

National Research University  
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As a manuscript

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**THE EFFECT OF THE PATTERNS IN THE DISSOLUTION OF  
COMMUNISM ON THE TRANSITION TO NEW SYSTEMS IN EASTERN  
EUROPE**

SUMMARY OF THE DISSERTATION  
for the purpose of obtaining academic degree  
Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science

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## Research Design

### Statement of Research Problem

This study focuses on the how the kind of demise a communist regime experienced influences the quality of democracy in the following regime. Post-communist transitions themselves have been subjected to intense study for decades, the demise of communist regimes was also the centre of considerable interest, albeit for a shorter time; however, the two have remained conspicuously separate. The goal of this study is to place the two, unnaturally separated elements, together once again - in a very limited context, namely that of the quality of democracy. The goal is to develop an approach which is capable of revealing the explanatory power of the kind of demise which communist regimes experienced.

The separation and compartmentalisation of approaches to the demise of communism and many issues of transitions create problems in seeking answers in the literature and provide opportunities to add to an area which is severely underdeveloped. Even the smallest differences can produce vastly different results. The issue of how this juncture launched many other processes and conditioned the future is poorly understood at this moment in time, but it is certainly a vitally important issue. Therefore, considering the differences between the demises of communist regimes, along with the differing realities and results, can illuminate how the demise of the communist regimes affected the following regime. In this study the focus is on the political systems, and specifically the quality of democracy, although others could undertake very similar exercises in different areas.

### Literature Review

The main streams of literature related to the study are as follows: diversity in results, diversity in demise, nature of the regimes, pre-collapse factors, and elite relations and bargaining. The diversity in the results of post-communist transitions was the focus of many studies, particularly earlier in the transition process. While much of discussion the focused on shock therapy versus gradualism,<sup>1</sup> the debate on whether this was a double (democratisation and marketisation), triple (democratisation, marketisation and stateness), or quadruple (democratisation, marketisation, stateness and national) transition sought to broaden the debate.<sup>2</sup> In this vein, the need for stronger state institutions to facilitate effective privatisation was noted.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Vladimir Popov, "Shock Therapy versus Gradualism: The End of the Debate (Explaining the Magnitude of Transformational Recession)," *Comparative Economic Studies* 42, no. 1 (2000): 1–57.

<sup>2</sup> Taras Kuzio, "Transition in Post-Communist States: Triple or Quadruple?," *Politics* 21, no. 3 (2001): 168–77.

<sup>3</sup> Michael McFaul, "State Power, Institutional Change, and the Politics of Privatization in Russia," *World Politics* 47, no. 2 (1995): 210–43.

The difference between economic and political transitions were often noted.<sup>4</sup> Politically, polarisation and waves of democracy and dictatorship were often commented on,<sup>5</sup> as were categories (such as authoritarian, semi-authoritarian, and democratic regimes) and democracy with adjectives.<sup>6</sup> Other popular terms included flawed democracy,<sup>7</sup> hybrid regime,<sup>8</sup> managed democracy,<sup>9</sup> managed pluralism,<sup>10</sup> and sovereign democracy.<sup>11</sup>

The core of the study is the idea of the demise in communist regimes being a critical juncture, as such the diversity in demise of communist regimes is vitally important. It is important to note that not all communist regimes collapsed at the same time, or at all.<sup>12</sup> Some studies of the demises of communism have a large focus and consider many cases,<sup>13</sup> while others focus on single nations,<sup>14</sup> or single issues, such a nationalism,<sup>15</sup> or religion.<sup>16</sup>

It was not only at the stage of collapse or transition that diversity was noted, many had already been highlighting differences between the communist regimes. Differences such as experiments with national communism inside the USSR,<sup>17</sup> outside the USSR,<sup>18</sup> and goulash

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<sup>4</sup> Beverly Crawford and Arend Lijphart, "Explaining Political and Economic Change in Post-Communist Eastern Europe: Old Legacies, New Institutions, Hegemonic Norms, and International Pressures," *Comparative Political Studies* 28, no. 2 (1995): 171–99; Anders Åslund, *Russia's Capitalist Revolution: Why Market Reform Succeeded and Democracy Failed* (Peterson Institute, 2007).

<sup>5</sup> Herbert Kitschelt, "Accounting for Post-Communist Regime Diversity," *What Counts as a Good Cause*, 2003, 49–88; Michael McFaul, "The Fourth Wave of Democracy and Dictatorship: Noncooperative Transitions in the Postcommunist World," *World Politics* 54, no. 2 (2002): 212–44.

<sup>6</sup> Jack Bielasiak, "Regime Diversity and Electoral Systems in Post-Communism," *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 22, no. 4 (2006): 407–30; Valerie Bunce, Michael McFaul, and Kathryn Stoner, eds., *Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Post-Communist World* (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010); David Collier and Steven Levitsky, "Democracy with Adjectives: Conceptual Innovation in Comparative Research," *World Politics* 49, no. 3 (1997): 430–51.

<sup>7</sup> Peter Rutland, "A Flawed Democracy," *Current History* 97, no. 621 (1998): 313.

<sup>8</sup> Lilia Shevtsova, "Ten Years After the Soviet Breakup: Russia's Hybrid Regime," *Journal of Democracy* 12, no. 4 (2001): 65–70.

<sup>9</sup> Masha Lipman and Michael McFaul, "'Managed Democracy' in Russia: Putin and the Press," *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 6, no. 3 (2001): 116–27; Timothy J. Colton and Michael McFaul, *Popular Choice and Managed Democracy: The Russian Elections of 1999 and 2000* (Brookings Institution Press, 2003).

<sup>10</sup> Harley Balzer, "Managed Pluralism: Vladimir Putin's Emerging Regime," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 19, no. 3 (2003): 189–227.

<sup>11</sup> Andrei Okara, "Sovereign Democracy: A New Russian Idea or a PR Project," *Russia in Global Affairs* 5, no. 3 (2007): 8–20.

<sup>12</sup> Martin K. Dimitrov, ed., *Why Communism Did Not Collapse: Understanding Authoritarian Regime Resilience in Asia and Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

<sup>13</sup> Jacques Lévesque, *The Enigma of 1989: The USSR and the Liberation of Eastern Europe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Adrian Pop, "The 1989 Revolutions in Retrospect," *Europe-Asia Studies* 65, no. 2 (March 2013): 347–69, doi:10.1080/09668136.2012.759719.

<sup>14</sup> Serhii Plokhyy, *The Last Empire: The Final Days of the Soviet Union* (New York: Basic Books, a member of the Perseus Books Group, 2014).

<sup>15</sup> Henry E. Hale, "The Parade of Sovereignties: Testing Theories of Secession in the Soviet Setting," *British Journal of Political Science* 30, no. 1 (2000): 31–56.

<sup>16</sup> George Weigel, *The Final Revolution: The Resistance Church and the Collapse of Communism* (Oxford University Press, 2003).

<sup>17</sup> Michael Palij, "The First Experiment of National Communism in Ukraine in the 1920s and 1930s," *Nationalities Papers* 12, no. 1 (March 1, 1984): 19, doi:10.1080/00905998408407987.

<sup>18</sup> M. K. Dziewanowski, "Gomulka and Polish National Communism: A Brief Historical Sketch," *Probs. Communism* 6 (1957): 43; Andrew Haven, "Tito and Gomulka: Some Contrasts and Comparisons," *Probs. Communism* 6 (1957): 8.

communism<sup>19</sup> are clearly highlighted by various studies. A central theme of studies on the region was the stressing of the fact that the region was not uniform, homogeneous or monolithic.<sup>20</sup> Works on communism in Eastern Europe often took the communist countries of the region one by one, focusing on the developments of each one.<sup>21</sup> Other works focused on the USSR and East-Central Europe, as well as the two's relationship.<sup>22</sup> Broader studies have focused on the political legitimization in communist states,<sup>23</sup> political culture and communist studies.<sup>24</sup>

When considering the deep-seated reasons for the failure of communist regimes, many found the reasons to be located in the historical development of the nations.<sup>25</sup> Some of the features of the collapse of communist regimes focused on smaller issues, such as whether the communist regime in Poland may have survived if a different electoral system had been applied.<sup>26</sup> Moving beyond the collapse itself, historical legacies and their impact on post-communist voting behaviour has also been considered.<sup>27</sup>

The relationships between elites and their bargaining are an important factor in understanding the communist regimes themselves, the demise of the regimes and the transition to democracy, particularly where elites would not allow the transition to full democracy. The way dictators engage in power sharing, especially focusing on the role of political parties in autocratic systems and elections in enabling power sharing, has been explored.<sup>28</sup> As has why some dictatorships establish institutions that may constrain their leaders, arguing that they do so as institutions promote the survival of dictatorships by facilitating authoritarian power-sharing.<sup>29</sup> In the demise of communist regimes the role of elite relations and their bargaining cannot be

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<sup>19</sup> Heino Nyyssönen, "Salami Reconstructed. 'Goulash Communism' and Political Culture in Hungary," *Cahiers Du Monde Russe. Russie-Empire Russe-Union Soviétique et États Indépendants* 47, no. 47/1-2 (2006): 153–72.

<sup>20</sup> Teresa Rakowska-Harmstone, *Communism in Eastern Europe* (Manchester University Press, 1984).

<sup>21</sup> Richard Felix Staar, *Communist Regimes in Eastern Europe* (Hoover Press, 1971).

<sup>22</sup> Richard F Staar, *East-Central Europe and the Ussr*. (Place of publication not identified: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

<sup>23</sup> T. H Rigby and Ferenc Fehér, *Political Legitimation in Communist States* (London: Macmillan, 1982), <http://books.google.com/books?id=bOFRAQAIAAJ>.

<sup>24</sup> Archie Brown, ed., *Political Culture and Communist Studies*, St. Antony's/Macmillan Series (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan in association with St. Antony's College, Oxford, 1984).

<sup>25</sup> Grigore Pop-Eleches, "Historical Legacies and Post-Communist Regime Change," *The Journal of Politics* 69, no. 4 (2007): 908–26, doi:10.1111/j.1468-2508.2007.00598.x; Keith Darden and Anna Grzymala-Busse, "The Great Divide: Literacy, Nationalism, and the Communist Collapse," *World Politics* 59, no. 1 (2006): 83–115.

<sup>26</sup> Marek M. Kamiński, "How Communism Could Have Been Saved: Formal Analysis of Electoral Bargaining in Poland in 1989," *Public Choice* 98, no. 1–2 (1999): 83–109.

<sup>27</sup> Steven D. Roper and Florin Fesnic, "Historical Legacies and Their Impact on Post-Communist Voting Behaviour," *Europe-Asia Studies* 55, no. 1 (2003): 119–31.

<sup>28</sup> Beatriz Magaloni, "Credible Power-Sharing and the Longevity of Authoritarian Rule," *Comparative Political Studies* 41, no. 4–5 (2008): 715–41.

<sup>29</sup> Carles Boix and Milan W. Svoblik, "The Foundations of Limited Authoritarian Government: Institutions, Commitment, and Power-Sharing in Dictatorships," *The Journal of Politics* 75, no. 2 (2013): 300–316.

overlooked. Firstly, the role of negotiations in roundtable talks with opposition groups<sup>30</sup> and also in attempting to hold countries together.<sup>31</sup>

The relationship between elites and the masses is another central part of relations and bargaining, be that as part of negotiations in roundtable talks with opposition groups,<sup>32</sup> in attempting to hold countries together,<sup>33</sup> or voters facing a series of dilemmas and constraints which may result in them voting for autocrats.<sup>34</sup> The voter faces a series of dilemmas and constraints which may result in them voting for autocrats.<sup>35</sup> Citizens may also face a range of repressive measures; the study of which has been uneven and in which puzzles still remain, including potential for theoretical refinement, disaggregation of the units of analysis, and integration of repression scholarship into other lines of inquiry.<sup>36</sup>

Evidently, there is a wealth of literature on all of the discussed facets. Far from being repellent though, this fact actually strengthens the position of such a project. This is because a wealth of literature, which tends to be highly segmented and divided, is encouraging in that it holds much potential for such a project, which attempts to build an approach which can connect the demise of communist regimes with the transitions which followed, in the context of the quality of democracy.

## Research Question

The research question which will be applied to the selected countries is as follows:

How did the differing types of demise of communism affect the quality of democracy in the post-communist system?

## Aim and Objectives

**The aim of the study** is to investigate the relationship between the demise of communist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe and the quality of democracy in the post-communist regime.

This goal sets the following **objectives**:

- To provide a type of demise to a broad selection of cases
- To measure the quality of democracy in the post-communist regimes

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<sup>30</sup> Jon Elster, *The Roundtable Talks and the Breakdown of Communism* (University of Chicago Press, 1996).

<sup>31</sup> Karen Henderson, "Czechoslovakia: The Failure of Consensus Politics and the Break-up of the Federation," *Regional & Federal Studies* 5, no. 2 (June 1995): 111–33, doi:10.1080/13597569508420927; John Russell, "Improbable Unions: The Draft Union Treaties in the USSR, 1990-1991," *Rev. Cent. & E. Eur. L.* 22 (1996): 389.

<sup>32</sup> Elster, *The Roundtable Talks and the Breakdown of Communism*.

<sup>33</sup> Henderson, "Czechoslovakia"; Russell, "Improbable Unions: The Draft Union Treaties in the USSR, 1990-1991."

<sup>34</sup> Beatriz Magaloni, *Voting for Autocracy: Hegemonic Party Survival and Its Demise in Mexico*, vol. 296 (Cambridge University Press Cambridge, 2006).

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> Christian Davenport, "State Repression and Political Order," *Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci.* 10 (2007): 1–23; Steven Levitsky and Lucan A. Way, *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes after the Cold War* (Cambridge University Press, 2010).

- To explore the mechanisms and processes underpinning the transitions of two cases in depth, so as to better understand the results regarding their relative quality of democracy

## **Hypothesis**

Beyond a research question, it is also important to provide a hypothesis, which as a result of this study will be accepted or rejected, which is as follows:

Power exchanged in a top-down manner resulted in higher quality democracies.

