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**SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC POLICIES IN POST-SOVIET RUSSIA:  
SCIENTIFIC CONCEPTS, STRATEGIC PRIORITIES, POLICY  
IMPLEMENTATION MECHANISMS (1991-2019)**

Specialty: 5.5.3 Public Administration and Sectoral Policies

**ABSTRACT**

of the Dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Political Sciences

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## **The main results of the research**

### **“Social and Economic Policies in post-Soviet Russia: scientific concepts, strategic priorities, policy implementation mechanisms (1991-2019)”**

**by Oksana V. Leonova**

**The relevance of the research** is due to the fact that the social and economic policies of the period under study in post-Soviet Russia, developed and implemented by public authorities and management bodies, does not guarantee the fulfillment of one of the key tasks of modern politics in political and managerial practices, namely, providing conditions for decent and prosperous living for citizens of the country, as well as increasing the common good. As a result, the political science study of the process of developing and implementing social and economic policies in the Russian Federation in 1991-2019, the study of the role of state and non-state policy actors (formal and informal) in government decision-making, the analysis of the impact of internal and external factors on this process is an urgent argument for both the study of the stated topic and the search for the causes of inefficiency of this policy. the imperatives of its improvement. In this regard, the applicant highlights a number of specific aspects of the relevance of the topic of his dissertation research submitted for defense, both in theoretical and methodological, as well as in political and managerial terms.

First, it is possible to understand the mistakes and miscalculations of social and economic policies in post-Soviet Russia, to present its more precise political content, taking into account the conceptual foundations and strategic priorities, with a theoretical explanation of the essence of the field of politics of the Russian Federation. The fields of politics as a combination of three main parts: power hierarchies, the balance of power of interest groups with an analysis of political alternatives, the specifics of the Russian political market. As a result, the relevance and depth of the study of the field of politics of post-Soviet Russia in the ontological, axiological and procedural dimensions as a space of agents of action and institutions is beyond doubt.

Secondly, the study of the effectiveness and balance of the state social and economic policies of the Russian Federation in 1991-2019 is relevant from the point of view of conceptualizing the problem, namely, the "immersion" of the subject of the study (the political content of Russia's social and economic policies of the period under study, including the analysis of positional and iconic problems, challenges of Russian statehood) in the scientific theories and concepts, which involves clarifying concepts and categories, as well as interpreting them based on available empirical data. This context of the dissertation research focuses us on the analysis of external (international crises, sanctions of unfriendly countries) and internal conditions (social and economic transformations, destruction of ruling elites, protest activity of mass groups). All this allowed the author, on the one hand, to take into account the existing risks and costs that pose threats to social and economic policies, on the other hand, to more systematically assess the role of the state as an organizer and dispatcher, as the main arbitrator in disputes between political actors, in an effort to prove its state effectiveness through policy.

Thirdly, a systematic analysis of state social and economic policies, its constant and radical transformations actualize the question of explaining the phenomenon of post-Soviet Russia in the category of strategizing (mobilizing power and resources to increase the common good, making important, and not always effective political decisions), and in the category of dichotomy.: as the core of historical Russia with its "specialness" (identity) and as the foundation of the state with a new economic and political structure. From this perspective, state policy in industries and spheres already stands in the status of value-symbolic policy, with a consistent change in its conceptual foundations and paradigms that require theoretical and practical understanding from the researcher.

Fourthly, the relevance of the study of the state policy of post-Soviet Russia in the social and economic sphere remains from the point of view of the study of political mechanisms for optimizing the policy, namely: 1) structures that ensure the aggregation and articulation of the interests of citizens (social groups), 2) institutions that guarantee the interaction of sectors of society that make power decisions,

implement these decisions, and control the effectiveness of government, 3) guarantees of political stability in society at the expense of available and expended resources (material, financial, human, political and informational) for its implementation. As for the analysis of resource usage, it is important to find a correlation between resource potential (what could be directed) and resource provision (what was done and how). In this context, digital indicators of resources and the quality of resource support for public policy are of importance.

Fifth, the relevance of an in-depth study of the state social and economic policies pursued in Russia in 1991-2019 cannot be assessed without a systematic study of the activities of public authorities and management to implement this policy in terms of quality and effectiveness, especially from the point of view of analyzing the quality of strategies and doctrines, management models, as well as the effects obtained in increments of the total (public) benefit, in ensuring social and economic, and political stability. Awareness of these and other aspects will become relevant in terms of improving such policies, finding and putting into practice development imperatives.

**The chronological framework of the study.** The issue of the Dissertation involves a research analysis of the state social and economic policies of post-Soviet Russia since 1991, the beginning of the government of Boris Yeltsin - Yevgeny Gaydar, through the pre-crisis year 2019 (the 2020s were associated with a strong impact on the economy and social sphere of external factors such as the COVID-19 pandemic and large-scale economic sanctions by a group of unfriendly countries).

**The extent of previous research.** The problem under study is multidimensional, which is confirmed by the operationalization of a significant number of scientific approaches, concepts, concepts and theories considered in the chapters of the dissertation research. In this regard, the author needed to study a large number of monographs, scientific articles, and dissertations, which can be logically divided into seven main groups.

*The first group* includes works by domestic and foreign authors who have explored the field of politics and political spaces against the background of other

fields and spaces, the essence of politics in the perspective of the time continuum and historical context. This group of works provides a theoretical basis for a systematic analysis of modern states and their social and economic policies. Various aspects of the concept of politics, the theories of fields and spaces necessary for our research are described in the works of P. Bourdieu, S.A. Gluzman, D. McAdam, S.V. Naumov, I.Y. Okunev, G.V. Pushkareva, N. Fligsttin, K. Schmitt et al.<sup>1</sup>

The multidimensional nature of politics, applied by the dissertation in the research analysis of the social and economic policies of modern Russia, is presented in the research of modern Russian political scientists B.A. Isaev, G.V. Pushkareva, L.V. Smorgunov, A.I. Solovyov in the classical works of G. Almond, M. Weber, F. J. Goodnow, M. Lipset, G. Lasswell, A. Smith, By E. Fegelin.<sup>2</sup> These researchers proposed a number of classical definitions of politics, highlighted its certain

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<sup>1</sup> Bourdieu, P. Social space: fields and practices / P. Bourdieu; ed. by translation, comp. by N.A. Shmatko. St. Petersburg: Aleteya Publ., 2014. 576 p.; Gluzman S.A. The mental space of Russia / S.A. Gluzman. – St. Petersburg: Aleteya, 2022. – 332 p.; Naumov S.V. Fundamentals of the theoretical study of economic space / S.V. Naumov. – M.: Publishing House "The Whole World", 2019. – 192 p.; Okunev I.Y. Fundamentals of spatial analysis: monograph. 2nd ed., revised and add. / I.Y. Okunev. – M.: Publishing house "Aspect Press", 2023. – 255 p.; Pushkareva G.V. Political space / G.V. Pushkareva // Political Science. New Lexicon / edited by A.I. Solovyov. Moscow: Aspect Press Publishing House, 2023. pp. 204-214; Fligsttin N., Makadam D. Theory of fields / N. Fligsttin, D. McAdam; translated from English by E.B. Golovlyanitsyna; under the scientific editorship of V.V. Radaev. Publishing House of the Higher School of Economics, 2022. – 464 p.; Schmitt K. The concept of the political / Karl Schmitt / translated from German, edited by A.F. Filippov. Saint Petersburg: Nauka Publ., 2016, 568 p.

<sup>2</sup> Isaev B.A. Theory of politics / B.A. Isaev. St. Petersburg: Peter, 2008– 484 p.; Politics and government management: new challenges and vectors of development: a collection of articles / edited by A.I. Solovyov, G.V. Pushkareva. Moscow: Aspect Press Publishing House, 2019. 366 p.; Smorgunov L.V. Network theory of politics and management / L.V. Sungurov // Modern political science: Methodology: Scientific edition. 2nd ed., ispr. and add. / ed. by O.V. Gaman-Golutvin, A.I. Nikitin. – M.: Publishing house "Aspect Press", 2019. – pp. 233-261.; Soloviev A.I. Politics and government. Essays on theory and methodology: A monograph / A.I. Solovyov. Moscow: Aspect Press Publishing House, 2021. 256 p.; Almond G. Comparative Political Science today: A World Review / G. Almond, J. Powell, K. Strom, R. Dalton; short translation from English by A.S. Bogdanovsky, L.A. Galkin; edited by M.V. Ilyin, A.Yu. Melville. – M.: Aspect Press, 2002. – 537 p.; Weber M. Power and politics / M. Weber; translated from German by B.M. Skuratov, A.F. Filippov; introductory article by A.F. Filippov; commentary by T.A. Dmitriev, A.F. Filippov. – M.: RIPOL classic, 2017. – 432 p.; Gudnau Frank J. Politics and Management / Frank J. Goodnow // Classics of the theory of public administration: an American school / edited by J. Shafritz, A. Haida. – M.: Publishing House of Moscow State University, 2003. - pp.43-47.; Lipset M. Political man: social foundations of politics / M. Lipset: translated from English by E.G. Handel, V.P. Gaydamak, A.V. Mateshuk. – M.: Mysl, 2016. – 612 p.; Fegelin E. The New Science of Politics / Eric Fegelin; translated from English by N. Seliverstov. St. Petersburg: Vladimir Dahl, 2021. 376 p.; Lasswell H.D. Politics: who gets what, when, how / Harold D. Lasswell. – Cleveland and New York: Meridian Books, The world publishing company, 1966. – 222 p.; Smith T. Alexander The comparative policy process / T. Alexander Smith. – Santa Barbara, California, Oxford, England: American Bibliographical Center – Clio Press, Inc, 1975. – 184 p.

relationship with other spheres of society, reflected significant aspects of the impact of politics on various sectors of the economy, and to a certain extent explained politics through the prism of its phenomenology<sup>3</sup> (essential nature). The presented works revealed a number of visible perspectives of the field of politics and political space, the essential nature of politics, and the specifics of its implementation mechanisms.

The second group of sources includes works devoted to the study of the state, its features and types, a combination of the following paired categories: "economy and the state", "social sphere and the state", "politics and the state", "the state and modernity", "the state and failures". These are the works of P. Bourdieu, B. Jessop, R. Lachman, J. Maritain, M. Mazzucato,<sup>4</sup> which reflect the role and nature of the state, its evolution. In particular, in his work, the British political scientist B. Jessop quite critically, which is quite logical, analyzes the role of the state in the social and

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<sup>3</sup> Husserl E. The Idea of phenomenology: Five lectures. 3rd ed., ispr. and revised / E. Husserl; translated from German. and appendix by N.A. Artemenko; introduction by M.A. Belousov. – St. Petersburg: IC "Humanitarian Academy", 2018. 320 p.; Derrida J. "Voice and phenomenon" and other works on the theory of the sign / J. Derrida. St. Petersburg: Alethea, 2017– 208 p.; Merleau-Ponty M. Phenomenology of perception / M. Merleau-Ponty; translated from French, edited by I.S. Vdovina, S.L. Fokina. St. Petersburg: Juventus, Nauka, 1999– 608 p.; Molchanov K.V. Phenomenology of capitalism / K.V. Molchanov. Moscow: KRAI, Center for Public Relations at Lomonosov Moscow State University, 2002. – 176 p.; Smirnova N.M. Social phenomenology in the study of modern society / N.M. Smirnova. – M.: "Canon+" ROOI "Rehabilitation", 2009. – 400 p.; Tulchinsky G.L. Phenomenology of evil and metaphysics of freedom / G.L. Tulchinsky. St. Petersburg: Alethea, 2023. 508 p.; Schutz A. Selected works: A world glowing with meaning / A. Schutz; translated from German. V.G. Nikolaeva, S.V. Romashko, N.M. Smirnova, Moscow: Russian Political Encyclopedia (ROSSPEN), 2004– 1056 p.

<sup>4</sup> Block F. The role of the state in the economy / Fred Block // Economic Sociology. - 2004. Vol.5. – No. 2. – pp. 37-56.; Bourdieu P. About the state: a course of lectures at the College de France (1989 – 1992) / P. Bourdieu; (editors-comp. P. Champagne, R. Lenoir, F. Pupo, M.-K. Riviere); translated from French by D. Kralechkin and I. Kushnareva; preface by A. Bikbova. – M.: Publishing House "Delo" RANHiGS, 2016. 720 p.; Jessop B. The State: past, present and future. / B. Jessop; translated from English by S. Moiseev; edited by D. Karasev. – M.: Publishing House "Delo" RANHiGS, 2019. – 504 p.; Jellinek E. The general doctrine of the State / G. Jellinek; introductory article by Dr. jurid. Sciences, professor I.Y. Kozlikhina. – St. Petersburg: Publishing house "Legal Center Press", 2004. – 752 p.; Lakhman R. States and power / Richard Lakhman; translated from English by M. Dondukovsky; edited by I. Chubarov. – Moscow: Publishing House "Delo" RANHiGS, 2021. – 352 p.; Mariten J. Man and the state / Jacques Maritain; translated from English by T. Lifintseva. – M.: Idea Press, 2000. – 196 p.; Mazzucato M. The entrepreneurial state: Dispelling myths about the state and the private sector / Marianna Mazzucato; translated from English by M. Dobryakova. Moscow: Publishing House of the Higher School of Economics, 2023. 360 p.; Schmitt K. The State: law and politics / Karl Schmitt; translated from German. and introductory articles by O.V. Kildyushova; comp. by V.V. Anashvili, O.V. Kildyushov. – M.: Budugego Publishing House, 2013. – 448 p.; Heald D. Political theory and the modern state. Essays on the state, power and democracy / David Held. – Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1989. – 266 p.

economic sphere, explores the change in scale and its evolution (from domination and coercion to government and management of industries and spheres). On the contrary, the Italian-American political scientist M. Mazzucato is more positive about the role of politics in modern society, emphasizing that it is the state that is an important and desperate innovator. Also, a serious block of research within the framework of our thesis is related to the state, including the Russian Federation, and its policies in the context of: a) conceptual foundations and doctrines of the state, b) strategies and strategic priorities, c) state regulation, e) mechanisms for implementing government decisions (political instrumentalization). These are the works of S. Glazyev, D. Geddiss, D. Malgan, V.S. Martyanov, G. Moski, V. Popov and others.<sup>5</sup> For example, Gaetano Mosca's work on political doctrines allows the doctoral candidate to consider domestic doctrines as political formulas. As an example, the Food Security Doctrine of the Russian Federation, adopted in 2010, the implementation of which in practice could help make the agro-industrial complex one of the most successful areas of the economy.

