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SUBCULTURE OF POWER IN MODERN UKRAINE: FEATURES OF PRESIDENTS' VALUE CODE

The article investigates subculture of power. Particular attention is paid to the study of the language of politics as a means to obtain information on the essential attributes of ideology of representatives of the ruling class in Ukraine. The object of the study is inaugural addresses by the Presidents of the country. The main cluster of analysis has been universal components of the political and anthropological project implemented by the elite in the subservient society: state, power, man, society, country. The author has established the relationship between the value code of the heads of state and the politics implemented by different groups of the ruling elite at different stages of development of the independent Ukraine.

Key words: political culture, political power, subculture, language of politics, content analysis.

Study of the essence of political power as one of the manifestations of sociality involves the scientist's address to such cultural patterns as models of domination – submission, stereotypes of thinking and behavior, ethical and aesthetic norms rooted in the civilizational matrix of a large social group. The combination of these patterns forms a so-called "subculture of power," which is interpreted in two ways: 1) as a part of the political culture of a particular society, responsible for the creation of the "political human" and 2) as a "society of power", realizing the policymaking functions and their implementation in practice.

A methodological problem associated with the identification of the nature of the subculture of power is its closed nature generated by attempts of representatives of the political class to move away from the "annoying presence of amateurs". Nevertheless, even in a totalitarian regime, members of the society of power enter in political communication with citizens, which is certainly materialized in the language of both power entities and subjects of power. Thus, studying the language of policy makers can potentially provide information about the nature of the aforementioned subculture of power. Research of the language of politicians is of particular theoretical and practical value for such "leadership communities" as the Ukrainian one, directions of political reforms, which largely depend on the manifestations of subjectivity demonstrated by leaders of the ruling elite.

Characterizing the state of scientific development of the "language policy" problems, we should note that its condition is quite satisfactory. In particular, the nature of political processes by identifying the specifics of linguistic structures used by leaders was studied (at various times) by foreign and domestic historians (A. Lüdtke), linguists (N. Petliuchenko), psychologists (O. Shestopal), political scientists (V. Petrenko), etc. In particular, a group of Russian scientists led by O. Shestopal dedicated its research to studying the affective and cognitive components of the personalities of politicians using the method of qualitative content analysis of their speeches. This method implied the translation of textual information into quality indicators, followed by interpretation of its results².

The author of this article believes that the method used by O. Shestopal is quite suitable to identify characteristics of operating codes of representatives of the Ukrainian society of power. The object of the study was the Presidents' inaugural speeches, describing the insight of the leading representatives of domestic politics of a society, which they govern. The main clusters of the analysis were components of the political and anthropological project implemented by any society of power: state, power, man, society, country. In this case, a "cluster" meant a combination of several homogeneous text elements, which formed a synonymic row with one of the central concepts and served as epithets towards it, characterizing the completeness and visualization of the politician's ideas a certain component of social life. Content analysis was selected as a method to obtain the required information. It was carried out using the Word Stat software and manual processing of text arrays in question.

¹ Вязовик, Т.П. Нормативно-символические структуры и идеологическая интерактивность. *Официальный сайт* журнала Политическая експертиза. http://www.politex.info/content/view/320/>.

² Шестопал, Е.Б. (2011). Психологический поход к анализу российских политических элит. *Вестник Московского университета*, *6*, 74-88.

The inaugural speech by L. Kravchuk contains 739 concepts. In the President's address, the state is represented by 75 linguistic units (10% of the total text array). It is characterized by a mix of metaphors that add to this political phenomenon both purely modern features ("democratic", "legal"), and primordial nativist attributes ("full-blooded", "our"). There are also elements of constructivist perception of the state ("the state is built", "state formation"). The analysis of L. Kravchuk's speech gives reason to conclude that while occupying the highest political position in the country, he had a good understanding of the functional load of the state as a social institution and perceived its presence in key areas of public life as quite justified. This is confirmed, in particular, by phrases such as «supports» (the economy, education, science, culture, G. Grabina), "has structures of economic governance", "establishes a system of (social) guarantees", "partner of the society"¹, etc. As a person who has gone through the main stages of political socialization within the system based on overtly paternalistic values, L. Kravchuk sometimes defines the state as a "panacea" to solve social problems: civil welfare ("does not withdraw legal income"), integration ("idea of statesmanship"), interfaith relations ("state program of regulation..."). However, he is well aware of the peculiarities of the current stage of development of the Ukrainian society. That is why his speech also contains such phrases as "privatization", "cost cutting and budget deficit reduction", "withdraws from the functions of the manufacturer", etc.

