

ENLARGEMENT OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DEMOCRATIZATION IN POST-COMMUNIST EUROPEAN REGIONS

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Abstract	<i>Political and Economic transformation of post-Communist Europe had identified as highly successful in Central and Eastern Europe but the discussion is not only Central and Eastern Europe, it has been divided into four different regions for the observation after 1989. The first region is Central Europe with Poland, Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovenia and Slovakia. The Second region in Southern Europe with Romania, Croatia, Bulgaria, and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (current Serbia and Montenegro). The third region is Northern Europe with Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia (also called the Baltics region of Europe). The fourth region is Eastern Europe with the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, and Belarus. Economic transformation was highly developed in Central and Eastern Europe, and Southern Europe as well. A political change had observed instead of political development (nation-building, membership of the political parties, constitutional practices, emergence of strong civil society-lack of political development). Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic had consolidated democracy (more than 60 percentages of democrats' people). The article aims to know about the social, economic and political changes in post-Communist European countries (1989-1998 and further) and to share with others for knowledge and education. The outcome of the article has been achieved by the exploration of various indexes that helped for a liberal society and economy based on freedom, dignity and human rights in the regions. Feature question is, how neo-liberalism worked in the regions? More articles will be written in the future.</i>
Keywords	<i>Market Economy, post-Communist Europe, Socialist Constitutionalism, Households Economy, Democracy, Enlargement of European identity</i>

INTRODUCTION

State of Democracy in post-Communist Europe was an important word. Due to the reformation of the political and economic system, post-Communist Europe had made considerable progress in democracy, reconstruction, freedom, and economy. According to the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) quality of the democratic institutions is similar to that enjoyed by the citizens of established Western democracies in post-communist European countries. A political-democratic culture has established in those countries. Modernization and lifelong learning model are important structures in post-Communist Europe. Consolidation of democracy, higher economic development, an optimistic view about democracy and mic-economy had observed mostly in Central and Eastern European countries. It was people's enthusiasm to accept a brand new system after their fallout from Soviet bloc. All most all the countries are now the member of European Union, North Atlantic Treaty Organization which has secured them from Russian threat from the east. It is an expansion of democratization in the world and the enlargement of European Union. It was a return to the traditional democratic principles developed by the western democracies in the course of their constitutional development after the fall of communism. The citizen's rights, principles of unity of power, recognition of the will of the state that can prefer individual freedom, recognition of the leading role of a single party instead of political pluralism were features of post-Communist European countries. Upon fall of socialist constitutionalism, European traditional constitutionalism emerged for the establishment of a democratic order which was included sovereignty of the

nation, free elections, a guarantee of human rights based on the personality concept, human dignity, independence of the judiciary. The process of returning Europe and returning Western democracies was completed in post-Communist Europe. An example is a constitution of the Czech Republic on 16 December 1992 where it has been expressed that; we the citizens of the Czech Republic determined our development in the spirit of values of human dignity and freedom as a member of the family of European and the world democracies. The Polish constitution expressed the recovery of their homeland in 1989 is based on sovereignty and democratic determination. A liberal democracy and market economy are the supreme point after 1989 and had been successfully set-up in all fifteen countries. The enlargement of the European Union was the most successful democratic promotion program implemented by the international actor when ten mainly Central and Eastern European countries join the European Union (2007). According to the Freedom House ratings of political rights, countries like Czech Republic, Hungary, Lithuania, Slovenia had achieved the highest rankings of the reformation of consolidated democratic system and the glimpses of market-economy. A basic economic model emerged through the deregulation of prices, markets, macro-economic stability, and privatization of state-owned enterprises. By 2001 and after the fall of Berlin wall the majority productive assets in post-Communist countries were in private hands. Due to privatization domestic and international investment funds were associated with more than ten times as much restructuring as individual owners. The average income in Eastern Europe was increased from estimated \$10,650 per person to \$23,730 per person. Slovenia has become the richest post-Communist country with per capita income of \$30,600 in purchasing power parity in 2014. Overall Eastern Europe, and Russia have grown faster than the world's average. From 1993 to 2015 the average among the post-Communist states went from one passenger car for every ten people to one passenger car for every three people. There are more cars per person in Lithuania, Slovenia, and Poland than the United Kingdom or France according to United Nations Economic Commission for Europe report (UNCE 2016). Number of phones lines grew twice. Communist citizens were rarely allowed to travel abroad, in 2015 citizens of post-Communist Europe made estimated 200 millions tourists trip according to World Bank report in 2016. Life expectancy increased by 5 years on average during the past quarter-century in Eastern Europe, by 4 years in Balkans and by 3 years in the Russian Federation. Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and Slovenia experienced the most decrease in coronary heart disease because of the substitution of vegetables oils for animal fats. Reducing the infant mortality was one of the great achievement in post-Communist European transformation by 2015 Slovenia had lower infant mortality than France. The Russian Federation and Ukraine reduced infant mortality in half after economic transformation. Bulgaria and Romania were estimated 65 percentages and Hungary and Poland were estimated 80 percentages. Economic reforms were implemented in post-Communist Europe. In 1998 Eastern Europe matched and then surpassed the world's average in terms of economic freedom. By 2009 Serbia, Montenegro, The Russian Federation, and the Baltics States showed its evolution towards economic freedom.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The evolution of democracy in all post-communist countries was not that easy. People were confused about the democratic system, mercantile economy. At the beginning of the revolution in 1991, it was fewer percentages of people in all post-Communist countries who supported the transformation of the political and economic system. The glimpses of political and economic transformation were not equal in the region. Central and Eastern European counties were highly advanced and people were in a better position than Southern Europe. The revolution brought a renaissance in the region for freedom but yet countries like Hungary and The

