

**MOLDOVA STATE UNIVERSITY**  
**DOCTORAL SCHOOL OF SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL SCIENCES**

As a manuscript  
C.Z.U.: 329.39:32.019.5(478)(043)

**TALMAZAN LARISA**

**NATIONAL AND REGIONAL POLITICAL ELITE AS AN ACTOR OF THE POLITICAL  
PROCESS**

**Specialty 561.01 - Theory, methodology of political science;  
political institutions and processes**

Abstract of the PhD thesis in Political Science

CHISINAU, 2023

The dissertation was completed at the doctoral school "Social and Educational Sciences" of the Moldova State University

**Scientific adviser:**

Tatiana Turco, PhD of Political Science, Associate Professor

**Doctoral Commission for public defense of a doctoral thesis:**

1. **Cebotari Svetlana**, Chairman, Habilitated Doctor of Political Science, Professor, Moldova State University
2. **Turco Tatiana**, Scientific adviser, PhD of Political Science, Associate Professor, Moldova State University
3. **Țveatcov Nicolai**, official opponent, Habilitated Doctor of Political Sciences, Associate Professor, Gregory Tsamblak Taraclia State University
4. **Colațchi Angela**, official opponent, PhD of Sociology, Associate Professor, Moldova State University
5. **Pîrțac Grigorie**, official opponent, PhD of Political Science, Associate Professor, University of European Studies of Moldova
6. **Hârbu Diana**, Member of the Commission, PhD of Political Science, Associate Professor, Moldova State University

The public defense will take place on 17th May 2023 at 14.00 at the meeting of the Doctoral Commission in the aud. 222, building 4, at the Moldova State University, (Chisinau, A. Mateevici str., 60).

The dissertation and the abstract can be consulted at the National Library of the Republic of Moldova and web page of the National Agency for Quality Assurance in Education and Research ([www.anacec.md](http://www.anacec.md)).

The abstract has been sent out (April 12, 2023)

**Scientific Secretary of the Specialized Scientific Council:**  
**BRÂNCOVEANU Romica**

\_\_\_\_\_

**Scientific supervisor,**  
**TURCO Tatiana**

\_\_\_\_\_

**Author**  
**TALMAZAN Larisa**

\_\_\_\_\_

©Talmazan Larisa, 2023

## Content

1. Conceptual framework for research.....	4
2. The content of the work.....	12
3. General conclusions and recommendations.....	19
4. Bibliography.....	25
5. List of publications on the topic of the dissertation.....	29
6. Annotations.....	30
7. Additional title page (in Russian.).....	33
8. Circulation data.....	34

## CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR RESEARCH

Relevance and significance of the topic under study. In the context of the processes of democratization and modernization of transitional societies, the main actor is the national political elites. The relevance of their research is related to the need to analyze and determine the composition and role of elites in the system of political governance. The social component and economic orientation of the national and regional political elite still causes controversy in the scientific field, the basis of which remains the issue of devolution of power to the regional power elite.

The relationship between national and regional elites is a rather complex and contradictory process, which is often complicated by the discrepancy of their interests and plans, as well as dissatisfaction with the powers granted to regional elites. The destructive relationship of the elites, as world practice shows, leads both to open military actions and to the "freezing" of conflicts for an unlimited time. But for the effective development of the country, the relations of national and regional elites should be consensual and should be united by one goal – to act for the benefit of society and the state.

The events of the 1990s confronted many post-Soviet states, including the Republic of Moldova, with regional challenges. The processes of decentralization of power intensified, which required the national political elite to make decisions in new conditions. Socio-political transformations led to the fact that new actors developed their own social development projects in a short time and began to implement them. The study and analysis of these transformational processes is impossible without taking into account the regional dimension, since this vector allows us to identify the ambiguity and multidimensionality of changes in the political, economic and social spheres that have occurred in the state. With the increasing role of the regional political elite, the process of political decision-making at the national level has become more complex.

The relevance and importance of this study is also related to the fact that the creation and functioning of the Autonomous Territorial Entity Gagauzia (ATO Gagauzia) within the framework of the unitary State of the Republic of Moldova indicates the existence of a regional political space that has its own resources, autonomous authorities, regional political elite as an actor of the political process, which is characterized by certain specifics. Despite the existence of a legislative framework that regulates relations between the authorities of the center and the autonomy [49; 47], the syntagma "regional power" itself is absent in the legislation of the Republic of Moldova. However, among the scientific community there is an interest in the study of the activities of the regional government and its main actor – the regional political elite, as well as its interaction with the national political elite.

In addition, the significance of the scientific study of the relationship between national and regional political elites in the Republic of Moldova is due to the fact that the development of the state

largely depends on domestic policy, which is conditioned by the positions of political elites, their functioning in the system of power relations and influence on political processes. During the years of its independence, Moldova has experienced many difficulties in the formation and formation of the national political elite, and also faced a number of problems in relations with the regional elite of the Gagauzia ATO. Despite the change of elites at the national and regional levels, their representatives have not been able to establish a constructive dialogue for three decades. The study of the actions of political elites makes it possible to understand the ongoing processes, explain the current level of relations between them and find ways to increase the effectiveness of interaction between national and regional political elites in the Republic of Moldova.

In many ways, the relevance of the topic is explained by the fact that in order to understand the nature of the interaction of national and regional political elites, it is necessary to apply an integrated approach, which implies an analysis of the internal composition of political elites, the peculiarities and trends of formation, taking into account foreign experience accumulated in developed democracies and in the Eastern Partnership region.

The topic of the dissertation is also relevant due to its little study, especially in the part concerning the regional elite. Meanwhile, there is an urgent need to consider the relationship between national and regional political elites as the main actors of modern political processes in the Republic of Moldova, to reveal the consensual potential of their interaction.

The degree of study of the topic and the definition of the main provisions of the study. The problem of elites has been raised since ancient times and in various dimensions does not lose its relevance to this day. The founders of the elitist trend in political science are the Italian scientists V. Pareto [55] and G. Mosca [54], the German sociologist R. Michels, who formed integral concepts dedicated to the ruling class. The development of the elitist trend has led to the fact that since the second half of the twentieth century, an elitist paradigm has developed in American political science, considering the political elite as the main actor of political processes. In this regard, we can single out the works of such Western researchers as S. Keller [13], D. Risman [30], J. Sartori [60], J. Domhoff [9], J. Meisel [15], D. R. Putnam [28].

In the Republic of Moldova, the first researcher in the field of elitology was P. Varzar [36-40], who considered a wide range of problems related to the formation and development of the political elite of the Republic of Moldova, political modernization and challenges of modern democracy. Researchers A. Margarint [14], M. Chernenku and I. Botan [3] developed the results, putting forward various reasons for the periodization of the process of formation of the national political elite in Moldova. The role of the political elite was considered through the prism of the relations of power and opposition by V. Moshnyaga, I. Bukataru, and Nikolaev [17], A. Kolatsky [6], I. Rusanda [31].

The phenomenon of the elite is the subject of scientific research by Romanian scientists S. Brucan [2], A. Mungiu [18], A. U. Gabagni [11], M. S. Radulescu [29], V. Pasti [23], N. Petrovich [24], S. Tenase [33], M. Tudor, A. Gavrilescu [35], who in their works explore the modern political elite of Romania and its role in the ongoing political processes of modernization and democratization of society.

Russian researchers G. K. Ashin [41], M. N. Afanasyev [40], Ya. A. Plais [56], O. V. Kryshstanovskaya [50], V. Ya. Gelman [45], O. V. Gaman-Golutvina [44] and others consider elites as functional groups, as a special social stratum, as institutions, but the analysis of elites as subjects of the transformation process causes certain difficulties, since there has not yet been a single idea about the structure of elites itself, nor about the forms and mechanisms of its influence on social changes.

Turning to the study of the regional political process, it should be noted that the topic of regionalism is quite new for the Republic of Moldova. Based on the conceptual approaches to the regional political process, which were implemented in the studies of A. Magomedov [53], R. Smishchenko [61], A. Rudnitskaya and Yu. Glinnik [58], K. Kotoy [8], I. Osoeanu [21], I. Munteanu [19], in our work, a regional approach was implemented in the study of the Gagauzia ATO as a subject of the national political process in the Republic of Moldova. Taking into account the specifics of the work, the object of this study will be related to the study of relations between the center and the region, the central and regional elite.

The experience of post-communist states is very important for the Republic of Moldova, which, in the process of democratization and modernization of society, face similar problems in the process of building relations between national and regional political elites. The analysis of strategies of interaction between national and regional elites in the Eastern Partnership countries, where autonomous entities exist, is carried out in the works of foreign researchers W. O'brocht [20], I. Ubilava [63], Z. Ciaberashvili, G. Tevzadze [5], B. Chediya [4] (Georgia), E. Jafarli [46], F. Guliyeva [12], A. Ergun [10] (Azerbaijan), etc. The study of the experience of interaction between national and regional elites allowed us to identify positive practices with a view to their implementation within the framework of the relationship between the national elite and the regional elite of the Gagauzia ATO in the Republic of Moldova.