The foreign policy status of Ukraine, rooted in the first President's worldview, is manifested in such linguistic constructions as "a full-fledged subject", "non-nuclear and neutral", "European", etc.

L. Kravchuk mentions *power* in his speech, 12 times (1.6%), which quite conforms to the paradigm of the European Enlightenment, being represented by such phrases as: "the source of power is the people", "separation of powers", "trust in power", etc.

However, the general sense of connecting the word "power" to the word "president" ("powers of the President", "presidential power" (the latter was mentioned at least twice, *G. Grabina*) shows that L. Kravchuk perceived this institute as a particular political stabilizer of the Ukrainian society².

The society, along with such forms of political organization of men as people and nation, is mentioned in the speech 34 times (4.6%). Like any politician that initiates a qualitatively new stage of history in "his" community, L. Kravchuk uses elements of retrospective, prospective and perspective stratagems of its legitimation. Naturally, the politician's speech contains such constructions as "ancient roots", "historical memory", "spiritual self-determination" and others. L. Kravchuk's political worldview also contains certain victimization of the national history ("thoroughly destroyed", "starved", "tormented"), definition of the current "enemy" of the nation ("corruption and organized crime"), and determination of collective prospects ("aspiration for freedom"). The image of "desired future" is delivered through such phrases as "national wealth", "harmony", "trust"³. The aforementioned paternalism is represented in this section of the speech by an image of the society as a certain "family", which includes "sons and daughters", "grand- and grandparents", all "served by the President".

The man (citizen) is mentioned in L. Kravchuk's speech 22 times (3%). The "axiology of man" of the first President of Ukraine is represented by such structures as "owner", "businessman", "believer and nonbeliever", "universal norms", etc. Logical connections with previous subjects of the speech, in which one of the mandatory elements is the state, are references to the economy that "works for man", "the individual's right to dispose of their income", "protection of human life and property", etc.

Ukraine is mentioned in the text 50 times (6.7%). In a fairly bright picture sketched by L. Kravchuk, the country is "rich", "independent", "new", rising from its knees and walking the way of "panhuman civilization"⁴. This "Ukrainian home" in possession of "land – mother of wealth" endowed with educational and cultural potential is represented by the President as part of the European security system, a territorially integral, non-nuclear European country.

As can be easily seen, the image of Ukraine as a political community, the understanding of functions of the state and power, the "anthropological project" of L. Kravchuk, presented in his inaugural speech, demonstrate the fullness and complexity of the political doctrine of the first President of Ukraine. There are valid reasons to believe that it is due to such complete "political picture of the world" that L. Kravchuk and the current national elite groups ruling under his guidance managed to attain success in asserting a new

⁴ Ibid.

¹ Виступ Президента України Л.М.Кравчука на урочистому засіданні Верховної Ради України 5 грудня 1991 р. *Офіційний сайт Верховної Ради України.* http://static.rada.gov.ua/zakon/skl1/BUL14/051291_421.htm.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

political system, retaining the political situation in the country, achieving international recognition of Ukraine, etc.

The inaugural speech of the second President of Ukraine, L.D. Kuchma, is represented by an array of 940 terms. *The state* is mentioned there 25 times (2.6% of the total number) and is described by the politician ambiguously: 1) as an important institution under formation, and 2) as a kind of "our", "alive", "multinational" creature. L. Kuchma abandons the traditions of paternalism (at least declaratively), defining the state as "no icon" existing for the people, designed to work effectively for them. The image of "desired future" for L. Kuchma in this subject is a "wealthy", "democratic", "stable" and "strong" state¹.

Power is mentioned in the text 13 times (1.4%) and is presented as a force for reforms, which should be applied "firmly" and "effectively". However, this requires "strengthening of the single executive vertical", "stabilizing relations between branches of power", preventing its "seizure by the criminal world". Just as in L. Kravchuk's speech, the President is determined as the central element of power.

Mentioning *the society* (people, nation) 32 times (3.4%), the second President of Ukraine speaks of civic consciousness, cultural development, multiethnicity of the society. L. Kuchma's overall evaluation of Ukraine's social development is full of alarm: he repeatedly mentions crisis in different contexts, and the society is defined as "dying out".

