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316.4.063.36:321.7

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22.00.01 –

<i>1.</i>	-	<i>4</i>
	<i>12</i>
1.1.	<i>12</i>
1.1.1.	<i>14</i>
1.1.2.	<i>20</i>
1.1.3.	<i>29</i>
1.1.4.	<i>31</i>
1.2.	<i>36</i>
1.2.1.	<i>36</i>
1.2.2.	“”	<i>47</i>
1.3.	<i>67</i>
1.3.1.	<i>67</i>
1.3.2.	<i>71</i>
1.4.	<i>87</i>
	<i>97</i>
<i>2.</i>	<i>100</i>
2.1.	<i>100</i>
2.2.	<i>105</i>
2.3.	<i>124</i>
2.4.	<i>134</i>
	<i>145</i>
<i>3.</i>	-	<i>147</i>
3.1.	-	<i>149</i>
1991-2008	<i>149</i>
3.2.	-	<i>160</i>
	<i>182</i>
	<i>185</i>
	<i>189</i>
	<i>222</i>

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QCA —

(Qualitative Comparative Analysis)

1980-

[11, 37; 10; 22].

1920- -1930- , 1950- -1970-

“The Poscommunist Publics Study” (1990-1992 .),
“New Democracies Barometer-III” (1993-1994 .), “Consolidation of Democracy in
Central and Eastern Europe 1998-2001”, “European Values Survey” (1999-
2000 .),

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(Freedom House Democracy Score),

Bertelsmann Transformation Status

(CoD) . . ;

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1969-1970

[: 160; 227; 34]

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XX [: 90]. ,

[68, . VIII],
– [3, . II-V ;
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“ ” .

[51, . ; . : XV, XIX, XX, XXIII, XXVII, XXVIII; . : I, III, VII, VIII, XVI, XIX, XXVI, XXVIII, XLIX]

“ ” (1835 .) [94, .

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¹ (,)
² (. [247, 2] [118, 676]).

“ [94, 227-233].

“ (1942 .) [112].

[221], [: 46]. [61],

[67] [60] [27],

“ ”,

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“ ” (1959 .) [183].

“American Political Science Review”,

: 44; 101; 19; 20].

[118, 676].

“ (1966 .) [192] (. [237; 239; 129, 25-28]).

[.: 72, 140],

[59, 64].

- 1)
- 2)
- 3)
- 4)
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” [: 59, 65].

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VI-XVII .

1950- -1960- (. , . , .) , ' , , , [: 72; . : 59; 173].

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1970- , 1970- , 1971

“ : ” . [. - 27]. () , () [. : 119; . - 95, 321-340; . : 96, 345-360]. “

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[73, 583-584],

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[73, 603]

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[179; 177] .

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“blandos”), — .

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[203, 15-64] .

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3.1. ., . .1]. [.

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[.: 216],

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[: 111, 10-38].

[2.2. 2.3.] - ,

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[: 127; 186; 34; 227].

1 “ ” (1992 .) [165].

” (“ ” “ ”,
[208, 508]
[128; . - 8; . : 244].

1995-1996 .¹

: “ ” (1995 .) [161].

“ ” “ ” [. 1.3].

“ : ” (1996 .)

[182], -

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 (“path-dependence”). - ,
 (-)
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 : 197].

1996
 “Journal of Democracy”.²

“ (1997 .) [224] “ ?” (1998 .)
 [225]. , “ ”
 [. 1.2].
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 ” [225, 101].

¹

² .: [206], [162] [205]. 1978 [179, 61-65].

“ ” 1970-1990- .

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[120; 149]

[255; 121; 156].

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[. .: 121; 210; 240].

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(fuzzy set QCA [. 3.2.]).

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 [111, 19]). , ,

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“ : ” [28] 2005.

[.: 88] (: [.: 9]).

[35].

[104; 105].

[79].

[6, 433-436; 91], [78; 99;
: 13; 17; 39; 84].

[.: 88],

[80] (

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[7; 11; 12],

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[73; 203].

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[203; 246; 72]

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 XVIII — “ancien regime”,
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1 () , [2, 520].
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[203, 73; : 45, 67].

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: 38, 176].

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[203, 6].¹

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[179, 16]):

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‘consolidatio’ — ‘con’ (,) ‘solidare’
(, ,) [. : 85, 252].
, ’ [114].

1 [: 191, 7],

2 [117], [113, 226], [205] [225],

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[179, xii].¹

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[likely to endure]” [205, 37],

“ - ” [217, 168].

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³ : [182, 121], [153], [193].
⁴ ” [103]: “ ?”.

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¹ (-) [158, 9-11] [107, 688-690].
² [153, 103]. “Consolidation
of Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe 1998-2001” [136]: “
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“ ... ” [245, 8].

“ ” (1991 .) [, “ “ ” , , - ».

[, “ ” , “ ” ” [72, 47].¹

“ ” (1992 .),

“ - , ... [Bolivar Lamounier], - “ , [substantive] .”” [165, 4]

¹ “ ” . [211].

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” [182].

1978 .

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“ - [attitudinally],

” [182, 6].

¹ : “ () ” [153, 103].

“ ” (1999).

“ ” [142, 65].

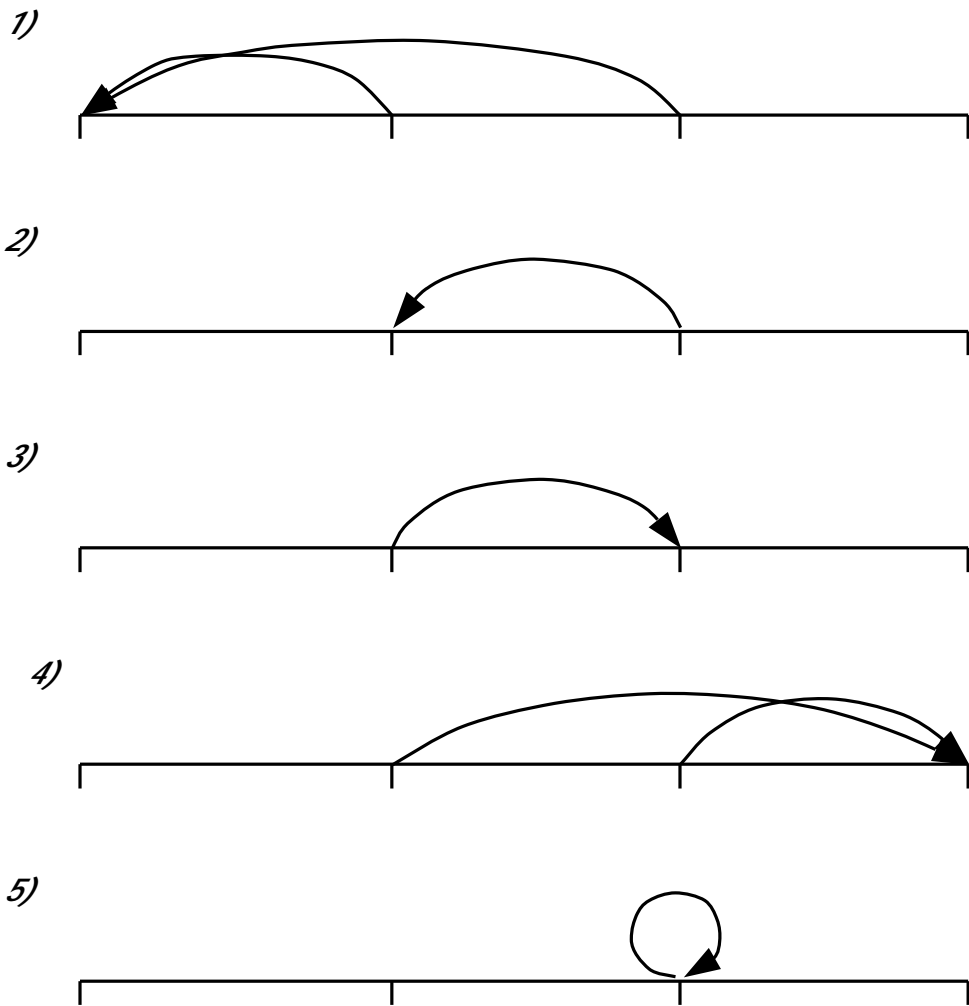
“ ” [142, 66].

