

ELECTORAL POLITICAL CULTURE IN UKRAINE

A Case Study of Ukrainian Parliamentary Elections of 2012

Abstract. The article is dedicated to the study of electoral political culture in Ukraine in the view of the most recent Ukrainian Parliamentary Elections. After presenting the theoretical background of the political culture concept and context of the examined case study, the authors examine the Ukrainian Parliamentary Elections of 2012 to establish the factors that influence the electoral political behaviour of Ukrainians. The results of surveys carried out in cooperation with the Sociological Laboratory in Sumy, Ukraine lead authors to conclude that electoral behaviour of Ukrainian voters depends on their rational and emotional evaluations of individual candidates and political parties.

Keywords: *political culture, political behaviour, elections, Ukraine*

Introduction

Since its independence in 1991, Ukraine has been continuously finding itself at political, economic and cultural crossroads. Its main dilemma, however, is and remains the question of where to turn to for a closer collaboration – Russia or the EU? After the Euromaidan revolution that originated in Kyiv on November 21st 2013 and the ensuing events such as the Russian annexation of Crimea, this question might be easier to answer. The revolution, which started as a protest against the rejection of the Association agreement of Ukraine with the EU, soon turned into a general protest against the corrupt state and President Viktor Yanukovich. However, Euromaidan should not be looked at from a perspective of the East-West narrative. The main reason why hundreds of thousands of people stood on Maidan for more than three months was to show their disagreement with the way Ukrainian politics are done and the way their political system functions.

Our article focuses on the Ukrainian political culture, or more precisely, the attitudes of Ukrainians towards their political system. As a part of

* Nina Svitaylo, PhD, Associate Professor, Sumy State University, Ukraine; Andriana Kostenko, PhD, Sumy State University, Ukraine; Ana Podgornik, University graduate in political studies, University of Ljubljana, Independent researcher.

political sciences, political culture proves helpful for our research because it puts emphasis on individuals rather than political systems. It studies people's psychological orientations and behaviour in the political system, as well as the origins, development and changes connected with these orientations and behaviour. Gabriel Almond, the pioneer in the field of modern political culture, developed the concept for the purposes of comparative politics. He studied people's attitudes towards politics in different countries to determine the differences in their political systems. Some authors followed his lead; others applied his method to even smaller units including federal states, regions and cities. Political scholars also researched different aspects of political culture like the relationship between different types of political culture and democracy, economic development, political participation or political institutions and processes.

By focusing on the electoral political culture, our article examines only a small part of political culture theory. We will try to explain the electoral behaviour of Ukrainians by studying the Ukrainian parliamentary elections of 2012. Our main research question is "What motivates Ukrainians to vote for a particular political candidate and party?" This research question is based on Almond and Verba's approach to defining political culture as attitudes of people towards politics. Our chief goal is to determine what shapes the attitudes of Ukrainians towards political candidates and parties, and how this influences their electoral behaviour. Almond and Verba write about three main orientations of people towards politics. These are cognitive, affective and evaluational orientations. Our goal will be to determine which of these orientations has a stronger influence on voter's candidate and party choice.

Our article is divided in four chapters. After the introduction, we first present the theoretical background of political culture followed by general information about the context of our case study. This chapter contains a short presentation of the Ukrainian political system, where we concentrate on its main actors and the level of confidence they enjoy with Ukrainian citizens. We also provide the reader with introductory information on the state of the Ukrainian electoral system. The final part of this chapter is dedicated to Ukrainian 2012 election, where we study the general electoral atmosphere as felt by the voters. We use Ukrainian State Statistical Service reports to establish the turnout and closed form surveys, managed in cooperation with the Sociological Laboratory in Sumy, to determine the motivations of Ukrainian voters for choosing the specific candidates and parties. In the last chapter, we reflect on our main arguments and draw conclusions that we apply to the current situation in Ukraine.

Theoretical background

The concept of political culture is in the centre of many academic discussions and just as many disputes. Since the first writings of Almond on this matter in the 1950s, which introduced the modern concept of political culture, it is still not completely clear what political culture is. Almond and Verba defined political culture as the attitudes of people towards the political system, its various parts, and the role of the individual in the system (Almond and Verba, 1963/1965: 12). This definition became a crucial reference for many future researchers. It also laid a foundation for several questions about political culture, including whether political culture was just a psychological state of people or did it include their behaviours. Researchers also pondered how political culture can be measured, whether quantitatively or qualitatively, and if it can be divided into different types.

