

manuscript copyright



Galitskaya Kristina Alexandrovna

MODELS OF LEGITIMATION OF THE POWER OF THE PRESIDENT OF
THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION: FEATURES AND TRANSFORMATION IN
THE PERIOD FROM 2000 TO 2020

Specialty 23.00.02 –
political institutions, processes and technologies

Annotation
to the degree thesis for
Candidate of Political Sciences

Thesis Supervisor:
Startsev Ya.Yu.
Candidate of Political Science,
Associate Professor

Ekaterinburg – 2021

Relevance of the research topic. The legitimacy of the government is the basis for the stable existence of the state and the foundation for its development. Despite the fact that one of the distinguishing features of the state is the presence of a coercive apparatus, in the end it is the agreement between the government and the people that is the constant of the stability of state power.

The problem of the legitimacy of power is directly related to the relationship between the state and society. At the same time, regardless of the form of government – be it a monarchy or a republic – public consent and support for the government through recognition of its legitimacy are an integral part of state institutions. Therefore, the issue of legitimacy has been the subject of scientific interest of researchers for many centuries.

The thesis of legitimacy as the basis of stable and harmonious development of the state is no less relevant in our time: since a state with a low level of legitimacy of power is a state torn by contradictions between the government and society, between the people and the elites, as well as within the elites themselves. In such conditions, stable development of the state, improvement of the welfare of citizens, improvement of living standards, harmonious development of state institutions and civil society is impossible. A Government with a low level of legitimacy has limited opportunities to pursue a targeted long-term policy.

The main task that the authorities are forced to solve in such conditions is to preserve the state itself, take measures to prevent violations of territorial integrity and even civil war. The solution of socio-economic problems recedes into the background, which further aggravates the situation and closes the circle. Therefore, getting out of the process of delegitimation of power when reaching a critically low level of legitimacy turns out to be difficult for both the government and society, and most often ends in deep social upheavals, economic crises, and civil wars.

In Russia, a similar critical situation was formed in the mid-1990s after a sharp drop in the level of legitimacy of Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

In the conditions of the dominance of the head of state in the political system, the question of the level of his personal legitimacy is crucial for the stable and

effective functioning of all institutions of state power and the political system as a whole. Therefore, in such states, the process of legitimization the power of the president is of particular importance. And both the stability of the political system and the harmony of relations between society and the state depend on how successful this process will be, not only during election campaigns, but also during daily work aimed at interacting with society.

In this connection, the relevance is also due to the need to identify the models used to legitimization the power of the President of the Russian Federation, with the subsequent analysis of their conceptual and semantic transformation.

With all the variety of typologies of legitimacy in the scientific literature, the question of the functioning of models of legitimization of power and the patterns of their transformation is not sufficiently disclosed. The sustainable activity of the state in modern conditions requires a combination of several types of legitimacy underlying it, one of which will always be dominant, the others – auxiliary. Therefore, there are certain combinations of types of legitimacy. These combinations essentially represent the basis of legitimization models.

Identification of the legitimization models used by the authorities will make it possible to assess their effectiveness, structure the legitimization process, and predict the transformation of the legitimization model for a short-term period (in conditions of economic crisis and difficult sanitary and epidemiological situation) and a medium-term period.

The purpose of the research is to identify the models of legitimization of the power of the President of the Russian Federation, which operated from 2000 to 2020, and to identify their features.

In accordance with the above purpose, the following tasks were set and solved in the dissertation:

1. To reveal the essence of the process of legitimization of power, to determine the main components of this process (ways, technologies and tools of legitimization of power), to establish their relationship.

2. To establish the influence of the political culture operating in society on the process of legitimation of power.

3. To identify possible models of legitimation of state power on the basis of systematization of the concepts of legitimacy of power.

4. To identify the main features of the process of legitimation the power of the president in the conditions of his dominance in the political system.

5. Based on the analysis of empirical data characterizing the process of legitimation of the power of the President of the Russian Federation, identify the models of legitimation of his power that operated from 2000 to 2020.

6. To fix the key events, actions, statements that determined the conceptual and semantic transformation of the models of legitimation of the power of the President of the Russian Federation.

7. To characterize each of the highlighted models of the legitimation of the power of the President of the Russian Federation, to establish its effectiveness (to determine whether it is legitimation or delegitimation).

