DOI: 10.19266/1829-4286-2014-01-63-79

Optimisation Problems of the Multiparty System's Institutionalisation in Post-Soviet States

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The efficiency of the multiparty system significantly depends on the system institutionalisation level, which has two components: party system institutionalisation (PSI), and institutionalisation of political parties (IPP). Different models, criteria and indicators of the evaluation of the institutionalisation levels are used for their study. Nevertheless, by the late '90s of the past century it became clear that in post-Soviet transformation countries the establishment of democracy and, in particular, multiparty system has significant peculiarities and difficulties, the employment of those criteria and indicators are ineffective. It is no coincidence that since 2000 a sharp increase in the study of multiparty systems in post-Soviet transformation countries is noticable. The revelation of those difficulties and the revision of models and criteria for the evaluation of multiparty systems will enable an increase in research productivity.

Keywords
Post-Soviet transformation, multiparty system, evaluation, political party, institutionalisation.

In the studies devoted to the development of democracy and, in particular the making of multiparty systems, countries are often classified on a regional basis, which has resulted in the creation of a possibility to compare the democratisation making process based on regional generalisations[1]. However, having studied the political party systems in the Philippines and Thailand, and comparing them to the new Eastern European, Latin American as well as Western consolidated democracies, Allen Hicken draws attention to the fact that, despite their differences, political parties perform the same functions, and party systems have the same role, i.e., to

[1] **Spirova M.,** Political Parties in Post-Communist Societies. Formation, Persistence, and Change Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007; **Hicken A.,** Building Party Systems in Developing Democracies, Cambridge University Press, 2009.

balance local and state interests, as well as long-term priorities and short-term political requirements[2]. Electoral and party systems result from various complex factors, some of which are specific to certain countries, while others, on the contrary, have a general nature[3]. Those factors are multiple: states' traditions and history, culture and social structure, religious beliefs, intra-national ethnic relations, economic structure, etc. Therefore, during the study of any state's party system, multiple factors should be considered in the processes of its creation, consolidation and development. According to Dahl, no political institution shapes a political system as much as a state's political parties and the electoral system do[4]. In his classification of party systems, he takes into account the representation of political parties in elections and in the parliament, comparing their competitive and cooperative nature[5]. In Latin America, Central and Eastern European countries (CEE), the problems of building party systems are discussed mainly in the context of the institutionalisation of political parties and political party systems, assessing the democratisation degree or the conditioning of the quality of democracy by the institutionalisation degree or level of the political party system and political parties[6].

Works discussing issues of party system institutionalisation, refer especially to relationship questions of political party and party institutionalisation and democracy quality[7]. First and foremost, building a

[2] **Hicken A.,** Building Party Systems in Developing Democracies, Cambridge University Press, 2009, Chapter 1

[3] **Duverger M.,** Political Parties, Wiley. 1963.

[4] **Dahl R. A.,** On Democracy, Yale University Press, 1998, p. 130.

[5] **Dahl R. A.,** Patterns of Opposition, *Political Oppositions in Western Democracies,* edited by Robert Dahl, Yale University Press 1973, p. 338.

[6] **Mainwaring S., Torcal M.,** Party System Institutionalization and Party System Theory after the Third Wave of Democratization, Working Paper #319, The Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies, April 2005, Available at: http://kellogg.nd.edu/publications/workingpapers/WPS/319.pdf, 25.08.2013, **Croissant A., Völkel Ph.,** Party system types and party system institutionalization. Comparing new democracies in East and Southeast Asia. *Party Politics* 2012, 18 (2), pp. 235–265, **Randall V., Svåsand L.,** Party Institutionalization in New Democracies, *Party Politics* 2002, 8 (1), pp. 5–29.

[7] **Lijphart A.,** Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries. Second Edition, Yale University Press/New Haven & London 2012; **Berman S.,** Lessons from Europe, *Journal of Democracy*, 2007, 18, 1, pp. 28-41; **Linz J. J., and Stepan A. C.**, Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1996.

multiparty system is a political process, but it cannot happen without a number of other factors. Already in the '60s of the past century, Huntington indicates the necessity to focus on increasing the degree of political participation and the level of institutionalisation in societies in the democratisation process[8]. He believed that the political sphere depends on the level of political organisations and procedures, which in turn reflects the institutionalisation level of these organisations or procedures; he defined political and social institutions as stable, recurrent and valuable behaviour models, which usually have institutionalisation levels.

