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Catch-all-party: theoretical-methodological framework of learning and ideology position on the example of parliamentary elections of 2019

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The article highlights the basic scientific approaches to understanding the concept of "electoral party", identifies trends in the evolution of understanding of the term and the change of scientific paradigms in its interpretation. The authors conclude that the electoral party is a modern kind of party characterized by blurring the boundaries of the social base, the lack of a clear ideology and professionalization and personalization of its internal structure.

The article reveals the historical evolution and formation of modern approaches to the interpretation of the "electoral party", identifies their varieties. The main subtypes of electoral parties include: electoral-professional parties, cartel parties, stratarchies, modern personnel parties, program parties, business firm parties, "big tent".

Content analysis of the programs of the parliamentary parties in 2019, namely, "Sluga narodu", OPHZ, "Batkivshyna", "Golos" and "European Solidarity", using the formula of Hee Min Kim and Richard Fording, determined the ideological position of each of them. Authors conclude that most of 2019 parliamentary parties tend to be centrist and don't have clear ideological position.

Thus, it has been found that by most attributes, parliamentary parties in Ukraine can be classified as electoral, because by eroding the social base and trying to get support from the widest possible electoral circle, parliamentary parties lose their ideological attachment. It allows them to get maximum electoral result (Sluga narodu? 2019), but is counterproductive in terms of abuse of populism and inability to fulfill all program promises. The most conservative political forces include European Solidarity and the Voice. At the same time, it is the least liberal in terms of the ideological content of the OPZZ.

Keywords: *electoral party, ideology, program, articulation of interests, voter party, catch-all-party, elections*

Електоральні партії: теоретико-методологічні засади та ідеологічне позиціонування на прикладі парламентських виборів 2019

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У статті висвітлено основні наукові підходи до розуміння поняття «електоральна партія», визначено тенденції еволюції розуміння даного терміну та зміну наукових парадигм у його тлумаченні. Автори прийшли до висновку, що електоральна партія – це сучасний різновид партії, який характеризується розмиванням меж соціальної бази, відсутністю чіткої ідеології та професіоналізацією та персоналізацією її внутрішньої структури.

Стаття розкриває історичну еволюцію та становлення сучасних підходів до тлумачення «електоральної партії», визначає їх різновиди. До основних підтипів електоральних партій належать: електорально-професійні партії, картельні партії, стратархії, сучасні кадрові партії, програмні партії, партії бізнес-фірми, «big tent».

Методом контент-аналізу програм парламентських партій 2019, а саме «Слуги народу», ОПЗЖ, «Батьківщини», «Голосу» та «Європейської солідарності», а також, використовуючи

формулу Хі Мін Кіма та Річарда Фордінга, визначено ідеологічне позиціонування кожної з них. Автори прийшли до висновку, що більшість парламентських партій 2019 тяжіють до центрризму і загалом мають слабе ідеологічне позиціонування.

Таким чином, з'ясовано, що за більшістю ознак парламентські партії в Україні можна віднести до різновиду електоральних, адже розмиваючи соціальну базу та намагаючись залучитися підтримкою якнайширшого електорального кола, парламентські партії втрачають ідеологічну прив'язку. Це в свою чергу дозволяє їм отримати максимальний електоральний результат («Слуга народу» 2019 р.), проте є непродуктивним з точки зору зловживання популізмом та неможливістю виконати усі програмні обіцянки. До найбільш консервативних політичних сил можна віднести «Європейську Солідарність» та «Голос». Водночас найменш ліберальною є за ідеологічним наповненням ОПЗЖ.

Ключові слова: електоральна партія, ідеологія, програма, артикуляція інтересів, партія виборців, «catch-all-party», вибори

Электоральные партии: теоретико-методологические основы и идеологическое позиционирование на примере парламентских выборов 2019

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В статье отражены основные научные подходы к пониманию понятия «электоральная партия», определены тенденции эволюции понимания данного термина и изменение научных парадигм в его толковании. Авторы пришли к выводу, что электоральная партия – это современная разновидность партии, характеризующаяся размыванием границ социальной базы, отсутствием четкой идеологии, профессионализацией и персонализацией ее внутренней структуры.