## **Scope and Limitations of Research**

There are many limitations which must be placed on any study, the first limitation to consider is the issue of the selection of which states to be included in a comparative study, the question can be phrased both positively or negatively: which states ought to be included; or, which ought to be excluded. Some cases must be excluded, East Germany is the prime example, as it later unified with West Germany, making it impossible to be included in comparisons.

Beyond the limitations of case selection is the issue of time. Why should such a study be undertaken now? Firstly, in the months and years after the collapse of communism, the focus was very much on transition - how to understand and improve the experience of countries transitioning in that very moment. This is both natural and understandable, however, the moment has changed. Transitions have matured and there are lessons to be learned, moreover, the availability of documents has allowed historians to piece together a more complete view of the end of communism and the Cold War.

Given that the changes were said to be still developing twenty-five years after the demise of communism the issue of how to limit the timeframe of the study is a little complicated. Exactly how long transitions can be considered to last for a complex issue, the subject of much debate. This debate is engaged with more closely in the second part of this study, where the decision of timeframe has the most salience. However, while the study focuses on the most comparable period (up until 2004), it is important to also consider as full a picture as possible, so as to avoid the impression that there is something hidden out of frame or that the time frame is an example of cherry-picking data. Therefore, a larger time frame is also reflected upon – with data until 2021 considered.

## **Methodology**

This study follows the logic of critical junctures, in that the demise of communism is seen a critical juncture, such logic is often considered part of new institutionalism. Theories of democracy, democratisation and collective action have also influenced the project to a certain

extent. The theoretical framework of the study is based around the typification of types of demise and then tracking the development of the democracy in different types.

To briefly summarise the methodology, the demise of communist regimes in Europe represents a critical juncture, a period of institutional flux during which more dramatic change is possible, which this dissertation seeks to place within a typology, following best practices guidelines.<sup>37</sup> The suggested types are **top down**, **bottom up** and **change in sovereignty**. The typology must be mutually exclusive and collectively exhaustive,<sup>38</sup> these types and how the row and column variables are defined create mutually exclusive categories, but the three combined are also more collectively exhaustive than merely top-down/bottom-up, for example. The characteristics of each type are clearly presented in table 1.

**Table 1: Types of Demise and Characteristics**

		Type of demise	Key patterns in behaviour at the time of demise			
Communist regime meets demise	Demise	Top-down	Reformers or revolutionaries seize control of central states and institutions	Politicians and elites central	Negotiations between elites (or palace coups)	Reform launched by the politicians which seized control
		Bottom-up	People increase their access to assembly, association, and speech	Mass grassroots movements	Potentially populist/nationalist in nature	Mass mobilisation central to demise of the regime
		Change in sovereignty	Increased sovereignty/self-rule/federalism/devolution is demanded	Support for the communist regime/federation/central govt. continues until the demise	If not support for the centre, then ambivalence	Without a change in sovereignty, unlikely that regime would meet its demise when it did
No Demise		Continuity (e.g. China)				

<sup>37</sup> David Collier, Jody LaPorte, and Jason Seawright, "Putting Typologies to Work: Concept Formation, Measurement, and Analytic Rigor," *Political Research Quarterly* 65, no. 1 (March 2012): 217–32, doi:10.1177/1065912912437162.

<sup>38</sup> David Collier, Jody Laporte, and Jason Seawright, *Typologies: Forming Concepts and Creating Categorical Variables*, ed. Janet M. Box-Steffensmeier, Henry E. Brady, and David Collier, vol. 1 (Oxford University Press, 2009), doi:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199286546.003.0007.

A Qualitative analysis of cases is then undertaken, using line graphs combined with existing literature, in order to provide extra depth. To reveal the causal mechanisms at play process tracing is undertaken. Bennett and Checkel's *Process Tracing: From Metaphor to Analytic Tool*<sup>39</sup> and Beach and Pedersen's *Process-Tracing Methods: Foundations and Guidelines*<sup>40</sup> are two particularly important and insightful contributions towards what is an increasingly better understood, defined and used analytical tool. Furthermore, the different focuses which are possible are considered. The focus is on regime preservation and the sizable literature on the topic is considered, with a focus on non-democratic or authoritarian and communist regimes. The importance of the three pillars which Gerschewski highlighted, namely legitimation, repression, and co-optation, were also present in communist regimes - even if academia tended to be slow to identify them.<sup>41</sup> This provided the foundation in the approach to address the regimes themselves and trace the processes that lead to the type of demise which helps to explain the quality of democracy in the first decade of democracy.

### **Selection of Empirical Data**

When selecting empirical data, firstly, the demise of the following communist regimes is considered: The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Polish People's Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and the Socialist Republic of Romania. The demises lead to the independent post-communist regimes of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Estonia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan – all from the USSR. Additionally, Albania, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania and Mongolia are considered, as are the Czech Republic and Slovakia – from the former Czechoslovakia. The State Union of Serbia and Montenegro, Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina – all from Yugoslavia, are also considered. A case-by-case analysis of the selected demises is undertaken, relying on the vast amount of literature available on the historical collapse of these regimes.

Secondly, several potential measures of democracy are considered. Some indexes under consideration did not appear the most promising avenues to pursue. Some of the potential measures which were considered but did not fit the task included The Democracy Index, which is compiled

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<sup>39</sup> Andrew Bennett and Jeffrey T. Checkel, eds., *Process Tracing: From Metaphor to Analytic Tool*, Strategies for Social Inquiry (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

<sup>40</sup> Derek Beach and Rasmus Brun Pedersen, *Process-Tracing Methods: Foundations and Guidelines* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2013), 1.

<sup>41</sup> Johannes Gerschewski, "The Three Pillars of Stability: Legitimation, Repression, and Co-Optation in Autocratic Regimes," *Democratization* 20, no. 1 (2013): 13–38.



by the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU),<sup>42</sup> the Democracy Ranking, which is compiled by an Austria-based non-partisan organization,<sup>43</sup> the Democracy-Dictatorship Index,<sup>44</sup> Polity V, the latest incarnation of the long running Polity project.<sup>45</sup> In rejecting these measures up to this point, there was clearly a need for a more well-rounded view of democracy and, as much as possible, a depth and breadth which they could not offer. However, the Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem)<sup>46</sup> has been selected precisely because it is capable of addressing some of the criticism levelled at Polity and others.<sup>47</sup> Some have gone as far as to argue that V-Dem ought to be used by default.<sup>48</sup>

The cases which have been selected for direct, in depth, comparison through process tracing are Poland and Ukraine. There are several reasons for this decision. Given the issue of geography, which has often been discussed as having great explanatory power,<sup>49</sup> selecting a case from Asia to compare with one from Europe may not be fruitful. The approach of most different system designs is legitimate and, in many cases, may be useful, but not when considering different outcomes. With that in mind it is worth noting that Poland and Ukraine have many similarities beyond their geography. Both have extensive history as part of the Russian Empire, wholly or otherwise. They both have similar languages and culture, which removes some of the arguments applied to Asian or Caucasian cases. The differences which might be meaningful can be speculated up at this point. It is notable that one existed within the USSR and one was outside for the entirety of its communist experience. Moreover, Poland has a more extensive history of independence, which Ukraine does not. This may also help to explain Poland's developed sense of nation and state, which were evidently lacking in Ukraine. The exact ways in which the communist rulers sought to legitimise themselves also differed to some degree. It is also notable that Poland is a pure

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<sup>42</sup> The Economist Intelligence Unit, "EIU Democracy Index 2018 - World Democracy Report," accessed January 6, 2020, <https://www.eiu.com/topic/democracy-index>.

<sup>43</sup> Admin, "About Us," *Democracy Ranking*, accessed January 6, 2020, <http://democracyranking.org/wordpress/welcome/about-us/>.

<sup>44</sup> José Antonio Cheibub, Jennifer Gandhi, and James Raymond Vreeland, "Democracy and Dictatorship Revisited," *Public Choice* 143, no. 1–2 (April 2010): 67–101, doi:10.1007/s11127-009-9491-2.

<sup>45</sup> Harry Eckstein and Ted Robert Gurr, *Patterns of Authority: A Structural Basis for Political Inquiry*, Comparative Studies in Behavioral Science (New York: Wiley, 1975); Gerardo L. Munck and Jay Verkuilen, "Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy: Evaluating Alternative Indices," *Comparative Political Studies* 35, no. 1 (February 2002): 5–34, doi:10.1177/001041400203500101.

<sup>46</sup> V-Dem. "About | V-Dem," 2020. <https://www.v-dem.net/en/about/>.

<sup>47</sup> Vanessa A Boese, "How (Not) to Measure Democracy," *International Area Studies Review* 22, no. 2 (June 2019): 95–127, doi:10.1177/2233865918815571.

<sup>48</sup> Xavier Fernández i Marín, "V-Dem by Default: Load and Process V-Dem Democracy Scores in R," *Xavier Fernández i Marín*, accessed August 22, 2020, <http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:BtYs7bIcYnMJ:blog.xavier-fim.net/2019/01/v-dem-by-default-load-and-process-v-dem-democracy-scores-in-r/+&cd=1&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=se>.

<sup>49</sup> Jeffrey S. Kopstein and David A. Reilly, "Geographic Diffusion and the Transformation of the Postcommunist World," *World Politics* 53, no. 1 (2000): 1–37.

bottom-up case, while Ukraine is a change in sovereignty (and top-down) case, looking at two with such differences may well be incredibly revealing.

### **Contribution to Existing Literature**

This study has contribution to the discussion of the problem in existing literature by building an approach which can connect the demise of communist regimes with the transitions which followed. As noted, there is a significant amount of existing literature on the diversity in results of the transition,<sup>50</sup> the demise of communist regimes<sup>51</sup> and other factors linked to this demise.<sup>52</sup> However, these efforts tended to remain separate, the actual demise was not figured into the discussion of the transition. This study has attempted to provide methodological insight by going some way in bridging that gap. Evidence has been uncovered which suggests that this endeavour is not entirely without merit. Indeed, evidence to support the approach was found in all stages of the study; however, some may argue that the issue of the type of demise of a regime is a less constant one than issues such as geographical location of states or previous statehood. However, beyond the presence of a kind of fatalistic acceptance of the poor chances a country may have of making progress, linking such factors as geographical location of states to democratic outcomes tend to be a black box - with only input and output visible and comprehensible. Moreover, where exceptions do appear, they prompt questions which such approaches are not able to answer. The advantages of focusing on the type of demise is that they are easily identifiable and measurable, there is no need for benefit of hindsight. Those watching the demise in real time are able to make informed predictions about the kind of regime likely to rise from the ashes. Furthermore, while the type of demise is perhaps a sign of what came before, prior to the demise it is difficult to assess objectively, the demise may be the earliest point at which assessment is possible. This is due to the fact that many non-democratic regimes jealously guard information and the size of counter movements or countercultures are difficult to assess. Due to the knowledge gap inherent in this kind of regime the demise represents the first possible juncture at which it is possible to assess such issues.

This study aimed to put the post-communist transitions and the demise of communist regimes together, in the context the quality of democracy. The goal was to develop an approach which is capable of revealing the explanatory power of the kind of demise which communist regimes experienced. This has been achieved and could potentially be applied to different contexts in the future.

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<sup>50</sup> Popov, "Shock Therapy versus Gradualism: The End of the Debate (Explaining the Magnitude of Transformational Recession)."

<sup>51</sup> Hale, "The Parade of Sovereignties: Testing Theories of Secession in the Soviet Setting."

<sup>52</sup> Pop-Eleches, "Historical Legacies and Post-Communist Regime Change."

## **Statements to be Defended**

- 1) There were different kinds of demise of communist regimes, which may be assigned the type of top-down, bottom-up or change of sovereignty;
- 2) The typology can be strengthened by considering both primary and secondary elements to create an enhanced typology.
- 3) The relationship between the type of demise of communist regime and the subsequent direction of the country is meaningful;
- 4) bottom-up (either on its own or in combination, in both ways (with either being primary or secondary), with top-down) type performed the strongest tended to result in higher quality democracies; Opposite to the hypothesis, isn't it?
- 5) Those countries in which a communist regime met its demise due to a change in sovereignty tended to exhibit low quality of democracy. In fact, the largest difference was between the first two types and this third type.
- 6) Process tracing revealed the importance of the survival of the political class, or some kind of opposition at all, represents a necessary but perhaps insufficient condition for a strong quality of democracy.

## **Dissertation validation**

The typology of the dissertation, as well as all the main peer-reviewed articles published and provided in the dissertation resume, have been presented in international conferences where the candidate successfully dialogued with other scholars and those interested in the field of research. Examples of these conferences and their dates are summarily presented below.

1. Everett, J. (2021) "From Constitutional Changes to Duma Elections the Image of the Russian Citizen as Unready for Democracy" presented at The 8th Annual Nottingham Postgraduate Conference in Politics and IR: Picturing Politics: Images of the Political, University of Nottingham.

2. Everett, J. (2020) "The Contradictory Nature of Bureaucratic Authoritarianism in Russia" presented at Revisiting Linkages between Citizens and Politicians in Contemporary Europe, Institute of Sociology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic.

3. Everett, J. (2019) "The future of EU-Russian relations: a common European home?" presented at the PECSA International Conference Connecting the European Union of Shared Aims, Freedoms, Values and Responsibilities, Warsaw, Mazowieckie, Poland.

4. Everett, J. (2019) "Soviet Cinema and Remembrance: The Case of Repentance 1987" presented at the 10th Annual Cold War History Research Center International Student Conference at Corvinus University of Budapest.

5. Everett, J. (2019) "Measuring the Concentration of Power Within Political Systems"

presented at The 7th Annual Nottingham Postgraduate Conference in Politics and International Relations, University of Nottingham.

6. Everett, J. (2018) “The Katyn Massacres and the Start of the Cold War” Paper presented at the 9th Annual Cold War History Research Center International Student Conference at Corvinus University of Budapest.

