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# АНАЛИЗ РЕЗУЛЬТАТОВ ПАРЛАМЕНТСКИХ ВЫБОРОВ В УКРАИНЕ 21 ИЮЛЯ 2019 Г.

*Украинское государство представляет собой довольно сложный механизм. Причина этого – уникальный исторический фон. Географически Украина расположена между Восточной Европой и Евразией. В древнейшие времена территория современной Украины была окраиной Великой Римской империи. Впоследствии территория между Балтийским и Черным морями стала границей двух основных цивилизаций – европейской и славянской. Позже эти территории вряд ли были частями разных государств, они были частями разных цивилизаций. Отсутствие единой истории определяет специфику этого государства.*

*Граждане Украины формировали определенную идентичность в течение значительного периода времени из-за зависимости от их местоположения. Эта идентичность вызывает различные электоральные предпочтения, также известные как электоральное поведение.*

*21 июля 2019 года в Украине состоялись досрочные парламентские выборы. Партия действующего президента Владимира Зеленского – «Слуга народа» – одержала победу. Результаты выборов в одномандатных округах были подведены Центральной избирательной комиссией Украины 3 августа 2019 года.*

*Эти парламентские выборы были проведены после роспуска Верховной Рады Владимиром Зеленским, о чем он объявил во время своей инаугурационной речи 20 мая 2019 года. Очередные выборы в Верховную Раду должны были состояться 27 октября 2019 года. Владимир Зеленский издал указ о роспуске VIII сессии Верховной Рады 21 мая 2019 года.*

*В этой статье будет тщательно проанализирована парламентская кампания 2019 года в Украине и сделан вывод о больших различиях в электоральном поведении ее граждан.*

*Основным методом, использованным в следующем исследовании, был прикладной электоральный анализ.*

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# THE ANALYSIS OF THE UKRAINIAN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS' RESULTS ON JULY, 21, 2019

*Ukrainian state represents a mildly complicated mechanism. The reason for it is a unique historical background. Geographically, Ukraine is situated between Eastern Europe and Eurasia. In the most ancient times the territory of modern Ukraine used to be outskirts of the Great Roman Empire. Afterwards, the area between the Baltic and the Black sea had become a boundary of the two major civilizations – the European and the Slavic ones. Later, those territories were not hardly been parts of different states, they were parts of different civilizations. The absence of a single history determines the specifics of this state.*

*The citizens of Ukraine had been forming a certain identity during a formidable period of time, due to dependence on their location. This identity causes different electoral preferences, also known as electoral behavior.*

*On July 21, 2019 the early parliamentary elections were held in Ukraine. The party of the current president Volodymyr Zelensky – "Servant of the people" – gained a victory. The results of elections in single-mandate constituencies were concluded by the Ukrainian Central Election Commission on August 3, 2019.*

*These parliamentary elections were held after the dissolution of the Verkhovna Rada by Volodymyr Zelensky, which he announced during his inaugural speech on May 20, 2019. The regular Verkhovna Rada elections should have been held on October 27, 2019. Volodymyr Zelensky issued the decree on the dissolution of the VIII Session of Verkhovna Rada on May 21, 2019.*

*This article will thoroughly analyze 2019 parliamentary campaign in Ukraine and will make a conclusion about great differences in electoral behavior of its citizens.*
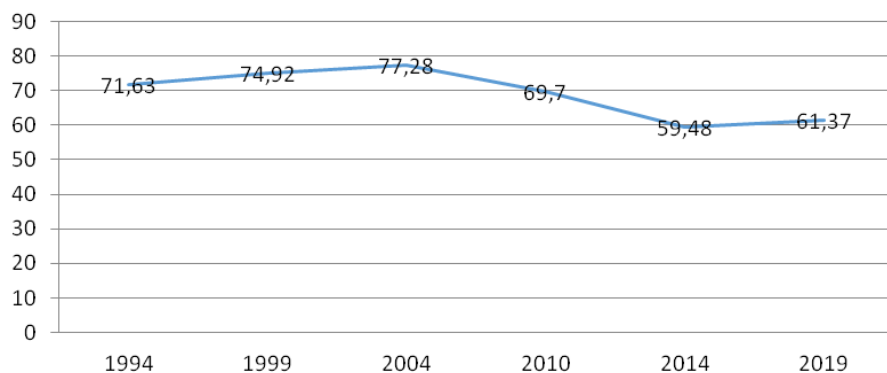
*The main method used in the following research was an applied electoral analysis.*