Статья раскрывает историческую эволюцию и становление современных подходов к толкованию «электоральной партии», определяет их разновидности. К основным подтипам электоральных партий относятся: электорально-профессиональные партии, картельные партии, стратархии, современные кадровые партии, программные партии, партии бизнес-фирмы, «big tent».

Методом контент-анализа программ парламентских партий 2019, именно «Слуги народа», ОПЗЖ, «Батьківщини», «Голоса» и «Європейської солідарності», а также, используя формулу Хи Мин Кима и Ричарда Фордінга, определено идеологическое позиционирование каждой из них. Авторы пришли к выводу, что большинство парламентских партий 2019 тяготеют к центрризму, а также имеют слабое идеологическое позиционирование.

Таким образом, установлено, что за большинством признаков парламентские партии в Украине можно отнести к разновидности электоральных, ведь размывая социальную базу и с помощью поддержки большого электорального круга, парламентские партии теряют идеологическую привязку. Это позволяет им получить максимальный электоральный результат («Слуга народа» 2019 г.), однако является непродуктивным с точки зрения злоупотребления популизмом и невозможностью выполнить все программные обещания. К наиболее консервативным политическим силам можно отнести «Європейську Солідарність» и «Голос». В то же время наименее либеральной является по идеологическому наполнению ОПЗЖ.

Ключевые слова: электоральная партия, идеология, программа, артикуляция интересов, партия избирателей, «catch-all-party», выборы

Political party is constantly a key element of any country's political system. Despite the millennial evolution of political parties, the change of paradigms and trends of development, their key function is always the same – the acquisition, retention and exercising of political power. However, for this purpose another function is lost, namely the representation of interests of different social groups, and thus the ideological content of party programs. In the pursuit of the votes, most modern mass political parties, and including Ukrainian ones, have turned into a catch-all party, a kind of ideological mix that, by the laws of the political market, offers the most popular product to voter-buyers.

It should be mentioned that a lot of scientific works and developments are devoted to the problems of electoral parties. Among Ukrainian scholars who studied political parties, first to be mentioned are, Yu.R. Shved, A.S. Romanyuk, I.S. Osadchuk, M.V. Prymush, M.I. Obushnyi and foreign – J. Sartori, J. Charlot, O. Kirchheimer, A. Panebianco, R. Coulia, S. Eldersveld, R. Katz and P. Mair, S. Volinets.

There is no single approach to determine the nature and basic features of a political party in current research of the history and theory of political parties. Therefore, it is advisable to distinguish the following approaches: structural, electoral, functional, structural-functional, ideological.

In a structural approach, a political party is seen in terms of features of its structure, organization, and activity. It was initiated by M. Ostrogorsky and R. Michels who were the representatives of the Romano-Germanic area of research of political parties. The focus of the scientific study of M. Ostrogorsky is the problem of internal party mechanism of power, role and place of caucus in the practice of new type parties. He calls caucus such an initial party link that provided political leadership with the masses. In his work, "On the Sociology of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy" Michels concludes that the realization of democracy is impossible without organization, namely, without an administrative apparatus and professional formal leadership. M. Duverger is considered to be the founder of this approach and expresses his key provision: the content of today's political parties is more fully and deeply revealed in their organization; the party is a community formed on the basis of a certain organizational structure; the nature of these supporting structural units and the way they are integrated into the whole has a significant impact on its social class composition and doctrinal unity; even the

very principles and methods of this work together with its productivity are best determined by the strongest characteristic of the party – its basic organizational structure .

The essence of the functional approach is that a political party is viewed in terms of its role-playing purposes. In this approach, researcher K. Lawson focuses on the actions and activities of the political party, which she carries out during the electoral process and in the post-election period. Western researchers S. Nyman and J. LaPalombara attempted to identify a political party using a structural-functional approach. In the works of S. Nyman, a political party is defined as an established body of political agents in society who are directly involved in the exercising of state power in society and are constantly competing for popular support.

The ideological understanding of a political party is more related to the generalization of certain ideas expressed by organized groups of society in order to achieve a common goal. A German researcher, Klaus von Beyme, defines a political party as a group of like-minded people who work together by prior arrangement to achieve common political goals.

