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**FEATURES OF YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN THE ELECTORAL
PROCESS IN MODERN RUSSIA (USING THE EXAMPLE OF MOSCOW)**

Specialty: 5.5.2. Political institutions, processes, technologies
(political sciences)

Abstract

of the dissertation for the degree
of Candidate of Political Sciences

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Relevance of the research topic

The topic of the dissertation research is relevant for the following reasons.

Firstly, the electoral behavior of young people in all countries and at all times is characterized by instability, radicalism and inconsistency compared to older generations due to the lack of formation and maturity of the political consciousness of the new generation. The 2010s, with their multiple risks and challenges of various origins, became additional factors of destabilization of the political consciousness of the younger generation in almost all states. In Russia, for which the last decade has been a time of diverse challenges and prospects for socio-economic and political development, the political consciousness and electoral behavior of young people is an important resource and at the same time an indicator of the sustainability of national statehood. That is why the identification and research of factors influencing the process of formation and development of political consciousness and electoral behavior of Russian youth is one of the most important objects of Russian political science.

Secondly, the discreteness and anti-anonymity of the Russian political consciousness of the 1990s generation, which was clearly manifested in the large-scale denial of the positive aspects of the USSR's political heritage, the partial loss of historical memory, fascination with the ideals of liberalism and then rapid disillusionment with them, at least, did not contribute to the development of a holistic post-Soviet political culture among the parents of today's youth. Accordingly, the eclectic and contradictory political mentality inherited by the current new generation of Russians can become fertile ground for the development of political radicalism, extremism, deviant political behavior, and nihilistic attitudes among young people. The development and implementation of measures to prevent these anomalies is impossible without a comprehensive study of the structure of political consciousness of the current young generation and the factors influencing the change in political consciousness and electoral behavior.

Thirdly, the targeted comprehensive impact on the political consciousness and electoral behavior of young people is the most relevant aspect of Russian youth policy. Since the 2010s, the attention of the Russian political authorities to the problems of youth has been steadily increasing. The consolidation of youth policy in the Constitution of the Russian Federation in 2020 as a sphere of joint competence between Russia and its subjects, as well as the adoption of the Federal Law on Youth Policy in the Russian Federation, marked a qualitatively new, constitutional and

institutional stage in the development of youth policy in the Russian Federation. Targeted programs and projects have been developed and are being implemented aimed at improving the material, educational, cultural, and physical condition of the new generation of Russians, promoting their professional self-realization and career growth. At the same time, the impact on the political consciousness and electoral behavior of young people is mainly limited to patriotic and moral education, involvement in volunteer activities. All these seem to be necessary, but insufficient measures to achieve the goals of fostering citizenship, responsible and competent electoral consciousness and behavior among the younger generation of Russians.

Fourth, due to significant regional differences in the level and quality of life of Russians, it is important to take into account the spatial features of the electoral consciousness and behavior of modern youth. Moscow is definitely the leader among Russian regions in terms of the level and quality of life, as well as the scale of self-realization opportunities for young people. However, the availability of these opportunities does not exclude the possibility of negative political and electoral behavior of young Muscovites, or an increase in their political apathy. That is why Moscow can become an impetus for the growth of both constructive and destructive trends in the development of political consciousness and electoral behavior of young Russians in all Russian regions. In this regard, the development of measures to prevent unconscious protest or deviant electoral behavior of Moscow youth should be justified by a comprehensive socio-political study of their political attitudes, values and goals.

The issues of transformation of political consciousness and electoral behavior as a component of the political culture of the younger generation of Russians, taking into account the cultural and historical heritage, as well as trends and challenges in the development of Russian statehood at the present stage, require a comprehensive multi-level study.

The object of the study is the electoral behavior of modern Russian youth as a component of the political culture of a new generation of Russians.

The subject of the study is the electoral values and electoral behavior of young people in Moscow.

The purpose of the work is to propose and characterize the directions and technologies of constructivization of the electoral behavior of Russian youth using the example of Moscow, taking into account the specifics of political culture, as well as current trends and challenges in the development of Russian statehood.

Research objectives:

- to study the mutual influence of political culture and political behavior of Russian youth;

- to characterize the political potential of Russian youth and identify the possibilities of its implementation in the electoral process;

- to identify and investigate the electoral values and electoral behavior of Russian youth;

- to characterize civil law competence as the basis for the formation of the electoral culture of Russian youth;

- to identify and characterize the practices of constructive participation of Moscow youth in the electoral process, to substantiate the possibilities of scaling up practices to stimulate constructive, competent electoral behavior of young people.

