
СОЦІОЛОГІЯ

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ACTORS OF POLITICAL LIFE IN UKRAINE: SOCIAL PORTRAIT OF CONTEMPORARY POWER ELITE

The article is devoted to typical characteristics research of the ruling political elite in contemporary Ukraine on the basis of statistical analysis of the career paths of the people's deputies of Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (VIII convocation). The article's methodology is based on theoretical propositions of M. Weber and the results of sociological studies of the political elite in Slovakia and Ukraine (from 2010 to 2014). The main attention is paid to the analysis of the level of renewal of the ruling political elite of Ukraine in the variables «age», «party affiliation», «regional representation», «political stream» and «social institute». Main results of the research have fixed the highest level of the ruling political elite in Ukraine since 1994. The deputies staff became 10 years younger the previous convocation. The regional imbalance of the ruling political elite in Ukraine was revealed, namely the shift of the center of gravity from the East (Donetsk) to the West (Lviv) and the priority of the center's interests (Kyiv). It is stated that the contemporary Ukrainian parliament structure is not significantly different from previous convocations or the similar situation, for example, in Slovakia. Finally, the most effective political career strategies are defined business career (44%), public servant's career (22%) and a strategy for several areas of self-actualization combination (19%), which confirmed our basic hypothesis of specificity renewal and formation of the ruling political elite in Ukraine.

Key words: life subject, subject / actor of political life, political elite, social portrait, career path, people's deputy, Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of VIII convocation.

Introduction

Domination of business and business interests is the peculiarity of modern Ukraine political life being the primary basis for entering the ruling elite's ranks – the state policy subjects. Alternative algorithms for entering

the authorities, such as active political / public activity or professional fulfillment of official duties, are used only as additional strategies or providing their integration (for example, the combination of work in educational institutions and political parties, state / communal institutions and public organizations, etc.). As a result, part of the ruling political elite is filled with ordinary rustlers, not with specialists in governance. Sometimes, instead of filling the authority's space with qualified specialists (lawyers, economists, politologists, sociologists), there appear those in the parliament who have no understanding, and even no relation, both in terms of education and experience, to public administration. That is why constant monitoring and evaluation of the professionalism level of the ruling elite at each stage of its renewal becomes relevant.

The problem of the ruling elite has a direct relation to the phenomenon of the life subject, which was studied by such scholars as A. Adler, S. Buhler, D. Bujenthal, S. Maddi, A. Maslow, R. May, G. Allport, V. Frankl, K. Jung, I. Yal; K. Abulkhanova, B. Ananiev, L. Antsiferova, L. Bozhovich, B. Bratus, F. Vasilyuk, L. Vygotsky, K. Karpinsky, N. Karpova, A. Leontiev, D. Leontiev, N. Loginova, M. Marinov, Y. Nekrasova, K. Obukhovsky, K. Popelsky, S. Rubinstein, M. Stras-Romanovskaya, V. Chudnovsky; V. Bekh, V. Volovyk, R. Dodonov, L. Kryvega, I. Kudinov, M. Lepsky, V. Taran and others.

The separate research field is, in particular, the sphere of politics, political subjects or subjects of the society's political life, namely, the works of J. Aberbach, M. Weber, W. Wilson, P. Bourdieu, P. Blau, J. Habermas, J. Coleman, N. Luman, R. Putnam, J. Homans, and others. Among modern scholars one can single out the works of M. Bandurova, M. Beblavá, S. Belova, S. Busse, E. Gugin, B. Davydenko, O. Demkiv, Y. Zolotareva, Y. Kachanova, O. Mayboroda, V. Malyavin, E. Motovskaya, O. Naumenko, V. Nikolaevsky, D. Ostapchuk, B. Peters, V. Pylypenko, Y. Privalova, V. Radaev, A. Sinyavskaya, E. Sičáková-Beblavá, L. Strelnikova, A. Filippova, N. Shmatko, M. Shulga, D. Tsygankova, Y. Tsokur and others.

The starting point of our study is the concept of political-administrative relations, which was developed by W. Wilson [17] and M. Weber [16], and received its continuation in the works of G. Hacklo [12], J. Aberbach [10], B. Peters [14] etc. The essence of the concept is to analyze the level of administrative and political spheres of society interpenetration (diffusion) in the activities of particular individuals and to determine the best model of public administration in the specific case. The main indicator of a political and administrative model for a particular country is the index of administrative class penetration into the politics and vice versa. The only

possible research method in this case is the analysis of politicians' career (life) paths [13; 15].

