

## EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AND TRENDS OF DEVELOPMENT OF EASTERN EUROPEAN BORDERLAND

*Development and problems of modernization of peripheral societies of European civilization are considered in the paper. It is argued that recent enlargement of the European Union has left three Eastern European countries – Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine in a specific zone that can be defined as Eastern European borderland. The difference in developmental tracks of European societies has been demonstrated and it is suggested that successful development of peripheral societies in Central and Eastern Europe is possible by means of European integration.*

**Key words:** development, modernization, Eastern Europe, borderland, European integration, Human Development Index.

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Profound changes have been occurred in the world during last two decades which have been under sociological scrutiny. The epicentre of transformation was located in Central and Eastern Europe where social movements emerged that undermined socialist regimes. Eastern Bloc collapsed that ended the age of bipolar world. Neo-modernization theory was refuelled and modernization of post-socialist countries became the mainstream idea in sociology of development in the late 1980's through beginning of 1990's. Within this theoretical approach an optimistic project of transformation of post-socialist societies into western capitalist liberal model was conceived. As Piotr Sztompka pointed out, since 1989 theory of modernization focused on post-communist countries attempts to "return to Europe", join the modern western civilization [7, c.101].

However, it wasn't a smooth process and, for at least certain societies, desired modernization turned into "the unprecedented demodernization of a twentieth-century country" when society was pulled "backward to a pre-modern era" [11, p. 45]. Most of post-soviet countries experienced revitalization of pre-modern features including natural economy.

Difficulties of transformation during 1990's and problems of contemporary development in Central and Eastern Europe have not been caused by drawbacks of the previous forced communist project of modernization only. Andrew Janos emphasized that "throughout much of its pre-1989 history Eastern

Europe was a deeply troubled corner of the world, with numerous ethnic, economic and political problems that put its countries on a developmental track completely different from the ones followed by the nation states of the West" [17, p. 2].

There has been criticism on modernization of post-communist countries [1]. Shortly before 8 Central and Eastern European countries joined the EU Janos argued that "relations between East Central Europe with the West are clientele relations and not those of equals" [16, p. 247]. However, if to compare the paths of development of former socialist societies *within the region*, one would find apparent differences. Research question, therefore, is what factors determine such differences in social development in Central and Eastern Europe.

In this paper I focus on a factor of involvement into European civilizational project and a possible impact of the accession of new member states from Central and Eastern Europe to the EU on a track of development of former post-socialist countries. I consider European civilization to be consisted of the core and semi-core societies, which have been integrating based on common liberal values and principles of democracy, market-economy and prosperity, which were officially declared and recognized as fundamental values of the European Union, and the peripheral societies which constitute the borderland of European civilization. The main hypothesis in the paper is that post-socialist countries which have been involved deeply in European integration process demonstrate better performance in development than those countries that remain on the periphery of the current European project embodied by the European Union. I also argue that countries which joined the EU in 2004 and 2007 have been progressively approaching the level of modernized society by basic indicator.

Despite various critics and numerous approaches to the concept of modernization in sociology, it basically implies that more actors improve their life chances and quality of life [18, p. 255]. In terms of less developed societies (with “catching-up development” track) modernization refers to a shift from periphery or semi-periphery to the center of contemporary system of societies [7, c. 171].

Modernization of Central and Eastern Europe is “predominantly understood in terms of a gradual incorporation of the post-communist societies into the European project. This process is then mostly read as convergence in legal, institutional, and political terms” [9, p. 515]. European project is broadly understood to be “political manifestations of feelings of unity and plans for the organization of the continent” [19, p. 84].

According to the official web site of the European Commission “enlargement is one of the EU’s most powerful policy tools. The pull of the EU has helped to transform Central and Eastern Europe into modern, well-functioning democracies. More recently it has inspired far-reaching reforms in the candidate and potential candidate countries” [12].

After the collapse of Eastern Bloc and the Soviet Union in the beginning of 1990’s Central and Eastern Europe fell into two clusters with different development tracks. While three former Soviet Republics Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine were involved into post-soviet integration project (CIS) maintained by Russian Federation, the other three former Soviet republics Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania with the rest of Central and Eastern European societies became determined to European integration. It is important to emphasize that the region of Central and Eastern European constituted “the borderlands of the advanced capitalist countries” which for the period of 1990–1993 was as “economically backward or underdeveloped compared to the West” as it had never been before [17, p. 5].

Extensive process of European integration within which Eastern Europe has been perceived “as the *mission*, the *task* for western Europe” [19, p. 84] has redefined the European borderland.