The object of the research is the process of legitimation the power of the president.

The subject of the research is the models of legitimation of the power of the President of the Russian Federation aimed at the formation of mass loyalty.

Theoretical and methodological basis of the thesis research.

The theoretical and methodological basis of the dissertation was the works of domestic and foreign scientists investigating the problems of power, legitimacy, political system, political culture, political leadership, presidentialism and personalization of power.

The theoretical part of the study is based on classical theories of the legitimacy of power (M. Weber, D. Easton, D. Held, S.M. Lipset, D. Beetham). The methodological basis of the study is the work of L. Holmes, devoted to the classification of ways of legitimation of power.

During the analysis of the process of legitimation and establishing the connection between the components of this process (ways, technologies and tools of

legitimation), a systematic approach was used. In order to determine possible models of legitimation of power, typologization and modeling methods were used, as well as a systematic approach interpreted by D. Easton. When analyzing the influence of political culture on the process of legitimation of power, an axiological approach was used based on the research of G. Almond and S. Verba.

The main method of research is the method of qualitative content analysis. The use of this method allowed us to determine the ways of legitimation used by the authorities. In turn, the use of methods of statistical data analysis, secondary data analysis (data from sociological surveys of the All-Russian Public Opinion Research Center, the Public Opinion Foundation, the Levada Center, as well as data from qualitative sociological research) and analysis of electoral statistics allowed to reveal the features of the process of legitimation of power by society. As a result, the models of legitimation of the power of the President of the Russian Federation were identified. When comparing the models of legitimation of the power of the President of the Russian Federation, as well as the reasons for their transformation, a comparative method was used.

The empirical basis of the thesis research.

The empirical study was conducted in order to identify the models of legitimation of the power of the President of the Russian Federation that operated from 2000 to 2020.

In relation to the process of legitimation, the subject of which is state power, the object of empirical research is a set of actions aimed at legitimation power, that is, the technology of legitimation power. Within the framework of the study, information and communication technologies of legitimation are analyzed. The following legitimation tools serve as empirical sources: landmark speeches by the President of the Russian Federation, including the President's Address to the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, «Straight Lines», New Year's addresses to citizens; documentaries; program articles; photographs demonstrating the transformation of the image of the Head of State.

Technologies of legitimation by action are also analyzed, but through the prism of information and communication technologies of legitimation. The following legitimation tools are used as empirical sources: regulatory legal acts, statistical data, electronic resources of public authorities.

These legitimation tools are analyzed to identify the ways used to legitimation power, which determine the effect of certain types of legitimacy.

With regard to the process of legitimation, the subject of which is the people, the following sources provide an empirical basis:

- rating of confidence in the President of the Russian Federation (the Public Opinion Foundation, the All-Russian Public Opinion Research Center);
- approval rating of the activities of the President of the Russian Federation, the Government of the Russian Federation, the State Duma of the Russian Federation, heads of subjects of the Russian Federation (Levada Center);
- evaluation of the work of the President of the Russian Federation (the Public Opinion Foundation);
- electoral rating (the Public Opinion Foundation);
- assessment of the current state of affairs in the country (Levada Center)
- internal policy assessment index (the All-Russian Public Opinion Research Center);
- foreign policy assessment index (the All-Russian Public Opinion Research Center);
- materials of the Central Election Commission of the Russian Federation;
- exit poll data;
- official statistics data (Federal State Statistics Service);
- protest activity monitoring data (Center for Social and Labor Rights);
- media monitoring data.

The empirical research used the method of content analysis, statistical data analysis and secondary data analysis, as well as general scientific methods such as analysis, generalization, induction.

The scientific novelty of the thesis research is as follows:

1. The definition of the concept of «legitimation of power» has been clarified. On the one hand, it is expanded in terms of the capabilities of society, which are not limited to giving legitimacy to the authorities, but also manifest themselves in the form of demands on the authorities and control over their actions. On the other hand, the actions of the authorities aimed at increasing the level of their legitimacy are also specified. As a result, the conceptual apparatus associated with the process of legitimation of power has been clarified: it includes such terms as ways, tools and technologies of legitimation of power.