The chosen approach allows to analyze the life paths of the country's ruling political elite, to define the typology of the ruling political elite and to study peculiarities of the previous career achievements influence on the possibility of obtaining the people's deputy status. In this case, we are interested only in the methodological approach, since the concept of political and administrative relations concentrates attention, first of all, on the interconnection of the two society's strata – politicians and civil servants. Our research is focused on the channels / origins of entry into the ruling political elite.

According to J. Aberbach and others [10], similar studies concerning politicians' life paths make it possible to determine the peculiarities of the formation mechanism, as well as rotation and renewal of the ruling elite of any country. Besides, the analysis results provide an opportunity to identify channels and sources of political leadership renewal including the percentage of the political class that is formed by representatives of business, civil society, civil servants or the combination. In addition, it becomes possible to determine the professional specialization needed to obtain the ruling political elite status. As a result, the obtained data helps to define the peculiarities of the political elite's structural representation and / or to determine the level of the elite self-reproduction in the particular society.

The authors rely on the research materials of O. Naumenko, M. Beblava, S. Belova and Y. Olsavskaya, each of which are devoted to the analysis of the parliamentary composition of Slovakia and Ukraine during the period of 2010-2014.

At the same time, despite a large number of studies in this area, the lack of a scientific analysis of changes in the Ukrainian ruling political elite can be stated. That is why the purpose of this article is to analyze the parliamentary composition of the Verkhovna Rada's 8th convocation in order to determine the peculiarities of the ruling political elite renewal in modern Ukraine.

To achieve the goal, the following tasks were defined: 1) to determine the content of the basic research concepts; 2) to substantiate the research methodology; 3) to compile a sociological portrait of the summation under the study and to determine the peculiarities of parliamentary composition renewal of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine's VIII convocation.

So, let's move on to the main research material.

Definition of the Main Concepts

The list of the main concepts of our study includes the following: sociological portrait, subject of political life, political elite, politician, career path.

The concept of sociological portrait in this work refers to the description of the most typical characteristics of the research object along with the average generalizations. Research object is the subjects of Ukrainian political life.

The notion of the «subject» means the bearer of visual-practical activity and knowledge, the source of activity directed at the object [9]. The life subject, including the political life, is a kind of ideal or an optimal way of life realization [8], which «manifests itself in the way the actions are built, as well as the behaviour lines based on desires and real possibilities» [5].

«The subject always has a specific character manifested, firstly, in the fact that he is either a concrete person acting knowingly, being responsible for his own actions, or a concrete individual-social entity, provided that people who create him have common interests, values, goals, actions, and represent a kind of integrity. Subject concreteness is manifested, secondly, in the fact that his visual-practical activity or knowledge is aimed at a particular object» [3]. A person, social group, society as a whole can be the life subject. The work is focused on the individual (personal) level of life subjectivity, the result of which is that the person gets the opportunity to get into a special group of society – the elite, in this case, the ruling political elite.

The political elite can be defined as a «social group, which, due to its specific way of life, provides the spiritual and intellectual basis for society's self-organization and development» [1]. According to V. Derkach and M. Dubrovsky, the elite can be classified as dominant and political. The latter is wider in composition and includes an economic, ideological, informational, military, cultural, scientific and trade union elites [4].

People's deputies, being representatives of the nation, are first of all political leaders. Therefore, it is advisable to determine the typology of modern politicians. Thus, M. Weber [16] distinguishes three categories of politicians:

- occasional politicians – those who became politicians after the electoral voting;
- incomplete politicians – deal with politics only when it is necessary or required (for example, a requirement of a political party);
- full-time political figures – politicians who live «from» politics or «for» politics. In this category, M. Weber highlights two types of politicians that, in his opinion, can coincide. Politicians who live «outside» politics

have it as the main source of their income. Politicians who live «for» politics regard it as vocation, sense of life.

The researchers of the ruling political elite of Slovakia [11] adapted the Weberian typology and identified 5 categories of politicians, having as a criterion a career path, namely, the way of getting into politics:

- private sector (business);
- civil service;
- political career (the political career for a particular politician is determined in case he / she previously had a certain political position);
- other areas: previous experience in educational, medical institutions, centers of social services and cultural institutions;
- heterogeneous way: some politicians can have experience in various fields of activity.