The EU accession of Central and Eastern European countries was officially declared as “a unique, historic enlargement which signified the re-unification of Europe after decades of division by an Iron Curtain” [13]. Thus, recent enlargements of the European Union have left three Eastern European countries – Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine in a specific zone that presently embodies European civilization borderland. Those countries share the same features: they used to be a part of imperia (Russian, Austro-Hungarian and then Soviet) and may be considered as post-colonial societies; they were involved in the Communist project of accelerated modernization that was an alternative to the Western

one; nowadays they are located between the EU and Russian Federation and experience integrative process from both sides.

After the EU enlargements Eastern Europe doesn’t exist as an integral region. A criterion of belonging to European project is much more important than the fact of geographic vicinity. There is now internal division into EU15, CEECs or EU8 (or A8) and EU2 clusters within European Union with the difference between them “much larger than in previous accession episodes” [10, p. 4]. Present-day Eastern Europe, definition of which has always had connotation of a peripheral region, basically narrowed to three countries only: Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine. Ten Central and Eastern European countries including Romania and Bulgaria are often labeled as ‘poor countries’ and a periphery cluster in contrast to EU15. However, if consider them not in the context of the European Union merely but in the context of European civilization, the conclusion would be that the borderland is located now outside of the European Union.

At this point of time there are two peripheral regions in Europe as a civilization. The first is mentioned above Eastern Europe (or what has left from it), the second – ‘Western Balkans’ (Croatia, FYR Macedonia, Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and Serbia including Kosovo) [14]. (Relation Turkey to European civilization is under discussion that is omitted in this paper. Russian Federation has a special position that will be briefly discussed below.) Nevertheless, these two regions differ significantly. While societies of Western Balkans committed to integration process and either have been granted candidate country status (Croatia, FYR Macedonia) or recognized as potential candidate countries participating in the EU Stabilisation and Association Process (SAP) as a framework for the Western Balkan countries on the way to their future accession, Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine are very far from that [14].

Moreover, the character of borderland region of Western Balkans is radically different from Eastern Europe. Western Balkans countries are located on the *frontiers* of contemporary European project which has been expanding its spatial body. Those societies do not have an *alternative of integration*. Very probably, sooner or later they will be incorporated to the project. This is a just a matter of their readiness that simply requires time. In contrast to them, Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine are the borderland which is located *between* European Union, which represents integrated on the basis of common liberal values western post-industrial market-economy democracy, and Russian Federation, which often claims itself to be exceptional ‘Eurasian’ way of development. Therefore, in the case of Eastern Europe there is an *alternative of integration*. There are

Table 1. Clusters of Central and Eastern European countries in 1990

| Location/HDI | More developed (HDI $\geq$ 0,800)                                   | Less developed (HDI < 0,800)  | Overall |
|--------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------|
| Soviet       | 5<br><b>Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Russian Federation, Ukraine</b> | 2<br><b>Belarus, Moldova</b>  | 7       |
| Non-Soviet   | 4<br><b>Slovenia, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland</b>               | 2<br><b>Bulgaria, Romania</b> | 6       |
| Overall      | 9                                                                   | 4                             | 13      |

three possible ways of development for Eastern European borderland: one of integration options will be implemented (either European or Russian), the region will be conserved as the borderland which is utilized as a buffer from both sides.

The key problem for borderland societies is choosing a strategy for development in present situation. After disruption of 1990's a period of economic growth began in 2000's that gave an optimistic prospect. However, economic growth does not necessarily mean modernization of societies with 'catching-up development'. History provides many examples when decades of successful growth in underdeveloped countries dramatically changed backward and the gap between those countries and the developed ones increased [5]. Therefore, a practice of catching-up development has disclosed its inefficiency [4, c. 5]. All alternatives of development in contemporary global system imply a shift to post-industrial innovative economy that is based on knowledge. It is crucial for modernizing society to have prerequisites for such a shift that may include sufficient level of prosperity, freedom of creativity and entrepreneurship, competition, high level of education and science, industry of innovation, social capital and trust [8, c. 10]. Inozemtsev argues that building post-industrial economy in modernizing society is possible only with the direct participation and support of exiting post-industrial societies, although his argumentation needs empirical evidences [4, c. 64].

European integration comprising the EU enlargement as its powerful tool can be considered as such a case. It is probably too early to look for data that prove successful shift to post-industrial modernized society in Central and Eastern Europe after the accession. Nevertheless, it is possible to find trends in development of the region.

*Research methods.* 12 Central Eastern European countries were chosen for comparison. Slovakia was excluded because of lack of the data. Russian Federation was added as a point of reference. Overall the set comprises 13 countries.

Human Development Index (HDI) was chosen as a comprehensive indicator for measuring level of development of a society. Based on the data set available a period of 1990 – 2005 is suggested for analysis. HDI value in 1990 demonstrates the level

that was achieved eventually by the Communist project of modernization.