***Key words:*** *Ukraine, parliamentary elections, Verkhovna Rada, applied electoral analysis, Volodymyr Zelensky.*

There was a total of 12 election campaigns held in the history of independent Ukraine, seven of which were presidential (1991, 1994, 1999, 2004, 2010, 2014, 2019) and eight of which were parliamentary (1994, 1998, 2002, 2006, 2007, 2012, 2014, 2019) campaigns.
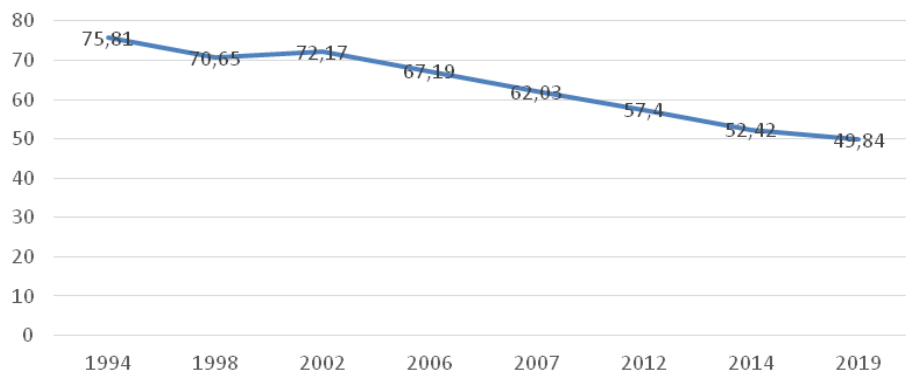
Citizens' interest in the state's political process can traditionally be defined by their activity during the peak of electoral process and their turnout. The following charts show presidential and parliamentary elections turnout of more than 50% (fig. 1 and fig. 2). These numbers show the high interest of the Ukrainian citizens in their country's politics. The figures also show that this interest tends to fade in the future. The peak turnout on the elections was in 2004 and after that the citizens were not that much involved in political process. Also, presidential elections are more popular than parliamentary ones, as it is in the majority of the states.

Presidential elections:



**Figure 1.** Ukrainian presidential elections dynamics turnout

Parliamentary elections:



**Figure 2.** Ukrainian parliamentary elections dynamics turnout

The first tour of regular presidential elections in Ukraine was held on March 31, 2019; the second tour was held on April 21 and concluded in victory of an actor, showman and producer Volodymyr Zelensky. He took his presidential office on May 20, 2019. On this very day he announced the dissolution of the Verkhovna Rada. Extraordinary parliamentary elections were scheduled three months after the inauguration of the president – on July 21, 2019.

There was a total of 22 political parties that took part in the elections. A notable fact is that the first two places were taken by parties that participated in the voting for the first time. The party of current president Volodymyr Zelensky took the most chairs in the parliament though it was its first elections. In addition, for the third time in the history of independent Ukraine the entry barrier to the Verkhovna Rada was 5%, and also the creation of party alliances was prohibited. Moreover, there was also no "against all" option on voting ballot.

225 deputies are elected by party lists and another 225 that are elected by majority constituencies as Ukrainian constitution states. In fact, though, the elections were held only in 199 majority constituencies, prior to the fact that a part of Ukrainian territory (including that of Sevastopol city Council, Autonomous Republic of Crimea and parts of Donetsk and Lugansk Regions) is not controlled by central government.

It is notable that these elections resulted in the change of the political actors.

Hereafter there is a brief description of new political actors of 2019 parliamentary campaign:

• **«Servant of the People»**

The «Servant of the People» party has participated in the parliamentary elections for the first time. This party was registered in 2016 and at first has been called «Party of Decisive Change», but it has been renamed in 2017. On January 21, 2019, this party has nominated Volodymyr Zelensky as a presidential candidate.

• **«Opposition Platform – For Life»**

This party was created in 1999 and was renamed several times. During 2014 parliamentary elections it worked together with such parties as "New Politis", "State Neutrality", "Ukraine – Forward!", "Working Ukraine", and "Ukraine development party" as part of "Opposition bloc". In 2016 the party announced its` leaving from the "Opposition bloc". The last decision to rename the party was made on the party congress on December 14, 2018. Besides, party leader Yuri Boiko took part in the Ukrainian presidential campaign in 2019. 11,67% of voters supported him, he took 4th place.

