When, Why, and How the Past Matters: Imperial, Colonial and Communist Legacies in Third-Wave Democracies

Jun.-Prof. Dr. Christina Isabel Zuber (Office hour Wednesdays, 11:45-12:45, send contact request via skype to christina.zuber@uni-konstanz.de)

Summer term 2020, Tuesdays, 15:15-16:45

Closing Workshop, Saturday 20 or 27 June (tbc with participants), 10:00 - appr. 16:00

INFORMATION ON HOW TO JOIN THE WEB SESSIONS WILL BE COMMUNICATED VIA EMAIL!

Description

Studies of political and economic transitions in third-wave democracies contribute growing evidence that the legacies of past regimes influence contemporary transition processes and a variety of social and political outcomes. They are demonstrating, for example, that the type of communism explains the nature of party competition in Eastern European democracies (Kitschelt), or that colonial institutions account for differences in economic development in Africa, Asia and Latin America (Acemoglu, Johnson and Robinson).

In this seminar, we will try to make sense of how events and structures of the past can influence social outcomes of the present. How can the effects of past regimes be theoretically modeled and causally identified? Which micro-level theories are adequate to capture the causal mechanisms of transmission that can explain how institutional and cultural norms are transmitted over generations, despite processes of disruptive political change?

In the seminar, we first look at classical studies that promoted historical legacy explanations before legacies were theorized in more detail. This provides us with working examples. We then turn to define the concept of historical legacies. On this basis, we work through a series of empirical studies that identify causal effects of colonial, communist and imperial regimes on a variety of contemporary outcomes. We close the weekly sessions with an exploration of possible mechanisms of transmission, operating via institutional path dependencies, elite discourses, collective memory, and the intergenerational transmission of values. Towards the end of the semester, participants choose their own research project dealing with one of the topics introduced throughout the seminar. They can choose between the approach of comparative historical analysis (Small N, qualitative data) and the political economy approach (Large N, quantitative data) to studying historical legacies. They then present (and comment on) each other's outlines for own studies of historical legacies during a research workshop and subsequently develop their empirical research projects during the semester break.

Goals

Participants understand and can critically assess key theoretical arguments brought forward in the literature studying imperial, communist and colonial legacies. They are familiar with both the more qualitative perspective of comparative historical analysis and the more quantitative perspective of historical political economy. They are able to use theory to explain the institutional and social mechanisms through which distant events can affect present outcomes. They understand which research designs are capable of discerning the causal effect of legacies, and which ones help tracing causal mechanisms of transmission and they can apply one of these designs in their own research papers. They can engage in academic dialogue with each other during the workshop where they present and comment on the work of their peers.

Standardized goals (from the set of learning goals defined by the department) applicable to this course:

- 1. Students are able to design a research project.
- 2. Students are able to collect and analyze data.

Requirements and modalities

The seminar takes place as a weekly webinar between 28 April and 16 June 2020. Students then get to choose a topic for their research projects. They present the research design for this project during a research workshop on Saturday 20 or 27 June 2020 (tbc).

There are three requirements for students wishing to obtain ECTS points for this course:

<u>First</u>, you join the webinar each week, having carefully read and thought about the assigned reading materials and participate actively in class discussions and group work. You may fail to attend two sessions. (Please note that the Saturday workshop at the end of the course has to be attended in its entirety).

<u>Second</u>, you hand in two reviews of two of the assigned readings (600-700 words each). You can choose for which sessions and on which readings you want to do your reviews. Note that only articles marked with two asterisks are suitable for writing reviews. The reviews must be submitted by midnight of the day before the day the article you chose to review is discussed in class. By writing critiques that address all elements a good research paper should include, you will become better prepared to write your own.

<u>Third</u>, you develop, present at the workshop and hand in a research paper on your chosen topic related to colonial, imperial or communist legacies. You are free to choose your cases, and you are also free to choose your research design. Comparative studies that exploit sub-national variance between units that historically belonged to different regimes, but are now part of the same political system are particularly promising since they resemble the conditions of a "natural experiment" (Dunning) – independent of whether they rely on statistical inference based on data-set observations, or whether they rely on comparisons following Mill's methods and using qualitative evidence. The research paper should be appr. 6000 words. It should cover a clearly stated research question, a review of relevant literature, theory and hypotheses that speak to the question, a well-justified case selection, justification and explanation of the chosen methodological approach and your own empirical analysis on the basis of which you answer your question. It must be uploaded to ILIAS as a PDF by 15 September 2020, 23.59h. You present your research plan for this paper at the workshop on Saturday, 20 or 27 June 2019. A short handout of your presentation at the workshop must be submitted to ILIAS by 18 or 26 June 2019 to give your discussant a chance to prepare comments for the workshop.

<u>Grades</u> will be based on a combination of your presentation, related handout and your comment on another project at the workshop (30%) and the research paper (70%). In-class participation and submitting the two reviews are conditions for passing the class, but will not be graded. Late submissions will lower your grade by 0.3 for each day your work is overdue, unless you provide a justified excuse on time.

I will provide you with more detailed guidelines on how to write a review of an article and your own research paper in class. I will also provide guidance on narrowing down your topic for the research paper. Please note that I have zero tolerance for plagiarism, which according to the Oxford Dictionary (online edition) is defined as "the practice of taking someone else's work or ideas and passing them off as one's own". Students caught plagiarizing will automatically fail the seminar. For further information see Jones, L.R. (2011): Academic Integrity & Academic Dishonesty: A Handbook About Cheating & Plagiarism: https://repository.lib.fit.edu/handle/11141/2601?show=full.

