



DEMOCRACY IN UKRAINE, 1991-2022

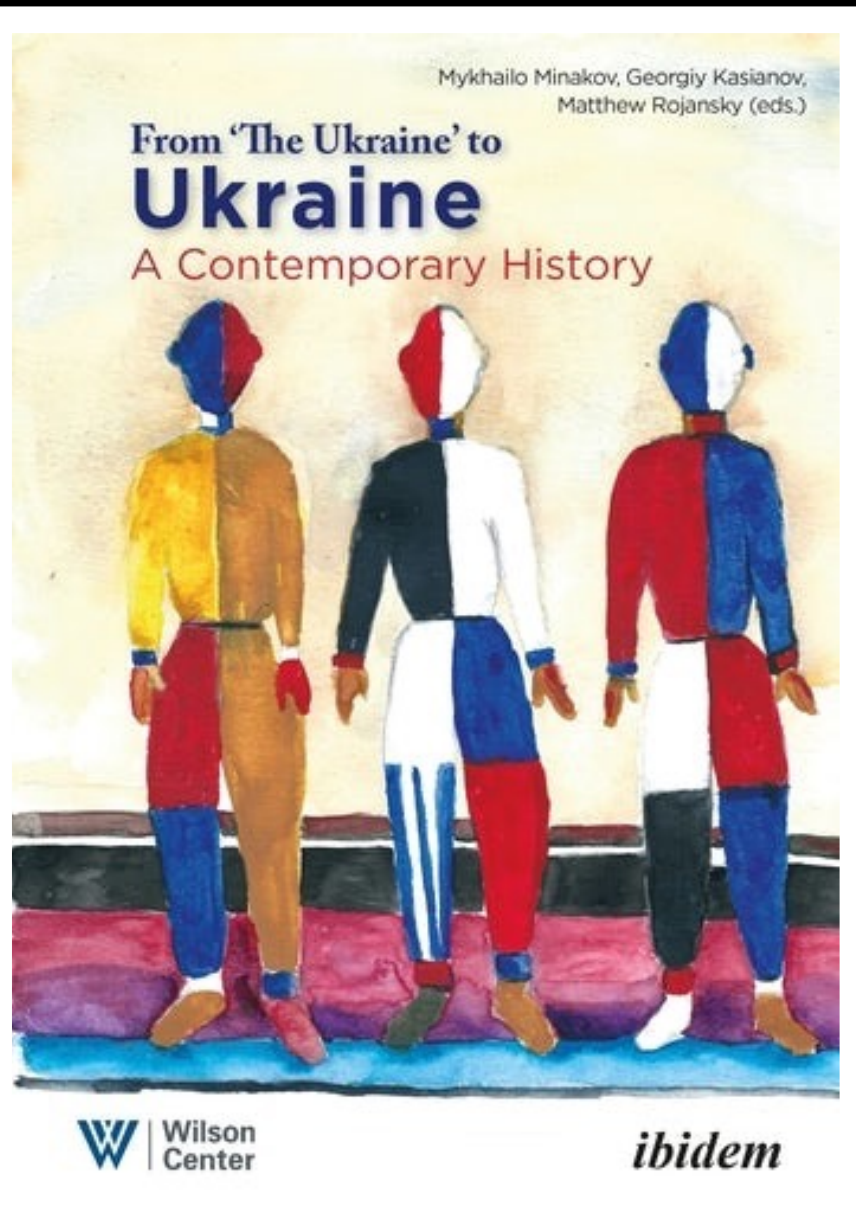
Mikhail Minakov, Kennan institute/Wilson Center

Free University of Brussels, January 25, 2023



PLAN

- Post-Soviet Ukraine's democracy and political economy (1991 – 2022)
- Euromaidan and Ukrainian Crisis (2013 – 2015)
- Poroshenko presidency (2014 – 2019)
- President Zelensky and his pre-war rule