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<sup>5</sup> Andrianov V.D. The evolution of the basic concepts of economic regulation from the theory of mercantilism to the theory of self-regulation / V.D. Andrianov. Moscow: ZAO Publishing House Ekonomika, 2008. – 326 p.; Assembloglu D, Robinson J. A. The economic origins of dictatorship and democracy. 2nd ed. / D. Assemoglu, J. A. Robinson; translated from English by S.V. Moiseenko; under the scientific editorship of L.I. Polishchuk, G.R. Slyunyaev, T.V. Natkhova. – M.: Publishing House of the Higher School of Economics, 2018. 512 p.; Glazyev S.Y. Strategy of advanced development Russia in the context of the global crisis / S.Y. Glazyev. – M.: Economics, 2010. 255 p.; Gaddis D.L. On Big Strategy / John Lewis Gaddis; translated from English by O. Filippov and A. Sholomitskaya. Moscow: Gaidar Institute Publishing House, 2021. - 424 p.; Mulgan J. The Art of state strategy: Mobilizing Power and Knowledge for the Common Good / J. Malgan; translated from English by Y. Kapturevsky under the scientific editorship of Ya. Okhonko. Moscow: Ed. Gaidar Institute, 2011. 472 p.; Martianov V.S. The political project of Modernity. From World Economics to World Politics: Russia's Strategy in a Globalizing World / V.S. Martianov, Moscow: Russian Political Encyclopedia (ROSSPEN), 2010– 359 p.; Mesoeconomics of Russia: The strategy of escape: a monograph / edited by the corresponding member. WOUNDS of G.B. Kleiner. – SCIENTIFIC LIBRARY Publishing House, 2022. – 808 p.; Mosca G. History of political doctrines / Gaetano Mosca; translated from Italian by E.I. Temnov. – Moscow: Mysl, 2012. – 326 p.; Popov V.V. Strategy of economic development / V.V. Popov. – Moscow: Publishing House of Higher Schools of Economics, 2011. 336 p.; Priorities and modernization of the Russian economy /ed. by Doctor of Economics I.R. Kurnysheva; scientific ed. by Doctor of Economics prof. S.N. Seliverstov. Saint Petersburg: Aleteya Publ., 2011. 208 p.; Rozov N.S. Koleya and the pass: the macrosociological foundations of Russia's Strategies in the 21st century / N.S. Rozov. Moscow: Russian Political Encyclopedia, 2011– 735 p.; Socio-economic development of Russia as an object of state regulation: Monograph / edited by N.V. Spasskaya, E.V. Takmakova. Moscow: RIOR: INFRA-M, 2016. – 216 p.; Stigler J. J. Citizen and the state. An essay on regulation / J. J. Stigler; translated from English by N.V. Autonomova; scientific ed. translated by V.S. Autonomov, E.V. Khudko. – M.: Publishing House of the Gaidar Institute, 2017. – 336 p.

*The third group* of theoretical sources includes works devoted to the study of the phenomenology of post-Soviet Russia. In this group of papers, the dissertation focuses on the search and identification of the features of the post-Soviet space and the functioning of post-Soviet states. In more detail, the applicant focuses on the specifics of the non-Western political process in the formation of the Russian Federation in the context of globalization (cliques, unworthy rule), on the political appearance and characteristics of the new state in the time space of 30 years.<sup>6</sup> Highlighting the importance of the scientific works of this group, it is worth emphasizing that, on the one hand, foreign and Russian political scientists presented their vision of the formation of post-Soviet Russia, on the other hand, they stimulate the dissertator to a deeper insight into the essence of the "old-new" politics.

In our opinion, the study of the phenomenology of post-Soviet Russia is unthinkable without understanding the relationship between the past, present and the image of the future, the concept of a special path for the Russian Federation. In this regard, the works of I.A. Batanina, Ya.I. Vaslavsky, A.I. Vdovin, F. Polak, D. Urri and others<sup>7</sup> are important for the dissertation. It is on the basis of these works and

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<sup>6</sup> Afanasyev M.N. Clientelism and Russian statehood / M.N. Afanasyev. – M.: Center for Constitutional Studies of the Moscow Public Scientific Foundation, 1997. – 301 p.; Afanasyev M.N. Unbearable weakness of the state: essays on national political theory / M.N. Afanasyev. – M.: "Russian Political Encyclopedia" (ROSSPEN), 2006. – 272 p.; Diskin I.E. Alternatives to the Russian breakthrough / Joseph Diskin, Moscow: Political Encyclopedia, 2019, 287 p.; Kazantsev, S.V. Anti-Russian sanctions: damage assessment: a monograph / S.V. Kazantsev, Moscow: INFRA-M, 2023, 201 p.; Maslov, D.V. From the Soviet man to the Russian: reforms and social evolution of the individual (mid-1980s – 1990s) / D.V. Maslov. – M.: Scientific and Political book, 2022. – 359 p.; Pai L. Non-Western political process / L. Pai // Political Science. - 2003. – No. 2. – pp. 66-85.; Pastukhov V.B. Three times of Russia. Society and the state in the past, present, and future / V.B. Pastukhov. Moscow: ROSSPEN, 1994. – 159 p.; Russia in the XXI century / edited by L.E. Ilyicheva, V.S. Komarovskiy. – Moscow: Aspect Press Publishing House, 2020. – 520 p.; Sociocultural threats: reality, mental models and discourse: A collective monograph. 2nd ed. / Under the general editorship of V.I. Zabotkina. – M.: YASK Publishing House, 2022. – 392 p.; Tolstykh V.I. Russia of the age of change / V.I. Tolstykh. – M.: Russian Political Encyclopedia (ROSSPEN), 2012. – 367 p.; Hedlund S. Invisible hands, the experience of Russia and social science. Ways to explain a systemic failure / S. Hedlund; translated from English by N.V. Autonomova; edited by V.S. Autonomov. Moscow: Publishing House of the Higher School of Economics, 2015– 424 p.; Economic crises and their impact on the Russian economy: a monograph / edited by prof. M.Y. Malkina and assoc. A.O. Ovcharov. – Moscow: INFRA-M, 2023. – 248 p.

<sup>7</sup> State Policy and Management: theory, methodology, modern Implementation practices / P.A. Merkulov, I.A. Batanina, D.N. Nechaev [et al.]. – Orel : Central Russian Institute of Management - branch of the Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration, 2024. – 312 p.; Batanina I.A., Lavrikova A.A., Shumilova O.E. The image of the future of the Russian Federation in the perception of the population: construction and identification // Central Russian Bulletin of Social Sciences. – 2024. – Vol. 19, No. 4. – pp. 36-60.; Bessonova O.E. The Path of Russia and the new Course / Olga

the analysis of a huge array of empirical information that the components of the desired image of the future of the Russian Federation and its design for the future are formulated by the dissertation.

*The fourth group* of theoretical sources includes works by domestic and foreign authors devoted to the analysis of the interaction and "intertwining" of the economy, society and the institution of the state, economic sectors, social and political spheres tied to the economic, social and political systems of national policies. These are the works of L. Von Bertalanfi, I. Wallerstein, M. Weber, S. Glazyev, D. Easton, Yu.A. Krasin, K.R. McConnell and S.L. Brew, T. Parsons, S.P. Peregudov, V.B. Slatinov, E. Schneider and others. These works are correlated with the functioning of the above-mentioned systems of the Russian Federation.<sup>8</sup>

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Bessonova. Russian Russian nation in the twentieth century (Russian, Soviet, Russian in the ethnopolitical history of Russia) – M.: Political Encyclopedia, 2023. – 143 p.; Vasilavsky Ya.I. Economics and society in the contours of the post-crisis future / Ya.I. Vasilavsky. – M.: Aspect Press Publishing House, 2023. - 478 p.; Vdovin A.I. Russian nation in the twentieth century (Russian, Soviet, Russian in the ethnopolitical history of Russia): monograph / A.I. Vdovin. – M.: RG-Press, 2019. – 712 p.; Danilin A.B. The Future of Russia: sovereignty, quality of life, modernization. Moscow: Modern Notebooks, 2019. 304 p.; Ideology of the "special path" in Russia and Germany: origins, contents, consequences: collection of articles / Kennan Institute; edited by E.A. Pain. Moscow: Three Squares, 2010. 320 p.; Lalu F. Discovering the organizations of the future / Frederick Laloux; translated from English by V. Kulyabina; scientific ed. by E. Golub. – M.: Mann, Ivanov and Ferber, 2022. – 432 p.; Platonov O.A. Economics of Russian civilization / O.A. Platonov. – M.: Rodnik, 1995. – 798 p.; Polak F. Image The future / Fred Polak // The world of our Tomorrow: An Anthology of modern classical prognostics. Moscow: Eksmo Publishing House, 2003. pp.220-223.; Political design: global, national, regional dimensions / edited by M.N. Grachev and N.A. Borisov. Moscow: Mir Filosofii, 2016. 464 p.; Russia in search of ideologies: the transformation of value regulators of modern societies / edited by V.S. Martyanov, L.G. Fishman. – M.: Political Encyclopedia, 2016. – 334 p.; Srnicek N., Williams A. Inventing the future: postcapitalism and the World without labor / N. Srnicek, A. Williams; translated from English by N. Okhotin. – M.: Strelka Press, 2019. – 336 p.; Urri D. What does the future look like? / John Urry; translated from English by A. Matveenko; edited by S. Shchukina. – M.: Publishing House "Delo" RANHiGS, 2019. – 320 p.; Kholodkovsky K.G. Self-determination of Russia / K.G. Kholodkovsky. Moscow: Russian Political Encyclopedia (ROSSPEN), 2013. 326 p.

<sup>8</sup> Easton D. The Analysis of Political Structure / David Easton. – New York: London: Routledge, Chapman and Hall, Inc. 1990. – 336 p. F. Aguillon. D. Williamson. Economic growth, inequality, and globalization: Theory, History, and Political Practice / Philippe Haguillon, Jeffrey Williamson; translated from English. Yulia Nabatova. - M. M.: Publishing house "Delo" RANHiGS, 2015. - 288 S. L. Bertalanfi. background. General Theory of Systems: a critical review / L. N. von Bertalanffy // Research on the general theory of systems: a collection of translations; general editorship and introduction. statistics of V.N. Sadovsky and E.N. According to G. N. Yudin. - M. M.: Progress Publishing House, 1969. -P.23-82. M.: Baddeley. Behavioral Economics: a very brief introduction / M. N. Baddeley; translated from English by N.V. N. I. Shilova. M. N. Ageeva; under the scientific editorship of M. N. Winner of the award named after Levina. M. M.: Publishing House "Delo" RANHiGS, 2022. - 208 p.; Wallerstein I. The world-the Modern system. Volume IV. The Triumph of Centrist Liberalism, 1789-1914 / Immanuel Wallerstein; translated from English, lit. Edited by N. Protsenko, Moscow: Russian Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Science, 2016. 496 S. M. Weber. Economy and society: essays on understanding sociology: in 4 volumes. Vol.1. Sociology / Max weber; translated from him; comp., general ed. n. and preface. L. N. According to G. N. Ionin. - M.: Publishing House of the Higher School of Economics, 2016. - 445 S. S.

