FUTURES OF CITIZENS' POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN RUSSIA

Scenarios for years 2014-2025

Master's Thesis
in Futures Studies

Author:
Elizaveta Shabanova-Danielyan

Supervisors:
Prof. Pirjo Ståhle
Prof. Petri Tapio

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1   INTRODUCTION

1.1   The context of the research

The activity of citizens is an important precondition for building a democratic society in any country, because stability and quality of democratic government relies on participatory citizens (Levinson 2010, 327). There are many terms used in academic literature to name the process in which citizens attempt to influence on political decision-making or, in other words, decision-making related to the issues of common life organization in a society. The present study uses the term "*political participation*", as the most encompassing term to nominate the process mentioned above.

The global wave of democratization in the 1990s has dramatically increased the role of citizenry in many countries, particularly, in Eastern Europe (Dalton & Klingemann 2007, 18). In some states, the actions of citizens were the one of main driving forces behind the collapse of authoritarian regimes. In other countries, democratization opened up a public sphere for the development of civil society. (Wnuk-Lipinski 2007, 683.) As some scholars claim, the future evolution of political participation in so-called new democracies is characterized by a high degree of uncertainty, because in the world of global television, greater knowledge about politics, and fundamentally different electorates, it is unlikely to follow the pattern of earlier democratization periods (Dalton & Klingemann 2007, 12).

Russia was one of those countries, where citizens in the 1990s got more civic rights than they used to have before. After the breakup of the Soviet Union (USSR) democratic attributes were added to the political system in Russia, namely: right to create parties, vote at elections, create social associations, organize demonstrations etc. The following decade after the breakup of the Soviet Union was characterized by the rapid growth of civic participation in Russia. Later on, in 2000s, there was more state regulation and control over political participation, for example, new NGOs legislation was imposed. However, in general the governmental control over civic actions was not totally blocking the evolution of citizens' activities. In the past years, a number of events, showing that civil society is evolving and becoming more active, can be observed in Russia, for example: protests, the occupation of public spaces, growing numbers of volunteers at elections, increased political Internet activity etc. In-line with the global trend of large-scale protests (such as Occupy Wall Street in New York and Occupy movements in different European countries) Russia has also experienced a series of big demonstrations after parliament elections at the end of 2011 (this issue is regarded in more details in Chapter 4). This was a "wild card" for Russia as there were no such large-scale demonstrations since the breakup of the Soviet Union.

Historical evolution of political participation interplays with new driving forces entering the scene. Thus, Internet and social media change the way people communicate with each other and with the government, allowing mass communication and bringing more transparency to the social and political life. The new forms of people's self-organization, where information technology played a leading role, became visible in the recent years not only in relation to political protests. Another example was the activity of volunteers, helping citizens who suffered after a flood in Krymsk town in 2012. Apart from that, there are numerous examples of people collecting money via Internet for somebody who needs serious surgery or cancer treatment and cannot get help from the state medicine. The present time is also the period when new post-USSR generation are now at their 20s and younger and slowly are becoming active on political and social arena.

Overall, the new driving forces make the future of political participation more uncertain in a 10-year perspective. The current work uses futures studies approach to construct scenarios of how political participation may look like in Russia in the coming decade.

There have been projects studying similar topics, for example studies of the future of civil society by Carnegie UK Trust (2007b) and World Economic Forum (2013). However, these studies were focused primarily on western countries with no attention to Russia. The current master's thesis attempts to narrow this research gap and get closer look on Russia. Moreover, the study presents a holistic view on political participation, by considering various forms of political participation as a single set.

1.2   Aims of the research

The general aim for the current study is *to describe the future scenarios for citizens' political participation[1] in Russia by the year 2025.* The following two aspects are be in research focus as components of the future of political participation:

1. *The future forms of political participation.* Which traditional forms will remain and which new forms can potentially emerge in the future? Which forms of political participation will dominate in different scenarios?
2. *Relationships between citizens and the state.* What are possible relationships of between citizens and the state in different scenarios?

The current study aims at projecting the future till 2025. The choice of this year is conditioned by two major factors: political and economic.

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[1] The concept of "political participation" is elaborated in Chapter 3.

One factor is ***political*** – the year 2024 should be the end of the (potentially) second term of Vladimir Putin's presidency which has started in 2012 after a 4-year break. According to Russian Constitution, the same president cannot rule the country for more than two terms in a row, which means that someone should replace Vladimir Putin on this position in 2024 the latest. At the moment there is no single strong candidate for the next president, while he or she has to be identified within the next 5-10 years. For this reason, a lot of political struggles in the society are expected exactly in the period up to 2025, and citizens can be involved in the process of struggle.

The second factor is ***economic***. In 2013 the growth of Russian GDP has slowed down: according to the head of the Ministry of Economic Development – Alexey Uljukaev, GDP of Russian economy increased by 1.4% in 2013 in comparison to 3.4% in 2012 and 4.3% in 2011 (ITAR-TASS 2013). According to the forecast for Russian economy (based on consensus of estimation provided by 21 experts from Russia and other countries), prepared by the Institute "Center of development" of the National Research University – Higher School of Economics, economic expectations for Russia up to 2022 became pessimistic: the GDP growth in the years 2014-2022 is expected to remain in the range from 2.1% to 3% maximum (Center of development at NRU-HSE 2013, 4). Mikhail Khazin, one of the well-known Russian economic analysts (who is currently in the opposition to the Russian Government policies), gives even more pessimistic forecast, claiming that GDP growth in Russia will be negative already by the end of 2013 and that is the beginning of the economic decline, which will be slowly becoming worse under condition that economic policy in Russia will remain the same (Navigator-Kirov Business Portal 2013). Later on, in 2014 economic crisis became visible deepened also because of sanctions, imposed on Russia after events in Crimea in spring of 2014. In all, there is evidence to expect that the next decade will be less successful for Russia than the previous one. This fact can lead to the decline of the fall of living standards, together with social and political unrest.

The arguments provided above, show that the following decade will be the time when significant political, economic and social changes are possible in Russia. On the other hand, the year 2025 is close enough to make any meaningful projections.

1.3   Project steps and structure of the thesis

The Figure 1 presents a flow chart, where all steps of the present study are shown.

Step 1	• Literature review, operationalization of main concepts • Outcome of the step: getting input for a Delphi study
Step 2	• Literature review, identification of diving forces • Outcome of the step: getting input for a Delphi study
Step 3	• Delphi study round 1: Questionaire and interviews
Step 4	• Preparation of the 1st round summary feedback report
Step 5	• Delphi study round 2: Questionaire
Step 6	• Analysis of Delphi study results • Outcome of the step: getting input for building scenarios
Step 7	• Creating scenarios

Figure 1   Steps in the project execution

The structure of the master's thesis is organized as follows.

Chapter 2 describes characteristics of the central research methods of the study.

The following Chapters (3-5) are largely based on a literature review and refer to steps 1 and 2 in the flowchart shown above. Chapter 3 develops a theoretical framework for the study: it defines the main concepts and operationalization of these concepts. Chapter 4 analyses trends, related to the scope of the study, happening in the past years globally and in Russia particularly. Chapter 5 identifies driving forces, which could impact on the future of political participation.

Chapter 6 focuses on practical issues of how Delphi study was conducted in the project and the approach to the analysis of its results. Chapter 7 uses information, obtained in the previous steps of the project realization, to build four scenarios for the future of political participation in Russia in 2014-2025 years.

Finally, Chapter 8 summarizes the whole topic and assesses the research in terms of the research validity, credibility and possible topic for the future research.

2   CHARACTERISTICS OF RESEARCH METHODS

The present research aims at studying alternative futures of citizens' political participation in Russia. One of the most appropriate ways to describe alternative futures is the form of scenario narrative. The chapter characterizes the futures studies approach in general, describes main features of scenarios as a futures studies method, explains the role of Delphi in scenario building and focuses on characteristics of Delphi method.

2.1   Futures studies approach

The present study is performed within the futures studies discipline. Lombardo (2008) defines futures studies in a broad sense as "an empirical and scientifically based approach to understanding the future". The future itself is multidimensional matter and a futures study is also a very interdisciplinary subject integrating different dimensions of human life: technological, environmental, social, economic, cultural etc. (Lombardo 2008, 109, 146.).

Futures' thinking is not aimed at predicting the future, instead, it accepts that no single future exists and the role of futurists is to create "new, alternative images of the future, visionary explorations of the possible, systematic investigation of the probable, and moral evaluation of the preferable". Understanding the future is essential for enhancing decision-making and moreover it enables people to create their own preferable future. (Lombardo 2008, 144-145.)

Futures research targeted on decision-making and futures studies conducted for academic purposes have different approaches. Futures research for decision-making purposes is focused on a concrete decision which someone has to make, while academic futures studies are more subject-oriented or question-oriented. For example, they can answer such questions as "What are the critical technologies that will have the greatest influence over the next 25 years?" (Glenn, n/a (a), 2.)

The present research can be classified as an academic futures research, focused on a particular subject rather than a particular decision. While the study takes futures studies perspective into account, it does not aim at *predicting* the future of political participation in Russia, but instead it aims at *exploring possible, probable and preferable future alternatives*.

The tools for achievement of the research goal are two futures studies techniques: scenarios and Delphi method.

2.2   Scenarios: general characteristics and main steps

The term "scenario" originates from dramatic arts, particularly from theater (Glenn, n/a (b), 1). Scenarios first emerged as a method of military planning after the World War II and were used for business-planning in 1960s by Herman Kahn (Schwartz 1996, 7). Later on, due to the successful work of Pierre Wack, who envisioned the oil crisis of 1973 through the scenario-building process, the popularity of scenarios in business-planning increased (Schwartz 1996, 7-9). Nowadays, scenarios are often used in strategic planning, policy analysis, innovation development in any field having highly uncertain futures.

In the futures studies context, scenario implies a plausible description of what might happen in the future and how that could emerge from the present with an illustration of key decisions, events and consequences (Glenn, n/a (a), 2). As Schwartz (1996) claims, scenario method is a method used to reduce the level of uncertainty.

In the most general sense scenario can be understood as a product of futures research, "a way of summarizing the results of futures research" (Bell 2009, 316). However, scenario can be also understood as a specific method, which is used for a certain purposes with a defined technique.

Glenn argues that it is necessary to differentiate scenarios from similar forms of futures thinking. Firstly, the discussion of the range of possibilities with data and analysis is not the same as scenarios. Secondly, scenarios should be distinguished from projections produced by computer models. Thirdly, scenarios do not present a prediction or a forecast of the future. Instead, Glenn characterizes scenario as "a way of organizing many statements about the future", "a plausible description of what might occur and how that could emerge from the present", description of "events and trends as they could evolve". (Glenn, n/a (b), 2.)

Glenn writes that the term "scenario" in practice is used in two different ways. The first option is a description of a situation at a certain time (a snapshot), while the second option is the description of a "future history" presenting the "evolution from present conditions to one of several futures" (Glenn, n/a (b), 4). From this perspective the "future history" approach is more preferred than the "snapshot" approach (Glenn, n/a (b), 4.) To name the "snapshot" approach the term "futures images" is often used (see, for example, Rubin & Linturi 2001; Morgan 2002; van der Helm 2009; Rubin 2013).

Scenarios are usually presented in sets, under the assumption that future cannot be certainly known and thus several alternative futures are possible. (Glenn, n/a (b), 3.) There are different types of scenarios which can be included in a set. For example, Ratcliffe (2000, 133) presents the following dimensions of scenarios:

- "Status quo". In this type of scenario it is assumed that the present situation will continue to exist in the future.

- "Collapse". Implies that the system will not be able to sustain continued growth and will ultimately crash.
- "Steady state". Means the return to a state (imagined or real) which will be quieter, slower, less commercial, industrialized or less populated.
- "Transformation". Assume some fundamental change (spiritual, technological, political or economic).

Another (but similar) typology was presented by Dator (2009) in his conception of generic alternative future scenarios. The alternative future scenarios, identified by Dator include the following categories: "Continued growth", "Collapse", "Disciplined Society" and "Transformational Society" (Dator 2009, 8-10).

Glenn identifies two major types of scenarios: exploratory and normative scenarios. Exploratory scenarios describe events and trends as they could evolve based on alternative assumptions on how these events and trends may influence the future. Normative scenarios describe how a desirable future can emerge from the present status quo (Glenn, n/a (b), 3).

Though, the typologies, described above, are frequently used, the variety of possible scenarios cannot be grasped by a single typology. For this reason, there is no agreement in the futures studies community that a set of scenarios should always include certain types of scenarios. For the purposes of the current study the dichotomy exploratory/normative is the most appropriate. Scenarios in the study can be classified as exploratory.

The account of purposes for which scenarios can be used is given by Glenn (n/a (b), 4). The possible purposes of scenario use are versatile, namely:

- To catalog what is unknown that ought to be known, before making decisions;
- To understand the significance of uncertainties;
- To illustrate what is possible and what is not possible;
- To identify what strategies might work across a range of possible scenarios;
- To dichotomize strategies between robust and contingent elements;
- To make the future more real for decision makers to force new thinking and decisions;
- To learn how to be prepared for future risks and uncover new opportunities.

In essence, a scenario is a story about the future, and scenarios (in plural) present different alternatives of the future development. As Schwartz (1996, xiii) puts it: "Scenarios are narrative stories in which equally plausible futures are considered in depth". Kahn and Weiner (1967) define scenarios as narrative descriptions of the future that focus attention on causal processes and decision points. Therefore, futurists emphasize the importance of narrative in scenarios.

As Schwartz (1996) writes, people usually expect serious information to be presented in graphs and figures. This is an attitude which developed since the rise of scientific philosophy during the Enlightenment (before that stories dominated as a way to organize knowledge). However, nowadays, as soon as the world is becoming more complex, ways to organize of complex knowledge, such as story narrative, are becoming more demanded again. Through stories it is possible to explain meanings of events, their causes and effects, present issues from different points of view, to give order to events. (Schwartz 1996, 37-39)

Glenn gives the following three criteria of a "good scenario" (Glenn, n/a (b), 3):

1. *Plausibility*: presenting a plausible route from present to the future, explaining causes and effects.
2. *Internal consistency*, meaning that different scenarios within one set of scenarios should address similar issues and could be compared.
3. *Interesting and exciting* to present the future real enough.

As Glenn writes, practically there are many different methods of scenarios creation which are used by different actors, however, "most approaches recognize the need to understand the system under study and identify the trends, issues, driving forces, and potential events that are critical to this system." (Glenn, n/a (b), 5.) Similarly, Schwartz highlights the necessity to define the key factors and driving forces affecting the subject under study. His book "The art of the long view" identifies the following eight main steps in scenario-building (Schwartz 1996, 241-247):

1. Identification of a focal issue or a decision.
2. Listing key factors influencing a success or failure of this decision.
3. Listing driving forces of macro-environment that influence key factors, identified previously. This step requires research, covering various factors: political, technological, economic etc.
4. Ranking factors by degree of importance for the focal issue or decision, and the degree of uncertainty. Schwartz divides factors into predetermined elements and key uncertainties.
5. Scenario logic selection.
6. Fleshing out the scenarios.
7. Defining implications of each scenario for the focal issue or decision.
8. Selection of leading indicators and signposts.

Scenario building process is a "team exercise" (Ratcliffe 2000, 137). The team work can be organized in a form of workshop. For example, Ralston and Wilson (2006) in their book give concrete guidelines how to organize a scenario workshop. Ratcliffe (2000, 141) also gives a list of methods which can be involved in the process of creation scenarios, namely:

- The Delphi technique;

- Cross-impact matrices;
- Teamwork techniques (for example, brainstorming);
- Environmental scanning;
- Systems thinking;
- Network analysis;
- Simulation modeling.

In addition, Tapio, Paloniemi, Varho & Vinnari (2011b, 1617) also mention Delphi method as a futures studies method which can be used for scenarios-building.

Scenarios are widely used in practical work of the government and corporations, because they bring a number of benefits. Thus Ratcliffe (2000, 132) mentions that the process of building scenarios facilitates organizational learning, enhances decision-makers' understanding of change and prepares them to manage this change, increases consciousness of uncertainty, demonstrates how organization could thrive in different future environments. Glenn writes that scenarios are one of the easiest ways to make future possibilities more real for decision-makers and test decisions in multiple futures. (Glenn, n/a (b), 18.) However, limitations of the method should be kept in mind.

Scenario building process is especially useful for its participants. However, when the set of scenarios is given to a non-participant, the fact of having a described set of possible future alternatives may limit thinking of such person, due to latent cause and effect embedded into scenarios. Efforts to make an exciting story may lead to the exclusion of boring details therefore the logic of the writer may become less understandable. (Glenn, n/a (b), 18.)

As mentioned by Ratcliffe (2000) and Tapio et al. (2011b), Delphi method can be used in the process of scenario-building. The present study follows this approach and incorporates Delphi in the process. Thus, it is important to describe the general characteristics of the method.

2.3 Delphi: general characteristics and main steps

Delphi method will be used to collect data as a basis for scenarios-building. Delphi is a method of controlled group discussion in which experts from different disciplines could be asked to participate (Gordon, n/a). It is organized on a number of principles (such as, anonymity of participants, consecutive rounds of inquiry and feedback between the rounds) which make a group discussion outcome more effective and open to new perspectives.

Linstone and Turoff (2002, 3) define Delphi as "a method for structuring a group communication process so that the process is effective in allowing a group of individuals, as a whole, to deal with a complex problem." The group communication is usually

structured by means of a questionnaire and a certain procedure of measurement and re-measurement of respondents' opinions. An element of communication in Delphi process comes from providing to each participant a feedback, summary of the group view and an opportunity to revise answers. (Linstone & Turoff 2002, 3.)

Anonymity is one of the basic principles of a Delphi method. Participants do not know who is involved in a study, do not physically meet each other and cannot attach given arguments to a concrete person. This principle helps to avoid influence of participants' individual status on responses.

The idea behind the Delphi method originates from surveys in social sciences, where a practice of pretests and posttests, as well as panel studies exists. In principle, Delphi method is a version of a survey study. (Bell 2009, 261-262.) According to Okoli and Pawlowski (2004), Delphi study and traditional survey have similar issues in questionnaire design. However, there are significant differences between a traditional survey and Delphi as well (for example, Okoli and Pawlowski (2004) provided a detailed comparison between Delphi and survey).

Below, the most important differences are outlined, based on Okoli and Pawlowski (2004) analysis. Firstly, a traditional survey is a sample survey where sample is representative for a studied population and participants are selected according to this sample. Participants in a Delphi study are experts in a certain issue, do not represent the general population and are recruited without random sampling. (Okoli and Pawlowski 2004, 19.) Secondly, in a traditional survey a sample size should be big enough to conduct statistical analysis, while the size of Delphi group can be relatively small, Okoli and Pawlowski mention that recommended size of the group is 10-18 participants. Results of the Delphi study cannot be regarded as statistically significant. (Okoli and Pawlowski 2004, 19.) Thirdly, in a traditional survey, construct validity is achieved through an accurate questionnaire design and pre-testing. It is also true for a Delphi study however Delphi method allows further construct validation by asking experts for their validation in the process of the study. (Okoli and Pawlowski 2004, 19.)

Delphi method is extensively used in Futures Studies, though it is also applicable for other purposes than forecasting. Linstone and Turoff highlighted several conditions under which Delphi can be an effective method. Among such conditions are: the investigation of a broad complex problem, the possibility to benefit from subjective judgments on a collective basis, need for more individuals than can effectively interact face-to-face, frequent face-to-face group meetings are impossible due to time and cost reasons, crucial disagreements between individuals etc. (Linstone & Turoff 2002, 4.) All these conditions hold as to the future of political participation in Russia.

Bell described eight basic steps in conducting a Delphi study, though variations can exist (Bell 2009, 262-263):

1. Framing the topic, the future of which is investigated.

2. Designing a questionnaire for data collection.

3. The selection of respondents, whose opinions will be studied. Usually experts in the field are invited to participate in a study as respondents.

4. Conducting the first round: measurement of respondents' opinions by means of questionnaire.

5. Summarization of data collected in the first round and preparation a feedback report.

6. Communication of the first round results as a feedback to respondents.

7. Conducting the second round: re-measurement of respondents' opinions. It is assumed that respondents may have changed their opinions after they got feedback on the first round results.

8. Final data analysis and interpretation, report preparation and presentation of results.

The sequence of steps described by Bell is basic and in practice it is possible to conduct more than two rounds. In this case, the re-measurement of opinions and the feedback of results can be repeated as many times as it is necessary.

Alternatively to questionnaires, it is possible to use in-depth interviews or group online meetings (Gordon, n/a, 6). Linstone and Turoff, differentiate two types of Delphi: "conventional" or "paper-and-pencil" version performed by means of a traditional questionnaire, and "real-lucre" or "conference Delphi", which is organized as a real-time online communication process (Linstone & Turoff 2002, 5).

Delphi study involves experts in a studied issue as respondents. The reason behind utilizing expert opinions for making a forecast is that experts are more likely to be correct about questions in the field of their expertise than non-experts (Gordon, n/a, 1).

The number of participants for the Delphi study can be small as Delphi is not meant to produce a statistically significant result (it does not forecast the response of a larger population). Instead, it is important to select knowledgeable participants, those who could propose valuable ideas. (Gordon, n/a, 7.) The selection of participants is a critical factor of Delphi success. Therefore, the problem of forming a good group is extremely actual for Delphi method (Linstone & Turoff 2002, 7).

Knowledgeable persons can be searched through the review of scientific publications search, recommendations from institutions and "daisy chaining". The matrix of required skills can be used in order to make sure that people with all needed important skills are involved. In addition, so-called "unknown" people could be invited into study, those people who are "outside of the normal lines of communication but who may be able to contribute new and innovative ideas". (Gordon, n/a, 7.)

Since it was used for the first time in the early 1950s, Delphi method was aimed at reaching a consensus among experts on a certain issue, and originally was frequently used for technological forecasting (Linstone & Turoff 2002, 10-11). However, later on

Delphi started to be used for policy issues, where it was more important to address opposing views rather than find a consensus. This type of Delphi is usually called policy Delphi. The policy Delphi is based under assumption that "the decision maker is not interested in having a group generate his decision; but rather, have an informed group present all the options and supporting evidence for his consideration" (Turoff 2002, 80-81).

Being a method of identifying various expert views on the topic, policy Delphi is an appropriate basis for scenarios-building. This approach was used, for example, by Tapio (2002) and Tapio, Kohl, Tikkanen and Salonen (2011a). Tapio operates with the term "Disaggregative policy Delphi" and uses cluster analysis as a tool for grouping opinions and uses these groups further in scenario formation (Tapio 2002).

2.4   Summary of the study approach

The current project is not directly related to decision-making, but instead it is aimed at the general exploration of how the trends existing in the present could evolve in the future. In other words, the study aims at building exploratory scenarios rather than normative scenarios. Therefore, the list of scenario-building steps, given in the Chapter 2.2, based on Schwartz' approach, should be transformed according to the actual needs of the study. The most important change relates to the exclusion of the focus on a certain practical decision from the agenda. As a result, the scenario-building plan for the current project looks as follows:

1. Defining the studied issue (political participation).
2. Listing driving forces of the macro-environment that influence the issue.
3. Ranking factors by degree of importance for the issue, and the degree of uncertainty.
4. Scenario logic selection.
5. Fleshing out the scenarios.

The second and the third steps of scenario building will involve analysis of different secondary information sources, such as publications in scientific papers and in the media, reports, and books. This information will serve as an input for an expert study. Primary data on expert opinions (about possible drivers for the future of civil society and possible future outcomes) will be the core material in scenario building process. Delphi method will be used as a way to gather and synthesize expert opinions for further scenario building. Particularly, the sub-type of a Delphi method, called Disaggregative policy Delphi will be used in the research.

The present study does not aim to build scenarios according to a pre-defined scenario typology. The number and the content of scenarios will be defined after the analysis on experts' responses.

This chapter has outlined the methodological approach of the study and basic methodological characteristics of Scenarios as a method and a Delphi method. The Chapter 6 elaborates more on Delphi aims, design and approach to data analysis in this particular study. The Chapter 7 will deal scenario building on the basis of Delphi study results.

3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Before proceeding to the Delphi study and scenario building, it is important to define the main concepts used in the research. The research object in the study is the involvement of citizens into social and political activity, as well as their influence on political decision-making. This phenomenon has been studied in multiple academic works; however, there is no a single consensus term used to describe it. Most frequently scholars apply terms "participation" or "engagement", with such additions as "civic", "political", "civil", "social" etc. The chapter provides an overview of such terms and their definitions, together with classification of various participation/engagement forms. In addition, the chapter provides conceptualizations of relationships between citizens and state.

Sub-chapters 3.1 and 3.2 regard the central concepts of the study: "political participation" and classification of state-society relationships models. Sub-chapters 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5 elaborate several important aspects on the theoretical framework, used in the current study.

3.1 Political participation: definitions and classifications

Among *western scholars*, the discussion on political participation and civic engagement was revived in the end of 1990s and the beginning of 2000s. It was conditioned by the decline of political participation (particularly, voter turnout) and growing distrust in institutions observed in western established democracies (see, for example, Wattenberg 2002). As a result, a growing number of publications have studied political behavior, political participation and civic engagement.

The book by Putnam (2000) "Bowling Alone" analyzed the concept of civic engagement and promoted the concept in the academic field. After this publication, a number of scholars, have published studies on the topic (e.g. van Deth 2001; Norris 2002; Adler and Goggin 2005; Teorell, Torcal and Montero 2007; Berger 2009). Despite multiple scientific works devoted to the subject, a number of scholars note that there is a conceptual confusion in definition of engagement (see, for example, Adler and Goggin 2005, Campbell 2006, Berger 2009, Ekman and Amnå 2012).

There have been done several attempts by different scholars to define the concept more clearly and systematize forms of participation/engagement. Thus, Campbell (2006) proposed a classification for "civic and social engagement", which included the seven dimensions of engagement most commonly-discussed in the literature. Later on, Brodie, Cowling and Nissen (2009) studied the involvement of citizens in various forms of participation. Another classification was proposed by Ekman and Amnå (2012). They analyzed existing theoretical frameworks of *political participation* and *civic en-*

gagement and proposed the new framework for the analysis of different forms of social and political engagement.

All three classifications of political participation forms mentioned above imply that the concept of political participation is broader than the "classic" understanding of political participation forms (as voter turnout and participation in political parties). Thus, Campbell regards "voter turnout" and "political participation" as two separate categories within the comprehensive phenomenon of social and civic engagement. Ekman & Amnå propose the category "manifest political participation" within which they distinguish "formal political participation" (including voting) and "extra parliamentary political participation". Along with the "manifest political participation" there is "latent political participation", which is realized through social connections within a community, individual and collective actions, which are not aimed to influence directly on government decision-making.

The framework developed by Ekman and Amnå appears to be the most up-to-date and well elaborated among all three classifications and will be used in developing a working classification for the current research project.

When elaborating their framework, Ekman and Amnå (2012) critically review the existing theoretical concepts. Scholars pointed out that "civic engagement" concept shows an example of conceptual stretching across various literature sources (Ekman & Amnå 2012, 284), meaning that scholars usually include "a bit of everything" in it. Therefore, the concept it its current state is not very useful for empirical studies. The concept of "political participation", according to them, suffers from an opposite problem – being too restrictive. In the post-war tradition of political science, "political participation" was understood as influence of citizens on selection of governmental personnel, therefore, associated only with electoral participation. Only later, political scientists admitted that citizens may participate in political life between the elections, too. The recent definitions regard "political participation" as actions of ordinary people that are in some ways directed at influencing political outcomes in society. However even in this extended definition, many non-traditional, latent forms of political participation were not included in the concept. By these latent forms of participation they mean actions, which cannot be directly classified as political participation, but still, may have consequences for politics. (Ekman & Amnå 2012, 287-288.)

By describing problems existing around current usage of concepts "political participation" and "civic engagement", Ekman and Amnå aim to prove the need for a new, improved theoretical framework. The new typology, mapping the forms of civic engagement and political participation, proposed by scholars, is shown in Table 1.

The typology presented in Table 1 is based on following dimensions: latent vs. manifest forms of participation, individual vs. collective forms of participation. *Manifest political participation* implies all actions, which are goal-oriented, aimed at influencing

governmental decisions. These actions are mostly observable. However, scholars emphasize that people engage in a society in a number of other ways, therefore, it is not enough to analyze only manifest forms of activity (Ekman & Amnå 2012, 291).

Scholars present the category of *civil participation* (latent forms of political participation) as an innovation in studies of political participation. It is claimed that these actions can be also observable, but they are latent in relation to political parliamentary actions. Civil participation is divided into two categories:

- *Civic engagement*, meaning activities by ordinary citizens, which are intended to affect conditions in society that are related to others, outside their own family and friends (Ekman & Amnå 2012, 287).
- *Social involvement* implies interest in politics and considered as preceding civic and political engagement. This category is included in the framework, firstly, because it is a basic condition for other types of involvement and, secondly, due to better differentiation from the concept of "civic engagement" (Ekman & Amnå 2012, 293).

Finally, apart from various forms of civic and political engagement/participation, Ekman and Amnå proposed to include the category of "disengagement" into consideration.

The working operationalization of "political participation" concept, described in the concluding sub-chapter 3.6, will be based on the typology of citizens' participation forms shown in Table 1.

