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**FORMATION OF STATE YOUTH POLICY AS A FACTOR OF  
INSTITUTIONAL CHANGES AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN  
MODERN RUSSIA**

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**STRUCTURAL ABSTRACT**

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**The relevance of research** is determined by the fact that implementation of effective state youth policy in post-Soviet Russia has always been on the agenda not only of authorities and management at various levels, but also in the Russian expert and scientific community. This state of affairs is due to a number of important reasons.

First, the relevance of the problems of economic, social, political and technological modernization, the transition to innovation in various industries and areas is impossible without serious efforts of new generations with knowledge, competencies and appropriate energy. It is these qualities that can ensure the country's modernization breakthrough and progress in the face of the country's fierce competition in the international arena. Therefore, young people, as a socio-age group, should be understood by various political institutions, especially the state, as the most important resource for development. Understanding this goal, the authorities of the Russian Federation should be determined to invest in the development of new generations, which, in turn, should make efforts and use opportunities for the development and progress of the country. And this idea can be the basis of the state youth policy in the Russian Federation.

Secondly, the youth environment when interacting with the political system is in many ways a "thing in itself", not fully understood, not studied systematically and not fully in demand in the interests of the development of society and the state. Moreover, young people and various components of the youth environment can be hostile to society itself, initiating conflict destruction and behaving aggressively towards the political system, with possible options for its dismantling and destruction. At the same time, it is possible that the active part of the younger generation may become the driving force of social upheavals and social revolutions, which was noticed by P. Sorokin in his work "Sociology of the revolution". P. Sorokin wrote that the revolution reduces the population, delaying its growth. In addition, it also worsens the "biologically inherited fund of positive properties of the people", contributes to the degradation and degeneration of the nation.

A social revolution in the form of youth and student performances took place in the West in the late 1960s. Radical youth was the driving force behind the successful "color revolutions" in a number of former Soviet republics and failed protests in Russia in 2011-2012. Therefore, young people can become not only a resource for development, but also an engine of destruction, leading to the degradation of society and the backwardness of the country. Therefore, the state youth policy should take into account the factor of political representation of young people in the government system, political participation in decision-making, implement clear and transparent rules for social lifting, and target existing ageism as a form of discrimination against young people as a social group by other age groups.

Third, the state youth policy in the Russian Federation will be effective only if a consensus (agreement) is reached in society between different generations regarding values and norms, political mythology, and the culture of memory (memorial culture). And this aspect will serve to ensure that the state's youth policy becomes symbolic and approved by the majority of the population, which, in turn, will lead (according to T. Parsons) to the formation of a model of "balance" that promotes the integration of all members of society.

In addition, it should be noted that the relevance of this issue in our country has significantly increased as a result of practical actions taken jointly by the state authorities and society within the framework of the constitutional reform in 2020.

This is an amendment to the first part of article 72 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation (paragraph "e"), which for the first time shows the existence of a youth policy in Russia at the level of the basic law. This clearly indicates a fundamentally new stage in the development of state youth policy as a factor of institutional changes and political development of our country in modern conditions.

**The purpose of the research** is to reveal and analyze the meaning – making, main stages and content of the state youth policy of the Russian Federation in the period from 1992 to 2020 in order to identify various aspects of

its influence on the nature of the process of political and institutional changes in modern Russia.

In accordance with the purpose of the research, the following **tasks** were set:

- to operationalize the concepts of "youth", "youth environment", "youth policy", "state policy in relation to new generations" in order to identify the place and role of the youth of the Russian Federation in the institutional changes and political development of Russian society in 1990-2000.;

- to consider the specifics of the formation and implementation of state policy in relation to new generations in the context of problems of institutional changes and political development of society;

- to analyze the problems of practical implementation of the state youth policy as a reference point in mobilizing resources to achieve the goals of society, in the context of scientific understanding of existing theoretical approaches and concepts;

- to identify the main stages of the formation of state youth policy and institutional changes of new generations in modern Russia within the author's periodization;

- to offer the scientific and expert community an author's understanding of the political, legal and social mechanisms of institutionalization of state youth policy in the Russian Federation;

- to identify the features of interaction, mutual influence and contradictions between state and non-state actors of youth policy in modern Russia;

- to analyze the main political tasks of the Russian authorities and administration in implementing the state youth policy;

- to consider political participation and political representation of Russian youth as a strategic vector of state youth policy;

- to substantiate the author's assumption that state and administrative regulation in the sphere of youth subcultures and countercultures should be considered as one of the main factors in ensuring the stability of political development in modern Russia.



**The Object of the research** is political and institutional changes in modern Russia in the context of scientific understanding of state policy in relation to new generations.

**The Subject of the research** is the state youth policy in the Russian Federation, focused on productive institutional changes in the youth environment, which imply sustainable socio-economic and consistent political development of the Russian society.

