Local Politics in a Comparative Perspective

The Cases of Petrozavodsk and Tübingen
Schriftenreihe des Europäischen Zentrums für Föderalismus-Forschung Tübingen (EZFF)

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Band 49
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Rolf Frankenberger | Elena Chernenkova [eds.]
Preface

In 2014, the cities of Petrozavodsk and Tübingen celebrated the 25th anniversary of the city twinning in 1989. In these 25 years, many cooperation projects, partnerships, exchanges and friendships were built between the two cities’ people and institutions. In advance of the anniversary, there were several projects to deepen scientific exchange and closer cooperation between the universities in both cities, Eberhard Karls University and Petrozavodsk State University. Starting from a study on comparative local politics and political culture conducted by a Tübingen Team of researchers in Tübingen and Petrozavodsk, the idea of an intense exchange on perspectives of local politics and culture and their determinants arose. Together with representatives of the two municipalities, Stephan Klingebiel and Natalya Lavrushina, a concept for a joint workshop and public presentations was developed. Thanks to funding of the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), the Project “TUE-PETRO-NET” came to life, including public lectures and joint discussions at Petrozavodsk State University in September 2016 and an Expert Workshop in October 2016 in Petrozavodsk. At the workshop, social scientists and practitioners from politics and civil society discussed and analyzed different aspects of local politics, power, participation and civil society. Most of the contributions to this volume were presented and discussed at the workshop, and further research perspectives were identified, namely local participation and political culture as well as social innovation. As editors, we would like to thank all participants of the workshop contributing to fruitful and lively discussions and thank all authors delivering articles for the book. Special acknowledgements go to the municipalities of Tübingen and Petrozavodsk as well as to Eberhard Karls University and Petrozavodsk State University for supporting the project.

Special thanks go to Olga Riedinger for her excellent efforts in translating several articles from Russian to English. For translating from German to English and proof-reading we also thank Carsten Rith and Isabel Sinner. Invaluable communicative and interpretative work was also done by Ernest Tziprin, Mark Kirsanov and Svetlana Filon during the workshop. Elena Kharcheva and Olga Riedinger deserve special acknowledgement for assisting during the workshop. Monika Przybysz at the DAAD was always there for questions and advise during the whole project. Thanks also to the European Center for Research on Federalism for including the volume in their publication series. Volker Daiber from Nomos Publishers guided us through the publication process. Carmen Thamm always was patient with lately submitted manuscripts that she layouted, edited and proof-read very carefully. Last but not least, we want to thank the DAAD for funding the volume.

Petrozavodsk and Tübingen, August 2017
Elena Chernenkova and Rolf Frankenberger

https://doi.org/10.5771/9783845282213
Das Erstellen und Weitergeben von Kopien dieses PDFs ist nicht zulässig.
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Introduction: Comparing Local Politics. The Cases of Petrozavodsk and Tübingen

Elena Chernenkova/Rolf Frankenberger

All politics is local. This is at least what former Congressman and US Speaker of the House of Representatives Tip O’Neill is said to have stated referring to the principle that successful politicians have to stay connected to their constituency and to the problems, interests and opinions of their local electorate.1 But, as Peter Allen and David Cutts ask, “what do we mean by local?”.2 Can we reduce the term local to the rootedness of national politics in the grass of constituencies, communities, or municipalities? This might be one way to define it. One could also argue that even though all politics is local, local politics is where the people are. This shifts the focus of analysis away from the national level of the political system towards the regional or even local level of governance, government, politics and participation. There are manifold studies dealing with political phenomena on the local level in different disciplines from political science to public administration, from geography to ethnography, from economics to architecture. Even though probably addressing the same entities, the foci of interest slightly shift: Whereas Urban Studies3 mainly focus on development and planning of cities, Local and Municipal Government Studies highlight the importance of public administrations and governmental institutions in local politics.4 Local Governance Studies instead broaden the perspective of politics by including private, business and not-for business actors in their analysis of political decision making.5 And there are also different perspectives on actors in local politics. Whereas some studies focus on political elites, others take a grassroots perspective on citizen government, civic participation, and social engagement.

Starting from the notion that local self-government is one of the core principles for the political organization of municipalities across Europe\(^6\), this volume takes a slightly different perspective, that in a way combines several aspects of the fields of study mentioned above. Municipalities are the venue for citizens to directly experience politics, and they also constitute the playground for diverse actors from business, civil society, administration and politics in the political arena. Thus, one could argue that local politics work similarly irrespective of cultural, political and social environments, as they are driven by local needs and demands. This narrow perspective on local politics seems to be somewhat misleading, given the fact that the local political level of municipalities is embedded in multi-level governance arrangements and political institutions. And they are embedded in different settings of (political) culture and society.

If we then want to understand local politics, we should widen the perspective of analysis and treat regional belonging, institutional settings and multi-level governance at least as potential determinants of variation. As research-literature doing or dealing with inter- and cross-regional comparisons suggests, these systemic environments still do have impact on local self-government\(^7\): They might constrain political actors and shape political processes in very specific ways. Examining two cities - Petrozavodsk and Tübingen – in comparative case studies and from a comparative perspective, social scientists and practitioners in politics and civil society from both municipalities contributing to the volume analyze how local politics and political culture are shaped in multi-level governance, how state-society relations and civic participation work in different systemic settings.

The volume comprises six thematic sections, each focusing on a different aspect of local politics. Starting from more general theoretical and methodological issues in section I, we investigate in political culture, identity and public opinion in section II move on to in section II. The articles in section III deal with social innovation as a mechanism and driving force of change and development in municipalities. In sections IV, V, and VI we broaden the perspectives, starting from political participation in local politics, passing on to state-society relations and NGOs and ending up with international relations in local politics.

In the first section, four articles deal with theoretical and methodological issues. In his article, Rolf Frankenberger asks whether the systemic environment makes a difference for local politics. He argues that cross-national comparisons as such come along with some theoretical and methodological challenges. This is even more the case considering different

\(^6\) Local self-government is codified in German Basic Law (Art. 28, 2.1) as well as in the Constitution of the Russian Federation (Art.12, 1+2). In addition, both countries have ratified the European Charter on Local Self-Government in 1988, and 1998 respectively.

regional cultures, political systems, the dualism of formal institutions and informal politics and social environments being involved in such studies. Using the cases of Tübingen and Petrozavodsk for comparing local self-government, he illustrates these challenges and offers a strategy to deal with them: the use of systems theory as a heuristic for research and the triangulation of research methods, such as document analysis and expert interviews, seem to be a valuable strategy to control for some of the challenges for empirical research. Non-rigorous, analytic-inductive case study designs then can offer valuable insights into functional equivalents and the interplay of formal and informal practices. Martin Große Hüttmann further elaborates on systemic environments in his article on multi-level governance. Using the examples of the challenges of migration policy and the integration management in recent times in Germany, he explains and explores the leverage of the the concept of multi-level governance. The high amount of migrants seeking entry into Europe and Germany in 2015 made clear that decentralized policy-making is better prepared for the management and implementation of policies than the top down approach. In their article on lifeworld, democracy and social trust, Rolf Frankenberger and Daniel Buhr focus on individual and collective determinants of local politics. They argue that contemporary societies undergo fundamental changes driven by individualization, globalization and digitalization. Using Alfred Schütz’ phenomenological approach of life world, they argue that learning democracy depends on whom you bowl with and where. They propose a conceptual enlargement of research on democracy and participation to assess the varieties of life worlds, the themes and relations that are relevant to them and the way how specific patterns of orientation and motivation derived from the life world influence social capital, political participation and the evaluation of democracy. Konstantin Terentyev devotes his article to the analysis of methodological challenges concerning the development and organization of sociological surveys aiming to identify the level of citizens’ satisfaction with the quality of municipal services. The main emphasis in the article is on the development of effective and scientifically-based tools (questionnaire and sample design), the organization of the field stage, and the calculation of indicators. The basis for this article is provided by the author's methodology for conducting a similar survey, as well as by the results of its implementation.

Political culture, identity and public opinion influence local politics as much as institutional frameworks. In section II, four articles are dedicated to shed light on these aspects. Svetlana Rozhneva analyzes discourses on the “National Idea” in political party programs in Russia and Karelia. The choice of Karelia is connected with specific region, its cross-border nature to the European North. This allows for contrasting conflicts of authoritarian and democratic values. The author concludes that rather than being a dominant value, the national idea is used by political elites to influence public opinion. The myth of a national idea thus is enhanced by its pragmatic value for political forces. Political Parties of real weight at the federal and regional levels use this discourse time by time in order to enhance their legitimacy. Drawing on theoretical assumptions outlined in their article in section I, Daniel Buhr and Rolf Frankenberger dispreads a map of political life worlds in Baden-Württemberg. Based on a qualitative study with 275 interviews conducted in 2014 in fourteen municipalities, they analyze political attitudes and everyday life in order to identify
political life worlds. They find three groups of life worlds – distant, delegative, and participatory – with different patterns and concepts of democracy and politics, as well as different levels and forms of participation, that cross-cut established categories of social stratification and social milieus. Oleg Tolstoguzov and Maria Pitukhina investigate in the sustainability of society in the cross-border region of the Republic of Karelia. As a result, federal and regional migration policies were called into question. The authors present a survey-based study that allows them to estimate the changes in Karelian society in the following ten years. Surveys were conducted in 2016 among both, migrants and the recipient society members. The results reveal specific features of the core and the waves of migration that allow for predictions of structural societal changes. Alexander Ilyin analyzes Petrozavodsk citizens’ attitudes towards the activities of internal affairs bodies and the Ministry of Internal Affairs in the Republic of Karelia. Negative evaluations and attitudes towards the performance and work of internal affairs bodies in Russia were the main drivers for the Russian federal law „On the Police“, that was set into force in 2011. In order to monitor the quality of services of internal affairs bodies and especially police forces as well as their evaluation by the citizens, the Republic of Karelia conducted two surveys in 2014 and 2015. One of the main results is that citizens’ trust in the activities of the police declined during this period, partly due to perceived low quality of the internal affairs bodies’ work, but partly also caused by the poor overall socio-economic situation and the comparative perspective on the quality of public services in Finland.

Local politics can serve as a laboratory for social development and participatory problem solving. The three articles of section III explore the role of social innovation in social development. Daniel Buhr argues that innovation is driven by people and that, although these processes become more open and even more globalized, a main knowledge-base for innovation remains on the local and regional level. He uses the concept Quadruple Helix as a framework for analyzing and setting up local innovation processes including four different stakeholder groups: industry, university, government, and civil society. In modern Welfare States these regional networks are embedded in specific institutional settings which influence both, the supply and demand for new products and innovative services – especially in the area of health and care. Instead of focusing on a technology-driven understanding of innovation and support of the supply-side, he argues, the demand-side and diffusion of new ideas, products or services should be in the focus of interest especially with regard to the health and care sector. Here, users play a crucial role. Therefore, users and employees should be involved in the innovation process from the very beginning – as codesigners and co-deciders as well as the central drivers of technological and social innovation. Yulija Petrovskaya shares this perspective and argues that social participation and innovative technologies should be combined, as both are core factors for enhancing social well-being. Analyzing existing approaches to the study of social welfare, she argues that there is a lack and profound inconsistency concerning the impact of social change on subjective individual well-being and the correlation of individual and social well-being. She substantiates the importance of public organizations as subjects in the production of welfare and presents specific features for assessing the significance of their activities. Finally, Daniel Buhr presents the LebensPhasenHaus as an example for innovation by participa-
An ageing society is confronted with challenges but in parallel there is a plethora of opportunities that might sooner or later impact the development and usage of smart environments. This was the starting point for the LebensPhasenHaus in Tübingen (Germany), which provides the opportunity to touch, explore and experience technologies and services in the field of independent living. Following the quadruple helix approach of the European Commission, all relevant stakeholders (academia, businesses, government authorities and the civil society) have to be involved in the innovation process: innovation by participation. Elderly volunteers – some of them informal care-givers – help to develop new ideas into smart services and products while, at the same time, raising the awareness and acceptance of smart environments by strengthening user involvement. It is shown how acceptance can be considered to be a running process, based on observations and experiences in Tübingen.

Local politics is the place where citizens, politicians and administration interact in manifold ways. In section IV, political participation of citizens a vital part of policy making in municipal politics is examined. And it is a core element of local democracy, as Gertrud van Ackern and Rolf Frankenberger illustrate for the case of Tübingen. They examine the legal frameworks for participation in a multi-level governance system and show that there are different opportunities for participation in representative, deliberative and direct democratic regulations on the different supranational and federal levels of the systemic environment of local politics. As deliberative democracy becomes more and more important for civic participation, there need to be guideline for meaningful participation. The Tübingen principles for deliberative participation are one example how these processes can be managed. That also illustrates the principles for deliberative civic participation implemented by the municipality of Tübingen. One example of deliberative democracy is presented and evaluated by Gleb Yarovoy and Elena Tsumarova: Public Hearings. Public hearings are the communication channel between authorities and the population that do not entail significant investment or costs from both parties. Hearings allow citizens to commence directly, discuss and make political decisions concerning all or some of the population of a certain municipality. The authors discuss current state of public hearings in city of Petrozavodsk by analyzing the legal basis of direct participation of the citizens in municipal decision-making and the attitudes of regular citizens and experts towards the main problems of this institution. The authors show a significant amount of “pain points” that prevent the institution from carrying out its function efficiently. Varvara Inozemtseva adds another perspective on participation in policy making by focusing on a rather exclusive form of participation linked to a certain status beyond the one of being a citizen or inhabitant of a municipality. Experts and expert communities play a significant role in preparing decision making in modern administrations. Using a procedural-cyclical meta-model focusing on the dynamics of the behavior of the decision-making officials and state bodies, as well as on the factors that influence the shares of the decision makers, she analyzes the structure and impact of the regional expert-analytical community in the Republic of Karelia.
A somewhat broader picture of state-society relations is painted in section V. Four articles focus on the role of collective civil society actors and especially socially oriented nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in local politics. In her contribution, Elena Chernenkova discusses various forms of state support for socially-oriented NGOs operating in municipal districts in the Republic of Karelia. The author elicits top case studies as well as problem areas in the process of establishing a networking interaction between state and civil institutions. The focus of her analysis lies on social policy implementation in the framework provided by public administration. Closely related to that issue, Yelena Antoshko asks how the quality of social services at the municipal level can be improved by State-Society cooperation. In her article, she reveals the prerequisites for the origin and the formation of an independent quality assessment for the activities of organizations in the Republic of Karelia as a form of public control that ensures sustainable development of state-society cooperation, in order to improve the quality of social services and the quality of life in general. Nikolay Oskin analyzes the history of the development of civil society in Karelia, relations between the authorities and NGOs. Introducing the example of the Karelian Resource Center of NGO’s he reveals the invaluable work of NGO’s in the fields of interethnic relations, social support and cross-border cooperation. As Ngo’s play a vital role in providing services as well as opportunities for participation and interest articulation, they themselves need backup. Anastasia Lesik brings forward the project “Legal support of socially-oriented non-profit organizations” as an example for assisting NGOs by providing legal advice and legal education for their representatives. Consideration of the practice of the project allowed to analyze the social partnership between NGOs and public authorities built in the process of implementation the project and to analyze main results of the project activity.

Municipalities do have their own international relations, as many of them have partnerships with cities around the world. The cases of Tübingen and Petrozavodsk with their more than 25 years old history of city twinning provide evidence for the importance of local politics’ going international, as the contributions of section VI illustrate. Natalya Lavrushina considers international cultural and social exchange to be a vital part of citizen participation in Petrozavodsk. Petrozavodsk’s sister relations started in the 1960s and are now part of the city’s life, in which citizens, authorities, institutions and NGOs are involved. In general, these decades of cooperation have been working towards development of the city and active citizen participation in the process. The communication system from the different proponents of international relations has been created in this city. And since the very beginning of the sister relation role of NGOs – friendship societies have been and are first and foremost very important. The relations between Petrozavodsk and Tübingen are a good example of different levels of successful cooperation. In his article, Stephan Klingebiel mirrors these experiences from a Tübingen point of view and highlights the positive effects of city twinning. Almost every city in Germany has sister cities. Most cities present their international relations with signs right at the road when you enter the city. They want to show that they are part of something bigger and express that they have an international appeal. Cities not only highlight their contribution to a better international understanding but also the enrichment of their inhabitants’ lifes. Starting from a brief history of town twinning, he focuses on four dimensions of town twinning that contribute to
these intentions: Reconciliation and peacekeeping, “enabling” citizens, fostering education, innovation and networking, and last but not least, city marketing. Sister City Collaboration also brings forward collaboration of collective actors and institutions, as Marina S. Gvozdeva, Inna V. Kreneva and Olga A. Veselovskaya show. They dwell on the history of the sister city relations of Petrozavodsk with the partners in Germany, France and USA. The sister city collaboration is viewed as an added value for the citizens, the municipality, NGOs, Petrozavodsk State University and other stakeholders. The article elaborates on the formats and best practices of such collaboration developed in the course of years. Besides, the authors make a special focus on the on-going intercultural dialogue as an asset to training prospective teachers in the region. Last but not least, Dmitry Tsvibel tells an amazing love story between Jews of Petrozavodsk and Christians of Tübingen that is originated in the cities’ international relations and is a perfect example of international understanding and reconciliation. On July 19th 1996, the Jewish community of Petrozavodsk received its Torah Scroll, purchased with money raised by the people of Tübingen. This event has changed the life of Petrozavodsk Jewry, enabling them to become a full-fledged community and uniting them with their ancestors and the great traditions of their people. The gift of Torah was initiated by a group of Tübingen Christians, who set their aim, as Christians and Germans, to build new ties of friendship with the Jews, particularly Russian Jews, spreading awareness of the Jewish history. The article is a brief recapitulation of that amazing love story between Petrozavodsk Jewish community and Tübingen Dietrich Bonhoeffer-Kirche, which has now entered into its third decade.

Albeit there might be many more aspects to be analyzed in local politics, e.g. policy formulation, city development, provision of services, or influence of local elites on local politics, this volume might be used as a starting point for further investigations into comparing local politics across regions and areas.
PART 1: THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS
Does the Systemic Environment Matter? Theoretical and Methodological Issues in Comparing Local Politics across World Regions

Rolf Frankenberger

Abstract: Cross-national comparisons as such come along with some theoretical and methodological challenges. This is even more the case considering different regional cultures, political systems, the dualism of formal institutions and informal politics and social environments being involved in such studies. Using the cases of Tübingen and Petrozavodsk for comparing local self-government, I will illustrate these challenges and offer a strategy to deal with them: the use of systems theory as a heuristic for research and the triangulation of research methods, such as document analysis and expert interviews, seem to be a valuable strategy to control for some of the challenges for empirical research. Non-rigorous, analytic-inductive case study designs then can offer valuable insights into functional equivalents and the interplay of formal and informal practices.

Keywords: Comparative Politics, Methodology, systems theory, functional equivalents

Introduction

Municipalities are the places where people experience politics directly in their immediate surrounding. Political processes and decision are tangible and can also be shaped within the limits of current legislation. Local self-government as “[…] the right and the actual capabilities of the regional and local authorities to regulate a considerable part of public issues within the limitations of current law on their own responsibility for the benefit of their inhabitants”\(^1\) constitutes the core of this tangible politics.

The European Charter on Local Self Government constitutes a central normative foundation for the organization of local authorities. The latter are defined as having democratically elected decision-making bodies in addition to as much autonomy as possible with regards to their responsibilities and to the manner in which they exert these responsibilities. Furthermore, they are autonomous with respect to the means they require for the fulfillment of these responsibilities.\(^2\) Meanwhile the Charter has been ratified by all member states of the European council. Germany has ratified it on the 09/01/1988 and Russia on the 09/01/1998.

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2 Ibidem; The responsibilities of municipalities include services for the public such as to provide water, electricity, local transport, child care, primary education, medical and health care, road construction, public order and security. Cf. Frankenberger, Rolf/Kiener, Isabell 2015: Kommunale Politik im Wandel. Petrozawodsk und Tübingen, Tübingen.
But how are municipal self-government and civic participation designed and integrated? This question has been exemplarily examined in a study on the municipalities of Petrosawodsk and Tübingen. Both municipalities are places where politics can be experienced as decision-making and implementation takes place on local level. In addition, they are regional authorities that administer and organize themselves autonomously and in self-responsibility in the sense of the European Charter: The principle of local self-government is anchored by the constitutions of both countries: In German basic law, Art. 28, paragraph 2, Sentence 1 it says: “The municipalities must be granted the right to regulate all matters of the local community in the limits of given legislature in their own responsibility.” In the Constitution of the Russian Federation Art. 2, Sentence 1 and 2 say: “In the Russian Federation the local self-government is acknowledged a guaranteed say”. The local self-government is autonomous in the limits of its responsibilities.

However, the realization of municipal self-government takes place against the backdrop of differing institutional framework conditions of Germany and Russia, differing regional relevance of the cities and differing history and culture. This results in multiple theoretical and methodological challenges for a comparison. In the following, these are presented and discussed along the results of the studies.

Theoretical Challenges

Case Selection and Comparative Design

One core question of comparative politics is the question concerning the tertium comparationis. Arend Lijphart calls to limit a comparative analysis to comparable cases. He refers to cases that resemble one another with respect to a large number of characteristics but differ with respect to the variables of interest. With this definition he highlights the role of the most similar case-design, which Przeworski and Teune propose as a potentially strict comparative design. In fact, with respect to various aspects the cases are similar: Both municipalities represent the lowest level of a federal governmental system. Also, in both cases the Charta has been ratified, etc. With respect to other framework conditions such as culture, language, institutional framework conditions or regime type, the both municipalities are so called “most different systems”. Also when having a closer at the phenomenon of interest it becomes questionable whether municipal self-government withstands such a...
rigorous comparative design. With the municipal self-government both municipalities perform an analogous functionality but differ considerably with respect to the implementation. Both rigorous comparative designs are about identifying causal relationship between an independent and a dependent variable. When comparing Tübingen and Petrosawodsk this comparative design however becomes blurred: The question about the framework conditions and their transformation which serve as the basis for the functioning of municipal self-government is paramount.

From a methodological point of view this study consists of two qualitative single case studies for which the peculiarities of both cases have been carved out and subsequently compared. Moses and Knutsen emphasize that merging single case studies in more or less rigid comparative studies has a large relevance especially for generating hypotheses about the phenomenon of interest. The strength is that the findings of completely different cases can be brought together like building blocks in order to generate evidence with the highest possible degree of generalization.

**Theoretical Foundations**

In order to allow for such a generalization, it is also recommended for hypothesis generating and inductive-analytical case studies to consult theoretical approaches as heuristics for the comparison. Thereby, it seems to be advisable to follow a two-stage process: First, the formulation of a heuristic framework along general categories and second its specification using more specific approaches. For the first step, such approaches seem to be useful that are indifferent towards regime types and regional peculiarities and which allow to capture functional logics and the relevance of intervening variables. Concerning the first step, e.g. Frankenberger and Graf plead for the systematic usage of system theoretical approaches.11 This would allow for using the concept of functional differentiation of societies in order to answer the question on functional equivalents: All societies have to fulfill four basic functions: 1) Adaption (Mediating the interests between system and environment); 2) Goal achievement (Regulating the goal relations between system and environment); 3) Integration (Unity of the system and adaption of the subsystem to one another as well as implementation and coordination of individual and collective interests) and 4) Structure maintenance (meaning endowing rules and symbolism of long persisting cultural systems).12 Depending on the system context different behavior patterns can make an equiva-

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10 Znaniecki, Florian 1934: The Method of Sociology, Austin.
lent contribution to system maintenance, or respectively, the same behavioral patterns can make a different contribution. Building on that idea, approaches of comparative system analysis identify diverse types of political systems. However, the way in which the political system is integrated in its societal environment is often neglected in comparative research. Yet, the societal context is often central for the identification of interdependencies of effects.

Therefore, as a second step, to operationalize the integration in societal contexts via area specific theories is conducive. This is basically about the question in how far the municipal territorial authorities are actually capable to administer themselves. Two aspects play a role for this: first, the question of institutionalization and second the question of historic and cultural embeddedness of power.

Institutions are defined as “behavior regulating and predictability generating social rule systems”\(^{14}\). They can be interpreted as historically grown bundles of formal and informal rules and norms, of monitoring and implementation mechanisms and of meaning systems. They provide the framework for individual and collective action\(^ {15}\) and represent crystallized power structures\(^ {16}\). Institutions are political in a narrower sense when they “serve the authoritative regulation of conflicts through norms which have been created for that exact purpose and provide an apparatus with suitable personal for their implementation”\(^ {17}\). As a general rule this is understood as referring to institutions which have been codified in political constitutions as well as laws and their regulating purposes. However, as Helmke and Levitsky\(^ {18}\) show, this falls short, as in political reality formal institutions are often transcended by informal institutions – mostly uncodified, socially shared rules, which are created, communicated and implemented outside of the officially sanctioned channels\(^ {19}\). Considering formal and informal institutions separately from each other thus will not yield a sufficient foundation for the assessment of the functional logics of municipal self-government and political systems in general. Both can be effective or ineffective, can complement or compete with each other or over-shape, replace or adapt each other\(^ {20}\). With respect to the basic question this implies that both, formal and informal institutions, have to


\(^{17}\) Czada 2002 (fn. 14), p. 354.


be considered and their potential effects analyzed. For example, the role of blat as the “use of personal networks and informal contacts to obtain goods and services in short supply and to skirt formal procedures”\textsuperscript{21} is such an informal institution in Russia that influences and transcends formal rule. By being vastly effective for those having blat, it further legitimates formal practices and adherence of legal prescitions.

As a second point, the aspect of cultural embeddedness of politics is especially relevant from a system-analytical perspective in the tradition of Talcott Parsons and David Easton: It is particularly visible in the imaginations, opinions and attitudes of the population towards what politics should be and should do. This subjective dimension of politics, the political value orientation, attitudes and behavior patterns form a community’s respective political culture. It constitutes a social adhesive or glue that holds societies together through a sufficient level of positive attitudes towards the political system\textsuperscript{22}. Essentially, it is thus about capturing, how “the citizens feel as being a part of their political community, feel about their political system as appropriate and trust both the political institutions and the authorities. The latter are not only supported for their sake but especially because of their ability to render political, social and economic services for the society”\textsuperscript{23}.

A strong relationship between the concrete design of political institutions and persons as well as their assessment can be deducted from both of these aspects. In the context of their foundational work “The Civic Culture” Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba\textsuperscript{24} have differentiated between different types of political culture: The so called “parochial culture” is characterized by non-intervention, lacking individual interest on political acting as well as minimal knowledge and limited affective connections to politics. The “subject culture” is characterized by a more differentiated view on the system, but at the same time by values of passivity and limited political adhesion in addition to a strong orientation on the outputs of the political system. The “participant culture” however is coined by an active interest on political processes and active political participation. According to Almond and Verba there are mixed types: The “parochial subject culture” is characterized by a large distance between state and citizens whereas the “participant subject culture” is expressed through a common (national) identity and loyalty with a tendency to subordination towards a central authority that frequently results in political passivity. On the opposite side there is the “civic culture” which is rational-activist and strongly input-oriented and tied to positive attitudes towards community, political system and institutions.

In the sense of the system-theoretical considerations invoked above, one can assume that there is a functional proximity between the different system types and culture. While democracies rely on a civic culture, autocracies are rather fostered by different forms of


\textsuperscript{24} Almond, Gabriel/Verba, Sidney 1963: The Civic Culture. Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations, Princeton.
subject culture. According to Friedrich and Brzinski autocracies are political systems in which the ruler is insufficiently or not at all constrained by established law so that there are no other powers with sufficient authority to force the ruler(s) to abide by established law.\textsuperscript{25} In other words, the central indicator of an autocracy is the lack of effective separation and control of powers. Juan Linz defines autocracies via the following characteristics:

„Limited, not responsible, political pluralism: without elaborate and guiding ideology (but with distinctive mentalities); without intensive or extensive political mobilization (except some points in their development); and in which a leader (or occasionally a small group) exercises power within formally ill-defined limits but actually quite predictable ones“.\textsuperscript{26}

Therefore, a rather passive political culture oriented towards obedience fosters the stability of autocracies. On the contrary, an active participatory citizen culture is rather typical for democracies and even dysfunctional for authoritarian systems due to the high level of knowledge and strong desires to participate.\textsuperscript{27} In this study, the illustrated theoretical considerations serve as a slide of reflection for the findings in both case studies.

**Methodical Challenges**

One main question arising from this kind of studies is how informal institutions can be identified and measured. Formal institutions are codified in constitutions and laws and what makes them provable. To a certain extent the compliance with the respective rules is verifiable. When analyzing informal institutions, one is however confronted with the problem to a) identify the so far mostly unwritten rules and then b) to examine to what extend they are complied with, sanctioned and modified.\textsuperscript{28} With respect to autocracies it is often pointed out that formal institutions are transcended by informal rules and norms. Nonetheless it would be naïve to presume that the first do not play a role for securing and enforcing rule in autocracies. Through their explicit formulation, constitutions and laws build the central foundation and source of legitimation for political acting also of non-democratic rulers. They are often subject to strategies which can be referred to as “institutional engineering”, i.e. the conscious and targeted modifying and reforming, introducing, and abolishing of institutional arrangements in order to secure own claims to power and mechanisms of rule. Hence it is the institutions which are intensively fought about in political contests. Conversely it would however be equally naïve to believe that informal institutions do not play a role in democracies.

A central approach for capturing formal and informal institutions is thus the triangulation, i.e. the application of different research methods. A document analysis may thus be a start-


\textsuperscript{27} Pickel/Stark 2010 (fn. 22).

\textsuperscript{28} Vgl. Helmke/Levitsky 2006 (fn. 18); Meyer, Gerd 2008. Formal institutions and informal politics in central and eastern Europe: Hungary, Poland, Russia and Ukraine, 2nd Edition, Opladen.
ing point for the analysis of formal institutions. The institutional frame is determined on the basis of the respectively valid constitutions, law and legal order and subsequently complemented by a literature analysis of relevant academic sources. The examination of the actual effect and functionality of formal institutions or respectively the search for informal institutions can be enabled by embedding experts in the research process. Especially with such explorative questions they can offer “background information on situations and incidents but also information about motives for action and cooperativeness and assessments about developments and changes”\textsuperscript{29}, that cannot be determined from a document analysis.

Especially a comparison of municipalities in Germany and Russia reveals the discrepancies between formal and informal order: While the political systems of Russia and Germany exhibit comparatively similar institutional framework conditions the actual exertion of rule differs considerably. While Germany is rated as “free” or democratic in the relevant democracy-indices such as Freedom House\textsuperscript{30} of Polity IV\textsuperscript{31} Russia is categorized as “not free” or “Anocracy”. This divergent systemic context which manifests itself in the different mechanisms of rule suggests a differentiation of the creative possibilities of municipal politics de jure and de facto, so that besides formal institutions informal institutions have to be taken into account as well.

In political cultural research, attitudes and value orientations are often captured by interviews, and to a vast extend by closed questionnaires in the style of the world value survey\textsuperscript{32}. These are supposed to guarantee a high degree of comparability across various contexts. Besides fundamental methodological challenges of reactive processes,\textsuperscript{33} the social desirability of response behavior poses a problem to the examination. Already in democracies social desirability leads to distortionary effects. In non-democracies, in the context of limited freedom of speech and immediately threatening sanctions, it can lead to barely controllable results. Confidential qualitative interviews as well as expert interviews as triangulation methods are conducive to hedge findings. They also offer the possibility to obtain information even though surveys are missing. In the study on the comparison of Tübingen and Petrosawodsk it has been worked with an array of qualitative guided interviews which included questions on formal and informal institutions as well as on the political culture.\textsuperscript{34}

Against this backdrop of the challenges and solution strategies illustrated above comparisons without rigorous comparison designs on the basis of single case studies can definitely be fruitful. They offer multiple advantages: They allow firstly, an analytical profundity, secondly, to capture processes and historical developments, thirdly, the identification of causal relationships and fourthly a contextualized analysis of functions of formal and informal institutions.

\textsuperscript{32} World Value Survey, www.worldvaluesurvey.org (2016/05/21).
\textsuperscript{34} Frankenberger/Kiener 2015 (fn. 3), p.14 ff.
All these aspects have been raised and processed in a comparative perspective in the case studies on municipal politics in Petrosawodsk and Tübingen. The common starting point of both case studies was the institutions of local self-government of the municipality. In both cases, this institution is enshrined by law and guaranteed in the constitution of the federal states Russia (Art. 12, Par. 1-2) and in Basic Law in Germany (Art. 28, Par 2. GG) as well as in the respective constitutions of the federal states: the Republic of Karelia as federal subject of the Russian Federation and Baden-Württemberg as federal state of the German Federal Republic. Narrower specified regulations on the design of the local self-government can each be found in basic law.35

In both states municipalities constitute independent regional authorities with own government bodies that act self-responsible. They fulfill the tasks they have been allocated in the federal system either executively and thus bound by instructions for a higher federal level or in self-responsibility. For tasks they fulfill “on behalf”, both Tübingen and Petrosawodsk are allocated proportionate shares of the tax revenues (and other allotments) from the federal state. In order to fund original functions the can levy own taxes and fees. The functions, which each municipality has to fulfill, are thereby very similar: Both fulfill tasks in securing livelihoods, public order, education, construction, traffic and social matters.36

In order to be able to fulfill these tasks both municipalities have institutions for local self-government. Until 2015, the mayor was directly elected by the citizens in both municipalities. Since 2016, this is only the case for Tübingen.37 While the tenure for a mayor is eight years in Tübingen, the mayor in Petrosawodsk is elected for five years. In Tübingen besides German citizens also citizens of the European Union are entitled to vote. The mayor is the head of the city administration and municipal leader in both municipalities.

In both municipalities the municipal or respectively the city council constitutes the main body of the municipality that decides on all issues that falls in its jurisdiction. While in Tübingen the major chairs this body, the city council of Petrosawodsk (Petrosovet) has its own (full-time) chairman as well as its own steady administration. Also, at maximum three councilors work full-time while the remaining receives an hourly-based wage for their work. In both municipalities there are further bodies of local self-government. Both the municipal council and the Petrosovet form committees. Due to the mostly similar tasks

35 Besides the Russian constitution (esp. Art. 2, 130-133 and 72) the regulations of the constitution of the republic Karelia (Chapter 6, Art 70-72) as well as federal laws (Law 131) and republican laws are essential for Petrosavodsk. The concrete designs of the political structures are prescribed in the statutes of the municipal district Petrozavodsk of 2014/02/25. http://www.petrozavodsk-mo.ru/petrozavodsk/gorod/in fo/ustav.htm (2014/08/18). For Tübingen especially Art 20, 28, 70, 71, 73 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany, the state constitution of Baden-Württemberg as well as the municipal code of Baden-Württemberg hold analogously.

36 Frankenberger/Kiener 2015 (fn. 3), p. 143.

37 The findings represent the legal status until December 2015. In the following the city council in Petrosavodsk abolished the direct election of the mayor. According to the new regulation the city council elects to mayor. In April 2016 Irina Miroshnik has been elected for mayor.
the scope of activities is thereby nearly identical, but differently tailored. While this partitioning is prescribed for Tübingen in the municipal code (Gemeindeordnung) of Baden-Württemberg, respective regulations for Petrosawodsk are enshrined in the city statutes.