The creation of the autonomous territorial entity of Gagauzia predetermined the formation of a new - subnational /regional - level of political and legal authority, which is reflected in the domestic scientific literature. The relationship between the central authorities and the authorities of the Gagauzia ATO was considered in their works by O. Procik [26], F. Prina [25], I. Botan [43], V. Saka [32], S. Mironova [16], N. Tsveatcov [64], N. Putine [27], V. Berbeka [1], E. Kuizhuklu [51] and others, who investigated the problems associated with the implementation of the autonomy of

Gagauzia, which found expression in the relationship between the national elite and the Gagauz regional elite.

In recent decades, there has been a great interest in the scientific community in the study of regional elites, acting as the main political entity at the regional level. In this regard, we can note the works of such foreign researchers as U. Domhoff [9], K. Koller [7], A. Salamon [59], J. Pallaver [22], F. Tronconi [34], V. Lapina, A. Chirkova [52], A. Baranov [42], N. Kolesnik [48] and others, who, using the case-study method, consider the specifics of the formation of subnational elites, the peculiarities of their interaction with national political elites.

In domestic political science, the problem of the regional political elite is practically not touched upon, and most Moldovan authors deny the very formulation of the question of its existence. At the same time, the term "regional political elite" is used in the works of Moldovan scientists I. Botan [43], N. Tsvyatkov [64], N. Putine [27]. The current situation has necessitated a comprehensive and comprehensive scientific study of the problem of interaction between the national political elite and the regional political elite of the Gagauzia ATO in the Republic of Moldova as actors of the modern political process.

***The main provisions submitted for protection:***

1. The theoretical and methodological approach to the study of national and regional political elites as the main actors of the political process requires the use of a set of interdisciplinary methods of scientific cognition. Only the synthesis of theoretical propositions based on international practical experience can provide a comprehensive analysis of the specifics of the interaction of the national political elite and the regional political elite of the Gagauzia ATO in the conditions of autonomy within the unitary state of the Republic of Moldova.
2. Both in developed democracies and in countries that are in the process of transformation, in particular the Eastern Partnership countries, national and regional elites are an important actor in political processes. Despite the fact that the regional elites of some states show separatist sentiments, the national elites are aimed at preserving a single state, using the mechanism of distribution of powers between central and regional authorities.
3. The interaction of national and regional political elites in the Eastern Partnership countries, where subnational formations have developed (Azerbaijan, Georgia), is determined by the peculiarities of historical, political, socio-economic and cultural development. The experience of the functioning of the regional elites of these countries is important for the interaction of the national political elite and the political elite of the Gagauzia ATO of the Republic of Moldova, since they do not express separatist sentiments, carrying out their activities within the framework of a unitary state. For the Republic of Moldova, the processes of regionalization and the formation of a regional elite are relatively new, therefore they arouse research interest for scientific policy.

4. The formation of the national political elite of the Republic of Moldova is a complex process caused by many positive and negative factors. The lack of experience in consolidating the elite, the low level of professional training in public administration burdened interaction with representatives of civil society. A characteristic feature of the national elite of the Republic of Moldova is its coalition character, as well as the contradictory division according to the principle of "the European model – the Eurasian vector".

5. The emergence of a new actor in the political process after the events of the 1990s - the regional political elite in the person of the anti-terrorist operation of Gagauzia gave rise to a destructive relationship with the national political elite, which continues to the present. The disagreements relate to the lack of common agreements on the issue of the powers of the center and autonomy, foreign policy priorities, the nature of interaction between the leaders of the national and regional elite, which is of a rival nature. The lack of constructive dialogue between the national political elite and the political elite of the Gagauzia ATO affects the level of trust of citizens in political institutions and political leaders. Therefore, it is important to implement the values of consensus at the elite level, which will contribute to achieving consensus at the level of society as a whole.

*The purpose and objectives of the study.* *The purpose* of this study is to conduct a comprehensive and comprehensive theoretical, methodological and empirical analysis of the national and regional political elites of the Republic of Moldova as actors in the political process. To achieve this goal, it is necessary to solve the following *tasks*:

- to analyze the historiography of the study of national and regional political elites as an actor of the political process in order to argue and ensure the objectivity of the author when formulating the main theses of this scientific work;

- to reveal the theoretical and methodological foundations of the study of national and regional political elites as actors of the political process with the definition of the main categories that we will operate in this work;

- to summarize the experience of interaction between national and regional political elites in the countries of developed democracy and the possibility of its application in the relationship between the national elite and the regional elite of Gagauzia ATO in the context of the political process in the Republic of Moldova;

- to investigate the place and role of national and regional political elites in the democratic and modernization processes in the Eastern Partnership countries, as well as the practice of relations between national and regional political elites in the conditions of functioning of autonomies in the EAP countries, their implementation in the conditions of the Republic of Moldova;



- to analyze the process of formation and development of the national political elite and the regional political elite of the Gagauzia ATO in the Republic of Moldova, as well as the problems and phenomena accompanying this process;

- to identify the specifics of the relationship between the ruling elites of the Republic of Moldova and the regional elite of the Gagauzia ATO, as well as the problems and difficulties that make it difficult to reach consensus between the national and regional political elites in the Republic of Moldova;

- based on the interviews conducted, analyze the positions of representatives of the Moldovan political elite at the national and regional levels on the problem of interaction between the national elite and the regional elite of the Gagauzia ATO, as well as demonstrate the attitude of the population to the activities of the national and regional elites through the prism of public opinion;

- on the basis of the conducted research, to develop recommendations for improving the effectiveness of interaction between the national political elite and the regional political elite of the Gagauzia ATO in the Republic of Moldova.

**Research hypothesis:** the national and regional political elite are one of the main actors of the modern political process of the Republic of Moldova. The relationship between them is complicated by problems of a destructive nature, which makes it difficult to realize the consensual potential of their interaction.

**Methodological basis of the study.** The methodological basis of the research is a set of political science and general scientific methods and approaches, the use of which allowed to realize the goals and objectives stated by the author and to carry out a comprehensive and comprehensive theoretical, methodological and empirical analysis of the interaction of national and regional political elite as actors of political processes.

Due to the fact that this work is an interdisciplinary study, it involves the use of various approaches and methods of scientific analysis. Altimetric, structural-functional, desisional, systemic, synergetic approaches were used in the work. In our opinion, the integrated application of these approaches allowed us to reflect the specifics of the interaction of the national and regional elites as actors of political processes in the Republic of Moldova, the difficulties and problems they face in the process of reaching consensus.

The subject and object of the research, the goals and objectives stated in the dissertation work determined the choice of methods used. For the purpose of a deep and comprehensive analysis of the problem posed, the author used institutional, historical, behavioral, comparative, sociological methods, the case-study method.

In order to reflect the specifics of the functioning of the political elite as an actor of the political process, the peculiarities of the interaction of national and regional political elites in the

Republic of Moldova, along with the above methods, general scientific methods such as logical, analysis and synthesis, induction and deduction were used in the dissertation research.

***Scientific novelty and originality of the work.*** This dissertation research is one of the first to raise the question and conduct a comprehensive theoretical, methodological and empirical interdisciplinary analysis of the relationship between the national and regional elite as actors of the political process in the Republic of Moldova.

In our opinion, the novelty of this work lies in the fact that on the basis of a detailed and in-depth analysis of the basic categories, the author's definition of the concepts of "national elite" and "regional elite" was formulated. In the context of the research topic, the foreign experience of interaction between the national and regional political elite in the countries of developed democracy was analyzed, as well as the place and role of the national and regional political elite in the democratic and modernization processes in the Eastern Partnership countries, which will allow applying positive practices in the Republic of Moldova.

Along with the stages of formation and peculiarities of the formation of the national political elite, the paper analyzes the process of formation of the regional elite of the Gagauzia ATO, specifies the stages of development of the national political elite and the stages of cooperation between national and regional elites; examines the problems faced by actors of political processes, demonstrates the need to achieve consensus interaction between them.

Conducted interviews with representatives of the national and regional elite, as well as a comprehensive analysis of the results of sociological surveys conducted at the national and regional levels, allowed through the prism of public opinion to reveal the attitude of the population to representatives of political elites of different levels.

On the basis of the conducted scientific research, recommendations were formulated to the state authorities of the Republic of Moldova and the authorities of the Gagauzia ATO on improving the effectiveness of interaction within the framework of internal and foreign policy processes.

The obtained results, contributing to the solution of an ***important scientific problem***, consist in the development of the conceptual basis for the study of the national and regional political elite as actors of the political process and its applied aspect, which allowed us to identify the peculiarities of the relationship between the national and regional elite of the Gagauzia ATO in the Republic of Moldova. This contributed to the development of practical recommendations for achieving consensus interaction between the national and regional political elite in the Republic of Moldova, with a view to their subsequent use by state institutions involved in the process of making and implementing political decisions at the national and regional levels.

***The theoretical value of the dissertation*** lies in the fact that the results obtained served as a development of existing achievements in political science and filled a certain gap in the study of

this problem. The paper implements the author's approach to the study of the categories "national elite" and "regional elite" in the context of their joint participation and interaction in the political process.

The paper provides a comprehensive and comprehensive theoretical, methodological and empirical interdisciplinary analysis of the political elites of the Republic of Moldova at the present stage, which can be used to improve the conceptual apparatus of elitology, as well as for further research of the Moldovan political process. A comprehensive study of the interaction of the national and regional elite in the Republic of Moldova may be of interest both for specialists of the post-Soviet space and Central and Eastern Europe.

