

Geography of Development of Eastern Europe

A GEOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF EASTERN EUROPE WITH SPECIAL
EMPHASIS ON POLAND, CROATIA, AND UKRAINE

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Research Proposal

My goal for this senior project is to evaluate the long-standing effects the geography of development has had on specific countries in Eastern Europe. I will examine and analyze the political, cultural, and geographic nature that has affected the history and development of Poland, Croatia, and Ukraine. Specifically, I will focus on the influence socialism, communism, and the Soviet Union as a whole, had on Eastern Europe and why it has affected the progress (either negatively, positively, or both) of the Eastern states. I will assess the affect the European Union has on the Eastern world of Europe and how a currency change to the Euro could affect developmental progress. I will explicitly utilize development theories to demonstrate the differences in progress between the three countries where Poland is most progressive, then Croatia, and ending with Ukraine. There will be an introduction, separate chapters on each country, and a comparison chapter, along with a conclusion. This paper is heavily based upon research through published text sources both online and in print. A large majority of the research will be based upon findings and events that have conspired in the past 20 years and many sources will be news sources. I will utilize the Robert E. Kennedy Library online catalogs, especially JSTOR. Finally, I strive to develop firsthand experience, if at all possible, through interviews with Ukrainian citizens.

Annotated Bibliography

Willis, Katie. (2005). *Theories and Practices of Development*. London: Routledge. Willis

explores the evolution of development theories throughout the industrialized world with a focus on the economic, political, social, and environmental issues. The examination and growth of ideas from the very basic, introduction and definition of development leading into the more complex ideals of environmental determinism and Grassroots movements as opposed to Non-Governmental Organizations. While Willis' book covers many topics of development, the different components to consider (i.e.: gender, race, politics, sustainability) are outlined thoroughly through use of different development theories. The overarching study of development as a whole and the theories that accompany the topic, will benefit my project because it will aid in supporting my thesis by describing and creating an understanding for how development has improved and will continue to improve in Eastern Europe by way of developmental theories.

Gibb, Richard A. & Michalak, Wieslaw Z. (1992). Political Geography and Eastern Europe. *The Royal Geographical Society (with the Institute of British Geographers)*, 24(4), 341-349.

Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20003178>. The purpose of "Political Geography and Eastern Europe" is to examine the improper aims of Western Europe on Post-Yugoslavia Socialist Republic. Gibb and Michalak argue that political geographers have spent too much time analyzing events that never took place in order to create a reason to make Eastern Europe into a capitalistic society. They argue that this cannot work because of the socialist past of Eastern Europe as well as the fact that human geography differs greatly to political geography. Utilizing this paper, I will be able to

observe the affects Western Europe has had on Eastern Europe after the fall of the Berlin Wall as well as the fall of the Socialist Yugoslav state.

Turnock, David. (1995). The Rural Transition in Eastern Europe. *GeoJournal*, 36 (4), 420-426.

Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41146550>. Throughout “The Rural Transition in Eastern Europe”, Turnock references the idea that the former communist and socialist countries of Eastern Europe have neglected the progress of rural communities to more urban economies. While there have been vast improvements in the 19 years since his paper was published, Turnock’s main idea still stands: the rural areas of development are just as, if not more, important than the urban development. This paper mainly focuses on differences between different urban areas and their counterparts in other countries throughout the region. The emphasis on reorganization of agriculture truly brings together the suggestion that rural development can increase wealth which in turn, can decrease unemployment, debt, and poverty while still increasing the economy, education, and political reforms. Turnock’s idea of restructuring how we look at the rural economy will greatly benefit my thesis because he stresses that the economy is not only reliant upon the urban population but more often, agriculture and rural areas can provide greater benefits.

Larrabee, F. Stephen. (Nov.-Dec. 2006). Danger and Opportunity in Eastern Europe. *Foreign Affairs*, 85 (6), 117-131. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20032147>. F.

Stephen Larabee was responsible for Soviet and Eastern European affairs on the staff of the National Security Council from 1978 to 1981. This Foreign Affairs report is an example of the Western perspective on the dangers and issues with development of Eastern Europe. Larabee focuses on the turn against pro-Europe and pro-market-reform

in the mid-2000s by many of the large Eastern European states. His focus on the elections in Poland in 2005 and the (at the time) recent admissions of eight European Union member states cite reformation of the free market in Eastern Europe and the dilemma those states faced of whether or not to get involved with NATO and the EU. This essay is especially important to my project because it outlines not only a European perspective but a Western perspective on the whole. From this, I can also infer a global perspective that may influence the development of Eastern Europe as well.

Coffé, Hilde & van der Lippe, Tanja. (2010). Citizenship Norms in Eastern Europe. *Social Indicators Research*, 96 (3), 479-496. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40649331>. Coffé and van der Lippe's research on norms of Eastern Europe as a whole show the vast differences one would expect to find when comparing completely different countries. They show the importance overgeneralization has in the context of development. While some Westerners argue that there is lack of civil society and solidarity among the populations of Eastern Europe and formerly communist ruled states, Coffé and van der Lippe show that this association is untrue. While voting numbers have been low in recent years in Eastern European countries, voting number have also been low in the United States. In their paper, they cite that trust is a main factor regarding citizen involvement. In sum, this paper will help me to seek out specific norms in civil society of Poland, Croatia, and Ukraine without generalizing their cultural pluralism into one block of ideals.

Karatnycky, Adrian. (Mar.-Apr. 2005). Ukraine's Orange Revolution. *Foreign Affairs*, 84 (2), 35-52. Retrieved from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20034274>. This paper is based on the events that occurred during the Orange Revolution in Ukraine in late 2004. Karatnycky

highlights the reasons for the happening of the revolution and how the people of Ukraine fought the corruption. The facts used throughout the paper bring to light the exact way politicians rigged the political campaign and voting in favor of the weaker candidate. It also shows that the Ukrainian people did not immediately gravitate to using force but instead staged peaceful demonstrations all across the country in order to restore confidence in the government and put the right candidate in power. The occasion of the Orange Revolution is particularly important to my research and thesis because I will be able to draw comparisons to the current uprising in Ukraine. Some 10 years later, another peaceful movement against the government and president of Ukraine is happening and in similar circumstances. This paper will allow me to show the use of revolution for development purposes as well as utilize the unchanging and repeating nature of history and politics.

Kokoszcyński, Ryszard. (May-Aug. 2002). Poland Before the Euro. *Journal of Public Policy*, 22 (2), 199-215. Retrieved from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4007713>. Kokoszcyński poses a question that I will utilize in my paper and expand upon in that, “Does the euro influence Polish monetary policy?” His short answer is no but in a guided research paper, he explains the exact reason why this is the case. The slight hesitation to agreeing whole heartedly with his points of why Polish monetary policy is not controlled by the euro, including regime change, combining disinflation with positive developments, money supply control, and the eventual cutting of the inflation gap, is because Kokoszcyński wrote this paper 12 years ago. Many things have changed developmentally in Poland both through politics and in their economy. I will use his

points to show what has changed for Poland to be able to consider adopting the euro as well as highlight the development successes Poland has reached so far.

Božić, Miroslav & Meth-Cohn, Delia. (2013). *Fertile Ground for Development: Making the most of EU membership for Croatia's rural areas*. Printera Grupa d.o.o.: United Nations Development Programme. This UNDP Policy Paper is very lengthy and detailed in the plight to understand the Croatian economy and its interaction with the European Union. In the paper, Božić and Meth-Cohn draw attention to the rural economy, Croatia's accession in the European Union, and exactly how the country can grasp the new opportunities it is given. I will mainly focus on the last chapter on "how Croatia can grasp the opportunities: five priorities". Since my paper will be focused on how development in Eastern Europe tends to follow a certain pattern modeled by Poland and its accession into the European Union in 2004, this last chapter will be essential to explaining in detail how Croatia can benefit developmentally through European Union membership. As shown before in "The Rural Transition in Eastern Europe" source by David Turnock, a focus on rural development may be the most influential point of higher development goals. This source, as well as Turnock's, will allow me to explore this subject deeply and in great detail.

Matutinović, Igor. (1998). Quality of Life in Transition Countries: Central East Europe with Special Reference to Croatia. *Social Indicators Research*, 43 (1&2), 97-119. Retrieved from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27522301>. The first thing that drew me to Matutinović's paper is that he refers to developing countries and transition countries instead. The terminology creates a more positive connotation to improving social, economic, and political aspects of society in a certain place. Along with this, the way he

sees development as a whole emphasizes the use of revolution as a political vehicle for change. Matutinović sheds light on the idea of a transformation of a country rather than a complete change. His focus on Croatia and Poland will allow me to see development as a transformation and transition as opposed to this negative entity that needs to be accomplished in order to better society. He goes through points and references the need for authentic development which I think will be crucial to developing my thesis to its full extent. In order to do this, I will analyze his piece and examine why and how it can be referenced to Poland, Croatia, and Ukraine today, 16 years after this original publication.

Gliński, Piotr. (2011). Twenty Years of Civil Society in Poland. *Polish Sociological Review*, 175, 217-300. Retrieved from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41275208>. As I mentioned with the last source (Matutinović's "Quality of Life in Transition Countries"), Gliński using the key word of transformation rather than developing country to utilize his point that civil society may not have developed as much as we think over the past 20 years since the fall of the Berlin Wall. He cites the idea that other parts of society have developed relatively smoothly but that civil society is its own sector in that, it bases its prosperity off of trust of the government, European Union, and other citizens. Gliński investigates that idea that development is not fully achieved (to Western standards) until civil society is fully developed. Throughout his paper, he developed nine specialized theses in order to investigate his posed question of, has there actually been twenty years of civil society in Poland? His ending point which will benefit my paper the most, is that the full development of civil structures is essential to a normal functioning democracy. Through this, I will be able to pose the same question about civil society and it's affect on Croatia and Ukraine as well.

Outline

I Introduction

- A. The aim of this paper is to discuss the events that have conspired within the past twenty years that has both hindered and assisted in the development of Eastern Europe. The paper will concentrate on individual assessments of three case study countries: Poland, Croatia, and Ukraine by way of thorough examination of the political, cultural, and geographic nature that has affected the history and development of these countries. I will show similarities and differences between the three case studies utilizing Poland as a model for Eastern Europe. By using Poland as an example, I will be able to draw upon what theories of development are more successful for the Soviet Bloc and former Yugoslav countries while also contrasting the specific occurrences of each country to find what mode of development works best for each.
- 1) In using this layout for the paper, I will deviate a natural procession of how development may occur throughout Eastern Europe as a whole
 - 2) This will also challenge the idea of development and what “fully developed” actually means in modern day language
 - 3) I strive to obtain correct information as well as an objective look concerning the issues at hand although I may have a “Western ideal” bias
 - 4) I will draw upon Piotr Gliški’s (Twenty Years of Civil Society in Poland) perspective displaying that development is a transformation and transition rather than explicitly calling it development
 - 5) The idea of the essentiality of civil society in countries will be brought up throughout the paper
- B. The introduction will also include the methodology of the paper once all is written out. Also, a brief summary of the structures of the chapters will be found in the introduction. By following a general structure for all three of the country case studies, it allows for comparisons between them much easier. Along with this, with the ability to draw comparisons, I will be able to evaluate and analyze the countries of Eastern Europe as whole. I will consider the development of all of Eastern Europe through the concluding chapter and the theories used through the case studies. As of right now, the structure is as follows:

- 1) Development theories
- 2) Political geography of country example
- 3) Cultural geography of country example
- 4) Physical geography of country example
- 5) Development viewed as a transformation/transition in country example
- 6) Past influence of Germany/Russia/Yugoslavia based on country's past
- 7) Country example's relations with the European Union—problems and benefits to this

II Chapter One—Poland: The Example

- A. Development Theories in Poland (focusing on Katie Willis' "Theories and Practices of Development")
- B. Political aspects of Poland's recent past
 - 1) Fall of Berlin Wall
 - 2) Establishment of democracy
 - 3) Transformation to a market economy
- C. Cultural aspects of Poland's recent past—focus on civil society (focusing on "Twenty Years of Civil Society in Poland?" by Piotr Gliński)
- D. Geographic nature of Poland's recent past—does physical geography cause any detriments to development?
 - 1) Physical geography of Poland—access to agriculture, water, etc?
- E. Development as a transformation/transition in Poland
 - 1) Europeanization? (focus on "Traces of Europeanization" by Anna Gasior-Niemiec)
 - 2) "Polish Countryside in Times of Transition" by Izabella Bukraba-Rylska
- F. Past influence of Germany on Poland—affecting their development today?
- G. EU accession in 2004 affects—euro and otherwise
 - 1) "Poland Before the Euro" by Ryszard Kokoszczyński

II Chapter Two—Croatia: The Newcomer

- A. Development Theories in Croatia
 - 1) Neoliberalism
 - 2) Social capital—linking and bonding capital
 - 3) Ethnodevelopment
 - 4) Cultural pluralism

- 5) Ecological sustainability
- B. Political aspects of Croatia's recent past
 - 1) Two economic recessions
 - 2) War for Independence in 1995—reliance on neoliberalist ideals and movement of free trade
 - 3) Democratic parliamentary republic
 - 4) Joined NATO in 2009 and EU in July 2013
- C. Cultural aspects of Croatia's recent past—focus on civil society and urbanization
 - 1) Serious issues based around development—different ethnicities of the region caused war in the 1990s—fragile relationship in order to maintain peace
- D. Geographic nature of Croatia's recent past—does physical geography cause any detriments to development?
 - 1) Although Croatia is a part of Europe, it would not be considered part of Western Europe. Therefore, solely in terms of geography, it will always be on the periphery until all of Central and Eastern Europe is developed to the extent of Western Europe
- E. Development as a transformation/transition in Croatia
 - 1) “Measuring Youth Development” by Jad M. Chaaban
 - 2) Improvement in education rates needs to be accomplished
 - 3) Urbanization—focus on restructuring agriculture
- F. Past influence of Yugoslavia on Croatia—still affecting development of the country today?
- G. EU accession 2013 affects—what is to come of their development with entry into the EU? What benefits or negative impacts would the Euro have on Croatia?
 - 1) Focus on UNDP Policy paper: “Fertile Ground for Development”—Making the most of the EU membership for Croatia's rural areas