An electoral approach to understanding a political party begins to develop a theoretical model of a particular type of political party - the electoral party or the voters' party. Within this approach, the political party is viewed from the following main points:

- as an electoral machine that makes almost no breaks, but its activity is manifested with varying intensity;
- a decisive role in the activities of a political party is played by an electoral function, namely the nomination and support of candidates for public authorities;
- as a political institute that ensures the effective and free functioning of political competition within the electoral process;
- no political institute, except political parties, defines the political landscape of the state through the prism of elections and the electoral system.

A well-known representative of the Florentine School of Political Science Research, Giovanni Sartori, launched an electoral approach to understanding the political party. As each political party seeks to obtain the fullest level of support among the population, it seeks to obtain it through elections to state and local authorities. According to G. Sartori, the political party is not determined by the formation of ideological foundations, but

aimed at finding support and reliance among the population. The scientist offers a "narrow" definition of a political party based on an electoral approach. To his mind, a political party is "a certain political group which is present in the electoral process and is capable of nominating candidates for public office". Such a definition of a political party emphasizes the importance of its electoral function, and allows to analyze not only competitive political systems but also non-competitive ones.

American scientist E. Buell worked to give a key role to the electoral function of a political party. The researcher subjects to verification M. Duverger's theoretical assumptions about US political parties in the late 1990s. E. Buell believes that US political parties have continued to place maximum emphasis on the procedures of nomination and selection of candidates, but at the same time their engagement with an electoral function alone has allowed them to adapt to changes in public attitudes and needs as quickly as possible.

Particularly noteworthy are the findings of researchers K. Janda, J. Lane, S. Eerson, F. Sorauf, J. Schlesinger, A. Downs. All these scholars of the theory and history of political parties emphasize the importance of the electoral function of a political party, thanks to which its members can participate in elections. In case they win they will be able to get state positions, as well as receive support from certain social groups, which will manifest through the activities of activists, supporters and by voting. The electoral approach brings the concepts of "political party" and "electoral party" closer together, thereby bringing to the fore the role of electoral democracy and voter activism [10].

However, the concept of a "political party" should not be narrowed down only to the exercise of an electoral function, since parties can exist without elections, reach political authority by undemocratic methods, and have specific features in autocratic political systems. Parties that consider electoral function to be the leading function aim at influencing and controlling the maximum number of their supporters, gaining the most votes, have transformed into a new type of political parties - electoral parties, which violated the traditional dichotomous classification of political parties by Maurice Duverger into elite-based parties and mass-based parties. The scientist used the following criteria for this typology: the number of party members, the organizational structure, the key vectors of activity, and the types of relationships that occur between citizens and the party.

In the 1970s the researchers of the theory and history of political science had a debate about the necessity to change the classic classification of political parties by M. Duverger from dichotomous to trichotomous. To a greater extent, this is due to the fact that more and more political parties have begun to take on the features of the opposite type, thus the cases that are not typical for the classical typology of political parties cannot be clearly attributed to either the elite-based parties or the mass-based parties.

G. Sartori tries to supplement M. Duverger's classification to eliminate its inability to classify all political parties and offers to separate the third type of political parties - the voter parties or the electoral parties. Before G. Sartori electoral political parties were singled out as a separate type by the French researcher J. Charlot in 1971. J. Charlot emphasized that there are political parties which do not have a clear ideological positioning, and use methods to maximize the involvement of the population in political activity.

G. Sartori considers electoral political parties not as a subtype of the mass-based parties, but as an independent, historically-formed type. The scientist attributes to the characteristic features of the voter parties: a program of a political party is built on national interests and contains a pluralism of ideas; the work of a party is focused on preparing and participating in elections on a territorial basis; absence of rigid discipline among its members; the primary objective of the party is to obtain the maximum number of mandates.

Contemporary research on the theory and history of political parties relies on the changes that were caused to political parties as political institutions under the dominance of the service, information and knowledge sectors of society. Most modern electoral political parties have been formed on the basis of dissenting views and movements that have switched to ideas of programmatic pluralism. A new tendency was set in the development and activity of the political party - creating the most favorable conditions for establishing relations between all social groups of the population, since the key role, the party's activity is directed to, has shifted from activists to voters.