The concept of a "Man" (citizen) is used by L. Kuchma 16 times (1.7%). Interestingly (in terms of determining the specifics of the President's "anthropological project"), while mentioning the "human rights", L. Kuchma forms a model of a "socio-economic" rather than "political" man, operating such definitions as "honest work", "protection", "right to hope", "social protection", etc.

The image of *Ukraine* of the second President (mentioned 54 times (5.7%)) has dual nature: it is, at once, both "dear mother" and "the state" undergoing systematic and radical renovation. Unlike his predecessor, L. Kuchma defines Ukraine as an industrial country – a part of the Eurasian space. With respect to the latter, the President uses the term "integration", representing Ukraine's leadership in this process as the "image of the desired future". A careful reading of the text of L. Kuchma's inaugural speech enables to explain his integral image of Ukraine as a political community: it walks through a thorny path for a better life. Moreover, this "journey" is represented as the last serious test, followed by "peace", "harmony" and "well-being" for all citizens.

The state is mentioned in the speech 46 times (3%). Apparently, by fixing the end of the stage of "development", L. Kuchma marks the state with such linguistic structures as "reinforcement of the state", "state machine", "legal blocks of the state".

There were also qualitative changes in the geopolitical positioning of the Ukrainian state in L. Kuchma's mind. Since then, it was a "powerful regional state", a "transit state", located at the "crossroad of Europe"³.

In his 1999 speech, L. Kuchma depicts *power* in a purely functionalist sense. Mentioning it 12 times (0.7%), the President represents it as "state", "consistent", designed to provide the society with "consistency" and "dynamism". According to L. Kuchma, value claims to power are its "honesty", "responsibility" and "civility".

The society (people, nation) is mentioned by L. Kuchma 85 times (5.4%). The politician strongly believes that "the society will no longer wander from the track", that strength of the community is provided by "connection between generations", "social contract" and "spiritual rebirth." Plunging into the theme of national life, the President allegorical uses the conceptual apparatus of chemistry, recalling the "enzyme of nation" (intellectuals) and its "political crystallizers" (political parties). Completeness of the transition period is further manifested through the fact that the state (and, obviously, the elites, *G. Grabina*) finally obtains an opportunity and obligation to "cultivate the field", "the abandoned field" of the society⁴.

In the text in question, a "man" (citizen) is mentioned 29 times (1.8%). The author uses such structures as "rises of the human spirit", "unleashed potential of citizens", "civil vocation". However, praising "the rights and freedoms of man and citizen", the President also uses the phrase "honest before God

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¹ Кучма, Л.Д. (2000). Промова з нагоди складання присяги на вірність українському народові на урочистому засіданні Верховної Ради, 19 липня 1994 року. *Вірю в український народ*. Київ: Альтернативи, 8-11.

 $^{^3}$ Кучма, Л.Д. (2000). Інавгураційна промова, Національний Палац «Україна» 30 листопада 1999 року. *Вірю в український народ*. Київ: Альтернативи, 446-451. 4 Ibid.

and people", assigning priority among the objects of political accountability to a sacred substance (even more imaginary than "people").

Characterizing *Ukraine* (87 references, 5.6%) in the second inaugural speech, L. Kuchma uses primordial characteristics. According to the President, Ukraine is the mother leading a full-blooded independent life.

Over again, L. Kuchma refers to God and "believes in Ukraine". Here, the image of "desired future" for him is an independent European country that has earned international prestige¹.

Features of L. Kuchma's inaugural speech during his entry in the second term characterize this politician (among others) as the bearer of conservative ideas about the proper state of Ukrainian public life: the researcher faces a certain collective project, the main components of which were largely shared by the class of Ukraine ruling at that time. However, as is well known from further events of the national political history, there was also a group of leaders who proclaimed an intention to formulate an alternative "agenda" for Ukraine. The central figure of this group was V.A. Yushchenko.

V.A. Yushchenko's inaugural speech declared on the Independence Square in January 2005 contains 945 terms. *The state* is mentioned in the speech 8 times (0.8%). During its characterization, the politician uses retrospective metaphors: "thousand-year history", "Russian Truth", "Cossack republic" and others. Only one attribute of the state can be undoubtedly treated as modern: "the rule of law"².

The image of *power* in V. Yushchenko's speech is described in a purely moralizing sense (6 references, 0.6%). The most vivid epithets used in this subject were follows: "democratic", "honest", "patriotic", "moral". Relatively "objective" attributes in V. Yushchenko's image of power include only "professional" and "out of business".