Table 1   The typology of citizens' participation forms (Ekman & Amnå 2012, 295)

	Non-participation (disengagement)		Civic participation (latent political participation)		Political participation (manifest political participation)		
						Activism (extra-parliamentary political participation)	
	Active forms (antipolitical)	Passive forms (apolitical)	Social involvement (attention)	Civic engagement (action)	Formal political participation	Legal extra-parliamentary protests and actions	Illegal protests and actions
Individual	Non-voting Actively avoiding reading newspapers or watching TV when it comes to political issues Avoid talking about politics Perceiving politics as disgusting Political disaffection	Non-voting Perceiving politics as uninteresting and unimportant Political passivity	Taking interest in politics and society Perceiving politics as important	Writing to an editor Giving money to charity Discussing politics and societal issues, with friends or on the Internet Reading newspapers and watching TV when it comes to political issues Recycling	Voting in elections and referenda Deliberate acts of non-voting or blank voting Contacting political representatives or civil servants Running for or holding public office Donating money to political parties or organizations	Buycotting, boycotting and political consumption Signing petitions Hanging out political leaflets	Civil disobedience Politically motivated attacks on property
Collective	Deliberate non-political life-styles, e.g. hedonism, consumerism In extreme cases - random acts of non-political violence, reflecting frustration, alienation, or social exclusion	"Non-reflected", non-political lifestyles	Belonging to a group with a societal focus Identifying with a certain ideology and/or party Life-style related involvement: music, group identity, clothes etc. For example, veganism, right-wing skinhead scene or left-wing anarcho-punk scene	Volunteering in social work, e.g. to support women's shelter or to help homeless people Charity work or faith-based community work Activity within community-based organizations	Being a member of a political party, an organization or a trade union Activity within a party, an organization or a trade union (voluntary work or attend meetings)	Involvement in new social movements or forums Demonstrating, participating in strikes, protests and other actions (e.g. street festivals with distinct political agenda)	Civil disobedience actions Sabotaging or obstructing roads and railways Squatting buildings Participating in violent demonstrations or animal rights actions Violence confrontations with political opponents or the police

3.2 Relationships between the society and the state

One of the research questions in the present work relates to forms in which citizens will be able to influence the decision-making, social and political life in Russia in the future. For this purpose, the term "political participation" (which includes the variety of participation forms) is used. Another research question focuses on relationships between citizens and the state. In this formulation of the research question the attention is shifted from participation forms as such towards the subject of participation (who participates). When we are talking about the subject of participation or the actor, the term "civil society" is appropriate to use. The term is regarded in details in the sub-chapter 3.4.

According to one of its definitions (see sub-chapter 3.4) civil society consists of the set of associations, which perform certain activity independently from the business or the state, aimed at influencing the life in the country. Therefore, *in the present paper when we speak about the relationships between the society and the state, the term "civil society" will be used to describe an actor(s) from the side of the society in these relationships*.

Jakobson (2008) claims that civil society and the state are not competitors. In contract theories of the state, the state is considered as the product of consensus in civil society. Ideally, the state is the synopsis of goals and values of civil society. In addition, the state is the main tool for achieving goals of civil society. Jakobson (2008, 32-33.)

However, in the modern understanding of civil society, especially in societies of the Eastern Europe, civil society is opposed to the state. Partly, the reason is coming from the history, particularly from the first step of the concept development discussed above, when civil society was opposed to the state. On the other hand, the reason is coming from the fact of breakup of communist systems with strong states.

Generally, there are three main models of relationships between civil society and the state: *cooperative partnership, ignoring (no relationships) and confrontation* to (Jakobson 2008, 212). Each of these models can be broken down into several more concrete sub-types of models.

1) The first one, the model of ***cooperative partnership*** includes:
- ***Model of support***. In this model legislation favors the emergence of NGOs and government undertakes concrete actions to support them.
- ***Affiliate model***. Government understands the importance of civil society for the effective democratic development. The state holds a dialogue with civil society in different forms, but does not attempt to manage it. The state is open to learn the results of "social control" from the civil society.
- ***Model of an architect***. Civil society associations form political agenda, propose solutions for problems, propose and participate in reformations of governmental institutions, teach and train government officials.

2) The second model is based on ***state dominance*** and includes the following sub-models:

- ***Paternalistic model***. Government allows certain autonomy of civil society associations from the state and provides some support, under condition that these associations do not interfere into state affairs and support certain candidates during elections.

- ***The model of "drive belts".*** The state regards civil society associations as one of the means to perform control over the society. This model existed in the Soviet Union in 1930-1970s when NGOs were a part of the system, fully controlled by the state.

3) The third is ***the model of ignorance***. The state does not pay attention to civil society associations. It does not interfere with their activities, but does not help as well.

4) And finally, the ***model of confrontation*** includes:

- ***The model of fight with an adversary***. Government sees civil society associations as dangerous for the state and tries to make their life harder. For example, those NGOs which get funding from abroad are becoming for the state "foreign agents".

- ***The model of civil disobedience***. When civic rights and freedoms are violated, civic associations and civic activists may start a tactic of civil disobedience: they take part in unsanctioned demonstrations and other actions which provoke repressive actions from the state.

In reality, usually different models are present at the same time however it is possible to define a dominant model for a certain period of time.

The typology of relationships between the civil society and the state used by Jakobson is quite full and will be used in the further research.

3.3 Political Internet use

Apart from general classifications of political participation, provided above, it is interesting to elaborate on one of the most modern type of participation, which has emerged relatively recently, due to the development of information technologies – Internet political participation.

Growing Internet penetration is the one of the megatrends nowadays. Various scholars admit that Internet use has become political in many ways (see, for example, De Vreese 2007; Shah, Cho & Eveland 2005; Tedesco 2007). Among the latest papers is the paper by Kruikemeier, van Noort, Vliegenthart and de Vreese (2013) presents classification of political Internet use forms.

It considers two general forms of political Internet use: passive and active use. Active use includes those usage forms which enable interactive, double sided communication, whereas passive usage allows only one-sided communication. Concretely, the following forms of Internet usage are included in mentioned categories (Kruikemeier et al., 2013 10):

- Passive forms of political Internet usage:
    - Online news use;
    - Reading comments posted on an online political news article;
    - Follow activities about politics;
    - Visiting a party web-site;
    - Following a politician on Twitter.
- Active forms of political Internet usage:
    - Posting comments on an on-line political news article;
    - Participating in activities about politics;
    - Vote Advice Application;
    - Signing an online petition;
    - Participation in an online discussion about politics;
    - Forwarding an e-mail, video or link containing political content;

Thus, in the most general sense political Internet use can be classified into active and passive use. The passive usage forms imply mainly consumption of information about political and social issues through the Internet, while active usage forms imply communication with other users on a certain topic or expressing position in various ways.

3.4   Civil society

During the work on this project, the concept of civil society has arisen many times on the agenda, and the need for differentiating the concept of civic society from the concept of political participation has been recognized.

The thinking about civil society takes its origin at least from Aristotle (2009). Aristotle's "political community" may be regarded as the beginning of a long chain of ideas referring to the specific category of communities whose members possess the ability and the will to influence the ways in which community functions. (Wnuk-Lipinski 2007, 676.)

Jakobson (2008) identifies *three steps* of the development of civil society concept.

Step 1: The concept of civil society was introduced to the social-philosophical discourse in the 17th century by Lock and Harrington, and was developed afterwards in works of different authors. Initially, civil society was understood as an area of social relations and institutions which were united by the main characteristic – being outside

of the state. According to this understanding, any kind of relations outside the state was included there: a family, a group, religious, cultural, economic relations etc. Civil society had a positive meaning as an area where people could reach personal fulfillment in contrast to ascriptive roles in feudalism. Capitalistic market was considered as the part of civil society. (Jakobson 2008, 11-18.)

Step 2: When capitalism entered (in the beginning – middle of 19th century) an industrial stage, it started to have more negative associations, for example, an association with exploitation. Capitalism, which before was considered to be a positive phenomenon, showed its dark side, and began to be criticized by many thinkers. Independence and individualism turned to lead to poverty, social inequality and breakup of social connections. This reevaluation of capitalism has lead to the second step in the transformation of civil society concept. (Jakobson 2008, 11-18.)

On this step of its development the civil society concept was closely associated with opposing capitalism. In accordance with Marx, society, as a moral unity and solidarity, was killed by capitalism. Under this logic, civil society as an independent society was considered to be killed by capitalism and reduced to a civic "superstructure". Only connections existing in working class may help to restore the broken social connections, according to Marx. At that time (mid-19th century) civil society almost disappeared from the discourse. More attention of scholars was brought to the state, while bureaucratic regulation was thought of as the main mechanism of compensating instabilities and inhumanity of market processes. This way of thinking was dominant during almost a century in social sciences. (Jakobson 2008, 11-18.)

Step 3: The third step is continuing during the two decades, beginning from the collapse of the communist bloc. Civil society began to be understood as a separate social sphere. This change in thinking has been connected with changes happening in the world, particularly, with breakup of communist systems. On this stage civil society is understood as a social sphere (sub-system of the society) which is analytically and, to a certain extent, empirically independent from the state and the market, and also from some other spheres of life (such as religion), and exists under different rules and principles. According to Habermas and Claus Offe, the role of civil society is creation of social solidarity through communication. (Jakobson 2008, 11-18.)

Nowadays, there is no a single, agreed on definition of civil society, instead – there are many different approaches to define it. Civil society can be thought of in various forms:

- In the most general sense, civil society exists everywhere where there is a *room for the existence of free associations* which are independent from the state control. From this point of view, the elements of civil society can exist even in a non-democratic environment (Wnuk-Lipinski 2007, 678). It includes formal

and informal associations, participation in which is voluntary in nature (Carnegie UK Trust 2007b, 5).

- Civil society can be thought of as the "*good society*". Civil society is often defined as a kind of society we want to live in, assuming that it is a good thing. A "good society" is not achieved by associations alone. It is achieved through cooperation between associations, government and business. (Carnegie UK Trust 2007b, 5.)

- And finally, civil society can be considered as arenas for *public deliberation*. In this dimension civil society is again understood as a "space" – a public space, physical or virtual, where social problems, governmental policies, matters of community are debated and developed. (Carnegie UK Trust 2007b, 5.)

Civil society includes *formal and informal associations*, for example, NGOs, on-line groups and activities, faith-based communities and organizations, labor unions, social entrepreneurs, grassroots associations, cooperatives and civic practices of individual citizens (World Economic Forum (2013, 8). However, civil society can be also regarded from the point of view of an *individual*, who is involved into civil society in different ways.

Individuals are involved in civil society through social practices, such as volunteering, membership in NGOs, philanthropy (money donations) and civic activism. Homero Gil de Zuniga and Sebastian Valenzuela (2011, 399) use the term "civic participation" or "civic engagement" which is defined as voluntary civic activity. Voluntary civic activity includes different kinds of activities: volunteering for non-political groups, raising money for charities, attending neighborhood meetings, and supporting responsibility of a corporation by buying its product or services.

Overall, the concept "political participation" (in its broad sense, as regarded in the previous chapter) has similarities with the concept "civil society". However, "political participation" implies mainly forms of participation, while "civil society" concept is more blurred and, depending on a context of usage, can have various meanings, such as: the abstractly identified sphere of society, value characteristic of a society, a set of civic associations, civic participation and civic engagement of an individual. Moreover, forms of participation in civil society, described above, do not cover all forms of political participation as a broader concept. In this study we are interested in participation in a broad sense, including both pure "civic engagement" (with no direct aim to affect political decision-making) and also participation openly aiming at influencing political decision-making, in other words, in both latent and manifest forms of participation.

3.5 Citizenship, participation, empowerment

It is important to note that participation of citizens in social and political life is influenced by existing understandings in the society of what is citizenship and how a "good citizen" should act (Dalton 2008, 78).

The concept of citizenship has a long history and multiple meanings, depending on a philosophical school which defines it. Dalton (2008, 78-79) claims that there are four broad principles which any concept of citizenship includes:

1. Citizenship implies public participation, meaning that a citizen participate either in deliberation of public policies or in free elections.
2. Autonomy: citizens should be informed enough about policies and form their opinions independently.
3. "Good citizens" accept the rule of law and state legitimacy.
4. Citizens have ethical and moral responsibility to other people.

In addition, Dalton (2008, 81-82) describes the two types of citizenship, idea of which developed among American scholars. The first type of citizenship is citizenship based on duty. In this perspective, a "good citizen" is someone, who performs according to his duties, such as obeying the law, serving in a military, voting etc. This understanding of citizenship emerged in industrialized societies and based on more traditional values. Along with transformations of western societies from industrialized to post-industrialized, the different understanding of citizenship was born – engaged citizen. This type of citizenship is based on citizens' engagement in voluntary activities, forming opinions etc., in other words, more individualized and direct forms of action. Engaged citizenship overlaps with the patterns of post-material and self-expression values.

Further on, Dalton states that certain civic norms underlie each of citizenship types. In turn, civic norms influence on civic engagement. (Dalton 2008, 86.). Thus, the decline of duty-based norms leads to decline in voting participation and election turnout goes down. At the same time, rising engagement norms lead to the shift of political action to more direct forms of participation. As a result, the balance of participation forms is changing. Some analysts claim that citizen participation is diminishing in the USA (for example, elections turnout is declining) and it is a dangerous sign for democracy. However, other analysts say that civic engagement is changing. More traditional, duty based forms of engagement (such as participation in elections) are declining, while forms based on engagement are becoming more popular. (Dalton 2008, 84-85.)

Another scholar, Meira Levinson outlined in her paper qualities of responsible citizens. According to her, responsible citizens (Levinson 2010, 317):

1. Are informed and think critically;
2. Participate in their communities through membership or contributions to organizations;

3. Have skills, knowledge and commitment to achieve public purposes, such as group problem-solving, public-speaking, petitioning, protesting and voting;

4. Have moral and civic virtues (concern for rights and welfare of others, social responsibility, tolerance and respect, belief in the capacity to make a difference).

Thus, this definition emphasizes the importance of knowledgeable, skillful and active involvement of citizens into civic activities. Levinson (2010) uses a term *"civic empowerment"* to describe the sufficient amount of skills, knowledge and abilities to participate in civic activities. She also notes that there can be a problem of "empowerment gap" in the society, meaning the difference in terms of knowledge, skills, behavior and participation between different groups of people, for example, between native citizens of the country and immigrants. "Empowerment gap" diminishes the quality of political system. (Levinson 2010, 328.)

To sum up, people's decision to participate in civic life can be partly determined by their civic attitudes or how they, as citizens, should act in a society. Should a good citizen participate only during an election period by voting or as a party member (citizenship based on duty) or participation is more flexible in forms and time (engaged citizenship). In order to be an empowered citizen, a person should be informed, think critically, have necessary skills, be active in communities and have moral virtues.

3.6   Operationalization of the main concepts

During the past decades, in numerous publications on social/political engagement confusion persisted in definitions of the concept. Scholars presented multiple visions on the forms of participation and their classification. For the sake of further research, it is important to develop a working definition of the subject and provide its operationalization.

Ekman & Amnå, as well as researchers within the project "Pathways through participation", mentioned that any type of citizens' participation is, in the end, political participation. The current study agrees with this statement and determines the object of the present study as "political participation", which will be understood in a broad sense as *activities of people, whose are living in the country, to influence social situation and political decision-making in this country*. Politics is regarded as achieving social goals, and not related to struggle for power.

Operationalization of the main concept, presented in the Table 2, is largely based on Ekman & Amna's conceptual framework. However, the list of forms, included in the framework is shortened and differentiation between collective and individual participation is not used. The list of participation forms will be used further on in a Delphi ques-

tionnaire therefore it is made possibly shorter, so it would be easier for experts to work with the list when answering questions.

Following the logic of Ekman & Amnå, the basic distinction between manifest political participation (formal and extra-parliamentary), latent political participation (attention and action) and non-participation will be used in the research.

Table 2   Operationalization of the concept "political participation"

"Political participation" (activities of people, whose are living in the country, to influence social situation and political decision-making in this country)		
Manifest political participation	Formal	Voting in elections and referenda (for a candidate or "blank voting")
		Contacting politicians or their representatives (personally or through on-line forms of communication)
		Donating money for political parties or selected candidates
		Being a party member
		Voluntary work for a party
	Extra-parliamentary participation	Political consumption (boycotting or boycotting)
		Signing petitions
		Involvement in new social movements
		Participation in peaceful demonstrations, protests, strikes and other actions
		Civil disobedience (intentional law violation aimed at attracting attention)
		Participation in violent demonstrations
Latent political participation (civic participation)	Attention	Perceiving politics as important and following political news
		Identifying with a certain ideology or party
	Action	Giving money to charity or NGOs
		Active interest in politics (discussions of political issues with others, active Internet political participation etc.)
		Short-term self-organization for solving social issues
		Membership in an NGO
		Volunteering in social work for an NGO or other organization
Disengagement from politics		Non-voting, perceiving politics as non-interesting

To operationalize the relationships of civil society and the state, the classification, proposed by Jakobson will be used. Table 3 presents categories, based on Jakobson classification and the description of each category, which can be used in a Delphi questionnaire.

Table 3   Operationalization of relationship models between civil society and the state

Category	Sub-category	Explanation
Cooperative partnership	The model of state support	Government supports citizens' activity through concrete actions (for example, legislation, education etc.)
	Dialog (or affiliate) model	Government admits the importance of citizen's political participation for the effective democratic development of the country, and maintains the dialog with citizens and citizens associations on a regular basis
	Citizens as architects	Associations of citizens form political agenda, propose solutions for problems, participate in reformations of governmental institutions
State dominance	Paternalistic model	The state uses civic associations as the means to perform control over the society
Confrontation	The model of fight with an adversary	Government sees active political participation as danger-ous for the state and tries to make life of activists harder
	The model of civil disobedience	Civic rights and freedoms are violated by the state, that's why citizens take part in unsanctioned demonstrations and other actions which provoke repressive actions from the state
No relationships	The model of igno-rance	State does not pay attention to civic associations, as well as to civic and political participation. It does not interfere and does not help
	Independent citizens	Citizens self-organize and perform social projects inde-pendently and without control from the state. The state does not have means to control citizens.

The only category, which is not taken from Jakobson's classification is "independent citizens", but originated from brainstorming and environmental scanning. The differ-ence of this category from "the model of ignorance" is that it implies that the state can-not control civic activities, while in "the model of ignorance" there is a voluntary deci-sion of the state to ignore civil society.

Both these classifications will be used in the design of questions in the Delphi ques-tionnaire.

4 TRENDS IN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

In order to create scenarios for the future it is important to understand the system under investigation, its historical development and current development trends. This chapter focuses on the recent past and the present situation in political participation in Russia, on the basis of theoretical framework. As the country is an open system it is influenced by other countries, by global trends and events. Therefore, major global trends, as well as trends in western countries will be also observed in the chapter.

4.1 Trends of political participation in western countries

Dalton (2008, 92) notes, that in post-industrial societies citizens are increasingly becoming disengaged from the *traditional channels* of political participation. In western democracies it is visible in the decline of civic engagement, electoral turnout, the erosion of public confidence in the institutions of representative democracy, and other signs of public weariness, skepticism, cynicism and lack of trust in politicians and political parties. The idea about declining elections turnout and trust in public institutions is also expressed, for example, by Wattenberg (2002).

However, according to Dalton, the trend is not just declining political participation. Reshaping of forms of political participation is happening. While citizens are becoming less involved into traditional participation activities, non-traditional forms of participation are increasing. Dalton connects this process with changing norms of citizenship in post-industrial societies.

Transition from understanding citizenship merely as a duty towards understanding citizenship as engagement-based is what is happening in western societies. Self-expression values underlie post-industrial societies and in terms of citizenship norms they lead to more direct and individualized forms of participation.

Reduction in election turnout has been already recorded in the USA and most western democracies (see, for example Hibbing & Theiss-Morse 2002; Putnam 2000; Wattenberg 2002). At the same time, the extension of engaged citizenship should stimulate people to participate in activities that give them more direct say and influence. Many engaged citizens will still vote because of the importance of elections to the democratic process, but also include more direct and individualized forms of action in their participation repertoire. When participation expands beyond usual elections, citizens become more flexible in choosing when they act, because they should not wait until the next elections round comes. As a result, the political influence of citizenry increases. (Dalton 2008, 92-93.)

Thus, political participation in western countries tends to transform towards more versatile and direct forms of participation, due to changing values and norms of citizenship in these societies. According to Dalton (2008), this process is rather positive, as the new style of citizenship seeks to place more control over political activity in the hands of the citizenry and can increase public pressure on political elites. Citizen participation is becoming more closely linked to citizen influence. As a result, it represents an opportunity to expand and enrich democratic participation. (Dalton 2008, 94.)

One example of new forms of political participation is political consumption (of political consumerism). Political consumption includes purchasing choices, which are based on ethical and political considerations. This is a form through which people are able to express their social and political inclinations. Political consumerism may appear in the form of avoiding specific products, which go against the values of a person. On the other hand, political consumerism may be in the form of buying those products, which are in-line with values which a person supports (for example, ecologically produced or fair traded). Political consumption does not intend to influence the state directly, however, it may have political consequences. (Gil de Zúñiga, Copeland & Bimber 2013, 2-4.) One of the latest bright examples of political consumerism is "Bank Transfer Day", initiated in 2011 (at the same time as the Occupy Wall Street) and was a protest against aggressive fees which banks announced for bank operations of their customers. (Pfeifer & Reckard 2011.)

As the concept of civil society is relevant for the present study, as it has overlaps with the concept of political participation, it is also interesting to observe trends in the area of civil society. A study, conducted by the World Economic Forum, focuses on trends in development of civil society (civic associations, NGOs) in the western world. The following trends are highlighted in this research (World Economic Forum 2013, 6-15):

1. During the last two decades, the number of civil society organizations in the world increased significantly. However, the funding of civil society organizations has increased significantly only in specific areas.
2. The use of on-line media changes communications within civil society. New forms of civic engagement co-exist with old ones.
3. Civil society became more involved in consultation process with decision-makers.
4. Together with growth of civil society activities there is also growth of restrictions, for example, limiting access to national and foreign funding and creating barriers to on-line communications.
5. Civil society roles are blurring as well as relationships with private sector and the state, as shown in Figure 2:
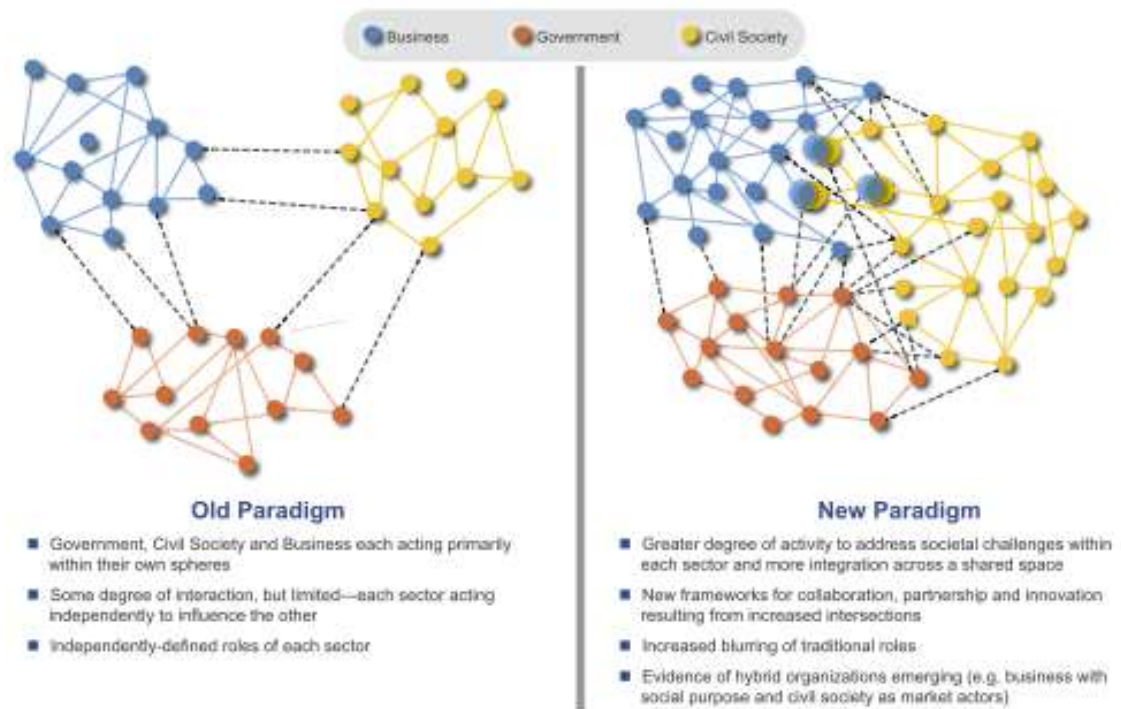
Figure 2   Changing paradigms for sector roles (World Economic Forum 2013, 10)

6.   Global institutions, that have been in place since the end of World War II, are no longer fit their purpose. Business, government and civil society leaders now want more socially inclusive models.

7.   The world is becoming hyper connected. Through increasing access to the Internet, social media and mobile phones, the power of the individual as a virtual citizen is on the rise.

8.   Interest is growing in the role of faith and religious culture in society.

9.   There is a profound public pressure – and increasingly an economic argument – for responding to pressing challenges of inequality.

10. Significant demographic shift affects civil society.

As it was regarded in the previous chapter, forms of political participation (including civic engagement) are multiple. This sub-chapter observed the general trends in this area in western societies, described by scholars.

4.2   Global spread of protest civic engagement

Another trend which is observed *globally* by political scientists is the spread of protest politics[2] during the last three decades: political protests increased both in terms of frequency of events and in terms of the number of participants. The image of protest activity is also changing: from the "disturbing" activity to a normal part of politics (Rucht 2007, 719-720).

However, in 2000s the type of protest activity showed signs of change. Since 2009 the wave of civic uprisings has gone through many countries in the world, both in developed western democracies ('kitchenware' revolution in Iceland (Castells 2012) in 2009; *Indignadas* in Spain in 2011, Occupy Wall street in 2011, and other Occupy movements in different countries) and more authoritarian states (Arab Spring started in December 2010). The latest example is Ukraine, where after several months of mass protests in the end of 2013-beginning 2014 the president of the country resigned. In some countries movements were so strong that they have made a large political impact, such as change of power in Egypt, Ukraine and new constitution in Iceland.

There have been done quite a lot of research on the latest social movements, mentioned above, for example: (1) the book of Castells (2012) summarizing observations from the major large-scale protests of the past years; (2) the paper of Nigam (2012) "The Arab upsurge and the "viral" revolutions of our times" analyzing social movements of the beginning of 21st century; (3) the paper "Horizontal Democracy Now: From Alterglobalization to Occupation" by Maeckelbergh (2012), analyzing the Spain movement and its significance for the development of new political practices.

The common thing for all these movements was the leading role of information technology, which enhanced the ability of citizens to self-organize. Some scholars, for example, Castells (2012) admit that these types of social movements are something new, which has not existed before. Overall, political scientists say that transformation of political behavior is happening both in developing and developed nations, the new forms of engagement and participation emerge and expand political participation beyond the boundaries of what it was conventionally viewed to be (see, for example Dalton & Klingemann 2007).

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[2] *Protest politics* is the deliberation and public use of protest by groups or organizations (but rarely individuals) that seek to influence a political decision or process, which they perceive as having negative consequences for themselves, another group or society as a whole (Rucht 2007, 708).

4.3 History and trends of political participation in Russia

According to Russian Center of Education in Election Technologies (2014), the 1980s-1990s years in Russia were characterized by the upsurge of political participation of citizens. Some scholars (for example, Belyaeva 2007) argue that this period was the freest time for citizens in the whole Russian history. After that, the disengagement from politics increased and the right for decision-making was largely confined to the government officers. Studies recorded declining political participation since the middle of 1990s and till the end of 2000s. Only recently, in 2011-2012, the situation began to change towards growing political participation and civic activity.

This sub-chapter uses the classification of political participation forms, developed in the previous chapter. Following this classification, history and trends in manifest and latent political participation are described.

4.3.1 Manifest political participation

Formal political participation:

1) Election turnout

In Russian Federation elections are conducted at three levels: federal (president and parliament elections), regional and municipal elections.

In the history of Russian Federation (during the past 23 years) there were 6 parliament and 6 president election rounds. Data on elections turnout (Table 4) does not show any stable trend in election activity of citizens[3]. Thus, voter turnout in *parliament* elections has being fluctuating during the past 20 years. However, on average the voter turnout in 1990s was 60%, the same as voter turnout in 2000s on average. The share of participants in *president* elections was maximal in the first president elections round and has been gradually declining till the year 2004. After that, the voter turnout has increased. Thus, it cannot be said that elections turnout in Russia follows the same trend as the elections turnout in western democracies, where the decline of participation is observed. However, it should be also mentioned that some Russian political scientists question the reliability of the official elections turnout data (Lyubarev 2013).

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[3] Table 4 shows aggregated data on election turnout for the whole country. At the same time, certain regional differences exist. However, for the present study, regional differences are not taken into account, as the goal is to analyze political participation on the country level.

Table 4   Turnout on federal level elections in Russia, 1992-2012, percentage of
               citizens (Central Election Commission of the Russian Federation n/a)

	1st elections	2nd elections	3rd elections	4th elections	5th elections	6th elections
	1992-1993	1995-1996	1999-2000	2003-2004	2007-2008	2011-2012
Parliament elections	54.81	64.76	61.85	55.75	63.71	60.2
President elections	76.66	69.60	68.64	64.38	69.70	65.34

As for regional and municipal elections, statistics on them is quite complicated, as there are 85 regions in Russian Federation and about 25 000 municipalities (Lyubarev 2013). In general, researchers mention two observations about regional elections in Russia: firstly, regional elections turnout is usually lower than the federal elections turnout; secondly, voter turnout at regional parliament elections is lower than the voter turnout at regional governor's elections. These observations are valid for the cases when regional and federal elections are held separately, not in the same day. The average regional election turnout in 2003-2006 years in Russia was 41% (average for 44 elections, which were not combined with federal elections), with maximum at 69.6% in the Chechen republic and minimum at 27.9% in Sverdlovsk region. In 2007-2012 years the average voter turnout at regional parliament elections in Russia was 48% (the average for 111 elections). (Lyubarev 2013.)

What is the motivation for citizens to participate in elections? During the past 10 years Russian research center "Levada Center" has being asking people about their motivations to participate in *parliament* elections (Table 5).