*The fifth group* of studies includes scientific works devoted to understanding and studying the process of institutionalization of social and economic policies. At the beginning, the dissertation identifies a range of works devoted to the analysis of interest groups and the political process itself (the alignment of political forces in a specific time period, the interaction of actors, political participation, policy development, political decision-making), that is, categories that largely determine

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Glazyev.J. N. A. Shchipkov.V. N. Economics and society: monograph. - M. M.: Prospect, 2021. - 192 p.; Collective forms of management in modern economics: monograph / V. N.E. Dementiev, R. N.M. N. Kachalov, G. N.B. N. Kleiner, et al.; edited by N. According to G. B.N. Kleiner. - M. M.: PUBLISHING House "SCIENTIFIC LIBRARY", 2017. - 356 p.; Columbatto,E. Markets, morality and economic policy A new approach to the protection of the free market economy / E. N. Columbatto; translated from English. under the scientific editorship of N. G. Sapov. - M. M.: Mysl, 2016. - 500 p.; Y. Krasin.A. n. The innovative type of society development and the political system in Russia / Yu.n.A. N. Krasin / / Modernization and politics in the 21st century / ed. by N. Y. N. According to S. N. Organisyan; Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow: Russian Political Encyclopedia (ROSSPEN), 2011. pp. 17-27. M. Krasnov.A.n. Introduction to Constitutional law with clarification of complex issues 2nd ed. reprint. and additional / M. N.A. N. Krasnov. - M.: Publishing house of the Higher School of Economics, 2020. - 508 p. D. Le Grand. The Other invisible hand: the provision of public services based on choice and competition / D. N. Le Grand; translated from English. Kushnareva, Moscow: Ed. Gaidar Institute, 2011. - 240 p.; Le Grand J. Economic analysis of social problems / J. Le Grand, K. N. Popper, S. N. Smith; translated from English by L. N. According to S. N. Zosimova; under the scientific editorship of N. M. N. According to G. N. Kolosnitsyna. Moscow: Publishing House of the Higher School of Economics, 2013. 318 p. C. Lindblom. The market system: What is it, how it works and what to do with it / Charles Lindblom / translated from English by D. Shestakov, R. N. Khitkulov. Moscow: Publishing House of the State University-Higher School of Economics, 2010. 320 S. K. McConnell.r. S. Br.L.n. Economics: principles, problems and politics / Ph.D.R. McConnell, S. N.L. N. Bru; translated from the 14th English ed. - M. M.: INFRA-M, 2003. - 972 p.; T. Parsons. On social systems / edited by N. V. N.F. N. Chesnokova and S. N. A. N. Belanovsky. - M. M.: Academic project, 2002. - 832 p.; Peregudov.In accordance with the thesis, the political system of Russia in the global context: institutions and mechanisms of interaction.In accordance with P. Peregudov. - M. M.: Russian Political Encyclopedia (ROSSPEN), 2011. - 431 p. m.; Rothbard. Power and the market: the state and the Economy / Murray Rothbard; translated from English by B. N. According to S. N. Pinsker, edited by N. G. Sapov. Chelyabinsk: Socium, 2016. 418 p.; Slatinov V. N. B. N. E. Podosinnikov, Yu. n. State policy on the formation of an independent system for assessing the quality of social services: problems and prospects for implementation in the region // Izvestiya Yugozapadnogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Series: History and Law. – 2016. – №3(20). - Pp. 121-128. V. Shumetov. According to G. N. E. Barashov.V. N. V. Slatinov.B. N. Methodological aspects of transformation of indicators in optimization management tasks of the regional economy // Srednerusskiy vestnik of Social Sciences. – 2016. - T. N.11. – №. 6. -pp. 333-341.; Public values and public administration / V. N.B. N. Slatinov, L. N. V. N. Smorgunov, A. N. V. N. Volkova, A. N. Bajpai [et al.]; Edited by Smorgunov L. N. V. N. A. Volkova.V. N. - Moscow : Limited Liability Company Publishing House "Aspect Press", 2014. - 400 S. G. Tally. Public goods, redistribution and rent search / G. N. Tally; translated from English by L. N. Goncharova. Moscow: Ed. Gaidar Institute, 2011. 224 p.; Fligstein N. Architecture of Markets: the Economic sociology of Capitalist Societies of the 21st century / N. Fligstein; translated from English by A. N.A. N. Kurakin; under the scientific editorship of N. V. N. Radaev. Moscow: Publishing House of the Higher School of Economics, 2013. 392 S. E. Schneider. The political system of the Russian Federation / E. N. Schneider; trans. with him. A. N.A. N. Ampleeva, M. N. In the opinion of G. N. Arzamanov, T. N.V. N. Belyakova, M. N.D. Dimanis, L. N.N. Shanshieva; ed. by N. V. N. In accordance with P. Lyubin. - M. M.: INION RAS, 2002. 264 p.

the directions and priorities of the country's public policy in industries and areas. These are the works of foreign and domestic authors: A. N. According to G. N. Aganbegyan, A. N. Bentley, M. L. N. Goel, V. N. Zavyalov, A. N. D. Nekipelov, L. N. V. N. M. Milbright. Olson, S. N. In accordance with P. Peregudov, V. N. A. N. Plotnikov, V. N. Tolstykh, D. N. Truman, and other.<sup>9</sup> A special emphasis is on the

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<sup>9</sup> Aganbegyan A.G. On the priorities of social policy / A.G. Aganbegyan. Moscow: Publishing House "Delo" RANHiGS, 2020. 512 p.; GR-management of business organizations in modern Russia. Complex analysis and applied technologies: A monograph / M.D. Bondarev, A.A. Degtyarev, A.A. Lyalikov; edited by A.A. Degtyarev, A.S. Teter, M.M.: Prometheus, 2024. – 386 p.; Balayan A.A., Sungurov A.Y. Factories of thought in the context of global transformations /A.A. Balayan, A.Yu. Sungurov. St. Petersburg: Alethea, 2022. 318 p.; Berlin A.L., Grigor G.E. Corporate lobbying: Theory and Practice / A.D. Berlin, G.E. Grigor. Moscow: Publishing House of the International University, 2005. 200 p.; Gilboa I. How to make the right decision? The theory of decision-making in practice / Yitzhak Gilboa; translated from English by N.V. Shilova; edited by M.I. Levin and V.P. Busygin. Moscow: Publishing House "Delo" RANHiGS, 2017. – 288 p.; Zavyalov V.T. Features of political processes in modern Russia: the civilizational context / V.T. Zavyalov. – M.: Political Encyclopedia, 2014. – 166 p.; Sombart V. The ideals of social policy / Werner Sombart // Selected works. Moscow: Gaidar Institute Publishing House, 2016. 488 p.; Kirtsner I. Competition and Entrepreneurship / Israel Kirtsner; translated from English by A.V. Kuryaev and D. Babushkin, edited by A.V. Kuryaev. Chelyabinsk: Socium, 2010. 272 p.; Kline G. Sources of Power: how people make decisions / Gary Kline; translated from English by D. Kralechkin. Moscow: Delo Publishing House, RANEPA, 2020. 480 p.; Tax policy in the socio-economic development of countries with economies in transition / edited by R.S. Grinberg, Z.N. Kuznetsova. St. Petersburg: Aleteya Publ., 2011–392 p.; Oiken V. Basic principles of economic policy / Walter Oiken; translated from German. general editorship by L.I. Tsedilin and K. Herrmann-Pilate, V.S. O.R. Latsis. Moscow: Progress, 1995. 496 p.; Olson M. Logic of collective actions. Public goods and the theory of groups / Mansur Olson; translated from English by E. Okorochenco; scientific ed. by R. Nureyev. – M.: FEI, 1995. – 174 p.; Peregudov S.P. Interest groups and the Russian state / S.P. Peregudov, N.Y. Lapina, I.S. Semenenko. – M.: Editorial URSS, 1999. 352 p.; Gersonskaya I.V., Plotnikov V.A. The role of the state in the economy: areas of regulation and management challenges in Russian conditions // Proceedings of the St. Petersburg State University of Economics. – 2025. – No. 6(156). – pp. 7-13.; Plotnikov V.A. The reasons for the formation of inequality in Russian regions // Fundamental and applied research in economics and finance : Fundamental and applied research in economics and finance. Collection of scientific articles of the X international scientific and practical conference. – Orel, 2024. – pp. 121-124.; Institutional transformation of socio-economic systems in the context of digitalization: state, trends, problems and prospects / Yu.V. Vertakova, I.V. Androsova, Yu.A. Akulova, V.A. Plotnikov [et al.]. Kursk : Closed Joint-Stock Company "University Book", 2020. 294 p.; Rashkoff D. Corporation "Life": how corporatism conquered the world and how we can get it back / Douglas Rashkoff; translated from English by K. Minkova. St. Petersburg: Kriga, 2017– 440 p.; Sidorina T.Y. Two centuries of social policy / T.Y. Sidorina. – M.: Russian State Humanities. Univ., 2005– 442 p.; Tolstykh V.I. Russia of the Age of Change / V.I. Tolstykh. Moscow: Russian Political Encyclopedia (ROSSPEN), 2012. 367 p.; Fishman L.G., Martyanov V.S., Davydov D.A. Rent society: in the shadow of labor, capital and democracy / L.G. Fishman, V.S. Martyanov, D.A. Davydov. – M.: Publishing House of the Higher School of Economics, 2019. – 416 p.; Hirshman A.O. Passions and interests: political arguments in favor of capitalism before its triumph / A.O. Hirshman; translated from the English by D. Welaner. – M.: Ed. Gaidar Institute, 2012. – 200 p.; Bentley Arthur F. The Process of Government. A Study of Social Pressures / Arthur F. Bentley. – Bloomington: The Principia Press, 1949. – 501 p.; Truman D. B. The Governmental Process: Political Interests and Public Opinion / Devid Bicknell Truman. – New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971. – 544 p.; Kingdon John W. Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies / John W. Kingdon; With new foreword by James A. Thurber. – London: Pearson plc, 2011. – 274 p.; Milbrath L. W., Goel M. L. Political participation: how and why do people get involved in politics? / Lester W. Milbrath, M. L. Goel. – Chicago: Rand McNally College Pub. Co., 1977. – 223 p.

constitution of politics and the Russian case.<sup>10</sup> The significance of this group of political science studies lies in the fact that the presented works provide a theoretical justification regarding the essence of interest groups, components and features of the political process (including in post-Soviet Russia), within which conditions are formed for decision-making, including strategic ones, in relation to the development and implementation of public policy in industries and spheres.

In understanding the essence of the social and economic policies of the Russian Federation, scientific publications by ideologists of the liberal social and economic policies of post-Soviet Russia (E. N. Gaidar, A. N. Kudrin, V. N. Mau, Ya. N. Urinson<sup>11</sup>), as well as publications by opponents of the liberal model and ideologists of state regulation of the economy (L. N. Abalkin, A. N. Aganbegyan, A. N. Galushka, S. N. Glazyev, R.N. Grinberg, V. N. Prize winner. Kushlin, A. N. Radygin, A. N. Rubinstein, E. N. Stroev, E. N. Yasin, and others<sup>12</sup>).

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<sup>10</sup> The Constitution of modern politics in Russia: institutional problems / ed. by S.V. Patrushev, L.E. Filippova. Moscow: Political Encyclopedia, 2018. 262 p.; Domination against politics: the Russian case. The effectiveness of the institutional structure and the potential for strategic political change / S.G. Aivazova; edited by S.V. Patrushev, L.E. Filippova. – M.: Political Encyclopedia, 2019. – 319 p.

<sup>11</sup> Gaidar E.T. The State and evolution / E.T. Gaidar. – M.: Gaidar Institute Publishing House, 2022. – 128 p.; Gaidar E.T. For a long time. Russia in the world: essays on economic history / E.T. Gaidar. – M.: Publishing House of the Gaidar Institute, 2022. – 664 p.; Kudrin A.L. Economic development of Russia / A.L. Kudrin; comp., scientific ed. by A.A. Belykh. – M.: Publishing house "Delo" RANHiGS, 2020. – 472 S.; Mau V. Crises and lessons. The Russian economy in the era of turbulence. 2nd ed. / V. Mau. – M.: Publishing House of the Gaidar Institute, 2016. - 488 p.; Mau V. Economic reform: through the prism of the Constitution and politics / V. Mau. Moscow: Ad Marginem, 1999. 240 p.; Mau V.A. Crises and lessons. The Russian economy in the era of turbulence. 2nd ed. / V.A. Mau. – M.: Publishing House of the Gaidar Institute, 2016. - 488 p.; Mau V.A. Economics and Politics of Russia: year after year (1991-1999) / V.A. Mau. – M.: Publishing House "Delo" RANHiGS, 2018. – 440 p.; Mau V.A. Economic policy of Russia: year after year (2000-2018) / V.A. Mau. – Moscow: Publishing House "Delo" RANHiGS, 2019. – 624 p.; Urinson Ya.M. Economics and the state / Ya.M. Urinson. – Moscow: Publishing House of the Higher School of Economics, 2021. – 160 p.

<sup>12</sup> Abalkin L. And Russia: the search for self-determination: Essays / Leonid Abalkin; Russian Academy of Sciences. – M.: Nauka, 2002. 424 p.; Aganbegyan A.G. Demography and healthcare of Russia at the turn of the century / A.G. Aganbegyan. - M.: Publishing House "Delo" RANHiGS, 2019. – 192 p.; Aganbegyan A.G. On priorities social policy / A.G. Aganbegyan. – M.: Publishing house "Delo" RANHiGS, 2020. – 512 p.; Galushka A.S. Crystal of growth to the Russian economic miracle / A.S. Galushka, A.K. Niyazmetov, M.O. Okulov. – M.: "Our tomorrow", 2021. – 360 p.; Glazyev S.Y. The strategy of advanced development of Russia in the context of the global crisis / S.Y. Glazyev. – M.: Economics, 2010. – 255 p.; Glazyev S.Y., Shchipkov A.V. Economics and society / S.Y. Glazyev, A.V. Shchipkov. – M.: Prospect, 2021. – 192 p.; Grinberg R.S., Rubinstein A.Ya. The individual & the State / R.S. Grinberg, A.Ya. Rubinstein. – M.: The Whole World, 2013. – 480 p.; Kushlin V.I. The potential of economic transformations: selected works / V.I. Kushlin. – M.: Economics, 2024. – 974 p.; Privatization in the modern world: theory, empiricism, "a new dimension for Russia": in 2 vols. Vol. 1 / scientific ed. by A.D. Radygin. Moscow: Publishing House "Delo" RANHiGS, 2014. 464 p.; Russian economy: in 2 books. Book 1. Origins and panorama of market reforms / E.G. Yasin. 2nd ed., revised. - M.: Publishing House of

The sixth group of studies is represented by the works of domestic and foreign researchers on the problems of public administration in industries and spheres, the study of the phenomenon of bureaucracy. These are the works of G. Kupryashin, D. Mitchell, A. Prokhorov, F. Shamkhalov, Pendleton E. Herring, and others. At the same time, the collective work of RANEPA scientists devoted to the similarities and some differences in public administration in the post-Soviet space also became significant for the dissertation.<sup>13</sup> The dissertation, despite the essential differences between different states, emphasizes the similar, universalistic features of public