Within the study of electoral political parties, the theory of "catch-all party" of the German theorist in the fields of political science and constitutionalism, Otto Kirchheimer, which was established in the mid-1950s, remains the key theory to this day. The scientist noted that there is a gradual process of "electoralisation" of political

parties caused by the transformation of mass parties into electoral ones. The process of "electoralization" of political parties is conditioned by two main factors: ideological and organizational. The essence of the first one is related to the reducing of the role of identification of a political party with a certain group, which in turn caused the orientation of political parties to a wide circle of the population, and therefore the satisfaction of the general interests, but not of the group interests. Although the ideological factor was the initial one, the organizational factor played a bigger role. The last factor is related to the diminishing of importance of membership and the strengthening of the role of political leaders [9].

In general, based on O. Kirchheimer's research, we can define the "catch-all" as a party where ideological positioning is minimized by targeting all voters, and party leaders play a key role in the party structure. Political parties more and more consider elections as a particular market where they quickly adapt to changes of electoral attitudes and preferences in order to maximize the number of popular votes.

O. Kirchheimer's approach describes electoral parties the most accurately, so to a greater extent his theory of "catch-all party" will be fundamental to describe electoral parties as a separate type. However, when studying the theory and history of political parties it is worth paying attention to the studies of A. Panebianco, R. Coulia, S. Eldersveld, R. Katz and P. Mair, S. Volinets, who tried to describe the sub-types of electoral parties to a greater extent. The following subtypes of electoral parties can be allocated:

- "Electoral-professional" (A. Panebianco). Parties that appeared as a result of the transition to a system of meeting the needs and interests of the maximum number of citizens. Such parties are targeted at all voters and seek to resolve urgent and acute problems, and professional politicians, not members of the party distancing themselves, play a decisive role in this case.

- "Cartel party" (R. Katz and P. Mair). The leading role in the formation of political parties in the "new democracies" is oriented to their funding from the state budget.

- "Stratarchy" (S. Eldersveld). The structure of such a political party is made up of "strat" leaders and committees, who act at the state, regional and local levels and who may act against the national level of the party in order to win votes.

- "Modern elite-based party" (R. Coulia) The elite-based parties are the ones transformed

according to current realities. They are adopting more and more features of mass parties in order to gain maximum support of the electorate.

- "Program party" (S. Volinets). This is an electoral political party that has typical programme provisions together with other parties to get votes from other parties .

- "The business-firm party" This type of political party appeared on the background of the professionalization of voter behavior and allowed the party to act as a "private firm" which is able to mobilize citizens for elections in short period of time. This type of political parties differs from cartel parties only because the main financial support and resource base comes from interest groups, not from the state [8] .

The notion "big tent" is also used to identify parties trying to reach the maximum electorate. Big tent is a mass-type political party that meets the following characteristics: it tries to attract the largest number of people to get the most votes; the ideological component of the party program is very scattered and resembles an "umbrella"; the party often compromises and it often uses populism in its activity, as it is mostly in favor of everything what is "good" and is against everything what is "bad", following popular slogans but not programme provisions. The formation of such a party can be represented in the form of a chain: intellectuals and politicians create a political party; the party aims at being the mass party, representatives of the party agree on compromises and that is why intellectuals leave the party, soon after that the ones who are left increase the populist tendencies in party's activity. The Liberal Party of Canada is a great example of such a party. Roland Kenneth Carty did the analysis of its activity in his work "Big Tent Politics: The Liberal Party's Long Mastery of Canada's Public Life", which used the slogans of the "left" and "right" ideological spectrum .

The current development of research of political parties suggests that the electoral function of a political party not only determines the fullness of the party system, the level of democratization of society, but also allows to distinguish a separate approach to understanding a political party, as well as to form a separate type of political parties.

Political parties are gradually losing their ideological and social course of activity, and eventually they become "parties for everyone". The electoral political parties serve to express the interests of the maximum number of voters as a result of competition between political and

business elites in democratic political systems. In undemocratic systems, the process of legitimization of the authorities of the ruling group happens with the help of voter parties.