II Chapter Three—Ukraine: The One in Crisis

- A. “Most North Americans and Western Europeans are, at best, only dimly aware that Ukraine even exists.” (James Dean “Ukraine: Europe's Forgotten Economy”)
- B. Development Theories in Ukraine
- C. Political aspects of Ukraine's recent past—Orange Revolution and the current 2013-2014 uprisings

- 1) Focusing on “Ukraine’s Orange Revolution” by Adrian Karatnycky—“Why did Ukraine’s ruling elite resort to brazen fraud to preserve its power? The answer is corruption.” An emphasis will be placed upon the corruption faced in Ukraine leading to uprising and revolutions
 - 2) Focus on both “Ukraine: Democratic Dangers” by James Sherr and “Ukraine: Europe’s Forgotten Economy” by James Dean
 - 3) “To an economist, the telling statistic is that since 1991, Ukraine has attracted less foreign direct investment (FDI) per capita than any country in Eastern and Central Europe, even Romania and Moldova,” (Dean).
 - 4) “The Semblance of Democratic Revolution” by Mark R. Beissenger (article from American Political Science Review on Coalitions in Ukraine’s Orange Revolution
- D. Cultural aspects of Ukraine’s recent past—The EU/Russia dilemma
- 1) With a past involving both the European Union and Russia, the difficulties faced in having to choose between two is apparent.
 - 2) Human Rights—focus on UNDP Project: “Democratization and Human Rights Program in Ukraine”—What cultural aspects affect the progression of human rights?
- E. Geographic nature of Ukraine’s recent past—does physical geography cause any detriments to development? Is their location a sort of mediator between the EU and Russia?
- F. Development as a transformation/transition in Ukraine
- G. Past and current influence of Russia and communism on Ukraine
- 1) “Genealogy of the Ideology of Development in Post-Leninist Ukraine” by Pavlo Kutuev—“The emergence and successful implementation of the ideology of development in post-Leninist Ukraine depends on the ability of its major political actors to promote rather than circumscribe the creative potential of democracy.”
- H. The country torn between Westernization or maintaining Russian relations—what will win out? How would development be affected by outcome of joining the EU? In oppositions, how would development be affected by ignoring EU accession and strengthening ties to Russia?

III Chapter Four—Comparisons and Conclusions

- A. Development theories in common—why would Eastern Europe share the same theories even though different political, cultural, and geographic backgrounds occur?
- B. Revolution turning into development and transformation?
- C. Should Eastern European countries follow Poland as an example of development?
- D. Is the idea of development of Eastern Europe just an idealization of Westernization—does it actually benefit their societies to follow Western Europe's model of development? Or is Eastern Europe creating its own path to development? What is most effective for Eastern Europe?
- E. How does civil society, urbanization, and democracy change the ways of development in Eastern Europe?
- F. How does corruption affect the development and populations of Eastern Europe?
- G. Quality of Life in Eastern Europe during transition periods
- H. Conclusions

Geography of Development of Eastern Europe

Abstract: *The aim of this senior project is to evaluate the long-standing effects the geography of development has had on Eastern Europe since the 1900s onward. The analysis concentrates on Poland, Croatia, and Ukraine thoroughly examining the political, cultural, and geographic nature that has affected the history and development of these countries. The author outlines theories of development and how they are applicable to Eastern Europe's continuing development. The focus of this paper is on the influence of socialism and communism, as well as the affect the European Union has had, and continues to have on Eastern Europe as a whole. The transition into democracy and capitalism will also be addressed within each case study in reference to both concepts' affect on development and civil society. While political history is referenced from the early 1900s, a large majority of the research will be based upon findings and events that have transpired in the past twenty years.*

Chapter One—Introduction

For the past twenty years, Eastern Europe, as a whole, has evolved by processes of trial and error that have both hindered and assisted in the outcome of development. With the fall of the Berlin Wall, destruction of Yugoslavia, and Russian Soviet influences on different regions of Eastern Europe, many changes have occurred in the very recent past that continue to affect the development of these countries. In using the word “development”, the question remains as to what does being fully developed mean? Instead of referring to development as a stagnant entity, transition, transformation, and development will be used interchangeably to emphasize that the Western ideal of full development is not necessarily what is best for every country in



Figure 1: Map of Eastern Europe

Source: <<http://goeasteurope.about.com/od/introtoeasteuropetravel/ig/Maps-of-Eastern-Europe/Map-of-Eastern-Europe.htm>>

the world. Eastern Europe, especially, is very different in terms of culture and civil society. The Western idea of development focuses on democracy where the first step for countries in Eastern Europe may not involve democracy. Instead, a manipulation of the cultural values, such as trust and unity, could be used to reflect a transformation in civil society first and then emphasize a political shift based on the civil society changes.

In order to fully realize the need for an alteration in development practices, case studies are essential to understanding the form of Eastern Europe. The individual assessments of Poland, Croatia, and Ukraine by way of thorough examination of their political, cultural, and geographic history's will reveal an effective way to transform civil society and the countries of Eastern Europe. In order to exploit the positives of each country, the negatives first need to be approached. Parallels can be drawn between the three countries and the development theories that are effective so that the cultural and geographic nature of Eastern Europe can be seen on a bigger spectrum. Through evaluation of the countries selected, each specific area of Eastern Europe can be targeted efficiently.

Since most of the countries of Eastern Europe have at one time or another in its history, been affected by communism and socialism and, to some lesser degree, fascism, the grouping of the 21 different countries is logical when speaking in terms of development. By using Poland as the first example, a corresponding analysis of countries affected by Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union can be drawn upon. Croatia, the newcomer to the European Union, has been affected by the Former Yugoslav Republic and is an example of ethnic tensions causing barriers to development. Lastly, Ukraine, the current country in crisis, continues to be affected by the heavy, unwavering influence of world power Russia. Throughout each example, the emphasis on civil society can be utilized to reconstruct a theory toward a less corrupt political system for

Eastern Europe. While Eastern European countries are individually unique and encounter specific obstacles to development, historically, the background of the region has produced countries in turmoil since their start. The commonality of unremitting turmoil is the thread by which the 21 specific countries can be evaluated.

The European Union as an institution has had long standing affects upon the transition of Eastern Europe, some beneficial, some detrimental, and the rest, still to be determined. The prospect of aligning Eastern Europe within the European Union may be considered a positive in the sense that it creates a democratic approach to development. In the long run though, the issues that many of the countries in the Eastern regions of Europe face in the present day cannot be expected to change just by admission into this institution. In some ways, the negatives have outweighed the positives. For each country, the EU effect, is prominent and in some cases, can affect day to day life. In addition, the prospect of joining the Euro as a currency changes the economic predicament of certain countries. Although, for many in Eastern Europe, since life is lived in constant disorder, the idea of joining the Euro may ultimately be slightly nearsighted and destructive to the development of their economy.

Theories on development that could potentially be intertwined into the processes of Eastern Europe include everything from neoliberalism, social capital, and ethnodevelopment to including cultural pluralism, ecological sustainability, and urban development to enhance economic, political, and cultural variables (Willis, 2005). Each case study has their strengths and faults which will be examined in detail in the coming chapters. The loose form each case study chapter will follow includes: the physical and cultural geography of the country example, historical impacts on the future of the country, the country's relationship with the European

Union and the benefits and problems that arise from this, and an in depth exploration of development theories.

The analysis of Eastern Europe will be ongoing for many years to come. Therefore, the main focus of this paper will be to point out similarities within the case study countries in order to be able draw conclusions about Eastern Europe as a whole. Furthermore, Eastern Europe will never be considered Western or fully developed by Western standards. Until this is realized by all parties involved, Eastern Europe will not have their own standards to be developed upon. The cultural identities of Eastern Europeans are so divergent from Western Europe and the United States and their history inherently rooted in corruption that until civil society and cultural understanding is met, their true potential as world influencers and leaders will be unreachable. By stating this, the scrutiny throughout this paper will center on why Eastern Europe needs to be considered in its own right and not as an expansion of Western culture and development theories.

Chapter Two—Poland: The Example

Overview of Poland

Poland is a country that has been inhabited by countless different peoples since 966 AD encountering many diverse political, cultural, and geographical elements. The current day events in Poland are deeply seated in the remnants of society left by Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union. Since being the fighting



Figure 2: Map of Poland

Source: <<http://www.greenwichmeantime.com/time-zone/europe/european-union/poland/map/>>

ground of both World War I and World War II, Poland has come a long way in terms of improvements in civil society, as well as in their economic outlooks. Since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, they have joined both the European Union and NATO, as well as successfully established a democracy based upon a transformation into a market economy and parliamentary republic. Throughout the years, Poland has been sustained by the determination of the Polish people and persistence of the Catholic Church within their culture. Even with the frequent change of power, the borders of Poland have been loosely maintained since its establishment at the end of the 10th century. The overall development of Poland is considered a transformation into a more Europeanized civilization based on an improved civil society and economy, owing to their varied physical terrain and ability to maintain Polish culture through tyrannical rule.

The coming sections of the case study of Poland include the physical geography, cultural geography, recent history and the lasting effect of communism, Europeanization, and various development theories. The physical geography is addressed in order to evaluate the hindrances

or benefits of the natural terrain of Poland in terms of development. The cultural geography is essential to understanding the social implications upon the civil society and transformation of Polish culture over the past century. For all of Eastern Europe, recent history has the greatest effect on the prospect of full development. In Poland, the effect of communism and Nazi Germany has the greatest impact. In contrast, Europeanization is imperative to scrutinize as well because Western ideals play a part in the transformation of society in Poland through the European Union. Lastly, the development theories cover a variety of areas of improvement in government, society, and the economy of Poland that should be addressed in the near future.

Physical Geography of Poland

Bordered by seven countries, five of which can be considered Eastern European, Poland is the supposed divide between Western Europe and Eastern which leads to the question of its identity and possibilities for development. “Most of Poland’s topography is low lying and makes up part of the North European Plain. The northern part of Poland has a more varied topography



Figure 3: Topographic map of Poland, 2005

Source: <http://www.grida.no/graphicslib/detail/poland-topographic-map_1894>

and features many lakes and hilly areas,” (“Geography of Poland”, 2014). The Carpathian Mountains in the south and the Oder and Neisse rivers in the west are the only true natural boundaries for Poland. Due to lack of natural borders occurring throughout most of Poland

because of the great expanse of the North European Plain, physical geography may have possibly hindered the potential for earlier democratic development. Since it is easily accessible and highly arable land, it was in great demand for agricultural prospects. There is water access to Poland through the Baltic Sea as well as the largest river, the Vistula River that runs through Krakow, Warsaw, Gdansk and many other minor cities throughout Poland (“Geography of Poland”, 2014).

“The long tradition of nature protection in Poland has helped to save much of the great European primeval forest, Puszcza Bialowieza,” along with a heavy emphasis on national parks. Even though the physical geography remains somewhat unvaried there are “about 75 thousand species of plants, 39 thousand micro-organisms and fungi, about 2750 vascular plant species and sub-species, and about 33-45 thousand animal species living in about 360 types of ecosystems,” (“About Poland Geography”, 2013). The great level of diversity in the plant and animal kingdoms illustrates the fertility of the land of the Northern European Plain. While problematic in political endeavors and determining definitive borders for the country, the lowlands of Poland

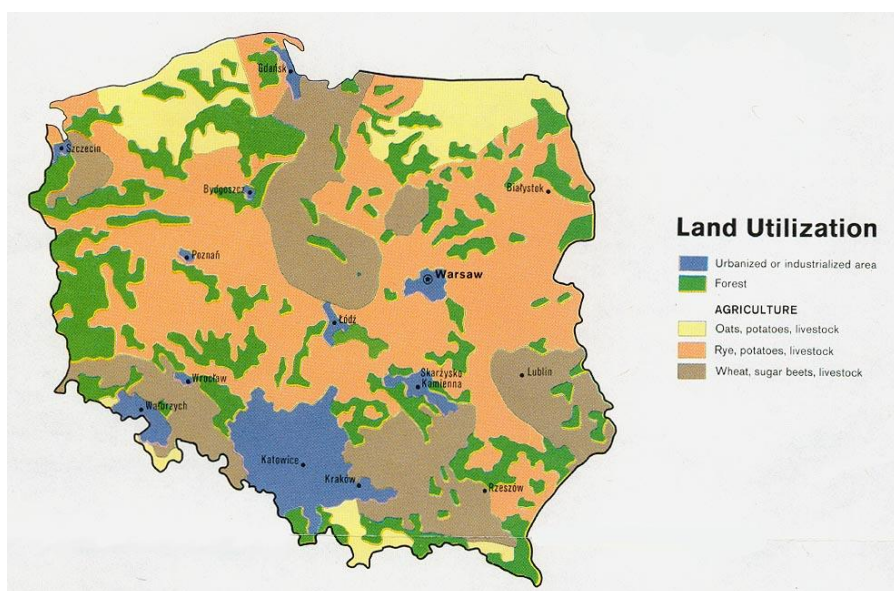


Figure 4: Land Utilization in Poland, 1977

Source: <<http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/poland.html>>

are able to support a high level of human and natural production (“Geography of Poland”, 2014).

Poland’s most important natural resources are hard coal and lignite, which are most often found in the vast plains in the

middle of Poland. Along with this, copper, zinc and lead ores, silver, sulphur, salt, rock salt, building stone, natural gas, and oil are found throughout the country, leading to a heavy emphasis on mining and industry sectors in the economy, (“Natural Resources”, 2005).

