

Abstract
Dissertation for the degree of candidate of political studies:
“Youth socio-political organizations in modern Russia:
institution-building and development process”
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The dissertation is dedicated to the study of modern Russia youth socio-political organizations. This topic has academic interest both in terms of socio-political processes that are taking place in Russia and Russian regions and in terms of the analysis and modeling of future prospects for the youth movement development in our country. According to the author's opinion, modern youth has become actively involved in the development process of the civil society in order to improve their social self-organization. This, in turn, highlights the activities of modern youth socio-political organizations.

The results of the study:

1. The specific nature of modern socio-political organizations as the civil-society institution

Modern socio-political organizations are the civil-society institution providing self-organization and political participation of youth in the life of society and the State, the development of their civic engagement through voluntary initiatives of this age range in the articulation process, furthering and defending their interests, thus contributing to the political socialization of youth and modern political elite formation.

The specific nature of modern socio-political organizations as the civil-society institution is the realization through their activities the values, diverse interests and youth's efforts and desires in the field of political relationships. Thus effects Russian youth policy, youth political culture development and formation and also brand new political elite recruitment.

2. The actors and factors of the youth socio-political organizations formation, development and evolution

In this research the actors and factors of the youth socio-political organizations in post-totalitarian states were analyzed and described. The critical analysis of institutional development process of modern socio-political organizations in post-totalitarian Russia and Russian regions leads to the conclusion that this type of process was happening in the 'open field' in the 'scorched political space'.

One of the actors of the youth socio-political organizations creation and formation is post-totalitarian State which is oriented to the guide, monitor and control of youth organizations activities. Also political parties need their own youth organizations and youth itself feels the need in self-organization in the context of breakdown of youth organizations in totalitarian State.

Among the factors are the substantial changes of post-totalitarian Russia in the late 80s – beginning of 90s of the 20th century: very negative trend in decreasing of basic socio-economic indicators, official communistic ideology crisis, radical renewal in every sphere of the society's life, democratization and pluralism of the socio-political life of modern Russia, society's 'hope' for the new changes and self-realization possibilities and opportunities, the raise of youth awareness and its politicization, the ideological and political disengagement, youth awareness of their rights and interests, youth reaction to the modern development inconsistency, untimely and inadequate authorities actions which are not based on the real needs and expectations of youth in a post-totalitarian state and finally the growth of national-ethnic self-determination in the regions of post-totalitarian Russia.

3. The typology of youth socio-political organizations in modern Russia

The author's model of modern socio-political organizations typology was proposed based on the various existing typologies analysis which includes the following criterion:

- The actors of modern socio-political organizations formation – this criteria makes it possible to identify those who initiates the modern socio-political organizations establishment, their goals, activities and resources in Russia and Russian regions.

The socio-political organizations which were created by the government initiative – 2 out of 14 (Communist Youth Union 'Young Bashkortostan' and Democratic Youth Union of Bashkortostan) in the beginning of 90s of the 20th century did not make any kind of long-term success. The Democratic Youth Union of Bashkortostan following on from Komsomol predecessor, was not considered by young people as the main integration platform. The state did not stand a chance to control youth socio-political activities. Still the modern-day State is not considering the establishment of the only youth socio-political organization, that would unite all the existing youth organizations. There are a lot of youth branches of the main political parties (5 out of 14) in the Republic of Bashkortostan (Young Guard of United Russia, Komsomol, Youth Centre of LDPR, Young Socialists of Russia, Young Yabloko). The representatives seem to be the most promising in the ideological-political perspective of modern youth socio-political organizations. The existence of self-organized youth socio-political organizations (7 out of 14) is directly related to growth of the civic political culture and socio-political identity of young people, the relevance of these organizations as the civil society institution.

- The objectives of the youth socio-political organizations activities – this criterion provides an opportunity to assess the focus and the level of politicization of the youth socio-political organizations, and also the wide range and diversity of the youth socio-political organizations as the civic society institutions.