Republic of Yugoslavian people would believe their authoritarian leaders Janos Kadar, Tadjman, Milosevic because of their good governance in the country. The Russian Federation, Ukraine, Serbia and Montenegro are countries where very less percentage of people believe in a new political and economic system. The first wave of transformation (1991) did not get success to influence people of the region widely. Post-communist European people thought various alternatives instead of an open society such as they thought about a single strong person rule, monarchy rule, military rule etc. it shows that they were not fully confident over transformation. They had identity problem on their Europeanism where young generations were confident and identified themselves as European, the older generation was not that. Politically and economically post-Communist Europe had a successful transformation but militarily they were weak, they are weak by size. They feel a threat from the Russian Federation even today due to Russia's intervention in Chechnya and Moldova. The Central and Eastern Europe is the center of migration, criminal activities, refugees, a transit route to enter the West. The ethic problem is vital and vulnerable. The new flows of migrants from the East, and other countries like Pakistan, China is using Central European countries as their transit countries to entre Western Europe. The Central European countries are not only the illegal entries of migrants from another part of the world but also a center of drug trafficking, smuggling, criminal networks in Europe. In Central European countries it is easy to set-up illegal activities due to cheaper cost and due to their membership with European Union; it is easier to access all of Europe for any kind's activities that harm people such as terrorism. Refugees and Asylum seekers are increasing in Central Europe. It is a fact that post-Communist Central European countries are experienced an influx of migration and temporary mobility that was unknown for an estimated fifty years. This can be a threat and insecurity for the region even a small amount of migration and mobility compared to Western European countries. Stalled process of democratization in post-Communist countries created the power of the old elites and transformed it into economic power creating oligarchies who played a vital role in the political and economic system of their country, it creased corruption in the region, democratic reversal in the countries like the Russian Federation and Hungary has given an opportunity to re-think on their old system during communism which is an authoritarian regime like President Slobodan Milosevic, Tadjman etc. The result of post-Communist Europe was economically successful but politically not completely successful. The mission was to the establishment of full democracy, in this region autocracy is still present in few countries. People still have percentages to thinking about the communist rule, planned economy. The society is still not free from the fear of a single man or woman rule in an autocratic style. The division of the Federation of Yugoslavia and the creation of Serbia and Montenegro was a complicated process in the post-Communist European political system. This division and war were not a message for unification, freedom for which transformation came to this region of Europe.

METHODOLOGY

Reading Books, Online Journals, watching and understanding documentary, Newspaper reading. Then a collection of information from all of the reading sources. Then formation of steps. Then writing drafts for three times for better realizing and understanding those issues, editing several times. Then make the final draft of the article.

RESULT DISCUSSION

The process of democratization was started in 1974 across Eastern, Central, Northern and Southern Europe as the third wave of democratization according to the terminology of Samuel Huntington, took place in 1989 after the fall of communalism. The process of democratization

has been divided into three theoretical ways that is; modernization approach, transitional approach and the structural approach. Transformational approach which is transitional approach was important for the changes of the social, political and economic system and had happened through democratization to democracy, marketization through market economy and the creation of the civil society in the region. Transitional approach was through the transformation of pluralistic democracy from a totalitarian regime, it was a transition of free market economy from a command economic system, an economic system which was centralized, and it was therefore a transformation into decentralized economy in Eastern and Central Europe for pluralistic development. Greece, Portugal and Spain are few countries of EU that managed a democratic economy from a command economic system and thus they were successful for system change from communist policies which is absolutely an evolutionary change in the region of Central and Eastern Europe, as a part of open and dynamic process. Transformational approach had been critically analyzed on fifteen countries of Central Europe (The Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia), Southern Europe (Bulgaria, Croatia, Yugoslavia and Romania), Northern Europe (Lithuania Estonia, and Latvia) and Eastern Europe (The Russian Federation, Belarus, and The Ukraine) as cross-national comparison after post communism to observe the changes of their political, economic and social system. It had been divided into five phases in 1991, in 1992, in 1994, in 1996 and in 1998 refers by New Democracies Barometer-1, New Democracies Barometer-2, New Democracies Barometer-3, and New Democracies Barometer-4 and New Democracies-5. Those surveys had various indication about the economic development of households in those countries, it was said that economic condition of household of those countries were better before the revolution of 1989 under communist system, compare to post communism after 1989. The Central European economy with the greatest share of households, which had a better financial standard of living under Communism, is the Hungarian economy of the 1980. Slovakia, Poland, Slovenia Czech Republic, Yugoslavia Croatia, Bulgaria, Romania, Northern Europe, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Ukraine Belarus, Russia and other countries had similar situation like Hungary before the revolution, but it was affected due to social-economic and political changes. Half of the People of those countries commented about the good deeds of previous communist political system which loses its image in democratize image after revolution. People had good reactions about communism as a good method of running, can run a good governance. However, people were divided on their reaction on communist political system, in the regions, though it was clear that people of the regions still support communist system because of its long run estimated 40 years till 1989 and they were used to it, especially baby boomers of the regions. In Southern and Eastern Europe, the number of households which had a better standard of living under Communism was much higher in comparison with the micro-economic conditions in the Central European buffer zone. The economy with the strongest financial deterioration of individual households in Eastern Europe was the Ukraine, at the beginning of economic transformation in 1992, 80 per cent of all Ukrainian households indicated that their standard of living was better in the Soviet Union than their current independent system as a country. The word, nostalgia has been used for the understanding of stable economy in communist political system within its centralized command economy, rather than instable economy within a free pluralistic economy after 1989. The nostalgia of the macro-economic system of Central and Eastern Europe had fall down from the 61 percentage to 54 percentage from 1996 to 1998. Czech Republic was the most affected country due to a big changes after communism, their communist economy was the lowest since 1991 to 1996 with estimated 40 percentages of economy, and as a result the supporting to the past communist political system had raised among people for the stability of their economy. It had a similar picture in Romanian economy where estimated more than 50 percentage of the