Collective forms of human existence (*society*, people, nation) are mentioned in the President's speech 24 times (2.5%). Linguistic structures used by the politician can be divided into two groups: primordial – nativist ("sons and daughters", "heroes see from heaven", "protect their sources", "descendants of generations") and moral – ethical ("honest nation", "wealthy", "solidary"). Conditionally "program" attributes of the nation in this respect include only one phrase: "a nation of self-governing communities"³. At the same time, V. Yushchenko's inaugural speech contains a brief yet vivid description of the political process deployment in the country: "onward and upward". The third President of Ukraine sees the country as rising to a certain "city of God", where the value imperatives of the good, honesty, patriotism, etc. will be actually implemented.

The characteristics of a *man* (citizen) presented by V. Yushchenko in his speech implies that the President has dominating motivation for affiliation. Using these words 8 times (0.8%), the politician resorts to such epithets as "friend", "equal", "solidary" and "free".

Ukraine (country) is mentioned by V. Yushchenko 69 times (7.3%). Given the frequency of references and the nature of epithets used to depict it, we can say that this is a central element in the President's political worldview. The most emotionally rich epithets in this respect are "plow-treated land", "riches of the earth", "garden of Ukrainian culture", "old and young trees", "root", etc⁴. The presence of such specific characteristics of Ukraine in the fourth President's operating code well correlates with an image position of a "national leader" used by the politician during the 2004 electoral campaign and has enabled him to recover the deeper layers of the collective consciousness of ethnic Ukrainians, mobilizing them for political participation to support the project proclaimed by the future President.

Ukraine's geopolitical status is determined eloquently and concisely in V. Yushchenko's speech. For him, the country is "European" and "not a buffer".

The political worldview of the fifth President of Ukraine, V. Yanukovych, is in many ways polar to the same indicators of V. Yushchenko's outlook.

The whole inaugural address by V. Yanukovych is presented with 600 terms. *The state* is mentioned by the politician 25 times (4.1%).

Just like his predecessors, V. Yanukovych has an ambiguous image of this institution. On the one hand, in the politician's mind the state appears as a powerful paternalistic structure. This is confirmed by

¹ Кучма, Л.Д. (2000). Інавгураційна промова, Національний Палац «Україна» 30 листопада 1999 року. *Вірю в український народ*. Київ: Альтернативи, 446-451.

український народ. Київ: Альтернативи, 446-451.

² Ющенко В.А. Інаугураційний виступ на Майдані Незалежності. *Офіційний сайт видання Українська правда*.http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2005/01/23/3006391/?attempt=1.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

such phrases as "must save", "bring on the road", "controls". However, this powerful institution in the imagination of V. Yanukovych "wanders in political twilight", in the "labyrinth". The newly elected President sees his function in bringing the country out of it. After all, he comes to this position "by God's will" (though "submitting to the people", G. Grabina)¹.

V. Yanukovych has prosaic philosophy of *power*. While mentioning it directly 4 times (0.6%), he uses such linguistic constructions as "state", "effective", "branches of power" and others. Combined with the previous subject, power is perceived by the politician as a purely instrumental key and is not endowed with any sacred significance by itself.

The image for the *society* (people, nation), despite that it is frequently mentioned by the President (13 times, 2.1%), is characterized by simplicity of the synonymic row. For V. Yanukovych the Ukrainian political community is presented only as "the people of Ukraine" and "Ukrainian people", while the image of "desired future" – as a "post-industrial society." Based on the given material, it will be quite reasonable to conclude that these subjects are not central for the political philosophy of the fifth President of Ukraine.

The "anthropological project" of the politician is even more metaphorically-poor. Mentioning the man (citizen) 8 times (1.3%), he uses only two definitions: "common" and "ordinary"². In relation to subjects connected to the interpretation of the nature of the state and power, this feature of interpretation of human nature by V. Yanukovych is more than eloquent and largely explains the peculiarities of his future political career.

Ukraine (country) is mentioned in V. Yanukovych's inaugural address 24 times (4%). The majority of the characteristics used by the politician can be defined as emotionally neutral: "free", "strong", "deserving prosperity."

The President defines his main task as "to unite the country", "to regain trust", however, these theses are not developed any further. The characterization of Ukraine's geopolitical status, given by V. Yanukovych, is an evidence of certain reverse to a multi-vector course. The President actively using such structures as "a bridge between the East and the West", "part of Europe and part of the former Soviet Union", etc. However, this peculiarity of the politician's worldview is an evidence of certain pragmatism rather than lack of a foreign political doctrine: a desire to get as much "bonuses" from existing centers of gravity of the system of international relations as possible.

