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EVOLUTION OF THE POLITICAL REGIME IN UKRAINE: FROM INDEPENDENCE TO THE PRESENT

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Abstract

The establishment and evolution of Ukraine's political regime is a complex and dynamic process shaped by socio-economic and political transformations. This study aims to analyze the specific features of Ukraine's political regime in its contemporary context. Using methods of analysis, synthesis, comparison, and formal and legal techniques, the study examines the structure and functioning of Ukraine's political system, which involves various institutions such as government bodies, political parties, public organizations, and the media. The findings reveal that political decisions in Ukraine are largely influenced by democratic principles, which guide the mechanisms of state power and allow citizens to influence political processes. The paper also explores the role of symbolisation and mythologisation in shaping the political regime, highlighting their negative impact on Ukraine's political development and institutional effectiveness. These processes contribute to the distortion of political narratives and hinder democratic consolidation. The study's findings are valuable for formulating political strategies aimed at strengthening democratic practices and rebuilding Ukraine's political system.

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Keywords

Democracy, state power, institution of presidential power, legitimacy, authoritarianism.

Resumo

O estabelecimento e a evolução do regime político da Ucrânia é um processo complexo e dinâmico moldado por transformações socioeconômicas e políticas. Este estudo tem como objetivo analisar as características específicas do regime político da Ucrânia em seu contexto contemporâneo. Usando métodos de análise, síntese, comparação e técnicas formais e legais, o estudo examina a estrutura e o funcionamento do sistema político da Ucrânia, que envolve várias instituições como órgãos governamentais, partidos políticos, organizações públicas e mídia. Os resultados revelam que as decisões políticas na Ucrânia são amplamente influenciadas pelos princípios democráticos, que orientam os mecanismos do poder estatal e permitem que os cidadãos influenciem os processos políticos. O artigo também explora o papel da simbolização e mitologização na formação do regime político, destacando seu impacto negativo no desenvolvimento político da Ucrânia e na eficácia institucional. Esses processos contribuem para a distorção de narrativas políticas e dificultam a consolidação democrática. As descobertas do estudo são valiosas para formular estratégias políticas destinadas a fortalecer as práticas democráticas e a reconstrução do sistema político da Ucrânia.

Palavras-chave

Democracia, poder estatal, instituição de poder presidencial, legitimidade, autoritarismo.

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Introduction

The establishment and development of a political regime is a pivotal and complex political and legal phenomenon in the context of state development. It determines the nature of state power, organizes the political system, and shapes the interaction between the state and its citizens (Herrfahrdt-Pähle et al., 2020). A political regime can be understood as a system of methods and tools for legitimating and exercising power by a particular type of state (Saha & Sen, 2021). The political regime of a country can be democratic, authoritarian, or a hybrid form of the two.

Democracy refers to a system where power is vested in the people, either directly or through elected representatives. In democratic regimes, there is typically a guarantee of political freedoms and human rights, competitive elections, and a separation of powers (Buribayev et al., 2020; Gandhi et al., 2020). On the other hand, authoritarianism is characterized by centralization of power, limited political pluralism, and often restricted civil liberties. In an adversarial authoritarian regime, although the state maintains control over key political structures, it allows some opposition or societal participation in a controlled manner, without threatening the core authority of the ruling elite (Gerschewski, 2013). These regimes often manipulate institutions to create the appearance of political competition while maintaining real power within a select group.

The evolution of Ukraine's political regime has been marked by attempts to shift from a more authoritarian model toward democracy, but this process has been interrupted by political and social divides. The socio-political dynamics in Ukraine, especially the East-West divide, have influenced the political transformations in ways that complicate a straightforward transition to democracy (Romanyuk, 2020).

In the context of post-Soviet Ukraine, the political regime has often been analyzed through the lens of neo-patrimonialism and the clientelist state. Neo-patrimonialism

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refers to a system where political power is exercised through personal relationships and patronage networks rather than formal institutions (Erdmann & Engel, 2007). This system often fosters a clientelist state, where political elites use state resources to maintain loyal supporters, who, in turn, provide the elites with political power. Researchers have noted that Ukraine's political regime has been deeply influenced by these patronage systems, which have shaped both its political institutions and electoral processes (Romanyuk, 2020; Zelenko et al., 2021). This system's persistence has been particularly evident in Ukraine's political transitions, where reforms have often been more symbolic than substantive, reflecting the personalistic nature of power rather than institutional development.

