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## CONCEPTUAL APPROACHES TO THE ISSUE OF FORMING PARLIAMENTARY COALITIONS

**Abstract.** The article determines that a coalition is the union of two or more participants who have agreed on joint actions for a certain period in order to achieve a common goal; it is stated that for the creation of a coalition there should be preconditions, in particular: presence of at least two participants; readiness for risk, awareness, rationality; the emphasis is placed on the fact that any organization, the coalition has a life cycle of the organization, consisting of the following stages: 'Birth', 'Existence; and 'Decay'; party coalition is systematized according to the following criteria: by the number of participants; by the number of political parties that have signed a coalition agreement; in the ideological closeness of the coalition partners; by division of strength between the participants; by the date of foundation; by the degree of formalization; the planned number of problem solving; for the period of existence; depending on the purpose of forming a coalition; depending on their ideological orientation; in the field of activity; and by social status.

Party coalitions are typified according to the following criteria: by the number of participants; by the number of political parties that signed the coalition agree-

ment; on the ideological proximity of the partners in the coalition; for the division of powers between the participants; by creation date; by degree of formalization; on the planned number of problem solving; by term of existence; depending on the purpose of forming a coalition; depending on their ideological orientation; by field of activity; on social status. It is determined that today the issue of interaction of the parliamentary coalition with the highest state authorities acquires particular urgency, and will be the subject of further research.

It is analyzed that, in accordance with the date of creation, the coalition is divided into pre-election and post-election. According to the degree of formalization: formal (based on the corresponding coalition agreement), or informal (actual support for government initiatives by a majority of deputies in the legislature). According to the planned number of problem solving: complex or to solve one problem.

**Keywords:** coalition, party coalition, typology of coalitions, formation of parliamentary coalitions, preconditions for the formation of coalitions.

### КОНЦЕПТУАЛЬНІ ПІДХОДИ ДО ПИТАННЯ ФОРМУВАННЯ ПАРЛАМЕНТСЬКИХ КОАЛІЦІЙ

**Анотація.** У статті визначено, що коаліцією є об'єднання двох або більше учасників, які домовилися про спільні дії на певний період для досягнення спільної мети; вказано, що для створення коаліції повинні виникнути передумови, зокрема: наявність щонайменше двох учасників; готовність до ризику, інформованість, раціональність; акцентовано увагу на тому, що будь-яка організація, коаліція має життєвий цикл організації, що складається з етапів: “народження”, “існування”; “розпад”; систематизовано партійні коаліції за такими критеріями: кількістю учасників; кількістю політичних партій, що підписали коаліційну угоду; ідеологічною близькістю партнерів по коаліції; поділом повноважень між учасниками; датою створення; ступенем формалізації; запланованою кількістю вирішення проблем; терміном існування; залежно від мети формування коаліції; залежно від їх ідеологічного спрямування; сферою діяльності; соціальним статусом.

Типологізовано партійні коаліції за такими критеріями: за кількістю учасників; за кількістю політичних партій, що підписали коаліційну угоду; за ідеологічною близькістю партнерів по коаліції; за поділом повноважень між учасниками; за датою створення; за ступенем формалізації; за запланованою кількістю вирішення проблем; за терміном існування; залежно від мети формування коаліції; залежно від їх ідеологічного спрямування; за сферою діяльності; за соціальним статусом. Визначено, що на сьогодні особливої актуальності набуває питання взаємодії парламентської коаліції з вищими органами державної влади, що стане тематикою подальших досліджень.

Проаналізовано, що відповідно до дати створення коаліції поділяють на передвиборчі та післявиборчі. За ступенем формалізації: формальна (в основі якої лежить відповідна коаліційна угода) або неформальна (фак-

тична підтримка ініціатив уряду більшістю депутатів у законодавчому органі). За запланованою кількістю вирішення проблем: комплексна або для вирішення однієї проблеми.

**Ключові слова:** коаліції, партійні коаліції, типологізація коаліцій, формування парламентських коаліцій, передумови формування коаліцій.

## КОНЦЕПТУАЛЬНЫЕ ПОДХОДЫ К ВОПРОСУ ФОРМИРОВАНИЯ ПАРЛАМЕНТСКИХ КОАЛИЦИЙ

**Аннотация.** В статье определено, что коалицией является объединение двух или более участников, которые договорились о совместных действиях на определенный период для достижения общей цели; указано, что для создания коалиции должны возникнуть предпосылки, в частности: наличие не менее двух участников; готовность к риску, информированность, рациональность; акцентировано внимание на том, что любая организация, коалиция имеет жизненный цикл организации, который состоит из этапов: “зарождение”, “существование”; “распад”; систематизированы партийные коалиции по следующим критериям: по количеству участников; по количеству политических партий, подписавших коалиционное соглашение; по идеологической близости партнеров по коалиции; по разделению полномочий между участниками; по дате создания; по степени формализации; по запланированному количеству решения проблем; по сроку существования; в зависимости от цели формирования коалиции; в зависимости от их идеологической направленности; по сфере деятельности; по социальному статусу.

