Europa-Universität Viadrina Frankfurt (Oder)
MA European Studies
Summer semester 2007
Wednesday, 11-13, GD 06
Lecturer: Timm Beichelt

Electoral Politics in new European democracies

Part I: Basic notions	
11.4.	Introduction
18.4.	Systems of Government, party systems and their elements
25.4.	Electoral systems and their elements
Part II: Cases under Study	
2.5.	Poland: enemies, nothing but enemies…
9.5.	Czech Republic: the continuous stalemate
16.5.	*No session*
23.5.	Russia: the return of authoritarianism
30.5.	Ukraine: lost in chaos
Part III: Concepts under discussion	
6.6.	Is the cleavage approach relevant for Central and/or Eastern Europe?
13.6.	Institutional engineering in the post-transformation period
20.6.	Party politics and democracy – are they linked?
27.6.	Elite Settlements as a precondition to decent political competition?
4.7.	Does the past count? The legacy approach
Part IV: Preparation of semester break	
11.7.	Presentation of term paper projects by students

3/9 Credits may be acquired by:

- *3 ECTS credits: Oral Presentation (max. 30 minutes) during one session*
- *9 ECTS credits: Oral Presentation (max. 30 minutes) + Writing a Term Paper of 20-25 pages (deadline: September 30, 2007).*

In European history, the overthrow of an authoritarian regime has only in rare cases meant a complete and sustainable defeat of political forces of the old regime. Rather, the electoral politics of the first years of post-authoritarian democracies have often been marked by the continuation of polarized settings with roots in the old regimes. The seminar aims at identifying and explaining typical cleavages in new European democracies before compiling and discussing frame factors that have in some cases (e.g. West Germany, Spain) helped to overcome the rivalries between the old and new political forces. A special focus of the seminar lies on the question if central approaches from the transition studies literature can still be used to study political development both in Central and Eastern Europe.

Languages of the seminar are both English and German (student presentations and term papers are possible both in English and in German)

While the lecture is open to students of all levels, certificates ("Scheine") can only be obtained on the MA level.

Literature for preparatory reading:

Crawford, Beverly / Lijphart, Arend (Hrsg.), 1997: Liberalisation and Leninist Legacies. Comparative Perspectives on Democratic Transitions. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lipset, Seymor / Rokkan, Stein, 1967: Party Systems and Voter Alignments. Cross-National Perspectives. New York: The Free Press.

Merkel, Wolfgang, 1999: Systemtransformation. Opladen: Leske+Budrich

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Electoral Politics in new European democracies: Student presentations

Part I: Basic notions	
11.4.	Introduction
18.4.	Parties, party systems and their elements (no presentation)
25.4.	Electoral systems and their elements (no presentation)
Part II: Cases under Study	
2.5.	Poland: enemies, nothing but enemies… ***Presentation: Georgia Franzius***
9.5.	Czech Republic: the continuous stalemate ***Presentation: Julia Pippig***
16.5.	*No session*
23.5.	Russia: the return of authoritarianism ***Presentation: Karolina Rogozinska***
30.5.	Ukraine: lost in chaos ***Presentation: Ludmyla Ponura***
Part III: Concepts under discussion	
6.6.	Is the cleavage approach relevant for Central and/or Eastern Europe? ***Presentation: Bartek Pytlas***
13.6.	Institutional engineering in the post-transformation period ***Presentation: Charlotte Müllenbroich, Anja Galeski***
20.6.	Party politics and democracy – are they linked? ***Presentation: Martin Geuzendam***
27.6.	Elite Settlements as a precondition to decent political competition? ***Presentation: Magda Laskowska***
4.7.	Does the past count? The legacy approach ***Presentation: Annika Holland (?), Stefan Guga***

Overview: Basic texts for single sessions.
Texts in the reader are in *italics*.

