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**MODELS OF PARTY-ELECTORAL AGGREGATION
IN THE POLITICAL LIFE OF MODERN RUSSIA**

Specialty: 5.5.2. Political Institutions, Processes, Technologies

ABSTRACT

of the dissertation submitted for the degree of
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Relevance of the Research Topic. Russian political processes are currently characterized by high dynamics of socio-political transformations, the complication of interaction mechanisms between political elites, parties, the electorate and government institutions, as well as the need to introduce social and political innovations in the context of ongoing political modernization.

Accordingly, the task of theoretical-methodological and applied analysis of interaction mechanisms between various political actors is being actualized, with an emphasis on political intermediary institutions capable of accumulating the public demand for change and integrating it into the sphere of political decision-making. Such mediator institutions include modern political parties, which are intensively transforming from traditional parties to modern innovative parties.

In the modern Russian political system, parties perform an important intermediary function, ensuring communication between society and state institutions. At the same time, their organizational and communicative practices are gradually changing: traditional forms of party activity are being supplemented by new mechanisms of public participation and political mobilization.

For example, the party "United Russia" develops formats of interaction with citizens through public councils, and also uses digital platforms for discussing socially significant issues and providing feedback to voters. The CPRF and LDPR rely on digital channels, using internet resources to maintain contact with supporters and promptly disseminate information about their activities. "A Just Russia" focuses on holding socio-political forums and implementing socially significant projects, which allows identifying citizens' demands and integrating them into the political agenda. "New People" are primarily oriented towards interactive formats: online discussions, crowdsourcing mechanisms in the preparation of legislative initiatives. These practices record a general trend towards the transition of political communication into a more flexible, interactive channel.

The development of such tools actualizes the need to search for models of party-electoral aggregation capable of taking into account the modern conditions of the functioning of the political system and ensuring productive interaction between the state and society. That is why the analysis of such models acquires key importance for political science. The results obtained during the research make it possible to characterize the features of the formation of the political agenda, mechanisms of political mobilization, as well as to outline ways to improve party building in Russia, in particular, through the development of social innovations and the expansion of dialogue channels between government, parties and civil society institutions.

Thus, the study of models of party-electoral aggregation is an urgent scientific task, as it makes it possible to trace the adaptation of modern Russian parties to dynamic socio-economic and technological changes. At the same time, such an analysis helps to better understand the nature of interaction between political institutions and society, identify ways to improve the effectiveness of party building, and determine the innovative potential for further modernization of the Russian political system.

Degree of elaboration of the problem. The problems of democratic party building have been sufficiently researched by modern political science. Research is

based on the provisions of the classics of party studies J. Blondel, M. Duverger, G. Sartori, O. Focardi, etc., as well as on the scientific works of foreign scholars such as G. Almond, S. Verba, D. Easton, H. Lasswell.

Modern Russian scientific political thought in the field of party building is concentrated in the activities of a number of political science research groups. First of all, it is worth noting the group that includes Yu.G. Kurgunyyuk, E.I. Meleshkina, and others. Research groups led by B.A. Isaev, N.A. Baranov, and others, as well as Ya.Yu. Shashkova, have made a significant contribution to the development of modern Russian partyology. Special attention should be paid to the research results of the political science school under the leadership of A.V. Ponedelkov, A.M. Starostin, S.A. Kislitsyn. Within the framework of this school, 3 doctoral dissertations (S.G. Zyryanov, M.I. Pranova, L.Kh. Dzakhoeva) and more than 15 candidate dissertations (V.V. Skorobogatko, K.G. Dubrovsky, M.V. Metlushenko, I. Krivchuk, E.A. Kleshchar, G.A. Ayvazyan, G.A. Laktionov, M.O. Omarov, L.V. Popova, A.M. Safonova, A.V. Sokolov, I.S. Zorko, V.A. Dzhioeva, G.Kh. Paunezheva, etc.) have been defended on this topic.

The development of the chosen topic of the dissertation research required a comprehensive interdisciplinary analysis of electoral processes based on works on problems of innovations and national innovation systems, post-industrial information society, network society and actor-network communications, problems of national identity, civil society, party building, political technologies, cybersecurity and other related topics. Let us note only some fundamental works in these areas.