The institutionalisation phenomenon of political parties and political party systems can also be explained as a form of political parties' "materialisation" in the social consciousness, as a result of which they can often exist independent from their leaders, recurrently being included in well-known behaviour models[9]; whereas the parties in post-Soviet transformation countries were formed not so much around ideas and principles as around political figures distinguished in the political arena in one way or another[10]. However, regardless of the characteristics of the institutionalisation or the making process of a political party system or a single political party, it is an integral part of the political developments process. Naturally, the institutionalisation of a political party, moreover the establishment, are long-term and complex processes because they simultaneously occur in the political, social, as well as legal dimensions, incorporating many components. It is clear that the situation – in its versatility – cannot be fully assessed by the affirmation or confirmation of any single dimension. For example, a certain political party's legal registration or the existence of multiple political parties is a necessary but insufficient condition for the making of a multiparty system or even for institutionalisation. Institutionalisation process can be considered as a

[8] **Huntington S.P.,** Political Development and Political Decay. *World Politics*, 1965, **17,** 3, pp. 386-430, Available at: http://chenry.webhost.utexas.edu/core/Course%20Materials/SPH1965/0.pdf, 08.11.2013

[9] **Janda K.,** Comparative Political Parties: Research and Theory: **Ada W. Finifter** (ed.), *Political Science: The State of the Discipline II,* Washington D.C., American Political Science Association, 1993, pp. 163-191, Available at: http://janda.org/comparative%20parties/Janda_on_parties.htm

[10] **Torosyan T.,** Post-Soviet Transformation of Social System, RA NAS "Science" Publishing Haouse, 2006, p. 153. (in Armenian)

transformation of political parties into a legal-political institute, in case of which

a) their creation, activity and liquidation are regulated by legal means,

b) regulatory norms, values and rules of conduct for the organisation and activity of political party systems and political parties is established,

c) the political parties' relationships with each other as well as with other institutions have a stable, permanent, organised, regulated, periodic and predictable nature.

Moreover, while the institutionalisation framework of a political party system can generally be derived from constitutional norms and the nature of the electoral system, it is possible to investigate more specific issues, especially those regarding relations with the opposition, only by completing the studies of the aforementioned relations by the observation of social, economic, cultural or psychological factors[11].

Discussing the institutionalisation of politcial party systems, some authors[12] suggest observing the issue from two perspectives: political party system institutionalisation and political party institutionalisation because these processes are derived from each other, but both need a thorough analysis: one does not necessarily determine the qualities of the other one, moreover, political party institutionalisation criteria have been observed much less[13]. As noted by Bértoa, while in some cases the organisational stability and continuity of parties will promote political party system institutionalisation, in other cases it may be otherwise, which is especially true for new democracies[14].

[11] **Dahl R. A.,** Some Explanations. In *Political Oppositions in Western Democracies,* edited by Robert Dahl, Yale University Press, 1973, p. 349

[12] **Bértoa F. C.,** Party System Institutionalization and the Quality of Democracy in Eastern Europe, Center for the Study of Imperfections in Democracy, A Research Center at Central European University, DISC working Paper Series, DISC WP/2009/7, Available at http://pdc.ceu.hu/archive/00005498/01/fernando-paper-web_2.pdf, 30.09.2013

[13] **Randall V., Svasand L.,** Party Institutionalization in New Democracies, *Party Politics*, 2002, 8, 1, pp. 21-32.

[14] **Bértoa F. C., …**

The Features of Parties in New Democracies

As a result of the study of political party systems in new democracies of Eastern Europe, Spirova emphasises the need to study the activities of individual parties for the purpose of effectively researching a political party system and for perfecting a political system[15]. An important feature of party activity in new democracies is the fact that they limit the strength of power structures[16].