7. Everett, J. (2017) “How the Hypernormality of Communist Systems was Punctured” Paper presented at the 8th Annual Cold War History Research Center International Student Conference at Corvinus University of Budapest.

### **Coverage of dissertation materials in publications**

1. Everett, Judas. Russia in the Putin Era – a Case of Bureaucratic Authoritarianism? // *New Perspectives*. 2022. Vol. 30. № 1. P. 47-67.
2. Everett, Judas. Poland and Hungary: Democratic Backsliding and the Shifting European Political Landscape // *RUDN Journal of Political Science*. 2021. Vol. 23. № 3. P. 394-406.
3. Redžić, Ena, and Judas Everett. Cleavages in the Post-Communist Countries of Europe: A Review // *Politics in Central Europe*. 2020. Vol. 16. № 1. P. 231-258.
4. Everett, Ju., and E. Redžić. Seeking Representation: The Development of Hungarian Minority Parties in Serbia and Slovakia // *The Journal of Political Theory, Political Philosophy and Sociology of Politics Politeia*. 2021. Vol. 101. № 2. P. 163-182.

## **Analysis of Data and Findings**

This study focuses on the how the kind of demise a communist regime experienced influences the quality of democracy in the following regime. Firstly, types are provided for the type of demise for each of the selected communist regimes. This is an essential step in answering the question of how the differing types of demise of communism affected the quality of democracy in the post-communist system. A case-by-case analysis of the selected cases is then performed, before summarising the results in table 2.

**Table 2: Demises of Communist Regimes – A Typology**

<b>Communist State</b>	<b>Emergent State</b>	<b>Type of Demise</b>	<b>Significant Elements of Other Type</b>
Polish People’s Republic	Poland	Bottom-up	

Hungarian People's Republic	Hungary	Top-down	Bottom-up
Czechoslovak Socialist Republic	Czech Republic	Top-down	Bottom-up
Czechoslovak Socialist Republic	Slovakia	Top-down	Change in sovereignty
People's Republic of Bulgaria	Bulgaria	Top-down	
Socialist Republic of Romania	Romania	Bottom-up	Top-down
USSR	Armenia	Bottom-up	Change in sovereignty
USSR	Azerbaijan	Change in sovereignty	Top-down
USSR	Belarus	Change in sovereignty	Top-down
USSR	Estonia	Bottom-up	Change in sovereignty
USSR	Georgia	Bottom-up	Change in sovereignty
USSR	Kazakhstan	Change in sovereignty	Top-down
USSR	Kyrgyzstan	Change in sovereignty	Top-down
USSR	Latvia	Bottom-up	Change in sovereignty
USSR	Lithuania	Bottom-up	Change in sovereignty
USSR	Moldova	Change in sovereignty	Top-down
USSR	Russia	Top-down	Change in sovereignty
USSR	Tajikistan	Change in sovereignty	Top-down
USSR	Turkmenistan	Change in sovereignty	Top-down
USSR	Ukraine	Change in sovereignty	Top-down
USSR	Uzbekistan	Change in sovereignty	Top-down
Yugoslavia	The State Union of Serbia and Montenegro	Change in sovereignty	Top-down
Yugoslavia	Republic of Croatia	Top-down	Change in sovereignty

Yugoslavia	Republic of Slovenia	Top-down	Change in sovereignty
Yugoslavia	Republic of Macedonia	Change in sovereignty	
Yugoslavia	Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Change in sovereignty	Top-down
Mongolian People's Republic	Mongolia (Mongol Uls)	Top-down	Top-down
People's Socialist Republic of Albania	Republic of Albania	Top-down	

In the interests of being as collectively exhaustive as possible, it is also important to acknowledge that in social sciences things are never simple. Instead of ignoring the complex realities of researching social, civilisational and political phenomena, it is preferable to build an approach capable of capturing as much of these complex realities as possible. Therefore, bearing in mind that the types are not mutually exclusive in the sense that they will inevitably contain elements of others, every attempt must be made to acknowledge this reality and include it in the typology. As a result, each case will be placed within the typology, based on the type of demise that case experienced; however, in addition, any significant elements of other type(s) will be acknowledged. While this may produce a somewhat less clean and clear image, it also produces an image which is much more well-rounded and better reflects the complicated reality of one of the biggest changes in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. These elements of other type(s) must be significant enough to warrant inclusion, but could not meet the high bar of the regime not meeting its demise when it did without this feature.

To briefly summarise the methodology, the demise of communist regimes in Europe represents a critical juncture, a period of institutional flux during which more dramatic change is possible, which this article seeks to classify. The suggested typology contains an overarching concept which is separated into smaller row and column variables and then presented in a form of a matrix. Within this typology there are three types: **top-down**, **bottom-up** and **change in sovereignty**. Many, if not all, cases will exhibit multiple features of all three types; however, the task is to provide judgement on which is central - without which the demise of the communist regime would have either not occurred when it did or would have taken a vastly different character. The demise is seen as launching the process of transition and the character of the demise, as well as the moment it occurred, conditions the whole process which follows. Therefore, ascertaining the central element which led to the demise taking place at the time it did, in the way that it did, and placing it within this typology is vital in the understanding of the demise of communist regimes and their subsequent transitions.

**Table 3: Enhanced Typology**

<b>Combination of primary + secondary types</b>	<b>No of countries</b>	<b>Comment</b>
Change of sovereignty + top-down	12	Mostly ex-Soviet and ex-Yugoslav republics
Bottom-up + Change of sovereignty	5	5 ex-Soviet republics with strong public movements playing role
Top-down + Change of sovereignty	4	Russia, two most “assertive” Yugoslav republics and Slovakia which broke away from federation
Top-down (purely)	3	Three independent states with little or no public movement influencing the transition
Bottom-up on its own or in combination (both ways) with top-down	4	Four independent states in CEE which had reasonably or very strong public movements

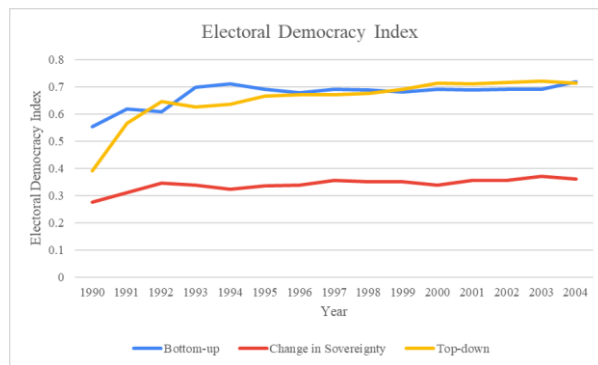
The study then reflected upon different approaches to measuring the quality of democracy and different potential measures of democracy, before eventually selecting V-Dem. A Qualitative analysis of cases was then undertaken, using line graphs combined with existing literature, in order to provide extra depth to the analysis. The research question applied was: how did the differing types of demise of communism affect the quality of democracy in the post-communist system? In the simple typology, the hypothesis that power exchanged in a top-down manner resulted in higher quality democracies was confirmed, although top-down was not far behind. In fact, the largest difference was between the first two types and this third type. This was the case even when considering the geographical differences, violence, previous statehood and previous democracy. However, in the enhanced typology, while the change in sovereignty and top-down group performed the worst by some way, the bottom-up (either on its own or in combination, in both ways, with top-down) group performed the strongest. This differed from the simple typology and did not allow for the acceptance of the hypothesis, instead it seemed to reflect the importance of an active and strong civil society in a strong democracy.

### **Application of V-Dem to Cases**

#### **Electoral Democracy Index**

The Electoral Democracy Index, which seeks to answer the question of what extent is the ideal of electoral democracy in its fullest sense achieved? In order to answer this question, there is a focus on the responsiveness to citizens, as achieved through electoral competition for the electorate’s

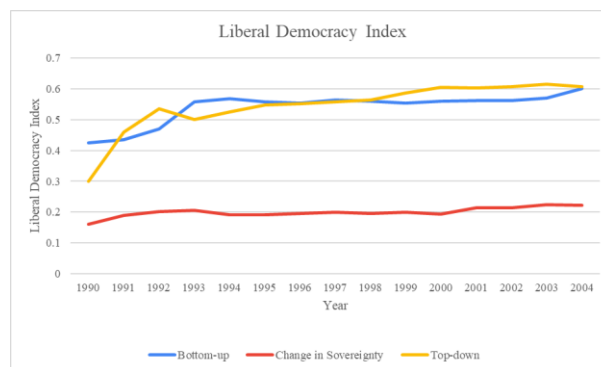
approval. Suffrage should be extensive and it should be possible for political organizations, civil society and the media to operate and express alternative views on matters of political relevance.<sup>53</sup>



The Electoral Democracy Index shows that the change in sovereignty group is the worst performing. The majority of the duration sees the top-down group and the bottom-up group performing equally well, but towards the end of the period top-down pulls ahead. However, at no time did the change in sovereignty approach the level of the other two groups.

### Liberal Democracy Index

The Liberal Democracy Index, which deals with the question of what extent is the ideal of liberal democracy achieved? Practically this index focuses on the protection of individual rights and the rights of minorities. There is a negative view on political power as it focuses on the limitations placed upon the government to act as the tyranny of the majority. Particularly of interest are a strong rule of law, an independent judiciary, and effective checks and balances.<sup>54</sup>



The Liberal Democracy Index exhibits similar patterns to the Electoral Democracy Index. Firstly, the change in sovereignty group once again performs very badly and is not at all close to the other two. Secondly, the top-down and bottom-up groups perform similarly, but later on the top-down group moves further clear.

### Participatory Democracy Index

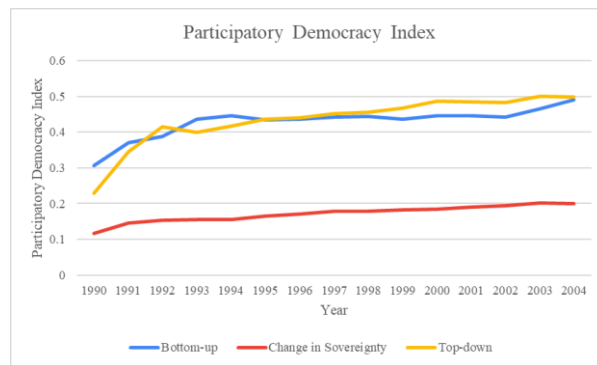
The Participatory Democracy Index seeks to answer the question: to what extent is the ideal of participatory democracy achieved? Here the active participation and engagement of citizens is

<sup>53</sup> Michael Coppedge et al., "V-Dem Codebook V10," *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2020, 10, doi:10.2139/ssrn.3557877.

<sup>54</sup> Coppedge et al., "V-Dem Codebook V10."



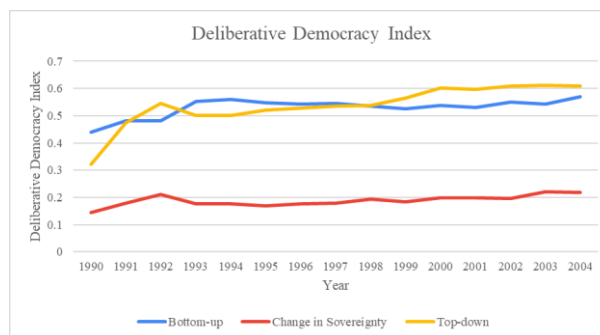
emphasised. Direct democracy and the engagement in civil society organisations are particularly notable for this index.<sup>55</sup>



The same patterns visible in previous indexes are also present in The Participatory Democracy Index. The change in sovereignty group is the worst performing by some margin, with the top-down group the strongest, slightly ahead of the bottom-up group.

### Deliberative Democracy Index

The deliberative Democracy Index, which deals with the question: To what extent is the ideal of deliberative democracy achieved? In this index the process by which decisions in a polity are reached is the focus. Political decisions which are not based on emotional appeals, solidary attachments, parochial interests, or coercion but rather the common good will score higher in this index.<sup>56</sup>



Once again, The Deliberative Democracy Index paints a similar picture to the previous indexes. Once again, the change is sovereignty is the worst performing, the top is the best (for the majority of the time) and the bottom-up is consistently strong.

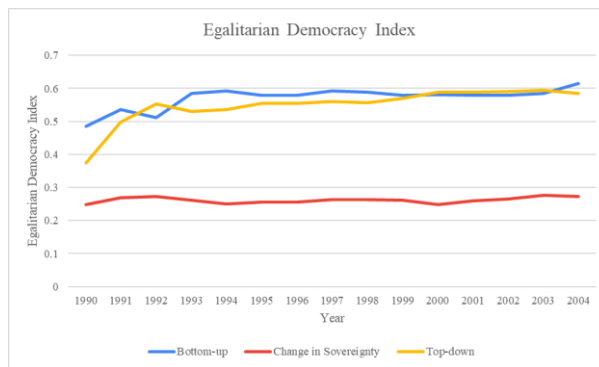
### Egalitarian Democracy Index

The Egalitarian Democracy Index, which poses the question: to what extent is the ideal of egalitarian democracy achieved? Egalitarian democracy can be considered to have been successfully achieved when the rights and freedoms of individuals are protected across all social

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

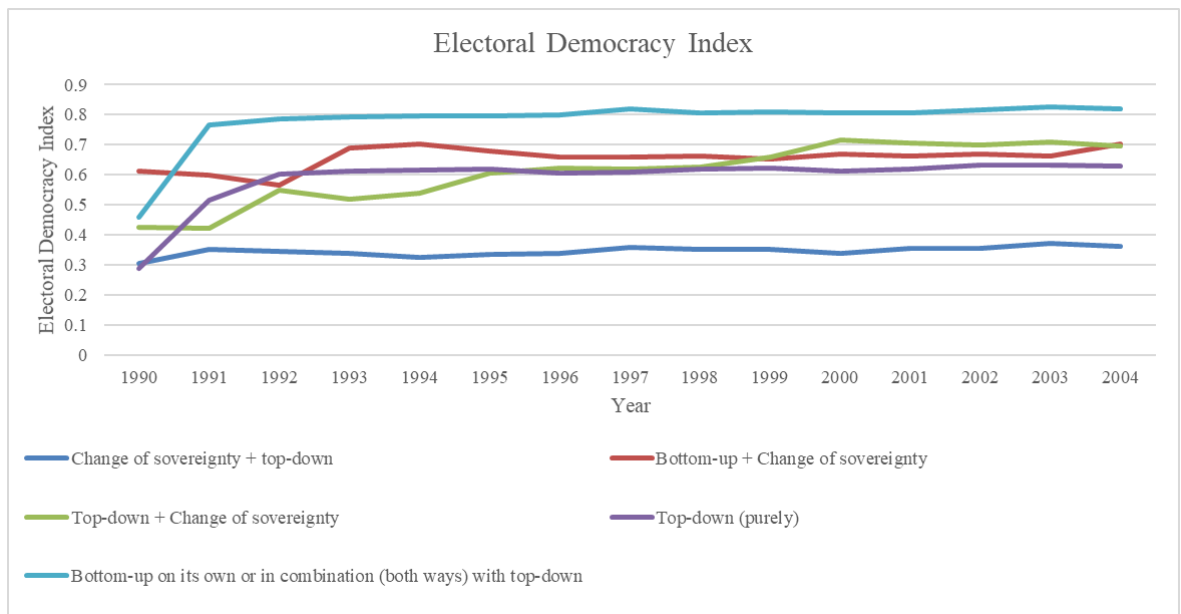
groups equally and resources are also distributed equally across all social groups. Moreover, groups and individuals should enjoy equal access to power.<sup>57</sup>



In the Egalitarian Democracy Index the two strongest, by some margin, are the top-down and bottom-up group. The bottom-up is the strongest for some time, but there is little difference between this group and the top-down group. The change in sovereignty group is stable, but stable in its poor performance.

