

To determine the indicators and format of the regional, regionalized and local party in Ukraine

It has been proved that the reason for the division into national and non-national parties is the level of support in the parliamentary elections. The main criteria for selecting regional political parties have been clarified and the compliance of the current political parties with the indicated indicators has been analyzed. As for parties that are running in parliamentary elections but have limited territorial support, it has been suggested to use the regionalized definition. According to the results of the local 2020 elections in Ukraine, the phenomenon of local political parties has been considered, the main varieties have been singled out and the factors of their formation have been outlined. The broad and narrow understanding of the regional party in Ukraine has been outlined.

Keywords: party, parliamentary party, regional party, regionalized party, local party, parliamentary elections, local elections

Określenie wskaźników i formatu partii regionalnej, regionalnej i lokalnej na Ukrainie

Udowodniono, że przyczyną podziału na partie narodowe i zagraniczne jest poziom poparcia w wyborach parlamentarnych. Wyjaśniono główne kryteria wyboru regionalnych partii politycznych i przeanalizowano zgodność obecnych partii politycznych ze wskazanymi wskaźnikami. Jeśli chodzi o partie startujące w wyborach parlamentarnych, ale mające ograniczone poparcie terytorialne, sugerowano użycie definicji regionalnej. Zgodnie z wynikami wyborów samorządowych 2020 na Ukrainie uwzględniono zjawisko lokalnych partii politycznych, wyodrębniono główne odmiany i nakreślono czynniki ich powstawania. Przedstawiono szerokie i wąskie rozumienie partii regionalnej na Ukrainie.

Słowa kluczowe: partia, partia parlamentarna, partia regionalna, partia regionalizowana, partia lokalna, wybory parlamentarne, wybory samorządowe

До визначення індикаторів та формату регіональної, регіоналізованої та локальної партії в Україні

Доведено, що підставами поділу на загальнонаціональні і партії не національного рівня виступає рівень підтримки на парламентських виборах. З'ясовано основні критерії виділення регіональних політичних партій та здійснено аналіз відповідності діючих на сьогодні політичних партій означеним індикаторам. Щодо партій, які беруть участь у парламентських виборах, але мають обмежену територіально підтримку, запропоновано застосовувати означення регіоналізована. За результатами місцевих 2020 р. виборів в Україні розглянуто феномен локальних політичних партій, виділено основні різновиди та окреслено чинники їх формування. Окреслено широке і вузьке розуміння регіональної партії в Україні.

Ключові слова: партія, парламентська партія, регіональна партія, регіоналізована партія, локальна партія, парламентські вибори, місцеві вибори

The regular local elections in 2020 in Ukraine, in which 112 political parties held their representatives to councils of various levels, attracted the attention of many researchers, experts and politicians. First of all, the very fact of the presence in local councils of various levels of a large number of political parties with a formally national status, intensified the discussion on the names and features of non-parliamentary parties; second, the focus was on the characteristics of these parties and the reasons for their support by voters and their place in Ukraine's party system. The terms most often used in these parties are: regional, local, local, sub national, and so on. At the same time, there is a tendency to reduce this diversity of definitions to the broadest and at the same time generic concept – regional parties, as opposed to national parties. Regional parties have become a scientific and political problem as a result of the adoption in 2001 of the Law of Ukraine «On Political Parties in Ukraine», which fixed in Article 3 the requirement that political parties in Ukraine Regional parties have become a scientific and political problem as a result of the adoption in 2001 of the Law of Ukraine «On Political Parties in Ukraine», which in Article 3 fixed the requirement that political parties in Ukraine «are created and operate only with all-Ukrainian status.»¹

Accordingly, the law clearly outlined the parameters under which the party acquires national status, thus not providing for the format of a regional political party. This norm was not revised by the legislators, despite more than thirty amendments and additions to the law, which were adopted by the Supreme Rada of Ukraine from the moment of adoption of the law until 2020. At the same time, the practice of political life testified to the formation and activity of

