

# GOVT 335: THE POLITICS OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

Fall 2021

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Office Hours: Wed.: 11:00-12:00, Thu: 9-11:00, & by appointment

Central and Eastern Europe is a fascinating laboratory for ideas about political transition from one party authoritarianism. The course begins by briefly discussing the region's political, historical, and cultural context. After learning about the state socialist system, we examine alternative explanations for its collapse. We then use our knowledge of Central and Eastern Europe and political theory to make sense of how these states address the tough political issues they face during transition. Why did some countries quickly integrate into the EU while others initially developed semi-authoritarian regimes? Understanding why some countries experienced violence and others did not requires looking at the interaction of ethnic diversity with interests, values, history, and socio-economic factors. We also examine the unusually large role of external actors, such as the EU, in facilitating or complicating democratization and statebuilding after state socialism and/or war. We close by considering the roots of democratic backsliding and current and emerging challenges to good governance that Central and Eastern European countries face.

**COURSE GOALS.** This course seeks to expand students' understanding of political transitions occurring in Central and Eastern Europe. Toward that end, this course is organized around themes and theoretical frameworks that help make sense of varied paths of transformation. It does not offer a detailed examination of individual countries in Central and Eastern Europe. This course also seeks to improve critical thinking skills and the ability of students to formulate clear and logical written and oral arguments that are supported by sound evidence. We use books, articles, films, a visiting speaker, and a simulation as learning tools.

## REQUIREMENTS AND GRADING.

- **Attendance and Informed Participation (13%).** Your participation grade consists of your record of attendance and active and informed participation. Lectures, discussions, and other class activities assume that students come to class having completed, having thought critically about, and ready to discuss the required readings. Specifically, students should be prepared to discuss the authors' arguments, the evidence the authors provide, how well the authors' arguments hold up against alternative arguments on the topic, and how the readings relate to other course readings. I also encourage students to ask questions directly related to readings and discussion. **Please see additional information about evaluation of class participation on the back page, including participation if health conditions require joining class online.**
- **Midterm (24%).** This exam, which will consist of short essays, will be held on **10/15**.
- **Analytical paper (33%).** Students will write an approximately 5-6 paged paper in which they explore more in-depth the dynamics of a topic in political transition in several countries in Central and Eastern Europe. This paper must contain a thesis that is supported by empirical evidence and logical argumentation, and include at least several peer-reviewed, outside references. More specific guidance will be distributed in early October. **It is due on 11/19.**
- **Final (30%).** This exam will emphasize material covered after the midterm. It will consist of multiple essays. **The Final exam is on Dec. 17 between 2-5 p.m.**

**Due to the pandemic** and William & Mary's rules for faculty, staff, and students that protect the safety of the William & Mary community, all students in this course are required to adhere to the practices specified in the University's Healthy Together Community Statement (<https://www.wm.edu/sites/pathforward/health/index.php>). During this class, which is scheduled to be taught face-to-face, students are required to follow W&M rules regarding wearing a mask, which as of September 1, 2021 require masks in indoor shared spaces. If a student becomes ill, he or she, after getting medical attention, should communicate immediately with me so that we can work together and with W&M staff on coursework.

**Other policies.** To pass this course, students must pass all course requirements listed above. All students are responsible for saving a copy of their papers. To ensure fairness, I will not provide extensions without a written note from the Dean of Students, a health professional, work supervisor, academic advisor, or coach. Please read and follow the Honor Code, [https://www.wm.edu/offices/deanofstudents/services/communityvalues/studenthandbook/honor\\_system/index.php](https://www.wm.edu/offices/deanofstudents/services/communityvalues/studenthandbook/honor_system/index.php). I may make minor alterations to this syllabus in order to adapt to health conditions and/or improve the course. To enhance the quality of class time, turn off cell phones and use computers only for course-related work.

I encourage students to talk with me during my office hours to discuss material or pose any questions about readings, lectures, or assignments. Please let me know about any special concerns or needs that you might have. I am here to help you learn about how to do your best in the politics of Central and Eastern Europe.

