

FORMATION, PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE METHODOLOGY FOR STUDYING LOCAL POLITICAL REGIMES IN UKRAINE: A MAXIMALIST APPROACH

The relevance of the study of local political regimes in Ukraine has been growing since the 2010s. This is due to the need to predict the behavior of the local political actors after the transfer of a large number of authorities to them due to the reform of decentralization of power. In addition, practical studies of local political regimes make it possible to highlight the main features of formal and informal relationships between local political actors and with the central government, covering the essence and effects of the process of decentralization of power in Ukraine. In this sense, the purpose of the article is to determine the key parameters of local political regimes; analysis of the methods used by Ukrainian scientists when studying local political regimes in Ukraine; defining parameters for comparing local political regimes in the Ukrainian context based on a maximalist approach. Based on the results of the study, a periodization of existing studies of local political regimes in Ukraine is proposed, in particular, taking into account existing studies in the format of case studies and regional comparisons. Based on them, the key parameters for the formation of a methodology for comparing local political regimes are identified, which should include indices and indicators for analyzing democracy and the level of decentralization of power within the local regime, as well as identifying the influence of local authorities, business and civil society on the process of forming the agenda and determining strategic directions of socio-economic growth.

Keywords: local political regime, regional elite, local authorities, local self-government bodies, local business, civil society, agenda.

Ustalenie, problemy i perspektywy rozwoju metod badania lokalnych reżimów politycznych na Ukrainie: podejście maksymalne

Znaczenie badania lokalnych reżimów politycznych na Ukrainie rośnie od lat 2010-h. Wynika to z konieczności przewidywania zachowań lokalnych aktorów politycznych po przekazaniu znacznej części ich uprawnień w wyniku reformy decentralizacyjnej. Ponadto praktyczne badania lokalnych reżimów politycznych pozwalają uwypuklić główne cechy formalnych i nieformalnych relacji lokalnych aktorów politycznych między sobą oraz z władzą centralną, obejmując istotę procesu decentralizacji władzy na Ukrainie. W tym sensie celem

artyкулу jest: określenie kluczowych parametrów lokalnych reżimów politycznych; analiza metod stosowanych przez ukraińskich naukowców badających lokalne reżimy polityczne na Ukrainie; zdefiniowanie parametrów dla porównania lokalnych reżimów politycznych w kontekście ukraińskim w oparciu o podejście maksymalistyczne. Na podstawie wyników badań proponuje się periodyzację istniejącego wywiadu na temat lokalnych reżimów politycznych na Ukrainie, w szczególności uwzględniając istniejące opracowania w formie studium przypadku i porównań regionalnych. Na ich podstawie określa się kluczowe parametry kształtowania metodologii porównań regionalnych. Na ich podstawie określa się kluczowe parametry kształtowania metodologii porównań lokalnych ustrojów politycznych, które powinny obejmować indeksy i wskaźniki do analizy demokracji i poziomu decentralizacji władzy w ramach ustroju lokalnego, jak również określenie wpływu samorządu, biznesu i społeczeństwa obywatelskiego na proces kształtowania agendy i określania strategicznych kierunków rozwoju społeczno-gospodarczego.

Słowa kluczowe: lokalny reżim polityczny, elita regionalna, samorząd terytorialny, organy samorządu terytorialnego, lokalny biznes, społeczeństwo obywatelskie, agenda.

СТАНОВЛЕННЯ, ПРОБЛЕМИ ТА ПЕРСПЕКТИВИ РОЗВИТКУ МЕТОДИКИ ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯ ЛОКАЛЬНИХ ПОЛІТИЧНИХ РЕЖИМІВ В УКРАЇНІ: МАКСИМАЛІСТСЬКИЙ ПІДХІД

Актуальність дослідження локальних політичних режимів в Україні зростає з 2010-х рр. Це пов'язано з потребою прогнозувати поведінку локальних політичних акторів після передачі їм значної частини повноважень завдяки реформі децентралізації влади. Крім того, практичні дослідження локальних політичних режимів дають можливість виділяти основні особливості формальних та неформальних взаємовідносин локальних політичних акторів між собою та з центральною владою, охоплюючи сутність й ефекти процесу децентралізації влади в Україні. В цьому сенсі мета статті полягає у: визначенні ключових параметрів локальних політичних режимів; аналізі методик, які використовували українські вчені, вивчаючи локальні політичні режими в Україні; означенні параметрів задля порівняння локальних політичних режимів в українському контексті на підставі максималістського підходу. За результатами дослідження запропоновано періодизацію наявних розвідок локальних політичних режимів в Україні, зокрема з урахуванням наявних досліджень у форматі кейс-стаді та регіональних порівнянь. На їхній основі означено ключові параметри формування методики порівняння локальних політичних режимів, яка має включати індекси й індикатори задля аналізу демократичності та рівня децентралізації влади в рамках локального режиму, а також означити вплив локально

влади, бізнесу та громадянського суспільства на процес формування порядку денного і визначення стратегічних напрямів соціально-економічного зростання.

Ключові слова: локальний політичний режим, регіональна еліта, локальна влада, органи місцевого самоврядування, локальний бізнес, громадянське суспільство, порядок денний.

In the last decade, the number of studies of local political regimes has been growing in Ukrainian political science. In the Ukrainian context, this is primarily due to the process of decentralization of power, which began in 2014. However world/Western political science, active study of local political regimes began in the 1980s. 20th century and was due to three factors: 1) internationalization – a decrease in the influence of the government “from above” due to the growing role of international organizations and transnational corporations; 2) regionalization – an increase in local and regional demands, especially large agglomerations, in relation to the center, the growth of their influence on the policy of the government as a whole; 3) development of market and civil society.¹

At the same time, the main prerequisites for the growth of the concept meaning of “local political regime” are the development of a new methodological direction of political science – neo-institutionalism – as well as an increase in the number of theoretical developments related to the allocation of local politics as an important area of political research. The expediency of identifying local political regimes lies in the spread of processes of decentralization of power, the ability to analyze in more detail the vertical relations in the government (along the center–periphery line) and the motives of the political actors involved in these interactions. Also, this concept makes it possible to analyze differences in the economic development of cities and their agglomerations, to study in more detail the features of hybrid political regimes and creates opportunities for developing an effective regional policy etc.

It is noteworthy that the conceptual foundations for the study of local political regimes began to be laid in the first empirical investigations of power in urban communities (since the 20s of the XX century), which were subsequently developed in a comparative analysis of power, as well as in Marxist and multidimensional concepts of power in urban communities. The foundations of these studies were laid by F. Hunter (elitist school, reputational method), R. Dahl (pluralistic school, decision analysis method) and R. Presthus (method synthesis). In addition, the current stage of research on local political regimes became possible due to the emergence of the concepts of “growth machines” (H. Molotch) and “urban regimes” (K. Stone), also the concept of “subnational political regime”. Given the significant number of approaches to the definition of the term “local political regime”, almost all of them come down to understanding this phenomenon as specific features of the formation of the agenda, in which the “rules of the

¹ М. Кутынн, *Новий реґіоналізм в Западній Європі*, Лохос 2003, nr. 6, s. 67–116.

game” are formed, interested actors from different fields interact and in order to develop, adopt and implement decisions in a specific city or urban agglomeration, etc.