Modern youth socio-political organizations of the Republic of Bashkortostan are mostly socio-political (9 out of 14), as suggested by the charters of these organizations. Among the objectives of the organizations' activities are stated: participation in public life, participation in the election campaigns of members of these organizations and the nomination of their representatives to government bodies at various levels, support for specific political parties, protection of political, economic, social and other rights and interests of youth.

- State and territorial borders of youth socio-political organizations influence – this criterion divides youth socio-political organizations within the State borders, attractiveness and impact among young people.

This criterion points to positive trends in equivalence for youth – one equal to the other – federal (5) and regional (9) youth socio-political organizations operating in the territory of the Republic of Bashkortostan. Most of the reviewed federal youth socio-political organizations of the Republic of Bashkortostan are the youth departments of political parties (5). For its part, regional youth socio-political organizations are represented by the organizations designed to integrate youth of various ethnic groups.

4. The impact of federal and regional legal framework on the emergence and evolution of the youth socio-political organizations of the Republic of Bashkortostan as the civic society institute

As a result of the study, the legal and institutional framework of youth socio-political organizations of the Republic of Bashkortostan as the civic society institute has been systematized and analyzed, also their role in political socialization and political participation of youth has been investigated. The study of the Russian Federation legislation concerning the activities of these civil-society organizations showed that in modern Russia new foundations and formats of relations between the state and civil society institutions have been establishing and developing. In legal and regulatory documents material and financial means and resources and guarantees of the State support for youth socio-political organizations are declared including their socio-political segment, which catalyzed the creation of new youth associations.

However, there is a contradiction between body of law on youth public organizations including youth socio-political organizations and real impact on their institutional formation and development. We cannot say that today

all important, necessary and sufficient political and legal conditions for the formation and activities of youth public organizations as the civic society institute do exist. The Federal Act on public support for youth and children's public associations adopted in 1995 is not commonly available to youth created by the political parties. Although there are multitude of regional laws in the area of youth policy there is no relevant national law on the state youth policy and this contradicts the federal structure of Russia and complicates lawmaking across Russian regions concerning the specifics of regional youth socio-political organizations. In Federal law the term of the 'youth socio-political organization' should be fully described, also there should be determined youth socio-political organization's core functions, a place and a role in political system, forms of political participation and guaranteed impact on youth public policy through appropriate procedures and incentive mechanisms in order to stimulate action by the grant support of youth socio-political organizations.

5. Modern forms of political participation of youth socio-political organizations as the civil society institution in the Republic of Bashkortostan

The recent study of different forms of youth socio-political organizations' activities in the Republic of Bashkortostan during the 1990-2018 period allows us to say, that historic youth socio-political organizations formation is characterized by the presence of their wealth of political activity experience.

In 90s of the 20th century during the period of country-wide democratization and national revival and development in Russia republics, in Bashkortostan in particular, the political impact of ethno-political youth movements and organizations has increased sharply. They used such forms of political involvement as the youth socio-political organizations' leaders' personal communication with authorities, they also used direct political actions (rallies, public demonstrations, mass protests, etc.).

In the early twenty first century weakening 'ethnic and nationalistic patriotism' of young Bashkir people transformed into new forms of activities (programs taken to overcome language problems, such cultural activities as "Bashkir Youth Day", etc.) and has been replaced and supplemented by youth organizations' of political parties activities with their different type of struggle for power (first of all during the election campaigns).

The range of youth organizations and their forms of socio-political and civic engagement have been gradually extended. We can observe trends in political and awareness-raising activities of youth socio-political organizations, civilian political socialization of young people regardless of their political affiliation. However, tension between wide variety of forms of political participation of youth organizations and the effectiveness of their activities as the civic society institution, the promotion of civic initiatives of young people and the impact on the youth policy during the preparation and implementation of the public decisions.

Further political participation of Bashkortostan young people have been initiated by the political parties. However, only regional unit of "United Russia" political party has created branched membership system and well-developed infrastructure, that, in turn, has impacted on its youth branch "Young Guard of the United Russia" as one of the largest youth socio-political organizations. This is due to the fact that the creation of political party "United Russia" in 2001 was initiated by the President of Russia to strengthen Russian statehood and consolidate society at the beginning of the new century. Taking this into account youth branch of the party had its privileges.