W&M accommodates students with disabilities in accordance with federal laws and university policy. Any student who feels they may need an accommodation based on the impact of a learning, psychiatric, physical, or chronic health diagnosis should contact Student Accessibility Services staff at 757-221-2512 or at [sas@wm.edu](mailto:sas@wm.edu) to determine if accommodations are warranted and to obtain an official letter of accommodation. For more information, please see [www.wm.edu/sas](http://www.wm.edu/sas).

W&M recognizes that students can face challenges that make learning difficult. There are many resources available at W&M to help students. Asking for help is a sign of courage and strength. Please reach out to me if you or someone you know are facing problems inside or outside the classroom, and I will do my best to guide you to appropriate resources on campus. Those resources include:

- For psychological/emotional stress, there is the W&M Counseling Center (757-221-3620), 240 Gooch Dr. 2<sup>nd</sup> floor, <https://www.wm.edu/offices/wellness/counselingcenter/>. Services are free and confidential.
- For physical/medical concerns, there is the W&M Health Center (757-221-4386), 240 Gooch Drive, <https://www.wm.edu/offices/wellness/healthcenter/>
- For other additional support or resources, please contact the Dean of Students by submitting a care report (757-221-2510) or by email at [deanofstudents@wm.edu](mailto:deanofstudents@wm.edu) or <https://www.wm.edu/offices/deanofstudents/services/caresupportservices/index.php>

I consider it part of my responsibility as an instructor to address the learning needs of all of the students in this course. I will present materials that are respectful of diversity: race, color, ethnicity, gender, age, disability, religious beliefs, political preference, sexual orientation, gender identity, citizenship, or national origin among other personal characteristics. I also believe that the diversity of student experiences and perspectives is essential to the deepening of knowledge in a course. Any suggestions that you have about other ways to include the value of diversity in this course are welcome.

I encourage students to take advantage of The Writing Resources Center, located on the first floor of Swem Library, is a free service provided to W&M students. Trained consultants offer individual assistance with writing: To make an appointment, visit the WRC webpage [www.wm.edu/wrc](http://www.wm.edu/wrc)

I suggest students stay informed about current developments in Central and Eastern Europe. Good English-language online news sources are *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL)*:

<http://www.rferl.org/section/South+Slavic+Language+Services/168.html>, *Balkan Insight*, published by the Balkan

Investigative Reporting Network: <http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/page/all-balkans-home>, and the *BBC*:

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/>. See also links provided at the end of chapters in the Csergő, Eglitis, and Pickering textbook. For

those looking for additional background information on the political history of Central and Eastern Europe, see: Joseph Rothschild & Nancy Wingfield, *Return to Diversity: A Political History of East Central Europe Since WWII*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000 or 2008.

## REQUIRED TEXTS.

- Csergő, Zsuzsa, Daina S. Eglitis and Paula M. Pickering, eds. *Central and East European Politics: Changes and Challenges*, Fifth Edition, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2021/2. (paperback: 978-1-5381-4280-6; eBook: 978-1-5381-4281-3). (Please be sure to purchase the 5th Ed.)
- Readings marked with \* are available on the course blackboard site. Readings in academic journals are available on line in electronic databases accessible through the W&M network.

## I. THE CENTRAL AND EAST EUROPEAN CONTEXT

Wed, 9/1

- Welcome and introduction to the course

Fri, 9/3

**DEFINING “CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE” AND EXPLORING ITS PRE-COMMUNIST POLITICAL CULTURE. How did Central and East European countries’ experiences under Empires affect their political development and inter-ethnic relations? Why did democratic governments in Central and Eastern Europe collapse during the interwar period?**

- \*Zsuzsa Csergő, Daina Eglitis, and Paula M. Pickering, “Chapter 1: Turbulent Histories...,” in Csergő, Eglitis, and Pickering eds., pp. 3-middle of 11 (this section of our required book is also on blackboard).
- \*Kopstein, “Liberal, Fascist, and Communist Legacies,” pp. 39-top 44. (this section is also on blackboard)
- \*Bermeo, Nancy, “Ordinary People and the Breakdown of Democracy in Interwar Europe, in *Ordinary People in Extraordinary times: The Citizenry and the Breakdown of Democracy*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003, pp. 21-27, 29-35, 43-46, 49-58.