“ ” [142, 169; : 26, 892].

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¹ : [216, 6].
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[236, 3].

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 283]. , “ ”

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168-169]:

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” [217, 168-169].

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[217, 168-169].

“... [228, 285].” [228, 285].

“... [bundle]” [228, 285].

“... (structuration)” [228, 286].

[228, 287].

1.3.2.

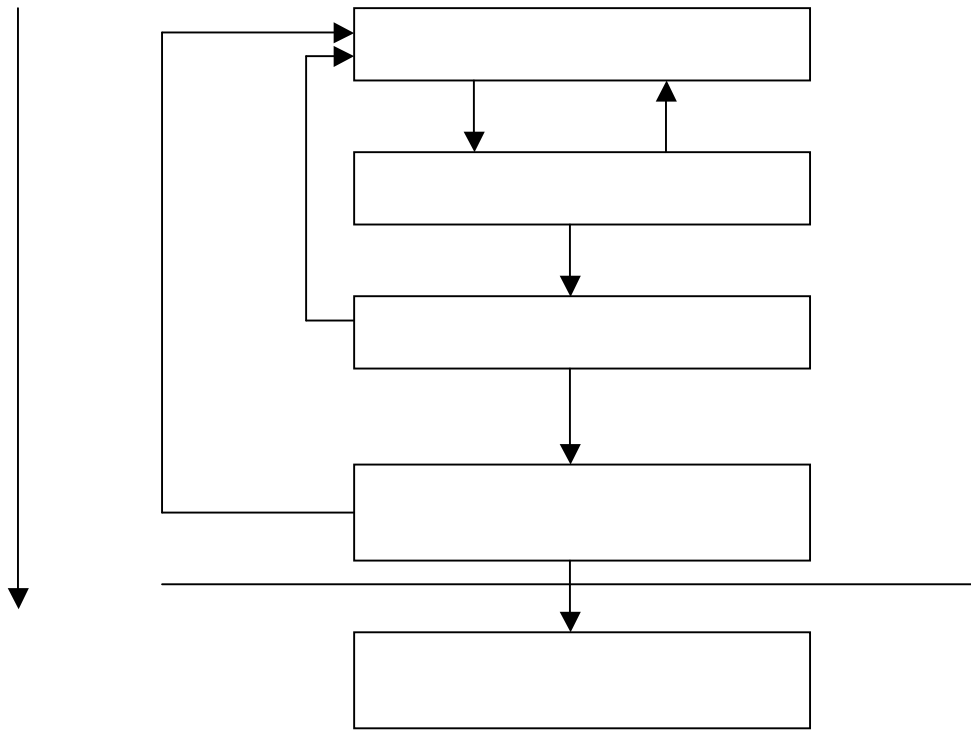
142].

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[aiming at]

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“ ” [161, 77-123],
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“ ” [182, 8]),
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[182, 7-15]
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[182, 8]), (“

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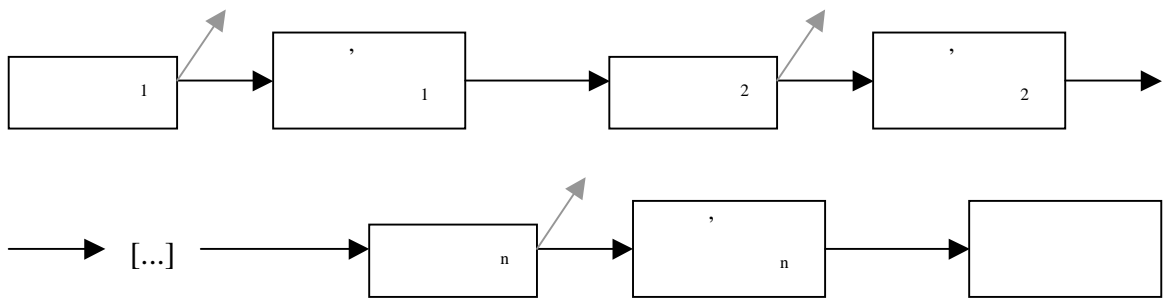
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1 “ : 1998-2001” [136],
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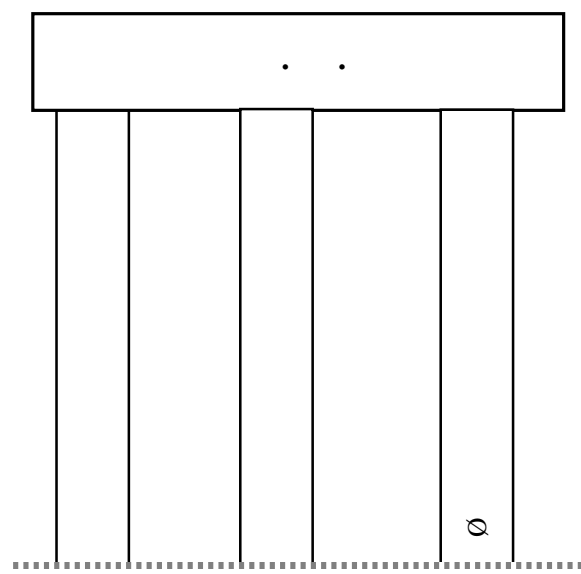
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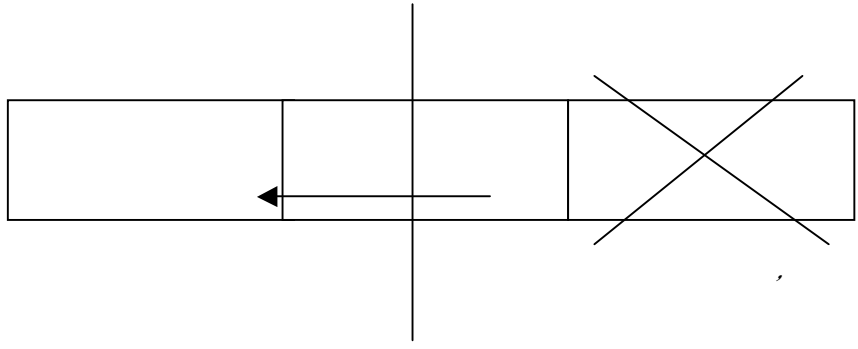
“ ”
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“ ” [107, 695]. (“-”)
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[182; 161, 19].