Типологизированы партийные коалиции по следующим критериям: по количеству участников; по количеству политических партий, подписавших коалиционное соглашение; по идеологической близостью партнеров по коалиции; по разделению полномочий между участниками; по дате создания; по степени формализации; по запланированному количеству решения проблем; по сроку существования; в зависимости от цели формирования коалиции; в зависимости от их идеологической направленности; по сфере деятельности; по социальному статусу. Определено, что сегодня особую актуальность приобретает вопрос взаимодействия парламентской коалиции с высшими органами государственной власти, что станет темой дальнейших исследований.

Проанализировано, что в соответствии с датой создания коалиции разделяют на предвыборные и послевыборные. По степени формализации: формальная (в основе которой лежит соответствующее коалиционное соглашение) или неформальная (фактическая поддержка инициатив правительства большинством депутатов в законодательном органе). По запланированному количеству решения проблем: комплексная или для решения одной проблемы.

**Ключевые слова:** коалиции, партийные коалиции, типологизация коалиций, формирование парламентских коалиций, предпосылки формирования коалиций.

**Problem statement.** In a democratic society decisions in the system of representative bodies are taken by a majority of votes. At the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, under the public representation was understood the representation of the interests of a certain social group of people. Today, the power to publicly represent interests is legally provided by the people to form a national policy in the legislature, in particular parliaments, which urges the representatives of various political forces to consolidate, to unite around common problems, ideas and programs.

**Analysis of recent research and publications.** As for domestic scholars, certain issues of the legal status of the parliamentary coalition became the subject of research of A. Matsiuk, O. Kulchytska. V. Bronnikov also researched conflicts of coalitions.

Some aspects of the functioning of the parliamentary coalition are disclosed in the writings of such scholars as V. Mironenko, S. Teleshun, O. Sovhyria, Yu. Shved, and others.

The parliamentary associations were investigated by D. Likarchuk; the influence of parliamentary factions on the implementation of the representative mandate was investigated by V. Wenger and others. However, there is no unanimous opinion on the issue of the formation of political coalitions and their typology.

**The purpose of this article** is the consideration of the theoretical foundations of the formation of political coalitions and their typology.

**Presentation of the main material.** M. Duverger proposed dividing the union of parties, which he calls union, coalition and alliances at his time. He

considered the duration of the existence of the association as the main criterion. The author understood all party unions under the union. M. Duverger calls '*a long union*' or an alliance the union of parties that exist for a long period of time. He calls a coalition as a short-lived party association or so-called '*episodic agreement*') [1, p. 392–408]. Today's requirements need to be taken into account in the formation of the public representation of the issues of '*gender balance, social equality and national representation, thus, the parliament becomes a microcosm of society, which it represents*' [2, p. 179].

A coalition is now called the association of two or more participants who have agreed on joint actions for a certain period to achieve a common goal.

The formation of coalitions proceeds from the fact that together its participants achieve better results than each separately. That is, its members come up to the process of creating a coalition with rational considerations. The coalition has three main stages in its development:

- 'Birth' is a preparation for unification, negotiation and conclusion of a coalition agreement;
- 'Existence' is a from concluding a coalition agreement to a common goal;
- 'Disintegration' is the moment when the goal of the coalition is achieved, and the further existence of a coalition does not make sense [3].

U. Ricker argues that the minimum winning coalitions are created with the desire to win as much gain as possible in The Theory of Political Coalitions.

U. Ricker believes that political parties and individuals are trying to create a coalition of the least common weight.

He calls the basic preconditions for the creation of any coalition [4, p. 16]:

1) Presence of at least two participants or groups of participants;

2) All coalitions are games with a zero amount, that is, the sum of wins and losses of participants is zero. The risk of losing and the desire to win forces them to form a coalition;

3) Awareness is a formed perception of the situation;

4) Rationality: *'The subject will never choose the X alternative if, at the same time, there is the U alternative to which, in his opinion, is more attractive than X'* [5].

Creating a coalition is a complex social process that manifests the characteristics of society, its main political players and a particular political situation.

Formation of parliamentary coalitions can be considered parliamentary democracy and can be characterized as a *'system, which by its very nature consists in forming the population of the ruling teams through the mechanism of elections* [6, p. 6]. According to experts, the bipartisan system is the closest to the parliamentary model of democracy, since two large parties have the same opportunity to win the elections and form a government or go to it in opposition.