In addition to neo-patrimonialism, other perspectives on Ukraine's political regime evolution have emerged. Hybrid regimes, combining elements of both democracy and authoritarianism, have been discussed in relation to Ukraine's political development since independence. The political transformations of the 1990s and 2000s reflect attempts to consolidate democracy while maintaining significant authoritarian tendencies. The Maidan Revolutions of 2004 and 2014 catalyzed a significant shift in the political trajectory, yet political elites continued to manipulate the system to maintain control, leading to a sustained crisis in political development (Prymush & Yarosh, 2020).

Other scholars have explored democratic transition and authoritarian consolidation in Ukraine, particularly through the framework of post-Soviet transformation. In this context, democratic transition is often seen as a gradual process in which the state opens up to democratic practices but faces resistance from entrenched elites and informal networks (Shaigorodsky, 2021). However, the process is often interrupted by shifts towards authoritarianism, which can result in the consolidation of power in the hands of a few, as seen in the control of key political and economic sectors by oligarchs (Berezovska-Chmil, 2020; Galchynskyi, 2020).

The political regime in Ukraine has been framed in various ways depending on the lens used. For instance, institutional theory suggests that Ukraine's political regime has been shaped by the actions and decisions of its elites, who have sought to influence the political system in their favor, often through institutional changes driven by presidential transitions (Bjørnskov & Rode, 2020). Moreover, the role of elites in the formation of the political regime is central to understanding how power has been exercised and contested. Political elites in Ukraine have often oscillated between competing for control over state institutions and monopolizing power within a narrow group, resulting in fragmented democratic processes and repeated setbacks in the democratization efforts (Berezovska-Chmil, 2020).

The evolution of Ukraine's political regime has been marked by tension between democratic aspirations and authoritarian practices, influenced by neo-patrimonial networks, elite competition, and the impact of the Maidan revolutions. A deeper exploration of neo-patrimonialism, clientelism, and hybrid regimes provides a clearer understanding of how political and social dynamics have shaped Ukraine's trajectory. Furthermore, to grasp the full scope of this transformation, it is necessary to examine the literature that frames democratic transition and authoritarian consolidation in post-Soviet states, including Ukraine, to understand the underlying mechanisms of regime change.

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Constitutional Foundations of the Political Regime in Ukraine

The study of the transformation of the political regime in Ukraine provides for the need to highlight the essence of this concept and its structural elements. This is important in the context of conducting a comparative historical analysis of the category of "political regime", which should be understood as the way of distribution of power, the reasons for its establishment and development in the public consciousness of the nation. Thus, the establishment of this mechanism involves not only the extension of power to certain types of public relations, but also the influence on the life of citizens. The structure of the political regime consists of: methods of exercising state power; the degree of freedom of a person and their rights; approaches to political decision-making; pluralism; in particular, the presence or absence of legal (illegal) opposition; the configuration of the party system; features of the ruling elite (Helms, 2023; Ketners et al., 2024).

An important step towards changing the political system of Ukraine was the adoption by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (VRU) of the Declaration on State Sovereignty of Ukraine (1990). The latter provided for the consolidation of the sovereignty of a developing state in accordance with its borders and exercising the right to self-determination. The essence of the constitutional principles consolidated in the Declaration was revealed in the approval of the principle of separation of powers (legislative, executive, judicial) and departure from the idea of democratic centralism. Subsequently, as a result of the referendum held on 1 December 1991, the Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR No. 1427-XII "On Proclamation of Independence of Ukraine" (1991) was signed, which affected the political status of the state. The title of Chapter 7 of the Constitution (Basic Law) of Ukraine (1978) was changed from "Ukrainian SSR - a union republic within the USSR" to "Ukraine - an independent state". On 19 June 1991, the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR adopted Resolution No. 1056-XII "On the Concept of the new Constitution of Ukraine" (1991), which consolidated the relationship between the citizen, the state, and society as the main object of constitutional regulation. On 28 June 1996, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine adopted and enacted the new Constitution of Ukraine (1996), which established the priority of human values and democracy in Ukraine.