167]. [217,

[179; 204].
“ ... ,
” [107, 702].

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: [107, 702].

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(habituation). “ ”

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4. Freedom House Democracy Score

5. Bertelsmann Transformation Status

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[240; 210; 233].

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[154; : 210, 9].

“ ” 1970-

“ XX ” [103, . 5].

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” [103, 287].

” [72, 28].

” [103, 287],

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¹ ∴ [194, 233; 226; 173].

[146; 147]. : [202, 2].

“ ” [222].

2/3
[26, 902] ([: 107, 711])
50% - [26, 892].

Freedom House Democracy Score.

“Nations in Transit” (1995)

“Freedom House” (“ ”), 1999

Democracy Score. “Nations in
Transit”

(USAID).

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[201].

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- (EP)
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- (IM)
- (NGOV)
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“Freedom House”,
Democracy Score 1 (“
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Democracy Score, “Freedom House”,
:
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• (3,00-3,99)
• (4,00-4,99)
• (5,00-5,99)
• (6,00-7,00) [138; 174].

Bertelsmann-transformation Status Index.

2003

2-3

“Freedom House”,

Status Index [120
2006 :
126].

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(7 14):

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	Q 7.
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	Q 10.
Q 4.	Q 11.
Q 5.	Q 12. ()

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- (8-7),

- (7-5.5),

- (5.5-4),
- (4-0).

“Freedom House”, Bertelsmann-transformation

Status Index

(2003, 2006 2008).

(CoD) .

2003 [231].

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C11	,
C12	-

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[217], . [243], . [165] .
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[245]). “ ” (,
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. 2.1.1. / / ([: 5, 476]). . 2.1.1. , (). . 2.1.1. 18 / / (31). , . 2.1.1. [: 193; 219; 233],

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: “ , ” [73, 590].

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[: 183, 114; 203, 4-5],

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[183, 71].

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[103, 292-293].

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[249; 250].

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[249; 250; 33; : 24].

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56].

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[] ...” [110, 288].

- 1) , : , , ;
- 2) ; , ;
- 3) , ;
- 4) , , ;
- 5) . [140; 142, 239-250].

- 1) , , : , , ;
- 2) ; ;
- 3) , ;

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5)

[110, 288;

229, 247-248].

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[. : 223, 9 ;

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[. : 48; 49; 112; 120; 180; 188; 209; 238;

243],

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[: 49; 180; 238].

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[72, 84 (. 44)]. ,

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- .: [97]).

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: 56] (

¹ [47]), 1990- . [180, 4] (A. -

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 ...” [217, 171].
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[217, 169-170] ,

(“democratic conditionality” [.

: 217, 175]), (–),

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144]. ,

[. : 117; – 214, 14

¹]. : “ ,

” [217, 203].

[217, 171], ,

[179, 43; . 217, 179].

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[142, 923].

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” [142, 937].

[73]

[179, 61-69]

¹ [182, 16].

107],

[34, 8],

[: 182, 98-

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[182, 20

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182, 55-65].
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[182, 55-65].
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, [202, 19-23],
[182], ,
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[expiration]

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[172], [103], [182], [198].

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: [172; 109, 31].

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1970- 1990- [179; 211;
245; 103; 72],

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[107, 709].