The field of study. The scientific and qualification work corresponds to the passport of the Higher Attestation Commission of specialty 5.5.2. "Political institutions, processes, technologies", in particular in the following areas:

- Item 4 "Mechanisms and technologies of traditional and digital politics: forms and levels of organization";

- Item 5. "Political behavior and participation: articulation, aggregation of interests, forms of mobilization";

- p. 13. "Election campaigns, electoral cycles and electoral technologies";

- p. 14. "The political process: essence, sources, structure, social foundations and environmental factors";

- p. 15. "Psychological aspects of political processes";

- p. 16. "Processes and mechanisms of political perception. Political consciousness";

- p. 24. "Political archetypes, symbols and myths. National mentality and political culture";

- p. 25. "Political socialization: institutions, factors and agents".

Hypothesis

The determining complex factor in changing the electoral behavior of citizens is a change in the structure and content of political values, motives, and attitudes of the postmodern generation. At the same time, the processes of transformation of political consciousness in Russia are closely related to the peculiarities of the

evolution of socio-psychological, economic and political factors of Russian statehood, These features can serve as the foundation for the development of a unique Russian model of constructive political consciousness and electoral behavior based on the sustained desire of the younger generation to actively shape the "future of Russia", to interact with the authorities. However, the constructivization of interaction between youth and government is hindered by the lack of development of mechanisms and technologies for involving youth in socio-political life, difficulties in developing practical competencies of civil and political participation

Theoretical and methodological basis of the research

The research methodology is based on the provisions and conclusions in the fields of the theory of political culture and electoral behavior, political socialization and civic identity of youth, and the development of Russian statehood.

In the process of setting and solving the goals and objectives of the dissertation, general scientific and specifically applied research methods were used, including: study of scientific literature, system analysis, factor analysis, formal legal analysis, sociological survey (questionnaires and in-depth interviews); included observation; study of materials published in the media, analysis of video materials related to the election campaigns of 2018-2020, as well as the author's conversations with political strategists and members of the election headquarters of candidates and parties.

The use of these methods has made it possible to ensure the validity of the conducted research, theoretical judgments and developed recommendations.

During the preparation of the dissertation, normative legal and methodological acts, the results of statistical and sociological research related to issues of political consciousness and electoral behavior of young Russians, problems of political socialization and electoral activity of Russian youth, including the youth of Moscow, were studied.

The scientific novelty of the dissertation research is as follows:

1. It is revealed that the gradual replacement of political values in the minds of the electorate by motives of political behavior, characteristic of postmodern communities in Russia, is not accompanied by a rationalization of political culture. This significantly reduces the validity of the methodology of political behaviorism in relation to the analysis of electoral behavior of Russians.

2. It is proved that the 1990s, rich in electoral practices, provided an incentive for the formation of a Russian model of democratic participation combining the

values of freedom and justice. The development of this model presupposes, first of all, the activation of the socio-political potential of Russian youth in electoral processes, an increase in their level of civil law competence and the constructivization of electoral behavior.

3. It is argued that the political values and electoral behavior of modern Russian youth are determined by a combination of socio-psychological, economic and political factors. Socio-psychological factors: personal characteristics (gender, age, value orientations); microenvironment (relatives, friends, culture of educational institutions, microclimate in organizations and collectives); pandemic 2019-2020; social institutions and relationships, their degree of development; low efficiency of social elevators. Economic factors: the period of "steady economic growth" in the 2000s was the beginning of the political socialization of modern youth; the period of economic turbulence and crises in the 2010s was the active political socialization of modern youth. Political factors: strengthening of state and political institutions, national security and territorial integrity of the Russian Federation in the 2000s; interaction of Russia's main political leader Vladimir Putin with youth; development of organizational and legal foundations of youth policy in the 2000s. (including the conceptual and regulatory framework, the youth socio-political movement and relevant structures, institutions, as well as interdepartmental and intersectoral cooperation); state support for youth initiatives. The analysis of these factors in terms of their influence on the electoral consciousness and behavior of modern Russian youth is carried out.