There is a broad spectrum of procedures in both municipalities that allow for the participation of citizens at municipal self-government. Until 2015, the citizens of both cities had the right to directly elect the mayor and the municipal or city council, respectively. Under certain requirements the municipal code of Baden-Württemberg as well as the statutes of the city Petrosawodsk allow:

- Referenda
- Public petitions/Law creating citizens’ initiatives
- Citizens’ Request/Inputs
- The possibility of direct contact with the mayor and the city council
- Public meetings of the city council

§ 20, paragraph 2 of the municipal code prescribes a general duty to integrate citizens for important municipal decisions. The Petrosawodsk city statutes, Art. 92, codify a right to access information about the work of the bodies of self-government as well as the possibility of petitions.

Both municipalities are integrated in a wider institutional framework in their respective political system. However, with respect to this institutional embedding there is a wide array of differences from which differences in the manner of task fulfillment result. This is because institutions constitute set relations of power, which structure social interactions and establish rule:

“By this positions of power are determined, possibilities of acting distinguished, societal opportunities for liberty revealed and barriers to individual liberty erected. Institutions are rules in our minds and a collective reminder on obligatory determinations that have once been made”

The findings for both municipalities that result from the triangulation of the document analysis and the interviews differ considerably. In particular two aspects are to emphasize. First, despite the quite similar formal institutional basic orders both systems belong to two different system types. In the relevant democracy indices such as Freedom House or Polity IV Germany is classified as “free” or democratic whereas Russia is categorized as “not free” or “Anocracy”. In the academic debate it is categorized as dictatorship of autocracy since a couple of years. Therefore the cases differ fundamentally with respect to the guarantee of political rights and civil liberty. While these are given in Germany, political rights and civil liberties are partly massively restricted in Russia. In the view of the weak-

38 Ibidem, p. 144.
39 Waschkahn 1994 (fn. 16), p. 188 f.
nesses of the legal system a “rule of law” can actually not be determined. This different systemic context has massive influence on the exertion of rights of citizens but also of legal persons such as NGOs and municipal territorial authorities. Legal safeguards are of low value when de facto there are no guarantees of legal processes and the possibility of political influence on trials.43

As a second point, since the independence in 1993 the political system of Russia is subject to a permanent and radical institutional change for which the tendencies of Europeanization and federal reforms of the German Federal Republic are no equivalent. In contrast to Russia, the institutional order has been stable to the greatest possible extent and has undergone only gradual changes. While the first leads to uncertainty and reorientation, stability and a guaranteed institutional framework allow for continuous political developments that are subject to steady controls. Thus, the changes of the framework conditions transcend the original function of municipal self-government and limit or open up leeway for the actors.

The centralization tendencies of the reforms of local self-government in Russia are therefore only an extract of the bigger perspective of institutional reforms that have been undertaken since 2000 and that have led to the establishment of a “power vertical” and a consolidation of authoritarian rule.44 The reforms have led to a standardization of the municipal landscape in Russia but in particular to an increased governability and steer-ability of the municipalities through the federal center. In this context two mechanisms of rule are intensively used: First, because of the institutional arrangements and incomplete separation of powers the regional elites are widely dependent on the federal level, even though the local self-government is enshrined in the constitution and regional laws. A consequence of this is that politics on regional and local level are frequently oriented towards the fulfillment of requirements in order to safeguard the own office and position. This development towards a vertical of power however takes place at the expense of democratic participation and influence of the citizens on municipal politics.

Against the backdrop of these illustrated developments the political structures of the city of Petrosawodsk have to be looked at and interpreted. As a conclusion it can be said that - in spite of the considerable institutional, societal and political revolutions a, for autocracies, comparatively liberal political life could develop in Karelia and Petrosawodsk. Until the end of 2015 this was at least characterized by a certain degree of political competition and pluralism which is much higher than in most other regions of Russia. Furthermore, in politics and administration an increasingly citizen-oriented self-conception seemed to develop that was accompanied by increasing transparency and participation. This is a development which contradicts system logic. Therefore, conflicts between the municipality, republic and the federal state were predestined and characterized accordingly the relationships between the local administration and the head of the republic. In Decem-

43 Frankenberger/Kiener 2015 (fn. 3), p. 38 ff and 56 ff.
ber 2015 this development culminated in the dismissal of the incumbent and independent mayor Galina Shirshina who has been elected directly. She has been suspended by the city council that referred to the federal law “On the principles of the local self-government in the Russian Federation” that has been changed in 2009, and accused her of “Non-fulfilment of duties for over three or more months”. As a consequence, the city council in Petrosawodsk abolished the direct election of the mayor. Instead a regulation has been implemented according to which the city council selects the major from now on. In April 2016 Irina Miroshnik has been appointed as mayor.

In comparison to the municipal and federal structures of Petrosawodsk and Russia municipalities and the municipal law in Baden-Württemberg have not undergone a fundamental transformation. Nevertheless, gradual changes have also taken place here: At last the European integration has consequences for municipal politics. The systemic embeddedness of municipal politics in European multi-level governance assigns an array of competences, task and also creative leeway to the municipalities. Thereby, it is obvious that with an increasing juridification and regulatory density on the level of the state, the federal state and the European level the latter become massively influenced. Thus it also similarly applies to German municipalities as it applies to Russian municipalities that they depend on the superordinate level. Due to the functioning separation of powers, and the implementation of rule of law to the greatest possible extent German municipalities find themselves however in a stable surrounding, in which no short-dated and radical changes are to be expected; also not with respect to the availability of financial resources and the rendering of delegated tasks. German municipalities are furthermore not subject to a power vertical but to rule of law instead, which does not likewise apply for Russia because of the pronounced informal structures and relationships. The legal norms and rules can therefore also be legally examined, even from the perspectives of constitutional and administrative law. Nevertheless, they constitute a complex structure of dominance in which the municipalities are embedded.

Similar to institutional embedding and practices, individually and collectively enshrined patterns of thought and perception are of central meaning. Thereby it becomes clear that to a certain extent both municipalities are special cases. In Tübingen, the political culture is shaped by an above-average level of education, a high level of political awareness and a very large share of politically active citizens. In addition there is a tendency to be opinionated and a quite highly developed dispute culture. This implies that the political culture of Tübingen is pursuant to the type of participation culture or civic culture as

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47 Cf. Frankenberger/Kiener 2015 (fn. 3).
described by Almond and Verba\textsuperscript{48}. This shape of political culture is an important foundation for vital democracies. However, because of the pronounced input-orientation, i.e. the desire for active participation it can also put such democracies under stress. When the desires for participation cannot be satisfied because of insufficient possibilities to participate dissatisfaction and potentially and over a longer period also losses of legitimacy are the consequence. Concerning the case of Tübingen it seems that politics and administration have achieved to integrate the politically active citizenry through comprehensive dialogic participation in the political process. It is thus hardly perceived that strictly speaking it is no democratic participation but solely dialogic participation in the frame of an interest formulation process.

In the case of Petrosawodsk experts describe the political culture with attributes such as low, insufficient, rudimentary or deficient\textsuperscript{49}. This is a correct diagnosis from the normative angle of democratic development as a civic culture in the sense of Almond and Verba has not developed. This interpretation is however not fully adequate as it is certainly a developed form of an “apolitical” political culture which has developed as an adaption reaction during the many years of soviet and post-soviet authoritarian rule that now changes only slowly under the comparatively liberal conditions in Karelia. The diagnosis of the apolitical has to be looked at against the backdrop of the system logic of authoritarian systems. An essential characteristic of these systems is an extensive demobilization and depoliticization of the society, which contributes decisively to the stability of authoritarian regimes. Another explanation that can be seen as closely linked is that of the perceived faint, which is expressed in the following quote: “The reason for the little political engagement is the (partly right) conviction, that the opinion of one (?) single human cannot change anything” (Interview 6:35). This is reflected in the participation patterns which the experts reported in our study. While there was an awakening and mobilization thrust at the end of the 1980s and people became considerably more politicized, there was a sudden decline since the end of the 1990s. In spite of a large number of NGOs the citizens themselves are comparatively little active. Especially active are on the one hand members of the local administration and on the other hand local business elites. In particular the latter are seen as highly relevant but of a critical role. Through their presence and engagement in the respective assemblies and hearing they massively distort the public opinion, especially as obviously effective correctives of the civil society are not sufficiently existent.

\textsuperscript{48} Almond/Verba 1963 (fn. 23)

\textsuperscript{49} Frankenberger/Kiener 2015 (fn. 3), pp. 60-86. The study included 13 Experts from Political Science, Administration and Civil Society in Petrozavodsk and Russia. The interviews were conducted in June and July 2014 by Sandra Evans.
Conclusion

If one wants to comprehend local politics, it is advisable to widen one’s view and to include the systemic context of the phenomenon under examination in the interpretation. This applies for both, formal institutional order, and informal institutions and political practices. Particularly for Petrozawodsk, the experts emphasize the contrast between formal (laws and formal institutions) and informal politics (informal institutions and relationships). The informal relationships are thereby rated as much more important than formal power structures and party affiliations. Especially for the realization of concrete projects, reciprocal relationships and barter transactions seem to be as important as the laws.

In addition, the instructional structures described above are mirrored on the societal-cultural level: Both, in individual and collectively enshrined patterns of thought and perception which prop the political regime consciously or unconsciously. Historical experiences and developments are thereby essential for the subjective formation of opinion and decision-making, not at least for the perception of the own capacities to act. This applies to both Tübingen and Petrozawodsk; however, in the light of the different political systems it has opposite effects: Depending on the manifestation of the predominant political culture different mechanisms of rule benefit more and are correspondingly perpetuated. A more passive political culture that is rather based on obedience thereby foster the stability of autocracies, while an active participatory citizen culture is rather typical for democracies and dysfunctional for authoritarian systems due to the high level of knowledge and strong desires to participate.50

From a theoretical and methodological point of view, it becomes clear that cross-national and cross-regional comparisons of local politics have to be handled with care. It is neither the problem of more or less comparable cases nor the idea that every case is unique that yields to this conclusion, but fare more the question of an analytical and heuristic framework of comparison that can guide such comparisons in order to avoid both, conceptual pitfalls and misinterpretations of study results due to insufficient integration of context variables. The study shows that, for both municipalities, it is a complex interplay of factors of institutional order, institutional change, informal politics, political culture and participation that characterize local politics, and thus also the immediate political livelihood of the citizens. In order to understand their understanding of politics, their attitudes, opinions, and value orientations, one should always take into account under which political framework they live and with which concrete problems they are confronted. And hence – which creative possibilities they have.

50 Pickel/Stark 2010 (fn. 22).
Understanding Multi-level Governance. The Example of Migration Policy and Integration Management in Germany

Martin Große Hüttmann

Abstract: Martin Große Hüttmann presents a view of the challenges of migration policy and the integration management in recent times on the basis of the concept of multilevel governance. The high numbers of migrants seeking entry into Europe and Germany in 2015 made clear that decentralized policy-making is better prepared for the management and implementation of policies than the top down approach.

Keywords: multi-level governance, refugees, policy, federalism

Introduction

In summer 2015, the so called “refugee crisis” kept German politics busy for months. Public debates focused on the challenge to accommodate and take care of hundreds of thousands of refugees and to provide them with regular asylum procedures. German politicians and administrations had ignored or underestimated experts’ warnings on fast growing flows of refugees. Politics, public administrations and the public faced excessive demands from the rapidly growing numbers of refugees. Politicians were driven by the developments and slowly regained control over the situation. As migration and integration policy are dealt with at various levels of german federalism, the refugee crises turned out to be a stress test for federal structures and administration. “Interlocking Politics” (Politik-verflechtung) of German federalism had to prove its capacity during the crisis. In the following sections I will outline and the practice of multi-level governance that evolved in refugee policy in the last year or so. Interdependencies between the Federal Republic, the 16 Federal states and the municipalities underwent extreme challenges, but, as i will show, federal interlocking politics that were often seen as inefficient, nontransparent and rather a part of the problem than of the solution, proved to be helpful in mastering the social and political challenges. It is up to the lowest level of administration, the level of local politics, whether or not sustainable integration of refugees will be successful, as only there the necessary close cooperation between administration and civil society is possible. Experts like Gunther Schultze describe the experiences during the crisis as follows: “Despite severe and manifold problems and difficulties and different practices in the federal states, the federal system of Germany proved to be successful and showed that German society is able to accommodate huge numbers of human beings fleeing from war, civil war and inhuman living conditions”. At the same time, experts state that the federal system and the interplay

1 Many thanks to Johannes Kohls for assisting me in research for this article.
Multi-level Governance – A Concept for Analyzing Interlocked Politics

Since the 1990s, the term “multi-level governance” is used in political science and EU-research and is even used beyond that research area in broader academic debates. The concept describes institutional structures and processes that link governmental and nongovernmental institutions and actors beyond territorial boarders. The European Union is used as a model for multi-level governance. Ian Bache and Mathew Flinders describe the concept, that enabled a new analytical perspective on the European Union, as follows: “The multi-level governance concept thus contained both vertical and horizontal dimensions. ‘Multi-level’ referred to the increased interdependence of governments operating at different territorial levels, while ‘governance’ signaled the growing interdependence between governments and non-governmental actors at various territorial levels”.

The phenomenon described was first analyzed by Gary Marks and Liesbet Hooghe, who focused on the European structural and regional policy. Later, it was transferred and used for the analysis of other policy areas of the EU. The following four dimensions are characteristic for multi-level governance:

1. A “multi-level governance”-system is as political system in which competences and resources of decision making are distributed to different, but closely interrelated political levels.
2. We can talk of multi-level politics, if and when political processes exceed one level of political action, i.e. if state and non-state actors on different levels are involved in decision making processes and thus have to coordinate their politics and policies across these levels. This often results in interlocking politics and interdependences in federal states.
3. A “multi-level governance”- system is characterized by unique structures and closely linked political arenas. Such arenas are necessary for horizontal coordination within one level and for vertical coordination between different levels.

The term “governance” implies a unique form of coordination and cooperation between the different levels. Even in cases where formally hierarchic relationships between the different political and administrative levels exist we will find cooperation that is driven by

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5 Bache, Ian/Flinders, Matthew (eds.) 2004: Multi-level Governance, Oxford, p. 3
negotiation and consent. This consent orientation originates in the fact that the higher level will not be able to implement policies without the lower levels. Political decision can only be implemented, if all levels intend to reach more or less the same goals in a cooperative relation. This does not exclude political conflicts, but instead points at the necessity of a culture of compromise and negotiation. Otherwise, the interdependence of the administrative levels and reciprocal dependence on mutual good would lead to more or less permanent political blockade. Another characteristic of the governance concept is the participation of governmental and nongovernmental actors and institutions in political processes. The opening towards non-state actors and representatives of civil society follows the logic of political inclusion. This increases acceptance and legitimacy of decisions and can minimize problems of their implementation, as those levels affected by the decisions are integrated very early in the policy process.

Multi-level governance comes along with a deliberative working style aiming at negotiation, persuasion and argumentation and the inclusion of interest groups and other actors in a policy field. In fact, in this perspective all relevant actors are necessary for effective policy making are without whom effective policy making would not be possible. So, multi-level governance is a specific type of political coordination: first, on the horizontal level across different policy areas, e.g. between education policy and social policy that are closely related; second between different levels of government and administration. It is typical for federal systems and all forms of multi-level governance that central, regional and local levels of decision making are included.

Rod Hague and Martin Harrop argue that multi-level governance “[…] emerges when practitioners from several levels of government share the task of making regulations and forming policy, usually in conjunction with relevant interest groups […].” As mentioned before, the concept plays a crucial role in EU-studies for quite some time. Within the EU, some special characteristics of multi-level governance appear. The EU is a political system with four levels of decision making that are closely intertwined: the “European” level including the EU institutions like EU Commission, the European Parliament, and the Council of Europe, just to mention a few, because these institutions are directly involved in legislation by formulating European Directives. The (still) 28 Member States of the EU constitute the second level, followed by the Regions and finally the municipalities. In many policy areas, all four levels participate in decision making, e.g. in environmental policy. The subsidiary levels play a crucial role in implementing policies: Without putting up local monitoring stations for carbon dioxide emissions, an EU Directive on emission thresholds would miss its mark, as the EU has no instruments at hand to for implementing its policies, i.e. it depends on the cooperation of the subsidiary levels. This is a typical feature of federal political systems. In fact, the federal government of Germany has to rely on the administrations of the federal states when it comes to the implementation of federal legislation. As will be discussed below, this is of special importance in the fields of migration and integration policy.

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Idea and practice of multi-level governance reflect a pluralist understanding of politics: “As with pluralism, it recognizes that actors from a range of sectors – public, private, and voluntary – help to regulate contemporary societies.”\textsuperscript{9} In federal states, due to the different levels of government, there is always more than one point of access („venue shopping“) for political, economic and civil society actors. This pluralism has several advantages and disadvantages at the same time: “On the plus side, it implies a pragmatic concern with finding solutions to shared problems through give-and-take among affected interests. On the negative side, it points to a complicated, slow-moving form of regulation by insider groups, a from which resists both democratic control and penetration by less mainstream groups and thinking”.\textsuperscript{10}

One of the core premises of the multi-level governance concept is that governmental actors and institutions do not have a claim to exclusive agency or authority concerning political representation and decision making. A democratic, modern state is in turn characterized by the fact that it is not able to completely perform its duties responsibilities.\textsuperscript{11} State duties and responsibilities include security, defense, welfare and stability. One popular argument in political science is that it would be overstrained without the support and cooperation of non-state actors like civil society and non-governmental organizations. Since the 1970s this leads to new types of a cooperative state that externalizes certain state duties through privatization and deregulation. Private actors then take over and build or maintain for example infrastructure and roads. This “withdrawal of the state” in western liberal democracies also changed the relationship between the state and its citizens.

\textbf{The Management of Refugee and Integration Policy in German Federalism}

Interlocked politics is typical for refugee and integration policy in Germany. The federal level and administration is responsible for the recognition of applications for asylum and built up an own agency for this task: the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, BAMF). The BAMF is a typical actor in German and European multi-level governance. Its work is coined by its close relations to the federal states and municipalities as well as to the European Union.\textsuperscript{12} Federal States and Municipalities are responsible for accommodating asylum seekers and, in the next step, for the integration of refugees in the society. Integration can be defined as the comprehensive rehabilitation in different spheres of political, economic and social life.\textsuperscript{13} More precisely, this means that refugees get access to clubs and organizations that the recipient society.

\textsuperscript{9} Ibidem, p. 254.
\textsuperscript{10} Ibidem.
\textsuperscript{13} Cf. For the following: Vodafone Stiftung Deutschland (ed.) 2017: Chancen und Voraussetzungen für ein Integrationsministerium auf Bundesebene. Eine Studie des Lorenz-von-Stein-Instituts für Verwaltungs-wissenschaften an der Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel, Düsseldorf, pp. 11-12.
enables them to partake in public and religious life, the educational and the economic system. The educational system, including kindergarten, schools, vocational training and higher education institutions, is very important for inclusion and integration. Finally, former refugees shall be integrated in the world of work and, through the acquisition of citizenship, into the state as such. In praxis, the success of integration depends on the duration of the recognition procedures. The faster these procedures are, the earlier measures of integration can be implemented.\textsuperscript{14}

The federal states and municipalities urged the federal government to fast-track asylum procedures long before the “refugee crisis”.\textsuperscript{15} The Municipalities insisted on implementing more efficient procedures since 2009, when the numbers of refugees started to rise. The Federal government was hesitant at that time. In the coalition negotiations after the federal elections in 2013, the claims of the Federal states for more personnel at the BAMF were taken on, but barely implemented to the extent the Federal states aimed at. The crisis in 2015 then revealed that the lack of personnel at the BAMF would inevitably lead to delays in the registration and processing of applications for asylum. Even though this delay was caused by the Federal administration, the federal states and municipal administrations had to handle the resulting problems, as they had to concretely deal with the fast-growing numbers of refugees. As a consequence of the delays, refugees had to stay longer than expected and necessary in the initial reception facilities that were administrated and run by the federal states and municipalities. The main problem in multi-level refugee governance is that only refugees with a perspective for longer residence are entitled to receive measures of integration paid by the Federal administration, like language courses. This applies for refugees from states with a recognition quota of more than 50 percent. For example, Afghanistan is slightly below this threshold. Nevertheless, Afghan refugees were not returned due to fundamental insecurity in their country. Other States do not take their citizens back, even though their application for asylum was declined. The repatriation of declined asylum seekers was barely implemented in the initial phase of the crisis and escalated into a political clash between the Federal government and the Federal states. Therefore, the Federal government struggled to increase the repatriation quota in 2016 and 2017. A newly established “center for facilitating repatriation”\textsuperscript{13} took up work in March 2017. Despite all efforts to increase the numbers, many attempts failed because the countries of origin did not cooperate with the Federal Government and refused to issue travel documents for their citizens. It was especially the cooperation with Egypt, Ethiopia, Bangladesh and many other states that did not work, whereas deportations to Albania, Georgia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia became more likely and successful.\textsuperscript{16}

German Society has a decades-long experience with the integration of Refugees. Especially in succession of the Yugoslav Wars at the beginning of the 1990s, government,
administration and society as well as the economy gained experience in integrating hundreds of thousands of people in relative short periods of time. Without this collective knowledge, the crisis of the Year 2015 would not have been mastered.

The decision of Chancellor Angela Merkel from summer 2015 to open the borders and to let the refugees that were stuck in Hungary migrate to Germany, was a lone one. Merkel did not coordinate with the governments of the 16 Federal states. But these had to bear the burden of this necessary and humanitarian decision. They had to provide the infrastructure, accommodation and nourishing for the refugees. Without the broad and spontaneous engagement of local administrations and the commitment of hundreds of district chief executives and mayors, without the civic engagement of countless volunteers, the chaos observed at times would have been much bigger.

In the years 2015 and 2016, the municipalities depended on the support of civil society to manage the situation. Municipalities opened or reactivated accommodation for refugees and organized their admission and supply. As the Federal administration at times was barely able to perform its genuine duty of registering refugees and organizing asylum procedures, the failure to do so had backlashes on the local level. The thousands and thousands of unprocessed applications for asylum impeded the work of local administrations and deteriorated multi-level relations within the Federal state: “The relationship between federal, regional and local governments and administrations was burdened by the ‚refugee crisis’”.

Only when the numbers of refugees dropped in spring 2016 due to restrictive travel bans on the Balkans and the so called „Turkey-Deal“, the real extent of the task became clear. It was obvious that all territorial authorities, national, regional and local, have to contribute to the societal task of integrating the refugees. Each political level in this multi-level governance system has to fulfil its duties in close coordination with all the other levels. Experts agree that without such coordination, a sustainable integration of refugees in society, economy, political system and culture will not succeed. Experts also agree that the cooperation of the levels has to be re-organized. Dietrich Thränhardt and Karin Weiss describe this societal duty in a study for the Friedrich Ebert Foundation: “All asylum seekers shall have an immediate decision on their application for asylum. Integration deserves a clear perspective. Language acquisition is an important requirement for integration, as barely any occupation (except some in the IT branch or simple work) can be taken without language skills. Experience shows that it takes time until refugees can be integrated in work life. Internships and cooperation can facilitate this process. As approximately one third of the refugees are children and adolescents, we need more educational institutions. Adolescents have to be integrated in the German vocational training system. All this is urgent. Otherwise, there will be frustration on all sides, especially on the side of the refugees who pin their hopes on Germany. In addition, slow integration would cause high costs for the social welfare system and problems of lacking acceptance in the society”.

18 Ibidem.
Whether the cooperation between national, regional and local level in integration policy will be a success story or not, strongly depends on the efficacy of the different levels in doing their jobs within the multi-level governance system. Experts complain that the Federal government left the federal states and municipalities alone during the crisis. High numbers of refugees migrated without being offered measures of integration by the federal government. As a result, regional and local administrations and governments initially seemed to be unable to cope with them. Faced with a critical public, the Federal government then tried to demonstrate actionability by launching action plans and “asylum-packages”. The Federal States and municipalities both had to implement these regulations and to find pragmatic and immediate solutions for housing and nourishing the newly arriving refugees. This exacerbated and repeated an already existing problem: when implemented on the local level, Federal legislation caused difficulties time and again.\(^{19}\)

Keeping these experiences in mind, a centralization of migration- and integration policy was discussed. As long ago as 2004, the expert advisory board of the Federal Government proposed to reform the existing system of multi-level governance and to reorganize responsibilities of the national, regional and local governments. Similar to the fields of educational policy and internal security, Federalism was seen as the problem, and not the solution, in migration and integration policy. Every now and then, proposals aiming at more centralization are discussed publicly. Former Berlin district mayor Heinz Buschkowsky suggested the foundation of a Ministry for Integration in 2016.\(^{20}\) The Vodafone Foundation published a report on the chances of realization of such a Federal Ministry with respective competences in spring 2017. The results are ambiguous: “The creation of a super-ministry of Integration by fusing the responsibility of the BAMF and the Federal Employment Agency (BA) faces legal and political obstacles that might not be overcome. The broader perspective of a Ministry for Integration would nevertheless open chances for developing a holistic and coherent policy strategy in this field. Recovery of trust in state and administration strongly depends on strategies for the future. As there is a profound lack of such strategies at the moment, a Ministry of Integration would have more than symbolic impact. Similar to the idea of sustainable environment protection, the goal of sustainable integration will remain an issue for administration and government”.\(^{21}\)

Other experts are more skeptical about centralization. They argue that especially the “refugee crisis” showed the functionality of federal and decentral structures.\(^{22}\) Pragmatic solutions were possible only because the federal states and the municipalities were able to act independently. Only a system enabling relatively autonomous local politics could offer


\(^{22}\) Thranhardt, Dietrich/Weiss, Karin 2016: Flüchtlingspolitik im deutschen Föderalismus, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Bonn, p. 11.
space to maneuver for a “culture of welcome”.23 The municipalities used their own budgets for immediate help and reclaimed it later from the Federal Government. The close networking of local administration and civil society played an important role in mobilizing civic engagement of hundreds of thousands of volunteers in the accommodation of the refugees.24 Countless reports on civic engagement and volunteer work of citizens in integration policy show that the local level and the social rootedness of local inhabitants in their communities was the main driving force behind this success story.25

**Conclusion**

In this article, I tried to show that the chances of the multi-level governance model are also visible in the German refugee- and migration policy. The distribution and interdependence of various policy areas between the national, regional and local level become obvious. Refugee and migration policies are typical cross-sectional tasks, as they also are linked to other policy areas like housing, infrastructure, education, and demography. Federal and decentralized structures often are better prepared to solve problems and challenges pragmatically and locally than centralized agency. The so called “refugee crisis” in 2015 was a stress test für the prevalent model of multi-level governance in German Federalism. Despite all difficulties the system proved its strengths. And despite a popular assumption, centralized solutions are not necessarily better for implementing sustainable problem-solving. The Federal Government struggled much more for meeting its responsibilities and for implementing a coherent, publicly accepted and EU-wide coordinated policy than the Federal states and the municipalities did while meeting their duties. Without widespread civic engagement and a “culture of welcome” on the local level the challenges and difficulties would not have been mastered in such a successful way. The experiences gathered during the “refugee crisis” initiated political learning processes. They now have to find their way in the debates on the reform of the relations between the Federal, Regional and local authorities. In fact, Federalism rather is a political solution than a problem. The analytical concept of multi-level governance can give orientation in such debates. Even though it does not offer clear-cut solutions, it definitely offers guidance for public discussions. Montesquieu argued that it is important to stimulate the readers to think, not to read. The concept of multi-level governance might be such stimulation.


“Lifeworld”, Democracy and the Creation of Social Trust

Rolf Frankenberger/Daniel Buhr

Abstract: What a scholar of phenomenology can observe in contemporary societies is a process of fundamental change closely linked with the ideas of globalization and digitalization. This process affects political and social systems as well as it deeply transforms the lifeworlds of individuals. Alfred Schütz’ theoretical approach of lifeworld then offers a perspective for the explanation of different assessments, projected actions, and perceived chances for success of political action. Taking into account the postmodern heterogeneity of lifeworlds, learning democracy depends on whom you bowl with and where. Hence, in the following sections, we propose a conceptual enlargement of research on democracy and participation to assess the varieties of life worlds, the themes and relations that are relevant to them and the way how specific patterns of orientation and motivation derived from the life world influence social capital, political participation and the evaluation of democracy.

Keywords: Participation, democracy, trust, lifeworld

Introduction: Bowling together makes Democracy Work?

Democracy depends on the participation of its citizens. Following Amitai Etzioni\(^1\) (1968), Sydney Verba and Joseph Nie\(^2\), Max Kaase, Samuel Barnes and Alan Marsh\(^3\), Benjamin Barber\(^4\), and others we are analyzing politics and polities of democracies by focusing especially on the participation aspect: Government by participation and government by discussion.\(^5\) In doing so there is a long record in social sciences asking for the right determinants for analyzing participation and democracy, i.e. looking at the structures of the political systems or the attitudes of the people.\(^6\)

But where do people learn democracy? Do they learn it, as Robert Putnam suggests, in “singing groups and soccer clubs”?\(^7\) Are these small organizations really bringing together different social groups and social ranks in terms of learning democracy? While Putnam argues that cultural values, norms and socially generated trust and structures of social life like networks and clubs constitute organizational, behavioral and cultural layers of social capital, we are partly questioning this perspective. We argue that if people learn democracy,

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5 Schmidt, Manfred G. 2000: Demokratietheorien, Opladen.
they do it where Putnam suggests them to do. We also suggest that whether people learn democracy or not is dependent on whom people are bowling with and where. Why? Because of one predominant trend in western civilizations: postmodernization of cultural and social life fosters fragmentation and particularization of what Alfred Schütz called “Lebenswelt” (Lifeworld).

According to Alfred Schütz, life world encompasses a specific (and individual) reservoir of experiences and knowledge. It is the place where citizens develop their interests, habits and attitudes. Therefore (political) interests are always culturalized interests. They are determined, and characterized by the specific horizon of experience, patterns of argumentation and conduct of living (“Lebensvollzug”) in everyday life.

Considering this, we suggest that life world becomes the core category for describing and analyzing subjective dimensions of political objectivity, as Norbert Elias puts it. At the same time, it is a vastly under-researched topic in contemporary approaches to political culture and democracy. This is even more puzzling, as it has high potential to explain phenomena contesting representative democracies. These are for example the disenchantment with politics (and political apathy) of large groups of society on the one hand and the rising of the “Wutbürger” (angry citizen) demanding for more participation throughout Europe (from the struggle of the miners in Central Spain to the opposition to infrastructural programs in Southern Germany). The argument is that, because of the dissolution of traditional life worlds and the multiplication of life concepts in postmodernity, societies become even more fragmented. In sum, the resulting heterogeneity of life worlds and lifestyles does have a strong impact on politics, the evaluation of the quality of democracy and forms of participation. Depending on what kind of interests, values and reservoirs for action are salient in the respective life world people are more or less (or even not) interested in politics and concrete policies, and are more or less (or not) addressed by and in support of the polity. Thus, it makes a difference with whom you bowl in terms of culturalized political interests and behavior. Hence, in the following sections, we propose a conceptual enlargement of research on democracy and participation to assess the varieties of life worlds, the themes and relations that are relevant to them and the way how specific patterns of orientation and motivation derived from the life world influence social capital, political participation and the evaluation of democracy.

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9 Schütz, Alfred/Luckmann, Thomas 2003: Strukturen der Lebenswelt, Konstanz.


The Puzzle of Participation

Modern democracy depends on the participation of its citizens. This participative interpretation of democracy is advanced by scholars like Amitai Etzioni\(^\text{12}\) (1968), Sidney Verba and Norman Nie\(^\text{13}\), Max Kaase, Samuel Barnes and Alan Marsh\(^\text{14}\) as well as more recent thinkers like David Beetham\(^\text{15}\) and Todd Landman\(^\text{16}\). As a consequence, government through participation and government by discourse and discussion\(^\text{17}\) become key concepts for analyzing processes and structures of contemporary democracies. In addition, determinants of participation and evaluation of political processes and structures within democracies as well as democracy as a “bounded whole” of norms and values become more and more important. They could provide possible explanations for the uprising public distrust, skepticism towards politicians, political parties and political institutions in particular and a “spreading dissatisfaction with the institutions and processes of representative democracy”\(^\text{18}\) in general that leads to declining electoral participation. But at the same time, we witness a growing variety of more or less new forms of political action: “more people are signing petitions, joining citizen interest groups, and engaging in unconventional forms of political action”\(^\text{19}\).

There is a long track of social and political research asking for the right determinants for analyzing participation and democracy i.e. looking at the structures of the political systems or the attitudes of the people. They make important contributions to the understanding of unequal and asymmetrical participatory patterns in modern democracies. Participation is socially fragmented and it depends on education and income. In fact, political participation is rather a phenomenon of middle and upper classes than of the lower classes\(^\text{20}\).

In the last decades, there has been a significant shift in at least three dimensions of political participation: Forms, modes, and fields of political action.

1) Forms of political action: Starting as early as 1979, Samuel Barnes, Max Kaase and others introduced the distinction between old and new forms of political action. They classified the first as conventional and the latter as unconventional: sit-ins, mass-demonstrations, starvation blockades became more and more important for some parts of western populations\(^\text{21}\). Conventional action like participation in elections, in turn, became less important. With the rising importance


\(^\text{13}\) \text{Verba/Nie} 1972 (fn. 1).

\(^\text{14}\) \text{Kaase/Barnes/Marsh} 1979 (fn. 2).

\(^\text{15}\) \text{Beetham} 2004 (fn. 10).


\(^\text{17}\) \text{Schmidt} 2000 (fn. 4), p. 252.


\(^\text{19}\) \text{Dalton/Scarrow/Cain} 2003 (fn. 18), p. 1.

\(^\text{20}\) \text{van Deth} 2009 (fn. 5).

\(^\text{21}\) \text{Barnes, Samuel H./Kaase, Max et al.} 1979: Political Action: Mass Participation in Five Western Democracies, Beverly Hills et al., pp. 409-477
of social media in the 21st century, incidents like online-petitions, so called “shit-storms”, flash-mobs, boycotting and other internet-based forms of participation complemented the analogous spectrum of unconventional political action.

2) Modes of political action: There is a growing gap between those participating individually and those being involved in organizations and associations: Organizational activity becomes less important as a requisite for political participation. Instead, individualized modes of participation gain importance and reflect the fragmentation of political life and social coherence as a whole.22

3) Fields of participation: People can participate in various spheres of action, namely what could be defined as the broad social field vice versa the narrower political field. Even though being contested concepts both, civic engagement and political participation denominate the form of action in the respective field. Civic engagement can be defined as “voluntary work” be it in the local community or not.23 According to Adler and Goggin civil engagement “has to do with how an active citizen participates in the life of a community in order to improve conditions for others or to help shape the community’s future”.24 Political participation, in turn, can be defined as “all voluntary activities by individual citizens intended to influence either directly or indirectly political choices at various levels of the political system”.25 Though the third dimension captures whether participation is (at least subjectively defined as) political or social.

Spanning a three-dimensional space, different types of participation can be identified in the participation cube presented in graph 1. Within the cube, different patterns of participation and political action can be graphically located.