The provisions and conclusions contained in the dissertation work can serve as a basis for further research of the identified problems both in the Republic of Moldova and abroad.

*The practical significance of the work* lies in the fact that the results obtained can serve as a development of existing achievements in political science. The results of the study are of interest to scientists, researchers, experts in the field of political science, sociology, elitology and other social sciences engaged in the study of basic issues related to the functioning and interaction of elites at the national and regional levels.

The main provisions of the dissertation can be used in the educational process for teaching special courses on the problems of elitology, as well as used by representatives of the national and regional political elite in the development and implementation of political decisions. The conclusions and recommendations formulated in the dissertation can be used in the development of recommendations that promote consensual interaction between the national and regional political elite.

*Approbation of the results of the study.* The results of this study are reflected in 9 scientific articles that have been published in specialized journals and collections of articles published in the Republic of Moldova and abroad. The main ideas of the dissertation were presented at 4 national and international scientific conferences.

*The structure of the dissertation* research is determined by the purpose, objectives and logic of the presentation of the material. The work includes annotations in Romanian, Russian and English, an introduction, three chapters, conclusions and recommendations, a bibliography and appendices. The volume of work is 140 pages of the main text. The bibliography includes 315 sources.

## **THE CONTENT OF THE WORK**

The *introduction* contains the relevance and significance of the problem under study, the degree of research of the topic, the goals and objectives of the work, the object, subject and

methodological basis of the study are determined, the novelty of the results obtained, the theoretical and practical significance of the work, as well as the approbation of the research results.

In the first chapter "*Historiographical and theoretical-methodological aspects of the problem of the political elite as an actor of the political process*", the historiography of the study of the national and regional political elite as an actor of the political process is analyzed in detail, the basic concepts of the study were defined. Much attention is paid to the development of methodological approaches to the study of national and regional political elites as an actor in the political process.

In the first chapter "*Historiographical and theoretical-methodological aspects of the problem of the political elite as an actor of the political process*", the historiography of the study of the national and regional political elite as an actor of the political process is analyzed in detail, the basic concepts of the study were defined. Much attention is paid to the development of methodological approaches to the study of national and regional political elites as an actor in the political process.

Starting with the works of the Italian sociologists V. Pareto and G. Mosca, as well as the German sociologist R. Michels, elitology was further developed in American political science, where in the second half of the twentieth century, under the influence of the concept of modernization and democratization, several main directions of elite research developed: "Machiavellian", value, liberal and left-wing radical. J. Bernheim and G. Lasswell carried out a kind of convergence of the principles of elitism and democracy, reflected in the concept of democratic elitism.

In the Republic of Moldova, the first researcher of the Moldovan political elite is P. Varzar, who in his works considered a wide range of problems related to the formation and development of the political elite of the Republic of Moldova, political modernization and challenges of modern democracy [36-39]. Moldovan researchers A. Margarint [14], M. Chernenku and I. Botan [3] also addressed the problem of the formation of the national political elite, putting forward various reasons for the periodization of this process. The role of the political elite through the prism of the relations of power and opposition is considered in the works of V. Moshnaga and I. Bukataru [17], A. Kolacki [6], I. Rusand [31].

The problem of the political elite and its role in political processes has become an important research problem in the works of Romanian [2; 11; 18; 23; 29; 33; 35] and Russian [40; 41; 44; 45; 48; 50; 56] scientists who have identified and analyzed the main origins, the process of formation and mechanisms for recruiting a new political elite.

Turning to the study of political processes in the context of regionalism, we note that this topic is new for the Republic of Moldova, which imposes a number of conceptual distinctions for

an adequate understanding of the subject of the study, as well as for the formulation of conclusions and recommendations. Based on the conceptual approaches to the regional political process, which were implemented in the studies of K. Kotoy [8], I. Osoyan [21], I. Munteanu [19], A. Magomedov [53], R. Smishchenko [61], A. Rudnitskaya, Y. Glinnik [58], a regional approach was implemented in the presented work in the study of the ATO Gagauzia as a subject of the national political process in the Republic of Moldova.

Using the case-study method, foreign researchers U. O'brokhta [20], G. Tevzadze [5], B. Chediya [4], I.D. Ubilava [63] (Georgia), E. Jafarli [46], F. Guliyev [12], A. Ergun [10] (Azerbaijan) They analyze the strategies of interaction between national and regional elites in the Eastern Partnership countries where autonomous entities exist.

The creation and functioning of the Autonomous Territorial Formation of Gagauzia was reflected in the works of foreign and domestic scientists T. Benedicter, R. Lapido, O. Procik [26], F. Prin [25], P. Yarve, M. Kosienkovsky, I. Botan [43], V. Saka [32], N. Tsvyatkov [64], S. Mironova [16], N. Putine [27], V. Berbeka [1], E. Kuizhuklu [51]. O. Procik believes that granting autonomy to Gagauzia is often considered as a rare case of successful transformation of conflicts in the post-Soviet space, but the terms of the autonomy agreement reached between the center and the region were not properly fulfilled in a way. Pointing to the reduction of the autonomy of Gagauzia, this position is shared by F. At the same time, noting that, despite the legal consolidation of regional autonomy and ethnic diversity in Moldova, informal practices partially coincide with formal norms.

Since the processes of regionalization have become a frequent phenomenon in unitary states, in recent decades there has been a great interest in the scientific community in the study of regional elites, acting as the main political entity at the regional level. In this regard, we can note the works of such foreign researchers as U. Domhoff [9], K. Koller [7], A. Salamon [59], J. Pallaver [22], F. Tronconi [34], V. Lapina and A. Chirkova [52], A. Baranov [42] and others, who analyze the specifics of the formation of subnational elites, the peculiarities of their interaction with national political elites.

Assessing the regional political elite in different ways, most researchers agree on its small size, status and symbolic isolation; as a key criterion of the regional political elite, they single out the ability to influence social, economic and political processes within the region, but, as a rule, not the whole country.

In Moldova, N. Putine [27] and N. Tsvyatkov [64] applied to the study of the regional political elite of the Gagauzia ATO, who undertook a structural and functional analysis of the Gagauz political elite. Pointing out that the elections eloquently demonstrate the specific characteristics of the Gagauz autonomy, I. Botan explains this by a number of factors, one of which is the activity of the political elite of the autonomy [43, p. 50].

The second section "*Theoretical and methodological foundations of the study of the national and regional political elite as actors of the political process*" presents a detailed analysis of the main approaches and methods that reveal the essential and structural characteristics of the national and regional political elite. The interdisciplinary nature of the dissertation research led to the appeal to various types of sources that ensured the reliability and consistency of the conducted scientific research, the reasonableness of conclusions and recommendations: scientific works of foreign and domestic authors, national regulatory documents, reports of non-governmental organizations, the results of sociological research.

In the context of the dissertation research, the author's definition of the concepts of "national political elite" and "regional political elite" was formulated. We consider the national elite not in the ethnic sense, but from the point of view of the orientation of elite decisions on the national interests of the state. *The national political elite* is a small social group that occupies strategic positions in the decision-making system, exercises or influences the management process, defends the independence, sovereignty, welfare of the state and the entire people. In our opinion, the national elite should have the following characteristics: the ability to manage; moral qualities, first of all, a sense of responsibility to its people; the ability to predict; the desire to consolidate to solve significant problems. The desire to create and strengthen the economic, demographic, and spiritual well-being of the nation, to ensure military security and the protection of citizens should be the main goals of the national elite.

*The regional political elite* is a social group consisting of senior officials of a certain territory, which is the subject of preparation and adoption of the most important strategic decisions in the field of politics at the regional level, having the necessary economic, political, administrative resources for this. Since regional elites cannot have sovereign power, they are subordinate to national elites and coordinate their course with them. At the same time, being part of the national elite, the regional elite has its own characteristics.

The interdisciplinary nature of the research determines the use of a set of approaches and methods aimed at obtaining results reflecting the current state of the problem. In the study of elites, an important place is occupied by a functional approach, according to which the main elite-forming feature is not outstanding individual qualities, but the possession of command positions, leadership positions. In our work, we relied on the broader structural and functional approach of J. Sartori, who made it possible to consider the social composition, the mechanism of reproduction of elites, connections and models of their interaction.

In the study of political elites, the synergetic approach was of great importance, which made it possible to define the elite as a key element structuring the social space. In the context of our study of the national and regional elite as actors of the political process, the theory of rational choice is of

great importance. The methodological basis of the dissertation research is a set of political science and general scientific methods, which made it possible to carry out a comprehensive analysis of the national and regional political elite as an actor of the political process. Based on the set goal and the main objectives of the study, the work used institutional, historical, comparative, sociological methods, as well as the case study method, generalization, analysis and synthesis, induction and deduction, logical.

The second chapter "*Interaction of national and regional political elite: international experience*" is devoted to the study of foreign experience of interaction of national and regional political elite in the context of secession processes. Such processes are observed both in the countries of developed democracy and in the states that are just following the path of democratic and modernization transformations, in particular, the countries of the Eastern Partnership.