Part I: Basic notions	
11.4.	Introduction
18.4.	Systems of Government, party systems and their elements *Sartori, Giovanni, 1990: A Typology of Party Systems. In: Peter Mair (Hrsg.): The West European Party System. Oxford: Oxford University Press, S. 316-349.* *Linz, Juan, 1994: Presidential or Parliamentary Democracy. Does it make a Difference? In: Juan Linz / Arturo Valenzuela (Hrsg.): The Failure of Presidential Democracy. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, S. 3-87.*
25.4.	Electoral systems and their elements *Nohlen, Dieter, 2004: Wahlrecht und Parteiensystem. 4. Auflage. Opladen: Leske + Budrich, Kap. 3, 5, und 6.* McFaul, Michael / Petrov, Nikolaj, 2004: What the Elections Tell Us. In: Journal of Democracy, vol. 15, no. 3, S. 20-31. Sikk, Allan, 2005: How unstable? Volatility and the genuinely new parties in Eastern Europe. In: European Journal of Political Research, vol. 44, S. 391-412.
Part II: Cases under Study	
2.5.	Poland: enemies, nothing but enemies… *Bachmann, Klaus, 2006: Die List der Vernunft. Populismus und Modernisierung in Polen. In: Osteuropa, vol. 56, no. 11-12, S. 13-32* Loew, Peter Oliver, 2006: Feinde, überall Feinde. Psychogramm eines Problems in Polen. In: Osteuropa, vol. 56, no. 11-12, S. 33-52.
9.5.	Czech Republic: the continuous stalemate Gawrich, Andrea, 2003: Die jüngsten Parlamentswahlen in Polen, Ungarn und Tschechien. In: Zeitschrift für Parlamentsfragen, vol. 34, no. 2, S. 270-283. Kipke, Rüdiger, 2002: Die politischen Systeme Tschechiens und der Slowakei. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag. *Lebeda, Tomáš, 2006: Tschechisches Patt. Die Wahlen zum Abgeordnetenhaus 2006. In: Osteuropa, vol. 56, no. 7, S. 95-110.*

16.5.	*No session*
23.5.	Russia: the return of authoritarianism Beichelt, Timm / Eicher, Claudia, 2006: Osteuropa. In: Wolfgang Merkel / Hans-Jürgen Puhle / Aurel Croissant u.a. (Hrsg.): Defekte Demokratien. Band 2: Regionalanalysen. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, S. 295-364. *Kraatz, Susanne, 2003: Wahlen in Rußland. In: Klaus Ziemer (Hrsg.): Wahlen in postsozialistischen Staaten. Opladen: Leske+Budrich, S. 217-254.* Shevtsova, Lilia, 2003: Putin's Russia. Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. White, Stephen, 2000b: Russia, Elections, Democracy. In: Government and Opposition, vol. 35, no. 3, S. 302-324.
30.5.	Ukraine: lost in chaos Bredies, Ingmar (Hrsg.), 2005: Zur Anatomie der Orange Revolution in der Ukraine: Wechsel des Elitenregimes oder Triumph des Parlamentarismus? Stuttgart: Ibidem. D'Anieri, Paul, 2005: The last hurrah: The Ukrainian presidential elections and the limits of machine politics. In: Communist and Post-Communist Studies, vol. 38, S. 231-249. *Christensen, Robert K. / Rakhimkulov, Edward R. / Wise, Charles R., 2005: The Ukrainian Orange Revolution brought more than a new president: What kind of democracy will the institutional changes bring? In: Communist and Post-Communist Studies, vol. 38, no. 2005, S. 207-230.* Way, Lucan A., 2005: Kuchma's Failed Authoritarianism. In: Journal of Democracy, vol. 16, no. 2, S. 131-145.
Part III: Concepts under discussion	
6.6.	Is the cleavage approach relevant for Central and/or Eastern Europe? Beichelt, Timm, 2001: Demokratische Konsolidierung im postsozialistischen Europa. Die Rolle der politischen Institutionen. Opladen: Leske+Budrich, Kap. 4. *Lipset, Seymor / Rokkan, Stein, 1990 (1967): Party Systems and Voter Alignments. Cross-National Perspectives. In: Peter Mair (Hrsg.): The West European Party System. Oxford: Oxford University Press, S. 91-138.* Lubecki, Jacek, 2004: Echoes of Latifundism? Electoral Constituencies of Successor Parties in Post-Communist Countries. In: East European Politics and Society, vol. 18, no. 1, S. 10-44.