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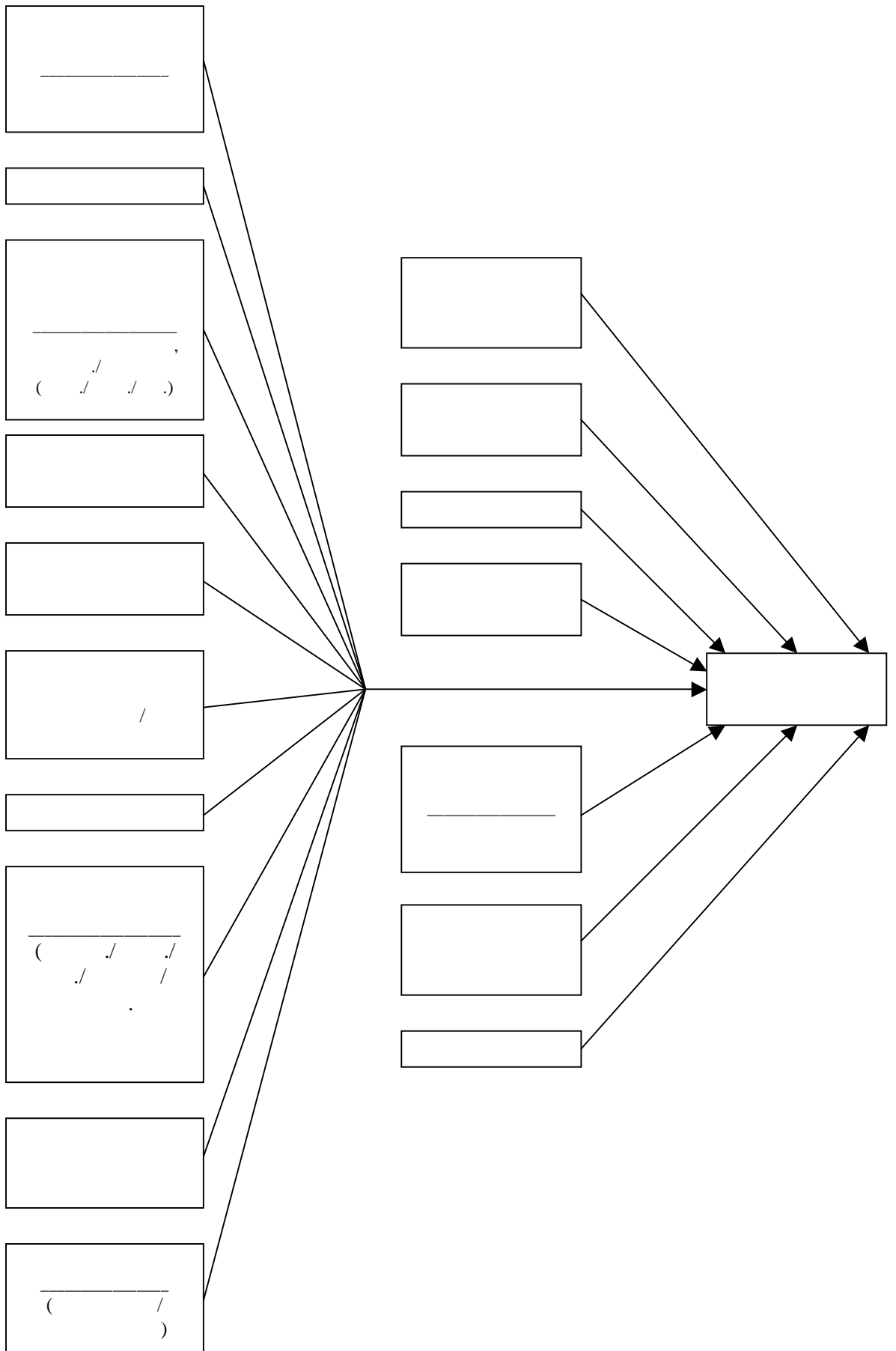
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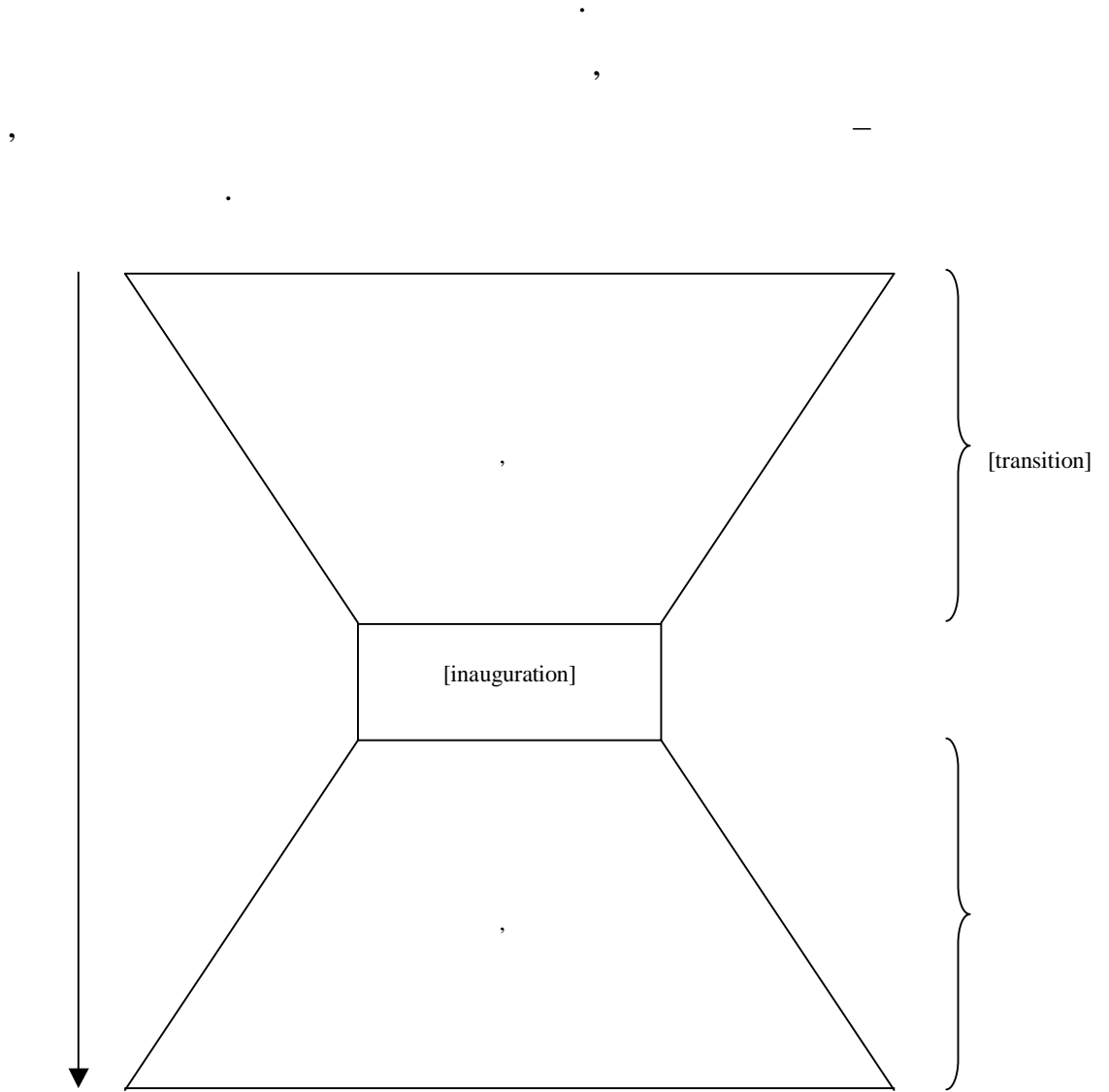
[— . .].” [179, 42-43] “...
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 ,” 179, 45] .
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 [favored by] ,
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 [workings] ” [245, 16]. ,
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[245].



. 2.4.1. “ ”

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. 2.4. 2. “
: [187, 174].

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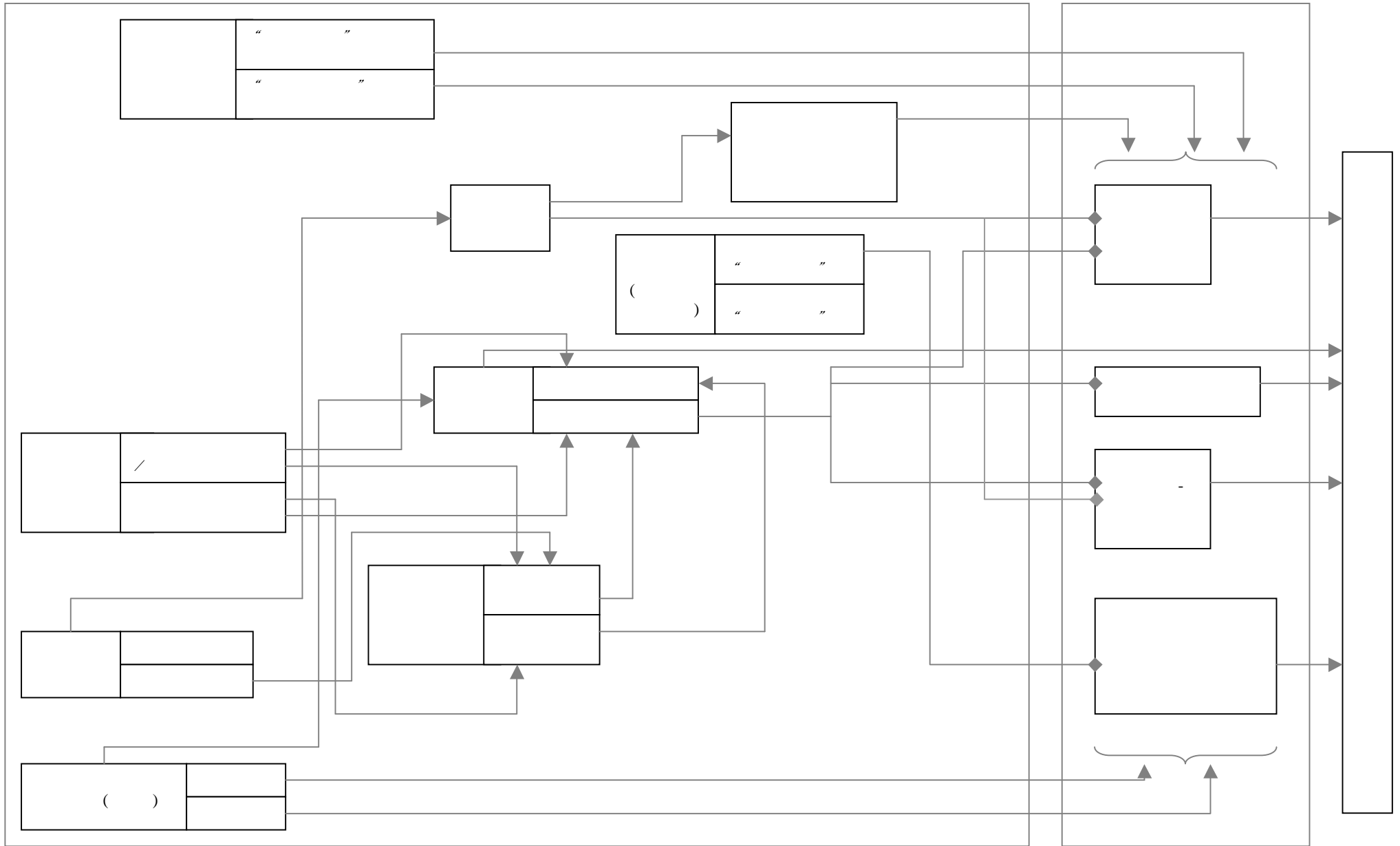
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”[103, 297].