¹ Law of Ukraine «On Political Parties of Ukraine» [Electronic resource] – Access mode: zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2365-14#Text zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2365-14#Text

a number of political parties, which even had a clear regional connection by name. Evolution and the peculiarities of the formation of regional parties thoroughly explored M. Karmasina². That is, in Ukraine, after the adoption of the law on political parties, there were situations of inconsistency between political practice and legal norms. Despite these circumstances, after 2014 and by 2020, 137 new parties were registered (see Table 1), and according to the «Honest» («Chesno») Movement, only on the eve of the local elections (during) 2020, 12 new parties were created and 50 changed their names³. The vast majority of these party structures had a clear regional affiliation: «Mykhailyshyn's Team», «Maxim Yefimov's Team «Our Kramatorsk», «Andriy Matkovsky's Team «Berezanska Hromada», «Varta», «Ridne Zakarpattya» and others. Some caution in the use of the term «regional» party in Ukraine is largely due to the shock of Russia's annexation of Crimea and Russia's stimulation of separatist sentiments and movements in the context of the «Russian Spring» and the subsequent war and occupation of Donetsk and Luhansk regions. The close association of these events with the behavior of leaders and some members of the Party of Regions has created a kind of allergy and fear among many politicians and researchers about the use of the term «regional» political party. However, a certain subjective bias does not remove from the agenda the need to clearly delineate and understand the nature and place of non-national political parties.

The problems of regional political parties are actively studied by scientists from democratic countries around the world⁴. Ukrainian scholars have recently begun to turn more frequently to the phenomenon of regional parties, especially due to Russia's annexation of Crimea and the formation of separatist political structures, military action and occupation with the support of Russian parts of Donetsk and Luhansk regions⁵.

² Karmazina M. Regional political parties in Ukraine (1991-early 2018) // Scientific notes of IPIEND. I. Kuras NAS of Ukraine. Vip. 1 (93). – P. 3-54.

³ Feshchenko I. This year 12 new parties were created, 50 changed their names [Electronic resource] – Access mode: chesno.org / post / 4255

⁴ DeWinter L., Tursan H. Regionalist Parties in Western Europe. London: Routledge, 1998. 280 p.; Brancati D. The Destabilizing Effect of Regional Parties in Europe. Constitutional Political Economy. 2005. Vol. 16 (2). P. 143–59; Pieter van Houten. Multi-Level Relations in Political Parties: A Delegation Approach // Party Politics, 2009, Vol. 15, # 2. P. 137–156; Thorlakson L. Patterns of Party Integration. Influence and Autonomy in Seven Federations // Party Politics, 2009, Vol. 15, # 2. P. 157–177; Hepburn E. (ed.). New Challenges for Stateless Nationalist and Regionalist Parties. – London: Routledge, 2010; Marcel B., Voermann G. Independent Local Political Parties in the Netherlands // Local Government Studies. 2010. Vol. 36, # 1 / P. 75–90; Charlie Jeffery, Arjan H. Schakel, Towards a Regional Political Science: Data and Methods “Beyond Methodological Nationalism” // Regional Studies. 2013, Vol. 47, # 3. P. 299–302; Oliver Huwyler, Michael Tarhem & Joachim Blatler. Party politics, institutions, and identity: the dynamics of regional venue shopping in the EU // West European Politics, 2018, Vol. 41, # 3. P. 1–25.