Additionally, the largest economies in Poland include machine building, iron, steel, coal mining, chemicals, shipbuilding, food processing, glass, beverages, and textiles. Due to their high availability of natural resources, Poland’s economy has immense variability allowing room for progress and development. Furthermore, a large agricultural sector with products that include potatoes, fruits, vegetables, wheat, poultry, eggs, pork, and dairy products also expands the economy of Poland, (“Geography of Poland”, 2014).

Cultural Geography of Poland

The cultural aspects of Poland’s recent past maintain a focus on civil society and the effects of the environment, ethnicity, and religion on the progression of development throughout the Polish countryside and cities. With coal being the most abundant of Poland’s natural resources, the issue of pollution has been addressed and continues to be examined (“Natural Resources”, 2005). There has been a shift from industry work to a heavier hand in agricultural production since the early 1990s. This stresses both the ideas that agriculture is of growing importance to Poland, as well as concern for a decline in pollution due to less importance of the textile industry.

Poland is a melting pot of many distinct lineages of Eastern European countries. Citizens of Belarusian, Ukrainian, Slavic, Russian, and Czech descent are found throughout Poland (“About Poland Geography”, 2013). Since Poland is already highly comprised of Polish-German peoples, ethnicity is not a major concern within the terms of development of Poland. Even so, the ethnic minorities typically live in close proximity to their country of descent’s border,

leaving room for possible disputes of land possession within the different ethnicities if certain groups overlap and claim specific areas of Poland. While ethnic tensions remain an important cultural issue, religious tensions have arisen more in Poland than ethnic tensions have.

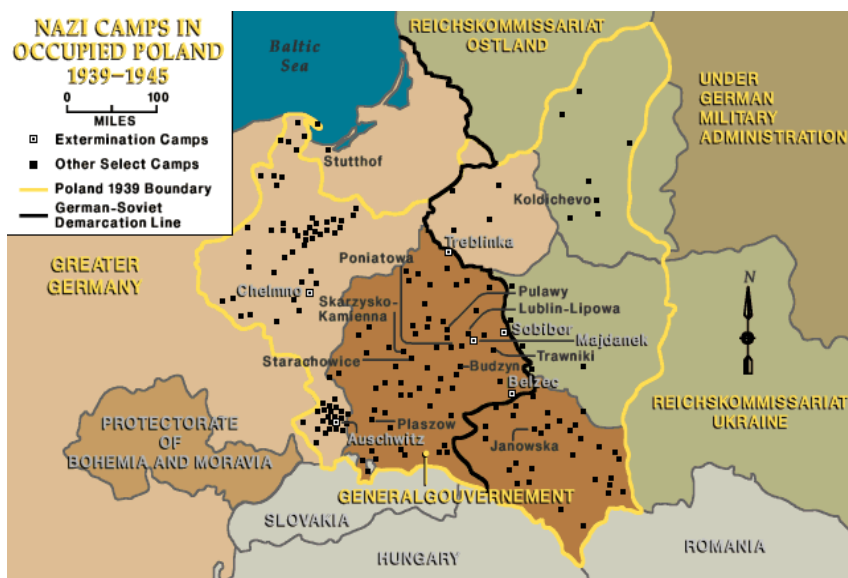


Figure 5: Nazi Occupation of Poland 1939-1945

Source: <https://ushmm.org/wlc/en/media_nm.php?MediaId=428>

A major cultural event in world history has deep roots in Polish religious history. Poland currently has a constitution that supports freedom of religion but around 70 years ago, the same could not be said about Polish society (“Churches and Religious Life in Poland”,

2011). The Holocaust saw the death of approximately six million Jews by the Nazi regime and its collaborators. “The German occupation of Poland was exceptionally brutal. The Nazis considered Poles to be racially inferior. It is estimated that the Germans killed at least 1.9 million non-Jewish Polish civilians during World War II. In addition, the Germans murdered at least 3 million Jewish citizens of Poland,” (“Polish Victims”, 2013). The effect of the Holocaust on Poland and its cultural ramifications has led to a high tolerance of religious freedom throughout the modern state. Heavily entrenched in Christianity and Catholic ideals, “the Catholic Church in Poland is an institution which has always been associated with the concept of Polish statehood. The creation of state structures was connected with the spread of Christianity,” (“Churches and Religious Life in Poland”, 2011). Currently, “most Poles adhere to the Christian

faith, with 86.7% belonging to the Roman Catholic Church. The rest of the population consists mainly of Eastern Orthodox (about 1%), Jehovah's Witnesses (about 129,000) and various other religions and Protestant religious minorities (about 2%),” (“Religion in Poland”, 2014). It is commonly found that the Polish population place more trust in the church than in the government with most of the population believing in at least some sort of spirit or life force (Gliński, 2011).

Additionally, the international recognition of Poland as a primarily Catholic state occurred in 1978 when Karol Józef Wojtyła, better known as Pope Saint John Paul II, was elected and became the second longest serving Pope (serving until 2005) and the first non-Italian Pope since 1523. Most importantly, Pope John Paul II saw the many facets of Polish life throughout the years, including the Communist government and the fall of it leading to democracy (Fournier, 2014).

Through it all, “the Church has supported Polish unity and independence, which proved especially significant in the period under Communist domination,” (“Churches and Religious Life in Poland”, 2011). In recent years, religion and the Catholic Church have become a positive influence on the development of civil society. Piotr Gliński explains the many features of civil society and the possibility of its improvement in “Twenty Years of Civil Society in Poland” (2011). Gliński iterates that there is a possible high correlation between level of religiousness or religious involvement and civic participation. There is evidence to support the idea that citizens

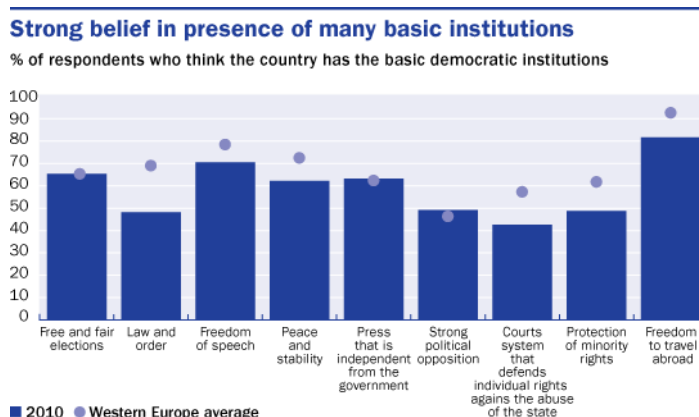


Figure 6: Life in Transition in Poland—Civil Society in Poland

Source: <http://www.ebrd.com/pages/research/publications/special/poland_lits2.shtml>

who are frequent church goers and involved in religious groups are more likely to participate and improve civil society in Poland.

In Poland, “hints of positive change can be detected in the formation of local civic communities,” (Gliński, 2011, pp. 274). Three potentially conceivable changes or maintenance within the current civil society of Poland include continuation of cultural tradition, improvements of grassroots movements, and formal institutional change. All of which should be maintained in order to guarantee civil attachments. Citizens are more likely to stay involved in the community if there is a reason to. Cultural tradition will preserve the history of Poland and create a sense of unity of the entirety of the culture of Poland. Grassroots movements, through NGOs, can help increase the civil nature of local communities. Rather than fully relying on cultural tradition to cultivate civil society, Grassroots movements have the potential of sustenance of the society (Willis, 2005). Lastly, institutional change, like the absorption of European funds, could generate development of local civil communities. Rather than leaving civil society on a national scale, which is too large and unrealistic to pursue, civil society improvements should be focused on a community based approach (Gliński, 2011).

Recent History and the Lasting Effect of Communism on Poland

Present day Poland owes its independence and development into an established, democratic state, almost entirely to the efforts made by the Solidarity movement. Beginning in 1980 as an independent trade union fighting for worker’s rights, Solidarity transformed into a



Figure 7: Solidarity Movement logo

Source: <<http://www.slu.edu/x20476.xml?site=mobile>>

well-built, non-violent sociopolitical movement (“Poland Profile”, 2014). “In the end, it was the desire for higher living standards—perhaps even more than a desire for political freedom—that led to the creation of the

Solidarity trade union and the genesis of the anti-Communist movement,” (“History of Poland”, 2014). It survived through a declaration of Martial Law in 1981, where the movement was first only suspended, but the Communist Party viewed it as a direct threat to their domination and completely dissolved Solidarity shortly after. As a result, the cost of living rose exponentially over the next year. Martial Law was lifted in 1983 and a reformed Solidarity movement emerged in 1989. As the Soviet Union began to fall, the Republic of Poland was instituted on September 13, 1989 (“History of Poland”, 2014).

Wojciech Jaruzelski and Lech Walesa were the major players during this time in Poland’s unstable history. Wojciech Jaruzelski was the last communist leader of Poland where he was Prime Minister from 1981 to 1985 then Head of State from 1985 to 1990. The declaration of Martial Law upon the Solidarity movement was enacted by Jaruzelski. Lech Walesa was on the front lines fighting for Solidarity and on “August 31, 1980, the ‘Gdansk Accords’ are signed in the port city, legitimizing Eastern Europe’s first non-Communist labor union and paving the way for the fall of Communism 9 years later,” (“History of Poland”, 2014). Consequently, Lech Walesa, one of the founders and the main voice of Solidarity, won the first semi-free election for president of Poland in November of 1990.

Unfortunately, the transition into a democracy was not smooth to start off for Poland. Already lacking a reformed economy, incomes dropped 40% while prices rose 250%, causing Poland to fall deeper into an economic hole (Life After Communism, 2009). “Despite growing unemployment and a dilapidated infrastructure, Poland was slowly transformed into an investment-friendly, market economy,” (“Life After Communism”, 2009). A reformation of the Communist party permitted Poland the ability to enter into a coalition government, allowing a continuous effort for market reforms. The liberalization of the economy was emphasized in its

expansion to a focus on internationalization both through their economic pursuits, as well as furthering the government prospects. Poland joined NATO's Partnership for Peace program in 1994 and later, NATO in 1999. The European Union opened up talks about membership for Poland in 1998 and official membership into the EU was issued in 2004 ("History of Poland", 2014). "Unfortunately the continuing problem of high unemployment and the promise of better salaries encouraged many Poles to work in other EU countries after 2004. However this trend started the reverse in 2008 as the Polish economy enjoyed a boom period," ("Life After Communism", 2009). Fortunately, Poland was one of the few countries not affected to a great degree by the Great Recession that began to occur in 2007. This was emphasized by the IMF granting a one year credit line to Poland in May of 2009 of \$20.6 billion in order to help them through the global economic crisis ("Poland Profile", 2014).

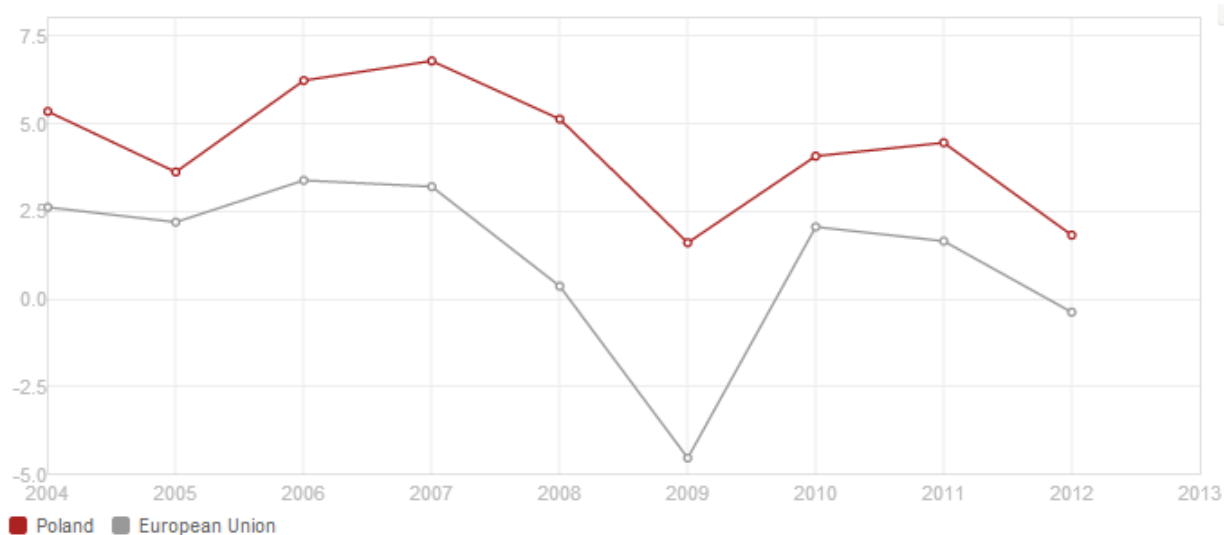


Figure 8: GDP Annual Growth (%), Poland and the EU

Source: <<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG/countries/PL--EU?display=graph>>

Influenced by their history of trade unions and demanding equality in both government and wages, September of 2013 displayed many protests throughout Warsaw organized by trade unions demanding higher pay and more jobs ("History of Poland", 2014). The emphasis on democracy in the present day government allows the citizens of Poland to express their dismay

without suppressing their ideas and wage prospects. Currently Poland can be considered at the very least, democratic and functioning in a market economy focusing on free trade with need for improvements in future economic pursuits.

Despite controversy on the exact actions of Pope John Paul II and his role in the fall of communism, it is certain that he was the face of the cause of the many effects in the goal to end communism in Poland. “In essence the Pope made two contributions to the defeat of totalitarian communism, a system in which the state claimed ownership of all or most physical property and also held a monopoly on intellectual life. The church, first in Poland, and then elsewhere, broke these two monopolies,” (Applebaum, 2005). In other words, the Pope and the church played a major role in the first steps to improving civil society in Poland by creating the mechanisms to end communism. Just as the Church is important to the development of civil society in modern times, it was even more prominent to the end of communism.