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1970- 1980- - 1990- .

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21, 74-76, 262-275; 43; 71; 115] – , ,

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[72].

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[141; 143].

[210; 69, 114]. , ,

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[152].

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“ [182],
“ [136],
[138],
[255]
[124].
[18; 190; 153; 121; 243; 57; 56].
[: 241]. C

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- [235], - ([18]), - [40].

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[182]. 2005

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3.1.1

¹ ()

² [35; 36 .], [45], [54], [29] [108], [70], [100] [56].

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67% [26, 902].

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67%,

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938].

[26, 937-

. 3.1.2, 3.1.3 3.1.4.

[: 26, 898].

3.1.2.
 , %.

/	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999-2000	2001	2004	2007	2008	2009
	77	71	72		74				70		54	49	49	50
	69	69			67				74					
	60	48			65				52					
	67	68	60		66					61				
								51						

: [142, 176-177; - 26, 899-900; 136; 215].

100%.

:) 1991-1997

1998-2001

1993

1990-

. 3.1.3.

1990- -2000-

(Centrum Badania Opinii Społecznej, CBOS) [137].

3.1.3.

(1992-2008 .).

?	1992	1993	1995	1996	1997	1999	2000	2001	2002	2004	2006	2007	2008
	52	62	67	67	63	64	71	63	66	60	61	63	65
	15	11	17	12	16	19	12	17	14	18	15	16	17
	33	27	16	21	21	17	17	20	20	22	24	21	18

: [137].

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50% [. 1.4].

2006

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3.1.4.

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	41	52	54	45	38
,	23	21	22	21	24
, , ,	18	13	11	15	19
	18	14	14	19	20

: [12; 11, 32; 102].

: ; 100%.

Freedom House Democracy Score. , “Freedom House” ,

Freedom in the World 1978 [.: 37], Democracy Score, 1999³

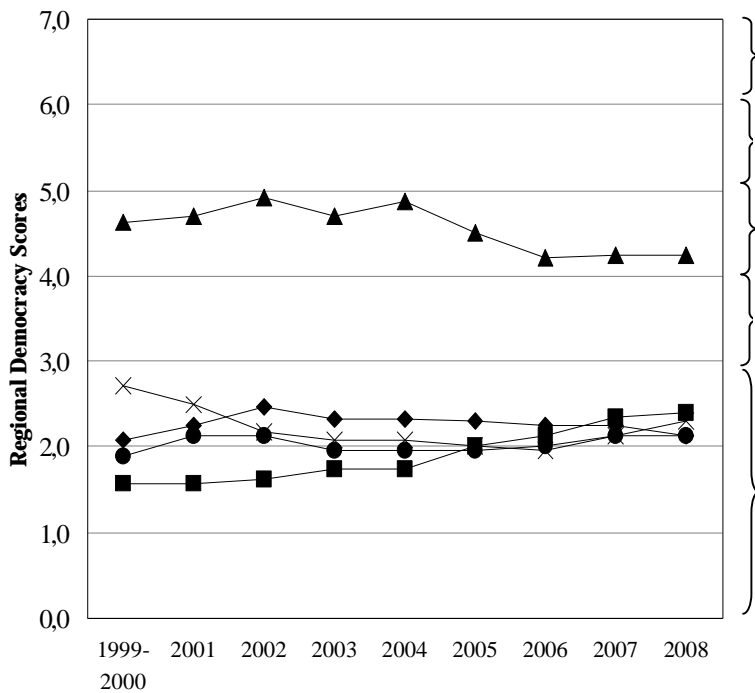
Nations in Transit.

¹ : [11, 32].

² “ ” [102].

³ 1999 Democracy Score , “Freedom House” ,

. 3.1.1.



. 3.1.1.

**Democracy Score
(1999-2008).**

. 3.1.1.

Democracy Score,

1999-2008

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Freedom House Democracy Score

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, (“Freedom House”)

3.1.5.

3.1.5.

	“ ”	/	Freedom House Democracy Score	,
	(1997)	(1995-96 ; 2000)/ (1993 ; 1997 ; 1999 ; 2001-2008)		2-3
	(1994-96)	(1991-1999)		2-3
	(1998)	(1991-92)/ (1995)		2-3
	(1998)	(1991-95- ..)		3
	(2004)	(2006)/ (2007)		1-2

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- Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA).

- [245; 161; 182]. ,

[59]. -

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[: 123; 154].

[: 121; 210].

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[.: 53].

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... ” [53; 447] “...
...” [53, 454]

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[246, 4].
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(CIVICUS [134]).

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, 10%,
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16%, 13% ,
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- 22% - .
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[254]
(. .3., 2)).

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 , 58% 55% - .

3.2.1.

(1990-91 ., %)

	(1990)	(1990)	(1991)	(1990)	(1991)
?	88	55	73	89	58
	12	45	27	12	42
()	(+76)	(+10)	(+46)	(+77)	(+16)

: [122].

: 1993

; 100%.

. 3.2.2.,

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), ,
 1980- - 1990- .
 “ ” ()
 “ ” ()
) - .

3.2.2.

(1990-91 ., %)

“ ...[’]	(1990)	(1990)	(1991)	(1990)	(1991)
,	11	7	23	11	3
,	33	43	15	42	50
,	21	8	11	16	13
,	35	42	52	32	34

: [122].

: 1993

; 100%.

3.2.3.

(1993-1994 ., %)

	23	58	38	50	55
	78	51	51	52	24
()	(+55)	(-7)	(+13)	(+2)	(-31)

: [222, 108 (. 5.2.)].

; 100%.

. 3.2.3.

1993-1994 . ,

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. 3.2.4.