⁵ Lebedyuk V. Political parties in Ukraine: features of activity at the local level [Electronic resource] – Access mode: http://cpr.oa.edu.ua/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/8_Lebediuk.pdf; Manailo-Prikhodko R. Yu. The phenomenon of «regional» political parties in Ukraine // Politicus, 2016. Issue 2. – P. 93–97; Parkhomenko S. Regional parties: is there a threat to national security [Electronic resource] – Access mode: <http://petrimazapa.com/hiddenthreat.html>; Romanova V., Presnyakov I. Regional parties: the birth of the phenomenon [Electronic resource] – Access mode: http://ua/comments.ua/politics/270-Regionalni_partii_narodzennya.html; Titus OG Local parties in Ukraine // Philosophy and political science in the context of modern culture. 2014. Issue 8. – P. 267–269; Yanishevsky SO Local political projects: factors of origin and prospects of political activity (following the results of local elections of 2015) [Electronic resource] – Access mode: http://www.niss.gov.ua/content/articles/files/lokalni_processu-7d35f.pdf; Shelemba MM Regional political parties in the context of the study of the nationalization process (according to the results of local elections in 2015) // Grani, 2019. – Vol. 22, № 1. – P. 78–85.

The phenomenon of the «regional» parties of Ukraine has been thoroughly studied in a number of articles in the collection «Political parties and elections: Ukrainian and world practices⁶.» The issues of regional political parties are carefully studied by the authors of the Russian Federation⁷. Despite the achievements of the world and Ukrainian scholars, the phenomenon of the regional party in Ukraine remains little studied, both at the conceptual level and in terms of analysis of political practices. In the light of this, the task of the publication is to determine the common and special characteristics of regional, regionalized and local / local political parties in Ukraine and the reasons for their formation.

We can determine the peculiarity of a regional political party primarily on the basis of its opposition to the national political party. In the latter case, the parameters of the party of national format, in our opinion, were outlined in the Law «On Political Parties of Ukraine» in Article 10 and Article 11. In particular, Art. 10 stipulates that the condition for registration is the collection of signatures in support of the decision to establish a new political party in two thirds of districts of at least two thirds of regions of Ukraine, Kyiv and Sevastopol and in two thirds of districts of the ARC. Accordingly Article 11 of the Law stipulates that within six months from the date of registration the party must ensure the formation and registration in the manner prescribed by this Law, its regional organizations in most regions of Ukraine, Kyiv, Sevastopol and the Autonomous Republic of Crimea⁸.⁸ In the connection with numerous appeals on the conditions of registration of new political parties in the annexation of Crimea, in July 2020 the Ministry of Justice of Ukraine published recommendations stating that the basis for registration of a new, which can only be a national party, is the creation of 15 regional branches⁹.

That is, the legislator envisages and requires that the national political party operate in at least 15 regions of Ukraine. This formal requirement, in our opinion, makes it possible to separate national or simply national parties and parties that cannot be national. The latter are not formally represented in 15 regions and operate in a smaller number of regions. Another issue is to clarify what should be understood by the formula «to act in the region.» From a formal legal point of view, the fact of activity is the presence of regional and a number of district and city centers within a particular region. Accordingly, their presence should implicitly indicate the presence of party members and their activities. In a number of democracies, the recognition of a political party is subject to a different requirement, which implies not only the presence of the party's structure and members, but also a certain level of support for the party

⁶ Political parties and elections: Ukrainian and world practices: coll. Art. and abstracts based on the results of science. conf. «Political parties and elections: Ukrainian and world practices» (in memory of Yuri Romanovych of Sweden) from November 3, 2018 / resp. for the issue Anatoliy Romanyuk, Vitaliy Lytvyn, Ihor Osadchuk. – Lviv: LNU named after I. Franko, 2019. – Issue. 3. – 284 p.

⁷ V. S. Kovin Local factors of electoral deviations in the regions of the Urals in the elections on September 18, 2016 // Scientific Yearbook of the Institute of Philosophy and Law of the Ural Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. 2016. T. 16. issue 4. – P. 45-59; Turovsky R. Nationalization and regionalization of party systems: approaches to research // Politiya, 2016, No. 1 (80). – P. 162-180; Zalaev R. On the issue of regional political parties in Russia // Russian Politics, 2019, Vol. 4, # 2 / P. 268-289.

