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# MAIN CHANNELS OF RECRUITING OF MODERN POLITICAL AND GOVERNING ELITE IN UKRAINE

**Abstract.** The main channels of recruiting of the modern political and governing elite in Ukraine are determined. An assessment of their significance is made on the example of deputies of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of the VIII convocation, elected by party lists. The key aspects of the recruiting process of the Ukrainian political and governing elite are described.

**Keywords:** elite, recruitment channels of the elite, political and governing elite, political recruitment, formation of political and governing elite.

## ОСНОВНІ КАНАЛИ РЕКРУТУВАННЯ СУЧАСНОЇ ПОЛІТИКО-УПРАВЛІНСЬКОЇ ЕЛІТИ В УКРАЇНІ

**Анотація.** Визначено основні канали рекрутування сучасної політико-управлінської еліти в Україні. Здійснено оцінку їх значення на прикладі депутатів Верховної Ради України VIII скликання, обраних за партійними списками. Схарактеризовано ключові проблемні аспекти процесу рекрутування української політико-управлінської еліти.

**Ключові слова:** еліта, канали рекрутування еліти, політико-управлінська еліта, політичне рекрутування, формування політико-управлінської еліти.

## ОСНОВНЫЕ КАНАЛЫ РЕКРУТИРОВАНИЯ СОВРЕМЕННОЙ ПОЛИТИКО-УПРАВЛЕНЧЕСКОЙ ЭЛИТЫ В УКРАИНЕ

**Аннотация.** Определены основные каналы рекрутирования современной политико-управленческой элиты в Украине. Осуществлена оценка их значения на примере депутатов Верховной Рады Украины VIII созыва, избранных по партийным спискам. Охарактеризованы ключевые проблемные аспекты процесса рекрутирования украинской политико-управленческой элиты.

**Ключевые слова:** элита, каналы рекрутирования элиты, политико-управленческая элита, политическое рекрутирование, формирование политико-управленческой элиты.

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**Formulation of the problem.** The key role of the political and managerial elite in modern politics lies in the possession of the resources of the authorities, as well as the right to implement public policy and make strategic decisions for the benefit of society as a whole.

Given, that the notion of “elite” is associated with a narrow and suf-

ficiently closed circle of persons with a quantitatively limited composition, the necessary condition for the existence of political and managerial elite is the availability of recruiting channels, that help ensure its quality, and hence the ability to exercise the basic functions of political control on proper level.

**Analysis of recent researches and publications.** The problems of forming the political and managerial elite in Ukraine became the subject of research by such scholars as E. Afonin, N. Goncharuk, V. Goshovskaya, V. Kremen, O. Kryukov, B. Kukht, I. Lopushinsky, O. Naumenko, O. Oliynyk, A. Paharev, M. Piren, A. Rachinskiy, N. Selyutina and others.

**The purpose of the article** is to determine the main channels for the recruitment of the current political and the managerial elite in Ukraine, to assess their significance, for example, by the deputies of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of the VIII convocation, elected by party lists, as well as characterize the main problem aspects of the recruitment process of the Ukrainian political and managerial elite.

**Presenting main material.** The political and managerial elite constantly needs an updated reserve, which could replenish it. In the case of well-functioning and effective institutionalized procedure for such update through the channels of its interaction with society, the change in the personal composition of the elite takes place without compromising the structure of the political system, while preserving its integrity and stability.

With the help of political recruiting, in other words involving people in active political life, the legislative and executive bodies of the states, the government apparatus, and the governing bodies of state institutions are formed.

An important role in this process is played by several key points, namely:

- the breadth of the social base, which should potentially produce the necessary elite reserve;

- Recruiters, those persons, whose function is selection and withdrawal of candidates for elite structures;
- the criteria for the recruitment of the political and managerial elite, that are used in this political system [1].

In general, distinguish open and closed systems of recruitment of elites, a number of authors also fixes intermediate, semi-closed systems [2]. The open type of recruitment is typical for democratic political systems, when selection in elite groups is carried out under the sign of professionalism and meritocracy, channels of vertical mobility are open, actively used the practice of contests and competitions for receiving a particular position, especially in the system of bureaucracy. In elite groups there is an active circulation of members, there is a high degree of competition. The main mechanisms of the open method of recruiting elites are electoral. An important social lift is modern education.