1999-2000 ([150]).

1993-1994 ,

“ ” “ ”

3.2.4.

(1999-2000 ., %).

	20	45	31	44	40
	25	18	20	18	12
()	(+5)	(-27)	(-11)	(-26)	(-28)

: [150].

: “ ” “ ” (1) “ ” (10).
 - “ ” 5 (); - 6 “ ”.
 ; 100%.

“ ” “ ” , ,

(. 3.2.5.).

3.2.5.

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	+)“ ”)“ - ”
	1)“ ”)“ ”

: [194, 239].

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“ ” “ - ” “ ” (. 3.2.5.). (“ ”) - , -) ,)

1 “ :- ; - , ; - ”.

1998-2001 (. 3.2.6.).
 “ ” 27% 13%
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 (41-48%).
 “ ”
 (“ ”)
 (23%
 22%).

3.2.6.

(1998-2001 ., %)

	(1999-2000)	(1999-2000)	(1999-2000)	(2001)	(1998)
“ ”	27	26	13	20	4
“ - ”	44	48	44	41	48
“ ”	2	4	1	2	1
“ ”	16	22	17	23	32

: [136].
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¹ () .

. 3.2.7.,

1993-1994

“

- ”.

3.2.7.

(1993-1994).

?					
	7	18	18	16	25
	2	2	11	4	11
	16	18	35	24	55

: [222, 111].

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(1999-2000 .).

...	2	3	17	8	13
...	17	22	22	20	60

: [150].

: “ ” “ ” ;

100%.

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“ ” .

3.2.9.

(1990-91, 1998-2001 ., %)

	“ ”		“ ”		“ ”		“ ”		“ ”	
	1990	1999-2000	1990	1999-2000	1991	1999-2000	1990	2001	1991	1998
	77	76	95	94	97	93	67	74	74	66
	23	24	5	6	3	7	33	27	26	34

: [122; 136].

: 1993

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. 3.2.9. , 1990-91, 1998-

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(1978-1990)

(1991-2000)

(2001-2009 .)

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7.

/ Democracy Score, Bertelsmann Transformation Status
(CoD) Freedom House

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1. . : / . //
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∴ , 1999. – 816 . – . 69-112.
2. . / . – 2- . / . . -
∴ , 2005. – 584 .
3. . / /
. - ∴ , 2003. – 239 .
4. . / . / . . - ∴
, 2003. – 356 .
5. .
/ . // .
 : 2 . 1:
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. . , ; . . ;
. . , , ,
. - ∴ ; ∴ : -
 ; : Berliner Debatte Wissenschaftsverlung, 2003. –
510 . – . 474. – 496.
6. . .
/ . . , . . //
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, 2005. – 592 . – . 414-444. 433-436.
7. . . / .
. // . - 3. – 2007. – . 7-25.
8. . ,
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- / · · : · · · · ·
: · · · · · - ∴ - “ ”: 2003. - 342 · -
(· · · · ·) - · 107-142.
9. · · · · · (· · · · ·):
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p.
10. · · · · · - “ ”? / · · · · ·
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· · · · · , 2004. - 418 · - · 354-375.
11. · · · · ·
(2004-2006) / · · · · · // · · · · · 1992-2007.
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· - ∴ · · · · · , 2007. - 554 · - · 24-
37.
12. · · · · · - 2004 (· · · · ·) / · · · · ·
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- · 7-38.
13. · · · · · - (· · · · ·) / · · · · ·
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14. · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
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: 22.00.04 / · · · · · - · · · · · · · · · · ·
· , 2004. — 16 · - · · · · ·

15. . Mitteleuropa :
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http://case-ehu.org/wp-content/uploads/2007/07/buhovski_3_2006.pdf
16. . : ? / . // . :
- . -
.: , 2004. - 464 . - . 15-28.
17. ' . .
- : : 23.00.04 /
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18. . .
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. - .: , 2000. - 376 . - . 16-60.
19. . . /
. . , . . - .: - „ ”, 2008. - 320 .
20. . .
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- . . . - .: 2008. - 795. - . 20-25.
21. . : /
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22. . . :
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- .: . . ,
2008. - 579 . - . 157-161.
23. . “ ”
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- “ ”. “ :
2004-2007 ”. – :
“ ”. – 3. –2008. –
266 .– .235-236.
24. / // . ,
. – .: - , 2008. – 232 . (“De Profundis”) – .
24-35.
25. / . . .
(.) / . . . ,
. – : , 2004. – 464 .
26. / .
// : / . . – .: « »,
2005. – XXVIII + 1108 . – (,, ”. .1) – . 882 - 942.
27. / . .
/ – .: , 2002. – 216 .
28. : / . . – .: « » , 2005.
– XXVIII + 1108 . – (,, ”. .1).
29. “ ””
/ . . – [] - :
<http://pinchukfund.org/storage/students/works/2008/290.doc>
30. ,, . ,
- / . , . . –
[] - :
http://dialogs.org.ua/crossroad_full.php?m_id=878
31. / . . – .: , 2000. –
472 .
32. :
/ . . – .: , 2004. – 383 .