Ukrainian researchers [7; 9; 12] also identified 5 categories of ruling elite, having as a criterion ideological and political orientations: «individualists» (owners of a large business); «technocrats» (representatives of new spheres of business activity); «traditionalists» (those who came to power through active political activity); «statesmen» (those who came from state authorities field) and «populists» (a kind of «statesmen»).

O. Naumenko changed the latter typology and identified 6 types of politicians [6, p. 382]: pragmatist-individualist, pragmatist-post-individualist, pragmatist-traditionalist, party-komsomol careerist, statistician-statesman, populist-politician, new rustler-politician

During the course of our study we combined all the previous types into our own classification, which will be presented below.

Research Methodology of Ukrainian Political Life Subjects

The study of the renewal features of the country's ruling political elite is most appropriate in the context of analyzing the political leaders' career paths. Politicians' career paths make it possible to study their professional life, in particular, positions before their gaining the status of people's deputies and official transition into the political elite ranks [14]. The analysis of politicians' previous professional experience makes it possible to identify the channels or sources for the ruling elite renewal.

The research is focused on those political elite representatives who occupy the highest state positions in the sphere of legislative and / or executive power, namely: they are included in the composition of the elected people's deputies of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of the VIII convocation – 461 people including the current and retired ones (November 31, 2017).

The primary attention of the research on the ruling political elite of modern Ukraine was focused on the politicians' life strategies, represented

as a set of realized life decisions – that is, the specifics of building one's own life path, which is reflected in the biographical data of the individual.

The source for data collection was the personal pages of people's deputies of the VIIIth convocation on the official web portal of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine [2], which allowed to form a set of variables such as: surname, name; sex; constituency; the region representing the deputy (for single-mandate constituencies); the nominee (a party in the list of which the deputy was (for a nationwide multi-mandate constituency) or a party / person who initiated the procedure of deputy's nomination); number in the list; date of obtaining deputy powers; date of formation / termination of deputy powers; reason for the formation of parliamentary powers; membership in parliamentary factions; date of birth; age; age of obtaining parliamentary powers; experience of the people's deputy in the current convocation; education; place of work at the time of election; position at the time of election; membership in a political party; place of residence at the time of election (regional representation); conviction.

Furthermore, the additional variables were formed in accordance with data presented by deputies.

Firstly, the variable «political direction» which refers to the direction of the particular person transition into the ruling political elite in accordance with the last official place of work, which was emphasized by the deputy himself: sphere of business, civil service or the public.

Secondly, the variable «political path» represents the classification of politicians according to the type of career, that is:

- business career (business representatives);
- political career (deputies who at the time of the election held respective political positions – people's deputies, deputies of the regional, local authorities, ministers, heads of regional administrations, cities, etc.);
- state career (senior civil servants, including deputies' assistants, deputy ministers, heads of district administrations);
- career in the other state institutions (army, education, medicine, etc.);
- diverse career (representatives of political parties, public associations and officially unemployed).

Thirdly, the variable «social institution» reflects the type of social institution from which deputy got into the politics: army, state power, local government, business, education, public organizations, political parties, etc., including deputies who are pensioners and officially unemployed at the time of election.

Fourthly, the variable «deputy's previous experience» determines the ones among the composition of the Verkhovna Rada of the VIIIth

convocation who were already deputies of the Verkhovna Rada of the previous convocations.

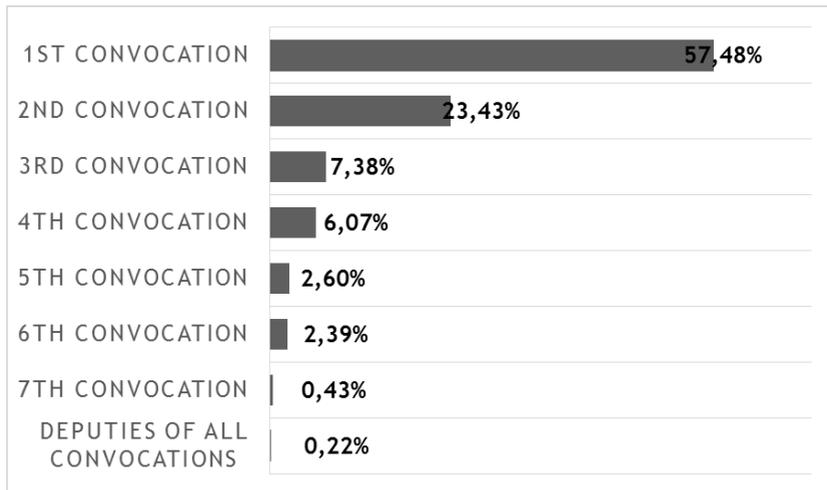
Finally, the fifth variable reflects the working experience as the people's deputy of the previous convocations – «the number of previous convocations» (interval scale), which allowed to distinguish the two groups of deputies: 1) those who don't have experience as a people's deputy («newcomers»); 2) those who came to the Verkhovna Rada not for the first time («experienced»).