**The theoretical and methodological basis of the study** are determined by the specific features of the state's policy towards new generations, which is a combination of a number of historical, socio-political, administrative and legal conditions and mechanisms (for example, the three basic components of the state's policy towards new generations, which show certain specifics depending on a particular historical stage). This methodological postulate determined the need to use the following methods in the dissertation research: 1) General scientific: logical-heuristic (induction, deduction, analysis, synthesis, comparison, analogy) and philosophical-axiological (dialectical, system); 2) social-humanitarian (document analysis and comparative-historical analysis); 3) special-scientific (institutional, activity, behavioral, situational).

Thus, the methodological base of the dissertation, which is a set of theoretical principles, approaches and paradigms, was aimed at solving the intended purpose and research tasks set in the dissertation.

**The scientific results obtained by the author, and their novelty:**

1. The operationalization of concepts and categories carried out in the dissertation work revealed the place and role of new generations in the institutional changes and political development of Russian society, which turned out to be in demand for analyzing the behavior of young people in the Russian Federation, which in 1992 embarked on the path of building a market economy and liberal democracy. It gave some of the young citizens in the new generations a number of competitive advantages (business, status, position). For the rest of the younger

generation, it took the form of risks and costs (drug addiction, alcoholism, suicide, unemployment, sects and informal associations, including criminal ones).

In addition, the operationalization of concepts and categories made it possible to conclude that from 1992 to 2020, three new generations passed through the youth period, for which the author formulated the following political and evaluation characteristics: "rejected", "lost" and "awakening". These characteristics are largely due to the following approaches of the state to its policy towards new generations:

- 1) from infringement of rights to creation of superprivileges;
- 2) from using the youth resource for the development of society to ignoring and targeting this resource;
- 3) from the emphasis on the special role of young people in the perspective of national development to a skeptical attitude towards this social group in the context of social development.

Based on the analysis of existing scientific approaches and theories of new generations, the operationalization of concepts allows us to give a refined political definition of youth, which should be understood as a symbolic community with the following characteristic criteria. First, it is an ideal-typical evaluative social phenomenon, which is logical to consider in the form of youth, sensuality and romanticism. Secondly, it is a stadium format in the biography of an individual, associated with the peculiarities of the political time. Third, it is an energy cohort that is characterized by a certain behavior in a wide range from "rebellion", "protest" and "revolt" to political conformity, with the presence of a middle position in the form of apathy, depression and withdrawal. Fourth, it is a transitional age status with professional and socio-political claims.

2. The conducted research allows us to say that when forming and implementing the state policy in relation to new generations in the Russian Federation, the following features were revealed. First, the youth of post-Soviet Russia, as a social age group that is a resource for socio-economic and political development, has not been fully integrated by the institution of the state in the

process of creating Russian society in the country and in its progress. This applies more to the period of the 1990s, and less to the period of the 2000s. Second, in the presence of various models of state youth policy of the Russian Federation, the contribution of young people to the socio-economic and political development of the country was low. The latter is explained by the fact that the subject field of youth policy in modern Russia is determined not only by the strategic plans of the state authorities, but also by the context of trends in the socio-political development of the youth environment. Third, the political activity of Russian youth has in fact acquired and is acquiring a contradictory and situational character, predetermining the strengthening/weakening of the feedback of the youth segment of Russian civil society and the state.

In addition, the refined concept of "state youth policy" allows us to consider the policy of the state in relation to new generations:

- 1) as a system of institutions for working with young people, as a set of resources for the social development of new generations;
- 2) as a hierarchy of meanings in the civil and political development of young citizens;
- 3) as a form of control over new generations.

In addition, the state youth policy has two important guidelines. First, it's necessary to take into account the potential and resources of new generations to achieve the goals of national development set by society and the state. This is the mobilization of resources of new generations: a) to introduce innovations; b) to modernize the economy and social sphere; c) to protect against potential external threats. Secondly, it's essential to pay attention to the introduction of traditional values of society for new generations, their reproduction and ensuring the continuity of generations.

3. The analysis of problems of practical realization of state youth policy as a guide in mobilizing resources to achieve objectives, allowed us to draw the following conclusions:

1) youth policy in the Russian Federation has proved its necessity and importance in terms of aggregating and articulating the interests of young people, their political socialization and political participation;

2) among the existing sectoral policies of the state, youth policy cannot be classified as highly effective;

3) to improve the effectiveness of youth policy in the Russian Federation, it is necessary to form an effective regulatory framework for youth support in the form of a Federal law;

4) special attention on the part of the state should be paid to creating a mechanism for promoting the principles of this law in the practice of political governance (for example, in the form of a new version of the Federal target program "Youth of Russia"). Thus, the existing problems of the Russian youth (unemployment, social inequality, criminal manifestations, youth subcultures, extremism and political disloyalty to the regime) are threats and challenges to the political system of the Russian Federation that hinder the country's political development.

