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Парадокс політичного позиціонування/ідентифікації мешканців Львівської області та партій

Розглянуто значення ідеологічного позиціонування основних політичних партій у Львівській області на підставі програмних документів, матеріалів Вікіпедії, оцінок експертів. Окреслено, що ідеологічна складова слабо представлена у зверненні партійних організацій до виборців і носить формальний характер.

Ключові слова: політичне позиціонування, ідентифікація, програма, ідеологія

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Paradox of political positioning/identification of inhabitants of Lviv region and parties

The significance of ideological positioning of the main political parties in Lviv region has been studied on the basis of policy documents, materials from Wikipedia, experts' opinions. The author outlined that ideological component is thinly represented in address of party organizations to voters and that is of formal character.

Keywords: political positioning, identification, program, ideology

We examine political positioning as a synonym to identification, understanding that the last one is more stable characteristic, since it means conscious choice, it is stable in most cases or it repeats in different situations. Political positioning expects interconnection of succession of components. First of all, we have a citizen/voter. Secondly, there should be a political actor in party/block or candidate format. Thirdly, this political actor should have a sharply defined political/ideological position. In this case the ideological component, in our opinion, has to be interpreted not instrumentally, but as a separate phenomenon, since the world of politics for a long time has been dealing with quite complete and separate ideological constructions. This chain of relations was practiced in many countries of Western Europe. It meant that in conditions of multiparty systems and proportional election system

the absolute majority of political parties took a certain niche and had sharply-defined position. Thereafter the voter, when voting/supporting a certain political party, set his or her choice, support and affiliation to a certain ideology. This approach was realized to the fullest extent in construction of social and political division, which also meant social and group affiliation of the party and ideological orientation. Undoubtedly, the end of the last century led to weakening of significance of ideological affiliation, increase of significance of pragmatic orientation. Also there is a tendency of change of political affiliation from election to election. **However, we ascertain that current weakening of significance of ideological component in political positioning of citizens of European countries is a result of long evolution, when the previous stage was a clear ideological determinacy/affiliation, in many cases based on social and group affiliation.**

We are planning to examine ideological positioning of inhabitants of Lviv region, their voting preferences, and define political positioning of the parties. To define the situation we suggest using the term paradox. The word comes from ancient Greek word meaning unexpected, strange, i.e. the fact that has no logical explanation. Actually, in our opinion, this meaning explains more correctly the situation of this issue.

Ideology/ideological component is one of the main indicator of institution of political party. In most cases party ideology is more or less related to interests of social group or groups, and at the same time it is a reason to position the party as to voters and other political parties. Traditionally, on the basis of ideological constructions political parties define themselves/they are defined by others within left-right spectrum. We use the notion "ideology" out of the context of ideological confrontation, which was peculiar to the world history for a long time. As a basis we take an approach, suggested by Michael Frieden, where ideology is studied in the form of conceptual map of political world. As the author mentioned, ideologies were open constructions, closely related to political activity and mobilization, since one of the main tasks of ideology was "building bridges between political thought and political action".

Peculiarity of Ukrainian political parties is their ideological weakness, when not always correspondence of formally approved policy documents to political activity is traced in practice. At the same time practical activity immanently requires description of ideological positioning of parties in power. Interestingly, Ukrainian political parties for a number of reasons aim to reach position/status as to existing European party families. Obviously, they take such decision consciously, taking into consideration political or foreign benefits/advantages of interaction with a certain group of political parties and with their leaders accordingly, which can be in power or in opposition, depending on diplomatic landscape of political forces. One of the ways to pay for club affiliation is implicit acceptance of ideological position of chosen European party. As an example we can take the decision of "Batkivshchyna" party. It was

passed in 2008 about qualitative change of party positioning from social and democratic to, actually, opposite - conservative.

We start from ideological positioning from Wikipedia. Materials for this source, in most cases, are prepared or proofread by political parties. Taking into consideration uncertainty of Ukraine regarding its East-West orientation, we paid attention to materials in Ukrainian, Russian and English.

Table 1. Ideological positioning of parliament parties in Ukraine (2013) according to Wikipedia

No.	Party	Ukrainian	Russian	English
1	Ukrainian Union "Batkivshchyna"	solidarism, economic liberalism, pro-Europeanism right-centrism	liberal conservatism, right-centrism	liberal conservatism, pro-Europeanism, populism, modern conservatism
2	Ukrainian Union "Svoboda"	Ukrainian social-nationalism, anticommunism	Ukrainian nationalism, anticommunism	Ukrainian nationalism, right-populism
3	UDAR	anti-corruption, market economy, pro-Europeanism	right-centrism	liberalism, anti-corruption, pro-Europeanism

As we can see, in most cases, positioning of each party as to chosen resource will differ. Only English version accentuates the significance of populism regarding UU "Svoboda" and UU "Batkivshchyna". Special attention should be paid to UU "Svoboda", which, first of all, in Ukrainian version of identification accentuates affiliation to Ukrainian social-nationalism. A succession of theoretical publications of the party, public speeches of their leaders leave no doubts about the fact that the described cluster, regardless of words order, declares the affiliation to national-socialism with clear anti-liberal orientation.

Our second issue is existing policy documents. Program of UDAR was written in liberalism format, since it was based on declaring values: of freedom and human rights, releasing citizen from "overprotection" of state, building a state from the beginning. Their pro-Europeanism component is properly determined.