Electoral political party is a modern type of political party characterized by blurring the boundaries of the social base, professionalization and personalization of politics, the de-ideologization of the party program, and recognition of the leading role of the electoral function.

Thus, a considerable corpus of theoretical foundations about electoral political parties was formed over the years of the researches by eminent theorists. Its peculiarities gave the possibility to distinguish several subtypes and become a classic type of political party, supplementing the dichotomous classification of M. Duverger. The increase in the number of electoral parties is related to facilitating the possibility of participation in elections, an increase in the level of political culture and consciousness of the electorate, integration of voters to jointly solve main problems.

In order to check whether Ukrainian political parties can be considered electoral, it is necessary to impose a theoretical model of an electoral political party developed during the study of its basic definitions on the political situation in Ukraine. Among the main features of Ukrainian political parties are the following:

- "Fluidity" and instability of development as a political institution;
- short-term goals in activity prevail;
- activity is aimed at participation in elections;
- underdevelopment of the organizational structure in the regions;
- the spread of populist tendencies;
- close relationship with NGOs and civil society in general;
- The "chieftain" or "personalist" nature of the activity and structure;
- updating and continuous rebranding;
- virtualization of activity;
- low level of ideological articulation.

Many researchers believe that most Ukrainian political parties are only electoral projects because they do not try to implement programmatic provisions and take responsibility for the political course of the country, but only seek to get a parliamentary mandate to realize the interests of certain groups, turning politics into performance. However, the features of Ukrainian political parties completely fall under the generalized definition of electoral parties and can be viewed

through perspective of their ideological and value positioning.

Although electoral political parties are characterized by weak ideological positioning, party ideology keeps playing a significant role in the desire of political parties to gain and retain power. Electoral political parties use ideological positioning to mobilize the electorate in elections. Political ideology helps to exert will of "professional" voters who have a high level of political culture and consciousness. Electoral political parties also try to take into account the ideological factor in order to detail their programmatic positions.

The ideological positioning of political parties is embodied with the intention of governing the state and controlling social processes for a clearly defined idea. The ideological foundations of Ukrainian political parties are formally stated in the party's program and can also be expressed through its ideological self-determination. This study analyzes the ideological positioning and articulation of Ukrainian parliamentary parties that overcame the 5% barrier in the elections in 2019 to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine and identifies the ideological spectrum of leading Ukrainian parties based on an analysis of their programs [7].

According to the results of the snap parliamentary elections in the national multi-mandate electoral district in 2019, 5 political parties overcame the barrier of 5%, which as a result were elected to the newly elected Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of the 9th convocation, namely: Political party Sluha Narodu (Servant of the people), OPPOSITIONAL PLATFORM - Za Zhytia (For Life), Political party Vseukrainske obiednannia Bat'kivshchyna (Ukrainian Association Motherland), Political party Yevropeys'ka Solidarnist' (European Solidarity) and Political Party Holos (The Voice). These political forces received 11,448,559 electoral votes all in all, which is 78.31% of those who took part in the will [4].

POLITICAL PARTY "Sluha narodu" (hereinafter referred to as "Sluha narodu") is a party project of the President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyi, which resembles a typical prototype of the party in power in the post-Soviet space. Previously, this political force existed under the name Partiiia rishuchykh zmin (Party of decisive change), but in 2017 it rebranded and they borrowed the name of the Ukrainian TV series of the same name, and later the film Sluha narodu (Servant of the People) produced by the Ukrainian creative association Kvartal 95 Studio, where the main role, namely the president, was played by V. Zelenskyi. Before the participation

in presidential and parliamentary elections in 2019, the party remained virtual and had no local branch with legal personality. The phenomenon of party success in the election is explained by the specificity of forming a brand of a leader and a party through a series that has become a collective dream for many Ukrainians. The main task of the party is to challenge the system and to bring to power new qualitative politicians [1].

