

Parliamentary elections 2014 in Ukraine: national and regional dimension

The article analyzes the parliamentary elections in Ukraine in 2014 and focuses on the influence of political parties in Ukraine regions: East, West, Centre, South, Donbass.

Here characterized the format of the party system in Ukraine by results of 2012 and 2014 parliamentary elections and done the conclusion that Ukraine party system operates on the basis of a system of moderate pluralism and keeps to twoblock configuration.

Keywords: party system, parliamentary elections in 2014, format of the party system, the effective number of parties, instability electoral preferences, political party.

Парламентські вибори в Україні: загальнонаціональний та регіональний вимір

В статті аналізуються парламентські вибори в Україні 2014 року. Робиться акцент на впливовості політичних партій у регіонах України: Сході, Заході, Центрі, Півдні, Донбасі.

Характеризується формат партійної системи України за результатами парламентських виборів 2012 та 2014 рр. Робиться висновок, що партійна система України функціонує на принципах системи поміркованого плюралізму, маючи при цьому двоблокову конфігурацію.

Ключові слова: партійна система, парламентські вибори 2014, формат партійної системи, ефективна кількість партій, неусталеність електоральних уподобань, політична партія.

Wybory parlamentarne na Ukrainie: Wymiar krajowym i regionalnym

W artykule wybory parlamentarne na Ukrainie w 2014 roku. Skupia się na wpływie politycznych partii w regionach Ukrainy: Wschód, Zachód, Centrum, Południe, Donbasu.

Format znamienny systemu partyjnego na Ukrainie od wyników wyborów parlamentarnych w 2012 i 2014, że zawarcie układu Ukraina strona działa w oparciu o system umiarkowanego pluralizmu, zachowując dvoblokovu konfigurację.

Słowa kluczowe: system partyjny, wybory parlamentarne w 2014 roku, format systemu partyjnego, efektywna liczba stron niestabilności preferencji wyborczych, partii politycznej.

August 25 President P. Poroshenko signed a decree dissolving Parliament in connection with the absence for a month in the government coalition. Early parliamentary elections were scheduled for 26 October. The campaign began August 28. So apart from the war with Russia in Donbas, attention of the country has long been confined to the change in the legislative system and getting of deputy seats.

Elections were held according to the same law as in 2012. November 21 of 2013 year the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine by a majority of 365 voted for the first required for association with EU law "On Elections of People's Deputies of Ukraine", submitted by the Party of Regions. The law hasn't made significant changes to the electoral system. The law established a mixed electoral system with a 5% electoral barrier. Electoral lists have remained closed nationwide and party blocs can not take part in the elections. The law provides for the establishment of foreign constituency, change the procedure of formation of district election commissions, reducing the size of the cash collateral for registration, putting limits on the size of the electoral fund account in the creation of electoral districts densely populated by national minorities, as well as increased requirements for news agencies on election coverage.

Due to the temporary occupation of Crimea and military events in eastern Ukraine, the elections did not take place in the 27 majority constituencies: ARC (10 districts), Donetsk region (9), Luhansk region (6), m. Sevastopol (2).

CEC registered 52 parties – subjects of the electoral process. This is the party that nominated candidates in majority constituencies in the national constituency. The ballot for voting for party lists were made with 29 political parties [7].

The revolutionary events in Kyiv changed the positioning of political forces before the elections. First, the Regions Party compromised itself by a rejection of European integration and non-participation in the elections. Rating of the nearest satellite of the Communist Party also significantly decreased. Those forces, which once represented the Party of Regions reformed to a political party (PP) "Opositsiyniy Block". It is formed of six political parties: "Party development of Ukraine", PP "Tsentr", Party "Ukraina-vpered!", PP "Trudova partiya", "Party state neutrality of Ukraine", PP "Nova politika". S. Tigipko decided to vote separately with his party structure PP "Silna Ukraina".

Secondly, one of the consequences of the Revolution of Dignity was the formation of new political structures: PP "Petro Poroshenko Bloc" (it signed an agreement on joint participation

in the elections PP leader “UDAR” V. Klitschko), PP “Narodnyiy Front” (And. Yatseniuk), PP “Pravyy sector” (D. Jarosz), PP “Samopomich” (A. Sadoviy).

Thirdly, the election was attended by well-known parties – Ukrainian Union “Bat’kishina”, “Svoboda”, the Green Party of Ukraine, PP “Gromadyanska positsiya” and others.

Fourth, as always, a number of little-known party structures took part in the election, tasks were different, but above all they have to gain at least some votes to become known to voters [9, c. 10].