4. Scientific understanding of the problems of post-Soviet youth from 1992 to 2020 leads to the conclusion that three new generations ("rejected", the generation of the 90-ies (XX century); the "lost" generation of "zero" years; "the awakening" generation of 2010-ies) were formed and developed in accordance with the socio-political realities of the periods of formation of youth policy in the Russian Federation. In this regard, the dissertation proposes the author's periodization of the state youth policy in Russia in the chronological framework of 1992-2020.

The first period of GMP is outlined by time boundaries from 1992 to 2004 and is characterized by a stressful policy of establishing equal chances for young people in the contour of other social strata and groups.

The second period of the state youth policy logically fits into the framework of 2005-2017 and can be considered as a policy of correcting mistakes and returning what was lost.

It is logical to start the third period of the state youth policy from 2018, when 12 national projects were launched to meet the national development goals.

This author's periodization allows us to consider the state youth policy of the Russian Federation in the context of scientific analysis of social policy models. Thus, in the first period (1992 – 2004), youth policy (as part of social policy) was focused mainly on the market (in the version in which it was formed in the country). In the second period (2005-2017), this is a policy with small government expenditures focused on maintaining a relatively low standard of living, with a microscopic level of unemployment. In the third period (from 2018 to 2016), a compensatory model of social policy (together with youth) begins to develop, which is focused on building a "soft" welfare state. Thus, the state youth policy in the Russian Federation has passed several stages in its development. At the same time, each of them addressed issues related to the socialization of the younger generation, its adaptation in the political sphere. In the future, the priorities of the state youth policy are expanding and begin to include issues related to the Patriotic education of the younger generation.

5. State youth policy is based on clear political and legal mechanisms. Within the framework of the modern political process, there are two contradictory trends in relation to institutional changes that come from state and non-state actors in youth policy. The state youth policy of the Russian Federation did not differ in intensity in the construction of new institutions in the youth environment. For example, mass youth organizations focused on the production and reproduction of citizenship and patriotism have not been formed in the country. Moreover, the political behavior of state institutions did not imply an active role in the social control of new institutions in the youth environment: socio-political, religious organizations, youth subcultures, informal associations.

6. The conducted research suggests that the formation and implementation of state policy in relation to new generations in the Russian Federation revealed features of interaction and mutual influence, as well as contradictions between state and non-state actors in youth policy. First of all, the youth of post-Soviet

Russia, as a social age group that is a resource for socio-economic and political development, was not fully integrated by the state institution into the process of creating Russian society in the country and its progress. This applies more to the period of the 1990s, and less to the period of the 2000s. Secondly, in the presence of various models of state youth policy of the Russian Federation, the contribution of young people to the socio-economic and political development of the country was low. The latter is explained by the fact that the subject field of youth policy in modern Russia is determined not only by the strategic plans of the state authorities, but also by the context of trends in the socio-political development of the youth environment. Thirdly, the political activity of Russian youth has in fact acquired and is acquiring a contradictory and situational character, predetermining the strengthening/weakening of the feedback of the youth segment of Russian civil society and the state. In addition, mutual influence and interaction between state and non-state actors in youth policy would increase the effectiveness of the efforts of society and the state in solving youth problems, in mobilizing the potential of the young generation in increasing collective benefits.

7. The analysis of the state youth policy in the Russian Federation made it possible to identify and consider the following main political tasks of the Russian authorities in its implementation.

The first of these tasks is the socialization of young people in the conditions of transformation of society. Since young people are the most active group of the population, which is easily integrated into the country's economy, the authorities and management need to build a system of state youth policy that could stop the processes of desocialization of young people. If this task is completed, young people will understand the laws of the political system, aggregate and articulate certain requirements, actively participate in elections and make appropriate decisions. It is important that when implementing state youth policy, the contradiction between hierarchization and de-hierarchization that occurs during socialization should be taken into account. Another task should be the formation of civil identity (as a priority for political development) among the younger

generation. As part of this task, it is important to take into account the issue of the inseparability of the process of forming ethnic, regional, and local identities in the youth environment that are compatible with civil identity. The third major political task is to preserve historical and social memory. Since a number of actors are currently attempting to rethink history, new approaches to the results of the great Patriotic war, and the country's role on the world stage, the authorities responsible for implementing youth policy should pay special attention to this area. It should be noted that the task of preserving historical memory is inextricably linked with the problem of Patriotic education of young people, because the value and symbolic basis of state youth policy should have historical memory and, in addition, political mythology, as an ideologically marked narrative about the past, present and future, expressing the spatial and temporal self-perception of a particular society. Thus, in the absence of a systematic civil-Patriotic education, representatives of new generations will not be able to go through the process of forming a civil identity and, accordingly, become patriots. Therefore, the fourth essential political task is civic and Patriotic education, which should be used as a basis for the educational process in General education schools, as well as in the system of secondary special and higher education.