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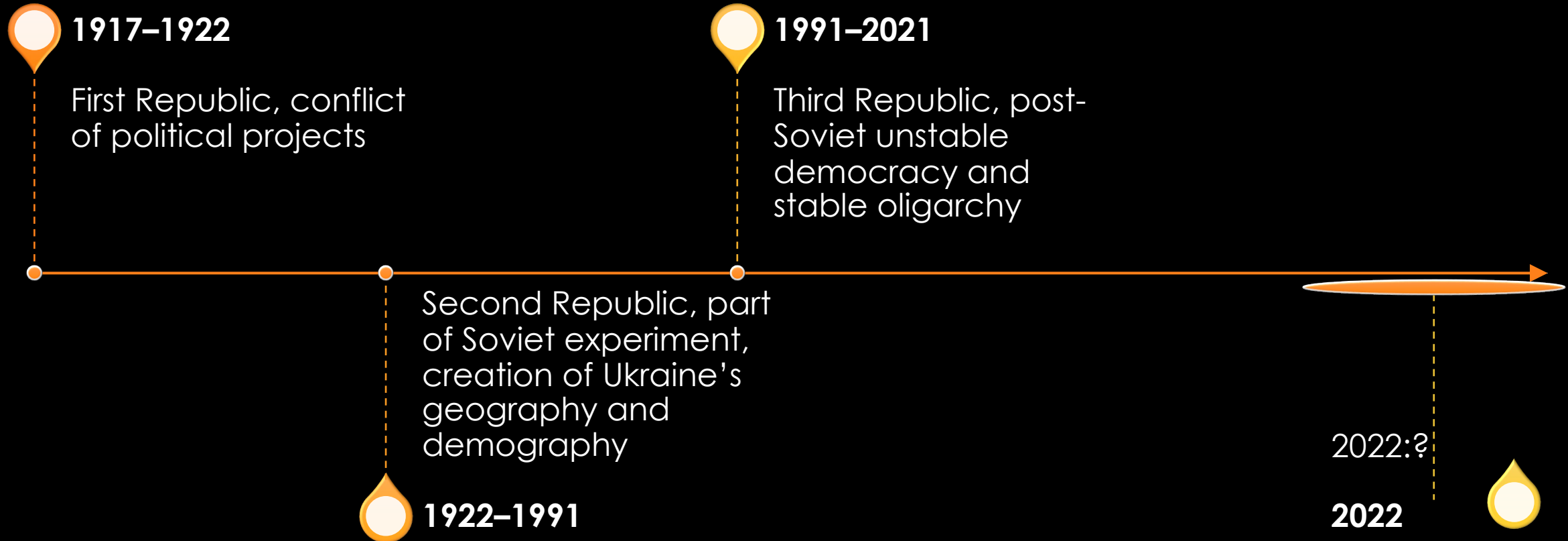
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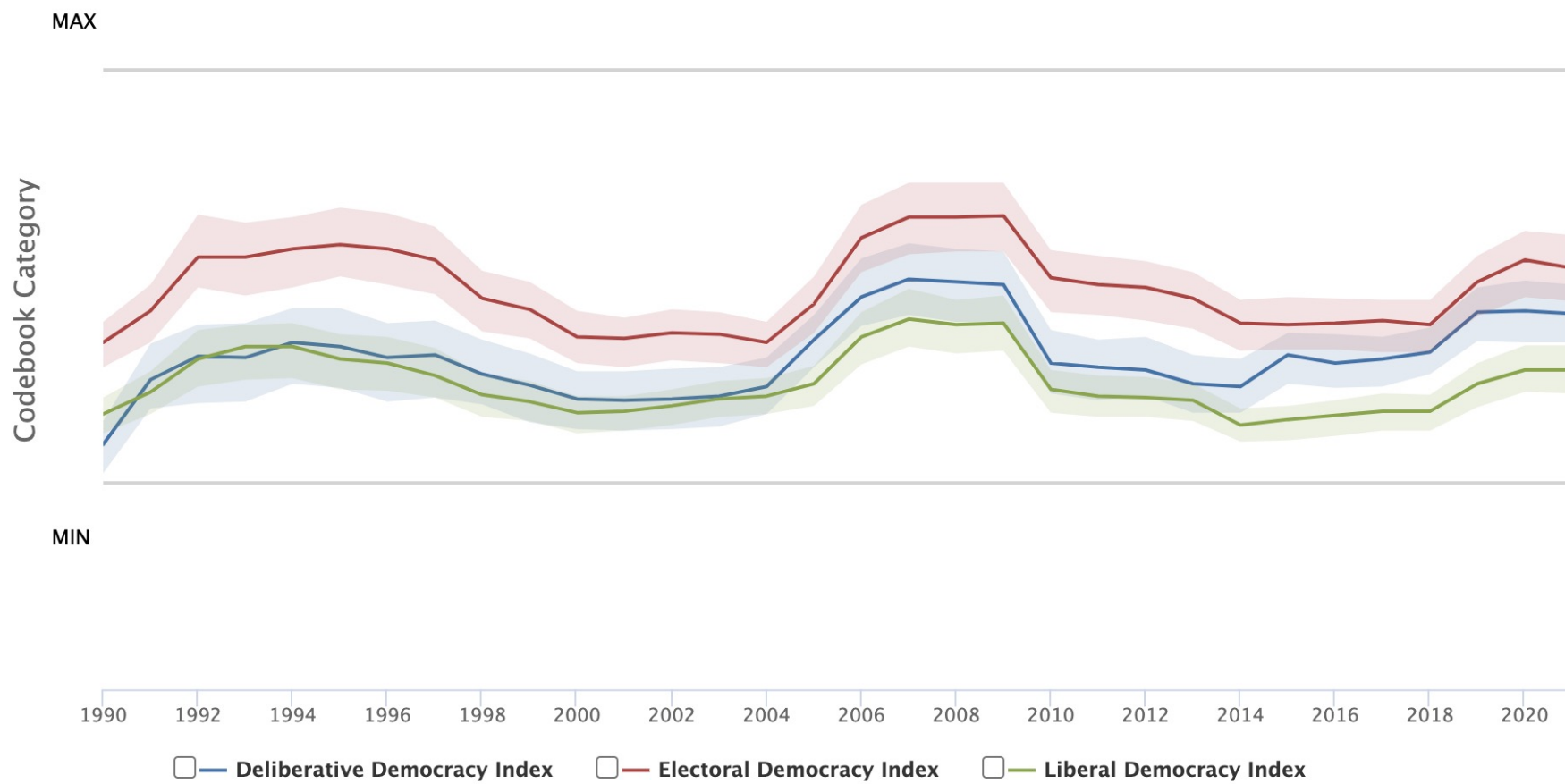
A CENTURY OF UKRAINE'S STATEHOOD



MAJOR EVENTS IN UKRAINE'S HISTORY

- 1991: collapse of USSR and establishment of independent Ukraine
- 1992-1996: socio-economic crisis and revolutionary changes in public and private spheres
- 1996-2000: foundation of oligarchy
- 2001-4 – clash between oligarchic/authoritarian and democratic/nationalist movements, Orange revolution
- 2005-10 – post-Maidan democratic and oligarchic contradictory development
- 2010-14 – Yanukovych autocratic attempt, Euromaidan
- Since 2014 – post-Euromaidan period

