

## **Konzeptionelle Grundlage der Transformation moderner Parteiensysteme**

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### **Abstrakt**

Die Theorie der Parteien und Parteiensysteme ist eines der aktuellen Themen, die von vielen Wissenschaftlern der modernen Politikwissenschaft intensiv diskutiert werden. Die Tatsache, dass die Politikwissenschaft als Wissenschaft in eine neue Entwicklungsstufe eintritt, erweitert die Möglichkeiten zur vertieften Auseinandersetzung mit zivilgesellschaftlichen Institutionen und ihren sich wandelnden Eigenschaften. Der Artikel konzentriert sich theoretisch auf das Konzept der Transformation von Parteiensystemen und deren Charakteristika sowie die Faktoren, die sie beeinflussen. Das Studium der Transformationstheorie moderner Parteiensysteme dient dazu, die Bedeutung von Parteien als Institutionen der Zivilgesellschaft weiter zu stärken.

**Schlüsselwörter:** Partei, Parteienlehre, Parteiensystem, Transformation, Zivilgesellschaft, Demokratie, politisches System, politische Institution, Übergangszeit, Mehrparteiensystem.

## **Conceptual foundation of the transformation of modern party systems**

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### **Abstract**

The theory of party and party systems is one of the current topics widely discussed by many scholars in modern political science. The fact that political science as a science is entering a new stage of development expands the opportunities for in-depth study of civil society institutions and their changing characteristics. The article theoretically focuses on the concept of transformation of party systems and their characteristics, as well as the factors that affect them. The study of the theory of transformation of modern party systems serves to further enhance the importance of parties as institutions of civil society.

**Keywords:** party, party theory, party system, transformation, civil society, democracy, political system, political institution, transition period, multiparty system.

**Introduction.** In modern political science, the concept of party systems is widely studied, its origin, transformation, and its peculiarities. The impact of party systems on the political life of society, the role of civil society in the development of modern societies is one of the most studied issues by political scientists. In general, the change in the political system has been studied by many scholars as a positive phenomenon, that is, the building of a civil society based on democracy, in which human rights are given priority over its dignity. It is the change of the political system that is closely related to the transformation of party systems. The political system and the party system emerge as a force that plays an important role in the

transformation of each other. The change of the political system, party systems, political processes, in general, should first and foremost serve to ensure the well-being of man.

**Materials.** Many scholars have different scientific definitions of the party and party systems. There are hundreds of definitions of the party in modern political science, and there is no single universally recognized one.

There are also different scientific approaches of different scholars to the concept of the party system.

The concepts of the party and party systems have been studied by Uzbek scholars such as M. Kyrgyzbaev, H. Odilkoriev, V. Kuchkarov, D. Razzakov, H. Akhmedov. For example, M. Kyrgyzbaev defines the concept of the party system as follows:

The concept of a party system is a political space consisting of a set of independent subjects (parties) with certain numbers and dimensions (voter size, types of internal systems, and other forms), as well as the ability to cooperate. There are currently four types of party systems: one-party, bipartisan, “two-party” and multi-party [4, p. 227].

According to Russian scientist S. Lantsov, who tried to explain the concept of the party system through political parties:

In each country, political parties form a certain sub-system within the political system as a whole. Such a subsystem is often regarded as a relatively independent batch system with a unique structure and mode of operation [3, p. 300].

Also, V. P. Pugachev, A. I. Solov'ev in their textbook "Introduction to Political Science" described the concept of the party system as follows:

Party systems are usually classified primarily by the qualitative aspects of party-state (inter-party, etc.) relations, as well as their quantitative composition [2, p. 280].

As we have seen above, there are different approaches to the party system, its features, which are close to each other in different kinds of literature. In general, the transformation of party systems is one of the emerging and widely studied issues in the political sciences today.

The process of transformation of political party systems has been studied by many political scientists P. Meyr, R. Inglehart, A. Ariana, M. Shamir, K. Janda, R. Harmel, S. Lipset, S. Rokkan, L. N. Alisova, A.B. Ponomarenko, A.I. Solovyov, and others studied.

An article by Katerina Tryma, Kostiantyn Karaman, Vladislav Parlyk and Maria Sviatlovskaya entitled “Transformation of Political Parties in EU Member States” focuses on internal and external factors influencing the transformation of European party systems. In general, the impact of European integration, the global financial crisis, migration crises on the transformation of party systems was discussed.

In his research, Y. Shashkov noted that the factors influencing the transformation of Russian party systems, the adaptation of parties to changes in the political environment, in general, the activities of parties after the post-Soviet system, and the peculiarities of the transformation of party systems.

