

The reasons of a low trust in political parties in Ukraine and how does it influence satisfaction with democracy in this state.

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Resumen: La literatura define que uno de los factores que influye en la satisfacción con la democracia es el efecto que produce el sistema de los partidos (Dalton 2004, Farrell, Webb 1998, Kaase, Newton 1995, Kollman, Miller, Page 1998, Levy 2002, Miller, Listhaugh 1990, Norris 2002, Sartori 1962, 2005, Tanaka 2001, Thames 2005, etc.). En Ucrania están registrado 172 partidos políticos que según Sartori (2005) significa que existe alta fragmentación y polarización que ejerce difícil cooperar y negociar dentro del parlamento. Consecuentemente, se asume como hipótesis que la alta fragmentación y polarización de los partidos políticos en Ucrania producen la inestabilidad política en el parlamento que causa desconfianza en los partidos políticos que directamente influye a la satisfacción con la democracia.

Palabras clave: confianza, partidos políticos, satisfacción con la democracia.

Abstract: According to the literature one of the factors that influence satisfaction with democracy is the party system (Dalton 2004, Farrell, Webb 1998, Kaase, Newton 1995, Kollman, Miller, Page 1998, Levy 2002, Miller, Listhaugh 1990, Norris 2002, Sartori 1962, 2005, Tanaka 2001, Thames 2005, etc.). There are registered 172 political parties in Ukraine that according to Sartori (2005) signifies that exist high fragmentation and polarization of political parties in this state that makes difficult cooperate and negotiate within the parliament. Consequently, it is assumed as hypothesis that high fragmentation and polarization of political parties in Ukraine produce political instability in the parliament that eventually causes distrust in political parties that directly influence satisfaction with democracy.

Keywords: trust, political parties, satisfaction with democracy.

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Introduction

This article analyzes one of the factors that influence satisfaction with democracy in Ukraine that is political parties. We would like to examine the impact of the low trust in political parties on the satisfaction with democracy. We argue that there is interdependence between mentioned above factors. Eventually, our main objective of the research is the influence of a trust in political parties on the satisfaction with democracy in Ukraine; on the other hand our specific objectives are the factors which produce the low trust in political parties in this state. We have chosen for our research a case of Ukraine because the indexes of this state of trust and satisfaction with the way democracy works are the lowest within the countries of Western and Eastern Europe. Ukraine is also the new democratic state and can be considered as a state in transition, from the communist regime to democracy. Consequently, it would be useful to analyze the experience of an emerging democracy on her way to stable democracy. We are eager to investigate which values are important for people concerning trust in political parties in Ukraine and weather they influence the satisfaction with democracy. Eventually, we will examine the reasons of a low trust in political parties in this state. So far, our research question is: "What influence the low trust in political parties in Ukraine and how does it reflects on the satisfaction with democracy?"

In order to have a general vision of already mentioned factors, we would like to address the appropriate literature. Farrell and Webb (1998:1), for example, define party as any political group that presents at elections, and is capable of placing through elections, candidates for public office. Since 1994 when were held the first elections to the Ukrainian Parliament and till nowadays, Ukrainian parties were represented at the elections and were capable to place through elections, candidates for public office. Political parties claims Levy (2002:1) are a hallmark of democracies. According to this statement we will try to check if Ukrainian parties are important criteria of the way democracy works in Ukraine and how political parties influence the satisfaction with democracy in Ukraine. In every democratic regime, claims Levy, groups establish these institutions (political parties) in order to gain

political influence and direct government policy. As Ukraine is recently a democratic regime, before 1991 Ukrainian Republic within the Soviet Union was a communist regime, now Ukraine has created its own Parliament which is called Verkhovna Rada and political parties within it struggle to gain political influence and to create the majority in order to form a government and to adopt new laws. Political parties of Ukraine are visible and important institutions. Levy assumes that political parties are ubiquitous; and therefore, have to be taken into account in any analysis of a democratic political debate. Consequently, we assume that political parties of Ukraine should be taken into account analyzing the influence of a low trust in political parties of Ukrainians on the satisfaction with democracy in Ukraine.

Norris (2002:291) argues that electoral systems represent perhaps the most powerful instrument available for institutional engineering, with far-reaching consequences for party systems, the composition of legislatures, and the durability of democratic arrangements. According to Miller and Listhaugh (1990:368) in a multi-party system the individual merely has more options when selecting a preferred party. Ukraine is a multi-party system. We will try to check if Ukrainians have more options in the elections to their Parliament and whether they are satisfied with their choice.

Hypothesis

Consequently, we assume as our hypothesis (1) that exists high fragmentation and polarization of political parties in Ukraine which we suppose indeed transforms in a two block-coalition format (after the elections) without strong ideological ideas and party platforms that represents and governs by the interests of specific political elites or groups and eventually we expect that the struggle in order to gain the majority in the parliament between this two blocks (block of opposition and the block of current power) causes political instability in the parliament and it is supposed that all factors mentioned above produce low trust of Ukrainians in the parliament and consequently in the political parties, which directly produce low satisfaction with democracy in Ukraine.

Eventually, we assume our second hypothesis (2) that the fact that political parties are obviously protecting and represented the interests of some influential groups (oligarchs, businessmen), political elites cause low party identification within citizens and as a result –low trust in the political parties. Consequently, we make our third hypothesis that mixed electoral system in Ukraine doesn't have big influence on the low trust in political parties, it is supposed that nor majoritarian nor proportion electoral system would have much or less influence on the trust in political parties in Ukraine. Neither multi party system of Ukraine which traditionally provides more options for the citizens and may alleviate distrust doesn't provides high trust in political parties within the citizens.

Consequently, we also expect (hypothesis 4) that the disappointment of Ukrainians in the replacing of political parties which form the government reflects in the low trust in political parties which directly leads to low satisfaction with democracy. So far we also suspect that Ukrainians do not think that parties which they vote for fully represent their interests and defend their rights it can be proved by data which represent low trust in public institutions, especially in parliament, government, courts, policy and in political parties. Eventually, we assume that citizens with education and young people will distrust more political parties in Ukraine. We also expect and that there is no difference in trust in mentioned above factor among men and women in Ukraine.