The difficulties arise when one makes an attempt to read a program of UU party "Batkivshchyna". There is no program on the official website. However it can be found on the websites of the region organizations. On the website of Donetsk region administration there is a program of 2007, called "Ukrainian breakthrough", on the website of Kharkiv organization — a program that was operating till 2007. In this case the program was written in accordance with parameters of social democracy. As to "Ukrainian breakthrough" this is a program of governmental activity, and it is difficult to describe this program ideologically, yet populist format is presented quite broadly. We should also mention that this program avoids questions about geopolitical uncertainty of Ukraine regarding its East-West orientation. **In other words, program component does not set party identification.**

In case of program of UU “Svoboda” the official website presents a program, passed on XXIII congress of the party on 24 December 2011. The program combines the principles of: ethnic nationalism, social principles, anti-communism and anti-liberalism, some conservative standards (ban of abortions, family protection, strong armed forces, etc.) with some components of populism. Together all this can be defined as National Socialism, if considered not in classic variant, but according to its form. **Thereafter, the party describes its ideology as social nationalism, but not nationalism.**

Then we analyzed election platforms, presented on parliamentary election campaign of 2012. Election program of the party “Batkivshchyna” — “Just state, upright authority, decent life” was actually a program of united opposition, since the party became a platform to which the leaders of some parties had to join, and together they created United opposition. The program can be divided into three blocks. The first one: “responsible authority” is devoted to struggle against existing authority; its task is to solve urgent questions. At the same time, they can be interpreted as instruments that help “Batkivshchyna” to come into power. The second block: “upright authority” and “decent life” provide for some social principles about “welfare” that a voter receives. Regardless of these parameters, they have populist character. The third block describes European choice. **Thus the document does not allow talking about liberalism and right centrism.** Election program of UDAR “From success of a man to success of a state” consists of many blocks that provide for: anti-corruption measures; measures for effective protection of a man; guarantee of equal opportunities for all citizens; development of local authorities; promised standards of life. In other words, in general, the document is positioned within the system of liberalism with some populist promises. Among all political parties the election document of UU “Svoboda” is the closest to the program of the party. There we can find a block of demands about building strong, national state, a lot of tasks on development of a nation, including priorities on development of Ukrainian language; the second block consists of demands about establishing social justice; they provide for return of strategic enterprises, institutions of public ownership and privatized enterprises, which are not managed efficiently, to state ownership; they provide for imposing state control over banking sector, giving an opportunity for employees to acquire a right of ownership, task to overcome sharp cleavage in society between rich and poor. Together this is a combination of nationalism, socialism and a many right positions.

For more precise positioning of ideological parties we have conducted a poll, in which we asked to appraise not only policy documents and statements, but also practical position/implementation of ideological declarations. We questioned 15 specialists (Lviv, Kyiv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Rivne, Uzhhorod, Chernivtsi). The absolute majority of the specialists (81,8 %) stated that there was problems with an accurate definition of ideological position of parliamentary parties. Interestingly that in case with UU “Batkivshchyna” most experts did not

pay attention to official party declaration about changing its positioning to right niche and accepting many right values; 54,5 % of the experts described the party ideology as a variety of social democracy; other specialists described it as social democracy, liberalism and national democracy; some experts considered the party ideology as an eclectic combination of different ideological constructions. Ideology of Front for Change is defined by most experts as liberalism. At the same time it was considered as: combination of liberalism and socialism, liberalism and national democracy, eclecticism and Fuhrer format of ideology. As a special case we should study the assessment of UU "Svoboda". Most specialists, i.e. 54,5 %, admitted that for this party national socialist ideology is peculiar; 27,2 % of specialists noted that the party followed the ideology of radical nationalism. Other variants were: nationalism and neo-Nazism. UDAR was defined as liberal party.

Actually here we have a paradox: most voters of Lviv region (38,02 %) supported UU "Svoboda", when their identification level with national-socialism is lower than the level of identification with communism. A considerable part of voters supported UU "Batkivshchyna" (35,48 %), the policy documents of which do not allow us to determine ideological position of the party. In other words we can see that the voters vote for the parties, the ideological positioning of which is not always clearly defined, or the voters do not pay attention to the policy programs, but respond to populist content. Thereafter the parties do not try to help the voters in this matter; they accentuate populist messages, but neglect the program, as in case with UU "Batkivshchyna". We can state that this means the decrease of significance of party ideology in mobilization of voters and in political life. When taking this statement we should understand that formal similarity of situation in Ukraine with situation in democratic European countries is based on different ways of movement and different factors. In Ukrainian case the ideological parameters of our variants of ideologies differ considerably from European ones, excluding populism. Secondly, a refusal of a part of European voters of ideology is based on formation of dominating social group of the middle class and overcoming group affiliations, and also on development of education and political culture. In our case we have a domination of group of "poor" people according to income level and decrease of level of education. That is why we have universalism of populism and symbolism of ideological positioning. The main dominating idea is dichotomy "my" – "somebody else's", mainly concerning authority.

Thus we can state that wide frames of ideological positioning are peculiar for existing parliamentary parties of Ukraine, which is especially obvious on the basis of analysis of election manifestos. The actual common base for all election party documents is populism with some statements of different ideological constructions. That is why we think that its is not possible to make any attempt to describe and position any policy documents of Ukrainian parliamentary parties within one integral ideological construction, which was peculiar

for political parties of the countries of Western Europe for the last century. So it is correct to make an assessment of these documents by determining parameters of ideological mosaic. This situation can be explained, for example, by weak social and group structuring of Ukrainian society. As a result the parliamentary parties appeal not to certain social groups, trying to pay attention to their interests, but to all inhabitants, the dominant part of which is “poor” people.