## II. STATE SOCIALISM AND ITS COLLAPSE

Mon, 9/6

**STATE SOCIALISM AND REACTIONS TO IT. How much control did Communist parties have over Central and East European societies? How did Central and East Europeans react toward their authoritarian systems?**

- Csergő, Eglitis, and Pickering, "Turbulent Histories..." 11- 19. (this section is also on blackboard)
- \*Rev, Istvan, "The Advantages of Being Atomized," *Dissent*, 34, 1987, pp. 335-345.

Wed, 9/8

**RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE STATE SOCIALIST SYSTEM: Does the green grocer support communist rule?**

- \*Havel, Vaclav, "The Power of the Powerless," in John Keane, ed., *The Power of the Powerless*, Armonk: M. E. Sharpe, 1985, pp. 23-44 (only this part).

Fri, 9/10

**THE FALL OF STATE SOCIALISM. Do we know why state socialism fell? Why or why not?**

- Csergő, Eglitis, and Pickering, "Turbulent Histories..." p. 20-middle of p. 24.
- \*Chiot, Daniel, "What Happened in East Central Europe in 1989?" in Vladimir Tismaneanu, ed., *The Revolutions of 1989: Rewriting Histories*, London: Routledge, pp. 19-40.

Mon, 9/13

**THE STATE SOCIALIST EXPERIENCE IN YUGOSLAVIA AND ITS VIOLENT COLLAPSE. What factors contributed to the violent collapse of state socialism in Yugoslavia? What role – if any—did history, culture, economic policy, and political elites play?**

- \*Stokes, Gale, "The Devil's Finger: The Disintegration of Yugoslavia," in *The Walls Came Tumbling Down*, pp. bottom paragraph 218- 52.

**III. COMPARING TRANSITIONS: ISSUES AND CASES**

Wed, 9/15

**RE-WRITING THE RULES: What factors affect the "work in progress" of democracy? What are the goals of constitutional engineering? How did Hungarian politicians use constitutional and other laws/institutions to undermine liberal democracy?**

- Csergő, Eglitis, and Pickering, "Turbulent Histories...", pp. end of 24-middle of 25, end of 29-32.
- Wolczuk, Kataryna, "Constitutional Politics," 229-237 in Stephen White, Judy Batt, and Paul G. Lewis, *Developments in Central and East European Politics 4*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2007.
- \*Bankuti, Miklos, Babor Halmai, and Kim Lane Scheppelle, "Disabling the Constitution," *Journal of Democracy* 23, No. 3, July 2012, 138-145.

Fri, 9/17

**POLITICS IN POST-COMMUNIST POLAND: Why was the balance of power between the President and Parliament contentious in Post-Communist Poland? Did political parties react as expected to incentives contained in new electoral rules? How should we assess the current government's policies toward judicial institutions?**

- Curry, Jane. "Poland" in Csergő, Eglitis, and Pickering, eds., pp. 305-329.
- "Poland to Dissolve Judges' Disciplinary Chamber to Meet EU Demands," [EURACTIV.com with Reuters](https://euractiv.com/en/news/poland-to-dissolve-judges-disciplinary-chamber-to-meet-eu-demands), Aug. 9, 2021

Mon, 9/20

**CIVIC PARTICIPATION IN POST-COMMUNIST SOCIETIES: How should we assess and account for the varying levels of strength of civil societies in the region?**

- Deegan-Krause, Kevin. "Civil Society and Political Parties: Growth and Change in the Organizations Linking People and Power," in Csergő, Eglitis, and Pickering, pp. 99-109.
- \*Witte, Griff, "How Slovakia stood up to a journalist's slaying and kicked out its prime minister" *Washington Post*, Marcy 28, 2018.
- Gosling, Tim, Edward Szekeres and Claudia Ciobanu, "[Politically connected NGOs in Hungary](#)," in Democracy digest, *Balkan Insight*, August 13, 2021.

Wed, 9/22

**POLITICAL PARTIES: What factors affect party competition, party volatility, parties' relationships with voters, and the issues on which parties do and don't focus?**

- Deegan-Krause, Kevin. "Civil Society and Political Parties: Growth and Change in the Organizations Linking People and Power," in Csergő, Eglitis, and Pickering, bottom 109-122.