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the Higher School of Economics, 2019. – 448 p.; Stroev E.S. Self-determination of Russia and global modernization / E.S. Stroev. – M.: ZAO Publishing House "Economics", 2001. – 351 p. Kupryashin G.L. Modernization of public administration: institutions and interests / G.L. Kupryashin, Moscow: Moscow University Press, 2012. 312 p.; Maggione J. Social policy and management: ideas, interests and institutions / J. Maggione // Political Science: new directions / translated from English by M.M. Hurvits, A.L. Demchuk, T.V. Yakusheva. Edited by R. Gudin and H.-D. Klingemann. Scientific editor of the Russian edition E.B. Shestopal. Moscow, Veche, 1999. pp. 589-607.; Manning N. Public administration reform: international experience / Nick Manning, Neil Parison; translated from English. Moscow: The Whole World Publishing House, 2003. 496 p.; Niskanen V.A. Bureaucrats and politicians / V.N. Niskanen // Economics of welfare and public choice / edited by V.M. Galperin (Series "Milestones of economic thought". Vol. 4). – St. Petersburg: Publishing House of the Economic School, 2004. – pp. 494-535.; Prokhorov A.P. The Russian model of management. 3rd ed. / A.P. Prokhorov, Moscow: Artemy Lebedev Studio Publishing House, 2014– 496 p.; Fayol A. Management is science and art / A. Fayol, G. Emerson, F. Taylor, G. Ford. Comp. G.L. Podvoisky. – M.: Republic, 1992. – 349 p.; Herring Pendleton E. Public administration and public interests / E. Pendleton Herring // Classics of the theory of public administration: an American school / edited by J. Shafritz, A. Hyde. – M.: Publishing House of Moscow State University, 2003. – pp. 99-105.; Shamkhalov F. Theory of Public Administration / Felix Shamkhalov. Moscow: ZAO Ekonomika Publishing House, 2002. 638 p.; Evolution of public administration in the post-Soviet countries. 1991-2021 / ed. by I.N. Bartsits. – M.: Publishing house "Delo" RANHiGS, 2021. – 448 p.; Crozier M. Bureaucratic phenomenon / Michael Crozier. – New York: Rutledge, 2017. 320 p.; Wilson, James K. Bureaucracy: what government agencies do and why they do it / Wilson, James K. – New York: Basic Books, 1989. – 433 p.

<sup>13</sup> Kupryashin G.L. Modernization of public administration: institutions and interests / G.L. Kupryashin, Moscow: Moscow University Press, 2012. 312 p.; Maggione J. Social policy and management: ideas, interests and institutions / J. Maggione // Political Science: new directions / translated from English by M.M. Hurvits, A.L. Demchuk, T.V. Yakusheva. Edited by R. Gudin and H.-D. Klingemann. Scientific editor of the Russian edition E.B. Shestopal. Moscow, Veche, 1999. pp. 589-607.; Manning N. Public administration reform: international experience / Nick Manning, Neil Parison; translated from English. Moscow: The Whole World Publishing House, 2003. 496 p.; Niskanen V.A. Bureaucrats and politicians / V.N. Niskanen // Economics of welfare and public choice / edited by V.M. Galperin (Series "Milestones of economic thought". Vol. 4). – St. Petersburg: Publishing House of the Economic School, 2004. – pp. 494-535.; Prokhorov A.P. The Russian model of management. 3rd ed. / A.P. Prokhorov, Moscow: Artemy Lebedev Studio Publishing House, 2014– 496 p.; Fayol A. Management is science and art / A. Fayol, G. Emerson, F. Taylor, G. Ford. Comp. G.L. Podvoisky. – M.: Republic, 1992. – 349 p.; Herring Pendleton E. Public administration and public interests / E. Pendleton Herring // Classics of the theory of public administration: an American school / edited by J. Shafritz, A. Hyde. – M.: Publishing House of Moscow State University, 2003. – pp. 99-105.; Shamkhalov F. Theory of Public Administration / Felix Shamkhalov. Moscow: ZAO Ekonomika Publishing House, 2002. 638 p.; Evolution of public administration in the post-Soviet countries. 1991-2021 / ed. by I.N. Bartsits. – M.: Publishing house "Delo" RANHiGS, 2021. – 448 p.; Crozier M. Bureaucratic phenomenon / Michael Crozier. – New York: Rutledge, 2017. 320 p.; Wilson, James K. Bureaucracy: what government agencies do and why they do it / Wilson, James K. – New York: Basic Books, 1989. – 433 p.

administration. In this group, the author highlights works on political power, political regimes as ways and means of exercising this power.<sup>14</sup>

Finally, *the seventh group* includes works on the problems of Russian elites (elitism) and mass groups (mass politics) that influenced the development and implementation of social and economic policies in the Russian Federation during the chronological period studied by the dissertation. It is important to keep in mind that political science has developed a number of scientific definitions in relation to elitism, which we will use and concretize in the framework of our dissertation research. These are the ruling class,<sup>15</sup> elites, including sectoral, elite groups, ruling elites and counter-elites, features of Russian elites, as well as the concept of nomenclature, characteristic of both the Soviet period of historical Russia and the

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<sup>14</sup> Wittenberg E.Ya. Social responsibility of power / E.Ya. Wittenberg. – M.: RGGU, 2020. – 686 p.; Golos G.V. Political regimes and transformations: Russia in a comparative perspective / Grigory Golos. – M.: Ruthenia, 2024. – 404 p.; Yemelyanov M.V. Tectonics of power / M.V. Yemelyanov. – M.: Publishing house "The Whole World", 2019. 256 p.; Korolev S.A. Metamorphoses of power. Experiments on microhistory: philosophical aspects / S.A. Korolev; intro. articles: E.Ya. Wittenberg, V.A. Podoroga. – M.: Publishing house "The Whole world", 2017. 656 p.; Luhmann N. Power / N. Luhmann; translated from German by A.Yu. Antonovsky. Moscow: Praxis Publishing Group, 2000. 256 p.; Lyux S. Power: A Radical view / Stephen Lukes; translated from English by A.I. Kirlezhev. Moscow: Publishing House of the State University - Higher School of Economics, 2010. 240 p.; Magyar B., Madlovich B. Post-communist regimes. The conceptual structure. Volume 2 / Blint Magyar, Balint Madlovich; translated from English by Y. Ignatieve, edited by A. Reshetnikov. Moscow: New Literary Review, 2022. – 888 p.; Mapdyar B., Madlovich B. Post-communist regimes. The conceptual structure. Volume 1 / Blint Magyar, Balint Madlovich; translated from English by Y. Ignatieve, edited by A. Reshetnikov. Moscow: New Literary Review, 2022. 744 p.; Milgram S. Submission to authority: a scientific view of power and morality. 3rd ed. / Stanley Milgram; translated from English by G. Yastrebov. – M.: Alpina non-fiction, 2018. – 282 p.; Mitchell D. Governmentality: power and Governance in modern societies / Mitchell Dean; translated from English by A.A. Pisarev; edited by S.M. Goncharenko. Moscow: Delo Publishing House, RANHiGS, 2016. 592 p.; Oleinik A.N. Power and the market: a system of socio-economic domination in Russia "of the "zero years" / A.N. Oleinik, Moscow: Russian Political Encyclopedia (ROSSPEN), 2011, 438 p.; Olson M. Power and Prosperity: Outgrowing Communist and Capitalist Dictatorships / Mansur Olson; translated from English by B. Pinsker. Moscow: New Publishing House, 2012. 212 p.; Podobny, V.V. Legitimacy of political power: the evolution of theory and practice. The modern world and Russia / V.V. Podobny; under the scientific editorship of Ya.A. Plais. – M.: International Relations, 2022. – 344 p.; Sungurov A.Yu. Russian civil society and government. Monograph / A.Y. Sungurov. St. Petersburg: Alethea, 2022. 334 p.; Fuller S. Post-truth: Knowledge as a struggle for power / S. Fuller; translated from English by D. Kralchkin; under the scientific editorship of A. Smirnova, Moscow: Publishing House of the Higher School of Economics, 2021. 368 p.

<sup>15</sup> Lakhman R. First class passengers on a sinking ship. Elite Politics and the Decline of Great Powers / Richard Lakhman; translated from English by N. Protsenko, Moscow: Tsiolkovsky Bookstore Publishing House, 2022, 616 p.; Pareto V. Compendium on General Sociology / V. Pareto; translated from it by A.A. Zотов; nauch. consultant. N.A. Makashova, Moscow, Publishing House of the Higher School of Economics, 2007– 511 p.; Standing, Moscow: the new dangerous class / Guy Standing; translated from English by N. Usova. Moscow: Adam Press, 2014. – 328 p.; Florida R. The creative class: people who change the future / O. Florida; translated from English by A. Konstantinov. – M.: Publishing house "Classics-XXI", 2011. – 432 p.

post-Soviet stage.<sup>16</sup> At the same time, it is also worth noting the significant influence of mass groups on the development of public policies, which is reflected in the social sciences in the form of the phenomenon of mass politics (empowerment). This cross-section of scientific research is largely represented in the works of Russian political scientists S.G. Aivazova, S.V. Patrushev, L.E. Filippova, in the works of foreign researchers M. Douglas, K. Reinhold<sup>17</sup> in relation to the study of political and managerial practices in post-Soviet Russia.

Based on the substantial base of elitism and mass politics, on the elite-centric paradigm of Russian politics (O.V. Gaman-Golutvina), on the scientific approach of the growing influence of network coalitions in modern Russia (A.I. Soloviev<sup>18</sup>) As a different view of the (less significant) role of elite circles in government decision-making, the dissertation presents a systematics of the political participation of industry elites and mass groups in the formation and implementation of social and

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<sup>16</sup> Ashin G.K. Modern theories of the elite: a critical essay / G.K. Ashin. Moscow: Mezhdunarod. relations, 1985. 256 p.; Bard A. Theocracy. The New Ruling Elite and life after capitalism / Alexander Bard, Jan Sonderquist; translated from English by V. Mishukov. St. Petersburg: Stockholm School of Economics in St. Petersburg, 2004–256 p.; Brooks D. Bobo in Paradise: where the new Elite comes from / David Brooks; translated from English by D. Simakovskiy. Moscow: Ad Margin LLC, 2014. 296 p.; Volkov S.V. Elite groups in "mass society", 2021. – 312 p.; Voslensky M.S. Nomenclature. The ruling class of the Soviet Union. Moscow: Sovetskaya Rossiya Publ. from the MP "October", 1991. – 624 p.; Gaman-Golutvina O.V. Political elites of Russia: Milestones of historical evolution / O.V. Gaman-Golutvina. Moscow: Russian Political Encyclopedia (ROSSPEN), 2006. 448 p.; Karabushchenko P.L. Anthropological elitism: a monograph / P.L. Karabushchenko. Moscow: INFRA-M, 2022. 340 p.; Kerimov A.D. Strategic miscalculations of the Russian political elites / A.D. Kerimov. – M.: Norm: INFRA-M, 2021. – 48 p.; Kochetkov A.P. Transnational elites in the global world / A.P. Kochetkov. – M.: Aspet Press Publishing House, 2020. – 208 p.; Kryshtanovskaya O. The Anatomy of the Russian elite / O. Kryshtanovskaya. Moscow: Zakharov, 2005. 384 p.; Summa ideologii. The worldview and ideology of the modern Russian elite / guide. M. Tarusin, Moscow: Institute of Public Design, 2008–296 p.; Kynev A.V. Who and how governs the regions of Russia: the management system and administrative stability of the government of the Russian regions / A.V. Kynev. – M.: Ruthenia, 2024. – 656 p.; Mikhels R. Sociology of a political party in modern democracy: a study of oligarchic tendencies in joint life / Robert Mikhels; translated from German by Irina Ivakina; edited by Dmitry Karasev. Moscow: RANHiGS Delo Publishing House, 2022. 448 p.; Regional elites of the North-West: political and economic orientations / edited by A.V. Duka. St. Petersburg: Alethea, 2001. 352 p.; Field Lowell G., Higley J. Elitism / George Lowell Field, John Higley. – London, Boston and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980. – 135 p.

<sup>17</sup> Aivazova S.G. Mass politics: the effect of empowerment / S.G. Aivazova // Russian Political Science: Ideas, Concepts, Methods / edited by L.V. Smorgunov, Moscow: AspectPress Publishing House, 2015, pp. 254-269, pp.268; Douglas M. Madness of the Crowd. How the world went crazy with tolerance and attempts to please everyone / M. Douglas; translated from English by N.A. Lomtevoits. – M.: RIPOLclassic, 2021. – 480 p.; Mass politics: institutional foundations / edited by S.V. Patrushev. – M.: Political Encyclopedia, 2016. – 286 p. – P. 30; Patrushev S.V., Filippova L.E. Mass politics in Russia / S.V. Patrushev, L.E. Filippova // Political Science. - 2014. – No. 4. – pp. 9-2.; Reinhold G. Smart crowd: a new social revolution / Howard Reinhold; translated from English by A. Garkov. – M.: FAIR PRESS, 2006. – 416 p

<sup>18</sup> Gaman-Golutvina O.V. The elite-centric paradigm of policy research / O.V. Gaman-Golutvina // Modern Political Science: Methodology: Scientific Edition. 2nd ed., ispr. and add. / Ed. by O.V. Gaman-Golutvina, A.I. Nikitin. Moscow: Aspect Press Publishing House, 2019. pp. 409-445.; Solovyov A.I. The ruling minority of modern Russia: what is coming? / A.I. Solovyov // Power and elites. Vol. 5. / Gl. ed. by A.V. Duka. St. Petersburg: Intersocis, 2018, pp.87-109.

economic policies. The applicant sees in this the process of formation of a hybrid model of influence on the political power of the Russian Federation from two sides, expressed in a combination of: 1) mass media with a wealth of media opportunities (the theories of R. Daft and R. Lengel, J. Keen<sup>19</sup>), 2) elitism, with an interactionist abundance of GR-communication channels of power and interest groups, and great potential for lobbying interests.