Table 5   People's principal motivation to participate in parliament elections, percentage of respondents (Levada Center 2012, 39)

	Nov 2003	Oct 2007	Nov 2011	Dec 2011
Civic duty	39	39	42	40
Habit	14	11	11	12
It is almost a single possibility to exhibit participation in the life of the country	14	11	9	8
Striving to express a political position (even though it does not help candidate or a party)	12	14	14	13
Striving to help favorite candidate to get to the parliament (increase its representation)	10	8	9	13
Striving to prevent unfavorable candidate from getting to the parliament or increase its representation	4	3	5	7
Voting at elections is common among my friends	4	8	8	6
Other	1	1	<1	<1
Difficult to answer	1	2	<1	<1

Levada Center researchers note that people usually cannot explain what kind of "civic duty" motivates them to participate in elections, and consider this category as close to the "habit" category. These two categories combined represent about half of voters.

Data above also show that protest voting (category "striving to prevent unfavorable candidate from getting to the parliament or increase its representation") has increased in the last elections, in December 2011.

2) Volunteers at election observation

Parliament elections in November 2011 were followed by a series of protests, as a reaction to the large amount of fraud in voting and calculation of elections' results. People recognized the necessity of stronger civic monitoring over the elections process. Thus, by March 2012 (the time of presidential elections) people were able to self-organize and create a network of activists who volunteered to be observers at the voting day of presidential elections. This was an unprecedented for Russia level of civic engagement during elections. According to western media source, the group of elections volunteers "Citizen-observer" grew from 720 people in December 2011 to about 7000 volunteers in the beginning of 2012. (The Associated Press 2012.)

3) Membership in parties

After the breakup of the Soviet Union, Russian Federation moved from one ruling party to a multi-party system. However, since the beginning of 2000s party creation conditions have been toughened and, as a result, in the period from 2001 till 2012 only 8 political parties were registered and could participate in elections (Central Election Commission of the Russian Federation n/a). During this period in fact a single party dominance emerged: the party "United Russia" got majority in a parliament and supported initiatives by the president and the government. After citizens' protests in the end of 2011-the beginning of 2012, parties legislation has been liberalized and within the next two years more than 60 new parties with the right to participate in elections were registered.

However, overall, only a small share of citizens is involved in parties' activities. Russian Public Opinion Research Center[4] has been measuring shares of people's participation in parties' activities in 2004-2013 years. According to its data (Russian Public Opinion Research Center 2013), during this period, participation in political parties was fluctuating from 0% (minimum level in 2011) to 2%. A different study, conducted by

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[4] <http://www.wciom.com/>

Levada Center in August 2013 showed that 3% of respondents participated in a party or actively supported its activity. (Levada Center 2013a.)

4) Support of political candidates

Developments of social networks and possibilities for on-line money transfers have affected the ways in which citizens can support their favorite party or political candidate, for example, through *crowdfunding*. Crowdfunding is a cooperation of people, who collectively donate money to support a certain project of other people or organizations. These projects can be business projects as well as political projects. Such type of support can be regarded as emerging phenomenon in social and political life in Russia.

During the past several years, there were several crowd funding examples observed in Russian public arena. In the beginning, people started to collect money though social networks for humanitarian purposes, such as serious diseases treatment (for example, cancer). Around the year 2012, when opposition movement was rising, people started to donate money for political actions. Popular Russian blogger – Alexey Navalny, managed to raise millions of rubles for the activity of his NGO fighting against corruption in Russia. Probably, unless there are no legislation restrictions, this type of support will be more common in the future.

5) Contacting politicians and their representatives

Social networks influenced on how politicians communicate with citizens. More and more politicians use social networks and blogs to write about their attitudes to actual issues and to get people's feedback. However, the statistics on how many citizens contact politicians or political representatives directly is not yet available.

Extra-parliamentary participation:

No studies on the popularity of *political consumption* or *civil disobedience* in Russia were found, despite the fact that these types of involvement can be observed in socio-political life of the country. Assumingly, these forms of participation are quite rarely used by citizens, or they have not been perceived by researchers as powerful instruments of citizens' influence.

1) Signing petitions

In 2012, at St. Petersburg Economic Forum President Vladimir Putin promised that any legislation initiative which gathers 100 000 votes on-line, from authorized Internet users, will be discussed in the Russian Parliament.

According to data of the Russian Public Opinion Research Center, about 4% of citizens signed petitions (related to issues of a country, region, town/city) in the year 2004.

In 2006 and 2011 this parameter declined: to 2% in 2006 and 1% in 2011. In 2012, the share of Russian citizens who signed a petition had slightly increased – up to 2%. (Russian Center of Education in Election Technologies 2014)

Signing petitions is not yet a powerful instrument to influence decision-making in the country however some "small victories" happened. For example, in 2012 more than 3000 people signed a petition on the web-site <www.change.org> and demanding to dismiss charges to bloggers and journalists whom Gazprombank accused of libel, when they talked about the incident of the vice-president of the bank shooting down a child. At the end Gazprombank dropped its charges.

2) Social movements, participation in demonstrations and protests

In Russia, participation in social movements and participation in protests or demonstrations are often connected with each other. According to Kleman (2007), who has been studying new social movements in Russia since the year 2004, civil society in Russia in the beginning of 2000s was emerging through the new grassroots social movements, which were mainly protest movements. Qualitative studies documented the appearance of new active groups of citizens, which tried to self-organize. However, the number of citizens involved in these groups was too little to be registered by statistical studies.

One of the large social movements happened in 2004-2006 and was against the initiative of the government to monetize social benefits. According to estimations, about 500 000 people were involved in all activities of the movement. Another large movement started since 2005 and was devoted to problems of housing. Kleman also notes the emergence of labor conflicts on different factories and protests of workers. (Kleman 2007, 26-28)

In 2011-2012 an opposition movement was on the rise in Russia. Protests, which started in Moscow and other cities after the parliament elections in 2011, demanded for fair elections. These protests also indicated that the large amount of people does not support current state policies and the president Putin come back, who are unsatisfied by the level of corruption and closed political system, demand for political reforms and reforms of social institutions (for example, the first requirement expressed by protesters was to reform judiciary system). At the same time a large amount of population supported Putin's presidential come back and believe that only Putin is capable of ruling the country and there is no alternative to him (Shaihutdinov 2012).

After several months of occasional demonstrations, the occupation of a public place happened in Moscow. In May 2012, after the demonstration at Bolotnaya square, where police was very brutal in dispelling the crowd, the group of active oppositionists continued a peaceful demonstration: during the whole evening and night they walked along streets of Moscow and finally set up at Chistye Prudy. Since that day the opposition

camp was set up there and the camp lasted for about two weeks. This camp followed a model of Occupy Wall Street in the New York City, but the organization of camp life was not pre-defined from the beginning. The process of camp life organization, defining activities and rules within the camp was the process of self-organization.

After a year of protests on Moscow squares, the opposition movement turned into a more organized phase. Using their own resources through self-organization opposition-ists organized national elections to the Opposition Coordination Council – a group of people elected in order to "be the voice" of the opposition movement, represent people involved in the opposition movement. Elections resulted in a success. (Russia Today 2012, October 21.)

The statistics on dynamics of citizens' participation in protest activity in 2004-2012 does not show a well-pronounced trend. In 2004 the share of citizens, who participated in demonstrations related to events in the country, region or town/city, was 5%, in 2006 – 4%, in 2011 – 1% and in 2012 – 3%. (Russian Center of Education in Election Technologies 2014.)

Though only a small proportion of citizens are involved in protest activity, in general social movements are very important for the development of civil society. As Kleman writes, not only protests and demonstrations are organized within social movements, but there are also constructive forms of self-organization. Such social initiatives become means for the change of political culture, the emergence of new norms, values and the development of social solidarity. (Kleman 2008, 28)

Rostislav Turovsky, expert of the Center of Political Technologies, claims that protest climate in Russia is cyclic: there are periods of rise, which are followed by periods of decline. (Garmonenko & Gorbachev, 2014.) Thus, the period of 2011-2012 years was characterized by social uprisings, while, according to the latest data, the desire to protest in quite low. However, problems, against which people were protesting in 2011-2012 are not solved yet, therefore, during the calm, no-protest period, discontent of citizens is accumulating and might lead to protests in the nearest future. (Garmonenko & Gorbachev 2014.)

4.3.2   Latent political participation

1) Interest in politics

The data presented in the Table 6 shows the growth of interest to politics in Russia in the period from 2007-2012. However, there is still a large share of people who are not interested in politics.

Table 6   Dynamics of people's interest to politics, percentage of responses (Russian Center of Education in Technologies 2014)

"Are you interested in politics?"	2007	2012
Definitely interested, largely interested	42	51
Somewhat interested, not interested at all	54	42
Difficult to answer	3	7

2) Identifying with a certain ideology or party

According to the data, collected by Levada Center in December 2014, during the year 2014, on average, 58% of Russian citizens were ready to vote for a certain party (Levada Center 2014). Though the level of support is fluctuating, for the year 2014 it can be considered at the level of 58%.

According to the report issued by Sociology Institute of Russian Academy of Science (2012), about 95% of citizens (aged 18-55 years old) support some political ideology. The following groups were defined, according to their ideological preferences: liberals and social-democrats – 28%; supporters of the strong state and market economy – 10%; supporters of the strong state and socialist economy – 57% (Sociology Institute of Russian Academy of Science 2012, 42-43).

3) Short-term self-organization for solving social issues

Due to the spread of information technologies, people are becoming more able to self-organize, to act and produce social change. One example was the activity of volunteers helping citizens who suffered after a flood in Krymsk town. After the severe flood, which happened in Krymsk in July 2012, around 2000 of volunteers all over the country came to the ruined town in order to help those who survived. The volunteers were driven only by their self-motivation and communicated with each other a lot via the Internet. This fact had an enormous effect on the society. For example, Crowfoot (2013) writes how a Russian social activist describes the consequences of the event.

According to population surveys, conducted by the Russian Public Opinion Research Center, relatively large share of people are involved in self-organization for solving some social issues (Table 7): in 2012 15% of citizens participate in either collection of resources or in collective actions for the improvement of common living areas.

Table 7   Dynamics of various self-organization forms for solving social issues (Russian Center of Education in Election Technologies 2014)

	2004	2006	2011	2012
% of citizens participated in collective improvement of houses, playgrounds for children, common living territories	15	9	8	10
% of citizens participated in collection of money or necessary things for people in need (due to a terrorist attack, natural disaster, health problems, surgery etc.)	9	4	4	5

However, in reality self-organization can be more widespread, due to some forms, which were not covered by the survey.

4) **Participation in non-governmental organizations (NGOs):**
   a. **Membership in NGOs;**
   b. **Volunteering in social work for an NGO or other organization;**
   c. **Giving money to charity or NGOs.**

Among all forms of political participation, functioning of NGOs, participation in NGOs is one of the best-studied in Russia.

As Djibladze (2007) noted, in the 90s NGOs were almost ignored by the state. By the end of the 90s, NGOs began to understand that it is not enough to struggle with the consequences of flawed policies, violation of human rights, corruption or crimes committed by government representatives. NGOs realized the importance to work not with selected matters and to fix only elected drawbacks, but instead to influence political decision-making, to learn to be experts, to communicate with the state officials and perform civic control over governmental decisions. By the beginning of 2000s NGOs progressed in realization of these functions.

However, later on the state decided to build civil society from the top, perceiving civic associations not as independent actors of the political process, but as means to achieve certain goals of the government. Under such policy, imitations of civil society organizations were created, such as Civic Chamber of the Russian Federation[5]. Usually, state expects from NGOs to support state's policy in public or perform social work which government itself does not want to do or cannot do for some reasons. In the best case the state uses the expertise of civic associations, but nevertheless NGOs do not have any right to vote and all decisions are finally made by government officials. The organizations which do not want to follow this model become an opposition. Often such organizations even become enemies of the state and can be oppressed in various ways. (Djibladze 2007, 90-91.) This is the state of affairs which exists in the Russian society in the past decade.

The trend of the NGOs controlled by the state was noted by a number of Russian researchers (see, for example, Gudkov 2007; Patrushev 2007; Daniel 2007; Makarychev 2007.

According to data presented by Russian Social Chamber in 2007, about 360 000 non-governmental organizations were registered in the country. However, as Gudkov (2007) claims, only a small part of them can be regarded as really grassroots associations independent from the state. In the 90s these NGOs were operating more or less freely, how-

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[5] <https://www.oprf.ru/en>

ever, in the 2000s there is more and more pressure over independent organizations, due to the government fears of "orange revolution". The pressure is performed through toughening legislation, tax pressure, frequent checks, provoking conflicts inside organizations, discrediting in the media etc. At the same time, government creates imitations of civil society associations, such as Social Chamber, which serve interests of the government. As a result, citizens still cannot influence political decision-making, which also leads to the atomization of society. (Gudkov 2007, 15-16.)

Similarly to Gudkov, Daniel noted that the state in 2000s started to perceive any independent political or civic participation as threatening the state. This attitude strengthened especially after "orange revolutions" in ex-Soviet countries (Georgia in 2004 and Ukraine in 2004-2005), where NGOs played an important role. As a result, fears of such revolutions appeared in the Russian government. (Gudkov 2007, 80.)

Makarychev (2007) argues that two models of civic association co-exist in Russia. The first one is based on governmental control and regards associational life and NGOs as directly or indirectly controlled by the state. This model has an implicit idea that social relations are based on political interests therefore civic organizations should be created from the top. The second model is related to globalization, internationalization which leads to creation of global NGOs branches in Russia. It implies that civil society is not only an internal phenomenon, but should be global in the end. According to Makarychev (2007), the period from the beginning of 1990s in Russia was characterized by the changing relationship of these two models. However, the more interesting question is that will these two models give room for the development of the third model of associational life – associations which are not branches of international NGOs, but at the same time, are independent from the state. (Makarychev 2007, 46.)

Statistics of participation of citizens in various NGOs is presented in the Table 8.

Table 8   Dynamics of participation in different types of non-governmental organizations (Russian Center of Education in Election Technologies 2014)

	2004	2006	2011	2012
% of citizens participated in the activity of social organizations (defending human rights, charity, ecologic etc)	2	1	1	2
% of citizens participated in trade unions	4	1	1	2

Researchers and activists of NGOs outline a number of problems and challenges in the development of civil society:

1. *The attempt of the state to control non-governmental organizations financially.* State motivates NGOs to reduce financing from abroad and become ready to give money from state funds and also to involve activists into state councils. In this situation NGOs are challenges to understand clearly if they are

ready to cooperate with the state or they will follow their mission, which can be different from what the state wants (Syslov 2007, 54-55).

2. *Attempts of the state to make NGOs politically neutral.* On the one hand, the state seeks for civil society support, on the other hand – tries to sterilize it politically. Under current conditions, only strong politically neutral NGOs can survive. (Kuklina 2007, 59-60.)

3. Gudkov (2007) and Patrushev (2007) note a *lack of solidarity and trust among citizens*, which leads to social disintegration.

4. *The lack of trust in political and social institutions* also presents a problem for associational life (Patrushev 2007).

5. As it was noted by Gudkov (2007), Dubin (2007), Patrushev (2007), people still do not feel themselves as independent from the state. In other words, *Russian person feels as a "state person"*.

6. Dubin (2007) also noted that people do not feel responsibility for the society they live in. Society is perceived as "others, not me".

Kleman (2007) emphasized the gap between officially established non-governmental organizations and informal social movements. While NGOs mainly use the model of social services for clients, social movements use protests and activism as their main tools for achieving goals.

4.4 Conclusions

The review of the recent history and existing trends of political participation in Russia presented statistical data about the involvement of Russian citizens into various forms of political participation. Relying on this statistical data, the rough scenery of political participation in Russia can be outlined. Table 9 combines all data regarded in this chapter into the operationalization, presented in the previous chapter.

Table 9   Involvement of citizens in various forms of political participation

	Form of participation		Statistics and trends
Manifest political participation	Formal	Voting at elections and referenda	No well-pronounced trends in the past two decades were identified. In the last federal elections round, election turnout was about 60% at Parliament elections and about 65% at President elections. Participation in elections is mainly driven by the feeling of "civic duty".
		Contacting politicians	No data on the number of involved people. However, new forms of communication are emerging.
		Donating money for parties or candidates	No data on the number of involved people. However, the form of support – crowd funding has emerged. It is uncertain, whether it will be developing in the future.
		Being a party member	In the 2013 the share of people involved in a party or party activity was estimated at the level of 2-3%.
		Voluntary work for a party	No data on the number of involved people. A growth of interest towards being a voluntary observer at elections was observed in the last years.
	Extra-parliamentary participation	Political consumption	No data on the number of involved people.
		Signing petitions	About 2% of people signed petitions in 2012.
		Involvement in new social movements	Several large social movements happened in 2004-2014 years. According to Kleman (2007), the number of people involved in movements is small and cannot appear in statistical data.
		Participation in peaceful demonstrations, protests, strikes and other actions	The share of people participated in protests in 2012 was estimated to be 3%. It was a year of large social uprisings. Overall, as experts say, protest activity in Russia has a cyclic form.
		Civil disobedience	No data on the number of involved people.
		Participation in violent demonstrations	No data on the number of involved people.
Latent political participation (civic participation)	Attention	Perceiving politics as important and following political news	The growth of interest was observed in studies: from 42% in 2007 till 51% of people interested in politics in 2012.
		Identifying with a certain ideology or party	On average, 58% citizens expressed support to a certain political party in 2014. According to data of 2012, 95% of citizens aged 18-55 supported a certain political ideology.
	Action	Giving money to charity or NGOs	No data on the number of involved people.
		Active interest in politics	According to surveys, about 51% of citizens in 2012 were interested in politics, however, it was not mentioned, was this interest active or passive.
		Short-term self-organization for solving social issues	In 2012, 10% of people were involved in some collective work for improvement of the living environment and 5% of people were involved into collection of money or things to people in need.
		Membership in an NGO	In 2012, about 2% of people were involved in the work for NGOs, 2% - in the activity of trade unions.
		Volunteering in social work for an NGO or other organization	During the period 2004-2014 the share of people, involved in NGOs or trade unions somewhat declined (especially, in was low in the years 2006 and 2011).
Disengagement from politics		Non-voting, perceiving politics as non-interesting	The share of people, who are not interested in politics declined from 54% in 2007 to 42% in 2012. However, this did not result into the dramatic growth of the election turnout.

As was shown, in western democracies there is a trend of declining traditional forms of political participation (such as participation in elections and parties) and growing interest towards non-traditional, more individualized and flexible forms. Russian reality seems to differ. There are no signs of declining traditional forms of political participation in Russia: election turnout and participation in political parties do not follow a concrete trend. The number of parties even grew in 2012-2014 years, due to liberalization of party legislation. Moreover, interest to politics among Russian citizens increased by 2012 compared to 2007.

This chapter has outlined a global trend of growing protest participation, which is relevant also for Russia. In the past 10 years, there were relatively large movements against government's policy, for better living conditions, for fair elections. Some researchers claim that protest movements follow a cyclic pattern in Russia.

In terms of non-traditional forms of political participation, there are no visible trends in Russia. Among these forms, the largest share of people is involved in short-term collective self-organization for helping people in need. Also, some new tools for participation are emerging (crowd funding, on-line petitioning, new ways to communicate with political representatives), but they are not widely popular at the moment. There are no signs that political consumption is popular in Russia (not much discussions or new in the media and in academic literature).

Trends for NGOs in Russia have some common points with trends in western countries however there are significant differences as well. Firstly, civil society actors became more involved in consultation process with decision-makers. Similarly, in Russia the government involves NGOs representatives as experts for certain issues. World Economic Forum (2013) also mentioned the growth of restrictions, for example, limiting access to national and foreign funding and creating barriers to on-line communications. Similar process goes in Russia, especially related to cutting foreign funding.

As mentioned in the text above, in western democracies civil society roles are blurring as well as relationships with private sector and the state. From this perspective, the trend is different in Russia. Here the state tries to control NGOs as much as possible, attempting to reach certain goals of the government by hands of civil society associations. Associations, which want to act independently from the state, become an opposition and feel more pressure.

Overall, researchers admit that there are two models of civic associations which occupy the most of the public space: either associations controlled by the state or associations included in the international civil society (mostly, branches of global NGOs). Together with these two models there is smaller number of grassroots associations, which emerged within the country and which are not controlled by the state. It is an uncertainty, how this sector of civil society will be able to evolve in the future.

5   DRIVING FORCES FOR THE FUTURE OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The analysis of forces, influencing the system under investigation, is an important step in scenarios building. In the present study the experts' opinions, gathered through a Delphi study, have a critical importance for identification of driving forces of political participation in Russia. However, in order to create a Delphi questionnaire the initial screening and selections of driving forces will be done. This chapter presents the list of hypothetical driving forces of political participation, based on literature review. Later on, this list will be tested in a Delphi study, where it will be evaluated collectively by experts, and as a result of this process the final list of the most important drivers will be created and used in scenarios-building.

5.1   The method of driving forces identification

The selection of driving forces, which are to be tested in the Delphi study, was conducted in two steps.

On the first step it was observed what other futures studies researchers have already done on the topic. For this purpose, the review of foresight studies on a similar subject were conducted (such topics as scenarios/futures of political participation, civil society, civic activism etc. were taken into account). Two such studies were found: the study about the future role of civil society, conducted by World Economic Forum (2013), and scenarios for civil society, created by Carnegie UK Trust (2007b). Both studies focus on the situation in Western countries, therefore, only the most relevant drivers for Russian situation could be used for the purposes of the present study. Thus, the driving forces, indentified in these studies were analyzed and the most relevant ones were included into the list of drivers in a Delphi questionnaire.

On the second step, brainstorming was condected by the researcher and several extra drivers were added into the list. This chapte provides explanation of each driver in the list of drivers and argumentation of how this driver could influence the political participation in the future.

Driving forces in the study by Carnegie UK Trust

In the research about civil society scenarios in the UK and Ireland, Carnegie UK Trust highlights social, political, technological, economic, environmental and organizational drivers which are most likely to influence the development of civil society in the future (Carnegie UK Trust 2007a, 17-19). Trend-impact analysis is used to structure

drivers and creates a canvas of drivers classified into categories of contexts, uncertainties and outcomes (see Figure 3).
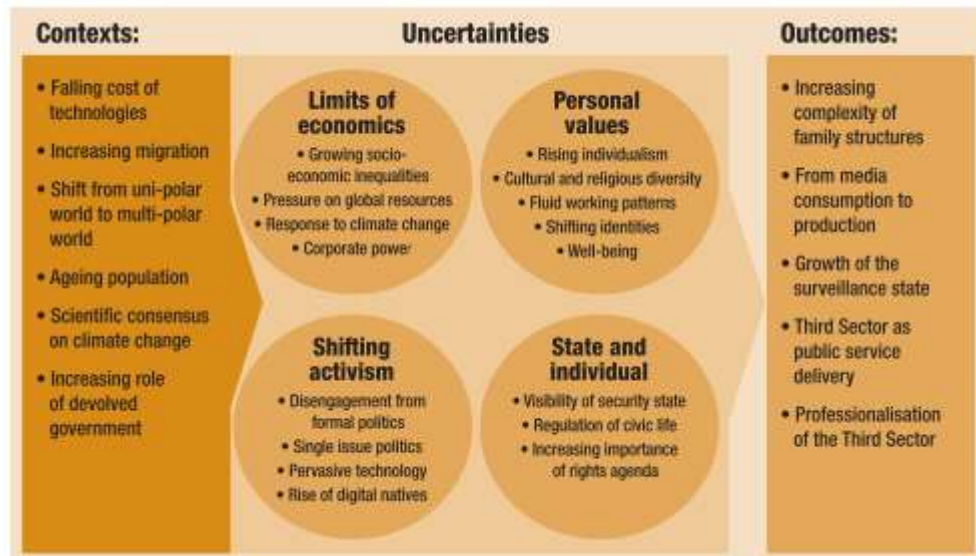
Figure 3   Schematic of prioritized drivers (Carnegie UK Trust 2007a, 23)

The relevance of each of these drivers to the context of Russia was analyzed. In this way, some drivers were selected as relevant for the present study and other drivers were evaluated as non-relevant for the Russian situation (based on the analysis of statistical data and scientific publications). The following drivers were evaluated as relevant for Russia.

- Falling cost of technologies (technological driver)
- Increasing migration (social driver)
- Growing socio-economic inequalities (economic driver)
- Rising individualism (social driver)
- Cultural and religious diversity (social driver)
- The rise of 'digital natives' (technological driver)
- Pervasive technology (technological driver)
- Visibility of the security state (political driver)
- Regulation of civic life (political driver)
- From media consumption to media production (technological driver)
- Growth of surveillance state (political driver)

For the purposes of a questionnaire-building, some of the drivers in the list above can be grouped together. This could make the list of drivers shorter in the questionnaire, which could ultimately lead to higher motivation of respondents to give broader explanations of their opinions. The principle of making the questionnaire as short as possible was used in Delphi study preparation.

In our opinion, the most important technology, influencing political participation of citizens is information and communication technologies (ICT), other technologies do not influence so strongly on political participation. Particularly, ICT lead to changing citizens "from media consumption to media production". Thus, we argue that the three technological drivers, included in the list above (falling technology costs, pervasive technology, from media consumption to media production) can be grouped into a single driver "*the spread of information and communication technologies*".

The drivers "visibility of the security state", "growth of surveillance state" and "regulation of civic life" are similar drivers in the Russian context. In the recent past, the claims for higher security state have lead to stronger regulation of civic life in the country. Therefore, these three drivers will be grouped into one – "regulation of civic life" in the Delphi questionnaire.

In addition, the driver "the rise of digital natives" from the point of view of this project will be regarded as a social driver (not technological driver). The rise of digital natives is conditioned by technological factors, but ultimately it leads to social changes.

And finally, in our opinion it would be more relevant for the Russian context to transform the driver "cultural and religious diversity" into the driver "multi-nationality". In this case, the information about cultural and religious diversity is not lost, but at the same time the nationality factor is added. Russia is a multi-national country therefore the nationality factor is important.

Driving forces in the study by World Economic Forum

The report "The Future Roles of Civil Society" by the World Economic Forum identifies the following critical driving forces which could, in the future, reshape the context in which civil society is operating to 2030 (World Economic Forum 2013, 19-21). These drivers are formulated in a different way, though in essence are similar to those identified by Carnegie UK Trust, thus no additional factors will be added to a Delphi questionnaire from this list:

1. The level and source of funding for civil society stakeholders.
2. The social and political influence of increasing access to technology.
3. The extent and the type of citizen engagement with societal challenges.
4. The state of global and regional geopolitical stability and global integration of markets.
5. The effect of environmental degradation and climate change on populations.
6. The level of trust in governments, businesses and international organizations.

Extra driving forces

Some of the extra driving forces can be added after the analysis of drivers used in the Carnegie UK Trust study. These drivers were mentioned in the text above, namely:

- Generations change;
- Corruption.

In addition to all factors mentioned in this sub-chapter, it would be interesting to propose for deeper expert analysis the factor of crowd funding. This factor is largerly the concequence of ICT spread, however, it presents the effects on political participation which go beyond communication or information distrubution in the society. It is important to analyse these effects to understand the future of political participation better.

And finally, the factor of economic crisis, the importance of which is increasing in the modern Russia, cannot be omitted in the present study.

5.2 Description of driving forces

This sub-chapter sums up all driving forces, identified in the previous sub-chapter. Factors are grouped into several categories: technological, social, political and economic drivers. The essence of each of these drivers and its potential effect on political participation is regarded in detail below.

5.2.1 Technological drivers

- **The spread of information and communication technologies (ICT)**

Information and communication technologies, including Internet, social networks and devices for communication, such as smart phones, have been increasingly popular in Russia since the beginning of 2000s.

According to recent studies, the number of Russian citizens who use Internet at least once a month or more often has increased from 6% in 2001 to 65% in 2013. The majority of these people use Internet daily (the number of people who use Internet on a daily basis during the past 12 years increased from 2% to 59%). Especially, the Internet penetration is high among young people. 91% of Russians younger than 25 years old use the Internet and 23% of Russians older 55 years old use the Internet. Moreover, more people are following Russian and international news through the Internet than before. (Levada Center 2013c.) As the study of Gfk Rus (2010) describes it, "in Russia over the recent years the Internet from a technology of the future became an integral part of our lives, which is hard to imagine without chat, e-mail, information search, as well as shopping and services banking."

According to the study "The Mobile Consumer" conducted by Nielsen, 98% of people (16 years old and older) in Russia use a mobile phone, among which 37% of users

have a smart phone. Among smart phone users 68% do web browsing, 59% do social networking, 55% check their e-mails, 39% watch mobile TV or video. (Nielsen 2013.)

Social media, such as Twitter, Instagram, Facebook, YouTube etc. are especially popular among young people. Social media, like blogs, give an opportunity to create on-line groups and communities, including politically oriented groups. By signing up to a certain group a member is showing his or her interest in a certain idea.

Due to state control over major media in Russia, independent media, including media produced by citizens themselves play a large role in civic and political life of the country. In other words, blogs and different social media web-services serve and an alternative media.

Written blogs in such services as LiveJournal, WordPress etc. are increasingly popular in Russia. What is interesting many of these blogs are politically related, so political discussions are very lively in the blogosphere. In addition to private blogs, on-line political communities are created (Krestinina & Chernyshev 2008).

Krestinina and Charnyshev claim that blogs are used not only by ordinary people, but also by politicians and political parties (both official and oppositional), and identify the following trends in the use of blogs in political activity:

- Usage of blogs for information, consolidation of supporters and coordination of their actions;
- Promotion and discussion of ideas (politicians admit, that blogs give them an opportunity to get fresh ideas and discuss things that they cannot discuss in other places), also some ideas are tested before being published in official media;
- Counter-propaganda, the fight against political opponents.

In general, the use of blogs and social networks lead to fast spread of information and makes coordination of collective actions easier.