• **«Batkivshchyna»**

The Batkivshchyna party has participated in the elections for the sixth time. In the first three tries in 2002, 2006 and 2007, the party used to be a part of "Yulia Tymoshenko bloc". In 2012 six opposition parties agreed on cooperated efforts based on the "Batkivshchyna party" (its' leader was Yulia Tymoshenko,

the former Prime Minister of Ukraine.) United opposition consisted of such parties as "Batkivshchyna", "Front for changes", "People's movement of Ukraine", "People's self-defense bloc", "For Ukraine", "Reforms and order", and also social-Christian party, the "Civil Position". The list of the united opposition was headed by the leader of "Front for changes" Arseniy Yatsenyuk, since Yulia Tymoshenko was in custody at the moment. The party took the second place as a result of the elections. In August 2014 a serious split up in the party emerged, so the party turned out to be without some of its influential political leaders on parliamentary elections on October 26, 2014, including former Verkhovna Rada Chairmen Alexander Turchinov and Andrey Parubiy, former prime-minister of Ukraine Arseniy Yatsenyuk, Minister of Internal Affairs Arsen Avakov, Minister of justice Pavel Petrenko and others. On the current elections the party performed worse and gained only sixth place. On 2019 parliamentary elections, "Batkivshchyna" was presented as independent political force, unlike other parliamentary campaigns.

 • **European Solidarity**

The "Solidarity" Party changed its name to "Petro Poroschenko Bloc" on January 24, 2015, but on an enclosed party congress on May 24, 2019, just before next parliamentary elections there was a party rebranding and the name has been changed to "European solidarity". Petro Poroschenko is the leader of the party.

 • **Voice**

Alongside with the "Servant of the people" the current election campaign has become the first one for this party. The "Voice" party was established on May 16, 2019. A Ukrainian singer and people's deputy of VI Session (2007-2008) Svyatoslav Vakarchuk has become its leader. The party positions itself as right-centric and pro-European, according to its program.

**Summary and dynamics of the elections.** The turnout of the elections on July 21, 2019 has made up to 49,84% (14,74 million of voters) against 52,42% (15,96 million) on 2014 elections. Judging by this, the turnout is now lower on 1,22% or 2,58 million voters. This turnout drop can be explained by Ukraine's population decline due to accession of Crimean Republic by Russian Federation, harsh internal political situation and lack of voting in Donetsk and Lugansk regions. Ukrainian citizens' activity analysis during some of election campaigns tells of middle voter activity on the elections, whose absenteeism can be explained by the presence of protest sentiments or lack of any political preferences.

Nationwide voting results of parliamentary elections on July 21, 2019 in Ukraine are presented below (Tab. 1):

| | Share of votes | Selected on a pro rata basis | Selected by single-member constituencies | Total seats |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| «Servant of the people» | 43,16% | 124 | 130 | 254 |
| Opposition platform – for life | 13,05% | 37 | 6 | 43 |
| «Batkivshchyna» | 8,18% | 24 | 2 | 26 |
| European solidarity | 8,10% | 23 | 2 | 25 |
| «Voice» | 5,82% | 17 | 3 | 20 |

**Table 1.** Nationwide voting results of parliamentary elections on July 21, 2019

The four parties of "Opposition bloc", "Freedom", "Self-reliance" and "Bila Tserkva Together" managed to get their presence in parliament. The representatives of these parties were chosen by single-member constituencies. 46 more self-nominated deputies also managed to get elected by majoritarian constituencies.

**Political pluralism and party system structure.** There are two most popular indexes to define effective party number – Laakso-Taagepera index and Juan Molinari index.
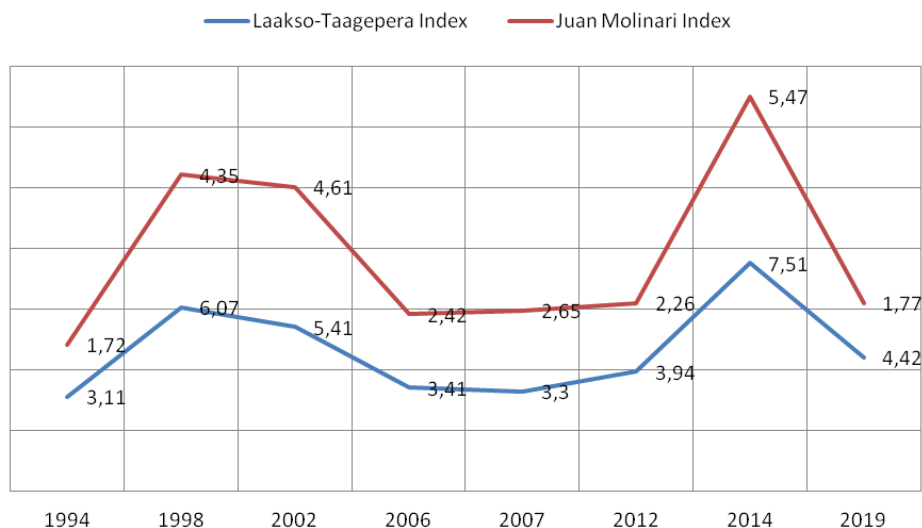
Competition level on parliamentary elections has been assessed by effective party number indexes:

1) Effective party number index of Laakso-Taagepera:

$$N = \frac{1}{\sum v_i^2}$$, where $v$ – share of votes of $i$-party.