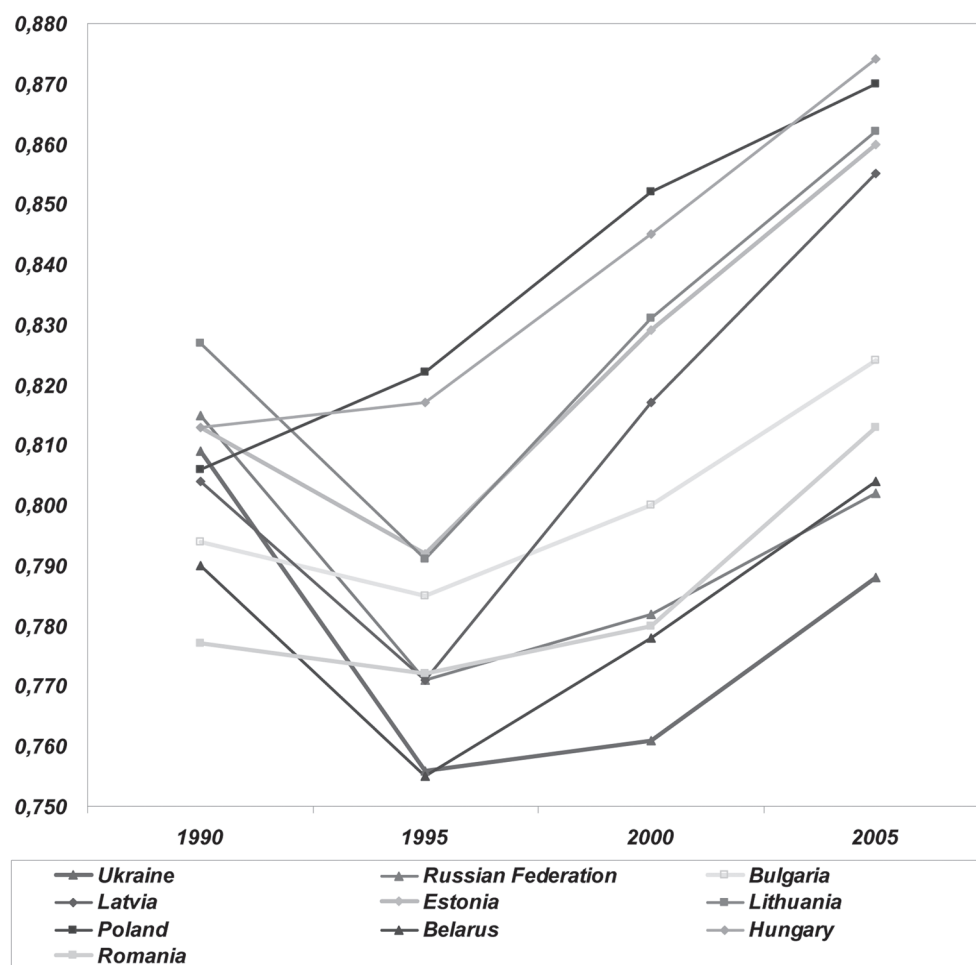
At the starting point Central and Eastern European countries could be divided into 4 clusters by two dimensions in 1990. However, if ignore a factor of location, which is important because Soviet republics didn't have many institutions of an independent state and experienced deeper crisis in 1990's, all 13 countries fall into 2 groups of less developed (4 countries) and more developed (9 countries) based on UNDP criterion HDI equals 0.800 or above. Five out of nine countries in a more developed cluster were the part of the Soviet Union.

There was not significant difference in HDI value between Soviet and non-Soviet countries. However, Slovenia and Czech Republic had higher level of development among others (0,851 and 0,845). Among Soviet countries Lithuania demonstrated better performance with the value of 0,827. Estonia, Russian Federation, Ukraine and Latvia were approximately at the same level with Poland and Hungary. Soviet Belarus with Bulgaria and Romania (presently EU2) constituted a cluster of less developed societies. Moldova had the lowest HDI (0,740) and was considerably behind.

