ABSTRACT
The authors analyze the normative ideas of Russian parliamentarians about the political elite, identified as a result of interviewing 50 deputies of the state Duma of the V convocation. In most cases, the polled representatives of the political elite shared similar views on the role, functions and qualities of the “ideal” political elite. Moreover, the results of the study showed that the normative representations of parliamentarians largely coincide with the descriptive ones: the current political elite is perceived by them as acceptable and even close to ideal.

Keywords: political representation, deputies of the State Duma, the political class, the quality of the “ideal” of the political elite, the Russian political elite.

INTRODUCTION
The authors analyze Russian parliamentarians’ normative notes of the political elite. The research is based on 50 interviews with the members of the State Duma. In the major of cases respondents share similar views on the role, functions, and main features of an “ideal” political elite. Moreover, the results of the research demonstrate that parliamentarians’ normative notions and their perception of current political situation are basically the same: respondents are often of the opinion that the current political elite is normal and even near to the ideal one.

The quality of human resources is a necessary condition for the modernization of the country. The adoption of effective and adequate political decisions that meet the global challenges facing the country requires highly qualified professionals. The key to success is the ability of people in General and the political elite in particular to sensibly assess the processes, think critically, adapt to changing conditions, take initiative and take responsibility.

In this regard, we can say that any society needs first of all” elite, high - quality human capital, a reference group going ahead, demonstrating a pattern of behavior and ideas and thus contributing to the dynamic development of the society itself. Such a group is sometimes even called the «elite of development». We believe that such a reference group could be representatives of the Russian political class. The desire to understand what the modern political class aspires to and whether it can be a reference group has prompted us to identify its normative representations. As researchers, we were interested to see what the current political elite sees itself and how it represents the trajectory of its further development.

In this study, we turned to the study of normative representations of a significant part of the Russian political elite – deputies of the state Duma of the V convocation. We understand that the Russian political elite is too heterogeneous and we cannot limit its study to the group we study. However, we chose parliamentarians as the object of the study for two reasons. First, we perceive them as people who are in the information field, saturated with political events, and have a relatively high social status because of their position. Secondly, if we talk about the upper strata, the maximum that we managed to achieve in the course of the study is the deputies of the state Duma. We are aware that the deputies are not the highest floor of the social hierarchy, but the upper floors were unattainable for us - we are because of the closeness of the Russian political elite as such.
The peculiarity of this study is the use of qualitative methods, including methods of grounded theory. The work is a pilot project that will further expand our research, that is, to begin studying the normative representations of not only the Federal, but also the regional political elite. During the study, we tried to identify key topics, those issues and pain points that will need to be studied in more detail and in depth in the future. This allows us to outline the range of problems, catalogue expert opinions and assessments that will be tested and rechecked at the next stage of the study.

The study was conducted by semi-structured interviews with representatives of various factions of the state Duma. During the pilot study, 50 interviews were conducted with an average duration of 60 minutes each. The total volume of transcripts of the interview was 843,655 characters.

Qualitative research methods of the political elite are the most adequate, however, in relation to the Russian political elite, political scientists and sociologists are almost not used, primarily due to limited access to the authorities. The sphere of normative representations of the Russian elite is practically not reflected in modern scientific research. The specificity of its study is the predominance of works devoted to the description of the mechanisms of formation, methods of recruitment and the social composition of the elite the methodology of the grounded theory presupposes the emergence of the theory in the process of research and the circularity, multi - stage of the research process, so we considered it necessary to first identify the most important problems and topics of interest for further study.

Historical-biographical and quantitative research methods prevail in the works about the Russian political elite. The most commonly used methods are content analysis of speeches and interviews published in the media and biographical analysis. Gelman and V. I. Tarusina note that the propensity of Russian scientists to conduct social research and use of biographical method contributes to the isolation of this region of the Russian science of science international [Between man, Tarusina, 2000]. Of the numerous works devoted to the Russian political elite, only a few based on the used approach. However, even the closest of them to this study still have a number of differences.

First, due to the complexity of interviews with representatives of the Federal political elite, most studies examine regional political elites, analizira are their values within discourse-analytic approach. Second, along with the political elite, representatives of intellectual, creative, business and media elites are studied, and the results are presented in a General form, which does not allow to get an adequate picture, reflecting the views of the political elite. And thirdly, the use of qualitative methods of analysis only as an application to the quantitative ones does not allow to study the opinions, values and orientations of the political elite to the fullest extent. Often, even in cases where the researcher manages to use the interview method, the results are quantitative rather than qualitative.