2) Effective party number index of Juan Molinary:

$$NP = 1 + N \frac{\sum v_i^2 - v_1^2}{\sum v_i^2}$$, where $N$ – index of Laakso-Taagepera, $v_1$ – share of votes of victorious party.

**Table 2.** Laakso-Taagepera index and Juan Molinari Index for Ukraine's parliamentary elections (1994-2019 yrs)

«Effective party number – is a number of hypothetical equivalent parties, which would create the same system fragmentation effect as real number of unequal parties» [3. P. 3-27]. Thus, Laakso-Taagepera index shows a real number of parties that performs better on electoral campaigns, when Juan Molinary index counts for dominating party effect, though it's hard to speak about hegemony party in Ukrainian situation.

This chart shows the dynamics of effective party number during Ukrainian electoral processes. Judging by this chart, the most effective party numbers before 2014 parliamentary elections, are observed during 1998 and 2002 parliamentary campaigns. Other cases tell of "moderate multi-party system" or a bipartisan system.

Indexes of effective party numbers of Laakso-Taagepera and Juan Molinari have become the highest as a result of the last parliamentary elections cycle – 4,42 and 1,77 respectively. It's related with a change in number of the main political actors. There is one most powerful party of "Servant of the people", which picks votes of those, who are tired of old political actors and trust the current president. According to Giovanni Sartori's classification, the emerging party system in independent Ukraine should be classified as a system of polarized pluralism, within which there is an obvious polarization of political forces, their fragmentation and high segmentation along the main components of the political spectrum [2]. The main characteristic of such a party system is the certainty of the main role functions between parties; there is also a clear division into leading parties

and outsider parties. In addition, the opposition is ambivalent and centrifugal tendencies prevail in politics.

### 3. Territorial differentiation of the electoral space

#### 3.1. Turnout geography

In common, the turnout in the country appears to be «record low» [4], compared to previous parliamentary campaigns. The most active regions in terms of turnout are Chernovitskaya (54,8%), Ternopolskaya (54,24%), Poltavskaya (54,1%), Lvovskaya (53,12%), Khmelnitskaya (53,12%), and Volynskaya region. The least amount of turnout has been shown in Zakarpatskaya (41,16%), Chernigovskaya (42,07%), and Khersonskaya (43,93%) regions. In general, there is no specific conclusion to be made about turnout character. The most distinctive traits of the turnout on the current elections are: firstly its decline comparing to previous campaigns; secondly, the fragmentation of the electorate. In specific regions (Northern, Southern, Western, Eastern), the consolidated voting did not appear.

#### 3.2. Geografy of the first places

The "Servant of the people" party has won first places in most regions of the country: in all regions except Donetskaya, Luganskaya (those districts that participated in elections) and Lvovskaya regions, where it won the second place. The "Opposition platform – For life" took first places in Donetskaya and Luganskaya regions. The party shown the worst results in the West of the country, specifically in Ternopolskaya region it gained only 10th place and in Lvovskaya and Ivano-Frankovskaya regions it only got 11th. In the Lvovskaya region, the "Voice" party won according to party lists. Such character of voting can be explained with "friends and neighbours effect", caused by fact that Vakarchuk is born in neighboring Zakarpatskaya region. In the whole country, the party did not fall below the 9th place in voting under the proportional system.

The rest of the parties that got their seats in the Verkhovna Rada did not won the first place in any region.

#### 3.3. Voting geography

#### 3.3.1. «Servant of the people»

The "Servant of the People" party got its best results in central regions of the Ukraine – Dnepropetrovskaya (56,5%), Poltavskaya (52,53%), Nikolaevskaya (52,18%).

The party has got top number of votes in these regions and it can be explained with the help of a geographical factor and "friends and neighbors' effect", because the current president of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelensky was born and started his career in Krivoy Rog city of Dnepropetrovskaya region.

The party received minimal support traditionally in the "deviant" regions of the country, which differ in a certain type of voting: Lvovskaya (22,03%), Donetskaya (27,19%) and Luganskaya (22,03%) regions.