In accordance with the principles of the political system of Ukraine provided for in this regulatory document, its structure consists of three levels. The highest category includes the principles and norms that have the highest legal force and characterise the constitutional system of Ukraine. As for the general principles based on which the political system as a whole is formed, they belong to the second level. It should be noted that it in fact details the principles of the constitutional order. The third level consists of approaches that regulate the status of a particular category of subjects of the political system, and the algorithm for implementing various types of political activities (Sych, 2020).

It is worth noting that among the set of principles that determine the political system of Ukraine, it is popular sovereignty that is fundamental. This is conditioned by the fact that it consolidates the source of power and the "coordinate system" in the political sphere. Accordingly, the only source of power and bearer of sovereignty in Ukraine is the people, who exercise power through state and local government bodies. As for the principle of the highest social value of a person, it characterises the axiological orientation of the

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political system and regime in Ukraine. The Constitution of Ukraine (1996) establishes the principle of republicanism, according to which the establishment of the highest state authorities occurs either directly by the people or by representative bodies.

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Defining for all elements of the political system is the principle of democracy, the essence of which is the democracy of political consciousness and regime. In close connection with this principle is the principle of transparency, which determines the implementation of unhindered dissemination of information flows in the context of the political and legal system (Apakhayev et al., 2017; Ongan et al., 2025). In addition to the above principles, the principles on the basis of which the establishment and development of the political regime in Ukraine takes place include: Unitarianism, social and legal state, separation of powers, legality, legal equality, the rule of law, and the guarantee of local self-government. Analysing their essence, it should be noted that Ukraine is developing a democratic political system, which is based on pluralism.

As for the second level of the foundations of the political system of Ukraine, they cover secularism, dynamism, and the role autonomy of the subjects of this system. Thus, they are characterised by a constitutional and legal nature, while detailing the content of the constitutional foundations of the political system. Examples of the third level of principles include: the multi-ethnic nature of the Ukrainian people, subsidiarity, and the ubiquity of local self-government or community groups. Their essence consists in expressing the specifics of various spheres of political life of citizens, asserting the status of specific subjects of the political system. The combination of the above principles reveals the main vectors of the establishment of a political regime in modern Ukraine, which involve consideration of the specific characteristics of the political system.

Structure and Transformation of the Political System of Ukraine

The system of structural elements of the political system of Ukraine includes: the institution of presidential power, the parliament, and the government. The first one should be understood as a specially created system of higher power, which is aimed at implementing sovereignty and ensuring the independence of the country through the effective functioning of various state authorities. The legitimisation of the institution of the presidency through a referendum or free elections indicates its constitutional consolidation as a mechanism of representative form of public power of the people (Galymzhan et al., 2020). An analysis of its historical development shows that the president is characterised by four main functions, namely quaranteeing and protecting, coordinating, constitutive, and representative. This is explained by the fact that the president acts as a guarantor of the Constitution of Ukraine, its sovereignty, and also contributes to ensuring human and civil rights and freedoms. The president coordinates the activities of public authorities so that they are characterised by high efficiency and prevent a political crisis. During the implementation of the constitutive function, the president defines and implements the main vectors of Ukraine's domestic and foreign policy. As for the representative function in the activities of the president, it is reflected in the international arena and in the organisation of public power based on the institution of civil society. The constitutional status of the president is developing, and therefore, there are positions in the scientific doctrine regarding the expediency of transferring certain powers to specialised bodies. For example, I.B. Debenko (2011) suggests that it

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is necessary to introduce changes to the status of the president, namely, to give him the opportunity to be a participant in the legislative process and to have his own rule-making powers. Based on this, the researcher's opinion provides for the establishment of presidential control over the rule-making activities of state authorities. The approach proposed by the researcher allows considering the special role of the president in the context of protecting and implementing constitutional legality. Thus, what is common between the conclusions in these papers is that the legal status and functions of the president of Ukraine in the field under study are clearly defined by law, and therefore, can be expanded in the context of the establishment of new specialised institutions.

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In general, the institution of presidential power is one of the most important links in the context of the functioning of the political system of Ukraine. This is consolidated in the provisions of the Constitution of Ukraine (1996), according to which it is the president who is endowed with the status of head of state. The president's powers cover a wide range of issues, in particular, decision-making on national security, implementation of foreign and national policy, and higher personnel issues. This list is not exhaustive, since the activities of the institution of presidential power are systematic and cover, among other things, the right to initiate legislative initiatives or impose a veto (Romanyuk, 2020).