The study used a goal - oriented approach to sample formation: following the requirements for the coverage of all information significant cases, that is, all groups of the studied community, we interviewed representatives of different factions of the state Duma. In accordance with the requirements of grounded theory, the interviewing of respondents was conducted until theoretical saturation, that is, until, when another included in the sample cases has not brought new information.

For the analysis of interview transcripts, we used open coding applied in the substantiated theory, which was performed by means of the QDA Miner program. The application of this method has allowed to reveal steadily translatable codes, key categories in which representatives of the group under study Express their ideas about normative and descriptive. To illustrate the main results of the study, the text of the article presents graphs reflecting the frequency with which the main codes identified in the narratives occur.

In the subject of questions asked to respondents, we can conditionally distinguish three main blocks: the idea of the functions and role of the “ideal” political elite, the current state of the Russian elite and possible measures to implement the transition from the present state to the desired. In the result of the coding of the interviews identified a number of key categories, a relatively large part which the members of different factions were strikingly unanimous. The presence of some stylistic differences between the responses of representatives of different factions, which consisted mainly in the nature of positioning themselves in relation to the government and demonstrating my degree of loyalty, did not...
affect the way the study participants interpreted the main features of the “ideal” and the political elite existing in Russia today.

The main controversy concerned the question of who they included in the political elite. In this regard, we did not find a consensus among the deputies: their views were contradictory and included a lot of interpretations of the concept of “political elite”. In General, we can say that there are two main approaches to understanding parliamentarians of the political elite: formally-status and implying the independence of the “title” of the representative of the political elite from the presence of a formal political status.

Respondents noted the complex nature of any political elite, because, according to them, there is a separation of powers both horizontally and vertically. They are often substituted for the definition of the elite, listing the institutions and actors involved, in their opinion, in its composition. So, to our question of what is the political elite, the Deputy of the United Russia faction answered as follows: "the Political elite consists of the elite of the Federal, so to speak, and the elite of the local, which is in the regions. This, of course, is the President, the [President's] Administration, the Government, the state Duma, the Federation Council, if you take it this way. Plus, there are some political figures of the parties that are in the party, and the political activity is carried out by the party.”

At the same time, the main approaches to the definition of the political elite in the minds of the deputies do not contradict each other. For example: "It should be a person who makes decisions in the period of his competence in the Executive power, the legislative power, in the judiciary, in business. Or a person who can influence the adoption of these decisions: it is an expert, it is the media, it is, again, public figures" (a member of the fair Russia faction).

Such a view would probably not raise any questions if the parliaments, guided by the second approach, simply included in the political elite those who, having the appropriate resources, influence the political situation in the country: “the Elite, in my opinion, is a thing not related to status. That is [the elite representative] can be a person who, from my point of view, is cool, awesome... and actively involved in political life, which is at the same time at a very low official status level. That is, for me, for example, Sergei Udaltsov as one of the leaders of the Left front is a representative of the political elite” (a member of The fair Russia faction).

But as part of this approach, many respondents considered a part of the political elite creative, scientific, business elite, etc. For example: "...cultural workers, intellectuals, trade Union leaders, various leaders of informal organizations, non-profit organizations, youth organizations, environmental organizations. All these people are definitely the elite, because people follow them, they like their ideas. After all, the stars of show business, too, in General, are part of the elite” (the Deputy of the United Russia faction).

On the one hand, this inability to distinguish and determine the actual politically - cally elite allows you to speak about the population and the current representatives in the legislative branch of government General cognitive. On the other hand, it is alarming and gives the first signal of the parliamentarians’ lack of understanding of the specific role and functions of the political elite.

There is little disagreement about the image of the «ideal» political elite, as has been said. The categories that make up it. But since our research is qualitative, we are not interested in the codes themselves and the relationship between them, but in the meaning that respondents put into the concepts in which they Express their ideas about the normative and descriptive. We will try to reveal this meaning.

The main of the codes allocated by us is work in the interests of the country and the population. However, despite the fact that this construction is, in fact, the key for the parliamentarians and is somehow present in all narratives, this concept is still not disclosed by them sufficiently. Most often it is represented by General phrases about the” nationally oriented “elite,"defending the interests of its people, its state, regardless of anything." What is understood by the of public interest, is not clear: how is it detected, how is addressing tion and harmonization of interests of different groups of the
population – all that remains outside of the reasoning of the deputies about the nature of activities of the political elite.

Nevertheless, in the vague, unclear formulations that accompanied these arguments, it is still possible to distinguish three more or less clear, clarifying this idea of interpretation. One is to promote economic stability / growth. Moreover, it is the economic indicators of growth (or economic stability) – the standard by which parliamentarians measure the effectiveness of the political elite. Other indicators, in particular the degree of democracy of the political regime, they do not see. Therefore, as a role model, they have, for example, the elites of great Britain and China (a member of The just Russia faction), Stalin and the political leadership of modern Germany (a member of the Communist party faction), etc.