On the election day, October 26, there were several exit polls : National Exit Poll (Razumkov Centre Fund “Democratic initiatives” Ilko Kucheriv and KIIS) International Exit poll (Government of Canada, Sociological group “Rating”, “Baltic Surveys”, the International Republican Institute (IRI)), Ukrainian exit- Paul (UNN together with the Centre “Universitas”), national television exit poll.

According to some interviews seven parties had to pass to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine and the leader of the race was clearly recognized – PE “Petro Poroshenko Bloc,” who will win narrowly in PE “Narodnyiy Front “. Never the less, in almost all regions of Ukraine the victory was received by PP “Narodnyiy Front “ [8].

Table 1 shows the results of voting for political parties that have been in Parliament of Ukraine and those who received at least 1% of the vote [7].

Table 1. The results of the elections to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine October 26, 2014 (by party lists)

Nº	Political party	%	Number of places according to the proportional system	Number of seats (majority districts)
1	Political party «Narodny front»	22,14	64	18
2	Party «Block of Petro Poroshenko»	21,81	63	69
3	Political party « Samopomich»	10,97	32	1
4	Political party «Opositsyniy Block»	9,43	27	2
5	Radical party of Oleg Liashko	7,44	22	0
6	Political party „Ukrainian Union „Bat’kishina „	5,68	17	2
7	«Svoboda»	4,71 %	–	6
8	KPoU	3,88 %	–	0
9	Party of S. Tegiuko «Silna Ukraina»	3,11 %	–	1
10	PP «All Ukrainian agrarian association «Zastup”	2,65 %	–	1
11	PP «Pravyy Sector»	1,8 %	–	1

In the majority districts received deputy mandates following parties that did not pass the electoral threshold: Ukrainian Association (VO) «Svoboda» – 6 seats, the Party of Sergei Tigipko «Silna Ukraina « (the PP « Silna Ukraina) – 1, PP» All Ukrainian agrarian association «Zastup» – 1, PP «Right sector» – 1, PP «Volya» – 1 and 96 deputies positioned themselves as self-nominated.

Thus, the greatest support during the election campaign in 2014 in all regions of Ukraine had PP “People’s Front”, which received 22,14% of the votes and won the elections. The

maximum level of support was in Ivano-Frankivsk (37,48%), Ternopil (36,5%), Volyn (33,22%), Lviv (33,03%), Chernivtsi region (32,39%). Ratings of parties for voting in the regional context given in Table 2.

Table 2. Ratings of parties for voting in the regional context

Political power	The west of Ukraine (%)	Centre of Ukraine (%)	south Ukraine (%)	East Ukraine (%)	Donbass (%)
Political party «Narodnyy front»	22,4	27,1	24,5	17,8	13,8
Party „Block of Petro Poroshenko”	31,7	22,4	12,5	12,5	8,7
Political party „Samopomich”	16,3	14,1	9,9	12,2	6,5
Political party « Opositsyniy Block»	0,7	2,4	11,6	21,3	27,2
Radical party of Oleg Liashko	5,7	7,7	4,8	5,6	6,4
Political party All-Ukrainian Union „Batkvishina”	4,5	6,1	5,1	6,2	2,3

Party “Block of Petro Poroshenko” took the second place after the elections, gaining 21,81% of votes. Although, in general, the number of seats a party wins first place in parliament. The greatest support she received in the Vinnytsia region (37,45%).

Political party “Samopomich” won third place in the Ukrainian parliament (10,97%). The largest number of votes the party received in the city Kyiv (21,39%), Lviv (18,78%), Kyiv (13,09%), Ivano-Frankivsk (14,69%), Rivne (11,08%) regions.

Political party “Opositsyniy Block” took fourth place in the Ukrainian parliament (9,43%). The maximum support provided to parties in Donetsk (38,69%), Luhansk (36,59%), Kharkiv region (32,16%) [3].

Radical Party of Oleg Liashko got fifth place (7,44%). The greatest number of votes received in Central Ukraine: Poltava (10,85%), Sumy (10,61%), Cherkasy (10,06%), Kirovohrad (11,67%) regions.

Union “Batkvishina”, compared with 2012, significantly lost their position in the Ukrainian society and took the sixth place (5,68%). There are a number of objective and subjective reasons (imprisonment of Tymoshenko, outing of the party of known leaders, etc.).

Leading political parties in the regional dimension in Table 3.