From a theoretical and methodological point of view, highlighting the development of these problems, we note the works of C. Freeman and S. Metcalfe, devoted to the study of national innovation systems and correlating with domestic research by L.I. Abalkin, A.G. Aganbegyan, S.Yu. Glazyev, L.M. Gokhberg, etc.

Since innovations affect all spheres, including the socio-political, ideological, cultural-civilizational component, the works of the Harvard school (S. Huntington, etc.) and domestic scholars (N.Ya. Danilevsky, B.S. Erasov, V.V. Ilyin, A.S. Panarin, R.P. Trofimova, Yu.V. Yakovets) are of importance for the development of the topic.

Typologies of innovations on socio-economic and socio-political grounds, depending on whether they are of a supporting nature or lead to qualitative "breakthroughs" in the economy and social life, are presented, for example, in the works of V.I. Suprun. Political innovation studies with an emphasis on the problems of the relationship between political culture and the process of innovative development of Russia are reflected in the works of I.V. Groshev etc.

It is also worth noting significant events of our time – the 50th anniversary of the theory of post-industrial society (the publication of D. Bell's work "The Coming Post-Industrial Society", later works by E. Toffler, M. Castells, etc.), as well as the 30th anniversary of the award of the Nobel Prize for the theory of human capital, which plays a decisive role in innovative development, to G. Becker.

Additionally, it should be noted that in the latest foreign political science, the problems of party systems and party transformation received further development in a number of studies from 2015-2025, focusing on the crisis of party representation, digitalization of politics and changes in forms of political participation.

Thus, S. Scarrow analyzes new forms of party mobilization and the transformation of party organizations in the context of declining traditional membership. A significant contribution to the analysis of party changes in the context of the individualization of politics was made by G. Rahat and O. Kenig, who examine the processes of political personalization in the digital media space and substantiate the transition from party-centered to personalized politics.

Some works emphasize the adaptive nature of parties in the context of a representation crisis. For example, A. Gauja examines the problems of declining party identification and the need for institutional adaptation of parties to new conditions of political competition.

Contemporary research also focuses on changes in the nature of the relationship between parties and voters. For example, S. Marg, L. Geiges, F. Butzlaff, F. Walter (2024) analyze the formation of new channels of participation and interaction between parties and citizens in conditions of declining trust and growing individualization of political behavior.

Modern Russian studies of party systems and electoral processes are represented by a number of key authors and directions. Institutional analysis of the party system of Russia is carried out in the works of A.G. Arutyunov, E.Yu. Meleshkina, I.V. Fomin, etc., which examine the features of the "party of power" and the transformation of political competition at the regional level. The monograph by M.A. Astvatsaturova and L.Kh. Dzakhova is devoted to the analysis of the role of political parties in the processes of transformation of the Russian political system. The electoral-behavioral direction is represented by works devoted to the analysis of voting and political mobilization, presented by domestic researchers V.G. Gimalaev, N.A. Nazarova, M.E. Rodionova, etc. The problems of electoral technologies are disclosed by T.E. Grinberg, I.E. Mintusov, and the issues of digitalization of political communication were studied by I.A. Arkhipov, S.I. Bedov, N.P. Krapivin, S.V. Volodenkov, S.N. Fedorchenko, etc.

It should be noted that the transformation of socio-humanitarian knowledge in the field of party building actualizes the theoretical and methodological development of new concepts. Accordingly, the dissertation develops the concept of party-electoral aggregation.

Research hypothesis is that the nature and effectiveness of party building in modern Russia are determined not by an abstract set of "innovative" party forms, but by the ability of parties to integrate into the processes of state innovation policy and the development of the national innovation system through mechanisms of party-electoral aggregation. Objective transformations of the global political space in the direction of building a new world order and "multipolarity" transform the nature and dynamics of party building, reflected in political sciences through such innovative concepts as "parties of innovative type", "party-electoral aggregation", "cyber-parties", "consociational party systems", "cartel parties", etc., which allow effectively analyzing the phenomena of replacing traditional parties with parties capable of aggregating and politically promoting society's demand for innovation and change, acting as mediators between the interests of political forces, the state and society.