In the first paragraph, "*International experience of interaction between national and regional political elites in the countries of developed democracy*", the diverse forms of manifestation of regionalism in the countries of developed democracy are analyzed. For further conceptual analysis, complex unitary states were identified, in which there are autonomous entities interacting with the central government. The paper considered various types of regions: regions with historical identity (Scotland, Wales in the UK); regions within regionalist states (Catalonia in Spain, South Tyrol in Italy); regions with political autonomy (the Aland Islands in Finland).

The existence of regional autonomous entities presupposes the functioning of the regional elite and its interaction with the central political elite. The analysis of the experience of interaction between national and regional political elites in developed democracies suggests that the decentralization of powers and the formation of subnational legislative power in unitary states (Great Britain, Spain, Italy, Finland, etc.) has led to the fact that the regions have significant powers in matters assigned to them by the state, and the competence of the regions is fixed in the Constitution and other legislative acts. The models of regionalization in different countries have their own specifics, due to the history of territorial and political construction, specific political practice and institutional design. All models have some degree of asymmetry, which implies the flexibility of the center-region relationship.

In developed democracies, regional elites, being an important policy actor both at the regional and national levels, influence the development of the national agenda and the choice of necessary political practices by the national elite. Despite the separatist aspirations of some representatives of regional elites, national elites are aimed at preserving a single state, using the mechanism of distribution of powers between central and regional authorities, which indicates the ability of political elites to reach consensus on this issue.

In the second paragraph, "*The place and role of the national and regional political elite in the democratic and modernization processes in the Eastern Partnership countries*", scientific interest focused on two main problems: firstly, the analysis of the role of the political elite of the Eastern Partnership countries in the process of modernization and democratic transformations; secondly, the identification of the specifics of interaction between national and regional political elites in those EAP countries where there are subnational administrative-territorial units that determine the formation and functioning of the regional elite.

The trajectories of modernization and democratic reforms testify to the different goals and aspirations of the national and regional political elites of the Eastern Partnership member countries. The national political elites of a number of participating countries (Georgia, Moldova, Ukraine), despite the existing risks and challenges, are moving towards European integration, considering the priorities of human rights, the rule of law, structural reforms as the main tasks of the processes of modernization and democratization of society. Carrying out democratic and modernization transformations, the political elite of Armenia is trying to balance between the European Union and the Eurasian Economic Union. The activities of the ruling political elites of Azerbaijan and Belarus are aimed at strengthening the presidential power and consolidating the authoritarian regime.

Successful modernization transformations require the consolidation of national and regional elites, but, as practice shows, their interests are sometimes characterized by divergence, which leads to conflicts and crises. Despite the fact that all the Eastern Partnership countries are unitary states, administrative-territorial units have been formed in a number of them, which led to the formation and functioning of the regional elite (Azerbaijan, Georgia, Moldova). The paper analyzes the specifics of interaction between national and regional political elites, identifies common and special features, as well as positive experiences that can be used by the Republic of Moldova.

The analysis has shown that the formation of autonomous entities and the functioning of regional elites in a number of Eastern Partnership countries indicates the existence of effective mechanisms of interaction between national and regional elites. The regional elites of the existing autonomies in Azerbaijan and Georgia do not express separatist sentiments, their activities are aimed at strengthening the existing consensus between the central government and the authorities of the autonomies within the framework of a unitary state.

The specifics of the Gagauz autonomy, created on an ethnic basis, is an example of a successful transformation of the conflict, when de jure territorial autonomy was granted to an ethnic group. But, as practice shows, the implementation of legal provisions remains a rather complicated process, largely due to the lack of consensus between the national and regional elite in the Republic of Moldova.



The third chapter "*National and regional political elites of the Republic of Moldova at the present stage*" provides a detailed analysis of the stages of formation of the national and regional political elite of the Republic of Moldova. The problems of the relationship between the ruling elite and the regional elite of the ATO of Gagauzia are analyzed, the results of interviews with representatives of the national and regional elite of the Republic of Moldova, as well as public opinion polls on trust in political institutions and representatives of political elites in Moldova are reflected.

The first paragraph "National and regional political elite of the Republic of Moldova: problems of formation and development" analyzes the process of formation and development of national and regional political elites of the Republic of Moldova. In the conditions of developed democracies, the relations of the national and regional elite, despite certain problems, are consensual. In the transitional societies to which the Republic of Moldova belongs, in the conditions of democratic transformations, the specifics of national and regional elites, interests, value orientations, strategic goals inherent in them are the determining factors in the process of making and implementing political decisions.

The establishment and formation of the national political elite was accompanied by significant disagreements, which transformed into political and constitutional crises and conflicts. The split of the national political elite along the line of the geopolitical rift has led to the lack of effective institutional cooperation between the Parliament, the President and the Government, which makes it possible to assess the national political elite as fragmented and disintegrated.

Since the proclamation of sovereignty and independence, political actors pursuing diverse interests have been active in the Republic of Moldova, which led to the formation of central and regional political elites. Having returned to the legal field of the Republic of Moldova in 1994 with the status of autonomy, Gagauzia began to create public authorities, which led to the formation of a regional political elite.

The formation of the regional political elite of the Gagauzia ATO was influenced by both internal and external factors. Being part of the national political elite, the Gagauz regional elite, on the one hand, has features that bring it closer to the central political elite, and on the other hand, is characterized by the presence of specific features. Compared to the national elite, the regional elite of the Gagauzia ATO is more integrated, as it adheres to an internal consensus on the issue of foreign policy development and relations with central authorities.

In the second paragraph "*The effectiveness of the interaction of the ruling elites with the regional elite of the ATO Gagauzia*", the analysis of the relationship of the ruling elites in the Republic of Moldova with the regional elite of the ATO Gagauzia is carried out, the problems that hinder the achievement of consensus between them are identified.

The challenge for the ruling elite is the commitment of the Gagauz elite to the idea of Eurasian integration. While for the Moldovan political elite, the process of European integration is an absolute priority. The central government's expectation that Gagauzia would positively perceive Moldova's movement towards European integration was not justified, which was confirmed by the referendums organized by the Gagauz authorities in 2014.

Cooperation between the central government institutions and the Gagauzia ATO is based on the mechanisms enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic of Moldova and the Law on the Legal Status of Gagauzia of 1994. The current stage of development of Moldovan society requires further improvement, approval and differentiation of real powers between the center and autonomy. The most acute problems of the relationship between the central government and the anti-terrorist operation of Gagauzia are contradictions in legislation; representation of residents of the autonomy in the central authorities; infringement of the interests of Gagauzia in the formation of the budget; language problem. The existence of too general a legal framework contributes to the confrontation between the center and the autonomy on the issue of redistribution of powers. In order to achieve consensus, the political dialogue between the ruling elite and the regional elite of the autonomy should be aimed at harmonizing the legal framework, clarifying the status of the autonomy, specifying and distributing powers, as well as wider involvement of the residents of the autonomy in the political and economic life of the Republic of Moldova.

The effectiveness and efficiency of cooperation between the national and regional elite in the Republic of Moldova should not depend on which political camp the ruling political class belongs to. Naturally, given the coincidence of political positions, the chances of effective cooperation are much higher. But the mismatch of the ideological views of the authorities should in no way necessarily lead to tension in relations, since the common goal of both the national elite and the political elite of the Gagauzia ATO is the prosperity of the people of the Republic of Moldova.

The third paragraph "*National and regional political elite in the mirror of public opinion*" presents an analysis of interviews with representatives of the national political elite and the regional political elite of Gagauzia, as well as the results of sociological research aimed at identifying the attitude of the country's residents to the national and regional political elite, the level of citizens' trust in government institutions, politicians, their ability to solve existing economic, political, and social problems.

During the interviews, we found out what are the main problems of the national and regional elite, how constructive is the interaction of the ruling political elite with the political elite of the Gagauzia ATO, what changes can be expected in the configuration of the political elite in the coming years and what can contribute to improving the effectiveness of the interaction of the national and regional political elite in the Republic of Moldova.

The results of the study showed that representatives of the national and regional political elite believe that the process of formation of both elites is not completed. The disagreements mainly consist of the lack of common agreements on the issue of powers, foreign policy priorities, and the nature of interaction between the leaders of the national and regional elite, which is of a rival nature. Respondents see an increase in efficiency in the interaction of elites in a joint, constructive dialogue.

As the analysis of public opinion polls shows, the lack of constructive dialogue between political elites at the national and regional levels affects the level of trust of citizens in political institutions and political leaders. Therefore, an important task of both national and regional political elites is to implement the values of consensus at the level of the elite, the government, the opposition, which will contribute to achieving consensus at the level of society as a whole.

The final part of the work contains *conclusions* obtained from the analysis of national and regional political elites as actors of the political process, and *recommendations* for improving the effectiveness of interaction between the national and regional elites of the Republic of Moldova in the framework of modern political processes.

## **GENERAL CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

In the modern world, political elites are an important actor in political processes. Their dominant role in the modernization and democratization of society is due to the qualitative characteristics and functions that they perform in the concrete historical period of the development of society. The proclamation of the sovereignty and independence of the Republic of Moldova marked the beginning of the formation of the national political elite. But the socio-political transformations of the 90s of the twentieth century led to the division of the political elite of Moldova and the emergence of the regional elite of the Gagauzia ATO, which sought to implement its own political projects, different from the goals of the national elite.

