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MODERN UKRAINIAN ELITE: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL AND MANAGERIAL FUNCTIONING

The article reveals the main problems of the formation of the Ukrainian political and managerial elite and staffing in the united territorial communities. It is proved that the Soviet regime exterminated the social ground on which the Ukrainian national elite was formed, which is capable to think contemporary and act. The role of the elite during the existence of the Soviet Union was carried out by a nomenclature whose main characteristics did not correspond to the modern model of the elite. Because of this, the political-managerial elite in Ukraine at the beginning of independence was represented by the former nomenklatura, therefore, ideologically, incapable of carrying out the necessary reforms.

Today, the result of the formation of a political and managerial elite is often a combination of two morals: the old nomenclature, which is based on a tendency towards higher and contempt for the lower and new business, the principle of which is disregard for the law, the priority of selfish clan-corporate interests, this explains the high level corruption in their echans of government.

In this article, the authors emphasize that for the successful realization of today's challenges, leaders with a thorough economic, political, legal education, strong innovative potential, who have knowledge of the secrets of public administration, who are able to persuade, take care of their Ukrainians and conduct them for by itself. Such managers should be characterized by business, responsibility, aspiration for various decisions and accord in a society that can establish strong and effective contacts with the opposition.

Key words: political-managerial elite, public queries, recruitment of elites, circulation of elites, decentralization, united territorial communities, local self-government, reform, personnel policy, elder, community, administrative assistant, local authorities, political power.

Formulation of the problem in general. In countries with fragile political systems built on a volatile socio-economic basis, the main contributors to the state-building and the formation of civil society are the representatives of the political elite and political leaders. The period of independent development has shown that in Ukraine there is a problem of creating a modern political elite that is able to push from its environment the leaders of a new formation, that Ukrainian politicians lack the leaders that fully meet the modern tasks of building a democratic state and society. This defect is observed both at the national level and at the local level. The authors aim to carry out a comparative analysis of the main problems associated with the formation of the political and management elite, as well as to pay attention to the problems of staffing in the united territorial communities. In this context, we set ourselves the following tasks: to analyze the peculiarities of the modern Ukrainian elite at all levels, including the formation, the main functions that it must fulfill, the public inquiries put forward by modern Ukrainian society, the features and tasks that the Ukrainian state puts before it.

Analysis of recent research. Today, many scholars study problems connected with the modern Ukrainian elite. Most of them recognize the leading role of the elite in creating a political model of the Ukrainian nation (I.Kresina, M.Steshko, A.Khoroshyliv, V.Krysachenko, etc.). The Ukrainian elite demonstrates a rich spectrum of nationalization projects: from a purely ethnic one to a political one, and mixed models of the national community are foreseen between them. However, both academics and politicians do not have a consolidated view on the formation of a political-managerial elite and staffing in the united territorial communities.

Presenting main material. At the present stage of state-building, when the main place is the division into territorial communities, the issue of forming a political and managerial elite in Ukraine is important, due to the fact that which managers will come to power, the standard of living of the population will depend. This

axiom that Ukrainians will be a political nation and Ukraine as a state will only thrive when a socially responsible elite will be formed which will be able to compete equally with the elites of other states and peoples. This is due to the functions it performs: the transfer of experience and information accumulated by the nation and humanity, the creator and knowledge user; the creation of a reasonable opposition to a variety of dubious social transformations, ideas of sustainable development, innovative and adaptive processes, active promotion of Ukrainian experience and knowledge in the world of information space; leadership in shaping state policy and culture, etc. [1, p.207-215]. These features can be displayed in the tab. 1.

