

Membership in Ukraine's political parties: membership crisis or crisis of the party model?

The characteristics of political parties of Ukraine and democratic countries in relation to the level of membership have been considered; its low level has been stated. In Ukraine, the formation of political parties was carried out in accordance with the model of "mass political party", formulated by M. Duverger. Accordingly, regulations on political parties clearly define the requirements for formal membership. The main versions of the information on the number of members of political parties in Ukraine have been analyzed; its secrecy and impossibility of verification have been emphasized. On the basis of interviews with party activists of Lviv region, the parameters of membership in regional party branches have been determined. The influence of a number of factors on the involvement of non-party employees in party organizations has been clarified and their role in the work of party structures has been outlined. It has been proved that the low level of membership in regional centers is evidence of the crisis of the mass party model. It has been also proposed to consider as an indicator of this crisis the attempts to form a network party model by a number of newly created parties in Ukraine.

Keywords: political party, crisis of political parties, mass party, member of a political party, non-partisan, intra-party democracy, election management, employees of party campaigns.

Członkostwo w partiach politycznych Ukrainy: kryzys członkostwa czy kryzys modelu partyjnego?

Uwzględniono charakterystykę partii politycznych Ukrainy i krajów demokratycznych pod względem poziomu członkostwa i stwierdzono jego niski poziom. Na Ukrainie formowanie partii politycznych odbywało się według modelu „masowej partii politycznej” sformułowanej przez M. Duverge. W związku z tym akty normatywne przeznaczone partiom politycznym jasno określają wymogi formalnego członkostwa. Analizowane są główne warianty informacji o liczbie członków partii politycznych na Ukrainie, podkreśla się ich tajność i niemożność weryfikacji. Na podstawie wywiadów z działaczami partyjnymi obwodu Lwowskiego określono parametry członkostwa w regionalnych oddziałach partii. Wyjaśniono wpływ szeregu czynników na zaangażowanie pracowników pozapartyjnych w pracę organizacji partyjnych oraz nakreślono ich rolę w pracach struktur partyjnych. Udowodniono, że niski poziom członkostwa w oddziałach regionalnych świadczy o kryzysie modelu partii masowych. Proponuje się również rozważenie prób stworzenia modelu partii sieciowej przez szereg nowo powstałych partii na Ukrainie jako wskaźnika tego kryzysu.

Słowa kluczowe: partia polityczna, kryzys partii politycznych, partia masowa, członek partii politycznej, bezpartyjny, demokracja wewnątrzpartyjna, kierownictwo wyborcze, wynajęci pracownicy kampanii partyjnych.

Членство в політичних партіях України: криза членства чи криза моделі партії?

Розглянуто характеристики політичних партій України і демократичних країн стосовно рівня членства, констатовано його низький рівень. В Україні формування політичних партій здійснювалося відповідно до моделі «масової політичної партії», сформульованої М. Дюверже. Відповідно нормативні акти присвячені політичним партіям досить чітко окреслюють вимоги до формального членства. Проаналізовано основні варіанти інформації про кількість членів політичних партій в Україні, наголошено на її закритості і неможливості перевірки. На основі інтерв'ю з партійними активістами Львівської області визначено параметри членства в обласних партійних осередках. З'ясовано вплив низки чинників на залучення до роботи партійних організацій найманих працівників, які не є членами партії та окреслено їх роль в роботі партійних структур. Доведено, що низький рівень членства в обласних осередках є свідченням кризи моделі масової партії. Запропоновано також розглядати індикатором цієї кризи спроби формування моделі мережевої партії низкою новостворених в Україні партій.

Ключові слова: політична партія, криза політичних партій, масова партія, член політичної партії, безпартійний, внутрішньопартійна демократія, виборчий менеджмент, наймані працівники партійних кампаній.

Numerous studies by world partologists often analyze the current state of party membership and state the crisis, which is manifested not only in the reduction of the share of party citizens among the voters of a particular country and all democracies together, it also extends to the ability of political parties to carry out their functions and leads to the emergence of new characteristics in party activities and the very institution of political parties. Ukrainian researchers in the analysis of political parties often talk about the weakness of the institution of parties in the country and the small base of party members, both in relation to those represented in parliament and active on the political scene, and those who periodically participate in parliamentary, presidential and local elections. The formal similarity / closeness of the numerical characteristics of party members in Ukraine and democracies has led some researchers to talk about the similarity of the situation¹,

¹ Symonchuk O. Socio-class structure of Ukraine since independence // Ukrainian society: monitoring of social changes. 30 years of independence. Issue. 8 (22). Kyiv, 2021. P.249.

which implicitly foresees the assertion of conformity of processes that led to this state of affairs and delineation of directions and tools for action.

The purpose of our publication is to verify the above statement and clarify the current state and factors and consequences of the presence of a small number of party members in the political parties of Ukraine. Our hypothesis is that the formal similarity of low party membership rates is due to different processes in political parties in Ukraine and democracies and that the low number of party members indicates a crisis in the mass party model chosen in Ukraine.

