

UDC 321

POLITICAL ELITE AS THE ACTOR OF DEMOCRATIC PARTICIPATION IN THE PROCESS OF GLOBAL TURBULENCE

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The modern tendencies of global turbulence have made a great impact on the development of political elites, increasing the effectiveness of the institutionalization of polyarchy. In this context, the implementation of the polyarchic model in the Republic of Armenia should develop on two levels. First a strategic approach should be developed, and the administrative elites should be modernized. The Armenian "Velvet Revolution", which took place in the process of global turbulence, presupposes the institutionalization of the polyarchic model of governance. At the same time, the development of polyarchy presumes an effective networking of global elites. From this perspective, the author is convinced that global turbulence is not only a challenge, but also an opportunity for the modernization of nation-states and development of the polyarchic essence of national elites. This will allow overcoming the crises of the political development in the process of global turbulence.

Keywords: global turbulence, political elite, nation-state, polyarchy, "Velvet Revolution", democratic consolidation.

Introduction

The main aim of the article is to reveal the problems of improving the quality of elites based on the R. Dahl's theory of polyarchy. This allows overcoming the iron law of oligarchy in the post-Soviet space. The issue is topical as in the process of global turbulence, elites generally show neo-machiavellian approaches towards the implementation of power. This is the reason why the protracted democratic transit deepens the current crises of political development, reflecting global turbulence on the national level. The problem is topical also for Armenia as the consequences of implementing the current reforms after the "Velvet Revolution" are deeply dependent on the quality and essence of elites. The point is that not only political ones but also economic, military, strategic elites should participate in the process of responding to turbulence-driven challenges. This will allow overcoming the crises of political development reducing monopolization, overprofits, governance of consensus-based oligarchy, as well as increasing the responsibility and participation of elites on local, regional and global levels.

The article consists of an introduction, where the author proves the relevance of this topic, the main part, a discussion of the main results, a conclusion and recommendations.

An Overview of the Role of Political Elites in the Republic of Armenia

The democratic transition as a component of the globalization process in Armenia has led to the mosaic of political interactions. The latter is based on the interrelations of “elite-masses” and the transformation of political institutions. The roles and functions of elites are dictated by the cultural value system, traditions, religious beliefs, social interests, etc. The aforementioned variables suggest a certain interpretation of the political roles and functions that considerably differ from those adopted in the developed democratic countries. As a result, the speed of social transformations, mechanical political identification, and the mobility of social institutes are high in Armenia. These did not only speed up the social interrelations between various groups, communities, and individuals, but also increased the spontaneity and gave rise to the crises of political development (distribution, mobility, participation, identity, legitimacy). All these components present the basis for the author's observation of the role of elites in the Armenian politics in the process of global turbulence.

The process of democratic transition runs in the framework of global turbulence. Hence, in Armenia it has propounded some realistic demands to the political elites:

1. For the realization of the adoption of democratic values in the Armenian society, which expressed the need to form an independent democratic state;
2. For the protection of national value system in politics, resulting in the functioning of the independent state on the basis of universal values and international norms;
3. For the success in communicating with the global community which will enable the citizens of Armenia to adequately respond to the challenges of globalization.

Under the conditions of democratic transition in Armenia, there arises a necessity to re-evaluate the paradigm of the elites. The democratic transition that leads to an outwardly dynamic competition puts the Armenian political elites in a “from-divided-to-mutually-agreed” marginal process. Being revolutionary in its origin, the democratic transition of Armenia has been supported by “pacts” signed on a mutually negative agreement by the political elites. The functioning of the political elites, in this sense, resulted in a monopolistic state, which is incompatible, according to the elite theory. The national state realizes its function on the basic principles of “good governance”, which provides ground for mutual agreement between the economic, cultural, military, and strategic elites.

From this perspective, famous American policymaker H. Kissinger clarifies that “second, the political and the economic organizations of the world are at variance with each other. The international economic system has become global, while the political structure of the world has remained based on the nation-state. The global economic impetus is on removing obstacles to the flow of goods and capital. The international political system is still largely based on contrasting ideas of world order and the reconciliation

of concepts of national interest. Economic globalization, in its essence, ignores national frontiers. International policy emphasizes the importance of frontiers even as it seeks to reconcile conflicting national aims” [1, p.368].

From this point of view, the institutional functioning of the polyarchic elite will allow providing a synthesis of national and global values. This is the key mechanism to democratize the political regimes and overcome the crises of political development.

In the process of globalization, besides the principles of “good governance”, J. Galtung’s “positive peace” theory can play a key role in the development of the national state, which will allow forming trust, a real consensus and mutual respect among various interest groups. “Positive peace, I think, has two basic components. One is equity – cooperation for mutual and equal benefit... and the second component is the harmony inside you” [2]. Thus, in terms of globalization only the development and promotion of positive peace culture based on inner harmony can provide a democratic transition.

