *Slavic Review*. 60(2).

Suggested:

Collins, Kathleen. 2004. "The Logic of Clan Politics: Evidence from Central Asian Trajectories." *World Politics* 56(2).