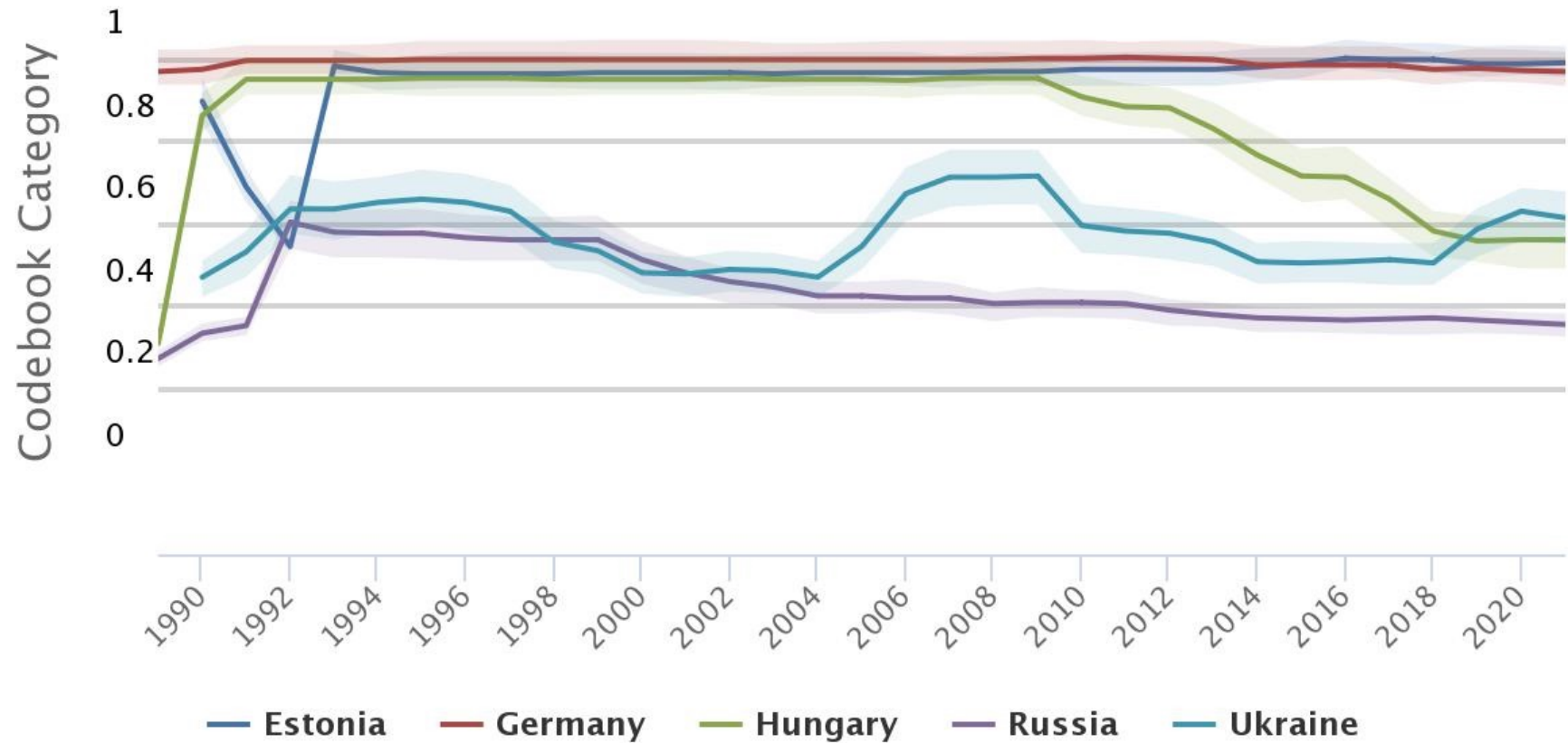
Ukraine



READING THE GRAPH

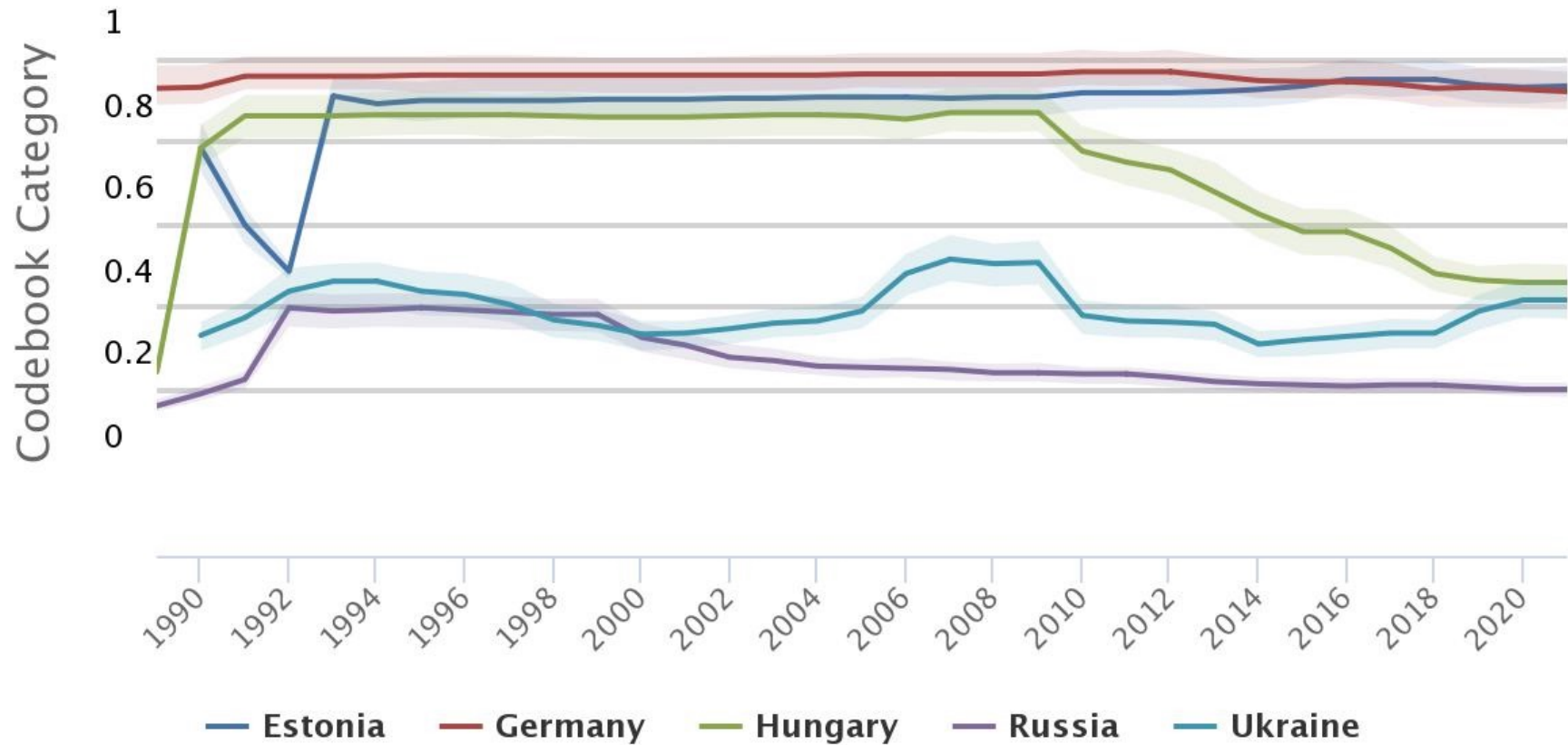
- early 1990: fast democratization on all levels; significant prevalence of elections over rights and deliberation
- around 12 years of democratization, and 16 years of autocratization
- liberal democratic quality of Orange revolution (2004)
- Euromaidan (2013-14): some short liberalization without electoral and deliberative effect
- Zelensky's electoral revolution, shortlived