2. The correlation of ways, tools and technologies of legitimation of power is shown. The ways of legitimation are defined as a system of value meanings that determines the content of the technologies of legitimation of power. The instruments of legitimation are considered as concrete actions that allow increasing the level of legitimacy of the government.

3. The possibility of applying the concept of behavioral reactions developed by the American economist A. Hirschman for political analysis, provided it is supplemented, is shown. In addition to the two classical strategies of human behavior – «exit» and «voice» - it is proposed to use such a strategy as «consent». «Consent» is a separate behavioral reaction based on a conscious choice. It is based on a loyal attitude to the authorities, which is divided into «consent» as active support for the authorities and «consent» due to the lack of better alternatives. In the concept of A. Hirschman has a concept similar to «consent» - «loyalty». However, A. Hirschman does not consider «loyalty» as a separate behavior strategy and defines it as a balancing element between «exit» and «voice». «Consent» differs in that it includes strategies of behavior of people loyal to the authorities, while A. Hirschman's concept does not consider them in principle.

4. Six types of legitimacy are defined, forming models of legitimation of power (traditional; charismatic; technocratic; revolutionary; legal; democratic). Models of legitimation of power have been developed. It is proved that legitimation models are formed from several types of legitimacy, one of which will always be

dominant. For each type of legitimacy, characteristic ways of legitimation and the main behavioral reactions (behavioral strategies) determined by the political culture operating in society are established. A scheme of progressive transformation of types of legitimacy is proposed.

5. It is established that in the period from 2000 to 2020, there were nine models of legitimation of the power of the President of the Russian Federation:

№	Period	Name of the legitimation model	Dominant type of legitimacy	Auxiliary types of legitimacy
1.	January 2000 - May 2000	«Successor»	Traditional + Legal	Charismatic (moderate)
2.	May 2000 - 2004	«Statesman»	Charismatic (moderate)	Technocratic Traditional
3.	2004 - May 2008	«Technocrat-patriot»	Technocratic	Charismatic (moderate) Legal
4.	May 2008 - May 2012 (D.A.Medvedev)	«Successor-technocrat»	Traditional	Legal Technocratic
5.	May 2008 - September 2011 (V.V. Putin)	«National Leader»	Traditional	Charismatic (moderate) Technocratic
6.	September 2011 - December 2013	«Progressive Leader»	Charismatic (moderate)	Technocratic Legal
7.	January 2014 - April 2018	«People's President»	Charismatic	Traditional
8.	April 2018 - 2020	«People's President»	Charismatic (moderate)	Traditional Legal
9.	2020	«Crisis Manager»	Technocratic	Charismatic (moderate) Legal

Each model is presented in two aspects: a) the subject of the process of legitimation is the government (the impact on society with the help of legitimation technologies) and b) the subject is the people (demands for power and its support).

6. The effectiveness of the use of each model of legitimation of the power of the President of the Russian Federation in specific socio-economic and socio-political conditions is determined. The reasons for their transformation are revealed, based on a comparison of this process with the socio-economic and socio-political processes that took place in Russia during this period, including the political culture operating in society.

Statements contained in the thesis defence:

1. The legitimation of state power and the power of the president, in particular, is a two-way process. On the one hand, society transmits its demands and support to the state authorities due to the dominant political culture in the country. On the other hand, the government seeks to increase the level of its legitimacy by using legitimation technologies, the content of which is determined by the ways of legitimation of power.

2. Ways of legitimizing power are a system of value meanings used to increase the level of legitimacy of power. These values allow us to subdivide the ways of legitimation into emotional and rational ones, as well as to identify related ways of legitimation that complement each other. Emotional ways of legitimation are based on values such as tradition, patriotism, unity, etc. Rational ways of legitimation are based on the values of legality, respect for human rights and freedoms, economic growth, improving living standards, etc.

Legitimation technologies are a set of actions of the government that allow increasing the level of its legitimacy. They are divided into technologies of legitimation by action and technologies of information and communication legitimation. Legitimation tools are concrete actions that allow increasing the level of legitimacy of the government.

3. Legitimation models are ideal constructions of the legitimation process based on the dominant and auxiliary types of legitimacy, in which the input flows are the demands made by the people to the state power and its support, due to the political culture operating in society and the peculiarities of people's behavioral reactions, and the output is the actions of the authorities corresponding to these types

of legitimacy, aimed at increasing their legitimacy (legitimation technologies, due to the ways of legitimation).