An analysis of how party systems were formed in post-Soviet countries shows that this process was generally carried out following the generally accepted classical schemes implemented in these countries due to the specific historical situation. The formation of the party system in post-communist countries is inextricably linked with the process of statehood formation. This affected both the ideology and the organizational structure, as well as the role of parties in the political system of society. According to some scholars, the process of formation of the party system in such countries takes place in the general conditions of the state's transition from totalitarianism to democracy, the destruction of the remnants of totalitarianism, and the establishment of civil society. In this sense, the party systems of the newly independent countries were formed not only as a result of internal development but also as a weight against totalitarian one-party rule. Another group of researchers believes that the main reason for the difficulty of forming an adequate party system in post-Soviet countries is that the establishment of political freedoms contributed to the formation of private property, party politics is a market economy that determines the characteristics of economic freedoms [10].

**Methods.** The study of political parties usually uses the method of institutional approach in the science of political science. That is, the institutional approach studies the state, parties, various organizations, and associations, other institutions that carry out political activity [1. P. 27]. At the same time, in our study, we used the methods of functional, systematic, historical approaches, as well as the methodology of comparative analysis. This study focuses on the transformation of party systems from the perspectives of foreign scholars who are influential in modern political science. He also touched upon the experience of countries with advanced party systems.

**Results.** In the modern world, the process of transformation of political party systems is accelerating. There are many reasons for this, from issues such as the global financial crisis to climate change to the growing political needs of the people.

The development of modern information technologies also contributes to the transformation of party systems. Examples include:

The establishment of new parties and the disbanding of old ones have always been the most important condition for the adaptation of party systems to the changing situation in the country and society. For the first time, an attempt to typology a new type of party was carried out by H. Margetts (2006). Using the term "cyber party", the researcher has defined this new form of the party not as a marginal one, and its emergence not as a kind of accident, but as a natural result of the development of partogenesis within the framework of the development[8. p. 2226].

Several terms are used concerning this type of party. These are "cyber parties", "online parties" (Morozova, 2015), "virtual", "Internet parties", as well as "network" parties. According to L. Smorgunov (2014), the signs of such parties are considered to be lack of membership, party channels of communication are network channels, internal and external ones are direct connections with voters, strong party competition for various preferences of voters, and their role in the political space is the position between the civil society and the state (Smorgunov, 2014) [8. p. 2226].

Adaptation of political parties to the political environment As a result of the development of modern information technologies, the transformation of parties and party systems will accelerate shortly. In developed societies, parties can transform into “online parties” and “virtual parties” as we have seen above.

Once the nature of what constitutes a party system has been established, then it becomes possible to identify different types of party systems, and hence to specify criteria which will enable one to determine whether any given system has changed from one type to another. In some ways this can lead us to the simplest and clearest definition: party system change occurs when a party system is transformed from one class or type of party system into another. To be sure, the mode of classifying party systems is itself quite hotly disputed, and change defined in this fashion is likely to be a relatively infrequent phenomenon. Nevertheless, such an approach enjoys the advantages of strict criteria and quite unambiguous conclusions. In short, it offers one way in which to circumvent the quagmire[9, p. 52].

P. Mayr is one of the scholars who has conducted extensive research on the factors influencing the change of political party systems, the impact of electoral processes on party change, the problems of party system change.

P. Mayr was also prominent in general and studied the transformation of party systems, most of the scientists who have achieved certain achievements have researched the example of party systems in developed western countries, one such scholar is R. Dalton.

Drawing on the extensive country studies in their volume, Dalton and his colleagues find evidence of change in the weakening of alignments, increased fragmentation, and increased volatility. This change is seen as long-term rather than short-term, involving shifts in both the pattern of social cleavages and the orientation to mass party organizations. This strong but considered conclusion also contains little of the ephemeral. The changes which have been observed are substantial, undermining and potentially transforming a pattern of political alignments which has more or less persisted since the beginning of mass democratic politics in western Europe[9, p. 48].

The parties in the Western world, the most scrutinized by scholars in the West, have succeeded over the years as a more or less genuine institution of democracy. However, now they are gradually but tangibly moving to a new stage. Close ties with the masses no longer seem necessary, as parties are professionally mastering the tools of political marketing, and the leaders of the winning party are pursuing policies that satisfy their most influential supporters first of all[6. p. 32].

The influence of modern innovations on the transformation process of political parties is also growing. As mentioned above, promotion through marketing or social media, setting up an online membership, and so on.

Ya.Yu. Shashkov's research explored the transformation of Russian party systems. Ya.Yu. Shashkov paid special attention to the transformation of the functions of the Party, according to which; “All functions of Russian parties from the standpoint of the ongoing discussion about the role of parties in modern politics [5, 6] can be divided into three groups: 1) preserved traditional functions; 2) formally  
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preserved, but changing their content; 3) functions that parties have ceased to perform in modern conditions, and did not perform at all in post-Soviet Russia”[7. p. 191].