Fri, 9/24

**THE CASES OF THE CZECH & SLOVAK REPUBLICS: Why do new parties keep popping up in the Czech & Slovak Republics? What role did/do ethnicity and economics play in the breakup of Czechoslovakia and in current politics?**

- Wolchik, Sharon. "The Czech and Slovak Republics," in Csergő, Eglitis, and Pickering, eds., pp. 333-359.
- Csergő, Zsuzsa and Jason Wittenberg. "Nationalism and its Challenges to Democratic Governance," in Csergő, Eglitis, and Pickering, pp. 72-74.

Mon, 9/27

**THE POLITICS OF ECONOMIC REFORM. What reform policies encouraged some countries to generate more economic growth more quickly than others? How do the different methods of privatization matter? Who are the losers of reforms?**

- Fisher, Sharon. "Re-Creating the Market," in Csergő, Eglitis, and Pickering, eds., pp. 127-142, 144-152.

Wed, 9/29

**EVERYDAY EXPERIENCES OF PRIVATIZATION. Why is it hard to determine the value of a socialist-owned factory? What explains how Polish factory workers and managers respond to their new US owners and vice versa? Why are some Central and East European peoples nostalgic?**

- \*Dunn, Elizabeth. *Privatizing Poland: baby food, big business, and the remaking of labor*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004, pp. 28-57, 64.

Fri, 10/1

**THE RE-EMERGENCE OF COMMUNISTS. Why do citizens vote for successor parties of the formerly vilified Communists? Why are some Communist successor parties more thoroughly transformed and successful than others?**

- \*Grzymala-Busse, Anna. "Redeeming the Past: Communist Successor Parties after 1989," in Grzegorz Ekiert and Stephen Hanson, eds., *Capitalism and Democracy in Central Europe*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003, 157-178.

Mon, 10/4

**THE IMPACT OF THE DUAL TRANSITION ON POLICIES OF THE POLITICAL "LEFT" AND "RIGHT" Under what conditions are parties willing and able to comprise their ideological views for developing democracy?**

- \*Tavits, Margit and Natalia Letki. "When Left is Right: Party Ideology and Policy in Post-Communist Europe," *American Political Science Review* 103, No. 4 (2009): 555-567.

**\*\* 5 -6:30 p.m. class:** Wed, 10/6: Room: TBD

**PUBLIC CORRUPTION: What does this Oscar-nominated documentary from Romania suggest about why public corruption occurs and the obstacles to rooting it out?**

- Screening of: Nanau, Alexander, director, *Collective: Unraveling a Scandal*, Magnolia Pictures, 2019.

Fri, 10/8

**DISCUSSING PUBLIC CORRUPTION: What were the key takeaways from the *Collective* case about why public corruption occurs and the obstacles to battling it?**

- Reflection on and discussion of the documentary, *Collective*.

Mon, 10/11:

**DEVELOPING THE RULE OF LAW AND THE POLITICS OF JUSTICE. What issues do Central and East European societies face in trying to address gross injustices made by past regimes? What is the impact of varying types of anti-Communist justice policies on Central and East European societies?**

- \*David, Roman. "From Prague to Baghdad: Lustration systems and their Political Effects," *Government and Opposition* 41, No. 3 (2006): 347-372.

Wed, 10/13

**YOUTH, SOCIAL MEDIA, AND RIGHT POPULISM: What factors contribute to youth support for right populists and what are the political consequences?**

- \*Lipinski, Arthur and Agnieszka Stepinska "Polish Right-Wing Populism in the Era of Social Media," *Problems of Post-Communism* 66, No. 2 (2018): 71-82.

Fri, 10/15

**MIDTERM EXAM**

Fall break: 10/18-19

#### IV. DEMOCRATIZATION IN CULTURALLY PLURAL STATES

Wed, 10/20

**EXPLAINING VIOLENCE IN CROATIA: Does the elite strategy of demobilization effectively explain violence in Croatia during the 1990s? What other explanations might complement or replace demobilization?**

- \*Gagnon, V.P. "Croatia and the Strategy of Demobilization, 1990-2000." In *The Myth of Ethnic War: Serbia and Croatia in the 1990s*, Ithaca: Cornell University press, 2004, 131-177.