Immediately after communism fell in Poland and with the occurrence of the first free elections, the reformed Polish government embarked upon a new program called ‘shock therapy’. “The aim of the shock therapy model was to remove social obstacles to development driven by anti-social self-interest. The result would have been a free market, free enterprise economy, which, as the supporters of the model argued, in the long run guaranteed full employment, stability and growth,” (Marangos, 2004, pp. 221). For Poland, shock therapy ultimately resulted in the cultivation of civil society, democracy, and a free market economy. “Poland enjoyed the elimination of hyperinflation and of shortages and queues; the establishment of money as a medium of exchange; the development of a substantial private sector; state enterprises restructured; output reflected consumer sovereignty; rapid technological

modernization took place; international trade reflected market signals and pollution was reduced,” (Marangos, 2004, pp. 222).

While Poland has mostly recovered from the initial impact of deviating from communism, the influence has left a mark on their culture that remains wary of Russia and other forces that could jeopardize their freedom. With all of the events occurring in Ukraine right now, the Polish government asked NATO to station 10,000 troops in their country for defense against Russia. Their plea to NATO, which occurred after the seizure of Crimea in April of 2014, indicates Poland’s alignment with the Alliance (“Poland Profile”, 2014). This alliance also indicates their tendencies toward Europeanization, as well as potential for being considered fully developed. Lamentably, with the past authorities of Nazi Germany and the USSR, Poland may always live in fear of the recurrence of their national repression and communism in their state.

Europeanization and Poland

Poland joined the European Union in 2004 with the enlargement of ten other Central and Eastern European countries (“History of Poland”, 2014). While establishing their new democracy and no longer under the influence of communism, the effects that Western Europe had on Poland were more prominent. “The process of Europeanization is understood as a multi-directional and multi-level adaptive pressure exerted by the EU system on its current and potential subsystems and vice versa, as well as by the subsystems on one another,” (Gašior-Niemiec, 2003, pp. 31). Essentially, Europeanization is a fundamental concept that has the potential to change Poland’s current policies, political beliefs, and societal values to Western ideals. The traces began to be felt when the talks of accession in the EU commenced. It could be argued that Europeanization is a consistent factor in development of any European country whether or not they are geographically located in the west or east (Willis, 2005).

EU accession talks caused direct pressure to be placed on institution building and capacity building by means of decentralization of the polity. In the second half of 1998, effective January 1999, Poland launched four major systemic reforms: the reform of the health care system, the reform of education, the reform of social security system, and the reform of territorial administration (Gąsior-Niemiec, 2003, pp. 38). The effect of EU accession on Poland fundamentally changed their development. The proposals of the four changes were planned under the impression that Polish society is comparable to Spanish society. Spain has been an established society for hundreds of years whereas Poland did not have specific borders until after World War II (“Geography of Poland”, 2014).

Along with this, the cultural implications are entirely disparate. A large majority of Western Europe is based in Latin or Germanic roots with heavy influence on their past kingdoms. Just looking at the dissimilarities in terms of language, Western Europe is mainly Germanic or Romantic language family based. While Germanic language can still be found in small parts of Eastern Europe, there are many regional differences with the primary basis in Slavic languages (“History of Poland”, 2014).

Development Theories in Poland

In any developing country, it is possible for NGOs to be the first step in the greater achievement of overall development. This is especially true for Poland in that, for civil society to fully evolve, NGOs need to be the vehicle driving development. Grassroots movements focus on the basic needs of society: basics of personal consumption; access to essential services; access to paid employment; and qualitative needs (Willis, 2005, pp. 104). The considerable focal point on agricultural development and support for the informal urban sector could be a major asset to Poland’s economy and overall wellbeing. Through grassroots development of agriculture,

reforms could be made to cause agriculture to be more productive with higher output and surplus. Along with this, grassroots development would allow greater attention to be paid to the smaller scale activities within civil society, in turn supporting the long-term development of Poland.

To promote further development of the democracy and economy, Poland should focus on the development of civil society within farmers. If they develop the civil society of the agricultural sector, the overall social capital of Poland will improve (Gliński, 2011). It would cultivate the bonding capital between Polish farmers and the linking capital between the farmers and local citizens who buy their goods as well as the linking capital between the farmers and economists. To bring this full circle, it will also cultivate empowerment within the entirety of the agricultural sector. Promotion of civil society and social capital of local farmers and the agricultural sector will empower these local entities with power over institutions that attempt to exploit their raw

goods, power to the people to sustain themselves, power within the community to be able to rely on a locality understanding, and power within Poland as a whole by nourishing their economic possibilities through agriculture (Willis, 2005). When the power stays within the local farming

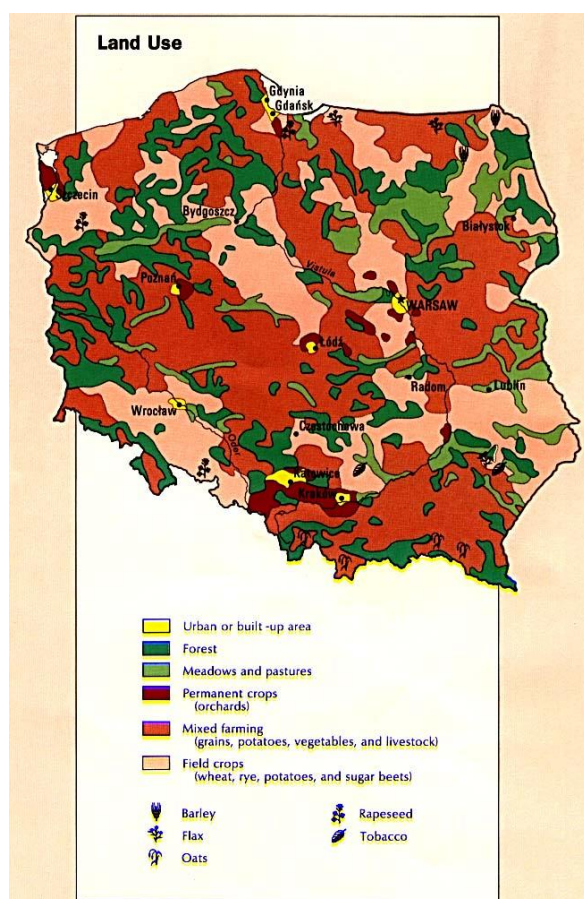


Figure 9: Industry and Agricultural Land Use in Poland

Source: <<http://maps.nationmaster.com/country/pl/1>>

community, all small business owners will prosper. “The farmer buys a drink at the local pub; the pub owner gets a car tune-up at the local mechanic; the mechanic brings a shirt to the local tailor; the tailor buys some bread at the local bakery; the baker buys wheat for bread and fruit for muffins from the local farmer. When these businesses are not owned locally, money leaves the community at every transaction,” (Halweil, 2004, pp. 54).

Along with this, localized farming will decrease carbon emissions and pollution, resulting in positive intentions concerning ethnodevelopment and preventing further deterioration to the environment (Willis, 2005). “Highly site-specific and management-intensive cultivation demands ingenuity and awareness of local ecology, and can't be achieved using heavy equipment and heavy applications of agrochemicals... Complex farm systems require a sophisticated and intimate knowledge of the land—something small-scale, full-time farmers are better able to provide,” (Halweil, 2004, pp. 71). Since agriculture is a primary resource and is always needed to sustain a basic living, improvement upon Poland’s agricultural sector may be the correct response for an Eastern European version of a fully developed economy and government.

Neoliberalism as a development theory focuses on lower levels of state involvement and further implying that the state should provide regulatory framework within which companies and NGOs can operate (Willis, 2005, pp. 225). In order to promote neoliberalism ideals throughout the nation, the Polish government should improve the lifetime of NGOs in Poland. While we already know that when accession talks began with the EU, there had been movements to improve health care, education, social security, and territorial administration, institutionalization of the country can only go so far. With very low levels of trust in their national government, Poles are more likely to make improvements for their country if implemented by NGOs or other organizations. It is probable that if the government lends help to organizations not associated

with the government, citizens' faith in their national administration may be improved, and when national approval ratings improve, civil society also improves.

Final Thoughts on Poland

Development in Poland can be viewed as a circular motion in that, if the civil society of the agricultural sector is improved upon, it allows localization to occur which promotes overall civil society of Polish nationalism. In addition, if the government supports NGOs to promote civil society, social capital, and human capital, this could result in an unintentional rise in citizen faith in the government. When focusing on human and social capital, the government then promotes a diversified democracy and recognizes the ability for the communities to nurse a local economy. With an improved local economy and focus on nationalization of goods and services, Polish government advocates a higher level of quality of life. Once they improve on a community and national scale primarily, their place on an international scale will quickly follow. Especially since Poland already maintains support from the European Union, citizens could claim their place within the European community, leading back to an improvement in an overall outlook for civil society and social capital.

Chapter Three—Croatia: The Newcomer

Overview of Croatia

Croatia is a country that has experienced the trials and tribulations of empirical rule, socialism, and the recent rise of democracy. Since gaining full independence in 1992 from Yugoslavia, Croatia has gone through two economic downturns and a high level of unemployment with a problematic economic outlook on the use of agriculture. Croatia's history of a challenging agricultural sector and ethnic complexities show the



Figure 10: Map of Croatia

Source: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Template:Location_map_Croatia>

possible implications their location might have on their developmental progress, both physically and culturally. Croatia is one of the eight present-day countries that made up the Former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Croatia first became internationally recognized as an independent state on January 15, 1992. The borders of Croatia have changed drastically throughout the years especially during World War II and as part of Yugoslavia. The cultural and physical geography of Croatia are heavily influenced by the political and historical turmoil the Croats have experienced as a nation and contribute greatly to the overall process of development.

Much like Poland, the sections within the Croatia case study include the physical geography, cultural geography, recent history and the lasting effect of communism, Europeanization, and various development theories. The physical geography is addressed in order to evaluate the effects the natural terrain of Croatia has on the success of the nation's full development. The cultural geography is essential to understanding the social implications upon the civil society and transformation of Croatian culture over the past century. For all of Eastern

Europe, recent history has the greatest effect on the prospect of full development. In Croatia, the effect of socialism and Yugoslavia has the greatest impact, especially on ethnic tensions within the nation. In contrast, Europeanization is imperative to scrutinize as well because Western ideals play a part in the transformation of society in Croatia through their new accession into the European Union. Lastly, the development theories cover a variety of areas of improvement in government, society, and the economy of Croatia that could benefit their future greatly.

Physical Geography of Croatia

Although Croatia is a part of Europe, it would not be considered a part of Western Europe. Therefore, solely in terms of physical geography, it will always be on the periphery until all of Central and Eastern Europe is developed to the extent of Western Europe. Granted, Western Europe has typically had much more time and advantages to becoming fully developed countries. In this case though, it could be argued that Croatia has been at the mercy of dependency theories since the end of World War I when it was inducted into the Yugoslavia Kingdom. Croatia was subject to exploitation from Yugoslavia and Western Europe because they had no sovereignty and did not have one autonomous voice for the needs of the Croats (“Croatian Overview”, 2013).

Physically, Croatia is now bordered by five countries including Slovenia, Hungary, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Serbia. Croatia has access to the sea through the Adriatic Sea that feeds into the Mediterranean Sea. As a whole, the number of islands contained along the Croatian coast is somewhat of a mystery in that there is not one number that everyone can agree on. “The official tourism page Istria.com insists on 1,233 islands” while “experts at the department of Cartography at the Croatian Hydrographic Institute (HHI) say that number is wrong and that Croatia has two additional islands, bringing the total up to 1,246,” (“Number of

Croatian Islands” 2010). Located in Central and Southeast Europe, Croatia landscape includes mountains, hills, flat plains, major rivers, forested highlands, and coastal areas. “Croatia has a varied topography with flat plains along its border with Hungary and low mountains near its coastline,” (“Croatia Overview” 2013). “Karst topography makes up about half of Croatia and is especially prominent in the Dinaric Alps,” (“Croatia” 2013). The Dinaric Alps is the mountain range that runs parallel to the Adriatic Sea coastline of Croatia. The forests observed within Croatia are typically within or bordering the mountainous regions. Croatia’s most well known physical geography attribute is Plitvice Lakes National Park, which is also a UNESCO World Heritage Site. The Plitvice Lakes National Park contains mountainous karst topography as well as being “heavily forested, mainly with beech, spruce, and fir trees, and features a mixture of Alpine and Mediterranean vegetation,” (“Plitvice Lakes National Park” 2013). Some natural resources found in Croatia include oil, coal, low-grade iron ore, calcium, silica, salt, and hydropower, just to name a few.

Therefore, we can conclude that Croatia is not hindered by its physical geography—if anything the various topographical regions could help the development of the nation even more (“Country Profile Croatia”, 2013). While government and economy reformations can be useful, in the case study of Croatia, fostering human and social capital will produce the best results for a higher employment rate and allow for the economy to thrive. Agricultural restructuring would benefit the export production in Croatia as well as create an enhanced spotlight on the tourism sector.

Although the Croats have access to just about every type of physical feature the land can provide, the use of arable land of Croatia plays an important role in Croatia: both as shares of the country's total GDP and as an important source of employment (“GDP of Croatia”, 2011).