The party system is manifested in modern conditions as a natural and necessary attribute of democracy. An effective system of parties creates the conditions for adequate representation of public interests, ensuring effective democracy. However, in a multi-party system, it is very difficult to determine whether a party belongs to a party system. The basis for the inclusion of parties in the party system is the participation of the party in the exercise of power and the reflection of important political interests of society [10].

Societies in transition spontaneously overcome the limitations of a particular totalitarian system and move from a totalitarian state to a natural historical state, from a one-party to a multi-party state. For such societies, it is important to identify the mechanisms and factors that unite the elements of the party system into stable integrity, despite the constant contradictions and struggles between their subjects.

**Discussion.** Naturally, the transformation of the party and party systems can be observed in every society where political processes continue to develop. Only the factors influencing their change may be different, in terms of the political environment.

Party system change might therefore occur when, as a result of ideological, strategic, or electoral shifts, there is a transformation of the direction of competition or the governing formula. If, on the other hand, the change involves simply the realignment of the social bases of party support, or the emergence of a new set of issue concerns, while leaving the pattern of competition essentially untouched, this might not be considered of major significance—at least in terms of the party system[9. Б. 52].

In our view, ideological and strategic shifts can have a significant impact on change, while electoral shifts can be temporary or related to the duration of a particular political process.

Let us therefore return to the question of the classification of party systems. Turning to Sartori's (1976) own approach, for example, it can be suggested that the appearance/disappearance of a party leads to party system change when the number of relevant parties is altered to an extent which shifts the party system in question from, say, the limited pluralism class to, say, the extreme pluralism class. On the other hand, it can be argued that even this level of change is insufficient to constitute a change of the system unless it also involves either an extension or abbreviation of the breadth of ideological polarization. Thus the disappearance of one of the relevant anti-system parties from a system of polarized pluralism might be considered sufficient to eradicate the existence of bilateral oppositions, reduce the level of polarization, encourage the emergence of centripetal competition, and thereby transform the system into one of moderate pluralism[9. p. 53].

In his research on the change of party systems, J. Sartori emphasizes that even small changes in party change can lead to big results. At the same time, he expressed his views on the impact of the electoral process on the changes or the impact of the changes on the effectiveness of the final elections.



Well-known German scientist O. Kirchheimer also explored in his scientific research that changes in party systems were not related to their elections. As a result of his research, he argues that change in the party and party systems will change at more ideological and competitive levels. He dwelled on party change in his writings.

For Kirchheimer, for example, party system change clearly involved something other than simple aggregate electoral change. In his classic essay, appropriately entitled 'The Transformation of the Western European Party Systems', Kirchheimer (1966) developed a major thesis on party system change which, to all intents and purposes, effectively ignored the electoral dimension. In this case, the transformation of party systems involved change at the level of ideology, organization, and competition, and while such change would inevitably provoke an electoral response (see the interpretation of the Kirchheimer argument in Wolinetz, 1979), such a response would not necessarily be visible at the electoral level—or at least at the aggregate electoral level, where adaptation could ensure maintenance of the given aggregate electoral equilibrium (Dittrich, 1983)[9. p.71].

The rapid development of the world and the increasing needs of humanity are also accelerating the transformation of party systems. In modern societies, it is important that political parties, regardless of their form, serve the interests of their electorate. Even before political party systems, the development of societies poses new challenges, such as changes in the environment, the impact of humanity on nature, the rise of disease, and so on.

Politics began to require purposeful, prudent, and large sums of money, which required the involvement of professional political strategists, lawyers, managers, and communication specialists in the work of the party. Today, the party elites need not only to achieve party goals but also to find an "optimal balance between internal needs and environmental problems", to adapt the "size" of the organization, "management style, internal relations, and relations" to the political situation and rules of the game [5. p. 34].

As development continues, party systems will also continue to change. Even in the most developed societies of the world, there are many challenges facing party systems. The transformation of the party and party systems will continue to overcome the existing problems.

Among the external factors that determine the parameters of the current EU party systems, the dominant influence is exerted by the phenomenon of globalization as the main trend of world development and the development of the EU. The development of the EU economy, as an element of the global economy, was considered by the mainstream parties to be one of the most important priorities in their activities. The globalization processes developing against the background of the information revolution have led to the formation of a post-industrial society with its new qualitative parameters and created an objective necessity for the transformation process[8. B. 2228].

**Conclusion.** In conclusion, we can say that in modern political processes, parties are also increasingly prone to change. With the growing role of the media in the propaganda work of political parties, the emergence of a new form of media is

forcing them to look for new approaches. The process of transformation of political parties is closely linked with the political consciousness of the population. As the political activity of the electorate increases, there is a need for changes in the activities of political parties and party systems. In modern political science, political parties are proving that they not only serve to raise the political level of the electorate but also update their working methods by their demands.

The emergence of new forms of political parties in line with the times, for example, "online parties", "virtual parties" necessitates the widespread introduction of modern technologies in the party sphere, which is related to the political needs of the people.

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