⁸ Law of Ukraine «On Political Parties of Ukraine» [Electronic resource] – Access mode: zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2365-14#Text

⁹ «Law and Business» from 07/07/2020 [Electronic resource] – Access mode: zib.com.ua/ua/143359-reestrtsiya-politichnich_partiy_minuyust_dav_rekomendacii.html

by citizens. That is, since the party directs its activities to the citizens whose interests it articulates, the evaluation of its actions should be a certain level of support. In our opinion, given the experience of a number of European countries, such a threshold should be 1% of the vote in parliamentary elections. Based on the above, we can state that a political party will have the status of a national one if it receives more than 1% of the votes in at least 15 regions of Ukraine in the parliamentary elections.

In the case of Ukraine, when the majority (1994, 2002, 2012, 2014, 2019) and proportional electoral systems (2006, 2007) were used in the parliamentary elections, we believe that in order to highlight the format of the national party it is necessary to analyze the level of support of each political party within the national constituency where the party puts up its own party list. At the same time, we may not take into account party results in majority constituencies, even when a candidate, who has received a sufficient level of support and becomes a deputy, declares his or her party affiliation during the election campaign. In our opinion, in the conditions of a majority election or a majority component, in the case of a mixed electoral system, the personal characteristics of the candidate are of great importance. We are aware that the party affiliation of the majority candidates in a number of specific election situations was crucial, both for victory and was the basis for numerous losses. However, we do not consider it to be correct to calculate the total level of party support in a particular area on the basis of the results of individual candidates who have become deputies within the majority constituency. Accordingly, in the table 1 we will consider the results of political parties in parliamentary elections, when proportional and mixed electoral systems were used.

Table 1. The level of support for political parties in parliamentary elections in the national constituency¹⁰

| Year | Number of Registered fl.n. | Took part in the election | Elected to parliament | Received more than 1% in more than 50% of regions | Received more than 1% in less than 50% of regions | Received up to 1% of the vote in all regions |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| 29.03.1998 | 37 | 30 | 8 | 15 | 9 | 6 |
| 31.03.2002 | 77 | 33 | 6 | 10 | 9 | 13 |
| 26.03.2006 | 117 | 45 | 5 | 10 | 9 | 26 |
| Early elections 30.09.2007 | 126 | 20 | 5 | 6 | 3 | 11 |
| 28.10.2012 | 181 | 21 | 5 | 7 | 1 | 13 |
| Early elections 26.10.2014 | 206 | 29 | 6 | 12 | 2 | 15 |
| Early elections 21.07.2019 | 349 | 22 | 5 | 11 | 4 | 7 |

¹⁰ The table is based on the data of the Central Election Commission on these parliamentary elections. See: cvk.gov.ua

As we can see, the number of political parties that put forward party lists is not a sufficient indicator, because only half or even less of them (depending on the year of the parliamentary elections) were able to receive more than 1% of support in more than half of Ukraine's regions. Accordingly, those parties that participated in the parliamentary elections and received more than 1% of the vote in less than half of the regions, or those that received less than one percent of the vote, cannot be considered national from the year of the election and during the term of the parliament registered by the Ministry of Justice of Ukraine as national. National political parties can be parliamentary if they manage to overcome the threshold set by national election law in parliamentary elections (in Ukraine it is 5%), and national parties can be non-parliamentary if they fail to overcome the electoral threshold within the country, but in total received more than 1% of the vote in 15 regions.

In light of the above, the question arises – how to classify parties that participated in the parliamentary elections, but scored less than 50% of the oblast a minimum of 1% or less. Mostly regional and local, etc. are used for these parties. Let's turn to the definition of the «regional» party. M. Karmazina considers the presence of the following indicators as the basis for the assessment of the party as regional: the name of the party that proved its regional affiliation; self-positioning and the scale and objectives of its activities¹¹.