This theoretical introduction is not intended to deliver answer to the earlier questions on political culture nor to present our own definitions. Instead, we briefly describe the concept's development and how to use these findings to explain Ukrainian political culture in the case of the Ukrainian parliamentary elections of 2012, which we study and analyze in this article.

The first appearance of political culture in the form as we know it today can be tracked back to Ancient Greece. Two famous Greek philosophers, Plato and Aristotle, wrote about the necessity of political education and the appropriate political character that would match the political system of that time. In the direct democracy of the Greek city-states, *poleis*, it was expected that the free, non-foreign, adult males acquire certain political skills¹ necessary for the active participation in political affairs. Such skills were developed through political education (Južnič, 1973/1989: 85). What started with Plato and Aristotle was continued by Montesquieu and Tocqueville, who stressed that explaining politics should be done in terms of customs, morals, traditions, norms, and habits (Pye, 1991: 490). Montesquieu's "general spirit and morals of a nation" and Tocqueville's "political customs" were the precursors of the modern political culture concept (Južnič, 1973/1989: 206).

The "golden era" of modern political culture began with Gabriel Almond's comparative politics studies in the 50s and culminated in the publication of *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations* in 1963, which Almond wrote together with Sidney Verba. This work provided us with the so-called subjective or psychological characterization of political culture that concentrated on personal values, beliefs and attitudes² of indi-

¹ Political skills such as the ability to express one's thoughts, knowledge of rules of rhetoric, etc.

² Almond and Verba further divided these orientations towards the political system into three groups: (1) cognitive orientations (knowledge and beliefs), (2) affective orientation (feelings), and (3) evaluational orientation (judgments and opinions) (Almond and Verba, 1963/1965, 14).

viduals or groups towards the political system (Tucker, 1973: 176-177). Political culture as a psychological phenomenon is present also in the definitions of Beer (in Kim, 1964), Brown (1977/1979), Robertson (1985), Street (1994), Putnam (in Jackman and Miller, 1996) and Wilson (1997). Some authors (Erikson, Mclever and Wright (1987), Mark and Eisgruber (1988)) believed that public opinion was the only aspect of political culture worth examining, while others expanded their definitions beyond values, beliefs and attitudes. According to Dawson and Prewitt (1969: 26) political traditions and folk heroes, political rules, spirit of public institutions, political passions, stereotypes and moods, etc. should be included in the list as well.

Also worthy of mention are Stanič and Macura, who viewed political culture as a process rather than static. Stanič and Macura (1992: 8) describe political culture as a continuing process influenced by a wide variety of historical, national, geostrategic, cultural, economic and other legacies. One of these important aspects is the already mentioned influence of historical experience on the formulation of political culture; another is the role of political socialization as observed by many authors (Almond (1958), Beer (in Kim, 1964), Južnič (1989), Kolenc (1995)).

Because it does not take into account people's behaviours in political system, the psychological approach was a target of much academic criticism. Trucker (1973: 178) explained the difference between the psychological and behaviouristic approach, by connecting the first with ideal political culture (beliefs, attitudes, etc.) and the other with real political culture (beliefs and political conduct combined). The behavioural approach in defining political culture can be also found with authors as Fagen (in Tucker: 1973), Juhart (1992), Južnič (1989), Lukšič (2006), Riemer, Simon and Romance (1983/2006) or Wiatr (in Vajdová, 1996). When referring to political culture Južnič, Riemer, Simon, Romance, and Wiatr, for example, speak of patterns of political behaviour, whereas Fagen (in Trucker, 1973: 177) describes it as patterned ways of life and action. Lukšič (2006: 11) believes political culture is the politics people are actually capable of producing. Juhart (1992: 39), on the other hand, explores the Christian view of political culture and defines it as "that public activity, which serves the purpose of overall material and spiritual development and growth of people."

Just as complex is the attempt to divide the concept into different types. There are definitely as many political cultures as there are different political systems. Even Almond himself introduced and used the concept of political culture for the purposes of comparative politics, or more precisely, for the classification of political systems (Lukšič, 2006: 36).³ We will concentrate on

³ Many of Almond's critics argued that his study "celebrated" the Anglo-American democracy in comparison with the communist and socialist political systems (Eatwell, 1997: 3). It is not the intention of this

a few pure types that can be found in literature on political culture. Južnič (1989: 220) writes that political culture boils down to four different types: political culture in which an individual (1) is a subject, (2) is an observer with a passive role in the political system, (3) is actively involved in the political system, and (4) is a citizen with full rights to make decisions.⁴ A more famous but very similar is the typology of Almond and Verba, who divide political culture into parochial, subject and participant. In parochial political culture, which is present in African tribal societies for example, average individuals are more or less unaware of them having any real power or role in the system. In subject political culture, the individual is aware of the system but his role in it is rather passive. Participant political culture, on the other hand, entails both well-informed and active citizens (Almond and Verba, 1963/1965: 17-18). Klicperová and Feierabend (in Vajdová, 2005: 885) complement Almond and Verba's typology with a fourth type of political culture that they call an estranged political culture. In estranged political culture,⁵ the individual does not trust the government nor believes in his own abilities to change anything under the existing rules. Cynicism, which is a dominant attitude towards the system, could even lead to open hatred and violence.