### Enhanced Typology

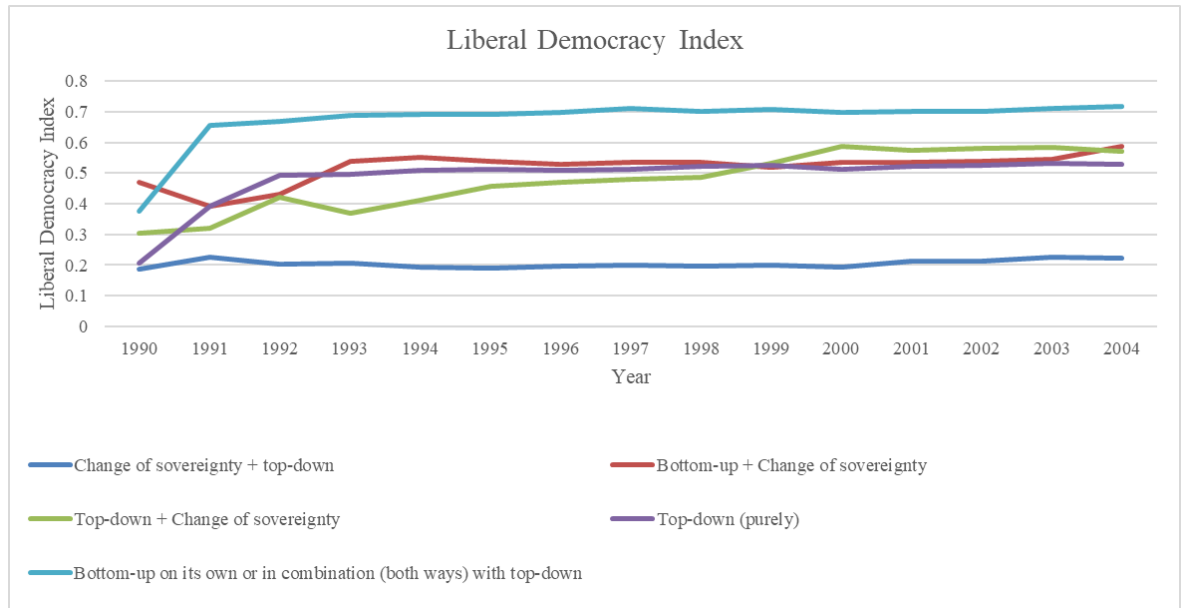
#### Electoral Democracy Index



The first of the V-Dem measures for consideration is the electoral democracy index. What is clearly visible is that the bottom-up (either on its own or in combination, in both ways, with top-down) group performs the strongest, while the change in sovereignty and top-down group performs the worst by some way. At the beginning of the period of consideration there is some variation between the three remaining groups, but by the end of the period they have largely converged.

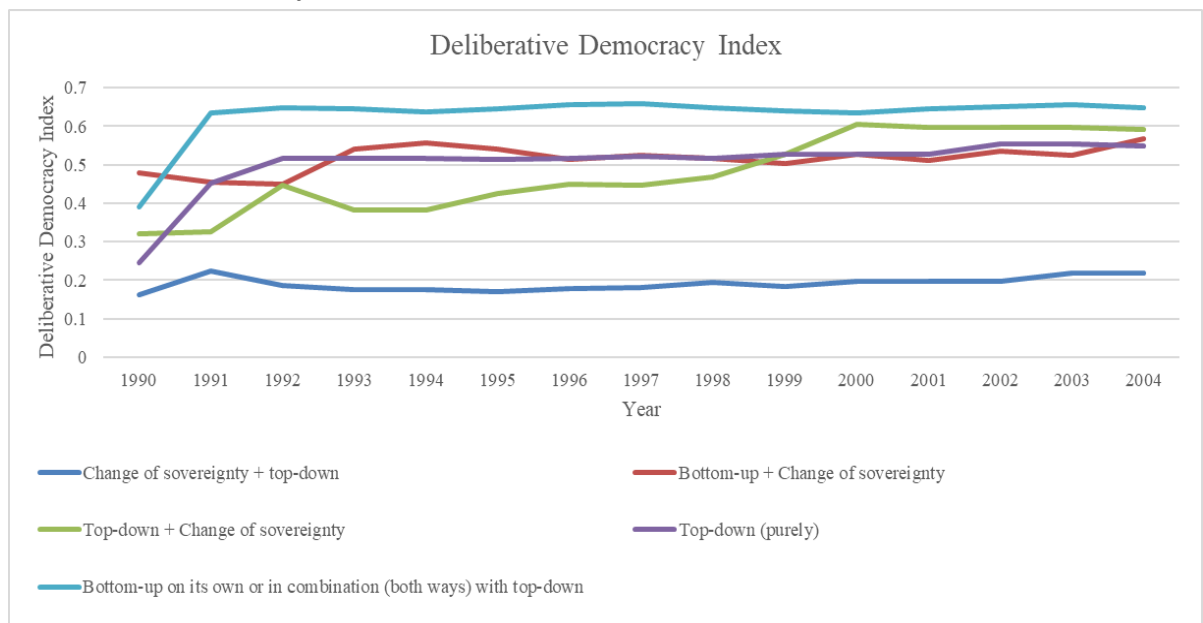
<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

## Liberal Democracy Index



The second V-Dem measure is the liberal democracy index, where the bottom-up (either on its own or in combination, in both ways, with top-down) group once again performs the strongest, and the change in sovereignty and top-down group once again performs the worst by some way. There is a similar variation replaced convergence in the remaining cases, although they all perform considerably better than the change in sovereignty and top-down group.

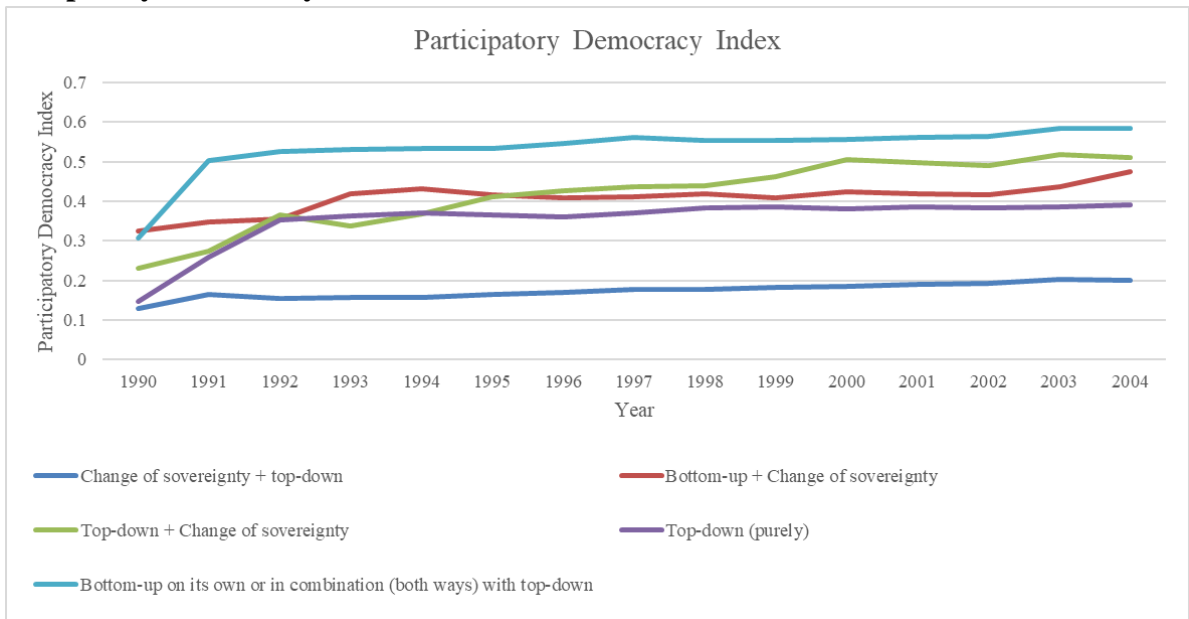
## Deliberative Democracy Index



The third V-Dem measure considered is that of the deliberative democracy index. The change in sovereignty and top-down group performs the worst by some distance. However, the top-down and change in sovereignty group performs almost as well as the bottom-up (either on its own or in combination, in both ways, with top-down) group. The purely top-down and bottom-up with change of sovereignty group do not perform particularly badly, but are still behind the top-

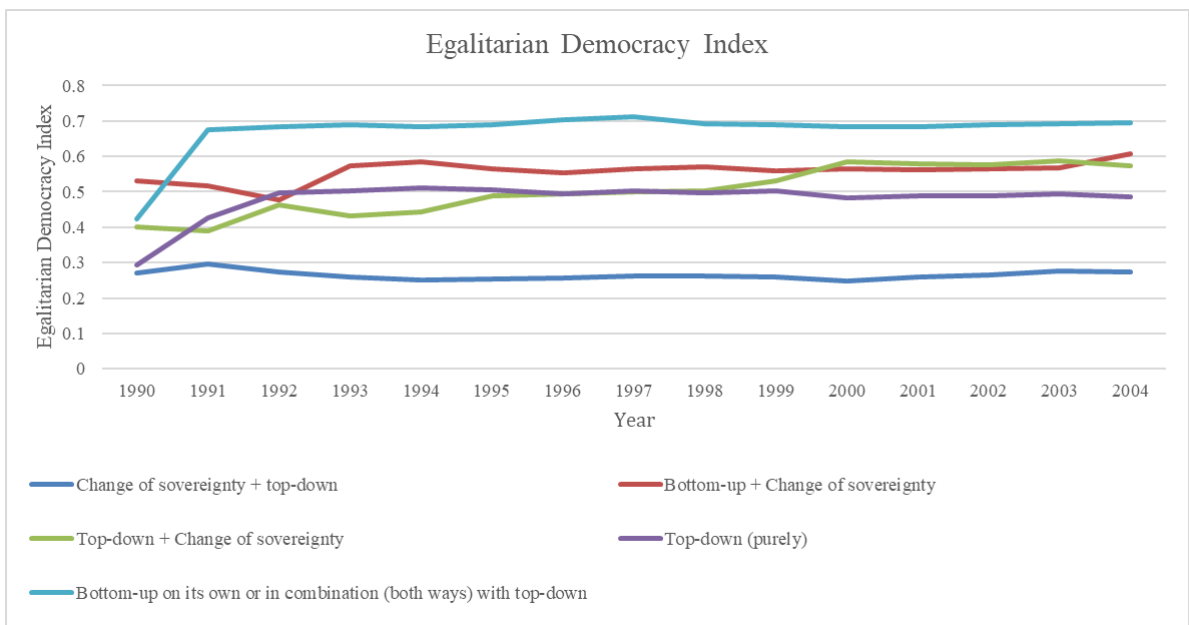
down and change in sovereignty group and bottom-up (either on its own or in combination, in both ways, with top-down) groups.

### Participatory Democracy Index



The fourth V-Dem measure is the participatory democracy index, in which the change of sovereignty and top-down group fairs consistently abysmally, the bottom-up (either on its own or in combination, in both ways, with top-down) group is the strongest and the three remaining groups see some considerable variation. The top-down and change in sovereignty group is the strongest of these three, followed by the bottom-up and change in sovereignty and finally the purely top-down group.

### Egalitarian Democracy Index



The fifth and final V-Dem measure is the egalitarian democracy index. Again, the change of sovereignty and top-down group has the lowest quality of democracy, with the bottom-up (either on its own or in combination, in both ways, with top-down) group having the best. The other three groups are quite changeable, with the purely top-down group the weakest and bottom-up and change of sovereignty and top-down plus change in sovereignty periodically outperforming each other.

The hypothesis which is that power exchanged in a top-down manner resulted in higher quality democracies, initially saw some confirmatory evidence. However, having applied the enhanced typology this is no longer the case, as bottom up now appears to be strongest, either on its own or in combination, in both ways, with top-down. In seeking an explanation for this, the reason may lie in the role of civil society, which has been seen to be core element of liberal democratic theories generally.<sup>58</sup> Efforts by scholars such as Locke to preserve civil society as a concept distinct from the political realm are notable. However, in more contemporary examples of democratisation the role of civil society continues to be a popular element for studies to focus on. Be it in South Africa,<sup>59</sup> francophone Africa,<sup>60</sup> Africa generally,<sup>61</sup> Central America,<sup>62</sup> Latin America and the Middle East,<sup>63</sup> the Western Balkans,<sup>64</sup> the post-communist world,<sup>65</sup> the role of civil society in transitions and democratisation is sure to have spawned many studies.