The fragmentation of participation is one result of a vaster social, political and economic transformation: postmodernization. Postmodernization forwards massive value changes including the dissolution of traditional values and life worlds and the amplification of life scripts. It brings about new patterns of value orientations that are not necessarily compatible with each other concerning basic values of concepts of collectivization and tolerance.

Postmodernization thus fragments communities and civil society as well as the points of reference of social relationships, integration, and trust. The newly emerging life worlds also have impact on political participation and the evaluation of politics, policies and polity.

The Transformation of Political Culture

Starting with the seminal work of Gabriel Almond and Sydney Verba on “Civic Culture”, the political culture of a community becomes a core element of political research. They define political culture as “specifically political orientations – attitudes toward the political system and its various parts, and attitudes toward the role of the self in the system. […] We refer to the political system as internalized in the cognitions, feelings, and evaluations of its


population.” Karl Rohe defines political culture more generally as the cognitive and normative map of the respective political world. Political culture then becomes one of the most important factors for the evaluation of the state of democracy. From a systems perspective, political culture is important for the stability of the political system. Political systems are stable if there is a fit between internalized values on the one hand and the institutionalization of politics on the other. For democracy to be stable and to survive a minimum of democratic values and norms has to be internalized by the population and there has to be a minimum of contentedness with the institutions, processes and outcomes of democratic policies among the vast majority of the population. Most studies show, that there is enough diffuse and specific support for institutions, processes and role takers within western democracies. Nevertheless, as mentioned above, there are also quests for more participatory possibilities in political processes, more responsiveness of political authorities, more transparency and accountability. Taking these findings into account, the question of a “democratization of democracy” gains importance in political science as well as in the public debate.

Culture and value orientations seem to be one important issue in this context. Studies analyzing value change state massive changes in value preference within the populations of western industrial societies. Ronald Inglehart describes this as a postmodern shift of values based on individual and collective economic and social security in modern welfare states. According to Inglehart, this includes a relocation of authority away from religion and state towards the individual. As a result, individual interests become more and more important and substitute collective authorities: “This new trajectory shifts authority away from both religion and the state to the individual, with an increasing focus on individual concerns...”

28 Almond/Verba 1963 (fn. 27), pp. 13-14. Gabriel Almond and Sydney Verba define political orientations as „the internalized aspects of objects and relationships. In includes 1) cognitive orientation, that is, knowledge of and belief about the political system, its roles and the incumbents of these roles, its inputs and outputs; (2) affective orientation, or feelings about the political system its roles, personnel, and performance, and (3) evaluational orientation, the judgments and opinions about political objects, that typically involve the combination of value standards and criteria with information and feelings” (Almond/Verba 1963 (fn. 27), p. 5).


such as friends and leisure. Postmodernization deemphasizes all kinds of authority, whether religious or secular, allowing much wider range for individual autonomy for the pursuit of individual subjective well-being”. Inglehart thus considers the maximization of individual well-being as one of the core elements of postmodernity: “[…] the core project is to maximize individual well-being, which is increasingly dependent on subjective factors. Human behavior shifts from being dominated by the economic imperative of providing food, clothing, and shelter toward the pursuit of quality of life concerns”.

According to Helmut Klages the postmodern value transformation is best described in terms of losses and gains. Whereas traditional and conformist values of duty orientation and acceptance (Pflicht- und Akzeptanzwerte) like obedience, subordination, orderliness and diligence lose importance, postmodern and individualistic values of self-actualization (Selbstentfaltungswerte) like individualism and personal autonomy gain importance. These developments mirror a vast individualization and pluralization of lifestyles, the “subjectivation” and a devaluation of normative ties and the rise of instrumental and utilitarian orientations towards others. As a result, manifold, heterogeneous concepts of lifestyles and the Self emerge throughout western populations.

Apart from these insights the question what the politically important and relevant determinants for the construction of identity and life conduct are can only partly be answered by survey-based studies on political culture and value change. According to Karl Rohe, there are two main reasons for the limitation of survey-based research: First, even though it might not exist without individuals, culture as well as language has rather to be treated as a social than an individual phenomenon. Second, research based on methodological individualism is hardly able to grasp the underlying social mechanisms. This is even more relevant in the light of participatory approaches to democracy like the one of Robert Putnam on social capital. Putnam defines social capital as „features of social life – networks, norms, and trust – that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives. […] Social Capital, in short, refers to social connections and the attendant norms and trust”.

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34 Inglehart 1997 (fn. 7), pp.74-75.
35 Ibidem, p.76.
39 Rohe 1994 (fn. 29).
40 Ibidem, p. 4.
reciprocity, social trust and social networks (i.e. voluntary associations) constitutes the fundament for a vital economic and political system as well as for political integration.42

In “Bowling Alone” Robert Putnam introduces the distinction between bonding and bridging social capital. Whereas bonding social capital is exclusive and tends to strengthen closed communities and networks, bridging social capital is inclusive and fosters the integration of heterogeneous individuals and generates “broader identities and reciprocity”.43

The role of bridging social capital becomes more and more important for social cohesion under postmodern conditions of fragmentation and pluralization. Even more so does “linking social capital”, a type of social capital introduced by Michael Woolcock44 This type of social capital is even more inclusive, as it “reaches out to unlike people in dissimilar situations, such as those who are entirely outside the community, thus enabling members to leverage a far wider range of resources than are available within the community”.45

Taken together, these three types of social capital constitute a three-dimensional space of social capital, the “social capital cube”. On the x-axis, bonding social capital can be low or high, the y-axis represents bridging social capital and the z-axis refers to linking social capital. The eight corners represent eight combinatorial ideal types, where either type reaches a maximum or minimum. Number 1 represents the ideal type with all three dimensions being low (or: not existing) and number 8 represents the ideal type with all three dimensions being high.

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45 Field 2003 (fn. 43), p. 42.
Most of the eight ideal combinations will appear also empirically. For example, in a globalized society, where people with their specific lifestyle living in London share more interests with their counterparts living in Paris and New York than with most of the people living in their immediate neighborhood, linking, and maybe bridging, capital might be high whereas bonding social capital can be low. Under postmodern conditions, social capital probably has to be more than trust and reciprocity in small communities and local voluntary associations in order to secure its role as fundament for democracy. We concede that there might be so called mixed types, where one of the dimensions is rather medium than high or low. We also concede that the case of zero social capital might be limited to sociopaths like Anders Behring Breivik. And some people and networks like The Mafia will create bonding capital. This fact points to a wicket side of social capital. Even though Robert Putnam is aware of potential exclusive and particularistic forces of social capital, he argues that creating more social capital is generally positive. Other authors argue that “Social capital’s dark side” can also have negative impact on social cohesion and generalized trust. Especially bonding social capital might reinforce inequality and the support of antisocial behavior.

Source: own compilation based on Putnam 2000, Woolcock 2001.46

46 Putnam 2000 (fn. 43); Woolcock 2001 (fn. 44), Field 2003 (fn. 43).
48 Field 2003 (fn. 43), p. 70.
49 Field 2003 (fn. 43), p.70.
According to Putnam, we learn democracy in “singing groups and soccer clubs”. Cultur-
al values and norms, social trust and the structures of social life are the roots of social capi-
tal. Thus, the nucleus of social capital lies in the relations of individuals in everyday life. These, in turn, are more and more fragmented under postmodern conditions. Numerous empirical studies, including large-n surveys like the World Value Surveys or the Europe-
an Social Survey, analyze values including the dimensions of trust and social capital and have produced a valuable data base for comparative studies in political culture. Unfortunately, research on the roots and origins of social capital and trust in everyday life is rare.

Life World as the Nucleus of Culturalized Interests, Trust and Social Capital

Taking into account the distinction between the bonding, bridging and linking social capital and the fragmentation of postmodern life, we seriously question the optimism of Robert Putnam. Instead, we argue that we have to go back behind or under the concept of social capital and investigate the roots of social trust and reciprocity within the everyday life of people. To address this issue and to capture the social character of individually internalized culture and rationalities of action, we suggest to include the everyday life social context of individuals in the analysis of social trust. We use the concept of “Lebenswelt” (Life world) developed by Alfred Schütz. Everyday life constitutes the horizons of experience that create specific knowledge and where the individual relevance of specific topics and areas of knowledge are determined. Schütz argues, that the “world of daily life” constitutes “a biographically determined situation […] within which man has his position, not merely his position in terms of physical space and outer time or of his status and role within the social system but also his moral and ideological position […] this biographically determined situation includes certain possibilities of future practical or theoretical activities which shall be briefly called the ‘purpose at hand’”. According to Schütz it is clear that a normal adult does not develop his or her interests and preferences as a non-historical individual, but as a
member of a historical community. Interests and especially political interests are culturalized interests and shaped by the horizons of experience, patterns of argumentation and conducts of life in the life world. Experiences in the life world determine and guide action, as they provide a specific set of reality, meaning and a stock of knowledge. This stock of knowledge socialized in interaction between individuals thus is socially determined. It represents the reality that modifies our action, and that is modified through action. Action in this context is the execution or actualization of a pre-designed experience that is rooted in the experiences made within the respective life world. For example, Ronald Hitzler distinguishes two forms of political knowledge: first, knowledge that enables political orientation and expression, and second, strategic knowledge enabling successful political action. Individuals obtain this knowledge in processes of social learning in their life world and use it for their orientation in the political field (Bourdieu) as well as for the formulation of options of action and their actual realization in political action. Political action in this context comprises all activities of citizens with the aim to influence political decisions and processes of decision-making. In other words, individual political action strongly depends on what individuals experience in their immediate life world. Even more, the immediate life world determines the individual definition of what is political or not.

**Dimensions of the Lifeworld**

The heterogeneity of life worlds has impact on the learning of democracy. This learning depends on the individual and biographically determined relational and motivational relevance and interests developed and actualized in the life world. Thus, life world becomes a core category for describing and explaining the subjective dimension of political reality. Due to the complexity of everyday life, we have to separate analytical dimensions of the life world. Alfred Schütz proposes a structuration along 1) a spatial; 2) a temporal and 3) a social dimension. In combination, they constitute the different layers of everyday life.

1) Spatial variation: The lifeworld consists of the world at reach (or “at hand”) and the world in potential reach. The first includes all actual perceptions of things. They are remembered in terms of socially objectified typologies of meaning. The latter, again can be divided in two layers. The restorable world refers to all areas that formerly were at reach and can be considered as stable. These well-known and mostly direct social relations like the family and friendships can be

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56 Schütz/Luckmann 2003 (fn. 54), p. 506.
57 Ibidem, p. 33.
59 Cf. van Deth 2009 (fn. 5), p. 141.
61 Schütz and Luckmann 2003 (fn. 54).
62 Ibidem, (fn. 54).
actualized at any time. Additionally there is the world outside the actual or restorable area that never was “at hand” but is potentially reachable. According to Schütz, the prospects of reachability diminish reciprocally with spatial, temporal and social distance of the respective layer to the core of the world at reach. In fact, all spatial distance can be interpreted as an obstacle to realization. Under postmodern conditions of transcendence of space and time this distance is transformed into a question of disposition of technical means like the internet. Schütz also points out that the spatial stratification of the lifeworld includes a social dimension of intimacy vs. anonymity, strangeness vs. familiarity, social adjacency vs. distance. With a growing distance and anonymity, the relevance of this part of the lifeworld for the conduct of everyday life diminishes. The relevance of social and political life for individual action and creation of knowledge then depends on their permanent actualization.

2) Temporal variation refers to the dimensions of history and future, continuity and lasting, inevitability and the priority of “first things first”. Time limits the number of plans, actions, experiences an individual can take. This forces the individual to prioritize action along the inevitability of everyday life. This leads to the prioritization of things, events and actions that belong the world “at hand”. Socially and spatially distant issues usually are less important.

3) As previously said, social variation is closely intertwined with spatial variation. The direct experience of the other constitutes and actualizes the intersubjectivity of the lifeworld as such. These close relations are relevant for the culturalization of interests in as far as the people we have contacts with determine our experiences in the world at hand. The world at potential reach is represented by indirect experiences of the social world. This includes the social world of our contemporaries we do not have close re-lations with (e.g. sovereign and tributary) as well as institutionalized realities and socially determined relations of meaning that are more or less anonymous and reachable. For example, people working in a concrete institution are potentially reachable whereas the capitalist economic system is not. The more abstract a contemporary individual or institution is, the more relevant is the knowledge on the contemporary that is provided within direct social interaction. As a consequence the peer-groups’ opinions are probably more important that objective facts in evaluating social and political institutions and role takers.

These three dimensions limit the situation and structure subjective experience. As a result “man finds himself at any moment of his daily life in a biographically determined situation, that is, in a physical and socio-cultural environment as defined by him, within which

63 Ibidem, p.73.
64 Ibidem, p.75.
65 Ibidem, p.85.
he has his position”. 68 Furthermore, “the unique biographical situation in which I find myself within the world at any moment of my existence is only to a very small extent of my own making. I find myself always within a historically given world”. 69 Subjective structures of relevance then are socially determined in two ways: first by the actual context of any social situation, and second by the socio-historic influences on individual biographies. 70 All attitudes, plans, typologies, interpretations, i.e. the individual system of interpretation and motivation, have a social history. We argue that the actual interests, opinions, concerns of an individual reflecting the patterns of interests and motivations and the stock of knowledge that are biographically determined in the respective lifeworld. But how can we gather empirical knowledge on the differences in these patterns? We suggest that we have to decompose lifeworld into different spheres of the conduct of everyday life in order to get grip on individual descriptions of lifeworlds.

According to Bodo Flaig, Thomas Meyer and Jörg Ueltzhöffer 71 and Ulrich Becker and Horst Nowak 72 lifeworld consists of all spheres of experience people are engaged with every day and that are strongly influencing the development and change of attitudes, opinions, behavior and patterns of action. 73 In line with Schütz, Flaig, Meyer and Ueltzhöffer define lifeworld as the bounded whole of a subjective reality, including work, family, leisure time, wishes, fears and dreams. 74 Following this perspective, we refer to eight spheres of the lifeworld, that allow for identifying the representations of interest and meaning according to Schütz’ layers of the lifeworld.

1) Work: Work and workspace represent a core part of the lifeworld, as most people spend a lot of time with working. They do not only have immediate social contacts there but also different parts of the potential world are actualized continuously in economic transactions.

2) Family: Represents large parts of the immediate social relations in the world at hand. This is the nexus of social experience as such.

3) Social relations: immediate and potential social relations, including memberships in voluntary associations offer insight in the individual networks and their subjective meaning. Here reciprocal norms and values are internalized and actualized.

4) Consumptive goals and desires: One of the main features of postmodern societies is the aesthetization of everyday life. 75 Together with recreational activities, consumptive goals are one main area of aesthetic expression of lifestyles and codes of the respective lifeworld.

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68 Schütz 1970 (fn 55), p. 73.
69 Ibidem, pp. 163-164.
70 Schütz/Luckmann 2003 (fn. 54), p. 342.
73 Ibidem, p. 247.
75 In his analysis of “consumer culture and postmodernism”, Mike Featherstone (1991, fn. 7) highlights the process of a visible and tangible aesthetization of everyday life as a core central development within the
5) Leisure time

6) Perspectives about the future: What an individual regards as the world at potential reach, finds its expression in plans for the future. They represent individual aims in life and the evaluations of their chances to be realized.

7) Political values and orientation: As the foundations of political action, motivational structures and interests referring to politics find their expression in political values and orientations. Actively articulated values and orientations represent the stock of knowledge at hand that guides action in everyday political life.

8) Daydreams: offer insight into the imaginative inventory of people that complements the stock of knowledge and experience that guides action. They reach beyond realistic perceptions, for example imaginations of ruling the world, being able to fly, etc.

Methodology: How to Assess Lifeworlds?

Methodologically speaking, lifeworld is a “bounded whole” that can only analytically be separated in different spheres, but has to be interpreted hermeneutically. Thus survey-based quantitative research has its limits when it comes to the genesis of individual values, opinions, social and political trust, and political culture as a whole.

To get valuable information on the lifeworld as the nucleus of political culture means to address relations and orientations in everyday life, patterns of interaction, stock of knowledge and causal mechanisms. As lifeworld is a subjective construction it is only the individuals living in this lifeworld that can bear witness to it. In other words, we need to ask people about their lifeworld. Instead of a close questionnaire, qualitative or narrative interviews allow for capturing such information, as individuals can actively express their views and constructions of their lifeworld. The resulting data allows for a control of consistency of interpretations, codes and orientations regarding the lifeworld. Based on a small questionnaire, guided interviews use the individual narrative as a source of data and at once allow for focusing on relevant dimensions. Data analysis then has to follow the logic of qualitative content analysis in order to identify patterns of meaning, relations and

interpretation. Qualitative content analysis is especially powerful in structuring explorative data gathered from narratives and building typologies.⁷⁷

Despite the fact that lifeworld is the place where individuals build up their individual stock of political and social knowledge⁷⁸, attempts to systematically analyze it from a political science perspective are rare.⁷⁹ In order to contribute to a better understanding of the origins of trust, social capital and participation, we conduct field research based on 1) Alfred Schütz’ distinct layer of the lifeworld, and 2) on the eight referential dimensions of everyday life proposed by Flaig et al. outlined above.⁸⁰

**Conclusion**

One of the central ideas of Alfred Schütz was that lifeworld and life form (Lebensform) are central categories for analyzing social order and power relations.⁸¹ According to Schütz and Luckmann Lebenswelt is constituted in the interrelation of knowledge, action and communication of individuals.⁸² Within the lifeworld, individuals refer to signs and symbols to express and communicate their life form.⁸³ What a scholar of phenomenology can observe in contemporary societies is a process of fundamental change closely linked with the ideas of globalization and digitalization. This process affects political and social systems as well as it deeply transforms the lifeworlds of individuals. The theoretical approach of lifeworld then offers a perspective for the explanation of different assessments, projected actions, and perceived chances for success of political action. Taking into account the postmodern heterogeneity of lifeworlds, learning democracy depend on whom you bowl with and where. Moreover, does the knowledge of lifeworld relations allow for an evaluation of politics and instruments of participation that aim at integrating non- or less participating groups in a society. If social capital, participation and democracy are to be developed in terms of a democratization of Democracy, we have to be aware of the configurations of heterogeneous lifeworlds as the nexus of political and social relations.

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80 Flaig/Meyer/Ueltzhöffer (fn. 70).

81 Schütz/Luckmann 2003 (fn. 54); Schütz, Alfred 1981: Theorie der Lebensformen, edited by Ilja Srubar, Frankfurt am Main.

82 Schütz/Luckmann 2003 (fn. 54).

83 Schütz 1981 (fn. 80), pp. 142-196.
Methodological Challenges of Sociological Surveys. The Example of Surveys on the Quality of State and Municipal Services

Konstantin Terentyev

Abstract: This article is devoted to the analysis of methodological challenges concerning the development and organization of sociological surveys aiming to identify the level of citizens’ satisfaction with the quality of municipal services. The main emphasis in the article is on the development of effective and scientifically-based tools (questionnaire and sample design), the organization of the field stage, and the calculation of indicators. The basis for this article is provided by the author's methodology for conducting a similar survey, as well as by the results of its implementation.

Keywords: Survey, State services, municipal services, quality, citizens’ satisfaction.

In accordance with the Decree of the President of the Russian Federation of May 7, 2012 No. 601 "On the main directions of improving the system of public administration”, it became necessary to assess the quality of public and municipal services on a regular basis (in the mode of annual monitoring).¹ This task was to be solved at a regional level, by the Government of the constituent entity of the Russian Federation, using a sociological survey of citizens and business representatives who applied for state or municipal authority services. In the Republic of Karelia, the regional program "Reduction of administrative barriers, improvement of the quality of public and municipal services, i.e. by means of multi-functional centers providing public and municipal services in the Republic of Karelia for 2012-2013” was launched. During the implementation of the program, Petrozavodsk State University (PetrSU) has developed and tested a correspondant methodology for monitoring by the end of 2012. The sociological part of the methodology was developed by the Sociological Research Laboratory of the PetrSU, Head - Terentyev, Konstantin. Based on this methodology, three monitoring phases were successfully implemented - two in 2013 and one in 2014.

In 2014, the Ministry of Economic Development of the Russian Federation approved a "centralized" methodology,² developed together with the Russian Academy of National Economy and Public Administration under the President of the Russian Federation. This methodology was recommended to the constituent entities of the Russian Federation. The methodology was adapted by the Ministry of Economic Development of the Republic of

Karelia to the local realities and was used as a basis for the sociological assessment of citizens’ satisfaction in 2015.3

However, the implementation of this methodology has revealed several challenges. Here we name two that are the most significant. The first one is sampling design. "The formation of a sample frame for respondents is carried out accordingly to a multi-stage quota sample with probability sampling from respondents at the last stage".4 Probability sampling of respondents in this case presumes conducting a door to door survey (using the method of route sampling). But difficulties arise right here. The point is the general population of research does not include all residents of the region or at least all residents over 18 years. Instead, it considers only those who "applied to the state or local authorities for receiving state or municipal services in the last two calendar years and have received the result of the appeal, either the services granted or a refusal, by the time of the survey".5

To identify certain indicators, the "representatives of the business community (entrepreneurs or representatives of legal entities)"6 were chosen as respondents. Thus, the specific challenge of finding those respondents who have applied for state and municipal services over the past two years appear additionally to the common difficulties of a door to door survey - access to a house, an apartment, and a high level of refusals. Since the survey involves mainly those who have applied for services that are "in great demand", the systematic sampling error increases in addition to typical organizational problems. In a survey from 2015, four services (obtaining internal and external passports, real estate registration, and receiving subsidies) were evaluated by almost two-thirds of respondents (61 percent). The total share of those who evaluated municipal services did not exceed 3 percent! Obviously, it is quite difficult to include a significant number of business community representatives into a survey.

The second, less prominent, but still rather significant challenge is a bulky questionnaire or rather, a polling form in the form of a standardized interview.7 It contains 64 questions, 58 of them are basic, 6 are devoted to the socio-demographic characteristics of respondents. The questions are printed on 15 sheets of A4 paper. The specific character of the sample, combined with the volume of the questionnaire, scare off the respondents and leads to serious difficulties in generating the final sample of the survey.

Thus, in 2016, the Ministry of Economic Development of the Republic of Karelia decided to return to the previously developed original methodology. This led to the emergence of this article and to an analysis of the methodological difficulties associated with the development and implementation of the methodology. Summarizing, we can distinguish three groups of methodological difficulties that correspond with the main stages of sociological research: the development of tools (questionnaire and sample design), data collection, processing and analyzing results.

The aim of the monitoring is to assess the quality of certain state and municipal services in the Republic of Karelia through the study of the level of citizens’ satisfaction using these services. An important aspect of the goal setting here is the study of specific services, which again requires interviewing people who applied for this particular state or municipal service. This leads to a discussion of the central challenge of the study - the issue of determining the general and selective population.

Undoubtedly, the most reliable results could be obtained in the case when all those who applied for a service over a long period of time, for example, as it is assumed in the federal method, will fall into the general population within two calendar years. It is quite easy to estimate the quantitative content of a sample - after defining an acceptable error and a confidence interval, the sample size is calculated with the help of formulas or special tables. But in practice, it is quite difficult to develop a sample, especially using the probability sampling type. One solution would be to provide the researcher with the lists of all those who applied for the services and to ensure the access to those who fall into the sample. Another solution would be to provide the potential respondents with a year-round opportunity to answer questionnaires at the locations of services received. This could be enabled, for example, by using electronic means whereat there is always a concern over possible falsifications, “throw-ins”, as well as restrictions caused by a non-probability sampling type.

Due to the indicated difficulties, we decided to conduct a survey at the locations where the service was provided. Thus, we interviewed only those who applied for the service, rather than to interview the entire population who had ever been provided with this service. The respective administrations possess the statistics on the average number of applications for a certain period, for example, for a working week. This allows the boundaries of the general population to be more clearly defined. For this study, it was determined as the number of citizens or representatives of the business community who applied for a state or municipal service within a certain period. For the given methodology, we determined a period of two working weeks. Thus, within two weeks the interviewers approached the visitors with a request to answer the questionnaire directly "at the exit" of the locations where the services were provided.

There are two methods of selecting respondents - a method of the main array, when more than a half of the general population (for a small sized sampling) are interviewed, and a method of a systematic selection (for example, exit-pollls). The first method was used at all stages of monitoring in Karelia. The reason was not only the small number of requests for a certain service, but also the fact that several services that are provided in the same building or office were studied simultaneously. A certain service could be identified only
after addressing the respondent directly. This was especially the case when several municipal services were provided in one and the same municipal entity. As a result, for all the services examined (and there were more than fifty of them at certain monitoring stages) at least 50 percent of respondents applying for the services were interviewed within a two-week period, and for most services - even more than 70 percent. If necessary, the period for the survey can be prolonged so that the sample becomes of an acceptable size and allows an adequate assessment of the indicators.

The development of the questionnaire primarily considered two obvious principles: the potential of winning the indicators specified in the Decree No. 6018 from the respondents’ answers, as well as minimizing the size of the questionnaire as much as possible in order to reduce the number of respondents’ refusals to participate in the survey. Three following program questions were formulated (based on the studied indicators), during the development of the research design, and were taken as a basis for the questionnaire:

- To what extent are citizens and representatives of the business community satisfied in general and specifically with the process of service provided (convenience of receiving the service, politeness and competence of the officers, suitability of opening hours, etc.)?
- How complete and accurate are the regulatory requirements in the process of service provided (opening hours, costs, information about the process of providing a service, a single window system, etc.)?
- What are the main complaints toward the administration, as well as citizens’ proposals to improve the quality of public and municipal services?

As a result, the questionnaire consists of only 10-12 basic questions and several questions aimed at identifying the socio-demographic characteristics of respondents (citizens) and the characteristics of the enterprise (representatives of the business community). At different stages, there were insignificant adjustments of the tools. During the data collection, the survey of one respondent took less than 5-7 minutes. The number of refusals was insignificant.

The approbation of the tools revealed yet one more challenge. Since the survey was conducted in the offices of municipalities where visitors can receive different services, and the full titles of these services are rather bulky, and even similar in some cases, it became necessary to clearly define the titles for specific services. Here are examples for such titles: "Provision of land property in municipal district to the owners of buildings and constructions located on this land"; "Provision of permanent unlimited use, fixed-term free use, or lease of land which is in state property and has not been assigned to legal entities or citizens"; "Provision of land for individual housing construction". For this purpose, every interviewer was equipped with a separate sheet with an indexed list of all services studied in this municipality. With the help of the index the interviewer has determined the service evaluated by the respondent. Finally, only the corresponding number from the index was entered in the questionnaire.

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8 Decree of the President of the Russian Federation of 07.05.2012 No. 601. Cf. FN 1, here: paragraph 1.
Further challenges appeared during the field stage of the collection phase. First, since the study was conducted simultaneously in all municipalities of the Republic of Karelia, and the design of the study assumed a full-time presence of interviewers in the locations of provided services for at least two weeks, it was important to involve a significant number of skilled interviewers. To reduce the cost of the study (e.g. travel expenses), the most convenient option was to recruit interviewers residing in the respective municipalities. In our case we could attract students of the senior courses of social and human sciences, who came to study at the university from different regions of Karelia. It was possible to involve them because the survey was conducted in the summer period. This also allowed us to organize a general preliminary briefing for the interviewers in Petrozavodsk.

The second challenge was compensation for the interviewers. The most common way of determining wages during polling is the fixed cost of collecting one questionnaire. However, in our case, this mechanism worked poorly, since in several municipalities the number of users of services was relatively small. Thus, we decided to apply an integrated approach: to pay a working day and to pay extra for every collected questionnaire, in order to encourage the interviewers to approach the respondents and to convince those who refused.

The third challenge was the environment. The locations were not always suitable for the interviewers to work and for the respondents to fill in questionnaires.

The fourth challenge was controlling the quality of the interviewers’ work. Traditionally, the controlling function during surveys lies with the supervisors who usually call the respondents after the survey. But sometimes this function was also performed by the officers of municipalities, because they were concerned about the outcome of the survey, e.g. they informed the organizers of the survey about cases when interviewers were absent for a long time, or they treated respondents inappropriately, etc.

Generally, the calculation of indicators did not cause any significant difficulties. Mainly they consist of a simple calculation of the share of respondents who gave a certain answer to a certain question from the questionnaire. But it is still worth noting the distinction between two indicators: "The share of applicants who are satisfied with the quality of the services provided" and "the level of satisfaction of applicants with the quality and accessibility of the services provided". Both indicators were expressed as a percentage of the total number of respondents. The first indicator is calculated based on respondents' answers to the question "How satisfied are you with the quality of the service provided?" and is equal to the share of respondents who chose the answers "completely satisfied" or "rather satisfied", expressed as a percentage. The second indicator is more complex and is calculated based on respondents' answers to the question "Please, evaluate different aspects of the service provided", which includes six characteristics: politeness and competence of the officers, convenience of the waiting space, opening hours, completeness and availability of information about the service. In fact, an index was developed, where a certain digital value was assigned to each level of satisfaction from "completely dissatisfied" to "completely satisfied". The digital values were then reduced to a single indicator with the help of a formula.
The second methodical difficulty is the calculation of the indicator "waiting time in a queue." It depends on the fact that many visitors did not have to wait in a queue to be received by an officer. Thus, their time was included in the final figure (calculated by using the arithmetic mean) as "0 minutes". But in the outcome report, this data was presented in an expanded form - waiting time in a queue was calculated without considering those who did not have to wait. Besides, such additional indicators as a median, standard deviation, minimum and maximum time were calculated and included in the outcome report. For example, according to the results of the second stage, this indicator (for the entire array) is 9 minutes. But without considering those who did not have to wait in a queue, it is 24 minutes. The difference is quite substantial, and therefore relevant for the administration.

The study of the quality of state and municipal services is a vital issue. Perhaps, a sociological survey with full-time interviews, accompanied by a whole range of methodological challenges, is not the best solution for this issue. Surely, this problem can also be solved by an integrated approach, combining the non-survey methods of data collection (document analysis, observation, analysis of state and municipal statistics, etc.) with the use of digital and web technologies. But it is impossible to completely dispense with the surveys today. And we do not need to. We only need to take into consideration the potential challenges and to level them so that the result become credible and will have a high scientific level.
PART 2: POLITICAL CULTURE, IDENTITY AND PUBLIC OPINION
Discourses on the “National Idea” in Political Party Programs. The Case of the Republic of Karelia

Svetlana Rozhneva

Abstract: The article presents the analysis of a text array of quantitative data programs of political parties in modern Russia by number of mentions in the discourse of the national idea. The methodology case-study is used in researching of Karelia’s one case. The choice of Karelia is connected with specific region, its cross-border nature to European North. This allows conflict of authoritarian and democratic values. As a result the author makes conclusions, that the nation idea is not the dominant value of public consciousness of Russians. It is a means of influence of political elites on public opinion. The actors, who from time to time declare it, for the most part, motivated by populism to achieve their goals. The mythological of nation idea is enhanced by its pragmatism for political forces. The parties, which have a real weight in the political system of the country, both at Federal and regional levels, the discourse of the nation idea are used in promoting its value for the state citizens. In addition to that the phenomena influence on their legitimacy. However it is neither the only nor the dominant indicator. So the analysis of political parties' programs using only the discourse of the national idea is not possible to establish the dependence of the role and importance of parties in the political process as the country and separate subject of the Russian Federation, Karelia.

Keywords: Discourse, national Idea, political party program, nation, patriotism, unity, strong state

More liberal party legislation and more relaxed registration requirements have led to a tenfold increase in the number of political parties since 2011. This has had a specific effect on the contemporary party system of the country. Names of some parties are comic (for example, «Woman Dialogue») and other parties are typical spoilers (for instance, «Communists of Russia» is spoiler for «Communist Party of Russian Federation»). The pluralistic manner of the system is formal and adapted to existing legislation. The 'new' parties (meaning those that have started registering since 2012) do not have any stable social support, and are not worthy competitors to the 'old' parties.

Party-building does not deal with the country’s political crisis; it only turns it analytically in a different direction. Symbolization of the political field is inevitable. It is being constructed due to many factors; it has different manifestations, including provisions for

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2 A list of relevant election and referendum legislation can be found at http://www.cikrf.ru/eng/law/; (14.07.2017).
party programs. The national idea is an important guide that can unite a society and neutralize conflict intensity, especially in such a big, multi-ethnic country like Russia.

This paper presents a logical analysis of the political party programs in contemporary Russia through content analysis. It explores party representation in the Republic of Karelia, a constituent entity of the Russian Federation as an illustrative example of the Northern European part of Russia. It also examines how the federal agenda is reflected in the Republic. Karelia has been selected as a research object due to the fact that it borders northern Europe. A clash of values can be observed in the region. On one hand, there is a strong authoritarian tradition which manifests itself in the coherent implementation of the federal agenda and in the fulfillment of federal requirements. On the other hand, there are democratic tendencies resulting in contradictions between regional and local administrations that often illustrate affiliation to different political forces, and therefore different approaches to problem solving and to policies being implemented.

In general, political myth-making is crucial for the process of uniting a society. This function is traditionally performed by state institutions, in the form of public political actors. In turn, political parties are highly active in the pre-election period during an election campaign. In both cases, however, the society is widely influenced by various mythologemes that are both positively and negatively marked. One of the most prominent positively marked mythologemes in our country is still the national idea, regarded as the ideological practice of the contemporary politics aimed at preserving system features of the state during the transformation processes. According to V. Kulinichenko and N. Korovnikova, “one of the main objectives of the state is maintaining common conceptual (ideological) space”3. Therefore, various mythologemes influence the public conscience immediately, mostly guiding it in a government-favored direction within the framework of the political system.

The popularity of the national idea mythologem in Russia mostly increases during crises of any type (social and economic crises, political crises ranging from internal to international, a shift of power through elections, and so on). One of the possible ways to preserve the system is to revive the search for the national idea in order to unite the country. The fact that leading political forces emphasize the necessity of the national idea for the state can be interpreted both as a specific project of the state government aimed at maintaining its legitimacy, and as a means for political parties to influence public opinion in order to create social support and the possibility to rise to power.

Political parties play an important part in representing, articulating and aggregating interests.4 Therefore, the values that dominate a society should somehow be captured in the program documents of the political forces. In this regard, it was interesting to examine how the national idea is reflected in the programs of the existing parties in contemporary Russia, and which of them have regional offices in the Republic of Karelia.

This objective was accomplished through content analysis of the programs of all of the 32 political parties with regional offices in the Republic of Karelia. The aim was to reveal the number of parties that, in their programs, offer the national idea mythologem as a foundation for uniting the Russian people, and thus to reveal the real weight of those parties in the country’s political system. As units of analysis, we used words and semantic fragments which best reflect the integrative essence of the national idea. In addition to the word combination 'the national idea', (which very seldom appears in party programs as is), we also included the following definitions, their derivatives, and linguistic structures: 'nation', 'patriotism', 'unity', 'concordance', 'stability', 'order', 'strong state', 'power'.\(^5\) Widening the range of semantic analysis and using additional quantity units has formed an essential foundation for a more detailed examination of the party programs which include national problems, integration power, and the country’s sovereign power. On one hand, public surveys of the leading information centers, such as the Public Opinion Foundation\(^6\) and the Russian Public Opinion Research Center VCIOM\(^7\), helped us to identify the units of analysis for the corpus of the political party programs, since the word combination 'the national idea' is only sporadically used there. On the other hand, these surveys enabled us to formulate two groups of research hypotheses.