Formally, during the election campaign, the party identified its party ideology as libertarianism. After the election they set a course for combining liberal, conservative and social-democratic ideas under the common name "Ukrainian centrism." Sluha narodu participated in the national elections for the first time in 2019 and eventually it has been represented in all key institutions of state power: President V. Zelenskyi, a majority in the Verkhovna Rada, the right to form a government

and appoint its representatives of regional and district administrations. The party's website states that they are taking part in snap parliamentary elections in order to bring decent people to power and implement the program of the President of Ukraine V. Zelenskyi in creating the "Country of Dreams"[6]. The party's pre-election program consists of 16 blocks. It covers the following areas: power purification, destruction of corruption, security and defense, Ukraine's place in the world, judicial system, law enforcement system, economic strategy, business, innovative economy, energy and tariffs, infrastructure, environmental protection, education and science, medicine, national identity and social cohesion. Therefore, the analysis of the ideological positioning and articulation of the Sluha narodu will be carried out for the first time on the basis of these positions of the election program.

Table 1

**Ideological articulation and positioning of the Sluha narodu
(based on the 2019 election program)**

	Left	Right	Liberal	Conservative
Ideological articulation	0.26	0.23	0.33	0,18
Ideological positioning	0,03		0.15	

The content analysis of the election program of the Sluha Narodu and the definition of its ideological articulation and positioning allows us to make certain conclusions: the party is devoid of ideological dominant, since the program presents almost equally the statements concerning "left" and "right" ideologies, and liberalism prevails conservatism; the election program is poorly articulated, the liberal vector has increased significantly, because of the provisions regarding the independence of the individual from the state, the decreasing influence of the state in the spheres of economy, government and social policy.

The political party OPPOSITIONAL PLATFORM – Za Zhyttia (For Life) (hereinafter OPZZH) is the pro-Russian political force that took the second place in the 2019 parliamentary elections. This political force was created by the renaming of the Ukrainian association Center

in 2016 to a political party Za Zhyttia with the leader V. Rabinovich. In 2018 the political party united with the NGO Ukrains'kyi vybir (Ukrainian Choice, V. Medvedchuk) and a part of the former Opposition Bloc parties headed by Y. Boyko and S. Liovichkin. The party existed as a "television" for a long time, as it was actively promoted through such Ukrainian TV channels as "Inter", "NewsOne" and "112 Ukraine".

The ideological platform of the party has clearly expressed elements of social democracy. There are also signs of Russophilism, Euroscepticism and neutrality. In 2019 the party's pre-election program was entitled Peace! Responsibility! Care! was presented by a party as a social contract between them and the citizens. The program is divided into the following blocks: "Peace. Unity. Consolidation ", peaceful settlement of the conflict and reintegration of Donbas, Ukraine as a legal democratic state,

effective power, policy of economic pragmatism," No" to tariff of genocide, construction of a social state, accessible medicine, external policy of peace, partnership and security. These program provisions have become the basis for the analysis of the ideological positioning of OPZZH [5].

Table 2

**Ideological articulation and positioning of OPZZH
(based on the 2019 election program)**

	Left	Right	Liberal	Conservative
Ideological articulation	0.58	0.14	0.17	0,11
Ideological positioning	0.44		0,06	

Thus, the political program of the political party OPZZH can be defined as the most articulated in the direction of the "left" ideological positions, and the number of liberal and conservative slogans is not significantly different in the socio-cultural vector of the party. Such ideological positioning of the political force is due to the absence of a powerful left party in the electoral field. The decrease in conservative tendencies in the party's program is due to a shift of focus towards the "peace" issue.

Political force of Yuliia Tymoshenko – Vseukrainske obiednannia Bat'kivshchyna (Ukrainian Association Motherland) came to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine again. The political party was partly based on the center-left party "Hromada" Y. Tymoshenko has been the political leader of the party for 21 years. Bat'kivshchyna is an excellent example of an electoral political party, since it has been represented in the VRU since 2002, has an extensive system of centers in the regions, is characterized by weak ideological positioning and is traditionally leader-oriented.

In general, the political party relies on left-populist ideology and tends to be centrist.