33. . / . //
- “ ”. - 53. - 2008. (“
”). - . 72-87.
34. . . : , , .
- / . . , .
- // . - 4. - 2004. - . 6-27.
35. . / . //
- . - 1999. - 7-8. - . 84-96.
36. . , , : 2004 2006
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- : IV . . . , 28-30 .
- 2006 . — ., 2007. - . 26-34.
37. . / . //
- ,
- : . - :
- . . , 2004. -
- 621 . - . 261 - 265.
38. . “ ”:
- / . , . //
- / . . - .: « », 2005. - XXVIII +
- 1108 . - (, ”. . 1) - . 176-206.
39. . / .
- // . - 2006. - 6. - . 63-73.
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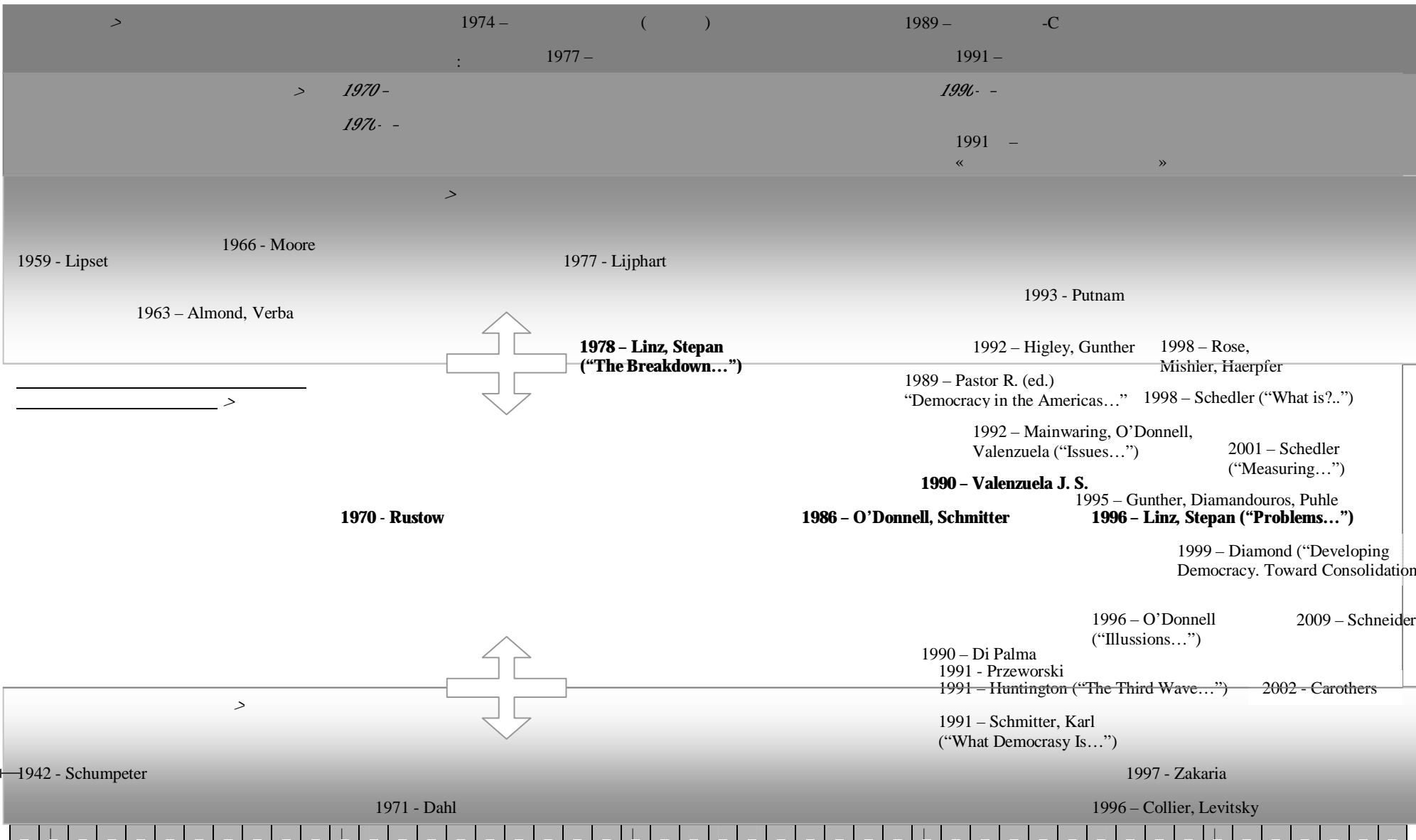
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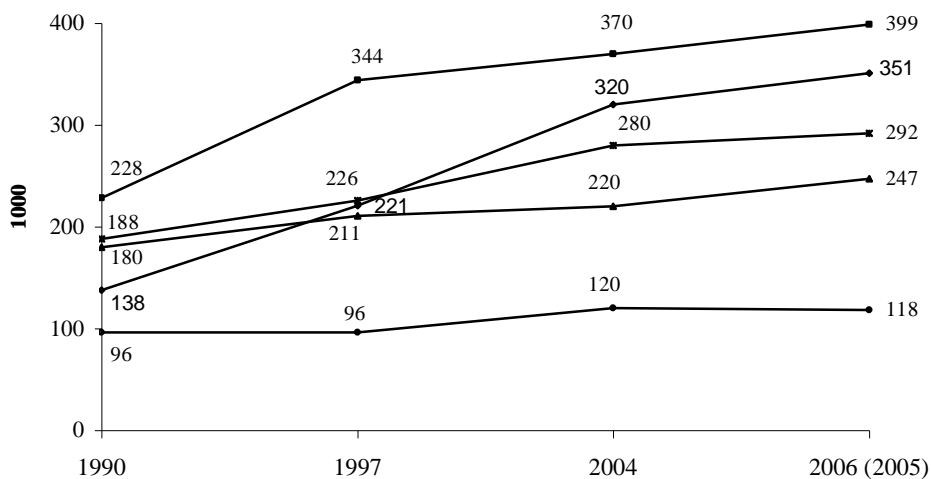


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(1942-2009).

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: [182, 44-45, . 3.1].



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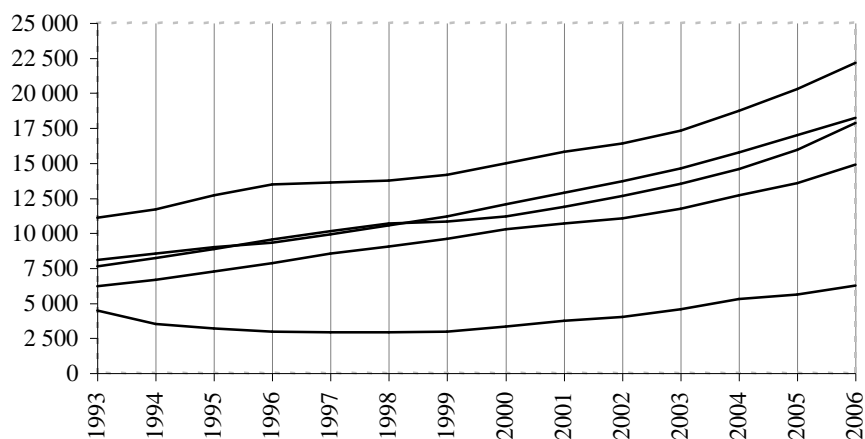
: 1) [4, 412]; 2) [135, 368]; 3) [252].

: 1993

1990, 1991 . 2004

2006, 2005 .

1990 (1991) - 1997 . 1), 2004 - 2), 2006 (2005) - 3).



. **.2.** (

1993-2006 . (

).

: [253].

:

.1.

(1990-91, 1999-2000 ., %).

“ - ?”										
	1990-1992	1999-2000	1990-1992	1999-2000	1990-1992	1999-2000	1990-1992	2001	1990-1992	1998
,	28	24	2	6	1	2	22	18	6	2
-	9	14	2	4	2	4	14	12	2	1
*	10	6	3	2	1	1	11	8	15	1
()	14	2	2	1	1	1	10	3	4	0
*	5	3	1	1	1	1	8	2	6	1
(, .)*	7	3	4	5	5	3	6	5	6	3
*	23	22	5	6	2	2	21	19	10	3
	44	14	36	12	22	7	38	20	74	19
	3	1	1	2	0	1	6	1	3	2
Parish religious organizations*	4	4	7	10	3	4	15	10	3	4
*	15	9	3	4	7	3	9	10	3	1
	162	102	66	53	45	29	160	108	132	35

: [122; 136].

: ; 100%.