Table 2. HDI of Central and Eastern European countries in 1990–2005

| HDI Rank 2005 | Country                   | 1990  | 1995  | 2000  | 2005  |
|---------------|---------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 27            | <b>Slovenia</b>           | 0,851 | 0,857 | 0,891 | 0,917 |
| 32            | <b>Czech Republic</b>     | 0,845 | 0,854 | 0,866 | 0,891 |
| 36            | <b>Hungary</b>            | 0,813 | 0,817 | 0,845 | 0,874 |
| 37            | <b>Poland</b>             | 0,806 | 0,822 | 0,852 | 0,870 |
| 43            | <b>Lithuania</b>          | 0,827 | 0,791 | 0,831 | 0,862 |
| 44            | <b>Estonia</b>            | 0,813 | 0,792 | 0,829 | 0,860 |
| 45            | <b>Latvia</b>             | 0,804 | 0,771 | 0,817 | 0,855 |
| 53            | <b>Bulgaria</b>           | 0,794 | 0,785 | 0,800 | 0,824 |
| 60            | <b>Romania</b>            | 0,777 | 0,772 | 0,780 | 0,813 |
| 64            | <b>Belarus</b>            | 0,790 | 0,755 | 0,778 | 0,804 |
| 67            | <b>Russian Federation</b> | 0,815 | 0,771 | 0,782 | 0,802 |
| 76            | <b>Ukraine</b>            | 0,809 | 0,756 | 0,761 | 0,788 |
| 111           | <b>Moldova</b>            | 0,740 | 0,684 | 0,683 | 0,708 |

Source: HUMAN DEVELOPMENT REPORT 2007/2008. P. 229–230.



**Graph 1.** HDI trends for 10 Central and Eastern European countries in 1990–2005

Source: HUMAN DEVELOPMENT REPORT 2007/2008. P. 229–230

Graph 1 demonstrates dynamic of two clusters. The graph doesn't include Slovenia and Czech Republic that are above the clusters and Moldova that is much lower. Moldova is a separate case. It was agricultural republic of the Soviet Union. In addition due to separatist movement it lost the most developed part Transnistria (*Pridnestrovie*) in the beginning of 1990's. That is why even compared to other post-soviet countries that were pulled backward after the USSR collapsed Moldova can be estimated at a very low level of development (111 HDI rank).

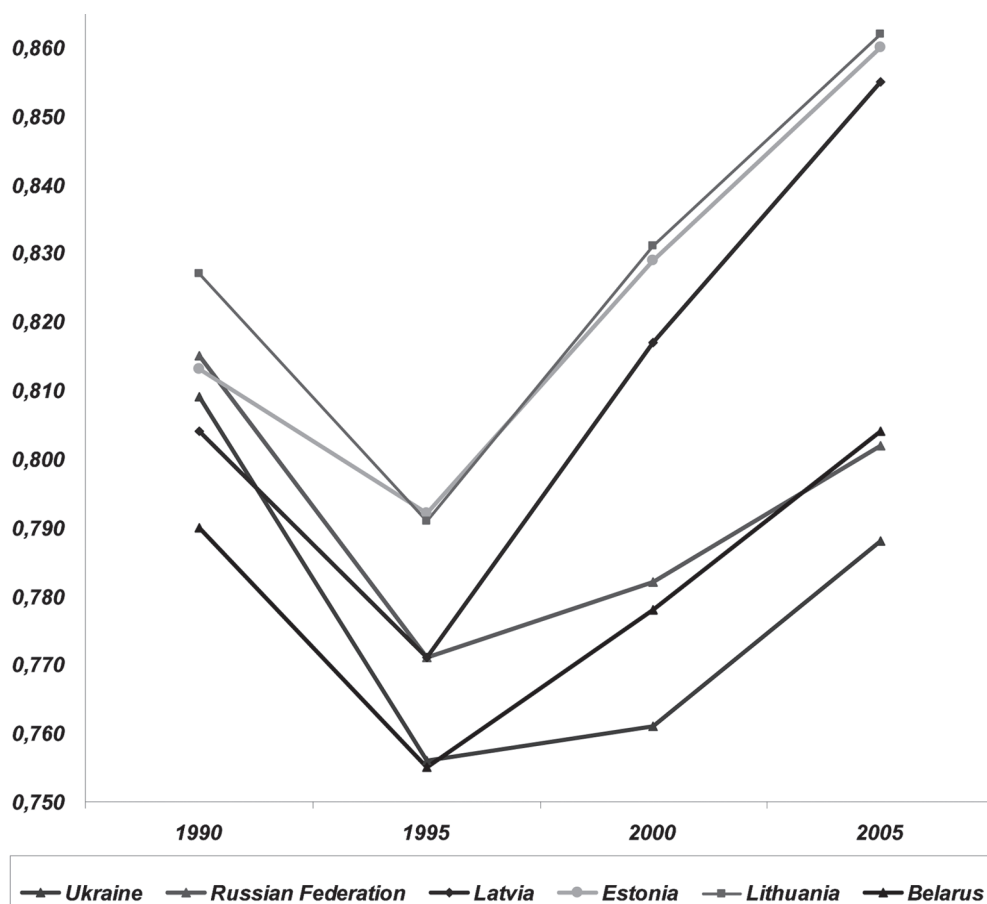
The graph shows that other two clusters were forming by 2005. Societies involved in European project went up after 1995. Poland and Hungary didn't have a fall in contrast to post-soviet countries. Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia did have a drop as well as other Post-Soviet countries. However, they quickly recover after 1995. Latvia experienced a huge HDI slump in the middle of 1990's but developed progressively.