As a result of the conducted research of the national and regional political elite as an actor of the political process, the following conclusions can be formulated:

1. The study of political elites has been going on for a long time and has received justification in the form of classical elitist theories proving that their role in political processes is paramount. But the subsequent rethinking of classical theories shows that in modern realities none of them can be considered exhaustive. It should be noted that some scientific developments, in particular, the aspect of recruiting the political elite, are currently mainly theoretical in nature and have a significant discrepancy with practice. This is due to the peculiarities of the political process, state policy, and an established system of traditions.

2. The category of regional elites is not fully represented from a scientific point of view, and in general this is a gap for political science. In the Republic of Moldova, the regional elite of the

Gagauzia ATO participates in the political decision-making process and has a significant influence on the course of the political process. For the Republic of Moldova, the phenomenon of regionalism, which is complex and diverse, is a fairly new phenomenon. The study of the experience of European states proves the fact that in the process of reforms related to regionalization and decentralization, their political and territorial structure acquires features uncharacteristic of unitary states. The models of regionalization in different countries have specific features; the choice of one or another model is largely determined by the history of territorial and political construction, specific political practice and institutional design. All models are more or less asymmetric, which implies the flexibility of relations between the center and the regions. The regionalization model cannot be linear and universal. The Republic of Moldova is no exception here, it should take into account the international experience of regionalization and find its own model that will correspond to its historical, geographical, social, economic and cultural conditions.

3. The goals and directions of modernization and democratic processes in the Eastern Partnership countries prove the uniqueness of the developed strategies for the development of relations based on the "center-regions" model. The interaction of national and regional political elites in those EAP countries where subnational formations have developed is determined by the peculiarities of historical, political, socio-economic and cultural development. The experience of the regional elites of Azerbaijan and Georgia is important for the Republic of Moldova, since they do not express separatist sentiments, carrying out their activities within the framework of a unitary state. The specifics of the creation and functioning of the Autonomous Territorial Entity of Gagauzia, necessitates the search for consensus between the national political elite and the regional political elite of the ATO Gagauzia of the Republic of Moldova.

The analysis of the place and role of national and regional political elites in the modernization and democratic processes in the Eastern Partnership countries shows that starting from the same starting conditions, they have achieved different results. Despite the emerging challenges, the political elites of the Associated Trio countries (Georgia, Moldova, Ukraine) are moving along the path of European integration, modernization and democratization of society. By implementing democratic and modernization transformations, the political elite of Armenia is trying to balance between the EU and the EAEU. In Azerbaijan and Belarus, the activities of the national elite are aimed at strengthening the presidential power and consolidating the authoritarian regime.

4. The conflictogenic nature of the interaction of national and regional political elites is characteristic not only for states with developing democracy. The analysis of a group of countries with developed democracies has shown that relations are often aggravated due to state policy pursued by the national elite, which does not take into account the interests of the regions. The regions, in turn, do not agree with the existing situation, claim an expanded range of powers. This leads to

conflict, both open and latent, but the situation as a whole has a destructive effect on the political, economic, and social stability of states. As practice shows, such conflicts can last for decades.

5. As a result of the analysis, it was revealed that the forms of interaction between the national and regional elite (autonomy, an independent state and an associated state) are also not perfect, because the agreements reached do not fully ensure a constructive dialogue for a long time. The experience of countries with developed democracies shows that various tools and mechanisms are possible to ensure the search and establishment of consensus between the national and regional elite. From the analysis of foreign experience, positive lessons can be learned in the field of building a constructive dialogue between the national and regional elite in order to apply them in the interaction of the national political elite and the regional political elite of the Gagauzia ATO in the Republic of Moldova.

6. The process of formation of the national political elite of the Republic of Moldova can be characterized as complex and contradictory, because it had to face a number of problems, both domestic and foreign policy. The main trends in the process of consolidation of the national elite were: the establishment of their own hardware leadership; the integration of elite and economic groups in order to convert power into ownership and vice versa; the formation of political and economic clans. The new ruling elite was characterized by a low level of professionalism, lack of strategic thinking, low efficiency of management activities, alienation of the elite from society.

The formation of the regional political elite of the Gagauzia ATO was influenced by both internal and external factors. Being part of the national political elite, the Gagauz regional elite, on the one hand, has features that bring it closer to the central political elite, and on the other hand, is characterized by the presence of specific features. Compared to the national elite, the regional elite of the Gagauzia ATO is more integrated, adhering to the internal consensus on the issue of foreign policy development and relations with the central authorities.

7. For three decades, the national elite has been experiencing a split along the line of the "European model – Eurasian vector", which has led to the lack of effective institutional cooperation between political actors regarding priorities and strategic actions for the development of society. This indicates a lack of consensus between its segments, which makes it possible to assess the national political elite as fragmented and disintegrated.

The peculiarity of the national political elite of the Republic of Moldova is its coalition nature, which acts as a kind of mechanism for interaction with political actors. In total, 12 ruling coalitions were formed in the period 1994-2021. The experience of democratic governance has confirmed the thesis that a ruling coalition consisting of two or more political formations has more advantages than an alliance with the participation of all parties/parliamentary factions. The life cycle of the ruling coalitions, with the exception of the coalition of the parliamentary and government majority (2016-

2019), was no more than two years. Internal divisions have often been the cause of the change of configuration of coalitions in the period from 2009 to 2019, however, the foreign policy priorities have remained unchanged.

8. Cooperation between the central political elite and the regional elite of the Gagauzia ATO is based on the mechanisms enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic of Moldova, the Law on the Legal Status of Gagauzia of 1994, etc. The analysis of the political relations that have developed between the central and regional authorities shows that the institutionalization of Gagauz autonomy was a complex process, including from the point of view of establishing cooperation between the central and regional authorities, the national political elite and the regional elite of the Gagauzia ATO. Granting the status of autonomy to the Gagauz region was the initial stage of creating organizational and legal conditions for establishing center-region relations. Despite the fact that the relations between the central and regional authorities were continuous, it cannot be said that they developed exclusively in a constructive manner. The broadly formulated institutional and legal framework has given rise to a confrontation between the center and the autonomy on the issue of the distribution of powers. In this context, it is very important that the position of the region coincides with the position of the central government on the future of the country.

9. Based on interviews conducted with representatives of the national and regional political elite of the Gagauzia ATO, as well as analysis of the results of the study of public opinion of the country, it can be concluded that the lack of consensus between the elites is reflected in the public opinion of the Moldovan population, especially in the issue of the country's geopolitical development. The lack of constructive dialogue between political elites affects the level of trust of citizens in political institutions and political leaders. Therefore, it is important to implement the values of consensus at the level of the elite, the government, the opposition, which will contribute to achieving consensus at the level of society as a whole.

*An important scientific problem* solved in the dissertation work is the development of the conceptual basis for the study of the national and regional political elite as actors of the political process and its applied aspect, which made it possible to identify the peculiarities of the relationship between the national and regional elite of the Gagauzia ATO in the Republic of Moldova. This contributed to the development of practical recommendations for achieving consensus interaction between the national and regional political elite in the Republic of Moldova, with a view to their subsequent use by state institutions involved in the process of making and implementing political decisions at the national and regional levels.

- To create an expert group of political scientists, economists, historians, sociologists, whose task will be to analyze all the precedents of interaction between the national and regional elite in the

international arena to develop a new, unique model suitable for the Republic of Moldova in the context of building a constructive dialogue with the regional elite of the Gagauzia ATO.

- To develop strict criteria in the process of recruiting elites: firstly, only candidates with professional political science, economic, sociological, historical education, as well as specialists in the field of public and municipal administration can participate; secondly, exclusively on a competitive basis, as a result of gaining a large number of points; thirdly, to eradicate the principle of "nepotism"; fourthly, the presence of constructive opposition; fifthly, based on the experience of constructive intra-national interaction of representatives of the political elite, to demonstrate to society a high degree of tolerance, consolidation, objectivity in the process of making political decisions.

- The relations of the ruling elite of the Republic of Moldova with the representatives of the regional elite of the ATO of Gagauzia should be carried out within the framework of the adopted legislative acts, which today require clarification. Multi-vector priorities in foreign policy should not aggravate the relationship between the national and regional political elite.

- For more effective interaction of the elites, it is necessary to revise the existing adopted regulatory and legislative acts for compliance with modern domestic political conditions.

- In the theoretical aspect, based on the analysis of the characteristics of national and regional political elites, it is necessary to develop new approaches that correspond to the modern reality of the Republic of Moldova. This is possible with participation in joint projects with researchers from foreign countries, discussion of this problem within the framework of scientific and practical conferences, round tables. The publication of the results of such discussions will help inform interested representatives of both the political elite and civil society.

- Taking into account the specifics of the political process in the Republic of Moldova, analyze and define the essence of the concept of "regional elite", distinctive characteristics, methods of recruitment, the degree of participation in the political process. This can be done using such methods as SWOT analysis, expert evaluation method, cluster and factor analysis, hierarchy analysis method. Among students of higher educational institutions of the profile direction for the study of problems related to the national and regional elite, it is possible to use the method of "brainstorming" at seminars, to include in the list of topics of diploma, master's and doctoral works.