Party fragmentation in Ukraine

In order to confirm mentioned above hypothesis we will carry out an analysis of available data set of European Social Study (ESS) for 2004, 2006, 2008, European Values Study (EVS) for 2008 and Razumkov Centre (Ukrainian survey organization) for the years from 2001 till 2011. Concerning the first hypothesis that in Ukraine exists high fragmentation and polarization of political parties which we suppose indeed transforms in a two block-coalition format causes instability in the parliament which produce low trust of Ukrainians in the political parties, negatively influence satisfaction with democracy in Ukraine, we make the following analysis. The sole body of

legislative power in Ukraine is Parliament — the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine which consists of 450 national deputies who are elected for a four-year term (Article 75, Chapter IV, Constitution of Ukraine). The first parliamentary elections which were held in the newly independent country took place in 1994. The major of seats took Communist party - 86 seats and People's Movement of Ukraine 20 seats of the 450 seats in the Parliament. In 1998 the struggle continued within the same parties, with 24,7% of votes (84 seats) for Communist party and 9,4% (32 seats) for the People's Movement of Ukraine. In 2002 it was one block of parties in the Parliament which was governed by the party Our Ukraine which took on the vote 23, 57% and another block of parties led by the Communist Party - 19, 98%. In 2006 party Our Ukraine lost support of electors and the struggle continued between the party Block of Yulia Tymoshenko which had 22, 29% of votes and Party of Regions with 32, 14% of votes. This parties remained the main rivals in the pre-election of people's deputies to Ukrainian Parliament in 2007 where Regions gained 34, 37 % and Block of Yulia Tymoshenko - 30,71% of votes. According to the Central Electoral Commission of Ukraine there were officially registered 173 political parties in 2010. As we mentioned above in a state are registered many parties but indeed there are always struggle between two main parties which are trying to create blocks or coalition within the Parliament. Due to these facts we can state that de jure a party system of Ukraine is highly fragmentized but de facto it is usually two blocks-coalition format (block of opposition and the block of current power) which has been created in the Parliament after elections during the last decades.

Consequently, we can confirm that due to the classification of Sartori (2005) Ukraine's party system is highly fragmentized because of the high number of parties with great ideological distance which can be named according to Sartori (2005:258), Aurel, Wolfgang (2004) extreme polarized and pluralized party system (table 1).

Table 1. Sartori's Party classification

(I) Indicator: Number of parties (fragmentation)	(II) Variables a) Ideology b) Segmentation	(III) Classification	(IV) Typology	
1 party (no fragmentation)	Ideological intensity	One-party Hegemonic party	High One-party totalitarian	
			Hegemonic ideological	
			One-party authoritarian	
			One-party pragmatic	
			Low Hegemonic pragmatic	
2 parties (small/even fragmentation)	Ideological distance or Segmentation	Twoparty (format)	Low Twopartism (mechanics)	
3-5 parties			Limited pluralism	Moderate pluralism
More than 5 parties (high fragmentation)			Extreme pluralism	Polarised pluralism

Source: SARTORI Giovanni (2005): "Parties and party system: A framework analysis", European Consortium for Political Research, p. 258

Polarization of political parties in Ukraine

On the other hand, Croissants and Merkel (2004:10) considered Ukraine as a third wave democracy and they argue that the third wave democracies exhibit a much lower polarization than did the Interwar democracies in Europe. Eventually, they assume that this can be attributed to the collapse of the communist systems on the one hand, and to the stigmatization of fascist ideologies on the other but in cases where they had found strong polarization in Eastern Europe it is more likely to be the consequence of ethnic strife or of conflict between individual political leaders than between the radical right and the radical left. Consequently, Croissant and Merkel assume that the fragmentation and polarization of party systems so disastrous for the Weimar republic, the Third and Fourth French Republic, and in some African and Asian democracies after the attainment of independence, continues to be a problem only for Russia, Benin, and Ukraine (table 2).

Table 2.Types of Party Systems in Third Wave Democracies

		<i>Table 3: Types of Party Systems in Third Wave Democracies</i>		
		Fragmentation		
		high	moderate	low
POLARIZATION	high	Extreme polarized and pluralized party system Russia Benin (Ukraine)	Bangladesh Bulgaria Slovak Republic	(Guatemala) Nicaragua Nepal
	moderate	Brasil El Salvador	Moderate polarized multi party system Greece Chile Spain Mexico Portugal Philippines Poland Romania Czech Republic	Namibia South Africa
	low	(Slovenia) Thailand	Hungary Argentina Uruguay South Korea	(Near-) Two party system Honduras Taiwan (Mali)

Source: Croissant Aurel, Merkel Wolfgang (2004): "Political Party Formation in Presidential and Parliamentary System", Institute for Political Science of the University of Heidelberg

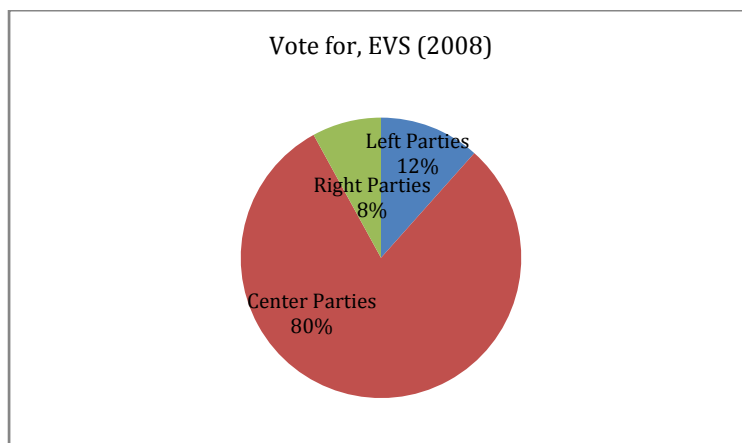
King (1997) maintains that growing polarization by the political parties is the cause of distrust of government. Miller and Listhaugh (1990:367) for example, argue that in theory the issue differences and ideological distances between parties should exhibit greater variance and be clearer in multi-party than a two-party system. In the latter, the laws of competition frequently move the parties towards the centre, thereby raising concerns about whether any meaningful differences exist between them. Levy (2002:3) for example, claim that any party composed of only "leftwing" politicians or only "right-wing" politicians cannot win against the median. On the other hand, no compromise among a "left-wing" politician and a "right-wing" politician can satisfy both politicians relative to the median position. Miller and Listhaugh argue that party flexibility is not the only important factor in maintaining responsive government. A system may be so flexible that it is thoroughly fragmented, in which case it cannot provide the responsive representation of broader policy interests expected by citizens. According to Protsyk (2003:1090) the level of electoral support of the left parties in Ukraine does not allow them to overhaul the constitutional system

during decades. He argues that as the several rounds of parliamentary elections in Ukraine since 1991 the left parties do not receive more than 40% of the popular vote and thus are unable to construct a legislative majority to implement constitutional changes. Like the left, national-democrats have never been able to control single-handedly the legislative agenda in the parliament. In 2002 parliamentary elections again proved that their electoral base did not exceed 25% of votes.