The problem of studying the state of affairs with membership in Ukrainian parties has not received much attention from Ukrainian researchers. The vast majority of publications are devoted to the legal basis for the acquisition and loss of membership in a political party. Among these publications is the article by S. Osaulenko, who analyzed changes in the legislation of Ukraine on membership in political parties and came to the following conclusions: 1) on the instability of the relevant legislation, as the relevant articles of the Law "On Political Parties" have undergone 8 changes since its adoption and 2) on the existence of gaps in domestic legislation regarding the regulation of party membership, in particular, the lack of a register of party members, as a result of which it is impossible to check whether a particular citizen is a member of a particular party, or whether he may be a member of two or more parties². It is also worth noting a number of publications of Doctor of Sociology O. Vyshnyak, who based on the analysis of research conducted by the Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine considered the dynamics of changes in the membership of Ukrainian political parties since 1994³. Peculiarities of the membership base of political parties at the level of Lviv region have been analyzed in the article by A. Romaniuk⁴. To some extent, the issue of membership in political parties of Ukraine at the regional level was considered in the materials of a number of years of the international scientific conference entitled "Political parties and elections: Ukrainian and world practices" (in memory of Yuri Romanovych Shved), which takes place annually since 2016⁵.

² Osaulenko S.V. Membership in political parties of Ukraine: current status and problems of regulatory regulation / S.V. Osaulenko // Scientific papers of the National University "Odesa Law Academy". Vol. 21 / editor in chief. M.V. Afanasyeva; MES of Ukraine, NU "OYUA" - Odesa: Helvetica, 2018, P. 89.

³ Vyshnyak O. The political system of Ukraine in the sociological dimension: the dynamics of membership in political parties and party identifications of citizens. Ukrainian society. Twenty years of independence: sociological monitoring: in 2 volumes Vol.1. Analytical materials / ed. V. Voroni, M. Shulgi. K.: Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 2011. P. 160-178; Vyshnyak O. Tendencies of changes in membership in political parties and party identification of citizens of Ukraine // Sociology: theory, methods, marketing. 2018. №1. Pp. 103–117

⁴ Romanyuk A. The particularities of membership in political parties of Ukraine through the focus of regional party organization of Lviv region // Studium Europy Środkowej i Wschodniej. – Półrocznik, 2021, #16. – P. 6-20.

⁵ Political parties and elections: Ukrainian and world practices: a collection of articles and abstracts based on the results of the scientific conference "Political parties and elections: Ukrainian and world practices" (in memory of Yuri Romanovich Shved) from October 8, 2016 / Edited by A. Romanyuk. – Lviv: Prostir-M, 2017; Political parties and elections: Ukrainian and world practices: Coll. Articles and abstracts based on the results of science. conf. "Political parties and elections: Ukrainian and world practices" (in memory of Yuri Romanovych Shved) from November 3, 2018 / resp. for the issue A. Romanyuk, V. Lytvyn, I. Osadchuk. – Lviv: I. Franko LNU 2019. – Issue 3; Political parties and elections: Ukrainian and world practices: coll. Art. and abstracts on the results of the Fourth International Scientific Conference "Political Parties and Elections: Ukrainian and World Practices" (in memory of Yuri Romanovych Shved) from November 9, 2019 / ed. Anatoly Romanyuk and Vitaliy Lytvyn. Lviv: Ivan Franko Lviv National University, 2020. Issue. 4; Political parties and elections: Ukrainian and world practices: coll. art. and abstracts based on the results of the Fifth International Scientific Conference "Political Parties and Elections: Ukrainian and World Practices" (in memory of Yuri Romanovych of Shved) of November 28, 2020 / ed. Anatoly Romanyuk and Vitaly Lytvyn. Lviv: Ivan Franko National University, 2021. Issue. 5.

In Western political science, the issue of membership in political parties is given considerable attention. A number of articles consider the changes in the membership base in European countries during the 1960s and 1980s⁶, at the next stage in the 1980s and 2000s⁷, and the factors that determine the analyzed level. A separate area should be considered the study of the functioning of political parties and the role of party members in party activities, in particular in intra-party democracy⁸. The study of the organizational structure and functioning of political parties' peculiarities at the present stage is mainly with the definition of the context of quantitative and qualitative changes in party members, or the selection of defining variables that determine the emergence of new characteristics⁹. Also worth noting are publications on the crisis of party membership and new forms of party participation, the number of which has increased significantly in recent years¹⁰.

Among the publications of Polish researchers is the monograph by Beata Kosowska-Gonstol, which contains a section on party members and structures of European political parties¹¹. At the same time, there are a number of studies on political parties that analyze membership issues¹².

Today, we can get information about the number of the political parties' members in Ukraine only on the basis of opinion polls. Unfortunately, the current political parties do not publish these data either on their own resources or in public publications. As a result, we are not able to verify the data obtained through opinion polls. Among a number of sociological agencies in Ukraine, a systematic study of the membership of Ukrainian parties was conducted by the Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, which in fact throughout the period of independence annually includes the question of estimating the number of party members in its research.

⁶ Richard S. Katz, P. Mair and L. Bardi and other/ The membership of political parties in European democracies, 1960-1990// *European Journal of Political Research*. 1992, # 22. P.329-345.

⁷ Mair P., Van Biezen I. Party membership in twenty European democracies. 1980-2000// *Party Politics*. 2001. #7. Issue 1. P. 5-21.

⁸ Katz R.S. & P.Mair: *How parties organize: Change and adaptation in party organizations in Western democracies*. London: SAGE. 1994; Lawson K. *How parties work: Perspectives from within*. Westport: Praeger. 1994.