Before we end the discussion on political culture, we will briefly mention Wilson's system. Wilson classifies three different types of political culture based on political rights and on how people acquire them. According to sacramental/political culture, a person's position in society is determined by fate and their social obligations heavily outweigh rights. In rational/secular political culture, individuals are granted their rights conditionally by the community they live in. Inequalities among people are explained on the basis of class inequality (sociologically) or merit (personal attributes). Wilson's last type is called ethical/holistic political culture, where rights are inherent to the concept of humanity and person acquires them with his or her birth (Wilson, 1997: 490-491).

Authors describing pure types of political culture admit they are mostly writing about fictional categories. Real life political culture is usually a mixture of two or more pure types. With this said, we conclude our theoretical overview and move to the central part of our case study of Ukrainian political culture.

article to dissect the ideological arguments connected with political culture, we do, however, acknowledge that many scholars used this concept to study the differences between political systems. The main finding of authors such as Južnič (1989) and even Almond (1983) himself was that political culture of a country is not always congruent with the country's political system. In the case of many communist states, this meant that these systems were too short lived for the development of a true communist political culture.

⁴ Južnič's calls the last, fourth, type an "ideal" political culture. His ideal political culture should be understood in the context of political and economic system of Yugoslavia during the Cold War that supported workers' self-management instead of central state planning.

⁵ According to Klicperová and Feierabend, estranged political culture is a result of the communist system.

Case study – Ukrainian Supreme Council Elections 2012

Election period offers a perfect time and setting for the study of political culture in democratic countries. It is usually the time when the political involvement of the majority of citizens is at its peak, as it is each citizen's legal right and duty to participate in the political event in question. Data collected during this period by the election commissions, may it be voter turnout or the final results, is clear and can be easily interpreted. Low voter turnout, *i.e.*, is usually explained as a sign of a passive, confused or uninterested electorate who has little trust in the main political institutions of their country.

As written in the introduction, our article explores the Ukrainian political culture during the Ukrainian parliamentary elections of 2012. We will apply the approach of Trucker and other authors who maintain that the study of political culture should include both, psychological and behavioural attitudes of people. Our main goal will be to examine factors that influence voting behaviours of Ukrainians, starting with a short overview of the political environment. Included are the presentation of attitudes of Ukrainians towards political institutions and an investigation on the reasons that drive people to vote for particular parties and candidates. To examine the latter, we will use Almond and Verba's classification of people's orientations towards the political system that include cognitive, affective and evaluational orientations. All these factors are likely to influence citizens' voting choices on the day of the elections.

Ukrainian political system – overview

As we learnt from Stanič and Macura, the environment in which people live in shapes their political culture. Ukraine, our study country, is an ex-Soviet republic that was established in 1991 after the collapse of the Soviet Union. At the time of the parliamentary elections of 2012 it had a semi-parliamentary, semi-presidential system with separated legislative, executive and judicial bodies. In the recent years, the Ukrainian political system has been a target of much criticism. The democratic standards achieved with the Orange revolution suffered a substantial blow with the election of Victor Yanukovich as president in 2010. Later that year, the constitutional court reversed constitutional changes from the Orange revolution and shifted power from the parliament and the prime minister back to the president. This has seriously undermined the system of checks and balances. After the elections in 2012, Ukrainian Supreme Council (Verkhovna rada) consisted of five political parties and a group of non-affiliated parliamentarians.

Ukrainians show a general distrust towards the democratic institutions of their country. This finding is unsurprising because of all the problems Ukraine has been facing since its independence such as political instability, high corruption and low living standards with scarce changes for the better. Table 1 demonstrates the different degrees of trust of the Ukrainian citizens towards the main public institutions in Ukraine.