Yu. Shveda assures that parliamentary coalitions are formed under the following conditions:

1) The free competition of political forces, in which they try to gain maximum access to power, but cannot carry it out on their own;

2) The dispersal of political forces, which is manifested in the fact that no party and no political bloc are able to obtain absolute superiority;

3) Polarization of political forces in parliament [7, p. 276–278].

The issue of forming a parliamentary coalition is closely linked to the existence of various electoral systems. Under the majority system, the growth of the number of votes may lead to two major parties in the parliament, and thus increase the likelihood that one of them will form the government on its own. The system of proportional representation may increase the number of parties and reduce the probability that one party will receive more than half of the seats [8, p. 263–264]. The consequence of the majoritarian system is that many parties in fact are already *'coalitions'*.

A number of factors influence the formation of a coalition, in particular:

1) The number of participants,

2) The number of political parties,

3) Ideology and ideological proximity of participants, and

4) The division of powers between the parties.

An additional network of factors is represented by: (a) the date of creation, (b) the degree of formalization, (c) the purpose of creation, and (d) the period of existence.

The number of participants distinguishes between the minimum winning coalition, the coalition of the minimum size and the excess coalition. The most widespread is the minimal winning coalition that was described by **W. Ricker**, who proceeded from the fact that when deciding on participation in the government, politicians proceed solely from the desire to gain power or prestige through ministerial positions [9, p. 340]. The analysis of parliamentary coalitions in different countries of the

world indicates that a significant number of them are smaller or larger than the minimum winning coalition.

V. Hammson introduced the notion of a coalition of the minimum size, which combines the smallest necessary number of participants only. Excess coalitions have a much larger number of participants than is necessary to ensure the majority.

V. Myronenko [10] implements the typology of parliamentary coalitions. By the number of political parties that have signed a coalition agreement, two (three-, four- five- ...) party and general (all-inclusive) coalition can be singled out.. According to the ideological closeness of the coalition partners, it is possible to allocate a minimally close and maximally closed coalition. We can allocate proportional (each partner receives powers according to his contribution to the coalition) and a disproportionate coalition by division of powers between the parties.

V. Bronnikov also dwells on the typology of parliamentary coalitions. Most often, in his opinion, there is a division of party coalition on the basis of the number of their participants as two-party and multi-party. Depending on the size of the party that forms the party coalition, they are divided into a coalition of large, small and medium parties. Depending on the purpose of forming a coalition, they are divided into electoral (for joint participation in elections), temporary (to achieve certain temporary goals), and most often they form parliamentary coalitions (for the formation and operation of the government or opposition to him), also closed and open coalitions depending on from their ideological direction.

Closed coalitions should be considered coalitions that do not perceive parties and groups whose ideologies are marked by world-view positions. According to V. Bronnikov, open coalitions '*are created when the main political parties, despite different ideologies, recognize the need for cooperation on a particular issue or problem and are ready to work together to solve this problem. Open coalitions are widespread during wars and economic crises* [11, p. 6]'.

H. Wang [12] offers four criteria for the typology of political coalitions as the division into activity, duration, existence and purpose of creation and status.

According to the field of activity, the author identifies:

- *Political coalitions* (international coalition, military coalition, coalition of social groups and inter-party coalition);

- *Economic coalitions* (international organizations and conglomerates);

- *Cultural coalitions* (technological, religious and ethnic ('family') coalition.

H. Wang identifies short-term, medium-term and long-term coalition according to the duration of existence. The author uses the notion of an operational cycle to estimate the duration. Coalitions that exist within one operational cycle are short-term ones. Coalitions that lasts from one to three cycles are medium-term coalitions, more than three cycles are long-term ones. The operating cycle is one year for the economic and cultural spheres, 4–6 years for the political and international sphere, depending on the electoral cycles.

According to H. Wang, the coalitions could be constitutional, institu-

tional, portfolio, policy implementation and active coalitions for the purpose of creation. Social groups are united to create a common social order, in particular the strengthening of the state in the constitutional coalitions. Social groups are united around a particular area of activity (human rights, and ecological) or changes in institutional order in institutional coalitions. Portfolio coalitions are formed when the government is created and the division of ministerial portfolios. Coalitions for policy implementation and activity coalitions appear situationally to achieve short-term goals.

X. Wang's fourth criterion is the social status of coalitions, which covers the level of coalitions, their size, and strength. Emphasizing international, domestic, and local, scholar simultaneously divides them into size as large, medium and small, and in strength as strong, medium strength and weak coalition.