Two criteria, as a basis for defining a regional party, are identified by the Russian researcher R.F. Turovskyi, whose works are actively addressed by a number of Ukrainian researchers: the first are the parties «which participate in elections only in certain territories, and, accordingly, have a relatively small territorial coverage» and the second is «the presence of a particularistic ideology, that appeals to the interests of certain territorial communities»¹². As we can see, the proposal of the first author is dominated by somewhat formal indicators, such as the name and self-positioning. The latter indicator is quite subjective, as during the interviews, representatives of political parties that do not meet the national parameters self-positioned themselves as national and did not agree to be included or qualified as regional. At the same time, the third indicator identified by M. Karmazina meets two criteria of R. F. Turovskyi. Ukrainian researcher R. Manailo-Prykhodko, who uses the approaches of the two above-mentioned researchers, interprets regional parties from the angle of center-periphery relations: «parties that do not simply operate in a particular territory, but advocate for a change in the rights of that territory in relation to the center, especially those that advocate the independence of their own territories within existing states. »¹³

In this case, we are dealing with the author's decipherment or interpretation of the concept of «particularist ideology», which is focused on the interests of certain territorial communities. In our opinion, R. Manailo-Prykhodko's interpretation actually introduces a different approach

¹¹ Karmazina M. Regional political parties in Ukraine (1991-early 2018) // Scientific notes of IPIEND. I. Kuras NAS of Ukraine. Vip. 1 (93). – P. 43.

¹² Turovskyi R. Nationalization and regionalization of party systems: approaches to research // *Politiya*, 2016, No. 1 (80). – S. 175.

¹³ Manailo-Prykhodko R. Yu. The phenomenon of «regional» political parties in Ukraine // *Politics*, 2016. Vip. 2. – S. 93.

from R.F. Turovskiy, reducing the phenomenon of a regional party to the format of parties that advocate autonomy and the allocation of a certain territory from the whole state. According to this definition, the regional format of the party should show a program of separatism. We believe that for such a category of political parties, the term «regionalist» party should correspond to the definition of parties fighting for the expansion of the autonomy of individual territorial units and in some cases– for secession / separation. Examples of such parties are the Scottish National Party which declares in the party’s program the desire to achieve Scottish independence, and most of the political parties operating in Catalonia, and advocate the withdrawal of this area from Spain. Instead, the regional political party in its party program, or election program, focuses on the interests of the whole region, or certain groups in the region. These interests can be partial or specific to the interests of the whole country, as their implementation involves funding, which is traditionally never enough for all and for all projects. These specified regional interests may include requirements to change the status, but all regions of the country, not just one, which will be an indicator of regionalism. Thus, in our opinion, the features of a regional party are: participation in elections and support of citizens only in a certain part of the state (less than 50% of oblasts) and formulation in program documents of requirements / interests of this territory or separate territorial groups.

We cannot determine regional parties solely on the basis of parliamentary elections. Since the proportional component has been used in local elections in Ukraine since 2006, in particular when parties and electoral blocs were allowed to participate in elections, we must also consider the results of local elections through a section of political parties. Similar to the results of the parliamentary elections, we will be interested in the level of representation of political parties in the regions and we will take into account the results of the elections to the regional councils (Table 2).

Table 2. Parameters of the results of political parties of Ukraine in the local elections of 2006–2020

| Year | Number of the registered political parties | Number of the parties that registered their own lists | Number of the parties that prosecuted deputies | Number of the parties that received support in more than 50% of regions |
|-------------|---------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2006 | 111 ¹⁴ | - | 31 | 6 |
| 2010 | 156 | - | 95 | 5 |
| 2015 | 231 | 120 ¹⁵ | 88 | 6 |
| 2020 | 349 | 143 | 112 | 5 |

¹⁴ Data on the number of registered political parties are calculated for January 1 of the year when the localelections took place. See: Information on registration of political parties in the manner prescribed by law as of January 18, 2017 [Electronic resource] – Access mode: ddr.minjust.gov.ua/uk/ca9c78cf6b6eebd5c05f0604acdbdec/politychni_partiyi

¹⁵ Unfortunately, there is no information on these parameters on the official website of the CEC

Comparing the results in the two tables, we can state: first, that the number of political parties participating in local elections by forming their own electoral list to councils of different levels is significantly higher than the parties running their lists in the parliamentary elections¹⁶; secondly, a comparison of the number of parties that received a total of more than 1% of the vote in the local elections in more than 50% of regions and the same figure in the parliamentary elections shows that there are significantly less number of such parties in the local elections. As a rule, in local elections, these parties include parliamentary parties, or parties that have their own deputies in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, such as «Ukrop» or its successor, the «For the Future» party, for the period 2014-2020. Instead, the data in table 2 identify a large group of parties that do not belong to the number of the nationwide, but have limited support in specific regions of Ukraine.