8. Consideration and scientific understanding of the forms of political participation and political representation of Russian youth as a strategic vector of state youth policy allowed the author to come to the following conclusions.

First, GMP in modern Russia is characterized by a weak value and symbolic basis, the presence of institutional deficits (increasing social inequality, targeting by non-state actors of a number of old and new institutions). Besides, for the political participation of young people, the need to consistently resolve a number of crisis phenomena remains relevant: 1) in the management of the youth environment (the weakness of state bodies for youth affairs and the lack of confidence of young people in formal youth organizations); 2) direct political participation of young people (the authorities and parliamentary political parties do

not use the potential of politically active youth representatives in preparing and making political decisions).

Secondly, the indifferent approach of the state and civil society institutions to the appearance of both negative and constructive social, political, and socio-cultural phenomena in the youth environment reduces the effectiveness of youth policy mechanisms. Increasing interaction between the state and youth public associations and activists should be a priority technology for state support of political participation of young generations in the Russian Federation. Thus, the main political tasks of the Russian authorities in implementing state youth policy should include improving key mechanisms based on the integration of technologies and tools of its state and public components on the basis of a constructive state-civil dialogue.

Thirdly, the political participation of Russian youth shows that an active part of it uses all five ideal-typical forms of representation of B. Jessop (clientelism, corporatism, parliamentarism, pluralism and intervention without formal channels of representation), and the main areas of work of youth structures can be recognized as: 1) representation of interests before state and municipal authorities; 2) participation in legislative support of state youth policy; 3) promotion of a reserve of personnel for state and municipal authorities; 4) educational and propaganda activities in their social environment.

Finally, fourthly, it should be noted that in modern Russia, the system of political participation of young people and their integration into the political system is at the stage of formation.

9. In the framework of the research, the author suggested that state and administrative regulation in the sphere of youth subcultures and countercultures should be considered as one of the main factors in ensuring the stability of political development in modern Russia. This assumption is supported by the following conclusions.

Firstly, the transformation of the value orientations of the young generations of post-Soviet Russia, which occurred due to the influence of the general crisis of



public consciousness, led to the rejection of the former civic ideals of socialist collectivism by young people. This, however, did not lead to a deep assimilation of the values of liberal democracy. A significant part of Russian youth is characterized by a pragmatic approach, expressed in the orientation towards material well-being, active consumerism, social dependency, with obvious criminalization of value orientations. Such a social environment, receiving value and behavioral design in the form of various subcultures and countercultures, is the basis for the development of destructive social processes in which various political forces involve certain groups of young people.


Secondly, the control activities of informal associations, which is the institutional manifestation of youth subcultures and counter-cultures, is, in most cases, representatives of law enforcement, prosecution and other regulatory agencies, whose activity is ineffective in solving the problems of crime prevention in the youth field, because the main preventive measures consist in roundtables, open seminars, etc. with the participation of schoolchildren, students from colleges and universities. However, such measures are ineffective, because young people's interest in destructive subcultures only increases from year to year.

And, finally, thirdly, it should be noted that state management regulation in the sphere of youth subcultures and countercultures, as well as prevention of offenses among young people, can be effective if the conditions for transforming the entire system of state youth policy are met, the non-institutionalization of which, against the background of increasing centrifugal trends in society, social stratification and unresolved problems of interethnic interaction, can become a factor of destabilization of the entire political system of the state after a certain period of time.

**The theoretical and practical significance of the research** is determined by the fact that within the framework of the systematization and generalization of many issues related to the problems of youth policy, the author makes a scientific and theoretical contribution to the political understanding of the problem of formation and implementation of state youth policy in the context of institutional

changes and political development of modern Russia. The dissertation provides a scientific and theoretical justification of the possibilities of improving the mechanisms of youth policy in the Russian Federation. In addition, the results of the study allowed the author to formulate theoretical insights on the functioning of institutional, regulatory and information and communication mechanisms of the state youth policy, to complement the field of research in the field of analysis of the problems of implementation of state youth policy practices and youth participation in the political process of modern Russia.

In practical terms, the results of the study can be used to solve current problems of state youth policy in the field of state and municipal administration. The provisions and scientific developments of the dissertation work can be used in teaching courses in general and applied political science, public policy, political management, organization of work with young people in higher education institutions, institutions of additional education and advanced training for state and municipal employees, as well as in training and retraining programs for youth leaders and activists, representatives of public associations and volunteer organizations.

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