The results (above) of the analysis of the chosen V-Dem measures provide evidence which encourages the continuation of the theory building process. The analysis of the V-Dem measures was fortified with qualitative analysis, on the basis of the considerable post-communist transition literature. At this stage it was fair to summarise that many competing explanations exhibit some evidence in their favour. However, what couldn't be achieved at this stage is a comprehensive explanation of **how** and **why**. Therefore, the next section employed process tracing in specific cases in order to better understand the causal mechanisms which can confirm or reject the

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<sup>58</sup> John Garrard, Vera Tolz, and Ralph White, eds., *European Democratization since 1800* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire : New York: Macmillan ; St. Martin's press, 2000).

<sup>59</sup> Craig Charney, "Civil Society, Political Violence, and Democratic Transitions: Business and the Peace Process in South Africa, 1990 to 1994," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 41, no. 1 (1999): 182–206.

<sup>60</sup> Celestin Monga, "Civil Society and Democratisation in Francophone Africa," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 33, no. 3 (1995): 359–79.

<sup>61</sup> Elke Zuern, "The Changing Roles of Civil Society in African Democratisation Processes," in *Consolidation of Democracy in Africa* (Routledge, 2017), 95–137.

<sup>62</sup> Frits Wils, *The Politics of Civil Society Building: European Private Aid Agencies and Democratic Transitions in Central America* (JSTOR, 1999).

<sup>63</sup> Mehran Kamrava and Frank O. Mora, "Civil Society and Democratisation in Comparative Perspective: Latin America and the Middle East," *Third World Quarterly* 19, no. 5 (1998): 893–915.

<sup>64</sup> Vesna Bojicic-Dzelilovic, James Ker-Lindsay, and Denisa Kostovicova, *Civil Society and Transitions in the Western Balkans* (Springer, 2013).

<sup>65</sup> Andrew T. Green, "Comparative Development of Post-Communist Civil Societies," *Europe-Asia Studies* 54, no. 3 (2002): 455–71.

relationship between the demise of the communist regime and the quality of democracy.

The study of transitions themselves have been subjected to intense study for decades and the demise of communist regimes have also been studied in detail, the two have remained conspicuously separate. Therefore, attempts have been made to build an approach which can connect the demise of communist regimes with the transitions which followed, in the context of the quality of democracy. In the first part a typology of the different types of demise was produced, then in the second the types were compared with the quality of democracy in order to assess whether there was evidence to encourage the study of the demise of communist regimes and the post-communist quality of democracy together. Evidence which suggests that there is a relationship was uncovered, but evidence which was unable to explain the how and the why of these connections. Therefore, this third section has continued to search for evidence, but this time focused on the causal mechanisms which may be able to explain the how and the why, which has been elusive.

Process tracing was chosen specifically because it is exactly the kind of methodology which can reveal causal mechanisms. However, process tracing alone wasn't enough and the focus was the ways in which non democratic regimes legitimate themselves. The work of Gerschewski, particularly his three pillars of legitimation, repression and co-optation, was central to attempting to find causal mechanisms through process tracing. In summary, in the two chosen cases, the repressions, co-optation and legitimation strategies did seem to be part of the process of the demise of the communist regimes and continued to influence the post-communist democracy. The first decade was focused on and there is evidence that they also directly influenced this first decade, at a minimum. However, just because this was where the influence was felt most strongly does not imply that there was a sudden end to such influence, likely it is still being felt today - albeit to a decreasing extent.

What was revealed through the process tracing undertaken here is that the survival of this political class, or some kind of opposition at all, represents a necessary but perhaps insufficient condition for a strong quality of democracy. Moreover, the importance of ideological diversity among the elites and individuals which form parties constitutes an important aspect. Policy direction is undoubtedly also vital, ideally politicians and civil society should be united in their rejection of the communist system and embracing of reforms. Such rejection seems to be rooted in the failure and rejection of communist legitimation techniques.

The fact that Poland had a surviving elite may be misunderstood as an issue of nationhood. However, this really represents, at best, a proxy for understanding the issue of a surviving elite. The vivid nature of Ukrainian society, even political society, before the Stalinist era repressions show that Ukraine possessed a society which could well have produced the same kind of results

as Poland, were it not for the harsh repressions which stunted the societal growth. In other words, nationhood is only relevant to the extent that it creates a robust civil society and elite. It also presents itself in policy terms, where Poland was more cohesive in pursuing a policy direction than Ukraine, but this too is a result of the curtailing of Ukrainian society due to high intensity repressions, as an elite pushing for a cohesive Ukrainian identity had in fact existed at one stage. The fact is that the societal developments in Ukraine were stunted by intense repressions, preventing an outcome similar to that of Poland.

Returning to the overarching aims of exploring the effects of the patterns in the dissolution of communism on the transition to new systems in Eastern Europe, it is clear that there is some relationship between the dissolution and the transition. However, the dissolution and transition are parts of processes which began long before either, reflecting the research of Edwards, which indicated that revolutions were not the cause of social change but in fact were an extreme symptom of previously understated social change.<sup>66</sup>

## Conclusions

The study was split into three parts. The first part dealt with building a typology of the demise of communist regimes. A methodology was provided, based on the concept of social movements and research into sovereignty. Then this methodology was applied to the selected cases, as each demise was classified. Any analysis of the quality of democracy must begin with selecting an approach with which to judge the quality of democracy itself. Many different measures were considered, but ultimately the V-Dem measures were selected, as they had been shown to offer advantages over Polity IV or Freedom House, among others. The results of the analysis suggested that in answering the research question of how the differing types of demise of communism affected the quality of democracy in the post-communist system, several results in relation to the hypothesis were obtained. Top-down did indeed perform the best, but only marginally, and periodically, better than bottom-up, but the change in sovereignty type performed markedly worse than the other two groups. However, in the enhanced typology, while the change in sovereignty and top-down group performed the worst by some way, the bottom-up (either on its own or in combination, in both ways, with top-down) group performed the strongest. This differed from the simple typology and did not allow for the acceptance of the hypothesis, instead it seemed to reflect the importance of an active and strong civil society in a strong democracy.

This study has attempted to address the research problem of the pre-existing divide within academia, one of the separations and compartmentalisation of approaches to the demise of

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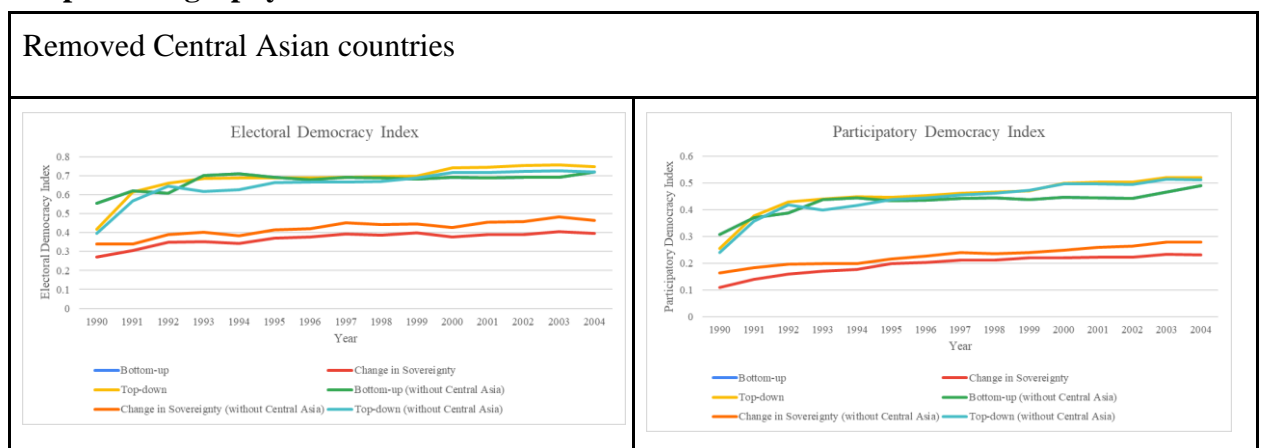
<sup>66</sup> Lyford P. Edwards, *The Natural History of Revolution*, The Heritage of Sociology (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970).

communism and many issues of transitions. The aims and objectives have been met and the research question answered. It seems that an approach which can connect the demise of communist regimes with the transitions which followed has indeed been built. The issue of how this juncture launched many other processes and conditioned the future was poorly understood, but it is certainly a vitally important issue. The focus was on the political systems, and specifically the quality of democracy, although others could undertake very similar exercises in different areas. The advantages of focusing on the type of demise is that they are easily identifiable and measurable, there is no need for benefit of hindsight. Those watching the demise in real time are able to make informed predictions about the kind of regime likely to rise from the ashes. Furthermore, while the type of demise is perhaps a sign of what came before, prior to the demise it is difficult to assess objectively, the demise may be the earliest point at which assessment is possible. This is due to the fact that many non-democratic regimes jealously guard information and the size of counter movements or countercultures are difficult to assess. Due to the knowledge gap inherent in this kind of regime the demise represents the first possible juncture at which it is possible to assess such issues.

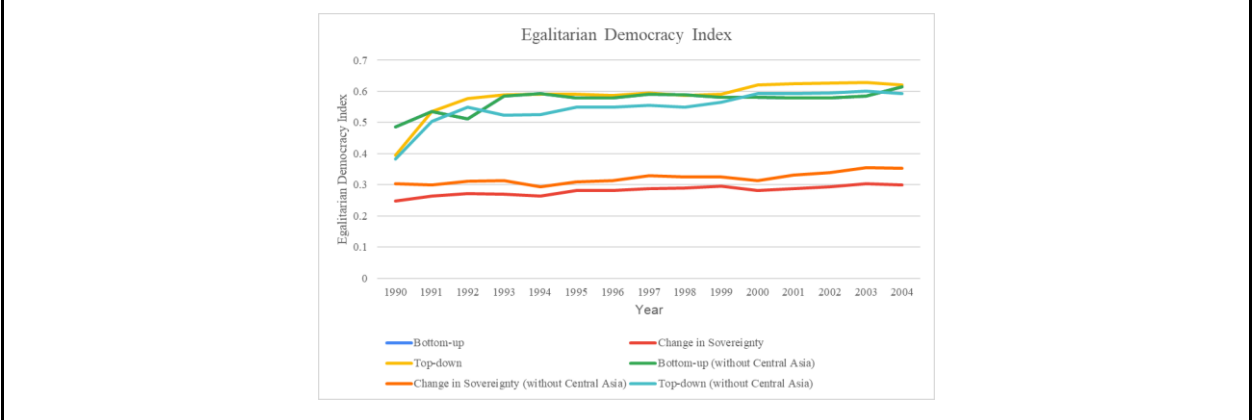
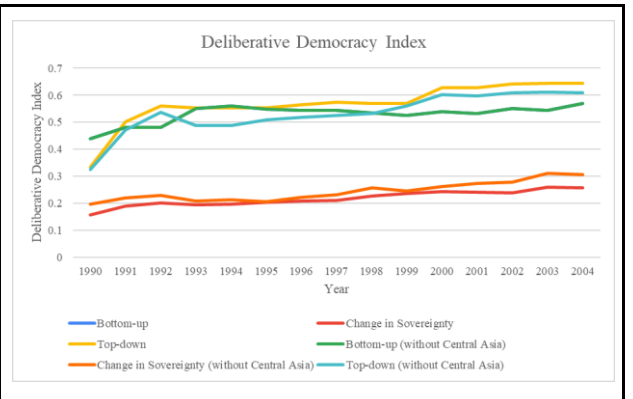
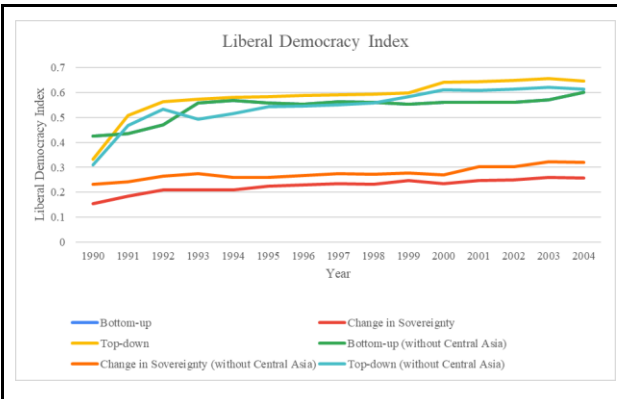
This study represents just a small beginning in researching the relationship between the demise of communist regimes with the transitions which followed. In future research the word consuming undertaking of process tracing may be expanded to include many different cases. The expansion beyond other cases and into other areas, for example economic, may also be a fruitful undertaking. Beyond further application to communist cases, applying this approach to other cases in other periods and geographical locations would allow the general applicability of the said approach to be better ascertained. Further considerations of how certain junctures can launch other processes and condition the future may well be even more fruitful endeavours.