Data analysis: ideology of political parties in Ukraine

As was proved before, in Ukraine during decades exists high polarization of the parties, radical left (Communist party of Ukraine) and radical right parties, actually it is All Ukrainian Union 'Freedom'. This statement can also be confirmed by our analysis which we carry out of the available data set of 2008 of the European Values Study (EVS). According to the analysis of a data for Ukraine of European Values Study (EVS) if elections were carried in 2008 in Ukraine: for centre parties will vote 80,4% of Ukrainians, when 11.6% will give their votes to left wing parties and for the right parties will 8,0% of the population of Ukraine.

Diagram 1. Vote for if elections were carried in Ukraine, EVS (2008)



This can explain why it is usually two-block (coalition) format in the Ukrainian Parliament because neither right parties nor left parties can't obtain the majority of votes in order to form the government and adopt a new laws. According to the made above data analysis of a data set of EVS,

ESS, WVS, Rozumkov Center and the analysis of a political system of Ukraine, we can confirm that exist high polarization of political parties in the Ukrainian Parliament from a radical left wing party - Communist Party of Ukraine to a radical right wing party - All Ukrainian Union 'Freedom' but they don't play the crucial role in the Parliament, because the most votes on the elections are given for the center parties which are in our case the Party of Regions and Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc before it was also a Party Our Ukraine (2002). We have also confirmed that though in the Ukrainian Parliament exist high fragmentation of political parties (more than 170 political parties) they are usually formed in a two block format in the Parliament or in the coalition which has the majority of seats by the leading party/s.

Distrust in political parties: personalities signify more in Ukraine than the party platform and party program?

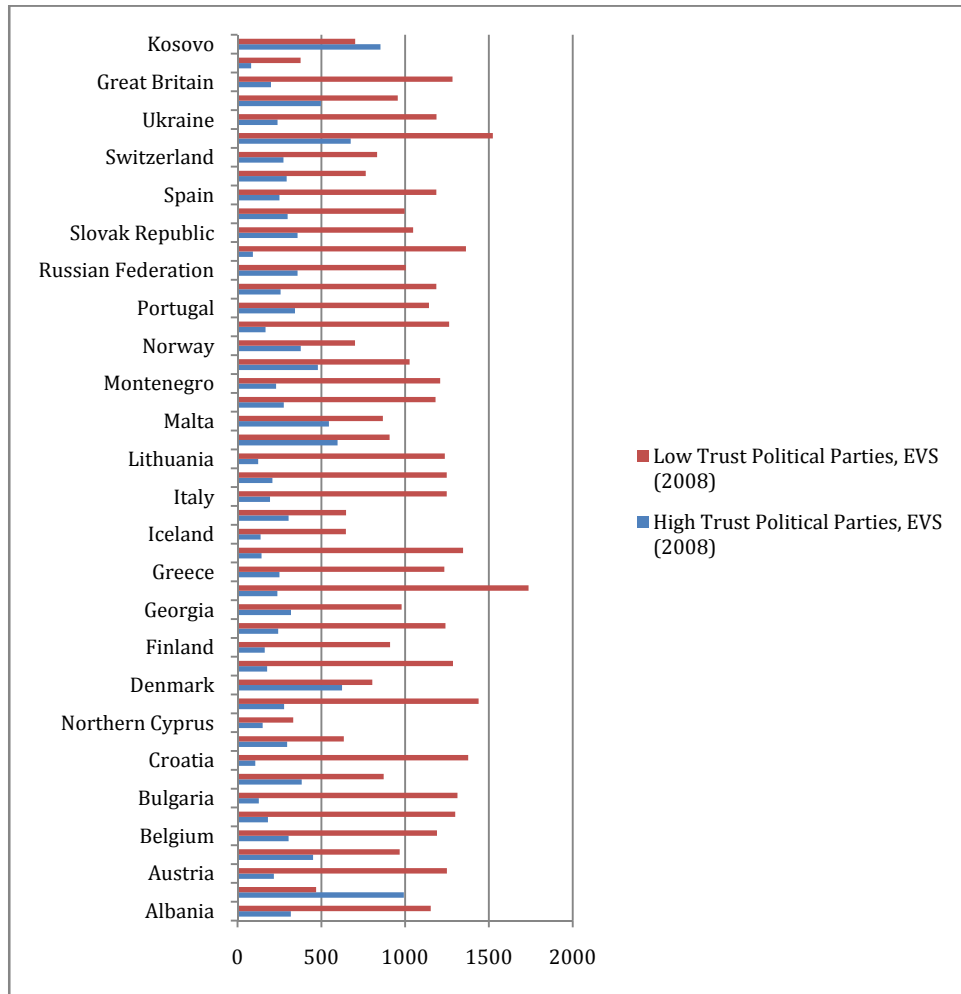
Consequently, in order to check our hypothesis (1) we continue with our analysis. Thames (2005:293) also assumes that in Ukraine political parties relied not on strong social ties to stable social cleavages but on personalities and links to government structures for their influence. According to the words of Dietmar Studemann, the former Ambassador of Germany to Ukraine (2000-2006) and former advisor for Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko, the superiority of the factor of personalities over ideological platforms of parties is the fundamental defect of the modern politics in Ukraine. He also claims that the most important question in Ukraine remains personalities, posts, whereas platforms are viewed as minor matters. This is a huge fundamental defect he says, parties in the proper meaning of this word do not exist in your country so far and Dietmar Studemann adds that party for them is its platform first, and its personalities later. Protsyk (2003:1079), for example, declares that none of the ten cabinets formed in Ukraine since 1991 has had genuine party affiliation. He claims that the technocratic nature of the Ukrainian cabinets reflects the underdeveloped character of the party system due to the high level of fragmentation and organizational instability characterized the party system's