We, in turn, and taking into account the existing scientific developments, conceptualize the local political regime as a set of stable institutional and behavioral features that determine the “rules of the game” and the strategy of a territory compactly limited in area with a significant population density (city, city with suburban areas, urban agglomeration) in the process of interaction between the political actors and institutions of this space in the triangle “authority – business – civil society” and along the line “local self-government bodies – government power at the central level with its derivatives”.² In addition, we proceed from the fact that the functioning of local political regimes is influenced by stable (unchanging in the short term) and dynamic characteristics. Among the stable indicators are geographical location, natural and climatic features, democratic and other resources and prerequisites, historical and cultural prerequisites, the socio-economic context of the city, region and government as a whole. Meanwhile dynamic indicators are changing (in the short and medium term) features under the influence of national, regional or local aspects. First of all, this is a change in the established “rules of the game”, strategic goals and, consequently, the agenda in the city. However, local political regimes are not stable, but dynamic and can change in the medium term under the influence of national factors or even with changes in regional and local characteristics.³

It is also important that local political regimes depend on the political and institutional external features that are emerging around them, namely: “rules of the game”, which are determined and established by federal (in federal governments), national and regional laws and regulations; informal management mechanisms between the local and central levels of policy and management, municipalities from the center and regions; existing relationships between key political actors, their resources and strategies of behavior at the federal/national and regional levels of government. These features determine the political possibilities of local regimes (the totality of resources that determine the likelihood of the emergence of certain institutions and practices, the forms of their activity and the results of functioning). At the same time, political opportunities, in contrast to structural characteristics, are more changing and dynamic in the short-term perspective.

Accordingly, it is quite obvious that the functioning of a local political regime is necessarily carried out under the influence of several factors that are hierarchically interconnected: 1) structural characteristics external to the regime; 2) political opportunities that define the political and institutional sphere of the regime and set incentives for political actors; 3) the

² S. Rishko, Indeksy y indykatory dlia analizu lokalnykh rezhymiv ta yikhnoi koreliatsii z natsionalnymy rezhymamy: teoretyko-metodolohichniy kontekst, [w:] Politychni partii i vybory: ukrainski ta svitovi praktyky: zb. st. i tez za rezultatamy mizhnar. nauk. konf. «Mali politychni partii ta aktory u politychnomu protsesi na rehionalnomu ta lokalnomu (subnatsionalnomu) rivniakh: Ukraina i svit» – shostoï u ramkakh serii mizhnar. konf. kafedry politolohii «Politychni partii i vybory: ukrainski ta svitovi praktyky», Lviv 2022, nr. 6, s. 257.

³ V. Helman, Vlast, upravleniye y lokalnykh rezhymy v Rossyy: ramky analiza, Neprykosnovennyyi zapas 2010, nr. 2. URL: <https://magazines.gorky.media/nz/2010/2/vlast-upravleniye-i-lokalnye-rezhimy-v-rossii-ramki-analiza.html> [10.05.2022].

mechanisms of political and economic management carried out at the highest levels of power through the political course. The result of their activity is the formation of established interactions of political actors within the framework defined by certain institutions that emerge on three interconnected arenas of the local level: political power, political course, and political and economic management.⁴ That is why the local political regime should be analyzed as a spatially limited level of the national regime, which has the following basic features: 1) institutional features of local institutions with established formal and informal “rules of the game”, as well as norms and sanctions for their violation; 2) the presence of local political actors (local authorities, business, civil society) with their own specific resources and behavioral strategies, methods for achieving power and realizing their own interests; 3) the existence of formal and informal “rules of conduct” between political actors at the local level (horizontal relations) and types of connections with the center (vertical relations along the “up” line) and the local community (vertical relations along the “down” line).

Compared to the government, local political regimes are more limited in space.⁵ This makes it possible to involve a greater number of analytical indices and indicators in their study. In addition, the number of comparative analysis parameters is affected by the administrative-territorial structure of a government and the type of national political regime. The more powers and democratic features/resources the administrative-territorial units have, the more favorable the conditions for the formation of their territorial, specific local and regional political regimes. It is also necessary to distinguish between the concepts of “local” and “regional” political regimes. The former are characterized by location in a compact area with a high population density (city or urban agglomeration), while the latter cover a much larger territory (regions, provinces, subjects of the federation, etc.).

Considering all this, as well as the peculiarities of the formation, problems and prospects for the development of existing methods and our intention to correct them in order to determine a new methodology for studying local political regimes, mainly in the Ukrainian context, in the article we: first, briefly and historiographically define how the process of studying this phenomenon in Ukraine develops; and after that we will attempt to correct the existing methods and develop our own tools for studying local political regimes in Ukraine.

In a historiographical context, it is advisable to note that in the first decade of the 21st century there were practically no studies, the purpose of which was a purposeful study of local, regional or subnational levels of the political regime in Ukraine. The exception is the dissertation by V. Romanova (2009; the expediency of identifying and studying political regimes at

⁴ V. Helman, *Vlast, upravleniye y lokalnyye rezhimy v Rossyy: ramky analiza*, *Neprykosnovennyi zapas* 2010, nr. 2. URL: <https://magazines.gorky.media/nz/2010/2/vlast-upravlenie-i-lokalnye-rezhimy-v-rossii-ramki-analiza.html> [10.05.2022].

⁵ V. Lediaev, *Horodskyye politycheskiye rezhimy: teoriya y oprit empiryicheskoho yssledovaniya*, *Politycheskaia nauka* 2008, nr. 3, s. 32–60.

the regional level, the features of their transformation in Ukraine),⁶ as well as scientific articles by Y. Balanovskiy (2009; analysis of the concepts of urban political coalitions)⁷ and M. Lendel (2009); the factors of growth in the number of studies of local regimes are analyzed and the concept of urban regimes is considered).⁸ In contrast, Ukrainian researchers have actively explored political regimes in a national context, regional, cultural and ethno-political manifestations of Ukrainian identity (mainly at the Kurasa Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine), features of regional elites and regional studies in general. All this laid the foundation for the intensification of studies of the political regime at the local, regional or subnational levels.

However, in the early 2010s also not marked by the intensification of research on local political regimes. So, in the collection of articles published in 2012 “Scientific Notes” (No. 62) of the Kurasa Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine⁹ devoted exclusively to the subject of political regimes, there was not a single material on the study of local or regional regimes. Practical studies of regional identity were continued at the level of specific cities and regions, in particular through the prism of electoral preferences, and this concerned Odesa (T. Bevz), Dnipropetrovsk region (O. Vysotskyi), Bukovina (N. Rotar), Chernihiv (V. Yaremchuk), Poltava (O. Zorych), Luhansk (A. Zykovska), Donbass (T. Bevz), Chernivtsi region (A. Kruhlashov, O. Shcherbatyuk, N. Rotar). In parallel with this, the process of studying the concepts of local and regional political regimes and their methodology continued on the basis of foreign developments, noticed in the works of such Ukrainian researchers as: M. Lengyel (2011; review of formal and factual approaches to research)¹⁰, O. Mazur (2011; the concept of local political regimes), P. Levchuk (2013; theoretical analysis of the type of local regime “growth coalition”)¹¹, S. Rybalka (2014, 2015; definition of the concept of “regional political regime” and the model of interaction between regional regimes and elites, methods of studying local political regimes)¹², V. Pashchenko (2015; analysis of approaches to the study of power in local communities)¹³, M. Shabanov (2015; analysis of the features of local regimes, the allocation of municipal government, urban business and active civil society institutions, which, in interaction with each other, form the agenda, as well as the definition

⁶ V. Romanova, Politychnyi rezhym u natsionalnomu ta rehionalnomu formati, IPIEND im. I. F. Kurasa NAN Ukrainy 2008, nr. 38. s. 257–265.