The next step of the analysis involves consideration of party programs to assess the format of goals and parameters of interest representation. That is, the party's program formulates national or regional goals. Based on the data of the CEC of Ukraine, we selected all parties that participated in the early parliamentary elections of people's deputies of Ukraine on July 21, 2019 and cannot be classified as national (support in less than half of the regions of Ukraine): «Civic position» (over 1% of support in 8 regions); «Green Party of Ukraine» (2 regions); «Samopomich» Association (3 regions); «Agrarian Party of Ukraine» (2 regions); Mikhail Saakashvili's «New Forces Movement» (Kyiv's highest score was 0.96%); party «People's Power» (the highest result 052,% – Transcarpathian region); the party «Strength of Rights» (029% – Transcarpathian region); «Patriot» party (0.50% – Zakarpattia region); «Social Justice» Party (0.21% – Zakarpattia region); «Independence» Party (0.11% – Transcarpathian region)¹⁷. We have to state that the programs of all political parties, without exception, contain national goals and defend the universal interests of the citizens of Ukraine. Even the «Agrarian Party of Ukraine», along with the common interests of the residents of the city and village in the «Agrarian Sector. The key lever of influence on the development of the national economy» says about the national needs and interests¹⁸. That is, for all these parties, the second criterion for recognizing a party as regional does not work. Based on the proposal of R.F. Turovskyi, we suggest to qualify these parties as regionalized¹⁹.

They are characterized by base / support in less than half of the regions of Ukraine and the absence of any separate / particular program / ideology. The status of a national or regionalized party is to some extent conditional and we can determine it by the results of parliamentary elections. Only a small number of political parties are able to maintain the status of a national

¹⁶ The gap between the number of registered political parties and the number of parties that have nominated their own lists for participation in the parliamentary elections (Table 1) does not allow us to treat parties that did not participate in the elections as non-functioning. Instead, the gap recorded in table. 2, in our opinion, allow us to draw the following conclusion.

¹⁷ The programs of the parties are posted on the CEC website in the section "Parties in elections" [Electronic resource] – Access mode: cvk.gov.ua/pls/vnd2019/wp501pt001f01=919.html

¹⁸ Agrarian Party of Ukraine [Electronic resource] – Access mode: cvk.gov.ua/pls/vnd2019/wp502pt001f01=919pf7171=380.html

¹⁹ Turovskyi R. Nationalization and regionalization of party systems: approaches to research // *Politiya*, 2016, No. 1 (80). – S. 175.

party during a number of election cycles. Most of the working parties are able to have different combinations of statuses in their history. For example, AUU «Svoboda» (until February 2004 it was called «Social-National Party of Ukraine»), registered in 1995, according to the results of the parliamentary elections of 1998, 2002, 2006, 2007 had the format of a regionalized political party. And only in the 2012 parliamentary elections, when the party received 10.44% of the vote, did it gain the status of a parliamentary and national party. After the parliamentary elections of 2014 and 2019, the party retained the national format but was no longer parliamentary. The association «Samopomich», which was registered as a party, received 10.97% of the vote in the 2014 early parliamentary elections on December 29, 2012. However, according to the results of the early parliamentary elections in 2019, the party was supported at the level of more than 1% only by voters of three regions, thus it lost the status of parliamentary and national. There are many concrete examples of regionalized parties. The common features that unite them are: 1) participation / aspiration to participate in parliamentary elections; 2) the program is focused on national goals and objectives; 3) electoral support, concentrated in less than half of the regions of Ukraine. Regionalized parties may have an episode of entering parliament in their history, but they may never enter, however, they seek to do so.