evolution throughout the decade. He adds also that mixed electoral systems did not provide sufficient incentives to accelerate party system maturation and consolidation and that a strong presidency provided additional disincentives for party development by denying parties the responsibilities of forming and supporting the cabinet. Protsyk (2003:1079) confirms that the formation of citizen-party linkages and inter-party competition during the first post-communist decade proceeded mainly along clientelistic rather than ideological lines. He explains that the primary transactions in clientelistically structured party systems are centred around the exchange of votes for some sort of club goods—specific material benefits—that parties promise to deliver to their supporters. The prevalence of horizontal and vertical clientelistic linkages made political parties especially vulnerable to the pressures of the executive government and special interest groups. Protsyk says that during the first post-communist decade the Ukrainian presidents (Leonid Krachuk (1991-1994), Leonid Kuchma (1994-2005) were generally able to secure the appointment of prime ministers who were more to their liking than to the liking of parliament. According to his statement, the presidents of Ukraine used their ‘first move advantage’—the power of cabinet nomination—as well as various administrative resources of the executive government to gain the support of fragmented and primarily clientelistically- oriented parliamentary factions in the process of cabinet formation. He (2003:1079) claims that most of the cabinets formed during the first post-communist decade were closer to the president’s rather than parliament’s ideal point. According to Protsyk (2003) the support of a strong political party or party coalition with a majority of seats in the legislature may politically empower either the president or the prime minister and profoundly affect the nature of intra-executive relations even in the absence of any constitutional changes to the system of separation of powers. Instead of occupying themselves with changing the existing political institutions, politicians who enjoy the support of consolidated political parties may opt to compete for turns controlling these institutions.

Data analysis: low trust in political parties produces low satisfaction with democracy in Ukraine

In order to explain and understand the satisfaction with democracy in Ukraine, we carried out the analysis of adequate literature of political science concerning this issue. Exist a lot of explanation of low satisfaction with political parties, for example, Dalton (2004: 142) says that possible explanation in the greatest declines in political support is that voters are making poor choices, and paying for these choices in diminished policy performance, means that politics is becoming candidate-centred, this means that more voters may be making electoral choices based on personal characteristics or video style instead of policy congruence. Consequently, we can confirm that one of the reason why Ukrainians have so low trust in political parties according to ESS, EVS, WVS, Rozumkov Center and etc. is that their choice is mostly concentrated on a person, on an image which produces this leader, weather is he/she charismatic or no, on the way a person speak but not on the exact program/platform/objectives of the party which are going to represent and defend the interest of their electors.

Diagram 2. Trust in political parties EVS, 2008



For example, according to the European Values Study (EVS) in 2006 and 2008 on a diagram 1 the percent of the highest mistrust in political parties among European countries was in Ukraine, the data of a World Values Survey also confirms this. According to the obtained analysis of WVS for Ukraine, we can examine that Ukraine like other two countries of Eastern Europe Moldova and Rumania shows very low trust in political parties.

Distrust in political parties in Ukraine: low party identification within Ukrainians

Eventually, in order to confirm or reject a following hypothesis (2) which also consists a part of hypothesis (1) that the fact that political parties are obviously protecting and represented by the interests of some influential groups (oligarchs, businessmen), political elites cause low party identification within citizens and as a result –low trust in the political parties,

we have analyzed the following literature, for example, Miller and Listhaugh (1990:385) confirm that parties play an important role in aggregating interests and integrating citizens into the political community. But they argue that it is not achieved automatically or simply as a result of partisan identification. On the other hand, Dalton (2004: 32) claim that partisanship also taps normative attitudes regarding the role that political parties should play in the democratic system. Consequently, we assume that party identification can influence to some extent people's trust parties which they support. Dalton (2004) for example, argues that the erosion of political loyalties is seen also in party identification. He says that on the one hand, partisanship represents an affective feeling towards a political party that is generalized beyond the evaluations of a specific candidate. According to Dalton partisanship measures not just whether individuals like a specific candidate of a left wing party, right wing or center parties, in case of Ukraine this parties are, for example, the Communist Party of Ukraine, All Ukrainian Union 'Freedom', a Party of Regions, Block of Yulia Tymoshenko, Party Our Ukraine, etc., but whether they identify themselves as a Communist, Nationalist, Liberal, Democrat or based their general support of the party and its candidates. Evans and Whitefiel (1995:500), for example, argue that identification with political parties may be counted as one of the indicator of people's involvement with electoral politics. Due to their research, interviewing took place before post communist elections were conducted in Russia and Ukraine, respondents were therefore asked: 'Do you think of yourself as a supporter of any particular party? Answers were either 'Yes' or 'No'. Evans and Whitefiel claim that these countries notably report very low levels of identification with political parties. Miller and Listhaugh (1990:385) make a conclusion that erosion in the measures of support goes well beyond dissatisfaction with the current incumbents. Eventually, we can confirm (H2) that the fact that political parties are obviously protecting and represented by the interests of some influential groups (oligarchs, businessmen), political elites cause low party identification within citizens and as a result –low trust in the political parties.