⁹ Husted E. Party organization in the digital age// *Ephemera*. 2019. # 19 (3). P. 651-662; Husted E., Moufahim M. & Fredriksson M. Welcome to the party// *Ephemera. Theory & Politics in organization*. Volume 21 (2). 2021. P.1-17; Husted E., Moufahim M. & Fredriksson M. Political parties and organization studies: The party as a critical case of organizing// *Organization Studies*. Doi: 10.1177/01708406211010979.

¹⁰ Van Biezen I., Mair P., Poguntke T. Going, going...gone? The decline of party membership in contemporary Europe// *European Journal of Political Research*. 2012. Vol. 51. Issue 1. P.24-56; Fisher J., Fieldhouse E., Cutts D. Members are Not the Only Fruit: Volunteer Activity in British Political Parties at the 2010 General Election// *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*. Vol. 16. Issue 1. 2014. P.75-95; Parker M., Cheney G., Fournier V. and Land C. The question of organization: A manifesto for alternatives// *Ephemera*. 2014. Vol. 14 (4). P. 623-638; Foycher F. New forms of political participation. Changing demands or changing opportunities to participate in political parties?// *Comparative European Politics*. 2015. Vol. 13. P. 405-429; Mazzolini O. & Voerman G. Members parties: Beyond the business firm model?// *Party Politics*. 2017. Vol. 23 (6). P. 783-792; Scarrow S.E., Webb P.D. and Poguntke T. Organizing political parties: Representation, participation and power. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2017. 384 p.; Gauja A. Moving beyond the membership? The transformation of party organisations, policy outsourcing and the creation of supporters networks. Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the American Political Science Association. Toronto. 2019.

¹¹ Kosowska-Gąstol B. Członkostwo i struktury europejskich partii politycznych [w:] Kosowska-Gąstol B. *Europejskie partie polityczne jako organizacje wielopoziomowe. Rozwój, struktury, funkcje*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. 2014. 340 s.

¹² Antoszewski A. *Partie i systemy partyjne państw Unii Europejskiej na przełomie wieków*. Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek. Toruń 2009; Herbut R. *Teoria i praktyka funkcjonowania partii politycznych*. Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, Wrocław 2002; *Partie i systemy partyjne Europy Środkowej*. Pod red. A. Antoszeskiego, P. Fiali, R. Herbuta i J. Sroki. Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego. Wrocław 2003; Sobolewska-Mysłik K. *Partie i systemy partyjne na świecie*. Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN. Warszawa 2010; Wojtaszczyk K.A. *Partie polityczne w państwie demokratycznym*. Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne. Warszawa 1998; *Współczesne systemy partyjne wybranych państw Europejskich*. Pod red. M. Grzybowski i A. Zięby. Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Kraków 1996.

Table 1. Dynamics of the level of membership in political parties of Ukraine according to the Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine 1994 – 2020, %¹³.

1994	95	96	97	98	99	2000	01	02	03	04	05	06	08	10	12	14	16	18	20
0,7	0,6	0,5	0,7	0,9	1,5	0,8	1,7	2,2	2,0	1,9	2,5	4,6	2,8	3,0	1,2	1,4	1,4	1,1	1,7

The importance of the results of the Institute of Sociology is that the surveys were conducted according to a single method, as well as the calculation of results.

As a result, it is correct to compare the indicators given by years. The materials in the table show that the situation with the number of members is relatively dynamic. In particular, the interval of one or two years, in a number of cases, shows significant differences in the number of party members. This figure for 2020 is also confirmed in the publication of O. Symonchuk, which estimates the total share at 2.0%¹⁴. The slight difference between the two indications does not provide further clarification as to which indicator is a more plausible. Accordingly, the figure for 2020 we should take in the range of 1.7 – 2.0 %. At the same time, another perspective on the perception of this indicator will be the assessment of its compliance with the number of citizens. According to the State Register of Voters, during the 2020 local elections, the number of citizens of election age was approximately 28 million. Accordingly, the percentage obtained by sociologists this year should be equal to 476 – 560 thousand voters.

As an additional source of information about members of political parties in Ukraine, we consider the materials contained in Wikipedia. It should be noted that there is a noticeable discrepancy between the Ukrainian and English versions. As a rule, Ukrainian-language versions often do not provide specific figures on membership or give a larger number than English-language ones. Regarding the indicators of the number of members of parliamentary parties: the “Servant of the People” party does not provide information on the Ukrainian-language page, and the English-speaking one estimates the number of party members from 500 to 1,000 members¹⁵; the “European Solidarity” Party similarly does not provide information on the number of members of the party in the Ukrainian-language edition, instead the English-language page records about 30,000 members as of October 2017¹⁶; the “Opposition Platform – For Life” party¹⁷ has no information on the number of its members on Wikipedia; the Ukrainian-language website of the “Motherland” provides the figure of 600,000 party members for 2012, and the English-language website records about 10,000¹⁸ for 2020; The “Voice” party has traditionally not posted data on

¹³ Ukrainian society: monitoring of social change. Issue. 7 (21). Kyiv, 2020. - P.449.

¹⁴ Symonchuk O. Socio-class structure of Ukraine since independence // Ukrainian society: monitoring of social changes. 30 years of independence. Vip. 8 (22). Kyiv, 2021. P.249.

¹⁵ Servant of the People [Електронний ресурс] - URL: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Servant_of_the_People

¹⁶ European Solidarity [Електронний ресурс] - URL: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/European_Solidarity

¹⁷ By the decision of the National Security and Defense Council on March 20, 2022, the party's activities for the pro-Russian position were suspended, and on April 14, 2022, the party was dissolved in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine.