Thus, as the conducted research has shown, despite the sufficient level of study of the political elite of the Republic of Moldova by the scientific community, it is necessary to continue analyzing the problem of interaction between the national political elite and the regional elite of Gagauzia as actors of modern political processes, using modern methodology and taking into account the prevailing realities. The implementation of the practical recommendations will contribute to the

establishment of dialogue and partnership between the ruling and regional elites, civil peace and political stability in the Republic of Moldova.



## Bibliography

1. BERBECA, V. Importanța detensionării situației din Regiunea Gagauzia pentru securitatea Republicii Moldova. În: *Moldoscopia* (Probleme de analiză politică). 2015, nr. 2, pp. 53-61. ISSN 1812-2566.
2. BRUCAN, S. Stâlpii noii puterii în România. Bucharest: Nemira, 1996. 150 p. ISBN 973-569-168-8.
3. CERNENCU, M., BOȚAN, I. Evoluția pluripartitismului pe teritoriul Republicii Moldova. Chișinău: Arc, 2009. 164 p. ISBN 978-9975-61-529-7.
4. CHEDIA, B. The Georgian Political Elite: Main Trends of its Circulation. In: *Central Asia and Caucasus*. 2015, Vol. 16, Issue 3-4, pp. 42-49.
5. CHUABERASHVILI, Z., TEVZADZE, G. Power Elites in Georgia: Old and New, In: *From revolution to reform: Georgia's struggle with democratic institution building and security sector reform*, 2005, p.187-207.
6. COLAȚCHI, A. Cooperarea dintre putere și opoziție – factor de consolidarea a democrației în Moldova. În: *Moldoscopia* (Probleme de analiză politică). 2012, nr. 2, pp. 82-92. ISSN 1812-2566.
7. COLLER, X. Fragmented Identities and Political Conflict. Failed Nationalisms in a Multinational State: The Case of Valencia in Spain. In: *Pôle Sud*. 2006, nr. 25, pp. 107-136. ISSN 1960-6656.
8. COTOI, C. Regionalism și regionalizare. O perspectivă critică asupra problemei «Transilvane». În: *Geopolitica*. 2004, nr. 1 (3), pp. 79-91.
9. DOMHOFF, G.W. *Who rules America?* Englewood cliffs. New York: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1967. 184 p. ISBN 0139583637 9780139583636.
10. ERGUN, A. Post-Soviet Political Transformation in Azerbaijan: Political Elite, Civil Society and the Trials of Democratization. In: *Uluslararası İlişkiler*. 2010, Vol. 7, nr. 26, pp. 67-85.
11. GABANYI, A. U. Noua elita a afacerilor: De la nomenclatura la oligarhie. În: *Revista 22* [online]. 2007, nr. 915 [citat 10.08.2020]. Disponibil: <https://revista22.ro/opinii/anneli-ute-gabanyi/noua-elita-a-afacerilor-de-la-nomenclatura-la-oligarhie-i>
12. GULIYEV, F. Political Elites in Azerbaijan. In Andreas Heinrich and Heiko Pleines (eds.) *Challenges of the Caspian Resource Boom. Domestic Elites and Policy-Making*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, pp. 117-130.
13. KELLER, S. *Beyond the ruling class. Strategic elites in modern society*. NY.: RandomHause, 1963. 327 p.
14. MARGARINT, A., CUJBA, V. Tendințele de dezvoltare a elitei politică a Republicii Moldova și creșterea capacității ei de funcționare. În: *Moldoscopia* (Probleme de analiză politică). 2001, nr. 2, pp. 50-62. ISSN 1812-2566.
15. MIESEL, J. H. *The Myth of the Ruling Class: Gaetano Mosca and The Elite*. Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan press, 1958. 432 p.
16. MIRONOVA, S. Relațiile politice ale Unității teritoriale autonome Găgăuzia (Gagauz Yeri) cu autoritățile centrale ale Republicii Moldova. *Autoreferatul tezei de doctor*, Chișinău: CEP USM, 2011, 25 p.
17. MOSNEAGA, V., NICOLAEV, I., BUCATARU, I. Interacțiunea dintre puterea politică și opoziție în contextul transformărilor democratice: dimensiuni teoretico-metodologice. In: *Moldoscopia* (Probleme de analiză politică). 2013, nr. 2, pp. 139-147. ISSN 1812-2566.
18. MUNGIU, A. *Românii după - 89: istoria unei neînțelegeri*. Bucharest: Humanitas, 1995. 325 p. ISBN 9732805668.
19. MUNTEAN, I. *Dezvoltări regionale în Republica Moldova*. Chișinău: Cartier, 2000. 264 p.
20. O'BROHTA, W. Regional autonomy in rich regions: evidence from Ajara, Georgia. In: *Caucasus Survey*. 2017, nr. 6 (5), pp. 1-24.
21. OSOIANU, I. *Federalizarea sau regionalizare? Experiența europeană, perspectivele Republicii Moldova*. Chișinău: IPP, 2003. 50 p.

22. PALLAVER, G. South Tyrol's Consociational Democracy: between Political Claim and Social Reality In: *Tolerance through Law: Self Governance and Group Rights in South Tyrol*. Boston : Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2007. 420 p. ISBN-10: 9004163026.
23. PASTI, V. *România în tranziție. Căderea în viitor*. București: Nemira, 1995. 331 p. ISBN 9735691302, 9789735691301.
24. PETROVICI, N. Relații de putere în cadrul elitei politice românești la sfârșitul anilor '80 și începutul anilor '90. In: *Sociologie românească*. București. 2006, Vol. 4, nr. 1, pp. 119-145. ISSN 1220-5389.
25. PRINA, F. Shrinking autonomy for Tatarstan and Gagauzia: the perils of flexible institutional design. In: Nicolini, M., Palermo, F. and Milano, E. eds. *Law, Territory, and Conflict Resolution: Law as a Problem and Law as a Solution* [online] Brill: Leiden, 2016, pp. 244-269 [citat 18.06.2020]. ISBN 9789004311282. Disponibil: <http://eprints.gla.ac.uk/108097/>
26. PROTSYK, O. Gagauz autonomy in Moldova: the real and the virtual in post-Soviet state design. In: *Asymmetric Autonomy as a tool of Ethnic Conflict Settlement* [online]. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2010, pp. 231-251 [citat 11.11.2020]. ISBN 978-0-8122-0575-6. Disponibil: <http://www.policy.hu/protsyk/Publications/ProtsykGagAutonomy09fx.pdf>
27. PUTINĂ, N. Autonomia găgăuză în structura de stat a Republicii Moldova. În: *Științe Politice, Relații Internaționale și Studii de securitate*. Conferință Internațională. 2012, Vol. I, Sibiu, pp. 73-82. ISBN 078-606-12-03442-0.
28. PUTNAM, R. *The Comparative Study of Political Elites*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc, 1976. 260 p. ISBN 0131541951 9780131541955
29. RĂDULESCU, M. S. *Elita liberala românească 1866–1900*. București: Editura All, 1998. 300 p. ISBN 973-9392-93-8.
30. RIESMAN, D. *The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character*. USA: Yale University Press, 2001, 364 p. ISBN: 0-300-00193-2
31. RUSANDU, I., ARSENI, A. Opoziția politică în Republica Moldova: dimensiuni politico-juridice. În: *Revista de Filozofie, Sociologie și Științe Politice*. 2018, nr. 3, pp. 139-147. ISSN 1857-2294.
32. SACA, V. Transformări politico-partinice în dimensiuni de sistem: reflecții asupra societății moldovenești. În: *Moldoscopie (Probleme de analiză politică)*. 2004, nr. 2, pp. 95-107. ISSN 1812-2566.
33. TÂNASE, S. *Revoluție ca eșec. Elite și societate*. București: Humanitas, 2006. 234 p. ISBN 973-50-1390-8.
34. TRONCONI, F. Sub-national political elites. In: *The Palgrave Handbook of Political Elites*, edited by H. Best and J. Higley [online]. 2017. ISBN 978-1-137-51903-0 [citat 16.05.2020]. Disponibil: [https://www.academia.edu/34426106/Sub\\_national\\_political\\_elites](https://www.academia.edu/34426106/Sub_national_political_elites)
35. TUDOR, M., GAVRILESCU, A. *Democrația la pachet. Elita politică în România post-comunistă*. București: Compania, 2002. 358 p. ISBN 9738119499.
36. VARZARI, P. Considerente privind evoluția statului Republica Moldova. În: *Moldoscopie (Probleme de analiză politică)*. 2018, nr. 1, pp. 150-167. ISSN 1812-2566.
37. VARZARI, P. Construcțiile politice postelectorale de guvernare și conotațiile lor în Republica Moldova. În: *Știința în Nordul Republicii Moldova: realizări, probleme, perspective*, conferința națională cu participare internațională: RapoarteEd. 3-a, 21-22 iun. 2019. Bălți: Institutul de Cercetări Juridice, Politice și Sociologice, 2019, 494 p. ISBN 978-9975-3316-1-6.
38. VARZARI, P. Elita politică și birocrăția în contextul realizării reformelor democratice (cazul Republicii Moldova). Chișinău: Pontos, 2013, 366 p. ISBN 978-9975-51-447-7.
39. VARZARI, P. Elitele politice din Republica Moldova pe calea modernizării: Studiu enciclopedic / resp. de ed.: V. Juc, C. Manolache. Chișinău: Biblioteca Științifică Centrală a AȘM, 2015, 480 p. ISBN 978-9975-3073-0-7.
40. АФАНАСЬЕВ, М. Н. *Правящие элиты и государственность посттоталитарной России*. Москва; Воронеж: НПО «МОДЭК», 1996. 223 с. ISBN 5-89395-005-4.