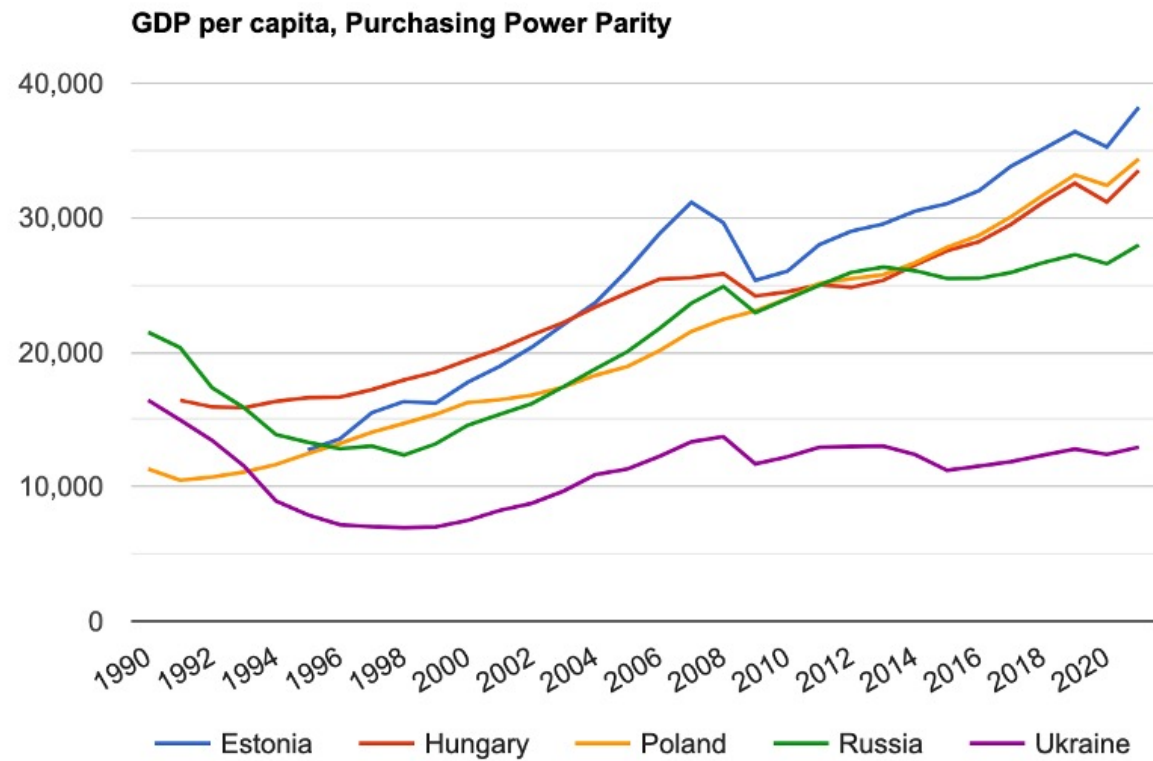
Electoral Democracy Index



Highcharts.com | V-Dem data version 12

Liberal Democracy Index





Measure: U.S. dollars
Source: The World Bank

POLITICAL
ECONOMY AS
EXPLANATION

UKRAINE'S POLITICAL ECONOMY

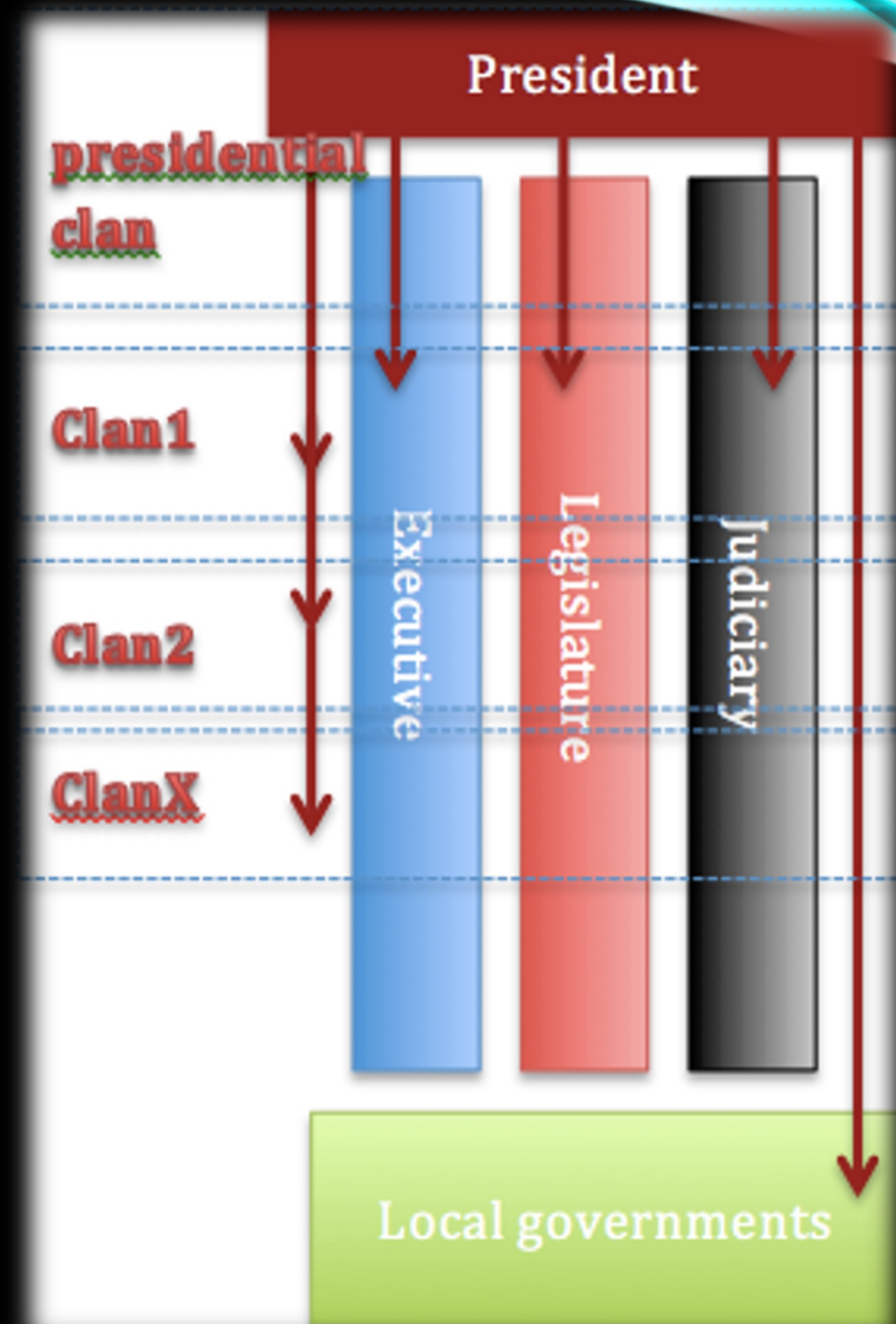
- Political economy as explanation of the Ukrainian path
- Soviet **nomenklatura** and Soviet industrial legacy
- **Privatization** as a source of primary capital consolidation
- Weak peripheral state dependent of foreign Core
- Coexistence of **formal and informal** power institutions