ICT revolution brings important changes into communication in the society. Castells analyses affects of ICT in relation to social movements in his book *Networks of outrage and hope: social movements in the Internet age*. As Castells claims, mass communication though Internet ultimately leads to transformation of power relations in the society, which depend to a large extent on communication networks (Castells 2012, 4-13).

Firstly, Internet serves as a communication channel which is more or less independent from the state control and able to connect many people together. Being connected people get necessary emotional support, which enhances their ability for collective actions. As Castells puts it, Internet brings people together, helps to overcome fear and hope for better humanity (Castells 2012, 14-15).

Secondly, mass Internet use provides the technological platform for the construction of autonomy of the social actor (individual or collective) from the institutions and thus creates the "culture of autonomy" (the term used by Castells).

According to Castells, there is a cultural transformation happening in many modern societies and the transformation is characterized by the rising values of individuation and autonomy (Castells 2012, 230-231). Individuation emphasizes individual projects of a person as a major principle orientating his/her behavior. These projects are not necessarily focused on an individual life of a person, but also may target at achieving some collective benefits. Autonomy means the capacity of a social actor to act around projects constructed independently of the institutions existing in a society, according to his/her own interests and values.

Castells argues that Internet plays an important role in supporting values of individuation and autonomy, and creates a culture of freedom (Castells 2012, 231-234). From its origin in 1970s the Internet technology was developed as a decentralized network, independent from a single command centre. The deepest social effect of the Internet emerged with the development of social networks which were controlled by their users. Social networks nowadays are used for any kind of activities, including socio-political activism.

Thus, the spread of information and communication technologies, including Internet, social networks and smart phones is a relevant trend for Russia and a driver for the future civic activism. As it was argued, widespread ICT brings two important effects. Firstly, it enables communication of many people, giving them a sense of togetherness and enhances collective actions. And secondly, Internet supports a culture of freedom, individuation and autonomy, so people tend to develop more projects according to their individual visions and values, with limited control from a state. The study conducted by Trajectory Partnership in 2010 analyses how Internet use influences on people's well-being. The study reveals that the use of Internet empowers people by giving them the sense of freedom and control (Trajectory Partnership 2010, 7-8).

The study "Unraveling the effect of active and passive forms of political Internet use: Does it affect citizens' political involvement?" Kruikemeier et al. (2013) claim to prove findings of other scholars regarding that only a few citizens use Internet for political participation[6]. According to the study, also some forms of Internet political participation are more popular than other forms. Moreover, those people who use Internet for political purposes are those who are already engaged in politics in other forms. However, scholars emphasize that Internet forms of political participation are still in the development phase; therefore, new technological achievements and forms of political communication and participation may appear in the future and lead to stronger political involvement. (Kruikemeier et al. 2013, 12)

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[6] The study was carried out in Netherlands.

- **Emerging possibilities for crowdfunding**

In addition to various influences, the development of information and communication technologies created possibilities for crowdfunding, which is largely used both in business and politics or other projects. For example, Barak Obama used crowd funding in his election campaign in the USA.

Crowdfunding is method of financing, when money is donated by many people, sometimes millions of people. Donors support the project or candidate they like and sometimes donate only a small amount of money, but the combined amount of money can be millions of dollars. Donation is usually done through Internet.

Though in western world crowdfunding platforms are well developed, this type of collective donations is quite new for Russia, however, it is an emerging trend. The previous chapter touched upon some examples of crowdfunding in Russia in the past years. In the future, with the development of necessary Internet platforms may popularize this method of funding for political and social actors in Russia. However an uncertainty remains: whether crowdfunding method will gain trust among Russians, will they be eager to donate money. Probably, it will depend on the level of trust in a society in general, as well as honesty of those people, who will get donations through crowdfunding.

5.2.2   Social drivers

- **Generation change**

Currently, the most active people on Russian social and political arena are coming from the age group 35-60 years. However, gradually, people, who are now in their twenties and younger, will be more and more active in a public sphere. These young people are different from older generations by two important parameters.

Firstly, they were born at the end of 1980s or the beginning or 1990s, grew up and socialized in a new Russian state. They do not have experience of living in the Soviet Union, which had a high level of state paternalism. Therefore, these people can have less expectations of state control and be more active in influencing political decision-making than older generations. Potentially, these people can bring in new practices in social and political life. However, the exact form of their activities and effect they will bring is not pre-determined; therefore it creates uncertainty for the future of civic activism.

The second factor which generation change is bringing is the emergence of "digital natives". The term "digital native" was introduced by Marc Prensky in 2001 (however, there are several others terms in use describing the same phenomena, such as "net generation", "millenials" etc). By this concept Prensky meant young people, who were born in Internet era and grew up surrounded by digital technologies and communication de-

vices. Therefore, these people are "native speakers" of the language of computers, Internet and video games.
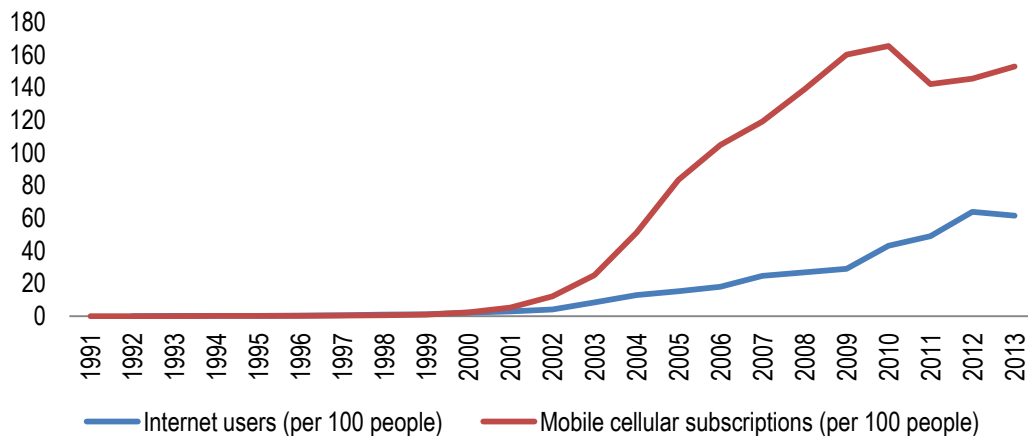
Figure 4   Trends in Internet usage and the spread of mobile cellular subscriptions in Russia, 1991-2013 (World Bank, n/a)

In Russia, the Internet usage and mobile phones penetration has been growing since the beginning of 2000s (see Figure 4). Therefore, a part of young people were born and grew up already in the Internet era. Young people, now aged 25-27 years, have most likely started to use Internet actively since their university years; therefore an important period in their socialization is connected with the Internet. Overall, young people use Internet very actively: as it was mentioned above, 91% of Russians younger than 25 years old use the Internet compared to 23% of Russians older 55 years old who use the Internet. (Levada Center 2013c.) Moreover, the age of Internet users is decreasing. Already now we can see the trend of YouTube bloggers who start their activity from 7-9 years old[7].

Though, debates about the "digital natives" concept definitions are continuing among scholars, there has been an attempt to measure the size of "digital natives" population across countries in the world in 2012. The report "Measuring the Information Society 2013" presents the calculation of digital natives' population size (International Telecommunication Union 2013, 127-158). The concept of digital natives is operationalized in the report in the following way: "a youth aged 15-24 inclusive, with five years or more experience using the Internet". Using this model, the report estimated the 6.1-9% share of digital natives in total population in Russia in 2012. This share is projected to increase in the future.

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[7] For example, <http://www.youtube.com/channel/UCC64QaJAX6wlM7BW7GM-BTA>

However, there is still research and debates going on about the special characteristics which digital natives possess compared to previous generations. The effect of growing "digital natives" on civic activism is not pre-determined. As these people will enter active roles in social life for the first time in history, it is uncertain how they will act. One hypothesis can be that, as they grew up in the Internet era, they can bring more culture of autonomy from social institutions and enhance civic activism according to their values and personal projects.

- **Spreading values of individualism**

The study "Values in modern Russia" (Fund after Pitirim Sorokin 2007) concludes that individualism since the breakup of the Soviet Union became the one of the dominant values in the modern Russian society. Especially the value of individualism is inherent to young people.

The study by Carnegie UK Trust states several potential consequences of rising individualism in a society, namely: social atomization, declining trust in institutions, fragmenting values, declining sense of community. Rising individualism may present a challenge for solidarity in a society, which is important for collective actions. However, rising individualism can also lead to the spread of engagement citizenship norms and, as a result, to less traditional and more direct forms of action (following a path which western countries are going through, as described in previous chapters).

- **Migration (into and out of the country)**

Migration is a relevant and important topic for Russia. It is stated by the government and economic analytics that Russian economy will not survive in the future without the inflow of migrants' working force. Particularly, by 2025 the workforce in the country is projected to decrease by 18-19 millions of people (due to low birth rate and high death rate) which cannot be compensated by internal human resources (Turukanova 2008).

As the Figure 5 shows, migration to Russia from foreign countries has been increasing during the past decade. Migration from Russia has been declining in 1997-2011, however, somewhat increased in 2012-2013 years.
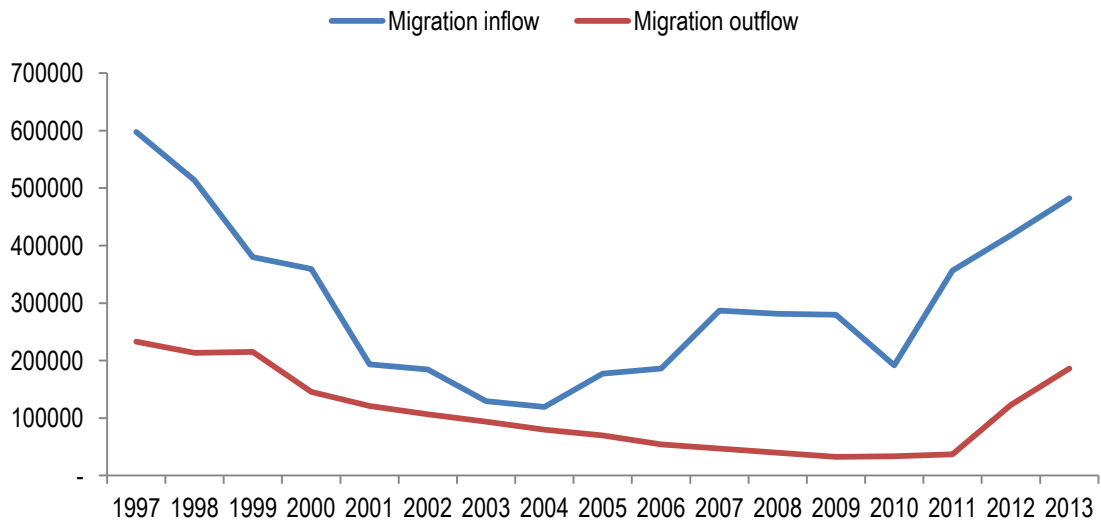
Figure 5   Migration into and out of Russia, number of people (Federal State
                Statistic Service, n/a)

However, many of migrants are working in Russia illegally and problems related to this increase tensions in the society (Levada Center 2013b).

According to the study by Carnegie UK trust, inflow of migrants creates questions on how to manage cultural and religious diversity. The inflow of migrants could have a positive impact on civil society, because it creates new needs which can lead to the development of new associations or the adaptation of existing associations. New associations could bring in new energies and new types of associational life. (Carnegie UK Trust 2007b)

- **Multi-nationality**

National diversity can be a consequence of migration, but in case of Russia it is also historically formed. The country has always been multi-national country (nowadays Russia includes up to 100 different nationalities) with high religious diversity. Russian Federation includes 21 national republics. On the one hand, this can lead to a fragmentation of the public arena to multiple discrete public arenas. Tensions can emerge around different needs and values of various groups. On the other hand, there can be a positive impact of diversity, because diversity can be a source of innovation. In general, this driver represents a big uncertainty on a long term.

- **Growing socio-economic inequalities**

Socio-economic inequality is the "classic" reason for political participation, which is also analyzed as class struggle.

The inequality is high in Russia and it is growing. The number of people living in poverty, below the subsistence level, in 2010 was 17.9 million people (that is equal to

12.6% of the population) and in 2011 it increased to 20.2 million people (which was 14.3% of the population). According to official data (expert say that the real ratio can be higher) the ratio of incomes of 10% of the richest people to the 10% of the poorest people has doubled during the past 20 years. In 2009 the

In relation to civic activism, the outcomes of growing most affluent 20% Russians possessed 47.8% of all incomes while the least secured people had only 5.1% of incomes (Sampliev 2012). Inequalities can be: fragmented civil society, isolation of certain social and cultural groups, potential rise in gated communities and rise in small, single issue focused forms of associational life.

5.2.3   Political drivers

- **Legislative regulation of civic life by the state**

Since the first Vladimir Putin's presidency, much legislation regulating civic activities have been issued. Among the latest laws are: strengthening punishments for unsanctioned protests (Herszenhorn 2012), the law about "foreign agents" (Human Rights Watch 2013), the law about volunteers (Globalvoicesonline 2012).

These measures are coming from fears of uprisings similar to "orange revolution" in Ukraine at the end of 2004 – the beginning of 2005 and Arab spring started in Arab countries in 2010. Russian state regards international non-governmental organizations as active participants and organizers of revolutions, mentioned above. The fact that financing of these NGOs was coming largely from western countries creates fears that revolutions were helped by some western states seeking their own interests in changing governments or destabilizing situation in countries. In other words, strengthening civic activities regulation comes as a part of security agenda.

This new legislation restricts civic activists' ability to speak and organize demonstrations, therefore public arena is narrowing. Alternatively, the protest may become increasingly "unofficial", such as leaderless demonstrations.

- **Corruption**

The problem of corruption is quite serious in Russia. The study of Russian Public Opinion Center conducted in 2012 revealed that 48% of Russians are worried by the spread of corruption (NEWSru.com 2012). According to the other study, conducted by Romir, in 2013 about 30% of Russians were bothered by corruption, while in 2014 this figure increased up to 40% (Romir 2014).

5.2.4 Economic drivers

- **Economic crisis**

The starting economic crisis in Russia creates a large uncertainty for the future. As mentioned in the introductory chapter, the growth of Russian GDP has slowed down in 2013 and the rate of GDP growth is forecasted to be in the range from 2.1% to 3% maximum in 2014-2022, which is lower than it was in the first decade of 2000s. Some economists even project GDP decline (see, for example, Navigator-Kirov Business Portal 2013). In other words, there is evidence to expect that the next decade will be less successful for Russia than the previous one. This fact can lead to the decline of the fall of living standards resulting in social and political unrest.

On the other hand, some Russian economists say that there are chances to recover economy however the economic policy should be changed radically. Whether the government is able to change the existing economic policy in time create a large uncertainty for the future.

According to L. I. Jakobson (2008, 6-7), in the period of crisis self-organization of citizens can be a mitigatory factor for the crisis situation and a factor of successful restoration after the end of crisis. However, in the period of crisis break up of self-organization is also a possibility, as well as its destructive outcomes. The outcome depends, firstly, on the state of civil society at the beginning of crisis and, secondly, on the readiness and ability of state to find mutual understanding with civil society associations.

5.3 Conclusions

This chapter was focused on creation the list of driving forces which will be used in the following Dellphi questionaire. Driving forces were identified through the literature review and also by means of brainstorming. Also, the principle of minimising the number of drivers in the questionaire was followed. As a result, the ten drivers were identified. These drivers can be grouped into four categories: *technological* (spread of information and communication technologies and emerging possibilities for crowdfunding), *social* (generations change, spreading values of individualism, migration, multi-nationality and growing socio-economic inequality), *political* (legislative regulation of civic life and corruption) and *economic* (economic crisis) drivers.

The list of drivers, presented in the chapter, is regarded as hypothetic, rather than full and final list. These drivers will be tested in the collective process of experts' evaluations.

6   COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS OF EXPERTS' OPINIONS - THE DELPHI STUDY

The general methodological approach and characteristics of research methods were observed in Chapter 2. The current part of the master's thesis focuses on the practical aspects of Delphi method realization in the present study.

6.1   The goal of the Delphi study

While the ultimate goal of the study is to build scenarios for citizens' political participation in Russia in the future, Delphi method is used as a part of scenario-building process. At the first step of the research, operationalization of the main concepts was made and the preliminary list of driving forces was formed through a literature review. In order to produce more reliable scenarios in the end, it is important to get expert judgments in addition to the review of the literature sources. Delphi method is used in order to collect experts' evaluations.

Expert judgments are collected on the most important aspects of the topic under investigation. Concretely, the following sub-goals were considered as tasks for a Delphi study:

1. To collect experts' opinions about driving forces of citizens' political participation in the present and in the past 5-14 years.
2. To evaluate each of driving forces collected through a literature review in terms of their importance level and probable impact for the future years 2014-2025.
3. To find new driving forces, which were not considered before by the literature review and the documentary analysis of the secondary research material.
4. To evaluate future perspectives of different political participation forms in 2014-2025.
5. To get new ideas on possible forms of political participation in 2014-2025, which were not considered before by the literature review and the documentary analysis of the secondary research material.
6. To evaluate future perspectives of state-citizens relationships in 2014-2025.
7. To get new ideas on possible relationships models between citizens and the state in 2014-2025, which were not considered before by the literature review and the documentary analysis of the secondary research material.
8. To collect information about the desirable future of political participation in 2014-2025 in the opinion of experts.

Overall, Delphi study aims at getting expert judgments on the past and current situation with political participation and their visions about its' evolution in the future.

6.2 Delphi study execution

The process of the Delphi study included the following steps:
1. Construction questionnaire for the 1st round.
2. Recruiting participants;
3. Conducting the 1st round of the study (questionnaire);
4. Conducting personal in-depth interviews with participants;
5. Preparing the feedback summary report;
6. Construction questionnaire for the 2nd round;
7. Conducting the 2nd round of the study (questionnaire);
8. Analysis of results.

Steps 2-7 were carried out from September 2014 till November 2014.

6.2.1 Questionnaires and interviews

In general the questionnaire was designed according to major goals of the Delphi study described above. Thus, both 1st round and 2nd round questionnaires included three blocks:
- Evaluation of driving forces;
- Forms of political participation;
- Models of state-citizens relationships.

Questions in questionnaires were based on operationalization, developed in the Chapter 3, and the list of driving forces described in the Chapter 5.

The questionnaire was constructed on the principle of *mixed approach*, meaning the combination of qualitative and quantitative data in one study. Such an approach in Delphi studies has been described, for example by Tapio et al. (2011b). In-line with the mixed approach, the questionnaire was designed to obtain both numerical evaluations (quantitative data) and textual argumentations (qualitative data). Additional qualitative data was gathered through interviews, where experts gave more argumentation for their numerical evaluations.

The goal of the 2nd round was to re-measure experts' opinions therefore in the 2nd round questions were partly repeated from the 1st round. However, questionnaires of two rounds were not identical, as the first round results indicated a need to elaborate

parts of the questionnaire. Table 10 compares questionnaires' structures in both rounds. Questionnaires can be also found in the Appendix 1, at the end of this paper.

Table 10   Comparison of questionnaires structures in the 1st and the 2nd rounds

1st round	2nd round
Part 1. Evaluation of driving forces	
Driving forces which have been influencing in the past 14 years – numerical evaluation	-
Driving forces which have been influencing in the past 14 years – argumentation	-
Driving forces which will influence in the future (2014-2025 years) – numerical evaluation	Driving forces which will influence in the future (2014-2025 years) – numerical evaluation
Driving forces which will influence in the future (2014-2025 years) – argumentation	Driving forces which will influence in the future (2014-2025 years) – argumentation
Part 2. Forms of political participation	
Involvement in various forms of participation in the past 4-5 years – numerical evaluation	-
Projected level of involvement in various forms of political participation in the future (2014-2025) – numerical evaluation	Projected level of involvement in various forms of political participation in the future (2014-2025) – numerical evaluation
N/A	Involvement in various forms of participation in the future (2014-2025) – argumentation
Part 3. Models of state-citizens relationships	
State-citizens relationships in the past 4-5 years – numerical evaluation	-
Projected models of state-citizens relationships in the future (2014-2025) – numerical evaluation	Projected models of state-citizens relationships in the future (2014-2025) – numerical evaluation
N/A	State-citizens relationships in the future (2014-2025) – argumentation
Desired state-citizens relationships in the future (2014-2025) – numerical evaluation	-
Desired state-citizens relationships in the future (2014-2025) – vision of it can be achieved	-

In order to leave completing the questionnaire in a reasonable timing for a respondent less questions requiring argumentation in writing were included in the 1st round. At the same time, after the 1st round some experts were additionally interviewed in person with a purpose of getting more detailed argumentation of their responses. In the 2nd round, questions about recent past and desired future were removed and instead more questions requiring argumentation in words were added. Such an approach allowed collecting enough quantitative and qualitative information for further scenario-building.

Questions for personal interviews were tailored for each participant individually, according to his or her answers in a Delphi questionnaire. Interviews were aimed at concretization of the logic behind numerical evaluations and clarification if points in argumentation written in the questionnaire were not completely clear.

Questionnaires were crafted as MS Word files and then distributed and collected by e-mail. Each personal interview was conducted online and lasted for approximately 30 minutes. Interviews were carried out only with those experts who had extra time for an interview. Thus, out of 11 participants 8 were interviewed.

The questionnaire survey and interviews were conducted in Russian language (respondents' mother tongue). Therefore, all primary data collected in the Delphi study was in Russian.

6.2.2   *Selection and characteristics of participants*

As described in previous chapters, Delphi method involves experts in a certain field as participants. In the present study three types of experts were considered:

1. People who either participate *actively* in social or political life in Russia in some form (party members, members of any civic association, volunteers, and participants/organizers of some social initiative or social movement). These people were regarded as having a "practical knowledge" in the field they are involved in. At the same time, it was attempted to involve those practitioners, who hold positions of leaders or managers in their activity. The assumption behind it was that such people are more likely to be able to see bigger picture (not just a narrow part of their activity).

2. "Academics" or "theorists": people who conduct research of political participation in Russia.

3. State officials dealing at some point with political participation of citizens.

Thus, the main criteria for selecting a participant for the study was belonging to one of three groups mentioned above. There were no quotas for types of expertise set prior to the recruitment process because practically, with given resources, quotas would be difficult to meet. However, it was attempted to invite people with various types of activity, supporting different political views and coming from different geographical areas of Russia.

Overall, 50 invitations were sent. Out of them 20 people agreed to participate in the study, but only 11 of them (8 males and 3 females) sent their answers on questionnaires. The majority of participants are living and working in Moscow, however, there were also representatives of St. Petersburg, Komi republic, Sakha republic (Yakutia) and Krasnoyarsk region.

Table 11 presents an expert matrix of those who participated in the study, based on how experts themselves characterized their areas of activity. If a respondent is active in a certain area it was considered as his expertise.

Table 11   The matrix of participants' expertise

	Academics	**Practicians**					**State repre-sentatives**
	Researchers or theorists of political par-ticipation	NGO	Church	Politician (party members or autonomous politicians)	Trade union	Activist of social move-ment	Civic Cham-ber of the Russian Fed-eration
Expert 1	x	x	x				
Expert 2	x			x			x
Expert 3					x	x	
Expert 4				x		x	
Expert 5				x			
Expert 6					x		
Expert 7				x		x	
Expert 8				x			
Expert 9	x						x
Expert 10						x	
Expert 11						x	

As shown in the Table 11, many experts are related to several areas of expertise simultaneously. There were no "pure" academics or "state representatives": all respondents had some practical experience, too.

The category "church" in the table is not a type of political participation as such however church representatives are often involved in various types of NGOs and usually actively react and comment on different events in the society. Thus, "church" was marked in the table as a distinct expertise category.

The position of "Civic Chamber of the Russian Federation" category in the expert matrix is rather controversial. Civic Chamber is not a grassroots civic association, but it is not completely a government organization. It is an organization which was established by the Russian federal law "On Public Chamber of the Russian Chamber" and it performs such functions as connecting government and civil society in Russia, supporting private citizens' initiatives or NGOs, executing public control over government activity etc. (Civic Chamber of the Russian Federation.) However, in the current study participants related to the Civic Chamber will be considered as having "state representative" expertise. Though they do not perform any decision-making in the government, they are more involved in the communication with state powers and are more controlled by state officials than a general civic association. Therefore, we consider them as having more expertise about state's policies, state's actions and methods of work.

6.3   Data analysis

6.3.1   *Approach to data analysis*

The present study uses the Disaggregative Delphi approach for scenarios building. For this purpose, the general strategy of Delphi results analysis will be the classification of expert opinions into several homogenous groups. Each of these opinion groups will become a basis for a scenario.

As mentioned in the previous sub-chapter, the study uses a mixed approach by obtaining both qualitative and quantitative material. Thus, after the Delphi survey execution both numerical and textual data will be available. Both types of these data can be used to perform the task of classification. As Tapio et al. (2011b, 1621) argue that both qualitative and quantitative data can be used as a core in scenarios building or as a supportive, illustrative material.

In the current study, *on the first step* of analysis, the search for similarities in numerical answers will be conducted. One good method for this is *cluster analysis* (Tapio 2002). Cluster analysis is a formal method of analysis, which is widely used and is included in statistical software. In this study, the SPSS software was used for running a cluster analysis.

There are different algorithms of conducting cluster analysis, such as: hierarchical cluster analysis, k-means cluster analysis, two-step cluster analysis and others. The present study uses *hierarchical cluster analysis*, as this analysis allows studying the structure of data visually: the researcher can see all steps of classification visualized at a dendrogram. The division to the clusters is done by a researcher through the analysis of a dendrogram. Cluster analysis does not require random sampling and can be used as a tool for grouping answers without measuring statistical significance (Dubes & Jain 1979).

On the second step of work with Delphi data, the qualitative material is analyzed. The qualitative material includes textual argumentations, which experts wrote down in the questionnaire and transcripts of interviews with experts. Qualitative material will be used in two ways:

1. *To build scenarios from obtained quantitative clusters*. It was previously discussed that scenario is a story. Thus, some explanation and argumentation should be added to numerical clusters in order to give meaning to the quantitative data, explanation of causes and effects to create a narrative.

2. *To identify additional groups of opinions among experts*. Qualitative data can be also used for classification of "outliers": experts, whose numerical estimations differ significantly from opinions of other experts. An outlier

can be classified as a separate "group" or combined with other respondents in a group on the basis of quantitative data. In case the number of outliers is great, qualitative material can be used to check, whether it is possible to form groups out of them.

6.3.2   Data analysis in practice: hierarchical cluster analysis

For running a cluster analysis in SPSS in is important to select variables for classification and choose a necessary measure and a cluster method.

Selecting variables for classification is a critical choice for conducting a cluster analysis (Tapio 2002, 93). The central goal of the study is to describe scenarios for the future development of political participation. This goal includes two research questions: the question about the forms of political participation and the question about futures models of state-civil society relationships. Therefore, questions related to these research questions are candidates for inclusion into a cluster analysis.

The question about future forms of participation is formulated as follows (see also Appendix 1): "*Imagine the possible scenario for the future. Under this scenario, how the involvement in these forms of participation (the share of population involved) will change <u>in the next 10-11 years (2014-2025)</u>?*" The list of participation forms was proposed for expert evaluation:

- 1 – Involvement will dramatically decrease;
- 2 – Involvement will decrease a lot;
- 3 – Involvement will somewhat decrease;
- 4 – Involvement will not change;
- 5 – Involvement will somewhat increase;
- 6 – Involvement will increase a lot;
- 7 – Involvement will dramatically increase.

The list of participation, provided for evaluation, included 18 forms of participation, described in the operationalization of the main concepts of the current study (Chapter 3.6). After the first round, the new form of participation, proposed by a participant, was added to the list – "passive protest". However, an option "passive protest" was excluded from cluster analysis, because not all respondents evaluated it. Overall, 18 forms of citizens' political participation were proposed for evaluation.

The question about the future models of state-society relationships was formulated as: "*Imagine <u>a possible</u> scenario for the future. How models of state-citizens relationships in Russia will be changing under this scenario <u>during the next 10-11 years (2014-2025)</u>?*" The list of proposed relationships models was built in-line with the operationalization done in the Chapter 3.2. Experts evaluated proposed models using 7-point ordinal scale:

- 1 – Model prevalence will dramatically decrease;
- 2 – Model prevalence will decrease significantly;
- 3 – Model prevalence will somewhat decrease;
- 4 – Situation will remain the same as in the present time;
- 5 – Model prevalence will somewhat increase;
- 6 – Model prevalence will significantly increase;
- 7 – Model prevalence will dramatically increase.

Firstly, an attempt to build clusters using both variables was done. However, such an approach did not bring meaningful results. Therefore, it was decided to build cluster analysis on the basis of the question about participation forms and use the question about relationship models as a complement to resulting clusters.

In addition, the number of options in the question about forms of political participation was reduced. The forms of participation were combined into meaningful categories (for example, "parties" of "NGOs"), new variables were calculated in SPSS (evaluation of such category was calculated as a mean of all scores given to its components). The table below shows, how categories were united.

Table 12   Combined categories of political participation forms

	Forms of participation from the questionnaire[8]	Merging forms of participation in categories
1.	Perceiving politics as important and following political news	Combined to a category "Interest to politics"
2.	Active interest in politics (discussions of political issues with others, active Internet political participation etc.)	
3.	Identifying with a certain ideology or party	Combined to a category "Parties"
4.	Being a party member	
5.	Voting at elections	
6.	Contacting politicians or their representatives (personally or through on-line forms of communication)	
7.	Donating money for political parties or selected candidates	Combined to a category "Charity and crowdfunding"
15.	Donating money to charity or NGOs	
8.	Voluntary work for a party	Combined to a category "Volunteering in general"
18.	Voluntary work for NGOs, orphanage houses, homes for elderly etc.	
9.	Politically motivated consumption	
10.	Signing petitions	
11.	Involvement in social movements	
12.	Participation in peaceful protests, demonstrations, strikes and so on	Combined to a category "Protests and disobedience"
13.	Participation in violent demonstrations	
14.	Civil disobedience	
17.	Membership in NGO	
16.	Short-term self-organization for solving urgent issues	

As shown in the Table 12, 7 forms of participation were not grouped in categories and were used in a cluster analysis as separate components. At the same time, 11 other

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[8] Option "passive protest (demonstrative non-participation in elections)" was excluded from analysis, as not all respondents evaluated it.

forms of participation were grouped into 5 categories: "Interest to politics", "Parties", "Charity and crowdfunding", "Volunteering in general" and "Protests and disobedience". Overall, 12 variables were run in cluster analysis.