Romanian supported communist economy before 1989, their economy value was estimated 60 percentage in earlier 1990's but it had decreased 50 percentage in 1996 and 45 percentage in 1998. Nostalgia was continuing in countries like Bulgaria, which had estimated 75 percentages values of economy in 1996 was dropped 58 percentages in 1998. The past Czechoslovak economy was always supported by the Slovaks for better economic system which was 74 percentage in 1996 and in 64 percentages in 1998, compare to other countries Slovaks economy was higher than others. Hungary in 1980's was famous for its combination of state socialism and small-scale capitalism, and its golden era led by the regime of János Kádár, in the twentieth century, people love and respect their system in 80's because of its prosperity. In the Russian Federation, estimated 61 percentages of all Russians have a positive assessment of the planned economy of the Soviet Union in 1994, which is lower than the very positive evaluations of the Soviet economy in the Ukraine and in Belarus. Nostalgia for the past communist governmental system has been increased by the citizens of those countries from 36 percentages in 1991 to 47 percentage in 1998 and the majority showed a positive reaction over communist political system in central and South-East Europe. Hungary is one and only country in the Central European buffer zone which shows by its people an absolute belief on one system communist rule led by General of János Kádár. Assessments of the Communist political system between 44 per cent in 1991 and 52 per cent in 1996 show its genuine interest among Slovak people. One-quarter of the Czech population displays some nostalgia for the Czechoslovak political system of the past, while Slovenia had a lowest reaction, estimated 42 percentages in 1998. However Polish people had nostalgia about their past communist system till 1991, after that it has slowed down and they are now interested on post-communist economy and its social-political system. Within South-East Europe Ukraine is the highest nostalgic country about its past communist socio-political and economic system, the beginning of its transformation approach in 1992 did not able to change its people to come out from the nostalgia of communist arena, it had raised up estimated 82 percentages in 1998 to say that they were fine in the former communist regime, Ukraine's influence on communism can be a hard time for democratization process and it will influence Russia as well for further intervention in the country. The Byelorussian population also showed its nostalgia for the Communist political system during the first half of the 1990s, in 1992, estimated 60 per cent people of Belarus showed positive attitudes towards the political system of the Soviet Union. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is influencing on its former political system and Serbian has quite high influence over its past glories of communist political system, it has been showed by their electoral position. Russians were similar to other countries in the regions about their former soviet communist economy. It is quite clear that half of the people of those countries are nostalgic over their past glories and communist system and to retain it in post-communist era which has lost its image in free society, according to the 10 percent people of Hungary, Yugoslavia, Slovakia, Russia, Belarus, Romania, Bulgaria, Ukraine, Serbia, and other countries of the regions, communism is a good system to organize a state and the government, perhaps it has various negative aspects too, but ultimately it is tolerable and an alternative of democratic system in the twenty-first century as well. A question may raises that, is communism dead? Or how does restoration of communism possible? It is better to be evaluated by the people of post-communist era in the regions through their comments and belief, and it shows that they are serious in their past communist system as a good form of government and an alternative to the emerging democratic system in the entire regions, in 1994 estimated 18 percentages people of that part of Europe supported for the restoration of communism, which goes up into 24 percent in 1998. Desire for a return to Communism is weaker in Central Europe and stronger in South-East Europe because of its peoples support, people of Central Europe are not that supportive that the South-East European

people desires. In Serbia and Montenegro, estimated 30 percent population want a return to a Tito-style Yugoslavia, which appears to be part of the Serbian post-Empire syndrome? Ukraine has highest attitude of communist system in the region, while the Russians wants to get back their communism and the past of glories. Finally the large parts of Romanian society wants their old system which is the return of Romanian Communism as a form of regime in 1998. Supporting democracy in the region was a euphoria among the people of Europe, especially since 1991 to 1998, they were not used to democratic system, entirely a big changes was not that easy to accept by the people who were used to communism for long time. In 1991 estimated 56 percentage people from Central Europe gave a positive feedback on democracy, while 67 percentages of the people of South-Eastern Europe said democracy as a good thing. Only 14 percentages Russians supported democracy during initial period of the new system which was the reflection of the people for the supporting of democracy in Eastern Europe. Average 52 percentages people of all communist blocks supported democracy. Transitional transformation for the establishment of democracy was in good condition in Central Europe through a steady support of the people of that European region, they were impressive on the birth of democracy, a new market economy and free environment for speak and rights. Poland was empowered in new democratic system, estimated 76 percentages of the people believe in post-communist system. Czech Republic is another country to support on pluralistic democracy through transitional approach, estimated 71to78 percentages people expressed their positive feedback on a new system, and peaceful change of Czech government was a sign of fulfillment of democracy which has been completed on the order of peace. In Hungary, democracy through transition was positive as well, which achieved estimated 57 percentages of people support on a new system, a sign of Hungarian pessimism; they denied all sources old regime and welcome democracy. In Slovenia it was estimated 51 percentage people who supported democracy in 1998, though in 1991 the support of fee society was higher. It was same in Slovakia like Slovenia. In Romania (Southern part of Europe) within 1991-1992 there was a record level of enthusiasm among people on democracy, it was estimated 68 percentages people of Romania was very impressive and hopeful on a new system, they were empowered for new young democratic electoral representatives after the fall of Ceausescu regime. However support on democracy was decreased into estimated 60 percentages in 1994 and in 1996, it was again grew in 1996 and in 1998 estimated 66 percentages among the Romanians. In Bulgaria hope for the democracy through political transformation was increasing at the beginning of 1991 where estimated 64 percentages of Bulgarian supported their new Bulgarian democracy, it was decreased later. In Romania and Bulgaria people support on democracy was dependent on government popularity. In Serbia and Montenegro, estimated 33 percentages of the people believed on the President Milosevic of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. In Croatia estimated 44 percentage of the people supported democracy in 1991 which grew up 51 percent in 1994 at the beginning era, however it was only estimated 27 percentages over the government of Croatia, President Tudjman because of people dissatisfaction. In Belarus it was only estimated 29 percentages in 1994 to estimated 48 percentages in 1998. More than one third of the Russians supported pluralist democracy since 1991 to 1998 and over their new Russian regime like new democrat regimes of other European countries, in 1998 estimated 36 percentage of Russian population was empowered on new democracy which showed that more than 60 percentage people of Russia were not satisfied on government activities in a new system. Ukraine is only country in the region that did not actually supported democracy and even today they are confuse about the role democracy. Establishment of national parliament is another form of sign for parliamentary democracy, however, estimated 40 percentage people of the region were anxious about the possibility of an attack on the parliament after the end of