1993

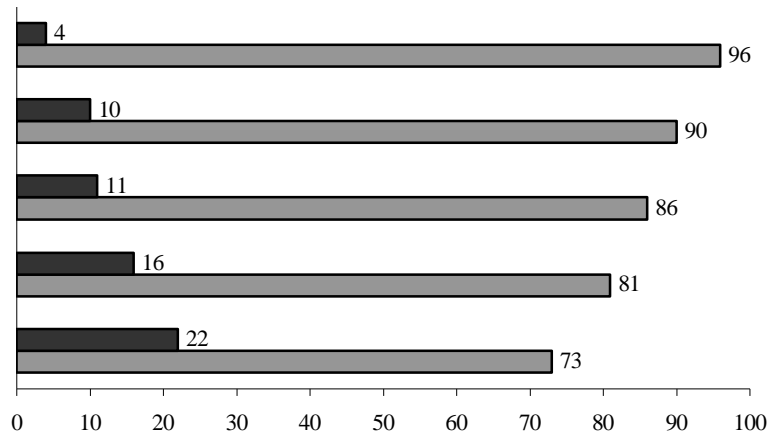
.2.

(1999-2000 ., %).

	41	71	74	35	66

: [150].

: ; 100%.

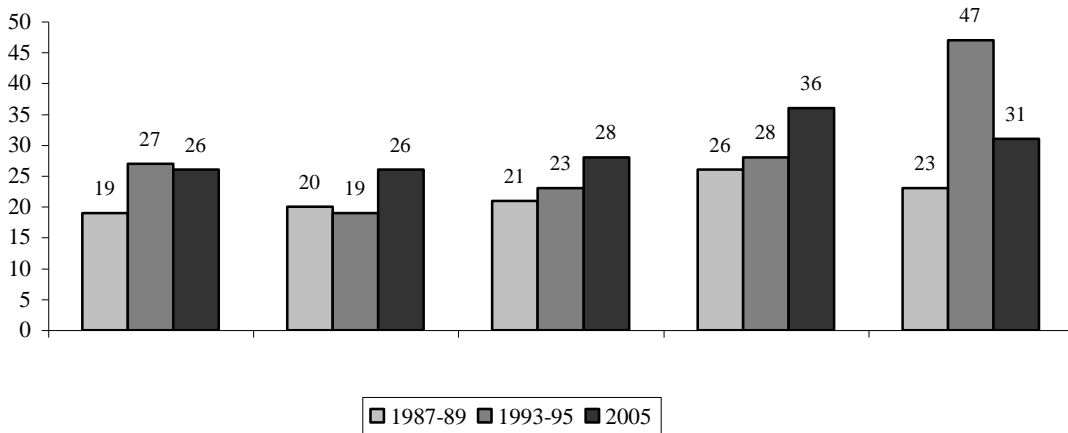


. **.3.**
(

, %).

: [222, 136].

: 1996-1997 .



. **.4.**

(**1987-89, 1993-95** ., **2005**).

: 1987-89 1993-95 . - [95, 248]; 2005-2006 . - [133].

: 2006 . 1993

.3.

1)				
	[metropolitanism]		()	
			()	()
2)				
		()	-	
		()		
		“ ”		
		()		
		()		

- 1) [251, 236]
 2) [254].

.4.

	(1991-2005), (2005-)	(1991-2002) (2002-2006) (2006-)

.5.

().

	1990	1982	1986	1993	1992
GATT/	1947	1975	1967	1995	2008
	1991	1990	1991	1993	1995
	1999	1999	1999	2004	-
	2004	2004	2004	2004	-

: [148, 27];
 : 1993

.6.

("Freedom House").

	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
	2	1,75	1,63	1,75	1,75	1,5	1,38	1,38	1,38	1,25	1	1	1
	3,43	3,14	3,14	3,07	3	2,86	2,64	2,36	2,14	2	2	1,93	1,71
	2,93	2,64	2,71	2,93	2,93	2,86	2,86	3	3	2,93	2,63	2,93	2,64
	2,25	2	1,92	2	2	1,83	1,75	1,83	1,83	1,83	1,83	1,42	1,25
	3,43	3	3,07	3,07	3	2,86	2,86	2,93	2,93	3	3	3	2,93

: [152].

: 1-

"Freedom House")

.7.

(1998-2001).

()	(1999-2000)	(1999-2000)	(1999-2000)	(2001)	(1998)
	51	42	62	56	22
	37	43	33	26	40
	9	12	4	7	19
	1	3	1	1	19
()	1	0	0	9	0

: [136].

:

100%.

	+Econom(CZ)	+Econom(HU)	+Econom(PL)	+Econom(SL)	-Econom(UA)
	+CivSoc(CZ)	+/-CivSoc(HU)	+/-CivSoc(PL)	+CivSoc(SL)	+/-CivSoc(UA)
	+Cleav(CZ)	+Cleav(HU)	+Cleav(PL)	+Cleav(SL)	-Cleav(UA)
	+NewInst(CZ)	+/-NewInst(HU)	+/-NewInst(PL)	+NewInst(SL)	-NewInst(UA)
/	+IntInfl(CZ)	+IntInfl(HU)	+IntInfl(PL)	+IntInfl(SL)	+/-IntInfl(UA)
	+PolCult(CZ)	+/-PolCult(HU)	+/-PolCult(PL)	+/-PolCult(SL)	+/-PolCult(UA)
	+StateNat(CZ)	+StateNat(HU)	+StateNat(PL)	+/-StateNat(SL)	-StateNat(UA)
	-PrevReg(CZ)	+PrevReg(HU)	+PrevReg(PL)	-PrevReg(SL)	-PrevReg(UA)
()	+/-ModTrans(CZ)	+ModTrans(HU)	+ModTrans(PL)	+/-ModTrans(SL)	-ModTrans(UA)

: (CZ), (HU), (PL), (SL), (UA).

: Econom, CivSoc, Cleav, NewInst, IntInfl, PolCult, StateNat, PrevReg,

ModTrans.

	+	+Econom(CZ)+Econom(HU)+Econom(PL) +Econom(SL) +CivSoc(CZ)+/-CivSoc(HU)+/-CivSoc(PL) +CivSoc(SL) +Cleav(CZ)+Cleav(HU)+Cleav(PL)+Cleav(SL) +NewInst(CZ)+/-NewInst(HU)+NewInst(SL) +IntInfl(CZ)+IntInfl(HU)+IntInfl(PL) +IntInfl(SL) +PolCult(CZ)+/-PolCult(HU)+/-PolCult(SL) +StateNat(CZ)+StateNat(HU)+StateNat(PL) +/-StateNat(SL) +PrevReg(HU)+PrevReg(PL) +/-ModTrans(CZ)+ModTrans(HU) +ModTrans(PL)+/-ModTrans(SL)	+/-CivSoc(UA) +\-IntInfl(UA) +/-PolCult(UA)
	-	+/-CivSoc(HU)+/-CivSoc(PL) +/-NewInst(HU) +/-PolCult(HU)+/-PolCult(SL) +/-StateNat(SL) -PrevReg(CZ)-PrevReg(SL) +/-ModTrans(CZ)+/-ModTrans(SL)	-Econom(UA) +/-CivSoc(UA) -Cleav(UA) -NewInst(UA) +\-IntInfl(UA) +/-PolCult(UA) -StateNat(UA) -PrevReg(UA) -ModTrans(UA)

. 5.

.

. .5.

1	3	+Econom +Cleav ()
2	4	
+Econom +Cleav +IntInfl ()		

. .6.