¹⁸ Batkivshyna [Електронний ресурс] - URL: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Batkivshyna>

the number of its members on the Ukrainian-language resource, and the English-language version is estimated at about 500 people¹⁹. The situation is similar for other political parties. It should also be noted that of the 365 officially registered political parties (as of January 1, 2021), a significant number do not have their own pages and overview information on Wikipedia.

Attempts to summarize the information available on Wikipedia on the members of Ukrainian parties, taking into account the incompleteness of information on each officially registered party and the predominantly expert nature of the information posted in this resource, raise questions about the inconsistency of estimates of membership in Ukrainian political parties. At the same time, the question arises how to assess the current level of membership in political parties in Ukraine?

The first Ukrainian political parties began to form at the end of perestroika²⁰. The process of creating Ukrainian parties received a powerful impetus after the declaration of independence in 1991. From the very beginning of the party-building process, the “mass party” in the format of M. Duverger was chosen as the basic model. According to this model, the main indicators were a significant number of party members who expected a strong “culture of participation”, parties had a strong organizational structure with a permanent party apparatus, were hierarchical, had a program in a format close to ideology²¹. This choice was due to the limited experience of Ukrainian society in observing the institutions of a democratic society, including a political party. This experience for the vast majority was reduced to the CPSU, even with a negative attitude towards this party and its members. An additional factor at the time of independence was the assessment that the cadre party format was predominant in European democracies. In accordance with the requirements of the mass party model, there were prescribed normative documents regulating the formation, registration and functioning of political parties in Ukraine.

Analysis of membership in Ukrainian political parties will primarily require a conceptual definition of the very concept of “party member” in accordance with Ukrainian law. According to the Law “On Political Parties in Ukraine” (Article 6.8), “membership in a party is fixed, which means that there is a certain relationship between the person and the political organization to which he or she belongs and is regulated by such a document as the statute. A prerequisite for registration of membership in a political party is the presence of a statement of a citizen of Ukraine, about the desire to become a member of this party submitted to the statutory body of the political party.

The procedure for joining a political party, suspending and terminating its membership is determined by the statute of the political party.²² Thus, the law clearly sets out the main parameters for the status of a political party member in Ukraine: membership is exclusively individual, to obtain the status of a particular citizen must personally apply and other documents

¹⁹ Holos[Електронний ресурс] - URL:[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Holos_\(political_party\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Holos_(political_party))

²⁰ In 1988, the Ukrainian Christian Democratic Front party was registered. See: State, government and civil society in the documents of political parties of Ukraine (late 1980s - first half of 2011). - K.: I.Kuras IPandENR. NAS of Ukraine, 2011. - p.15.

²¹ Shveda Yu. Mass parties (parties of mass mobilization) // Shveda Yu. R. Parties and elections: European experience and Ukrainian realities: Encyclopedic dictionary. - Lviv: Taras Soroka Publishing House, 2009. - P.205-206.

²² Law of Ukraine “On Political Parties in Ukraine” URL: zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2365-14#Text

provided by the statute of the elected party and go through a certain procedure as a result of which the citizen will receive formal confirmation of acquiring the status of a party member.

An analysis of the statutes of the main political parties shows the approximate / relative similarity of the requirements – a personally written statement and one or two recommendations. Also, by additional requirements, some political parties put forward a lustration check or monitoring of open sources of information on the nature of messages (positive and negative) about a potential candidate. Thus, we state that in the presence of these requirements, each party must clearly record who its member is and take into account all changes in its own number. Therefore, the lack of not only clear, but generally correct and not evaluative information about members of political parties, especially those involved in political life is a conscious position of political parties. Most experts agree that party representatives are leaving the installation, so far we do not estimate what it is, that a political party should have a large number of members. By this logic, the presence of a significant number of party members may indicate a number of properties: that the party is popular, that party members are represented in major social groups, that a political party should have a developed membership base in accordance with the vertical and horizontal structure of the party and in total be an indicator of public support and political power of a particular party. In this context, the starting point regarding the number of party members is the information of O. Symonchuk that in the Ukrainian Socialist Republic in 1980, 11.7% of citizens were party members²³. Compared to this indicator, the share calculated by sociologists can be interpreted as small one. At the same time, such a comparison would be incorrect, since the USSR was not a democracy and the Communist Party was a conditionally political party because it was the leading and guiding party when its status was guaranteed by the constitution / laws. That is, evaluation / comparison should be made in relation to democracies, the immanent elements of which are political parties.

Based on comprehensive estimates by a number of authoritative Western political scientists, the share of members of political parties in Western Europe in the 1960s was 14.6% of the total electorate, and in the late 1980s it was 10.5%²⁴. As for twenty European countries in the late 1990s, the average membership of political parties fell to 4.99%²⁵. Research on the assessment of the share of party citizens in European countries today shows a further decrease in their quota. In this context, P. Mayer, van Bizen and T. Poguntke state that the level of party membership may have fallen to such a low level that membership cannot be a significant indicator of the party's organizational potential, or indeed the reduction of party members may be such that the party organization itself can no longer function²⁶. That is, these and a number of subsequent studies of political parties in European countries show a trend of steady decline in the number of members of political parties

²³ Symonchuk O. Socio-class structure of Ukraine since independence // Ukrainian society: monitoring of social changes. 30 years of independence. Issue. 8 (22). Kyiv, 2021. P.249.