Thus, the study of the chosen topic of social and economic policies of post-Soviet Russia (conceptual foundations, strategic priorities, political implementation mechanisms) is possible on the basis of a comprehensive and in-depth analysis of available scientific papers, with the demand for methodological and methodological potential of various sciences. At the same time, modern political science, both domestic and foreign, has not yet developed a systematic vision of the process of formation of social and economic policies policy, which would allow solving the current problems of political and managerial practices, improving this policy in the "government-society" system. As a result, the independent research conducted by the dissertation is able to fill in many gaps in the study of this type of policy and resolve existing contradictions.

**The object of the research** is the state social and economic policies of post-Soviet Russia in 1991-2019 in the context of political and economic transformations.

**The subject of the research** is the political content of the state social and economic policies of post-Soviet Russia in 1991-2019, its value aspects, political mechanisms of implementation, imperatives of improvement.

**A scientific task.** Based on the research conducted by the dissertation researcher, it is necessary to formulate scientific and practical conclusions regarding the optimality of the social and economic policies of post-Soviet Russia, conceptual foundations, strategic priorities, political and managerial practices, mechanisms and tools for the implementation of the developed and implemented policy. In addition,

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<sup>19</sup> Daft R. L., Lengel R. H. Organizational information requirements, media richness and structural design / R. L. Daft , R. H. Lengel // Management Science. – 1986. – № 32 (5). – Pp. 554-571.; Keen J. Democracy and decadence of the media / J. Keen; translated from English by D. Kralchkin; edited by A. Smirnov. – pp 132

it is important to identify effective models for the implementation of social and economic policies.

**The purpose and objectives of the study.** The purpose of the research is to conceptualize the essential aspects of state socio-economic policy, its political content, identify the specifics of transit to the new model, the positive effects and strategic miscalculations of implementation in 1991-2019, and on this basis substantiate the imperatives of increasing the effectiveness of political mechanisms for its implementation.

To achieve **the research goal**, the dissertation author set the following tasks:

1. To clarify the scientific concept of the "field of politics" in national states as a space of competition between power hierarchies, as a balance of forces of dominant and subordinate interest groups with their own autonomous areas, as a political market of actors with their own stakes to change their status position for the better; to substantiate the essential aspects of the "Russian field" of politics.

2. To present the evolution of the Russian state in the era of modernity and postmodernity from the universalist construct of the 1990s and the "zero years" to a singular politics, a special, unique state implementing in a market economy (dynamism and innovation) a paternalistic social and economic policies in the paradigm of distribution (stability and security), as an arbitrator in an effort to prove The society also recognizes its legitimacy and effectiveness as an agent of constructing a civic identity based on traditional values.

3. To present the author's interpretation of the phenomenon of post-Soviet Russia in terms of dichotomy both as the core of historical Russia, which has preserved its "specialness", continuity and political culture, and as a new state with a new economic and political structure, a set of problems related to economics, politics, social and spiritual spheres.

4. To conceptualize the understanding of public administration of economic and social sectors in the form of priority strategic blocks of political life as a process of functioning of a machine-mechanism working in the interests of the bureaucracy, social strata and groups of the population with varying degrees of efficiency, based

on market conditions, diverse material and political resources, the active participation of the business community and creative the proposals of the "think tanks".

5. To formulate the author's definition of social and economic policies as the framework of a national structure built in various formats of legitimate partnership between state and non-state actors, civil society institutions in various industries and spheres, the key objectives of which are: a) targeting and neutralizing threats (internal and external) that hinder economic growth, b) changing or correcting the political order when the population is dissatisfied with the amount of increment of the common good, c) making it public and conciliatory.

6. To clarify the essence and specifics of the institutionalization of public policy in the economy and social sphere as a process of collective action by political actors and institutions in the context of political transformations.

7. To conceptualize the concept of a management pentad to explain the process of formation and correction of the state social and economic policies of the Russian Federation, combining the features of the formation of the political agenda of national governments, the specifics of political decision-making mechanisms, certain aspects of the policy of state regulation (deregulation) of the economy, the social sphere, affecting the increment (decrease) of the common, public good.

8. To reveal the substantive characteristics of the phenomenology of political power in the Russian Federation as a dominant component of the structure of politics, which was extremely personalistic during the period under study, clearly correlated with the political course it was developing and implementing, which was influenced by political conditions and which was translated into specific models and strategic priorities of the state social and economic policies of post-Soviet Russia.

9. To substantiate the role of state regulation of social and economic processes in the Russian Federation in its various formats as a mechanism for ensuring political stability, combined with the development of a policy course of the national government and correlated with the strategic planning of the country's development.

10. To systematize the material and political resources of the state policy of the Russian Federation in industries and spheres in the period 1991-2019. as the potential of the state (in different time periods, different in volume) in responding to the needs and demands of social strata and groups of the population using social and political structures (political mechanism of influence and collective action) to aggregate and articulating their interests with the recommendation of using innovative approaches: lean management, project activities, digitalization technologies.

11. To substantiate the role of state regulation of social and economic processes as a mechanism for ensuring political stability; to develop, through institutions as a political mechanism, a scheme for the logical analysis of determinant factors influencing the process of permanent modernization of the economy and social sphere of post-Soviet Russia, which manifests itself in the public sphere as a categorical imperative, representing the antithesis of industry archaism, while being the essential content of the social and economic policies of the Russian state, an algorithm for increasing its competitiveness.

12. To identify the influence of elitism (the influence of industry elites) and mass politics on the development of the content and implementation of the state policy of the Russian Federation in industries and spheres that will assist Russian society in the formation of instruments of social and political balance, to substantiate a paradigmatic theory of the negative effects of democratic participation of citizens of post-Soviet Russia within the framework of non-Western civic culture.

13. To reveal ways to improve the mechanisms for implementing government decisions in the process of instrumentalizing innovative approaches that ensure the effectiveness of social and economic policies strategizing, achieving the goals and objectives of the policy being implemented, and to substantiate the importance of the methodology of political science analysis presented by the dissertation for improving state social and economic policies at the federal and regional levels.

14. To present and substantiate the holistic concept of digital and technological traditionalism as a predictable and desirable image of the future of

Russia, which was implicitly targeted by the social and economic policies of the Russian Federation in the previous 2010s, to substantiate the importance of updating the functions of public administration of the Russian Federation, especially the function of semantic production (production of meanings), setting trends in symbolic state policy.

**The hypothesis of the research** is the assumption that the state social and economic policies of post-Soviet Russia represented and represents the basic platform of collective identities, on which there was a connected and logical sequence of actions, interactions of dominant and subordinate interest groups integrated into the body of political institutions (formal and informal). At the same time, these interest groups had, in the context of the political process, undisclosed advantages in shaping the agenda, developing the policy course of the national government, as well as their benefits and dividends in making government decisions, in shaping and implementing this policy, or correcting or optimizing it. The positive effects of implementing this policy, particularly in economic and social development, were insignificant if there were few such interest groups, in fact elite minorities. Conversely, the more interest groups, such as emerging network coalitions, participated in the discussion of strategic priorities of state domestic policy and the prospects for the country's development, the higher the competition between these groups, while respecting the principles of openness and transparency, the higher the nationwide economic and social effect, contributing to the increase of the common (public) good in Russia.. At the same time, in order to be fully legitimate, social and economic policies should not be isolated from the political will of the majority, its unspoken consensus on values (value consensus) and from the participation of mass groups in its development, correction and improvement.

**Theoretical and methodological basis of the research.** When preparing the dissertation research, the author relied on a methodological strategy, which is the designation of methodological tools (scientific approaches, concepts, theories), the use of this strategy leads the researcher to gain new knowledge. As the main scientific approach of the presented research, the dissertation chooses the network

approach (M. Castels, A.I. Soloviev, L.V. Smorgunov), which allows for a deeper study of the process of government decision-making in post-Soviet Russia, including the formation and implementation of state social and economic policies. When applying the network approach, the picture of the formation and implementation of social and economic policies on a national scale becomes better and more diverse, with an emphasis on the dynamics of the management process: from the ruling elite minority to the formation of a wider space of actual decision-making centers (network coalitions). Auxiliary scientific approaches for the applicant are a heuristic approach based on paradigms (social, economic, externality, the elite-centered paradigm of O.V. Gaman-Golutvina, the paradigm of O.E. razdatka). Bessonov); a systematic approach, which is a methodology that examines an object as a system consisting of subsystems that form integrity; an integrally critical approach to the study of elite groups and network coalitions; conflictological; interdisciplinary approaches. The conflictological approach (L. Kozer, R. Dahrendorff, A. Ag, A.V. Glukhova) allowed the author to consider the state social and economic policies of post-Soviet Russia as a result of rivalry and cooperation between interest groups and influence groups, industry elites and political parties, public actors and political cliques. Introduction of a systematic approach (T. Parsons, D. Easton, K. Deutsch, I.V. Blauberg, Yu.G. Yudin) in the dissertation research is related to the author's search for universalist mechanisms that allow the authorities to provide citizens with opportunities for a decent and prosperous life within the framework of state policy in industries and spheres. The interdisciplinary approach was based on an understanding of the importance of theories and concepts from different sciences: political science, sociology, economics, which provide the best opportunities for understanding the implemented state policy of the Russian Federation in social and economic sphere.

The research is also based on basic scientific concepts and theories, which are part of the theoretical synthesis within the framework of the methodological strategy of the dissertation. This is the concept of the "political field" (K. Schmidt, P. Bourdieu, M. Lipset, L.V. Smorgunov), the essence of politics (G. Lasswell, M.

Weber, F. J. Goodnow, L.G. Kupryashin, A.I. Solovyov). A number of scientific theories of the state (B. Jessop's polymorphic nature of politics, M. Mazzucato's entrepreneurial state) and public administration (D. Jessop's polymorphic nature of politics) also play an important role in our research. Kettle, E. Pendleton-Herring, F. Shamkhalov), bureaucracy (D. Wilson, M. Crozier), public administration (D. Anderson, L.V. Smorgunov), public policy (A. Smith, B. Nelson, S.V. Peregudov). Dependency theory (dynamic consequences of economic backwardness) X. We believe that A. Gershenkron helps to understand the problems and politics of post-Soviet Russia. Concepts and theories related to strategies and doctrines (G. Mosca, H. Alker, J. Mulgan, V.S. Martianov), political agenda and policy course (D. Kingdon), social, political and institutional changes (K. Weiss), development (J. Schumpeter, I.V. Ilyin) allow for a more systematic study of the process of social and economic modernization, correction of the state policy of the Russian Federation in industries and spheres.

**Research methods.** The theoretical and methodological aspects of the dissertation research are determined by a system of scientific methods, which should be understood as a test of the theories used in the work and the hypotheses presented in the context of the application of certain rules in data analysis. In particular, the dissertation uses statistical methods of political analysis, which made it possible to process large amounts of data, primarily Rosstat data, on the social and economic situation in the Russian Federation in the 1990s and 2000s, to solve a number of tasks in describing the content and evaluating the effectiveness and efficiency of public administration, public policy in industries and spheres.. One of the statistical methods in the study was causal analysis (path analysis), which helped the author to present and substantiate models of social and economic policies in 1991-2019. by assessing the direct and indirect effects of one variable on another, for example, the availability of budgetary resources on economic and social outcomes, or the results of government policy in industries and spheres on the level of trust and support for political power in post-Soviet Russia. The author also refers to the causality funnel, which provides an explanation for certain behavior of political actors at a fixed

moment (for example, "shock therapy", the administrative reform of the "zero years", the launch of national projects in 2018). The neo-institutional method provided the author with opportunities to study the role of various institutions in the formation and implementation of state social and economic policies. Within the framework of "old" institutionalism, the author understands the essences and ways of being, while within the framework of neo-institutionalism he understands the norms and rules, in fact, the "rules of the game", according to which political players enter into interactionism, rules that complicate or simplify the ability of actors to implement this policy. This method also played a special role in assessing such phenomena as development institutions (SEZs, TOSERs, Razvitie corporations, industrial and industrial parks) at the federal and regional levels. The dissertation researcher also used G. Garfinkel's ridge analysis method in the analysis of the social and economic policies of the Russian Federation. This is a method that helps to uncover hidden or veiled meanings, helps to describe motivations in actions and interactions of institutions (actors), and objectively see the interests of various political forces in maintaining political order in the state and society through semantic constructions. For example, this method makes it possible to explain the behavior of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation and its leader, G.A. Zyuganov, who in 1996, criticizing the state social and economic policies, took part in the presidential elections of the Russian Federation, thereby legitimizing both the election results and the policies pursued by the authorities of the Russian Federation.

In the political analysis of the social and economic policies of the Russian Federation, the author relied on the analysis of normative legal documents of social and economic policies, factor analysis, event analysis (event analysis that allows tracing the dynamics of the process), and discourse analysis (applied analysis of texts by political and government leaders). The author also uses a structural and functional method, a method of modeling public policies (a model as a more optimal analogue of the existing political reality). As part of the research, the author also used the swot analysis method, methods of institutional analysis, monitoring, secondary analysis of sociological data, and the case study method (situational analysis method).