Also in terms of the governing system's specific manifestations and in terms of its improvement policy, the study of political party systems in post-Soviet transformation countries is of an essential importance[17]. In Russia[18], Ukraine[19], Kyrgyzstan[20], the Baltic States[21], Georgia[22], Moldova[23] and Armenia[24], a number of works are devoted to the discussion of those issues, but, understandably, especially in the limelight are the political problems in Russia, the Baltic countries and Ukraine, which are observed on

[15] **Spirova M.,** …
[16] **Hicken A.,** …
[17] Democracies in Danger (Ed. A. Stepan), Johns Hopkins University Press; 2009, p. 141
[18] **Рогов К.,** Политические циклы постсоветского транзита, *Pro et contra,* июль-октябрь 2012, **Холодковский К.Г**., К вопросу о политической системе современной России, *Полис,* 2009, 2.
[19] **Межуев Б.В.** "Оранжевая революция": восстановление контекста, *Полис***,** 2006, 5.
[20] **Базарбаев К., Жумагулов Б.,** Политические партии Кыргызстана: теория и практика., Бишкек, 2012, Available at http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/bischkek/09685.pdf, 03.12.13
[21] **Meleshevich A.A.,** Party Systems in Post-Soviet Countries: A Comparative Study of Political Institutionalization in the Baltic States, Russia and Ukraine, Palgrave Macmillan; 2007
[22] **Tsurtsumia A., Tsutskiridze L.,** Political Party Assistance Programme, Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy, Georgia Representation, Tbilisi, 2012, Available at: http://nimd.ge/old/Document/Nimd_Georgia_PPA_English_final.pdf, 03.12.2013
[23] Post Soviet and Asian Political Parties, Vol.3, volume editors: Baogang He, Anatoly Kulik, and Kay Lawson in: Political Parties and Democracy. 5 books set, General Editor Kay Lawson, Praeger Publishers/ABC-CLIO, 2010
[24] **Hess S.,** Protests, Parties, and Presidential Succession: Competing Theories of Color Revolutions in Armenia and Kyrgyzstan, *Problems of Post-Communism,* 2010, 57, 1, 28-39, **Torosyan T.,** Predictions and Difficulties of Democratic Multiparties System formation in Post-Soviet Countries, *Review of Social Scienses*, 2005, 3, pp. 12-31. (in Armenian)

the level of comparative analysis of political party system and political party institutionalisation problems in the CEE. But while it is not justified in the sample of Baltic States, in the case of other countries the efficiency is not high because of their transformation trajectory after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the radical differences of the formed realities. Indeed, the problem is complicated not only due to the characteristics of the phenomenon, the absence of efficient study models, but also the difficult accessibility of data. However, for the success of the democratisation-making process, the making of a multiparty system is crucial[25]. Thus, for the countries having chosen the democratisation path, political parties can be considered a major player in transformation processes, as a result of which, political party system and political party institutionalisation and their study play a key role in terms of the assessment and improvement of political systems' performance in these countries. In the initial phase of the transformation process, assumptions were made (taking into account only the experience of CEE and a few other countries), that fully institutionalised parties are not a necessity for democracy-making[26]. Toka reasoned it by summarising the results of case studies of the Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary and Slovakia, although he also noted that elections ensure only formal citizen equality, while political parties are a central element of democratic representativeness. Studying the electoral instability in those countries, the age and organisational style of political parties and the organisational style, political party fragmentation, the stability of electoral institutions, the connections between social groups and political parties, and the programme structure of political party competition, Toka concluded that in CEE countries, democracy was made before political party institutionalisation, although some level, however, is desirable for improving the quality of democracy[27]. In post-Soviet transformation countries, the existence of political parties that are a Soviet legacy or repeat the political party-organisational system of the Soviet or transitional period, is natural.

[25] **Lipset S. M.,** The Indispensability of Political Parties, *Journal of Democracy*, 2000, 11, 1, pp. 48-55.
[26] **Toka G.,** Political Parties and Democratic Consolidation in East Central Europe, Centre for Study of Public Policy, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow 1997, Available at http://www.personal.ceu.hu/staff/Gabor_Toka/Papers/Toka97Consolidation.pdf, 18.09.2013
[27] Ibid.