It's notable that correlation with a certain group of citizens is difficult to be found. The factor of origin has approximately the same effect on voting for a given party (correlation of votes to a share of population employed in agriculture – 0,31 (1), correlation with educated people – 0,20). The party is slightly more popular among the Ukrainian population than the Russian (correlation of 0,22 and (-0,22) respectively). Also, it's more popular among the rural population than the urban one (correlation coefficient of 0,29 and (-0,29) respectively). This tendency can speak of equal popularity of the "Servant of the people" party among different groups of citizens and it shows the universal character of voting for this party.

### *3.3.2. Opposition platform – for life*

This campaign is the second one for "Opposition platform – for life" party, when it managed to get seats in parliament. In 2014 the party used to work with the "Opposition bloc" alliance among such parties as: "Party for Development of Ukraine" (Party leader Yury Miroshnichenko), "Center" (Party leader Vadim Rabinovich), "New politics", "State neutrality", "Ukraine – forward" (Party leader Natalia Korolevskaya, nominated herself for presidency a several number of times), "Labour Ukraine". Most of these parties' leaders are former members of the "Party of regions".

The co-chair of "Opposition bloc" Yury Boiko and the leader of "For life" party Vadim Rabinovich have signed a cooperation agreement in 2018. The "Party for Development of Ukraine" has also joined the renewed party, thus creating "Opposition platform – for life".

This party has gained the most support among the people of Luganskaya (49,83%), Donetskaya (43,41%) and Kharkovskaya (26,55%) regions. The least support was gained among voters of the Western regions: Ivano-Frankovskaya (1,37%), Ternopolskaya (1,7%) and Lvovskaya (1,71%). It's worth noting that these are the same regions where party got its` maximum and minimum showings respectively on the last parliamentary elections in 2014.

The ethnic differences are noticeable in voting for this party – correlation with Russian ethnicity is significantly higher (about 0,95); correlation among urban population is about 0,66; workers of industry, services sector and middle class are also tended to vote more for this party with correlations of 0,61, 0,29 and 0,41 respectively.

### *3.3.3. «Batkivshchyna»*

The All-Ukrainian Association "Batkivshchyna" is a political party of Ukraine headed by the former Prime Minister of Ukraine Yulia Tymoshenko. The "Batkivshchyna" party has been presented as a core of Yulia Tymoshenko's bloc in parliament since 2002. In general, the party advocates the poverty elimination, unified state language in Ukraine and the integration of Ukraine with the EU.

The party gained its maximum support in the Western regions: Ivano-Frankovskaya (14,69%), Chernigoskaya (14,28%), Volynskaya (13,08%) and

Ternopolskaya (12,23%) which can be explained with the help of a "elections campaign effect". The least support of the party has been shown in the Eastern regions such as Donetskaya (1,95%), Luganskaya (2,11%) and Kharkovskaya (3,56%).

The voting for this party is mostly defined by national divide in the country (correlation with Ukrainian population - 0,89), intellectuals (correlation of 0,70), and also social-economic factors: rural population and agricultural workers tend to prefer this party more than other groups (correlation coefficients of "Batkivshchyna" support among rural population and agricultural workers are 0,67 and 0,49 respectively).

### 3.3.4. «European solidarity»

This party used to be called "Solidarity" until August 27, 2014. The "Solidarity" party was found on February 28, 2001. The first chairman of the party has been Michael Antonyuk and he was succeeded by Petr Poroschenko on November 15, 2001. The party had joined different blocs such as "Our Ukraine" of Victor Yuschenko in 2001 and "United Opposition" among with "Batkivshchyna" party in 2013. On August 27, 2014 Yuri Lutsenko has become the leader of the party and renamed the party to "Petro Poroshenko Bloc" on the same day. The main goal of the party is to return Crimea to the Ukrainian jurisdiction. The most part of this program consists of the rule of the law, democratic and human rights. In addition, one of the main goals of the party is to establish parliamentary-presidential government and to decentralize authority.

In terms of voting, the party gained its maximum number of votes in such regions as Lvovskaya (19,87%), city of Kiev (16,68%), Ternopolskaya (12,59%) and Ivano-Frankovskaya (11,94%) regions. It's fair to say that citizens of the Western part of Ukraine granted the party their major support, which can be explained by "elections campaign effect" because the party is known for standing out for European way of development of the country. The party gained the least support in the Eastern regions such as Luganskaya (2,94%), Donetskaya (3,59%), Odesskaya (4,19%), and also Zakarpatskaya region (4,58%).