CLAN'S MODEL

- Coexistence of formal and informal power institutions
- Dominance of the informal power institutions over the formal ones
- Oligarchic clans
 - “adopted political family”
 - Core of a patronal network based on personal relations
 - Mafia-state and systemic corruption effects

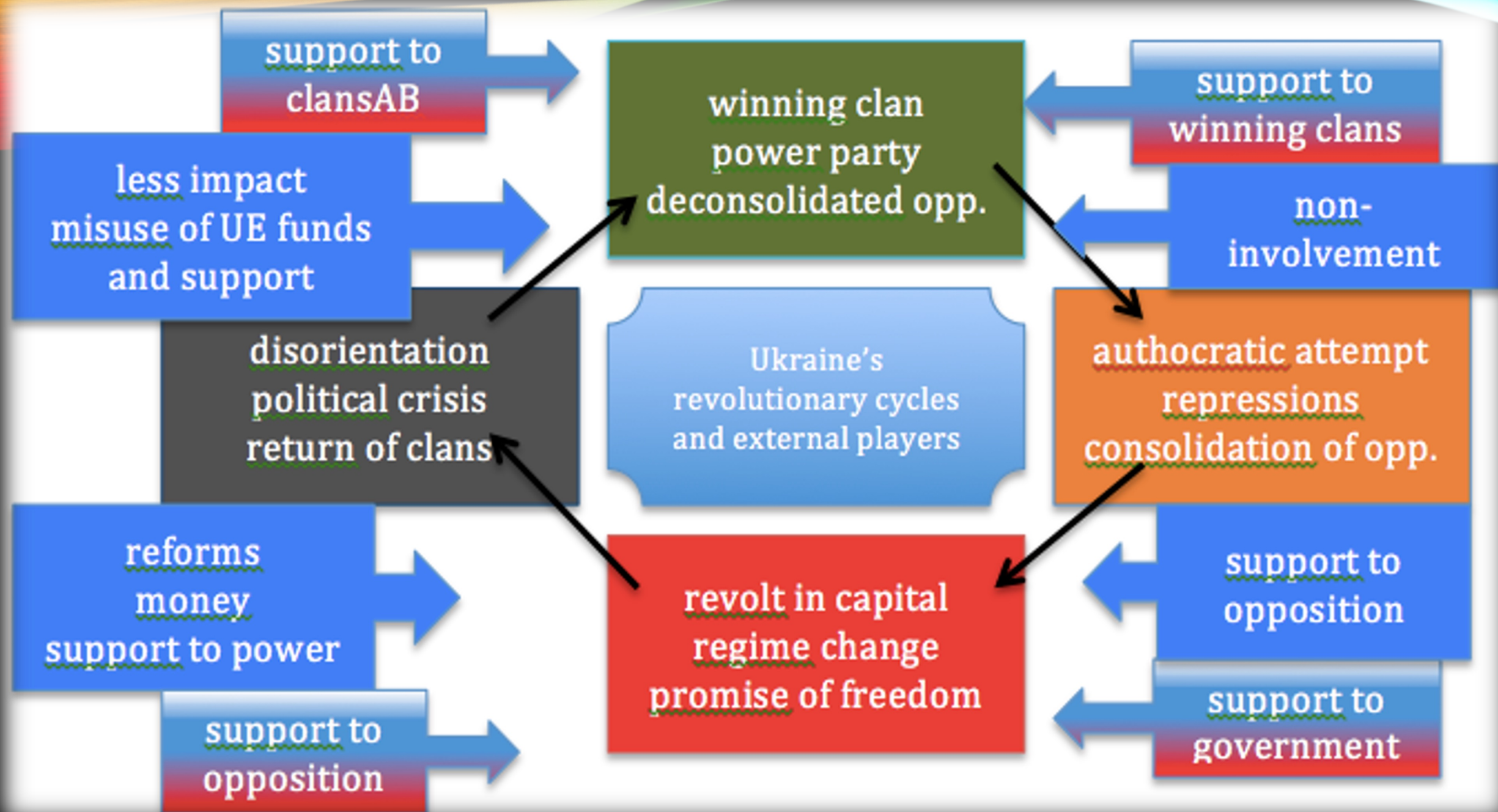
Table 2. Types of informal institutions

	<u>effective</u> formal institutions	<u>ineffective</u> formal institutions
<u>convergent</u>	<u>complementary</u>	<u>substitutive</u>
<u>divergent</u>	<u>accommodating</u>	<u>competing</u>