They can be big and powerful, which explains the importance they had as actors of a political system. Some criteria have been proposed to classify such parties, and in discussing them, G. Golosov defines post-authoritarian political parties which are a continuation of the old regime, have inherited at least some organisational characteristics from, and have some ideological similarities with the old regime[28]. This once again emphasises that the problem related to political party institutionalisation and making during social system transformation depends not only on legal and organisational issues but also on the transformation of social consciousness, which is the most difficult task in the process of post-Soviet transformation[29]. Therefore, the making of a specific political party and generally a system, is a long process and may consist of several phases. It starts with a legal reservation of political parties and the system, theoretical arguments and the solution to organisational-structural problems, which are the processes occurring more rapidly. Then in political processes, an adequate representation of the interests of groups or individuals with different social problems should be carried out; accordingly, public support should be formed. The result may depend both on external and internal factors, which in turn have two components:

- structural (continuity of political alternatives, autonomy, coordination),
- behavioural (parties recognise each other as legitimate competitors);

According to Randall and Svasand[30], this can be presented in the form of Table 1:

Table 1

Factors	**Internal**	**External**
Structural	Systemness	Decisional autonomy
Attitudinal	Infusion	Reification

[28] **Golosov G. V.,** Party Organization, Ideological Change, and Electoral Success: A Comparative Study of Postauthoritarian Parties, Working Paper # 258, The Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies, September 1998, Available at: http://kellogg.nd.edu/publications/workingpapers/WPS/258.pdf, 10.09.2013

[29] **Torosyan T.,** Post-Soviet…

[30] **Randall V., Svasand L.,** …

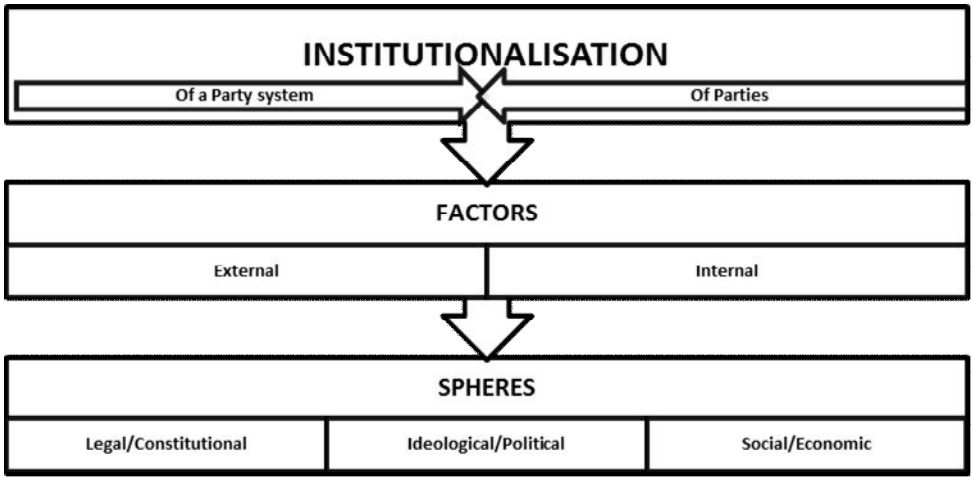
Basedau and Stroh offer the following option[31]:

Table 2

Factors	**Stability**	**Infusion**
Internal	Roots in society	Autonomy
External	Level of organization	Coherence

Generally, PSI and IPP institutionalisation link with spheres of different factors can be presented via the following scheme:

Figure 1



According to Huntington, institutionalisation level can be measured in the framework of the following four axes: adaptability-rigidity,

[31] **Basedau M., Stroh A.,** Measuring Party Institutionalization in Developing Countries: *A New Research Instrument Applied to 28 African Political Parties,* Edited by the GIGA German Institute of Global and Area Studies / Leibniz-Institut für Globale und Regionale Studien, No 69, February 2008, GIGA Research Programme: Legitimacy and Efficiency of Political Systems GIGA WP 69/2008, Available at: http://www.giga-hamburg.de/en/system/files/publications/wp69_basedau-stroh.pdf, 12.09.2013

complexity-simplicity, autonomy-subordination, and coherence-disunity[32]. Mentioned are the key axes, around which the main discussions regarding different political institutions, especially the institutionalisation of political parties and political party systems take place in political science. In essence, these four criteria are at the essence of all further studies of institutionalisation, which are applied to a specific situation and are completed by criteria assessing the specific characteristics of a region or state. In spite of the fact that this approach was formed in the '60-'70s of the past century and was developed for a changing society, it also applies to cases of post-Soviet countries.