The political force program was formed on the basis of Yulia Tymoshenko's election program in the presidential election in 2019, collectively called the Novyi kurs Ukrainy (New Direction of Ukraine). The integrated document was reformatted into a short program of the party and included the following main points: a new peace strategy, a new social doctrine, a new youth policy and a new economic strategy [Party program]. Content analysis of the political party Bat'kivshchyna in the elections to the Verkhovna Rada in 2019 revealed a large number of social-democratic ideas. They are referred to the left political ideology and are highlighted in the bloc of a new social doctrine on social welfare development, reduced population taxation and increasing social spending. As well as the growth of the share of "liberal" ideas in the program that are aimed at the development of civil society, the youth environment, the middle class and entrepreneurship[2].

Table 3

**Ideological articulation and positioning of Bat'kivshchyna
(based on the 2019 election program)**

	Left	Right	Liberal	Conservative
Ideological Articulatory	0.52	0,22	0.13	0,03
Ideological positioning	0,3		0.1	

Although Bat'kivshchyna has taken into account the demand of civil society for an increase in ideological positioning compared to populist positions, it still remains a poorly articulated electoral party with a predominance of left ideas and a slight preference for the political doctrine of liberalism. This result is explained by the party's desire to become public and an attempt to build a socially-oriented state while preserving Ukrainian values, but at the same time to focus on building an innovative economy.

The party of the Ukrainian ex-president P. Poroshenko also entered the Ukrainian parliament, but with a much smaller representation than in 2014. The rebranding of the Petro Poroshenko's Block Solidarnist' (Solidarity) deprived of the personal characteristics of a leader who had high anti-rating in the society. The party received a new name -

Yevropeys'ka Solidarnist' (European Solidarity), which in the form of an acronym corresponds to the shortened name of the European Union and indicates the direction of development of the state, which offers political force. In addition, the colors of the political force reproduce the national-patriotic colors of Ukraine and the European Union.

The ideological basis of the party was Christian democracy, liberal conservatism and pan-Europeanism. The new version of the EU Party Program, which contains provisions concerning the deregulation of the economy, reduction of social benefits, change of pension and health care, testifies to the transition of the party from social democracy to center-right [4]. Therefore, content analysis of the party's election program should confirm the general tendencies towards changing party ideology.

Table 4

**Ideological articulation and positioning of the EU political party
(based on the 2019 election program)**

	Left	Right	Liberal	Conservative
Ideological Articulatory	0,05	0.25	0.55	0.15
Ideological positioning		0.2	0.4	

The ideological positioning of the EU political party can be defined as a weakly positioned right liberalism. The dominant component of the electoral program is weakly articulated liberalism. In general, the party tried to successfully map its ideological coordinates in order to gain the support of the national-patriotic population and all supporters of pro-European and pro-American values.

The last political force to overcome the barrier was the party Holos (The Voice), which was created by the famous Ukrainian musician and performer Svyatoslav Vakarchuk in May 2019 by renaming the platform Platforma Initsiatyv (Initiative Platform). The party's main resource was directed at the branding of the political project and the image of its leader, namely the use of orange as a symbol of the ideals of the Orange

Revolution and the activities of S. Vakarchuk during the two Maydans in 2004 and 2013–14.

The self-identification of political power points to the center-right and pan-European ideological basis, where the person is at the center of public policy. The party consolidated its ideological positioning in the program Holos Zmin (The Voice of change), which is available on the site. It includes the following key points: fairness, justice, corruption, welfare, high-tech economy, demonopolization, financial system, state for people, high-quality and accessible medicine, social culture, social policy, education, new methods of government, parliament, state apparatus, European security and diplomacy, Donbas, Crimea, protection of internally displaced persons and Ukraine's place in the international arena [3].

Table 5

**Ideological articulation and positioning of the EU political party
(based on the 2019 election program)**

	Left	Right	Liberal	Conservative
Ideological Articulatory	0.19	0.25	0,3	0.25
Ideological positioning		0,06	0,05	