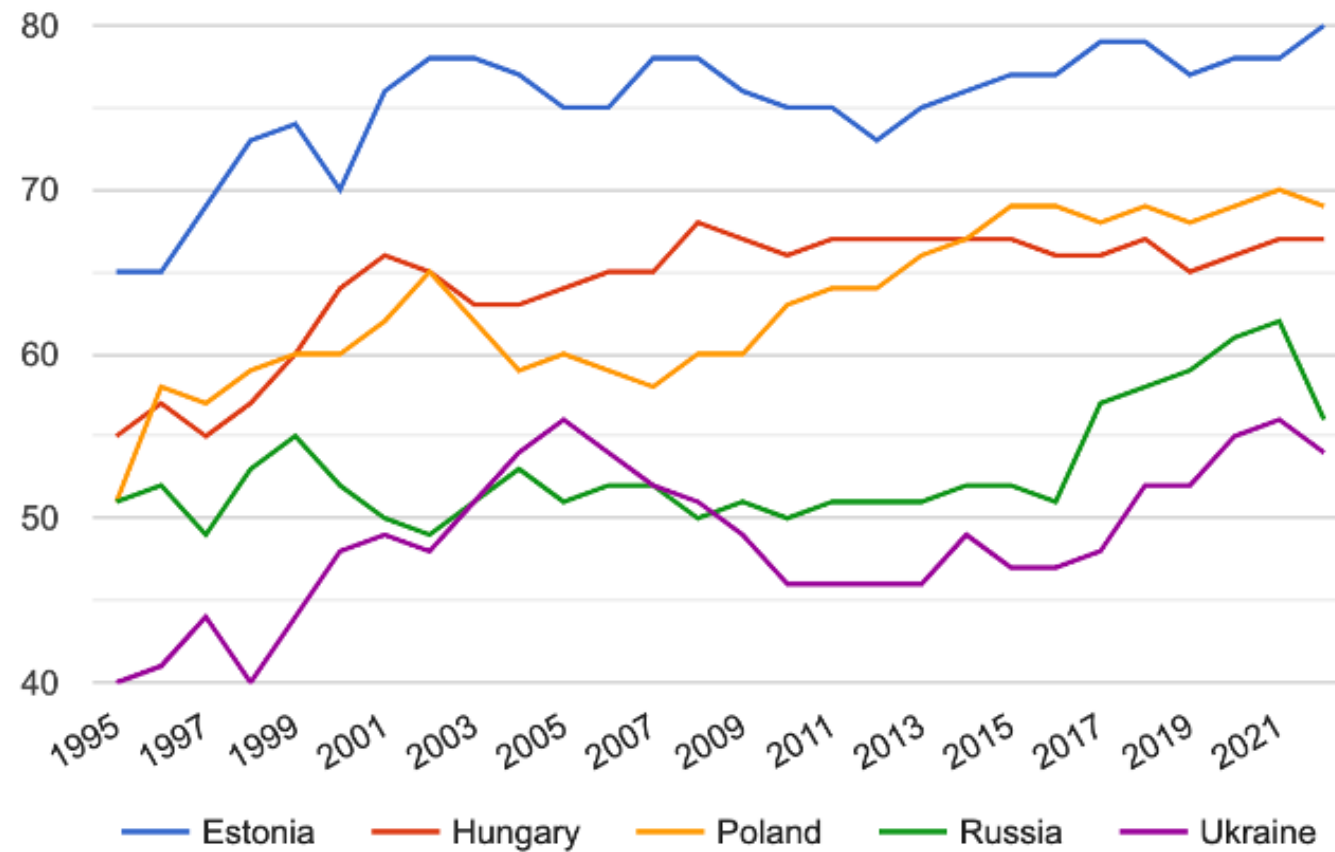


UKRAINE'S POLITICAL ECONOMY

- Two revolutionary cycles:
 - 1993-4 (first crisis) – 2004 (Orange Revolution);
 - 2005 (Westernization attempt) – 2013 (Euromaidan);
 - 2014 (Westernization attempt) – ?
- Pattern:
 - Stage 1: revolutionary promises
 - Stage 2: rise of clans (disorientation, crisis, survival issue)
 - Stage 3: rise of one ruling clan (non-democratic consolidation)
 - Stage 4: resistance, overthrow of regime, and revolutionary promises



Economic freedom, overall index (0-100)



Measure: index points
Source: The Heritage Foundation

EUROMAIDAN

- **Causes of Euromaidan**

- Growth and politicization of protests in 2009-13
- Economic crisis of 2013
- Conflict in the Yanukovych surrounding
- Geopolitical conflict

- **Periods of Euromaidan**

- November – December 2013: civic protest with elements of revolt and separatism
- January 2014: attempts of authoritarian turn and radicalization of protests, first victims
- Early February 2014: victory of the Family
- February 18-20 2014: radicalization of protests, murder of police, mass murder of protesters
- February 21-26 2014: change of government, secessionism, de facto annexation

DEVELOPMENT AFTER EUROMAIDAN AND DURING DONBAS WAR

Euromaidan's agenda

- European integration
- democratic politics
- economic freedoms
 - decentralization
- media freedoms