Sociological Portrait of People's Deputies of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (VIIIth Convocation)

To begin the analysis, we start with the index of the research summation renewal. According to O. Naumenko, the index of renewal or the number of deputies elected for the first time is an indicator of the ruling political elite effectiveness. Therefore, in comparison with the previous convocations, the current composition of the parliament in terms of its membership renewal takes the third place after the Ist and II^d convocation [6, p. 379-380], i.e. 92.2% (I), 84.9% (II) and 57.48% (VIII) (see Chart 1).

Chart 1

Previous working experience in people's deputies parliament of the VIIIth convocation (%)

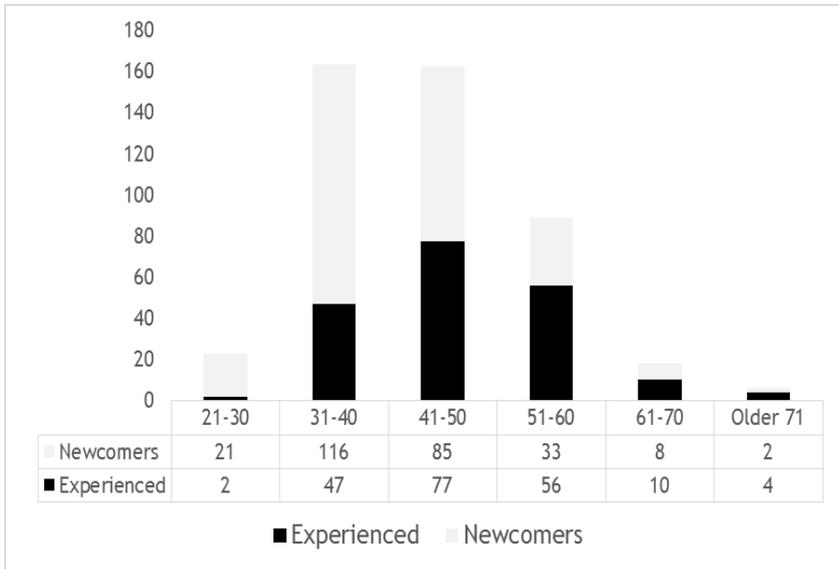


N=461

According to the quantitative indicators the newcomers deputies are 6 years younger than their experienced colleagues (age of newcomers – 45 years, median – 43; age of experienced ones – 51 years, median – 50). It should be noted that the standard deviation for the both samples is 10 years. Therefore, under the normal distribution of the people’s deputies’ age, it can be argued that at least 68% of people’s deputies of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of the VIIIth convocation are those aged from 34 to 54 years (currently 329 people – 71%).

Chart 2

The age structure of the parliamentary deputies of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine VIIIth convocation

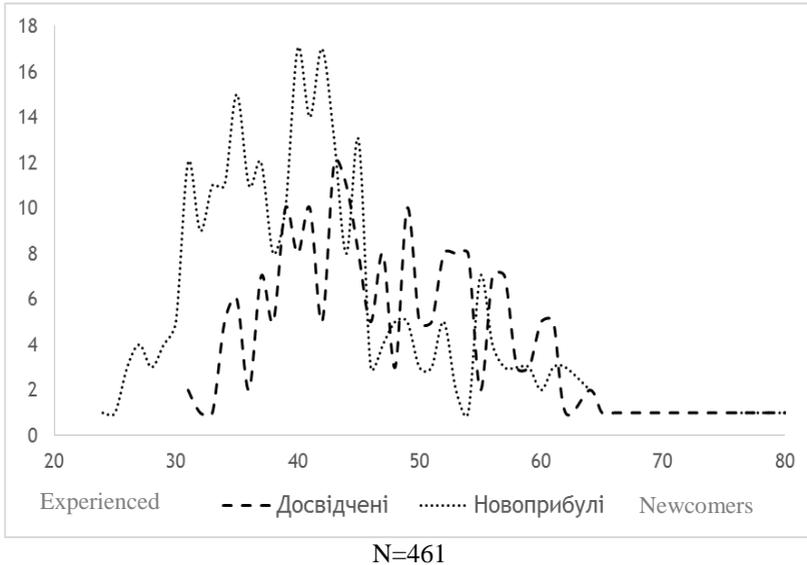


N=461

The youngest member of the Verkhovna Rada of the current convocation is a female at the age of 24 (at the time of election) from the Radical Party of Oleh Lyashko. The eldest deputies are two men of the age of 81 from the Opposition Bloc and, again, the Radical Party of Oleh Lyashko. As a whole, the parliamentary structure of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of the VIIIth convocation looks even younger than the parliamentary structure of the previous convocation.