It is assumed that it is the models of party-electoral aggregation (political-marketing, cluster-network and civil-identitary) that reflect different levels of institutional maturity of parties and their involvement in innovative processes. At the same time, only those party structures that provide a stable connection between state institutions, the scientific-educational environment, business and civil society are capable not just of declaring, but institutionally ensuring the articulation and promotion of the public demand for innovative development.

The evolution of these models in post-Soviet Russia has a regular character: from the dominance of political-marketing mechanisms of electoral mobilization to the formation of cluster-network forms of interaction and further to the formation of a civil-identitary model focused on the integration of public interests within the framework of the national idea. In this logic, party-electoral aggregation acts not only as an instrument of political competition, but also as a key mechanism for linking the political system with the tasks of innovative development, which determines its central role in modern political processes.

Object of the study – the processes of formation, functioning and transformation of party-electoral relations in the political system of modern Russia.

Subject of the study – patterns, typological features and mechanisms of functioning of models of party-electoral aggregation that ensure interaction between political parties and the electorate in the context of the transformation of the political system of modern Russia.

Purpose of the dissertation research – theoretical and methodological modeling, identification of patterns of formation and functioning of models of party-electoral aggregation, development of their typology in the context of the transformation of the political system of modern Russia.

Main research tasks:

- analyze theoretical approaches to the typologization and functions of political parties, determine the influence of determinants of the political-innovative process on the mechanisms of party building in modern Russia;

- identify the key elements of the national innovation system of Russia, reveal their connection with party-electoral aggregation and establish the influence of the administrative-political elite on the effectiveness of the implementation of social innovations;

- identify the specifics of the political-innovative process in modern Russia, determine the key elements of the national innovation system in the political sphere and establish their relationship with party building processes, as well as develop models of party-electoral aggregation reflecting the innovative-electoral function of parties as a mediator institution between society and government.

- formulate and substantiate the concept of party-electoral aggregation as an integrated mechanism of interaction between parties, the electorate and government, ensuring the representation of public interests;

- carry out theoretical and methodological modeling and reveal the content of basic models (political-marketing, cluster-network, civil-identitary) of party-electoral aggregation in the context of solving the problems of introducing social innovations into Russian partogenesis.

Scientific novelty of the research lies in the development of a concept relatively new for political sciences – "party-electoral aggregation", corresponding to the urgent tasks of searching for new forms of interaction between the main actors of modern political processes in order to modernize the Russian political system and establish new forms of Russian democracy. This concept allows for theoretical and methodological modeling of party-electoral aggregation in the context of the problems of introducing social innovations into modern Russian party building, which is specified in the following provisions of scientific novelty:

Functional characteristics of political parties are given, the innovation function is substantiated as a system-forming element of party building, the typologization of parties is refined, and the hybrid nature of the Russian party system is revealed. Key determinants of political innovations are identified and systematized, projecting onto the main aspects of party activity, which made it possible to prove their influence on the transformation of mechanisms of party-electoral aggregation.

Structural components of the national innovation system of Russia correlating with party-electoral aggregation are identified. It is shown that the concentration of the functions of initiator, executor and controller of innovations within the administrative-political vertical forms a closed cycle, limiting the effectiveness of aggregation as a mediator institution between society and government. It is substantiated that overcoming institutional contradictions requires a transition to nationally-oriented mechanisms of aggregation based on the renewal of the political elite, professionalization of party personnel and the introduction of progressive models of inter-elite interaction;

It is shown that the specificity of the political-innovative process in modern Russia is manifested in a contradictory combination of state-initiated modernization mechanisms and the administrative-bureaucratic closedness of elites, closing the innovation cycle upon themselves. Key factors determining the projection of this process on party building are identified: the configuration of the party system, digitalization of electoral processes, institutional frameworks, the quality of human capital and the value-civilizational component. It is substantiated that the success of party building in Russia directly depends on the presence of professionals with post-monetary motivation and high political agency, capable of overcoming institutional barriers that block the introduction of innovations into party-electoral activity.