Table 1
The main functions of political elite

Name	Essence
Strategical	It is in the development of the strategy and tactics of the development of society, the definition of a political program of action. This function can be fully realized only at the highest level of the political and managerial elite with the use of specialists and results of scientific research.
Integrative	<p>It lies in ensuring the integrity and unity of society, the stability of its political and economic system, the avoidance of socio-political conflicts, finding the best options for their correlation in case of occurrence.</p> <p>Important content elements of this function are the unification of different segments of the population, the harmonization of their social interests, the achievement of social consensus, close political interaction and cooperation of all social forces.</p>
Regulative	<p>The main task is to make policy decisions aimed at regulating social relations, solving urgent social problems and problems, and implementing distribution and redistribution of material, financial, human and other resources.</p> <p>The quality of policy decisions to a decisive extent depends on the effectiveness of the policy itself, success in solving the tasks set.</p>
Mobilization (organizing)	<p>It is necessary to mobilize the masses for the implementation of the decisions and tasks set, the practical implementation of a certain policy course. Formulating different ideologies, myths, or social projects, the political and management elite tries to mobilize citizens, to take control of their energy for solving the necessary social tasks.</p> <p>As experience shows, without active renewal by the elites of these means of their spiritual domination, the leading ideas turn to dogma, and political power begins to experience stagnation.</p> <p>The developed strategic course is implemented in the system of various political measures (legislative, mobilizing, regulating, coordinating, controlling, etc.).</p>
Expression and representation in the political system of society of social interests	At the institutional level, this function is most fully manifested in the activities of political parties and interest groups, and in the personalized – in political leadership. Through the politico-management elite, the links between diverse social and political communities are realized, their communication with each other is conducted in order to find out positions, achieve mutually acceptable decisions.
Communicative	Elite acts as the link that not only provides horizontal connections in society, but also provides vertical communication between the authorities and the masses

The given functions are global, for their successful implementation, an elite is required, which consists of leaders with a thorough economic, political, legal education, strong innovative potential, which perfectly possess the secrets of public administration; from people who are far-sighted, able to persuade, to care for the people and to lead them; leaders who are characterized by business efficiency, responsibility, aspiration for diverse decisions and social harmony, who are able to establish strong and effective contacts with the opposition.

At the same time, according to Yu.Surmin, a specific set of functions and their social transcription are determined by the peculiarities of society, the level of development of the economy, the social sphere and political institutions, the mentality of people, and others [2, p.4-5].

Unfortunately, today in Ukraine the interaction of the power, political and management system represented by the ruling elite and civil society institutions is quite controversial, based on the uncivilized, corporate-clan oligarchic model of "rule", and not on the democratic model of "governance" [3, p. 157].

Ways of joining the political elite are called recruitment channels, which include: state apparatus, local authorities, political parties, religious organizations, education system. In each country, the advantage

of any of the channels is different, it depends on historical traditions, the characteristics of the political regime, and so on.

In stable political systems recruitment of the elite is carried out through well-considered procedures, because of this the personal composition of the elite is constantly updated and the political structure remains unchanged.

In unstable political systems, the change of elites occurs in violation of the usual routine norms. Society always has a lot of people who want to take elite positions. It is stimulated by a higher status of management activity, prestige.

The most important points in recruiting elites are the breadth of the social base, the range of people who select the elite, the procedures, the mechanisms of selection.

An important aspect in describing the elites belongs to the channels of recruitment by moving on the political ladder. In a democratic society where elite groups are open, the circulation of elites is constantly taking place, which acts as a democratic mechanism that impedes the monopolization of power, pours "fresh blood" (in democratic system not literally but in a figurative sense in the form of new people and new ideas) [4, p.116].

The circulation of the elite is seen as the replacement of one elite by another, as well as from non-elite into the elite. But circulation can not be regarded as a positive process, but a reproduction – as a negative one. This is explained by the fact that when only a reproduction of the elite occurs in society it leads to monopolization of power, stagnation, and deterioration of the quality of the elite. But the constant circulation also leads to the dispersal of the elite, the violation of heredity, to the loss of many features necessary for the management of society.

Circulation of elites can take place in two forms: by changing one elite group of others and replacing . But there are exceptions. Thus, in Ukraine, the conversion of a significant part of the old elite of its political capital into an economic one may at first glance be regarded as a circulation of elites, but it is also a reproduction of the elite. Because of this, such type of elite change is called "reproduction" through "conversion" in contrast to simple reproduction. For Ukraine the process of changing the elite in the form of reproduction or circulation and transformation of the entire structure of the elite is typical.