Bulgaria and Romania had moderate decrease from 1990 till 1995. Their HDI trends were very

similar to the HDI trends of Russian federation and Belarus from 1995 till 2000, but from 2000 HDI began growing much faster so that even Romania passed Belarus and Russian Federation by 2005. Ukraine had the largest slump and is backward except Moldova which is not in the graph.

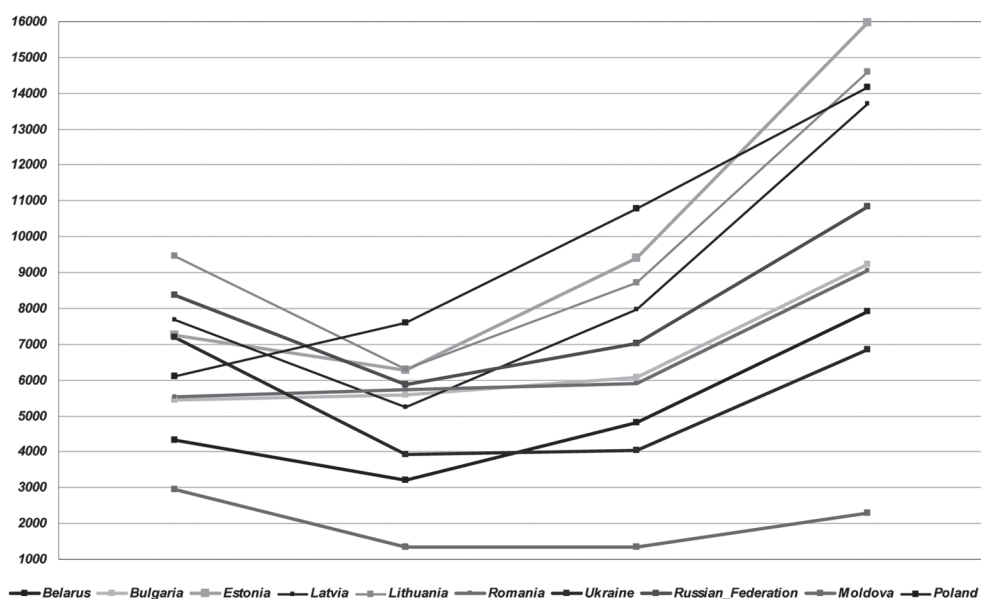
Next graph shows the difference between six post-soviet countries clearly. Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia were by HDI at the same level of development with Russian Federation and Ukraine in 1990. HDI dropped dramatically for all countries by 1995. By 2005 six countries formed two distinct clusters. Three Baltic States which are involved in European project have considerably higher HDI.

Among three Post-Soviet states Ukraine demonstrates a typical pattern. Russian Federation's HDI progress is predominantly a result of growing GDP per capita. The latter is maintained increasingly by fuel and energy industry. Belarus has better performance than Ukraine and Russian Federation since 1995. This is the only country among these three that exceeded HDI value of 1990. It can be explained by existing efforts of authoritarian regime. Such a



**Graph 2.** HDI trends for 6 Post-Soviet countries in 1990–2005

Source: HUMAN DEVELOPMENT REPORT 2007/2008. P. 229–230



**Graph 3.** GDP per capita for 10 Central and Eastern European countries 1990–2005, current international dollars (PPPs) (World Bank estimates)

Source: Key Global Indicators, United Nations Statistics Division. Last update in UNdata: 21 March 2008

Table 3. Relative HDI change in Central and Eastern European countries (EU8) in 1990/2005