⁷ Ya. Balanovskiy, Teoretyko-metodolohichniy potentsial kontseptsii mislykhykh polityknykh koalitsii, Visnyk Dnipropetrovskoho universytetu. Ser.: Filosofia. Sotsiologia. Politologia 2009, nr. 19. s. 268–274.

⁸ M. Lendel, Lokalni politychni studii yak komplementarnyi pidkhyd do doslidzhennia polityky, Naukovi zapysky NaUKMA 2009. s. 27–32.

⁹ Naukovi zapysky Instytutu polityknykh i etnonatsionalnykh doslidzhen im. I. F. Kurasa NAN Ukrainy 2012, nr. 6(62), s. 391.

¹⁰ M. Lendel, Suchasni metodolohichni pidkhydy do doslidzhennia lokalnykh polityknykh protsesiv (na pryklady Tsentralno-Skhidnoi Yevropy), Visnyk Lvivskoho universytetu. Seria filosofsko-politolohichni studii 2011, nr. 1, s. 168–176.

¹¹ P. Levchuk, Sotsiialni sensory harmonizatsii lokalnoho prostoru, Filosofia i politologia v konteksti suchasnoi kultury 2013, nr. 6(4), s. 126–129.

¹² S. Rybalka, Rehionalnyi politychnyi rezhym ta rehionalna politychna elita: sposoby vzaïemodii u tranzytyvnykh suspilstvakh, Hileia: naukovi visnyk 2014, nr. 83, s. 374–377.

¹³ Rybalka, Osoblyvosti doslidzhennia struktury vlady v mislykhykh spilnotakh v Ukraini, Aktualni problemy polityky 2015, nr. 55. s. 106–115.

¹⁴ V. Pashchenko, Osoblyvosti doslidzhennia struktury vlady v mislykhykh spilnotakh v Ukraini, Naukovi zapysky IPIEND im. I. F. Kurasa NAN Ukrainy 2015. nr. 2, s. 241–252.

of external and internal factors of local regimes)¹⁴. In the end, in 2014, V. Lytvyn's textbook "Political Regimes of Modernity: Institutional and Procedural Dimensions of Analysis"¹⁵, and in 2015, A. Mazur's dissertation on the topic "Conceptualization of the Political Regime in Conditions of Democratic Transformation in Ukraine" were published¹⁶. In these works, studies of political regimes are actually summed up, the terminology, typology and methodology of their study are clearly indicated. In addition, V. Lytvyn's research analyzed the methodological features of the study of subnational political regimes, which became an important component of subsequent studies of both regional/subnational and local political regimes.

In contrast, active applied research of local and regional political regimes in Ukraine begins only in 2016, in particular, the authorship of such scientists as: T. Bezv (the local regime of the Dnipro in 2010-2015; the regional political regime of the Dnipropetrovsk region in 1991-2016 and 2014-2018), O. Zorich (regional regime of Poltava and the region in the first half of the 90s of the twentieth century), N. Rotar (local and regional regimes of Chernivtsi and the region), V. Yaremchuk (local and regional regimes of Lviv and Lviv region; political elite of the Ivano-Frankivsk region), A. Kruglashov and A. Kuchuran (local regime of Chernivtsi), A. Yasinska (regional regime of Kharkiv region; political regional elite of Lviv region), V. Hnatiyk (subnational political regimes of the Transcarpathian, Lviv and Chernivtsi regions in the period 2010-2015), M. Horbatiyk (regional political regime of the Vinnytsia region). In addition, the number of scientific developments in the theoretical aspect of studying local and regional political regimes has also grown, in particular, the authorship of such scientists as M. Horbatiyk, M. Karmazina, A. Kuchuran, T. Bezv, S. Yanishevskyi, A. Bondarenko, N. Rotar, V. Hnatiyk, V. Krivoshein, M. Horbatiyk. If to compare the number of theoretical and practical publications on the study of local and regional political regimes, then in the period of 2016-2021, according to our calculations, 15 scientific materials of exclusively theoretical content and 39 scientific publications were published, which also contained the practical part of the study (although a significant part of them was focused on the analysis of the local/regional elite). In addition, since 2016, on the basis of the Department of Political Science of the Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, annual international scientific conferences "Political Parties and Elections: Ukrainian and World Practices" (in memory of Y. Shveda) the problems of which are defined, in particular, by practical local and regional studies related to the study of local political regimes or the direction of their concern. Among the main topics of the conferences: regional features of the formation and development of political parties in Ukraine; party and other political actors of the regional level in Ukraine and the world; parameters of the regional political process in Ukraine and in the world; features of the regional electoral process in Ukraine, etc.

¹⁴ M. Shabanov, *Miskyi politychnyi rezhym u konteksti suchasnykh tsyvilizatsiinykh zmin*, *Perspektyvy* 2015, nr. 2(64), s. 150-157.

¹⁵ V. Lytvyn, *Politychni rezhymy suchasnosti: instytutsiini ta protsesualni vymiry analizu: navchalnyi posibnyk*, Lviv, LNU imeni Ivana Franka 2014, s. 632.

¹⁶ O. Mazur, *Kontseptualizatsiia politychnoho rezhymu v umovakh demokratychnoi transformatsii v Ukraini*, *Sievierodonetsk, Skhidnoukrainskyi Natsionalnyi universytet imeni Volodymyra Dalia* 2015, s. 433.

Thus, having analyzed the development of the study of local and regional political regimes in Ukraine from the moment the first developments were published until the end of 2021, we identified three stages in the formation and development of these studies: 1) the first stage (1991-2008) – the formation of the Ukrainian political science school, the study of aspects of political regimes at the national level, Ukrainian identity, the political elite and other national political processes and institutions, the formation of a foundation for the study of local and regional, and in general subnational political regimes; 2) the second stage (2009-2015) – the emergence of the first theoretical developments that concerned the study of local and regional (subnational) political regimes, the study of regional identities, the generalization of studies of the political regime at the national level; 3) the third stage (from 2016 until now) – the emergence and activation of practical research on local and regional (subnational) political regimes. It was within the framework of the third stage that the problem of testing various research methods and finding a universal methodology for conducting comparative studies of local and regional (subnational) political regimes in the Ukrainian context arose.

In general, based on the consideration of the historiography of the subject under study, we can see that on the basis of Kuras Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine and thanks to the annual international scientific conferences “Political Parties and Elections: Ukrainian and World Practices” in Ukrainian political science, a new direction of local and regional (subnational) research has been formed, which has significant theoretical and practical prospects for political actors, participating in the process of development, adoption and implementation of public policies at the local and regional level, and civil society institutions involved in the control and monitoring of these policies. At the same time, practically oriented studies of local and regional (subnational) political regimes in Ukraine are quite similar, which is due to the unitary administrative-territorial structure of this government. In addition, the study of local political regimes is primarily associated with large cities, which in most cases are regional centers. Studies of regional political regimes are reduced to analysis within the territory of the regions. However, in regional political regimes, the greatest importance is still attached to cities with the status of regional centers, since they concentrate most of the economic, labor, information resources, etc., and their agenda affects the characteristics of entire regions.