As evaluations in the question were based on ordinal scale, for calculating distances between objects and clusters "chi-square" measure is selected. (Statistics Solutions) As a cluster method we use Average Linkage (Between Groups), set by default. There was no standardization of data done, because all data had the same scale of measurement.

Firstly, the question about the projections of the future political participation forms is analyzed. The Figure 6 presents a dendrogram showing the process of grouping objects, according to distances between them.

```
* * * * * * H I E R A R C H I C A L   C L U S T E R   A N A L Y S I S * * * * * *


 Dendrogram using Average Linkage (Between Groups)

                    Rescaled Distance Cluster Combine

    C A S E      0         5        10        15        20        25
  Label   Num    +---------+---------+---------+---------+---------+

            6    ─┐
            8    ─┤     ┌───────────┐
            1    ─┴─┐   │           │
            4    ───┴───┘           │
            7    ─┐                 │
           10    ─┴─┐               │
            3    ───┴───────────────┘        ┌───────────┐
            2    ───────────────────────┐    │           │
            9    ───────────────────────┴────┘           │
            5    ────────────────────────────────────────┤
           11    ────────────────────────────────────────┘
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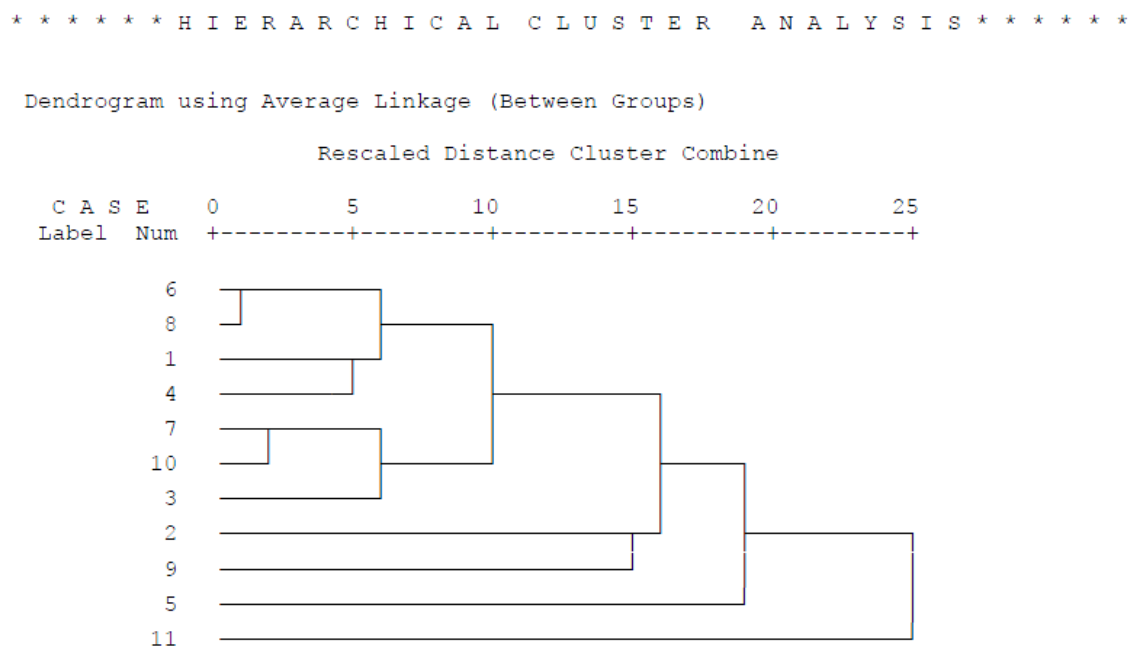
Figure 6   Dendrogram of the hierarchical cluster analysis: the future of political participation forms

From the dendrogram (Figure 6) it can be concluded that there are two groups of experts with quote similar views: the first group includes experts 6, 8, 1 and 4, the second group includes experts 7, 10 and 3. These groups can be counted as 2 clusters. Experts numbered as 2, 9, 5 and 11 can be classified as outliers, as their responses differ more and cannot be considered as members of any cluster. Table 13 shows how single experts and experts grouped into clusters evaluated the future of political participation forms.

Table 13   Detailed characteristics of clusters based on evaluation of future partici-
pation forms

	Cluster 1 (experts 6,8,1,4)	Cluster 2 (experts 7,10,3)	Expert 2	Expert 5	Expert 9	Expert 11
Interest in politics	5,0	6,3	2,5	4,5	5,0	2,0
Parties	4,0	4,7	2,0	2,0	3,5	2,5
Voting at elections	3,0	5,3	3,0	4,0	4,0	7,0
Personal communication with politicians	4,0	5,3	3,0	2,0	4,0	3,0
Political consumption	4,5	3,0	6,0	2,0	5,0	2,0
Petitions	5,0	5,3	4,0	5,0	5,0	3,0
Social movements	5,3	5,7	5,0	2,0	5,0	4,0
Protests and disobedience	5,3	5,9	4,7	5,0	2,0	2,0
Charity and crowdfunding	4,4	5,0	3,0	2,0	3,5	5,0
Short-term self organization	6,0	5,3	5,0	6,0	6,0	7,0
NGO membership	5,3	5,7	3,0	3,0	3,0	3,0
Volunteering in general	4,4	5,2	3,0	3,0	4,0	3,5

Thus, after running a cluster analysis we identified two groups of experts with simi-
lar opinions on the future forms of political participation. In addition, there are several
experts who became outliers based on the formal cluster analysis. On the next step, the
analysis of numerical data is combined with textual material. As a result, the logic of
scenarios was drafted from the obtained clusters and new scenarios lines from the anal-
ysis of outliers were created.

6.3.3   *Elaboration of cluster analysis with qualitative material*

In order not to make the chapter too long all textual argumentations given by experts are
not provided here. Instead, only conclusions from the analysis of these argumentations
are described.

Respondents, related to the **cluster 1** (experts 6, 8, 1 and 4) tend to think that interest
to politics will increase in the future, conditioned by the worsening of economic situa-
tion and declining living standards. The number of problems in the society will increase
and therefore people's self-organization will dramatically increase in order to solve lo-
cal problems. On a county scale, people will join more around a complex of problems,
therefore, participation in social movements increases. People loose trust into old parties
and elections. Instead, new parties emerge (including religion-based parties). Some par-
ties become revolutionary and take a leading role in protests and civic disobedience.
Through participation in social movements and new political parties young people learn
to create horizontal networks and become less inclined to authoritarian type of power.

Respondents, joined into the **cluster 2** (experts 7, 10 and 3), though give similar scores for some forms of political participation, argument their evaluations quite differently. Thus, expert 7 presents a revolutionary scenario, which is different from experts 10 and 3 (it should be noted that expert 5, which is not included into the cluster, presents a revolutionary scenario, similarly to expert 7). At the same time, expert 3 gives explanations similar to experts joined in cluster 1, described above, as he tends to project the rise of "participatory democracy" (together with high protest activity), the transformation of political parties and the decline of voter turnout. Thus, the cluster 2 in its initial form cannot produce a scenario however a revolutionary scenario can be generated from answers of experts 5 and 7.

The rest of experts, numbered 2, 9 and 11, have some overlaps in evaluations and argumentation and some significant differences as well. Therefore, it is not possible to join them into a single cluster. However, we can use those ideas of these experts, which add a new story-line compared to two scenarios drafted above. A different scenario emerges, if we select the following possible trends: decline of interest in politics, decline of party activity, growth of elections turnout, declined protest activity and declined participation in NGOs. The picture similar to this one is presented by expert 11.

Thus, the cluster analysis in combinations with qualitative data analysis produced three clusters. These clusters are based on experts' evaluation of the future forms of political participation and future development of state-society relationship models.

6.4 Conclusions

Delphi study in the current project aims at collecting experts' judgments on the key research topics, namely: driving forces for political participation, forms of political participation, and relationships between the civil society and the state. The main tasks of the Delphi study gave the framework for the questionnaire design.

The study involved 11 participants from different regions of Russia, with versatile areas of expertise, political attitudes and preferences. Attitudes of some participants were so different that it is less likely that they could peacefully communicate in a face-to-face discussion. In this context Delphi method proved its effectiveness as a way of collective discussion organization.

The study uses the mixed approach by combining qualitative and quantitative types of questions in a questionnaire. On the stage of Delphi data analysis, both qualitative and quantitative material was used to classify expert opinions into groups, according to similarities of their responses. As a result, three groups (clusters) were identified. These groups will become a basis for scenarios. The final scenario stories will be created by a researcher on the basis of Delphi data.

7   SCENARIO BUILDING

This chapter presents the final step in the current study – fleshing out scenarios for the future of political participation in Russia in 2014-2025 years.

In the beginning of the chapter, the situation in political participation in Russia in the recent years is described (main drivers of participation, the dominant participation forms and models of state-society relationships) based on Delphi study results. After that, the driving forces for the future are outlined, according to expert evaluations. At the end, three probable scenarios for future are described and preferable vision for the future is presented.

7.1   Political participation in the past years

In addition to the analysis in Chapter 4, which is based on a literature review, the current chapter presents an analysis of past events and present situation, based on experts' evaluations.

7.1.1   Driving forces of the recent past

Driving forces identified in Chapter 4 were tested against experts' opinions in a Delphi study[9].

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[9] Question: In your opinion, how strong has been the influence of the following factors on political participation in Russia in the past 14 years (2000-2014)? The scale: 1 – "unimportant, no influence", 2 – "almost no influence", 3 – "weak influence", 4 – "moderate influence", 5 – "influence higher than average", 6 – "strong influence", 7 – "very strong influence".
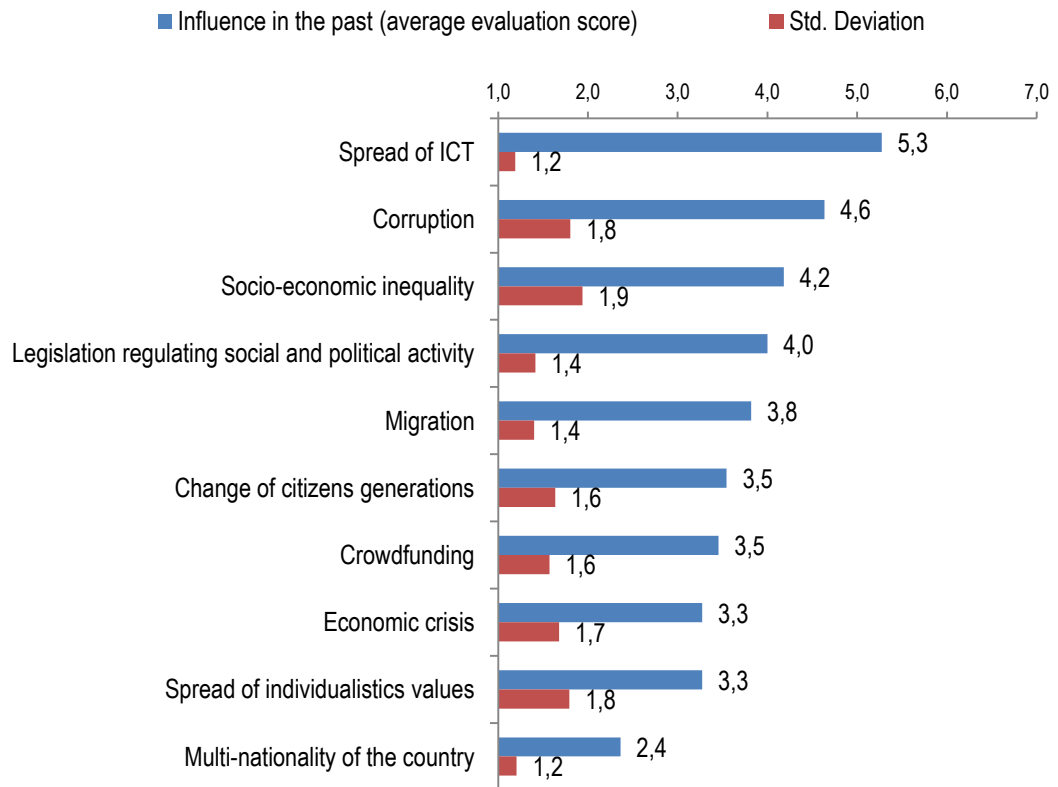
Figure 7   Evaluation of the strength of influence of different factors in the past 10-14 years

In addition to factors mentioned in questionnaire, respondents had an opportunity to propose additional factors, which they consider as important. As a result, a number of factors, which influenced on political participation in the past years, were added to the list presented above:

- Factors with a very strong influence:
  - Elections fraud;
  - Economic reforms (monetization of benefits, cuts in social benefits);
  - Authoritarian tendencies in governance.
- Factors with "higher than average" and "strong" influence:
  - Development of the state grant programs;
  - Development of philanthropy as a norm among commercial organizations;
  - State media policy;
  - Civic activists gained experience in organization of big actions;
  - Political repressions;
  - Russia's foreign policy (Georgia, Ukraine);
  - Confrontation with western countries;
  - Idea of "searching an external enemy".

- Factors with medium influence:
  o Destroying political freedoms.

According to expert estimation, in the past 10-14 years the strongest influence on political participation of citizens in Russia had the factors of information and communication technologies (ICT) and corruption. Interestingly, the evaluations of ICT role in the past are characterized by higher consensus compared to evaluations of other factors (standard deviation, shown in Figure 7, for the ICT factor scores is one of the lowest among other factors).

The factor of corruption had a controversial influence on citizens' political participation. On the one hand, awareness of corruption reduces trust to political institutions in the society, including trust in fairness of elections. As a result, elections turnout declines, citizens become more passive, because they do not believe they can change something. At the same time, corruption worsens the quality of state governance which in the long run creates discontent of the current situation among citizens. Citizens become more ready to protest against the system. Experts mention that the topic of corruption was largely exploited in the past years by various politicians in order to mobilize people for a protest:

> *"This is the main agenda, which is used by opposition political actors. Initially, mass demonstrations in December 2011, began as a protest against corruption".* (Interviewee B)

Together with corruption, the socio-economic factors (socio-economic inequality, some economic reforms, the beginning of economic crisis) and fraud at elections were also leading to the increase of citizens' discontent.

While mentioned factors lead to a rising discontent in the society and growing desire among citizens to struggle for their rights, the factor of ICT spread made it easier for citizens to participate in political life. The influence of growing ICT penetration and usage in the past years, according to experts, in general leads to the two major effects:

- Enhanced communication between people (simplification of communication, the emergence of new communication methods);
- Faster information spread.

In terms of consequences for political life and political participation, the spread of ICT has lead to:

- Increased transparency of political system;
- It became easier to find like-minded people;
- Reaction on events became faster;
- Awareness about politics increased;
- Emerged uncensored alternative to traditional media;
- Emerged new practices of political participation;
- A new mobilization channel emerged;

- It became easier to coordinate collective actions.

At the same time, experts mentioned that the strength of influence of this factor is often overestimated. In fact, ICT have not changed in a quality manner:

- People's attitudes;
- Motivation for political participation;
- Practices of political participation;
- Have not lead to significant media liberalization.

There was some disagreement among experts in evaluation of whether ICT helped to attract new people into political activity or not. Some experts expressed an opinion that due to ICT spread new people, previously inactive, were attracted into political participation. Alternatively, other experts consider that ICT have not increased social base of political participation, have not engaged new people.

Also, it was mentioned that while opportunities for political participation provided by the spread of ICT are growing, the state is also learning to work with Internet and to control it.

Legislation in the area of socio-political activity was also a factor which influenced (moderately) on political participation in the past years. Experts mentioned that, on the one hand, the legislation created conditions for the development of civil society and stimulated citizens' political participation. On the other hand, legislation increased the capacity of the state to force pressure on civic activists and narrowed down the area of legal political participation. Legislation of the past years caused the decline of protest activity, however, at the same time lead to the accumulation of discontent. Some experts expressed rather radical views saying that legislation of the past years "practically destroyed the civil activity", "liquidated political parties as institutions", while other experts said that some new laws became "revolutionary" in stimulating citizens' involvement in decision-making at a local level.

7.1.2 Forms of political participation and relationships with the state in the past

The Table 14 presents the averaged evaluation of experts on the share of Russian citizens involved in various forms of political participation in the past 4-5 years. Experts' evaluations are shown in comparison with available statistical data.

Table 14   Share of citizens involved in various forms of political participation: expert estimation vs. statistical data

	Average expert estimation/std. deviation	Data obtained from literature review (see Chapter 4)
Passive interest in politics (for example, reading political news)	**36%** (std. deviation – 27)	**51%** interest in general in 2012 (no division to active and passive)
Voting at elections	**33%** (std. deviation – 16)	On average in 2007-2012: **62%** voters turnout at Parliament elections and **67.5%** at President elections[10]. In 2007-2012 years the average voter turnout at regional parliament elections was **48%**
Active interest in politics (for example, discussion about politics)	**29%** (std. deviation – 25)	**51%** interest in general in 2012 (no division to active and passive)
Identifying with a certain ideology or party	**21%** (std. deviation – 17)	Party support - **58%** in 2014. Ideology support - **95%** of citizens aged 18-55 in 2012.
Short-term self-organization for solving urgent issues	**14%** (std. deviation – 7)	**5%**
Voluntary work for NGOs, orphanage houses, homes for elderly etc.	**9%** (std. deviation – 13)	**2%**
Involvement in social movements	**9%** (std. deviation – 12)	..
Politically motivated consumption	**9%** (std. deviation – 18)	..
Donating money to charity or NGOs	**8%** (std. deviation – 6)	..
Membership in NGO	**8%** (std. deviation – 13)	**2%**
Signing petitions	**7%** (std. deviation – 7)	**2%** in 2013
Contacting politicians or their representatives (personally or through online forms of communication)	**7%** (std. deviation – 7)	..
Participation in *peaceful* protests, demonstrations, strikes and so on	**6%** (std. deviation – 6)	**3%** in 2012
Being a party member	**5%** (std. deviation – 6)	**2-3%** in 2013
Voluntary work for a party	**4%** (std. deviation – 4)	..
Donating money for political parties or selected candidates	**4%** (std. deviation – 4)	..
Participation in violent demonstrations	**2%** (std. deviation – 3)	..
Civil disobedience[11]	**2%** (std. deviation – 3)	..

From the comparison of expert evaluations and statistical data it can be concluded that experts tend to give lower estimations for interest in politics (voter turnout in both columns cannot be directly compared because they are calculated from the different

[10] This figure is calculated out of the number people, who have voting rights (people older than 18 years), not from the all population of Russia. Therefore, the figure is not comparable with an expert estimation.

[11] Deliberate law violation to attract attention to a certain issue.

bases). At the same time, they estimate involvement in short-term self-organization, voluntary work for NGOs, membership in NGOs, signing petitions, party membership and protest activity to be on a higher level than it is shown by statistical data. The lowest consensus among experts was expressed in evaluation of the level of interest to politics, while the highest consensus was shown in evaluation of the level of civil disobedience and participation in violent protests.

The Figure 8 presents evaluations of state-society relationships models, observed in the past 4-5 years. Evaluation was done using a 5-point scale, where "1" means that the model "was not observed at all" and "5" means that the model "was observed very often or in all situations". The essence of each model was described in the Chapter 3.
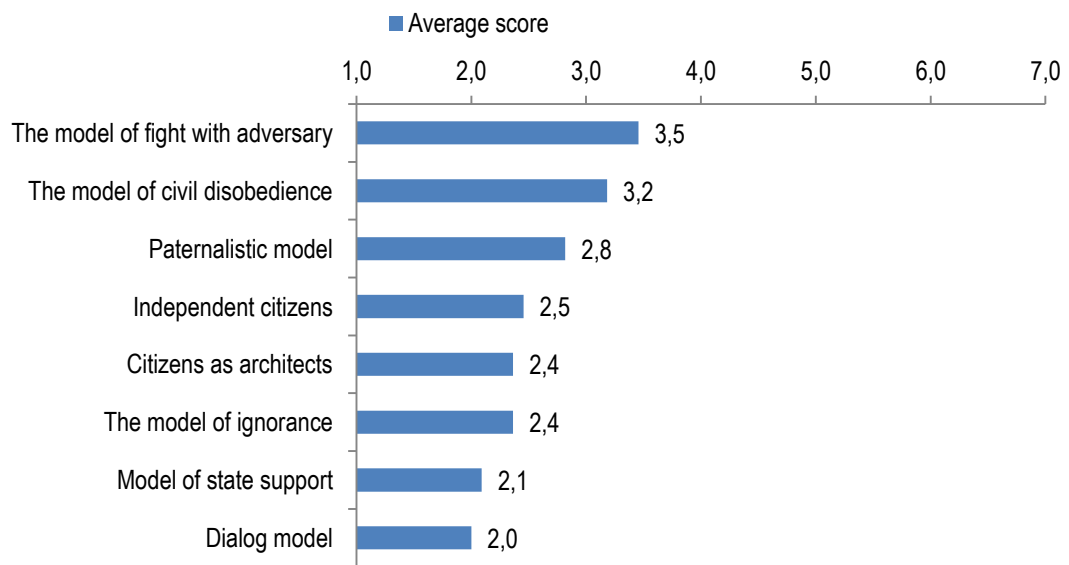
Figure 8   State-society relationships in the past 4-5 years, average scores
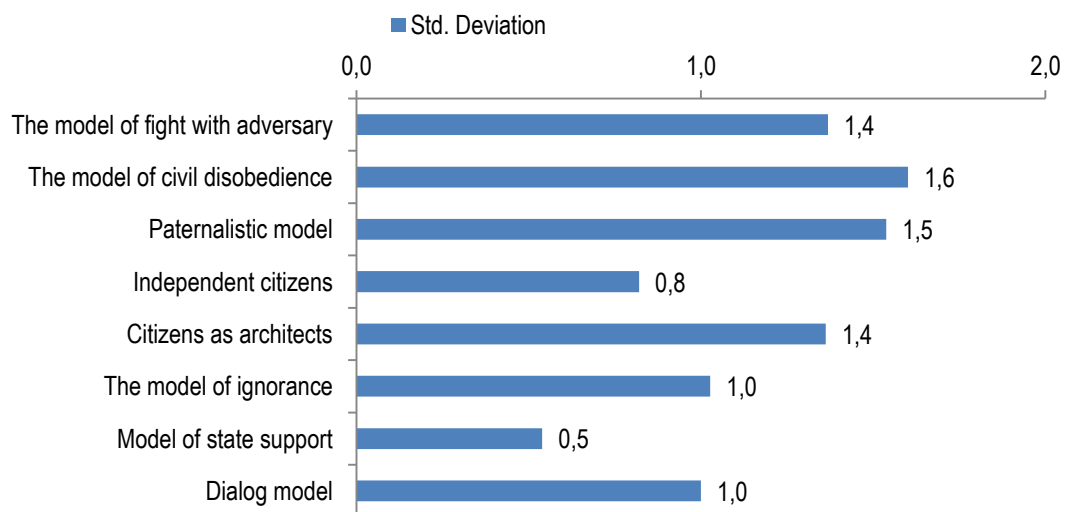
Figure 9   State-society relationships in the past 4-5 years, std. deviation scores

As seen from the data, in the past 4-5 years the state perceived civil society as an adversary quite often and righted with it. As a result, the model of civil disobedience was presented from time to time. Less often, but relatively frequently the state followed the paternalistic model, using civic associations as the means to perform control over the society. Other models of relationships were observed rarely, according to experts' opinion. Overall, such vision of experts goes in-line with the observation of the main trends presented in the Chapter 4.

7.2 Driving forces for the future (2014-2025)

Scores and argumentation for the evaluation of driving forces importance were taken from the second round and interviews, under the assumption that by the second round experts reflected their opinions quite well.

The evaluation of the importance of various drivers is presented in the Figure 10. The estimation was done using the scale from 1 to 7, where "1" means "unimportant, no influence" and "7" means "very strong influence".
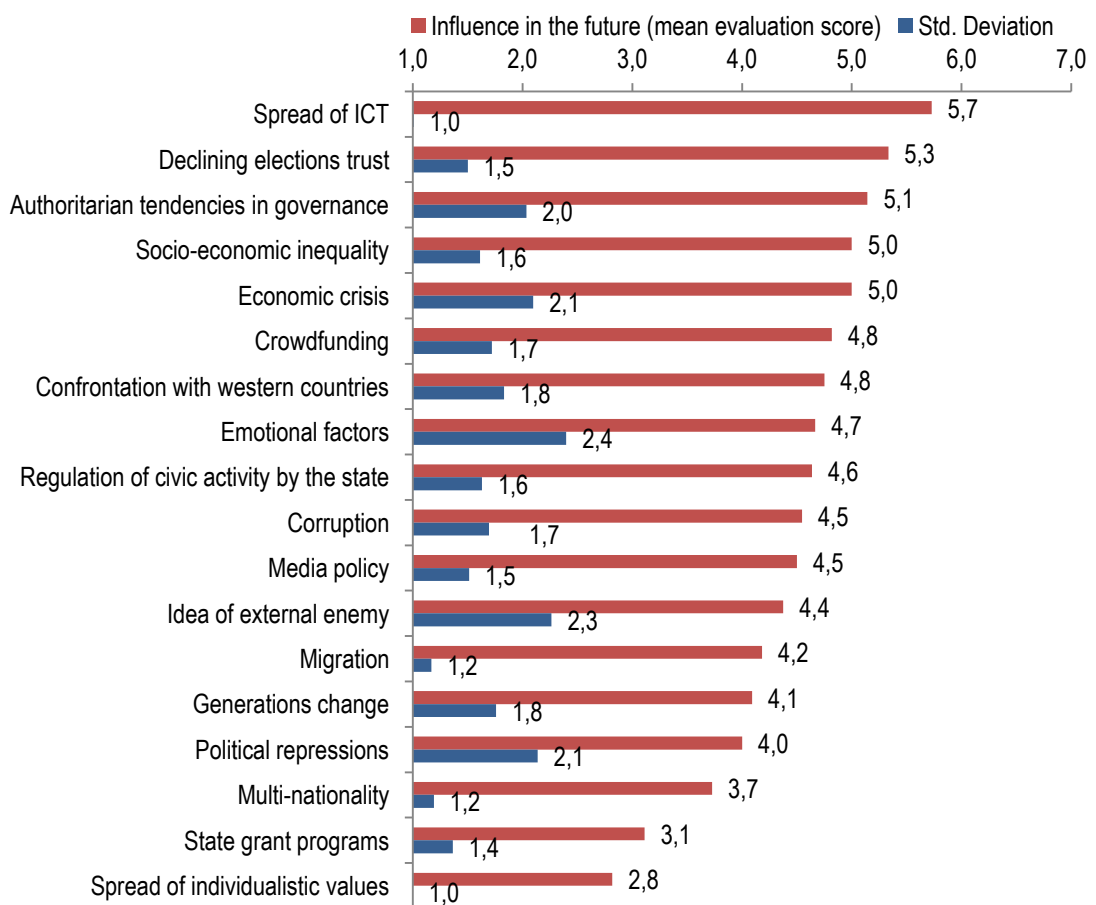
Figure 10   Evaluation of the strength of influence of different factors in the future (2014-2025): average scores vs. std. deviation
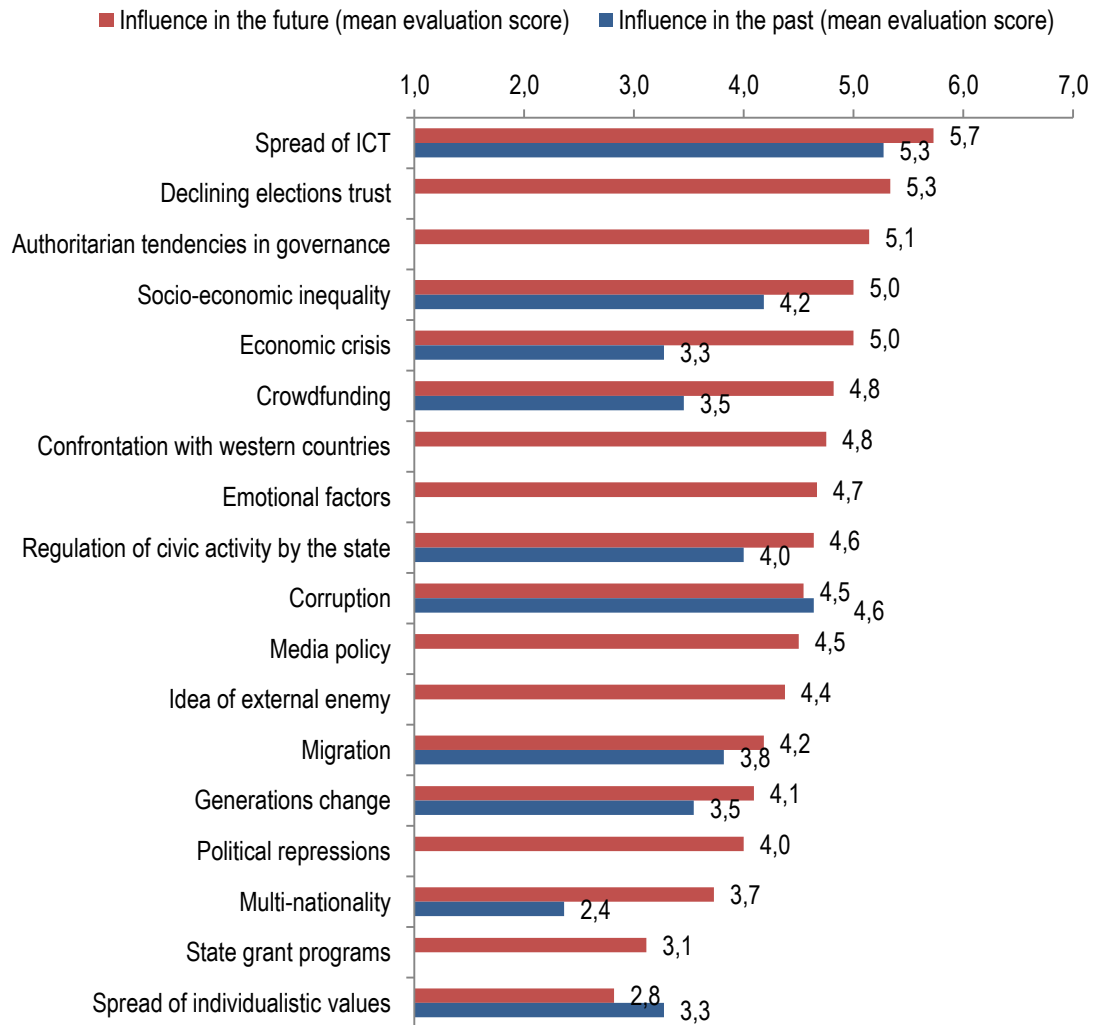
Figure 11　　Evaluation of the strength of influence of different factors in the future (2014-2025) vs. in the past 4-5 years, average scores

In the future, compared to the past, the strength of some factors will increase, while other factors will influence with the same strength as in the past. Factors which will be more influential in the future than in the past: spread of ICT, crowdfunding, socio-economic inequality, economic crisis, multi-nationality, regulation of civic activity by the state. Factors which will be influential at the similar level in the future compared to the past: corruption, generation change, migration, spread of individualistic values.

There are multiple factors which will influence on the future. No single or even 2-3 most important factors can be identified. The future of political participation will be defined by a complex of factors: technological, economic, social and political (state politics and governance). The factors, influence of which will be weak are "state grant programs" and "spread of individualistic values".

Technological factors (influence higher than average):

- *Spread of ICT (strong influence)*

Experts (on average) projected a certain growth of ICT influence strength in the future.

Information and communication technologies enhance connections between people by creating new possibilities for communication and the faster spread of uncensored information (news, political analytics, judgments etc.). For the future it means, that there will be conditions for the existence of communication environment, which will be available for masses of people and will be independent from the state.

According to experts' opinions, the existence of such communication environment will increase political participation in general:

> *"Minimization of connections between people contributes to political passivity, even decadence. Conversely, accesses to the global network, the possibility to scoop out information from there, the relationship with other people serve to increase the level of citizens' participation in political life".* (Interviewee D)

The spread of information and communication technologies increases abilities for citizens' self-organization. For example, Internet-based tools for crowdfunding give an opportunity to collect money for independent projects; the instrument of on-line petitions helps to create networks of people, interested in a certain issue and establish communication within this network. Internet and social networks increase possibilities for citizens' consolidation for certain actions. As a result, the possibility for mass social actions will increase in the future.

ICT gives an opportunity for local political groups to advertise themselves and attract new supporters. In the future this could lead to the development of new political forces. At the same time, there is also a possibility that many small independent local groups will exist, their actions will not be coordinated and, as a result, the society will be fragment and unable for big consolidated actions. However, there are also factors, which could force small local groups to start consolidating (one such factor, which was mentioned in the interview, is political repressions).

To sum up, in the spread of ICT is projected to lead to the following effects in terms of citizens' political participation:
- Growth of involvement in political participation among citizens;
- Increased probability of mass social actions;
- Emergence of new political forces or fragmentation of society according to their "civic interests".

Overall, experts mention that the spread of ICT gives a chance for the development of independent from the state political participation in Russia. However, there are also

threats to this: from regulation and censorship in the Internet to shut down of the Internet in the country.

> *"This is one of the few chances for the further development of political activity, as it is more or less free zone, but the state is also gradually learning to regulate the Internet, this moment was not "overslept", like it was in Egypt."* (Interviewee B)

- *Crowdfunding (influence higher than average)*

According to experts' evaluations, the influence of crowdfunding will increase in the future, compared with the influence of this factor in the past.

Crowdfunding, like the spread of ICT in general, potentially could lead to the growth of political participation which would be independent from the state, various funds and capital in general. Experts forecast that the role of crowdfunding in political and civic life in Russia will increase in the future. This will allow organizing political actions independently from the state and will increase influence of independent political and civic forces.

For some citizens (those who do not have an opportunity to participate directly) crowdfunding can become a form of participation in political and civic life.

Experts regard crowdfunding as an instrument with a high potential. However, in order to make it influential, it is important to educate people, to explain how to use it.

Economic factors (influence higher than average):

Economic factors are projected to be more influential in the future, compared to the past.

- *Socio-economic inequality (influence higher than average)*

Experts admit that social-economic inequality is high in Russia:

> *"There is a gap between rich and poor, between different regions, between officials and ordinary citizens. The gap is higher than in European countries, it is closer to Asian countries (there are extremely rich and extremely poor, while middle class is stable only in the big cities). Therefore, the social problem in our country will always exist."* (Interviewee I)

Experts forecast that socio-economic inequality will be increasing in the future (in case the social system will remain the same). In general, respondents agreed that socio-economic inequality will lead to the growth of political participation. However, there are different opinions about to what extent it will influence on political participation. The following projections (more radical and less radical) were expressed through questionnaires and interviews:

- Growing socio-economic inequality will be the major factor for political participation in the future;
- Growing socio-economic inequality will lead to increasing discontent in the society;
- Growing socio-economic inequality will lead to revolutionary situation.

The factor of socio-economic inequality is tightly connected with the economic crisis – another economic factor which was evaluated as a strong driver for the future of political participation.

- *Economic crisis (influence higher than average)*

Though on average the future influence of the factor "economic crisis" was evaluated as "higher than average", the character of influence of the factor is uncertain. Mostly it is uncertain whether the crisis will be strong and the decline of living conditions will be catastrophic, or the crisis will influence only averagely on citizens' living conditions.

Worsening of people's living conditions because of the crisis will lead to growing discontent and re-evaluation of state powers (meaning the change in the level of people's support of the existing leaders). However, mass protests and revolutionary scenario are possible only if the crisis lead to catastrophic consequences (such as the mass layoffs, famine etc.).

Some experts mentioned that economic crisis will be the major driving force of citizens' political participation, while other experts argued that economic factors are not so important and, instead, emotional factors will play more important role in the future.

Emotional factors (influence higher than average):

Emotional factors were mentioned in the first round by one expert and evaluated by the whole group of experts in the second round. Experts expressed different opinions about the importance of emotional factors in the future: some of them said that emotional factors will be the most important for political participation in the future, while others mentioned, that emotional factors will be the less important, however, they may produce some impact for political participation.

Opinion that emotional factors will be the most important for political participation was conditioned by recent protest movements in Russia and other countries. The protests happened in Russia in the past 2-3 years were motivated by events which produced significant emotional reaction in the society: fraud at parliament elections, law banning children adoption by USA citizens and Russian international politics in Ukraine. Some experts presume that this type of event will appear in the future and lead to increase in citizens' participation.

Alternative opinion implies that primarily economic (and other rational factors) will affect political participation in the future. Along with growing social and economic

problems, the social discontent will be escalating. In such conditions, events which induce a significant emotional reaction among people may serve as a trigger for protests:

> *"While citizens stay in the chronic depression, caused by dissatisfaction with their living conditions and the impossibility of achieving many important human life goals, events producing public resonance (for example, a major disaster caused by an aging industrial infrastructure, police brutality against detainees, riots on national and social grounds, loss of life due to the poor quality of medical care or poor food quality, etc.) may be a "trigger" for revolution."* (Interviewee G)

Thus, according to the described point of view emotional factors may spark citizens' participation (primarily in a form of protests), under condition that there will be serious social and economic problems creating discontent in the society.