The ethnic factor appears to be very important in terms of voting for this party. It has got the support of an ethnic Ukrainian population (correlation coefficient – 0,46). The party also got its support among intellectuals (correlation – 0,44). It's difficult to distinguish groups of supporters of this party among other parts of population.

In general, both in terms of geographical distribution and social divisions, the electorate of «Batkivshchyna» and "European Solidarity" **is the same**.

### 3.3.5. Voice

This parliamentary campaign has been the first one for this party as well as it was for the "Servant of the people". The "Voice" party was established on May 16, 2019, by Svyatoslav Vakarchuk, Ukrainian singer and people's deputy of VI

Session (2007-2008). The party is being positioned as right-centric and pro-European in terms of its program.

The party's biggest supporters are concentrated in the Western regions of the country: Lvovskaya (23,09%), Ivano-Frankovskaya (13,25%) and Donetskaya (38,69%) regions. The party managed to win the first place in the Lvovskaya region. The party is the hardly supported by the citizens of the Eastern regions such as Luganskaya (1,30%), Donetskaya (1,31%) and Dnepropetrovskaya (2,22%) regions. The party won from 1st to 9th places among the parties that were being elected into Rada by party lists. The "Voice" party gained major support among intellectuals (correlation - 0,42) and ethnic Ukrainian population (0,45). The rest numbers do not allow to make any conclusion about party's electorate.

### 3.3.6. Polarization of the electoral space

A Pearson's coefficient is calculated between two rows of indicators which are shares of voices in each pair of parties across all regions in order to assess the level of territorial polarization of the electoral space. A high level of a correlation coefficient indicates that voters of those parties live in the same regions.

On 2019 Parliamentary elections in Ukraine, the highest level of correlation is presented among voters of the "European solidarity" and the "Voice" parties. This indicates the similarity between the territories voting for these parties. The correlation is slightly lower between the "Batkivshchyna" and the "European solidarity" and also between the "Batkivshchyna" and the "Voice" and is about 0,429 and 0,423 respectively. The reverse correlation is shown between the "Opposition platform" and the "Batkivshchyna" and is (-0,85) and also between the "Servant of the people" and the "Voice" - (-0,6). Slightly less negative correlation is shown between "Servant of the people" and "EuroSolidarity" and is (-0,54), and also "Opposition platform" (-0,18) and "Batkivshchyna" (-0,03). This means that the territory of this party's voters is divided and consists of the most part of the country.

Based on this analysis we can discuss strong territorial differences and conclude that regions of the country are strictly divided by the type of the electoral behavior of their citizens. Strong division between the rich and the poor, between rural and urban population and also ethnic and language split are still remaining the key factors of voting. Economic factors are becoming more and more influential for citizen's electoral behavior year after year.

### 4. Stability of the electoral space

Judging by table 2 there is almost a complete change of political actors compared to 2014 parliamentary elections. The parties that were created specifically for parliamentary elections made it to parliament on 2019 elections.

The nationalist parties such as the "Self-reliance" which made it into Rada in 2014 and "Freedom" which had been very popular in 2012 didn't get much support during 2019 parliamentary elections. Thus, we can speak of decline in citizen's nationalist mood and decline in nationalist's parties popularity.

| | 2014 | 2019 | Difference |
|---|---|---|---|
| «Servant of the people» | – | 43,16% | +43.16 % |
| «Opposition platform – for life» | Joined the "Opposition bloc" | 13,05% | – |
| «Batkivshchyna» | 5,68% | 8,18% | +2,5 % |
| «European solidarity» | 21,82% | 8,10% | -13,72 % |
| «Voice» | – | 5,82% | +5,82 % |
| Radical party of O. Lyashko | 7,44% | 4,01% | -3,43 % |
| Opposition bloc | | 3,03% | -6,40 % |
| Freedom | 4,71% | 2,15% | -2,56 % |
| «Self reliance» | 10,97% | 0,62% | -10,35 % |
| Turnout | 52,42% | 49,84% | -2,58 % |

**Table 2.** Stability of electoral space

Regional losses and gains (among parties that participated in 2014 and 2019 electoral campaigns (2)):

1) «Batkivshchyna»

| Losses | 2014 | 2019 |
|---|---|---|
| Vinnitskaya region | -38,4 % | -34,98 % |
| Ternopolskaya region | -32,7 % | -26,81 % |
| Chernovetskaya region | -32,2 % | -29,34 % |
| Ivano-Frankovskaya region | -32,0 % | -23,54 % |
| Volynskaya region | -32,0 % | -26,38 % |
| Cherkasskaya region | -31,3 % | -28,55 % |
| Khmelnitskaya region | -30,1 % | -27,04 % |