The second interpretation of the country's interests involves their protection and defense at the international level“...don't need to be good for anybody, you need to be good for his country, for his people” (the Deputy of the faction Fair Russia) or “in the UK, all doing good for his country, and all the other sneeze them” (Deputy of the faction United Russia).

The third, the most common interpretation, is the idea of messianism, charity and beneficence. The elite in this case is perceived as the” backbone“, which, having the appropriate, as a rule, financial resources,” contains the society " (the Deputy of the United Russia faction). One of the typical statements “ ” the elite come mainly from the world of business. They in General have to feed the people oil and cheese, as they say. The mission should be: for the people to serve, and it means to invest profits somewhere in the form of charity helps. Here is for construction bridge any there wooden, for example, through a small small small small river...” (United Russia faction Deputy). Or it seems to me, the political elite should take more care and look at their people, not to forget about it: to speak not only from TV screens or from the media, but in fact” (the Deputy of the United Russia faction).

Few respondents stated that there was no abstract public interest. In their opinion, the norm is a situation in which representatives of the political elite care about the interests of a narrow group of persons represented by them, as well as personal interest, which either coincides with the interests of many, or is pursued along with “work for voters”.

Slightly less important than the” protection of the interests of the country «category» – public recognition and respect for the elite”. Those who call themselves the elite, cause the respondents rejection and are perceived as a kind of anti - elite, political impostors: «The understanding of the elite is when this separate group of people for some merit or for some particular approach to a particular issue is recognized by the bulk of people. Well, those who call themselves the elite-it is also possible to get together with you, three more people to invite, to say that we are the elite» (the Deputy of the fair Russia faction). Or: "the concept of "elite" - these are the people who are equal to the country, equal to the inhabitants of the country, who believe, who is trusted. This is the elite, and the rest is shelupon" (member of the LDPR faction).

However, despite the fact that the respondents declared the importance of public recognition for the elite, the study participants often spoke about their own voters with a fair amount of arrogance. The attitude of representatives of the Russian political elite to the population as inert, gullible, ignorant and in need of help [Urban, 2010, p. 5]. It can be illustrated, for example, by the following statements: “the people should follow someone”, “the people simply trust their government, their elite”, the task of the elite is “to ensure that the people develop well”. Such an idea of the people as a herd, which the elite needs to “graze” (the Deputy of the United Russia faction), is developed in the most important and does not cause any disagreements among our respondents the idea of manipulating public opinion. Parliamentarians openly declare the attitude to the population of the country as a mass, which is easily manipulated, and see their role as the elite to apply these manipulations: “...anyway, any election campaign, it is based on promises: what you promise to the people, who promise more – that's what they will go for” (the Deputy of the United Russia faction).

A similar attitude to the population and discredited the role of the elite as DWI - Gusa force of the locomotive. This is certainly an important function, which could become the basis for the formation of
the elite as a truly reference group, contributing to social development, is reduced, again, to the need to “lead” and “guide”. It is clear that the degree of radicalism of the formulation of this idea varies, and its extreme expression is the idea that “it is impossible to have a state without a political elite: we will then be a herd of sheep” (the Deputy of the United Russia faction).

The milder interpretation of the political elite as a commander, a military leader is widespread in this regard: “the whole country – 140 million – cannot lead the whole society. There are still people who guide the residents. They’re still ones. In the army, one commander, one regiment commander. Not can the entire company be commander, or battalion, or regiment. Here stands the so-called elite, which leads” (the Deputy of the faction United Russia).

As a result, on the one hand, the respondents say that they see their mission in serving the people, but on the other – not just do not identify themselves with the people and dance from them, but oppose the elite and the people: patricians and plebs. They make claims to society, accusing him of authoritarianism (“the king from the head to the end of the not beat the crap out”), however their own ideal assumes “a strong hand”, “demon - precedent power”, “a strong power”. The ideal representative of the elite and the political leader of the deputies called Peter I, "influencing society in different directions", and as an ideal form of government recognized the monarchy of Great Britain.

In itself, political power is personalized, associated with the personality of a strong leader: “we can understand freedom in different ways, we can understand democracy in different ways. But loyalty to a particular person, the personification of power-this is very important... We, unfortunately, lost it” (the Deputy of fraction United Russia).