It was also mentioned by experts that "a sense of community" can be understood as an emotional factor. For example, mass protests, when they involve many people, are able to create a sense of community. This sense of community stimulates new people either to participate in a protest or at least to follow the situation.

Social (influence higher than average):

- *Declining elections trust in the society (influence higher than average)*

On average experts evaluated this factor as one of the three influential factors for political participation.

Most experts agreed that trust in elections is very low in the society, as people became more aware that elections results are falsified. As a result, people do not believe that state power can be changed through elections. At the same time citizens do not have real tools to change this situation:

> *"As corruption, falsifications became a commonplace. Society has learned to identify them, but on the next step it comes to a dead end, because there are no actual mechanisms to fight with falsifications."* (Interviewee D)

According to expert opinions, the declined elections trust leads to the decline of elections turnout and delegitimizing of state powers.

Some experts also analyzed "declining elections trust" as a possible factor of citizens' mobilization. Points of view on this topic split. One point of view says that low elections trust will be one of the most important factors for protest mobilization. According to the other point of view, that awareness of election fraud was a mobilization factor in the past, however, it in the future it will not be the most important factor of mobilization ("only in a complex with other factors").

- *Migration (average influence)*

There was no consensus among experts in the character of migration influence on political participation.

Some experts mentioned that migration by itself is not an influential issue for political participation. However, migration creates xenophobia and grounds for the development of nationalist or even fascist movements in the society:

> *"In the Soviet Union we had a common international state idea (communist, socialist), which united many different nationalities. After 1990 it was all destroyed, and even the opposite tendency started to grow: religious identity, national identity and nationalism. Illegal migration will lead to the growth of xenophobia (this problem also exists in Europe). This problem will be more and more used by different political forces."*
> (Interviewee I)

Other experts said that the current trend in migration is the following: people supporting liberal values tend to leave the country, while immigrants usually come from more archaic societies (mainly from Central Asian countries) and do not adhere to liberal values. Thus, if the current trend in migration will be stable, there will be a critical number of people in Russia, who will be not interested in democracy.

There were also experts who noticed that increasing number of migrants in a society leads to establishing national associations, national diasporas. In the future these national communities will be interested in influencing political life in the country. This will lead to greater spread of lifestyle, culture, religion and way of life of migrant nationalities.

It was mentioned that many migrant nowadays are coming to Russia to work at low skilled and low paid jobs. This increases "proletarization" of the society. Taking into account bad working conditions of migrant workers, in the future they might start fighting for better working and living conditions. If joined with existing communist and socialist movements in the country, this situation can lead to the rise of communist and socialist values in Russian society in the future.

- *Generations change (average influence)*

Generations change represents, perhaps, one of the most uncertain factors of political participation in the future. Overall, the influence strength of this factor was evaluated as "average", however experts gave not many concrete explanations of how it will influence on political participation.

Among the given explanations of influence of the factor there are quite controversial opinions:

- Younger generation will be more active in political participation than the previous generation;

- Younger generation will be passive in political participation;
- The influence of the younger generation depends on how it will be socialized into political activity;
- Young generation will bring new values into society, for example, current young people are less inclined towards authoritarian relations;
- Young people may be more easily deceived by beautiful (but false) ideas than those who have gone through 90 years.

Thus, the factor "generations change" can be classified as uncertainty for the future of political participation.

- *Multi-nationality (average influence)*

Similar to the previous factor of "generations change", the influence of "multi-nationality" factor is uncertain. Experts notice that the direction in which this factor will play out in the future depends on the state national policy. In the worst case this factor can awake separatist trends in the society. In the best case the factor of "multi-nationality" will not influence on political participation.

Experts admitted that the factor of "multi-nationality" will impact at people's communications on the household level. In the situation when there is no supranational idea or ideology in post-Soviet Russia, trends of rising religious and national identities are visible. As a result, when people migrate around the country, manifestation of a certain culture may be perceived aggressively in a territory of a different culture. This can create small multinational conflicts, however, it is also possible that some political forces might speculate on such conflicts and bring them to a level of a societal problem.

Political factors (average influence):

- *Authoritarian tendencies in governance (influence higher than average)*

On average experts evaluated influence of the factor as "higher than average". Authoritarian tendencies in governance will impact into reducing the attractiveness of the political regime in society. As a result, citizens will be more inclined to resist state policies, often in radical forms.

- *Confrontation with western countries (influence higher than average)*

Experts agreed that confrontation with western countries will be increasing in the future and will strongly influence on political participation. However, the influence might be controversial.

On the one hand, such confrontation will lead to the rise of patriotic feelings in the society. On the other hand, among a part of the society it may lead to fall of the state authority. Thus, confrontation with western countries may lead to split of attitudes to the state in the society.

Also, experts noted that the current confrontation will make western countries interested in changing power regime in Russia. To reach this goal western countries might increase financing of opposition groups inside Russia. At the same time, there might be a decrease of cooperation between Russian and western NGOs which will negatively influence primarily on liberal opposition, however, other types of opposition movements (socialist, nationalist etc.), will be influenced to a less extent.

- *Regulation of civic and political activity by state legislation (influence higher than average)*

Part of experts agreed that legislative regulation of civic and political activity is necessary, because it sets clear rules of activity. In addition, in the past years the state stimulated civic activity through legislation, for example, through issuing grants to non-governmental organizations and through the law about local governance, which gave more rights to local communities to participate in governance of their communities, regions.

At the same time, other experts focused on limitations of the civic and political activities, which were set by the legislation in the past years (for example, laws about mass events, supervision of NGOs work etc.). Experts say that in the future there will be more limitations of civic and political activities, leading to narrowing down of legal area of political participation. As result, illegal political participation will be increasing. Also, non-parliament, non-system political activity will increase its importance.

Some experts noted that the countering actions of the society against limitations should increase in the future.

- *Corruption (influence higher than average)*

Though, on average the factor of corruption was evaluated as strong, experts expressed quite different opinions about it. Some experts consider corruption as a constant factor (meaning that corruption stays on a stably high level, but citizens got used to it), therefore the acuteness of the problem declines and it will not produce any extra political participation. Alternative opinion implies that corruption will increase in the situation of economic crisis and will motivate people to be more politically active.

Overall, the following effects were mentioned as a result of corruption influence: systemic crisis of state power, growing discontent (in perspective leading to revolutionary situation, distrust in political system, decline in elections turnout, political passiveness (however, there is an opposite opinion that awareness about corruption will make people more active).

- *Media policy (influence higher than average)*

Media influence on what citizens think, how they evaluate social, economic, political and other events. State media will work towards reducing discontent in the society. At

the same time, the role of alternative media, independent and oppositional media will be increasing (especially along with worsening of the economic situation). Therefore, alternative media will be also influencing social consciousness.

- *Idea of external enemy (average influence)*

Experts mentioned that idea of external enemy leads to rising patriotism in the society and consolidation of the society around state powers. As society becomes consolidated it easier "forgives" economic problems and policy mistakes. Thus, protest form of political participation become less probable. At the same time, a part of the society becomes in opposition to state policies. Society becomes polarized. Most of the society becomes suspicious towards opposition groups.

- *Political repressions (average influence)*

Some experts project that the amount of political repressions will decrease in the nearest future. Instead, there will be institutional changes which will limit opposition opportunities to influence of state policies. Experts with alternative opinions claim that political repressions will rise in the future. As a result, this will lead to radicalization of political participation.

It can be concluded from the analysis of experts' responses that there are almost no clearly predetermined factors for the future of political participation. However, it is possible to highlight trends that are more likely to exist in the future and influence political participation. These are: the spread of ICT and crowdfunding, worsening economic situation, existence of corruption, regulation of civic and political life, low elections trust and confrontation with western countries. At the same time, there are a number of uncertainties, for example, whether the state will adopt a censorship/limitations policy for the Internet? and how severe economic crisis will be? The most predetermined element is that in the period from 2014 till 2025 a generation change will be happening, and younger generation will become more active in social and political life. However, it is uncertain, how generations change will impact on political participation.

7.3   Fleshing out possible scenarios for the future

The relationship between various driving forces, described above, might lead to several alternative directions of the development of political participation in the future. Below, three possible scenarios for the future of political participation in 2014-2015 years in Russia are described.

7.3.1 "Engaged citizens in the authoritarian state"

Since 2014 Russia has entered a long-term economic depression. The following 2-3 years become very hard for Russian economy. After that the situation stabilizes, however till 2025 the economy does not show a sufficient growth and the standards of living which people got used to in the beginning of 2000s remain in the past. In addition, the confrontation and distrust with western countries remains, though it is not so tense as in was in 2014.

Together with accumulated governance problems (high level of corruption, low trust in political institutions) the economic crisis leads to slow worsening of people's living conditions and growing socio-economic inequality. Though the economic situation is far worse compared to the years 2005-2007 or even to the years 2012-2013, it does not decline catastrophically: people do not suffer from hunger and continue to receive some social benefits. However, major problems are not solved and discontent about government's actions and policies is rising in the society. People become more interested in politics, follow political news to understand the essence of happening events and searching for new political forces that could represent their opinions in political decision-making.

The trust in old political parties declines. People do not see that these parties express their interests. In general, the role of parliament parties in political decision-making declines. Instead, authoritarian tendencies and "vertical of power" remains, though its effectiveness is declining. The president relies on specially created advisory boards, rather than on political parties.

At the same time parliament remains, but it has a decorative function of a nominal democratic institution. Though parliament elections are held regularly, showing the appearance of democracy, all parties are going through a loyalty check before being allowed to participate in elections. Apart from that parliament parties do not have strong ideologies and do not represent people's desires. However, parliament parties manage to sustain the number of its members. For most of its members party becomes an instrument to enhance career-building. As a result, support of parties declines in the society.

After the liberalization of legislation, happened in 2012, the registration of new political parties became easier. As a result, a lot of new parties were created. However in 2015-2016 years the number of parties is declining, as many of them are not going have not gone through financial checks and have not managed to meet other formal requirements.

People are becoming more pessimistic about old parties, more disappointed by them. However, new parties are organized and people see new hope in them. In the parliament elections of 2016 new parties participate in elections. Radical parties or other parties not approved by the state are not allowed to participate in elections but several new parties

still emerge (and even go through elections in the parliament). Parties with "state-protective" rhetoric become more popular than liberal parties.

Thus parliament elections of 2016 attract more voters since the beginning of 2000s. Before 2016 people are eager to become members of new parties and support parties. They believe that something can be changed thought parties activity. However, the role of parties is declining. As a result, after 2016 people become more and more disappointed by parliament parties.

Elections turnout declines visibly already at parliament elections in 2021. Citizens become disappointed with the possibility to change something in the country through elections. They become more inclined to a passive protest (demonstrative non-participation in elections).

In president elections the trend is declining voters' turnout. It is conditioned by the fact that citizens trust less in the possibility of power change through elections. However, elections turnout does not fall down dramatically, because still rather big number of people habitually perceive voting at elections as a civic duty.

In 2014-2025 the following trend is becoming more visible: emerging of new party strategies. Parliament parties (those parties which participate in elections or even become elected) become less popular among citizens. At the same time, new parties are emerging. New parties do not participate in elections. These parties do not set an aim to enter the parliament and, instead, go in the following directions:

- Partly these new organizations will try to radicalize the situation;
- Partly non-parliament parties will focus on performing social and rights-defending projects. In this way they will try to influence situation in the country.

Support of new non-parliament political parties will be growing slowly, along with growing Internet penetration and interest to alternative information sources.

As a result of growing interest to politics, people will communicate with politicians more. Primarily it will be communication with new political forces. However, state officials will be less ready for a direct communication.

Sometimes, due to emotional factors, radicalization is happening, leading to aggressive protests and civic disobedience. The state suppresses such protests. Thus, the main models of the state-society relationships are related to confrontation: the model of "fight with an adversary" and the model of "civil disobedience". The state also tries to control social movements and parties' activities, especially those who aim to organize revolutionary activities.

Usually protests happen spontaneously, without any organization, because the state represses its main leaders. As protests become suppressed and living conditions become worse aggression in the society increases. Though the idea of external enemy is supported by the state propaganda, it influences people less and less, because of emergence

of alternative media channels. The state makes steps to perform more control over the Internet however it does not risk to close it totally for people. Due to the continuing growth of Internet penetration and generations change, more and more people use Internet as a source of alternative information.

Thus, though protest moods are rather high in the society, due to state control, they do not lead to a significant escalation of protests. Due to bigger repressions, crowdfunding is becoming a separate type of political activity. People support politicians, parties and other social projects through crowdfunding. However, due to hard economic situation, this form of activity will not become universal.

In the situation of economic crisis, migration into Russia of people from Central Asia declines, thus various chauvinist and ultranationalist movements become less popular.

Overall, people's civic self-consciousness in growing in 2014-2015, people become more eager to express their opinions, feel more responsibility, solidarity in the society increases. This is especially true for citizens of big cities, young people and intellectuals. Civic activity increases even at household level, for example, political consumption is becoming popular.

Due to spread of ICT, signing petitions are becoming more mass. Though it does not influence much on political decision-making, it enhances creation of social networks and social movements spread.

Along with worsening economic situation, more poor people and people in need emerge. As a result, networks of mutual aid emerge. Volunteering is growing. Due to multiple problems with governance, state become less effective in solving social problems, therefore NGOs take more important role in social help.

In 2018 Vladimir Putin stays at power, partly because trust to him is still high in the society and partly because of limitations for opposition activity (so, citizens do not know much about alternatives). However, Vladimir Putin does not participate in the next president elections in 2024, due to age reasons and limitations set by a constitution. Therefore, the vacuum of power emerges and various elite groups start to fight for power involving the society in the game. Protest activity increases significantly in the years 2023-2024.

Overall, due to the increased participatory activities of citizens (such as participation in social movements, petitions, self-organization, volunteering, and participation in non-traditional parties with low budgets) the consciousness and models of behavior among citizens is changing in 2014-2025. Particularly, many citizens adopt more proactive and less paternalistic attitude also many people learn to work in horizontal and flexible organizations, thus the leaning to authoritarian power in the society declines.

7.3.2 "Revolution"

In this scenario, economic situation in Russia is worsening drastically in the following years after 2014. This trend is conditioned by falling oil prices, economic isolation, wrong decisions in the economic governance etc. The state has difficulties with fulfilling its social obligations: paying pensions, salaries to people working in state corporations and organizations (such as schools, hospitals etc.). As a result the number of poor people increases, the society becomes more aggressive towards the government and the president. At the same time, extra-rich people manage to secure their financial situation. Thus, social inequality in the society becomes more obvious and annoying.

As a result the number of protest activity increases in the country. These protests start as peaceful but gradually they become more aggressive. Trust towards the government and the president drastically declines. Citizens give up hope on influencing the situation through dialog with the state or through elections. As a result, the number of people aiming at changing ruling leader and elites by means of a revolutionary uprising increases.

Opposition and revolutionary activity increases. As a result, the state increases the control on civic activity and repressions against its leaders. In addition, the state raises fear in the society through the media, by creating the image of an external enemy.

Due to increased pressure on civic activity from the state, the role of organized forms of activity declines, as they become less effective. Thus, the role of political parties or NGOs declines. These organizations continue to exist, however become less significant in revolutionary activity. Instead, the role of spontaneous self-organization and non-systemic opposition increases. Some oppositionists migrate abroad and try to influence on the internal situation in Russia form there. In addition, due to hard relations in international politics, some countries become interested in changing the political regime in Russia. They provide financial and media support for Russian opposition as a part of strategies of "stimulating democratic development of Russia".

Internet plays an important role as a means of uniting opposition activists, consolidation their activities and providing information alternative to state media.

By the presidential elections in 2018 the situation is tense. In the period close to presidential elections, due to a serious provocation or some emotional event, for example, related to non-admission of a certain candidate to elections, leads to the beginning protests in big cities of the country. Police authorities try to cease the protest which leads to more aggressive behavior of protesters. Eventually, the protest transforms into an armed confrontation of citizens and law enforcement agencies. The situation follows the scenarios of the Ukrainian revolution in 2014 and ultimately leads to president's resignation.

The situation after the revolution is difficult to project, however two possible developments of the situation are possible.

In the first possible option, the country faces several years of civil war and drop of control by the center over regions of the country. Eventually the country disintegrates into several independent countries.

Another possible development of the situation implies that after the revolution the internal situation in the country remains relatively peaceful (civil war does not begin), new president and parliament elections are conducted. The role of parties increases, new parties appear on a political arena. In this period political participation concentrates in such forms as party membership, voluntary work for a party and voting at elections. Demonstrations and social movements become also popular due to general politization of the society.

Due to perturbations happened in the society, economic situation becomes even worse than it was before the revolution. People become poorer, while small share of people becomes richer. Thus, more and more people feel discontent and desire for a more fair social organization. This creates conditions for the spread of ideas of communist society. The popularity of communist parties increases.

Historically communist ideologists see their main goal in organization of a socialist revolution and setting the "dictatorship of the proletariat". As soon as the number of poor people increases and working conditions of workers become worse, the society becomes more "proletarized". People become eager to fight social equality through protests and revolution.

The desired vision for the communist society, shared by people, has the following elements:

- State governance should be conducted in people's interests.
- Stimulating people's democracy: citizens should be involved into governance through participation in political parties, voting at elections, volunteer work, signing petitions, social movements and participation in NGOs.
- Using media as a tool for educating people, breeding new values in the society.
- Control over Internet.
- Fighting against the bourgeoisie.

As soon as the communist ideology becomes more popular in the society, the conditions for a socialist revolution become more favorable. Eventually, the change of political regime happens for the second time, with the establishment of the communist regime in Russia by 2025.

Overall, in terms of political participation the scenario "revolution" projects the rise of protest activity (both peaceful and aggressive) and spontaneous self-organization as key forms of citizens' political participation in Russia in 2014-2025.

7.3.3 *"Engagement in cooperation with the state"*

In 2014-2016 years Russia overcomes a serious economic downturn due to declining oil prices on the global market and hard situation in international relations. However, during these years the country manages to succeed in new (not oil-based) business areas and important industries, so that oil revenues become less critical as a source of income. Structure of economy improves and becomes less dependent on import of food, medicine and other products. Since 2016 global economy shows signs of recovery from the economic decline, global production grows, which leads to higher global demand for fuels. Thus, oil prices increase. Confrontation of Russia with western countries (escalated in 2014) is not completely overcome; however, the situation remains relatively stable and without dramatic armed conflicts.

During the period of difficult economic situation, the majority of citizens support government policies. Overall, after the splash of interest to politics and opposition movements happened in 2011-2014 years, the following years are characterized by consolidation of the society and the shift of social attention to economic news and problems. This creates less pressure on governance from citizens, protest activity significantly declines. Less and less people talk about revolutionary power change. If protests happen, they usually remain peaceful.

Liberalization of elections' legislation, happened in 2012 (particularly, a simplified procedure for registration of political parties was introduced), lead to the emergence of a large number of new political parties by 2014. By the next parliament elections (in the year 2016), competitiveness of existing parties is tested and part of newly created parties disintegrate by parliament elections in 2016. Nevertheless, several new parties participate it parliament elections together with old parties. However, during the period 2016-2025 not many new parties appear on political scene and membership in parties does not attract significantly more new people.

Trust in election is improving, due to better possibilities for elections observation (video cameras at every election site, introduced back in 2012), activity of volunteers observing elections, emergence of new political parties and president candidates at all levels (federal and local). Therefore, elections turnout is growing in the period from 2014-2025. People in Russia see voting at elections as their duty as citizens and a way to express their support to the state.

At the same time, people are becoming more active at non-parliament forms of political participation.

The state continues the policy of developing partnership with non-governmental organizations in solving social problems; therefore the role of NGOs is increasing. The overall number of NGOs declines after the years 2012-2014, primarily because some international non-governmental organizations leave the country. However, NGOs origi-