Despite the conceptualization of local political regimes based on the legacies of foreign scientists, their practical research in Ukraine has its own methodological features, in particular, taking into account the national context. In fact, there is still a process of formation of methodology and methods for studying local political regimes, which would have a universal character for the implementation of comparative studies. In this context, we note that, for example, the methodological features of studies of local and regional (subnational) political regimes by T. Bevz, N. Rotar, V. Yaremchuk, A. Zorych, A. Yasinska and M. Horbatiuk are quite similar in their logic and structure. Let us briefly present the main aspects of the research of each of the authors.

So, first studying the local political regime of Dnipro in the period of 2010-2015, T. Bezv focused exclusively on the electoral component, through which the rules for the formation of local governments are determined, the electoral process is influenced and the configuration of political parties is formed at the level of the city council. Basically, the author's research concerned the comparison of the results of the elections of 2010 and 2015 to the Dnipro City Council. An important aspect was to identify the key areas that received the most representation in the city council, as well as to study the impact of the positioning of candidates for the position of mayor of the city, especially the winner of the election, as well as the course of the electoral process and its results.¹⁷ In later scientific works devoted to the analysis of the regional political regime of the Dnipropetrovsk region, T. Bezv noted that the nature of the cooperation of the political actors of the regime depends on: 1) its formation or blocking; 2) breadth of the regime (number and variety of participants); 3) regime efficiency.¹⁸ In view of this, she expanded the research methodology, including the following aspects: 1) the economic conditions for the formation of the regime; 2) the history of the formation of the regime; 3) the status and characteristics of the regime's elite; 4) determination of the influence of financial and industrial groups on the functioning of the regime; 5) the influence of regional identity and electoral sympathies of residents in the territory of the regime; 6) features of the interaction of local self-government bodies of the regime with the regional government administration and the central government as a whole.¹⁹ Even later, she added to this list of indicators an analysis of sociological data on the support of regional authorities, a study of key decisions of local governments and the regional government administration,²⁰ as well as the features of the communication component.²¹ In addition, the researcher did not disregard the value aspects of political identities (but on the example of studying the regional elite of the Sumy region).²² Therefore, according to T. Bevs, the main elements that construct a local or regional political regime should be considered: political actors (subjects of social action with a strategy to achieve political goals); institutions (a set of established norms and rules of political activity (formal/informal institutions)); resources (attribute, circumstance and good, the possession of which increases the ability to influence other individuals or groups). At the same time, the researcher

¹⁷ T. Bezv, *Mistsevi vybory yak zasib lehytmatsii lokalnoho politychnoho rehymu (na prykladi mistsevykh vyboriv 2010 ta 2015 rr. u Dnipropetrovsku)*, Naukovi zapysky IPIeND im. I. F. Kurasa NAN Ukrainy 2016, nr. 1, s. 127, 146.

¹⁸ T. Bezv, *Pidstavy formuvannya, spetsyfika funktsionuvannya ta osoblyvosti transformatsii rehionalnoho politychnoho rehymu Dnipropetrovska (1991-2016 rr.)*, Naukovi zapysky IPIeND im. I. F. Kurasa NAN Ukrainy 2016, nr. 1, s. 56.

¹⁹ T. Bezv, *Rehionalni politychni rehymy Dnipropetrovshchyny: etapy formuvannya, spetsyfika funktsionuvannya ta osoblyvosti transformatsii*, Naukovi zapysky IPIeND im. I. F. Kurasa NAN Ukrainy 2017, nr. 2, s. 78.

²⁰ M. Karmazina, T. Bezv, N. Rotar, *Rehionalni politychni rehymy v Ukraini: pidstavy formuvannya, spetsyfika funktsionuvannya, osoblyvosti transformatsii*, Kyiv, IPIeND im. I. F. Kurasa NAN Ukrainy 2018, s. 125-126.

²¹ T. Bezv, *Rehionalni osoblyvosti funktsionuvannya politychnoi systemy Ukrainy v konteksti hlobalizatsiinoho vykydku pandemii COVID-19*, Society.Document. Communication 2020, nr. 9/2, s. 11-32.

²² M. Karmazina, T. Bezv, M. Horbatiuk, O. Zorych, *Rehionalni politychni elity v Ukraini: osoblyvosti formuvannya, tsinnosti ta identychnosti (kinets 1991-2019 rr.)*, Kyiv, IPIeND im. I. F. Kurasa NAN Ukrainy 2020, s. 89-90.

focuses excessive attention on the method of personification (linking the regime with the personality of the mayor, head of the regional government administration, etc.).²³

The study of local and regional aspects of the political regime in Chernivtsi and the Chernivtsi region was based on the monograph by N. Rotar, which focuses on the formation and reproduction of the political identities of the city's residents and their self-identification. Symbolic resources, according to the researcher, are functionally related to identification, are designed to consolidate the regional community and legitimize political practices and interaction between the main subjects of the regime in the mass political consciousness. Symbolic resources reflecting the connection between the regional community and the national political space are formed in the process of understanding the connection between them in historical, cultural and political aspects. Among the symbolic resources of the Chernivtsi region, N. Rotar singled out the historical name, interethnic tolerance and Europeanness of the region.²⁴

In her later works, N. Rotar identified four key indicators that influence the construction of a local or regional political regime: 1) presidential discourse, which conceptualizes the very concept of a region; 2) electoral legislation, through which local authorities are formed and legitimized; 3) the impact of parliamentary activities in the context of regional policy development; 4) the government as an institution for the implementation of regional policy. However, the specifics of the institutional design of each specific political institution is determined by the peculiarities of the formation and functioning of such institutions as the institutions of the head of the regional government administration, parties, local self-government, public organizations, Euroregional cooperation, united communities and mediator institutions. In addition, the external positioning of the regional regime is determined by its relationship with the regions and cities of other countries, especially when it comes to cross-border cooperation.²⁵ Also, N. Rotar dwelled on a detailed analysis of the economic, educational and scientific resources of the region, the information environment.²⁶ Like other researchers of local or regional political regimes in Ukraine, N. Rotar analyzed in detail the results of local elections in the region and the interaction of local governments with the chairman of the Regional Government Administration.²⁷ At the same time, in order to be able to compare the regional regime of the Chernivtsi region with others in Ukraine, N. Rotar took into account various ratings that illustrate the socio-economic indicators of the region, the success of reforms, etc. (data from the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine) and ratings of non-profit organizations ("Regional Doing Business"

²³ T. Bevz, *Teoretyko-metodolohichni pidkhody ta alhorytm doslidzhennia politychnykh identychnosti u miskii hromadi*. URL: <http://ekmair.ukma.edu.ua/handle/123456789/13345> [10.05.2022].

²⁴ N. Rotar, *Symvolichni resursy chernivetskoho rehionalnogo politychnoho rehymu*, *Naukovi zapysky IPIEND im. I.F. Kurasa NAN Ukrainy* 2016, nr. 81(1), s. 114.