## ANNEX

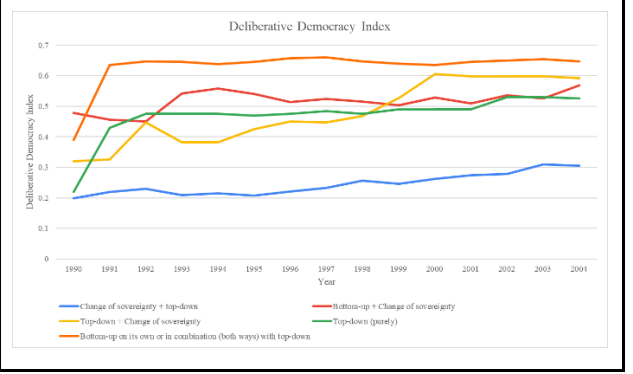
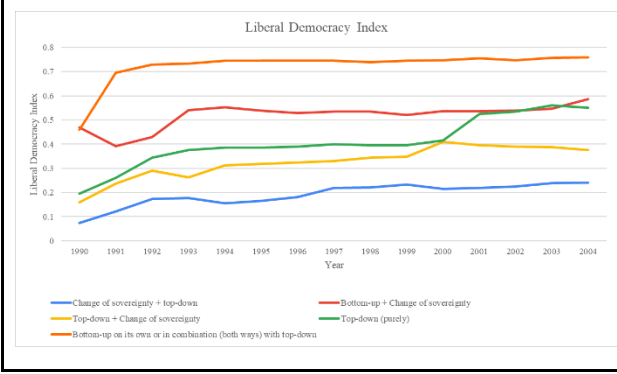
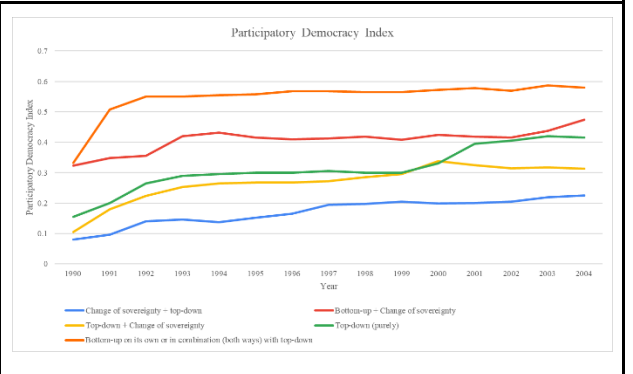
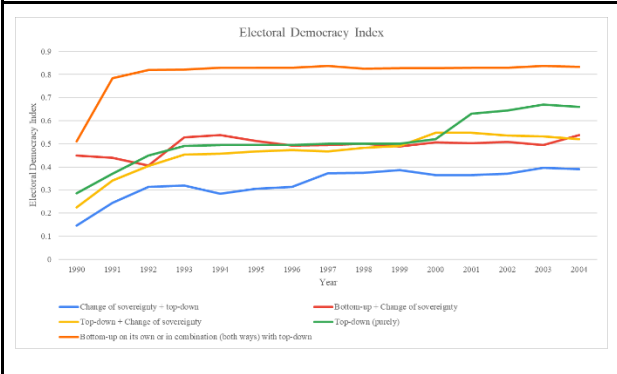
### Graphs: Geography