The first group is connected to the direct use of the word combination 'the national idea' both at the federal and at the regional levels, using the example of the Republic of Karelia. These hypotheses include:

- political parties that declare the national idea in their programs are real forces, able to exercise direct influence over the political system of Russia. This tendency is also reflected in the functioning of political parties in Karelia;
- political parties that declare the national idea in their programs do not have any influence over the public political space in the country as a whole, and in the Republic of Karelia in particular;
- it is impossible to establish either a direct or a reciprocal correlation between such factors as a declaration of the national idea in the party program and its role in the political process at the federal as well as at the regional level.

The second group of hypotheses covered all of the party programs, since it laid emphasis on the close semantic meaning of 'the national idea' phenomenon and the frequency of mentions. In this regard, the following hypotheses were formulated:

- 'the national idea' serves as a neutral mythologem, parties place greater focus on solving other problems, not directly connected to the search of an integrating idea for the country;
- 'the national idea' is a positively marked mythologem. Parties appear as a real force in the political system of the state or a region that exercises direct influence over political decisions.

\(^5\) In Russian, these are: „национальная идея“, „национация“, „патриотизм“, „единство“, „согласие“, „стабильность“, „порядок“, „сильное государство“, „держава“.


it is impossible to establish a correlation between the role of parties in the political process of the state or a region and the frequency of mentions of 'the national idea' content in their program.

The second group of hypotheses was formulated on the basis of a quantitative analysis of relevant information. Taking 100 as a reference mark, we managed to discover a three-level manifestation of the necessity of using the national idea discourse in party programs in order to determine the party’s status, role, and significance in the political system of the country, through the possibilities of fulfilling their functions and translating their ideas into the mass consciousness of the people.

In our opinion, there was no sense in separating the hypotheses describing the situation in Karelia into a special group. In many respects, this was due to the fact of showing the manifestation of the existing federal political tendencies at the regional level.

According to the data of the Office of the Ministry of Justice of the Russian Federation for the Republic of Karelia, 32 political parties out of 76\(^8\) have regional offices as of January 12, 2015\(^9\) (see Chart 1).

Chart 1: Party representation at the regional level in the Republic of Karelia (as of January 23, 2015)

| Parties with regional offices in Karelia | 42% |
| Parties without regional offices in Karelia | 58% |


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8 Ministry of Justice of the Russian Federation for the Republic of Karelia: List of regional offices of political parties of the Republic of Karelia registered according to the federal Political Parties Law. URL: karel.izbirkom.ru/etc/ropp20150112.doc (22.05.2015).

9 As of January 12, 2015, seventy-seven political parties were registered in Russia. However, the Party of Progress (Partiya Progressa), which had a regional office in the Republic of Karelia, ceased to exist. The paper examines the real number of parties registered by the Ministry of Justice of the Russian Federation, which is why statistical data on regional party representation differs.
As it can be seen in the chart, almost half of the parties registered in Russia have an office in Karelia. This implies that the Republic is taking an active part in the process of party-building. The region reflects those changes that occur at the federal level, including an increase in the number of the regional party offices and the expansion of party diversity in the constituent entities of the Federation.

Analysis of the political party programs shows that only 19 out of 76 declare the national idea, which is 25 percent of the total number of parties. At the regional level, only 4 out of 32 parties use the word combination 'national idea' in their programs, which corresponds to 12.5 percent (see Chart 2).

Chart 2: Political parties, using the word combination 'national idea' in their programs (in percent)

Source: own calculation.

The comparison of the ratios using the notion 'national idea' in party programs shows that there are twice as many mentions at the federal level as at the regional. It can be said that the intensity of conservative values of the national idea is weaker at the regional level than it is at the state level altogether. This confirms the specific character of the political process in Karelia, which is considered one of the most liberal entities of the Russian Federation.

It was also interesting to analyze the proportion of the 'old' (registered before 2012) and 'new' (registered since 2012) parties that directly declare the need for a national idea. At the federal level, only 2 out of 19 parties are 'old' ones - Patriots of Russia (Patrioty Rossii) and A Just Russia (Spravedlivaya Rossiya), which makes up only 11 percent. At the level of the Republic of Karelia, the revealed correlation was 40 percent / 60 percent. The two above mentioned parties, Patriots of Russia and A Just Russia, belonging to the 'old' parties and to three 'new' ones - Party of Social Security (Partiya Sotsialnoi Zashchity), Russian Socialist Party (Rossiyskaya Sotsialisticheskaya Partiya), Party of the Spiritual Transformation of Russia (Partiya Dukhovnogo Preobrazheniya Rossi) (see Chart 3).
Although in Karelia, as well as in Russia, parties which programs contain the word combination 'national idea' are mostly 'new' parties, their correlation with the 'old' parties is drastically different from the federal level. In spite of the obvious domination of the 'new' parties, such indicators in the Republic of Karelia, in comparison with national data, are directly dependent on the number of registered regional party offices in their territory. The general tendency is caused, apparently, by the fact that without proper social support the "new" parties are looking for those ideas, program provisions that would "cling" to the public. In this context, the national idea is becoming more mythological, which is revealed in the utility of its value essence.

In light of this, it must be said that the new political forces do not have any serious influence on decision making or contemporary political practices. While the pluralism of political space is expanding, these parties serve as statistical units in the political system. Apparently, the national idea mythologem is interpreted pragmatically by new parties. Lacking election experience, they can use it as a means of creating a political platform for their activities.

Revealing the provability of the first group of hypotheses on the basis of the relevant data, it can only be confirmed that it is not possible to detect a relationship between program declarations of parties about the national idea and their role in the political process either at the federal or regional levels. This can be caused, on one hand, by the insufficiency of variable data, and on the other hand, by the fact that the national idea is not a traditional Russian value. It does not find a response in the mass consciousness, while its declaration by political forces serves mainly as an instrument for maintaining their legitimacy in the framework of the policies being pursued.
The second group of hypotheses was constructed on the basis of the whole array of quantitative data in the party programs. The national idea definition was expanded by widening its conceptual understanding in order to cover programs of all of the registered parties. Ergo, according to the quantity of mentions of the national idea in the party programs as uniting the Russian society in terms of national identity, unity, order, state power, etc. a three-level manifestation was revealed:

- 0 to 35 mentions - ‘national idea’ definition is absent or used at an extremely low level;
- 36 to 70 mentions - shows medium parameters, the party programs deal with a wide range of problems, including issues connected with the national idea, the search for it, and its manifestation in the political system;
- over 71 mentions - shows a strong manifestation of the characteristic, these parties either have real authority in the political process, or use the national idea notion pragmatically for achieving their aims (see Chart 4).

Chart 4: Analysis of ‘national idea’ discourse corpus in programs of political parties in contemporary Russia and Karelia (in percent)

It is indicative that the ‘national idea’ is not used in the negative context of party programs. This appears to be caused by the traditional historical essence of the phenomenon, intended for uniting the multi-ethnic nation, as well as by the fact that it is being implemented into the mass consciousness from above by the ruling institutions that mainly use it as a populist idea.

Data analysis shows similar manifestations of national tendencies at the level of Karelia, a single constituent entity of the Federation. Basically, the national idea is used as the neutral key in programs, which most likely indicates that parties pay more attention to the solution of other problems, not directly connected to the integration essence of the national idea for the country.
Considering that the real actors in politics are those parties that are represented in the legislative body, party affiliation of members of the Fourth State Duma of the Russian Federation and the Fifth Legislative Assembly of the Republic of Karelia was analyzed. This information was needed to determine the real weight of party forces in the political system at the federal as well as at the regional level, and for detecting the aims they can use the national idea discourse in their programs for. This information was needed to determine the real weight of the party forces in the political system at the federal and regional levels and the purpose for which they can use the discourse of the national idea in their programs.

The State Duma consists of members of four political parties - United Russia (Yedina-ya Rossiya), the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, and A Just Russia (Spravedlivaya Rossiya). The Legislative Assembly of the Republic of Karelia has a wider range of members because of the Yabloko members and self-nominated candidates\(^\text{10}\) (see Chart 5).

Chart 5: The 'national idea' discourse in programs of political parties represented in the legislative body (in percent)

![Chart 5: The 'national idea' discourse in programs of political parties represented in the legislative body (in percent)](image)

Source: own calculation.

On the whole, it can be seen that the country’s leading political forces focus on national issues, unity of the nation, and preservation of the greatness of the country. It is interesting that the United Russia Party, an obvious leader based on the number of deputy seats\(^\text{11}\), has only 20 usages of the national idea discourse in its program. This supports the fact that the legitimacy of the leading party of the country rests on a different foundation, not directly connected to the manifestation of the national idea. Analysis of the regional situation in Karelia illustrates a tendency that differs from the federal situation, since the Legislative

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\(^{10}\) Self-nominated candidates were excluded from analysis.

\(^{11}\) 238 seats (53 percent) in the Fourth State Duma of the Russian Federation; nineteen seats (76 percent) in the Fifth Legislative Assembly of the Republic of Karelia, deputies elected through the proportional representation system.
Assembly of the Republic of Karelia includes members of the Yabloko Party. In the program of the Yabloko Party, manifestations of the national idea phenomenon receive 41 mentions. The data again proves the specific character of the Northwest region of the country, whose politics combine both authoritarian and democratic tendencies.

At the same time, the number of mentions of the 'national idea' discourse in the programs of the 'old' and 'new' parties in Russia as a whole and in Karelia in particular was analyzed (see Chart 6). Out of 76 parties in the country, 8 are 'old' and 68 are 'new'. In Karelia, there are 6 'old' and 26 'new' parties.

Chart 6: Percentage rating of the number of mentions of the national idea discourse in programs of 'old' and 'new' parties

![Chart 6: Percentage rating of the number of mentions of the national idea discourse in programs of 'old' and 'new' parties](https://doi.org/10.5771/9783845282213)

Source: own calculation.

This data deserves attention. With the first two parameters, Karelia follows the national tendencies. But the Republic has a different equity proportion of the number of mentions in the party programs for numbers over 71. In comparison to the federal level, we actually see a mirror reflection of the parameter in the region. It appears to be caused by a lack of regional offices of 'new' parties in Karelia, which shows their insufficient weight in the political system of the country. Besides, the traditional political forces remain in the Republic, and using their legitimacy and the fact that the Karelian people know about them, they keep exercising immediate influence over the political process in the region.

Analysis of the whole array of the political party programs in contemporary Russia brings us to the conclusion that the second group of hypotheses is partially confirmed. The national idea serves as a neutral or positively colored mythologem in the party programs. In spite of the fact that this idea can be used as an integrating value for the country, it is very weakly represented in this form in the political party programs. As a rule, the parties focus on solving other problems, not on connecting with the search for the uniting national idea.
In general, the research shows that the national idea is not the domineering value of the Russian public consciousness; it is only a means of influencing their opinion by the political elite. The actors that declare it from time to time are mainly motivated by populism for achieving their aims. Therefore, the mythological character of the national idea is intensified by its pragmatism for the political forces. The political parties that have real authority in the political system of the country both at the national and at the regional level, use the national idea discourse for popularizing its importance amongst citizens. Although this phenomenon does influence their legitimacy level, it is neither the only, nor is it the domineering factor. Therefore, analysis of the political party programs, using singularly the national idea discourse, gives no possibility of establishing the role and importance of parties in the political process of the country as a whole and of a constituent entity of the Russian Federation.

At the same time, the specific character of the party programs should be mentioned. A party can most actively declare its ideas only during the election campaigns. Even in this case, people only consume information which is implemented through political advertising in the widest understanding of this word combination. As a rule, voters inspect programs during the parliamentary elections, usually just a part of a program that political consultants consider the best for attracting the public’s attention and securing voter support.

In conclusion, it should be noted that reductionism of the chosen research method as well as analysis of a single factor – the national idea - in the context of the party system (which is also simplified), and selection of the Republic of Karelia only for a constituent entity have contributed to a large extent of the findings. Similar research can be continued by increasing the variables format and corpus size.
Political Life Worlds in Baden-Württemberg

Rolf Frankenberger/Daniel Buhr

Abstract: The pluralization of everyday life leads to a fragmentation of political participation and orientations towards the political system. Based on a qualitative study in Baden-Württemberg with 275 interviews in fourteen municipalities, we analyze political attitudes and everyday life in order to identify political life worlds. We find three groups of life worlds – distant, delegative, and participatory – with different patterns and concepts of Democracy and Politics, as well as different levels and forms of participation, that cross-cut established categories of social stratification and social milieus.

Keywords: Life world, democracy, participation, heterogeneity

In social sciences, inequality is usually measured with hard data like income, occupation, level of formal education, origin, or social mobility and is displayed in models of social stratification. Further approaches, for instance in research about social milieus, include social values and everyday life aesthetics in their research about inequality. This leads to an additional differentiation along classical stratification variables like income and education - a horizontal dimension of differentiation along everyday life values. There are also notable differences in the population of Germany and other advanced industrial societies when it comes to political participation. These differences are subject to a number of research and there are some major findings focusing on political aspects. For instance, the characteristics of the political system itself, the location and role of individuals within the society, and political attitudes are identified as determinants of participation. These factors contribute to the understanding of unequal and asymmetrical patterns of participation: Participation is fragmented and, for the most part, a middle- and upper class-phenomenon.

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4 Cf. Van Deth, Jan W./Montero, José R./Westholm, Anders (eds.) 2007: Citizenship and involvement in European democracies: A comparative analysis, Routledge; Van Deth, Jan 2009: Politische Partizipation,
Especially people with a high socio-economic status and a higher degree of education have a positive perception of the political system. They also have higher political competences and are more willing to participate. In addition, we witness a diversification of forms of participation since the 1970s coming along with an increase of unconventional and direct democratic forms of political participation and, at the same time, a decrease of classical forms like party membership or participation in elections. As a result, the patterns of political (non-)participation have multiplied, and the growing political inequality resulting from this process confronts modern democracies with the challenge to obtain their vitality and quality in times where fewer people participate and at the same time articulate more and more diverse demands, the political system has to address. As a consequence, society and academia have to face the question, which developments and factors are causing political inequality – beyond and apart from the more or less quantifiable determinants of social stratification mentioned above. In other words, are there alternative explanations for political inequality?

One central factor behind the diversification of participation in the last decades is the postmodernization of the everyday life. Postmodernization leads to the dissolution of traditional life worlds and to more diverse life plans and life courses. As a result, communities and normative reference points for social inclusion and coherence become more and more fragmented and constitute the basis for heterogeneous life worlds that, in turn, influence the political system, the perception and evaluation of the political system as well as the forms of participation.

With growing pluralization and fragmentation, citizens develop individualized political cultures, and a “cognitive and normative landscape of the political world”, which are based on their everyday life experience. Within this process, they develop their individual social capital: all aspects, norms and trust that make interaction and cooperation in a social setting possible. The so internalized social values and especially trust in others and the resulting social networks (e.g. in form of voluntary affiliations) are fundamental for a functioning economic system and political integration. The more fragmented and plural ever-
ryday life experiences are, the more diverse the political attitudes, orientations and actions of individuals will be. For a wider understanding of political inequality and its roots, we should examine the social origins of individually internalized culture and courses of action. Thus, the everyday social context of the individuals, the lifeworld, becomes the focus of the analysis.10

**Life world as Analytical Concept**

The everyday life world determines the horizon of experiences in which specific knowledge is available and in which the meaning of themes and spheres of knowledge are shaped. It is in here, that citizens develop their interests, preferences and strategies for action: “it is obvious, that a normal adult does not develop his interests and preferences as an unhistorical individual but rather as a member of a historical society”.11 Interests - and in particular political interests - are therefore always *culturalized* interests. They are shaped by direct experiences, argumentations and conducts of life in the everyday life world. The experiences in the individual lifeworld determine the course of action because they deliver the parts of reality and meaning in which a specific repertoire of knowledge is provided.12

In the analysis of patterns and types of political life worlds the following research dimensions are central:

- How do respondents construct their political „world at hand“, i.e. their political lifeworld?
- Which lifeworld references and experiences shape this construction of politics?

First of all, we have to analyze how the respondents perceive and structure their political lifeworld themselves, which concepts, values, institutions, potential and actual actions and wishes constitute their political life worlds. And it is solele the peple themselves who can tell us about how they perceive their „world at hand“13. In order to collect these testimonies, the individual political life worlds of citizens of Baden-Württemberg were analyzed in a pilot study.14 In two survey waves conducted in 2014, a total of 275 persons in fourteen municipalities15 participated in the interviews.16 Additionally, to get an overview of important life world references beyond politics and policy, we asked for statements

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10 Schütz, Alfred/Luckmann, Thomas 2003: Strukturen der Lebenswelt, Konstanz.
11 Schütz/Luckmann 2003 (fn. 10), p. 506.
12 The analysis of life worlds in this study is hence linked to other important research strands that include everyday life in their analysis, like the research on social milieus. These studies assume that everyday life reference become more and more heterogeneous, and thus are newly shaped by the formation of social milieus. Cf. Flaig/Meyer/Ueltzhöffer 1994 (fn. 3).
13 Schütz/Luckmann 2003 (fn. 10).
14 Frankenberger/Buhr/Schmid 2015 (fn. 1).
15 Interviews were conducted in Baden-Baden, Bad Mergentheim, Ditzingen, Kirchheim unter Teck, Konstanz, Leutkirch, Lörrach, Ludwigsburg, Metzingen, Murrhardt, Pforzheim, Schramberg, Tübingen and Walldorf.
16 Interviews with an overall length of 177 hours and 25 minutes (1.486.707 words) were generated. The interviews lasted between 12 and 101 minutes with an average of approximately 39 minutes.
on the eight dimensions of everyday experience reaches, which constitute the lifeworld: work world, family life, leisure behavior, social contacts, consumption wishes and goals, perspectives of life, basic political attitude, and reverie. Through the episodic character of the interviews’ salient parts, themes and conceptions could be captured – everything that is part of the active reservoir of knowledge and experience and therefore apparent in direct everyday world references. The interview data was analyzed in a multilevel approach of thematic coding and typological coding using the software MaxQDA to develop a typology of political life worlds in Baden-Württemberg.

By using a layered sampling method of participants, we achieved a comparably high representativeness. Bearing in mind the limitations of the sample, the results therefore can be used for tentatively generalized conclusions about Baden-Württemberg as a whole.

We used episodic, semi-structured interviews, in which we asked for the interviewee’s basic understandings of politics, polity and democracy, subjective associations with the political system, chances, wishes and fields of participation. Also, we asked for basic values, information and communication behavior.

Political Life Worlds in Baden-Württemberg

The central finding of the analysis is heterogeneity - even with an overrepresented middleclass in the survey. Analogous to the development and differentiation of lifeworld attributes based on social milieus, a comparably broad spectrum of life world orientations relating to politics and democracies can be identified. Whereas the concept of social milieus captures the „socio-cultural identity of the individual”, we analyze the closer aspects of the political life world which vary independently from the overarching socio-cultural identity. Similar to the milieu models there are connections between milieu affiliation, education, income and occupation in relation to the political life worlds. It is noticeable that nearly all distinct constructions of political life worlds indeed have a socio-economic focus, but can be found throughout almost all age-, education-, occupation- and income groups. This confirms the often in research about value changes and political culture formulated thesis of a “postmodern shift” in value orientations and the accompanying pluralization and fragmentation of life plans, here in relation to the construction of political life worlds and life plans. Even more apparent are the in the inductive empirical analysis

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20 The municipalities were selected according to regional and local characteristics. In the selection of the participants demographic criteria like age, education, gender and migration background were considered.
21 Flaig/Meyer/Ueltzhöffer 1994 (fn.3); Ueltzhöffer 1999 (fn.3).
22 Ueltzhöffer 1999 (fn.3), p. 630.
23 Inglehart 1997 (fn.6); Frankenberger 2007 (fn.6).
discovered connections between the basic orientations and reservoirs of knowledge about politics and democracy on the one hand and reservoirs of knowledge, perceptions and evaluations of the political system, elections, possibilities of participation and actual participatory behavior, as well as requests for change and self-efficacy on the other hand. The basic dimensions for a typology of political life worlds thereby unite associations, concepts and notions of politics as a dimension of the everyday lifeworld and democracy as the political order in which the individuals are located in. First the central political concepts are combined with the perceptions of democracy, then in a second step other dimensions of the political lifeworld (contentment with the system, meaning of elections and voting, knowledge about participatory possibilities, actual participation, wishes of participation) are included. This results in seven patterns, which each respectively constitute distinct political life worlds and can be summarized in three different groups:

**Politically distant life worlds** are characterized by a rudimentary comprehension of democracy, which can also include a more or less elaborative understanding of political terms, but generally comes with a distinct distance to politics, which can be seen in the participatory behavior. People from politically distant life worlds scarcely participate and if they do so, only punctually and rather in a social setting. Altogether, these specific life worlds make up 22.5 percent of the analysis sample (n=62) and considering the sample structure the actual percentage is most likely higher. They contain the apolitical und distant life worlds.

**Delegative life worlds** include a strong orientation on norms, rules and institutions of politics. Representative or norm-orientated understandings of democracy are therefore strongly connected to government, institutions and rule-based fixed terms of politics. These life worlds are the backbone of representative democracies and include both, voters and elected officials and representatives. With regard to participatory patterns mostly politically active participants can be found here, but also more socially active people and people who are active in both categories. Mostly though, the level of participation is low or medium and reduced on individually and directly relevant aspects of life. High and multiple participatory behavior is rarely found here. These life worlds account for 44.4 percent of the sample (n=122) and are hence the proportionally biggest group of respondents. Delegative life worlds can be differentiated into Carers, Electorate, and Doers.

**Participatory life worlds** are mostly distinguished by a participatory understanding of democracy and emancipatory approaches to politics. The belief that active influence and shaping is possible is a core element of this group. Following that, people in these life worlds are politically and socially especially active and advocate for themes and persons. 33.1 percent (n=91) of the sample can be assigned to this group. These are the co-creators and co-deciders.
Figure 1 locates these types of life worlds in a two-dimensional space formed by the level of participation and the subjectively expressed understanding of democracy. The former can be seen on the x-axis and is divided into a continuum reaching from low (only few forms, activities and topics) to high (multiple forms, activities and topics). The understanding of democracy on the y-axis reaches from representative to participatory/direct democratic. The placing below/left zero on the coordinate system represents rudimentary or non-existing understandings of democracy and respectively no participation. The surfaces of the different types show the empirical proportion – the bigger the surface, the more respondents can be designated to this lifeworld. Overlaps account for fluent transitions between the respective lifeworlds. The fill colors refer to the dominant mode of participation.

Participation can occur in different combinations in respect to the forms and themes, as the more detailed profiles of the seven life worlds illustrate:

- For the *Apolitical*, politics play no or just a peripheral role. Knowledge about politics and the political system is very little and characterized by skepticism and restraints. Distance and alienation are especially visible through an above-average discontentment.
• **The Distant:** Politics are made by others, namely the politicians. Thus, the conviction that an individual can hardly achieve anything is prevalent and if only in the close social environment. Elections are also considered as not very influential. Distanced types are tendentially discontent and rarely participate politically and if just for Carers, politics is often equaled with government and government actions. However, there is a strong relation to single norms, which shape the coexistence in a democracy: freedom and equality, honesty and respect and tolerance. Carers are very content with the political system even though they have very little knowledge about possibilities of participation. Voting is mostly from importance for them – it is considered as a duty. Politically this group is under-averagely active, but instead strongly active in social matters. In the socially oriented carer’s lifeworld people from all age groups and levels of education can be found with mostly women, people with middle high incomes and low formal educational qualification.

• The **Electorate** are at the heart of representative democracy. Voting is considered as a right that should definitely be used. People from this life world rarely participate beyond that. If they do so, it is mostly by being active in an office or in the context of a party or labor union. In this group, barely any demand for more direct democracy is articulated. Social participation mostly takes place in clubs – especially in sport clubs. All in all, a high to real high contentment with the political system is dominant in this lifeworld. If discontentment is articulated it takes place through own representatives. Especially people with a middle high incomes and often high educational qualification are found in the electoral lifeworld. Men and the age ranges of 35-44 years and 55-74 years are predominant.

• **Doers:** This life world is also characterized by a representative understanding of democracy. The concept of politics is directly linked to places, levels and institutions. For example, often the municipality and local council are named as the place for politics. People with this orientation mainly assume that change in a smaller setting is possible. Voting is important and is considered a duty. Doers are either politically active (in offices) or completely inactive (break). A basic contentment with the political system is distinctive, most likely because people with this orientation often take on shaping roles in the system. Nevertheless, wishes for more direct and deliberative democracy can also be found here. This group acts as an important pillar of the representative democracy, filling in positions for politics at least on the local level. They are below-average socially active and if so mostly in offices. Across all age classes these orientations of lifeworld are often found in people with a middle and high educational qualification and income, for example employees and officials.

• **Co-Creator:** Politics essentially means “co-creating” and taking influence, this understanding shapes this deliberative-emancipatory life world. Democracy in this context is understood as a possibility for the participation in decision making and the collective searching and finding of solutions for collective challenges. Transparency, possibilities of participation, respect and tolerance for others are connected to democracy in this group. These life worlds the most content with the political
system. But they do wish for more possibilities to take part and more deliberation. Participation possibilities are taken on both in the social and political sphere and are often combined. It is an active, expressive and reflected lifeworld. In politics, the members of this group are diversely active in parties, committees, initiatives and boards – everywhere they can be heard. In the social arena, they are often actively involved in church associations and clubs. This lifeworld can mostly be found in people over the age of 45 with middle and high income. They often have high educational qualification and are male.

- **Co-decider:** Democracy means participation in a broad spectrum and especially if someone is personally affected. Politics in this view penetrate all areas of a community, therefore broad individual shaping is possible and necessary. Direct democratic processes are considered as the highest possible realization of this participation and are clearly demanded. This lifeworld is content with the political system but wishes for more direct democracy. The participatory behavior includes social and political participation and this group is very active in both. The actual forms of political participation vary. Also in the social sector people are active in diverse forms - from churches and clubs, neighborhood networks to project orientated forms. Primarily officials and employees can be found in this group, often with high incomes. High educational qualification dominates and women are represented above-average.

**Political Inequality as a Manifestation of Changing Life Worlds**

The political inequalities between different life worlds become apparent in the knowledge about the political system and the evaluation and demands expressed in the actual participatory behavior. Conveyed through societal change and influences on the individual socialization, the life worlds illustrate how strongly processes of individualization and postmodernization over the last four decades have contributed to the diversification of collective life patterns.²⁴ It is especially interesting that these changes can also be seen in reference to fundamental understandings of politics and democracy. Even in Baden-Wuerttemberg as a traditionally conservative German federal state demands for more participation occur in broad parts of the population. This can be seen as evidence for a spreading of post-materialistic values of “individual self-fulfillment and life quality”.²⁵ Besides classic conservative and socially orientated forms of participation, often based on obligatory and acceptability values as well as altruistic motives of social and political commitment, strongly individualized motives of participation occur. This becomes evident in the wish for more participation that was expressed in all types of life worlds. But this diffusion of participatory orientations can be critically interpreted and evaluated, considering it most likely is at least in parts a “zeitgeist” phenomenon rather than a thorough reflection of the political

²⁵ Inglehart 1997 (fn.3), p. 46.
lifeworld. A general crisis of authorities and the community, predicted by some authors as a consequence of this shift, can just partly be supported.26 Just a small proportion of the interviewees fundamentally questions authorities, bureaucracy and formal rule and. On the contrary, our results point towards a comparably high contentment with the system in the progressive life worlds. The same applies to the four postulated crises of political behavior in the postmodern era by Thomas Leif.27 The crisis of actors, of the political class, the institutions and governance are scarcely existent and, if so, are only specifically found in the life world constructions of politics. The crisis of actors combined with the crisis of political institutions becomes the most plain in the orientation towards direct democracy, but rather causes compensatory mechanisms similar to the ones of the group of co-creators there. In the representatively and governmentally orientated life worlds, little evidence for substantial crises can be found and if all they are crises of parties and politicians. Political inequality in relation to societal pluralization und fragmentation is characterized by the merge of elements and aspects of political nature to individual “small life worlds”.28 On the superordinate level, there is a consent of the evaluation of the political system in Germany, as almost three-fourths of the respondents expressed a strong or wide contentment. But there is evidence of a diverse spectrum in regard to the concepts of politics and democracy and the perception and evaluation of participation possibilities and structures which can be illustrated by the following examples: the direct democratic-emancipatory orientated co-deciders vote because of their moral convictions, engage in initiatives, demonstrate and request more direct democratic possibilities of decision-making. The electorates are strongly orientated on government, voting is a traditional civic duty and the most important and often only used element of political influencing, while they more or less engage themselves in clubs and volunteering. The distanced on the other hand are to some extend politically informed, but do not have elaborated concepts of politics and democracy and participate little. The finding of heterogeneity in the small political life worlds is supported by the fact that the identified types cannot be grasped coherently by socio-demographic or socio-economic variables. Even though elaborated political life worlds are slightly connected to higher education and incomes, very reflected constructs can also be found in other socio-demographic groups. Additionally, neither governmental, emancipatory nor representative or participatory orientations can be distinguished along characteristics like age, gender, income or education. Socializing-biographical developments, too, are suitable for a precise differentiation of political life worlds; different mechanisms can be distinguished here, but cannot clearly be assigned to the different types. All life worlds share the importance of personal and individual experiences that shape patterns of concrete participation far be-

26 Cf. e.g. Klages, Helmut 1993: Traditionsbruch als Herausforderung: Perspektiven der Wertewandelgesellschaft, Frankfurt am Main.
beyond the political opportunity structures. The political structure and the world at hand, the subjective knowledge about possibilities, chances and risks of political action, shape the individual life world. On the other hand, various mechanisms trigger actual participation:

- **Parents and Family**: More than 50 percent of respondents named the parental home as one of the most important instance of political socialization. The evaluations of the influences are ambivalent and range from the takeover of the value orientations and patterns to differentiation and the adoption of contrary patterns. Both ways are transverse to the political orientation and party affiliation of the parents. The mechanism of conscious differentiation from the parental attitude is based on conflicts, often combined with decisive events and experiences in which contrasting interpretations between the generations resulted in conflicts, for example in the peace movement, the debate about nuclear power or the German reunification.

- **Critical Episodes and political role models**: For about one fifth of the respondents defining biographical events or political role models were central. These events in the individual biographies caused politicization. They are mostly highly politicized historic events, often found during the time of the German student movement of 1968, resulting in effects of different political directions. Besides prominent political role models like Konrad Adenauer, Willy Brandt, Helmut Schmidt, Gerhard Schröder and Angela Merkel, especially well-known personalities from the direct living environment are named as important influence on the transfer of knowledge, behavior patterns and value orientations.

- **School and Studies**: Schools and universities contribute to the development of political life worlds, but their reported influence is considerably smaller than the influence of the parental home or individual defining biographical events. Personal references also play an important role here.

- **Peer-group**: The peer-group acts as a forum for political discussions and information not just for younger people. Also for older people communication among private friends are important. Political Socialization therefore is a lifelong phenomenon.

- **Self-socialization**: A little more than ten percent of the participants emphasize an intrinsic motivation to inform themselves politically and become active. They retrace this strategy of “self-socialization” partly to a family or societal environment but also report about an independently developed self-competence.

- **Personal concern as a trigger for political action**: Whereas socialization influences the individual reservoirs of knowledge and perceived options for action, mostly decisive experiences and perceptions in daily life are trigger for participation in the lifeworld environment. The initial references are mostly familial or occupational, but repeatedly pose a starting point for long-term participatory biographies.
The political socialization in the immediate family, which is often considered as the determining factor of participation, seems to be significant only in a few cases. Far more often, patterns of interpretation and perception are influenced here rather than it causing an actual action. Socialization is at most indirectly effective. It is politically formative experiences, critical events and role models as well as personal relevance in family and occupation that cause participation and can be considered as the starting points of participatory biographies.

**Strategies for Political Integration**

How can political inequality be handled to strengthen democracy and participation? Initially a differentiation and extension of participation possibilities in a representative democracy seems desirable considering the different preferences of the political life worlds. Supply and demand have to align, otherwise a productive and goal-orientated exchange is not possible. Furthermore there are mainly two promising strategies to promote public participation: firstly, it is necessary to strengthen the political awareness of citizens at an early stage and increase it beyond basic school knowledge, preferably in direct reference to their particular political lifeworld. Often political awareness is strengthened by the knowledge of concrete possible actions, not by abstract dimensions of fact-orientated knowledge teaching. Interviewed adolescents with elaborated political notions and knowledge for example mentioned student projects like youth parliaments, school as a political system or special councils for youth affairs as opportunities to learn about politics. Secondly, the personal, familial or occupational references seem to be the strongest triggers of participation and often lead to long-term engagement. Personal relevance of themes should be emphasized within the strengthening of knowledge and orientations for actions, which again should and must be done along the lifeworld orientations, ensuring that important advice is targeted at addressable aspects of the respective person. We can expect that the change of political attitudes, concepts and perceptions will become more apparent in the differentiation of political life worlds.
Sustainability of Social Relations: Internal and External Factors

Oleg Tolstoguzov/Maria Pitukhina

Abstract: This article is devoted to the analyses of the sustainability of society in the cross-border region of the Republic of Karelia; from the perspective of ethnic and cultural aspects. The Republic of Karelia is well-known, thanks to the sad events in Kondopoga city in 2006. When the conflict occurred, it proved both national and migration policy of the Russian Federation that was being conducted in the republic to be ineffective. This study is of particular interest since it allows us to estimate how much Karelian society has changed over ten years. Two kinds of surveys are basis of this study - surveys among migrants and the recipient society (conducted in spring 2016). The results of these surveys show a cross-section of Karelian Society with a view of its sustainable development. That kind of complementary survey gives an opportunity to reveal specific features of the core and the waves of migration that later allow the prediction of structural changes in society.

Keywords: sustainability of society, wave of migration, the Republic of Karelia; Russia; surveys, recipient society (core).

The social structure of a society is incredibly complex. On the one hand, this truism in virtue of its obviousness does not seem to require proving and can be used absolutely rhetorically, and on the other hand it turned out to be controversial. The world order strives to set the framework of universum (remember the “The End of History”) which suppresses the uniqueness of ethnic groups. At the same time, the factors of geography and history actually have never been removed from the agenda. Today, they have caused a number of well-known events and brought ethnic and cultural identification up-to-date as an unexpectedly arisen, dominant idea and serious, ideological imperative.

The aim of our research is to understand how sub-ethnic groups affected by various factors are able to keep their recognizable ethnic and cultural profile.

Geographical location specifics, and the historical development of Russia and its regions resulted in the cultural construction of the social space: the configuration of different ways of life, cultural platforms, and special mechanisms of national and cultural self-regulation and the general, cultural integration of society, allowing a homeostasis of the social structure to be maintained.

During the era of the Soviet Union, within a certain ideological platform, a social order (“Soviet Man”) was formed as a result of the suppression of self-regulation mechanisms. And it was also due to integration on the ground of culture and the simultaneous combina-
tion of reliance on the inner imperatives of national and cultural self-regulation. Eventually, it ensured the industrial modernization of the country and victory in World War II.