Fri, 10/22

**THE ROOTS OF VIOLENCE.** What is the most powerful theoretical explanation or combination of explanations for the violence in ethnically diverse former Yugoslavia? Why aren't voices for moderation more powerful?

- Pickering, Paula and Jelena Subotić. "Former Yugoslavia and Its Successors," in Csergő, Eglitis, and Pickering eds., pp. 530-5.
- \*Oberschall, Anthony. "The Manipulation of Ethnicity: From Ethnic Cooperation to Violence and War in Yugoslavia," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 23, Nov. (2000): 982-1001.

Mon, 10/25

**UNDERSTANDING THE VIOLENT DISINTEGRATION OF MIXED COMMUNITIES: What factors contributed to violence in the mixed village in Bosnia-Herzegovina portrayed in the documentary *We are all Neighbours*? Do any of the arguments that Oberschall discusses help us understand this case?**

- In-class screening of Christie, Debbie & Tone Bringa, directors, *We are all Neighbours*, Grenada TV International 2008.

Wed, 10/27

**EXPLAINING VARYING LEVELS OF CONFLICT. Why did the culturally divided states of Bulgaria, Macedonia, and Kosovo experience varying levels of conflict—only some resulting in violence?**

- \*Koinova, Maria, "Why do Ethnonational Conflicts Reach Different Degrees of Violence? Insights from Kosovo, Macedonia, and Bulgaria during the 1990s," *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 15 (2009): 84-104.

Fri, 10/29

**THE BALTIC STATES: How has the legacy of direct inclusion into the USSR influenced the Baltic states' transition away from Communism? How have the Baltic states managed ethnic diversity during and relations with Russia?**

- Auers, Daunis. "The Baltic Countries," in Csergő, Eglitis, and Pickering, eds., pp. 397-422.
- Csergo, Zsuzsa. "Ethnicity, Nationalism, & the Expansion of Democracy," in Csergő, Eglitis, and Pickering, eds., pp. 74-75.

#### V. THE IMPACT OF INTERNATIONAL INFLUENCE

Mon, 11/1

**THE CARROT OF INTEGRATION INTO THE EU. How does the EU influence Central and East European countries to reform their political institutions during and after the accession process? How successful has the EU been in compelling East European regimes that were initially illiberal to adopt liberal institutions? Why?**

- Linden, Ronald H. "The EU and Its Newer Members," in Csergő, Eglitis, and Pickering eds., pp. 235-260.

Wed, 11/3

**DOES EU LEVERAGE IMPROVE THE LIVES OF THE MOST MARGINALIZED PEOPLES IN EUROPE: THE ROMA? Why or Why not?**

- \*Vermeersch, Peter. "How Does the EU Matter for the Roma," *Problems of Post-Communism* 64 No. 5 (2017): 219-227.

Fri, 11/5

**THE POLITICS OF SEXUAL ORIENTATION AND THE EU'S IMPACT. How successful has the EU been in encouraging Central and East European countries to implement anti-discrimination legislation?**

- \*O'Dwyer, Conor and Katrina Schwartz. "Minority rights after EU enlargement: A comparison of antigay politics in Poland and Latvia." *Comparative European Politics* 8, no. 2 (2010): 220-243.
- \*Higgins, Andrew, "After Voting to Be 'Free of L.G.B.T.', a Polish Town Pays a Price," *The New York Times*, 11 April 2021.

Mon, 11/8

**EXPLAINING DEMOCRATIC BACKSLIDING: Compare the factors the authors argue contribute to democratic backsliding in Central and Eastern Europe? How convincing are Krastev and Holmes about the role played by anger toward the EU? What can the EU do about backsliding?**

- Csergő, Zsuzsa and Jason Wittenberg, "Democracy and its discontents," end 87-95 in Csergő, Eglitis, and Pickering eds.
- \*Krastev, Ivan and Stephen Holmes, "Imitation and Its Discontents," *Journal of Democracy* 29, no. 3 (2018): 117-128.
- \*Inotai, Edit, Nicholas Watson, Marcel Gascón Barberá, Anja Vladislavljevic and Sinisa Jakov Marusic, "[Hungary, Poland Face EU Fund Freezes After Rule Of Law Report Criticism](#)," BIRN, July 20, 2021.