Among the studies of IPP and PSI features in states of the third wave of democratisation and those having chosen the democratisation way, distinguished are the works by S. Mainwaring and M. Torcal. Mainwaring suggests paying attention to the diversity of the phenomenon and analysing it in the following four dimensions: 1) stability of electoral competition Patterns, 2) durability of party roots in a society, 3) party legitimacy, and 4) structural organisation of a political party[33]. At the same time, although political party system institutionalisation can take on many forms, the pattern has been revealed that advanced industrial democracy systems are more institutionalised than those of many countries of the third wave of democratisation[34]. That is a pattern which has significant consequences in democracy-making. Especially when examining modern democratic political systems in Latin America or Eastern Europe, the research on institutionalisation levels is just as important as the number of political parties and their polarisation[35]. Three specific variances of advanced industrial democracies and flawed democracies' party system

[32] **Huntington S.P.,** Political Order in Changing Societies. New Haven; L.: Yale University Press, 1968. Seventh printing, 1973, 12-24, Available at: http://projects.iq.harvard.edu/gov2126/files/huntington_political_order_changing_soc.pdf 02.10.2013

[33] **Mainwaring S.,** Rethinking Party Systems Theory in the Third Wave of Democratization: The Importance of Party System Institutionalization, Working Paper # 260, The Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies, October 1998, 10-12, Available at http://kellogg.nd.edu/publications/workingpapers/WPS/260.pdf, 27.08.2013

[34] **Mainwaring S., Torcal M.,** Party System Institutionalization and Party System Theory after the Third Wave of Democratization, Working Paper #319, The Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies, April 2005, pp. 24-25, Available at: http://kellogg.nd.edu/publications/workingpapers/WPS/319.pdf, 25.08.2013

[35] Ibid., p. 3

institutionalisation are discussed. First of all, in less developed democracies, a higher electoral volatility (and less electoral stability are observed than in developed democracies. Secondly, the existence of deep-rooted political party systems in society forecasts radical programmatic and ideological attachments between political parties and voters. In this case, voters choose a political party or candidate according to their programmatic and ideological preference. Such a connection is less existent in semi-democracies. In these countries, the linkages between political parties and voters is less based on the approval of a political party's programme or ideologie, which implies weaker party roots in society. Thirdly, the link between voters and candidates in semi-democracies is more personalised than in developed democracies[36]. Low-level institutionalisation creates problems related to representation and electoral accountability. In weakly institutionalised political party systems, a non-party candidate's victory is more likely[37]. Political freedom, party control of political processes, competition of political parties according to their policy can also be considered as political party system institutionalisation criteria or components[38].

In order to determine the extent to which a political party system is institutionalised, it is, naturally, necessary to consider not only the question of a political party's internal developments, but also the nature and type of its relations with other state institutions. In case of post-Soviet transformation countries, the question of the relations between political parties and authorities is more important in the sense of the extent to which parties are independent from the authorities.

The difficulties of the applicability of Western European political party system study models for CEE political systems, leads some researchers to the idea of creating a model for studying political systems in CEE countries, completing it with criteria specific to the region. For example, T. Saarts suggests using the following basic criteria:

1. party system stability,
2. party system fragmentation,
3. party penetration into society,

[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid., pp. 24-26:
[38] **Grzymala-Busse A.,** The Programmatic Turnaround of Communist Successor Parties in East Central Europe, 1989-1998, Available at http://www.personal.umich.edu/~abusse/CPCStudies.pdf, (10.10.2013)

4. the origin and ideology of main parties,
5. a set of dominant strata that party competition,
6. the organisational capacity of parties [39].

Those standards have been marked out both generally and for the analysis and comparison of CEE party systems especially. The criteria reflect the basic features that can differentiate political party systems in traditional democracies and those in post-Soviet transformation countries. Although these criteria have been proposed for observing first of all political party systems in the Baltic countries, it is however, considering some features, possible to apply them to the study of political party systems in other post-Soviet states. The problem is that during criteria development, specifications were taken into account, with which political parties and political party systems in post-Soviet states – as new democracies – essentially differ from institutionalised political party systems and political parties in democratic countries. At the same time, as noted by Mainwaring and Torcal, the main feature of political party systems in developing and in semi-democracies is not only – and not so much in – their ideological disagreements but also the low level of institutionalisation.