In the process of globalization in Armenia, it is necessary to harmonize the following principles of recruiting the political elites. Firstly, there must be a harmonization of social orientations by the elites through which, taking into consideration the anthropological, professional, and social differences, favorable conditions are created to establish consolidated democracy. Secondly, consideration must be given to the civilizational characteristics of the recruiting elites and the social memory, political consciousness, societal culture and the value system. This assumes the development of the relationship between the ruling elites and the opposition groups.

Discussing Global Turbulence

There are numerous definitions of global turbulence [3-8]. However, our working definition for this article would be the following:

The turbulence is a continuously developing and changing challenge, which demands polyarchic elites and especially strategic elite as a part of the latter. This allows the strategic elite to run an analytical paradigm and to respond to the global, regional and local challenges based on the harmonization of modern and traditional values.

Political Elites as Actors of the Political Systems

As the main actors of a political process, the political elites, through exercising considerable power in government, are crucial in meeting the strategic demands of the society in a timely manner. The political elites are not arbitrary. They are the supreme realizers of the rights and responsibilities defined for a certain period. There are various types of elites having the status of actors in the process of the democratic transition of Armenia with democratic, meritocratic, and polyarchic characteristics. Polyarchy is a necessary condition for establishing democracy, as it needs “wide-range institutes” and a realistic “political agenda”. Polyarchy should contribute to the increase in plurality of democratic values and ideals [3].

Under the conditions of the democratic transition of Armenia, political nets are decisive in the process of studying the interrelations between a civil society and the state, political elites, and various lobby groups.

The conditions of democratic transition in the establishment of a civil, political, and constitutional culture, suggest the existence of political elites seeking legitimacy, in an attempt to introduce polyarchic values into the public's consciousness during the transformation process of the political system [4].

The existence of a democratic political culture in Armenia will make it possible to keep the political system away from diverse concussions, because of the revolutionary, corrupt, and marginal atmosphere that contributes neither to a civil, social, nor cultural dialogue.

The democratic transitional process in Armenia has brought about crises in terms of political development that has taken a threatening turn. Because of the ethnopolitical conflict, conditioned by the supremacy of the Nagorno-Karabakh issue, a bi-vector environment has come into existence. As an actor in the ethnopolitical conflict process, Armenia keeps on obeying the "game rules" in the bi-vector stage and is simultaneously drawn into the sphere of both socio-political and inter-ethnic conflicts which were penetrating into different levels of the democratization process. This conditions the necessity of the formation of the nation-state, socio-economic classes, and ethnocultural development and governmental structures. These factors, presuming certain behavioral patterns, have become risky for the existence of the society, state, and individuals.

During the process of democratization, the supremacy of one of the actors and the reign of informal institutions, in addition to the rising "cooperation of elites", have promoted the formation of a hybrid and unstable political administration in Armenia. The "elites' cooperation" that rests upon formal institutions or upon those that were formed under the conditions of the balance of plurality of the actors was forced to create preconditions for the democratization of the political system.

It is another place where J. Galtung's above mentioned "positive peace" should be exercised to establish a real cooperation, free of traumas as part of negative peace and impediment for the cooperation. He writes: "Thus, there seems to be a general feeling that the idea of peace also contains an element of contact and cooperation. It is not only the absence of negative interaction; it also implies the presence of an element of positive interaction" [5].

Under the conditions of the democratic transition of Armenia, the activities of the political elites are two-layered. They consist of thinking (intellectualstrategic) and executing (administrative-bureaucratic) groups. Political governments in democratic transition periodically find themselves in local, regional and global uncertainty. No matter which route the nation takes, the national security and the stable development of the RA government system require the establishment of a professional and politically neutral bureaucratic system.

The independent activity of the latter suggests the existence of a completely independent legal sphere. This independent legal sphere dictated the separation of the government branches by the RA Constitution by redefining the existing laws on civil service, on social and political organization elections code, and other normative acts.

Under the conditions of the democratic transition of Armenia, the national thinking, as a systemizing complexity in the government framework executed by the political elites, suggests:

a) Self-identification of “I”-s when executing authority on different levels in the context of political reality, historic consciousness, and rational policy. In order to evade social chaos, the ruling “I” must have historic values and future – as a realistic model guaranteeing order and place for the nation’s authoritative identity;

b) Inclusion of the values of civilization through which the maintenance of coexistence laws crystallizes the theoretical features of “I”, and provides opportunities for its development with the conditions of a powerful administration. The value-system shatters when there is chaos in the social life, if these types of government appear in a consecrated form or if one of the actors becomes the principle who evaluates power values;

c) The opportunity to acquire socio-political phenomena is complex. In contrast to the mythological way of thinking, where the world is value-systemized in power-relations that reveal the complex essence of the tribe, the RA political culture is characterized by the “I” executing power.