Trust in political parties: party system in Ukraine

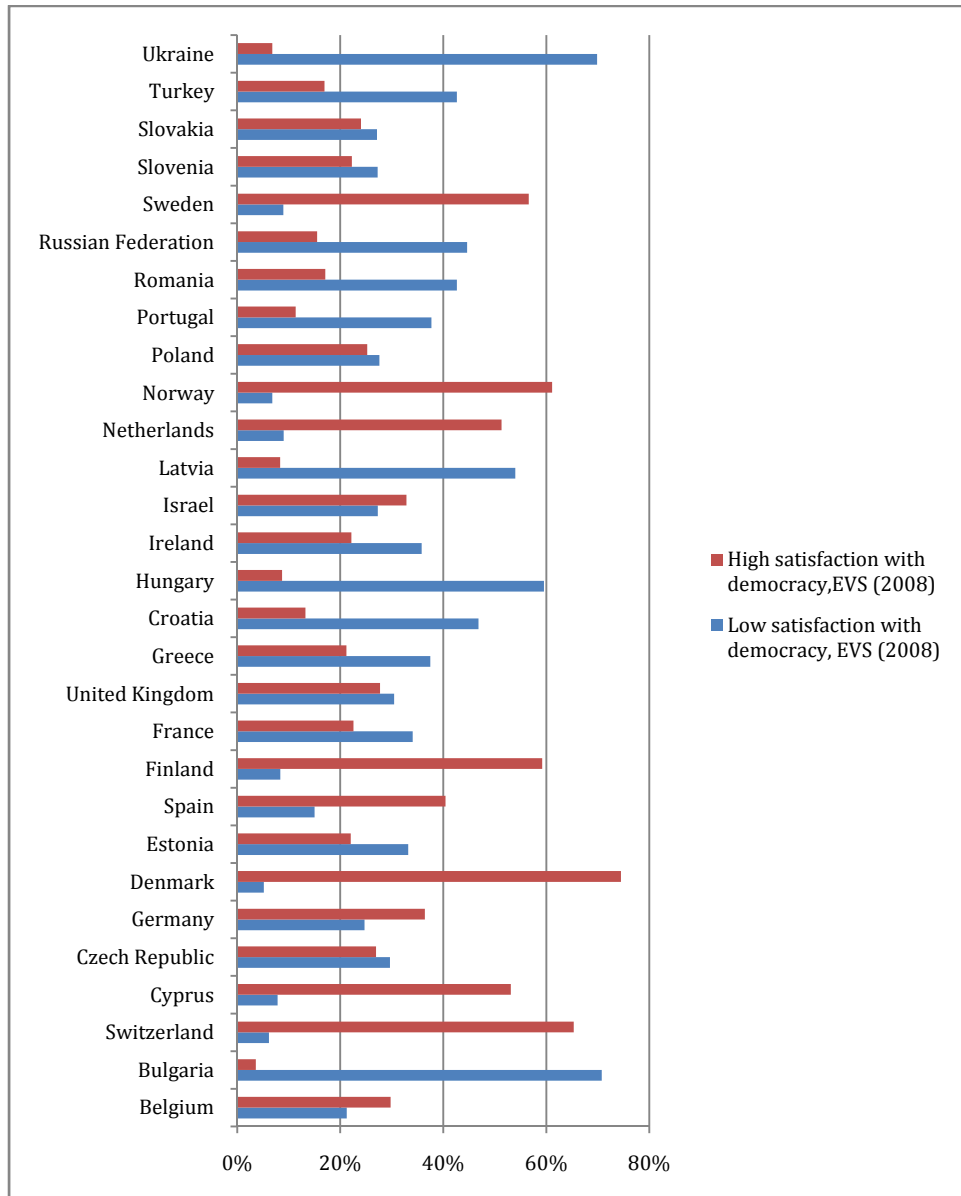
In order to check our next hypothesis (3) that mixed electoral system in Ukraine doesn't have big influence on the low trust in political parties, it is supposed that nor majoritarian nor proportion electoral system would have much or less influence on the trust in political parties in Ukraine. Neither multi party system of Ukraine which traditionally provide more options for the citizens and may alleviate distrust doesn't provides high trust in political parties within the citizens. Miller, Listhaugh (1990:382) for example, claim that neither multi-party nor two-party systems are immune to declines in regime support. Ukraine is a mixed-member system which selects 225 legislators in single-member district plurality elections and 225 legislators in nationwide, closed-list proportional representation elections. This system requires parties to reach a minimum percentage threshold of the proportional representation vote to obtain seats from this tier. Thames (2005:293), for example, claims that in terms of party building, the initial post-communist legislative elections in 1994 did not alleviate the problem significantly and that the single-member district majoritarian system used in this election was replaced by the current mixed-member system due in part to the inability of the old system to spur the development of political parties. Norris (2002 :336), Thames (2005 :293) also define Ukraine as 'mixed' electoral system following the Reynolds/Lijphart classification, combining two electoral systems. As claim Miller, Listhaugh (1990:368) in a multi-party system which is Ukraine, especially one with a coalition government, citizens may consider the extent to which they are represented by coalition blocs rather than their own party or any particular party. For example, Berggren, Fugate, Preuhs and Still (2004:73) claim that winners, they define them as citizens who voted for the party that controls government, are more satisfied in majoritarian systems than in consensual systems since majoritarian systems provide more power to winning parties. They claim that losers, citizens who voted for a party other than the party that controls government, are more satisfied in consensual systems relative to majoritarian systems since consensual systems allow greater opportunities for minority parties to

influence political decisions. In case of Ukraine, the electoral system is mixed, it is majoritarian-consensual system, consequently, generally citizens have to be satisfied with the electoral system, political parties, Parliament, etc., but as show the results of different social surveys of Ukrainians, they are totally dissatisfied with the way democracy works in Ukraine; trust in public institutions, political parties is very low and even those people “winners” who voted for the party that controls government, don’t have high trust in Parliament, political parties, etc. and consequently don’t show high satisfaction with democracy. Eventually, we can check it with the available data set for 2008 of EVS for Ukraine and European countries (diagram 2).

Data analysis: satisfaction with democracy in Ukraine

From the obtained analysis, it can be observed that in Ukraine satisfaction with democracy in comparison with other countries is the lowest according to the European Values Survey. Even within its own geographical group, countries of the Eastern Europe (Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Russian Federation) Ukraine has the lowest index of the mentioned above factor.

Diagram 3. Satisfaction with democracy, EVS (2008)



According to above analysis of already mentioned literature and data set we can confirm our third hypothesis (3) that mixed electoral system in Ukraine doesn't have big influence on the low trust in political parties, it is supposed that nor majoritarian nor proportion electoral system would have much or less influence on the trust in political parties in Ukraine and neither multi party system of Ukraine doesn't provides high trust in political parties within the citizens.

Distrust in political parties in Ukraine: high expectation of the citizens

Previously we have assumed (H4) that the disappointment of Ukrainians in the replacing of political parties which form the government reflects in the low trust in political parties which directly leads to low satisfaction with democracy. We have made the following analysis of the literature. Dalton (2004: 151) for example, claims that one of the reasons why citizen dissatisfaction with government has increased is that the gap between reality and expectations has increased. Ukrainians had very high expectation after the Orange Revolution to be the system changed. After the 10 years of the power of Leonid Kuchma (this period is known as *kuchmism* in Ukraine, which was characterized by authoritarian power of a President, a strong control of all public institutions, issue with the Freedom of Speech was very critique, the well known case of Gregory Gongadze, a journalist who mysteriously disappeared and then was found killed and etc.) citizens of Ukraine hoped a lot that political system would change dramatically. Ukrainians expected the democratic block of parties as they called themselves (Our Ukraine and Block of Yulia Tymoshenko) fulfill their platform which consisted of the exact democratic steps which they declared before the elections (to make independent a system of justice, to fight corruption, to carry out transparent elections, to make visible the accountability of public institutions and politicians, etc.). Due to Dalton (2004: 143) citizens elect a new government because they expect it to be more responsive to its policy preferences, but in four or eight years' time the dissatisfactions are still there and they try a new government. Eventually, within next years no big changes were seen, people became disappointed with the choice they made and in the next elections of national deputies in 2006 the party Our Ukraine totally lost its support and Ukrainians gave their voices for the Party of Regions (which was blamed in a fraud of President elections during Orange Revolution in favor of their leader Victor Yanucovich who was one of the main pretenders for the presidency in Ukraine in 2004) in order to form a new government which will defend and conduct a new policy. Thus, cynicism may grow as claimed Dalton from replacing