²⁵ N. Rotar, *Instytutsiyni dyzain rehionalnogo politychnoho rehymu u Chernivetskii oblasti*, *Naukovi zapysky IPIEND im. I.F. Kurasa NAN Ukrainy* 2017, nr. 88(2), s.46-47,55.

²⁶ N. Rotar, *Dynamika strukturykh resursiv rehionalnogo politychnoho rehymu u Chernivetskii oblasti*, *Istoryko-politychni problemy suchasnoho svitu: zb. nauk. statei*. Chernivtsi, ChNU 2017, nr. 35-36, s. 364.

²⁷ N. Rotar, *Vybory yak mekhanizm formuvannia i dynamiky rehionalnogo politychnoho rehymu u Chernivetskii oblasti*, *Naukovi zapysky IPIEND im. I.F. Kurasa NAN Ukrainy* 2018, nr. 93(1), s. 205-227.

ease of doing business rating, Ukrainian Cities Transparency Rating, Public Monitoring of Energy Efficiency).²⁸

In addition, N. Rotar separately studied the processes of dialogue or communication in the local space. Yes, in her opinion, the use of dialogue forms of political participation at all levels of the public administration system is the principle of an open partnership between the authorities and citizens, in which they act as equal subjects of relations. Each of the subjects of such a dialogue is endowed with certain resources that affirm their subjectivity and determine the potential for participation in it. In particular, institutional entities have a system of a special political infrastructure, citizens have the right to delegate powers to make political decisions and a number of conventional and non-conventional means of pressure on the authorities, public organizations, the institute of political expertise and the media, in particular, the ability to provide information exchange between the first two subjects of the dialogue, to accumulate and transmit the interests of citizens to the field of political discourse. N. Rotar also identified four options for dialogue between government institutions and stakeholders: 1) the traditional top-down strategy (basically, a monologue of power); 2) interaction limited from above (the authorities accept proposals from below, but do not respond to them); 3) a dialogue open to discussion (but the final choice is still with the authorities); 4) democracy of participation (open access to information, proposals from below are equivalent to proposals from the authorities).²⁹

In turn, V. Yaremchuk in his studies of the local political regime of Lviv also analyzes the formal and actual aspects, notes the factors that distinguish local political regimes from each other, including: the level of political culture and historical and cultural traditions of the region, the government of socio-economic development, the presence of charismatic regional political leaders, the configuration of the local party system, the level of internal autonomy along the line of “center – region” relations. In his opinion, the configuration of the local regime is determined by the interaction of four political actors: the city community as a whole, the city council, the regional council and the regional government administration. The researcher attaches great importance to the opposition “city regime – center” in different periods, in particular, in order to emphasize the higher level of democracy of the local regime.³⁰ In addition, the researcher analyzed the influence of history, culture, the wave of national revival on the functioning of the regime, that is, local identity. V. Yaremchuk also notes the importance of the representative component in the city council, analyzes the areas from which city deputies were elected, as well as changes in the deputy corps during different cadences. And as before, the researcher focuses on the personified factor, the analysis of the personal influence of the mayors and votes of the

²⁸ N. Rotar, Zastosuvannya instrumentiv reitynhovoho otsiniuvannya funktsionalnosti rehionalnykh politychnykh elit (na prykladi Chernivetskoï oblasti), *Naukovi zapysky IPIEND im. I. F. Kurasa NAN Ukrainy* 2019, nr. 1(97), s.125-126.

²⁹ N. Rotar, Kontseptualizatsiia politychnoho dialohu v prostori lokalnoi polityky Ukrainy, *Vlada ta upravlinnia: zb. nauk. prats, nr. 8, Chernivtsi, Bukrek* 2021, s.27-28.

³⁰ V. Yaremchuk, Miskyi politychnyi rezhyim u Lvovi: vnutrishni i zovnishni chynnyky formuvannya ta evoliutsii, *Naukovi zapysky IPIEND im. I. F. Kurasa NAN Ukrainy* 2016, nr. 1, s. 91-92.

regional government administration on the formation of the agenda. To determine the key political actors of the local regime, Yaremchuk takes into account various ratings of the most influential people in the city in the categories of “politics”, “power”, “business”, “culture”.³¹ Also, his research analyzes the impact of institutions created to improve communication between local authorities, businesses and residents in the city, provides statistical data in terms of openness and transparency of local politics. Finally, in some studies of the local political regime in Lviv, Yaremchuk singled out the study of public participation as a separate component.

In later works, V. Yaremchuk, studying the features of an already regional political regime, draws attention to the fact that such studies depend on the resource and information base. Accordingly, the more information you can get from different sources, the more thorough the study will be. At the same time, it is necessary to use an interdisciplinary methodology of cognition, in particular, a combination of legal and sociological approaches, structural-functional, behavioral methods of cognition, etc., which involves the study of both formal legal norms and informal (real) practices in the implementation of policy in the region with the involvement of a wide range of political actors – competing groups of political actors, pressure groups, etc.³² Among the key aspects of the resource base of the study, V. Yaremchuk singled out: 1) geographical location; 2) historical and cultural factors; 3) area of the territory; 4) the number and ethnic composition of the population; 5) functioning of large budget-forming enterprises; 6) labor resources; 7) transport infrastructure; 8) economic indicators of imports and exports; 9) production structure; 10) results of sociological research; 11) documents on the websites of central and regional bodies of government power and local self-government, personal websites of political actors of the region, websites of public organizations; 12) scientific research; 13) achievements of analytical centers; 14) publications and other materials in the media, journalistic intelligence, etc. Thus, analyzing the source base for the study of the political elite of the Ivano-Frankivsk region, V. Yaremchuk singled out the importance of research by the Civil movement “CHESNO”, national public organization “OPORA”, national public organization “Committee of Voters of Ukraine”, national public organization “Anti-corruption action centre”, as well as local rankings to highlight the most influential people in the area.³³ But the researcher again determined the functioning of the regime through: 1) features of the relationship with the center; 2) party affiliation of the heads of cities and regional government administrations; 3) the representative composition of local self-government bodies (party affiliation and employment); 4) personnel appointments; 5) parameters of functioning and influence of financial and industrial groups; 6) priority areas of work of political parties

³¹ V. Yaremchuk, *Miskyi politychnyi rezhym u Lvovi: vnutrishni i zovnishni chynnyky formuvannia ta evoliutsii*, Naukovi zapysky IPIEND im. I. F. Kurasa NAN Ukrainy 2016, nr. 1, s. 100.

³² V. Yaremchuk, *Rehionalni politychni rezhymy v Ukraini: Lvivshchyna (1990-2017 rr.)*, Kyiv, IPIEND im. I. F. Kurasa NAN Ukrainy 2018, s. 8-9.

³³ V. Yaremchuk, *Politychna elita Ivano-Frankivskoi oblasti: dzherelna baza doslidzhennia*, Naukovi zapysky IPIEND im. I. F. Kurasa NAN Ukrainy 2019, nr. 1(91), s. 193.

within the framework of the regime; 7) competition during the electoral process; 8) determination of the most influential people due to different public ratings; 9) socio-political moods of city dwellers.