The author's theoretical and methodological concept of party-electoral aggregation has been developed, representing an integrated mechanism of institutional and communicative interaction between parties, the electorate and government bodies, which ensures the unification, transformation and representation of public interests in electoral and party processes. In contrast to the classical understanding of interest aggregation, the proposed concept links party activity with electoral mechanisms, political technologies and modern forms of political communication, which allows it to be used as an analytical tool for studying the transformation of party building and modernization of the political system of Russia.

Theoretical and methodological modeling has been carried out, content and discourse analysis of program documents of Russian parliamentary parties has been conducted within the framework of basic models of party-electoral aggregation:

political-marketing, cluster-network and civil-identitary. Their functional features, differences in the conditions for introducing social innovations into political practice are revealed, and the role of innovative-type parties as political actors that aggregate public demands, introduce innovative political solutions and act as intermediaries between citizens, political elites and government institutions is determined. It is argued that these models are necessary as analytical tools for assessing electoral processes, party building and modernization of the Russian political system.

Methodological basis of the research consists of a set of general scientific and special scientific methods that provide a comprehensive analysis of models of party-electoral aggregation in modern Russia.

Among the general scientific methods used are analysis and synthesis, induction and deduction, as well as a systematic approach that allows considering party-electoral aggregation as an integral political process that includes a set of actors, institutions and channels of interaction.

Special scientific methods play a key role in the research. Institutional analysis is used to identify formal and informal rules for the functioning of the party system and electoral mechanisms. The comparative method is used to compare various models of party-electoral aggregation and identify their typological features. The structural-functional method allows determining the functions of parties and the electorate within aggregation processes.

Qualitative and quantitative content analysis of political documents and communications is used as one of the important research methods. The empirical basis of the analysis consisted of program documents of political parties, election materials, official statements, as well as digital content (publications on official websites and social networks). Quantitative content analysis was used to identify the frequency of key categories, and qualitative analysis was used to interpret processes and strategies of political communications. This made it possible to empirically substantiate the differences between models of party-electoral aggregation.

Additionally, the case study method was used, allowing consideration of specific practices of party-electoral aggregation in modern Russia, as well as elements of discourse analysis to identify features of political rhetoric and election strategies of Russian parties.

Provisions submitted for defense

The features of Russian party building in the context of introducing political innovations are revealed. These include, firstly, the asymmetric configuration of the Russian party system with the dominance of the "party of power" in conditions of competitive struggle, which creates new incentives for the development of innovative electoral and communication technologies. Secondly, technological shifts associated with the digitalization of political communication and the emergence of predictive analytics tools significantly transform the mechanisms of interest aggregation and political mobilization of the electorate. Thirdly, the dual positioning of political elites, on the one hand as initiators of innovation policy, and on the other as objects of political modernization, acts as an institutional barrier to the introduction of systemic innovations. (clause 12 of the passport of scientific specialty 5.5.2. Political

institutions, processes, technologies "Evolution of party and electoral systems; modern models of political representation").

It is determined that the key elements of the national innovation system of Russia, functionally coupled with the processes of party-electoral aggregation, are human capital with actualized innovation motivation, state innovation policy as a mechanism for strategic integration of subjects, and the value-target component correlated with the cultural-civilizational code. It is argued that the effectiveness of party-electoral aggregation as a mediator institution between society and political power decreases due to the formation of a closed cycle of innovation processes in which the administrative-political elite concentrates the functions of initiator, executor and controller of innovation implementation. Therefore, this configuration often blocks the introduction of social innovations into modern political processes. (clause 12 of the passport of scientific specialty 5.5.2. Political institutions, processes, technologies "Evolution of party and electoral systems; modern models of political representation").

The specifics of the political-innovative process in modern Russia and its institutional projection on party building are clarified. It is proved that the introduction of political innovations in the party-electoral sphere is carried out mainly through state-initiated and technologically mediated mechanisms of modernization of political governance. In this context, the transformation of party structures, mechanisms of political mobilization and processes of aggregation of public interests is taking place.