Table 1: CONFIDENCE IN PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS % OF

Social institution	Trust	Don't trust	The trust-distrust balance
Church	61,7	17,0	44,7
Mass Media	40,5	28,3	12,2
Community organizations	27,1	29,4	- 2,4
Armed	34,3	36,6	- 2,4
Opposition	24,0	52,6	- 28,6
President	21,9	65,9	- 44,0
Police	15,5	62,9	- 47,4
Government	16,1	68,8	- 52,7
Verkhovna Rada (Supreme Council)	12,0	73,4	- 61,4

Source: Paniotto and Kharchenko (2012)

Table 1 shows that the crucial political bodies in the country, President, Government and Supreme Council, suffer from the highest distrust rates (see: trust-distrust balance). Of the three, the President enjoys the highest degree of trust which stands at 21.9 percent, but it should also be mentioned that as much as 65.9 percent of respondents does not trust him at all. The highest distrust rates can be found with the Supreme Council (73.4 percent). Among the presented public institutions, the highest degrees of trust are associated with the Church (61.7 percent trust rate and 44.7 percent positive trust-distrust balance), which is followed by the Mass Media (40.5 percent trust rate and 12.2 percent positive trust-distrust balance).

When talking about community organizations (NGOs), they are doing much better on the trust-distrust scale than many other public bodies. According to our information, trust in community organizations is nearly equal to distrust level. On 1 January 2013, there were about 274,231 local bodies of political parties and 87,572 community organizations (NGOs) with local status, including local centres, registered with local registration agencies (State Statistic Service of Ukraine, 2013). However, it is also important to take into account the report of Freedom House, which found out that in 2011 about 65 percent of registered NGOs were not active. It is, therefore, to be expected that a number of truly active NGOs implementing projects is substantially lower from the official data (Kramer et al., 2012: 8).

Elections in Ukraine

During its 23 years of independence, Ukraine has experienced a significant number of elections (presidential, parliamentary and local elections, plus repeated and extraordinary elections). In fact, the history of modern Ukraine can be viewed not only as a time of change in the political system of the state and its electoral system, but also as a continuous period of transformation in the values of the voter population.

Ukraine cannot yet be called a stable society, and any talk about the stability of political preferences and electoral values would be premature. Ukraine is still transitioning to a multiparty system, which affects the attitudes of Ukrainians towards the system and consequentially also their electoral behaviour. Radical and inconsistent changes in electoral laws create a type of euphoria in the lead up to democratic elections, and disappointment is felt after the election results come in. Often, Ukrainians do not feel that their values are represented during the election campaign. In this regard, trends in electoral processes are quite controversial. On one hand, the public's commitment to democracy creates a more tangible political culture, and produces active and responsible citizens; on the other hand, there is a lack of trust in government and democratic institutions in general.

Ukrainian Supreme Council Elections of 2012

Elections to the Supreme Council of Ukraine in 2012 were the 6th parliamentary elections the country has held since its independence in 1991. Our case study of the electoral process was conducted in the pre-election period (August to October 2012). A weekly poll was done by the Sociological Laboratory at Sumy State University and included 49,270 respondents in 29 territorial election districts, representing 23 regions of Ukraine and Crimea.⁶ A closed form survey was used. The sample was stratified, multistage, with a random selection of respondents with quota at the last stage. The sampling error does not exceed 3 percent.

The research was conducted in three stages. The first stage included the expansion of the program and organizing the sample. The second stage was the survey itself. The method of door-to-door survey was applied where the respondents had to answer printed questionnaires. The control over the work of interviewers and typing of data for further processing also belonged to this stage. The third stage included computer processing of data, forming

⁶ *The choice of settlements, where the survey was conducted, was made depending on the number of voters in frames of separate electoral districts. The respondents were chosen randomly but the number of adult population and social-demographic characteristics (sex, age, educational level) were taken into account.*

of tables and diagrams, preparation of the analytic account. To answer our main research question “What motivates Ukrainians to vote for a particular political candidate and party?” we will utilize the results of the questionnaire from September 29th 2012 where we asked people why they would vote for a particular candidate or party.