Similarly, O. Zorychin in his studies of the regional political regime of the Poltava region among the important aspects of the study highlights the geographical positioning of the region, its historical positioning and modern image, the transformation of socio-political sentiments and electoral sympathies of residents, the positioning of the heads of cities and indicators, access to resources of financial and industrial groups, political affiliation of business leaders, features and value orientations of the regional elite (political, economic, cultural, “shadow”), aspects of the functioning of regional media, etc.³⁴ Exploring the regional political regime of the Kharkiv region, A. Yasinska also analyzes the historical prerequisites for the formation of the regime, the characteristics of the regional elite, the results of local elections, relations with the central government, the importance of key enterprises in shaping the agenda, the impact of the Revolution of Dignity on the socio-political moods of the inhabitants of the region.³⁵ Again, the key research method is the influence of the mayor and the chairman of the regional government administration on the development and adoption of decisions. In the study of the regional elite of the Lviv region, A. Yasinska classifies it into three groups: 1) elected elite (people’s deputies of Ukraine, chairmen and deputies of regional, city, district, etc.); 2) appointed elite (chairmen of regional government administrations, their deputies, heads of structural divisions, etc.); 3) the elite, which, thanks to financial resources, authority, access to information and the formation of public sentiment, family ties, common business interests, etc., exerts its influence (representatives of property classes, business and media environment, organized crime, etc.).³⁶ An additional aspect of local and regional political regimes was studied by M. Horbatiuk. Thus, on the example of the Vinnytsia region, he analyzed the motives on which the regional elites act, contributing to or blocking the processes of formation of the amalgamated territorial community.³⁷

In addition to the works of these scientists, the work of A. Kruhlashov and A. Kuchuran was also devoted to significant studies of the local political regime of Chernivtsi. They used the concept of “urban arenas” by B. Ferman and P. Pererson to determine the specifics of the conflict between the mayor and the business elites of Chernivtsi, who controlled most of the deputy mandates in the city council. This conflict had a negative impact on the use of budgetary funds, the distribution of resources and hindered any decisions regarding the development

³⁴ M. Karmazina, T. Bevz, M. Horbatiuk, O. Zorych, *Rehionalni politychni elity v Ukraini: osoblyvosti formuvannya, tsinnosti ta identychnosti* (kinets 1991–2019 rr.), Kyiv, IPIEND im. I. F. Kurasa NAN Ukrainy 2020, s.86.

³⁵ A. Yasinska, *Pidstavy formuvannya rehionalnykh politychnykh rezhymiv u Kharkivskii oblasti (1991–2017 rr.)*, Naukovi zapysky IPIEND im. I. F. Kurasa NAN Ukrainy 2018, nr. 1(93), s. 176–2014.

³⁶ A. Yasinska, *Rehionalna politychna elita Lvivshchyny: osoblyvosti stanovlennia (1990–2019 rr.)*, Society. Document. Communication 2021, nr. 13, s. 260–261.

³⁷ M. Horbatiuk, *Detsentralizatsiia i rehionalni politychni elity (na prykladi Vinnytskoi oblasti)*, *Narodna tvorchist ta etnolohiia* 2019, nr. 3(379), s. 76–88.

of the city.³⁸ Kuchuran also identified five aspects that need to be analyzed in the context of the study of local political regimes: 1) the general context of the functioning of the regime (geographic location, resource availability, socio-economic indicators, the powers of local self-government bodies and the type of electoral system); 2) identification of members of the ruling coalition (based on positional, reputational and problematic methods, as well as other methods); 3) a description of the available resources of the members of the ruling coalition; 4) determination on the basis of the listed resources of the interests of the members of the ruling coalition (especially through the analysis of conflict solutions); 5) the agenda of the functioning of the ruling coalition (official decisions, texts, program documents of the local self-government bodies, governments by the heads of cities and other influential political actors).³⁹

In the end, N. Karmazina proposed her list of components for the study of local political regimes, of which: 1) geographical, geopolitical, historical-political, ethno-national, socio-economic and cultural conditions for the functioning of communities in the region; 2) legal grounds for the development or degradation of the regional regime; 3) the resource base of the region; 4) features of the establishment and implementation of the rules of the game in the region; 5) the specifics of the interaction of formal and informal political actors at the regional level; 6) mechanisms of access to power and decision-making; 7) ways of distributing resources between regional political actors, as well as between them and the central government; 8) the specifics of the interaction strategy (through consensus, conflict, corruption, the use of administrative resources and other informal practices) of political and economic political actors along the horizontal and vertical lines of power and with the masses (in particular, the use of manipulation mechanisms, confrontation with civil society structures, etc.). In addition, given the development of regional political parties after the decentralization reform and changes in the electoral system in Ukraine, their study in the context of local political studies is also important.⁴⁰

Accordingly, it can be stated that all these studies of local or regional political regimes in Ukraine are cases of single comparisons (or case studies). They study the features of the relationship between key political actors, and the development of the regimes themselves is in a certain way divided into periods. Despite the excessive descriptiveness in such studies, it is still possible to generalize in a certain way the features of the study of the local regime. But such an approach, in our opinion, does not fully or completely make it possible to compare local or regional political regimes due to the lack of a universal approach and significant differences in the source base of research, etc. At the same time, the first comparative study of regional

³⁸ A. Kruhlov, A. Kuchuran, *Areny miskoi polityky: teoriia i praktychnyi pryklad Chernivtsiv. Politolohichni ta pravnychi studii suspilno-politychnykh protsesiv KhX-pochatku XXI st.: zb. nauk. prats 2017*, s. 111-118.

³⁹ A. Kuchuran, *Biznes yak politychnyi aktor miskykh politychnykh rezhymiv*, *Visnyk Mariupolskoho derzhavnogo universytetu. Serii: Istorii. Politolohii* 2016, nr. 15, s. 247-248.

⁴⁰ M. Karmazina, T. Bevz, N. Rotar, *Rehionalni politychni rezhymy v Ukraini: pidstavy formuvannya, spetsyfika funktsionuvannya, osoblyvosti transformatsii*, Kyiv, IPI-END im. I. F. Kurasa NAN Ukrainy 2018, s. 23,47.

political regimes in Ukraine was carried out by V. Hnatiuk in his dissertation “Features of the functioning of political processes at the regional level (on the example of Transcarpathian, Lviv and Chernivtsi regions in 2010-2015) (2021). The main problem of previous studies of local and regional political regimes, V. Hnatiuk noted that in the Ukrainian context, the classical methodology for Western science with the use of objective (institutional) and subjective (expert) components was not created and tested.⁴¹ That is, despite the understanding of this phenomenon and its conceptualization, in Ukraine there were problems with their measurement, and therefore with comparison. To compare the subnational (regional) political regimes of the Transcarpathian, Lviv and Chernivtsi regions, V. Hnatiuk proposed his own methodology, which included both institutional and expert components, and tested it. At the same time, the author identified nine indices in the institutional component of the methodology: 1) the index of the competitiveness of the electoral field; 2) index of electoral turnout in elections; 3) the index of transparency of the electoral process; 4) civil society development index; 5) succession control index; 6) index of temporary restriction; 7) index of the effective number of parties; 8) index of ideological diversification; 9) index of confrontational strength.⁴² At the same time, the expert part of the methodology was formed on the basis of the questionnaire method, which included seven blocks of questions: 1) domineering; 2) public; 3) electoral; 4) corruption and professionalism; 5) economics; 6) problematic; 7) position of an expert.⁴³ Based on the results of the institutional and expert components, the author proposed a typology of regional political regimes: autocracy, autocracy, hybrid regime, partial democracy and democracy.