Chart 3

Age distribution histogram of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine deputies VIIIth convocation



As for the party representation, we have the following distribution (see Table 1 and Chart 4): the largest part of newcomers consists of the following parties' representatives «Petro Poroshenko Bloc» (21%), «Narodnyi Front» (13%) and Union «Samopomich» (7%).

Table 1

Party representation of the Verkhovna Rada of the VIIIth convocation as to the variable «deputy's previous experience»

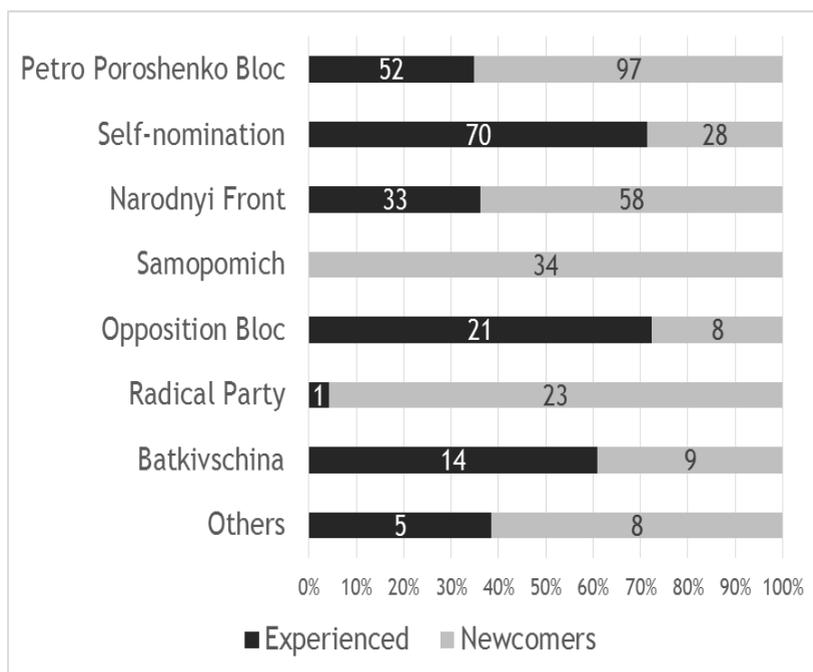
| Party membership | Experienced | Newcomers | Totally |
|------------------|-------------|-----------|---------|
| Others | 1,08% | 1,74% | 2,82% |
| Batkivschina | 3,04% | 1,95% | 4,99% |
| Radical Party | 0,22% | 4,99% | 5,21% |
| Opposition Bloc | 4,56% | 1,74% | 6,29% |
| Samopomich | 0,00% | 7,38% | 7,38% |

| | | | |
|-----------------------|--------|--------|---------|
| Narodnyi Front | 7,16% | 12,58% | 19,74% |
| Self-nomination | 15,18% | 6,07% | 21,26% |
| Petro Poroshenko Bloc | 11,28% | 21,04% | 32,32% |
| Totally | 42,52% | 57,48% | 100,00% |

At the same time the last party representatives did not have mandates in previous convocations, that is, 100% renewal. The smallest percentage of the «newcomers» is among self-nominated ones (70/28), «Opposition Bloc» (21/8) and «Batkivschina» (14/9).

Chart 4

Party representation of the Verkhovna Rada of the VIIIth convocation as to the variable «deputy's previous experience» (number of people)



N=461

The territorial representation of people's deputies turned out to be quite newsworthy (see Table 2). The first five of the most represented regions (territories) as to the quantity of the newcomers among people's deputies includes Lviv, Dnipropetrovsk, Kyiv, Vinnytsia and Kharkiv oblasts. The ranking of the regions represented by experienced deputies consists of Kharkiv, Dnipropetrovsk, Odesa, Kyiv and Donetsk oblasts. A separate point is the City of Kyiv, which can be considered as a discharge, a special case, which confirms the general tendency of the regional people's deputies to substitute capital for their permanent residence.