The process of transforming the structure of the elite is very complicated. Elites are formed from a relatively narrow layer of society with those who have a higher level of education and work experience in complex organizations.

After changing the regime, many members of the new elite are recruited from the reserve which includes those who have reached political opposition to the old regime. Constant recruitment of the elite from the clan-nomenclature environment is a major factor in the ability to manage and track the actions of the media of this power through the worked out mechanisms of hierarchical dependence. Processes of dynamism in the environment of "authorities" have been changed to monopolize power, redistribution of its attributive factors in the middle of narrow-caste closed groups on the principle of proximity to those who at this time is the identification of power and can influence the transfer of personnel in a closed nomenclature field [5, p.118].

In the transition period the desire of the old elite to retain power prevails over the economic and other spheres of social life and in the person of the higher administrative bureaucracy there is a tendency towards the formation of the prototype of a specific class of modern aristocracy, the dominance of such a variety of political elites becomes unacceptable and may result in a new collapse not only for the holders of power but also for the state.

It is possible to get out of this state only through the creation of a new system of recruiting elites based on the specific principles and institutionalization of the requirements for the business and moral qualities of economic, political, and administrative leaders. Personality, responsibility, morality of the authorities should become the main criterion for their involvement in the ruling stratum, because the social mechanisms of recruiting all types of elites have an impact on the transformational processes in the post-Soviet space.

According to T. Plakhtii, for the new Ukrainian elites there are two ways to set up a social system at the level of their own organizations and society.

The first is characterized by conscious and purposeful use during the construction of its own organizations and the spread of progressive organizational structures in the society, which ensure the activation and maintenance of their members within the framework of the cultural archetype of cooperation.

For the second character, the increased level of existing and the formation of new structure-forming myths by changing the meanings and content generated by new elites of information flows in the direction of strengthening love for neighbor, reducing the aggression and expanding the circle of "own" due to narrowing the circle of "strangers".

Partial use of the second method in the Ukrainian ruling and opposition elites will lead to the formation of double morality in the members of the new elite groups because of the discrepancy between the "shade" of the myths offered by them and the type of accepted organizational culture that will lead to the degradation of Ukrainian society. [6, p.210-215]

According to another Ukrainian researcher S.Teleshun, the modern Ukrainian political and management elite is characterized by activity on the principles of "Byzantine politics". Its main principle is that significant influence is not made at the expense of material resources, intellectual potential, but due to the "behind-the-scenes game", personal relationships that restrict access to political resources of broader social groups [7, pp. 40-42].

It is worth noting that the modern Ukrainian elite has little to do with the innovation-moral mechanisms of state administration, although it sometimes manifests itself as a certain evolution (partly replenished by new, professionally trained staff), but in its essence the Ukrainian political-managerial elite is based on conservatism, focused on the use of traditional mechanisms Vertical control, from top to bottom. Today in Ukraine there is an old tradition in state policy and public administration, namely the prerogative of the minority of society (political elite), and not of the majority (middle class). This situation is complicated by the fact that there is no stable mechanism of interaction and mutual understanding between the heterogeneous and often incompetent in matters of public management of the elite and civil society. Public opinion, which in a democratic society has a corrective influence on the system of public administration and on the actions of the political elite in the process of elaboration and decision-making by the authorities, are not taken into account. The majority of the political and management elite does not establish reliable communication with the public, it has a poor knowledge of the interests, inquiries, assessments, thoughts and feelings. The mood of people, and this deprives her of the ability to develop adequate political action, removes from the masses, generates their dissatisfaction and distrust of power. This part of the political and managerial elite, taking advantage of the dissatisfaction with the current state of affairs, flies with the electorate, resorting to populism and manipulating the consciousness of people, it does not consider the institutes of civil society an instrument for solving political and socio-economic problems and is not interested in their formation [6, p. 215].