nated in Russia continue to work and create value for the society. NGOs experience an inflow of volunteers and money donations from citizens. Volunteering becomes a norm for the society. The state supports the activity of citizens through legislation, state grants and education.

Due to the newly created opportunities for local governance, the activity of citizens increases on the local level. People feel more responsibility for their communities and tend to self-organize on a local level to solve actual problems. People become and feel more empowered to participate in decision-level at local level.

Thus, by 2025 political participation in Russia combines traditional forms of political participation (primarily voting at elections, while party membership becomes less popular), with forms of "engaged citizenship". Increased feeling of citizens' responsibility, together with improved structure of the economy, brings living conditions in Russia to a new level.

7.4 Desirable futures of state-society relationships

In addition to probable scenarios for future development of political participation, experts were asked to reflect on their desired future by 2025 and ways, how this desired future could be achieved. More concretely, the following questions were asked:

> **B9. Imagine a _desirable for you_ scenario of the future. Which models of state-citizens relationships in Russia would play a key role in this scenario?**

> **B10. In your opinion, what should be done (and who should do it), or which events should happen in the future, so that the desirable scenario would actualize?**

Both questions were asked only in the first round.

■ % experts marked this model as desired (N=11)

Model	%
Model of state support	73%
Citizens as architects	64%
Dialog model	36%
The model of ignorance	27%
Independent citizens	27%
Paternalistic model	18%
The model of civil disobedience	9%
The model of fight with adversary	0%
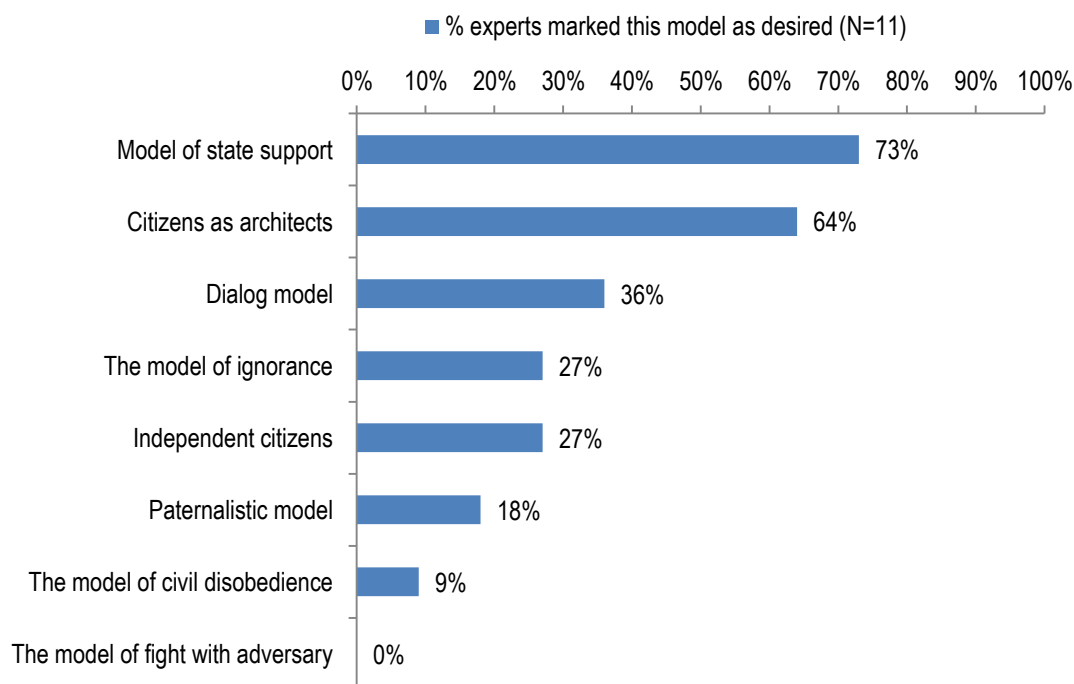
Figure 12   Desired model (several answers were possible)

As shown at Figure 12, the majority of experts would like to see cooperation in state-civil society relationship and higher role of civil society in decision-making in the country (meaning models "state support", "citizens as architects" and "dialog model"). At the same time, some experts would prefer to see more elements of citizens' independence from the state. However, it was noted that it is not the model of relationships which fits Russia in reality, because Russia is very much dependant from the central government, due to geographical/climatic conditions of the country and historical reasons. Some experts see revolutionary scenario as the desired future, thus the model of "civil disobedience" is also present in the Figure 12.

Opinions expressed by experts about ways to achieve the desired future were quite different and can be classified into the following categories:

1. **Revolution.** This vision implies that the achievement of the desired future is possible only through mass protest and revolution:
   a. "*I am afraid, there is no evolutionary scenario for Russia any longer*" (Interviewee E)
   b. "*The masses have to rebel*" etc. (Interviewee C)
2. **Evolution of people and social relations.** However, there was an alternative opinion saying that evolution of people should happen: they should become more active at the local level. Apart from that more profound changes in the society (which will happed along with evolutionary development) are also needed:
   a. "*Severity of social contradictions, inevitable under capitalism, at a certain stage of development will require a fundamental change in the con-*

ditions of society and the individual. This will entail a qualitative change in the social structure." (Interviewee D)

3. **Activity and an effective work of social associations.** This vision implies that people's effective self-organization into various associations would ultimately lead to a desired future.

   a. "*People's self-organization into political and civic associations*", "*Public institutions must prove their effectiveness*". (Interviewee H)

4. **Increasing the role of civil society in governance.** This position implies the the state should step away from authoritarian trends in governance, "vertical power" and give more freedom and opportunities for civil society This can be done through state reforms. Citations from interviews:

   a. "*Diversion of the state from authoritarian model or governance*" (Interviewee F);

   b. "*Reforms, aimed at strengthening the role of civil society institutions, are necessary. Promotion of civic engagement of the population, given the high potential of the Russian civil society, will allow hope for a qualitative change in the social and political life*". (Interviewee I);

   c. "*State must be ready to give some of the functions of public institutions, such as through outsourcing. (this experience in the region are beginning to be used)*" (Interviewee J);

   d. "*Stimulation of the work of civil sector, enhancement of legislation*" (Interviewee K).

5. **Leaders change.** Other experts noted that change in state-society relations is only possible after the change of state and opposition leaders.

6. And, finally, some experts expressed pessimism that by 2025 the desired future can be achieved at all. The achievement is possible only in case of a miracle.

To sum up, there are various visions of the desirable futures among experts however most experts see the desirable future by 2025 in active role of civic society and its cooperative partnership with the state. Fewer experts would also prefer to minimize state-society relationships and see civil society independent from the state. When compared with experts' visions of state-society relationship models in the recent past (see Figure 8) we can conclude that the desired situation is different from the situation existing in the recent past. Experts proposed the different ways by which the desired future can be achieved, such as: revolution, evolution of the society, active initiative of social associations, the change of governance model, and change of state and opposition leaders.

7.5   Conclusions of scenario building

This chapter focused on building scenarios for the future on the basis of Delphi study results.

Multiple factors (technological, economic, social and political) influenced on political participations in the past and in the future. On average, experts' estimations project the rise of influence strength of crowdfunding and economic factors (particularly economic crisis) on political participation.

There are almost no clearly predetermined factors for the future of political participation. The most predetermined element is that in the period between 2014 and 2025 a generation change will take place, and younger generation will become more active in social and political life. However, it is uncertain, how generations change will impact on political participation. The other critical uncertainties include, for example, whether the state will adopt a censorship/limitations policy for the Internet? And how severe economic crisis will be?

When evaluating the situation in political participation in the recent past, experts estimate that the highest share of Russians participate through traditional, "formal parliament" types of political participation and fewer citizens participate through more engaged, "latent" forms. It terms of most prevalent forms of state-society relationships, experts evaluate that models of confrontation and state dominance exist in the most cases. Cooperative partnership and "no relationships" models can be also found in the social and political life however their prevalence is lower.

The chapter presents three possible scenarios of how forms of political participation and models of state-society relationships models may develop in the future: "engaged citizens in the authoritarian state", "revolution" and "engagement in cooperation with the state". Two of these scenarios refer to two opinion clusters, which were identified through cluster analysis of Delphi study material, and one scenario is based on qualitative analysis of the outliers' views (the process of analysis was described in Chapter 6).

In addition, the vision of desirable futures is presented. It was noted that vision of the desirable future of relationship models is almost opposite to the situation which was observed in the recent past.

8   DISCUSSION

The present study used a scenarios building approach in studying and describing alternative futures of citizens' political participation in Russia in 2014-2025.

The current study determines the object of the present study as "political participation", which will be understood in a broad sense as *activities of people, whose are living in the country, to influence social situation and political decision-making in this country*. Politics is regarded as achieving social goals, and not related to struggle for power. Similar terms (such as "civic engagement") if used in the present work, are used as synonyms of "political participation".

The study focuses on two aspects of political participation: forms of participation and relationships with the state. Both of these aspects are clearly operationalized in the present paper. The study adopted a classification of political participation forms, which was developed by Ekman and Amnå (2012) and classifies all possible forms into the following categories: manifest political particiation (basically, these are forms which aim at influencing governmental decisions in a certain way), latent political aprticipation (generally, it is civic activity which does not directly influence decision-making of the government) and non-participation. As for state-society relationships models, the current master's thesis used the framework developed on the basis of Jakobson's (2008) classification, and includes the following categories: cooperative partnership, state dominance, confrontation and no relationships.

After the breakup of the Soviet Union in the beginning of 1990s, citizens of new state – Russian Federation, got more opportunities for excretion of their civic initiative and more ways for political participation. Therefore, civic activity in the society increased. However, the future presents uncertainty. It is projected that the years 2014-2025 will not be stable for Russia in economic and political sense. Therefore, it is important to analyze alternative directions of the societal development.

The study conducts explorative scenarios building, meaning that the research is not related to a concrete decision and, instead, it is aims at general studying of the phenomenon. Also, a scenario is perceived as story about the future ("history of the future") rather than a snapshot of the future ("future image"). The present study aims at studying both possible and preferable futures.

Disaggregative policy Delphi approach is used for data collection. In essence it means collective approach to scenarios building where Delphi is utilized as a method of organizing a group communication. Scenarios are created out of the analysis of qualitative and quantitative material obtained through a Delphi process. Overall, Delphi approach showed its effectiveness in organizing collective communication of experts with diverse, sometimes contradictory views and located geographically in different places.

Three resulting scenarios outlined three possible futures for political participation in Russia in 2014-2025 years:

- The first scenario "Engaged citizens in the authoritarian state" projects the concentration of citizens' activity in manifest political participation, increase of parties' activity. However, the parties themselves are changing: the influence of old parliament parties declines, while the popularity of new, non-parliament and even radical parties increases. In this scenario citizens learn to work in horizontal organizations (parties of new types, networked social movements), possessing little resources for their activity. As a result, adherence to authoritarian governance style becomes less popular in the society. Relationships models between the society and the state can be characterized as "confrontation" in some cases (due to the growth of alternative parties and protest activity) and "cooperation" in other cases (mainly in providing social services for people in need, NGOs take part of state's functions).

- The second scenario describes a revolutionary process in 2014-2025 years. Consequently, state-society relationships are characterized largely by "confrontation" model.

- Finally, the third scenario "Engagement in cooperation with the state" describes a story in which citizens consolidate around state power, and mainly support government policies, as well as trust more to elections. At the same time, civic activity increases, however, it is focused on latent participation forms, especially on local level. State-society relationships are characterized primarily by "cooperation" and "paternalistic" models.

All three scenarios project growth of interest into politics among Russians in 2014-2025. Also, all three scenarios include the factor of "economic crisis" as important though imply various depth of crisis development. It should be noted that assessing a probability of these scenarios was not a task for the current study and may be a subject for the future research.

Overall, the study clearly described concepts, tools and methods which were used at each step of the research process. Thus, the research can be discussed openly and criticized at all steps of the study, which is important for an academic approach to futures studied. At the same time, there are certain limitations of the study, which should be outlined.

Firstly, responsible projecting of the future and building scenarios for political participation is not possible in isolation from social, economic and political context. Particularly, in the present study economic factors were evaluated as the most important factors by most experts. Thus, scenarios would be more reliable if the study involved also experts in economics and international politics. Ideally the separate work on building projections for economic and political development could be done separately prior to

building scenarios of political participation. Due to this limitation, not in all cases the logic of scenarios described in the current work can be completely justified. More knowledge of cause and effect relationships in needed for that.

In general the attempt to project a complex issue, leading to the necessity to list all possible factors, to study all major trends, highlights the need for better understanding of cause and effect relationships. Thus, futures studies makes visible those areas which are not studied well enough. As a result, new research questions may emerge for various scientists. In relation to the present study, for example, more studies about younger generation and its impact on political participation are needed (especially better understanding of digital natives). These are areas which could be potentially interesting for social and political scientists as areas for research.

Secondly, the study analyses political participation in a very general way, trying to identify the general trends and possible developments. However, multiple forms of political participation also have their own logic of development and could be analyzed in a more focused way. It was noticed throughout the study, that there is very little information on some forms of political participation, for example, on political consumption, volunteering, civil disobedience, support of party ideology and others. Studying these participation forms more thoroughly could be one of the directions for the further research.

The third limitation of the study is that not all geographical areas of Russia were covered. Russia has many regions and multi-national population. Mentality and behavior strategies of citizens living in different regions may vary significantly from each other. Thus, it would be beneficial for the study political participation more precisely in different regions. However, it was not possible in the scope of the current study. In addition, we realize that not all areas of expertise have been covered because of study work limitations.

And *finally*, the described scenarios were not assessed by participants. Additional collective work on assessing scenarios and elaboration of their logic would be beneficial for the result.

Overall, I could agree with Glenn, who wrote that scenario building process is particularly useful for its participants. (Glenn, n/a (b), 18.) The process of scenarios building seems to help its participants to articulate and reflect their views about the past, present and future, to clarify possible opportunities for development of the phenomenon, to develop their attitude to alternative futures. Participants of the study were highly motivated to participate and share their visions.

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APPENDIX 1: DELPHI QUESTIONNAIRES

Both questionnaires were created and distributed in Russian language. Below is English translation.

Questionnaire for round 1

Dear expert,

Thank you for participation in the study "The future of political participation in Russia in 2025". This is the first round questionnaire of a two-round Delphi study.

When answering the questions, please, rely on your own judgments and vision of the future. It is your personal opinions on the matter which is the most valuable for the research. You may leave comments to your answers or to the questions, while responding, if you want.

Your responses will be analyzed in a generalized way. If citations are used, they will be used anonymously. Prior to the second round of you will be able to read a short report with the responses of all participants of the first round, in a generalized form.

Thank you for your precious contribution!

Part 1. Evaluation of driving forces

B1. In your opinion, how strong has been the influence of the following factors on political participation[12] in Russia _in the past 14 years (2000-2014)_?
If you want to add any important factors, which are not included in a list, write them down in the bottom lines of the table.

Evaluate each factor in the column B1 of the table below, using the scale:
1 – Unimportant, no influence
2 – Almost no influence
3 – Weak influence
4 – Moderate influence
5 – Influence higher than average
6 – Strong influence
7 – Very strong influence

B2. For those factors, which influence was evaluated as <u>moderate, higher than average, strong or very strong (variants 4, 5, 6 and 7 in the question B1)</u> explain in your own words, what kind of impact on political participation each of these factors made _in the past 14 years (2000-2014)_?

Write explanations in the column B2 in the table below

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[12] **Political participation** means the activity of people, living in a country, which is consciously or unconsciously directed towards influence on political and social issues – issues of life organization in a country (for example, participation in NGOs, parties, various kinds of activism and so on).

	Factors	B1 Strength of influence	B2 Explanation of influence
1.	The spread of information and communication technologies (Internet, social networks, smart phones)	1 2 3 **4 5 6 7**	
2.	Emerging possibilities for crowd funding[13]	1 2 3 **4 5 6 7**	
3.	Generations change	1 2 3 **4 5 6 7**	
4.	Spreading values of individualism	1 2 3 **4 5 6 7**	
5.	Migration (into and out of Russia)	1 2 3 **4 5 6 7**	
6.	Multi-nationality	1 2 3 **4 5 6 7**	
7.	Growing socio-economic inequalities	1 2 3 **4 5 6 7**	
8.	Legislative regulation of civic life by the state	1 2 3 **4 5 6 7**	
9.	Corruption	1 2 3 **4 5 6 7**	
10.	Economic crisis	1 2 3 **4 5 6 7**	
11.	*Other (write down)*	1 2 3 **4 5 6 7**	
12.	*Other (write down)*	1 2 3 **4 5 6 7**	
13.	*Other (write down)*	1 2 3 **4 5 6 7**	

B3. In your opinion, how strong will be the influence of the following factors on political participation in Russia *in the future (years 2014-2025)*?
If you want to add important factors, which are not included in a list, write them down in the bottom lines of the table.

Evaluate each factor in the column B3 of the table below, using the scale:
1 – Will not influence at all
2 – Almost will not influence
3 – Influence will be weak
4 – Influence will be moderate
5 – Influence will be higher than average
6 – Will influence strongly
7 – Influence will be very strong

B4. For those factors, the future influence of which you evaluated as <u>moderate, higher than average, strong or very strong (variants 4, 5, 6 and 7 in the question B3)</u> explain in your own words, what kind of impact on political participation each of these factors will make in the future *(2014-2025)*?

Write explanations in the column B4 in the table below

	Factors	B3 Strength of influence	B4 Explanation of influence
1.	Spread of information and communication technologies (Internet, social networks, smart phones)	1 2 3 **4 5 6 7**	
2.	Emerging possibilities for crowd funding[14]	1 2 3 **4 5 6 7**	

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[13] **Crowd funding** is a cooperation of many people, who voluntarily unite their money or other resources together, usually through the Internet, to support activity/projects of other people of organizations. Money collection may have different goals, such as: to help to people who suffered from natural disasters, expensive treatment of serious diseases, to support political campaigns, to finance start ups and so on.

[14] **Crowdfunding** is a cooperation of many people, who voluntarily unite their money or other resources together, usually through the Internet, to support activity/projects of other people of organizations. Money collection may have different goals, such as: to help to people who suffered from natural disasters, expensive treatment of serious diseases, to support political campaigns, to finance start ups and so on.

3.	Generations change	1 2 3 **4 5 6 7**	
4.	Spreading values of individualism	1 2 3 **4 5 6 7**	
5.	Migration (into and out of Russia)	1 2 3 **4 5 6 7**	
6.	Multi-nationality	1 2 3 **4 5 6 7**	
7.	Growing socio-economic inequalities	1 2 3 **4 5 6 7**	
8.	Legislation regulation of civic life by the state	1 2 3 **4 5 6 7**	
9.	Corruption	1 2 3 **4 5 6 7**	
10.	Economic crisis	1 2 3 **4 5 6 7**	
11.	*Other (write down)*	1 2 3 **4 5 6 7**	
12.	*Other (write down)*	1 2 3 **4 5 6 7**	
13.	*Other (write down)*	1 2 3 **4 5 6 7**	

Part 2. Present and future forms of political participation

B5. Please estimate, which share of Russian citizens, approximately, have been involved (at least from time to time) in different forms of political participation *in the past 4-5 years*.
If you want to add other important forms of participation, which are not included in a list, write them down in the bottom lines of the table.

Write % against of each participation form in column B5 of the table below.
B6. Imagine the possible scenario for the future. Under this scenario, how the involvement in these forms of participation (the share of population involved) will change *in the next 10-11 years (2014-2025)*?

Evaluate each participation form in the column B6 in the table below using the scale:
1 – Involvement will dramatically decrease
2 – Involvement will decrease a lot
3 – Involvement will somewhat decrease
4 – Involvement will not change
5 – Involvement will somewhat increase
6 – Involvement will increase a lot
7 – Involvement will dramatically increase

	Forms of participation	**B5** % of involved citizens in the last 4-5 years	**B6** Change of involvement in the future
1.	Perceiving politics as important and following political news		1 2 3 4 5 6 7
2.	Active interest in politics (discussions of political issues with others, active Internet political partic-ipation etc.)		1 2 3 4 5 6 7
3.	Identifying with a certain ideology or party		1 2 3 4 5 6 7
4.	Being a party member		1 2 3 4 5 6 7
5.	Voting at elections		1 2 3 4 5 6 7
6.	Contacting politicians or their representatives (personally or through on-line forms of communi-nication)		1 2 3 4 5 6 7
7.	Donating money for political parties or selected candidates		1 2 3 4 5 6 7
8.	Voluntary work for a party		1 2 3 4 5 6 7
9.	Political consumption[15]		1 2 3 4 5 6 7
10.	Signing petitions		1 2 3 4 5 6 7
11.	Involvement in social movements		1 2 3 4 5 6 7

---

[15] **Political consumption** – is the consumption of conscious avoiding of certain products/services con-sumption aimed at demonstration of a certain political position or a value.

12.	Participation in *peaceful* protests, demonstrations, strikes and so on.		1 2 3 4 5 6 7
13.	Participation in violent demonstrations		1 2 3 4 5 6 7
14.	Civil disobedience[16]		1 2 3 4 5 6 7
15.	Donating money to charity or NGOs		1 2 3 4 5 6 7
16.	Short-term self-organization for solving urgent issues		1 2 3 4 5 6 7
17.	Membership in NGO		1 2 3 4 5 6 7
18.	Voluntary work for NGOs, orphanage houses, homes for elderly etc.		1 2 3 4 5 6 7
19.	*Other (write down)*		1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Part 3. Present and future models of state-citizens relationships

B7. Statements in the table below describe the possible models of relationships between the state and citizens (or association of citizens). Please, evaluate, how often these models of relationships could be observed in Russia _in the past 4-5 years_.
Please, mark your answer in the column B7, in the table below, using the scale:
1 – Was not observed at all
2 – Was observed rarely
3 – Was observed from time to time
4 – Was observed often
5 – Was observed very often (or in all situations)

B8. Imagine _a possible_ scenario for the future. How models of state-citizens relationships in Russia will be changing under this scenario _during the next 10-11 years (2014-2025)_?

Mark your answers in the column B8, in the table below, using the scale:
1 – Model prevalence will dramatically decrease
2 – Model prevalence will decrease significantly
3 – Model prevalence will somewhat decrease
4 – Situation will remain the same as in the present time
5 – Model prevalence will somewhat increase
6 – Model prevalence will significantly increase
7 – Model prevalence will dramatically increase

	Relationships models	**B7** State-citizens relationships in *the past 4-5 years*	**B8** State-citizens relationships *in the future*
1.	Government supports citizens' activity through concrete actions (for example, legislation, education etc.)	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
2.	Government admits the importance of citizen's political participation for the effective democratic development of the country, and maintains the dialog with citizens and citizens associations on a regular basis	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
3.	Associations of citizens form political agenda, propose solutions for problems, participate in reformations of governmental institutions	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
4.	The state uses civic associations as the means to perform control over the society	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
5.	State does not pay attention to civic associations, as well as to civic and political participation. It does not interfere and does not help	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5 6 7

---

[16] Deliberate law violation to attract attention to a certain issue.

6.	Government sees active political participation as dangerous for the state and tries to make life of activists harder	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
7.	Civic rights and freedoms are violated by the state, that's why citizens take part in unsanctioned demonstrations and other actions which provoke repressive actions from the state	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
8.	Citizens self-organize and perform social projects independently and without control from the state. The state does not have means to control citizens.	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
9.	*Other (write)*	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5 6 7

B9. Imagine a _desirable for you_ scenario of the future. Which models of state-citizens relationships in Russia would play a key role in this scenario?
If some important models are not represented in the list below, please, write them down in bottom lines of the table.

Mark one of more statements in the table below.

B9	Relationships models
1.	Government supports citizens' activity through concrete actions (for example, legislation, education etc.)
2.	Government admits the importance of citizen's political participation for the effective democratic development of the country, and maintains the dialog with citizens and citizens associations on a regular basis
3.	Associations of citizens form political agenda, propose solutions for problems, participate in reformations of governmental institutions
4.	The state uses civic associations as the means to perform control over the society
5.	State does not pay attention to civic associations, as well as to civic and political participation. It does not interfere and does not help