Table 2

Territorial representation rating of people's deputies of the Verkhovna Rada of the VIIIth convocation

| Territory (oblast) | Newcomers |
|--------------------|-----------|
| City of Kyiv | 98 |
| Lviv | 26 |
| Dnipropetrovsk | 16 |
| Kyiv | 12 |
| Vinnytsia | 12 |
| Kharkiv | 10 |
| Donetsk | 9 |
| Odesa | 7 |
| Zaporizhzhia | 7 |
| Ternopil | 7 |
| Chernihiv | 7 |
| Mykolaiv | 7 |
| Chernivtsi | 6 |
| Zhytomyr | 6 |
| Zakarpattia | 4 |
| Ivano-Frankivsk | 4 |
| Rovno | 4 |
| Kherson | 4 |

| Territory (oblast) | Experienced |
|--------------------|-------------|
| City of Kyiv | 90 |
| Kharkiv | 13 |
| Dnipropetrovsk | 10 |
| Odesa | 9 |
| Kyiv | 8 |
| Donetsk | 7 |
| Lviv | 6 |
| Zakarpattia | 6 |
| Khmelnyskyi | 5 |
| Zaporizhzhia | 4 |
| Ivano-Frankivsk | 4 |
| Poltava | 4 |
| Vinnytsia | 3 |
| Ternopil | 3 |
| Chernivtsi | 3 |
| Luhansk | 3 |
| Volyn | 3 |
| Cherkasy | 3 |

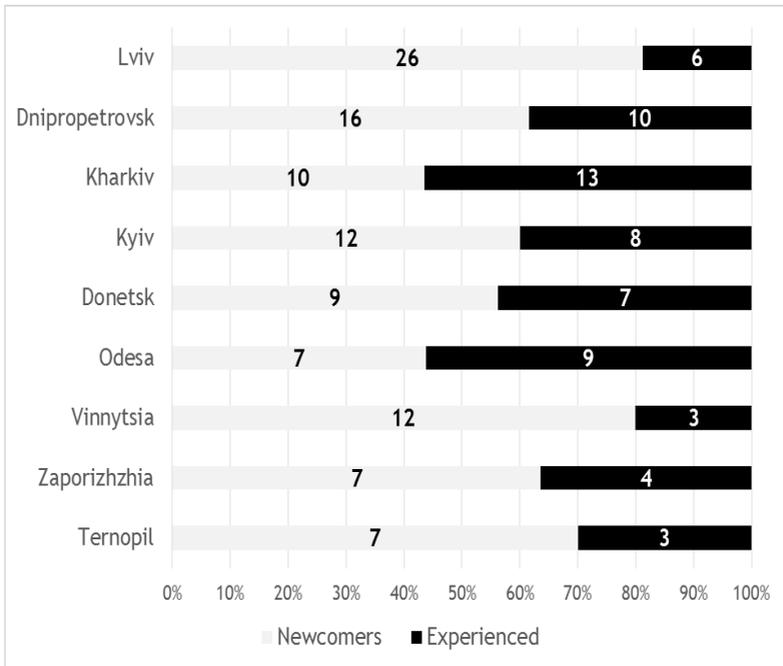
| | |
|-------------|---|
| Kirovohrad | 4 |
| Luhansk | 3 |
| Volyn | 3 |
| Khmelnyskyi | 2 |
| Poltava | 2 |
| Cherkasy | 2 |
| Sumy | 2 |
| Sevastopol | 1 |

| | |
|------------|---|
| Chernihiv | 2 |
| Mykolaiv | 2 |
| Rovno | 2 |
| Kherson | 2 |
| Sumy | 2 |
| Kirovohrad | 1 |
| Crimea | 1 |
| | |

Chart 5

Distribution between «newcomers» and «experienced» deputies of the Verkhovna Rada of the VIIIth convocation as to the criterion of regional affiliation