To some extent, to verify the validity of the criterion put forward by M. Karmazina for the name of the party, we chose the programs of the Ukrainian Galician Party and AUU «Cherkashchanu», which are often cited as examples of regional political parties in Ukraine. The Ukrainian Galician Party was established in 2012 and has regional party branches in Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk and Ternopil regions. Until 2018, there was also a party cell in Kyiv. The UGP program treats the party as all-Ukrainian, although the document mentions Galicia in the context that the region itself is capable of setting new standards in politics²⁰. The All-Ukrainian Association «Cherkasy» was founded in 1992, but the party has been operating under this name since July 14, 2015. The party program states that the All-Ukrainian Union «Cherkashchanu» stands for «a single, indivisible, sovereign Ukraine! For granting real powers to territorial communities, ensuring a clear division of own and delegated powers and authority to local self-government». ²¹The party has a representation within the Cherkasy regional, city, district and settlement councils of the region. Based on the consideration of the programs of these two parties, we can state that a clear regional positioning based on the name of the party does not allow us to interpret these parties as advocating for special regional interests. At the same time, the parameters of their support do not allow to classify these parties as national. Since both parties have support at the level of one or more oblasts, it is logical to classify them as local or local

Under the local party S.O. Yanishevskiy meant: «parties in which at least half of the electoral lists nominated to local councils fall on the councils of one region and which, at the same

²⁰ UGP Program [Electronic resource] – Access mode: uhp.org.ua/about/program

²¹ The main priorities of Cherkasy [Electronic resource] – Access mode: cherkashchanu.com/index/php/features

time, are represented in at least half of these councils».²² Analysis of the results of the 2020 local elections suggests that the vast majority of non-parliamentary parties that participated in the local elections can be classified as local or of local concern. In the group of parties that participated in the 2020 local elections, we can distinguish the following categories: nominal projects, localized with a clear local reference, ethno-national and situational, focused on the positive experience of public structures or founders.

To the «nominal» we include parties which in the name use a surname of the authoritative person who can occupy, or plans to occupy a certain position: Kernes block – «Successful Khariv»; Block of Svitlychna «Together»; Vilkul's Bloc «Ukrainian Perspective»; Andriy Baloga's Team; Mykola Tomenko's Public Movement «Native Country», Volodymyr Saldo's Bloc; Serhiy Rudyk's Team «Time for change!»; Symchishyn's Team; Volodymyr Buryak's party «Unity»; Vladimir Boychenko's Bloc; «Unity» of Olexander Omelchenko; Edward Hurwitz's Bloc; Mykhailishyn's Team; Serhiy Minko's Team; Bereza's «Eco Party»; Maxim Yefimov's team «Our Kramatorsk»; Nadiya Savchenko's Socio-political platform; Igor Sapozhko's team «Unity». At the same time, a number of nominal party projects, in particular: Palchevsky's «Victory»; Groysman's «Ukrainian strategy»; Shariy's Party; Serhiy Kivalov's «Ukrainian Maritime Party»; Serhiy Kaplin's «Party of Ordinary People» should qualify as regionalized. The reasons for this conclusion should be considered: the participation of these parties in the parliamentary elections and the activities and support outside one or more areas.

Among the local ones with a clear local affiliation should be: the Ukrainian Galician Party; Native Transcarpathia; AUU «Cherkashchanu»; «Vinnyttchans'» Party; «Chernivtchans'» Party; «Khersontsis'» Party; «Mykolayivtsis'» Party; «Berezanska Hromada» party; The party «Rivne together»; «Bila Tserkva Together» Party; The «Dnipro Team» party. What this group has in common is a clear reference to the name of the city or region within which the party operates / plans its activities.