communism. The prospect of national parliament increased by estimated 65 percentage of the people support in 1992, and in 1998 it was estimated 78 percentages people of post-communist era in the region. In Central Europe it was estimated 59 percent positive feedback about the establishment of national parliament for parliamentary democracy in 1991 which grew up estimated 83 percentages in 1998. It was an evidence for a democratic root in Central Europe. In Southern Europe the desire of the establishment of the national parliament was estimated 77 percent in 1998. In Eastern Europe it was estimated 55 percentages population who supported national parliament. This is a reflection between percentages among the region of Europe during post-communist era, people were not sure whether young democratic system will survive or not, but it can be said that there was a situation in the region created for the establishment of parliamentary democracy due to citizens hope of post-communist era. In Hungary estimated 83 percentage of the people dis-approved for the suspension of Hungarian parliament by non-democratic group. In Poland support for national parliament was increased since 1991 to 1998 which was estimated 81 percent in 1998. Czech Republic and Slovakia are highly empowered country for national parliament. In 1992 estimated 94 percentage of the Croatians strongly supported their national parliament and thus provided feedback against non-democratic system or party. During the transitional period of new system, Bulgaria showed their support on national parliament by giving estimated 72-79 percentages. In Romania the support for national parliament was estimated 91 percent in 1991, it was estimated 72 percentages at the end of 1998. Estimated 67 percentages Serbian and Montenegrin people supported the parliament of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. In Eastern Europe the highest positive feedback on the support of national parliament and its Parliamentary democracy had observed in Belarus, in 1998 the highest figure was estimated 72 percent against suspension of the parliament. Russian Duma was weak because of Russians less believe in it, however Russian parliament started improvement since 1994 due to the increasing people support estimated 61 percentage, they finally approved Duma as their political institution of the new Russia, estimated 62 percentages of the Russians gave general legitimacy to Duma in 1998. Ukrainian was confused on their national parliament, it was always lowest in the region during transformation system, and in 1998 it was only estimated 39 percentages people of Ukraine who were ready to defend their parliament. Strong and authoritarian leadership was also an alternative of democracy in the region of Europe. During the transformation of systems at the beginning of 1991, estimated 58 percentages people were in favor of strong leadership replacing the new democracy in Southern and Eastern Europe, however the attitude of strong one man leadership instead of pluralist democratic system had decreased by the end of 1998 which was only estimated 25 percentages people of twelve European communist countries after post-communist era. Poland was among the top countries of twelve in the region whose population supported majority for a strongman leadership; it was similar picture in Slovakia for the support of strongman leadership in a non-democratic way instead of the establishment of democracy. In the Balkan area, Romania and Bulgaria are countries that supported one-man system in countries rule for faster solution of social-political-economic problems. President Milosevic of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and President Tudjman of Croatia are examples of strongman leader in non-democratic way on the basis of national issues to the people for their existence. In Eastern Europe strongman leadership was in highest demand among the population, Ukraine, Russia, Belarus are countries who believed in one man rule in their country in the earlier stage of the post-communist era(1991). All twelve countries of the communist and socialist Europe (eastern, central, southern, northern Europe) had another alternative to govern the country which was military regime instead of democratic system led by pluralism, but it was estimated 10 percentages people of the region who supported military regime for ruling the

country. In Central Europe almost nobody (estimated 3 percentage people) wants National Guard to govern country, in Southern and Eastern Europe estimated 12 percentages electorate wanted for a strong military rule instead of young democracy. In 1994 estimated 11 percentages polish population wanted military rule in Poland perhaps due to positive outcome of 80's military ruler in Poland Wojciech Jaruzelski, in 1998 the percentage of the support went down to estimated 6 which was still the highest level of support in the Central European buffer zone. In Slovakia it was like Poland estimated 6 percentage of the support in 1998, in Czech Republic it was estimated 3 percentages of the support for a military rule in the country, in. In Southern Europe support for the military rule was quite high, especially in Romania and Bulgaria. In Romania 18 and 19 per cent of the population think that the best form of a Romanian government would be a military regime, in Bulgaria it was estimated 13 to 15 percent population supported a military regime for countries rule, Balkan countries Romania, Bulgaria, Serbia strongly supported military rule, where Croatian a least supported (4%) people wished for military rule in the country, Slovenia was similar to Croatia, they were not empowered for military. In Eastern Europe one man dictatorship was more popular than military regime, yet Russian support was estimated 10 percent in 1994 to estimated 14 percent by 1998 in their country, Ukraine was also very influenced on military regime. A Monarchy rule was also an alternative in the region as alternative of democracy, estimated 7 percent support had observed in 1994 and by 1998 it was estimated 9 percent of the entire population of post-communist Europe. Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Slovakia, Czech Republic, Poland, Romania, and Bulgaria are countries who were influenced by monarchy rule as alternative democracy. Democratic thinking was also growing in post-communist Europe, it was estimated 61 percent entire population were recognized as democrat. In 1998 estimated 66 percent polish people were democrat, The Czech Republic, where estimated 65 per cent of the Czech electorate are democratic citizens in 1998, share of democratic citizens in Hungary with 62 per cent democrats in 1998, In Slovenia, it was estimated of 57 per cent of democratic citizens who were democrat, in Southern Europe estimate 55 percentage of total population was recognized as democrats. Romania, Bulgaria, are countries that reached estimated 50 percentage of the people, who were interested about democracy. In Baltic area the process of democratization was not hopeful that was expected, only the country Estonia was qualified as a democratic model and it's sharing with citizens. In Russia it was estimated 15 percent of democrats in 1994, In the Ukraine, only 19 per cent support the principles and values of parliamentary democracy in 1998, and in Belarus it was estimated 41 percent of people that had been qualified for democrats. Democracy in Post-communist Europe has been shaped into different degrees such as consolidate democracy, emergence democracy, a form of democracy as a path of political development in a transforming society etc. it was people percentages who supported democracy in Europe after 1989 and if it has gone more than 60 percentages people support, then it has been recognized as consolidated democracy, if it has gone more than 40 percentages of post-communist citizens support, then it has been recognized as emergence of democracy and less than 40 percentages support has recognized a form of democracy for political development in a transforming society. In Central Europe it was estimated 61 percentages of citizens who were recognized as democrats and thus this region of Europe had been transformed as a consolidated democracy. Poland had most democrats estimated 66 percentage for the support of democratic system in 1998; Czech Republic was the second most democrats with estimated 65 percentages in the region in 1998. The Czech population was more dynamic in democracy than Polish, they were openly support democracy and had estimated 77 percentages people had democratic attitude, which had been recognized euphoria for democracy. In Hungary it was estimated 62 percentage citizens who supported for new Hungarian democracy as their new political system