**Table 3.** Regional losses of the "Batkivshchyna" party

2) European solidarity (2019) / Petro Poroshenko bloc (2014)

The 2014 elections were the first for Petro Poroshenko bloc. The party's numbers became worse in all regions of the country. The regions with the highest losses are presented below (table 4):

| Losses | 2019 |
|---|---|
| Vinnitskaya region | -0,29 % |
| Zakarpatskaya region | -0,23 % |
| Sumskaya region | -0,20 % |
| Khmelnitskaya region | -0,18 % |
| Poltavskaya region | -0,18 % |

**Table 4.** Regional losses of the "European solidarity" party

3) «Opposition platform – for life» / Opposition bloc

| Gain | 2019 |
|---|---|
| Odesskaya region | +0,18 % |
| Kharkovskaya region | +0,16 % |
| Khersonskaya region | +0,16 % |
| Luganskaya region | +0,13 % |
| Sumskaya region | +0,11 % |

**Table 5.** Regional losses of the "Opposition platform – for life" party

The "Batkivshchyna" party has taken serious losses in central and Western regions in 2014 and 2019 (the votes of the Western regions were gone in favor of the "Voice" due to "friends and neighbors effect" and the votes of the central regions were gone in favor of the "Servant of the people").

The "European solidarity" party suffered minor electoral losses. The voices were lost to the "Opposition platform – for life" (table 4) and the "Voice".

**5. Regional diversity level**

Regions' extremal readings:

| Party | Maximum numbers | Minimum numbers | Amplitude |
|---|---|---|---|
| «Servant of the people» | Dnepropetrovskaya region – 56,7% | Lvovskaya region – 22,03% | 36,67% |
| Opposition platform – for life | Luganskaya region – 49,83% | Ivano-Frankovskaya region – 1,37% | 48,46% |
| «Batkivshchyna» | Ivano-Frankovskaya region – 14,67% | Donetskaya region – 1,95% | 12,72% |
| European solidarity | Lvovskaya region – 19,87% | Luganskaya region – 2,94% | 16,93% |
| «Voice» | Lvovskaya region –23,09% | Luganskaya region – 1,3% | 21,79% |

| Party | Maximum numbers | Minimum numbers | Amplitude |
|---|---|---|---|
| Turnout (through the country in general - 49,84%) | Chernovitskaya region – 54,8% | Zakarpatskaya region –41,16% | 13,64% |

**Table 6.** Extremal readings among the regions

Parametric indicators of variations:

| Party | Standard deviation | Variation coefficient |
|---|---|---|
| «Servant of the people» | 0,088 | 0,20 (low) |
| Opposition platform – for life | 0,120 | 2019 г. – 0,92 (high)<br>2014 г. – 1,17 (high) |
| «Batkivshchyna» | 0,036 | 2019 г. – 0,42 (average)<br>2014 г. – 0,28 (average) |
| European solidarity | 0,039 | 2014 г. – 0,21 (low)<br>2019 г. – 0,53 (high) |
| «Voice» | 0,049 | 0,92 (high) |

**Table 7.** Parametric indicators of variations

Franky speaking, Ukraine has a high level of regional diversity – the voting in different parts of country **differs greatly**. The current president's party "Servant of the people" has the most stable indicators of regional diversity. The "European solidarity" comes right after the "Servant of the people", though its indicator has become lower since previous elections, which means that voters tend to prefer this party more than it used to be in most of the regions. The "Opposition platform" and the "Voice" parties have the highest number of variation coefficient of 0,92 both.

In many terms the regional diversity concludes in ethnic division – the voting of Ukrainian and Russian population has the biggest influence on political system.

**Typical and deviant regions:**
**2019 year:**

| Typical regions | Deviant regions |
|---|---|
| Zhitomirskaya region | Luganskaya region |
| Chernigoskaya region | Donetskaya region |
| Kievskaya region | Lvovskaya region |
| Sumskaya region | Ternopolskaya region |

| Typical regions | Deviant regions |
|---|---|
| Chernovitskaya region | Ivano-Frankovskaya region |

**Table 8.** Typical and deviant regions in 2019 parliamentary elections

**2014 year:**

| Typical | Deviant regions |
|---|---|
| Poltavskaya region | Donetskaya region |
| Kirovgradskaya region | Luganskaya region |
| Sumskaya region | Kharkovskaya region |
| Zhitomirskaya region | Ivano-Frankovskaya region |
| Cherkasskaya region | Odesskaya region |

**Table 9.** Typical and deviant regions in 2014 parliamentary elections

In terms of electoral behavior, the most typical regions of this parliamentary campaign are the Northern regions of the country (table 8) such as Zhitomirskaya, Chernigovskaya and Sumskaya regions (the Euclidian distance corrected for the number of actors are 0,06, 0,08 and 0,083 respectively), the central Kiev region (0,082), and the most peripheral Chernovitskaya region, that differs from its neighbors in the electoral behavior due to specifics of its historical development (Euclidian distance = 0,084).