“Land fragmentation and low level of production remain a constraint,” (“Croatia Agriculture and Enlargement”, 2013). The main developmental problem concerning physical geography has to do with the dynamic of how the farmable land of Croatia is utilized. The quandary of the agricultural sector is that it is dominated by small, family owned farms that average a size of only 2.4 hectares (“Croatia Agriculture and Enlargement”, 2013). This small amount of land is highly fragmented and inefficient for sustainable production of food for the economy of the country. “Croatia is currently self-sufficient in the production of only a few products: potatoes, poultry meat, eggs, corn, wine, sugar, and wheat. Therefore, Croatia is a net importer of agricultural commodities,” (“Croatia Agriculture and Enlargement”, 2013).

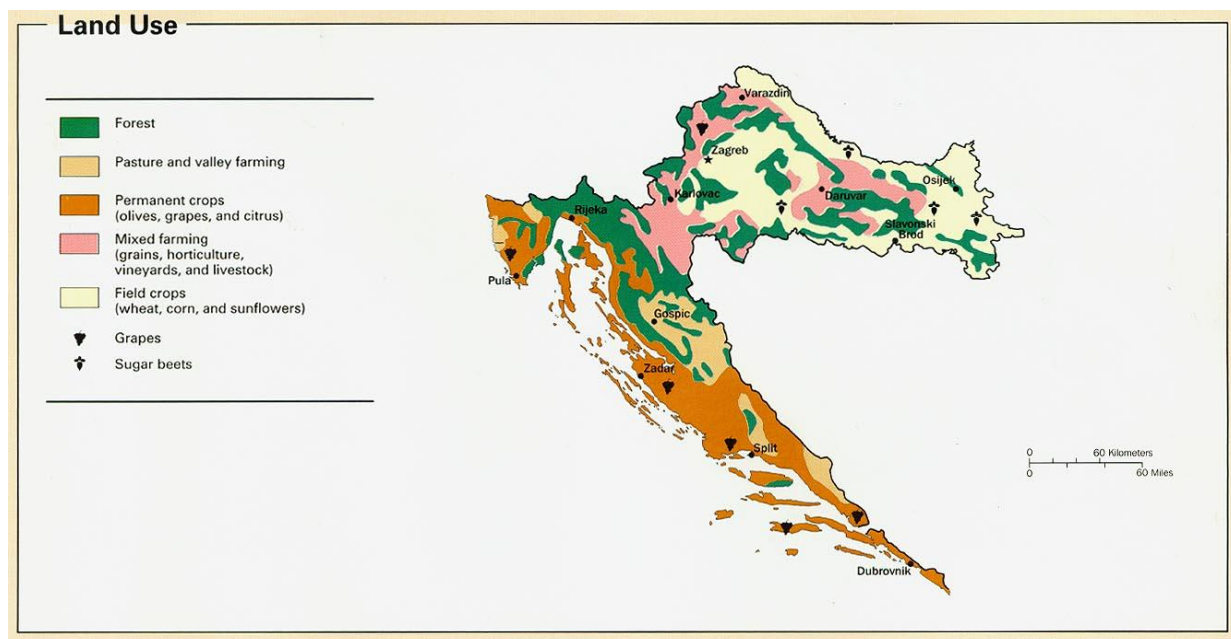


Figure 11: Land use map of Croatia Source: <<http://www.vidiani.com/?p=1887>>

Cultural Geography of Croatia

As opposed to the physical geography of Croatia, the cultural geography is highly complex and causes more limiting factors of development for the country. The ethnic groups of Croatia include Croats, Serbs, Yugoslavs, and Muslims. There are a few other minorities

included in the population of Croatia but historically, the Serbs have been at the root of most ethnic intricacies. Croats make up around 90% of the population and Serbs about 4.5% (“Croatia Overview”, 2013). The rest is made up of other European ethnicities that have migrated to Croatia in recent years.

The large population of Serbs brings into question the issue of ethnodevelopment (Willis, 2005). As stated previously, the War for Independence in 1995 was caused by ethnic tensions between the Croats and Serbs. The relationship between the two ethnic groups is extremely fragile and needs to be approached with discretion. “Regardless of ideology, the focus on development at a national scale means that any diversity within the population needs to be incorporated into a national project,” (Willis, 2005, pp. 133). For Croatia, this is essential in encouraging further economic and democratic development. Improvements in ethnodevelopment would in turn increase the enhancement of civil society within Croatia.

Along with issues of ethnicity, urbanization and destabilization of farming areas are also major factors within the cultural geography of Croatia. The population density (shown on right), is extremely affected by what county of Croatia is selected. On the population density map, the region shown in red is the City of Zagreb. Based on the rise in population of urban areas shown on next page, the population density (shown in terms of the percentage of the overall population) being the highest in the capital city of Croatia makes the most sense. The regions surrounding the capital

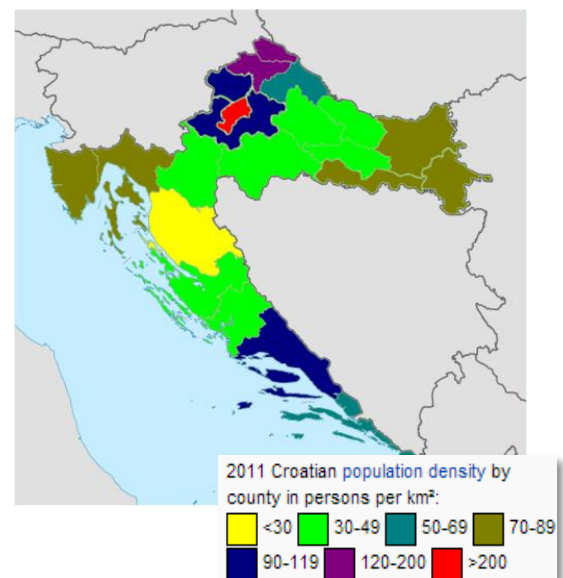


Figure 12: Croatia Population Density Map

Source: <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Croatia_population_density_map_2011_by_county.svg>

city, Zagreb, with a higher population density include, Zagreb County, Krapina-Zagorje, Varaždin, and Međimurje. Since most of the financial sectors of high development are found in the north and northeastern areas of Croatia, a high density of people will live there. There is also a high population density found in the county of Split-Dalmatia because the tourism sector in this specific county is higher than the rest of the coastal counties. The smallest population density occurs in Lika-Senj County because it is the least prosperous county. While it has the most coastal access of all of the counties and includes the Plitvice Lakes National Parks, the move to a

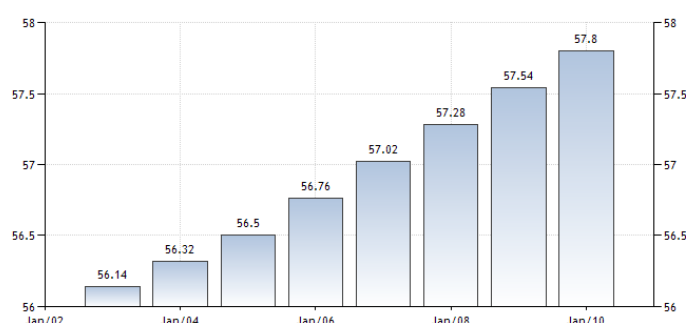


Figure 13: Growth in Urban Population in Croatia, 2002-2010

Source: <<http://www.tradingeconomics.com/croatia/urban-population-percent-of-total-wb-data.html>>

more urban society has caused the Lika-Senj County to become the least populated and least prosperous region of the country (“Croatia Overview”, 2013).

With the destabilization of society after Yugoslavia broke down into democratic entities, Croatia experienced the dramatic effects of an unstable government in the early 1990s (“Yugoslavia”, 2013). “The loss of traditional markets, liberalized imports, privatization process and company restructuring all contributed to rising unemployment in Croatia, which stabilized soon at 18% and is expected to rise in the near future,” (Matutinović, 1998, pp. 102). Concerning the development of Croatia’s economy, “The World Bank Group is [beginning to] transition from a focus on projects to a focus on knowledge partnership,” to create a dialogue for progress for the nation (“Croatia Overview”, 2013). Some of the World Bank’s tactics include investing in major trading routes (such as the Port of Rijeka), promoting research and development, and supporting the judicial and revenue administration reforms. Joining the

European Union may also prove to be extremely beneficial to the economy and development of Croatia (“Croatia Overview”, 2013). Governor of the Croatian National Bank has stated that he would like to see the Croatia Kuna be replaced by the Euro as soon as possible after their accession, (“Croatia and the Euro”, 2013). As seen in the cases of Greece and Italy, the use of the Euro and becoming part of the European Union “Eurozone” can prove to be drastically important in accomplishing strides in development of the country.

Recent History and the Lasting Effect of Socialism on Croatia

“The collapse of communism in 1989 in Eastern Europe, leads to a rise in support for parties with a nationalist program,” (“Croatia Profile”, 2013). On January 23, 1990 Yugoslavia lifted its monopoly on political power over the six states within it. The first free multi-party elections in Croatia were held on April 22 and May 7, 1990. At this point, Croatia attempted to leave Yugoslavia peacefully but since there was still a large minority number of Serbs, problems arose. When Croatia voted for their independence on May 19, 1991 with an 80% turnout and 93.24% approval rate, the province of Krajina that holds the largest population of Serbs in Croatia, boycotted (“Croatia Profile”, 2013). From here, the Yugoslav army invaded Croatia and the War of Independence began. “[In 1992 the United Nations set] up 4 protected areas in Croatia, with 14,000 UN troops keeping Croats and Serbs apart,” (“Croatia Profile”, 2013). The war with Yugoslavia lasted until 1995, while the rest of the EU recognized Croatia’s independence beginning in 1992. The events and years in between the beginning and ending of the war are hazy but it is clear that the war began after the European Community attempted to establish a peaceful solution to the ethnic complexities of Croatia. Once Croatia was formally recognized as an independent state in January of 1992, “European Community peace negotiators [were] killed in Croatia after being attacked by a Serbian jet,” (“Croatian War”, 2011). Krajina

negotiated an agreement with the Croatian government called the Erdut Agreement to become a temporary protectorate area of the UN and was formally integrated back into Croatia by 1998 (“Croatia Profile”, 2013).

Since claiming independence, Croatia has struggled with two separate economic recessions but has maintained a presence within the European community because they began their accession into the European Union in 2003. The biggest developmental downfall during the War for

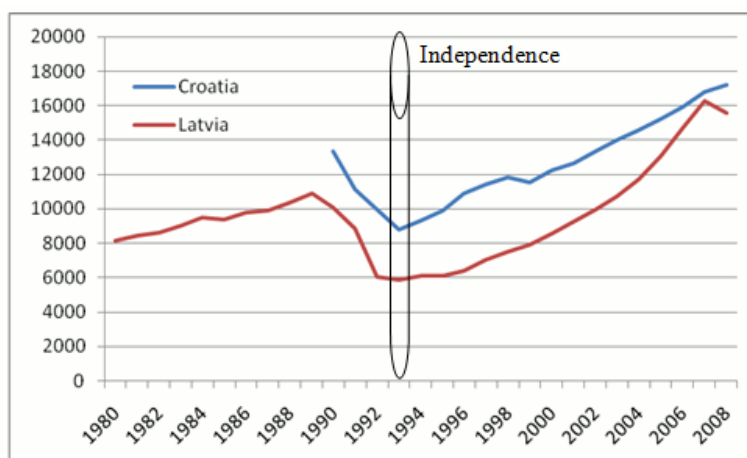


Figure 14: GDP per capita of Croatia in comparison to Latvia
Source: <<http://www.voxeu.org/article/growing-together-croatia-and-latvia>>

Independence in Croatia is that with the fall of communism and the Nazi German party in 1989, the outpouring of monetary support from Western Europe and the United States was lost on Croatia (“Croatia Overview”, 2013). In comparison to Slovenia, who declared independence on the same day as Croatia, the economic support given to Slovenia was used for the development of democracy, while in Croatia it was funneled into funding their War of Independence. “In 1993, American officers undertook training of the Croatian army, which was now armed by the United States,” (Mahairas, 2012). While Croatia was provided arms and militia, Slovenia established peace and independence (“Croatia War”, 2011).

Once Croatia declared independence and following the War for Independence in 1995, the country began relying heavily on neoliberalist ideals and an increased movement of free trade. This emphasis on private sectors and the individual has allowed the economy to soar and

also resulted in a significant 5% growth average of the GDP since gaining independence, (Gylfason & Hochreiter, 2010). The upswing in the economic outlook of Croatia can be attributed to a final settlement within Croatia and its bordering countries that allowed for the typical fiscal development and improvement that comes along with peace resolutions.

Yugoslavia will always have an effect on the outcome of development in Croatia. Since Croatian independence occurred just over 20 years ago, the influence of socialism and communism is still present. “Yugoslavia was well known for its self-management market economy. This meant that, in spite of the fact that private property remained quite limited, the market was allowed to function as a prime economic regulatory mechanism,” (Sekulic & Sporer, 2002, pp. 86). The multiple economic recessions Croatia has experienced since declaring independence owes to the fact that they never had to consider market downturns while being involved in a socialist government that had its own checks and balances system.



Figure 15: Ethnic Map of Former Yugoslavia

Source: <<http://www.srpska-mreza.com/MAPS/Ethnic-groups/map-State-Dept.html>>

The other indelible effect that the socialist kingdom left on the nation's included within Former Yugoslavia is the issues between different identifying nationalities. The ethnic tensions trace back to the time in which Croats lived under the socialist Yugoslavia and communist Croat Party (LCY). “Balancing the separate national identities and 'Yugoslav patriotism' in such a way that the individual identities were not suppressed and the integration of the country was kept intact was always the

uppermost concern in LCY strategies. In the end, however, Yugoslavia was destroyed by these individual identities and by the ideologies and social movements built on them,” (Sekulic & Sporer, 2002, pp. 87).