Table 3. Leading political parties in parliamentary elections

Name of the party	Leadership by a vote in the national election district
Party „Block of Petro Poroshenko”	Vinnitsa, Transcarpathian, Mykolaiv, Odesa, Sumy, Kherson, Chernihiv, m. Kyiv (7 regions)
Political party «Narodnyy front»	Volyn, Zhytomyr, Ivano-Frankivsk, Kyiv, Kirovograd, Lviv, Poltava, Rivne, Ternopil, Khmelnytsky, Cherkasy, Chernivtsi (12 regions)
Political party « Opositsyniy Block»	Dnipropetrovsk, Donetsk, Zaporizhia, Luhansk, Kharkiv (5 regions)

Did not get seats two ideological parties of right and radical left “Communist party” and “Svoboda”, which in previous elections in 2012 gained more than 10% of votes. This result is easy to prove – CPU has been compromised themselves in the Ukrainian society. Therefore, we can say that it is – decommunisation continuing trend that began in 2006.

«Svoboda» lost voter support because the electoral field fought for votes several parties of national-democratic Party «Block of Petro Poroshenko», PE «Narodny front», but the majority of the votes of the party went to a new powerful project PP «Samopomich» [4].

So in general we can talk about the growth of centrist voters’ sympathies and refusal to support radical political forces.

Voting in elections for some political parties is the voting for the value orientation and program provisions of political forces. Interestingly, in our opinion, will be the analysis how parties – “pro” or “pro” – preferred the citizens of Ukraine in different regions.

By «pro-Ukrainian» or «of European» parties I mean following: PE «Narodny front» PE «Block of Petro Poroshenko» PE «Samopomich» «Radical Party Oleg Liashko, «Batkivshina», «Svoboda», PP «Gromadska positsiya» and PE «Right sector». Most members of these parties supporting a unitary structure of Ukraine in favor of joining the EU and NATO. By “pro-Russian” parties I mean PE “Opositsiyniy Block”, the CPU and the PP “Silna Ukraina”. Members of these parties require federalization of Ukraine, the Russian language as the second state language, reorientation of foreign policy and markets in Russia and so on.

Thus, the results of parliamentary elections Ukraine October 26, 2014 77, 66 % of voters voted “pro-Ukrainian” party, and 16, 42% – for the “pro-Russian party”. Only in the Donetsk and Lugansk regions (the areas under the control of Ukraine), the majority of voters voted for “pro-Russian” party. In the Kharkiv region – the relative majority of voters supported the “pro-Ukrainian” party, and in other areas of Ukraine vast majority of voters supported the “pro-Ukrainian” party.

November 27, 2014 the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine has created VIII convocation coalition of factions, which included 302 MPs, and already 11 December 2014 it approved the action program of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine for 2015–2016 years [5].

Thus, the parliament, according to the election results, get four new political parties. Thus, the format of the party system again has changed dramatically as a consequence of the events of the Ukrainian society.

Under the format (configuration) of the party system we understand its sustainability index fragmentation and party preferences of voters (G. Vote) [2]. Format Ukrainian party system, its current state, we consider, based on the methodology proposed by K. Dzhandoyu, Dzh. Sartori (principles of the different types of party systems), R. Katz, P. Mayer (current trends of political parties, cartelization of political parties) etc.

At the end of 2014 in Ukraine were registered 235 political parties. The format of the party system, we will refer only relevant (significant) party. The criterion of isolation may be

different. One of the criteria – is the result of the parliamentary elections. Thus, the format of the party system can include parties that gained parliamentary elections at least 1% of the vote.

Analysis of the format of the party system we calculate on the basis of a number of indices used in political science to study party systems. The calculation of the indices presented in Table 4.

Table 4. The calculation of these indices allows to draw some conclusions about the trends, which are inherent to Ukrainian partum.

Indices	1998 p.	2002 p.	2006 p.	2007 p.	2012 p.	2014 p.
ENPS	4,7	4,67	3,5	3,2	4,3	5
ENPV	11,9	7,95	5,8	4,3	5	8
coefficient of reduction	53,7	37,8	39,6	25,6	14	37
Gunter Index	82,9	87,8	88,8	95	86,5	88,9
Index Gallagher	10,08	7,8	8,4	5,7	10,01	7,7
Index fragmentation	0,8	0,79	0,61	0,77	0,77	0,88
Pedersen Sustainability Index	24	15	35	9,6	30,35	43

Given the election results and indicators effective number of parliamentary parties, and it can be concluded that Ukraine remains stable tendency to preserve the effective number of parliamentary parties within 3 – 5. This allows the identification of the party system in Ukraine as a multi no dominant party or multiparty.