Traditionally the most deviant regions are those that historically used to be centers of the main opposing forces, concentrating "pro-Western" and "pro-Russian" supporters, such as Donetskaya and Luganskaya regions in the East (0,356 and 0,406 respectively) and Lvovskaya, Ternopolskaya and Ivano-Frankovskaya regions in the West (0,325, 0,192, 0,190).

If we compare the typical and the deviant regions of the two last parliamentary campaigns (table 8 and table 9), it is worth noting that those territories intersect very much. Therefore, there are formed territories with specific electoral behavior in Ukraine.

The Ukrainian partisan system has a very high rate of regionalization which means that the country is divided into regions with electoral preferences of its citizens. In this case, the main reasons that inflate the voting are ethnic and language divisions and also "city-rural" and "the rich – the poor" differences.

This parliamentary campaign was marked by an almost complete change of political actors. The programs of the new parties were strongly influenced by the internal political events, such as the transition of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea to Russia after the referendum and the hostilities in the East of the country in Donetskaya and Luganskaya regions. The population of the country is tired of traditional political actors and has a huge need for something new, which

influenced the voting very much. The Ukrainian population, situated in the rural regions mainly supports the "Batkivshchyna" and the "European solidarity", judging by the results of the voting. The Western population and the intellectuals mainly prefer the "Voice" party. The Russian population that lives in cities with a higher life quality tends to support the "Opposition platform – for life". For the first time in history of parliamentary campaigns in Ukraine there has been a universal party that is supported by any social group.

It's of major importance that the role of economic factors in the voting has grown. In the past the historical, political and cultural differences defined in terms of voting, but now an economic factor and the growing concern for the future among the population define the electoral behavior. The East of the country bases its civilizational choice on the importance of interconnection with Russia and integration into Eurasian Economic Union. The population of the Western regions addresses the unemployment problem and low life quality via migration to the European Union states and support pro-Western political parties.

Judging by the two latest parliamentary campaigns, there are such specific traits of electoral process as of establishing parties *intended specially to take part in the elections*, such as the "Voice", and performance of the party that is supported by the president of the country, the "Servant of the people". However, the character of the electoral process such as an almost complete polarization of population's political preferences and its **continual, non-discrete structure** (gradual change of electoral preferences from the West to the East of the country), a result of which is the division the voting structure, remains a major trait of electoral process in Ukraine.

**Conclusion.** Attempting to provide certain characteristics to Ukraine as a state, the main characteristic of this country would be heterogeneity. The main problem of the Ukrainian state, including for the government of this country, is the coexistence of several parts of the country that are different in historical, linguistic, cultural and political parameters within a single political space, which means a compulsory consensus on all political issues without exception, which seems to be difficult in the absence of unity. Up to this day, residents of certain regions of Ukraine attach extreme importance to their own personal identity, which includes components of linguistic, cultural, political, historical identities, which became the reason for the extreme differences in mentality, civilizational choice and the orientation development among residents of different regions of the same country. **The specific electoral behavior of Ukrainian citizens is a consequence of such differences and exactly mirrors them.** It's vital to mention the economic growth factors' role in population's voting in recent years. The orientation to the European Union or to the Eurasian Economic Union is mostly defined by the economic factors, not the political ones.

Therefore, the reason for such systemic contradictions on the identity issue lies not only in historical, linguistic or cultural differences, but also in the very

fact that Ukraine is essentially a state, which includes separate regions, which in different historical periods were the parts of different states. As a result, they have absorbed various cultural, linguistic, political traditions and even traditions of various political and judicial systems. In addition, there is an unspoken ideological confrontation between certain parts of Ukraine, in particular, the Western and the Eastern Ukraine. All of this provides an impact on the behavior of citizens, including their voting in elections.

## NOTES:

(1) It is calculated according to the formula for calculating the correlation in MS Office Excel.

(2) The nature of voting for other parties can be inferred from the material presented above.

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