Today, due to the new geopolitical conditions, a discussion on the choice of ways of development of ethnic groups and sub-ethnic groups (considering the changes in the structure of social relations) has appeared. At the same time, this research is not intended to be exhaustive in the comprehension of social relations. We are trying to show the patterns based on the selected example and to make a generalization of the internal and external factors affecting sub-ethnic groups based on the induction and resemblance methods.

The pressure of the political regime is considered an internal cause, the effect of which is estimated by measuring the relationship to other ethnic and cultural groups and religions. We believe it is important, since in connection with the rejection of the concept of “Soviet Man”, internationalism was transformed into something else through the painful processes of national self-identification and atheism, which was dominant for a long time and squeezed out traditional ethnic and cultural values with the help of political instruments.

The waves of migration are considered an external cause, bringing disturbances in the social ecology, seeking to disrupt the homeostasis of the structure of social relations. Movement of persons as a factor shows the feature of the instrument of geopolitics and therefore becomes an important factor influencing economic and social sphere, disturbing the homeostasis of the structure of social relations.

Methodology and Research Methods

Surveys are important tools that allows identifying structural changes in society and assessing the reasons for these changes. Surveys among the recipient society and migrants aiming to reveal different ethnic and cultural mindsets can not only complement and extend the data from open sources of information, but also be used to evaluate the long-term changes in society.

The Republic of Karelia was chosen to be an object for the study as an attempt to measure the sustainability of the structure of social relations empirically. An important element of regional studies is to monitor the state of public opinion on topical issues, which in turn is an attribute of public consciousness. The choice of the region as the authentic and typological object for research was justified. Firstly, the republic is a multi-national sub-ethnos (150 nationalities). Secondly, this is a cross-border region (this is especially important when taking into account the influence of waves of migration).

To achieve these goals the combination of the following quantitative and qualitative methods of sociological research (that give the most effective and complete interpretation of the results) was chosen: a large-scale questionnaire survey method as a quantitative method of research and expert evaluation method to identify the most complex aspects of the research issues.
Analysis of the social space and the behavior of local communities were conducted on the basis of public opinion monitoring. In 2016, within social relations structure research, 2,050 citizens of the republic and 280 migrants were surveyed. The sampled population considered gender and age of the respondents, urban and rural population. To conduct the survey, a quota sample for each city district and municipal area was drawn (it is a model that reproduces the structure of the population as a proportion of the studied characteristics). The number of sample units with different combinations of the studied characteristics was determined so that it corresponds to their share in the population. For these purposes the data of the territorial body of the Federal State Statistics Service in the Republic of Karelia was used.

With the aim of revealing parameters of sustainability of society, two types of surveys were conducted (the recipient society and migrants). The limited sample of migrants leads to the qualitative nature of the research results and allows to outline the benchmarks for further study, as well as to get quantitative data later on with a representative sample. The sample consisted of nine percent of all foreign migrant workers taking root in the region.

Sociological research, telephone hotlines, information centers and other forms of getting feedback from the population are sources of invaluable information. This gives us the information about how sensible the changes are that take place in peoples’ lives, if positive or negative, and in which direction it proceeds. In this context, the measured ethnic and worldview identity includes a set of complex characteristics, presenting both ways of self-identification and perception options (and relationship to them) of other ethnic and cultural groups.

As a hypothesis we assume the following assertion: the worldview, moral and values systems are not only the fundamental characteristics of the ethnic group (sub-ethnos), but they also form the invariants of the social space. In particular, we consider the identification features manifested towards other ethnic groups and religions. In this case, we assume empirically measured identification features as a social space invariant that remains relatively constant in the time and space dimension.

Results of the Research

Karelia is a multi-national republic. As a result of the evolution, the sub-ethnos was formed with certain characteristics both general (e.g. cultural codes, joining with Russian ethnos) and special, which formed under the influence of traditions and external factors. First, there are the following two characteristics of this sub-ethnos:

- A sustainable tolerance towards other ethnic groups and nationalities was formed (Table 1).
- Key competence of the local population (a “cultural navigator”) that allows there to be an intermediary in relations between Russian and Nordic civilizations is clearly developed (Table 2).
Table 1: Opinions of the Respondents on Interethnic (Interfaith) Relations, in percent*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opinions on</th>
<th>Positive Response</th>
<th>Negative Response</th>
<th>Don’t Know/No Answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interethnic Relations</td>
<td>67.8</td>
<td>20.2</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interfaith Relations</td>
<td>68.4</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*A positive response results from summing up opinions of the respondents “the relations are good, there is a readiness for cooperation between representatives of different nationalities, ethnic and cultural groups (denominations, faiths)” and “the relations are peaceful, there is no hostility or irritation towards representatives of other nationalities, representatives of ethnic and cultural groups (denominations, faiths)”.

The negative response results from summing up opinions of the respondents “the relations are outwardly calm, but there is an inherent tension between the members of different nationalities, ethnic and cultural groups (denominations, faiths)” and “the relations are strained, conflicts are possible between representatives of different nationalities, ethnic and cultural groups (denominations, religions)”.

Table 2: Opinions of the respondents, in percent*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opinions on</th>
<th>Positive Response</th>
<th>Negative Response</th>
<th>Don’t Know/No Answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cooperation with the representatives of other national (ethnic) groups</td>
<td>68.1</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation in an open conflict for the interests of the representatives of their own nationality</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>65.9</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*A positive response results from summing up opinions of the respondents “yes, I am ready” and “more likely yes than no.” The negative response results from summing up opinions of the respondents “more likely no than yes” and “no, I am not ready”.

Today, the population of the republic represents two structural elements that melted into a single sub-ethnos during the turbulent twentieth century:

- A kind of “core” originally composed of the indigenous population (Russian, Karels, Finns, Veps);
- The waves of migration (migration flows mainly from other regions of the USSR: Belarus, the Ukraine, and others to Karelia and emigration from the region).

The evolving “core” absorbed (if starting from the beginning of the twentieth century) and “remelted” migrants in an amount of twice the initial population. The highest population was in 1990 (Fig. 1 and 2).
The waves of migration were caused by an active policy of industrialization of the North and World War II. Kondopozhsky Hydroelectric Power Chain, Segezhsky and Kondopozhsky Pulp and Paper Mills and others were constructed. The last wave (both internal and external migration) is connected with the construction of mining and processing plants in 1977-1983 and the city of Kostomuksha. This city is built on the 64th northern line of latitude and this is not its only feature. For decades, the young city has formed the local community which has its differences from the regional one.

Let us consider the current migration situation in the Republic of Karelia. Table 3 presents the main migratory donor countries for Russia and the Republic of Karelia comparatively. The main immigration flows to the Russian Federation include ones from Ukraine, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, while migrants came to Karelia from the Ukraine, Belarus, and Finland. Thus, the Human Development Index (HDI) of migrants coming to Karelia is significantly higher (Ukraine = 0.747; Belarus = 0.798; Finland = 0.883; Russia = 0.798), while the HDI of migrants coming to Russia (Ukraine = 0.747, = 0.675 Uzbekistan, Tajikistan = 0.624) is lower and even below the average.3

For a long time, the situation in Karelia was characterized by migration outflow to two major economic centers - Finland and St. Petersburg. Migration outflow to Finland today is comprised of 35,000 people.4 Totally, there is a serious outflow from the Republic of Karelia to other subjects of the Russian Federation such as 21,080 (St. Petersburg), 14,875 (Leningrad region), 10,227 (Murmansk region), 5,867 (Moscow), 4,916 (Moscow region) (State Statistics Committee 2015).
However, over the past 2.5 years, the balance of migration (from CIS) is becoming positive in Karelia. First of all, it is so due to the humanitarian migration from the Ukraine.\textsuperscript{5}

Table 3: Migratory Donor Countries for Russia and the Republic of Karelia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Migratory Donor Countries for the Russian Federation</th>
<th>Migratory Donor Countries for the Republic of Karelia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ukraine (2,417,575)</td>
<td>Ukraine (3,430)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uzbekistan (2,215,780)</td>
<td>Belarus (3,145)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tajikistan (999,169)</td>
<td>Finland (1,651)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The amount of migrants from Russia to Finland was the largest migration group until 2010 – 29,500 people. After 2010, migrants from Russia (29,800 people) are the second largest migrant group, after the migrants from Estonia (38,000 people). Thus, the proportion of the total flow of migrants to Finland is represented by two large groups in the following ratio - 49 percent are Estonians and 39 percent are Russians.\textsuperscript{6} Most of those who left the subjects of the Russian Federation to Finland are the residents of the Republic of Karelia.

In recent years, the migration processes in the Republic of Karelia have acquired specific characteristics. Despite the outflow of the employable population from the region to the economic poles (Finland and St. Petersburg), migration inflow to the Republic of Karelia is stable due to the inflow of migrants from the Ukraine (1161), Armenia (127), and Tajikistan (148)\textsuperscript{7}. Over the last 2.5 years a positive migration balance was recorded for the first time thanks to the inflow of migrants from Ukraine to the Republic of Karelia.\textsuperscript{8}

Currently, we are witnessing the formation of a new reality. Movement of persons as a factor shows the features of the instrument of geopolitics and therefore becomes an important factor in respect of cross-border regions influencing economic and social spheres. These cross-border regions include the Republic of Karelia. Because of the dissolution of the worlds of traditional life and the multiplication of life concepts in (post)modern societies, societies become even more fragmentated. Altogether, the resulting heterogeneity of life worlds and lifestyles does have a strong impact on society, the evaluation of the quality of public systems, and forms of participation.\textsuperscript{9} Depending on what kind of interests and values are salient in the respective life world, people are more or less (or even not) interested in public life. Thus, it makes a difference what perceptions people form of the life world.

\textsuperscript{5} Pitukhina Maria 2015. Keys to success: Lessons of migration policy in Finland, Sotsiologicheskie Issledovaniya, no.4, pp. 35-38 (in Russian).


The worldview, moral and value systems are not only the fundamental characteristics of the core, but also form the invariants of the social space. At the same time, there is also a variable-based part, arising in particular as a result of the inversion of other value systems.

For example, Table 4 shows the identification characteristics - attitude towards other ethnic groups and religions in the Republic of Karelia. Respondents from Kostomuksha urban district gave more clearly defined responses in relation to the proposed characteristics: there were only one to four percent who found it difficult to answer; 42 percent responded that national identity is significant (when the average regional value is 17.0 percent).

This subject matter, from the perspective of the region’s population (in general), does not currently form the agenda of regional policy and local life. It is so, despite the fact that in connection with the rejection of the concept of the “Soviet Man”\footnote{Cf. (fn. 2)}, internationalism is transformed into something else through the painful processes of national identification.

Regional sub-ethnos is going through this process of “small losses” seamlessly enough, although some episodes may occur (for example, Kondopoga events). We believe tolerance is restored as a regional characteristic of the sub-ethnos. More than a hundred years ago, national identification was not significant (dominant, mandatory) enough in public life (only as private inversions in general in the imperial public consciousness), with the exception of revolutionary situations and dramatic turning points in the life of the ethnic group.

Table 4: Opinions of the Respondents on the Identity, in percent*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opinions on the Significance of</th>
<th>Positive Response</th>
<th>Negative Response</th>
<th>Don’t Know/ No Answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National Identity</td>
<td>17,0</td>
<td>62,9</td>
<td>20,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Identity</td>
<td>12,2</td>
<td>69,1</td>
<td>18,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National (or Religious) Identity in Social Life and in Shaping Public Moods</td>
<td>14,3</td>
<td>58,7</td>
<td>27,0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*A positive response results from summing up opinions of the respondents “significant enough, along with economic, political and other factors” and “crucial”. The negative response results from summing up opinions of the respondents “does not matter” and “unessential”.

A pilot survey of migrants held in the Republic of Karelia in 2016 complements the results of a survey among recipient society, as it allows the singling out of two basic factors in assessing the sustainability of the Karelian society: economics and cultural. Both factors are equally important in understanding a category like the “sustainability of society”.

\footnote{Cf. (fn. 2).}
Thus, Karelian migrants demonstrated good results in terms of their economic adaptation (Figures 3a-c): 85.5 percent of migrants are satisfied with accommodation, 79.6 percent of migrants are satisfied with labor conditions, 73.7 percent of migrants are satisfied with salaries in the Republic of Karelia.

Fig. 3a-c: Economic factor in society sustainability assessment by migrants, 2016 (in percent)

Are you satisfied with accommodation in Karelia?

- 65.80% yes
- 19.70% no
- 2.60% answer
- 1.40% rather no
- 0.90% no

Source: own calculation.
The second direction for the assessment of the “sustainability of society” is presented by the cultural factor. According to the surveys, 68.5 percent of migrants have a positive attitude towards other nationalities and confessions, 84 percent of migrants communicate with the recipient society of the Republic of Karelia every day.
Thus, by assessing the sustainability of the Karelian society (from the migrants’ viewpoint), two basic factors are singled out: economic and cultural. Both factors are equally important in understanding the category of the “sustainability of society”.

Source: own calculation.

Fig. 4: Cultural Factor in Society Sustainability Assessment by Migrants, 2016 (in percent)
Political systems and their legitimization strongly depend on the support and legitimizing done by the citizens and their satisfaction with the rules, authorities, output and input structures of the political system.\textsuperscript{11} In other words, shared beliefs of the governing and the governed regarding the processes and results of governance are central to the stability and persistence of political systems.\textsuperscript{12} The (non-) participation of citizens is one core element that has been researched extensively and there is a long track record in social sciences pursuing the right determinants for analyzing participation and democracy, i.e. looking at the structures of the political systems or the attitudes of the people.\textsuperscript{13}

The authorities aspire to simplify and standardize (including applying pressure to) social order, driving it into the categories and institutions that make it easy to monitor and control. On the other hand, society demonstrates the ability to resist categories or pressure imposed from above. There is an antithesis of the tumultuous and disordered real world for each of the theses from the authorities or external factors. Any formal, institutional innovation or applying pressure on people may get an informal shadow and it can turn out to be very significant. It could be quite inconspicuous at first, but it could gradually gain momentum and become immediately salient at some point.

In the late 18\textsuperscript{th} Century, “scientific” forestry appeared in Prussia as the embodiment of uniformity and standardization. All of the trees have been formed in a predetermined order (size, the same species, direct clearing, forest understory, and anything irrelevant was removed etc.). The sole goal was production. However, the forest as a living organism began to die and its death was a silent protest against the simplification.

However, the idea of Prussian “scientific” forestry changes into the design of social space: the space is optimized, people are expelled from the provinces to the centers, gray coal-linear architecture dominates in the settlements, mono-functional neighborhoods are built, some kind of norms of human needs are defined, behavioral patterns are imposed. At the same time, human functions were narrowly regarded as labor resource. In accordance with the norms established by the authorities, people should work to produce a product, and be reproduced as a labor force. The result (as well as in the case of forest) is the same. At the same time, people unlike the forest, are not in a hurry to die. They have a choice and the ability to act, that is why they vote by all means or show their opportunism in some different way.


In sociology there is a term, an ecological fallacy (or ecological inference fallacy), which refers to the incorrect use of the consolidated data of a group of objects by applying it to an individual object, or for fitting it to certain rules. The ecological fallacy is a logical fallacy in the interpretation of statistical data where inferences about the nature of individuals are deduced from inference about the group to which those individuals belong. It also includes the imposing of norms, etc. which violates social ecology.

As a result of the crisis of the 1890s, the pressure of Atheist propaganda, as an essential part of the former ideology, was removed from the agenda. According to the population census in 1929, two-thirds of the population identified themselves as persons of faith. Let us consider this as a characteristic of the core, as a fundamental characteristic of the sub-ethnos associated with worldview identity. According to sociological research done in 2016, 75 percent of the respondents in the Republic of Karelia considered themselves to be persons of faith.

Thus, after removing the pressure of propaganda, the core of the sub-ethnos got back to its natural state, to its fundamental characteristics. Thus, if we take the number of respondents who considered themselves believers to be 100 percent, then we have the following picture:

- 91 percent identify themselves as representatives of Orthodox Christianity,
- 1.3 percent - Catholic
- 1.3 percent - Protestant.

Islam is not salient in percentage terms in the whole region.

At the same time, the allocation of these indicators along the territory (a kind of ideological landscape of social space) is not homogeneous. The inverse groups are singled out. The group with a fairly high percentage of people who identified themselves as representatives of Catholic Christianity consisted of respondents from the Kostomuksha urban district (9.8 percent of all the persons of faith) and the neighboring Kalevala municipal region (9.7 percent). The group with a fairly high percentage of people who considered themselves to be representatives of Islam was from Kostomuksha (7.6 percent) and Petrozavodsk (4.7 percent) urban districts.

Protestantism, as an ideological element, is allocated more evenly, although it is not as noticeable as might be expected due to the proximity of Protestant Finland and sufficiently serious expansion of cultural codes from there into the territory of the region. Obviously a long-standing neighborhood has developed immunity, sustainability of the sub-ethnos of the region (stability of its fundamental characteristics) to a constant factor.

Apparently the last wave of migration formed not only the newly formed community (city of Kostomuksha), but Catholic and Muslim inversion in the worldview landscape of social space.
The analysis of the objects allocation on the characteristics derived from a comparison of the responses to the question “What is in your opinion the value of the national (or religious) identity in social life and in shaping public mood?” and “What is the value of national (religious) identity for you?” revealed the difference from the regional invariant. Kostomuksha urban district disturbed the harmony of allocation. The results can be interpreted as follows: in the social life of the community (unlike the region as a whole) the national (or religious) identity is actualized (becomes significant).

*What is the cause of the inversion?* - Evolutionary rhythms of society relations structures can be traced to the characteristics of the individual communities, such as the community of the city of Kostomuksha. Since the period of 30 years is insufficient for the community of the city to coincide with all of the characteristics of the region, it is expected to have some mismatch indicators of the local community region-wide.

Since the community was recently formed, it can and should be different. Indeed, the identification in relation to religion is different. The local community has not yet “entered” into the rhythms of the evolving regional core. Kostomuksha is the only municipality in which the respondents considered “religious affiliation” as an identifying characteristic bringing people of the same nationality together in addition to the “national language” and “traditions”.

At the same time, 92 percent of respondents (from Kostomuksha) identified themselves as “persons of faith” (when the average regional percentage is 75 percent). 72 percent considered themselves Orthodox Christians, 9 percent consider themselves representatives of Catholic Christianity, one percent - Protestant Christianity, seven percent - Islam.

Of course, ethnic and ideological identity involves a much larger (than considered in this study) set of characteristics, reflecting both ways of self-identification and other variants of the perception of ethnic and cultural groups. At the same time, we believe that the hypothesis on the invariants existence was confirmed. Thus, empirically identified characteristics were revealed – invariants and specifics of the social space. Having considered the structure of social relations in the Republic of Karelia in detail, we single out two types of key components: the core (the recipient society) and migrants (wave of migration).

According to the logic of the study, in spite of the differences that were found, the city of Kostomuksha should gradually get closer to the core of sub-ethnos. Convergence of characteristics will gradually occur.
Conclusion

Russian civilization or the Russian ethnic group is a community of many peoples, who do not just live together and have a respect for different faiths and religious views, but they are united into an integral core by a common cultural code. By virtue of its genesis, the core does not only have a solid fundamental (invariant) part, but also a variable (evolving) part. Combining geo-economical and geo-political factors as well as institutional and social embeddedness, constitutes the diversity of sustainable sub-ethne, forming multilingual Russian ethnicity or even super-ethne in diversity (given the many nations included). This can be perceived as a civilization based on global interdependence of ethnic groups while maintaining cultural and ethnic diversity.

This research was focused on the specifics of the Karelian community in the context of its ethnic and cultural characteristics. Identification of the parameters of the sustainability of society was carried out by two types of surveys (among the recipient society and migrants). The results of these surveys show a cross-section of Karelian society with a view to its sustainable development. That kind of complementary surveys provides an opportunity to reveal specific features of the core and the waves of migration that later allows predicting structural changes in the society.

At the same time, in this research, we relied on certain hypothesis which is why the findings are preliminary. In order to understand the true nature of the situation there is a necessity for a more accurate analysis of not only invariant, but also specifics of the sub-ethnos. Therefore it is important to understand emerging trends, their causes and consequences of designing the social order, and to determine the invariants and specifics of the social space of the region in terms of geopolitical instability.
Petrozavodsk Citizens’ Attitude toward the Activities of the Ministry of Internal Affairs for the Republic of Karelia

Alexander Ilyin

Abstract: Negative evaluations and attitudes towards the performance and work of internal affairs bodies in Russia were the main drivers for the Russian federal law „On the Police“ that was set into force in 2011. In order to monitor the quality of services of internal affairs bodies and especially police forces as well as their evaluation by the citizens, the Republic of Karelia conducted two surveys in 2014 and 2015. One of the main results is that citizens’ trust in the activities of the police declined during this period, partly due to perceived low quality of the internal affairs bodies’ work, but partly also caused by the poor overall socio-economic situation and the comparative perspective on the quality of public services in Finland.

Keywords: Ministry of Internal Affairs, Performance, Evaluation, Survey

For many years, the population of Russia has adopted a suspicious, or better said a negative, attitude towards work done by internal affairs bodies. In the 1990s, popular and science journals, television, as well as scientific and fiction literature reported on the growth of organized crime in Russia and on the helplessness of the state in the face of criminal threat. 1 Mass media frequently covered the penetration of criminality in the state and in the dealings of internal affairs bodies. They also reported on corruption, cruelty and the arbitrariness of the police and the internal affairs bodies, which are actually supposed to protect human rights and to maintain peace and order. The society and the state authority were confronted with a critical issue regarding the protection and security of citizens.

One of the answers to the recognition of the poor quality of work done by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the need for reform was the law "On the Police" and the related programs meant to change the crime situation in Russia. 2 According to the new law, the police intended to protect the life, health, rights and freedoms of citizens of the Russian Federation, foreign citizens and stateless persons, to counter crime, to protect the public order and property, and to ensure public security. The police must immediately come to the rescue of everyone who needs protection from criminal and other illegal infringements. Within the scope of its power, it should assist the state bodies, local self-governments and NGOs in protection of their rights.3 In the aftermath of this law, those staff members of the

2 The law "On the Police" N 3-FZ was adopted on 7 February 2011, entered into force a month later, on 7 March of the same year, and has replaced the RSFSR law of 18 April 1991, No. 1026-I "On the Militia".
3 The law "On the Police" N 3-FZ Art.1.
Ministry of Internal Affairs who renounced the requalification or failed the reexamination, have been dismissed from public service.

However, the public opinion concerning the activities of the internal affairs bodies was not optimistic, even after these changes were implemented. The introduction of the new law failed to fundamentally change the perceived situation for the better.

Today, the most effective way of monitoring the activities of the internal affairs bodies and their legality is through public opinion. A critical view of the civil society has an essential impact on the effectiveness of the management of the internal affairs bodies around public security. An adequate and fast reaction of the Russian internal affairs bodies towards critique and efficient proposals made by civil society and individual citizens, enables not only the correction of errors and prevents their undesirable effects, but also strengthens the rule of law, professional discipline and increases individual responsibility.

The main problem at hand is the contradiction between the tasks and the responsibilities, which internal affairs bodies must comply with, in accordance with the law and the real assessment of their activities by the civil society.

The state, represented by its institutions and bodies, can improve its activities from year to year. Although external polling may not fully coincide with the real results of the assessment of their activities. It is, however, precisely the opinion from outside, a positive or negative evaluation by the civil society, that contributes to the painting of a holistic picture of the activities of the state bodies. And it also forms a certain public position and attitude toward the cooperation with state bodies in general. In other words, output-performance of state bodies directly influences public opinion and the level of legitimacy these state bodies and their representative experience in public.4

In 2014 and in 2015, by order of the Public Council of the Ministry of Internal Affairs for the Republic of Karelia, the citizens of Petrozavodsk were surveyed on their attitude toward the internal affairs bodies. The aim of the survey was to study the attitudes and the level of trust of Petrozavodsk citizens toward the internal affairs bodies, to identify the main reasons of their distrust, and to analyze the changes in the citizens’ positions toward the activities of the structural units of the internal affairs bodies. The surveys were conducted in May - June 2014 and in June - December 2015. In fact, the survey had a panel study character, since a similar survey on the same topic was already conducted in 2014. Individual questionnaires were chosen as the method of data collection. The quota sampling was defined according to the age of respondents and was divided into the following categories: 18-29 years old, 30-39, 40-49, 50-59, 60 years and older. The sample frame, based on the type of city of 100-500 thousand citizens, amounted to 477 respondents.

During the study in Petrozavodsk, 401 questionnaires were processed according to the age and gender quota sample in 2014 and 454 respectively in 2015. In both cases 44 percent of the interviewed were men and 56 percent were women, also according to the quota. The educational background of the respondents was as follows: 31 percent of respondents had a higher education, 28 percent had an undergraduate education, 22 percent of respondents had secondary vocational education, 17 percent had a secondary general education, and 1 percent had basic education.

The respondents’ opinion about the activities of the police is formed through the information and knowledge they derive from various sources, i.e. respondents used their personal experiences as well as secondary sources for their evaluation.

Chart 1: Which source of information has influenced your view on the activities of the internal affairs bodies most? (in percent, only one answer possible)

As chart 1 illustrates, the dominant information sources in both 2014 and in 2015 are indirect sources: the Internet, mass media publications, and conversations with friends, acquaintances or with family members. Overall, up to 70 percent of respondents have only indirect experience with the activities of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. First, this figure reveals the fact, that most citizens do not address the internal affairs bodies for the solution of their issues. Second, it implies that the respondents may give a wrong assessment to the activity of one of the state bodies, guided by their opinion formed under the influence of the experience of others. It applies also to those who had a personal experience regarding such communication. However, the information is not less valuable. The police can improve their work from year to year in all respects. But if the opinion of its work does not change, we can speak about the weak promotion of public awareness, poor provision of positive information to the citizens, the lack of smart report on the shortcomings in their work and adjustments. It still remains, that the citizens’ attitude toward the internal affairs bodies and their interactions are mainly defined by the public opinion on the Ministry for
Internal Affairs. From a gender point of view, 70 percent of those who do not have a personal experience with the Ministry of Internal Affairs are women.

Looking at the results of the survey, there is one striking finding. All the indicators for public satisfaction with the work of internal affairs bodies are lower in 2015 compared to those in 2014. Thus, there seems to be an overall trend towards dissatisfaction. Chart 2 shows the results for the evaluation of how far people feel protected from infringement by police officers.

Chart 2: Do you feel safe and protected, including your personal and property issues, from unlawful encroachments on the part of police officers? (in percent)

Source: own calculation.

Thus, only 38 percent of respondents answered that they feel that their person and their property are safe, or rather safe, and protected from unlawful encroachments on the part of police officers. 49 percent do not feel safe. Although in 2014, the data was as follows: 49 percent felt safe and protected compared to 44 percent who did not. The attitudes remain negative in the respondents’ evaluation of the level of protection of human rights and freedoms in the republic of Karelia: 37 percent of replies were positive compared to 44 percent which were negative. This means that most respondents (44 percent) flatly stated that people in Russian are not protected from lawlessness. 30 percent of them tend to this view, and 14 percent of all respondents believe that the citizens are not protected at all. This sheds a very negative light on the perceived level of rule of law in the republic of Karelia. In addition, this low evaluation concerning protection from lawlessness gives reason to believe that further evaluation by the respondents will remain critical. As a consequence of this evaluation, it is not that striking that only 38 percent of respondents applied to the internal affairs bodies for help.
Therewith, the number of the respondents satisfied with the police services exceeds the number of those who are not satisfied at all. The rest of the participants were only partially satisfied due to different reasons. The answers to the next question about the level of trust in the internal affairs bodies (police) differ enormously. The data for the year 2015 is very different from the indicators of the data for 2014 (Chart 3).

Chart 3: How would you rate the level of your trust in the internal affairs bodies (police) ensuring your personal and your property safety? (in percent)

Source: own calculation.

In 2015, only 9 percent of the respondents fully trust the police. At the same time, there is a two-digit number of those who do not trust at all (15 percent) that nearly doubles the number from 2014. However, if we sum up the positive and likely positive opinions, and compare them with the sum of the negative and likely negative replies, there will be no substantial difference, 44 percent against 41 percent. But what are the reasons for the respondents’ mistrust in the police? Table 4 illustrates the factors behind this: First and foremost, inaction (28 percent) and corruption (25 percent) are the drivers of people mistrusting their internal affairs bodies who should, by law fight criminality and corruption, followed by low quality of the work (17 percent), lack of professionalism (16 percent) and abuse of power (12 percent). Unfortunately there are no values for 2014, but still the level and reasons for mistrust are impressing.
Table 1: If you do not trust the police, what is the main reason for your mistrust? (in percent, only one answer allowed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>2015</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Corruption</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Inaction</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Abuse of power</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Low quality of the work</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Lack of professionalism of the staff</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Noteworthy is the fact that these indicators correlate with the data received in another sociological survey dedicated to the interaction of civil society, business and state. As it is reported in Table 2, among the factors that are viewed as an obstacle to the effective interaction of civil society, state and business in modern Russia, the most prominent one is corruption (27 percent), followed by the notion of a disintegrated society, as 24.35 percent state that there is a lack of common interests among the participants of these interactions. This again is complemented by people’s perceptions on the reasons for the socio-economic crisis in contemporary Russia. More than 18 percent of the respondents indicate that systemic corruption is a core factor causing the economic crisis (Table 3).

Table 2: What factors, in your opinion, are an obstacle to the effective interaction of civil society, the state and business in Russia? (in percent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obstacle</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The lack of common interests by the participants of the interaction</td>
<td>24.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The lack of the necessary laws that would empower such interaction</td>
<td>8.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The laws do not correspond with real life</td>
<td>16.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shortage of qualified staff in the administrative sphere</td>
<td>7.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The formal approach in the activities of the civil society structures</td>
<td>8.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corruption</td>
<td>26.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organized Crime</td>
<td>2.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others, like overcome mentalities, lack of interest in solving public issues, malfunction of institutions, lack of influence, interest and low level of civil participation</td>
<td>3.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>0.87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: own calculation.

---

Table 3: What are the reasons for the crisis of the socio-economic system of modern Russia? (in percent of the respondents; max. 5 options possible)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Legacy of the Soviet system</td>
<td>4.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failed economic strategy</td>
<td>11.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low effectiveness of the banking system</td>
<td>5.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The sanctions of the Western countries</td>
<td>5.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We have not yet learned to work under market conditions</td>
<td>6.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weakness of the Russian democratic system</td>
<td>7.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of a fair judicial system</td>
<td>10.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Systemic corruption</td>
<td>18.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The rule of bureaucracy</td>
<td>11.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low level of education</td>
<td>5.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of a transparent public personnel policy</td>
<td>11.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another Capitalism, Failed social welfare model. Weak small and medium business</td>
<td>0.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>0.23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: own calculation.

In turn and not surprisingly, among the factors people identify as the most important ones for contributing to the innovative development of the economy, the first is overcoming corruption (16.7 percent), followed by improving education and personnel training quality (16 percent).

Table 4: Which factors, in your opinion, contribute to the innovative development of the economy? (in percent; up to three option selectable)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overcoming corruption</td>
<td>16.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduction of the supervisory and administrative staff</td>
<td>5.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De-bureaucratization, reducing administrative barriers</td>
<td>14.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduction of a tax burden</td>
<td>12.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improvement of education and personnel training quality</td>
<td>16.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attraction of foreign investments and technology</td>
<td>9.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development of public-private partnership</td>
<td>12.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free access to the scientific research results with the purpose of their implementation</td>
<td>11.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other. Development of engineering</td>
<td>0.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>0.32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: own calculation.

As the main measures to change the situation for the better, the respondents of the 2015 survey named a stricter staff selection for the police forces, tougher penalties for the abuse of power in office and public monitoring of the work of the police (table 5).
Table 5: Which measures, in your opinion, will have the greatest impact on improving the quality of the work of the internal affairs bodies? (in percent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>2015</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Public monitoring of the work of the police</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Stricter staff selection for the police force</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Pay increase</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Tougher penalties for the abuse of power</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: own calculation.

Thus, only 41 percent of respondents evaluate the activities of the internal affairs bodies as being acceptable, 24 percent as poor. In general, we can observe the decrease of citizens’ satisfaction in all types of activity in comparison with 2014 (see Table 5 and Annex 1). In 2014, five out of the six areas of satisfaction assessed by the respondents were higher than negative responses. The rating of the road traffic safety was even above 50 percent. In 2015, the percentage of positive assessments against negative was higher only in two of six areas, i.e. the road traffic safety and the responsiveness of the police dispatch center. But even in these areas the ratings are 9-10 percent lower than in 2014. From a gender point of view, women were more negative about the work of the internal affairs bodies, both in 2015 and in 2014. The percentage of women with no answer is almost two times higher than the percentage of men.

Table 5: Performance of internal affairs bodies in different areas (in percent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The area of activities</th>
<th>May-June 2014 in %</th>
<th>June-December 2015 in %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Acceptable</td>
<td>Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work of the local police officers</td>
<td>33.9</td>
<td>25.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Road traffic safety</td>
<td>52.3</td>
<td>36.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suppression of corruption, prevention of economic crime</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>41.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prevention and suppression of street crime</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>31.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prevention of juvenile delinquency</td>
<td>31.9</td>
<td>28.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work of the police dispatch center, responsiveness</td>
<td>42.4</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVERAGE</td>
<td>36.9</td>
<td>31.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: own calculation.

One of the positive indicators was the respondents’ answers to the question concerning the level of satisfaction with the public services provided by the Ministry of Internal Affairs. As in 2014, this figure amounts to 45 percent (see Chart 4).
In conclusion, we note that citizens’ trust in the activities of the internal affairs bodies decreased during 2014-2015. The decline can be explained probably not so much by historically established biased attitudes toward the activities of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and not even by the deterioration of its services, but rather by the general socio-economic crisis that has engulfed the country, creating a general sense of insecurity. Another reason is the proximity of borders with the EU countries and the ability to compare the quality of life in Karelia, for example, with Finland. At the same time, as already stated above, there are also positive developments such as rendering public services, the work of road safety inspectors and of rapid response detachment. And the willingness of the population to assist police officers remains relatively high.

These are for example: Registration of vehicles, the issuance of licenses and registration of weapons, dactyloscopy, provision of archive transcripts, information on administrative offenses, etc.
Annex 1: Assessment of the Ministry of Internal Affairs: How do you evaluate the work of the internal affairs bodies (police) according to the type of their activities (in percent)?