Another progressive part of the political-managerial elite in Ukraine, which in the minority, in contrast to its intentions to conserve the traditional vertical-bureaucratic model of state administration, tries to create the preconditions for the formation of the basic elements of civil society. Thanks to this during the time of independence, citizens' legal consciousness, individual freedom, participation in political life, the creation of a Ukrainian multi-party system, independent media, various social associations, movements and more have been strengthened.

The political reform intensifies democratic tendencies and opens new prospects for Ukraine. With the introduction of decentralization reform, the expansion of the powers of the united territorial communities (OTG), the need for adequate human resources has increased. The experience of OTG has shown that the success of their functioning depends on the quality managerial apparatus. In forming a territorial community, it is necessary to be clear in financial calculations and see the strategy of OTG. In connection with the need for staffing in different regions of Ukraine, activation of measures on staffing of OTG functioning has begun[8].

Personnel policy of local self-government plays an important role in assessing the effectiveness of staffing. The only system approach and regulatory framework for the definition of the concept, the essence and meaning of "assessment of the effectiveness of personnel" does not exist. In the departments dealing with human resources, the assessment of effectiveness in most cases is carried out in the form of attestation and this system is perceived by employees as a simple formality, which practically does not affect their payment [9, s.200-207]. Therefore, an important task for local government bodies is the clear and substantive definition of criteria, indicators, objects, methods and procedures for assessing the effectiveness of personnel activities [10, p.8-12].

Conclusions. In conclusion, it should be noted that the Ukrainian elite today plays a key role in society, that is why it should:

1. To be able to solve problems related to the development of society.
2. Ensure favorable conditions for the participation of social strata in the management of society.

3. Create favorable conditions in which would combine democracy, professionalism, and morality.
4. Facilitate the establishment of democratic relations with civil society.
5. To build a democratic system of ties and relations within the elite itself.
6. To promote the creation of a technological basis for social production, the development of economics, education, culture, science.

The solution of these tasks will ensure the stable development of Ukrainian society and for this purpose it is necessary to create a modern system of political socialization of personnel, the basis of which is the education of a new type of political worker.

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Гончарук-Чолач Т. В., Джугла Н. В. Сучасна українська еліта: порівняльний аналіз політичного та управлінського функціонування

Розкрито основні проблеми формування української політичної та управлінської еліти та кадрового забезпечення в об'єднаних територіальних громадах. Доведено, що радянський режим

винищив соціальну основу, на якій формувалася українська національна еліта, здатна мислити сучасним і діяти. Роль еліти за час існування Радянського Союзу здійснювалася номенклатурою, основні характеристики якої не відповідали сучасній моделі еліти. Через це політично-управлінська еліта в Україні на початку незалежності була представлена колишньою номенклатурою, отже, ідеологічно нездатна здійснити необхідні реформи.

Сьогодні результатом формування політичної та управлінської еліти часто є поєднання двох моральних засад: старої номенклатури, що базується на тенденції до вищого і зневажливого ставлення до нового і нового бізнесу, принцип якого ігнорується. Закон, пріоритет егоїстичних кланових корпоративних інтересів, це пояснює високий рівень корупції в їх еханах влади.

У цій статті автори підкреслюють, що для успішної реалізації сьогоднішніх викликів, лідери з ретельною економічною, політичною, юридичною освітою, сильним інноваційним потенціалом, які володіють знаннями таємниць державного управління, здатні переконати їхніх українців і проводити їх для себе. Такі менеджери повинні характеризуватися бізнесом, відповідальністю, прагненням до різноманітних рішень і згодою в суспільстві, яке може встановити міцні та ефективні контакти з опозицією.

Ключові слова: політико-управлінська еліта, громадські запити, вербування еліт, кругообіг еліт, децентралізація, об'єднані територіальні громади, місцеве самоврядування, реформа, кадрова політика, старший, громада, адміністративний помічник, місцева влада, політична влада.