| HDI Rank 2005 | Country                        | HDI original value 1990 | HDI original value 2005 | Country's HDI/ United States' HDI ratio 1990 | Country's HDI/ United States' HDI ratio 2005 | Relative change range 1990/2005 |
|---------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 12            | <i>Point of reference (US)</i> | 0,919                   | 0,951                   | 1,000                                        | 1,000                                        | 0,0000                          |
| 27            | <b>Slovenia</b>                | 0,851                   | 0,917                   | 0,926                                        | 0,964                                        | 0,0382                          |
| 32            | <b>Czech Republic</b>          | 0,845                   | 0,891                   | 0,919                                        | 0,937                                        | 0,0174                          |
| 36            | <b>Hungary</b>                 | 0,813                   | 0,874                   | 0,885                                        | 0,919                                        | 0,0344                          |
| 37            | <b>Poland</b>                  | 0,806                   | 0,870                   | 0,877                                        | 0,915                                        | 0,0378                          |
| 43            | <b>Lithuania</b>               | 0,827                   | 0,862                   | 0,900                                        | 0,906                                        | 0,0065                          |
| 44            | <b>Estonia</b>                 | 0,813                   | 0,860                   | 0,885                                        | 0,904                                        | 0,0197                          |
| 45            | <b>Latvia</b>                  | 0,804                   | 0,855                   | 0,875                                        | 0,899                                        | 0,0242                          |

Mean = 0,0255;  $\sigma^2 = 0,0001$

Source: HUMAN DEVELOPMENT REPORT 2007/2008. P. 229–230

Table 4. Relative HDI change in Bulgaria and Romania (EU2) in 1990/2005

| HDI Rank 2005 | Country                        | HDI original value 1990 | HDI original value 2005 | Country's HDI/ United States' HDI ratio 1990 | Country's HDI/ United States' HDI ratio 2005 | Relative change range 1990/2005 |
|---------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 12            | <i>Point of reference (US)</i> | 0,919                   | 0,951                   | 1,000                                        | 1,000                                        | 0,0000                          |
| 53            | <b>Bulgaria</b>                | 0,794                   | 0,824                   | 0,864                                        | 0,866                                        | 0,0025                          |
| 60            | <b>Romania</b>                 | 0,777                   | 0,813                   | 0,845                                        | 0,855                                        | 0,0094                          |

Source: HUMAN DEVELOPMENT REPORT 2007/2008. P. 229–230

regime is capable of mobilizing resources for a certain period of time.

GDP growth for certain countries differs from HDI trends in 1990–2005. Thus, Russian Federation is ahead of Bulgaria and Romania (EU2) by GDP PPP per capita and 3 000 PPP dollars higher than Belarus. The rate of growth from 2000 till 2005 is higher than not only in Bulgaria and Romania but also Poland. However, it is still lower than growth rate in post-soviet countries that are the EU members Latvia, Lithuania and especially Estonia.

GDP PPP per capita indicator is very important to estimate the level of country development but comparing to HDI is partial. Standards of living and humanitarian Russian Federation has deep social problems. Mortality rate is rising and life quality remains low [3, p. 27]. While having big growth of GDP, Russian Federation HDI is recovering rather slowly. It is behind not only of the Eastern-European average but, for instance, Latin America [15, p. 230].

Russian Federation suggests an alternative model of modernity often claimed as “Eurasian” way. However, prospect of Eurasian modernity is obscure and development of Russian society depends on oil and gas industry. De Bolt argues that modernization in the Soviet Union as well as in contemporary Russia is constrained by the lack of institutional differentiation that is caused by dominance and over control of political elite [2, p. 22].

Recent economic achievements of Russian federation are equivocal. Kudrov points out that quality of economic growth in Russian is low. The growth mostly depends on raw materials production, while share of a sector of manufacturing commodities for internal market in GDP is decreasing [6, p. 37]. Innovative economy produces only 3,5 % of industrial goods [6, p. 31]. Thus, Russian Federation is far from level of post-industrial society and needs to find its own way of modernization. At the same time, it remains a powerful center of integrative processes for borderland societies.

Above we considered HDI trends of selected societies that gave opportunity to compare them to each other. However, it is more important to analyze development of Central and Eastern European countries in the global context.

The US development is suggested to be a scale for changes in the modern world. The US is the largest Western society with the biggest economy. It fully embodies values and principles of market-economy democracy. Nonetheless the US doesn't have the highest HDI among the most developed countries. Below data will present HDI trends of selected countries compared against US HDI trend between 1990 and 2005. This also allows finding relative development shift for each society taking into account initial country's position in 1990.

All Central and Eastern European countries that are the EU members (EU8) demonstrate positive