### Work of local police officers

- **2014**: 33,9% acceptable, 25,5% poor, 40,4% no answer
- **2015**: 25,7% acceptable, 27,5% poor, 46,9% no answer

### Road traffic safety

- **2014**: 52,3% acceptable, 36,1% poor, 11,6% no answer
- **2015**: 43,2% acceptable, 35% poor, 21,7% no answer

### Suppression of corruption, prevention of economic crime

- **2014**: 19,7% acceptable, 42% poor, 38,4% no answer
- **2015**: 18% acceptable, 49,6% poor, 32,4% no answer
Responsiveness of the Police

Prevention of juvenile delinquency

Prevention and suppression of street crime

Average evaluation

Source: own calculation.
PART 3: SOCIAL INNOVATION IN LOCAL POLITICS
Abstract: Innovation is driven by people: users and producers, both are involved in innovation processes. Although these processes become more open and even more globalized a main knowledge-base for innovation remains on the regional level. Therefore, the Quadruple Helix concept which involves four different stakeholder groups (industry, university, government, and civil society) into the innovation process serves as a model for regional policy makers worldwide. In modern Welfare States these regional networks are embedded in specific institutional settings which influence both, the supply and demand for new products and innovative services – especially in the area of health and care. In the past – following a narrow (technology-driven) understanding of innovation – policy makers were focusing mainly on technical innovations and the invention part of the innovation process by supporting the supply-side. Especially with regard to the health and care sector, it is thus imperative that we look much more on the demand side and the diffusion of a new idea, product or service. Here, users play a crucial role. Therefore, users and employees should be involved in the innovation process from the very beginning – as co-designers and co-deciders as well as the central drivers of technological and social innovation.

Keywords: Innovation Policy; Welfare State; Health- and care-system; Social Innovation; Quadruple-Helix

Introduction

Johannes Gutenberg’s invention of the printing-press is still one of the major and groundbreaking innovations ever. It also stands for the importance of standards for the diffusion of technology – and new ideas. Above that, however, it is a very good example how important social innovations are for the diffusion of technologies.

It wasn’t the technical invention itself that made this new and durable form of book printing so successful – it was the alphabetization, the upcoming of Humanism and the information age (Renaissance) that made a good idea (or invention) to a successful innovation. It was the combination of a technical with a non-technical innovation that fostered the development of a social innovation: a growing number of people who were able to read, to distribute knowledge and to participate in society. Here, technological progress went hand-in-hand with social progress. As it enabled the fast and efficient flow of information and encouraged the spread of new ideas, this development was the key to something we would call today “innovativeness” or “capacity for innovation”.

This capacity for innovation is driven by people: users and producers, both are involved in innovation processes. Although these processes become more open and even more globalized – i.e. due to digitalization – especially in the field of health and social care a main knowledge-base for innovation remains on the regional level. Therefore, the Quadruple Helix concept which involves four different stakeholder groups (industry, university, gov-
ernment, and civil society) into the innovation process serves as a model for regional policy makers worldwide. “Academia and firms provide the necessary conditions for an integrated innovation ecosystem. Governments provide the regulatory framework and the financial support for the definition and implementation of innovation strategies and policies. Civil society not only uses and applies knowledge, and demands for innovation in the form of goods and services, but also becomes an active part of the innovation system. Information and communication technologies (ICT) work as an enabling factor of bottom-up participation of civil society.”¹ To make a long story short: innovation is about bringing a new idea from one person to many others. This means, that both, producers and users, have to be involved in this process – because innovations are made by and for people. Therefore, this article sheds some light on the importance of participation for the invention and diffusion part of the innovation process – and what governments can do about it.

Some Words about Social Innovation

It is striking, that many publications today – for instance about digitalization, Industry 4.0 or the industrial internet – focus mainly on “things” not on “people”. A lot of studies were conducted on the Internet of things, on smart objects and smart factories. The whole concept “Industry 4.0” was in the beginning primarily being explored from a technical point of view.² There has been very little inquiry into the question of what it means for people and our society on the whole. Increasing digitalization, however, will not only have an enormous impact on machines, factories and sectors, but on societies as well.³

Therefore, we have to look more closely at non-technical innovations alongside the technical ones, for instance organizational and social innovations. A social innovation is a targeted reconfiguration of social practices with the aim of better solving problems or satisfying needs than is possible on the basis of established practices⁴ and thus makes a contribution to social progress. Better for whom? In this question lies a further subtext of the definition, namely its normative connotation. According to this understanding, an innovation can only be social when it is socially accepted, widely diffused in society or amongst certain social groups and finally becomes institutionalized or routinized as a new social practice.⁵ Social innovations, on the one hand, are new practices to tackle social challenges, which affected persons, groups and organizations come to accept and employ. On the

¹ Cavallini, Simona/Soldi, Rossella/Friedl, Julia/Volpe, Margherita 2016: Using the Quadruple Helix Approach to Accelerate the Transfer of Research and Innovation Results to Regional Growth, Brussels.
other, they also facilitate diffusion and dissemination of many technical developments. Thus from today’s perspective, many innovations can be classified as social innovations – from book printing to health insurance, universal suffrage, fair trade and energy efficiency – innovative solutions that have brought major societal benefits. In sum: Social innovations have crucial influence on whether a technological invention will become a widespread innovation, on the channels it is diffused through and what effects unfold in the process.\(^6\)

Especially with regard to the health and care sector, it is thus imperative that the users and employees should be involved in the innovation process from the very beginning – as co-designers and co-deciders as well as the central drivers of technological and social innovation. Innovation by participation so to say.

Table 1: types of social innovation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of social innovation</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New services and products</td>
<td>New interventions or new programmes to meet social needs</td>
<td>Car-sharing / zero energy housing developments (e.g. BedZED)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New practices</td>
<td>New services which require new professional roles or relationships</td>
<td>Dispute resolution between citizens and the state in the Netherlands (the professional civil servant role has changed dramatically and citizens’ social needs are much better met)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New processes</td>
<td>Co-production of new services</td>
<td>Participatory budgeting (started in Brazil and since widely scaled / is not dependent on ICT, though ICT often used) / Fair Trade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New rules and regulations</td>
<td>Creation of new laws or new entitlements</td>
<td>Personal budgets (e.g. in Denmark and the Netherlands where older people can decide themselves how to spend much of their support money)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New organisational forms</td>
<td>Hybrid organisational forms such as social enterprises</td>
<td>Belu Water, a small UK based social enterprise, which sells bottled water and donates all its profits to WaterAid and has pledged to raise £1m by 2020</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Innovations Occur in Systems

Innovation is the result of a social process, which is influenced by a variety of actors and institutions. Therefore, the understanding of linear models of either a technology push (supply push) or a demand pull driven process has been followed by an innovation model that focusses mainly on interactions and interdependencies within networks. There are reasons for this:

1. Process innovations within user units might be appropriated by producers or represent a potential competitive threat
2. Product innovations at the user level may imply new demands for process equipment
3. The knowledge produced by learning-by-using can only be transformed into new products if the producers has a direct contact to users
4. Bottlenecks and technological interdependencies, observed within user units, will represent potential markets for the innovating producer.
5. The producer might be interested in monitoring the competence and learning potential of users in order to estimate their respective capability to adopt new products.

The user on the other hand needs information about new products, and this information involves not only awareness but also quite specific information about how new, use-value characteristics relate to her / his specific needs. ... the cooperation is not a single act but takes place at different stages of the process.

1. The user may provide the producer with specific needs to be fulfilled by the new product
2. The producer might install it and start it up in cooperation with the user.
3. The producer might offer specific training to the user.
4. After the product has been adopted there might follow a period where the producer would have obligations regarding repair and updating of the equipment.

To sum it up: innovations occur within systems of innovation constituted by elements and relationships which interact in the production, diffusion and use of new and economically useful knowledge, which is the prerequisite for the economic competitiveness of a nation or region. However, driven by the growing digitization of societies and economies, the real and virtual worlds are about to merge – and innovation processes are chang-

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10 Ibidem.
ing dramatically. Whereas innovation often was a closed process within companies, open innovation processes become more and more important in a highly digitalized and globalized world. Open Innovation was defined as the use of purposive inflows and outflows of knowledge to accelerate internal innovation, and expand the markets for external use of innovation, respectively.\textsuperscript{12}

**Open Innovation and the Quadruple Helix – Strangers or Friends?**

Open Innovation is a paradigm that assumes that organisations can and should use external ideas as well as internal ideas for inventing, and internal and external paths for the diffusion of these new ideas, services or products. A significant body of literature on open innovation draws explicitly from organizational learning theory\textsuperscript{13} and the notion of absorptive capacity\textsuperscript{14} and focusses on the linkage between absorptive capacity, innovation acquisition and commercialization of innovation within a broader, external innovation network.\textsuperscript{15} Therefore, open innovation requires inflows and/or outflows of knowledge and innovation, as well as permeable boundaries that allow knowledge and innovation flows into and out of an organization. This means that organizations have to strengthen their “interaction competence”\textsuperscript{16}, which refers to skills and abilities of an organization to successfully implement open innovation. This demands networked collaboration between differing skill sets and knowledge caches. With growing digitisation, the latter will likely become codified and easily passed on. From this stems the need to combine each party’s own competencies with the complementary knowledge and conduct of the others’.\textsuperscript{17}

In a more and more digitalized world the convergence of production and interaction, work and communication are increasingly interdisciplinary competencies for staying economically competitive. In addition to expert knowledge, flexibility, creativity and innovation, these are critical success factors for organizations, i.e. companies and their employees. These competencies, however, do not just appear out of nowhere. Therefore, they need to be promoted through appropriate policies. This is not only a task for the state. Just like government officials, the stakeholders from civil society, business and the sciences have to be involved and to develop a systematic understanding of innovation where it becomes a process inclusive of “all stakeholders as active players in jointly creating and experiment-

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{12}Chesbrough, Henry 2003: Open Innovation: The New Imperative, Boston, M.A.
  \item \textsuperscript{17}Ibidem.
\end{itemize}

https://doi.org/10.5771/9783845282213

Das Erstellen und Weitergeben von Kopien dieses PDFs ist nicht zulässig.
ing in the new ways of doing things and creating new services and products”\textsuperscript{18}. In this understanding, innovation takes place within a “Quadruple Helix” (QH), where the main protagonists of innovation-generating processes (industry, university, government, and civil society) interact for accelerating the transfer of research and innovation results to regional growth.\textsuperscript{19} Already in 1995, Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff introduced the Triple Helix (TH) model.\textsuperscript{20} The basic idea of this concept is to deepen the understanding concerning universities’ role within the innovation process. The key was to widen the dyadic and often unidirectional collaboration between industry and academia by including governmental organizations.\textsuperscript{21} The traditional actors in charge of creating innovation (industry), and the traditional actors in charge of creating knowledge (universities), interact with a third sphere, the Government, in order for the creation of innovation to be directly transferred at the territorial level in terms of economic growth through a top-down approach.\textsuperscript{22} Since societies become more and more interactive, the role of knowledge as well as the number and scope of spheres to be included in the innovation-generating process have been increasing over time, from a Triple- to a Quadruple-Helix environment, which is often accompanied by a bottom-up- rather than a top-down-approach.

Arnkil et al. (2010) propose four different types of QH models adopting the Living Lab approach and considering “Quadruple Helix rather as a continuum or space than as a single entity.” Each of these models is characterized by a specific owner of the innovation process and by the involvement of the user:\textsuperscript{23}

1. The “\textit{TH + user model}” is essentially an approach where innovation has a technical nature and knowledge a scientific one, and where the owners of innovation belong to the Industry or to the University sphere. The difference with the TH approach lies in the “systematic collection and utilization of user information” as innovation is designed for users.

2. The “\textit{Firm-centred living lab model}” includes all the potential sources of innovation based either on the frontier-research or on new applications or combinations of already-existing knowledge and/or on user knowledge. Although the owner of the innovation process remains the Industry sphere and users are considered as both informants and developers, innovation is designed with users.

\textsuperscript{18} European Commission, Directorate-General for Communications Networks, Content and Technology 2015: Open Innovation Yearbook 2015, Brussels.
\textsuperscript{22} Cavallini/Soldi/Friedl/Volpe 2016 (fn. 1).
\textsuperscript{23} Ibidem.
3. The “Public sector-centred living lab model” focuses on innovation in the public sector and its services. The owner of the innovation process is the Government sphere. Interaction of experts with users aims at improving the efficiency and effectiveness of public administration products and services for citizens. Also in this case, innovation is designed with users and feedback information from the citizens can be gathered with traditional methods (e.g. surveys, interviews), with dialogue events (e.g. virtual forums, events) or within living lab environments.

4. Within the “Citizen-centred QH model” innovation is led by citizens with the support of the other three spheres. Civil society is the owner of the innovation process and innovation is designed by users. Especially in remote, rural and less-favored localities where often no university is present and industry is scattered and insufficiently developed, “social and community groups may often play the dominant entrepreneurial role.”

In sum, as innovation processes are becoming increasingly open to different stakeholders, a (regional) innovation system following the concept of a Quadruple Helix approach might have a better “innovative capability”25. “Although the triple-helix system has proved efficient in terms of promoting advanced and groundbreaking technological innovations, it has proved less efficient in terms of promoting satisfying solutions to our societies’ complex social challenges. Although governments and the private sector – with the support of academia – play an important role in creating and carrying out social solutions, civil society (or the civil sector) is equally important.”26

What does This Mean for Innovation Policy?

Innovation policy has to take this into account because policy has the power to support this complex orchestration of various perspectives and disciplines to adapt to and learn from one another better and more quickly. Policy can promote networked thinking, openness and exchange to strengthen companies’ “absorptive capacity”27 – in schools and universities, in vocational training and further education programs, it can promote active network building. It can stimulate collective learning, also by integrating non-research-intensive enterprises, so that new technologies and new knowledge can diffuse more quickly. Inno-

25 Here, innovation capability is determined by the stock of knowledge available for an organization (i.e. human capital and complexity capital) and the organization’s ability to combine useful knowledge (i.e. social capital). “Innovation capability is a precondition of innovative performance and the distribution of knowledge. Just like a person’s intelligence is a precondition for his or her intellectual output.”, Hartmann, Ernst A./Engelhardt von, Sebastian/Hering, Marti/Wangler, Leo/Birner, Nadine 2014: Der iit-Innovationsfähigkeitsindikator: Ein neuer Blick auf die Voraus-setzungen von Innovationen, iit-Perspektiven, Berlin.
vation policy can promote the creation of interdisciplinary project coalitions and competence centres through competitions or initial project funding. It can support the transfer of basic research findings into application development through real-world experiments, living labs and factories that demonstrate these future solutions, technologies and services.\textsuperscript{28}

Overall, innovation policy is not a single policy but a set of (overarching) policies and instruments.\textsuperscript{29} This innovation policy-mix should consist of policies that target the main actors in the innovation system. These policy areas are the usual suspects:

- Research and development (R&D) policy, defining the framework for the public, and private institutions conducting research activities and producing knowledge /
- Industrial policy and entrepreneurship policy, including the policies targeting small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) /
- Education policy, covering all actors of the education system up to higher education and including policies for work force skills development.\textsuperscript{30}

The framework conditions constitute the second set of policies in a modern innovation policy mix. They cover policies and instruments shaping interactions and organizing the flows of knowledge, skills and funds between the actors of the innovation process. The key framework conditions include: Direct financial support for the actors under various forms; State aid and tax policy; Public procurement; Regulation framework; Definition of standards; Intellectual property rights (IPR); Partnerships and coordination initiatives; and Culture of innovation. Other policies have an indirect impact on interactions within the innovation ecosystem, employment policies or consumer policies, for example. However, these policies are not usually seen as key elements of framework conditions.\textsuperscript{31} Some elements of the innovation policy mix mainly support the process of innovation by fostering the creation of knowledge, training activities or stimulating the manufacturing of goods, for example. These elements are referred to as supply-side policies.\textsuperscript{32} Conversely, some policies and instruments will create a demand for innovation, for example, new regulations implying the improvement of existing goods, or intellectual property rights favoring the production and commercialization of knowledge as well as direct public procurement or public support and tax credits for innovative procurement. These are referred to as demand-side policies. Looking at innovations, for instance in the area of health and care, social policies as well as the overall architecture of the welfare state\textsuperscript{33} play a major role for invention (supply-side) and diffusion (demand-side) of a new product or service.

\textsuperscript{29} Buhr, Daniel 2010: Chaos oder Kosmos? Die Koordination der Innovationspolitik des Bundes - Probleme und Lösungsansätze, Baden-Baden.
\textsuperscript{31} Ibidem.
\textsuperscript{32} Ibidem, 4 p.
Incentives set by the welfare state shape, for example, the type of care provided in a society. Over the last twenty years the state has gained a dominant influence on the structure of long-term care provision. Whereas the welfare states in some countries set incentive for the informal care provision by family members, the long-term care provision in other welfare states is primarily based on professional (home) care services. This has consequences for the specific needs of the users and payers in these “markets”, since a lot of new solutions (innovations) will not replace but rather complement existing care structures. In order to assess the potentials and the barriers for new solutions for entering the market, it is therefore necessary to take the different care settings into account. With respect to the diversity of the specific structures and welfare state settings, a one-size-fits-all approach is likely to fail. Instead, the technologies and policy recommendations have to be adjusted to national or even local care regimes and contexts.\textsuperscript{34} In comparative welfare state research, a distinction is made between different types of welfare state. They reflect the relevant experiences of each state’s national political and social history, as well as the political balance of power.\textsuperscript{35} The most influential typology of welfare state regimes has been provided by the seminal work of Esping-Andersen.\textsuperscript{36} It distinguishes liberal, conservative and social-democratic welfare state regimes. The original typology has been expanded by some authors to five regimes by adding an Eastern European and a Southern European welfare state regime.\textsuperscript{37} Each of these types follows a historically evolved development path and has its own logic with regard to the organisation of social policies, pattern of social stratification and inequality (in particular in the employment system), and forms of social integration or exclusion.\textsuperscript{38} Esping-Andersen (1990) defines three dimensions that have different effects on the different welfare types:

1. Decommodification refers to the relative independence of the social security of the individual from the pressures and risks of commercially oriented (“market”) policy- and decisionmaking. In other words, the higher the level of decommodation, the lower the individual’s dependence on selling work as a commodity in order to secure their own survival. This is achieved via the type and amount of social security benefits.

\textsuperscript{34} Ibidem.
\textsuperscript{36} Esping-Andersen 1990 (fn. 33).
\textsuperscript{38} Buhr et al. 2016 (fn. 3).
2. Stratification refers to the vertical and horizontal economic and social segmentation of society. This involves describing social inequality in terms of income and social status. By providing social security systems and benefits, the welfare state is an instrument of redistribution to influence and, where applicable, correct the social inequality structure. At the same time, different types of welfare state themselves generate a specific form of stratification.

3. Residualism is understood as the specific interplay between market, state and family with regard to individuals’ social security and therefore the extent to which the state intervenes in this mixed relationship between private and public provision.

As mentioned above, Esping-Andersen (1990) used these dimensions to develop three ideal-types (liberal, conservative, social-democratic), which will now be analyzed regarding their Long-Term Care (LTC) systems. Looking at the developments of the last few decades, the proportion of the population aged 65 and older has consistently grown throughout the whole OECD world, which is likely to have a significant impact on the various health and social care systems. Even more significant increases occurred in the proportion of the population aged 80+ with respective challenges especially for the specific LTC-systems. On a higher level of abstraction, we can identify two diverse LTC systems in Europe: one, that is characterized by generous financing and a comprehensive set of services and high rates of coverage, and a second one, that is characterized by low rates of funding and a strong dominance of cash support. However, if we look a little bit closer, we can still find persistent settings and institutions, that shape the LTC-system accordingly to the findings of Esping-Andersen (1990):

The liberal welfare state is based on the value of individual liberty and their primary aim is to prevent poverty. Accordingly, public benefits are means-tested and modest. Welfare services are mainly provided by private actors. One example of a liberal welfare state in Europe is the United Kingdom where the regime’s functioning logic is mirrored in British long term care (LTC) policy. From a comparative perspective, the British LTC system is described as a ‘safety-net’ or ‘residual’ system. Due to restrictive needs and means-testing, it is primarily based on informal care. Three-quarters of formal care is provided by for-profit market actors.

The conservative welfare state is based on the value of status preservation and familialism. The benefits in conservative welfare regimes are related to contributions derived from employment and mainly take the form of cash payments. Social services were – at least

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40 Ibidem.
41 Fernández, José-Luis/Forder, Julien/Trukeschitz, Birgit/Rokosová, Martina/McDaid, David 2009: How can European states design efficient, equitable and sustainable funding systems for long-term care for older people? WHO Regional Office for Europe, Copenhagen.
until recently – underdeveloped as care work is expected to be performed by the family. Germany is considered the archetype of a conservative welfare regime and the regime’s logic is mirrored in German LTC policy. Although the need for a comprehensive care policy has resulted in a long-term care insurance (LTCI) with almost universal coverage, the favoured care option has been the cash support for family members.

The social-democratic welfare state is based on the value of equality. It is characterized by universal coverage based on citizenship, service intensity, comprehensiveness and statism. Social service provision has a comparatively long history in this type of welfare regime and is carried out by public providers. The prime example of this type of welfare state is Sweden. The state took over responsibility for elderly care in 1956 and since then the formal care sector is well developed and constitutes the backbone of elderly care. The large majority of formal care is provided by public institutions.

The welfare state of the South European countries can be described as a distinct group of the conservative welfare states where a high degree of familialism is a central trait of this regime type, compensating for the low level of social service provision. Members of this regime type are for example Spain and Italy. Until recently, long-term care was a family responsibility in Spain with only limited public support. In 2006, new legislation established universal entitlements to public benefits for care-dependent people. However, the old patterns of care provision have been changing only slowly.

In comparison to other European countries, the welfare states of Central and Eastern Europe are still underdeveloped especially with respect to social services. Taking the example of Poland, there is currently hardly any LTC policy that comprehensively covers the issue of care provision. Care provision rests primarily on informal caregivers.

Conclusion

Demographic change and the rising levels of care dependency pose serious challenges to the sustainability of care provision in a lot of countries in Europe and around the world. They will lead to steep increases in public and private LTC expenditures and will place a considerable strain on informal caregivers with negative consequences for their recreational and occupational freedom as well as their personal health status. Grand challenges that ask for innovations – and the involvement and participation of various actors into the innovation process which is also structured by the specific institutions of each welfare state. They shape the specific needs of the people, as users, buyers and payers, but also as co-producers of social innovations.

43 Fukushima, Nanna/Adami, Johanna/Palme, Marten 2010: The Swedish Long-Term Care System. ENEPRI Research Report, p. 89; Carrera et al. 2013 (fn. 39).
44 Fernanda Gutiérrez, Maria et al. 2010: The Spanish Long-Term Care System, ENEPRI Research Report, p. 88.
45 Golinowska, Stanisław 2010: The System of Long-Term Care in Poland, ENEPRI Research Report, p. 83.
46 Carrera et al. 2013 (fn. 39); Mot, Esther/Faber, Riemer/Geerts, Joanna/Willemé, Peter (2012): Performance of Long-Term Care Systems in Europe, ENEPRI Research Reprt No. 117, Brussels.
By focusing on societal needs, governments have to become an active and central actor in promoting, developing and regulating innovations. More importantly, governments have to promote innovations in areas where market actors fail. “The state has historically served not as a meddler in the private sector but as a key partner of it ... Across the entire innovation chain ... governments have stepped up with needed investment that the private sector has been too scared to provide”. Following the QH-paradigm, governments and public administration are not only driver of innovations, but ideally have the capacity to understand and analyse possible challenges to society. As David Runciman argues, by looking at both the societal challenges mentioned above and also political participation, citizen interaction and the way in which the internet and social media can have redistributive effects, a progressive innovation policy may focus on enabling and guaranteeing the positive social effects of both technological and social innovations, independently of corporate power.

Brynjolfsson et al. (2014) argue, that a progressive innovation policy must focus on an active role of the state in ensuring and regulating investments in fields such as education and basic research to safeguard a positive development of the “second machine age”. Progressive innovation policy must therefore simultaneously aim at the greatest possible diffusion of technological innovations (i.e. digitalization) within society and to ensure maximum participation.

“The efficiency of each instrument of the mix depends greatly on the socio-economic and cultural context in which it is introduced.” Therefore we also have to look at the sectoral policies that have an impact on the innovation process as well. By introducing new regulations or standards for example, policies developed in the health, environment, energy or transport sectors will stimulate or hamper the innovation process. These policies can also target the actors of the innovation process in a given sector – on the demand side as well as on the supply side.

A lot of these sectoral policies – for instance in the area of health and care – are determined by the architecture of the welfare state. Who provides what, who is responsible for what, who is the payer of specific services i.e. in the health or care sector? Here, the specific settings and institutions of the health and care system (Welfare state) determine the demand for innovation in a very strong way. And often the state or a public agency is responsible.

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52 Reillon 2016 (fn. 30), p. 5.
53 Ibidem.
sible for or even the provider of these health and care services and has therefore a direct influence on the health and care market. On the one hand this means more actors, more variables and more complexity. On the other, it offers chances for modernizing the welfare state, which is crucial if governments want to achieve some of the overall goals of sustainable and inclusive growth. By taking these needs and demands of the welfare state more into account policy-makers would be able to foster not only innovations that have a benefit for a smaller group in the society but for society as a whole.

Following this perspective of a “Social Innovation Policy”\textsuperscript{54}, policy makers would expand the policy mix, taking societal demands as a starting point and participation as an important instrument for achieving the goals mentioned above (i.e. inclusive growth). Therefore, a systemic understanding of innovation policy is required; one that includes strategy and coordinated implementation so that technical innovations become societal ones and important contributions to social progress can be made.\textsuperscript{55}

\textsuperscript{54} Buhr 2015 (fn. 28).
\textsuperscript{55} Alaja et al. 2016 (fn. 51).
Innovative Technologies and Social Participation as Factors of Social Well-Being

Yuliya A. Petrovskaya

Abstract: In the new technological revolution, social innovations acquire special significance. The aim of this article is to show the role of social, innovative technologies and public organizations in ensuring social well-being. The author presents the analysis of theoretical approaches to the study of social welfare subjects and factors, identifies contradictions that underlie the research problem, expressed in the lack and inconsistency of sociological knowledge about the impact of social change on subjective well-being of the individual and the correlation of social and individual well-being and substantiates the importance of the role of public organizations as a subject of welfare. Also, the author shows specific features of assessment of the significance of their activities.

Keywords: social innovation, social change, social well-being, social organizations, interaction.

The minds of many scientists are concerned with the problems of modern society. The works of Russian scientists like Oleg L. Kuznetsov and Boris E. Bolshakov1 or Vadim S. Repin and Larisa N. Skuratovskaya2 are dedicated to the questions of environmental crises and the design of the system “Nature – Society – Man”. The problem of the global crisis of humanity, environmental, economic, social, and spiritual, is a subject of research in different fields of science.3 The monograph of Anatoliy K. Kazantsev, Vladimir N. Kiselev, Dimitry A. Rubvalter, and Oleg V. Rudensky on “NBIC-Technologies. The Innovative Civilization of the 21st Century”4 is an analysis of modern, promising, and to some extent futuristic at the moment, of the trends in the development of highly innovative technologies that will have a direct or indirect impact on humans, economy, society and the whole civilization of the 21st century, and possibly later centuries.

The emphasis of this exposure is done in the monograph on nano, bio, information and cognitive technologies, which got its name in the world of scientific and scientific-popular literature as NBIC-technologies (in English, the terms Nano, Bio, Inform and Cognitive).

The works of Thomas Piketty are devoted to the issue of deep social inequality in the twenty-first century. The works written by V. Nikonov devoted to the analysis of social codes of different civilizations, including Russian, are of particular interest. Such scholars as George Soros, Immanuel Wallerstein, and Geoff Mulgan focus on the problems and consequences of the collapse of Socialism and Capitalism. The works of Daria V. Chernikova and Irina V., Chernikova on “The Problem of Human Nature in the Light of NBIC-Technologies” and “Cognitive Science and Cognitive Technologies in the Mirror of Philosophical Reflection” are of particular interest, as well as the Leslie Stevenson's work “Ten Theories of Human Nature” are devoted to the study of human nature that determines the probability of destruction of the earth’s biological civilization.

However, the issues related to the study of the innovative type of personality and strategy of its formation in the conditions of modern society, including Russian society, remain outside the field of sociological research. One problem of the modern world, first and foremost, is that in the context of global ecological crisis, the developed countries are inevitable and have been boosted (since 2002) to a new technological order – NBIC-technologies.

At the same time, due to the fact that Capitalism entered in the last (financial) stage of development, when income inequality became total (more than 100 people have the same property value as the other seven billion people in the world) in 2015, in the financial sector, the revolution “Block Chain” began. Simultaneously, globalization with Westernization in its Anglo-Saxon variant was faced with social codes of other civilizations (Russian, Chinese, and Muslim). All of the above-mentioned led the world after the collapse of Socialism and Capitalism to chaos, and then (in 2015) at the bifurcation point, to calculate the options at which point science is powerless.

Therefore, at the present optimistic scenario of transition to innovative, civilization is intensively developed. But here we are waiting for danger. The automatic destruction of the earth's biological organization is inherently programmed in human genetics. Every time the transition from one technological mode to another is accompanied by crises and destruction of the old technological structure of the economy. This is due to the fact that the demand for old technology and the use of products decreases with time, and the need for resources grows.

The new (sixth) revolution is yet to come, and unlike the previous, for the first time in the history of humanity, motor power is not considered an action aimed at the core subjects of global competition, but primarily the intellectual power of man. Actions performed in the previous technological way in cloud communications and systems of information retrieval has led to the fact that investment in the form of global cloud-based technological resource became a major resource. During the fourth and fifth technological modes, global competition raise around the world supported by a powerful global resource (dollars), coming primarily from the USA and lending to many buyers. Now there is a new technological way which is developed from the massive use of innovations in different kinds of economic activities. Its main subject of global competition raises the knowledge, the technology and production of intelligent forces to the unprecedented level of collective creativity. Actions aimed at the main subject of the competition identify and address inconsistencies between requirements and the increasing complexity of actions aimed at different ways of converting resources in intellectual power and different logic of division of labor.

All of the above processes occurring in modern society have an impact on each of its members and place new demands on the modern person. The social well-being is in these terms directly and exclusively not determined only by the level and quality of life or the perfection of the state management system but is also dependent on other factors, such as values and needs of the individual, culture and traditions of the society. Intense social changes are reflected in the plane of subjective relations and experiences of the individual, determining the social self-determination, self-realization, social activity in different spheres of public life.

In the opinion of Oleg V. Ovchinnikov, the new age inverted the pyramid of human values. The meaning of life began to see in life itself. And this was the birth of another civilization on the Earth as a liberal place. Hence, the distinction between two types of personality: the personality of civilizations – both traditional and liberal. Since the traditional civilization is shared by the majority of the world's population (over 86 percent), it makes sense to take a closer look at how modern science describes a traditional type of person. His mentality requires a comfortable state associated with the ideal of peace, tranquility, minimizing social innovations, unchanging world, which determines the desire to adapt to the environment. What about the personality of the traditional civilization defined “range of needs”, does not work the law of their rise. The economic basis of this type of personality is communal or state ownership of the means of production, not allowing a person to turn from a passive subject to an active subject of the historical process.11

In accordance with the strategy of innovative development of the Russian Federation for the period until 2020, Russia has set itself the ambitious but achievable long-term development goals, namely, to ensure a high level of welfare and to secure the geopolitical role of the country as one of the leaders that determine the global political agenda. The difficult economic situation in the world leads to increasing demands for the pace and qual-

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ity of economic development in the period up to 2020, as well as new requirements for modern, innovative personality.

These trends determine the need to adjust policy in the sphere of innovation, shifting the focus from increasing the total volume of support for all components of the national innovation system critical to innovative development challenges. One of the most important aspects, from the point of view of the continuing innovative development of Russia's competitive advantages, is human capital.

Problems associated with the indicators of human development covering three significant indicators: average life expectancy at birth, literacy rate, and living standards of the population become particular relevant in Russia. In addition to the quality of education and level of literacy, human attitudes and behaviors play a significant role for future innovative development. The key to innovative entrepreneurship personal qualities are mobility and the desire to learn throughout life, a tendency towards entrepreneurship and risk-taking in general. At present, these qualities in Russia are underdeveloped compared to countries with high innovation activity.

In Russia, according to the Federal Service of State Statistics, the participation of the population in the age group 25-64 years in continuing education in 2008 was 24.8 percent (in the UK – 37.6 percent, Germany – 41.9 percent, Finland – 77.3 percent). But purposeful work on development of competencies in the field of research and development, and motivation for innovation started in recent years. Thus, the need of formation of innovative personality types in Russian civilization in a rapidly evolving technological revolution, due to objective problems and challenges that arise at the present stage of social development, characterized as a transition to the sixth technological mode.

However, under the influence of rapid developments in society the people change themselves. Their needs, interests, values and ideas about what is social well-being are also changing.

In the last few decades, scientific and public interest in the problem of social welfare, public and private, has intensified. The reality of this problem is largely due to intense changes in society. When analyzing the results of various sociological research (not only Russian research), the trend is that the welfare of the state and society does not always mean subjective well-being for certain individuals, i.e. goals and means of the state, society and the individual and, as in general, their understanding of social well-being is not always the same. In this regard, social welfare cannot be directly and exclusively linked only with the level and quality of life or degree of perfection of the state management system.

It is impossible to exclude such factors as, for example individual values and needs, the level of social activity of population, community and individual social capital, culture and traditions of the society from our attention. It should be noted that the expression of one’s own position, the manifestation of social activity in the format of public organizations, and their participation in solving socially significant issues brings very understanding and important criteria of social well-being to the state, society and each specific individual.

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The sociological analysis of literature allows one to identify two major theoretical approaches to understanding social welfare: objectivistic and subjectivistic approaches. Objectivistic direction in research defines social welfare as an objective social phenomenon, which is analyzed at the level of society as a system. However, intense social changes occur in modern society, and are reflected in the subjective relations and experiences of a person that in turn determine the social self-determination, self-realization, social activity in different spheres of public life.

In today's reality, a perception of individual well-being is significantly different compared to its perception in previous historical periods. Today, subjective social well-being is perceived through the prism of the consumer society and the increased level of claims, which are constantly growing and expanding. However, the satisfaction of progress and individual sense of well-being - rather fall. In particular, the person ceases to experience the satisfaction of communicating with other people. Due to the rapid development of computer and communication technologies, a member of the modern society engages in numerous social connections. However, these connections are not always tight and sturdy and often have no independent value. Rather, due to a particular need and life circumstances (work, study, formal kinship, and other foreign liabilities), all this leads to the fact that the usual social ties that form the social capital of a person and “fastening” the whole social system, gradually lose their binding function.

Who are the main actors in ensuring social well-being? In the Russian Federation one of the main agents of social well-being is the state in terms of bodies of state administration, as well as a system of organizations and institutions in various spheres of public life, whose activities are aimed at providing citizens with the necessary guarantees and services.

In fact, the system related to social well-being of population in the Russian Federation involves a set of interrelated and interacting entities that have different departmental affiliation, including public organizations and associations and other forms of civic participation.

Analyzing the forms and mechanisms of interaction of these actors, it is legitimate to mention the theory of communicative action, based on which the interaction occurs not only by coercion but on the basis of a common understanding of objectives and mutual interest. The purpose of this type of social action is the free agreement of participants to achieve joint outcomes in a certain situation. In other words, the interaction of actors in social welfare is possible and only effective when their goals coincide, when there is mutual understanding and willingness to interact.