Gunter index of proportionality, in the case of the proportional representation formula in Western Europe ranges from 86 to 98. In analyzing the issue of proportionality under existing electoral systems, we can say that the index is the highest proportion in the case of a combination of four factors: the proportional representation formula, significant size of election county stabilize the multiparty system, the principle of equalization in the distribution of seats.

As a result of calculating indices proportionality / disproportionality, the following conclusions. First, since 2002 the index of proportionality Gunter electoral system for Ukraine within the range 86, 5 – 95. This index corresponds to the same figure for a developed democracy. The highest index was in 2007 – 95. It is again noted the fact that the proportional system contributes most to proportional distribution of votes and seats.

Secondly, disproportionality index calculations show that changing the rules of the election results in a disproportionate increase of the electoral system. After the introduction of a mixed electoral system in 1998 was 10,08 index of disproportionality. In 2002 this index was already 7,8. This is the evidence that was getting used to the rules of the electoral game. After the introduction of a proportional system in 2006 the index increased again (8,4). Elections in 2007 by the same rules leads to a decrease in the index of disproportionality to 5,7 (lowest). And, again, the transition to a mixed system leads to increased levels of disproportionality of the electoral system (10,01). Overall rates of disproportionality index ranges for Ukraine within

the 5,7 – 10,8. That election system performance with an average level of disproportionality. Evaluation of proportionality / disproportionality is one of the basic assessments of electoral systems that are part of the political system and society influence the formation of the party system [6, c. 22–47].

Research index factionalism D. Raye indicates different levels of fragmentation of BP Ukraine. For the Ukrainian parliament this value is changed in accordance with the electoral system and the stability of the party system. Oscillation index within 0,68-0,8 – evidence of a multiparty system with different levels of fragmentation, which depends on several factors.

The results of calculating sustainability index M. Pedersen indicate instability Ukrainian voter preferences. Such fluctuations are characteristic of societies in which there are transformation processes. But keep in mind the fact that the real percentage change of party preference without specially designed to carry out comparative studies are not possible. Sustainability Index helps identify only approximate data variability and party replacement.

Index calculation for 2014 mentioned the presence of a multiparty system calculated without a dominant party and the high level of proportional allocation of votes and instability of party preference.

The format of the party system, the results of elections in 2012 and 2014, include no more than 12 political parties.

All-Ukrainian Union “Batkivshina” – the party leadership type, which was established in 1999 on the initiative of Tymoshenko. The party presents itself as centrist, Democratic Party nationwide patriotic reformist wing that combines the values of social solidarity with the protection of individual rights and liberties of every citizen.

January 21 of 2001 at the Forum of national democratic forces of the party was the co-founder (along with the UPR UNP “Cathedral” PSA Party to support domestic producers, SNPU, Ukrainian Party “Ednist”, UCDF, HNS, UNCP and 43 civil about ‘Nunn-ED) socio-political association of national-democratic forces “Ukrainian right hand.” February 20, 2001 officially joined the party the Civic Committee for Protection of the Constitution “Ukraine without Kuchma.” Now the party has extensive party structure, which consists of 24 regional, Kyiv, 782 district and city and almost 11 thousand primary party organizations in which there are over 250 thousand. Party members.

The level of electoral support for the party in the parliamentary elections was as follows: 2002 – 7, 24 %; 2006 – 22, 29 %; 2007 – 30, 7 %; 2012 – 25, 5 %; 2014 – 5, 68 % [7]. In 2010 the leader of the Yulia Tymoshenko took part in the presidential elections, which played in the second round of Yanukovich. As you can see, the level of support the party gradually decreased in the 2014 election result was virtually threshold. The negative trend downgrade in the future could lead to its transformation into parliamentary parties.

“Svoboda” – a political party created 13 October 1991 at the founding congress of the party in the city. Lviv as Social-National Party of Ukraine. SNPU results from the union of radical

nationalist forces in Lviv region, in particular – Lviv “It Movement” of the Ukrainian Youth “Heritage”, “people groups” Student Fellowship city.

February 14, 2004 IX Congress SNPUN unanimously in favor of changing the name of the party to the All-Ukrainian Union “Svoboda”, chaired by elected Tyahnybok.

“Svoboda” took part in the parliamentary elections next level of support: 1998 – 0, 16 %, 2006 – 0, 36 %; 2007 – 0, 76 %; 2012 – 10, 44 %; 2014 – 4, 71 %. In 2004 the leader of O. Tyahnybok participated in the presidential elections, gaining 1, 43 % of the vote.