²⁴ Richard S.Katz, P.Mair and L.Bardi and other/ The membership of political parties in European democracies, 1960-1990// European Journal of Political Research. 1992, # 22. P.334.

²⁵ Mair P., Van Biezen I. Party membership in twenty European democracies. 1980-2000// Party Politics. 2001. #7. Issue 1. P. 9.

²⁶ Van Biezen I., Mair P., Poguntke T. Going, going...gone? The decline of party membership in contemporary Europe// European Journal of Political Research. 2012. Vol.51. Issue 1. P. 40.

and their small share among citizens of election age. Can we talk about the conformity of the situation in the party system of Ukraine to the universal tendencies of democratic countries? In our opinion, the indicators of Ukrainian political parties can only be partially explained by the action / relevance of the situation in European political parties. According to the results in Table 1, the coverage of Ukrainian citizens with party membership since independence, which coincides with the beginning of the formation of political parties in the country, has always been at a very low level. The situation recorded in 2006, when the share was 4.6%, should be considered as a special case caused by the events of the Orange Revolution, the next parliamentary elections under the new electoral system and the transition from semi-presidential to parliamentary-presidential form. In other words, the tendency inherent in democratic countries, which consists in a gradual, long-term and significant reduction in the share of party citizens, is not observed in Ukraine.

In order to clarify the situation with members of political parties, we held a series of meetings with experts and representatives of the main political parties of Ukraine in Lviv region. We assume that the situation in the political parties of one region, in general, reflects the trends of change in other regions and gives us the opportunity to see the existing processes in political parties at the level of Ukraine.

If we do not take into account the Russian-Ukrainian war, which began on February 24, 2022 and requires special research, among the determinant factors that determine changes in political parties, we can name: the evolution of the decentralization process, adoption of a new Electoral Code and its testing in practice and taking into account the specifics / features of the electoral processes of the President, Parliament and local elections.

By the summer of 2020, when within the framework of the program of decentralization and administrative-territorial reform there were formed 7 large districts, 20 districts functioned in the region and there were 9 cities of regional subordination where there were city councils (Boryslav, Drohobych, Lviv, Morshyn, Novy Rozdil, Sambir, Stryi, Truskavets and Chervonohrad). Thus, the structure of the regional party organization should ideally include 20 district and 9 city party branches. Any additional expansion to other cities, towns and even villages depended solely on the organizational capacity of the political party. As part of the decentralization process launched in Ukraine in 2014, United Territorial Communities (UTCs) have been established in each oblast. There are 73 of them in the Lviv region. Accordingly, the main political parties since 2020, when the process of creating UTC in each region was completed and the process of forming new 7 instead of the previous 20 districts began, began to restructure their organizations to ensure the presence of party organization in each district and each UTC. Regional party branches, represented by their own groups / factions in the Lviv Regional Council²⁷, have formally all started the process of changing the organizational

²⁷ Political parties such as "European Solidarity", "Servant of the People", "Self-Help", "Batkiivshchyna", "Golos", AUU "Svoboda", "People's Movement of Ukraine", "Ukrainian Galician Party" and "For the future" are presented in the Lviv Regional Council of the VIII Democratic Convocation.

structure in accordance with the new format of administrative-territorial division of the region. The results of interviews with party representatives show that specific purposeful work on the formation of party cells in all UTCs, which should end in full coverage, is unique to regional party organizations: “European Solidarity”, “Servant of the People”, “Batkivshchyna”, AUU “Svoboda”, “Ukrainian Galician Party” and “For the Future”. However, there is a peculiarity: the recently established “Servant of the People” and “For the Future” parties do not create party cells in the UTC, but rather points of influence and preparation for elections (there may be one or more people able to comply with the regional center’s requirements and recommendations). As for the first group, they declared the same goal as the representatives of the second, but unlike the latter have the potential to achieve it. We are aware that all this is not a guarantee that the mentioned construction / reconstruction will take place quickly, the process may take a long time and will not lead to the registration of party cells in all UTCs.

The Electoral Code of Ukraine was finally adopted on December 19, 2019 and it incorporated the main legislative acts: “On Elections of the President of Ukraine”, “On Elections of People’s Deputies of Ukraine” and “Local Elections”²⁸. A feature of the parliamentary and local elections of 1919 and 2020, during which it was tested, was the introduction of relatively “open” party lists, which led to a number of serious changes in the electoral behavior of Ukrainian parties. The Code at the level of parliamentary elections and, in most cases, local elections, effectively introduced a party monopoly on the nomination of candidates. According to the legislator’s logic, this should have stimulated the strengthening of political parties at all levels, including the UTC. However, inter-party competition and high-quality requirements for party lists, especially the introduction of a quota of women from the top ten on the party list, in practice encouraged the involvement of a significant number of non-party candidates on party lists. Their share, especially in the 2020 local elections, was significant for all regional party organizations (62.4%), and in the case of the “Servant of the People” party it was absolute – 100%²⁹. A significant number of non-partisans in the party lists was due, in our opinion: first, the lack of party candidates who had a sufficient level of public authority, what could make them competitive with other candidates and give them a chance to get a high result for themselves and for the party list; legislative restrictions on the ability of non-partisan citizens to participate in elections outside the lists of political parties, as a result of which persons with a high level of recognition and / or authority, who had a good chance to count on public attention and support, were forced to look for options to get on party lists; the desire of citizens who had significant financial or other important resources to exchange a share of this resource acceptable to both parties for a place on the party list. Thus, the high share of non-partisans in party lists is to some extent an indicator of the small number of members of the party

²⁸ Electoral Code of Ukraine URL: zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/396-20#Text

²⁹ Romanyuk A. The particularities of membership in political parties of Ukraine through the focus of regional party organization of Lviv region // *Studium Europy Środkowej i Wschodniej*. – Półrocznik, 2021, #16. – P. 12.

organization, especially recognizable individuals and those who can work in public. It is interesting to note that in most party groups in the Lviv Regional Council, a significant share of non-party members remained. As a rule, all deputies - members of a party group act as a kind of "face" of the party structure, are publicly identifying themselves with it.