The opposite of such way of forming elite groups is a closed type of selection, where the guarantee of entry into the power group not by any means of experience, education or other professional qualities. Principles of meritocracy give way to the mechanisms of selection filters, as a result of which, the elite is formed from among the loyal to the dominant political force of citizens.

Formation of the elite in each particular country at each particular stage of its development is characterized by a significant peculiarity. However, there are general patterns of the process of entering people into the ruling group. Thus, the recruitment channels of the elite, in other words those social in-

stitutions, the entry into which gives people the opportunity to reach power are universal for most countries. These include:

1. Political parties. Their role is particularly large in Western European states, where the applicant for entry into the elite must pass all levels of the party hierarchy. That's how M. Tetcher, F. Mitteran, G. Coll and those politicians, who changed their career in key public positions.

2. The bureaucratic apparatus. A significant proportion of officials are tracked in the elite of all developing countries, as well as in highly developed countries such as Japan and Sweden.

3. The Church and the Church Religious Organizations. This recruiting channel is more characteristic for Spanish countries and countries with a strong influence of Catholicism.

4. Trade unions. Trade unions leaders play a prominent role in the political elites of many countries. Former US president R. Reagan and former president of Poland L. Valens "entered into big politics" as leaders of trade union movements.

5. Economic institutes, business sphere.

6. Army. The impact of this factor is particularly high in countries in Latin America, Africa and Asia. The three prime ministers of Israel are military generals.

7. The education system plays a significant role in all countries. According to British political analysts, this country is managed exclusively by people, who have completed Oxford or Cambridge and have one or two higher education, more often legal and economic. The American establishment (usually

called the ruling elite in the United States) consists of graduates from universities belonging to the so-called "Ivy League", including Harvard, Welsh and Princeton. [3]

By analyzing the domestic channels of recruitment of the elite, it should be noted, that for Ukraine at the present stage, there is no significant influence on the formation of the elite of religious organizations.

Instead, the so-called "party of power" plays the leading role in the formation of the elite — an informal, in other words not publicly formalized, but rather influential, social force with certain political and economic interests and powerful means of their protection. Even at the very beginning of Ukrainian independence, political analysts very accurately defined the "party of power" as a political bloc, consisting of pragmatically oriented and deideologized higher circles of the old communist nomenklatura, which was gradually replaced by the Komsomol people, representatives of the state apparatus and mass media, leaders of the traditional sectors of industry and agriculture [4, p. 169].

It should be noted, that the degree of permeability of recruitment channels tends to be intensive during periods of crises and slowdowns in stable periods. So, after the revolution of dignity, the Ukrainian political elite has been renovated by the so-called "military elite" from the activists of Maidan and the participants of the antiterrorist operation, the commanders of the volunteer battalions, as well as journalists (media), public activists [5]. However, the recruiting process is usually limited to a specific recruiting basin, that is, in oth-

er words by those social groups, that are the main suppliers of representatives of the political elite.

So, in our opinion, the basic channels of recruitment of the political-managerial elite in Ukraine are:

- representation of the business environment;
- delegation by political parties;
- representation of NGOs and mass media;
- presence of scientific achievements;
- closeness to the ruling clan;
- exit from the regional elite;
- “People’s delegation” (volunteers, activists of Maidan, participants in the antiterrorist operation);
- representation of sports and artistic elite.

The elite in the legislature (parliament) of Ukraine consists of the constitutional composition of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine in the number of 450 people’s deputies of Ukraine.

We agree with the opinion of D. Korotkov, who emphasized the fact, that in stable political systems, the recruitment of the elite is carried out in accordance with established procedures, that contribute to the renewal of the elite, and the channel of recruitment and circulation of political elites is a party, that works under the scheme “party – elections – the political elite” [6, p. 10–11]. The mechanism of legitimation of the political elite is democratic elections, which are regulated by the relevant legislative documents.

Thus, in order to determine the proportion of each of the recruiting channels we have identified, an empiri-

cal analysis of the election lists of political parties of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of the 8<sup>th</sup> convocation has been carried out, based on biographies of people’s deputies, placed on the official web portal of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine.