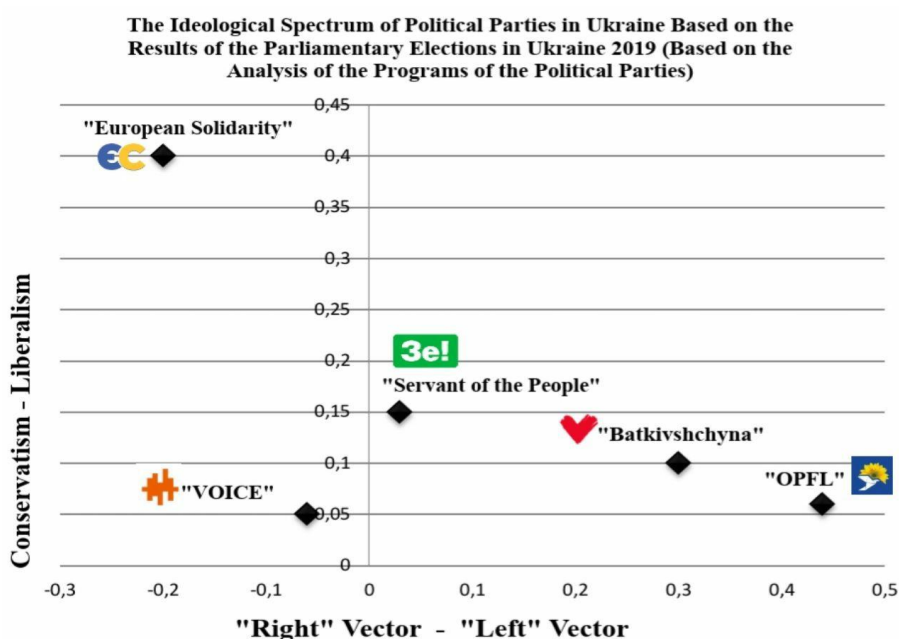
The results of the study of the ideological positioning of the political party Golos indicate a very weak ideological articulation of the election program, which does not have a dominant ideological and value vector, which is explained by the political party's aspirations to maximize association with civil society. The program contains almost the same connotation of all the proposed vectors. The right-liberal vector identified during the content analysis shows that the majority of the party's electorate is made up of residents of Western Ukraine.

The ideological positioning revealed during the analysis of the election programs of the Ukrainian parliamentary parties makes it possible to create the ideological spectrum of the Ukrainian party system, which was formed as a result of the snap parliamentary elections in

2019. The ideological spectrum of the leading Ukrainian parties will allow to compare and classify ideas and values spread in Ukrainian society, as well as to find common ground and differentiators in Ukrainian political parties trying to play a key role in the struggle for power. The ideological spectrum of the leading Ukrainian parties is based on the statement that political ideologies do not exist in pure form, and that Ukrainian political parties use the positions of different political doctrines in developing party ideology. So it is possible to isolate only the ideological positioning of the party in which the dominant system of ideas and values is distinguished. In general, Ukrainian political parties can be broadly classified as left-liberal, right-liberal, left-conservative and right-conservative.

Diagram 1

**The ideological spectrum of parliamentary political parties in Ukraine
(based on analysis of election programs)**



While analyzing the programs of the Ukrainian parliamentary parties, from the perspective of their ideological positioning, a general tendency towards the emergence of populist statements and an attempt to take a centrist position were revealed. The following trends were observed for all parliamentary parties:

- the program of the presidential party Sluha narodu was devoid of ideological dominance because it contained burning questions that answered the most popular queries of the population;
- a study of OPZZH program documents confirmed the party's movement toward a "left" ideology through the dominance of this political doctrine in eastern Ukraine;
- The Bat'kivshchyna maintains its tendencies towards populism and also strengthens the blockchain of social-democracy ideas in the program;
- The pro-European and pro-NATO

affirmations of the EU Party program, backed by a national-patriotic platform, demonstrated the party's orientation to Western values;

- The young political force Holos has a weak ideological articulation, which is connected with the party's desire to act on behalf of civil society;
- the ideological spectrum of the Ukrainian parliamentary parties has actually restored their potential for coalition, opposition and situational cooperation.

Thus, according to the results of the analysis of the programs of the parliamentary parties, it is possible to determine the ideological identity embodied in their ideological positioning: "EU" and "Holos" – weakly positioned right-wing parties, "Sluha Narodu" and "Bat'kivshchyna" – poorly positioned left-liberal, OPZZH-positioned left-liberal. The ideological spectrum of modern parliamentary parties is devoid of strong conservative tendencies.

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