Analysis of the activity of regional party branches shows that it is the largest one during elections (we mean parties that participate in elections, those that do not participate in elections, are actually in a state of lethargy during elections and in inter-election times).

In the inter-election period, the main activity falls on the work of party groups of deputies / factions present in elected representative institutions, and the political activity of party organizations can be marked by significant growth in political or crisis situations at both regional and national levels.

Let's consider the involvement of party members during elections and in the inter-election period. The peculiarity of modern elections in Ukraine (we take into account mostly parliamentary and local) is the permanent growth of the use of electoral technologies, increasing the use of media and social networks, the involvement of lawyers. Another important feature is the limited time of the election campaign, even when party organizations and individual candidates begin to prepare for the election in advance and take various actions to increase voter recognition and commitment, the period from the official start of the election campaign to election day is hyper-active. In these conditions, political parties that have a wide range of resources and expect a positive result, formally at a certain stage of their operation have experienced / are experiencing a dilemma – to make elections on the basis of existing party members or to involve specialists and employees, the option of combining these two components is always present. The peculiarity of this dilemma was / is that party members have a strong connection with the party, are naturally fans of the party and its candidates. However, they see party work as a hobby, as an interest in addition to their main job and family affairs, as a result of which the vast majority of them cannot leave their jobs or all affairs during the election and focus exclusively on the election campaign, i.e. they do not have unlimited spare time limit. They also have different ages, education; do not always have modern gadgets and communication techniques. The second alternative was specialists in political management and marketing, PR technology and digitalization, lawyers, who often had the appropriate education and experience of such campaigns. Their disadvantage was the need to pay for their services and not belonging to a particular party. The experience of analyzing a number of election campaigns to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine and at the local level shows that all regional branches that expect a positive result (admission to a representative institute) attract a wide range of specialists to conduct the election campaign. In addition, holding a rather popular "door-to-door campaign", setting up tents, and distributing campaign materials is mostly done by employees. Work in social networks, Internet monitoring, legal and communication departments, as a rule, are also formed by specialists or carried out by university students. That is, the bulk of the actions required during the election

campaign are implemented by employees. Moreover, functionally, party members, who can also be involved in the election campaign, are forced to be executors if employees are involved (the assessment does not always apply to elected / appointed leaders). Formally, some of the professionals and employees involved are invited to join the party, but these requirements are not mandatory. The facts of accession are mostly isolated and concern those who are moving to a contractual form of cooperation. In addition, we observe that in the inter-election period, especially those party organizations that have their own parliamentary groups in representative institutes are forced to hire lawyers, specialists in PR and political management and marketing, and even organizational department workers, who are not members of the party.

The action of these three groups of factors leads to a situation where party organizations at the regional and lower levels consist of party members and employees, who are mostly experts in an important area for the functioning of the party organization. The share of these non-party workers and their functional load is variable, increasing during election campaigns and in the functioning of parliamentary groups / factions, and decreases when the party is unable to bring its representatives to councils of various levels. The transition from the temporary involvement of employees to a permanent presence is a sign of a number of regional organizations that have their own parliamentary groups in representative institutes. This feature of modern Ukrainian party structures also differs from the situation in political parties in democracies where the trend of reducing party members is accompanied by increasing involvement in various types of party work of volunteers and party sympathetics. In this context, volunteers are also identified as sympathetics of the party, only the emphasis is on the fact that they are not paid for their work³⁰. We are aware that all current political parties in Ukraine are constantly trying to attract volunteers to their work, but if there are not enough of them, then they are forced to involve hired specialists. In this context, we can also talk about the effect of imitation, when the practice of hiring employees by one party organization will encourage other party structures to test this experience. Also, the positive results will contribute to its expansion, comparing it with the practice of working in reliance on party members. We are also aware that in democracies, political parties hire political management and marketing specialists, PR specialists and lawyers, however, this is mainly at the national level.

We deliberately did not outline the current state of members of party organizations as the fourth factor because it is the subject of our analysis. However, paradoxically, the qualitative parameters of members of party organizations are also a variable / determinant of further development of the membership base of party organizations and the attitude to this component of the whole party.

In the process of interviewing representatives of Lviv politicians, we received mainly estimates of the number of members of party organizations: "Batkivshchyna", "European Solidarity", AUU

³⁰ Van Biezen I., Mair P., Poguntke T. Going, going...gone? The decline of party membership in contemporary Europe// European Journal of Political Research. 2012. Vol.51. Issue 1. P. 40.