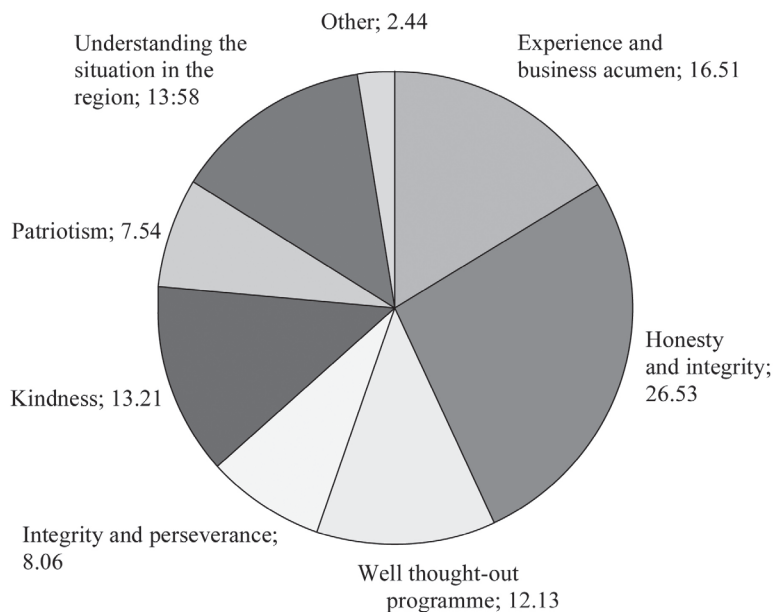
The 2012 election differed from previous elections held under the new mixed electoral system. Two opposition leaders were excluded from the electoral list (Tymoshenko, Lutsenko), tough and unfair competition between candidates occurred, and new forms and scopes of governmental administrative resources were introduced during the election campaign. At the regional level, the fighting between candidates and the increased use of government resources led to intensified concerns from citizens about the fairness and transparency of the elections.

In Ukraine, the turnout of citizens to the polls decreases with each election. Thus, in 1998, the parliamentary election turnout was 69.63 percent; in 2002, turnout was 65.21 percent; in 2006, that number decreased to 58.97 percent; and in 2007, the early parliamentary elections turnout was 57.94 percent. In the 2012 election, overall voter turnout was 57.99 percent (Central Election Commission of Ukraine, 2013). The decreasing voter turnout confirms our earlier assumptions linking the voter participation to low levels of trust in the political institutions, and a certain degree of confusion created by the constantly changing electoral laws.

It is in the described circumstances that the parliamentary elections of 2012 were carried out. To establish what influences election behaviour of Ukrainian voters, we will use a slightly altered Almond and Verba’s classification of political orientations of people towards the political system. We believe that evaluational orientations towards a political system are dependent on people’s cognitive and affective orientations towards the same system. We tested this assumption by examining the motivations that led Ukrainians to vote for a specific candidate and party. Firstly, we analyzed respondents’ answers to the question “What candidate quality is the most important to you when you vote for him or her?” This allows us to trace the respondents’ personal, professional and social impressions of the candidates and the importance of these qualities in shaping decisions about the choice of a candidate. The respondents could choose up to three options. Our findings are presented in Graph 1.

As Graph 1 shows, respondents believe that the personal characteristics of candidates are most important. The largest number of respondents (26.53 percent) said that the most important qualities of a candidate are honesty and integrity. An additional 8 percent of respondents selected integrity and perseverance as most important (the two categories combined total 34.53 percent).

Graph 1: EVALUATION OF PERSONAL, PROFESSIONAL AND SOCIAL QUALITIES OF THE CANDIDATE



Source: Own research

Respondents selected professional qualities as the second most important characteristic. Experience and business acumen were selected by 16.51 percent of respondents, while a well thought out program was most important to 12.13 percent of respondents (combined total of 28.64 percent).

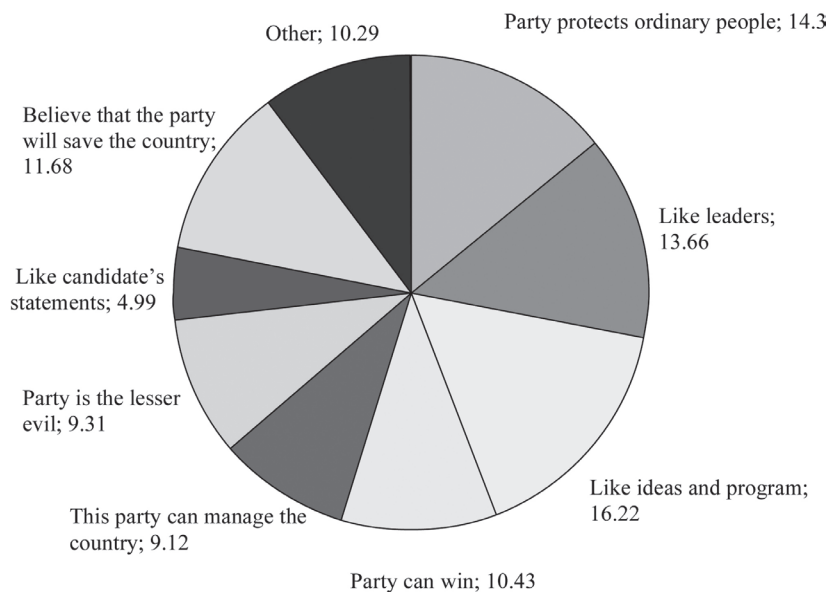
The social skills of a candidate were selected at a lower rate than professional or personal qualities. Understanding people and the situation in the region was selected by 13.58 percent of respondents, and kindness and willingness to help people was selected by 13.21 percent. However, if patriotism is considered a social quality, which was selected by 7.54 percent of respondents, it can be argued that social skills are the second most important characteristic that shapes voters' choices (the three categories combined total 34.33 percent).