Europeanization and Croatia through EU Accession

Croatia just recently joined the European Union in July of 2013, after the government executed reforms, approved by the EU, of socio-political institutions. “Before the global financial crisis of 2008-09, the Croatian economy grew at a healthy 4-5% annually, incomes doubled, and economic and social opportunities dramatically improved. The prolonged crisis has put this progress and Croatia’s aspirations to the test and the country has now been in recession for four years, losing almost 11% of its output,” (“Croatia Overview”, 2013). According to the World Bank, Croatia’s unemployment has risen to over 14% at the end of 2012, 115,000 jobs have been lost in the private sector, and poverty has increased from 10% to 14%. The progress at this point is slow and the outlook is not as bright as it once was before the global financial crisis but with a vast agricultural sector, there are possibilities of improvement in the developmental programs (“Croatia Overview”, 2013).

With some ideas of Westernized development already in place with their accession into the EU, the UNDP, or United Nations Development Program, has also thrown in their two cents with a policy paper claiming Croatia to be the “Fertile Ground for Development” (Božić & Meth-Cohn, 2013). The goal of the policy paper is to explore the parameters of EU membership and its effect on Croatia’s rural areas. It focuses on the fragility of small-scale farming in the countryside, hastening pace of depopulation, lack of rural job opportunities, and the inadequate rural infrastructure of the agricultural sector of Croatia. The effect of the EU on this policy paper, the EU has promised “a huge increase in funding of rural development after accession,”

(Božić & Meth-Cohn, 2013, pp. 5). According to the UNDP paper, the immediate accession effects include: a transformation of the agricultural sector, monetary support for diversification of the rural sector, and a push for joint action for rural areas. In doing these three transitional improvements for the agricultural sector, following the steps of the UNDP paper could result in a creation of new platforms that bring together farmers, businesses, NGOs, and officials. This could facilitate the emergence of innovation in the agricultural sector as well as improve civil society of the nation. The only concern with a full reliance on these UNDP ideas would be the implications of a heavy reliance of Europeanization. Croatia should embrace their new membership within the European Union but still bolster their civil society and national culture (Božić & Meth-Cohn, 2013).

Development Theories in Croatia

One of the needs that must to be met in order to achieve full development is improved rates of secondary and collegiate level schooling. Secondary schooling averages in 2007 were at 90% and collegiate schooling was around 66% (“Country Profile Croatia”, 2013). While these numbers don’t seem terrible, to facilitate an improvement in the economy as a whole and at a higher rate, the Croatian government needs to invest more government efforts and spending into education. An investment in education would boost the overall human capital of Croatian society and allow for social capital to increase. Increased education levels and schooling of children will increase the bonding capital while bridging capital is currently improving with Croatia’s new EU membership. Linking capital is the most difficult to attain efficiency in, but with an already present focus on neoliberalism, fostering relationships between the private sector, the market, and the individual, all areas of social capital can progress (Willis, 2005).

Furthermore, an increase in education funding can also lead to a decrease in unemployment because more citizens will be educated for specialized jobs.

Concepts of ethnodevelopment should be implemented into Croatian society (Willis, 2005). The ideal of territorialism and internal self-determination has previously been addressed, and continues to be addressed, with the War of Independence from 1992 to 1995 and the aftermath that has resulted from it. The ideals that Croats need to attempt to undertake now are cultural pluralism and ecological sustainability. Cultural pluralism is both, an intriguing and beguiling principle, to embark on in any present day society. For Croatia, cultural pluralism may constantly be a work in progress because of the ethnic conflicts that have always been present in Eastern Europe. Serbs and Croats were never allies even when they were united under the Yugoslav Socialist State. Concerning ecological sustainability, efforts have already been made to preserve the natural wildlife areas of Croatia. “According to the Protected Areas Register of the Ministry of Environmental and Nature Protection (as of 14 October 2013), a total of 419 areas have been protected in the Republic of Croatia in various categories,” (“Protected Areas”, 2012). The 419 areas include 717,909.76 hectares of land accounting for 8.19% of the total area of Croatia. The Nature Protection Act created in 2005 holds the Republic of Croatia responsible for two areas of conservation at the national level including, national parks and nature reserves. The other seven protection categories are held at the county level and include strict and special reserves, regional parks, nature and park architecture monuments, significant landscape, and park forests. To emphasize this, the Croatian government should focus extra efforts sustainability and monitor the tourism of these protected places.

The tourism sector in Croatia is growing and should accommodate the need to stay true to ecological sustainability while also stimulating the economy with the money coming from

visitors. In addition, to create more cash inflow from travelers, small farmers markets in the highly populated tourist areas could benefit the small land holding farms. In creating a small market for farmers who can't sell items into the large international free market, tourism could help all parts of the agricultural sector to be utilized fully. Since most visitors are probably coming to Croatia for the beaches in the Split-Dalmatia coastal area, the use of the Mediterranean crops could benefit the economy significantly. In comparison to Italy or California where the climate is similar, there is a large market for wineries. If Croatia established more wineries near these already popular tourist destinations, there could be even more money made off of vacationers.

Final Thoughts on Croatia

The major problem in European ideas of development for Croatia is that many of the statements demanding improvement are overarching and vague in definitional information. Along with this, they seem to stray away from what would be best for Croatia as a nation but more centered on what Croatia could do to benefit the European Union. Therefore, the modernization developmental theories from Westernized countries seem to want to bring Croatia to an elevated plane of Europeanization. While these many models of development presented by the European Union are commendable and a remarkable starting point for a full Croatian transition from socialism and communism, it fails to take into account the vast historical content of the nation that could complicate the development process.

As stated before in the UNDP paper (Božić & Meth-Cohn, 2013), rural diversification could result in overall improvements of the economy. As we saw in Poland and a possible improvement upon the agricultural sector, the same could be said about Croatia. If the rural sector improves, it could improve the urban sector and promote ideals that urbanization is not

necessarily the best route to development (Willis, 2005). Once the rural sector can progress through empowerment of local communities and create a dialogue of farmers between businesses, NGOs, and the government, the overall social and human capital will be augmented, causing a regeneration of civil society.

Chapter Four—Ukraine: The One in Crisis

Overview of Ukraine

Ukraine, on a global scale, has almost always been perceived as an afterthought. “Most North Americans and Western Europeans are, at best, only dimly aware that Ukraine even exists,” (Dean, 2000, pp. 93). Though surprisingly,

Ukraine has had the most colorful history of all countries within Eastern

Europe in the past twenty years. Laced with corrupt governments, reforms that accomplish nothing but more disorder, tensions with both Russia and the European Union, and little flexibility for civil rights of its citizens, Ukraine has a history that should no longer be an addendum. With the current risk of civil war and possibly bringing tension to an international scale between the European Union, United States, and Russia, parallels to the Cold War and previous revolutions can be drawn. Overall, their physical positioning, cultural intricacies, historical outcomes with Russia, sustained pressure of Westernization, and unremitting effects from Nazi Germany cause Ukraine to be a unique case within Eastern Europe, as it is the least “developed” by European standards.

The prospect of applying theories of development and transformation in Ukraine is eerily relevant right now with the current revolution and standoff between pro-Russian Ukrainian’s and pro-European Union Ukrainian’s. Once again as seen in previous chapters, the sections follow



Figure 16: Map of Ukraine

Source: <<http://www.lonelyplanet.com/maps/europe/ukraine/>>

the same trajectory including the physical geography, cultural geography, recent history and the lasting effect of communism, Europeanization, and various development theories. The physical geography is especially appealing to consider in Ukraine with it being the middleman between Western Europe and Russia. Therefore, the cultural geography is equally as fascinating to understanding the social implications in Ukraine because of the split of Russian identifying Ukrainian's and those who consider themselves fully Ukrainian. Evaluating the recent history of Ukraine is evidently, the most appropriate way in analyzing the steps toward full development due to the current national crisis. In Ukraine, the effects of communism, the Soviet Union, and present day Russia have the greatest impact, especially on ethnic tensions within the nation. In contrast, Europeanization is imperative to scrutinize because Western ideals are the counterpart in the transformation of society in Ukraine. Lastly, the development theories cover a variety of areas of improvement in government, society, and the economy of Ukraine that can be approached once an agreement between Russia and the European Union has been reached about Ukraine's future.

Physical Geography of Ukraine

Ukraine is located in southeast Europe bordered by seven other Eastern and Central European countries. With access to the Black Sea that filters into the Mediterranean Sea, sea travel and trade is possible. "Most of Ukraine consists of fertile plains, or steppes, and plateaus, [along with] mountains that are found only in the West, known as the Carpathians," ("Ukraine", 2014). Crimea also contains the Crimean Mountains along the southern edges of the Crimean peninsula ("Ukraine Geography", 2014). In addition, some hilly areas containing grasslands and shrubs can also be found in the center of Ukraine. The major river found in Ukraine, which also flows through parts of Russia and Belarus, is the Dnieper River, runs through Kiev along with a

few other major Ukrainian cities. Natural resources found throughout the vast countryside are iron ore, coal, manganese, natural gas, oil, salt, sulfur, graphite, timber, and arable land (“Ukraine”, 2014). Environmentally, Ukraine has had consistent difficulty with access to clean,

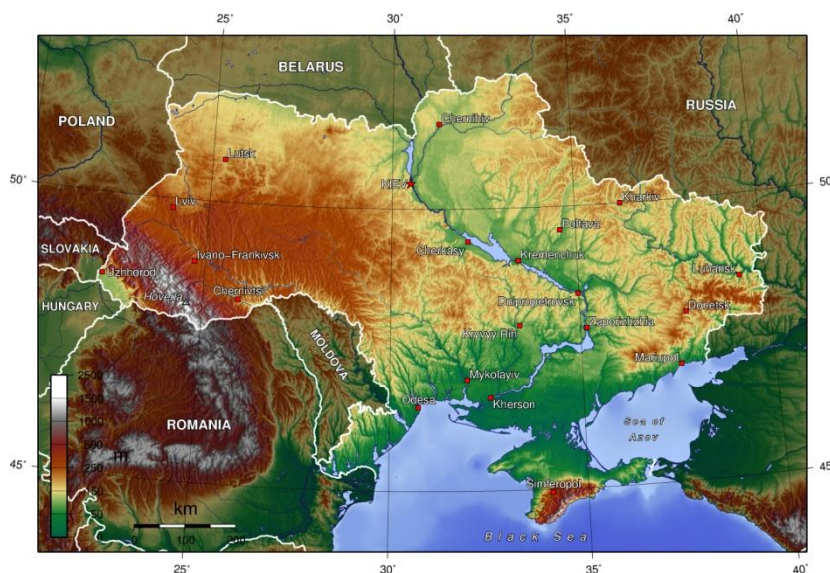


Figure 17: Topographic Map of Ukraine

Source: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Geography_of_Ukraine>

drinking water, air pollution, deforestation, and the remnants of the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant accident in 1986 (“Ukraine Profile”, 2014).

Made up of 24 provinces and one autonomous republic, Ukraine displays some geographical detriments to development but more so in

reference to their cultural geography and their physical placement as the mediator between Russia and the rest of Europe (“Ukraine Geography”, 2014). In regards to actual physical geography and terrain, development is may be by deterred, and the obstacles that arise in being situated directly between the European Union countries and Russia raise many more perplexing affairs that do not encourage the full transition of development for Ukraine.

The cultural divide within Ukraine can be assessed through the physical features of the country, as evidenced by the topographic map above. The Dnieper River, running through the middle of the nation, is somewhat of a divider between the two language regions of Ukraine. On the southeast portion of Ukraine are the Russian speaking Ukrainian’s while in the northwest, the Ukrainian speaking citizens reside. Along with this, the political unrest from the past year as

well as previous election outcomes follows the same trajectory as the maps discussed above. The correlation between physical features, ethno-linguistic trends, election outcomes, and presence of protests are very similar in their appearance. In conclusion, the physical geography of Ukraine has definitive effects on the development and cultural understandings of the country.

Cultural Geography of Ukraine

The most obvious cultural problem within Ukraine is the amount of the population of the nation that identify as Russian. The eastern portion of Ukraine is mainly Russian speaking and their culture ties back to Russia. “Eastern Ukraine fell under Russian imperial rule by the late 17th century, much earlier than western Ukraine. This helps to explain why, after the fall of the Soviet Union, people in the east have generally supported more Russian-leaning politicians. Western Ukraine spent centuries under the shifting control of European powers like Poland and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The western third of Ukraine was even part of Poland for several years leading up to World War II. That, to some degree, helps explain why people in the west

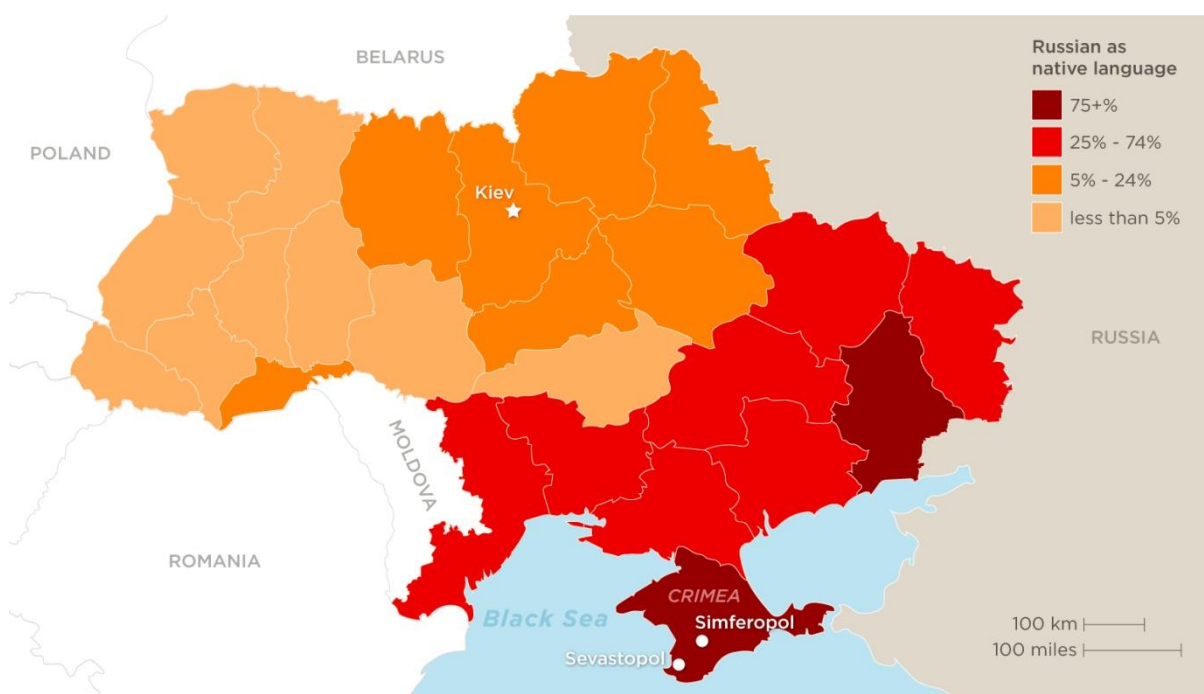


Figure 18: Linguistic trends in Ukraine, 2001 Ukraine Census

Source: <<http://www.cnn.com/interactive/2014/02/world/ukraine-divided/>>

have tended to support more Western-leaning politicians. The east tends to be more Russian-speaking and Orthodox, with parts of the west more Ukrainian-speaking and with heavier Catholic influences,” (Conant, 2014). Adrian Karatnycky (2005), a Ukraine expert as the Atlantic Council of the United States says, “The biggest divide after all these factors between those who view the Russian imperial and Soviet rule more sympathetically versus those who see them as a tragedy.”