Nevertheless, in our opinion, Hnatiuk’s work contains several inaccuracies or misunderstandings, but this is evident precisely, if we talk about them in the context of local rather than regional political regimes, which this researcher was engaged in. First, this is a more classical study of the political regime, which is transferred from the national level to the regional one. Based on the results of the institutional and expert methodology, this author determines the type of regional political regime along the lines of “full autocracy – full democracy”, which clearly corresponds to the classical definition of the political regime as “methods and means of power”. However, this does not answer the classic question in the study of local political regimes about “who rules”, because the model of coalition formation regarding the achievement of a common agenda between local authorities, business and civil society is relatively poorly considered. Secondly, the study is essentially limited to the beginning of electoral cycles and does not consider (does not affect) the specifics of the change in the interaction between political actors in the period between elections. Thirdly, in the work of this author there is no

⁴¹ V. Hnatiuk, *Osoblyvosti funktsionuvannia politychnykh protsesiv na rehionalnomu rivni v Ukraini (na prykladi Zakarpatskoi, Lvivskoi i Chernivetskoi oblasti u 2010-2015 rr.)*, Lviv, LNU im. I. Franka 2021. s. 49.

⁴² V. Hnatiuk, *Osoblyvosti funktsionuvannia politychnykh protsesiv na rehionalnomu rivni v Ukraini (na prykladi Zakarpatskoi, Lvivskoi i Chernivetskoi oblasti u 2010-2015 rr.)*, Lviv, LNU im. I. Franka 2021. s. 105-112.

⁴³ V. Hnatiuk, *Osoblyvosti funktsionuvannia politychnykh protsesiv na rehionalnomu rivni v Ukraini (na prykladi Zakarpatskoi, Lvivskoi i Chernivetskoi oblasti u 2010-2015 rr.)*, Lviv, LNU im. I. Franka 2021. s. 119.

analysis of cases of development, adoption and implementation of public policies that are strategically important for the development of a local or regional political regime. After all, the absence of a “decision-making” method does not allow one to determine the interests of the political actors and their influence on decision-making. Fourth, despite the huge number of indices and indicators for analyzing the political component, the analysis of the economic component (impact of business) in this methodology is very limited. In the institutional component, there is no economic component at all, and in the expert component it is represented only by the question of the economic provision of the region, which is extremely subjective, as well as questions of determining the strength of the business community in comparison with other political actors. Therefore, there is no way to evaluate business resources and identify business political actors or business communities, financial and industrial groups, etc., which have a significant impact on decision making. Fifth, aspects of civil society are also under-analyzed. In the expert part of the methodology, the influence of civil society is also determined by the assessment of the strength and positioning of public organizations and trade unions, the influence of ideology and religion, the level of political culture in terms of involvement in local/regional processes. In the institutional part of the methodology, an index was formed to assess the level of control over the formation and implementation of the agenda, but there is no assessment of changes in socio-political sentiments and the definition of local/regional identity in general. Sixth, there is no aspect that would allow one to analyze the development strategy of a local or regional political regime, that is, the identification of key growth areas for which there is consensus. Therefore, if the methodology of V. Hnatiuk is acceptable and tested in the study of regional political regimes, especially in determining their autocratic/democratic deviation from the national political regime, then for comparative studies of local political regimes in the Ukrainian context, it is appropriate to continue the search for a methodology that synthesizes an assessment of democracy / autocracy regime, as well as the features of the relationship between the key political actors in shaping the agenda and development strategy of the local regime as such.

In our opinion, when developing a methodology for studying local political regimes, two groups of approaches within the framework of neo-institutionalism, including minimalist and maximalist, are important. The minimalist approach is enough to use to determine the type of local political regime and conduct a cross-regional comparison using several indices/indicators. The maximum approach should be taken for a more thorough comparison, using as many indexes/indicators as possible to detail the specifics of the agenda-setting process in local political regimes. It is on the maximalist approach that our methodology will be based, since it is necessary to explore the relationship in the triangle “public authority – business – civil society” and along the line “central authority – regional authority – local authority”. To do this, you need to select a sufficiently large number of qualitative and quantitative indices/indicators from three areas of public life in the local community – public policy, economics and civil society.

Thus, when forming the methodology and method for studying local political regimes, it is appropriate to include existing indices/indicators of the national level of analysis of political regimes and the political system as a whole. However, with their subsequent adjustment and detailing, due to the limitation of local regimes in space, a decrease in the necessary resources for the study. In addition, the aggregation and selection of indices/indicators is important not only for political science, but also for economics, sociology and other social sciences. At the same time, we believe that a set of indices/indicators for the study of local political regimes in Ukraine should be formed in such a way that, when summarizing the results, it would be possible to assess the following processes/parameters in the city/urban agglomeration, including: the level of democratization, decentralization and ensuring the principle of subsidiarity; identification of key political actors and institutions in making strategic and operational decisions for the development of the regime; the degree of economic attractiveness, transparency of doing business, the influence of business communities and corporations on the regime; the availability and effectiveness of mechanisms for representing interests, the level of inclusion of interested groups of the public environment in the process of forming the agenda; institutional features of the formation of the agenda, the adoption and strategic directions for the development of the regime and the institutional stability of the regime, etc.

It is appropriate to mean the level of democracy of a local regime through the imposition and adaptation of existing methods for determining political regimes on a national scale. In particular, these are such projects as: index of democratization in T. Vanhanen's project, "Freedom in the world" ("Freedom House"), "Nations in transit" ("Freedom House"), "Politics IV/V", Democracy Index ("The Economist Intelligence Unit"), the Bertelsmann Transformation Index, the Index of Economic Freedom (Heritage Foundation) and others. The most important in this context is the determination of the level of openness, competitiveness and representation in the course of the formation of local governments, as well as transparency, proportionality of accounting diverse interests and political responsibilities during the cadence of elected bodies. It is important to determine the influence of the level of proportionality of representation on the effectiveness of the regime. In general, this aspect determines the course of the regime at the local level, the degree of its deviation from the national level, the strength and potential influence of the "center" as in a normal period, and during crises of various origins.

In turn, the level of decentralization of power as a whole can be understood as a conditional indicator of the ratio between the resources that are transferred from the local level to other levels, and the resources that ultimately end up at the disposal of local governments of the local political regime. At the same time, the principle of subsidiarity characterizes the ability of the local regime effectively manage these resources and be responsible for ensuring economic growth and social improvement.

The identification of key political institutions and decision-making actors at the local regime level is possible due to a combination of the reputation method and the decision analysis

method. First of all, it is appropriate to use indices for measuring the strength of chairmen of local governments and other significant political actors and institutions. In addition, the characteristics of the key political actors and mechanisms of functioning of the political institutions of the local regime (primarily the quality of management and communication processes) determine the ability to generate and implement creative, innovative ideas and solutions that, in general, “flow” into stable local practices. This aspect generally determines the level of localization of the political process, its features and centers of political influence.