The empirical base of the research consists of diverse sources and information, which the author has divided into several different groups. The first group of sources is the regulatory legal acts of the Russian Federation, including the country's Constitution, Federal Laws, and regulatory acts of the Government of the Russian Federation related to the functioning and priorities of government agencies in shaping and implementing state social and economic policies. In addition, the dissertation researcher relied in his research on materials from the Federal State Statistics Service of the Russian Federation, data from the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Justice and other federal ministries and departments, which provide a basic basis for understanding the essence of state domestic policy. This group of empirical information is of particular value, since it is based on extremely objective data that allow the doctoral candidate to formulate strictly verified conclusions. The empirical sources of the research are also regional-level regulatory legal acts, archival materials from the Department of Economic Development and Investment of the Orel Region and the Ministry of Economic Development of the Voronezh Region on issues related to the implementation of social and economic policies during the study period. The introduction of new sources of information into scientific circulation helps to increase the reliability of the results obtained and the validity of the conclusions reached.

The second group of sources are reports, reports, speeches, and journalistic articles by government and political figures of the Russian Federation, which contain personal perceptions of the political course being pursued and the socio-economic policy being implemented at certain time intervals. These are materials that came from Boris Yeltsin, Vladimir Putin, Dmitry Medvedev, and heads of government (E. Gaidar, V. Chernomyrdin, E. Primakov, S. Kiriyenko, S. Stepashin, M. Kasyanov, M. Fradkov, V. Putin, D. Medvedev, M. Mishustina), heads of chambers of the Federal Assembly who took an active part in the implementation of social and economic policies of the period under review (E.S. Stroev, B.V. Gryzlov, etc.). For the dissertation, this group of empirical information, despite a certain subjectivity,

is also of particular value due to the deep immersion of these political actors in the implemented state policy in the sectors and spheres.

The third group of sources is the materials of the congresses of parliamentary political parties of the Russian Federation: "Democratic Choice of Russia", "Our home is Russia", "Fatherland. All Russia", "Unity", "United Russia", the Communist Party, the Liberal Democratic Party, "Yabloko", "Fair Russia", etc. The author's attention was attracted by archival materials of the regional branches of the United Russia political party in the Voronezh and Orel regions. These sources represent the party-political foundation of the emerging state social and economic policies in post-Soviet Russia at various intervals of political time. The dissertation candidate is somewhat critical of this type of source, since many of the attitudes and assessments of these parties are focused on political competition and the fight against their political opponents. Therefore, the information contained in these documents cannot be extremely systematic and objective.

The fourth group of empirical information correlates with materials from expert, consulting, analytical centers ("think tanks"), non-profit organizations (NGOs), Sociological centers (VTsIOM, Levada Center (in 2016, the Ministry of Justice of the Russian Federation entered it into the register of foreign agents), the Public Opinion Foundation, and specialized institutes of the Russian Academy of Sciences). These are, as a rule, the results of measurements of public opinion on issues of approval of government policy, the level of trust in government leaders, various political actors and their support. The dissertation treats this group of sources with sufficient respect due to their certain objectivity, at the same time without exaggerating its value and the objectivity of assessments.

The fifth group of sources of dissertation research is represented by media materials and online resources. These empirical sources make it possible to trace the attitude of broad social strata and groups of the population, interest groups and pressure groups, and political elites to the ongoing state policy in the social and economic sphere from 1991 to 2019. This group of sources is important because it provides a lively, albeit emotional, view of the Russian political process – a diverse

process of developing public policy, correcting it, and implementing it. The author is quite critical of this published information regarding its objectivity. At the same time, he considers it important, but requires constant verification.

**The field of the research** corresponds to paragraph 2 of the Theory, Concepts and Models of Public Administration. Public administration under various types of government, forms of government and political regimes", item 9 "State policy, state sectoral policies (social, economic, migration, national, scientific and technical, educational, youth, information, etc.)", item 10 "Mechanisms, tools and stages of state policy and sectoral policies. Development of political, public and media agendas", p. 14 "Challenges and risks of public administration, public policy and sectoral policies" Passport of scientific specialty 5.5.3. "Public Administration and Sectoral Policies".

**The scientific novelty** of the dissertation research consists of:

1. In clarifying the concept of the "field of politics" in national states, including its consideration as a combination of three components (the space of competition between power hierarchies, the balance of power of dominant and subordinate interest groups, and the political market of actors with their stakes in changing their status positions), characterized by a more objective assessment of the participation of political actors and institutions in the process of government decision-making, which allows for a more accurate assessment of the balance of power of political players in a specific time period, their positions and resources in shaping the agenda, developing a policy course in industries and spheres, and substantiating the essence of the "Russian field" of politics.

2. In the understanding of the Russian state in the era of modernity and postmodernity as a political institution in its evolution from a universalist construct to a singular polity, characterized by a more systematic assessment of its role in shaping its uniqueness in comparison with other states. This understanding makes it possible to see the state in a market economy (dynamism, innovation) as an organizer-dispatcher who implements a paternalistic social and economic policies in the paradigm of distribution (stability, reliability), as well as an arbitrator in an effort

to prove his state worth to society in the context of a subject political culture, and as an agent of constructing a civic identity based on traditional values.

3. In the view of the author's interpretation of post-Soviet Russia as a special phenomenon in the categories of a dichotomy that integrates the understanding of the essence of the studied state both as the core of historical Russia and as a new polity that arose as a result of the collapse of the USSR, which differs from the interpretations established in political science by highlighting two contradictory sides.: as an "old" state that has retained its specialness in the transformation processes, and as a new country in a world with an emerging new economic and political order. This interpretation allows us to see the prospects for the formation of digital and technological traditionalism as a product of the production of the meanings of public administration and public policy of the Russian Federation.

4. In the conceptualization of public administration of the economic and social sectors of the Russian Federation in the form of priority strategic blocks of political life, understood as the process of functioning of the state machine-a mechanism with varying degrees of effectiveness, characterized by the integrity of interests and interactions of economic and social institutions, political actors. The political metaphor "machine-mechanism" allows us to consider public administration through the prism of its decisions and actions under market conditions, diverse material and political resources, with the active participation of the business community and creative proposals from think tanks.

5. The author's definition of social and economic policies as the framework of a national structure is formulated, which includes a description of the process of building this framework in various formats of legitimate partnership between state and non-state actors, civil society institutions, as well as in various industries and spheres, with an emphasis on identifying the key goals of the policy being developed and implemented, the degree of agreement of the main players with her approval. This definition allows you to: a) to assess the nature of economic, social, cultural and political threats (internal and external), the need to change or correct the political order if the population is dissatisfied with the amount of increment of the common

good, the degree of its publicity, b) to understand the essential content of social and economic policies, its effectiveness and efficiency.

6. In clarifying the essence of the institutionalization of the state policy of the Russian Federation in the economy and social sphere, which is a process of collective actions of political actors and institutions, characterized in that actors and institutions are within the framework of the political order functioning in the country, allowing to consider their actions (actions), transactions (political transactions) and interactions (interactions) from the perspective of their familiarization and legitimization, with routine control and self-control, familiarization, which is part of the domestic political tradition (historicity).

7. The concept of a management pentad is conceptualized, which includes an explanation of the process of formation and correction of the state social and economic policies of the Russian Federation, characterized by a combination of five main parts in the proposed concept, allowing us to consider the proposed definition as a combination of the capacity of public arenas (actualization of problems), the specifics of the formation of the political agenda of national governments, a specific political style of the country's leadership in a certain time period. a segment like an institutionalized political regime, as well as the policy of state regulation (deregulation) of the economy and the social sphere. All together, this systematically influenced the quality of public policy in industries and spheres, reflected in the increment (decrease) of the common, public good.

8. In revealing the phenomenology of the political power of the Russian Federation as a dominant component of the structure of politics, which in the period studied by the author was ideologically diverse and at the same time extremely personalistic, differing from previous interpretations of the Russian government in the form of a clearly motivated force in the implementation of its political doctrines. Considering this phenomenon from the point of view of social and cultural anthropology allows us to correlate this power with the political course it develops and implements, which was influenced by the values of its bearers, political

conditions and flows, and which was translated into behavioral practices, models and strategies of public policy, which determined its pendulum-like nature.

9. In substantiating the role of state regulation of social and economic processes in the Russian Federation, representing its various formats, including the format of state dirigisme; The rationale differs from that available in scientific discourse in that state regulation is understood as a mechanism for ensuring social and political stability in society, the role of which allows for a harmonious combination of state regulation with the development of a political course by the national government, correlating regulation in the social and economic sphere with strategic planning of the country's development.

10. In the systematization of the material and political resources of the state policy of the Russian Federation (its potential) in industries and spheres in the period 1991-2019, acting as the potential of the state (in different time periods, different in volume) in responding to the needs and demands of social strata and groups of the population, characterized by a systematic and comprehensive consideration of their role in implementation of state policy in industries and spheres in terms of its effectiveness and efficiency. The author's multi-criteria methodology for studying the potential of social and economic policies is proposed and substantiated, which makes it possible to determine its effectiveness and the effectiveness of implementing state social and economic policies strategies at different time stages, as well as priority areas for its improvement in the context of ensuring social stability and the sustainability of the political system of society. This point of novelty forms out in scientific discourse the theoretical and applied significance of the dissertation research and its contribution to solving an important national economic problem.

11. Through the analysis of the functioning of institutions as a political mechanism, a scheme has been developed for the logical analysis of determinant factors influencing the process of permanent modernization of the economy and social sphere of post-Soviet Russia, which serves as a tool for analyzing the essential content of the social and economic policies of the modern Russian state, helping to explain in a new way in the public sphere the categorical imperative of the strategy

of catch-up development (the essence of modernization), It allows us to formulate an algorithm for increasing the competitiveness of the country.

12. The influence of elitism (the influence of industry elites) and mass politics (empowerment) on the development of the content and implementation of the state policy of the Russian Federation in industries and spheres is revealed, including finding a balance in politics between empowerment and elitism, characterized by the development of an algorithm for the actions of the institution of the state in interactions with the two sides. This allows us to use the author's research achievements while minimizing the negative effects of democratic participation of mass groups and elites, targeting (neutralizing) risks to the political order, contributing to increasing the stability and stability of the political system of the Russian Federation.

13. In revealing ways to improve the mechanisms for implementing government decisions and substantiating the importance of the analysis methodology presented by the dissertation, which includes the process of introducing managerial and technological innovations that differ from those already available in scientific research by focusing on the instrumentalization of innovative approaches that allow the country's authorities and management to ensure the effectiveness of social and economic policies strategizing, achieve set goals and objectives of the implemented policy.

14. An integral concept of digital and technological traditionalism is presented and substantiated, which includes the importance of reassembling public policy, the importance of updating the functions of public administration in the Russian Federation, especially the functions of semantic production, characterized by the transfer to scientific discourse and the public sphere of explaining the political preferences of authorities and management of this phenomenon as a national unifying idea., It allows us to consider digital and technological traditionalism as a predictable and desirable image of Russia's future, which was implicitly targeted by the social and economic policies of the Russian Federation in the previous 2010s.

**The main statements to be defended:**

1. A systematic analysis of scientific theories and methodological approaches to the definition of the "field of politics" (P. Bourdieu, N. Fligstein and D. McAdam, I.Y. Okunev, S.V. Naumov) allowed the dissertation to clarify and more clearly substantiate this concept: a) as a synthesis of the competitive struggle of power hierarchies for the formation of the national government's agenda, decision-making processes, development and implementation of public policy, b) as a balance of power of dominant and subordinate interest groups when choosing political and managerial alternatives with their own autonomous areas in this field, c) as a political market of actors with their own bets on changing their status position in power, with a more advantageous position and with a voluminous resource potential.

Based on the development of the theory of political metaphor (J. Lakoff and M. Johnson, F.R. Ankersmith, K.E. Koktysh), the political metaphor "the Russian field of politics" was introduced into scientific discourse, which provides a certain increment of scientific knowledge in political science and presupposes an ontological, axiological and procedural dimension of the activities of agents of action and political institutions. The Russian field of politics, to a greater extent than, for example, fields in other national states, reproduces the dominance of actors and institutions in imposing cultural and symbolic practices on social strata and groups and correlates with a number of features of the non-Western political process (the influence of cliques, the use of illegitimate means of struggle). (Item 2. "Theories, concepts and models of public administration. Public administration under various types of government, forms of government and political regimes" Passport of scientific specialty 5.5.3. "Public Administration and Sectoral Policies").

2. Based on a new reading of the essence of the state in the works of B. Jessop (polymorphic nature of politics), M. Mazzucato (entrepreneurial state), R. Lakhman (politics as the struggle of industry elites), the dissertation significantly supplemented the interpretation of the essence of the state, which, in the justification of the dissertation, developed in the era of modernity and postmodernity, firstly, as a universalist construct (universalist state), combining market and non-market mechanisms for regulating various spheres in response to challenges and threats,

secondly, as a result of the dominance of social and economic policies minorities that have formed into industry elites. This interpretation differs significantly from the generally accepted political tradition of considering politics as a special kind of collectivity, institutionalized for the sake of increasing the common good, and as a certain complex of institutions of public power.

It was within the framework of the universalist state that the Russian Federation developed in the 1990s and the "zero years", which was characterized by social and economic policies in the context of common trends in economic and social and cultural globalization. At the same time, external and internal factors predetermined the evolution of the Russian state towards a singular polity (a special, unique state) in the 2010s. Referring to the works of O. E. Bessonova (the state in the distribution paradigm), Yu. Based on the analysis of the Russian case of post-Soviet Russia, the dissertation presents a more systematic assessment of the role of the state in a market economy (dynamism, innovativeness) both as an organizer-dispatcher implementing paternalistic social and economic policies in the paradigm of distribution (stability, reliability), and as an arbitrator in an effort to prove society, in the context of a subject political culture, recognizes its state viability, and as an agent of identity construction based on traditional values. (paragraph 14. "Challenges and risks of public administration, public policy and sectoral policies" Passport of scientific specialty 5.5.3. "Public administration and sectoral policies").