It is established that political-innovative processes in modern Russia and their projection on party building are determined by the value-mediated nature of innovation implementation in conditions of dominance of paternalistic political culture. The key limitation of effectiveness is the shortage of professionals with high political agency, which, combined with the dual position of the elite, being simultaneously both an initiator and a brake on innovation, blocks the real modernization of the party-electoral system. It is argued that in modern conditions, effective party building requires a synthesis of innovative strategies with the civilizational code of Russia and orientation towards Asian models of modernization that preserve traditional values (clause 12 of the passport of scientific specialty 5.5.2. Political institutions, processes, technologies "Evolution of party and electoral systems; modern models of political representation").

A new concept of party-electoral aggregation is formulated and theoretically substantiated as an integrated mechanism of institutional and communicative interaction of political parties, the electorate and government institutions, ensuring the unification, transformation and political representation of public interests in the process of electoral competition and party building. It is shown that, in contrast to the classical interpretation of interest aggregation as one of the functions of parties, the concept emphasizes the relationship of party activity with electoral mechanisms of political mobilization, political technologies and modern forms of political communication.

It is proved that this concept ensures the formation of a party program in accordance with the current public demand. On this basis, three models of party-

electoral aggregation are developed: political-marketing, cluster-network and civil-identitary. These models can be used in the analysis of socio-political practices and the design of electoral behavior. (clause 13 of the passport of scientific specialty 5.5.2. Political institutions, processes, technologies "Election campaigns, electoral cycles and electoral technologies").

It is shown that Russian partogenesis demonstrates historical variability in the implementation of party-electoral aggregation. If in the mid-1990s the political-marketing model dominated, then since the beginning of the 21st century, in the context of the development of actor-network and information technologies, the cluster-network model became widespread, while the political-marketing model integrated into new network schemes, expanding the possibilities of aggregation, mobilization and use of information in electoral practice.

Conducting content and discourse analysis of the programs of parliamentary parties of the Russian Federation made it possible to identify key features of modern party-electoral aggregation. It is determined that the central place in the programs of all parties is occupied by socio-economic issues. At the same time, differences between parties are manifested in the discursive strategies used, the interpretation of social problems and ways of legitimizing program provisions. In general, the Russian party system is characterized by a high degree of ideological hybridity, expressed in the combination of various ideological and pragmatic approaches to mobilizing electoral support.

It is established that ideological hybridity is combined with the dominance of basic models of party-electoral aggregation: political-marketing ("United Russia", "New People"), civil-identitary (CPRF, "A Just Russia") and cluster-network (LDPR). Thus, aggregation mechanisms in modern conditions are implemented through a combination of institutional and discursive practices, forming a specific configuration of party space and ensuring the representation of diverse social interests. (clause 13 of the passport of scientific specialty 5.5.2. Political institutions, processes, technologies "Election campaigns, electoral cycles and electoral technologies").

Theoretical and practical significance of the research. The results obtained in the dissertation and the conclusions formulated have both theoretical and applied significance. In theoretical terms, they can be used for further understanding of the features of modern Russian democracy, the transformation of party-electoral processes, as well as the relationship between political institutions, innovative development and political culture.

In applied terms, the research materials are of interest for the analysis and improvement of political governance practices, the development of mechanisms of party-electoral aggregation, and can also be in demand in expert, analytical and educational activities.

The practical significance of the research is associated with the possibility of applying its results in solving applied problems of modern political practice. In particular, they can be used in the development of strategies for introducing social and political innovations in the activities of parties focused on updating forms of interaction with society; in improving the mechanisms of party-electoral aggregation

aimed at expanding citizen participation in political decision-making processes; as well as in building more effective interaction between government institutions, party structures and civil society in the context of modernization of the political system.

Of particular importance in this context is the civil-identitary model, which makes it possible to more consistently integrate modern information and digital technologies into political processes. Its use contributes to strengthening feedback between the state and society and the formation of more flexible and adaptive mechanisms of political governance.

Reliability of the provisions and results of the conducted research. The reliability of the research results is ensured by the use of a wide range of theoretical and empirical materials in the field of political science, economics, sociology and philosophy, which is due to the interdisciplinary nature of the topic.

The political science orientation of the work and the specifics of its object and subject predetermined the application of political analysis methodology, combining classical theories of party building and electoral behavior with modern approaches to the study of party-electoral aggregation. This made it possible to identify the main models of party-electoral aggregation: political-marketing, cluster-network and civil-identitary, which confirms the validity and scientific reliability of the results obtained.