The inaugural speech of the sixth President of Ukraine, P.O. Poroshenko, is one of the largest in volume (1107 terms). The state is mentioned in the address 15 times (1.3%). Recognizing the deep "crisis" of statesmanship", the President names the following highest values: unity, unitarity and territorial integrity of the state³. Symptomatically, the construction "unity" is also used by the President to other components of a political picture of the world. The President's "axiology of the state" is revealed through such epithets as "democratic" and "legal". Interestingly, the text of his inaugural speech contains almost no phrases that would describe him as an adept of the system of state paternalism.

The characterization of power (9 references, 0.8%), presented in P. Poroshenko's speech, indicates an attempt to convey to the audience the idea of the crucial nature of the stage of the political process, to which Ukrainians are witnesses and participants. Describing the power of his predecessors, the politicians use such structures as "dictatorship", "illegitimate", "colonial", etc. Therefore, in his opinion, an urgent task of the society is to "reset" power in order to make it "non-usurped" and "decentralized". The means for this fundamental change should be a certain "anti-corruption pact" between the elite and the people⁴.

The latter, along with the society and the nation, is described by the President in a very metaphorical way (16 references, 1.4%). For P. Poroshenko, the Ukrainians are "living light", a "political nation" with their "ancestors and prophets", a "pantheon of heroes", etc. Just as with L. Kravchuk and L. Kuchma, in the mind of P. Poroshenko the Ukrainian people are wanderers. However, their journey is presented by the President as "a return to the Great Motherland", which, according to the politician, is Europe.

The man (citizen) is mentioned by P. Poroshenko 16 times (1.4%). He is deeply convinced that the

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¹ Янукович В.Ф. Виступ з нагоди інаугурації у Верховній Раді України. Офіційний сайт видання Кореспондент. http://korrespondent.net/ukraine/politics/1051097-inauguracionnaya-rech-prezidenta-ukrainy- yanukovicha-polnyj-tekst>. ² Ibid.

 $^{^3}$ Порошенко П.О. Виступ з нагоди інаугурації у Верховній Раді України. *Офіційний сайт видання* Кореспондент. http://korrespondent.net/ukraine/politics/3375056-ynauhuratsyonnaia-rech-poroshenko-polnyi- tekst-y-vydeo>.

⁴ Ibid.

citizen "has changed" – he is now a "patriot", a "warrior" that defends his "rights and freedoms", one of which is the right to "prosperous life". Researchers should pay attention to the phrase "human capital" used by P. Poroshenko. Provided that it is not only a bait included by the speechwriter in the President's speech, but an actual part of the President's ideology, there are reasons to hope for qualitative changes in the state humanitarian policy.

Ukraine (country) is mentioned by P. Poroshenko 55 times (4.9%) and is represented as a "family" whose independence is seen by him as a "holy promise". This sacred family returns to Europe through modernization processes, and "the image of the desired future" here is its "high technological effectiveness"².

Overall, P. Poroshenko's political worldview, as follows from the analysis of his inaugural speech, combines the features inherent in all his predecessors except V. Yanukovych: the speech contains a moderate share of primordialism (mainly in the characteristics used in relation to Ukraine, country and people/nation), modernism and functionalism in interpreting the nature of the state and power. The President's language is quite imaginative, and the synonymic row used by him indicates the fullness and complexity of P. Poroshenko's political picture of the world.

Despite the general declarations on modernization, reform and creation of the "political nation", through their value codes the Ukrainian politicians appealed to a community of qualitatively different etiology – the "old", "ethnic" nation.

The image of "own" social group was represented by them using nativist, primordial epithets, which emphasized the belonging of the community to a specific space-time continuum. A rather obvious rural synonymic row used by the Presidents of the country allows stating that the society in their operating code is a passive object of administrative influence rather than an effective political entity.

Certain "deviations" from such paternalistic "agenda" for the society are contained only in the text of the inaugural address by P. Poroshenko. This gives grounds for moderate expectations that in the minds of a "conventionally new" group of the ruling elite there is a shift from traditionalist worldview towards its modern variant with an appropriate system of political values and life guidance.

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¹ Порошенко П.О. Виступ з нагоди інаугурації у Верховній Раді України. *Офіційний сайт видання Кореспондент.* http://korrespondent.net/ukraine/politics/3375056-ynauhuratsyonnaia-rech-poroshenko-polnyitekst-y-vydeo.

² Ibid.