Index analysis has been used to compare existing youth socio-political organizations in the Republic of Bashkortostan. This approach is very relevant because it allows to create an adequate impression of youth socio-political organizations activities across the region and also assess them. Based on the index analysis was defined that regional branch "Young Guard of the United Russia" and "League of youth policy" in the Republic of Bashkortostan are the most effective youth socio-political organizations across the region. This is due to the fact that these organizations are the most involved in political and power relations, they also have access to political decisions, as well as direct contacts with representatives of the executive and legislative branches of the Republic of Bashkortostan.

6. The role of youth socio-political organizations as the institute of modern political elite recruiting in Bashkortostan

Based on the analysis of particular cases in the Republic of Bashkortostan the activity of youth socio-political organizations has been shown as a mechanism for recruiting the political elite of modern Russia.

Recently authoritative ethno-national youth socio-political organizations founded in the early 90s of the 20th century had the most effective mechanisms for selecting new political elite. They have nominated a great amount of leaders who constituted a significant cohort of political and state figures in the republic of Bashkortostan.

Nowadays, political elite update from the sources of young people is ensured mostly by the representatives of youth socio-political organizations and also from the new institutional and organizational structures controlled by the state and the "United Russia" party (Personnel reserve of the state civil service of the Republic of Bashkortostan; such projects of the regional branch of the political party "United Russia" as the "Civil University", "School of Political Leadership", "School of the Young Deputy", "Youth Primaries"), but also affiliated to some extent with several youth socio-political organizations that represent modern "launching pads" of youth's entry into the power.

In this connection, as recent practice shows, youth socio-political organizations and many other youth movements are often declared as a "reservoir" of rejuvenation of the political elite, still in fact, in this capacity they operate in a formal way. As a result, the political elite is reproduced, bypassing youth socio-political organizations, so there is a contradiction between the growing need of modern Russian society and the state for a new political elite and a lack of 'political elevators' for ambitious young people who are actively working in different youth socio-political organizations. The inefficiency of youth elevators is caused not only by the undeveloped political competition and authoritarian-subjective (volitional) personnel policy, but also by the lack of State's systematic work, political parties, youth socio-political organizations don't 'cultivate' and involve promising, politically motivated young people from the activists in the political and power sphere and youth socio-political organizations' leaders. In modern Russia, the models and roles of effective politicians change have been working out.

The results of the study in general terms indicate that there is an urgent need for further development of youth socio-political organizations as a natural socio-political "reservoir", that would be able to provide youth leaders and skilled labor at the federal, regional and municipal levels. For this to happen it would be necessary to:

- increase the youth socio-political organizations recognition, their credibility and effectiveness
- develop of the party system and youth departments of political parties and active young people promotion to the state and municipal authorities and administrations
- youth socio-political organizations' state support during the process of youth civil-political socialization, rejuvenation of the State leadership and also municipal structures' leadership by youth socio-political organizations' leaders
- political and legal recognition of the subjectivity of youth socio-political organizations within the existing political system as a civil society institution, representing the interests of such a significant social group as youth, that also implies the existence of specific mechanisms and procedures for the participation of youth socio-political organizations in advising and coordinating the priority issues of youth policy.

The results of recent study prove the leading hypothesis: youth socio-political organizations developed in post-totalitarian Russian environment are the brand new type of youth organizations. Though inconsistent, modern youth socio-political organizations acquire the features of the civil society institutions influenced by the socio-political, economic and socio-cultural factors. New youth socio-political organizations have been created across federal and regional levels and, at the same time, the political and legal foundations of their activity have been formed, also the forms of political participation are expanding and their importance as an institution for the political elite recruiting of modern Russia have been increasing. However, there remains the unresolved contradiction between the potential of youth socio-political organizations as the civil society institution and the conditions for their implementation and the increasing role of these organizations.

28.02.2020

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