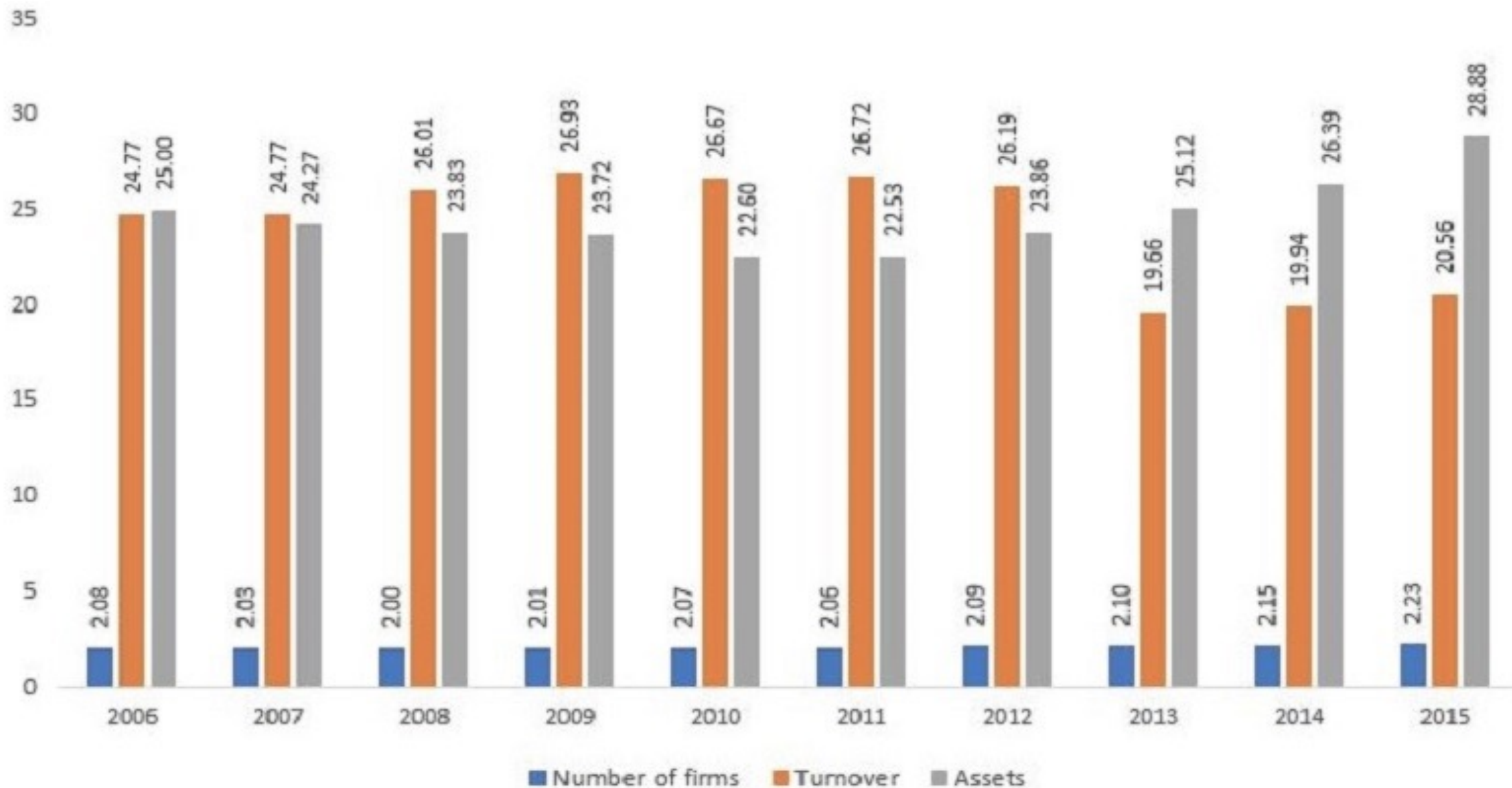
War's agenda

- limited liberties
 - patriotic propaganda
- war economy
- centralization



POST-MAIDAN UKRAINE

- Reinstatement of government, Constitutional changes
- Conflict with Russia over Donbas and Crimea
- De-communization and establishment of ideological monopoly
- Europeanization and halted reforms
- “Strategic Seven” and Poroshenko’s autocratization
- preparations for a bigger war
- Estrangement of vast majority of population