to rule the country in 1998. Three out of fifteen post-communist countries in the region (central and eastern) had been recognized as consolidated democracy, they were Hungary, Poland and Czech Republic after ten years of political transformation. In Slovenia there was estimated 57 percentage citizen's support on democratic rule, in Slovakia it was estimated 50 percentage which had been increased estimated 55 percentage in 1998 for the support of democratic system. In Southern Europe consolidated democracy had been reached yet. Estimated 56 percentages Romanian citizens supported democracy. In Bulgaria it was estimated 44 percentages in 1994 to estimated 54 percentages in 1998. In Croatia it was surprisingly estimated 65 percentages of citizen's support in 1994, the influence came because of its newly independent status as a country and its war with neighbor. Central and eastern Europe was consolidated democracy and Southern Europe was emergence of democracy through the transformation of political system. In the Baltic region of Europe only Estonia was recognized as an emerging democracy though their 46 percentage of citizen's support in 1996. Lithuania had estimated 27 percentages of democrats (people who support democracy) in 1996. Latvia had estimated 18 percentages citizens support on democracy. In post-Soviet era, there was estimated 30 percentages average people who supported democracy as post-Soviet ruling system. In Belarus it was estimated 41 percent in 1998, in Ukraine it was estimated 19 percent in 1998 and in Russia it was estimated 15 percent in 1994. Northern Europe and Post-Soviet Eastern Europe had similarities in low democrats. In Central Europe average estimated 79 percentages of educated citizens including students were supporter of democracy (influence of democracy in higher educated people), while in Hungary it was estimated 88 percent of Hungarian graduates and students who supported democracy in a definite manner. In Polish society it was estimated 65 percentages of graduates and student who supported the young Polish democracy. In Czech Republic estimated 95 percent of students and graduates supported democracy in 1994, however it reduced to estimated 80 percentages in 1998 due to various political turmoil. In Slovakia it was estimated 58 percentages graduates and students that supported democracy in 1994 which had been increased in estimated 72 percentages in 1998. In Slovenia it was similar like in Slovakia. Hungarians and Poles with tertiary level of education can be described as mature democrats. The democratization in higher educated people of Southern Europe was lower than Central Europe (Czech, Hungary), it was estimated 67 percent in 1994 to estimated 62 percent in 1998, and it reduced. The pattern of democratization in Southern Europe was identified in two different ways; it was one specific in Southern countries on the Black sea and another in the former Yugoslavia. In Romania estimated 79 percentages of graduates and students supported democracy in 1994 which was reduced by 77 percent in 1998. Increase percentages of Romanian educated citizens in 1994 were due to their relief from the end of old non-democrat regime. In Bulgaria it was estimated 61 percentages of graduates and students supported democracy in 1994 and estimated 74 percentages in 1998. In Croatia and Serbia-Montenegro it was from 62 percentages in 1994 to 56 percentages in 1998. In Croatia and Serbia-Montenegro the low influence of democracy among educated citizens was due to the rule of President Milosevic and President Tudjman and their regional military conflicts, they were confused on the success of new system like democracy in the area. In the Baltic Region it was quite low than the Central and Southern Europe. It was only 44 percentages of graduates who supported democracy in the region. Estonia was clearly recognized as consolidated democracy through their 62 percentages graduates and students support on democracy but Lithuania on the other hand was estimated 40 percentages of educated democrats. In Eastern Europe it was estimated 31 percentages of graduates who supported democracy and their percentage was increased by 37 percentages in 1998. In Belarus estimated 32 percentages of graduates and students were recognized as democrats in 1994 and in 1998 it