Conclusion

The process of globalization in the Republic of Armenia raises the necessity to develop both all the forms of political elite theory and measures to provide the effectiveness of their power. The Republic of Armenia should respond to the challenges of globalization and integrate into the democratic text of global political development. Obviously, the model of this development will be neither completely western-liberal nor eastern (corporative-paternalistic). It should be both at the same time. Otherwise, it will be Armenian. That is, a political system that is synthetic, which will give an opportunity, by harmonizing itself with the processes of globalization, to maintain the essence and distinctness of the national value system.

This will allow comprehensively revealing the actors of power structure for identifying which groups are élite and which are not. These issues are essential as there is an imperative to provide the effective functioning of polyarchic elites. Moreover, we are convinced that this approach is specific not only for Armenia but also for the whole post-Soviet area.

Polyarchy will enlarge the social area of political power. This in turn will allow not only to institutionally establish the principles of “good governance”, but also to improve the culture of power implementation of the ruling elites and be flexible towards the changes of the social reality, reducing the possibilities of social instability and “color” revolutions.

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**ՔԱՂԱՔԱԿԱՆ ԸՆՏՐԱՆԻՆ՝ ՈՐՊԵՍ ՀՀ ԺՈՂՈՎՐԴԱՎԱՐԱԿԱՆ
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ՀԱՄԱՏԵՔՍՏՈՒՄ**

ՄԱՐԻԱՄ ՄԱՐԳԱՐՅԱՆ

Հայաստանի Հանրապետության պետական կառավարման ակադեմիա

Գլոբալ տուրբուլենտության արդի միտումները խոր հետք են թողնում քաղաքական ընտրանիների զարգացման վրա՝ բարձրացնելով պոլիարխիայի ինստիտուցիոնալացման արդյունավետության հրամայականները: Այս համատեքստում Հայաստանի Հանրապետությունում զարգացման պոլիարխիկ ձևաչափը պետք է զարգանա երկու ուղղությամբ. նախ՝ անհրաժեշտ է ռազմավարական մոտեցում և արդիականացում ունենալ վարչական ընտրանու նկատմամբ, Հայաստանում «թավշյա հեղափոխությունը», որն ընթացավ գլոբալ տուրբուլենտության պայմաններում, ենթադրում է կառավարման պոլիարխիկ ձևաչափի ինստիտուցիոնալացում: Միևնույն ժամանակ, պոլիարխիայի զարգացումը ենթադրում է ազգային, տարածաշրջանային և գլոբալ ընտրանիների ցնցային արդյունավետ գործառում: Այս տեսակետից, հեղինակը համոզված է որ գլոբալ տուրբուլենտությունը ոչ միայն մարտահրավեր է, այլև ազգ-պետությունների արդիականացման հնարավորություն և ազգային ընտրանիների պոլիարխիկ էության զարգացում: Հեղինակը համոզված է, որ դա կօգնի հաղթահարել քաղաքական զարգացման ճգնաժամերը:

Բանալի բառեր. գլոբալ տուրբուլենտություն, քաղաքական ընտրանի, ազգ-պետություն, պոլիարխիա, «թավշյա հեղափոխություն», ժողովրդավարական կոնսոլիդացիա:

ПОЛИТИЧЕСКАЯ ЭЛИТА КАК АКТОР ДЕМОКРАТИЧЕСКОГО УЧАСТИЯ РА В ПРОЦЕССЕ ГЛОБАЛЬНОЙ ТУРБУЛЕНТНОСТИ

МАРИАМ МАРГАРЯН

Академия государственного управления Республики Армения

Современные тенденции глобальной турбулентности оставили глубокий след на развитии политических элит, повышая эффективность институционализации полиархии. В этом контексте реализация полиархической модели в Республике Армения должна развиваться по двум направлениям: стратегический подход и модернизация административной элиты. "бархатная революция" в Армении, которая протекала в процессе глобальной турбулентности, предполагает институционализацию полиархической модели управления. В то же самое время развитие полиархии предполагает эффективное функционирование сетевых национальных, региональных и глобальных элит. С этой точки зрения автор убеждена, что глобальная турбулентность – это не только вызов, но и возможность для модернизации национальных государств и развития полиархической сущности национальных элит. Это позволит преодолеть кризисы политического развития.

Ключевые слова: глобальная турбулентность, политическая элита, нация-государство, полиархия, "бархатная революция", демократическая консолидация.

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