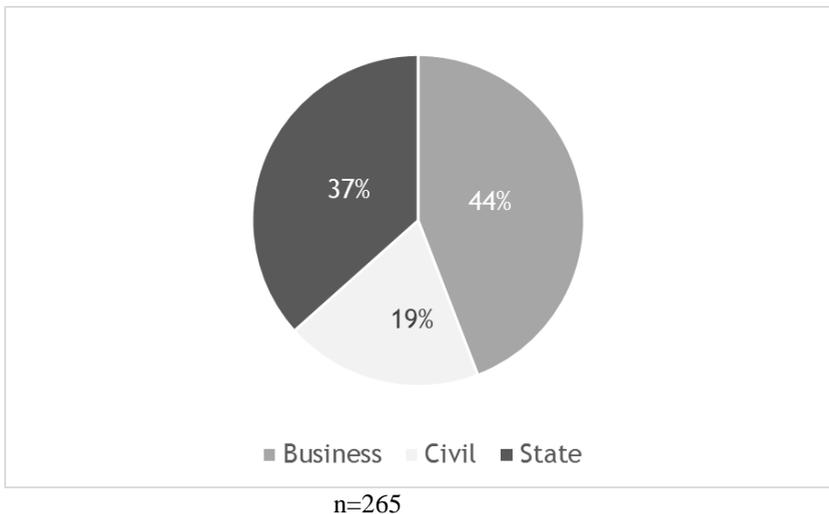
(only areas presented by at least 10 deputies, except the City of Kyiv)



According to the Chart 5, the most represented regions in the parliament is the Lviv Oblast – at the expense of the newcomers. The largest number of «experienced» deputies are from Kharkiv (13), Dnipropetrovsk (10) and Odesa (9) oblasts. The rating also includes the «presidential» region, in which the «newcomers» substantially exceed the number of «experienced» deputies and have almost equal proportions with the Lviv Oblast – 4 to 1 (75% of the newcomers and 25% of the experienced deputies).

Chart 6

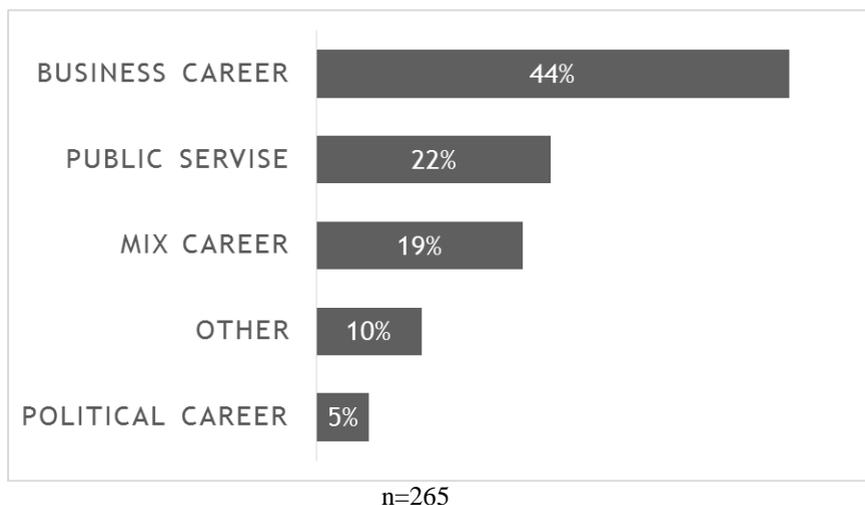
Distribution between the sources of Ukrainian ruling political elite renewal (%)



The analysis of the «political direction» variable defined the distribution between sources of the deputy corps renewal, which has no significant changes neither in the previous convocations of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, nor in Slovakia during 2010-2012 (42% from the business field, 30% – government institutions and 28% – public sector) [11]: 44% – businessmen, 37% – civil servants or local self-government officials, and 19% – representatives of non-state organizations (see Chart 6).

Chart 7

Career paths of «newcoming» people’s deputies (%)



The more detailed analysis of the «new» politicians’ career channels determined that 22% of people’s deputies built a civil servant career (17% of which were representatives of the state authorities and 5% – local self-government officials), 5% of people’s deputies were political activists (2% are representatives of the Cabinet of Ministers and 3% are people’s deputies, heads of regional, district, or village councils) and 10% are representatives of the state institutions in the field of education, medicine, armed forces, etc. In the category of «civil society» 9% were both the representatives of public organizations and the ones having the status of «unemployed» or «pensioner». 1% are the representatives of political parties.

Conclusions

Thus, according to the results of official data analysis of the personal composition of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of the VIIIth convocation, the following can be stated.

Firstly, the level of Ukrainian ruling political elite renewal in 2014 has record levels over the past 20 years with a renewal of about 57%.

Secondly, the renewal of the deputy’s composition took place at the expense of representatives of the younger generation from the age of 30 to 50 years, while experienced deputies of the previous convocation are people with an average age of 51 years ± 10 years. Appropriate rejuvenation can be

a factor in reducing the level of ruling political elite renewal due to the low level of natural mortality, provided that no socio-economic or natural disasters take place in Ukraine.