Table 5. Relative HDI change in EU15 in 1990/2005

| HDI Rank 2005 | Country                        | HDI original value 1990 | HDI original value 2005 | Country's HDI/ United States' HDI ratio 1990 | Country's HDI/ United States' HDI ratio 2005 | Relative change range 1990/2005 |
|---------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 12            | <i>Point of reference (US)</i> | 0,919                   | 0,951                   | 1,000                                        | 1,000                                        | 0,0000                          |
| 5             | <b>Ireland</b>                 | 0,875                   | 0,959                   | 0,952                                        | 1,008                                        | 0,0563                          |
| 6             | <b>Sweden</b>                  | 0,904                   | 0,956                   | 0,984                                        | 1,005                                        | 0,0216                          |
| 9             | <b>Netherlands</b>             | 0,914                   | 0,953                   | 0,995                                        | 1,002                                        | 0,0075                          |
| 10            | <b>France</b>                  | 0,907                   | 0,952                   | 0,987                                        | 1,001                                        | 0,0141                          |
| 11            | <b>Finland</b>                 | 0,906                   | 0,952                   | 0,986                                        | 1,001                                        | 0,0152                          |
| 13            | <b>Spain</b>                   | 0,896                   | 0,949                   | 0,975                                        | 0,998                                        | 0,0229                          |
| 14            | <b>Denmark</b>                 | 0,898                   | 0,949                   | 0,977                                        | 0,998                                        | 0,0207                          |
| 15            | <b>Austria</b>                 | 0,899                   | 0,948                   | 0,978                                        | 0,997                                        | 0,0186                          |
| 16            | <b>United Kingdom</b>          | 0,890                   | 0,946                   | 0,968                                        | 0,995                                        | 0,0263                          |
| 17            | <b>Belgium</b>                 | 0,903                   | 0,946                   | 0,983                                        | 0,995                                        | 0,0122                          |
| 18            | <b>Luxembourg</b>              | 0,890                   | 0,944                   | 0,968                                        | 0,993                                        | 0,0242                          |
| 20            | <b>Italy</b>                   | 0,892                   | 0,941                   | 0,971                                        | 0,989                                        | 0,0189                          |
| 22            | <b>Germany</b>                 | 0,890                   | 0,935                   | 0,968                                        | 0,983                                        | 0,0147                          |
| 24            | <b>Greece</b>                  | 0,877                   | 0,926                   | 0,954                                        | 0,974                                        | 0,0194                          |
| 29            | <b>Portugal</b>                | 0,855                   | 0,897                   | 0,930                                        | 0,943                                        | 0,0129                          |

Mean = 0,0204;  $\sigma^2 = 0,0001$

Source: HUMAN DEVELOPMENT REPORT 2007/2008. P. 229–230

Table 6. Relative HDI change in Borderland societies and Russian Federation in 1990/2005

| HDI Rank 2005 | Country                        | HDI original value 1990 | HDI original value 2005 | Country's HDI/ United States' HDI ratio 1990 | Country's HDI/ United States' HDI ratio 2005 | Relative change range 1990/2005 |
|---------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 12            | <i>Point of reference (US)</i> | 0,919                   | 0,951                   | 1,000                                        | 1,000                                        | 0,0000                          |
| 64            | <b>Belarus</b>                 | 0,790                   | 0,804                   | 0,860                                        | 0,845                                        | -0,0142                         |
| 67            | <b>Russian Federation</b>      | 0,815                   | 0,802                   | 0,887                                        | 0,843                                        | -0,0435                         |
| 76            | <b>Ukraine</b>                 | 0,809                   | 0,788                   | 0,880                                        | 0,829                                        | -0,0517                         |
| 111           | <b>Moldova</b>                 | 0,740                   | 0,708                   | 0,805                                        | 0,744                                        | -0,0607                         |

Mean = -0,0425;  $\sigma^2 = 0,0003$

Source: HUMAN DEVELOPMENT REPORT 2007/2008. P. 229–230

dynamic in relation to the US. They all improved their HDI ratio. The biggest improvement demonstrate Slovenia (3,82 %) and Poland (3,78 %). Latvia demonstrates the best relative result among post-soviet A8 countries (2,42 %), although its absolute HDI value is the smallest.

Bulgaria and Romania also have HDI growing better than the US. Although improvement is less significant: 0,25 % and 0,94 % accordingly. Bulgaria has the lowest value among all ten Central and Eastern European countries. Overall three countries have relative change range below 1 % (Bulgaria, Romania and Lithuania).

Adding Bulgaria and Romania to the aggregate list of EU8 and EU2 makes the mean of relative range value a bit smaller – 0,0211,  $\sigma^2 = 0,0002$ .

It is also interesting to compare development of Central and Eastern European societies to EU15.

As well as Central and Eastern European countries all EU15 countries demonstrate positive dynamic in relation to the US. HDI grew more than in the US with the mean of relative range value –

0,0204,  $\sigma^2 = 0,0001$ . If in 1990 none of the countries had HDI as high as in the US, in 2005 five the EU members exceeded that level. Ireland has the most significant development shift – 5,63 %. However, this is rather an exception. The next result of 2,63 % has the UK that is in more than twice smaller. There are six countries that have a relative change range over 2 % (Ireland, UK, Luxemburg, Spain, Sweden and Denmark (40 % of EU15). There are 4 countries with the similar change among Central and Eastern European countries (40 % of EU8 and EU2, 50 % of EU8). However, there is only one country from EU15 with the range less than 1 % (one in EU8 and 3 for EU8 & EU2).