This hierarchy is quite revealing. Fundamentally, voters choose their leader based on personal and social qualities, which means that their decision is mostly based on emotional/affective rather than rational/cognitive reasons.

Secondly, we examined the motives behind respondents' selection of political party. When asked for their rationale for choosing one political party over another, those polled were more likely to choose rational motives, but in most cases this rationality was burdened by various social

and emotional components. Out of the offered answers, the respondents could choose two options. The results of the second question are illustrated in Graph 2.

Graph 2: REASONS FOR CHOOSING THE PARTY



Source: Own research

“The party defends the interests of people like me” is an emotional and social motivation. This option was selected by 14.3 percent of respondents. Another emotional response, “I like party leaders,” was chosen by 13.7 percent of respondents. Emotional and social reasons, even irrational ones, can also be considered a motivating force in choosing “I believe that the party will lead the country out of crisis” (chosen by 11.68 percent of respondents). In total, we have 39.68 percent of respondents who were guided in the selection of political parties by largely emotional reasons.

Our research shows that voters prefer rational motives in choosing political parties. The rational, pragmatic option “this party has a real chance of winning,” was chosen by 10.43 percent of respondents. Another pragmatic option, “this party has shown its ability to effectively run the country,” was selected by 9.12 percent of respondents and demonstrates a desire for order, stability, and even authoritarianism that is quite distant from emotion. The sceptical, but rational, selection of a party based on the respondents’ assessment that the party is a “lesser evil” (“Compared with others, this party is the ‘lesser evil’”), drew 9.31 percent of respondents.

Some arguments can carry external signs of emotion, but are associated with respondents' evaluation of political programs, speeches, and ideas, and are arguments that are based on reason. The selection "I like the idea and program of the party" (chosen by 16.22 percent of respondents), can be seen as a rational, ideological choice that was made based on the comparison of programs and ideas of different political forces. The rational elements of personal emotion include arguments in favour of political power, such as "I like the candidate's statements and the candidate's advertising" (chosen by 4.99 percent of respondents) (Graph 2).

Overall, half of respondents (50.07 percent) selected rational reasons for their choice of political party, demonstrating that cognitive orientations influence voters' evaluational orientations and electoral behaviour to a slightly bigger degree than affective orientations. However, we observed the prevalence of emotional and personal reasons, i.e. affective orientations, for choosing individual candidates.

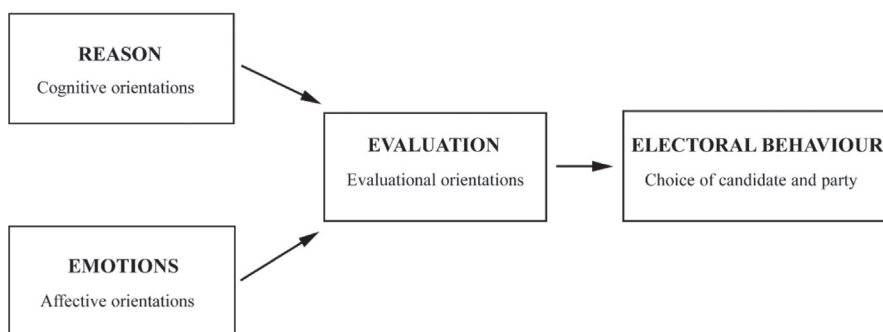
Conclusion

Electoral political culture is a subcategory of political culture that can be studied around the time of elections in countries, but also smaller units like regions, constituencies or towns. Our article concentrated on the study of electoral political culture of Ukrainians during the Ukrainian parliamentary elections of 2012. The goal of our article was to find an answer to the question "What motivates Ukrainians to vote for a particular political candidate and party?" To better understand what influences voters' decisions we decided to study the environment of a common Ukrainian voter starting with outlining the main characteristics of the Ukrainian political system. Ukraine has all the crucial legislative, executive and judicial political bodies needed for a healthy democracy, a diversified NGO sector and regular elections. Unfortunately, we also discovered that Ukrainians do not trust governmental and other public institutions in their country with the exception of the Orthodox Church and mass media. The highest distrust rates were found with the Supreme council (73.4 per cent), therefore, it is not surprising that the data we obtained from the Ukrainian central election commission show a steadily decreasing voter turnout at parliamentary elections since 1998.