was estimated 47 percentages. In Ukraine it was estimated 36 percentages while in 1998 it was only 26 percentages of support by educated class for democracy. In Russia only a minority of 25 per cent of the highly educated Russians can be characterized as democratic. In all fifteen countries of post-communist Europe the greatest share of democrats can be found in cities than the villages. In Central Europe it was the largest urban people who supported democracy as their transformation political system after 1989. In the Czech Republic majority of urban people (estimated 84 percent) are recognized as democrats. In 1994 estimated 50 percent of Pol urban citizens were recognized as democrats and within four years in 1998 it was estimated 74 percentages of urban Pol. In Slovakia it was estimated 70 percent of urban citizens who were recognized as democrats from 1994 to 1998, the city of Bratislava was their urban center for democratization. In Hungary it was 57 percentages of urban citizens in 1994 and the end of 1998 it was estimated 72 percentages of urban citizens recognized as democrats. In Slovenia it was estimated 55 percentages in 1996 to estimated 70 percentages in 1998. Poland, Slovenia, Hungary, Czech Republic, Hungary were the most advanced of region of (Central Europe) European countries who accepted democracy as their new rule after post-Communism. In the Balkan region it was quite different than Central Europe. In Romania, Croatia and Serbia, it was estimated 63 percentages of urban citizens who supported democracy but in 1998 it was decreased by 56 percentages. In 1994, 54 percent of Bulgarians living in major cities like Sofia are democrats, while in 1998 it was increased by 66 percentages. In Romania it was estimated 60 percentages of urban democrats who believed in democracy as their new political system. In Croatia it was similar shrinking picture like Romania and Bulgaria, it was estimated 71 percentages of urban Croatians in 1994 who belied in democratic system but in 1998 it was estimated 58 percentages of Croatians who belied in democracy. In the Baltic region only the urban citizens in Estonia fulfilled the criterion of emergence of democracy in the region, while in Latvia and Lithuania were described as category for a transforming democracy with low shares of democrats in Latvian towns. Belarus and Ukraine were few Eastern European countries where urban centric democrats increased from 1994 to 1998; it was estimated 23 percent in 1994 to 34 percent in 1998 urban democrats. The age group was also a factor for the successful process of democratization in fifteen post-communists Europe. The ages between 16 to 29 years of aged group in twelve out of fifteen post-communist countries were the most democratic. In central Europe estimated 61 percentages of young people can be defined as democrats and the percentage was increased by 1998. The Hungarian youth is the most democratic in the post-Communist world. In 1994 it was estimated 55 percentages of Hungarian youth who were recognized as democrats; in 1998 it was estimated 73 percentages. In Slovenia it was estimated 54 percentages of Slovenian youth in 1996, while it was Estimated 61 percentages of youth Slovenians who were recognized as democrats. In Poland it was both youth and old citizens who were interested in democracy. In Southern Europe during political transition estimated 60 percentages of young Southern Europeans were democrats in 1994 while it was estimated 57 percentages of youth in 1998. In 1994 estimated 55 percentages of Bulgarians were democrats while it was estimated 71 percent in 1998. In Romania it was estimated 64 percent young Romanians who supported democracy. The age group with the greatest share of democrats in Servia-Montenegro is young people under 29 years. In the Baltic region, it was lower level of youth democrats than Central and Southern Europe. In Estonia it was estimated 50 percentages of young democrats who represents the Baltic region as the rise of democracy. In Latvia it was estimated 25 percentages of young democrats Latvians. In Lithuania it was middle generation of democrat's ages 30 to 59 years of old instead of their young generation. In Belarus it was estimated 28 percentages of youth democrats in 1994 which by the end of 1998 was estimated 49 percentages. In the Ukraine the percentage of the democratic young people went down from

estimated 32 percentages in 1994 to estimated 26 percentages in 1998. In the Russian Federation it is the lowest estimated 18 percentages of young generation is democrats. In Central Europe it was estimated 5 percent more males than female's democrats throughout the post-Communist Europe. In Slovakia female democrats was slightly bigger than male democrats in 1994 and in 1996, but in 1998 it was opposite. In Czech Republic and Hungary male and female democrats had almost no difference in size. In Hungary democrat's female was bigger than male democrats, making this country the only Central European country with more democratic women than man. In the Balkan regions the democratic male was bigger than democratic female. In Romania democrats' male was estimated 5 percent bigger than female democrats in 1994 which was estimated 10 percentages gap over democrats' women in 1998. In Croatia and Serbia-Montenegro it was estimated 6 percentages of bigger male democrats than female democrats. In Bulgaria the gap of male democrats over female was melting from estimated 5 percentages in 1994 to estimated 3 percentages in 1998. In the most advanced democracies in post-Communist Europe; Hungary, Czech Republic, and in Poland the gap between male and female democrats was very small to nil. In Northern European countries like Estonia and Lithuania male citizens are more democratic than female citizens. They both have estimated 5 percentages bigger male democrats than female democrats. In the Ukraine and the Russian Federation, man are more democrats than woman. They have estimated 6 percentages gap between male and female democrats in Russia. In Belarus it is a similar picture like the Russian Federation. Socio-economic phenomenon such as education, age, gender, urban areas, were factors upon transition of political system from communism to democracy (1989-1998). Among those socio-economic factors, education was the most influence factors upon democratic system in post-Communist Europe while age was the second socio-economic structure. A stable household in a planned economy was disappear after democratization in post-Communist Europe. Estimated 60 percentages of household in Central and Eastern Europe are worse off today than before 1989. They are losers in a market economy than their past planned economy. The living standard of Czech householders is the now the best among all post-Communist countries, their living standard in 1991 comparing before 1989 are similar or better, they have same level of materials resources as well. Second best country is Slovenia, however Slovenia in spring 1998 overtook the Czech Republic in terms of micro-economic performance of household with regard to the official economy. Estimated 63 percentages of Slovenian households indicated that they get enough money from their job, pensions for a standard livelihood. The third place in the ranking of the micro-economic performance of post-Communist Europe goes to Slovakia. At the beginning of economic transformation in 1991 estimated 39 percent of all Slovaks household were able to survive economically through their participation of the Slovakian welfare state, it has increased from 39 percentages to 53 percentages of all Slovak households who gets their pension, and regular income for a good livelihood. The situation of Poland was similar with Slovakia. The Hungarian households was the fifth place of post-Communist households, in 1991 it was estimated 25 percentages of all Hungarian households were to survive economically after economic transformation, in 1998 it grew up to estimated 49 percentages of all Hungarians who had better access to economic resources such as regular pension, income to live a standard life. Thus the most positive and encouraging micro-economic developments has observed in five Central European countries; Slovenia, Hungary, Czech Republic, Poland and Slovakia. But the picture was not encouraging in Romania, Bulgaria and in Croatia after economic transformation. Estimated 28 percentages of all households of that region had enough money to live a good life during the transition and had regular income in 1991 to maintain it. In 1998 it was estimated 66 percentages of entire households of central and eastern European countries who were able to maintain their standard of livelihood and savings.