The experience of this «loss» leads to the fact that the ideal of parliamentarians is often in the past (in tsarist Russia or the Soviet Union), and the assessment and activities of the political elite, and a particular historical period associated with a particular person. "Here is Peter I-this, perhaps, one of the most clearest. Because Stalin had too much blood, too afraid not to match, but Peter... About terrible it is difficult to assess. Alexander I is also a good period was” (Deputy of the faction United Russia).

The ability to «influence» public opinion is provided by the fact that the «real» elite for many of our respondents is those who «spin in the media», become newsmakers. Although the idea of media is mainly important for them and does not carry such a significant functional load, but only means promotion in the media, recognition, popularity, a way to attract attention and be always in sight: “the political elite – these are those who we have spinning in the media. It is possible to call them political elite because all know them, learn safely. All the rest-it can be said, ants-workers” (Deputy faction United Russia).

One of the most important categories of importance for parliamentarians in the characterization of the political elite is “election”. In the best case, this election is of a “breeding” nature: deputies perceive getting into the political elite as getting into the highest caste, and its representatives - as the best of all existing (“gentleman among men”, “elite grain”). In this case, selectively selected “grass society” again, this society is contrasted compiled: "...elite seeds are selected from this abundance – so they are called: “elite seeds”. Similarly, in the political elite: there is a natural selection. There is a political elite, there are special people” (a member of the Communist party).

In the worst case, the election begins to be perceived as something “sacred”, acquires a mystical character: “I am absolutely sure that a person takes a wave to some position, there is something sacred in this” (Deputy of the United Russia faction).

At the same time, the idea of “harvest” and “natural selection” as a way to the “best of the best”, as a rule, does not involve raising the professional level, gaining new competencies and learning to be a politician. The idea of “election” and “special” leads to the fact that the activities of the representative of the political elite is not perceived by parliamentarians as a professional activity. This is evidenced, first, by the already mentioned disagreements about the importance of formal status, and secondly, their ideas about the key activities and characteristics of the political elite (“news”, “manipulate”), and thirdly, the meaning they put into the concept of special knowledge.
The idea of the need for a representative of the political elite to have this special knowledge in the narratives is presented in two forms. The essence of the first understanding is to know the specifics of a specific question: "it is Necessary to put a responsible person, to give him control, and that he was interested in this: that the person who has a child who needs to be engaged in kindergartens go to kindergarten to perinatal centers engaged in the person whose wife will soon give birth, schools to deal with the one whose child is now from kindergarten will go to school" (Deputy faction United Russia). Such "knowledge" is of everyday nature, it is close to the concrete life experience and personal interests of the politician.

The second approach assumes that the representative of political elite has to have “the General understanding " reached at the expense of “good basic education, good encyclopedic even education” (the Deputy of faction of Communist party), and also the General cultural and moral education: “Them [representatives of political elite] too it is necessary to reforge, teach, explain that if you will live well today one, and your worker will live badly, you won't live long” (the Deputy of fraction United Russia).

At the same time, it is important to note that the idea of special knowledge thus understood implies not only serving the abstract purposes of achieving the common good, but also the possibility of derogating from existing norms and rules. The representative of the political elite should be” literate “so that it allows him to bypass the existing obstacles: "I am very competent: I will always prove that I exceeded the speed because for some reason I had some obstacle. When you break, you have to watch how you make excuses. So here: bypassing some law, you have to provide that you do not bypass it: it was a loophole in the law that no one saw. And I saw" (the Deputy of fraction United Russia).

Thus, we can say that the idea of politics as a profession in the texts of interviews is highly distorted: what is perceived by parliamentarians as a political activity, in fact, is very far from it. As a result, the main part of respondents’ attention is transferred from professional qualities to moral aspects of “elite” activity. Insistent emphasis on the importance of having a representative of the political elite qualities such as honesty, justice, which is perceived as equal treatment of different groups of the population, and commitment to work in the interests of society, in this regard, looks like a - figurative compensation. The lack of representation of a full-fledged public discourse, ignoring the real public interests make them pay more attention to the aspects of morality [Urban, 2010, p. 11].

At the same time, the most significant concept of honesty here is interpreted not only as decency, openness and the ability to “not steal”. Often it equates to courage. To the courage to admit his own incompetence ("You have to go out and say honestly:" I could not do it, because...) or safely - STI in front of the boss do not be afraid, "for example, tell your bosses that we have a bad transport, bad roads" (the Deputy of the faction United Russia). Or, if the representative of political elite " holds a position correctly, on the place, he has to tell honestly, without being afraid for the chair, – the official duties has to carry out as it is necessary, but not as according to the order of the chief" (the Deputy of fraction United Russia).