Republicans with Democrats which in case of Ukraine is a Party Our Ukraine with Party of Regions, and still feeling that the government is not effectively addressing one's preferences. According to different social services which were mentioned earlier, we have obtained a result that Ukrainians aren't more satisfied with democracy (diagram 2), neither with economy, and neither have much trust in public institutions while replacing the power by one block of parties by another during the last decade. Miller and Listhaugh (1990:382) confirm, for example, that democracies rely upon the institution of elections to maintain satisfaction with government as an arena of authoritative decision making. According to their statement if the same social problems persist across a series of governments that are led by different parties which, for example, had happened in Ukraine, an increasing number of people come to believe that none of the parties reflect a particularly viable alternative. Consequently, we confirm that the disappointment of Ukrainians in the replacing of political parties which form the government reflects in the low trust in political parties which directly leads to low satisfaction with democracy.

Low trust in political parties in Ukraine: not sufficient representation of the voters

We have also assumed above that Ukrainians do not think that parties which they vote for fully represent their interests and defend their rights which produce low trust in public institutions, especially in parliament, government, courts, policy and in political parties. According to Miller and Listhaugh (1990:371) distrust of government grows when people have definite policy preferences which they believe have gone unrepresented, rather than when they perceive only minimal differences between the parties. Ukrainians didn't feel that their interests were fully represented by the parties they voted for before and after the Orange Revolution. Neither Ukrainians believed there was a big difference between two blocks of parties in the elections to the Parliament in 2006. According to Miller, Listhaugh (1990:372) we can conclude that the relationship between party choice and distrust may reflect judgments of whether or not the parties adequately

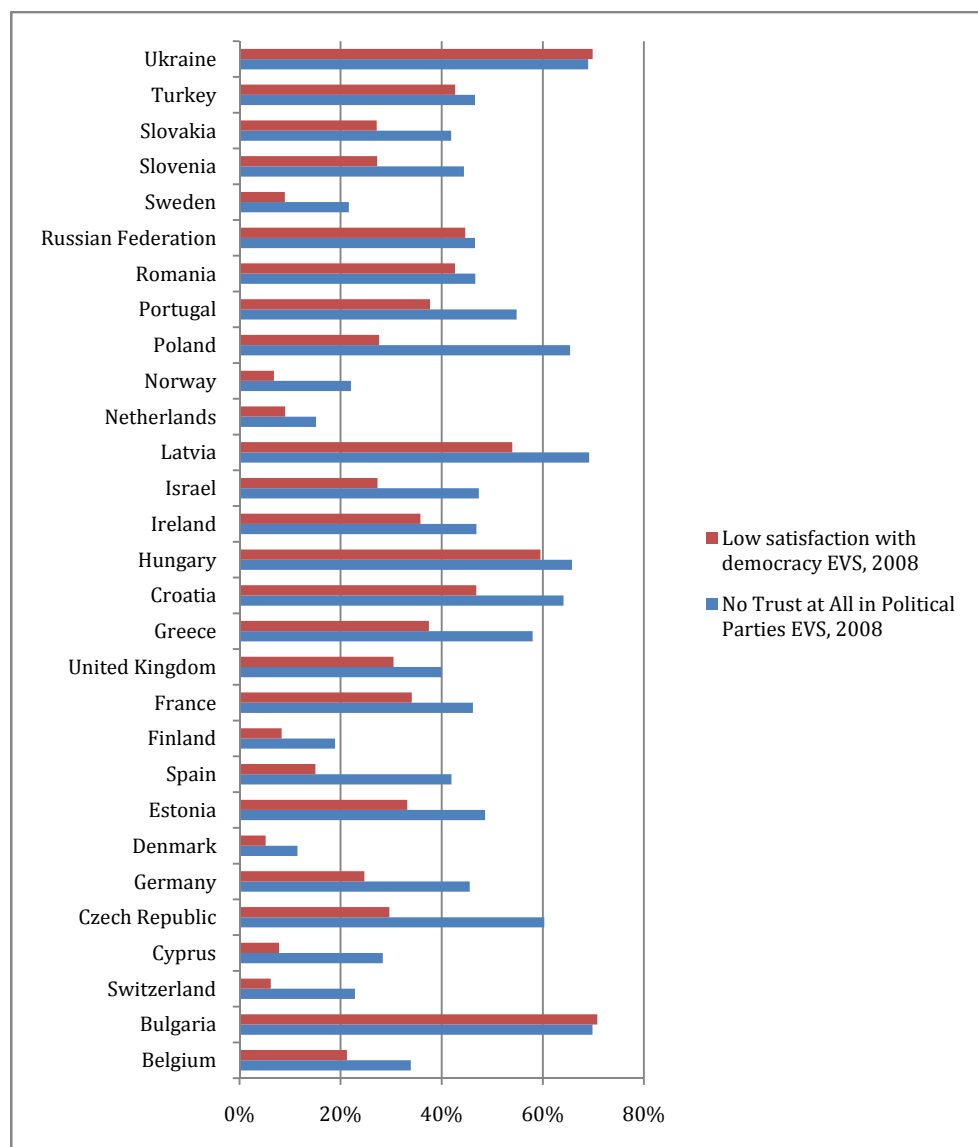
represent the citizens' policy or ideological preferences. As shows the indexes of the corruption in this period, they hadn't become low but even high, and the trust in public institutions hadn't become high, we can assume that one of the reasons of the defeat of the democratic block can be explained also by the statement of Evans and Whitefield (1995:511) that democracy is the best instrument of the losers in the transition then the winners may become increasingly anti-democratic in their orientation. All social surveys show great decline of support for the public institutions, current authority in this period from 2005 till 2010. The Orange Revolution has started due to massive protests of the citizens of Ukraine against the fraud of the president's election which were held on the 21 of November in 2004. People in Ukraine didn't believe that elections have been conducted fairly. Dalton (2004:180) also argues that there is a disturbing link between political distrust and the belief that elections are not conducted fairly. This statement can be confirmed by the data of ESS, EVS, WVS, Rozumkov Centre and etc., that trust in public institutions of Ukraine (parliament, government, police and etc.) and political parties is very low.