An equally important role in the development of a civil and democratic society is played by the institution of the parliament, local self-government bodies, the ombudsman, elections, and referendums (Ketners, 2025). It is worth noting that parliamentarism is characteristic of various stages of the historical development of Ukraine. For example, the power that the Grand Prince of Kyiv possessed was limited, since it was implemented in cooperation with the consent of the prince's armed forces. As for the period of the country's independence, it is worth noting that the new stage was started in 1990. This is conditioned by the fact that for the first time, the elections to the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR were implemented considering the principles of pluralism, since parties opposed to the Communist Party (which were grouped under the name People's Council) took part in them. Subsequently, the activities of the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR became permanent, which were governed by the norms of the temporary regulations. Thus, the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR was reformed into a parliamentary-type institution even before Ukraine's independence. After the adoption of the Constitution of Ukraine (1996), the Parliament of Ukraine was defined as the main legislative body, whose activities were aimed at passing laws, approving the budget, and implementing monitoring of government activities. In modern Ukraine, the Verkhovna Rada has the status of a single-chamber authority and, accordingly, consists of 450 people's deputies. The activity of the Parliament of Ukraine has many vectors, but its ultimate goal is to ensure and develop a democratic system of government. Thus, it promotes the realisation of the voice and interests of the people in decision-making, control over the government and authorities, and coordinates the actions of the authorities with constitutional principles.

As for the subjects of power, they also have specifics, since they are characterised by their own regulatory framework, purpose, functions, and procedure for making decisions. Accordingly, the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine is obliged to adhere in the course of its activities to the general principles of legal regulation, namely: the rule of law, good governance, division of state power, continuity, and collegiality. At the same time, its

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tasks are clearly defined in the Law of Ukraine No. 794-VII "On the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine" (2014), which ensures the constitutional rights and freedoms of citizens. In this case, the legal status of the government is formed from competence, which includes: powers, subject matter, and functions. The Cabinet of Ministers belongs to the category of subjects of general competence, as it coordinates the work of other central executive bodies, including ministries. It is important to ensure compliance with laws, the Constitution, and human and civil rights in the course of its activities. Its competence covers a number of public relations, including: economic, labour, socio-economic, legal, and others related to the activities of the state.

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Thus, the political system of Ukraine consists of elements whose activities complement each other. This shows that all its links play an important role in the context of the establishment of a political regime and, accordingly, should be developed at a high level. The holistic development of political institutions is aimed at consolidating the democratic foundations and principles on the basis of which public life is ensured. The analysis of each of the elements allows us to characterise the political regime in Ukraine, which is based on the ideas of democracy, pluralism, protection of human and civil rights and freedoms. Based on the above analysis, it is advisable to consider the activities of these elements in the process of forming a political regime in different periods of Ukraine's development (Figure 1).

1991-1994 – poorly structured political regime

1994-2004 – semi-authoritarian regime

2005-2010 – electoral democracy

2010-2014 – competitive authoritarianism

2014-2019 – unconsolidated competitive authoritarianism

Figure 1. Stages of development of political regime in Ukraine

Source: compiled by the authors.

The period 1991-1994 was characterised by general institutional weakness and low legitimacy of the authorities. This was influenced by several factors, namely: the unwillingness of political actors to structure their activities; the lack of democratic experience in solving political problems; parties were not the main political actors. Based on this, the specifics of this period were the rapid loss of legitimacy by the institutions of power. The lack of institutionalisation during this period was especially evident in the

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absence of effective checks on power, with the executive branch largely left unchallenged. This initial phase was largely shaped by the legacy of the Soviet system and the newly independent state's struggles to establish stable governance (Yanyshivskyi, 2025).

The 1994-1998 period saw a shift toward increased political influence of the president and a fragmented Verkhovna Rada following the 1994 parliamentary elections. This era, under President Leonid Kuchma, witnessed the adoption of the 1996 Constitution, which granted the president sweeping powers, including in administrative, legislative, and personnel matters. These powers transformed the president into a hegemonic figure, capable of independently steering the political direction of the state. The privatization process (1998-2000) further consolidated the influence of political and business elites, contributing to the rise of an oligarchic-bureaucratic system (Tsurkan-Saifulina & Popelnytska, 2023). The transition was marked by the increasing centralization of power, where business moguls began to shape the political sphere through control over media outlets and political parties (Ilychok et al., 2024).