The physical geography also contributes to the outcome of the agricultural sectors and what each terrain is comprised of in comparison to the other. For example, the northwestern portion of Ukraine is more forested and mountainous, settling into industry which dominates Ukraine’s GDP, while the southeastern region of Ukraine consists of the steppes with highly arable land resulting in a large proportion of farmers

in the area (“Ukraine

Geography”, 2014). Clearly these lines have grown more and more distinct through this current revolution with Pro-Russia supporters have taken over government buildings in Eastern Ukraine in response to the pro-Europe outcry in the west. East Ukraine’s current referendum to be able to become a self-ruling nation, while not fully legitimized, is still very telling of the emphasis that

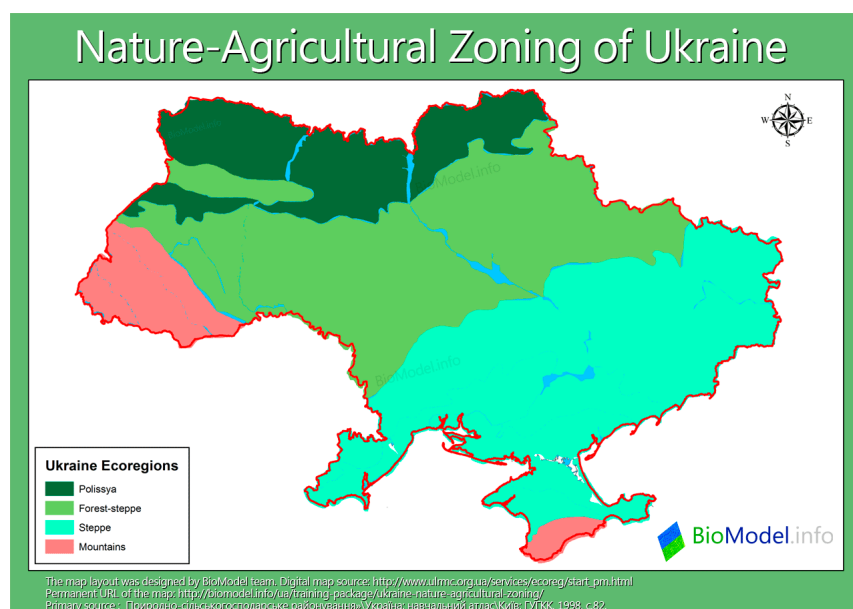


Figure 19: Physical Land Elements Map of Ukraine

Source: <<http://biomodel.info/training-package/ukraine-nature-agricultural-zoning/>>

ethnicity and linguistics places on the outcome of this current crisis (“Ukraine Crisis Timeline”, 2014).

Another problem that follows along with the Orange Revolution as well as the current revolution is the concern for basic and essential human rights for citizens of Ukraine. With a history of repression through Nazi Germany and Soviet Union rule, the so-called ‘independence’ realized in 1991 was riddled with violations to human rights (Karatnycky, 2005). Official for both NATO and Ukraine were in talks of Ukraine joining NATO, but due to the consistent interruptions from Russia and violations to its citizens, NATO withdrew from the talks (“Ukraine Profile”, 2014). Presently, UNDP Ukraine has implemented a four year initiative that is to conclude at the end of 2016 titled, Democratization, Human Rights, and Civil Society Development Program. The goal of this program is to “[foster the] emergence of an open and democratic society, which is based on the rule of law, and is governed by the values of human rights supremacy, openness, and accountability at all levels of government,” (“UNDP Ukraine Human Rights Program”, 2013).

Recent History and the Lasting Effect of Communism on Ukraine

The first claim for independence by Ukraine, designed to be a People’s Republic, occurred in 1918. Shortly after in 1921, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic was established after the Russian Red Army conquered the majority of the nation. Stalin began his reign of terror in Ukraine with a collectivization campaign which saw the deaths of over 7 million people due to famine in 1931 and then mass executions and deportations in 1937 as a war waged against Ukrainian intellectuals (“Ukraine Profile”, 2014). Nazi Germany occupied Ukraine throughout World War II and decimated about 1.5 million Ukrainian Jews. The first reference to the highly debated land mass of Crimea comes into Ukraine’s possession first in 1954 when Nikita

Krushchev, the leader of the Soviet Union at the time, offered the territory to Ukraine as a ‘gift’. Up until 1988, Ukraine was under steadfast control by the Soviet Union. In that year, prominent Ukrainian writers and intellectuals formed the Ukrainian People’s Movement for Reconstruction, better known as Rukh (“Ukraine Profile, 2014). Founded as a civil-political movement, focused on liberal communist ideals, today it is a center-right political party that converges upon the ideas of Ukrainian nationalism and conservatism.

Ukraine’s second attempt at declaring independence transpired in 1991 with a 90% vote for independence in a nationwide referendum. Their sovereignty of independence was short lived and would not be considered by Western values, as true independence. Their second president who came into power in 1994, Leonid Kuchma, held the monopoly on Ukraine’s proper autonomy until 2005. Accusations of Kuchma’s corruption began to come to light with the investigation of the murder of investigative journalist, Georgiy Gongadze, in which Kuchma was a suspect. Along with this, Kuchma signed a friendship treaty with Russia in 1997, further strengthening Ukraine’s ties to the former Soviet Union and communism (“Ukraine Profile”, 2014).

The Orange Revolution was launched in November of 2004 with the belief that the presidential election of that year was rigged. A massive campaign of street protest and civil obedience led to an election re-run that resulted in the inauguration of Viktor Yushchenko as the president at the beginning of 2005. He appointed Yulia Tymoshenko as his Prime Minister but dismissed her in September of 2005 (“Ukraine Profile”, 2014). After this possible near-sighted dismissal, his new prime minister is approved to be Viktor Yanukovych in order to create a coalition government, since Yanukovych is the lead of the opposing party. The political wrangling that occurs between 2005 and 2007, when Yulia Tymoshenko returns as prime

minister, is very convoluted and leads many to believe that government pay-offs and corruption occurred heavily within those two years (“Ukraine Profile”, 2014).

Ukraine was greatly affected by the economic downturn in 2008 and “the IMF [offered] Ukraine a loan of \$16.5 billion to help it weather the storm,” (“Ukraine Profile”, 2014). Also at this time, Russia and Ukraine come to an agreement on gas supplies and its transit that relieved some fears of supply cuts to Europe. In 2010 another round of presidential elections revealed the outcome of Yanukovich finally on top as he was declared as the outright winner for president.

More election corruption was speculated especially after Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko

stepped down from the premiership and

alleged fraud within

the elections (“Ukraine Profile”, 2014). 2011

brought the

imprisonment of both

former President

Leonid Kuchma for his

involvement in the murder of Georgiy Gongadze and former Prime Minister Tymoshenko found

guilty of abuse of power. The jail time of Tymoshenko was condemned by many in the

Ukrainian and European community because it was viewed as a cop out to the allegations she

made toward the 2010 presidential elections. “[In April of 2013 the] European Court of Human

Rights rules unanimously that the arrest and detention of Yulia Tymoshenko in 2011 was

unlawful,” (“Ukraine Profile”, 2014).

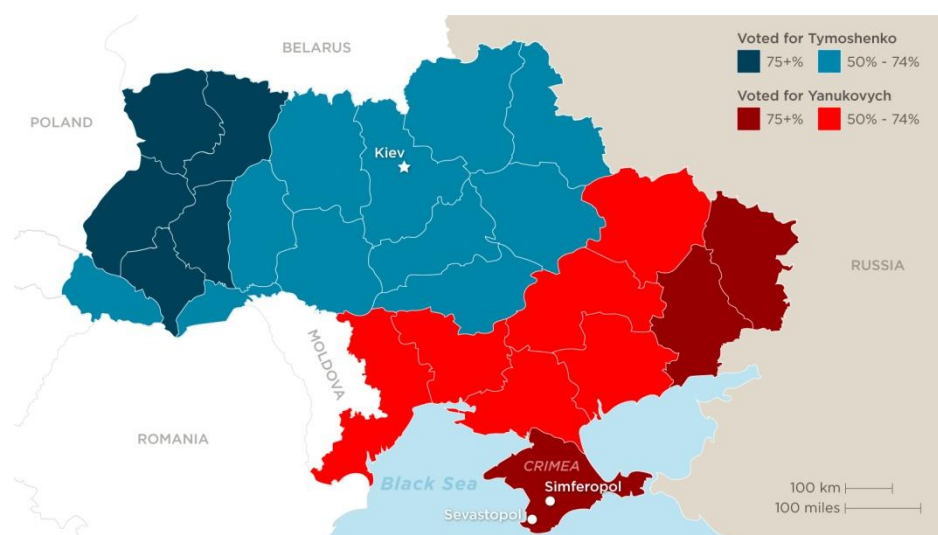


Figure 20: Voting Outcomes of 2010 Presidential Elections in Ukraine

Source: <<http://www.cnn.com/interactive/2014/02/world/ukraine-divided/>>

Most recently, the current revolution began on November 21st, 2013 where “tens of thousands of protesters took to the streets of central Kiev and other cities to protest the government’s sudden decision to abandon plans to sign an association agreement with the EU,” (“Ukraine Profile”, 2014). The demonstrations seen in the capital, Kiev, throughout the winter months are the largest Ukraine has ever seen. In response, “Parliament [passed] restrictive anti-protest laws—days later two people die of gunshot wounds as clashed turn deadly for the first time,” (“Ukraine Crisis Timeline”, 2014). Essentially, the governing officers that were in place at November of 2013 ceased to exist by the end of February, which saw the release of Yulia Tymoshenko from jail as well as the implementation of Olexander Turchynov as interim president of Ukraine. Crimea was seized by Russia in response to the majority of Ukraine remaining pro-Europe over pro-Russia. Shortly after, the citizens of Crimea voted on a referendum that resulted in its annexation from Ukraine and readmission into Russia in March. Eastern Ukraine led a referendum as of May 11, 2014 that resulted in favor of self-rule further complicating the civil unrest within Ukraine as a whole (“Ukraine Crisis Timeline”, 2014).

The influence of Russia on Ukraine is still present and thriving—because Russia wants it

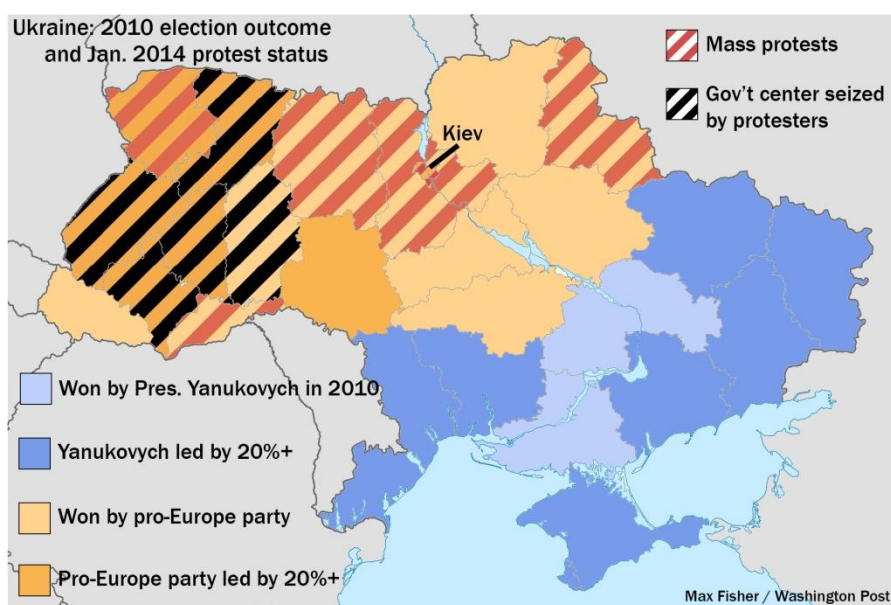


Figure 21: Protest Status of Ukraine, January 2014

Source: <<http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/worldviews/wp/2014/01/24/this-is-the-one-map-you-need-to-understand-ukraines-crisis/>>

to. Out of all three case studies, Ukraine is the only country that has a continuing influence by their historical counterpart, in active pursuit of changes to their nation and culture. Comparisons have been

made that the Ukraine-Russia relationship is similar to that of the United States-United Kingdom relationship from the 18th century. Russia is the overbearing mother than Ukraine just cannot seem to shake—and parts of Ukraine do not actually want to shake Russia off. Unfortunately it seems that both relationships may have to result in multiple revolutions just to gain true independence in order to become a fully developed nation (MacKinnon, 2014).