13.6.	Institutional engineering in the post-transformation period *Elster, Jon, 1993: Constitution-Making in Central and Eastern Europe. Rebuilding the Boat in Open Sea. In: Public Administration, vol. 71, no. 1+2, S. 169-217.* Dawisha, Karen / Deets, Stephen, 2006: Political Learning in Post-Communist Elections. In: East European Politics and Society, vol. 20, no. 4, S. 691-728. Hoffman, Amanda L., 2005: Political parties, electoral systems and democracy: A cross-national analysis. In: European Journal of Political Research, vol. 44, S. 231-242. Sartori, Giovanni, 1994: Comparative Constitutional Engineering. An Inquiry into Structures, Incentives and Outcomes. Houndsmills: Basingstroke.
20.6.	Party politics and democracy – are they linked? *Beyme, Klaus von, 1997: Parteien im Prozeß der demokratischen Konsolidierung. In: Wolfgang Merkel / Eberhard Sandschneider (Hrsg.): Systemwechsel 3. Parteien im Transformationsprozeß. Opladen: Leske + Budrich, S. 23-56.* Hoffman, Amanda L., 2005: Political parties, electoral systems and democracy: A cross-national analysis. In: European Journal of Political Research, vol. 44, S. 231-242.
27.6.	Elite Settlements as a precondition to decent political competition? *Burton, Michael / Gunther, Richard / Higley, John, 1992: Introduction: elite transformations and democratic regimes. In: John Higley / Richard Gunther (Hrsg.): Elites and Democratic Consolidation in Latin America and Southern Europe. Cambridge, New York, Port Chester, Melbourne Sydney: Cambridge University Press, S. 1-37.* Higley, John / Burton, Michael, 1998: Elite Settlements and the Taming of Politics. In: Government and Opposition, vol. 33, no. 1, S. 98-116. Levintova, Ekaterina, 2006: Revisiting Russian and Polish elite value orientations: Are the elites still committed to the original goals of post-communist transitions? In: Communist and Post-Communist Studies, vol. 39, S. 175-199. McFaul, Michael, 2002: The Fourth Wave of Democracy and Dictatorship. Noncooperative Transitions in the Postcommunist World. In: World Politics, vol. 54, no. 1, S. 212-244.

4.7.	Does the past count? The legacy approach *Crawford, Beverly / Lijphart, Arend, 1997a: Old Legacies, New Institutions. Explaining Political and Economic Trajectories in Post-Communist Regimes. In: Beverly Crawford / Arend Lijphart (Hrsg.): Liberalisation and Leninist Legacies. Comparative Perspectives on Democratic Transitions. Berkeley: University of California Press, S. 1-39.* Crawford, Beverly / Lijphart, Arend (Hrsg.), 1997b: Liberalisation and Leninist Legacies. Comparative Perspectives on Democratic Transitions. Berkeley: University of California Press. Jowitt, Ken, 1992: The Leninist Legacy. In: Ken Jowitt (Hrsg.): New World Disorder: The Leninist Distinction. Berkeley: University of California Press, S. 284-305. Hanson, Stephen E., 2006: Postimperial Democracies: Ideology and Party Formation in Third Republic France, Weimar Germany, and Post-Soviet Russia. In: East European Politics and Society, vol. 20, no. 2, S. 343-372.
Part IV: Preparation of semester break	
11.7.	Presentation of term paper projects by students

Literature

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Beichelt, Timm, 1998: Die Wirkung von Wahlsystemen in Mittel- und Osteuropa. In: Zeitschrift für Parlamentsfragen, vol. 29, no. 4, S. 605-623.

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Christensen, Robert K. / Rakhimkulov, Edward R. / Wise, Charles R., 2005: The Ukrainian Orange Revolution brought more than a new president: What kind of democracy will the institutional changes bring? In: Communist and Post-Communist Studies, vol. 38, no. 2005, S. 207-230.

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Lipset, Seymor / Rokkan, Stein, 1990 (1967): Party Systems and Voter Alignments. Cross-National Perspectives. In: Peter Mair (Hrsg.): The West European Party System. Oxford: Oxford University Press, S. 91-138.

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Shevtsova, Lilia, 2003: Putin's Russia. Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
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Sikk, Allan, 2005: How unstable? Volatility and the genuinely new parties in Eastern Europe. In: European Journal of Political Research, vol. 44, S. 391-412.
Way, Lucan A., 2005: Kuchma's Failed Authoritarianism. In: Journal of Democracy, vol. 16, no. 2, S. 131-145.
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