Data analysis: interdependence between the trust in political parties and the satisfaction with democracy in Ukraine

Dissatisfaction with the political parties is also strongly related to support for direct democracy, Dalton (2004:183) argues. According to social surveys mentioned above, trust in political parties is very low in Ukraine during these years. As was proved above with analysis of a data set of EVS Ukrainians are extremely dissatisfied with the way democracy works in their state (diagram 2). Rozumkov Center made a survey of the citizens of Ukraine from 2001 till 2011 whether they trust political parties ("Do you trust political parties?" with five options of answers: fully trust, rather trust, rather mistrust, fully mistrust or difficult to answer). According to the results of this survey Ukrainians in majority answered that they fully mistrust or rather mistrust political parties. In February 2003 and in March 2009 Ukraine fully mistrust political parties (46.0%; 48.4 %). Only 4.3% in 2006 of citizens fully trust political parties and in 2009 only 1.9%.

We argue that low trust in political parties directly influence satisfaction with the way democracy works. In order to check this statement we compared the data of a EVS for trust in political parties with the data of a satisfaction with democracy, this interdependence can be seen on a diagram 3. We can observe that in case of Ukraine these two factors are on the same level, due to this fact we can presume that they are codependent which for example cannot be said for other countries of Europe but for the countries of Eastern Europe these statement can be also confirmed, this codependence is seen in Bulgaria, Russian Federation and Hungary.

Diagram 4. Interdependence between the trust in political parties and satisfaction with democracy, EVS (2008)



We can make a conclusion according to our analysis of a data set of EVS for Ukraine in 2008 and analysis of a data of WVS in the same framework since 2005 till 2007 that for emerging democracies, developing countries which in our case are Ukraine and already mentioned countries of Eastern Europe, trust in political parties and satisfaction with democracy are very interdependent factors, this is depicted on above diagram 3. Eventually, this means that trust plays significant role in estimating how democracy works. On the other hand, in developed countries of Europe these two factors are not codependent that can mean that satisfaction with democracy in these countries is influenced by other factors. In case of Ukraine it can be said that if people don't trust political parties eventually there is no satisfaction with democracy and vice versa.

Possible solution for Ukraine of a low trust in political parties

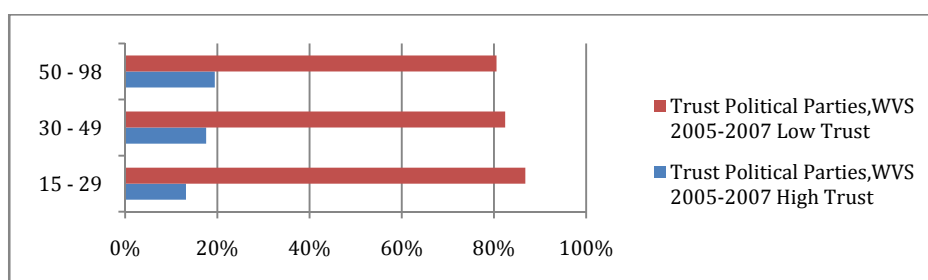
In order to try to dissolve the issue with low trust in political parties and dissatisfaction with democracy in Ukraine, we will consult Dalton's research. For example, he (2004:178) claims if more people are dissatisfied with the game of politics, one potential consequence is change to the rules or structure of the game. He argues that one type of change involves reforms directed towards improving the functioning of the electoral process and representation...another type of change involves the introduction of new reforms of direct democracy that empower citizens with a greater role in the democratic process...growing support for the introduction of referendums has apparently developed as trust in parties and politicians has eroded...aspects of constitutional reform can change the workings of the democratic process in more fundamental ways...the structural reforms of Britain's Blair government illustrate this level of change: reform of the House of Lords, introduction of a Bill of Rights, and passage of a freedom of information law. In the case of Ukraine this can be the reforms of public policy, the transparent policy of all public institutions, the accountability of a parliament, government, etc. For example, Dalton also confirms if a growing number of contemporary citizens are disenchanted with the political parties, and these sentiments are generating support for reforms to improve the

system of representative democracy (Dalton 2004:180). According to Dalton if more citizens are becoming skeptical about political parties and the processes of representative democracy, this may fuel demands for institutional reforms to expand the public's direct involvement in political decision-making (Dalton 2004:181). The proliferation of referendums is just one facet of the expansion of citizen access in advanced industrial democracies (Dalton 2004:182). However Ukraine is still a developing country this can be also applied there. It is probably that mentioned above measures would be able to increase the trust within the citizens and as a result the satisfaction with democracy.

Data analysis: trust in political parties within the age groups and gender in Ukraine

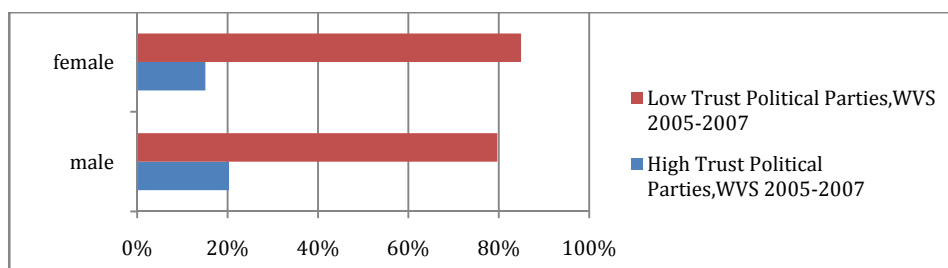
We were also curious about the trust in political parties within different age groups, gender and educational level of the citizens of Ukraine and we were expected that young and better educated people would distrust more political parties in Ukraine and that there is no difference in trust in mentioned above factor among men and women in Ukraine. For example Dalton (2004: 142) doubts that policy performance is decreasing everywhere. Dalton says that the greatest declines in political support have not come from those at the margins of politics and society, but from the very groups that have benefited most from their nation's advances: the young, the better educated, and postmaterialists. But Dalton in his research is analyzing industrial democracies which are the USA and developed democracies of Europe. In case of Ukraine, we are analyzing an emerging democracy with a strong materialism orientated society. Consequently, we have run an analysis that we can observe on a diagram 4 of available data set of WVS for the period since 2005 till 2007 and EVS for the year 2008. We correlated the variable trust in political parties with the age group.