Individual sessions and literature to be prepared for each week

(** = suited for writing a review)

28 April 2020. Introduction.

We introduce the topic of the seminar and discuss our plan for the whole semester.

5. May 2020. Legacy explanations: Classical examples

Brubaker, W. R. (1990). Immigration, citizenship, and the nation-state in France and Germany: A comparative historical analysis. *International Sociology*, *5*(4), 379-407.

Putnam, Robert D., with Leonardi, Robert & Nanetti, Raffaella Y. (1993). *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press → Read pp. 3-7, 115-116, and chapter 5. (Optional: chapter 6)

12 May 2020. What are historical legacies? Definitions and overview of the field

Simpser, A., Slater, D., & Wittenberg, J. (2018). Dead but not gone: contemporary legacies of communism, imperialism, and authoritarianism. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 21: 419-439.

Collier, Ruth Berins, and Collier, David (1991). Shaping the political arena: Critical junctures, the labor movement, and regime dynamics in Latin America. Princeton: Princeton University Press. \rightarrow Read pp. 19-39.

Wittenberg J. (2015). Conceptualizing historical legacies. *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures* 29(2): 366–378.

19 May 2020. Colonial legacies

De Juan, Alexander & Jan Henry Pierskalla (2017). The Comparative Politics of Colonialism and Its Legacies: An Introduction. *Politics and Society*, 45(2) 159–172.

**Mahoney, James. (2010). Colonialism and postcolonial development: Spanish America in comparative perspective. Cambridge University Press. → Read Chapters "Introduction" and "Conclusion".

**Acemoglu, Daron, Johnson, Simon, Robinson, James A. (2001). The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation. *The American Economic Review*, 91 (5), pp. 1369-1401

26 May 2020. Communist legacies

Pop-Eleches, Grigore & Tucker, Joshua A. (2017). Communism's Shadow: Historical Legacies and Contemporary Political Attitudes. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapter 1: Communism's Shadow.

**Alesina, Alberto & Fuchs-Schündeln, Nicola (2007). Good-Bye Lenin (or Not?): The Effect of Communism on People's Preferences. *The American Economic Review* 97(4). pp. 1507-1528.

2 June 2020. Imperial legacies

**Grosfeld, Irena & Zhuravskaya, Ekaterina (2015). Cultural vs. economic legacies of empires: Evidence from the partition of Poland. *Journal of Comparative Economics*, 43(1), 55-75.

**Popescu, Bogdan. (2019) Military Colonialism, Communal Property Rights and Long-Term Development: A Quasi-Natural Experiment in the Habsburg Empire, *Work in Progress*.

9 June 2020. Mechanisms of transmission 1

Kubik, Jan. (2003). Cultural Legacies of State Socialism. History Making and Cultural-Political Entrepreneuership in Postcommunist Poland and Russia, in *Capitalism and Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe. Assessing the Legacy of Communist Rule*, ed. Grzegorz Ekiert and Stephen E. Hanson, pp. 317-351. \rightarrow Read pp. 317-325.

Zuber, Christina I. (2020). Past incentives, present choices. Ideational legacies and the politics of migration in European minority regions. Book manuscript. \rightarrow Read Chapter 1: A theory of ideational stabilization, pp. 27-45.

** Charnysh, Volha. (2015). Historical Legacies of Interethnic Competition: Anti-Semitism and the EU Referendum in Poland. *Comparative Political Studies*, 48(13), 1711–1745.

Optional:

**Peisakhin Leonid. 2015. Cultural legacies: persistence and transmission. In *The Political Economy of Governance: Studies in Political Economy*, ed. N Schofield, G Caballero, pp. 21–39. Basel, Switz.: Springer International.

**Nunn, Nathan, & Wantchekon, Leonard. 2011. The Slave Trade and the Origins of Mistrust in Africa. American Economic Review, 101(7), 3221–3252.

16 June 2020. Mechanisms of transmission 2.

Guest session taught by Dr. Ulrike Capdepón (tbc), literature tba.

SATURDAY, 20 or 27 June 2020 (tbc with participants)

"Research Workshop on Historical Legacies", 10:00 - 16:30 (equals four sessions), Speakers and Titles tha $\textcircled{\odot}$

Epilogue: How can we identify historical legacies?

Methodological literature posted to Ilias as a virtual session to help you design your own projects:

Dunning, Thad (2012). *Natural Experiments in the Social Sciences. A Design-Based Approach.* Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1: Why natural experiments?

Fernández, Raquel. (2010). Does Culture Matter? National Bureau of Economic Research. Working Paper 16277. <u>http://www.nber.org/papers/w16277</u>

Keele, Luke J., & Titiunik, Rocío. 2015. Geographic Boundaries as Regression Discontinuities. *Political Analysis*, 23(1), 127–155

Mahoney, J., & Rueschemeyer, D. (2003) Comparative Historical Analysis. Achievements and Agendas, in: Mahoney, J., & Rueschemeyer, D (Eds.) *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences*, pp. 3-38. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rohlfing, Ingo & Christina I. Zuber (2019). <u>Check your truth conditions! Clarifying the</u> relationship between theories of causation and social science methods of causal inference. *Sociological Methods and Research*. Online first. DOI: 10.1177/0049124119826156.

Trampusch, Christine & Palier, Bruno (2016). Between X and Y: how process tracing contributes to opening the black box of causality. *New Political Economy*, 21(5), 437–454. https://doi.org/10.1080/13563467.2015.1134465.