Among the ethno-national parties are those that focus on protecting the interests of the ethno-linguistic group, which lives compactly: KMKS «Party of Hungarians of Ukraine» and the Democratic Party of Hungarians of Ukraine. Both parties operate in the Transcarpathian region.

Among the situational ones we can include the majority of parties that remained from those that participated in the local elections. For example: «Your City Party», «Our» Party, «City Perspective» Party, VARTA, «Good Neighbors» Party, «City of Positive People» Party, «We Can» Party, etc.

Among the common features of all these parties should be their focus on voters in one or more areas. For example, the VARTA party, established in Lviv on June 4, 2020, has only an action program for the Lviv UTC (united territorial community) and for the Lviv region on

²² Yanishevsky SO Local political projects: factors of origin and prospects of political activity (following the results of local elections of 2015) [Electronic resource] – Access mode: http://www.niss.gov.ua/content/articles/files/lokalni_processu-7d35f.pdf

its party website²³. As a result of the local elections, VARTA was able to prosecute 33 deputies to the Lviv UTC and a number of other OTGs within the Lviv region.

What factors led to the growth of the political presence of local or local parties along with national political parties? These include: first, the extension of the proportional electoral system to local elections and the complete rejection of communities with more than 10,000 voters from the majority component. Under the proportional electoral system, only a political party was given the opportunity to participate in elections, so all potential candidates were forced to acquire party membership or negotiate with the party for support and nomination as part of the party list; second, national parties, even with their parliamentary status, do not always have high ratings in each particular region. Moreover, parties that have achieved high results in parliamentary elections after some time are able to significantly lose their ratings and be treated as impassable in a particular region; third, national parties mostly have a relatively developed party structure. Accordingly, during the formation of electoral lists, they are forced to give priority to party activists and to take into account the internal party procedure for nominating candidates, when the emergence of candidates from outside the party can provoke internal party resistance; fifthly, the inclusion of non-party candidates in the party list in the checkpoint often involves a number of requirements of different plans, including financial ones, and obligations in case of election; sixth, national parties, even during local elections, continued political competition and struggle at the regional level. That is, their programs and rhetoric were dominated by general political issues rather than local issues. Accordingly, they view local elections as a tool to strengthen their positions in political competition / struggle at the national level. This led to the demands of a rather categorical position from the party organization and candidates from the party on the perception of other political parties and current social issues. In the absence of a clear dichotomous division between the government and the opposition at the regional level, political ambiguity / inflexibility posed a threat to pragmatic decisions in the future.

Under these conditions, for many potential candidates it was more rational: 1) appeals to parties that do not have a negative perception in the region and that were in a lethargic state. Accordingly, their resuscitation and activation were treated as less expensive than joining well-known party projects; 2) creation of new party projects mainly by gaining control over the officially registered political party with the subsequent change of its name (actually this explains the fact of renaming during 2020 50 previously registered political parties).

Thus, the practice and results of the local 2020 elections in Ukraine show that today there are parties of the national format on the party scene, in which parliamentary parties and a large group of non-national political parties have a special place. The results of the parliamentary elections allow us to classify specific non-parliamentary parties as regionalized. In this case, the main attention is drawn to the fact that these parties have limited, less than half of the regions

²³ URL vartha.org/ua/prohrama

of Ukraine, representation. The results of local elections allow us to distinguish the category of local or local political parties. Their main characteristic is limited territorial support within one or occasionally several regions. The dissemination, in accordance with the requirements of the Electoral Code, of a proportional component to the UTC with more than 10,000 voters will continue to require and facilitate the formation and operation of local or local parties. Accordingly, it calls on the Ukrainian legislator to bring the requirements of the Law on Parties into line with the practice of local or local and regionalized parties. At the same time, the practice of political life in Ukraine after 2014 does not allow us to talk about the existence of regional parties in the properly. Instead, the use of the term «regional» party, in our opinion, is justified if we consider regional parties in a broad context, as all parties that are not national, or as those that are represented in less than half of the regions of Ukraine.

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