“Svoboda” and the People’s Movement of Ukraine outlined within several thousand; Ukrainian Galician Party – 450-500 members; AUU “Samopomich” (Self Help) – 180 members; “Voice”(Golos) – about 150 members; “Servant of the People” and “For the Future” – less than 50 members. The rest of the political parties that did not run for the regional council, but participated in the elections to the councils of various levels, are also quite modest in estimating the number of available members. Thus, the newly formed party “Warta” (Guard), which passed to the Lviv City Council and relied in the process of creating on the representatives of several small parties previously represented in the political life of the region has an estimated less than 100 party members. And the Dukhovna Ukraina (Spiritual Ukraine) party, as it participated only in the elections to the Lviv City Council, declares the presence of about 10 members of the party. These figures mainly confirm the quantitative parameters presented in the English version of Wikipedia and confirm skepticism about the hypothetical number of members of political parties in the range of 450-500 thousand. Interviewed representatives of regional party branches identified the following main categories of party members (we do not take into account employees):

1. colleagues and acquaintances of the leader / leaders of the party cell (they come to the organization at the same time as a certain leader, he relies on them in the conduct of party work, they are his reliable support in conflict situations, and mostly they leave the party organization together with this leader, or when he loses his leadership position;
2. individuals who count on the political success of the organization and the opportunity to receive certain dividends through this success: getting into deputies or administrative / managerial positions if a party organization comes to power, the opportunity to lobby for projects through a regional party organization within the region or at the national level if the party is represented in different branches of government through specific individuals or deputies of different levels;
3. ideologically determined or supporters of assessments / provisions of the party program, even more of the party’s position represented through public statements by party representatives. This forms a kind of attitude in this group of people that the party representatives will adhere to, express, discuss / broadcast this position / positions in the public space in the future;
4. perception of the party organization as a club where you can communicate on a wide range of topics, under certain conditions to get the opportunity for additional or main work.

We must also realize that many party members perceive their presence in the party organization as a patriotic act. There is a peculiar tendency when a party organization has a small number of members, then first of all the group of party members who share ideological closeness and are focused on the format of the party club is reduced. Interviews with party representatives also show that party organizations are very wary of groups 2, 3 and 4, especially of the latter

one, as its representatives mostly have enough spare time and try to direct the work of party organizations in the format of a discussion club or to solve sensitive problems, which in the opinion of party leaders distracts time and resources from current problems or areas of work. In fact, they mainly explain the regulation of membership and the small number of their own party organizations by the fear of representatives of these groups joining party organizations.

Thus, our analysis allows us to draw conclusions:

- political parties of Ukraine are characterized by a small number of members, at the same time low numbers are characteristic of parties throughout the time since the formation of the national party system;
- the small number of party members is due to the weakness of the party structures themselves, the dominant leadership format of the parties, their close relationship with sponsors and the correspondingly low level of trust in the institution of political parties;
- the need for party organizations to perform functions related to the election and operation of representative institutions of various levels, leads to the involvement of employees in the work of the party and inclusion in party lists of non-party candidates, involving them in public representation of the party and the whole process of party functioning;
- there is a trend that requires further analysis, when the parties that emerged and continue to function for a long time (PMU, Motherland (Batkivshchyna), Freedom (Svoboda), European Solidarity) have more party members, respectively, greater similarity in the requirements of the mass party, and newly formed political parties (Servant of the People, For the Future, Voice, etc.), which have a minimum or conditional number of members and at the same time are characterized by strong management, show signs of the network format parties.

Our analysis gives grounds to state that the model of a mass party adopted in Ukraine shows a number of features, first of all a low number of formal members and a weak “culture of participation”, which indicate its crisis. The attempt of newly formed political parties to build a new party format similar to that of networked parties is also a kind of indicator of the crisis. Thus, low rates of membership in political parties in Ukraine and democracies are mainly due to various factors.

References

1. Antoszewski A. Partie i systemy partyjne państw Unii Europejskiej na przelomie wieków. Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek. Toruń 2009, 350 p.
2. Batkivshyna [Електронний ресурс] - URL:<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Batkivshina>
3. Fisher J., Fieldhouse E., Cutts D. Members are Not the Only Fruit: Volunteer Activity in British Political Parties at the 2010 General Election// The British Journal of Politics and International Relations. Vol. 16. Issue 1. 2014. P. 75-95.