For the purpose of studying PSI and IPP problems in other post-Soviet regions, Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, J. Ishiyama completes institutionalisation research with new criteria and indexes, taking into account the specificities of those countries[40]. He observed the data of participation in presidential and parliamentary elections, applying the "attraction" concept of the electorate. Ishiyama separates three criteria of political party development, which are presented through nine indexes:

1. parties' organisational and political continuity, over multiple elections,
2. as periodic elections require resource availability from political parties, maintenance of obvious political party "attractiveness" and of the degree of continuous existence,
3. the degree of staying in a party system:

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[39] **Saarts T.,** Comparative Party System Analysis in Central and Eastern Europe: The Case of the Baltic States, *Studies of Transition States and Societies,* 2011, 3, 3, pp. 83-104, Available at: http://www.tlu.ee/stss/wp-content/uploads/2011/11/stss_nov_2011_saarts.pdf, (02.11.2013)

[40] **Ishiyama J.,** Political Party Development and Party "Gravity" in Semi-Authoritarian States. The Cases of Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan, *Taiwan Journal of Democracy*, 2008, 4, 1, pp. 33-53.

a) features of transformation for a certain state, b) clan party existence/domination, c) significant production of oil/natural gas, d) the presidential power unit (with an application of the Hellman-Tucker index)[41], e) legislative electoral system, f) "attractiveness" degree of a political party, g) the positions of main continuously winning political parties, h) the percentage of winner political party candidates, i) the positions of independent winner candidates[42].

In order to analyse the institutionalisation of political parties in developing countries, Basedau and Stroh have introduced the concept of the "Index of the Institutionalisation of Parties (IIP)"; moreover, those indexes, according to the authors, enable to estimate any political party institutionalisation degree[43]:

Table 3

	Indexes
Roots in the society A political party is deeply ingrained in the society	A political party's age/years of a state's independence The age of a political party/multiparty period Relative change in support at the latest two elections The link with civil society organisations
Autonomy	Changes of political party leaders Modifications of the electoral support after political party leaders' changes Decision-making autonomy Sympathy of the masses for the political party
Organisation There is an organisational device, constantly present in all administrative levels and acting in the interests of a political party	Membership stability Regular meetings of political parties Material and personal resources Existence of institutions in the whole state, the scope of activities is not limited to a campaign
Interaction	Cooperation of a parliamentary fraction

[41] This index can be replaced by Fortin's index: **Fortin J.,** Measuring Presidential Powers: Revisiting Existing Aggregate Measurement. *International Political Science Review*, 2013, 34, 1, pp. 91-112,
[42] **Ishiyama J.,** …
[43] **Basedau M., Stroh A.,** …

	Moderate relations between intra-party groups Toleration of intra-party dissent

Today, in the studies of IPP and PSI problems of post-Soviet transformation countries, especially important among the criteria for monitoring their level are electoral volatility, and the number of political parties[44]. Electoral volatility in the consolidated democracies is relatively constant and unambiguous, since it has a fully functionning political parties and the PS. In post-Soviet countries its consideration as a criterion causes difficulties. The main complexities are due to the fact that:

a) it becomes necessary to discuss the participation of old and new political parties in elections (this criterion considers the representation of political parties in successive elections),

b) in post-Soviet transformation countries, the exit of old and the entrance of new political parties can constantly be observed during election campaigns, which causes difficulties in frequency calculations. This criterion also affects election stability because the link between voters and a particular political party weakens, and the link with the new political party is not yet deep-seated. As political parties being stably ingrained in society determines the connectedness between political parties and voters, the application of this criterion to post-Soviet transformation countries shows that voters, one can say, become doomed to choose not a political party but a candidate.

While being quite different, the countries of post-Soviet transformation, however, have some common features – especially in terms of the complexities of the transformation process – which allow one to carry out study in that aspect: a) common Soviet history, with a single-party system, b) economic problems after independence, c) given the role of the Communist Party, formation of voters' distrust towards political parties as a whole, d) absence of political culture, e) necessity of carrying out constitutional amendments during post-Soviet years, moreover, mainly conditioned by a transition from the presidential for of government to the

[44] **Powell E. N. and Tucker J. A.,** Revisiting Electoral Volatility in Post – Communist Countries: New Data, New Results and New Approaches, *British Journal of Political Science*, 2013, 1, pp. 1-25, Available at: http://journals.cambridge.org/abstract_S0007123412000531 (27.11.2013)

parliamentary one, f) people's unrest, colour revolutions, g) existence of various conflicts, interethnic, political, etc. h) the same time period of independence and democratisation.