As of October 2017, the Verkhovna Rada has people’s deputies, 373 of which are members of 8 parliamentary factions and groups. 250 deputies elected by party lists (Table).

It should be noted, that after the extraordinary parliamentary elections to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on October 26, 2014, a significant renewal of the parliament took place (only 44 % of the elected people already worked in the legislative branch). At the same time, one can not speak of a significant increase in the role of democratic channels for the recruitment of the elite (Fig.).

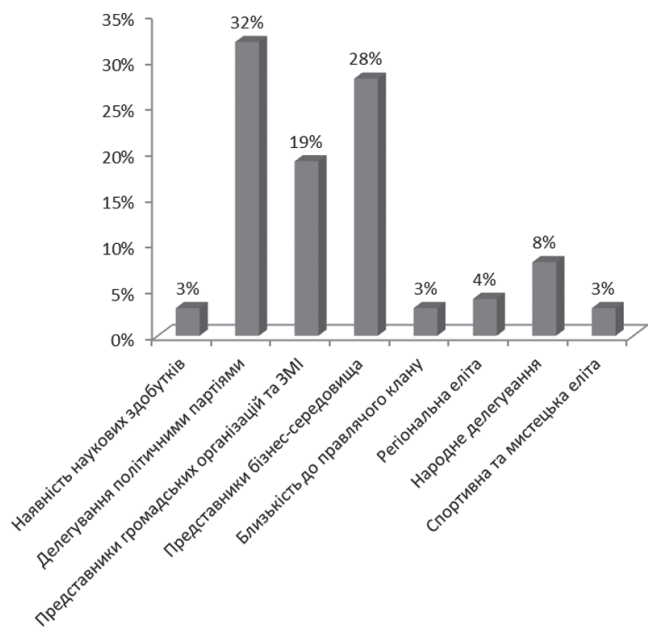
As we see, the first and main source of formation of the national political and managerial elite, which is very easy to measure quantitatively – the ruling elite, the “shareholders” of the parties and their close circle, based on the financial capabilities of the latter, which, in turn, violates the principles of equality. In addition, the ranks of the elite are actively replenished by business representatives.

It should be noted, that politicians continue to “draw” athletes, artists, guards, journalists. The latter often have not only appropriate professional training, but also the corresponding ability.

Also, one can speak of the rather low ability of parties and public organizations to act as a “social lift” for young leaders.

**Channels of Recruiting of the political elite in the Ukrainian Parliament of VIII convocation (deputies selected on the lists of political parties)**

The name of the deputy faction or group	Availability of scientific achievements	Delegation by political parties	Representatives of NGOs and mass media	Representatives of the business environment	Closeness to the ruling clan	Regional elite	People's delegation	Sports and art elite
Faction of the party "Petro Poroshenko Bloc"	1	24	17	12	2	4	4	4
Faction of the political party "People's Front"	2	30	7	13	1	2	7	1
Faction of the political party "Opposition bloc"	1	5	3	15	2	1	-	-
Faction of the political party "Self-help Association"	-	2	8	12	-	-	2	-
Faction of the Radical Party of Oleg Lyashko	1	4	3	5	2	1	3	1
Faction of the party "All-Ukrainian Association Batkivshchyna"	2	6	2	6	-	-	-	-
People's deputies, who are not part of any faction		2	3				2	



**Distribution of deputies, selected on the lists of political parties by recruiting channels**

As a result of the formation of the political class, the political and managerial elite is separated from the mechanisms of public representation, which allows to root the “power of the few” and “the power of the elders”, creating a political oligarchy [7, p. 8–10].

**Conclusions and perspectives of further research.** Thus, in today’s conditions, when our nation faces more and more challenges, the role of the elite, which has already been formed and does not change, will tend to weaken. At the same time, the importance of mechanisms will be increased, that provide the change of elites and the formation of new ones, that are most in line with the current stage of development of the country, which in turn will require the growth of the role of democratic channels of recruitment of the elite (parties, trade unions, public organizations).

Further research should focus on developing a new recruiting system for elites, based on competitive principles and institutionalization of the requirements for the personal and professional competence of representatives of the political and managerial elite.

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