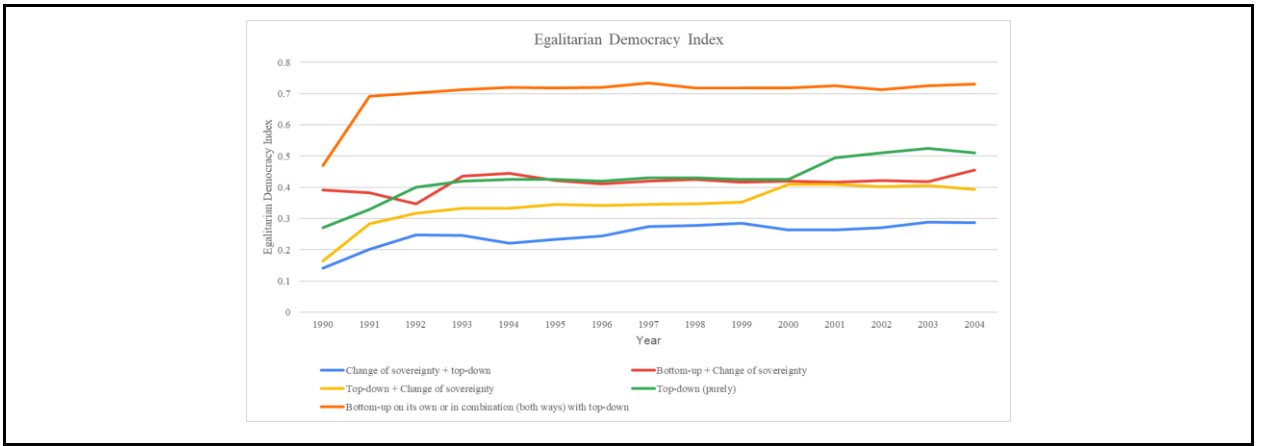




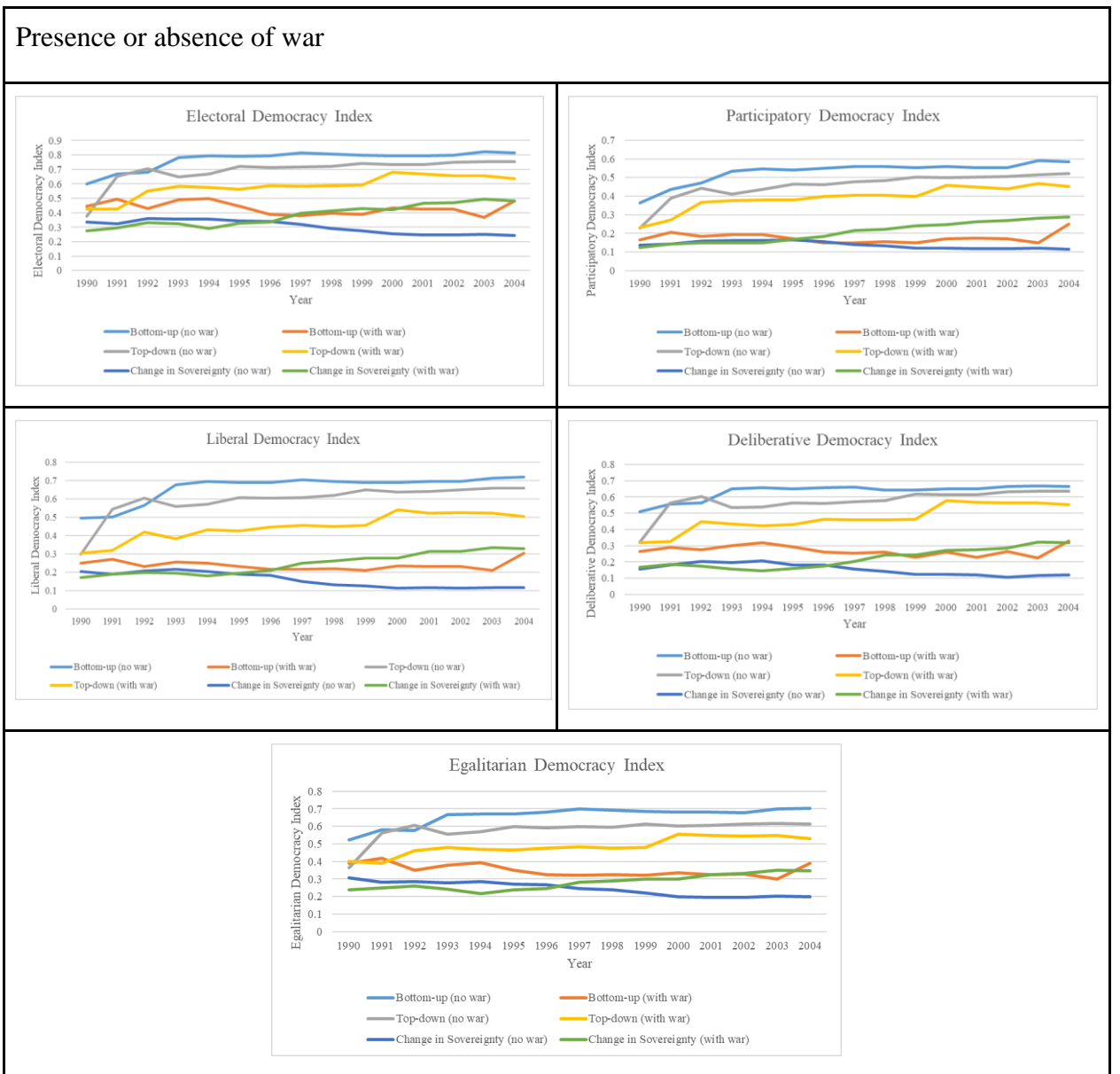


## Enhanced Typology

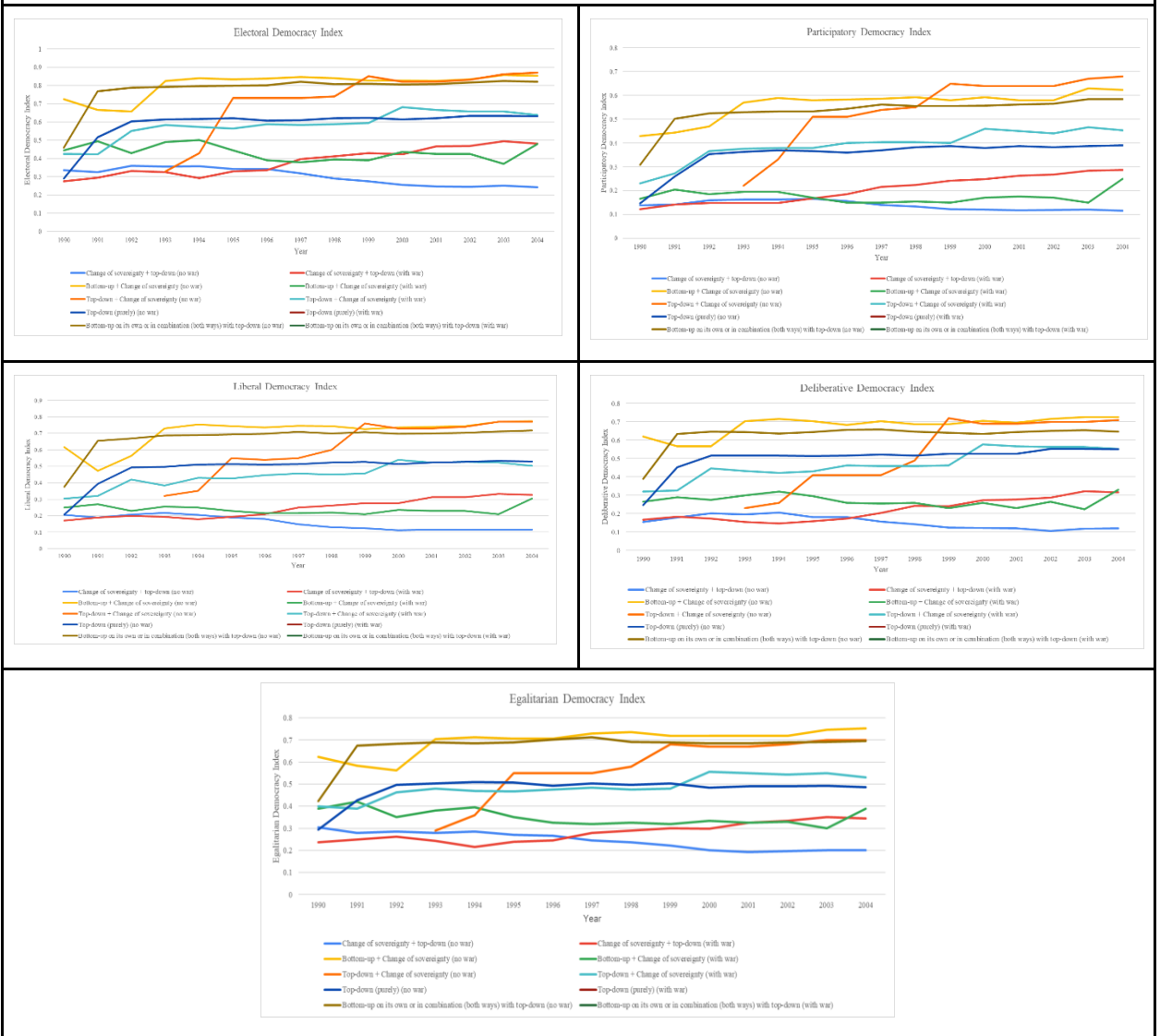




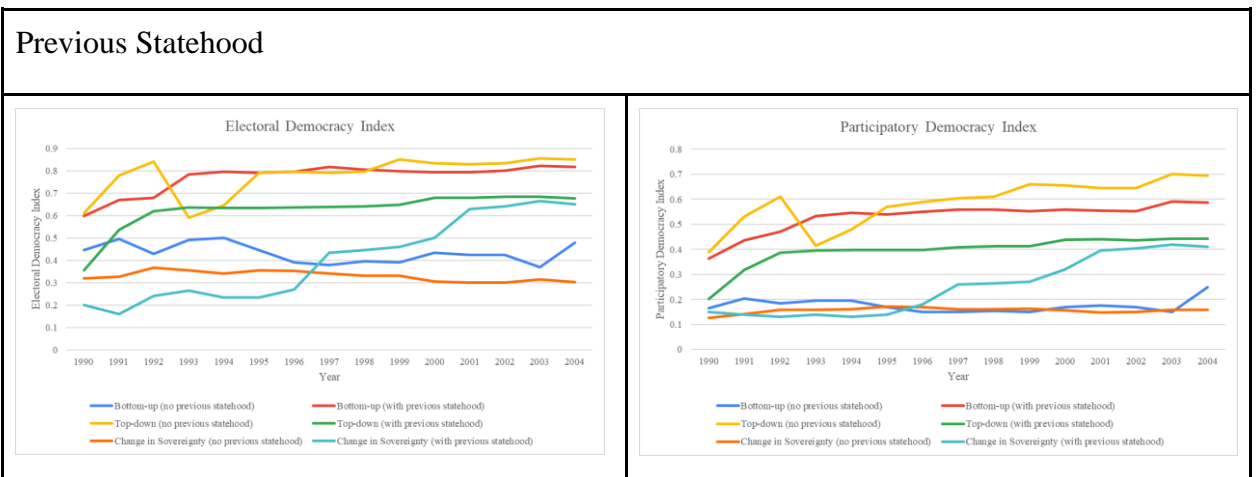
## Graphs: Violence

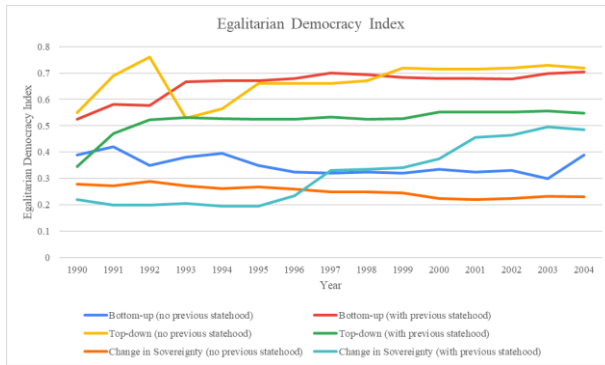
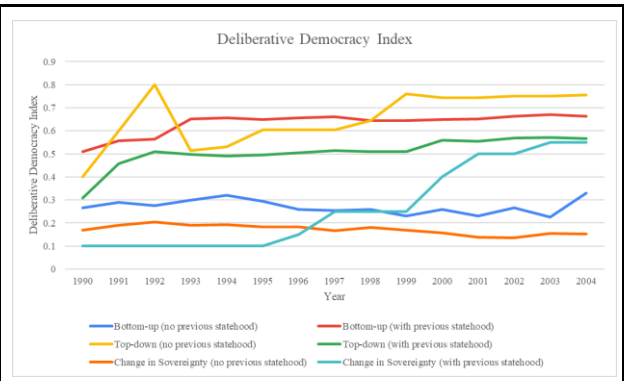
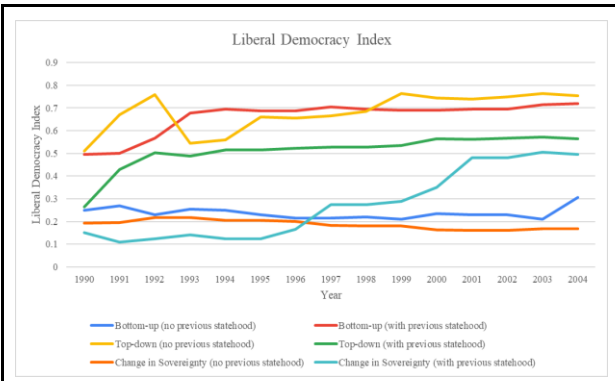


# Enhanced Typology

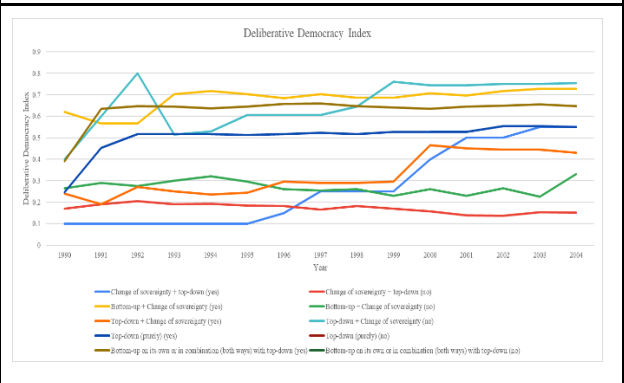
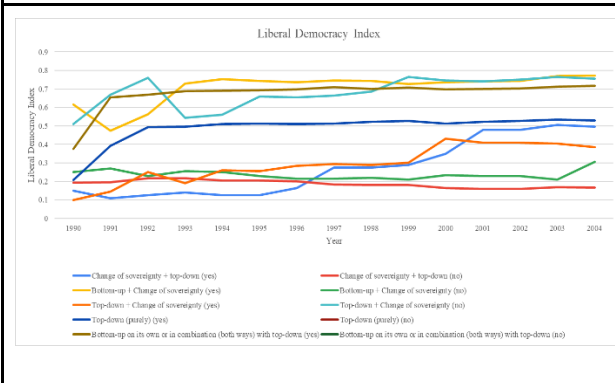
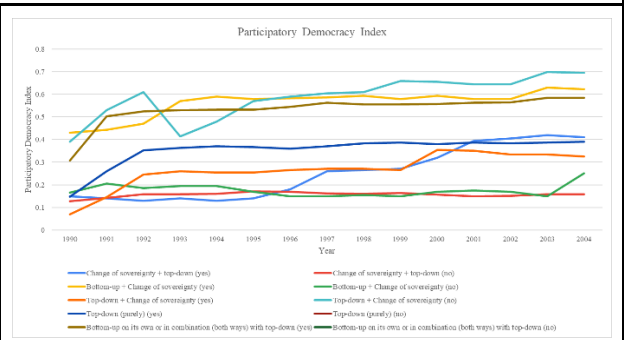
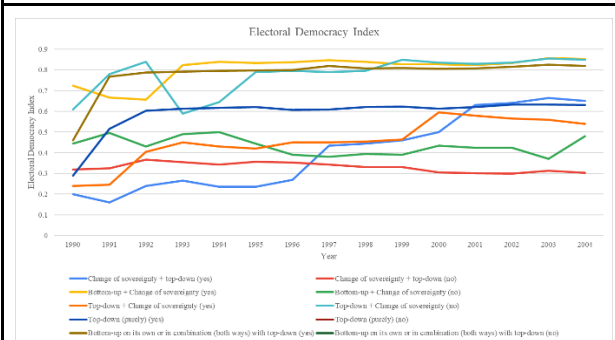