Hungary was the most manageable households country during the first transformation (1991), but it was always well behind than Czech Republic, Slovenia, Poland. The consolidated households were increased from estimated 66 percentages in 1996 to 77 percentages in 1998 in Hungary, the Czech Republic was estimated 71 percentages in 1991 to 76 percentages in 1998 that had consolidated economy for the maintenance of standard life. The Slovenian households were quite stable during the first transformation of economy in 1991, estimated 69 percentages of all Slovenian households consolidated in 1998. In Slovakia it was similar standard picture of household's maintenance like Slovenia, Hungary in 1991. At the beginning of the economic transformation in 1991 estimated 17 percentages of all Pol citizens were satisfied with their economic situation; it grew up to 44 percentages of all Poles households in the spring of 1998. Unfortunately in Romania and Croatia the standard of people living were falling down from 1991 to 1998. From 1991 to 1996 the percentages of satisfied Romanian households were estimated 37 percentages in 1991 which had increased by 42 percentages in 1996 but since 1996 it went down to estimated 33 percentages, roughly one third of Romanian people who are economically satisfied. In Croatia from 1992 to 1996 one third of Croatians were highly satisfied on their economic situation in a reform economy but it went down to estimated 25 percentages of entire Croatians households who were satisfied on their economy for the maintenance of their standard life. In Serbia and Montenegro estimated 22 percentages of population are fairly or highly satisfied on their own standard of life but rest of 78 percentages of people are dissatisfied with the economic performance of their own households. In Bulgaria it was disaster, estimated 90 percentages of Bulgarians are dissatisfied with their financial and economic situation after nine years of economic transition. The micro-economic situation is important for the process of democratization in post-Communist Europe which has been reflected on better economic situation than before in the Central and Eastern European citizens household. It was not only a political transformation from a totalitarian regime to a pluralistic democracy; it was also an economic reform from a planned economy to micro economy in Central and Eastern Europe. The change was from a centralized economy to a decentralized economy within a short period (1991-98) and thus to change individuals quality of life in the region through social, economic, political phenomenon. The changes of planned economy into open economy from 1989 to 1998 was an economic transformation in post-Communist Europe. The rejection of planned economy was highest in Southern Europe in 1998 with an average of 40 percentages of the citizens of Romania, Bulgaria, and Croatia in post-communist environment. In Central Europe it was estimated 33 percentages of citizens who opposed planned economy in 1998. Estimated 55 percentages of Romanians opposed command economy. In Bulgaria and Croatia estimated one third of the population was against of old economy. In 1998 estimated 43 percentages of Poles (Poland) showed their dislike against command Polish economy. Estimated 40 percentages of the people of Czech Republic were against of planned economy. In Slovakia it was estimated 30 percentages of citizens who opposed old Czechoslovakian economy. It was similar percentage of Slovenian citizens who opposed old Yugoslav economy. In Hungary it was estimated 19 percentages of the citizens who opposed their old economy because of their positive influence on János Kádár's capital and socialist economy which was the golden era of Hungarian history. In the Baltic region people opposed Soviet economy. In Estonia it was estimated 31 percentages of Estonians who opposed Soviet economy. In Lithuania and Latvia estimated 15 percentages of population rejected Soviet economy. In Belarus estimated 16 percentages of people rejected Soviet economy between 1992 and 1998. In Ukraine it was in 1992 estimated 16 percentages and in 1998 estimated 9 percentages of population who rejected Soviet economy. The support of market economy was highest in Poland. Since 1991 the support of Polish market economy always increased by the

support of its citizens. In Slovenia estimated 32 percentages of the population supported market economy in 1992 which was greater percentage than 1991. The economic and political crisis in the Czech Republic in 1997 went down its economy support from 71 percentages to 38 percentages in 1998, market economy was warm welcomed by the Czech society. In Bulgaria population supported a slowly emerging market economy, however in 1994 only 15 percentages of Bulgarian supported their old owned economy. In 1996 estimated 23 percentages of Bulgarians supported market oriented economy and in 1998 it was estimated 35 percentages. In Romania it was estimated 33 percentages of population that supported market economy in 1991, it was then 37 percentages of Romanians who supported market oriented economy in Romania in 1996. The average percentages of Central Europeans who were optimistic about market economy and its future was estimated 58 percentages in 1991 which was increased by 62 percentages in 1998. Central European macroeconomic optimism was in pick with 71 percentages of people support for their future life through an open economy. In 1991 estimated 41 percentages of Pols citizens supported market economy which was increased by 70 percentages in the year of 1998. Estimated 80 percentages of the people of Czech Republic was confident about market economy. In Slovakia estimated 70 percentages of citizens was confident on Slovak market oriented economy. In Central Europe the optimism of market oriented economy was increased due to economic growth and improvements, while in Southern Europe the support of market economy was on hope rather than reality. In 1998 estimated 58 percentages of Romanians were optimistic on market oriented Romanian economy. Romania and Bulgaria are the member of European Union and it is their hope to engage in macro-economy recovery. In 1994 estimated 71 percentages of Croatians were optimistic for an open economic system in their country. In Baltic region estimated 80 percentages of Estonians expressed their hope on open economy in Estonia, the higher percentage of the support of open economy was an influence of geographical closeness with Finland and Scandinavian countries as well as high speed of economic integration around the Gulf of Finland. In Belarus it was estimated 33 percentages of the people who was interested on market economy in 1991, it was increased by 64 percentages of people support in 1998. In Russian Federation estimated 40 percentages of Russians believe in future development of Russian economy through market oriented economy. Market economy was optimistic in post-Communist Europe which was a sign of establishing democracy in post-Communist fifteen countries of Europe. Privatization, economic reforms were successful in post-Communist Europe but it was a fact on their security as well. Central European countries are always buffer zone between East and Western Europe, they have been in the past attacked by the ancient empire of Germans, Russians, Austrians and the Turkish, and therefore it is also important to find out a safeguard for Central Europeans countries. In modern warfare, Russia is their Eastern great power neighbor and in the West Germany. Central European countries have bitter experience from both Germans and Russians in the past for their freedom against interference. Although Germans and Russians are two immediate threat power to Central Europe, the other great power is U.S.A. as an enemies of communism. The post-Cold war period has seen various ethnic problem in the region such as gypsies and Muslims in the region. In most cases those ethnic minorities are trying to establish their own voice within the newly constructed states and the political leaders, they are trying to set-up their own language, own education and their own representation in the political system such as Hungarians in Romania. In the post-Cold cold war period restriction over others in Central Europe had removed, people are coming from Ukraine, Russia to Central Europe for work, live legally or illegally as the part of European Union. The new flows of migrants from the East, and other countries like Pakistan, China are using Central European countries as their transit