The theme of morality is strengthened to such an extent that it sometimes flows into the idea of self - donation. The key characteristic of the political elite is the willingness not only to sacrifice "one's personal for the sake of something in common", but also to give one's life for it. For example:” they were Sick, they were in prison, but everyone forgave and worked for this state again " (the Deputy of the United Russia faction). Or: "Eli-toy at all times had to be a man ready to die at any moment” (Deputy faction United Russia).

Such sacrifice becomes synonymous with patriotism and is supplemented by such ideas as orientation to the internal features of the country, the need not to turn to the West and “not to criticize your country, even if you understand its shortcomings.” In this regard, the value of patriotism a special role acquires the idea of the demonstration: the elite must “create the appearance” – the appearance of equality with the people, the country's image, culture etc. for Example: “In principle, the elite itself has positioned itself as the representative of the society, as an interlayer, which, therefore, listened to the people, to comply with the requirements of their needs” (member of the just Russia party).
It is noteworthy that the idea of decision-making is almost not actualized in the texts of the interview. Directly about the ability to make decisions and bear responsibility for them as an integral characteristic of the political elite spoke units of resources. For the vast majority, this idea is not important in principle. One of the deputies we interviewed expressed his idea about the conditions necessary for joining the political elite: “...it is necessary to tell the truth, speak, speak, prove and probably do something” (member of the LDPR faction).

In addition, in the minds of Russian parliamentarians, the idea that we have identified in the form of the code “decision-making” takes quite a significant place. However, in this case we do not mean the “second person in power” [Bachrach, Baratz, 1962], but rather non-participation in the process itself. The fact that decisions in today's Russia are taken by a limited number of political actors is perceived by parliamentarians as a natural phenomenon. Moreover, sometimes they tend to take out the political elite of those who make decisions, and give the “elite” a number of other functions. First of all, these are Advisory functions: "even Stalin, he never solved one issue... Mr Putin met with us, the Unity faction... Can't help but consult. If not to consult, how?" (United Russia faction Deputy).

In addition, from the point of view of the deputies, the real, as well as the current, political elite has the function of popularizing a particular problem (“raises problematic issues at the state level”) or the function of developing possible options for social development: “Therefore, the political elite is largely irrelevant to decision-making, it can discuss everywhere publicly, publicly everywhere to inform, and indirectly it affects... The political elite can raise problematic issues to change the solution at the state level” (the Deputy of the United Russia faction). Thus, the normative ideas of parliamentarians about the political elite in the issue of decision-making are reduced to the fact that the elite itself does not take decisions, but indirectly participates in the process.

Such a role in the existing system suits them well, as well as the level of decisions to which they are allowed to discuss: “there was a question-ratification of the contract with Canada about killing of a squirrel: that it has to be killed by some trap, a trap certain. Those traps which are in Russia, they to an animal bear sufferings, and the trap only Canadian or American is necessary. And here is the ratification. In principle, the President does not care: signed, and all. But he's in the Duma – we begin to understand... This is where the controversy rises. And then the Council may make proposals to the Treaty in one way or the other. This is the participation of political elites” (United Russia faction Deputy).

It is clear that the responsibility for missed solutions not expected and the idea of almost no one of the deputies don't care. Even if the topic of responsibility of the elite to the people arises, it is perceived as a “burden” and “heavy cross”.

CONCLUSION

Thus, parliamentarians do not associate themselves with people who hold a position of power, have real power and are able to make decisions. Our findings in this respect is largely similar to the results obtained by other researchers: the modern political elite have no sense of responsibility, and she is inclined to underestimate their social role. Nevertheless, the study revealed a strong need for the majority of parliamentarians in self-assessment to the elite, which in itself is paradoxical, given the General tendency to emphasize their own insignificance in the political decision-making process and in political life in General. Moreover, despite this, the tendency to identify with the political elite is combined with the great-power claims on the role of the elite in the life of society. In the speech, the deputies use such constructions as "their / our people", "our country", etc.

Of course, we can not say that all the codes that make up the category of “image of the ideal political elite” also describe the ideas of parliamentarians about the current political elite. Thus, the main contradiction between the normative model and reality concerns the moral qualities of the current authorities. Deputies also have other claims concerning, for example, irregularity of rotation or the same non-adoption of decisions. However, due to the fact that the components of the exemplary political elite are typical (as opposed to morality) for a small part of the respondents, this does not affect the overall picture. Thus, the current elite is perceived as quite acceptable because the meanings invested by the parliaments in the basic concepts by which they characterize their “ideal” correspond to their vision of the current situation.
Thus, the current political class, in our opinion, cannot become a full-fledged reference group due to the entrenchment in its consciousness of ideas and meanings that contradict the logic of the development of a modern democratic state their vision of today's situation.

REFERENCES