The overall voter turnout in our case study of Parliamentary elections in 2012 was 57.99 percent. To determine the factors that influence Ukrainian choice of a candidate and party, we leaned on Almond and Verba's theory describing three orientations people have to politics (cognitive, affective and evaluational). After analysing the results of the questionnaire from September 29th 2012, we drew the following conclusions. Firstly, the electoral

behaviour of Ukrainians is influenced by a combination of cognitive and affective orientations of voters to election candidates and parties. Secondly, the affective orientations are stronger when Ukrainian choose an individual candidate (psychological and social reasons represent 62.97 percent of answers). However, when choosing the political party, half of the answers (50.07 percent) represent decisions made on rational (cognitive) grounds. We also noticed that the affective component was still strongly present at this level. Thirdly, we intentionally used only two of the three Almond and Verba's orientations in the interpretation of the questionnaire results. We believe a voter's evaluational orientation towards politicians and parties is a dependent variable that is shaped by cognitive and affective orientations towards the same entities. To illustrate our argument, we utilized our findings to prepare the following elaboration (Figure 1).

Figure 1: WHAT INFLUENCES ELECTORAL BEHAVIOR OF VOTERS



Source: Own elaboration

Regarding our case study of Ukrainian parliamentary elections, Figure 1 demonstrates that electoral behaviour of Ukrainian voters depends on their evaluation of political candidates and parties. Our research showed that these evaluations were based on different rational and emotional reasons, or a combination of both. The degree to which cognitive and affective orientations shape evaluational orientation can change depending on the circumstances that surround a studied group of voters.

These features have found their expression during presidential elections in Ukraine on 25th of May, 2014. Of course, a detailed analysis of this presidential election is beyond the scope of this article but we can specify certain characteristics that reflect the state of the electoral political culture in modern Ukraine.

First of all, the election time was characterised by a prevailing atmosphere of general psychological fatigue and frustration of the electorate that was formed against the backdrop of ongoing political crisis and the

aggression from Russian Federation. The leading political parties, nominating the candidates for president, focused their election campaign around the most topical slogans such as “peace,” “united state” and “decentralization of power,” letting the more substantial questions of national identity and European choice recede into the background. This meant giving more space to emotion driven pre-election debates than the more rational discussions about the country’s future.

So, social and psychological factors and focus on the personal characteristics of candidates for the presidency once again became the defining factor. A growing social demand for peace and stability sent voters’ sympathies toward Petro Poroshenko, an independent candidate. We can also assume that many voters supported Poroshenko, because he was the strongest candidate, and they wanted to avoid the second round of election. However, from our point of view this electoral behaviour cannot be considered reasonable, because it is a reflection of emotional reasons mentioned above. For the most part, the strongest motive was a desire to escape the current atmosphere of tension and discomfort as soon as possible giving Poroshenko the ability to solve these problems.

Scholars of political culture talk about political culture as a slowly changing process rather than something that can be changed overnight. Electoral political culture as its subcategory follows that logic. However, affected by cognitive and especially affective orientations, it is much more prone to changes. Thus, we believe that the influence of emotions on political culture should receive more academic attention in future, particularly when fuelled by fast changes in the environment.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Almond, Gabriel (1983): Communism and Political Culture Theory. *Comparative Politics* 15 (2): 127–138. Available on: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/421672>, 16. 9. 2013
- Almond, Gabriel A. and Sidney Verba (1965): *The civic culture: Political attitudes and democracy in five nations: An analytic study*. Boston, Toronto: Little, Brown, cop.
- Brown, Archie (1979): Introduction. In Archie Brown and Jack Gray (eds.), *Political Culture and Political Change in Communist States: 1–24*. New York: Holmes and Meier.
- Central Election Commission of Ukraine (2013): *Вибори народних депутатів України 2012*. Available on: <http://www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/vnd2012/wp001>, 10. 11. 2013.
- Dawson, Richard E. and Kenneth Prewitt (1969): *Political Socialization*. Boston: Little, Brown and Co.
- Dittmer, Lowell (1977): Political Culture and Political Symbolism: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis. *World Politics* 29 (4): 552–83. Available on: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2010039>, 16. 9. 2013.