4. The personalization of power affects the process of legitimation and determines its characteristic features:

- personal legitimacy dominates institutional legitimacy;
- the legitimation of the institutions of power is carried out by broadcasting legitimacy from the center (from the president);
- the president's personal responsibility for all decisions is increasing, but at the same time there are grounds for justifying failures due to the perception of the head of state as a leader who cannot be wrong.

5. The transformation of the models of legitimation of the power of the President in Russia is associated with both changes in political culture and socio-economic and socio-political events, including foreign policy. In total, from 2000 to 2020, nine models of legitimation of the power of the President of the Russian Federation operated in the Russian Federation. Eight of them are legitimate. The model that operated in the period from May 2018 to 2020, during the interpretation of the data obtained on the basis of an empirical study, was recognized as delegitimized.

6. There is a special configuration of types of legitimacy, which allows to effectively carry out the process of legitimation the power of the President of the Russian Federation. It is based on a balance of emotional and rational types of legitimation. The basic emotional type of legitimacy is the charismatic type, the rational type is the legal type. The traditional and technocratic types of legitimacy are variable. Their application depends on the current situation - more emotional or rational justification of the legitimacy of the government is required.

Theoretical and practical significance of the research.

Based on the conducted research, as part of further research work, it is possible to carry out short- and long-term forecasting of the transformation of the model of legitimation of the power of the President of the Russian Federation.

The practical significance of the study is also manifested in the fact that a number of the conclusions made in it can be used by authorities and officials holding public positions to increase the effectiveness of the process of legitimation of power. In addition, the results of the study can be used by functionaries of political parties, political technologists in the development of strategies and tactics of election campaigns of candidates for elected positions.

The main theoretical provisions of the study can be used for the further development of issues related to the political analysis of the legitimation process. In addition, the research materials may be useful in the educational process when developing training courses and special courses in the areas of «Political Science» and «State and Municipal Administration».

Chronological framework of the research. The study covers the period from the beginning of 2000 to 2020. The beginning of this period was determined by such an event as the assignment of the duties of the President of the Russian Federation to Vladimir Putin - December 31, 1999.

With the coming to power of V.V. Putin, a fundamentally new system of legitimation of power was formed in Russia, focused not only on ensuring the legality of power through elections, but also on restoring the prestige and reputation of the entire system of state authorities, which is confirmed by the comprehensive reform of the political system carried out by V.V. Putin during his first term as President of the Russian Federation.

In order to explain the processes of legitimation of the power of the President of the Russian Federation, the period preceding V.V. Putin's assumption of the post of Acting President of the Russian Federation (since mid-1999, when V.V. Putin assumed the post of Prime Minister of the Russian Federation) is partially analyzed.

Approbation of the results of the research.

The degree of reliability of the research results is confirmed by the use of both classical socio-political works of foreign and domestic scientists and modern political science research. The reliability of the results is based on the application of a set of scientific methods, including methods used in conducting empirical research.

The approbation of the provisions developed within the theoretical part of the work was carried out by empirical research on the identification of models of legitimation of the power of the President of the Russian Federation, which operated from 2000 to 2020.

The results of the theoretical and practical components of the study were presented and tested at scientific conferences and forums: the All-Russian Scientific Conference «Politics of National Memory: theory, practice, discourse» dedicated to the 75th anniversary of the Great Victory (April 29, 2020, Ekaterinburg), the XV International Scientific and Practical Conference «Change Management: a mosaic of scenarios in turbulence» (November 27-28, 2019, Ekaterinburg), the International Scientific and Practical Conference «Actual problems of Social and Humanitarian Sciences» (2018, remote participation format).

The main results of the dissertation research are reflected in ten publications of the author, including four articles published in leading peer-reviewed scientific publications determined by the Higher Attestation Commission.

The structure of the research. The dissertation consists of an introduction, two chapters, including seven paragraphs, a conclusion, a list of references, and appendices. The list of references contains 230 titles. The volume of the dissertation research is 214 pages.

The dissertation research corresponds to the passport of the scientific specialty 23.00.02 «Political institutions, processes and technologies».

Galitskaya K.A