Nevertheless, a large number of approaches and indexes are suggested for the evaluation of PSI and IPP in post-Soviet transformation countries, which can be represented in the form of the table below:

Table 4

Factors/ Spheres	**Criteria**	**Indicators**	**Data source**
External Social/ Economic	Evaluation of a state's economic condition	Official data on GDP and other economic indicators	Freedom House, UNDP (Human Development Report)
	The ethnic, religious, social composition of a state	Ethnic composition, The presence of religious organisations, Social stratification	Statistical data
	State's democratisation degree	Defence of human rights and freedoms, Organisation of free and fair elections	Freedom House, UNDP
External Legal-Constitutional	The form of a state's government	Presidential/semi/ parliamentary	Constitution
	State structure	Unitary/federal	Constitution
	Stability of electoral institutions	Reforms in the election order	Constitution, Election code
External Ideological Political	Representation bodies, party representation	Existence of parties in the parliament, Presence of non-party candidates/deputies	Official sources

	Executive bodies: representa-tion of political parties	Distribution of executive portfolios according to party affiliation	Official sources, evaluation of the presidential power index[45]
	Representa-tion of parties in Local Self-Governance Bodies	Presence of political parties, non-party candidates/officials in LSB elections, positions	Official sources
Internal Social Economic	Social group and political party connections	Existence of official Internet or periodical media, Presence of national or religious parties	Official sources
	Multiparty system	Calculation of effective number of political parties in a multiparty system	Laakso's, Taagepera's and Golosov's index[46]
	Political Party funding	Political Party funding during campaigns, Creation of political party means	Official sources, law
Internal Legal Constitution al	Participatio n in state elections	Nomination of political party candidates in the legislative body	Official sources[47]

[45] **Fortin J.,** Measuring Presidential Powers: Revisiting Existing Aggregate Measurement. *International Political Science Review,* 2013, 34, 1, pp. 91-112.

[46] **Golosov G. V.,** The Effective Number of Parties: A New Approach, *Party Politics*, 2010, 16, March, pp. 171-192, Available at: http://ppq.sagepub.com/content/vol16/issue2/, 05.12.2013; **Taagepera R., Laakso M.,** The "Effective" Number of Parties: "A Measure with Application to West Europe" , *Comparative Political Studies*, 12, 1, 1979, Available at: http://www.pratiquesciencessociales.net/exposes/S12.%20The%20Effective%20Number%20of%20Parties%20A%20Measure%20with%20Application%20to%20West%20Europe%20(Laakso%201979).pdf (03.12.2013)

[47] The index calculated in this work can be used: **Powell E. N. and Tucker J. A.,** …

	Inter-party connections	Formation of coalitions, electoral alliances, Support for representatives of another political party	Official sources
	Party fragmentation	The ratio of the number of political parties to the number of their members	Official sources
Internal Ideological Political	The age of parties and organisational style	The registration date of a political party The relations of years of independence and a political party's existence	Official sources
	A political party's organisational capacity	Principles of political party activities, Existance of territorial/regional units, The number of members	Official sources
	The ideological orientation of parties	Analysis of political party programmes, Comparison of programme theses during elections and during the period in-between elections	Official sources

Conclusion

The study of the condition and of the evaluation criteria of PSI and IPP in post-Soviet transformation countries shows that in those countries:

1. the formation of government systems based on effective multiparty systems has an exceptional role in terms of shaping an established democracy;
2. PSI and IPP have essential features compared with established democracy countries;
3. approaches and standards that have been developed for democratic countries can serve as a basis for PSI and IPP studies, but they should be amended by criteria taking into account the characteristics of post-Soviet transformation countries;
4. specific approaches and standards, proposed for PSI and IPP studies, are numerous, sometimes – contradictory, which makes their implementation complicated and less efficient and requires comparative analysies and optimisation.