“Svoboda” positions itself as right conservative nationalist party dominated leftist in the economy (“nationalization” to prevent land privatization). This is a political party with strong ideological articulation.

PE “Block of Petro Poroshenko” was created in the absence of legislative conditions for the elections of party blocs, as a model of political patronage President P. Poroshenko. In its ranks, after the removal from power of Viktor Yanukovich, gradually consolidated most of the days of the “Orange Revolution”, PE “Narodna Samooborona” (Lutsenko) Party “Reforms and Order” PP “Solidarnist” and others. The question about the format of the continued existence of PE “Udar” Vladimir Klitschko, which is a separate march to parliament abstained. Configuration of the party and, accordingly, PE “Block of Petro Poroshenko” will be solved after the elections is based on participation in local elections. Positioned as the party Law Reform quality. Among the stated values – social activism, responsibility, freedom, democracy, free market, business initiative [5].

PE “Gromadska positsiya” was founded January 29, 2005 at the founding congress as a political party “Mighty Ukraine”. January 21, 2010 party congress decided to change the name of the party to political party “Citizenship”.

In 2012 it participated in the elections to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine within Ukrainian Union “Batkivshina” (if this pre-election alliance won a quarter of the votes (25.5%). However, further merging parties did not happen. For the purpose of joint participation in the elections in 2014 to party activists joined the party “Democratic alliance”. Positioning the party is a combination of approaches to vision law conservative state, liberal approaches to economic development and promotion of traditional values.

Seeking how to “transform Ukraine into a strong competitive power, which will provide its citizens a high quality of life and decent social standards, they clearly define its national interests and actively to promoting and protecting, really affect the European and world processes, actively participate in the collective efforts to strengthen peace and security”.

PE “Narodnyi front” can be considered politically brainchild Union “Batkivshina” as well as a private “opposition bloc” and PE “Silna Ukraina” – the brainchild of PR. It consists of community-oriented leaders – A. Yatsenyuk (as in 2009–2011. Created a private “Front of Changes”) and Alexander Turchinov, who with 90 years. Supporting political tandem with Tymoshenko. Positioning itself as a center-right party.

Party “Ednist” union “was founded in 2012 the city mayor Alexander Garden. Positioned in the right segment with weak articulation of conservative values, “We are Ukrainian, regardless of our ethnic background, is the only national body, have a living soul and immortal spirit” [4].

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Party “Opositsiyniy Blok” was created in 2014 specifically for participation in the parliamentary elections on the legal basis of the party “Law and Order” (2010). It consists of political groups that founded and strongly supported regime of Viktor Yanukovych: The Party of Ukraine (S. Larin, Yuri Miroshnichenko, 2014), the Party of Regions (Boris Kolesnikov, A. Vilkul 2001), PE “Ukraine – Vpered!” (N. King, 2006), PE” Center “(V. Rabinovich, 1999), PE” Trudova Ukraina “(V. Sopelnyk, 2000), the Party state neutrality (A. Plakida, 2004). Values aspects of the election program of poorly articulated. Positioning party is in an undeveloped segment right-centrism.

Party of S. Tigipko “Silna Ukraina” was established in 2014 on the legal basis of the party “Informational Ukraine” as an epiphenomenon PE “Silna Ukraina” that after the presidential elections in 2010 and S. Tigipko entry into the government of Yanukovych – Azarov in 2011 joined the Party of regions

Radical Party Oleg Liashko created before the presidential election in 2010 on the legal basis of Ukrainian Radical Democratic Party. In 2011 changed its name to “Radical Party Oleg Liashko”.

For the first time in the parliamentary elections took in 2012, received 1.08% of votes, and in 2014 passed the election threshold, gaining 7, 44% of the vote. The ideological basis of the party, according to election programs 2012 and 2014 – left social populism quality while focusing on paternalism. “The purpose of the Radical Party – a society of equal opportunities and welfare.” Positioning – “protection of the disadvantaged” and taking over the whole role of this protection. No to do not have to, “We will raise Ukraine from his knees” [4].

To sample format of the party system in 2014 also include a private “Right Sector” PE “BLOW” and the Communist Party.

Among the examined 12 practically all parties are electorally weak parties and professional ideological articulation with the exception of “Svoboda” and the Communist Party of Ukraine (CPU) that can be called electoral-professional parties strong ideological articulation.

The party system operates on the principle separation as social differentiation East – West is no longer relevant.

It should also be noted, that all parties which form the format of the party system, have leadership type, which means that they are unstable, as depending on the ranking leader.

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