6.	Government sees active political participation as dangerous for the state and tries to make life of activists harder
7.	Civic rights and freedoms are violated by the state, that's why citizens take part in unsanctioned demonstrations and other actions which provoke repressive actions from the state
8.	Citizens self-organize and perform social projects independently and without control from the state. The state does not have means to control citizens.
9.	*Other (write)*

B10. In your opinion, what should be done (and who should do it), or which events should happen in the future, so that the desirable scenario would actualize?
_____

Thank you very much for your responses!

Questionnaire for round 2

Dear expert,

Thank you for your responses on the first round questionnaire of the study "The future of political partici-pation in Russia in 2025". *Please, read the first round feedback report before responding on this ques-tionnaire.*

Questionnaire for the second round is based on the questionnaire for the first round therefore questions in them are partially repeated. However, your responses may differ from the ones you gave in the first round. You can also change your argumentation, add new comments.

All responses will be analyzed and presented in a generalized way. If citations are used, they will be used anonymously.

Please, send back your responses by 9 November 2014.

Thank you for your precious contribution!

Part 1. Evaluation of driving forces

C1. In your opinion, how strong will be the influence of the following factors on political participa-tion in Russia *in the future (years 2014-2025)*?

=> New factors, added after the first round, are marked with grey color.
Evaluate each factor in the column C1 of the table below, using the scale:
1 – Will not influence at all
2 – Almost will not influence
3 – Influence will be weak
4 – Influence will be moderate
5 – Influence will be higher than average
6 – Will influence strongly
7 – Influence will be very strong

C2. For those factors, the future influence of which you evaluated as <u>moderate, higher than aver-age, strong or very strong (variants 4, 5, 6 and 7 in the question C1)</u> explain in your own words, what kind of impact on political participation each of these factors will make in the future *(2014-2025)*?
Write explanations in the column C2 in the table below.

	Factors	C1 Strength of influence	C2 Explanation of influence
1.	Spread of information and communica-tion technologies (Internet, social net-works, smart phones)	1 2 3 **4 5 6 7**	
2.	Emerging possibilities for crowdfunding	1 2 3 **4 5 6 7**	
3.	Generations change	1 2 3 **4 5 6 7**	
4.	Spreading values of individualism	1 2 3 **4 5 6 7**	
5.	Migration (into and out of Russia)	1 2 3 **4 5 6 7**	
6.	Multi-nationality	1 2 3 **4 5 6 7**	
7.	Growing socio-economic inequalities	1 2 3 **4 5 6 7**	
8.	Legislation regulation of civic activity by the state	1 2 3 **4 5 6 7**	
9.	Corruption	1 2 3 **4 5 6 7**	
10.	Economic crisis	1 2 3 **4 5 6 7**	
11.	Declining elections trust	1 2 3 **4 5 6 7**	
12.	Emotional factors (events causing a	1 2 3 **4 5 6 7**	

	splash of emotions in the society)		
13.	State grant programs for civil society	1 2 3 **4 5 6 7**	
14.	Confrontation with western countries	1 2 3 **4 5 6 7**	
15.	Authoritarian tendencies in governance	1 2 3 **4 5 6 7**	
16.	Idea of external enemy	1 2 3 **4 5 6 7**	
17.	Political repressions	1 2 3 **4 5 6 7**	
18.	State media policy	1 2 3 **4 5 6 7**	

Part 2. Present and future forms of political participation

C3. Imagine the possible scenario for the future. Under this scenario, how the involvement in these forms of participation (the share of population involved) will change _in the next 10-11 years (2014-2025)_?

Evaluate each participation form in the column C3 in the table below using the scale:

1 – Involvement will dramatically decrease
2 – Involvement will decrease a lot
3 – Involvement will somewhat decrease
4 – Involvement will not change
5 – Involvement will somewhat increase
6 – Involvement will increase a lot
7 – Involvement will dramatically increase

C4. Please, give argumentation of the score you gave when answering question C3.

Write explanations in the column C4 in the table below

	Forms of participation	C3 Change of involvement in the future	C4 Argumentation
1.	Perceiving politics as important and following political news	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
2.	Active interest in politics (discussions of political issues with others, active Internet political participation etc.)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
3.	Identifying with a certain ideology or party	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
4.	Being a party member	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
5.	Voting at elections	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
6.	Contacting politicians or their representatives (personally or through on-line forms of communication)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
7.	Donating money for political parties or selected candidates	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
8.	Voluntary work for a party	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
9.	Political consumption	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
10.	Signing petitions	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
11.	Involvement in social movements	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
12.	Participation in _peaceful_ protests, demonstrations, strikes and so on.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
13.	Participation in violent demonstrations	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
14.	Civil disobedience	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
15.	Donating money to charity or NGOs	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
16.	Short-term self-organization for solving urgent issues	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	

17.	Membership in NGO	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
18.	Voluntary work for NGOs, orphanage houses, homes for elderly etc.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
19.	Passive protest – demonstrative non-participation in elections	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	

Part 3. Present and future models of state-citizens relationships

C5. Imagine *a possible* scenario for the future. How models of state-citizens relationships in Russia will be changing under this scenario *during the next 10-11 years (2014-2025)*?
Mark your answers in the column C6, in the table below, using the scale:
1 – Model prevalence will dramatically decrease
2 – Model prevalence will decrease significantly
3 – Model prevalence will somewhat decrease
4 – Situation will remain the same as in the present time
5 – Model prevalence will somewhat increase
6 – Model prevalence will significantly increase
7 – Model prevalence will dramatically increase

C6. Please, give argumentation of the score you gave when answering question C5.
Write explanations in the column C6 in the table below

	Relationships models	**C5** **State-citizens relation-ships *in the future***	**C6** **Argumentation**
1.	Government supports citizens' activity through concrete actions (for example, legislation, education etc.)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
2.	Government admits the importance of citizen's political participation for the effective democratic development of the country, and maintains the dialog with citizens and citizens associations on a regular basis	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
3.	Associations of citizens form political agenda, propose solutions for problems, participate in reformations of governmental institutions	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
4.	The state uses civic associations as the means to perform control over the society	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
5.	State does not pay attention to civic associations, as well as to civic and political participation. It does not interfere and does not help	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
6.	Government sees active political participation as dangerous for the state and tries to make life of activists harder	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
7.	Civic rights and freedoms are violated by the state, that's why citizens take part in unsanctioned demonstrations and other actions which provoke repressive actions from the state	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
8.	Citizens self-organize and perform social projects independently and without control from the state. The state does not have means to control citizens.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	

Thank you very much for your responses!

APPENDIX 2: FEEDBACK REPORT

Similarly to Delhi questionnaires, feedback report was initially created and distributed in Russian language. Below is its English translation.

Summary of results of the 1ˢᵗ round of Delphi study

Future of political participation in Russia - 2025

Introduction

▸ Goals of the study:
  ▸ 1) to present a holistic picture of opinions through the involvement of experts with various experience and visions;
  ▸ 2) to describe divergent points of view on the future;
  ▸ 3) based on the collected information – to describe several scenarios of political participation in Russia in the next 10 years.
▸ Method of the study - Disaggregative policy Delphi
▸ The majority of participants are from Moscow, however, also presented St. Petersbrug, Komi republic, Sakha republic (Yakutia) and Krasnoyarsk region.
▸ Study results do not have a statistical significance.

2

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▸ A. Evaluation of driving forces
  ▸ a. The most important factors for the future
  ▸ b. Factors with medium importance
  ▸ c. The least important factors for the future
▸ B. Forms of political participation: past and possible futures
▸ C. Models of relationships between the state and civil society: past, possible futures and desired futures.

3

A. Evaluation of Driving forces

Past (2000-2014) and future (2014-2025)

4

a. The most important factors for the future

6

Mean values of factors' influence

- Influence in the future is forecasted to increase compared to past influence

The most important factors for the future

■ Influence in the past   Influence in the future

Moderate influence in the future
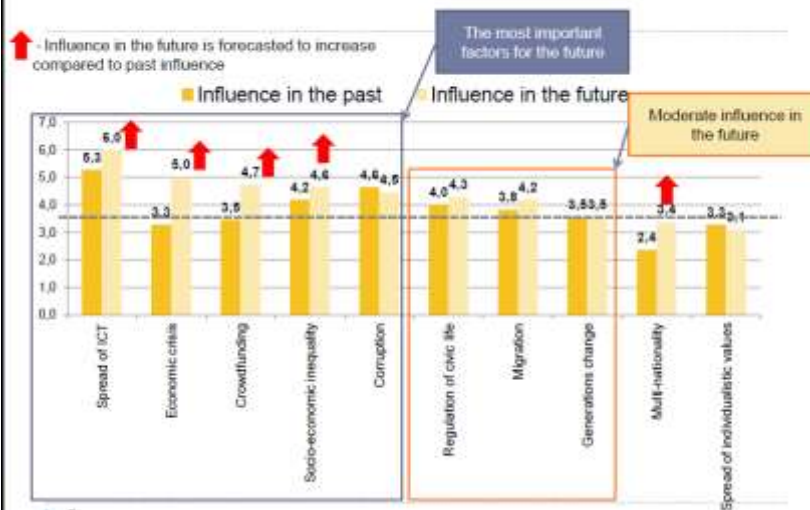
5

Influence of ICT in the **past**. Summary

- On average the strength of influence in the past is estimated as "higher than average".
- Experts noted the following consequences of ICT spread:
  - New ways of communication emerged, communication became easier
  - Faster to find like-minded people
  - ICT enabled to spread information faster, increased information openness of political system
  - The level of political awareness increased
  - It became possible to spread uncensored news => an alternative to traditional media emerged
  - New practices of political participation emerged
  - A new channel for mobilization emerged
  - Coordination and consolidation of activities became easier
- However, it is mentioned that the significance of ICT is often overestimated, because ICT did not change in a quality manner:
  - People's attitudes
  - The motivation for political participation
  - Practices of political participation
  - Liberation of media was overestimated
- There was some divergence around the question, whether ICT involved into political participation new people (previously politically and socially inactive people). Some experts say that new people were not attracted, while other experts have an opposite opinion.
- It was mentioned, that together with ICT spread, the state officials are improving their methods to withstand non-system political activity.

7

Influence of ICT in the **future**. Summary (1/2)

- ▸ Overall the strength of influence of the factor "Spread of ICT" present an uncertainty. Three main directions for the development can be identified:
  - › Internet will be limited by the authorities (through censorship or disconnection of social networks or the Internet), so its impact on the socio-political life does not increase;
  - › Limitations of the Internet and social networks will not happen, however, ICT will no bring and further significant changes, because the information revolution has already occurred as a whole;
  - › Limitations of the Internet and social networks will not happen and their influence will be strong.
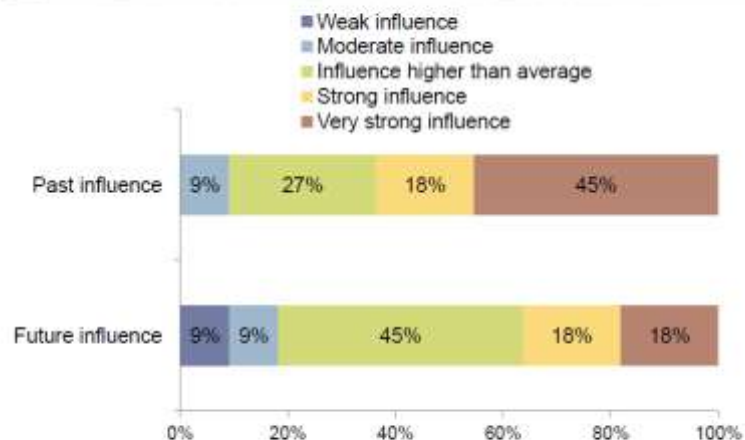
▸ 8

Influence of ICT in the **future**. Summary (2/2)

- ▸ It is forecasted that influence of ICT in the future will increase and on average is evaluated as "strong".
- ▸ Possible consequences for political activity, if the limitations of the Internet and social networks will not happen and influence of ICT will be strong:
  - › This will allow the further development of political activity. New political and civil projects will be implemented, technological capabilities will be used by more people, network of interested people will be created around topical issues.
  - › Under tranquil development of the situation, fragmentation of civil society by interest groups is possible. However, in the case of repressions and harassment of civil leaders from the state, disparate activities of civil society groups can start to consolidate.
  - › IT tools can be used for positive purposes, as well as destructive purposes (e.g., terrorism).

▸ 9

Range of estimations of the factor "ICT spread"

Legend:
- ■ Weak influence
- ■ Moderate influence
- ■ Influence higher than average
- ■ Strong influence
- ■ Very strong influence

Past influence: 9% | 27% | 18% | 45%
Future influence: 9% | 9% | 45% | 18% | 18%

▸ % of total number of responses. 11 responses in total

Influence of economic crisis. Summary

- ▸ According to expert judgments, the influence of economic crisis in the past 14 years was a minor factor of political participation (despite some decline in living conditions and growing discontent related to this).
- ▸ The future importance of the factor was evaluated as high on average, however, there are two main divergent points of view among experts:
  - › One point of view is that worsening economic situation will be the main motivation for political participation in the future, leading to growing discontent of the situation and state powers, which can ultimately lead to revolutionary situation.
  - › Another point of view says that economic factors are not so important for increasing people's activity. Instead, emotional factors will make more impact on political participation.

▸ 11

Range of estimations of the factor "Economic crisis"

■ Unimportant, no influence   ■ Almost no infuence
■ Weak influence   ■ Moderate influence
■ Influence higher that average ■ Strong influence
■ Very strong influence

Past influence: 18% | 9% | 27% | 27% | 18%

Future influence: 18% | 18% | 18% | 18% | 18% | 9%

0%   20%   40%   60%   80%   100%

▶ %of total number of responses. 11 responses in total

Range of estimations of the factor "Crowdfunding"

■ Almost no influence   ■ Weak influence
■ Moderate influence   ■ Influence higher that average
■ Strong influence   ■ Very strong influence

Future influence: 9% | 18% | 9% | 27% | 27% | 9%

Past influence: 36% | 18% | 27% | 9% | 9%

0%   20%   40%   60%   80%   100%
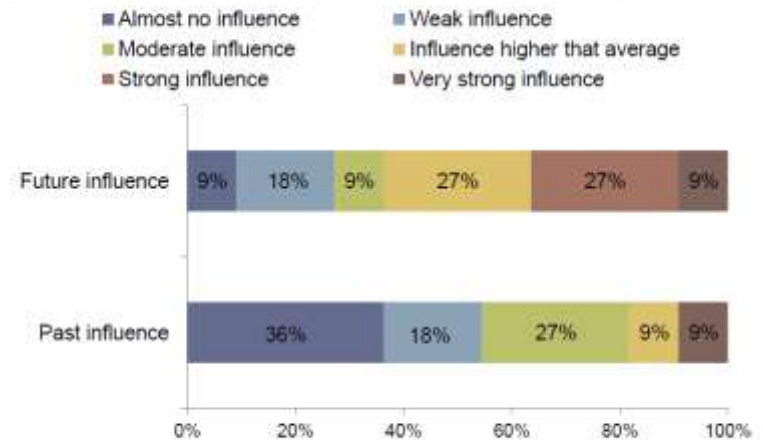
▶ %of total number of responses. 11 responses in total

Influence of crowdfunding. Summary

▶ Influence of this factor in the past is estimated as "moderate":

  ▸ On the one hand, there are projects which are financed solely through crowdfunding. On the other hand, the awareness and understanding of this instrument is still quite low (especially in the regions of Russia, in smaller cities).

▶ The future influence is evaluated as "higher than average". In the future:

  ▸ It is projected that the usage of "crowdfunding" will be growing, leading to more political and civic activity independent from the state. Some experts say that popularization of this instrument is needed in the future.

  ▸ It is possible that crowdfunding will be growing as a separate form of political participation (in case of tougher laws for the direct political participation).

  ▸ Crowdfunding can finance the development of both positive and negative formats of activity (such as terrorism).

▶ 13

Influence of socio-economic inequality. Summary

▶ Influence in the past is evaluated as moderate, however, in the future it will become stronger.

▶ Experts note that feeling of social injustice (resulted from socio-economic inequality) was one of the main motivations for political participation. This topic was used by some political actors and by state powers doing reforms.

▶ In the future, socio-economic inequality is projected to grow leading to more discontent (passive or active), aggression and intolerance. People do not believe that they can improve the situation through elections, therefore they will use alternative ways to change the situation. Potentially, this can lead to revolutionary scenario.

▶ 15

Range of estimations of the factor "Socio-economic inequality"

- ■ Unimportant, no influence
- ■ Almost no influence
- ■ Weak influence
- ■ Moderate influence
- ■ Influence higher that average
- ■ Strong influence
- ■ Very strong influence

Future influence	9% 9% 18% 36% 9% 18%	
Past influence	9% 18% 9% 9% 27% 18% 9%	

0%   20%   40%   60%   80%   100%
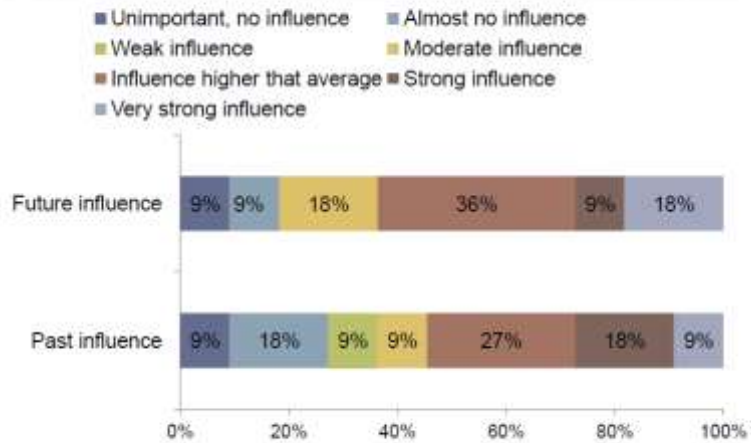
▶ %of total number of responses. 11 responses in total

Range of estimations of the factor "Corruption"

- ■ Almost no influence
- ■ Weak influence
- ■ Moderate influence
- ■ Influence higher than average
- ■ Strong influence
- ■ Very strong influence

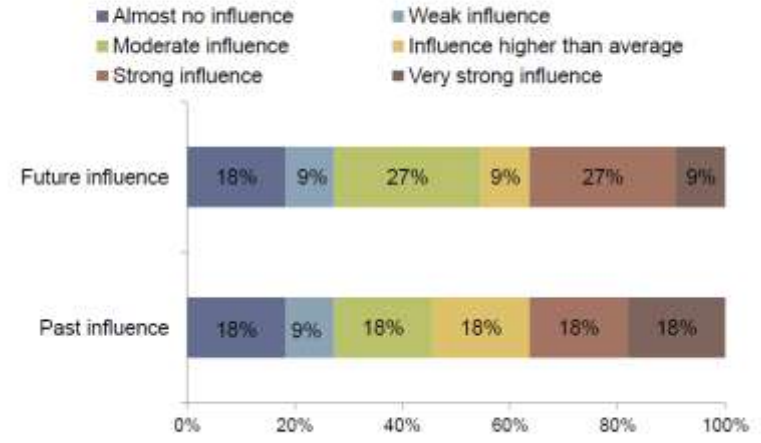|		
Future influence	18% 9% 27% 9% 27% 9%	
Past influence	18% 9% 18% 18% 18% 18%	

0%   20%   40%   60%   80%   100%

▶ %of total number of responses. 11 responses in total

Influence of corruption. Summary

- ▶ Influence of corruption is on average evaluated as strong both in the past years and in the following decade.
- ▶ Part of experts recon that corruption was an important factor of citizens' mobilization only in the past. Now, though the level of corruption is still high, it is not considered as the major problem of the society. As a result, the importance of corruption as a factor of citizens' mobilization, reduced and will continue to decline in the future.
- ▶ Some experts took the opposite view and consider corruption as an important factor in the development of the situation in the future. It is noted that the influence of this factor could lead to a revolutionary situation.
- ▶ Some experts pointed out that corruption leads to discontent of the existing political system, which will eventually lead to a decrease in participation in elections.
- ▶ Finally, the deterioration of public administration and a systemic crisis are projected because of corruption.

▶ 17

b. Factors with moderate influence on the future

19

Influence of civic life regulation. Summary (1/2)

- Evaluations of past influence of this factor are quite contradictory.
- On the one hand, it is noted that the new legislation in recent years:
  - Increased the capacity of the state to force pressure on activists;
  - Reduced the legal field for political participation;
  - Caused a short-term decline in protest activity, but leads to the accumulation of discontent;
  - Virtually destroyed the civil activity;
  - Liquidated parties as institutions.
- On the other hand, it is noted that the legislative innovations of recent years:
  - Allow civil society to develop;
  - Stimulate participation of the society in political process.
- Some experts say that civil society is subject to manipulation, can be used as a tool for a variety of purposes, and therefore its legislative regulation necessary.
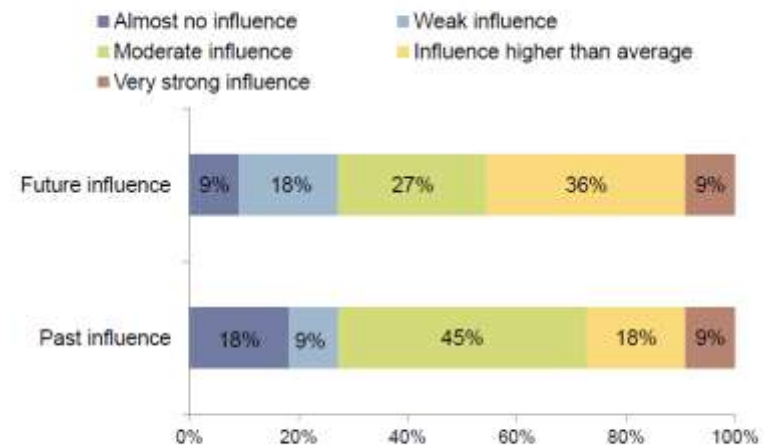
20

Influence of civic life regulation. Summary (2/2)

- Experts project that in the future:
  - New repressive laws will be accepted;
  - Any political activity independent from the state will be limited;
  - The activity of revolutionary parties will be limited;
  - Activity of independent trade unions will be limited;
  - New limitations of media and Internet-activity will be introduced.
- The above mentioned state's actions:
  - Will cause resistance from the society;
  - Will lead to transformation of protest activity from legal to illegal actions.
- On the other hand, legislative encouragement of public participation in the political process is also projected.

21

Range of estimations of the factor "Regulation of civic life"

Legend:
- Almost no influence
- Weak influence
- Moderate influence
- Influence higher than average
- Very strong influence

	Almost no influence	Weak influence	Moderate influence	Influence higher than average	Very strong influence
Future influence	9%	18%	27%	36%	9%
Past influence	18%	9%	45%	18%	9%

(Scale: 0% 20% 40% 60% 80% 100%)

- %of total number of responses. 11 responses in total

Influence of migration. Summary

- On average migration is estimated as a factor that has a moderate effect on political participation.
- Experts identified the following possible developments of migration in the future:
  - Citizens with liberal views will leave and citizens with more archaic views will come;
  - Migration will increase (although its growth rate is uncertain);
  - Stable/increasing illegal migration.
- The following possible effects of migration on political participation are mentioned:
  - A negative impact on political participation: the proportion of the population with archaic views, not interested in democracy will be increasing;
  - Rising xenophobia and increased possibility of marginal nationalist groups activity;
  - National communities will be created and will involve in the political process;
  - New problems will not arise (migration influence on political life stabilized);
  - Possibility that local problems (such as domestic conflicts) are swelled up to a nationwide level;
  - A ground for fascistization of the society is created.

23

Range of estimations of the factor "Migration"

- Almost no influence
- Moderate influence
- Strong influence
- Weak influence
- Influence higher than average

Future influence	9%	18%	36%	18%	18%
Past influence	18%	27%	27%	9%	18%

0%   20%   40%   60%   80%   100%
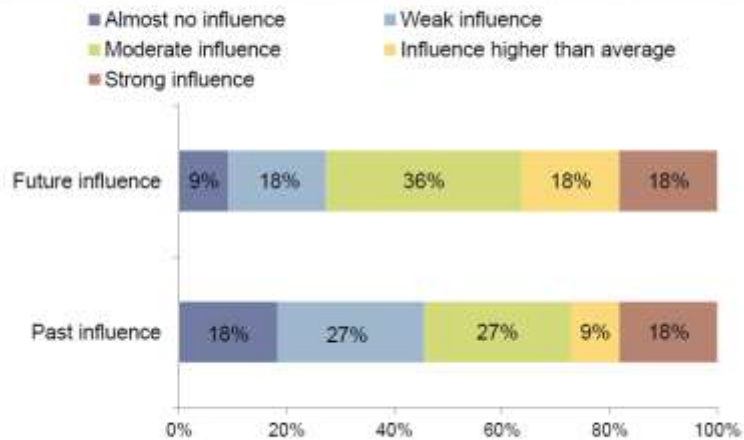
▶ 34 of total number of responses. 11 responses in total

Range of estimations of the factor "Generations change"

- Almost no influence
- Moderate influence
- Strong influence
- Weak influence
- Influence higher than average
- Very strong influence

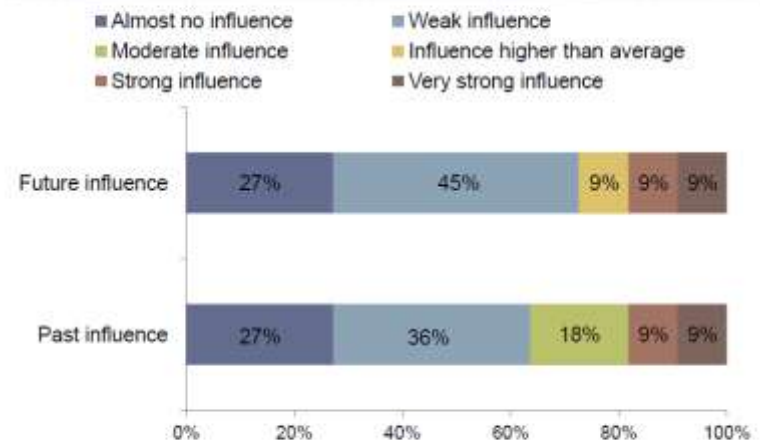|					
Future influence	27%	45%	9%	9%	9%
Past influence	27%	36%	18%	9%	9%

0%   20%   40%   60%   80%   100%

▶ 26 of total number of responses. 11 responses in total

Influence of generations change. Summary

▶ The following effects of young people inclusion into political participation in the recent years:
  ▸ Blurring of public consensus, established at the turn of the 90-2000s;
  ▸ Negative influence.
▶ Projections of the influence of this factor in the future are quite contradictory:
  ▸ The new generation will be more politically active than the previous one;
  ▸ The current generation of 20-30 year olds will be passive, lacking initiative;
  ▸ The impact of generational change will depend on the possibility of socialization of the new generation;
  ▸ Young people may be more easily deceived beautiful ideas than those who have gone through 90s.

▶ 25

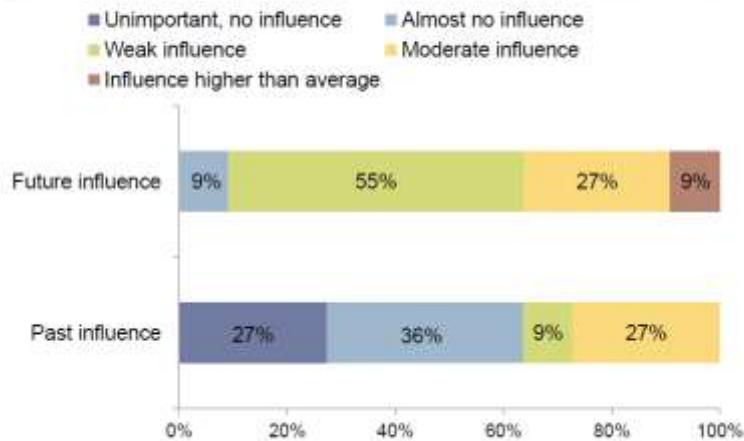## c. The least important factors

27

Influence of multi-nationality. Summary

- The past influence of this factor on the political participation as very weak ("almost no influence"). Its future influence is estimated bit higher, but on average as "weak".
- Experts point out that because of multi-nationality of Russia, ethnic conflicts are possible, they periodically occurred and will occur at a household level.
  - Nowadays the theme of ethnic conflict recedes into the background on the agenda, as there are more actual problems.
- The influence of multi-nationality depends on the state policy and may change depending on the political situation.

▶ 28

Influence of individualistic values. Summary

- Most experts have noted a weak influence of the factor on political participation, both in the past and in the future.
- Those experts who recognized stronger influence of this factor, noted its negative impact on political participation:
  - Individualism is equal to anomie;
  - Individualism separates people and reduces the capacity for collective action.
- At the same time, it is noted that individualism may be one of the motives of participation in politics.
- Some experts point to the need to promote the values of individualism through education, while other experts consider it necessary to fight with individualism.

▶ 30

Range of estimations of the factor "Multi-nationality"

Legend:
- Unimportant, no influence
- Almost no influence
- Weak influence
- Moderate influence
- Influence higher than average

Future influence	9%	55%	27%	9%
Past influence	27%	36%	9%	27%	

▶ 29 of total number of responses. 11 responses in total

Range of estimations of the factor "Spread of individualistic values"

Legend:
- No influence
- Almost no influence
- Weak influence
- Moderate influence
- Influence higher than average
- Strong influence
- Very strong influence

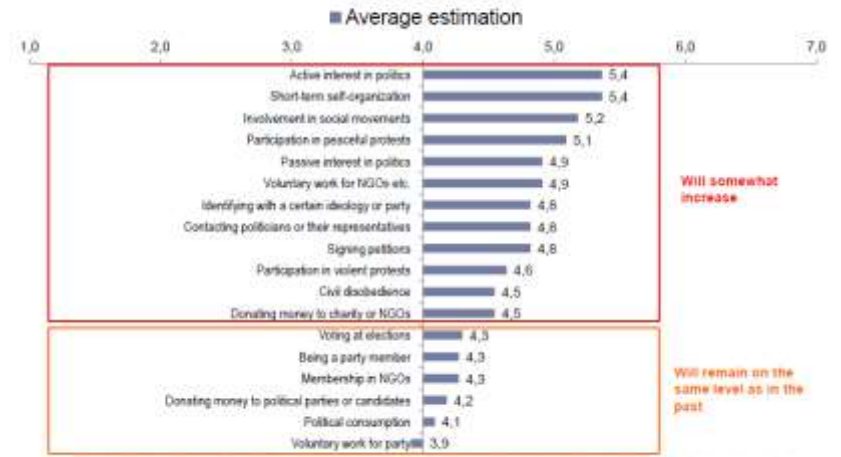|						
Future influence	9%	27%	45%		18%	
Past influence	9%	36%	18%	9%	18%	9%
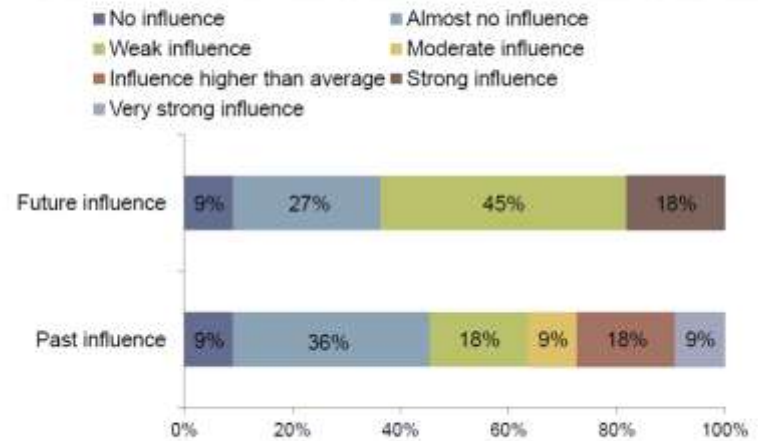
▶ 31 of total number of responses. 11 responses in total

B. Forms of political participation

Past (2010-2014) and future (2014-2025)

32

Involvement in political participation **in the future (2014-2025)**

■ Average estimation

Active interest in politics	5,4
Short-term self-organization	5,4
Involvement in social movements	5,2
Participation in peaceful protests	5,1
Passive interest in politics	4,9
Voluntary work for NGOs etc.	4,9
Identifying with a certain ideology or party	4,8
Contacting politicians or their representatives	4,8
Signing petitions	4,8
Participation in violent protests	4,6
Civil disobedience	4,5
Donating money to charity or NGOs	4,5

Will somewhat increase

Voting at elections	4,5
Being a party member	4,3
Membership in NGOs	4,3
Donating money to political parties or candidates	4,2
Political consumption	4,1
Voluntary work for party	3,9

Will remain on the same level as in the past

▶ % of total number of responses. 11 responses in total

Involvement in political participation in the past 4-5 years

■ Average estimation (%)

Passive interest in politics	36%
Voting at elections	33%
Active interest in politics	29%
Identifying with a certain ideology or party	21%
Short-term self-organization	14%
Voluntary work for NGOs etc.	9%
Involvement in social movements	9%
Political consumption	9%
Donating money to charity or NGOs	8%
Membership in NGOs	8%
Signing petitions	7%
Contacting politicians or their representatives	7%
Participation in peaceful protests	6%
Being a party member	5%
Voluntary work for party	4%
Donating money to political parties or candidates	4%
Participation in violent protests	2%
Civil disobedience	2%

▶ % of total number of responses. 11 responses in total

C. Models of relationships between the state and civil society

Relationships in the past 4-5 years
Possible futures (2014-2025)
Desirable futures (2014-2025)

35

Description of possible models

| Model's name	Explanation
Model of state support	Government supports citizens' activity through concrete actions (for example, legislation, education etc.)
Dialog model	Government admits the importance of citizen's political participation for the effective democratic development of the country, and maintains the dialog with citizens and citizens associations on a regular basis
Citizens as architects	Associations of citizens form political agenda, propose solutions for problems, participate in reformations of governmental institutions
Paternalistic model	The state uses civic associations as the means to perform control over the society
The model of ignorance	State does not pay attention to civic associations, as well as to civic and political participation. It does not interfere and does not help
The model of fight with adversary	Government sees active political participation as dangerous for the state and tries to make life of activists harder
The model of civic disobedience	Civic rights and freedoms are violated by the state, that's why citizens take part in unsanctioned demonstrations and other actions which provoke repressive actions from the state
Independent citizens	Citizens self-organize and perform social projects independently and without control from the state. The state does not have means to control citizens

▶ 36

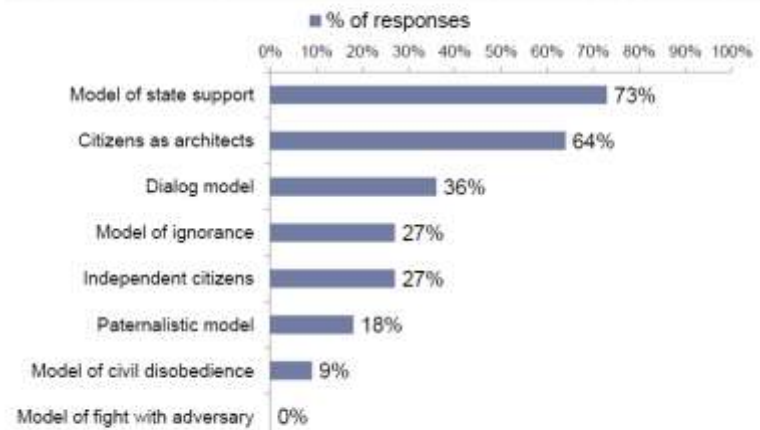## How experts see models of relationship in the **past**
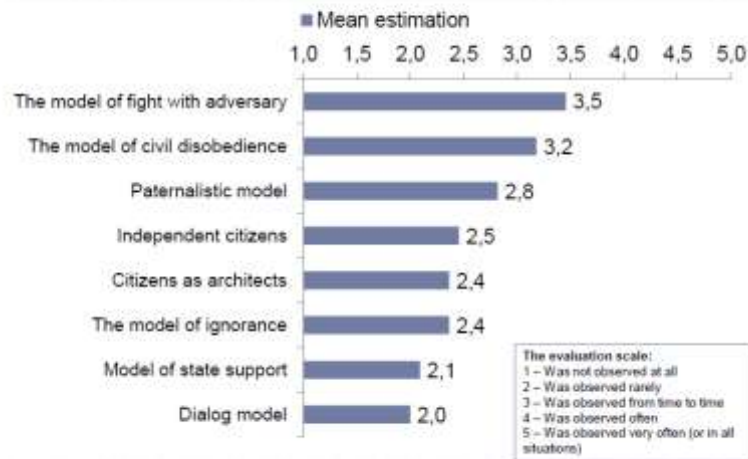
▶ % of total number of responses. 11 responses in total

Possible futures of state-civil society relationships (2014-2025)
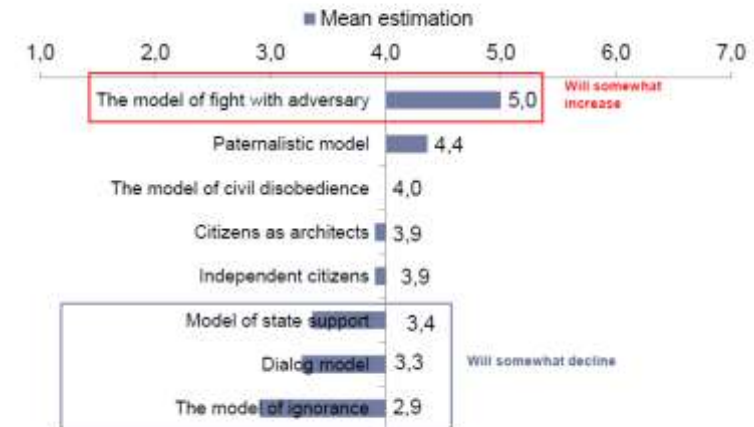
▶ No other models were added

Desired futures by 2025

▶ % of total number of responses. 11 responses in total