Approbation of the dissertation research results was carried out during the author's participation in a number of scientific and scientific-practical events. The main provisions and conclusions of the work were presented at conferences of various levels and received a positive assessment from the scientific community.

In particular, the research results were discussed at the scientific-practical conference with international participation "Patriotism in Modern Russia in the Context of Growing Threats to National Security" (South-Russian Institute of Management – Branch of RANEPA, February 17, 2023), the All-Russian Scientific-Practical Conference "Family-Demographic Problems in the Context of the Development of the Modern Russian State-Civilization" (South-Russian Institute of Management – Branch of RANEPA, November 29, 2024), the All-Russian Scientific-Practical Conference "Value-Patriotic Regulators in the Formation of the Historical Culture of Modern Youth: On the 80th Anniversary of the Great Victory" (South-Russian Institute of Management – Branch of RANEPA, February 28, 2025), the VI International Scientific-Practical Conference "Institutional Transformations of the Socio-Political System of Russia: Past, Present, Future" (South-Russian Institute of Management – Branch of RANEPA, March 20, 2026), as well as within the framework of the round table "Patriotism as a Consolidating Basis of Russian Society and Traditional Values" (Tagarrog Institute named after A.P. Chekhov – Branch of RGEU (RINH), March 3, 2025) and other scientific events.

The research results are reflected in 6 scientific publications with a total volume of 3.1 printed sheets, including 5 articles published in peer-reviewed scientific journals recommended by the Higher Attestation Commission under the Ministry of Education and Science of Russia. The dissertation was discussed and recommended for defense at a meeting of the Department of Political Science and Ethnopolitics of the South-Russian Institute of Management – Branch of RANEPA (Protocol No. 9 dated May 26, 2026.).

Approbation of the research results is reflected in the following publications:

Articles in journals included in the List of journals recommended by the Higher Attestation Commission of Russia for the publication of the main scientific results of dissertations for the degree of Candidate of Sciences.

Davydova, N. S. From "Democratic Transit" – to Modern Russian Party Democracy. The Concept of "Party-Electoral Aggregation" / N. S. Davydova // Political Science Issues. – 2023. – Vol. 13, No. 3(91). – pp. 1055-1063. – DOI 10.35775/PSI.2023.91.3.017.

Davydova, N. S. Civil-Identitary Model of Party-Electoral Aggregation / N. S. Davydova // Issues of National and Federal Relations. – 2023. – Vol. 13, No. 4(97). – pp. 1523-1530. – DOI 10.35775/PSI.2023.97.4.023.

Davydova, N. S. Cluster-Network Model of Party-Electoral Aggregation / N. S. Davydova // Issues of National and Federal Relations. – 2023. – Vol. 13, No. 3(96). – pp. 997-1004. – DOI 10.35775/PSI.2023.96.3.021.

Articles in journals recommended by the Academic Council of RANEPa.

Davydova, N. S. Models of Party-Electoral Aggregation in the Political Life of Modern Russia / N. S. Davydova // Communicology. – 2022. – Vol. 10, No. 1. – pp. 176-184. – DOI 10.21453/2311-3065-2022-10-1-176-184.

Davydova, N.S. Determinants of the Development of the Political Innovation System: Theoretical Foundations and Practice / N.S. Davydova // State and Municipal Management. Scientific Notes. – 2023. – No. 2. – pp. 303-308. – DOI 10.22394/2079-1690-2023-1-2-303-308

Other works of the author.

Davydova, N.S. Introduction of Innovations in the Sphere of Forming Leaders of a New Generation in the Context of Growing Threats to National Security in Modern Russia / N.S. Davydova, T.P. Vernigorova, T.A. Uzdenov // Patriotism in Modern Russia in the Context of Growing Threats to National Security. Materials of the scientific-practical conference with international participation. – Rostov-on-Don, – 2023. – pp. 87-91.

Structure of the work.

The dissertation work comprises 174 pages and includes an introduction, two chapters, five paragraphs, a conclusion and a bibliography.