Diagram 5. Trust Political Parties within age groups in Ukraine, WVS 2005-2007



Eventually, we can assume that according to the results obtained from analysis, people who are in the age groups from 30 till 49 and from 50 till 98 trust more political parties than citizens from 15 till 29. Consequently, we can confirm that the young generation of Ukraine distrusts more political parties than elder population of Ukraine. Eventually, we can claim that decline in political support also came from a young people not only in industrial democracies as was proved by Dalton but also in a new emerging, democratic states as Ukraine. We were also curious if there is a difference between the trust in political parties among men and women in Ukraine. So, we run an analysis with the data of WVS and we find out that during the period from 2005 till 2007, Ukrainian men trusted more political parties than women, we can observe it on a diagram 5.

Diagram 6. Trust Political Parties within gender in Ukraine, WVS 2005-2007

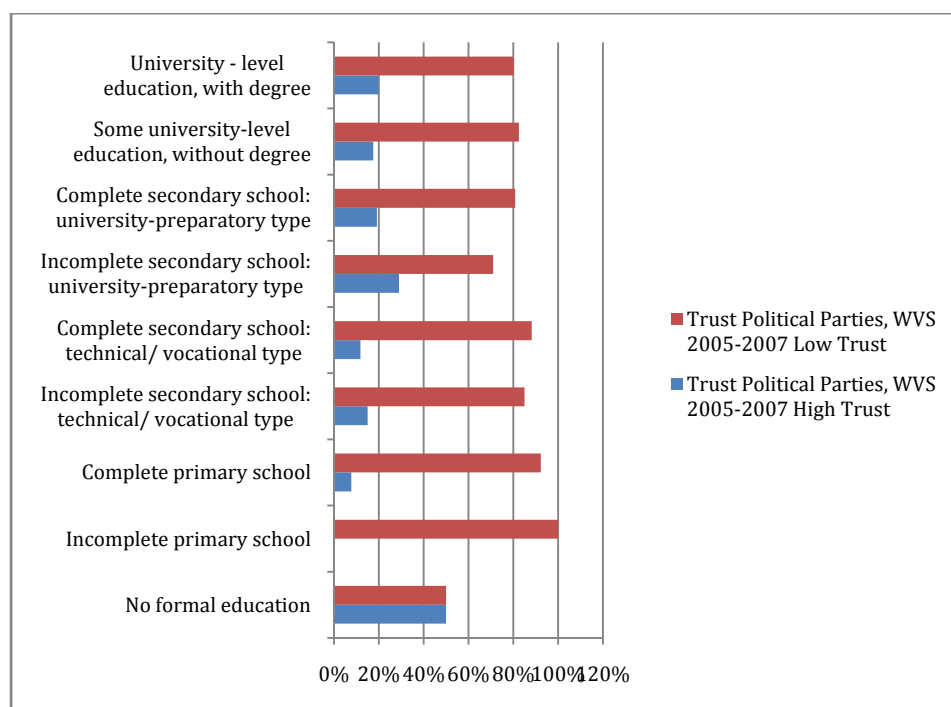


According to the analysis of a data set of EVS the situation had changed in 2008 and the number of women and men who distrust political parties was equal. Eventually, we can conclude that there is no big difference in the trust in political parties within the gender in Ukraine though men expressed a little bit more trust during the last decade in Ukraine.

Data analysis: correlation of a trust in political parties with an educational level in Ukraine

In order to confirm or reject the Dalton's claimant of a low trust/support in/of political parties of a better educated people we correlated trust in political parties with the educational level. Eventually, we get such results from the data of WVS for Ukraine for the period since 2005 till 2007 (diagram 6): the highest (absolute, 100%) distrust in political parties is within the people with the incomplete primary school education, on the other hand citizens with the incomplete secondary school: university-preparatory type education express the most trust in political parties (29%) within other educational groups. Data of EVS for Ukraine in 2008 also confirm these results.

Diagram 7. Correlation of educational level and trust in political parties in Ukraine, WVS 2005-2007



Eventually, we can argue that the statement that better educated people don't trust political parties doesn't work for Ukraine. This can be explained that Dalton had confirmed this for already stable democracies (industrial) which in his case are the USA and developed countries of Europe. As it was mentioned before, Ukraine is a new democratic state, and

in this case it is not proved that citizens with high educational level distrust political parties.

Table 3. Correlation of educational level and trust in political parties in Ukraine, WVS 2005-2007

Highest educational level attained	Trust in Political Parties Ukraine (2005- 2007)	
	High Trust	Low Trust
No formal education	50%	50%
Incomplete primary school		100%
Complete primary school	8%	92%
Incomplete secondary school: technical/ vocational type	15%	85%
Complete secondary school: technical/ vocational type	12%	88%
Incomplete secondary school: university-preparatory type	29%	71%
Complete secondary school: university-preparatory type	19%	81%
Some university-level education, without degree	18%	83%
University - level education, with degree	20%	80%

CONCLUSIONS

To conclude all the results obtained above from the carried analysis. We can argue that that in Ukraine exists high fragmentation and polarization of political parties that transforms in a two block-coalition format after the elections to parliament, that political parties of Ukraine don't possess strong ideological ideas and party platforms. We can also conclude that mentioned institutions represent and govern by the interests of specific political elites or groups. Consequently, we also confirm that the struggle in order to gain the majority in the parliament between two blocks of parties which is usually formed in the parliament creates political instability. All factors mentioned above produce low trust in political parties, which directly produce low satisfaction with democracy in Ukraine. Eventually, we have also confirmed with our analysis that the fact that political parties are obviously protecting and represented the interests of influential groups that could be oligarchs,

businessmen and etc., has caused low party identification within citizens and as a result –low trust in the political parties. We have also concluded that the electoral system in Ukraine doesn't have big influence on the low trust in political parties. Neither multi party system of a state provides high trust in political parties within the citizens.

Consequently, we were also expected that the disappointment of Ukrainians in the replacing of political parties which form the government reflects in the low trust in political parties which directly leads to low satisfaction with democracy and we confirmed this with the analysis. So far we can say that one of the reasons why Ukrainians do not trust political parties is that parties which they vote for don't fully represent their interests and defend their rights. In the end, from the obtained analysis we didn't confirm that better educated citizens of Ukraine distrust more political parties than those without education but we do confirm that young generation distrust more political parties than elder one. Since 2005 till 2007 in Ukraine there was a little difference in trust in political parties among men and women but men had trusted a bit more during this years.

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