New conditions for NGOs activities in Russia in recent times are largely caused by changes in the federal legislation. Many non-profit organizations began to focus on obtaining public funding (presidential grants for socially-oriented NGOs, the public procurement system, various competitions, and tenders, auctions for state and municipal orders). The structure of third sector has changed significantly, too. Previously, under the traditional notion of third sector, its constituent non-commercial organizations clearly outlined their organizational form and scope of activities.
Currently, there is a blurring of the boundaries of the third sector, the advent of its new, non-traditional proponents. In particular, budgetary institutions of different levels and NGOs created by them are now actively engaged in fundraising. Informal networks (activists, volunteer associations, “the urban community”, etc.) are increasingly active. They attempt to solve various social problems. These groups have significant potential, and their success in raising funds can serve as an example for traditional NGOs.

Socially oriented business is gaining popularity in Russia. The target groups of organizations that are working on the divide between commercial and non-commercial, and NGOs are often very close, however, the activities of socially-oriented businesses aimed at solving social problems can often be even more effective than traditional NGOs in connection with the increased availability of various kinds of resources. Political groups, movements, and parties do not lose their relevance.

In January 2014, the government of the Russian Federation approved the *Concept of Openness of Federal Executive Authorities*. The problem of optimization of interaction of the state and socially oriented non-profit organizations was among the fundamental principles set forth in the provisions of the Concept.

Elena Chernenkova examines in the article “On State Support of Socially Oriented NGOs in the Municipalities of the Republic of Karelia”\(^\text{13}\) the forms and experiences of such support on the example of concrete region – the Republic of Karelia. The main directions of interaction between the authorities and socially oriented NGOs in the Republic of Karelia are strengthening of interethnic and interfaith relations, prevention of extremism and xenophobia, the support for indigenous peoples, the solution of problems of spiritually-moral and patriotic education, implementing search activities, the development of culture and education, the support for people with disabilities and their families as well as the support for children, youth in difficult life situations and for orphans after they leave the orphanage and more. Elena Chernenkova analyzes in detail the regional experience of implementation of projects that promote the coordination of cooperation of public organizations in the Republic of Karelia. Such projects and activities allow representatives of regional authorities, local government, socially-oriented NGOs and businesses to discuss issues of implementation of the principles of tripartism in the field of social policy, to focus on the importance of civil initiatives and to inform about the activities of public organizations in the sphere of social welfare of various categories of citizens.

Of course, in the last decades, the Russian third sector has undergone intensive qualitative and quantitative changes. Socially oriented NGOs have achieved significant results in collaboration with society, government and business. However, the role of the third sector in these relations remains uncertain, as there is a clear understanding of what its purpose and function. There was no understanding within the third sector and outside it. On the example of the Republic of Karelia, it becomes apparent that many NGOs quite rightly expect professional and competent delivery of services and implementation of activities in

their area. But this status often exists only in the minds of the representatives of the NGOs and individual, well-informed role-players.

As non-profit organizations are delivering services that are very difficult to be measured in economic terms or outcomes, they of the no not have economic assessments. The main goal of their activity is social and humanitarian in nature and is not intended to be evaluated from the point of view of economic contribution. As well as the concept of “quality of life”, it is impossible to describe in traditional economic terms.

It would be better to assess the impact of NGOs activities on the well-being of society and individuals in specific social conditions, placing at the forefront the long-term impact of their activities as participants in public life. The concept of well-being should be the main in the assessment of social activity of NGOs, their contribution to the maintenance of stability. Thus, we can conclude that, without diminishing the role of state actors, socially oriented NGOs is one of the most significant proponents in ensuring the social welfare of the society and its individuals.

The question of how to achieve human well-being has been on the minds of scholars and practitioners since the days of Aristotle. If you go down from the level of society to the level of each individual, according to the findings of scientists, in order to experience subjective well-being, it is not enough to only experience positive feelings and emotions. The individual also needs a feeling of fullness of life and meaningful activities in which he is emotionally involved and which allow him to experience autonomy and competence as well as a supply of inner resources that help him cope with life's difficulties and to be resistant to external changes.

In addition, it is very important to feel belonging to others. The most important aspect of subjective well-being is a certain amount of social capital, the presence of supportive relationships and feelings of connection with others. Participation in various voluntary associations contributes to the development of all these factors, as the third sector, in essence, is one of the few entities addressing the concept of individual human well-being, guiding their efforts to improve well-being. Acting within the concept of social well-being, trying to cooperate to achieve common goals, all subjects will be able to make the best decisions for their reflection in the state social policy.
The LebensPhasenHaus1. Innovation by Participation in Practice

Daniel Buhr

Abstract: An ageing society is confronted with challenges but in parallel there is a plethora of opportunities that might sooner or later impact the development and usage of smart environments. This was the starting point for the LebensPhasenHaus in Tübingen (Germany), which provides the opportunity to touch, explore and experience technologies and services in the field of independent living. Following the quadruple helix approach of the European Commission, all relevant stakeholders (academia, businesses, government authorities and the civil society) have to be involved in the innovation process: innovation by participation. Elderly volunteers – some of them informal care-givers – help to develop new ideas into smart services and products while, at the same time, raising the awareness and acceptance of smart environments by strengthening user involvement. It is shown how acceptance can be considered to be a running process, based on observations and experiences in Tübingen.

Keywords: Ageing Society; Care; Innovation; Usability; Acceptance

Introduction

For the first time in history, most people can expect to live into their 60s and beyond.2 Besides all the positive aspects of this development on the micro- as well as macro-level, this ongoing demographic change means also tremendous challenges for the pension-, health- and care-systems in specific welfare-states. A rapidly ageing population has dramatically increased demands on health and care services as well as public and personal budgets. One major challenge arises from the sheer diversity of health and functional states experienced by older people. As the evidence shows, the loss of ability typically associated with ageing is only loosely related to a person’s chronological age. As people age, however, they are more likely to experience multi-morbidity. This means the presence of multiple chronic conditions at the same time. One large systematic review of studies in seven high-

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1 Thanks to the Ministry of Social Affairs and Integration Baden-Württemberg for funding the LebensPhasenHaus and to the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research for funding projects, which are partly operated at the LPH. Thanks to the European AAL community in inspiring and supporting the LPH Team, to bring the LPH from an idea into reality and thanks to the involved partners and members of the LPH consortium. Special thanks to the County Senior Council “Kreisrenorenrat Tübingen” with their Senior-Technology-Companions as civic engagement doing a really important job in supporting and informing the civil society.

income countries concluded that more than half of the elderly is affected by multimorbidity, with the prevalence increasing sharply in the group of the very old.\textsuperscript{3}

Therefore, with growing age the risk is higher to become dependent and in need for assistance. This so called “care dependence” arises when functional ability has fallen to a point where an individual is no longer able to undertake the basic tasks that are necessary for daily life without the assistance of others. Since more than two thirds of this assistance is done by family members or other informal care-givers – and due to the fact that almost every welfare state has problems in finding and financing professional care-givers – it is important to develop innovations that address the specific needs of this group by involving them into the innovation process as well.

Figure 1: Proportion of population aged 60 years or older, by country, 2015

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure1.png}
\caption{Proportion of population aged 60 years or older, by country, 2015}
\end{figure}

Source: WHO 2015, p. 44.

Ageing and the Need for Assistance

Eurostat’s annual demography data collection shows there were more than 500 million people living in the EU-28 in 2014, of whom round about 94 million were aged 65 years and over. Most elderly people value their independence and would prefer to continue to live in their own homes. In 2011, the proportion of elderly persons in the EU who were aged 65–84 years and living in an institutional household (health care institutions or institutions for retired or elderly persons) was 1.7 percent only. Among those aged 85 and over, the share was more than seven times as high, reaching 12.6 percent. This means on the contrary, however, that most of the elderly in Europe live alone or together with their partner and family – with a growing care dependence rate.
Care dependence has often been assessed using instruments that determine when an individual requires assistance with activities of daily living (ADL). These measure a range of basic domains of functioning, including urinary and faecal continence, and the ability to independently perform personal care activities (such as tooth brushing), using the toilet, feeding yourself, transferring (for example, moving to a chair), getting around the home, dressing, walking upstairs and bathing; or instrumental activities of daily living (IADLs), i.e. household chores, meal preparation or managing money. Figure 4 shows the impact of age, with those aged 65 years to 74 years having far less need for assistance than those aged 75 years or older.

4 Since several variations of these instruments exist (for example, some require simple yes/no responses, others use scaled responses), this needs to be considered when making comparisons among studies or settings [WHO 2015 (fn. 2)].
Social Innovations for Informal Care-givers

Long-term care (LTC) affects millions of people – but is still not very popular within public discourse. Individuals need long-term care when a chronic condition, trauma, or illness limits their ability to carry out basic self-care tasks. In Russia as well as in Germany long-term care is mainly provided by informal caregivers, i.e. the family. Actual numbers show that in Germany almost 5 million informal care-givers are involved already\(^5\) – two thirds of it are women.\(^6\) But the needs for long-term care (LTC) are expected to increase gradually due to population ageing in Russia and Germany as well as in Europe as a whole. The

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population aged 65 or older, which is more at risk of dependency, will more than double by 2050 according to the forecasts of the European Union (Eurostat).

Although caregiving to family members results in a lot of positive effects\textsuperscript{7}, it can also cause severe physical and psychological burden.\textsuperscript{8} A variety of literature shows that caregiving family members are more often affected by stresses and strains than formal care-givers or care-givers that do not belong to the family.\textsuperscript{9}

Here, social innovations could make a positive difference. A social innovation is a targeted reconfiguration of social practices with the aim of better solving problems or satisfying needs than is possible on the basis of established practices\textsuperscript{10} and thus makes a contribution to social progress. Better for whom? In this question lies a further subtext of the definition, namely its normative connotation. According to this understanding, an innovation can only be social when it is socially accepted, widely diffused in society or amongst certain social groups and finally becomes institutionalized or routinized as a new social practice.\textsuperscript{11} Social innovations, on the one hand, are new practices to tackle social challenges, which affected persons, groups and organizations come to accept and employ. On the other, they also facilitate diffusion and dissemination of many technical developments. Thus from today’s perspective, many innovations can be classified as social innovations – from book printing to health insurance, universal suffrage, fair trade and energy efficiency – innovative solutions that have brought major societal benefits. In sum: Social innovations have crucial influence on whether a technological invention will become a widespread innovation, on the channels it is diffused through and what effects unfold in the process.\textsuperscript{12}

In the past, the primary objectives of innovations in the area of health and care were focusing mainly on professional care-givers (so called secondary users). Especially with regard to the health and care sector and the high numbers of informal care-givers, it is thus imperative that these users should also be involved in the innovation process from the very beginning – as co-designers and co-deciders as well as the central drivers of technological and social innovation\textsuperscript{13} on the demand side.

It is striking however, that most parts of research as well as innovation policies worldwide are primarily focusing on technical innovations, following a rather simple concept of a technology-push driven innovation process. But reality seems to be more complex and innovation processes are much more diverse, complex and somewhat contingent than the perception of a linear innovation process which is driven by the (technology) invention phase and the support of the supply side only. Instead, innovations often occur in systems of various actors and institutional settings that influence both supply for and demand of a new solution.14 Here, aspects of usability and acceptance for social and technical inventions are crucial for the dissemination (diffusion) of new ideas in order to transform inventions to successful innovations.

Usability and Acceptance

Usability determines the success or failure of a product or service.15 According to ISO 9241, usability is defined by effectiveness, efficiency and satisfaction in reaching a specified goal, in a particular environment for a specified user. Especially at the boundary between the human and a machine, be it a smart phone, tablet PC or any smart health device, usability is a key issue when we look at innovations for an ageing society. Since the interaction on the Human Machine Interface (HMI) level is about reaction and communication, the corresponding human part of the described interaction is directly related to the senses and the respective perception system. Heine et al. (2016)16 argue that the age-related performance degradation of our complex perceptual system is evident, even if the variance in between the individuals is very large (in terms of strength, affected sense, possible permutations of the individual symptoms, etc.). As potential users are getting older their cognitive and sensory performance declines, which has to be taken into account in the interaction design in order to maintain a high degree of usability. Other approaches might foster the age-related digital divide. Therefore, the LebensPhasenHaus in Tübingen is following the approach of a user-centered innovation process, by involving the potential users right from the beginning (invention) and up to the demonstration and diffusion of these new products and services.

The LebensPhasenHaus can be seen as an important part of a smart environment. Smart (supportive) environments have a crucial leverage on affected market segments. In addition to the health and telemedicine sector, a smart environment providing Ambient Assisted Living (AAL) products and services, accesses a wide range of domains like social inclusion, safety, security, autonomy, comfort and well-being. Accordingly, the primary objectives of the LebensPhasenHaus in Tübingen are to raise awareness, explore and develop

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16 Heine et al 2016 (fn. 15).
new products and (smart) services, innovate and finally provide a creative space for dialogue and exchange.

The Concept of the LebensPhasenHaus

The LebensPhasenHaus (LPH) follows the concept of an open innovation model.\textsuperscript{17} In Tübingen, this paradigm is based on the quadruple helix model.\textsuperscript{18} It provides a space to co-create future solutions and drive structural changes by using user-oriented innovation models and bringing relevant stakeholders (academia, businesses, government authorities and the civil society) together. Targeting to overcome (potential) barriers, activities work towards holistic, interoperable and sustainable solutions for independent living with the support of smart environments. The LebensPhasenHaus, which literally is translated as “house of life phases”, not only targets the elder population, yet this group is most exciting and important for the near future when talking about societal challenges. Involving the before mentioned stakeholders and volunteers is essential in building an ecosystem and targeting the market in that field. The relevance of the different partners is shown in the composition of the consortium. The academic representatives are the University of Tübingen (coordinator) and the University Hospital of Tübingen. A respective business perspective is represented by the local Chamber of Industry and Commerce (IHK Reutlingen), a partner for lighting solutions (RIDI GmbH), a prefabricated house manufacturer (SchwörerHaus KG), an expert on home automation, safety and security (somfy), the local energy and ICT provider (Stadtwerke Tübingen) and the state association of landscape gardening (GaLaBau BW). End users are represented by representatives of the County Senior Council (Kreisseniorenrat Tübingen). Thus, with the financial support by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Integration Baden-Württemberg, all four pillars of the quadruple helix are involved.\textsuperscript{19}

The LPH is located outside the university and the medical campus on a neutral ground. The house is separated into three areas. First, there is the “Demonstration Flat” where visitors and potential users can see and experience different smart systems, e.g., basic systems concerning heat-ventilation-air-conditioning (HVAC), adaptive lighting systems, ICT solutions and assistive systems as lifters, light guides etc. All systems installed in the apartment are available on the market (even if their operation-mode and interconnection might still be in a research state). As the variety of tools and solutions on the market is great, the local team is aware that merely a subset of available systems can be demonstrated. However, this is done with the intention of starting a creative process in raising awareness for the topic and starting the dialogue. The concept in terms of interior focuses on keeping the apartment cozy to initiate creativity.\textsuperscript{20}

\textsuperscript{18} European Commission 2016: Open innovation 2.0 yearbook 2016, Brussels/Luxembourg: European Commission.
\textsuperscript{19} Heine et al. 2016 (fn. 15).
\textsuperscript{20} Ibidem.
For brainstorming, education, presentation and workshop purposes a second area provides the infrastructure and space for ingenious sessions. This area provides users and focus groups a space to work, discuss and craft on solutions. The third area in the LPH is the exhibition floor and the so-called sandbox for testing and installing systems about to be tested with potential users and which are not on the market yet. Like in the two other areas, the purpose is to raise awareness and inform, which in this case is accomplished by a diversity of exhibitions, may they be of artistic or instructive character. In addition to the three in-house zones just described, there is a large space outside the LPH. Users can experience barrier-free home and garden access, lighting concepts, comfortable gardening (e.g., raised bed), outdoor assistants (auto mower, automated watering, access & security system) and a charging station for e-mobility-enabled vehicles.21

Innovation by Participation I: Senior Technology Companions

As mentioned before, an important target population of the LebensPhasenHaus is the elderly user. Visitors of the LPH can be categorized into three different types of groups (combinations might be possible):

- People, i.e. informal care-givers, who have a specific need in the family or environment and are searching for a specific solution (e.g. after a stroke, hip fracture and entering mobility issues).
- People, who have preventive interest in preparing and adapting their home to live independently as long as possible (mainly in terms of barriers to ensure mobility)
- People, who have general interest in technology and services, what is possible and what can help in future in terms of home automation, comfort and assistive systems.

Civil engagement and the voluntary work of the local County Senior Council were fundamental cornerstones for building the concept of senior technology companions (STC). In the history of providing AAL solutions to the users, it was shown that the way potential users were communicated with has an enormous effect on the acceptance and the willingness to participate in these modern activities. The concept of senior technology companions builds on the effect that dialogue within one generation leads to much more openness, trustworthiness and confidence. Actually there are eight tandems (groups of two guides), each of them responsible for public opening hours on Fridays. The conception of that model included a couple of individual trainings on the installed systems and the topic in general, even though some of the volunteers are certified living space advisors for barrier-free living. The STC-model profits of the individual past careers and experiences each companion had, which enormously enriches the interaction between visitors and the guides and makes every tour / discussion unique. Since this concept builds upon voluntary activity of elderly, it was important to communicate that the main task is to start the dialogue, connect

21 Ibidem.
and build up a trustful relation and relieving the volunteers of the pressure of being the high-tech expert able to answer every high-level questions.22

Innovation by Participation II: User-centered Design

However, the LPH also acts as a platform to try and explore products and services in a living space environment. Therefore, it is and was a testbed for different national and European projects. Technology acceptance in this group of interest seems to be specific. Within the different development processes, which have been running with the focus groups, several instruments on usability and acceptance have been introduced into the user-centred design (UCD) cycles. Depending on the type of the product or service, the kind of instruments range from user-journeys to different categories of prototypes (paper, click, functional). The respective user sessions usually end in an interview / questionnaire on usability, usefulness, operability of the corresponding solution. Often the analysis of acceptance is based on Davis’ Technology Acceptance Model (TAM)23, which itself is based on Ajzen and Fishbein’s Theory of Reasoned Action (TRA).24 Recognizing that the TAM was modelling the situation not as precisely as expected, it was revised and extended a couple of times.25 The later versions where limited in flexibility but using more input variables of the groups’ social influence and cognitive instrumental processes. However, none of the models was used for a representative study with a user group focusing on the field of ambient assistive living solutions. Furthermore, research has shown that even the latest model lacks in considering factors of personality and psyche26 which has a high influence in the target group. Typically, technology acceptance in this population group requires a highly differentiated analysis.27

22 Ibidem.
Conclusion

The grand challenges of the future are causing a tremendous demand for innovations in the welfare state: smart health and care services, new mobility concepts, new institutions for the labour market and many more. Tele-(health)care – in the form of transmitters, sensor mats and smart meters – for instance, make it easier to care for people at home for longer. Apps and wearables allow people to monitor their own bodily functions, and patient records are gradually being digitalised, making them available for general practitioners (GPs), hospitals, pharmacists as well as professional and informal care-givers. All of this could improve diagnosis, prevention and follow-up care while reducing the burden of the care-givers at the same time. Big-data-analysis can, in turn, be used to offer customized treatment or improve disease management for entire population groups and thereby allow patients to live longer and self-sufficient lives. These chances, hopes and wishes, however, are also accompanied by fears over data protection, the confidentiality of employees’ health status or even the dehumanisation of care. “However, these fears need not materialise if the digitalization process is oriented towards people and their needs and preferences.”

Therefore, the users have to be involved right from the beginning in order to ensure that products and services really address the demand – and are not just pushed aggressively into the market by a few technology companies.

That is why the LebensPhasenHaus wants to raise attention and awareness at the user level and to involve all relevant stakeholders, the supply and demand side, into the innovation process. Topics like “active and healthy ageing”, smart home and energy efficiency are covered in the LPH. These developments go hand in hand with the objectives of the European Commission. Focusing on the elder population, the European Innovation Partnership on Active and Healthy Ageing (EIP-AHA) under the auspices of the European Commission has the objective to increase the number of healthy life years (HLY also called disability-free life expectancy) by two years at birth until the year 2020 contributing to healthier life of European citizens, an increased quality of life, more sustainable social- and healthcare systems, innovation and market growth.

There are two routes of involving users. On the one hand, they can experience solutions in the house by trying and challenging them. The other route will be to support solution development and assessment by using them at home 24/7 (i.e. living-lab), participating in workshops and creativity sessions. In this way they are becoming part of the new era of the Internet of Things and the upcoming Internet of Services. Here, acceptance becomes a key for the invention as well as the diffusion of new technologies and services. Acceptance, however, is a process where the process speed and outcome depends on various factors including known ones from Technology Acceptance Models, and some new ones made

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from observations in the LPH. These models might be further validated and adapted in future – by involving and observing a variety of users (patients, professional and informal care-givers) into the innovation process right from the beginning.
PART 4: PARTICIPATION AND LOCAL POLITICS
Political Participation in Local Politics. The Case of Tübingen

Gertrud van Ackern/Rolf Frankenberger

Abstract: Participation is a core element of democracy. Especially at the local level, citizen participation plays a central role in policy making. Using the example of Tübingen, this article examines the legal frameworks for participation in representative, deliberative and direct democratic multi-level governance. It also illustrates the principles for deliberative civic participation implemented by the municipality of Tübingen.

Keywords: political participation, deliberative democracy, direct democracy, multi-level governance, Tübingen

Participation of citizens is one of the core elements of vital democracy. Democracy needs political participation of its citizens in order to flourish.1 Political participation can be defined as „[…] citizens’ activities affecting politics“.2 Political participation comprises activity or action, is done by people in their role as citizens, is voluntary and deals with „government, politics or the state in a broad sense of these words (‘political system’, ‘policy process’)“ and „[…] is neither restricted to specific phases (such as policy making, or the input side of the political system) nor to specific levels or areas (such as national elections or contacts with public representatives and officials)“.3 In this definition, voting as well as running for office, seeking contact to politicians, demonstrating and many other kinds of action can be subsumed under this label.

Participation in political processes is said to have desirable effects for political processes in democracies: It leads to inclusion and integration of various opinions and interests; it fosters civic skills like debating, running meetings or broadening knowledge and virtues like public engagement, reciprocity and active participation in public life; it leads to better and more rational decisions based on „the better argument“ and last but not least enhances input and output legitimacy of the political system, as support for processes and outcomes is generated through participation.4

In other words, participation from this perspective is a meritory good and has to be enabled by the political system. Here, we can differentiate three varieties of democracy, in which different forms of formally or informally institutionalized participation play different roles. First, in representative democracy, participation is mainly practiced by participat-

3 Ibidem, p. 352.
ing in elections. Second, in deliberative democracy, the consultation of citizens through e.g. mini publics, roundtables, planning cells or deliberative polling is the central form of participation. Third, in direct democracy, decision making by citizens through referenda and plebiscites is the main form of participation. In the political process, we often will find combinations of these three forms of democracy and participation, whereas in almost all political systems of the world, representative democracy plays a dominant role on the national level.\(^5\)

To unfold the positive effects of participation mentioned above, some pre-requisites seem to be necessary. Legal pre-requisites for participation are a legal framework for participation, freedom of information, freedom of association and expression, and to be able to enforce them, rule of law. Cultural and political pre-requisites are a proactive understanding of citizenship, a consent on peaceful conflict settlement, knowledge of processes, content, and possibilities of participation and a political will to implement not only participatory procedures, but also their results.

**Participation in Multi-level Governance**

In Germany, democracy and participation are embedded in a system of multi-level governance. Following Simona Piattoni, multi-level governance refers to „a panoply of systems of coordination and negotiation, among formally independent but functionally interdependent entities that stand in complex relations to one another“.\(^6\) Usually, the systems or levels that are connected by multi-level governance are territorial. This includes supranational, national, regional, and local levels, „each commanding a certain degree of authority over the corresponding territory and the individuals residing in it, but also more generally as jurisdictional levels, identified with regard to specific functions and to the constituents who are interested in the performance of those functions“.\(^7\)

For the case of Tübingen, the system of multi-level governance includes the local (municipality), regional (federal state), national (federal republic) and supranational (European Union) levels. This system is guided by the principles of subsidiarity and of local self-governance. According to the first principle, the respective superordinate instance only takes action, if the subordinate instance is not able to regulate, intervene and control. In the German federal system, subsidiarity is a basic principle in the basic law (Art. 23 GG 1).\(^8\) It is also established on the European level within the European Charter of Local Self Gov-

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Subsidiarity is also a core part of European Union law, which was established in the Treaty of Maastricht and is still part of the Treaty on European Union. Article 5, 3 states that „Under the principle of subsidiarity (…) the Union shall act only if and in so far as the objectives of the proposed action cannot be sufficiently achieved by the Member States, either at central level or at regional and local level, but can rather, by reason of the scale or effects of the proposed action, be better achieved at Union level“.

There are different legal prescriptions and opportunities for citizen participation in terms of representative, deliberative, and direct democracy. They constitute the framework for participatory democracy in local politics. As will be outlined below, the lower the level of governance is, the higher numbers of opportunities for formal participation are. Whereas there are regulations for elections on all levels of representative democracy, the local level is the one with the most opportunities for formal, but also informal deliberative and direct participation.

On the supranational EU-level, citizens can vote for their representatives in the European Parliament every five years by universal suffrage. The European Citizens Initiative is a direct democratic element that was introduced in February 2011 by EU-regulation 211/2011. An initiative is possible in all fields of EU-responsibility and can be launched on request by one million Citizens from at least seven Member States. If the quorum is reached, the initiative is heard by the European Commission and the European Parliament. Both have to give a formal answer including measures taken – from nothing to initiating a legislative process. Formally this can be evaluated as a weak instrument, as there are no binding decisions connected with an initiative. It thus resembles more a deliberative tool than a direct-democratic one.

On the national level of the Federal Republic of Germany, representative democracy is predominant. Citizens can vote for their legislative, the Bundestag, every four years by universal suffrage. There are neither initiative-rights nor other direct-democratic elements on the national level, except in cases of a re-adjustment of federal borders (Art.29 Basic Law) and the ratification of a new constitution (Art. 146 Basic Law), where referenda are obligatory. Actually, there are claims for more direct democracy and plebiscitary elements on the national level from different sides. One rare example of deliberative democracy is the citizens’ participation in the „Klimaschutzplan 2050“ that was imple-
On the federal level of the State of Baden-Württemberg, there are several regulations and opportunities for direct, deliberative and representative participation. Representative democracy is implemented by the elections of the Legislative (Landtag) that take place every five years. The constitution of Baden-Württemberg also knows several direct-democratic elements. On a Peoples’ Request by 0.5 percent of the electorate, the legislature has to discuss the issue of the Peoples’ Request. 10 percent of the electorate can launch a Peoples’ legislative Initiative on all topics except state budget, taxation and salaries. A plebiscite can be held under several circumstances. First, if a Peoples’ Initiative does not pass the legislature unaltered, a referendum has to be held on that law. Second, the federal government can put a law to the vote of the citizens, if one third of the representatives in the legislature request that. This can be rejected by a two-thirds vote of the legislature. Third, the government can hold a referendum on a governmental legislative proposal that has been rejected by the legislative, if one third of the representatives agrees. Fourth, a referendum on the dissolution of the legislature can be held if 10 percent of the electorate claims for it. Fifth, a referendum on constitutional amendments can be held on request of 50 percent of the representatives in the legislature. A referendum is binding if a simple majority of the votes cast is reached and if, at the same time, the quorum of twenty percent of the electorate is reached with this majority. Since 1950, five plebiscites have been held in Baden-Württemberg. In 1950, two years in advance of the adoption of the constitution and the Foundation of Baden-Württemberg, there were public opinion polls in the federal entities Württemberg-Baden, Baden and Württemberg-Hohenzollern on the territorial reorganization of southern Germany. In 1951, referenda on the territorial reorganization were held in these constituencies, and as a result, the State of Baden-Württemberg was founded. In 1956 and 1970 there were peoples’ requests and referenda on the same issue in Baden that aimed at the withdrawal of the earlier decision on state formation. Both were rejected by the majority of the citizens. In 1971, a Peoples’ Request on the dissolution of the 5th Legislature of Baden-Württemberg led to a Referendum on the dissolution of the legislature. Even though a majority of 54.5 percent voted for the dissolution, the referendum did not reach the quorum of then one third of the electorate. The latest referendum took place in November 2011, when the Construction of the new central railway station in Stuttgart

19 Ibidem.
known as S21 was subject to popular vote. One of the main goals was to pacify a year-long conflict that originated in the 1980s.23

In Baden-Württemberg two main elements of systematic deliberative participation of citizens were implemented by the federal government that was then led by the Green Party, and still is. One of the core elements of participative government in Baden-Württemberg is an online participatory portal (Beteiligungsportal)24, where citizens can find information on legislation and prospective new bills, but also are able to comment on drafts of new bills, participate in opinion polls and so on.25 In December 2013, the government launched an administrative directive on the intensification of public participation in public planning and construction.26 It aims at early involvement of citizens in public and private planning in formal and informal processes, and was itself subject to citizen consultation via the participation portal of the federal government. Based on this directive, a Guide for a new culture in Planning27 was developed and can be used for participatory planning. It offers explanations as well as practice advice for implementing the directive.

Even though many efforts were made on the federal level to broaden and deepen participatory politics, the local level still is the arena where citizens have the broadest variety of instruments deliberative and direct participation. They are codified in the municipal code of Baden-Württemberg (Gemeindeordnung).28 Representative democracy is implemented by two elections. First, residents including EU-citizens can participate in the direct election of the Mayor29, who is elected for 8 years and is representative of the city, head of administration and chairman of the city council30. They also can vote for the City Council that has a five years legislature.31 There are also two major direct democratic elements: Citi-

23 In a representative survey with n=916 in June 2012, a team of the university of Tübingen (by Buhr, Daniel/Zolleis, Udo/Frankenberger, Rolf) asked several questions on peoples’ attitudes towards the referendum. 64% do not think that the conflict was pacified by the plebiscite. Another result was that active knowledge on participatory regulations and instrument was very low among the citizens. Only 10.2 percent mentioned referenda actively as a form of referendum. Despite that lack of knowledge, only 56 percent rated the work of their representatives in the legislature as good or very good. And the most important reason for participating in the referendum was the general desire of more than two thirds of the respondents for more direct democracy. In addition, 60 percent think that referenda are the right instrument for citizen participation in huge construction projects.


25 The portal and participatory government in legislative processes were evaluated in a study by Frank Brettschneider and Anna Renkamp; Cf. Brettschneider, Frank/Renkamp, Anna 2016: Partizipative Gesetzgebungsverfahren. Bürgerbeteiligung bei der Landesgesetzgebung in Baden-Württemberg, Gütersloh.


29 Art. 45 GemO, (fn.28).
30 Art. 42 GemO, (fn.28).
31 Art. 26 GemO (fn.28).
zens’ Request and Citizens’ Decision\textsuperscript{32}. They mirror the direct democratic elements on the federal level in some ways. A Citizens’ Request by 7 percent of the Electorate initiates a Citizens’ decision on any issue within the responsibility of the municipality except issues within the responsibility of the mayor. A Citizens’ Decision, which also can be launched by the city council, is binding for the municipal executive. In order to be successful, it needs a majority of votes and a quorum of 20 percent of the Electorate. In addition, there are several deliberative or consultative instruments in the municipal code. First of all, meetings of the city council are public.\textsuperscript{33} Information and relevant documents of city council meetings have to be sent to the counsellors at least 7 days before meetings. Documents and Decisions have to be published either electronically or physically, except personal data or secrets. Second, Inhabitants can launch an Inhabitants’ Request\textsuperscript{34}. The city council then has to deal with their topics. There is also the possibility for inhabitants to call for an Inhabitants’ Assembly\textsuperscript{35}. Besides the public call for an assembly, the city council has to schedule an Assembly once a year. Third, Children and adolescents have to be heard in issues of youth and there are many possibilities to hold informal deliberative meetings, roundtables or information meetings.

**Participation in Tübingen**

Elections for Mayor and City Council are the most important instrument to express public will. However, voter turnout in municipal elections is shrinking since years. In 2009, the overall turnout in municipal council elections was 40.7 percent, in 2014 only 49.1 percent. Tübingen is a deviant case in some way, but with turnouts of between 56 and 58 percent in the last three elections, it is still low compared to national elections. The same also is true for mayoral elections. In 2006, only 51.6 percent of the electorate participated. In 2014, the numbers slightly increased to 55 percent. On average, Inhabitants’ Decisions were held only 17 times a year in the last 15 years or so in Baden-Württemberg with its 1101 municipalities. As there is no compulsory registration on federal level, there are no authoritative numbers on deliberative procedures, but these are gaining more and more importance in local politics since the 1970s. The municipal code says in Art. 20 that citizens have to be informed on all municipal issues and projects concerning planning, economic, social and cultural welfare of the citizens. To “inform” has more and more been interpreted as to “consult” and to ”engage” citizens in deliberative procedures. Especially in Tübingen, civic engagement was fostered by the city government and administration. One result was the installation of a Commissioner for Civic Participation, who is responsible for the coordination of activities and is the person to be addressed by active citizens in the city administration. The commissioner is also responsible for fostering civic participation and structures

\textsuperscript{32} Art. 21 GemO (fn.28).
\textsuperscript{33} Art. 35 GemO (fn.28).
\textsuperscript{34} Art. 20b GemO (fn.28). Depending on the Number of Inhabitants, a request needs to meet a 3 percent (less than 10000 Inhabitants) or 1.5 percent (more than 10000) quorum.
\textsuperscript{35} Art. 20a gemo (fn. 28). Here, the same quora apply as for Requests.
enabling citizen participation.36 Tübingen is also a deviant case in terms of deliberative democracy and civic engagement compared with other municipalities in Baden-Württemberg. The culture of participation was awarded with several prices and as one of the first municipalities, it had an evaluation of participatory culture and procedures. Even though many things still could be improved, Tübingen is considered to be one of the forerunners of local participatory government.37

One example is the Handbook on Civic Participation that has been published in 2016 by the city administration in order to provide guidelines for good participation.38 It also outlines the basic understanding of civic participation as a natural element of local politics. It describes and offers instruments of citizen participation in local government and decision making that reach beyond legal prescriptions. Apart from the direct democratic elements of Inhabitants’ Request and Decision, this local model offers far more opportunities for cooperation and co-creation including city administration, Inhabitants and city council. All of these actors can introduce their ideas and can contribute to discussions technically and factually. The head of the Department of Family, School, Sports and Social Issues in the city administration, Uta Schwarz-Österreicher, argues that political participation is the learning of local democracy – a never ending process of collective bargaining and balancing of interests in order to reach a compromise. Within this process, the public, administration and city council play different roles. The citizens articulate their interests and give their advises; the administration examines the interests, formulates alternatives and prepares drafts for the city council who in the end decides, being aware that the decision can be subjected to direct democratic measurement.39

Even though there might be no settlement after a participatory procedure, there is still a growth of mutual knowledge on the others’ positions. This inclusion of public interests and opinions then ideally leads to better and informed decisions by the city council.

The Tübingen Principle for Civic Participation

Deliberative participatory procedures play a vital role in realizing municipal projects. In a first step, the inhabitants, the administration or the city council initiate new projects. In a second step, the administration is doing the planning and prepares drafts. Then the city council decides on whether and how a project is realized and last but not least the decision is implemented by the administration. Since the 1990s, the inhabitants are more and more part of this process and the experiences of more than twenty years of participation in local

politics led to the creation of the afore mentioned handbook that was ratified by the city council in 2015.\textsuperscript{40} It regulates the process from planning to realization along four basic principles: early information, concept creation for participation, use of the results of participatory procedures, documentation and evaluation.