- Eatwell, Roger (1997): Introduction – The importance of the Political Culture Approach. In Roger Eatwell (ed.), *European Political Cultures: Conflict or Convergence?*: 1–12. London, New York: Routledge.
- Erikson, Robert S., John P. McIver and Gerald C. Wright, Jr. (1987): State Political Culture and Public Opinion. *The American Political Science Review* 81 (3): 797–814. Available on: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1962677>, 16. 9. 2013.
- Jackman, Robert W. and Ross A. Miller (1996): A Renaissance of Political Culture. *American Journal of Political Science* 40 (3): 632–59. Available on: www.jstor.org/stable/2111787, 16. 9. 2013.
- Južnič, Stane (1989): *Politična kultura: Druga, prenovljena in dopolnjena izdaja*. Maribor: Založba Obzorja.
- Juhart, Janez (1992): *Politična kultura v demokraciji*. In Janez Stanič in Dušan Macura (eds.), *Demokracija in politična kultura*: 37–44. Ljubljana: Enajsta univerza.
- Kim, Young C. (1964): The Concept of Political Culture in Comparative Politics. *The Journal of Politics* 26 (2): 313–36. Available on: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2127599>, 16. 9. 2013.
- Kolenc, Janez (1992): Sistemski in kritično-teoretičen pristop k raziskovanju politične kulture. In Janez Stanič and Dušan Macura (eds.), *Demokracija in politična kultura*: 135–156. Ljubljana: Enajsta univerza.
- Lukšič, Igor (2006): *Politična kultura: Političnost morale*. Ljubljana: Fakulteta za družbene vede.
- Mark, Gregory A. and Christopher L. Eisgruber (1988): Introduction: Law and Political Culture. *The University of Chicago Law Review* 55 (2): 413–27. Available on: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1599810>, 16. 9. 2013.
- Paniotto, Volodymyr and Natalya Kharchenko (2012): Довіра соціальним інститутам. *KMIC Review* 6 (4): 3–8. Available on: [http://old.kiis.com.ua/KMIS-Review/04\(06-2012\)/ds.php?file=04_KR.pdf](http://old.kiis.com.ua/KMIS-Review/04(06-2012)/ds.php?file=04_KR.pdf), 10. 11. 2013.
- Pye, Lucian W. (1991): Political Culture Revisited. *Political Psychology* 12 (3): 487–508. Available on: www.jstor.org/stable/3791758, 16. 9. 2013.
- Riemer, Neal, Douglas W. Simon and Joseph Romance (2006): *The Challenge of Politics: An Introduction to Political Science*. Washington (D.C.): CQ, cop.
- Robertson, David (1985): *The Penguin Dictionary of Politics*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- Stanič, Janez in Dušan Macura (1992): Uvod. In Janez Stanič in Dušan Macura (eds.), *Demokracija in politična kultura*: 7–8. Ljubljana: Enajsta univerza.
- State Statistic Service of Ukraine (2013): В Україні у 2012 р. кількість зареєстрованих партій і ГО збільшилася на 5,4 percent - до 3,9 тис. об'єднань. Available on: <http://www.rbc.ua/ukr/newsline/show/v-ukraine-v-2012-g-kolichestvo-zaregistririvannyh-partiy-07032013154600>, 10. 11. 2013.
- Street, John (1994): Political Culture – From Civic Culture to Mass Culture. *British Journal of Political Science* 24 (1): 95–113. Available on: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/194187>, 16. 9. 2013.
- Shusko, Oleksandr and Olena Prystayko (2013): Ukraine. In *Freedom House, Nations in Transit 2013*: 579–98. Washington, New York: Freedom House.

- Available on: http://www.freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/NIT13_Ukraine_1st Proof.pdf, 10. 11. 2013.
- Tucker, Robert C. (1973): Culture, Political Culture and Communist Society. *Political Science Quarterly* 88 (2): 173–190. Available on: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2149106>, 16. 9. 2013.
- Vajdová, Zdenka (1996): Politická kultura – teoretický koncept a výzkum. *Sociologický časopis* 32 (3): 339–51. Available on: http://sreview.soc.cas.cz/uploads/052b84f7ba4a8cd57e316b1b50f2359a0ef396db_299_339VAJDO.pdf, 10. 11. 2013.
- (2005): Politická kultura české populace v regionálním rozměru. *Sociologický časopis* 41 (5): 881–901. Available on: http://sreview.soc.cas.cz/uploads/b93239423e9a9813e60e17be77c0e0aa52d683d3_572_508vajdova16.pdf, 10. 11. 2013.
- Wilson, Richard W. (1997): American Political Culture in Comparative Perspective. *Political Psychology* 18 (2): 483–502. Available on: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3791777>, 16. 9. 2013.