3. Understanding the political content of the social and economic policies of the Russian Federation, its conceptual foundations, priorities, and implementation mechanisms is impossible without explaining the unique phenomenon of post-Soviet Russia. Based on the research of phenomenology (E. Husserl, A. Schutz, M. Merleau-Ponty, G.L. Tulchinsky), understanding the essence of Russia from the perspective of a civilizational approach (N.Y. Danilevsky, A. Toynbee, J. Arnanson, O. Malinova, E. Kostin), the specifics of the formation and development of post-Soviet states (B.A. Kheifets, E.I. Pivovar, A.N. Bykov, B.P. Guseletov), the dissertation presents the author's interpretation of post-Soviet Russia as a special phenomenon of modern politics. On the one hand, the Russian Federation is the core

of historical Russia, which has preserved its uniqueness, continuity and continuity of history, and political culture in the face of civilizational confrontation and political transformations of the 1990s and 2000s. On the other hand, while preserving its civilizational identity (core), Russia is a new state with a new economic and political structure, a model of development and a set of problems related to the economy, politics, social and spiritual spheres. These contradictory processes have resulted in the social and economic policies being implemented. (p.9. "State policy, state sectoral policies (social, economic, migration, national, scientific and technical, educational, youth, information, etc.)" Passports of scientific specialty 5.5.3. "Public administration and sectoral policies").

4. The understanding of public administration of the economic and social sectors of the Russian Federation is conceptualized in the form of priority strategic blocks of political life as a process of functioning of a machine-mechanism with varying degrees of efficiency, working in the interests of the bureaucracy, on the one hand, social strata and groups of the population, on the other hand. The "machine-mechanism" political metaphor is also a system of decisions and actions of government bodies based on market conditions, diverse material and political resources, the active participation of the business community and the creative proposals of think tanks. The result of conceptualization, as the final understanding by the dissertation researcher of empirical and theoretical information of the concept of public administration, is a picture of the reality under study – social and economic policies as a kind of integrity of interests and interactions of economic and social institutions, political forces and actors. (paragraph 10. "Mechanisms, tools and stages of public policy and sectoral policies. Development of political, public and media agendas" Passport of scientific specialty 5.5.3. "Public administration and sectoral policies").

5. The expediency of expanding traditional ideas about the essence of social and economic policies in terms of the political content of value bases, social orientation, and the public nature of this sphere is substantiated. Social and economic policies, according to the author's definition, is the framework of a nationwide

structure built in various formats of legitimate partnership between state and non-state actors, civil society institutions in various sectors of the economy and the social sphere. The key objectives of the policy are: a) targeting economic and neutralizing social, cultural and political threats (internal and external), b) changing or correcting the political order when the population is dissatisfied with the amount of increment of the common good, c) ensuring economic growth and spatial development. The main objectives of social and economic policies are: ensuring sustainable development as a necessary system of dynamics of social and economic processes, creating conditions for improving the standard and quality of life of the population, implementing the principles of social justice and social modernization, introducing modern principles of public administration, political participation of elites and interest groups in making political and managerial decisions to give it greater legitimacy, for the political mobilization of the population in achieving the necessary targets. (paragraph 9. "State policy, state sectoral policies (social, economic, migration, national, scientific and technical, educational, youth, information, etc." Passports of scientific specialty Passports of scientific specialty 5.5.3. "Public administration and sectoral policies").

6. The essence and features of the institutionalization of the state policy of the Russian Federation in the economy and social sphere are clarified as a process of collective actions of political actors and institutions within the framework of the political order functioning in the country, reaching the level of their habit of carrying out their practices legitimately with routine control and self-control, a habit that is part of tradition (historicity). Such a process involved the cultivation of institutions that lay down positive changes, the formation of mechanisms and instruments of state regulation. The dissertation revealed the transitive features of the process of institutionalization of social and economic policies, taking into account factors-conditions and factors-resources, with the presence of positive and significant problems in the country. The trajectory of the formation and implementation of such a policy in the context of radical social and economic transformations is revealed as a drift from a liberal state to a balanced social and economic policies combining

scientifically based government regulation with the freedom of managerial decision-making by economic entities. The social and economic policies of the Russian Federation has been and is the subject of political design and construction by state project management, including norms, identities, and social structures. At the same time, an important clarification is that social and economic policies becomes public after its regulatory institutionalization. (paragraph 10. "Mechanisms, tools and stages of public policy and sectoral policies. Development of political, public and media agendas" Passport of scientific specialty 5.5.3. "Public administration and sectoral policies").

7. The models of social and economic policies corresponding to certain time stages have been identified: a) the liberal-deregulated model (1991-2003), b) the balanced distribution model (2004-2011), c) the dirigiste-paternalistic model of state social and economic policies (2012-2019). The first model of politics highlighted by the dissertation was a failed political experiment that had an impact on the state of the social and economic sphere, which led to a number of negative social and political consequences. In the time continuum of 1991-2003, post-Soviet Russia dealt with acute social (for example, poverty, food shortages) and economic problems (deindustrialization, technological archaism of the real economy), most of which were not resolved through the system of government within the framework of state policy.

The chosen strategy of social and economic development during this period proved ineffective (untenable) both at the federal level and at the level of the subjects of the Russian Federation. In order to theoretically comprehend the process of correction and improvement of the state social and economic policies of the Russian Federation in 2004-2019. The concept of a management pentad has been developed, which includes five main parts representing a synthesis: a) the capacity of public arenas (actualization of problems), b) the specifics of shaping the political agenda of national governments, c) the specific political style of the country's leadership in a certain time period, d) the type of institutionalized political regime, e) the policy of state regulation (deregulation) of the economy and social sphere. The interrelated

elements of the pentad systematically affect the quality of government policy in industries and spheres, the resolution of economic and social problems, and the process that affects the increment (decrease) of the common, public good. (item 14. "Challenges and risks of public administration, public policy and sectoral policies" of the Passport of scientific specialty 5.5.3. "Public Administration and sectoral policies").

8. The phenomenology of the political power of the Russian Federation is revealed as a dominant component of the structure of politics, which, during the 30-year period studied by the author, was ideologically diverse and at the same time extremely personalistic, with different results and effects diametrically opposed to the declared goals. The dissertation's understanding of the phenomenology of Russian power differs to a certain extent from its previous interpretations in political science in that it is presented as a clearly motivated force in the implementation of its political doctrines (explicit and implicit) in practice without serious examination and consideration of the consequences of their implementation, without conducting a management audit of its stages (for example, after the expiration of its term Government of the Russian Federation). Consideration of the phenomenon of political power in post-Soviet Russia, from the point of view of social and cultural anthropology, allows us to correlate this power with the formation of the political agenda, with the political course it develops and implements, which was influenced by the values of its bearers, political conditions and flows, and which was translated into specific behavioral practices, models and strategic priorities of the state social and economic policies, which determined its pendulum-like nature. And the managerial effect of social and economic policies also depended on factors-conditions, internal and external, factors-resources, as well as situational and strategic alliances of subjects of Russian politics. (paragraph 2. "Theories, concepts and models of public administration. Public administration under various types of government, forms of government and political regimes" Passport of scientific specialty 5.5.3. "Public administration and Sectoral Policies").

9. The necessity of state regulation of social and economic processes in the Russian Federation is substantiated, on the one hand, representing a choice of three main types (command, market, mixed types), on the other hand, a choice of five main models (American or liberal, Japanese or Asian, Swedish-Scandinavian, German or social and economic market, French). It is proved that a mixed type of state regulation is optimal as an alternative to the self-regulation of the 1990s and the command type of regulation (with strict, centralized planning) of the USSR period, choosing a special, Russian model based on proven practices of the 2010s, which fits into the format of state dirigisme and market equilibrium. This model incorporates elements of the French model (the state regulates processes through tax, monetary and antimonopoly policies), the German model (free competition and social protection of the population, social insurance and budget contributions to the social sphere), the Swedish-Scandinavian model (development of social and economic infrastructure at the expense of public funds, a focus on ensuring a high standard of living). This justification differs from those already available in scientific discourse in that government regulation is understood by the dissertator as a mechanism for ensuring social and political stability in society. At the same time, the role function of this mechanism, which is related to the regulation of social processes and maintaining the stability of the political system, allows for a harmonious combination of state regulation in the format of "dirigisme" with the formation of a political agenda, the development of which is influenced through parties and NGOs by the main social strata and groups of the population, the development of a policy course by the national government that meets the interests of these strata and groups (item 10. "Mechanisms, tools and stages of state policy and sectoral policies. Development of political, public and media agendas" Passport of scientific specialty 5.5.3. "Public administration and sectoral policies").

10. Based on the systematization and assessment of the material and political resources of the state policy of the Russian Federation in industries and spheres in the period 1991-2019. a multi-criteria methodology for analyzing the potential of social and economic policies has been developed, which consists of: a) in the

differentiation of material resources capable of guaranteeing the implementation of government decisions in the social, economic and budgetary spheres, b) in the hierarchical systematization of political resources that characterize the state of information and communication, institutional components of the social and economic policies of the country, c) in the representation of human resources as an organizational and managerial component of the policy. The presented methodology has been tested and used by government authorities in developing strategies for the social and economic development of the Voronezh and Oryol regions. This point of the novelty of the position submitted for defense reflects the applied significance of the research and its contribution to solving an important national economic problem. (paragraph 2. "Theories, concepts and models of public administration. Public administration under various types of government, forms of government and political regimes" Passport of scientific specialty 5.5.3. "Public administration and sectoral policies").

11. A scheme of logical analysis of the determinant factors influencing the process of permanent modernization of the economy and social sphere of post-Soviet Russia has been developed, which helps to explain in a new way the categorical imperative of the catch-up development strategy (the essence of modernization) in the public sphere. The political mechanisms of formation and implementation of state social and economic policies in post-Soviet Russia of the period under review allow us to state that they are determined by the nature of the political regime, its ideological motivation, the peculiarities of the political system, and are dictated by a change in political course. Their analysis contributed to a more complete and objective synthesis of the political content and specifics of the political and economic transformations taking place in the country. At the first stage of these transformations (1991-2003), the political mechanisms that embodied the liberal-deregulated model and, consequently, the radical-liberal economic strategy determined the nature and political results of the transformation of social and economic relations and the state social and economic policies of post-Soviet Russia. In terms of the costs of social and economic development, it was a survival strategy

in the context of the current political course. At subsequent stages (2004-2019), political mechanisms for the implementation of state social and economic policies, consistent with moderate-liberal and conservative approaches, ensured the formation of new tools for stabilizing political, power and social relations. And, accordingly, the model of social and economic development was transformed into a strategy of regenerative growth set by the political course, and subsequently the transition to a strategy of sustainable development. The system of political mechanisms for the formation and implementation of state social and economic policies includes political and legal (regulatory support for the social and economic sphere, state policy for ensuring economic priorities), political and organizational (institutionalization of the social and economic sphere), financial (direct public administration, budgetary, tax regulation, state regulation of labor relations, regulation through government programs, etc.), information (informatization and digitalization of public administration, implementation of the E-Government program, etc.) mechanisms. The improvement of the political mechanisms of public policy, provided that their effectiveness increases, can ensure the stable functioning of the conditions and processes of political and social and economic development of society. (Item 10. "Mechanisms, tools and stages of state policy and sectoral policies. Development of political, public and media agendas" Passport of scientific specialty 5.5.3. "Public Administration and Sectoral Policies").

12. The influence of elitism (the influence of industry elites) and mass politics on the development of the content and implementation of the state policy of the Russian Federation in industries and spheres is revealed, including finding a balance in politics between mass politics and elitism, characterized by the development of an algorithm for the actions of the institution of the state in interactions with the two sides. This identification differs from the generally accepted (idealistic) understanding of the importance of the political participation of mass groups and elites in politics by developing an algorithm for the actions of the Institute of the state in working with two parties (mass groups and industry elites). Such identification also makes it possible to use research developments in applied political

and managerial practices in order to minimize the negative effects of democratic participation of mass groups and elites, anticipating risks and disruptions to the political order, and contributing to increasing the stability and stability of the political system of the Russian Federation. (Item 2. "Theories, concepts and models of public administration. Public administration under various types of government, forms of government and political regimes" Passport of scientific specialty 5.5.3. "Public administration and sectoral policies"). 13. The directions of improving the mechanisms for making and implementing government decisions that take into account the specifics of the Russian political system and include managerial innovations that allow public authorities to effectively achieve their goals in the implementation of social and economic policies are revealed. Among them: a) integration of new institutions in the management system of industries and spheres: political and managerial networks as alliances and unions of political actors, the institute of lobbying social strata and groups, the institute of local (local) communities, since they form the basis of modern society and a successful economy; b) new mechanisms and tools (digital transformation, the use of KPIs and TQM), which are important in terms of the implementation of government policies in cross-industry complexes, industries and fields of activity; c) production and reproduction of new ideas that generate effective results in production chains and in public administration: project-based, lean, turquoise management, smart city projects, smart manufacturing, smart specialization. (paragraph 10. "Mechanisms, tools and stages of public policy and sectoral policies. Development of political, public and media agendas" Passport of scientific specialty 5.5.3. "Public administration and sectoral policies").