Thirdly, the analysis of party affiliation made it possible to identify parties with the most dispersed representation of «newcomers» and «experienced» deputies, namely, among the self-nominated ones, the Opposition Bloc and the «Fatherland» (1/2).

Fourthly, the regional imbalance of Ukrainian ruling political elite was discovered, namely, the shift of the gravity center from the East (Donetsk) to the West (Lviv) and the priority of the center's interests (Kyiv), which could be the reason for claims from less represented regions of Ukraine.

Fifth, the composition of the Verkhovna Rada of the VIIIth convocation according to its renewal sources is not significantly different from previous convocations or from a similar situation, for example, in Slovakia, namely: at least 40% of the ruling elite are representatives of business, about 40% are from the state structures or local self-government officials, the rest (up to 20%) – representatives of the public.

Finally, the most effective career strategies for as for the access to the Verkhovna Rada include business career (44%), civil servant career (22%), and a strategy of combining several areas of self-realization (19%), which confirmed our basic hypothesis of renewal and formation specificity of Ukrainian ruling political elite.

The further research perspectives in this direction provide for a more in-depth analysis of the people's deputies biographies for the purpose of education analysis, as well as previous working activity and social capital features of people's deputies. In addition, an in-depth study of various deputies of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine as to the identified variables and conduction of the comparative studies at the interstate level is possible.

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Кудінов І., Сичакова-Бєблава Е., Яцина Ю. Суб'єкти політичного життя України: соціальний портрет сучасної правлячої еліти.

Стаття присвячена дослідженню типових рис правлячої політичної еліти в сучасній Україні на основі статистичного аналізу кар'єрних шляхів народних депутатів Верховної Ради України VIII скликання. В якості методологічної основи використано теоретичні положення М. Вебера та результати соціологічних досліджень політичної еліти Словаччини та України в період з 2010 по 2014 роки. Головна увага в роботі приділяється аналізу рівня оновлюваності правлячої політичної еліти України за змінними «вік», «партійна приналежність», «регіональна репрезентація», «політичний шлях», «політичний напрям» та «соціальний інститут».

Ключові слова: суб'єкт життя, суб'єкт політичного життя, політична еліта, соціальний портрет, кар'єрний шлях, народний депутат, Верховна Рада України VIII скликання.

Кудинов И., Сичакова-Бєблава Э., Яцына Ю. Субъекты политической жизни Украины: социальный портрет современной правящей элиты.

Статья посвящена исследованию типичных характеристик правящей политической элиты в современной Украине на основе статистического анализа карьерных путей народных депутатов Верховной Рады Украины VIII созыва. В качестве методологической основы использованы теоретические положения М. Вебера и результаты социологических исследований политической элиты Словакии и Украины в период с 2010 по 2014 годы. Главное внимание в работе уделяется анализу уровня обновляемости правящей политической элиты Украины по переменным «возраст», «партийная принадлежность», «региональная репрезентация», «политический путь», «политическое направление» и «социальный институт».

Ключевые слова: субъект жизни, субъект политической жизни, политическая элита, социальный портрет, карьерный путь, народный депутат, Верховная Рада Украины VIII созыва.

Єсіна В.

ІНКЛЮЗИВНА ОСВІТА ЯК МЕХАНІЗМ СОЦІАЛІЗАЦІЇ ДІТЕЙ З ОСОБЛИВИМИ ПОТРЕБАМИ

Стаття присвячена аналізу інклюзивної освіти дітей з особливими освітніми потребами в єдиному загальноосвітньому просторі, що є механізмом ефективної соціалізації у суспільстві. Реалізація прав на освіту дітей з обмеженими можливостями здоров'я розглядається як одне з найважливіших завдань державної політики в галузі корекційної освіти. Отримання такими дітьми якісної загальної та професійної освіти є однією з основних і невід'ємних умов їх ефективної соціалізації, забезпечення повноцінної участі в житті суспільства, успішної самореалізації в різних видах професійної і соціальної діяльності.

Ключові слова: державна соціальна політика, спеціальна освіта, інклюзивна освіта, діти з особливими освітніми потребами, соціалізація.

Постановка проблеми та її зв'язок із важливими науковими чи практичними завданнями. Для розбудови України в напрямку відкритого демократичного суспільства і як соціально орієнтованої