Wed, 11/10

**UNDERSTANDING SUPPORT FOR ILLIBERAL RULING PARTIES. Are cultural or economic factors more important in explaining voters' support for illiberal parties? Are voters intentionally or unintentionally supporting parties that undermine liberal democracy?**

- \*Scoggins, Bermond. "Identity Politics or Economics? Explaining Voter Support for Hungary's Illiberal FIDESZ." *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures*, 20, no. 10 (2020): 1–26.

Fri, 11/12

**INTERNATIONALLY SUPPORTED COMMUNITY BASED DEVELOPMENT IN POST-CONFLICT SOCIETIES: What does the view of an aid practitioner contribute to our understanding of conditions under which Western efforts to encourage democratic decision making and broad-based development in the former Yugoslavia can be successful?**

- \*Bunce, Valerie and Sharon L. Wolchik. "Youth and Electoral Revolutions in Slovakia, Serbia, and Georgia." *SAIS Review of International Affairs* 26, no. 2 (2006), pp. 58-59.
- \*Sneed, Claire. "Neutrality, Empowerment, Gender: Fostering Democratic Culture in Southwestern Serbia," in Keith Brown, ed., *Transacting Transition: The Micropolitics of Democracy Assistance in the Former Yugoslavia*, Bloomfield: Kumarian Press, 2006, pp. 99-120

Mon, 11/15

**IN CLASS SIMULATION** on the challenge of international aid for inclusive development in post-conflict communities

Wed., 11/17:

**EXTERNAL INFLUENCE ON POST-CONFLICT DEMOCRATIZATION: THE CASE OF BOSNIA. What has externally led statebuilding been able to achieve and how could it be improved after horrific violence in post-war Bosnia? How have power-sharing arrangements in the post-conflict constitution affected democratic politics?**

- \*Bieber, Florian. "Bosnia and Herzegovina since 1990," Sabrina Petra Ramet, ed., *Central and Southeast European Politics since 1989*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019, pp. 342-357.
- Serwer, Daniel "[Bosnia's Way Forward](#)," *Peacefare.net* blogpost.11/2015,

Fri, 11/19

**ANALYTICAL PAPER DUE** AT 5 P.M. VIA SAFE ASSIGN

Mon, 11/22

**GOVERNANCE IN THE COUNTIES OF THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA: What are the drivers and consequences of illiberal practices in the countries of the Former Yugoslavia?**

- \*Damir Kapidžić, "The Rise of illiberal politics in Southeastern Europe," *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 20, no. 1 (2020): 1-17.

**Thanksgiving break: 11/24-26**

Mon, 11/29

**POST-CONFLICT JUSTICE IN SERBIA. Assess the shortcomings of the criminal accountability approach to justice in Serbia and how it might be complemented.**

- \*Subotic, Jelena. "Expanding the scope of post-conflict justice: Individual, state and societal responsibility for mass atrocity," *Journal of Peace Research* 48, no. 3 (2011): 157-169.
- Gordy, Eric, [After Mladic's Verdict: Six Lessons to Learn from Hague Trials](#), BIRN, June 9, 2021, 13:06

Wed, 12/1

**EXTERNAL INFLUENCE ON POST-CONFLICT DEMOCRATIZATION: THE CASE OF KOSOVO. How does externally led statebuilding in Kosovo illustrate tradeoffs between goals of democratization and stability?**

- \*Beha, Beha and Arben Hajrullahu, "Soft competitive authoritarianism and negative stability in Kosovo: statebuilding from UNMIK to EULEX and beyond," *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 20, no. 1 (2020): 103-122)

## **VI. CURRENT CHALLENGES TO GOOD GOVERNANCE AND RESPONSES**

Fri, 12/3

### **LESSONS LEARNED FROM PROMOTING DEMOCRACY IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE.**

- **Visiting speaker:** Connor Smith ('14), Open Society Foundation, Strategy Specialist, including for anti-corruption programs in Central and Eastern Europe.