41. АШИН, Г. К. Элитология в системе общественных наук. В: Общественные науки и современность. 2003, № 4, с. 124 -131. ISSN 0869-0499.
42. БАРАНОВ, А. В. Взаимодействие акторов региональных политических процессов в постсоветской России. Москва: Социально-политическая мысль, 2007. 191 с. ISBN 978-5-902168-94-2.
43. БОЦАН, И. Выборы в Автономном территориальном образовании Гагаузии. В: Молдова между Востоком и Западом: взгляд из Гагаузии и Тараклии: исследование Института Общественных Политик. Кишинев: Институт Общественных Политик, 2016. 134 с.
44. ГАМАН-ГОЛУТВИНА, О. В. Процессы современного элитогенеза: мировой и отечественный опыт. Часть I. В: Полис. Политические исследования. 2008, № 6, с. 67-85. ISSN 1026-9487.
45. ГЕЛЬМАН, В. Я. Россия регионов: трансформация политических режимов /под ред. В. Я. Гельман, С. И. Рыженков, М. Бри. Москва: Весь мир, 2000. 376 с.
46. ДЖАФАРЛИ, Э. Конституционно-правовые и политические основы Нахчыванской автономии. В: International and Practical Conference «World Science». 2017, Vol. 3, № 8 (24), с. 35-40.
47. Закон об особом правовом статусе Гагаузии (Гагауз Ери): № 344 от 23.12.1994. В: Monitorul Oficial al Republicii Moldova, 1995, nr. 3-4.
48. КОЛЕСНИК, Н. В. Исследование региональной элиты в России: история вопроса и эмпирические опыты. В: Управленческое консультирование. 2012, №3, с. 56-70. ISSN 1726-1139.
49. Конституция Республики Молдова: от 29.07.1994. В: Monitorul Oficial al Republicii Moldova, 2016, nr. 78.
50. КРЫШТАНОВСКАЯ, О. Анатомия российской элиты. Москва:Захаров, 2005. 384 с. ISBN 5-8159-0457-0.
51. КУЙЖУКЛУ, Е. Автономия Гагауз-Ери: функционирование в контексте реализации статуса. В: Moldoscopie (Probleme de analiză politică). 2015, № 2, с. 7-33. ISSN 1812-2566.
52. ЛАПИНА, Н. Ю., ЧИРИКОВА, А. Е. Региональные элиты в РФ: модели поведения и политические ориентации. Москва: Институт научной информации по общественным наукам РАН, 1999. 192 с. ISBN 5-248-00236-2.
53. МАГОМЕДОВ, А. Мистерия регионализма. Региональные правящие элиты и региональные идеологии в современной России: модели политического воссоздания снизу. Москва: Московский общественный научный фонд Москва, 2000. 240 с. ISBN 9-7859-3101-067-0.
54. МОСКА, Г. Правящий класс В: Социс. 1994, № 10, с. 187-197. ISSN 0132-1625.
55. ПАРЕТО, В. Трактат по общей социологии. В: Антология мировой политической мысли. Т. 2: Зарубежная политическая мысль, XX в. / ред.-сост. Г. К. Ашин, Е. Г. Морозова. Москва: Мысль, 1997. 830 с. ISBN 5-244-00868-4.
56. ПЛЯЙС, Я. А. Политическая элита России: тенденции развития и современные особенности: Аналитический обзор. Ростов на Дону: СКАГС, 2004. 52 с.
57. Региональные партии и их эволюция в Республике Молдова. Комрат, 2018. 61 с.
58. РУДНИЦКАЯ, А. П., ГЛИННИК, Ю. А. Процессы регионализации в странах Европейского Союза: вызовы и тенденции. В: PolitBook. 2016, № 1, с. 92-107.
59. САЛАМОН, Э. Выборы о независимости Шотландии. В: IPG Международная политика и общество [online] 5 мая 2021 [citat 23.10.2021]. Disponibil: <https://www.ipg-journal.io/regiony/evropa/vybory-o-nezavisimosti-shotlandii-1291>
60. САРТОРИ, Дж. Вертикальная демократия. В: Полис. 1993, № 2, с. 80-89. ISSN 1026-9487.

61. СМИЩЕНКО, Р. Регионализм и модели регионализации в сравнительной перспективе. В: Известия Алтайского государственного университета, 2011, № 4-2 (72), с. 34-38.
62. СТЕРКУЛ, Н. Об особенностях европейской политики в странах Восточного партнерства: процессы модернизации и реформ. В: Moldosporie (Probleme de analiză politică). 2018, № 4 (LXXXIII), с.199-209. ISSN 1812-2566.
63. УБИЛАВА, И. Д. Политическая элита Грузии и механизмы ее формирования. В: PolitBook. 2018, № 1, с. 128-149.
64. ЦВЯТКОВ, Н. Голос Гагаузии. Гагаузская автономия глазами её жителей. Кишинев: IntellectGroup, 2015. 102 с. ISBN 978-9975-3071-0-9.

## **List of publications on the topic of the dissertation**

### **Articles in scientific journals**

1. ТАЛМАЗАН Л. Particularități de recrutare a elitei politice din Republica Moldova. В: Moldoscopie (Probleme de analiză politică) №1 (LXXXIV). Chisinau, 2019, p. 95-103. ISSN 1812-2566
2. ТАЛМАЗАН Л. Теоретические подходы к исследованию моделей поведения политической элиты. В: Moldoscopie, 2020, nr. 4 (91). Chisinau, 2020. P. 104-112. ISSN 1812-2566
3. ТАЛМАЗАН Л. Этапы формирования национальной политической элиты Республики Молдова в период с 1990–2020 гг. В: Studia Universitatis Moldaviae. Seria «Științe sociale». 2022, № 3 (153), с. 221-229. ISSN 1814-3199.
4. ТАЛМАЗАН, Л. Место и роль национальной и региональной политической элиты в демократическом и модернизационном процессах в странах Восточного Партнерства. В: Studia Universitatis Moldaviae. Seria «Științe sociale». 2022, № 8 (158), с. 258-269. ISSN 1814-3199.
5. ТАЛМАЗАН Л. Переговорный процесс урегулирования приднестровского конфликта: взаимодействие национальной и региональной элиты. В: Интернаука: электрон. научн. журн. 2023. № 8(278). С. 36-41. ISSN 2687-0142

### **Articles in conference materials**

1. ТАЛМАЗАН Л. Роль политической элиты в управлении социальными проектами. Intergrare prin ceretare si inovare. În: Partietrare international 9-10 noiembrie 2017. Conferința științifică națională. Chisinau, 2017. P. 336-339. ISBN 978-9975-71-701-4.
2. ТАЛМАЗАН Л. Взаимодействие региональных и национальных политических элит: европейский опыт. В: Провинциальное в современном социокультурном пространстве: сб. статей по материалам Международной научно-практич. конференции. Орловский государственный университет. Орел. 2019. С. 53-73. ISBN 978-5-9929-0680-6.
3. ТАЛМАЗАН Л., ТУРКО Т. Специфика формирования региональной политической элиты в Республике Молдова. În: Conferința Științifică Internațională "Știința politică și administrativă: provocări globale, soluții locale" Manifestare dedicată celei de-a 25-a aniversări a Facultății Relații Internaționale, Științe Politice și Administrative, Chișinău, 13 noiembrie 2020. ISBN: 978-9975-3459-7-2
4. ТАЛМАЗАН Л. British Experience of Interaction between National and Regional Elites. In: The International Scientific Conference: Business Management, Economics and Social Sciences. Nuremberg, Germany, 25 December 2021. P. 123-129.

## АННОТАЦИЯ

**Талмазан Лариса, «Национальная и региональная политическая элита как актор политического процесса», диссертация на соискание ученой степени доктора политических наук, Кишинэу, 2023**

**Структура диссертации:** Работа состоит из введения, трех глав, общих выводов и рекомендаций, библиографии из 315 источников, 8 приложений, 140 страницы основного текста, 6 таблиц, 2 диаграмм.

**Ключевые слова:** политическая элита, национальная элита, региональная элита, взаимодействие национальной и региональной политической элиты, актор, политический процесс, общественное мнение.

**Цель исследования:** провести комплексный анализ национальных и региональных политических элит как актора политического процесса.

**Задачи исследования:** анализ историографических и теоретико-методологических основ исследования национальных и региональных политических элит как актора политического процесса; обобщение опыта взаимодействия национальных и региональных политических элит в странах развитой демократии и в странах Восточного Партнерства и возможностью его применения во взаимоотношениях национальной и региональной элиты АТО Гагаузии в РМ; исследование процесса формирования и взаимодействия национальной политической элиты и региональной политической элиты АТО Гагаузия в Республике Молдова; выработка рекомендаций по повышению эффективности взаимодействия национальной политической элиты и региональной политической элиты АТО Гагаузия в РМ.