In general, the indicators that determine the degree of democratization, decentralization and identification of key political actors and institutions should include the following: 1) features of the electoral process and the electoral system of local representative institutions (competitiveness of elections; turnout in elections; electoral preferences; active and passive suffrage proportionality of the electoral system, etc.); 2) formal (institutional) and informal (behavioral) powers (including delegated) of local self-government institutions (mayor, local councils, regional councils, etc.); 3) distribution of powers between the legislative and executive authorities (vote of no confidence in the mayor or the head of the regional government administration, approval of members of the regional leadership, overcoming the veto of the head of the regional government administration on adopted acts, the creation and operation of the Chamber of Control and Accounts, etc.); 4) representation and legitimacy of political forces on the local territory (local party system; ideological features of the parties represented; the presence of regional political parties; party fragmentation; parliamentary variability; index of the effective number of parties); 5) features of the relationship “center – regional authorities – local authorities” (through the powers of the executive branch of government, the strength of the powers of the head of the territorial administration (term, party affiliation, territorial origin, informal ties with the center and local authorities, etc.); control of local processes by the region and the center, the level of regionalization and dependence of the region on the central government, institutional restrictions on the activities of local and / or regional self-government bodies); 6) institutional and actual restrictions on power on the part of the opposition (the ability to challenge legislative and executive decisions; control succession; the opposition’s chances of winning the next election); 7) features of the local and regional political elite (level of power and control of certain resources, methods of recruitment; social charter, prestige and financial resources, level of education and political culture); 8) the method of implementing power (relative independence, initiative of local authorities or significant dependence on the center and attempts to preserve the existing government); 9) capabilities, functions and accountability of law enforcement agencies; 10) the presence of sociopolitical divisions in society and individual regions; 11) compliance of local self-government institutions with territorial customs and traditions (municipal authorities have the opportunity to independently determine the model of local self-government, taking into account local traditions, the social composition of the population, economic development, etc.); 12) the effectiveness

of non-government political institutions; 13) the presence / absence of a local coalition to obtain a certain strategic result.

In turn, the degree of economic attractiveness can be determined on the basis of indices and indicators that are used to analyze the openness of countries to do business, in particular: the ease of doing business index (“World Bank”), the corruption perception index (“Transparency International”), various investment attractiveness indices, digital transformation, etc. Again, they need to be adapted to the local level. This cluster of indicators should demonstrate the level of resource availability (their impact on other aspects of the regime), the investment attractiveness of the local regime, as well as the ability of local and other levels of business elites, enterprises and corporations to influence the formation of the agenda of the local regime. The impact of economic features on public policy in local communities depends on such features as: 1) the level of economic development of the local territory, the size of the budget and investments; 2) resource availability of the city/agglomeration; 3) the influence of local, regional, national and global business elites; 4) economic structure of the local territory and region, infrastructure development (presence or absence of one or more dominant corporations/enterprises); 5) the level of support from regional, federal, government financial and industrial groups; 6) representation of the business elite in power local or regional institutions (officials dominate in regions with a poorly developed economy and where there are many government-owned enterprises, and business representatives prevail in economically developed regions; also, the style of economic leadership is tougher than the style of political leadership, and therefore the activities of local self-government bodies differ from national institutions due to the inclusion of a large number of deputies-entrepreneurs); 7) the level of local corruption.

The presence and effectiveness of devices for the consulate and the realization of the interests of different groups at the local level also have their own special features. In this context, the “principal – agent” theory (agent theory) has, for the most part, only a material manifestation, since a change in value orientations and the adoption of appropriate political decisions are possible only at the national level. Accordingly, for analyzing the level of realization of material interests, there are much more tools, primarily based on empirical data, than for analyzing the realization of postmaterialistic values. In addition, it is much easier to analyze the level of communication processes, feedback, effectiveness and ways of civil society involvement in the development, adoption and implementation of the agenda in the local political regime.

Therefore, the government and features of the development of civil society in local political regimes should be analyzed according to the following characteristics: 1) the level of political culture and political participation; 2) the level of freedom to form public organizations; 3) free access to alternative media and information about local authorities; 4) freedom of opposition activity; 5) availability of communication channels with non-government structures and the level of their inclusion in the process of development, adoption and implementation of political decisions; 6) the availability of communication channels and the results of interaction between

local authorities and the scientific community, as well as a research center, etc.; 7) an indicator of the number of non-government specialists working in local government institutions (presence of autonomous trade unions and business structures; various non-profit organizations, including church, religious, political, non-governmental and human rights organizations).

The characteristic of the institutional features of the formation of the agenda in the local political regime as a whole determines its burdensomeness, stability and effectiveness. First of all, we are talking about determining the practices most frequently used in the process of making the most important decisions of the local regime (primarily decisions on economic growth). This refers to practices due to which the local regime: 1) perceives the interest that has arisen; 2) develops a set of potential alternatives; 3) chooses the final solution; 4) implements this decision; 5) monitors the enumeration and the results of this decision. In this aspect, it is important to analyze the diversity of these practices, their openness and level of involvement. In addition, the stability of the local regime is manifested due to the duration and preservation of the strategic directions of the socio-economic growth of the city/urban agglomeration. In this context, it is important to analyze the duration of the declaration and the implementation of the strategic programs of the regime. A set of repetitive agenda-setting practices, clear “rules of the game” for all political actors, and the duration of strategic directions for socio-economic growth as a whole can determine the institutional stability of a local political regime.

In general, generalizing and summing up our scientific intelligence, it is reasonable to government that the development of research on local and regional political regimes in Ukraine can be divided into three stages: 1) 1991-2008. – laying the foundation for research; 2) 2009-2015 - theoretical developments, the transition from studies of regional identities to regional power, and ultimately – local and regional political regimes; 3) 2016 – until now – practical research, primarily case studies, the search for a method for comparative analysis of local regimes. The first practical studies of local and regional political regimes were laid by T. Bevz, N. Rotar, V. Yaremchuk, A. Zorich, A. Yasinska and M. Horbatiuk, who used case studies. The first comparative study of regional political regimes in Ukraine was conducted by V. Hnatiuk, who developed and tested his own methodology, which still has a number of shortcomings in the study of local political regimes. Therefore, in our opinion, the development of a new methodology for comparing local political regimes should be based on a maximalist approach (inclusion of a significant number of indices/indicators for complex comparison) and must contain the following indicators: 1) the scale of democracy and the level of decentralization of the regime; 2) a scale in the form of a triangle that determines the strength of local authorities, business and civil society in the process of forming the agenda and determining the strategic directions of socio-economic growth. These indicators, in particular, in the form of a rating of local political regimes, should demonstrate the so-called attractiveness of the latter for the realization of their own and corporate interests, doing business, and ensuring their own improvement. In addition, it is appropriate to take measurements over time to analyze the dynamics of changes in local political regimes, describe best practices and results in

individual regimes. Indices, indicators and other methods of national level analysis are appropriate to use at the local level with their appropriate adaptation. Moreover, at the local level, they receive a more empirical load, they are much cheaper to test and identify their shortcomings. We expect that in this context, the results of studies of local regimes will make it possible to significantly better evaluate, modernize and predict social and political processes at the national level. However, this requires detailing the indicated intention to generate a new methodology for analyzing and comparing local modes and clearly defined, understandable and balanced scales of the analysis itself, which should be the subject of a separate study, which we will deal with in the future. Only after that, such a methodology can be operationalized and verified using the example of Ukraine.

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