The presidency of Viktor Yushchenko (2005-2010) introduced a shift toward a parliamentary-presidential republic, reinforcing the principles of electoral democracy. However, the political landscape remained unstable due to the fragmented nature of the Ukrainian political elite and a lack of cohesion in the legislature. The Orange Revolution of 2004 marked a pivotal moment, leading to the consolidation of democratic mechanisms but not the natural evolution of democracy. Yushchenko's failure to establish control over the country's political apparatus resulted in significant instability, and the Party of Regions, led by Viktor Yanukovych, rose to power in 2006. This shift marked the onset of adversarial authoritarianism, where key political decisions were influenced by competing elites. By 2012, following electoral victories, the regime had shifted to a form of consolidated authoritarianism under Yanukovych (Semenenko et al., 2024).

The 2014-2016 period was transformative, catalyzed by the Euromaidan protests and the ousting of Yanukovych. This led to a semi-competitive authoritarian regime, often termed "soft" presidential-oligarchic authoritarianism. The consolidation of power in the hands of President Petro Poroshenko was coupled with the formation of patronage networks involving the President, Prime Minister, and the People's Front party. This regime was marked by informal power consolidation, soft repressions, and pressure on opposition forces. Reforms in the police, army, and decentralisation during this period signalled attempts at democratic consolidation, but they were hindered by the persistence of oligarchic control over the state (Semenenko et al., 2021).

After the presidential elections in 2019, the institutions of political and ideological pluralism were restored in Ukraine. In modern Ukrainian society, the freedom of ideological positions of citizens, including in relation to political activities, is being consolidated and ensured. The current vector of political development of Ukraine is aimed at achieving a consolidated democracy. For this purpose, Ukraine is implementing political reforms, dynamically developing mechanism for cooperation with the European Union, and opening up prospects for participation in regional projects envisaged by the modernised Three Seas concept (Sekh, 2023). On the Europeanization axis, Ukraine has increasingly aligned its policies with EU standards, particularly after the Association Agreement between the European Union and Ukraine (2014), which fostered reforms in

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areas such as trade, energy, and decentralization. These reforms demonstrate Ukraine's commitment to EU integration. However, progress is slowed by internal political fragmentation, resistance to certain reforms, and external geopolitical pressures, particularly from Russia. While Ukraine has made steady advancements in adopting EU norms, its efforts to fully integrate with EU governance and legal frameworks remain inconsistent, especially in the areas of rule of law and governance reforms.

Symbolisation and Mythologisation of the Political System in Ukraine

After Ukraine declared its independence, the country set out on a path of democratic development, which was marked by shifts in spiritual and cultural values. These reforms aimed to improve the public's well-being, but they also led to contradictions in public consciousness, often reflecting deep social fragmentation. As S.F. Moore and B.G. Myerhoff (2020) noted, such transitions in state values and ideals make it difficult to consolidate a unified public consciousness, particularly when outdated political norms persist. This duality is a critical challenge in post-Soviet states, where political socialization can be manipulated to shape public opinion. In Ukraine, this challenge was compounded by the rise of oligarchic control over mainstream media, preventing the intellectuals and media from becoming effective change agents (Cassani & Tomini, 2020; Aleman et al., 2021). Instead of providing a unifying force, these sectors became tools for legitimizing the status quo.

Symbolisation in Ukraine's political context refers to the use of images and symbols that replace real aspects of political life. These symbols often carry only a conditional resemblance to the issues they represent, yet, they are perceived by the public as authentic. As S. Hellmeier and M. Bernhard (2023) explain, political actors in Ukraine have utilized symbolisation to construct certain political narratives, which helped them maintain power by appealing to the emotional and psychological aspects of citizens. Symbolisation is particularly powerful in the post-Soviet context, where it substitutes real political realities with idealized images of the state. For example, the political imagery surrounding Ukraine's independence in 1991, as well as the symbolic use of the "Euromaidan" protests in 2014, were used by political elites to establish legitimacy and foster national unity, despite the underlying fragmentation and instability (Drescher, 2020). This approach, while potentially strengthening political authority, also creates opportunities for manipulation, as symbols can obscure the real challenges facing the population.