4. A descriptive model of youth electoral behavior in the Russian Federation has been developed. Within the framework of this model, the electoral behavior of modern Russian youth is explained by the combination of socio-psychological, economic and political factors of the new generation of Russians, as well as the degree of compliance of the political agenda formed by the authorities with the results of political socialization of youth, the experience gained by them in the process of participating in political processes and observing them. The analysis carried out using this model revealed the discrepancy between the political expectations of young Russians and the level and quality of their lives, as well as the lack of development of mechanisms and technologies for the practical implementation of theoretical knowledge of the younger generation about human rights and freedoms, effective and constructive ways of democratic participation.

5. It has been established that the formation of value orientations of modern youth occurs in conditions of accessibility of many sources of various, including alternative, mutually exclusive information. The implementation of democratic

attitudes in the process of electoral behavior is difficult due to the limited efficiency of the current mechanism of interaction between the government and youth. All this increases the alienation of young people from practical politics and does not contribute to the constructivization of electoral behavior, the development of knowledge and skills of civic and political participation. Thus, the need to stimulate the development of mechanisms for increasing the level of civil law and political competencies is argued.

6. According to the results of a sociological survey conducted by the author in April 2021 of 500 Moscow students who had the right to vote during the elections to the Moscow City Duma in 2019, it was revealed that young people who regularly participate in socio-political projects have a higher level of civil law and political competence and more responsible and active electoral behavior. than the polled politically inert youth. Representatives of politically inactive Moscow youth found higher uncertainty, inconsistency and unstructured political consciousness, insufficient willingness to take responsibility for their socio-political, including destructive electoral actions.

7. As a result of the assessment of technologies used in 2018-2020 to stimulate political and electoral activity of Moscow youth, it was found that the political technologies used during the election campaigns during this period were used to increase the turnout of young people at the elections by using selfish, personal motives, and therefore did not affect the political consciousness of Moscow youth. At the same time, the technologies studied for the development of youth parliamentarism in Moscow, as well as tools for civil law and political education and enlightenment, implemented as part of educational, educational, and volunteer projects by Moscow NGOs, are aimed at developing a purposeful political consciousness of young people and therefore contribute to the constructivization of their electoral behavior. To spread the second type of technology, an algorithm for scaling them is proposed, including assessing the impact of these technologies on the political consciousness and electoral behavior of young people, formalizing technologies, and taking into account factors that contribute to and hinder their successful implementation in other Russian regions.

Provisions to be defended.

1. The transformation of political culture is a determining factor in changing the political, including electoral, behavior of citizens. The analysis of the main approaches to the study of political culture has revealed the specifics of the transformation of the content of the category "political consciousness". This specificity consists in the gradual displacement of traditional and religious values by

rational motives of political behavior. Shifting priorities in the political consciousness caused a change in electoral behavior: a value-oriented voter was replaced by a rationally motivated voter.

However, consistent rationalism in politics did not become the basis of the political mentality of Russian voters in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. Accordingly, the methodology of political behaviorism cannot be used in relation to modern Russian society, and economic behaviorism can be useful only in studying the motives of electoral behavior of specific regional or municipal election campaigns.

2. The Russian phenomenon of the interrelation of political culture and the electoral process was formed in the conditions of the scarcity of practices of electoral activity of the Soviet people; the population received electoral rights "from above" from the authorities. As a result, irrational and antinonymic archetypes of political consciousness remain the basis of political life and the electoral process of Russians.

At the same time, the 1990s, which were characterized by the richness and multidimensional practices of political (including electoral) participation of Russians, laid the foundation for a new model of democracy combining the values of freedom and social justice.

For the further development of this model, it is especially important to promote the realization of the socio-political potential of young people as active, literate, responsible voters.

3. The structure of youth's political consciousness is quite dynamic and contradictory. Its main components are socio-political archetypes and motives of political behavior.

The political, including electoral behavior of young people, is determined by their characteristics as a socio-demographic group, as well as the specifics of the political regime and national youth policy.

As a result, the electoral behavior of young people, especially in hybrid regimes, is characterized by radicalism, a low degree of competence, and a high level of protest sentiments.

4. The existing directions of activating the socio-political potential of youth in the electoral process can be divided into protective and stimulating ones.