Thus, on the average EU15 and 10 Central and Eastern European countries had similar paces of development between 1990 and 2005. This is very good for the post-socialist societies, because EU15 had quite successful time and their HDI decreased faster than in the US. Yet, the period of 1990–2005 included deep crisis for many of post-socialist countries (especially for Baltic States). If to focus on

Table 7. Differentiation of Central and Eastern Europe in 2005

| Status/HDI     | More developed (HDI $\geq$ 0,827)                                                     | Less developed (HDI < 0,827)                                                    | Overall |
|----------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| Non-EU members | 0                                                                                     | 6<br><i>Belarus, Russian Federation, Ukraine<br/>Moldova, Bulgaria, Romania</i> | 6       |
| EU members     | 7<br><i>Slovenia, Czech Republic, Hungary,<br/>Poland, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia</i> | 0                                                                               | 7       |
| Overall        | 7                                                                                     | 6                                                                               | 13      |

*Countries that accessed the EU in 2007 and are approaching a cluster of more developed countries are in italics.*

EU8 only, it would be possible to conclude that post-socialist societies developed even slightly better than EU15. The mean of relative range value in EU8 at 20 % higher than in EU15, there are three countries in EU8 with over 3% change range against one in EU15. However, development in EU15 was more even.

The state of affairs in the borderland societies is absolutely different. All countries as well as Russian Federation have negative dynamic in relation to the US.

Belarus has better result (-1,42 %). The worst situation is in Moldova (-6,07 %). Russian Federation, which is close to Belarus by original HDI value (0,843 against 0,845), is more than 3 times worse by relative to the US shift. The mean of relative range value for four post-soviet societies equals -0,0425,  $\sigma^2 = 0,0003$ . (For three borderland societies Belarus, Moldova, Ukraine it equals -0,0422). The difference with the mean of Central and Eastern European countries that are the EU members is 0,0636 and 0,068 with EU8.

Thus, borderland societies and Russian Federation are behind of other post-socialist countries, which became the EU members, and the distance is growing. On the other hand, judging by HDI trend, EU8 approached EU15 during very difficult period for the former.

Central and Eastern Europe was radically reshaped after 15 years of searching for a strategy of development. Table 7 shows clusters that formed in the region by 2005. According to UNDP High human development is recognized with the HDI value of 0.800 or above. Following this classification, Belarus

and Russian Federation fall into a group of countries of High human development, while only Ukraine and Moldova among selected countries go into a group of Medium human development. However, if one wants to find real differentiation in Central and Eastern Europe, another working criterion should be employed. It was suggested using UNDP estimation for initial point in 1990 to define clusters showed in Table 1. HDI value of 0,800 equalled 0,8705 of the US HDI in 1990. Apparently, the same value of 0,800 is smaller part of US HDI in 2005 because the latter has increased (in fact, the ratio is 0,841). If to keep the same ratio of 0,870 as a benchmark for defining more developed societies as it was in 1990, absolute HDI value would be 0,827 in 2005.

Based on these calculations we can see from Table 7 that all EU8 members fall into a group of more developed societies, while all the rest post-soviet countries concentrate in a cluster of less developed societies. Russian Federation and Ukraine lost their positions and switched to the latter cluster. There are no non-EU countries in the former. Bulgaria and Romania (EU2) remain in the same cell, but they are approaching the cluster of more developed societies.

Therefore, post-socialist countries that have been involved in European integration process were developing better than those countries that remained on the periphery of the EU. The countries that used to be peripheral borderland now are members of European community. Thus, European integration can be a good strategy for development of borderland societies. One may suggest that there is no other way for modernization in the region.

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### ЄВРОПЕЙСЬКА ІНТЕГРАЦІЯ І ТРЕНДИ РОЗВИТКУ СХІДНОЄВРОПЕЙСЬКОГО ПОГРАНИЧЧЯ

*У статті розглянуто розвиток і проблеми модернізації периферійних суспільств європейської цивілізації. Доводиться, що розширення Європейського союзу 2000-х років утворило специфічну територію, яку складають Білорусь, Молдова і Україна і яку можна визначити як східноєвропейське пограниччя. Було виявлено різницю у трендах розвитку країн Центральної і Східної Європи, які залучені до процесу європейської інтеграції, та суспільств пограниччя.*

**Ключові слова:** розвиток, модернізація, Східна Європа, пограниччя, європейська інтеграція, Індекс людського розвитку.