Additional networks of factors give a chance to more accurately typify the parliamentary coalitions. According to the date of foundation, the coalitions are divided into pre-election and post-election. By the degree of formalization, they are divided into formal (based on the corresponding coalition agreement), or informal (actual support of government initiatives by the majority of deputies in the legislative body). By the planned number of problem solving are complex or for solving one problem.

Taking into account the views of the aforementioned scholars, we will organize the parliamentary coalition's systematization. The results are presented in Table.

The coalition of parliamentary factions, in the Supreme Council of Ukraine, is proposed to be defined as a voluntary, relatively stable association of parliamentary factions formed in the Supreme Council of Ukraine on the basis of the results of elections and on the basis of the coordination of political positions in order to legitimize election programs by adopting relevant regulations [13, p. 43–44].

According to Art. 83 of the Constitution of Ukraine [14], as amended in 2004, it was determined that from the day of the appointment of the Supreme Council of Ukraine elected in 2006, according to the results of the elections and on the basis of the coordination of political positions, a coalition of parliamentary factions should be formed, which includes the majority of people's deputies of Ukraine from the constitutional composition of the Supreme Council of Ukraine.

The notion of a coalition is also defined in Art. 61 of the Law of Ukraine 'On the Rules of Procedure of the Supreme Council of Ukraine' [15] dated February 10, 2010, according to which the coalition of parliamentary factions in the Supreme Council is formed on the basis of the agreed political positions and on the principles established by the Constitution of Ukraine and the Rules of Procedure, the association of parliamentary factions, people's deputies, which includes the majority of people's deputies from the constitutional composition of the Supreme Council. The coalition is formed within one month from the day of the opening of the first meeting of the newly elected Supreme Council or within one month from the date of

### The typology of parliamentary coalitions

№	Criteria of typology	Types of Coalitions:
1	By the number of participants	1) the minimum winning coalition; 2) a coalition of the minimum size; 3) excess coalition
2	By the number of political parties that have signed a coalition agreement	Two- (three-, four, five- ...) party; General (all-inclusive) coalition;
3	According to the ideological closeness of the coalition partners	Minimally approximated, Closing coalition
4	By division of powers between the parties	Proportional (each partner receives authority according to his contribution to the coalition), Disproportionate coalition
5	By the date of foundation	Pre-election, Post-election
6	By the degree of formalization	Formal, and Informal
7	According to the planned number of problem solving	Complex, One problem solving
8	For the duration of existence	Short-lived, Full (from elections to elections), Long-term (there are several election cycles)
9	Depending on the goal of forming a coalition	Election (for joint participation in elections), Temporary (to achieve certain temporary goals), Parliamentary coalitions (for the formation and operation of the government or opposition to it); Constitutional, Institutional, Portfolios, On policy implementation: Active
10	Depending on their ideological orientation	Closed, Open-label
11	According to the field of activity	Political coalitions (international coalition, military coalition, coalition of social groups and inter-party coalition); Economic coalitions (international organizations and conglomerates); Cultural (technological, religious and ethnic ('family'))
12	By social status	It is covered the level of creation of coalitions, their size, and power. International, domestic, local at the same time are divided in size as large, medium and small, and in power as strong, medium strength and weak



termination of the activity of the previous coalition.

Subjects of formation of a coalition of parliamentary factions are deputy factions, and not separate people's deputies of Ukraine (Part 6 of Art. 83 of the Constitution of Ukraine), therefore, the deputies' deputies from those parliamentary factions who did not pass a decision to join the coalition of parliamentary factions should be declared invalid, and the procedure for the creation of this coalition should be recognized as contrary to the statutory procedure [16, p. 17–18].

O. V. Kulchytska also expresses the opinion that the absence of at least one people's deputy of Ukraine as a member of a faction that entered the coalition means unlawful entry into the coalition and the whole of this faction [Ibid., p. 18].

Conclusions. The foregoing serves as a sufficient basis for concluding that a coalition is a union of two or more participants who have agreed on joint actions for a certain period to achieve a common goal. There must be a prerequisite for a coalition, in particular: at least two participants; readiness for risk, awareness, and rationality. Like any organization, the coalition has a life cycle of the organization, consisting of the following stages: 'Birth', 'Existence'; and 'Decay'. Party coalition can be typified on the following criteria: by the number of participants; by the number of political parties that have signed a coalition agreement; in the ideological closeness of the coalition partners; by division of strength between the participants; by the date of foundation; by the degree of formalization; the planned number of prob-

lem solving; for the period of existence; depending on the purpose of forming a coalition; depending on their ideological orientation; in the field of activity; and by social status.

Today, the issue of interaction of the parliamentary coalition with higher state authorities becomes of particular relevance, which will be the subject of further research.

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