The protective measures of electoral youth policy around the world were the government's response to large-scale protests and "color revolutions" involving

young people in the early 2000s. Today, the protective measures of electoral youth policy relate to: stricter legislative regulation of rallies, marches, demonstrations, protest actions; strengthening state control over social networks. Simultaneously with the strengthening of protective measures, stimulating areas of youth electoral policy are developing, such as: support for public initiatives and non-profit youth organizations; encouragement of the creation of youth public advisory structures under public authorities; strengthening social support measures for certain categories of youth; development of project culture among youth.

5. The political values and electoral behavior of modern Russian youth are determined by a combination of socio-psychological, economic and political factors.

Socio-psychological factors include: personal characteristics (gender, age, value orientations); microenvironment (relatives, friends, culture of educational institutions, microclimate in organizations and collectives); impact of the 2019-2020 pandemic; social institutions and relationships, their effectiveness.

Among the economic factors identified and analyzed are: the impact of the "sustainable economic growth" of the 2000s on the childhood and adolescence of modern youth; economic turbulence and crises of the 2010s on the maturation of modern youth; the inoperable social elevators.

Among the political factors investigated are: strengthening of state-political institutions, national security and territorial integrity of the Russian Federation in the 2000s; development of the organizational and legal foundations of youth policy in the 2000s (including the conceptual and regulatory framework, the youth socio-political movement and relevant structures, institutions, as well as interdepartmental and intersectoral cooperation); pre-election meetings V.V. Putin's work with youth (2016-2018); state support for youth initiatives.

6. The combined influence of socio-psychological, economic and political factors on the political consciousness and electoral behavior of modern Russian youth is ambiguous. On the one hand, the interviewed representatives of the current youth are pessimistic about the socio-economic and political future of the Russian statehood. This is due to the low ability of young people to adapt to the economic crisis, find decent work, and make a career. On the other hand, young Russians express a desire to actively shape the "political image of Russia's future" and to interact with the authorities on issues of state-political construction.

7. An assessment of the tools and technologies that were used in Moscow from 2018 to 2020 to influence the political consciousness and electoral behavior of Moscow youth from the standpoint of "increasing electoral turnout" -

"constructivizing political consciousness" allowed us to conclude the following. The technologies used during the Moscow election campaigns in 2018-2020 were aimed at increasing the electoral turnout of young people by influencing personal (material and egocentric) motives of electoral behavior. Technologies aimed at constructivizing the political consciousness and electoral behavior of Moscow youth include the organization of youth parliamentarism in Moscow, as well as tools and projects used by Moscow non-profit organizations for civil law and political education, youth education, and the involvement of its representatives in educational, civic education, and volunteer activities. These technologies can be assessed as effective in terms of promoting the development of political consciousness of young people, their civil law and political competence. It seems that the spread of such technologies will contribute to the improvement of civil law and political competencies (and, consequently, to the constructivization of electoral behavior) of young people not only in Moscow, but throughout Russia. To do this, the dissertation offers recommendations on scaling such technologies.

The theoretical significance of the study. It consists in the possibility of increasing political science knowledge about the specifics of political culture and electoral behavior of Russian youth by using the conclusions and recommendations presented in this dissertation.

The conclusions substantiated in the dissertation, as well as the author's comprehensive approach to solving the problems of increasing the level of political culture and constructivizing the electoral behavior of Moscow youth through the development of civic competence, make it possible to expand the political science tools for solving the problems of increasing the role of youth in the electoral processes of modern Russia, the civic self-identification of a new generation of Russians.

The research findings and recommendations can be used in the preparation of educational and methodological materials to stimulate the development of electoral youth culture in Russia, as well as in specialized political science courses at higher schools.

The practical significance of the study is determined by the fact that:

A descriptive model of youth electoral behavior in Russia is proposed, which makes it possible to conduct a comprehensive assessment of the influence of factors in the development of political values and priorities of youth on their civil law competence and electoral behavior.

Recommendations on scaling up technologies for the constructivization of the electoral process among young people by increasing civil law and political competence are presented.

Approbation of the research results: The main provisions and conclusions of the study were tested at three national and two international scientific and practical conferences and forums. The main results of the presented dissertation research are presented by the author in publications in political science journals recommended by the Higher Attestation Commission under the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Russian Federation, as well as other publications with a total volume of 8.47 (pp).

The volume and structure of the work

The dissertation consists of an introduction, three chapters (six paragraphs) and a conclusion, a bibliographic list and an appendix set out on 186 pages. The list of sources and literature includes 167 sources, including: regulatory legal acts of the Russian Federation, scientific literature in Russian and foreign languages, Internet sources.