14. The holistic concept of digital and technological traditionalism is substantiated, which takes into account the importance of reassembling public policy, the importance of updating the functions of public administration in the Russian Federation, especially the production of meanings. This concept differs from other ideological concepts in that it explains in scientific discourse and in the public sphere the political preferences of authorities and management in relation to

this phenomenon as a national unifying idea. Thus, this allows us to consider digital and technological traditionalism as a predictable ideology of the Russian Federation in the future, not necessarily institutionalized as a state one, but also as a desirable image of the future of Russia, which was implicitly targeted by the social and economic policy of the Russian Federation in the previous 2010s. As a result, the production of meanings, expressed in the form of a symbolic policy of the state, took shape in a significant part of the state's internal policy. Understanding symbolic politics in inseparable unity with social and economic policies provides the necessary epistemological profile of various conceptualizations. The production of meanings is becoming an updated ideological function of the entire system of public administration in the Russian Federation, and symbolic politics is becoming a categorical imperative. (paragraph 2. "Theories, concepts and models of public administration. Public administration under various types of government, forms of government and political regimes" Passport of scientific specialty 5.5.3. "Public administration and sectoral policies").

**The scientific validity and reliability** of the results obtained are ensured by: a thorough and comprehensive theoretical and empirical research base; a clear methodological research strategy based on methodological tools; the use of scientific methods adequate to the research objectives; the correlation of the results obtained personally by the author and the data obtained from Russian and foreign studies; the presence of diverse forms of approbation of the main provisions and key conclusions.

The theoretical significance of the work lies in the methodology and methodology proposed by the author to study the essence and potential of the social and economic policies of the Russian Federation to provide citizens with conditions for a decent and prosperous life, business with opportunities for development and innovation, and society with conditions for increasing the common (public) good. This methodology and methodology makes it possible to determine both the effectiveness and efficiency of such policies in industries and spheres at different time stages, as well as the prospects for its improvement in ensuring social stability

in society and the stability of the national political system. The dissertation proposed the author's definition of social and economic policies as the framework of a nationwide structure built in various formats of partnership interactionism between state and non-state actors in industries and spheres. The paper conceptualizes an approach to the study of public administration in the form of priority blocks of political life from the point of view of the functioning of the machine mechanism. The author defines the essential aspects and features of the institutionalization of public policy in the economy and social sphere as a process of collective action by elite groups and network coalitions within the framework of a functioning political order, reaching the level of their habit of acting legitimately. The applicant also typologized models and strategic priorities of the state social and economic policies, substantiated the role of state regulation of social and economic policies processes as a mechanism of social and political stability. At the same time, the author conceptualizes the concept of a "managerial pentad" to explain the process of formation and correction of social and economic policies. The dissertation also proposed a systematics of the political participation of mass groups of citizens and industry elites in the development and implementation of the state social and economic policies of the Russian Federation, which includes finding a balance between empaeurism and elitism in political decision-making. The paradigmatic theory can serve as a basis for further scientific research on the issues of political participation in political science, political sociology, and comparative political science, forming the basis for developing conclusions and recommendations to government and regional authorities on improving interactionism in the "government–society" system

**The practical significance of the work.** The provisions and conclusions of the dissertation research can be integrated by the following policy actors: 1) the government of the Russian Federation, ministries and departments, regional administrations to improve social and economic policies, adjust strategies, and policy course; 2) leaders and activists of parliamentary political parties of the Russian Federation, think tanks, when discussing and approving plans for the social

and economic development of the Russian Federation and its regions at meetings of the State Duma of the Russian Federation, legislative bodies of the Russian Federation, meetings. The materials of the dissertation work formed the basis for separate sections of a number of academic disciplines at the Central Russian Institute of Management, Branch of RANEPA, taught to students studying in the fields of Public and Municipal Administration and Management. The proposed research methodology has proven itself as a possible monitoring strategy, which allows it to be used as a risk reduction tool in the process of preparing and implementing government policy in industries and areas to improve the effectiveness of management activities of federal and regional executive authorities.

**Research results evaluation.** The key conclusions and statements of the research were presented by the applicant within the framework of scientific conferences (international, Russian, interregional), at the All-Russian Congress of Political Scientists (2021). The basic provisions of the dissertation research were reflected in the scientific papers of the applicant. The applicant published 9 author's and collective monographs for the topic:

1. Leonova, O.V. Theoretical and methodological foundations of the study of State Demographic Policy [Text] / O.V. Leonova / in: State Policy and Management: theory, methodology, modern implementation practices: a collective monograph. – Orel: Central Russian Institute of Management, Branch of RANEPA, 2024. 312 p. – pp. 77-90.
2. Leonova, O.V. The family as an object of state social and economic policies: theory and methodology of political analysis [Text] / O.V. Leonova / in: State Policy and Management: theory, methodology, modern implementation practices: a collective monograph. – Orel: Central Russian Institute of Management, Branch of RANEPA, 2024. 312 p. – pp. 224-242.
3. Leonova, O.V. Financial aspects of ensuring sustainable and competitive development of the regional economy [Text] / O.V. Leonova / in: Financial instruments for regulating social and economic development, modernization of budgetary and financial and investment policy of regions: a collective monograph.

– Orel: Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration, 2024. – 296 p. -pp. 92-174.

4. Leonova, O.V. The political content of the state social and economic policies of post-Soviet Russia: models, resources, effects: monograph [Text] / O.V. Leonova. – Orel: Central Russian Institute of Management, Branch of the RANEPA, 2024. – 128 p.

5. Leonova, O.V. The state and state policy: basic scientific concepts and theories for the Russian case: monograph [Text] / O.V. Leonova. – Orel: Central Russian Institute of Management, Branch of the RANEPA, 2023. – 132 p.

6. Leonova, O.V. Social and economic policy of modern Russia: strategies, political mechanisms of implementation, imperatives of improvement: a monograph [Text] / O.V. Leonova. – Orel: Central Russian Institute of Management, Branch of the RANEPA, 2023. – 296 p.

7. Leonova, O.V. Assessment of investment attractiveness as a factor of sustainable regional development of Orel region [Text] / O.V. Leonova / in: Regional financial policy as a tool for post-crisis recovery and sustainable growth: a multi-author book. – Orel, 2022. – 268 p. – pp. 63-86.

8. Leonova, O.V. Regulation of spatial imbalances of socio-economic development of regions: a multi-author book [Text] / O.V. Leonova / in: Financial and economic aspects of structural transformation of regional development: a collective monograph. – Orel, 2021. – 296 p. – pp. 8-33.

9. Leonova, O.V. Social responsibility in the system of state and municipal management [Text] / O.V. Leonova / in: Integration of personnel policy into the national project management system: a collective monograph. – Orel, 2020. – 282 p. – pp. 246-268.

**Articles in publications included in the List of peer-reviewed scientific journals in which the main scientific results of dissertations for the degree of Doctor of Sciences should be published, approved by the Higher Attestation Commission under the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Russian Federation.**

1. Leonova, O.V. (2024) Socio-economic policy in Post-Soviet Russia: strategic priorities and political mechanisms of implementation. Central Russian Journal of Social Sciences. Vol. 19, no,1, p. 57–85
2. Leonova, O.V. (2024) Empowerment in overcoming problems of state social policy (empowerment toolkit). Central Russian Journal of Social Sciences. Vol. 19, no.4, p. 61–85
3. Leonova, O.V. (2024) Digitalization of socio-economic policy: opportunities and risks in modern Russia. Central Russian Journal of Social Sciences. Volume 19, no.6, p.35-71
4. Leonova, O.V. Topical aspects of the Social Policy subject organization in modern Russia. Bulletin of the Volga Region Institute of Administration 2024. Vol. 24, № 6, p. 95-104
5. Leonova, O.V. (2023) Theoretical concept of development in the practice of socioeconomic policy: federal and regional level // Central Russian Journal of Social sciences. –volume 18, issue 2. – p.88-113
6. Leonova, O.V. Implementation of national projects in the Russian Federation as a factor in overcoming institutional deficits and reassembling State Social Policy / O.V. Leonova, D.N. Nечаев // Bulletin of Voronezh State University: History. Political science. Sociology. – 2021. – № 1. – p. 32-40
7. Leonova, O.V. State policy of the Russian Federation on the formation of citizenship and patriotism in the youth environment: sociological and political analysis / O.V. Leonova, A.E. Volkova / Central Russian Journal of Social Sciences. Volume 16, Issue 1. – 2021. – p. 175-193
8. Leonova, O.V. Memorial Culture and Political Mythology: Politics of Memory in the Sphere of Public Administration in Russia and Post-Soviet States / O.V. Leonova, D.N. Nечаев // Bulletin of the Volga Region Institute of Administration. – 2021. – Vol. 21. – № 1. p. – 12-21
9. Leonova, O.V. State policy branches in the Russian Federation and its modernization priorities under the context of the constitution amendments in 2020 / O.V. Leonova // Power. – 2020. – Vol. 28. – No. 5. – pp. 58-65.

10. Leonova, O.V. Change of state policies as a result of adoption of amendments to the constitution of Russia: directions and features / O.V. Leonova, D.N. Nечаев // Central Russian Journal of Social Sciences. – Volume 15. –Issue 4. – 2020. – p. 116-127

11. Leonova, O.V. Formation of a Conceptual Framework for Supporting Youth Development in the Context of State Social Policy in Modern Russia / O.V. Leonova // Bulletin of the Volga Region Institute of Administration. – 2020. – Vol. 20. – № 4. – p. 95-102

12. Leonova O.V. State youth policy of the Russian Federation: the practice of formation and new legislative paradigms / O.V. Leonova // Power. - 2020. – Vol. 28. – No. 6. – pp. 122-129

13. Leonova, O.V. Features of institutionalization and development practices of project management in Russian regions (on the example of the Belgorod region) [Text] / O.V. Leonova, O.R. Lyubkina // Central Russian Journal of Social Sciences. – 2019. – Vol. 14. – No. 4. – pp. 29-42.

14. Leonova, O.V. The evolution of project management development in Russia and abroad [Text] / O.V. Leonova, N.V. Mironenko // Management consulting. – 2017. – № 6 (102). – Pp. 65-72

15. Leonova, O.V. Transformation of managerial culture in the public sector in the context of the introduction of project management [Text] / O.V. Leonova // Central Russian Journal of Social Sciences. – 2017. – Vol. 12. – No. 2. – p. 167-175.

16. Leonova, O.V. Project management in the public administration system: problems of application [Text] / O.V. Leonova, A.V. Gryadunova, O.A. Kryukova // Central Russian Journal of Social Sciences. – Volum 11 – Issue 4 – 2016. – p. 203-213

17. The main research results were evaluated at **scientific and practical conferences talks and round tables, in published proceedings, as well as in other publications of the author.:**

1. Leonova, O.V. Digital and technological traditionalism in the image of the present and future of the Russian Federation as another form of the globalizing world: towards a problem statement / D.N. Nechaev, O.V. Leonova // Images and Models of the future : Proceedings of the Central Russian International Academic Forum. Orel, September 26-27, 2024. – Orel: Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration. – 2024. – p. 35-38

2. Leonova, O.V. Social and economic policies: priorities of the welfare state in the 21st century / O.V. Leonova // Images and models of the future : Proceedings of the Central Russian International Academic Forum. Orel, September 26-27, 2024. – Orel: Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration. – 2024. – p. 92-96

3. Leonova, O.V. Political externalities: on the issue of the paradigmatic theory of the negative effects of democratic participation of Russian citizens / D.N. Nechaev, O.V. Leonova // Political science in a changing world: New practices and theoretical search : proceedings of the All-Russian RPSA Conference with International Participation, Moscow, December 01-02, 2023. RUDN University. – 2023. – p.404-405.

4. Leonova O.V. "The welfare state": the process of reassembling the state social policy of the Russian Federation from the perspective of two ideal-typical models / O.V. Leonova, D.N. Nechaev // Society and economic thought in the 21st century: ways of development and innovations : Materials of the IX International Scientific and Practical Conference dedicated to the 65th anniversary of the branch. – 2021. – p. 694-699.

5. Leonova, O.V. Socially oriented strategic planning of regional development: organizational and methodological aspect / O.V. Leonova, D.V. Kolesnikov // Bulletin of the Academy of Knowledge. – 2020. – № 39 (4). – p. 257-262.

6. Lyapina I.R., Ivashchenko T.N., Komarevtseva O.O., Leonova O.V., Shchegolev A.V. The role of project management of the innovative activities of large

industrial structures // The Impact of Information on Modern Humans. Conference proceedings . Springer Nature Switzerland AG. – 2018. – pp. 3-15.

7. Soboleva Y.P., Polyanin A.V., Leonova O.V., Korgina O.A., Merkulov A.V. Strategic approach to performance evaluation of a business entity from the position of analyzing its business potential // Espacios. – 2018. – Vol. 39. – No. 33.

8. Leonova, O.V. "New" industrialization as a trend in the industrial policy of the subjects of the Russian Federation: features of the regional stratification of the economic space (on the example of the regions of the Central Federal District) / O.V. Leonova, D.N. Nechaev // Time of big changes: policy and politics. Materials of the All-Russian scientific conference RPSA. RUDN University; Ed. by O.V. Gaman-Golutvina, L.V. Smorgunov, L.N. Timofeeva. – 2017. – p. 262-263

9. Leonova, O.V. Formation of criteria for evaluating project management in the field of public administration / O.V. Leonova // Modern problems of regionalism. Collection based on the materials of the II Mertsalov readings. Ed. by P.A. Merkulov. – 2016. – 138-141

10. Leonova, O.V. Formation of regulations of information system "Performance monitoring of project management" / O.V. Leonova, O.A. Kryukova, N.V. Mironenko // Journal of Public and Municipal Administration. – Volum 5.– Issue № 3. – 2016. – p. 157-164

**The structure of the research.** The dissertation, in accordance with the purpose and objectives of the research, consists of an introduction, five chapters, a conclusion, and references.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "Алена".