Symbolisation in Ukraine is not a temporary phenomenon but has been embedded in the political culture since independence. It continues to shape political legitimacy through a substitution of political reality. For example, political actors have used symbols like the "national hero" or "enemy" to justify actions, whether by framing protests as acts of patriotism or labelling political opposition as traitorous (Lai, 2020). Symbolisation increases symbolic capital, which can foster political loyalty, but it can also alienate citizens when the symbols lose their connection to real-world issues.

Connected to symbolisation is mythologisation, the process of creating political myths that simplify complex realities for public consumption. M. Feischmidt (2020) argues that political myths are constructed through language and discourse, transforming ordinary political actions into narratives that resonate with the masses. Political actors use myths

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to shape perceptions, often by creating simplified dichotomies – such as the "good vs. evil" narrative in political discourse.

In Ukraine, mythologisation has been a strategic tool for political actors to improve the public's perception of the regime. Political figures have constructed myths around events like the Maidan revolutions, portraying them as a fight for freedom and democracy, while often overlooking the broader political and social challenges. E. Arbatli and D. Rosenberg (2021) note that political mythologies help to shift the public's focus away from deeper political issues by emphasizing symbolic victories, such as national identity or territorial integrity, while ignoring critical problems like corruption or governance failures.

Mythologisation, as M. Saud et al. (2020) point out, not only shapes collective memory but also individual behavior, influencing how citizens engage with the political system. It constructs a distorted political reality where certain actors are either elevated as heroes or demonized as enemies of the state, diverting attention from more pressing issues. This process has contributed to the deformation of political discourse, where the true nature of political struggles is masked by mythological narratives that obscure the real political dynamics.

The combined forces of symbolisation and mythologisation in Ukraine have both positive and negative consequences. On the one hand, they have helped solidify political legitimacy by appealing to the national sentiment, especially during times of crisis like the annexation of Crimea or the war with Russia. However, they have also created a polarized political environment in which symbolic victories overshadow substantive reforms. The influence of these processes on the population's political consciousness can sometimes result in passivity, as citizens are drawn into mythological narratives rather than engaging critically with the political system (Dzvinchuk et al., 2018). As I. Stihi (2022) observes, political actors can use these tools to reshape public opinion, not only to defend their positions but also to redistribute power resources. The manipulation of public discourse through myth and symbolism is particularly dangerous in unstable political conditions like Ukraine's, where political struggles often escalate into manipulative battles for control over public consciousness.

The processes of symbolisation and mythologisation have played crucial roles in shaping Ukraine's political regime from 1991 to the present. These mechanisms allow political actors to construct political realities that justify their actions, while simultaneously diverting attention from deeper issues. The study of these processes is essential for understanding how political regimes can evolve through symbolic manipulation, often at the cost of genuine democratic progress. As Ukraine continues to face political instability and external threats, the role of symbolic politics will remain central to both maintaining power and shaping national identity.

Conclusions

The political regime in Ukraine has undergone significant transformation since independence, with a dominant shift towards democratic development. However, ongoing socio-political and economic challenges require continuous efforts to consolidate democratic values and ensure transparency. The study shows that Ukraine's political trajectory is characterized by alternating phases of democratization and authoritarian

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regression. From the early 1990s to 2004, a struggle between power centers defined the period as competitive authoritarianism. The Orange Revolution of 2004 marked a breakthrough towards electoral democracy, which was balanced by political forces rather than individual strategies. However, 2010-2012 saw an authoritarian rollback under Yanukovych, which was overturned by the Revolution of Dignity, reinvigorating democratization efforts.

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The political regime evolved further between 2016-2019, shifting from electoral democracy to competitive authoritarianism again. By 2019, democratic development resumed, alongside mechanisms to protect citizens' rights and freedoms. The study highlights the role of symbolisation and mythologisation in Ukraine's political system, where political elites use these tools to gain power and reform the state. Symbolisation, through imagery and ideas, substitutes the real actions of political actors, creating a distorted narrative. The study advocates for a moral political policy that considers citizens' views and adheres to national traditions, contributing to a more open civil society. Future research should focus on minimizing the negative effects of manipulative symbolisation in politics.

In terms of legal reform, the study recommends changes to the Constitution of Ukraine to define the president's role more clearly, particularly in guaranteeing state sovereignty and coordinating national actions. It also suggests establishing a Commissioner for the Rights of Servicemen to protect military personnel's rights, given the ongoing war. This new position would be appointed by the president and endowed with control and investigative powers, ensuring greater protection for Ukraine's armed forces.

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