In order to be able to progress past Russia and its hold on Ukraine, “the emergence and successful implementation of the ideology of development in post-Leninist Ukraine depends on the ability of its major political actors to promote rather than circumscribe the creative potential of democracy,” (Kutuev, 2005, pp. 9). Meaning, Ukrainian government officials have to subscribe to a new belief system in which they may have never experienced before. It needs to be rooted in equal human rights for all Ukrainian citizens with the knowledge that corruption is fleeting, and that democracy ensures civil society participation and fosters social and human capital as a whole. Essentially, the bottom line is what Russian President Vladimir Putin has presented Ukraine with, “[Ukraine] can have a country that’s united, or a country that’s free from Russian influence. But it can’t have both,” (MacKinnon, 2014).

Europeanization on Ukraine

Torn between what might be the lesser of two evils in terms of success of the development of their nation, Ukraine has to make the executive decision of whether they side with the European Union or with Russia. Clearly, Ukraine, as a population, has not worked out the kinks of this matrix yet because the eastern half sides with Russia, whereas the western half sides with Europe. Much of this is has to do with the ethnic differences previously discussed. “Oftentimes it appears as if Ukraine has only two dimensions: One part of it is an expression of Western democratic value, and the other is an expression of Eastern non-democratic values,”

(Aikele, 2011, pp. 26). In a sense, the Ukraine-Russia relations have always been more stable and consistent than the Ukraine-European Union relations, but with the Orange Revolution in 2004, Western Europe took notice and saw potential for democracy in Ukraine. “The EU expanded relations with Ukraine after 2004, including increased trade, support for the development of civil society organizations, cooperation on border control along the Transnistria region, combating human trafficking, and other democracy promoting operations,” (Aikele, 2011, pp. 28).

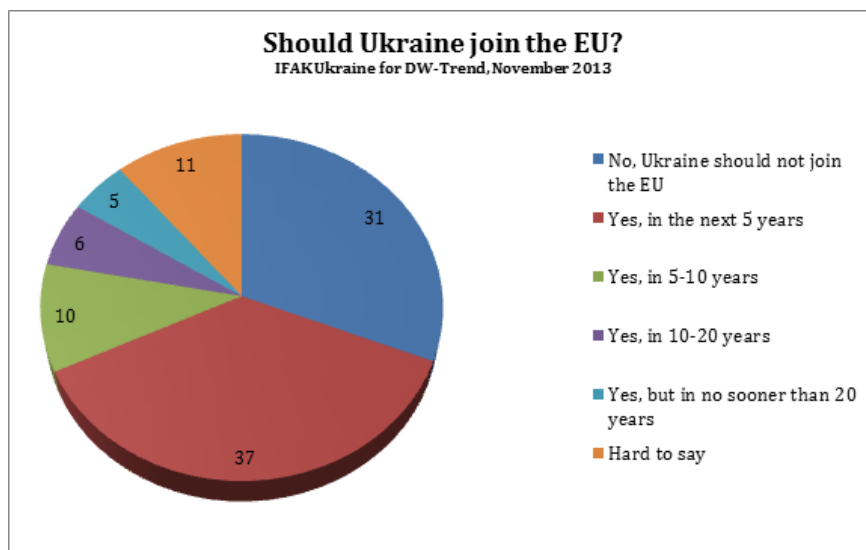


Figure 22: Survey on Ukraine’s Accession into the EU, 2013

Source: <<https://sites.imsa.edu/acronym/2014/01/27/chaos-in-ukraine/join-eu-graph/>>

At this point, Ukraine has come to a crossroad. They can either forfeit all that they are as a country to the European Union or to Russia, but they cannot continue to keep up this paradigm between the two. It remains a possibility that Ukraine will be severed along an east-west border and made into two countries instead of one. The current protests may very well result in a civil war or an international intervention since Russia and the European Union both have vested interest in the nation, but that remains to be seen. The referendum vote in early May in Eastern Ukraine is possibly the most noteworthy event that has occurred so far in the current state of crisis (“Ukraine Crisis Profile, 2014). Whether or not the people of Eastern Ukraine put this referendum through a fair election without any rigging, they are either pro-Russian or they are under the direct control of Russia already. Either way, they are directly influenced by Russia and

that influence is in direct contrast with the protests occurring in Western Ukraine which seeks alliance with the European Union.

Development Theories in Ukraine

In the present day struggle, it is challenging to see past the revolution and theorize what is to come for the development of Ukraine but we can outline some developmental theories and models of development that could benefit the nation in the near future. While they are under tremendous pressure by Russia, this is under the presumption that the mechanism toward further development for Ukraine is through democratic sanctions.

A focus on neoliberalism within the government is capable of staving off corruption within the government by employing a decentralized democracy and economy (Willis, 2005). By focusing on neoliberalism, Ukraine could open the economy up to foreign investment and trade as well as limiting the role of the state in the national economy and investing in human capital. An investment in human capital will be essential for Ukraine in order to promote civil rights and maintain autonomy over Russia and the European Union. When considering human capital, it is also critical to recognize the positive effect bolstering social capital may have on Ukraine's transition of development. In promoting social capital, civil society will be supported and issues of ethnodevelopment could be addressed (Willis, 2005). If Ukraine were to remain within the same borders as the ones marked on a map, cultural pluralism should be one of the focal matters within development. Supporting cultural pluralism would create a dialogue between the Russian identifying Ukrainian citizens and the Ukrainian identifying Ukrainian citizens. Through ethnodevelopment and cultural pluralism, it is possible for both sides of the issue to come to an agreement in order to maintain their culture and country. By pushing for ethnodevelopment practices, it could lead to empowerment of the people. Empowerment would

also occur through boosting social capital and civil society, granting more freedom in everyday life.

Final Thoughts on Ukraine

Before we make assumptions of what is to come in Ukraine, we have to acknowledge that whatever does end up occurring in the Eastern European mediator country, if the outcome does not benefit the citizens of Ukraine, uprisings, revolutions, and an overall sense of crisis will continue to occur. The people will always have the last word over the government because the people are plentiful in number and the government is corrupt through one. “From collapse comes the release of resources, the opportunity to rebuild, and the seeds from which the world blooms anew,” (Mazur, 2013, pp. 362). In *Twenty Years of Civil Society* (2011), Piotr Gliński states that social movements may be a good thing in order to create a semblance of unity within the community. While he was referring to the Polish community, the same sentiment can be applied to Ukraine.

It is rash to begin deciding on what roads to development should be utilized within Ukraine while the outcome of the current social, political, and cultural crisis is still being played out. But by theorizing what may possibly come for the government and the people of Ukraine, it may be able to bring light to an otherwise dark situation. A heavy emphasis is already being placed on basic human rights through the actions of the uprisings that have been taking place since November of 2013. What is not determined yet is whether Ukraine will slip back into a socialist-communist style of government or if they will comply with Western European standards and submit to full-fledged democracy. There are many questions left unanswered that we are receiving responses to daily through slight movements of this current revolution. We are also

left with the sense that even if Ukraine was considered free and democratic, will they have the chance to remain that way with Russia right next door?

Chapter Five—Comparisons and Conclusions

Common Development Theories

Eastern Europe becomes a collective unit for multiple reasons including, very recent independence dates, confusion of national identity, and a history rooted in constantly having a greater power, country, or kingdom rule over them rather than experience their own version of democracy. Although they do in fact have very dissimilar histories, the patterns within their histories are similar in a way that allows them to be grouped into an evolving entity that has the potential to change perceptions of Europe as a whole. The main quality they have in common is the need for validation on an international scale. Instead of always being compared to Western Europe and the United States, Eastern Europe demands to be seen in their own light with their own complicated history that no other place on Earth can compare to.

Throughout this paper comparisons have been drawn between Poland, Croatia, and Ukraine through similarities in development theories that could be applied efficiently through these Eastern European countries. There are direct commonalities in the need for improved social capital, human capital, and civil society that may be accomplished through servicing the needs of the citizens of each country first and placing an



Figure 23: Eastern Bloc Border Changes, 1938-1948

Source: <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:EasternBloc_BorderChange38-48.svg>

emphasis on community. Along with this, as Eastern Europe is riddled with many contrasting political and familial histories, leading to the idea that ethnodevelopment should be accomplished (Willis, 2005). An awareness and acceptance of minorities and ethnicities other than the race central to the nation, is crucial in supporting overall development of Eastern Europe. If ethnodevelopment is achieved, empowerment of the masses can also result in progress of development. Overall though, there is an emphasis on neoliberalism and a decentralization of the government and economy throughout Eastern Europe could be beneficial to the prosperity of the people.

Through it all, transnationalism plays the biggest role throughout all three case study countries of Eastern Europe. “A concept often associated with ‘globalization’ is that of ‘transnationalism’. Transnational processes refer to sustained activities backwards and forwards across national borders,” (Willis, 2005, pp. 209). The main component of transnationalism is the migration of workers. Eastern European’s are known to migrate in order to fulfill new job opportunities. This is especially true for the agricultural and manufacturing sectors. But with transnationalism, and any other form of globalization and exchanging of ideas, comes the risk of cultural homogenization. In order to hold fast to their culture and livelihood, Eastern European’s must rely on their country first. Development will not progress in the region if the people lose their identity and sense of purpose. By encouraging a structural change within the government and supplying these countries with the tools of progression, then developmental changes will not occur by Western European’s but rather, by the people of the country themselves.

Poland as an Example?

It is a bit improvident to consider Poland as the only example toward development for Eastern Europe. While Poland transitioned fairly smoothly into democracy and toward being

fully developed, the trials and tribulations that many of the other Eastern European countries have faced, cannot be addressed by Poland's example. The concern in Piotr Gliński's paper on Civil Society within Poland (2011) addresses major demographical affairs that can be applied to the whole of Eastern Europe because occurrences in civil society are applicable to cultures throughout the world. Hence, it is ideal to use Poland as an inspiration toward continued progress throughout Eastern Europe but not necessarily an exact model of development.

Conclusions

When talking about development today, more often than not it is thought of in Westernized terms. Typically outlines of modernization theories are displayed in the ways Western Europe or the United States views development. While this is not a detrimental development theory for the United States or Western Europe, it is dated and allows little individual national variation for any one country outside of the "Western" realm. Globalization affects every country in the world today, especially in terms of sustainability and resources. It is important that attention is placed upon the idea that we should be a globalized society, aware of other cultures, customs, and religions, but should not be too highly globalized where all interactions result in homogenization. In order for any mechanisms or theories of development to succeed, the main point that needs to be taken into account is that every country is unique in their history, geography, and outlooks. If this is not considered, development in any specified country will fail.

Transition and transformation little by little has been the driving force of improvements of civil society and everyday life in Eastern Europe. "The term 'transition' is used as an indication that the original goal or desire of the ex-communist countries was to move to the free market democracy as it is exemplified in the western societies," (Matutinović, 1998, pp. 99).

Development in Poland is a cycle of events that affect each other. If the civil society of the agricultural sector is improved upon, it allows localization to occur which promotes overall civil society of Polish nationalism. This in turn warrants the government support of NGOs to promote civil society, social capital, and human capital. An improvement in these developmental theories promotes a diversified democracy, locality within the communities, and a possible rise in the trust citizen's place in their government. If they improve their national democracy and economy first, their role on the international scale will expand significantly shortly thereafter. This would then create the possibility of Polish citizens' place within the European community which consequently, will lead back to an overall boost in Poland's civil society.

In Croatia, the outlook on development is grounded in their new membership within the European Union. With their establishment as a member state, their access to increased mobility in transition within their development is increased tenfold. Now, they have money coming in from other EU member states to promote further improvements within their urban and agricultural sectors. The somewhat disposable money allows Croatia to focus on what is at stake and promote neoliberalism and civil society. The only problem that may deter their continued improvement is if the European Union and countries within Western Europe start taking over Croatia's quest for overall development. This could cause their transformation to be centered on how Croatia could benefit the EU rather than how Croatia can benefit itself.

Ukraine is a unique case entirely. While it has had written independence since 1991, the country has yet to experience what it means to be truly free. Always under the watchful eye of Russia and the European Union, it is no wonder why they have had little success in implementing a legitimate democracy and human rights. Before true transitional development can begin to occur within Ukraine, Russia and the European Union have to learn the hands off

approach and let Ukraine progress on its own terms. At some point, Ukraine will decide between the two sides—Pro-Russia or Pro-Europe—and at the pinnacle of this decision, is when Ukraine will truly begin to create a democratic government and develop as a new, fully free and functioning country.

Overall, it would be jaded to say that one developmental theory is the right one for Eastern Europe. There is no “right” way for development. Each country has a different history that is all together significant to how their path to development will end up. But, it would be justified to say that with the similarities in history firmly established in communism and socialism, as well as with their ethnic tensions throughout the region, Eastern Europe can be compared amongst itself, as far as development theories are concerned. The development theories themselves are similar throughout the region, however the way they are executed is what will make them different and cause an improved transformation within each individual nation.

Eastern Europe is not Western Europe. That seems obvious if even the slightest amount of knowledge is known about geography. So why then, would we compare the development of Eastern Europe to the already established way of life in Western Europe? The answer to this is simple: we should not. Eastern Europe has an entirely different history that is in no way comparable to the political and cultural ramifications found in Western Europe. They are all European in the sense that they share the continent of Europe but the variance of their past, present, and future, distinguishes the way in which we should approach further development of Eastern Europe as a whole.

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