Mon, 12/6

### **STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS. Why did social movements in North Macedonia oust their illiberal leader but Serbia has not? What are the implications for democracy?**

- \*Pudar Draško, Gazela, Irena Fiket, and Jelena Vasiljević, "Big Dreams and Small Steps: Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements' Struggle for Democracy in Serbia and North Macedonia," *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 20, no. 1 (2020): 199-219.

Wed, 12/8

### **THE ROLE OF EMOTIONS IN POLITICS: Evaluate the argument that Populist politicians are popular because they pay attention to emotions. Do political forces opposed to populism need to take seriously emotions?**

- \*Kuisz, Jarosław and Karolina Wigura. "The Pushback Against Populism: Reclaiming the Politics of Emotion." *Journal of Democracy* 31, no. 2 (2020): 41-53.

Fri, 12/10

### **THINKING AHEAD: How does the past and nationalism matter for politics in the region? Should we be pessimistic, optimistic, or somewhere in between about the prospects for different types of democracy in Central and Eastern Europe?**

- Csergő, Eglitis, and Pickering, eds, "Changes and Challenges: Three Questions," pp. 595-607.

### Additional information about participation grade

In general, here is what I consider excellent participation and attendance:

- *Level of involvement:* You make a strong effort to contribute often to large and small group discussions. You kick off discussion at times, but you do not consistently dominate the room. You know when to cut yourself off and to give others a chance to speak.
- *Substance of comments:* Your comments demonstrate knowledge of the readings and not simply your own personal experience or intuition. You bring the readings to class and point us to specific pages to back your points. Your remarks build momentum, are focused and relevant. You do not speak just to get your voice on record.
- *Attendance:* You attend class every day, unless you offer a reasonable explanation such as an documented illness, family emergency, extra ordinary work commitment, or your required presence at a non-optional William & Mary event (e.g., class field trip).
- *Common courtesy:* You arrive on time every day and take your seat quietly if you are late. You disable your cell phone and other gadgets before class starts. You do not check email or instant messages, surf the web, do other classes' homework, or do other similar distracting behaviors during class. You listen carefully to others when they are speaking. You respect the right of your classmates to express their analysis, even if you might disagree.

**If health conditions require joining class online** and make in-class oral participation not possible, student participation will be evaluated based on the quality of written comments posted to blackboard's discussion board or provided in email notes to me, or through discussion during office hours.

(adapted from Manna 2011)

Grade range	Description
A- A (90-100)	--Frequent contributor in large group discussions each week. Active and engaged in small groups and paired discussions. --Comments grounded in the readings and demonstrate depth of understanding or attempts to grapple with them; ideas help to build momentum in discussions. -- Has self-awareness and does not ramble or try to dominate the room. Attends class essentially every day (e.g., 0-1 absences for the semester), always brings readings & is always courteous.
B- B B+ (80-89)	--Consistent commenter each week in large group, but some runs of silence or inactivity occasionally detectable. Active and engaged in small groups or pairs, and might excel slightly more there than in the large group. Occasionally may lack good self-awareness. --Comments are helpful and draw upon readings, but less consistently so and occasionally may be more grounded in intuition or personal experience. --Attends class most days (e.g., 3 absences for the semester), brings readings most days, and is always courteous.
C- C C+ (70-79)	--Infrequent participant each week in large group, but may be reasonably engaged in small groups. Attentive, but not involved. Often an imbalance between small group and large group effort. May have inconsistent self-awareness. --Comments are infrequently grounded in the readings; more reliant on intuition or personal experience --Absences becoming somewhat frequent (e.g., 4-5 absences for the semester), infrequently brings readings, but is always courteous.
D- D D+ (60-69)	--Extremely rare or essentially no participation each week in large group. Rarely attentive; uses electronic device often in ways unrelated to class activities; largely uninvolved, including in small groups. May have very little self-awareness. --Hard to tell to what extent this person is trying to engage the readings because comments are so infrequent, or nonexistent. --Frequent absences (5 absences for the semester), but is always courteous.
F (<60)	--No engagement in large group discussion. During small group or paired time, still tends to work alone or be distracted, including by using electronic devices for activities unrelated to class. May demonstrate no self-awareness. --Impossible to tell to what extent the person has tried to engage the readings. --Excessive absences (6 or more absences for the semester). --May consistently fail to demonstrate courtesy.