**Научная новизна и оригинальность работы:** проведен комплексный анализ взаимоотношений национальной и региональной элиты в Республике Молдова; сформулировано авторское определение понятия «национальная элита» и «региональная элита»; проанализирован зарубежный опыт взаимодействия национальных и региональных политических элит в странах развитой демократии и странах Восточного Партнерства; конкретизированы этапы развития национальной политической элиты и этапы сотрудничества между национальной элитой и региональной элитой АТО Гагаузия в РМ; продемонстрирована необходимость достижения консенсусного взаимодействия между национальной и региональной элитами в Республике Молдова.

**Решённая научная проблема** заключается в развитии концептуальной основы исследования национальной и региональной политической элиты как акторов политического процесса, что способствовало выработке практических рекомендаций по достижению консенсусного взаимодействия между национальной элитой и региональной элитой АТО Гагаузия в РМ, с целью их последующего использования государственными институтами, участвующими в реализации политических решений.

**Теоретическая ценность:** реализован авторский подход к исследованию категорий «национальная элита» и «региональная элита» в контексте их взаимодействия в политическом процессе; проведен комплексный анализ политических элит Республики Молдова на современном этапе, что может быть использовано для дальнейшего исследования молдавского политического процесса.

**Прикладная ценность:** Результаты исследования представляют интерес для ученых, исследователей, экспертов в области политологии, социологии, элитологии и других общественных науках, занимающихся изучением базовых вопросов, касающихся функционирования и взаимодействия элит национального и регионального уровня.

**Внедрение результатов исследования.** Результаты данного исследования нашли свое отражение в 9 научных статьях, которые были опубликованы в специализированных изданиях в Республике Молдова и за рубежом, представлены на 4 национальных и международных научных конференциях.

## ADNOTARE

**Talmazan Larisa, «Elita politică națională și regională ca actor al procesului politic», teza de doctor în științe politice, Chișinău, 2023**

**Structura tezei:** Lucrarea constă din introducere, trei capitole, concluzii generale și recomandări, bibliografie din 315 titluri, 8 anexe, 140 de pagini de text de bază, 6 tabele, 2 diagrame.

**Cuvinte-cheie:** elită politică, elită națională, elită regională, interacțiunea elitei politice naționale și regionale, actor, proces politic, opinie publică.

**Scopul cercetării:** analiza complexă a elitei politice naționale și regionale ca actor al procesului politic.

**Obiectivele cercetării:** analiza bazelor istoriografice și teoretico-metodologice ale cercetării elitei politice naționale și regionale ca actor al procesului politic; sintetizarea experienței internaționale de interacțiune între elitele politice naționale și regionale în țările cu o democrație dezvoltată și în țările Parteneriatului Estic și posibilitatea aplicării acestora în procesul de interacțiune dintre elita națională și elita regională a UTA Găgăuzia din Republica Moldova; cercetarea procesului de formare și de dezvoltare a elitei politice naționale și a elitei politice regionale a UTA Gagauzia din Republica Moldova, relevarea particularităților de interacțiune a lor; formularea recomandărilor pentru ameliorarea eficienței interacțiunii dintre elita politică națională și elita politică regională a UTA Găgăuzia din Republica Moldova.

**Noutatea științifică și originalitatea temei:** au fost supuse unei analize complexe raporturile reciproce ale elitei naționale și regionale din Republica Moldova în perioada 1991-2020; a fost formulată de autor definiția noțiunii de «elită națională» și «elită regională»; a fost analizată experiența străinăde interacțiune a elitei politice naționale și regionale în țările cu democrație dezvoltată și în țările Parteneriatului Estic; au fost precizate etapele de dezvoltare a elitei politice naționale și etapele de cooperare între elita națională și elita regională a UTA Gagauzia în RM; s-a demonstrat necesitatea atingerii unei interacțiuni consensuale dintre elita națională și regională în Republica Moldova.

**Soluționarea problemei științifice** constă în elaborarea bazei conceptuale de cercetare a elitei politice naționale și regionale ca actor al procesului politic, ceea ce a contribuit la elaborarea recomandărilor practice, pentru obținerea unei interacțiuni consensuale între elita națională și elita regională a UTA Gagauzia, cu scopul folosirii lor ulterioare de către institutele de stat, care participă la realizarea deciziilor politice la nivel național și regional.

**Semnificația teoretică:** a fost aplicată abordarea autorului în studiul categoriilor «elită națională» și «elită regională» în contextul interacțiunii lor în procesul politic; a fost efectuată o analiză complexă a elitei politice a Republicii Moldova la etapa contemporană ce poate fi aplicată pentru cercetarea ulterioară a procesului politic moldovenesc.

**Valoarea aplicativă:** Rezultatele cercetării prezintă un interes pentru savanți, cercetători, experți în domeniul politologiei, sociologiei, etiologiei și altor științe sociale, care se ocupă de studierea problemelor de bază, ce țin de funcționarea și interacțiunea elitei la nivel național și regional.

**Implementarea rezultatelor științifice.** Rezultatele cercetării date și-au găsit reflectare în 9 articole științifice, care au fost publicate în reviste specializate și culegeri de articole, publicate în Republica Moldova și peste hotare, au fost prezentate la 4 conferințe științifice naționale și internaționale.

## ANNOTATION

**Talmazan Larisa. «National and regional political elite as an actor of the political process»,  
Thesis for the doctorate degree in Political Sciences, Chisinau, 2023**

**The structure of the dissertation:** The work consists of an introduction, three chapters, general conclusions and recommendations; a bibliography comprising 315 sources; 8 annexes; 140 pages of main text, 6 tables and 2 diagrams.

**Keywords:** political elite, national elite, regional elite, interaction of national and regional political elite, actor, political process, public opinion.

**The purpose of the study:** a comprehensive analysis of national and regional political elites as an actor of the political process.

**Research objectives:** analysis of the historiographic as well as theoretical and methodological foundations of the study of national and regional political elites as an actor of the political process; generalization of the experience of interaction between national and regional political elites in the countries of developed democracy and in the countries of the Eastern Partnership and the possibility of its application in the relationship between the national elite and the regional elite of the ATU Gagauzia in the Republic of Moldova; study of the process of formation and interaction of the national political elite and the regional political elite of the ATU Gagauzia in the Republic of Moldova; development of recommendations to improve the effectiveness of interaction between the national political elite and the regional political elite of the ATU Gagauzia in the Republic of Moldova.

**Scientific novelty and originality of the work:** a comprehensive analysis of the relationship between the national and regional elite in the Republic of Moldova in the period 1991-2020 was carried out; the author's definition of the concept of "national elite" and "regional elite" was formulated; the foreign experience of interaction between national and regional political elites in developed democracies and the Eastern Partnership countries was analyzed; the need to achieve consensus interaction between national and regional elites in the Republic of Moldova was demonstrated.

**Resolved scientific problem** consists in the development of a conceptual framework for the study of the national and regional political elite as actors of the political process, which contributed to the development of practical recommendations for achieving consensus interaction between the national and regional elites in the Republic of Moldova, with a view to their subsequent use by state institutions involved in the implementation of political decisions at the national and regional levels.

**Theoretical value:** the author's approach to the study of the categories "national elite" and "regional elite" in the context of their interaction in the political process is implemented; a comprehensive analysis of the political elites of the Republic of Moldova at the present stage is carried out, which can be used for further research of the Moldovan political process.

**Applied value:** The results of the study are of interest to scientists, researchers, experts in the field of political science, sociology, elitology and other social sciences engaged in the study of basic issues related to the functioning and interaction of elites at the national and regional levels.

**Implementation of research results.** The results of this study are reflected in 9 scientific articles published in specialized journals and collections of articles, issued in the Republic of Moldova and abroad, presented at 4 national and international scientific conferences.



**UNIVERSITATEA DE STAT DIN MOLDOVA**  
**ȘCOALA DOCTORALĂ ȘTIINȚE SOCIALE ȘI ALE EDUCAȚIEI**

**Cu titlu de manuscris**  
**C.Z.U.: 329.39:32.019.5(478)(043)**

**TALMAZAN LARISA**

**ELITA POLITICĂ NAȚIONALĂ ȘI REGIONALĂ CA ACTOR AL PROCESULUI**  
**POLITIC**

**Specialitatea 561.01 – Teoria, metodologia politologiei;**  
**instituții și procese politice**  
**(în limba rusă)**

**Autoreferatul tezei de doctor în științe politice**

**Chișinău, 2023**

**TALMAZAN Larisa**

**Elita politică națională și regională ca actor al procesului politic**

**Specialitatea 561.01 – Teoria, metodologia politologiei;  
instituții și procese politice**

Rezumatul tezei de doctor în științe politice

---

**Aprobat spre tipar: 03.04.2023**  
**Hârtie ofset. Tipar ofset.**  
**Coli de tipar**

**Formatul hârtiei 60x84 1/16**  
**Tiraj 40 ex.**  
**Comanda nr.**

---

**Centrul Editoarial-Poligrafic al USM**  
**Str. A. Mateevici, 60. Chișinău. MD-2009**