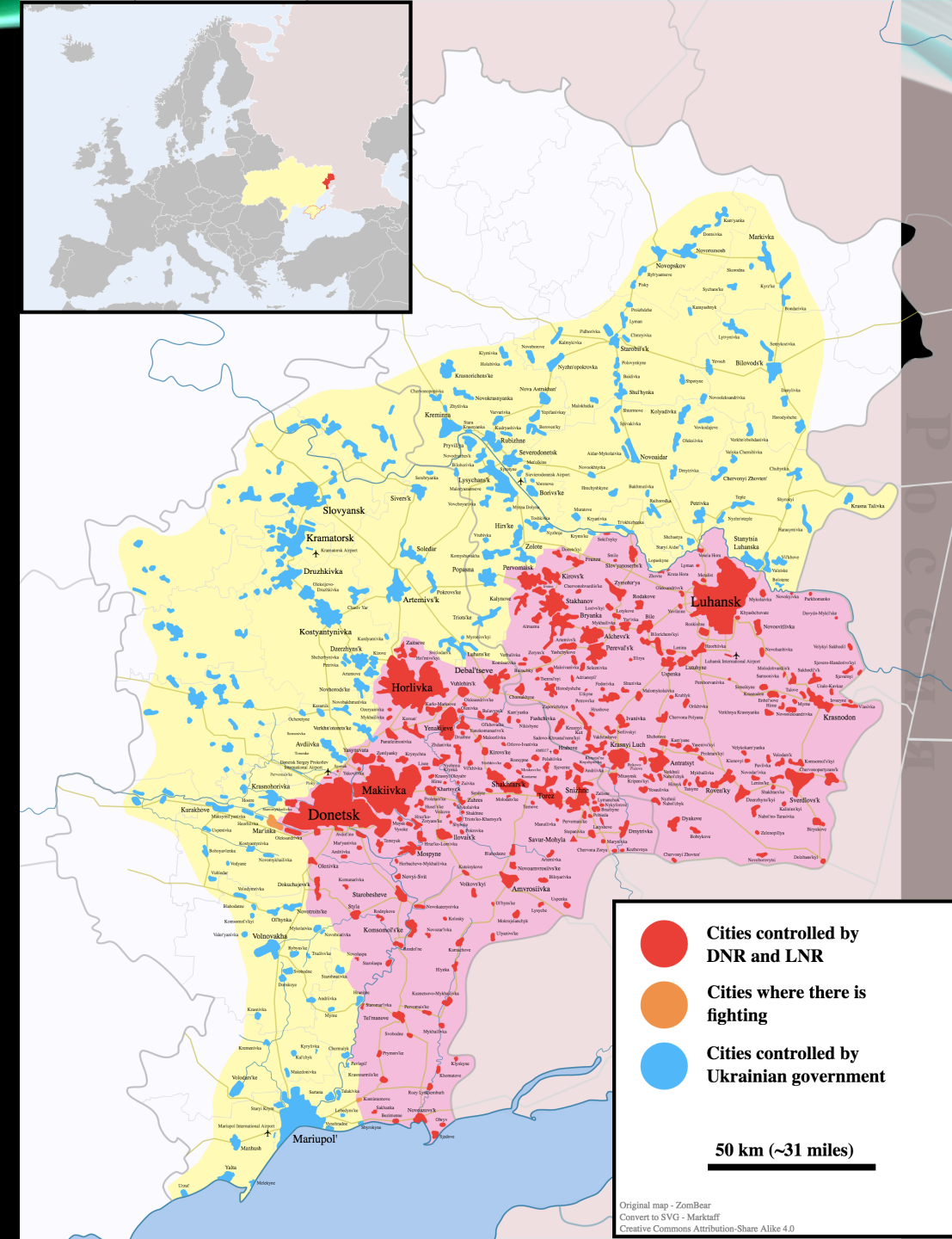
iMoPe



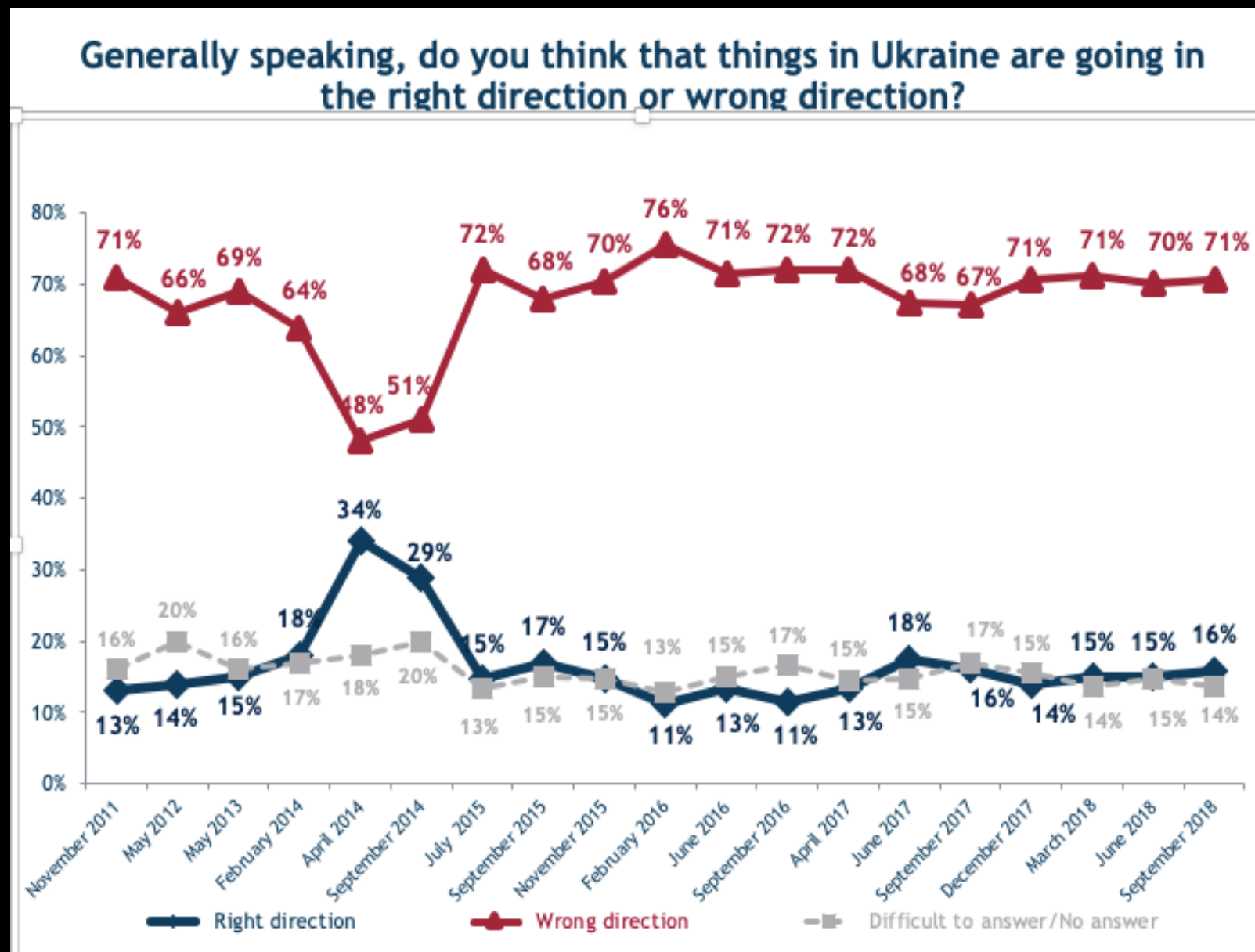
iMoPe може приймати значення від -5 до +5,

DYNAMICS OF DONBAS CONFLICT

- July 2014 - March 2015: intensive military period
- Sep 2015 – today: low intensity conflict with stabilized frontline (about 30 people killed/month)
- 2017 – 2019
 - From Minsk and Normandy Four to Volker – Surkov commission, and its decline
 - Murder of Alexander Zakharchenko, elections
 - Talks on peacemakers
 - POW exchange delayed, over 50 Ukrainian political prisoners in Russia
 - Sporadic peaceful periods, risk of return to military conflict remains



- Hugely polarized population with **destroyed national dialogue**
- Political system with decaying democracy (political pluralism remains but **ideological pluralism is under attack**)



ZELENSKY'S PRESIDENCY



anti-oligarchic populism, promise of peace and wealth

wartime presidency, martial law, de-oligarchization, EU candidacy, possible winner

2020–2021

2019–2020

2022–2023

cooperation with oligarchs, Covid mismanagement, rule through Security Council, corruption



A dark-themed map of Eastern Europe, specifically showing Ukraine and Russia. The word 'UKRAINE' is written in large, bold, black letters on the left side of the map. The word 'RUSSIA' is written in large, bold, black letters on the right side of the map. The map shows the borders of Ukraine and Russia, with some internal regional boundaries. Two dark blue arrows point to specific areas: one points to the Crimean Peninsula, and the other points to a region in central Ukraine. The background is a dark grey with a faint map grid.

UKRAINE

OPEN-ENDED CONCLUSIONS

- Victory in the War?
- Forth Republic?
- Future of Oligarchy?
- Revolutionary cycles continued?
- EU membership and democratic reconstruction?

RUSSIA

Баярлалаа
спасибо
nanni
nandri
kulos
dankie
taafetai lava
vinaka
merci
blagodaram
rahmat
danke
謝謝
ngiyabonga
tesekkür ederim
dank je
misaotra
matondo
paldies
mabalo
tapadh leat
xhala
asante
manana
lenki
mochchakkeram
mamun
go raibh maith agat
arigato
lakk
dakujem
trugarez
merci
merci
shukriya
dhanyavadagalu
diolch
euchariotw
xiexie
감사합니다
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najes tuke
kam sah hamida
rehmat
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