countries to enter Western Europe. The Central European countries are not only the illegal entries of migrants from other part of the world but also a center of drug trafficking, smuggling, criminal networks in Europe. In Central European countries it is easy to set-up illegal activities due to cheaper cost and due to their membership with European Union; it is easier to access all of Europe for any kind's activities that harms people such as terrorism. Refugees and Asylum seekers are increasing in Central Europe. It is a fact that post-Communist Central European countries are experienced an influx of migration and temporary mobility that was unknown for estimated fifty years. This can be threat and insecurity for the region even a small amount of migration and mobility compared to Western European countries. Central European countries are relatively small and weak in economy, though their membership with European Union has provided them a strong economic pole but yet they are not safe in militarily. Russian presence and their interference in the region such as in Chechnya, Moldova, and over Black Sea is not a good sign for militarily weak Central Europe. They all are still not a full member of NATO alliance led by the U.S.A. and some of them are not even a full member of the European Union. The Czech Republic, Poland, and the Hungary are only countries of the region that have full membership of NATO. Countries like Bulgaria, The Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia are the full member of the European Union. Therefore all fifteen countries of the region need to be emerged with EU and NATO for their security from Russia and invisible threat such as terrorism. Post-communist European identities have been increased in those countries during transformation of politics and economy. Post-communist Central and Eastern European regards themselves as European and it is quite considerable. The highest proportion of people with a European identity can be found in Bulgaria which is estimated 24 percentages of all Bulgarians regard themselves as European. Estimated 24 percentages of Croatians thinks themselves as Europeans. Estimated 21 percentages of Slovenian people identify themselves as a part of European. In Slovakia the European identity grew from 12 percentages in 1991 to 20 percentages in 1998. In Belarus the identity was increased from 12 percentages in 1996 to 19 percentages in 1998. In 1991 estimated 15 percentages of Czech people identify themselves as European, and the percentage grew up to 18 percentages in 1998. In Hungary it was 21 percentages of people who identify themselves as European in 1991 but the share of Hungarians with an European identities went down to 10 percentages in 1996. In Romania estimated 21 percentages of people regarded themselves as Europeans in 1991 while it was decreased by 16 percentages in 1998. Gender was a fact for European identity. In all post-communists European countries except Hungary estimated 10 percentages of male population identified themselves as European, while estimated 19 percentages of female population identified themselves as European. In Bulgaria generation gap was the highest, almost one-third of male Bulgarian identified themselves as European while one-fifth of female Bulgarian identified themselves as European. In Ukraine estimated 19 percentages of men found themselves as European identity while only 11 percentages women found themselves primarily or secondarily European identity. Gender gap is quite considerable on Czech Republic, where estimated 21 percentages of male population identified them as European and estimated 15 percentages female population identified them as European. In Romania it is estimated 19 percentages of men vs. 13 percentages of women who identified themselves as European. Gender gap is much smaller in Slovenia and Slovakia, in Slovenia estimated 21 percentages of male populations identified them as European while estimated 19 percentages of Slovenian women identified them as European. Estimated 12 percentages of old generation in the entire post-Communist region thinks themselves as European while estimated 22 percentages of middle-aged population identified themselves as European. Estimated 25 percentages young population of Central and Eastern Europe aged 19-

25 years of age identified themselves as Europeans. European identity was another stakeholder for the democratization in post-Communist European countries. During the political and economic formation from within 1991-1998.

CONCLUSION

In 1991 only nine countries out of the nineteen countries concerned judge free according to base on Freedom House country scores which were an effective democracy. Other countries are recognized as unfree or partially free. Thus the certain progress of democratization showed in the region through the decade as a part of continuing regional diversity. Constitutionalism is of a great importance for the development of post-Communist Europe, but the weak development of the rule of law and a failure to build a constitutional order was problem in newly political system. New regimes of the regions were unable to build a framework of the modern state. As a result the post-Communist Europe started democratization backwards and failed to build a form of electoral democracy. The process of nation-building and state construction was quite different which their vision through political and economic transformation was. The development of the civil liberty showed in the highly successful Central European countries but in the other region of Europe it was not similar to Central Europe, membership of the political parties was quite low in the region. The concepts of people of the region were not similar. The Russian Federation, Ukraine, Serbia, Montenegro, Belarus are countries where people's empowerment was not high for the transformation, their households were not standard or enough for a good life. It was a weakness of civil society through which the political development of post-Communist did get similar success. Democratic conditionality was weak for less advanced politically and economically counties like Ukraine, Serbia. It is also a remark by scholars that the post-Communist democratization is imported and therefore it has an external threat and has a question on its quality such as European Union membership is widely forced for economic integration and to feeling a European identity rather than civilizational choice. Feature Questions thus emerges; did emotional attachment of people work on imported institutions of democracy? How did neoliberalism work in the region? The entire description is its answer.

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