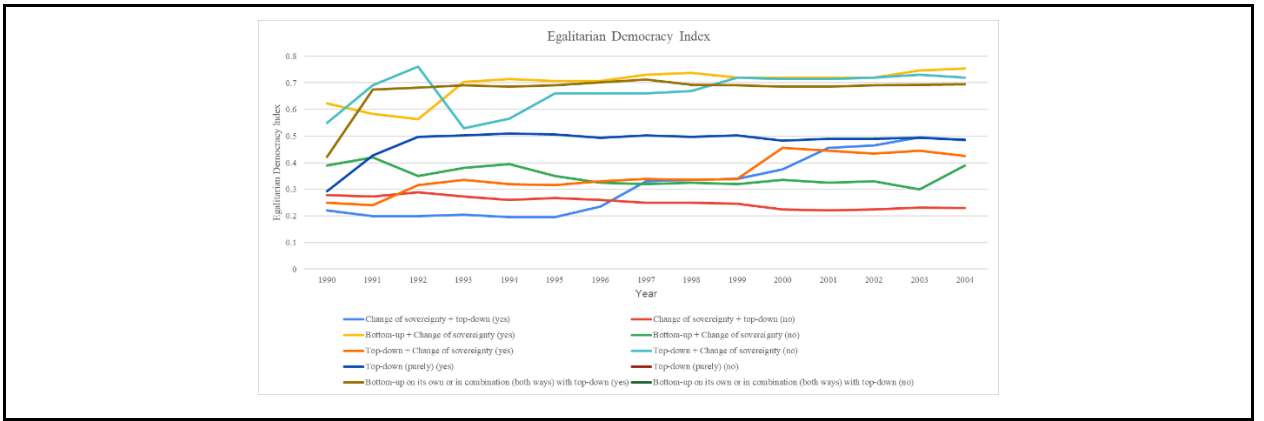
## Graphs: Previous Statehood



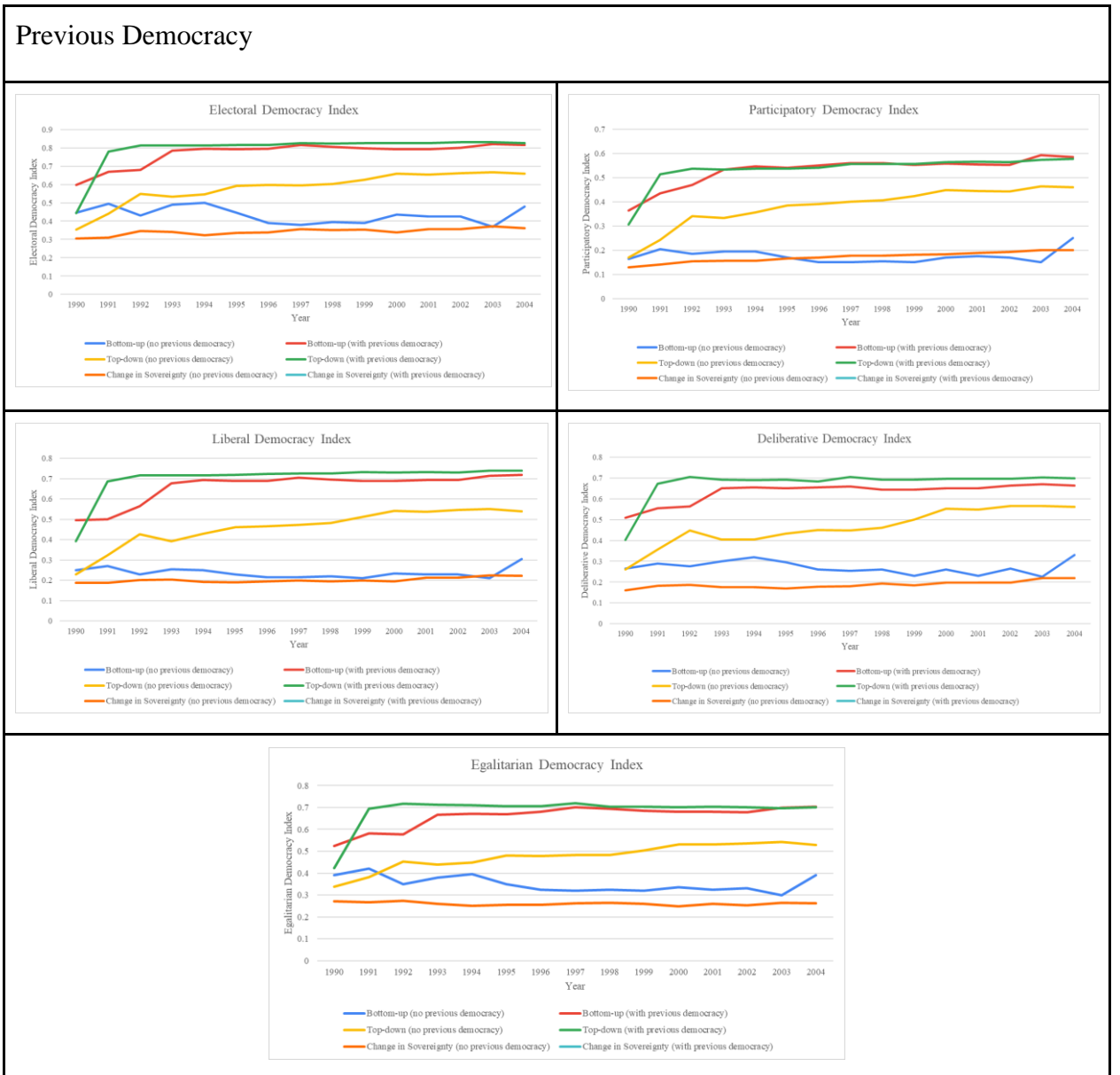


## Enhanced Typology

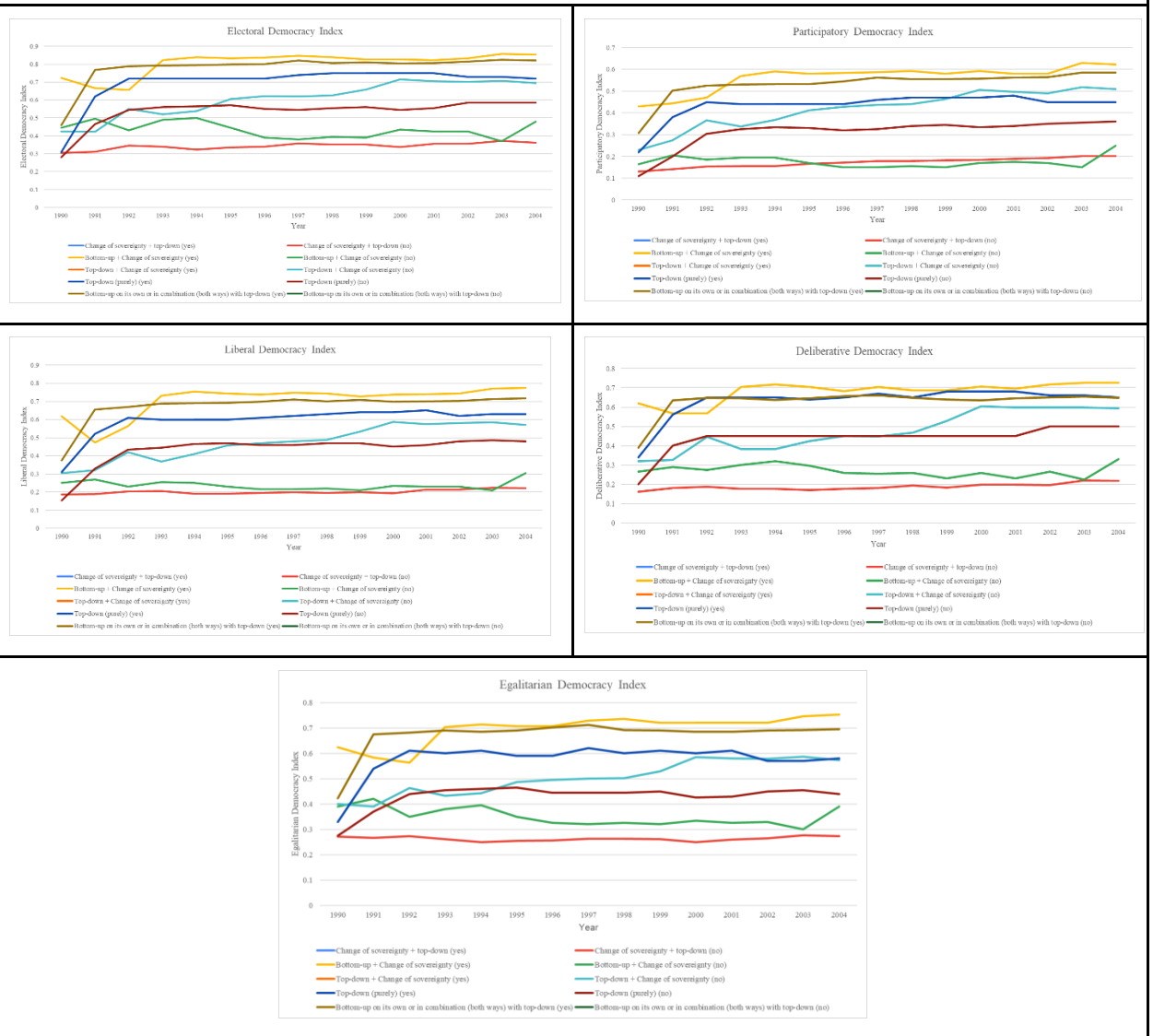




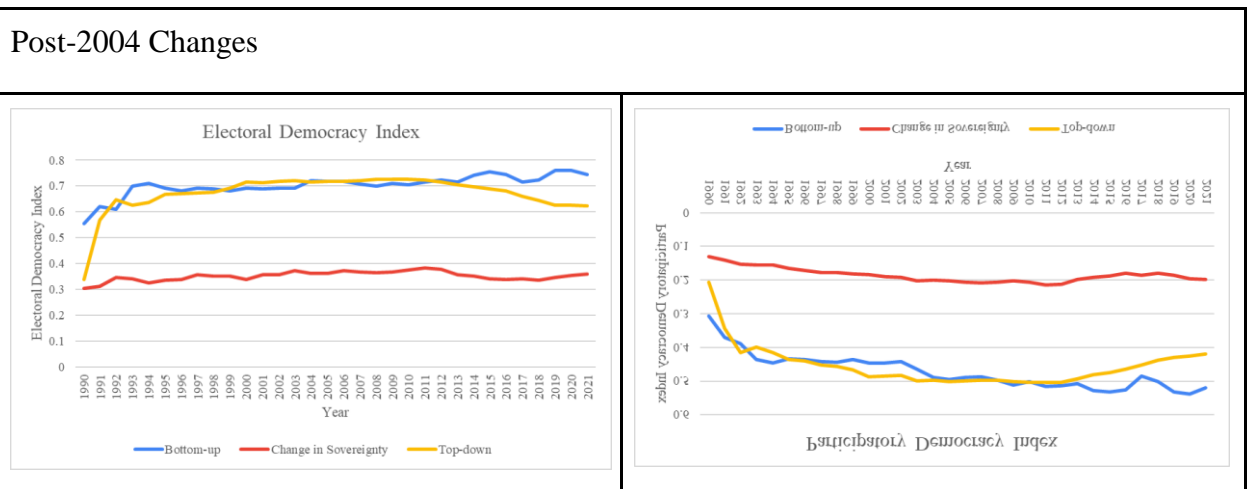
## Graphs: Previous Democracy

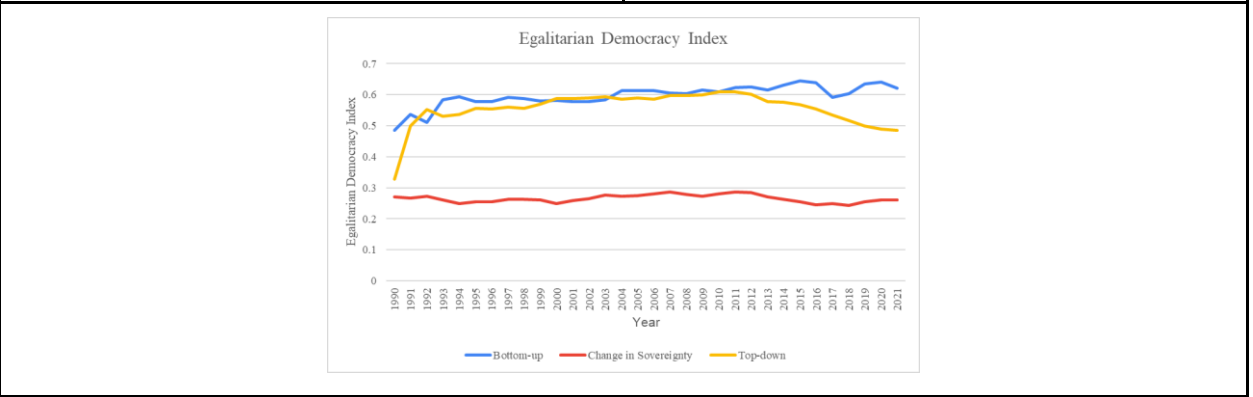
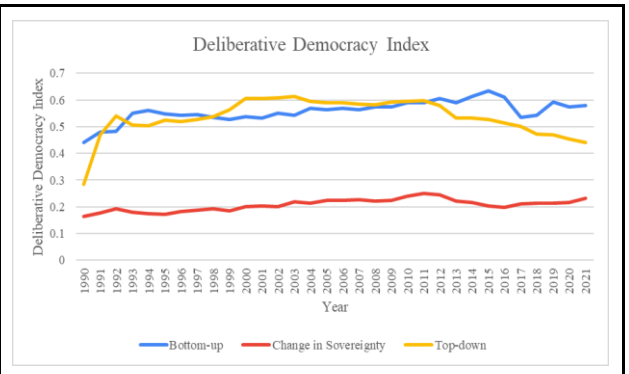
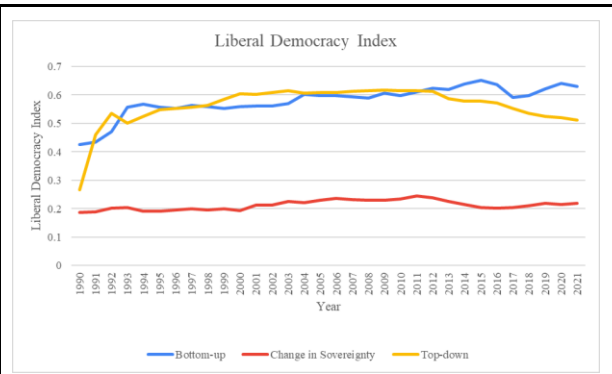


# Enhanced Typology

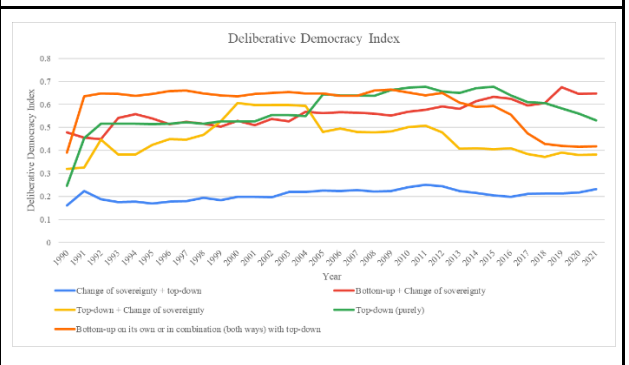
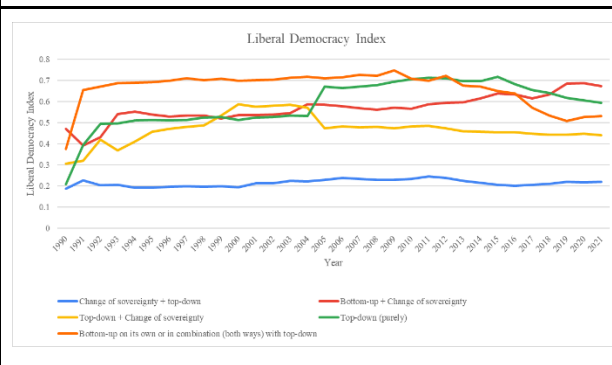
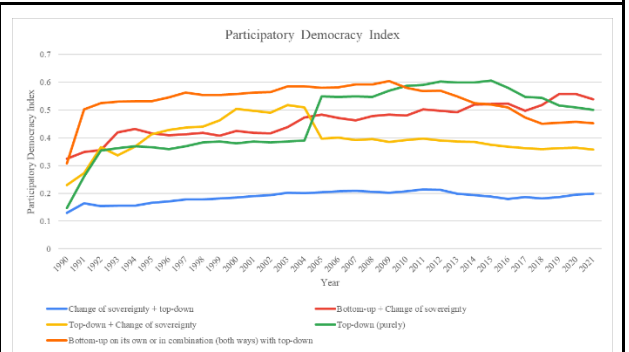
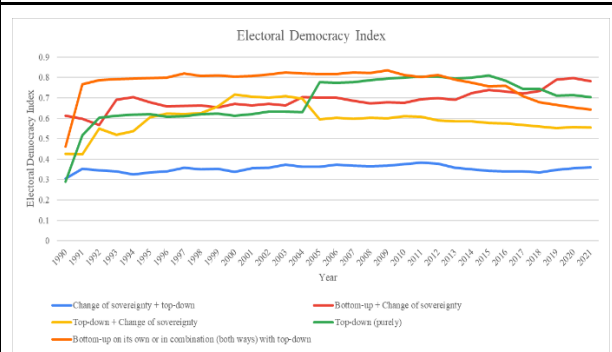


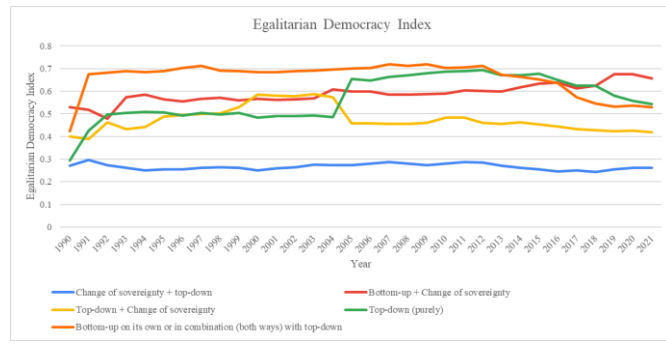
## Graphs: Post-2004 Changes





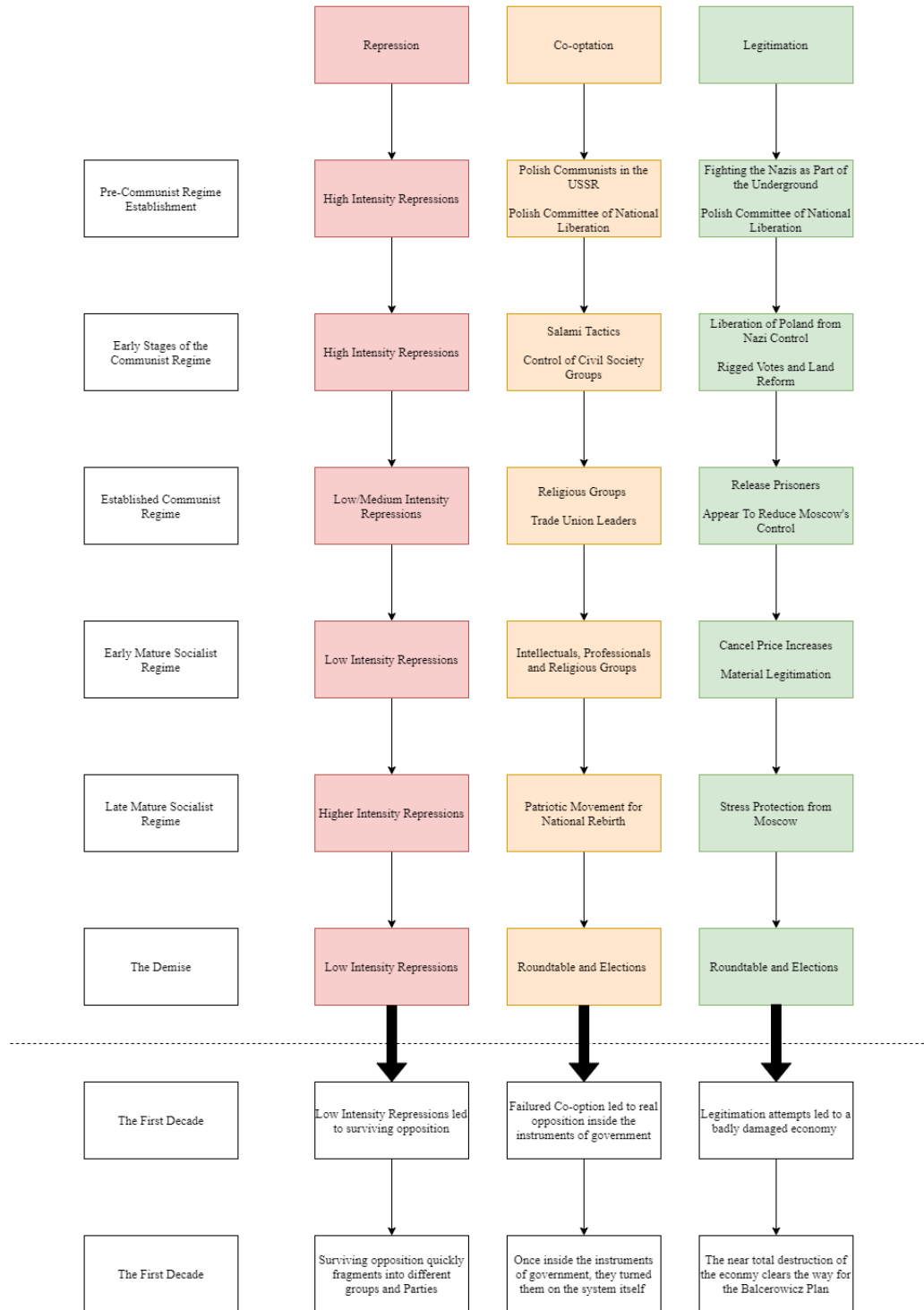
## Enhanced Typology







## Process Tracing Graph: Poland Overview



## Process Tracing Graph: Ukraine Overview