4. Foycher F. New forms of political participation. Changing demands or changing opportunities to participate in political parties?// *Comparative European Politics*. 2015. Vol. 13. P. 405-429.
5. Gauja A. Moving beyond the membership? The transformation of party organisations, policy outsourcing and the creation of supporters networks. Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the American Political Science Association. Toronto. 2019.
6. Herbut R. Teoria i praktyka funkcjonowania partii politycznych. Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, Wrocław 2002, 223 p.
7. Holos [Електронний ресурс] - URL:<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Holos> (political party)
8. Husted E. Party organization in the digital age// *Ephemera*. 2019. # 19 (3). P. 651-662
9. Husted E., Moufahim M. & Fredriksson M. Welcome to the party// *Ephemera. Theory & Politics in organization*. Volume 21(2). 2021. P.1-17;
10. Husted E., Moufahim M. & Fredrikson M. Political parties and organization studies: The party as a critical case of organizing// *Organization Studies*. Doi: 10.1177/01708406211010979.
11. Electoral Code of Ukraine URL: zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/396-20#Text
12. European Solidarity [Електронний ресурс] - URL:https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/European_Solidarity
13. Katz R.S. & P.Mair. How parties organize: Change and adaptation in party organizations in Western democracies. London: SAGE. 1994;
14. Kosowska-Gąstoł B. Członkostwo i struktury europejskich partii politycznych [w:] Kosowska-Gąstoł B. Europejskie partie polityczne jako organizacje wielopoziomowe. Rozwój, struktury, funkcje. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. 2014, S.147-184.
15. Law of Ukraine "On Political Parties in Ukraine" URL: zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2365-14#Text
16. Lawson K. How parties work: Perspectives from within. Westport: Praeger. 1994. 336 p.
17. Mair P., Van Biezen I. Party membership in twenty European democracies. 1980-2000// *Party Politics*. 2001. #7. Issue 1. P. 5-21.
18. Mazzolini O. & Voerman G. Members parties: Beyond the business firm model?// *Party Politics*. 2017. Vol. 23 (6). P. 783-792.
19. Van Biezen I., Mair P., Poguntke T. Going, going...gone? The decline of party membership in contemporary Europe// *European Journal of Political Research*. 2012. Vol.51. Issue 1. P. 24-56.
20. Osaulenko S.V. Membership in political parties of Ukraine: current status and problems of regulatory regulation / S.V. Osaulenko // *Scientific papers of the National University "Odesa Law Academy"*. Vol. 21 / editor in chief. M.V. Afanasyeva; MES of Ukraine, NU "OYUA". - Odesa: Helvetica, 2018.
21. Partie i systemy partyjne Europy Środkowej. Pod red. A. Antoszeskiego, P. Fiali, R. Herbuta i J.Sroki. Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego. Wrocław 2003. 200 p.
22. Parker M., Cheney G., Fournier V. and Land C. The question of organization: A manifesto for alternatives// *Ephemera*. 2014. Vol. 14 (4). P. 623-638.

23. Political parties and elections: Ukrainian and world practices: a collection of articles and abstracts based on the results of the scientific conference “Political parties and elections: Ukrainian and world practices” (in memory of Yuri Romanovich Shved) from October 8, 2016 / Edited by A. Romanyuk. – Lviv: Prostir-M, 2017.
24. Political parties and elections: Ukrainian and world practices: Coll. Articles and abstracts based on the results of science. conf. “Political parties and elections: Ukrainian and world practices” (in memory of Yuri Romanovych Shved) from November 3, 2018 / resp. for the issue A. Romanyuk, V. Lytvyn, I. Osadchuk. – Lviv: I.Franko LNU 2019. – Issue 3.
25. Political parties and elections: Ukrainian and world practices: coll. Art. and abstracts on the results of the Fourth International Scientific Conference “Political Parties and Elections: Ukrainian and World Practices” (in memory of Yuri Romanovych Shved) from November 9, 2019 / ed. Anatoly Romanyuk and Vitaliy Lytvyn. Lviv: Ivan Franko Lviv National University, 2020. Issue. 4. Political parties and elections: Ukrainian and world practices: coll. art. and abstracts based on the results of the Fifth International Scientific Conference “Political Parties and Elections: Ukrainian and World Practices” (in memory of Yuri Romanovych of Shved) of November 28, 2020 / ed. Anatoly Romanyuk and Vitaly Lytvyn. Lviv: Ivan Franko National University, 2021. Issue. 5.
26. Richard S. Katz, P. Mair and L. Bardi and other/The membership of political parties in European democracies, 1960-1990// European Journal of Political Research. 1992, # 22. P.329-345.
27. Romanyuk A. The particularities of membership in political parties of Ukraine through the focus of regional party organization of Lviv region // Studium Europy Środkowej i Wschodniej. – Półrocznik, 2021, #16. – P. 6-20.
28. Servant of the People [Електронний ресурс] - URL:https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Servant_of_the_People
29. Scarrow S.E., Webb P.D. and Poguntke T. Organizing political parties: Representation, participation and power. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2017. 384 p.
30. Sobolewska-Myślik K. Partie i systemy partyjne na świecie. Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN. Warszawa 2010. 280 p.
31. Symonchuk O. Socio-class structure of Ukraine since independence // Ukrainian society: monitoring of social changes. 30 years of independence. Issue. 8 (22), Kyiv, 2021. P.249
32. Shveda Yu. Mass parties (parties of mass mobilization) // Shveda Yu. R. Parties and elections: European experience and Ukrainian realities: Encyclopedic dictionary. - Lviv: Taras Soroka Publishing House, 2009. - P.205-206.
33. State, government and civil society in the documents of political parties of Ukraine (late 1980s - first half of 2011). - K.: I. Kuras IP and ENR. NAS of Ukraine, 2011.
34. Vyshnyak O. The political system of Ukraine in the sociological dimension: the dynamics of membership in political parties and party identifications of citizens. Ukrainian society. Twenty years of independence: sociological monitoring: in 2 volumes Vol.1. Analytical materials / ed. V. Vroni, M. Shulgi. K.: Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 2011. P. 160-178;

35. Vyshnyak O. Tendencies of changes in membership in political parties and party identification of citizens of Ukraine // *Sociology: theory, methods, marketing*. 2018. №1. Pp. 103–117
36. *Ukrainian society: monitoring of social change*. Issue. 7 (21). Kyiv, 2020.
37. Wojtaszczyk K.A. *Partie polityczne w państwie demokratycznym*. Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne. Warszawa 1998. 176 p.
38. *Współczesne systemy partyjne wybranych państw Europejskich*. Pod red. M. Grzybowski i A. Zięby. Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Kraków 1996. 196 p.