- Early Information means that the inhabitants are asked for their opinions and arguments in a very early stage of interest articulation, decision making and planning, i.e. before all decisions are taken. This means that the inhabitants can contribute to project development instead of rating the project after most decisions are made and changes are more or less impossible and expensive.

- Concept creation includes the formulation of a participatory concept specifically for each process. It includes regulations and scope for design: Who can participate how? Who will moderate the process? What are the different steps of participation? Starting from a situational analysis, procedures and formats of participation are fixed and a time schedule is developed.

- Civic participation results in recommendations that in turn are the basis for political decisions. How city administration and city council proceed with these recommendations is documented transparently. This includes two important aspects. First, whereas the concept outlines the scope for design, the participatory procedure itself collects different views, opinions, ideas and aims at singling out the best solution. It informs the relevant actors in politics and administration. The last decision is up to the city council. Second, it might take time between the phases of participation. Partial results and their impact on the whole process have to be presented and communicated timely and transparently.

- In the course of a participatory process, the leading administrative body has to document, analyze, and critically reflect the process. Each and every participation is evaluated and documented by all participants. This enables the city administration to learn and further develop the code of practice for participation. The advisory board on Civic Participation accompanies and supervises examples of participation.

Two Examples: Round Table “Wennfelder Garten” and Plan on Senior Citizens “Getting Old in Tübingen”

The redevelopment of residential buildings in the city area Wennfelder Garten was economically absurd. The plan was to tear the buildings off and to newly construct apartments in a mixture of private and publicly subsidized investments. The aim of the participatory process was to inform the inhabitants about the planned demolition and to integrate them in the new planning in order to enhance the acceptance of the new ideas. The Round Table was organized from 2010 to 2012 and more than 20 people from local institutions like churches, youth club and social responsible, local council and construction companies participated in the round table. Participants developed new perspectives on the construction

\textsuperscript{40} Cf. (fn.38).
plan and contributed to the design of private park areas, and the reconstruction of a sports area for young people. One main problem was the comparably low number of directly affected persons taking part in the round table. Also, these people did not contribute to the dissemination of the information and results of the process. In future processes, this will be considered.

As in many western societies, the challenges of an ageing society are affecting local politics in Tübingen. In order to face the problems coming with demographic change and to develop solutions and an action plan for the municipality, Tübingen launched a participatory process that ran from 2008 to 2009. In this participatory social planning, more than 500 persons were involved. Elderly people, representatives of the local elderly council, city administration, and city council took part in excursions throughout the city and a symposium. Not surprisingly, the elderly showed the greatest interest and levels of enthusiasm, motivation and emotional involvement. They felt recognized, taken seriously and involved. The process led to a better and more intense identification of people with their part of the city and also to an institutionalization of more than nine local meeting points (not only) for the Elderly.

Conclusions

Participation is embedded in multi-level governance. There are vast differences in the kind of participation that is possible on the different levels. Most opportunities for direct and deliberative participatory government can be found on the local level, where people get in contact with their administration and politicians quite easily and where they can experience politics directly. Participatory processes can have positive and legitimatory effects in several ways: they lead to better decision, bring inhabitants, administration and politics closer together, promote cooperative values and strengthen democracy and political education by doing. Anyway, even in participatory local government, not all that glitters, is gold and several questions have to be addressed as well, like the Demos-problem (who is eligible to participate and vote), the Inclusion-problem (who actually participates and who ideally should, as participation is highly selective and self-selective) or the Coordination-problem (who is involved in the process, and at what point in time?). Also, if participation is used as a mere window-dressing by political elites and thus is not meaningful, people will bow out of local politics and legitimation will sink.

In turn, as the example of the Tübingen Principles shows, a clear and transparent guideline, clear rules of procedure and a political will and commitment to civic participation are important building blocks for participatory democracy.
The Institution of Public Hearings in the City of Petrozavodsk

Gleb O. Yarovoy/Elena Yu. Tsumarova

Abstract: Public hearings are the communication channel between authorities and the population that on one hand does not entail significant investment or costs from both parties. It allows citizens to commence directly, discuss and make political decisions concerning all or some of the population of a certain municipality. The paper discusses the current state of public hearings in city of Petrozavodsk by analyzing the legal basis of direct participation of the citizens in municipal decision-making and the attitudes of regular citizens and the experts towards the main problems of this institute. The authors show a significant amount of “pain points” that prevent the institution from carrying out its function efficiently.

Keywords: public hearings, democracy, direct participation

Introduction

Democracy is the only form of government that implies participation of people in managing state affairs directly or through their representatives. The proliferation of representative democracy practice in the modern world on one hand proves the popular appeal of the idea of representation of people and popular sovereignty. On the other hand, waiving unmediated participation of citizens in the decisionmaking process may lead to the loss of trust, decrease in the quality of management, and detachment of public authorities from the interests and values of the population. All these factors warrant the importance of preserving and conveying the values of political involvement of citizens that may take different forms.

At the moment, the states offer their citizens a variety of ways and channels of communication with state and municipal authorities ranging from direct contact with officials to elections and referendums. This being said, it appears that the primary use of direct contact is to render personal interests while on one hand, elections and referendums are conducted over long breaks (four years minimum in case of elections) and do not allow citizens to state their interest “right here and now”. But on the other hand, they serve to convey larger, aggregate interests of big groups. This is why institutionalized practices of involving citizens into decision making that are implemented at the municipal level gain particular importance. Public hearing institutions can be highlighted as one such practice that allows the citizens to commence directly, discuss and make political decisions concerning all or some of the population of a certain municipality.

Public hearings are the communication channel between authorities and the population that on one hand does not entail significant investment or costs from both parties. At that, on the other hand it allows to enunciate interests and support with arguments concerning the stances of authorities, interest groups and the population in general. In theory,
all those factors are supposed to promote the establishment of a culture of trust, and to raise the efficiency of municipal authorities’ operation.

However, in all actually, public hearing institutions are often criticized or at best basically ignored.\(^1\) It can be partially attributed to the reluctance of municipal authorities to spend time on additional discussions, especially taking into account the fact that the outcome of public hearings is of a recommendation nature and may therefore be neglected by authorities. The procedure and format for holding public hearings are also subject to criticism; as a rule, they are held during office hours, upon a very short notice barely accessible to the population. Moreover, citizens accuse authorities of ignoring public opinion. Unfair procedures for public hearings that let the concerned business groups affect decision making. In turn, authorities are discontent with low citizen activity and their lack of involvement in discussing political decisions.\(^2\) As a result, the opportunities provided by the institution of public hearings go unfulfilled.

The research conducted was aimed at defining primary “pain points” of the institution of public hearings in the Petrozavodsk urban district. Such research methods as conducting a public opinion poll, a series of expert interviews, and qualitative evaluation of documents were employed. The public opinion poll was conducted based on quota samples in nine parts of the city.

The expert interviews were held with the representatives of Petrozavodsk City Administration, members of Petrozavodsk City Council as well as with public persons: members and/or heads of NGOs, journalists, researchers who possess practical expert knowledge on organizing and holding public hearings in Petrozavodsk. A total of 15 interviews were conducted.\(^3\)

Qualitative evaluation of documents included studying laws and regulations concerned with holding public hearings in the Petrozavodsk urban district, as well as analysis of records and verbatim records of hearings that took place in the Petrozavodsk urban district in 2013-2014. Apart from that, mass media publications on public hearings over the period of 2012-2014 were analyzed. The choice of such a time period is explained by the surge in interest in public hearings caused by the plans for real estate development on Levashovsky Avenue. The quota included 40 documents, 16 of them devoted to the topic of Levashovsky Avenue.

### Regulatory Support of Public Hearings in the Petrozavodsk Urban District

Russian legislation stipulates the list of topics that are mandatory for public hearings. This list includes the issues of approval or amendment of the Charter of a municipal entity, approval of the General layout as well as the topics of zoning and changing land cate-

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2 Demographic profile of the respondents on request.
3 The list of the respondents on request.
Public hearings may be commenced by the population, a local representative authority and local administration. Entrenchment of the right of the population to launch public hearings is of primary importance as it allows for genuine participation of the population in political decision making. A decision made at a public hearing is of a recommendation nature. When making a final decision, local government institutions may take it into consideration that it may or may not be congruent with the outcome of a public hearing.

Conducting a public hearing in the Petrozavodsk urban district is regulated by the decree of the Petrozavodsk City Council on the procedure for organizing and holding public hearings in the Petrozavodsk urban district, adopted on February 28th, 2014. In compliance with this legal document, the population of the Petrozavodsk urban district (hereinafter referred to as the PUD) has the right to launch public hearings. Meanwhile, the procedure itself does not stipulate a clear method for furthering and fulfilling a popular initiative and refers to Article 65 of the Charter of the PUD, dedicated to the preparation of municipal legal instruments. In particular, this article states that drafts of municipal legal instruments may be introduced by an interest group consisting of at least three percent of the population of the PUD eligible to vote.

A collision of legal principles that emerges shall be noted. On the one hand, a decision made at a public hearing is advisory in nature and only serves as a basis for passing a municipal legal instrument. On the other hand, the procedure for launching public hearings by the population is regulated by the same article of the Charter of the PUD that conditions the process of initiating municipal legal instruments. Furthermore, it appears that setting the minimum size of the initiating group at three percent of the population makes the launching procedure untenable for the population. Comparative analysis of legal documents that regulate conducting public hearings in other municipal entities shows that the bar set at three percent is unattainably high. For instance, the minimum size of the initiating group is set at 1000 people in Novosibirsk and at 500 people in Perm. Evidently, the lower the requirements for the size of the initiating group, and documents necessary for launching public hearings by the population, the higher the chance of public involvement in the process of discussing political decisions and exercise of their right to partake in managing state affairs.

What Purpose Do Public Hearings Serve?

Public hearings are one of the mechanisms for implementation the right of a person to take part in managing state affairs. In accordance with current legislation, public hearings are viewed as a form of implementation of the right of citizens of a municipal entity to take part in the process of the passing of draft municipal legal instruments on matters of local importance; by local government bodies through public discussion of said drafts. In

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4 The decree of Petrozavodsk City Council, № 27/09-146 of February 28th, 2012.
other words, public hearings are a crucial part of local political process that performs a function of ensuring public participation in a decision making process on one hand, and drawing up, agenda, and elaboration of alternative political decisions on the other hand.

Those functions were pointed out by experts interviewed as well. The respondents highlighted that public hearings are aimed at implementing the right of a person to participate in managing state affairs. For one, according to the respondents, public hearings are “a mechanism of involvement of citizens into the process of governance” (respondent 1), necessary for “the citizens to take part in elaboration of legal instruments that regulate the activities of city Administration” (respondent 2). In other words, public hearings provide for “public inclusion into making decisions that affect all citizens” (respondent 13). What is more, respondents underlined the significance of public participation in forming an agenda. In their opinion, public hearings make it possible to “define public moods more precisely” (respondent 10), identify “public opinion on a certain matter” (respondent 15). An agenda covers issues or problems that call for a solution from authorities. As a rule, primary actors forming an agenda are either authorities themselves or interest groups. This being said, as noted above, citizens have a right to launch public hearings on a matter they deem of relevance and, naturally, take part in forming an agenda. Consequently, due to public hearings citizens are involved in the process of forming an agenda, obtain “an opportunity to protect their interests, territorial interests first of all”, while authorities have an impetus to respond “to the need of solving a problem” (respondent 14).

This is related to one more function emphasized in the interview, raising the efficiency of management. According to experts, public hearings offer the possibility to take various points of view into account and to make the most balanced decision that would reflect the interests of the majority of citizens: “hearings... are needed to hear public opinion on any given issue” (respondent 12). In the course of public hearings, adverse opinions are expressed and supported by arguments. Such a discussion allows all persons and groups concerned “to not go to extremes” (respondent 2) and encourages “the search for a compromise” (respondent 7).

Otherwise stated, the experts point out the significance of public hearings in the early stages of the political management cycle: to form an agenda, and to elaborate on alternatives. It should be noted that the respondents paid much attention to the following stages of decision making and functioning of the political system as well. For example, public hearings are seen as an institution for legitimization of political decisions and increasing confidence in municipal authorities. Increasing confidence is mainly achieved through establishing dialogue between authorities and population in the course of public hearings. Hearings are considered another channel of public communication with local governmental bodies. Furthermore, according to the experts, the participation of citizens in public hearings makes it possible to “ensure the transparency of tackling issues” and to demonstrate “the absence of corruption factor” in a decision making process (respondent 2).

Eminently, the interviewed often noted the connection between the process of legitimizing political decisions and public hearings. Despite the fact that decisions made at public hearings are advisory in nature, they frequently serve as a basis for political decisions of the Petrozavodsk City Administration or Petrozavodsk City Council. Concurrent-
ly, government officials refer to the outcomes of public hearings amongst other things to “legitimize decisions made by government itself” (respondent 13). Public hearings allow those present to “obtain opinion of citizens in advance” before voting (respondent 6), in order to avoid (or minimize) public criticism. As it was mentioned in one of the interviews, hearings are useful for the government “to remain in power” (respondent 4).

Participation in public hearings however not only lets citizens introduce new items into an agenda, but also express their opinion on decisions that have already been passed. Therefore, public hearings can serve to provide feedback. Since public hearings mostly cover a limited range of issues and are related to a limited number of legal instruments, a discussion arising from debating a certain issue may become a basis for introducing changes to current legislation. Such a discussion is in essence “a feedback channel” (respondent 1), crucial for authorities to increase the efficiency of management among other things.

However, feedback is not limited to simple expressing of opinions on performance of government bodies. One of the central functions of feedback, i.e. public reaction to decision and actions of authorities, is public control. Public hearings, according to one of the respondents, also serve this function “it is a form of public control over actions of businessmen and the government” (respondent 9).

Given that the interviewed repeatedly underlined the importance of guaranteeing participation of citizens in political processes, public hearings were also viewed by the respondents as a way to identify the front line of the citizens, initiative groups and/or individuals so as to “engage them in other forms of participation” in the life of the city (respondent 1).

That being said, a variety of interpretations of public hearings among experts in Petrozavodsk should be noted. Numerous functions spanning almost through the whole political and management cycle: from forming an agenda to evaluating and overseeing the process of implementing political decisions are attributed to public hearings. Meanwhile, the initial intended purpose of public hearing stipulated by Russian law is restricted to the implementation of a personal right to take part in managing state affairs. Public hearings aim to engage citizens into governance via setting up a platform for expressing opinions on issues of local importance. Broadening the functions of this institution erodes its boundaries and reduces the efficiency of its use.

Practical Aspects of Public Hearings in the Petrozavodsk Urban District.

The practice of holding public hearings in the Petrozavodsk Urban District rouses wide criticism. The experts deemed the formalistic nature of public hearings one of the key problems of this institution. Public hearings in the city are only conducted due to the fact they are mandatory by requirements of federal law: “pro forma the administration shall hold these public hearings, so they hold hearings in a formalistic manner” (respondent 8). Respondents remarked that they cannot say that “authorities are particularly interested in holding public hearings”, because decisions on topics brought forward for discussion is as a rule “prepared by the same officials” and “is brought forward for discussion mostly as
a mere formality” (respondent 5). Aply remarked by one of the respondents, public hearings in the Petrozavodsk urban districts remind of “pretend democracy” (respondent 7).

Such a formalistic attitude towards public hearings results in hearings to fail to perform either of the functions attributed to them. Especially, they have no effect on the implementation of a personal right to take part in managing state affairs. They merely create an image of public participation in the decision making process, embodying “a scenario with no public involvement” (respondent 8). This, in turn, makes public hearings “a sham” (respondent 12), “voodoo dance”, related to “staged image of involvement” of citizens (respondent 6). “Nominal” role of hearings was also pointed out by the members of the Legislative Assembly of the Republic of Karelia. For instance, Sergey Pirozhnikov claimed that “public hearings in their present form are a parody of investigation of public opinion”, since “there are no citizens directly affected by the topic of the hearings in the room”5.

In general, the experts do not consider public hearings an efficient institution of securing public participation. Remarkably, several experts criticize public hearings conducted in Petrozavodsk for being an instrument for legitimizing political decisions amongst other things. In other words, hearings become “an electoral event” of sorts, the outcome of which is treated as “an immediate declaration of will” of citizens (respondent 4). As a result, responsibilities become diluted as local government bodies invoke decisions made at public hearings to validate decisions they make. As it was emphasized in one of the interviews, the outcome of hearings serves as “a justification for Petrozavodsk City Council”, which is “a total nonsense”, because it is the government bodies who are “responsible for the outcome, not people they invited to raise their hands” (respondent 4).

Along with the formalistic attitude towards public hearings, the experts pinpointed a number of groups of problems concerning the practices of holding public hearings in Petrozavodsk. The central one is a group of arrangements related problems. The first thing that comes under criticism is inconvenient timing of public hearings. Generally, hearings are conducted during office hours when most people are unable to take part in discussing city matters. Setting the time for public hearings on development on Levashovsky Avenue at ten am on a day before a bank holiday (March 7) caused public outcry.

One more point for criticism is the system of informing citizens of public hearings. As required by law, information on public hearings conducted must be published in mass media ten days prior. Pro forma the Petrozavodsk City Administration upholds this standard while “finding information on public hearings is impossible” (respondent 1). As it was stated in one of the interviews, Petrozavodsk City Administration is not interested in large-scale participation in public hearings, “especially if the issue discussed is of importance for citizens”, in particular those on vegetation clearance. In such cases, the population does not get “any information not only about the date and place of hearings, but even about the topic to be discussed” (respondent 10). This is substantiated by public opinion poll results. The majority of respondents (58.7 percent) have not heard of such a tool of public influence on decision making as public hearings (figure 1).

5 Concrete jungle: //http://gazeta-petrozavodsk.ru/content/kamennyedzhungli (28.06.2017).
Analysis of websites of Karelian TV companies that broadcast in Petrozavodsk shows that none of them runs announcements prior to public hearings. The results of public hearings that have already taken place are covered by TV news programs approximately once every four months. The “hottest” topics (such as construction development on Levashovsky Avenue) may be on the news several times. Consequently, viewers of Karelian TV companies receive close to no information on the institution of public hearings. Apparently, it cannot be announced on TV because it is “not news yet”. The Petrozavodsk City Administration set up accounts in the most popular social media, Facebook and Vkontakte, in 2014. Over 700 people are following these accounts. Internet media actively use this information. However, news on forthcoming public hearings is published in a formalistic, concise and ‘dry’ manner.

At the same time, the poll results demonstrate that television is the most popular mass media covering events in the city. Internet media are in the second place, they are used by 57.7 percent of those polled (figure 2).

On top of that, the procedure of public hearings in Petrozavodsk is also far from perfect. Specifically, reports by the city administration or an interested party that shall form the basis of discussions are prepared. In practice though, these reports are “meager map-making prospects incomprehensible for people” (respondent 2). One of the respondents “attempted to make sense of the list of allotments, but it was impossible to understand what is meant by an allotment... without cartography knowledge, skills and practical on-site experience” (respondent 4). In the end, it results in public hearings having no credibility in the eyes of citizens: “most of the population doesn’t trust this institution” (respondent 11).

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6  The topics of hearings covered by TV channels on request.
7  Data as of August 2014.
Fig. 2: From Which Sources Do You Get Information about Events in Petrozavodsk?*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Radio</td>
<td>20.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV</td>
<td>61.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>News Papers</td>
<td>35.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internet</td>
<td>57.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Interested In</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* multiple answers were allowed in the questionnaire.
Source: own calculation.

It should be emphasized that the most discussed public hearings that evoke the most response in Petrozavodsk are hearings devoted to topics of city planning and the environment. At the same time they provoke the most criticism. At this point, another group of problems concerned with public participation emerges. As noted in one of the interviews, there are two types of public hearings in Petrozavodsk, the first one is completely formalistic, “of no interest for anyone, with no attendance, maximum attendance 10-15 people; participants either came there by chance or someone invited them just to tick the box”.

The second type of hearings is “corrupt hearings”, taking place when solving city planning problems. In this case “parties concerned that represent business bring in big groups of people. Then there are ... 500 or 1000 mercenary participants in the room” (respondent 14).

In broader terms, the problem of participation in public hearings is a pressing issue. Almost every respondent noted that the practice of bringing in people from affiliated entities, represented as a rule by construction companies, interest in obtaining building land: “all parties concerned always bring in mercenary participants” (respondent 1), “we know that people were brought in in buses” (respondent 2); “hearings attended by more than 100 people – those are people involved and taken there artificially, so that they would raise hands when they are expected to” (respondent 4); “people concerned bring in people, it’s called networks in politics, there’s a call and the elderly or councils of veterans or the green come” (respondent 6). Due to the political partiality of the participants at public hearings and because of vote-buying, “the result of discussions doesn’t match the result of voting” (respondent 4). This may, in turn, “be in obvious conflict with the opinion of citizens” (respondent 6).

Another problem related to participants of public hearings is the lack of interest shown by the population. The experts emphasize indolence of the population, their passive attitude and unwillingness to take active part in city life: “people have no motivation at all to partake in the life of their block, district and city. Let alone public hearings” (respondent 8). It is supported by public opinion polls. Among those interviewed, only 4.5 percent have taken part in public hearings at least once. The overwhelming majority of population (94.7 percent) has never participated in public hearings.

Among the reasons for the citizens’ lack of activity, experts accentuated the absence of topics relevant for the whole city (respondent 6) and the advisory nature of decisions made at public hearings (respondent 15). As a result of the former, there are practically no matters concerning all citizens on public hearings agenda. Consequently, citizens
show no interest in discussing issues that do not influence them directly either. The advisory nature of decisions makes participation in public hearings seem to be of no consequence: “it came as a real shock to me that it turns out we have no power... people make no decisions” (respondent 3).

The notion of public hearings having no impact on the decision making process was also deemed a central reason why citizens are not ready to take part in them. Just so, more than one third of the respondents (38.7 percent) admitted that in their opinion, participation in public hearings would have no considerable influence on solving any problems. Over one fourth of the polled (29.9 percent) refuse to participate in public hearings because they find the timing of hearings to be inconvenient, while every seventh respondent (14.9 percent) pointed out that the cause of unwillingness to attend public hearings is the failure to inform citizens of the forthcoming hearings in a due manner.

At the same time, experts highlighted the potential of public involvement present: “there’s a certain level of public involvement in the sphere of social and political affairs” (respondent 2), “the potential of Petrozavodsk equals to 30-50 persons who are able to come now” (respondent 4). Public opinion poll data support the view of the experts: 27 percent of the respondents are willing to participate in public hearings, another 29.1 percent are undecided, and 39.1 percent of the polled stated their total unwillingness to take part in public hearings (figure 3).

Fig. 3: Are You Willing to Participate in Public Hearings? (in percent)

Source: own calculation.

Among factors that influence peoples’ willingness to participate in public hearings, the topic of a discussion is worth emphasizing. For instance, almost half of those polled (49.4 percent) are ready to attend public hearings if topics discussed directly affect them. More than 40 percent of those interviewed (41.4 percent) admitted they would have taken part in public hearings if they had been assured the results of the hearings would be taken into account by the authorities during the decision making process. As mentioned above, in the first place, the issue comes down to informing and the level of awareness of citizens
of the results and outcomes of hearings. The need for advance systematic informing of citizens of the forthcoming hearings is related to the same problem: one fifth (20.2 percent) of citizens are potentially eager to attend hearings if there is “enough information” about them. Every fourth respondent (26.8 percent) claimed convenient timing of hearings might be a motivation to partake.

According to the respondents, the most topical issues that shall be brought up for hearings are the road problems (71.7 percent), housing and public utilities (64.4 percent), and municipal improvement (53.2 percent). The least popular topics relevant for less than a third of the polled are the issues of commerce (20.8 percent), urban architecture (21.2 percent), culture (28.9 percent) and budget (31.4 percent) (figure 4).

Fig. 4: What Problems Shall Be Subject to Public Hearings in your Opinion?

As can be seen, the practice of holding public hearings in Petrozavodsk demonstrates a significant amount of “pain points” that prevent the institution from carrying out its function efficiently. Several major problems can be distinguished: the formalistic nature of holding the hearings, arrangement issues (inconvenient timing, lack of an effective system for informing citizens, inconsequential reports, and absence of full-scale discussions), as well as participation problems.
Expert Communities and the State. Experiences from the Republic of Karelia

Varvara Inozemtseva

Abstract: Experts and expert communities play a significant role in preparing decision making in modern administrations. Using a procedural-cyclical meta-model focusing on the dynamics of the behavior of the decision-making officials and state bodies, as well as on the factors that influence the shares of the decision makers, I analyze the structure and impact of the regional expert-analytical community in the Republic of Karelia.

Keywords: Experts, Power, Administration, decision making

During the process of the formation of the civil society institutions and the strengthening of democratic values and principles of public administration in modern Russia, an important factor is and remains to be the choice of the forms of public participation in the adoption of effective management decisions by state authorities and local self-government.

To explain the logic of making administrative decisions, we use a procedural-cyclical meta-model, which focuses on the dynamics of the behavior of the decision-making officials and state bodies, as well as on the factors that influence the shares of the decision makers.1 Political scientists, who adhere to this approach, should answer questions about the roles and functions of individual actors involved in public decision-making, and about the importance of external factors influencing them.2 The subject-institutional approach was implemented as a method of the "School of Public Policy" of the Department of Public Policy of the State University - Higher School of Economics under the leadership of Nina Belyaeva. The method allows us to analyze the influence on the development of individual political actors or networks of some stable political institutions.3

Among important actors of state-society management are the representatives of expert and analytical communities. They fulfill the function of communication in the interaction process of the state and society, ensuring the quality of public administration and sustainable development through finding professional solutions for urgent and essential issues, according to the interests of different social groups.

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There is no need to give many definitions to the concepts "analytical community" and "expert community" in this paper, since their terminological clarification remains insufficiently reflected. These terms are often used as synonymous, and even associated with the terms "professional community" and "academic community".\(^4\)

There is also a discrepancy in the meaning of the word "community". This term is commonly referred to as typologically different social groups. These are either groups formed on the basis of specific social (often legal) characteristics, or relatively small groups that originally emerged through interpersonal relations according to the network principle and not by formal legal institutions, or quasi-groups ("community", "society") arising due to inclusion in the general discourse.\(^5\) In this case, the term is used both in the plural and in the singular.

In this paper, the collective concept of "expert-analytical communities" will be used. This category will include those who constantly or occasionally provide informational, analytical or expert support for the development, adoption, or implementation of political decisions at the regional or municipal level. Under communities we understand social groups with common features and a different degree of (or even no) institutionalization.

The regional expert-analytical communities and their activities in the state-society politics are of special interest. The regions differ according to the political regimes, the development of the civil society and of the academic surrounding, which in turn affects the processes of formation, institutionalization and self-identification of regional analytical communities.

**Research in Expert Communities**

Expert-analytical activities in the state-society policy of the Republic of Karelia used to be a subject matter for various studies and research projects at different levels. One of the first projects was implemented in 2005-2006 by the Russian Association for Political Sciences (RAPS) and the St. Petersburg Center for Humanities and Political Studies "Strategy" ("Strategy" Center). The project aimed to study the interaction between political scientists (sociologists), authorities and civil structures in several regions of Russia. The Republic of Karelia was one of the five selected regions for the comparative analysis. The implementation of the project in the Republic of Karelia was supervised by Lyudmila Prokhorova.\(^6\)

The conclusion drawn from the study results was that the regional community of political scientists is rather fragmented, operates based on institutions of higher vocational and higher education, mainly focused on the Faculty of Political and Social Sciences at PetrSU.

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\(^5\) Malinova Olga 2006: On the interaction experience between the expert community of political scientists, the authorities and NGOs, in: Sungurov, Alexander (ed.): Public Policy-2006, Collection of articles, St. Petersburg, p. 42-55; here pp. 42-44.

\(^6\) Lyudmila Prokhorova is Associate Professor of the Department of International Relations of Petrozavodsk State University (PetrSU), and a founder of an NGO “Center for Public Policy, Civic Education and Human Rights".
Political scientists conduct analytical activities, within the framework of their research topics, at different platforms. Their analytic activity depends on incoming proposals from the authorities and NGOs.⁷

In 2006, as a part of the municipal program "Petrozavodsk - City of Co-governance", the information concerning the participation of the civil society, including the expert, was collected and processed. Special focus was given to their involvement in consulting and coordinating groups (official public councils, commissions, working groups, etc.) at the city administration level. Taking into consideration the specifics of different spheres of city management, they decided to involve the expert community only on one-third of the city management issues, with leading topics such as strategic development, youth policy, urban development policy, and politics in the national cultural and historical spheres. Further opportunities for expert and analytical activities have been identified in such areas as social protection, ecology, education, gender issues, and budget discussion.⁸

In 2007, Andrey Sukhorukov⁹ in cooperation with Aleksander Titov¹⁰ and Oleg Tolstoguzov¹¹ developed and conducted the study "Karelia: Federal competitiveness in good governance". Based on the results of expert interviews, a conclusion was drawn about the existing analytical and expert support for certain areas of regional government in Karelia such as education, informatization, finance, culture and tourism.¹²

The most extensive study of the activities of the expert-analytical communities of the Republic of Karelia was carried out within the framework of the project "Regional analytical communities as subjects of politics: models of participation in administrative processes". The study was implemented by the Research Committee on Public Policy and Management of the RAPS and the Department of Public Policy of the Higher School of Economics in 2009-2010. The results of the project, which are based on the results of a pilot study in the Republic of Karelia, are presented in the collection of articles "Analytical communities in the Republic of Karelia".¹³ Two Karelian researchers took part in the compilation of the collection of articles: Andrey Sukhorukov and Oleg Reut.¹⁴ During the project, two expert seminars were held. The materials from one of them (a summary of the lead statements) were included in the collection of articles mentioned above.

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⁹ Andrey Sukhorukov is Chairman of the Foundation for Support of Innovative Projects "New Dimension".
¹⁰ Aleksandr Titov is Chairman of the Karelian Research Center (KRC) of the Russian Academy of Sciences (RAS) and a Corresponding Member of RAS.
¹¹ Oleg Tolstoguzov is Deputy Director of the Institute of Economics of the KRC.
¹⁴ Oleg Reut is member of the expert council of the Center for Internet Politics of the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (University) of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation.
Based on the criteria of the subject-institutional approach, a member of the research group, Dmitry Zaitsev, gave the following description of the specific development and activities of the analytical communities of the Republic of Karelia, according to the results of the expert interviews. By type of identity, they are well formed and structured analytical communities. Analysts conduct applied research and they recognize political awareness as a specific type of their activities. Karelian analysts retained strong ties with academia (including the KRC RAS). Their interactions with decision-makers are organized according to the principles of partnership and autonomy. Zaitsev states that the main problem concerning the development of analytical communities in the Republic of Karelia is that they are unconsolidated.15 Previously, Sukhorukov explained this problem with the uncertainty of the mechanisms of possible integration and the lack of projects and leaders, which could unite experts from different network communities.16

Expert Communities in the Republic of Karelia. Structures, Actors, Developments

After the preview of research projects on the study of the expert-analytical activities of the Republic of Karelia, we will consider the main trends of its development in the state-society policy. According to Aleksander Sungurov, president of the "Strategy" Center, three conditions should be provided for the successful development of the expert community: 1) demand, i.e. a certain level of political pluralism, when the main political players are open for expert advice and recommendations; 2) a high level of development of political science, including both applied research and the existence of a political science community which includes political experts, occupied not only in the sphere of politics but also of polity; 3) diversified financing sources, including various foundations and other granting organizations.17

There is an established opinion of Russian sociologists that there is a high level of human and innovative potential in the Republic of Karelia. In the studies of public policy of modern Russia by Larisa Nikovskaya Vladimir Yakimets, the Republic of Karelia is recognized as a region with the well-developed partnership between the government, business and NGOs.18

Furthermore, we should also note the geopolitical factors. First of all, this is the proximity to St. Petersburg and Finland. The influence of the St. Petersburg academia on the formation of expert-analytical structures of Petrozavodsk was revealed in an attempt to develop a network community with a branch in the capital of Karelia. Thus, in 1993, a Republican branch of the St. Petersburg Center for Humanities and Political Studies "Strategy" was founded in Petrozavodsk on the initiative of Aleksandr Titov and with the participation of Alekander Sungurov. The Center includes young scientists from the Karelian Research Center: economists, historians, sociologists, and biologists. According to Alekander Sungurov, this fact contributed to the development of the idea of a possible active involvement of scientists in solving problems of public policy. However, the work of the Karelian branch of the "Strategy" Center did not develop sufficiently, as far as some active members moved to the Karelian Ministry of Economy, others left the Academy and established their own organizations.19

Since 1997, the mayor of Petrozavodsk Sergei Katanandov released a new direction to attract scientists to the strategic planning, which became a new beginning for the expert-analytical activities in the region, subsequently transferred to the federal level. In order to develop a "Concept of the main directions of development of Petrozavodsk", a multidisciplinary team was formed20, which included In April 1998, Sergei Katanandov was elected as the Chairman of the Government of the Republic of Karelia. According to the republican Constitution, the new Chairman of the Government must submit the concept for the socio-economic development of the Republic for the period of four years for consideration by the deputies of the Legislative Assembly within six months after the election. For the solution of this issue, a "temporary interdisciplinary team" was formed, headed by Anatoly Shishkin and the scientific adviser Alexander Titov in summer 1998. The group members were scientists from the Institute of Economics of the PetrSU led by Vladimir Akulov, experts of the government of the Republic, and a Moscow expert Evgeny Kremer.21 Thus, a direction for strategic planning in analytical work has been set. Since 1998, the development of relevant documents enabled the formation of a communication system and a permanent platform for interaction between expert-analytical communities (mostly economists) and authorities in the direction of strategic planning. Two long-term development strategies of the Republic have been elaborated for the period of 1998-2010 and 2008-2020. Once in four years, concepts for socio-economic development of the Republic of Karelia are compiled, and there is an ongoing independent monitoring of their implementation.

20 This team included Moscow experts on territorial development headed up by Petr Schedrovitsky, a team of Moscow psychologists – experts in developing reflexive and creative processes headed by Sergey Stepanov - and the representatives of Karelian academia headed by Aleksander Titov, chairman of the Karelian Research Center, and Anatoly Shishkin, director of the Republican Institute of Economics.
The access to the federal level in the field of strategic planning was proved by the participation of an expert team representing Petrozavodsk and Karelia in the elaboration of the “Doctrine for the development of the North-West of Russia” by the St. Petersburg Center for Strategic Development “North-West” in 2000-2001.

For the elaboration of the strategic documents, the "extensive discussion" approach was used by involving a wide range of experts and representatives of the academic community. The most peculiar case was in 2003-2004 during the elaboration of a draft strategic plan for the development of Petrozavodsk until 2010, when more than 350 people took part in 50 events, including the events specially organized for the representatives of NGOs.

The alignment of the federal power vertical had an impact on the interaction of the administrative structures and society in the regions, which lead to the Head of the Republic being appointed (and not any more elected - translator's note). The authority structures were changed at different levels. The new manager team of the governor, or the so-called "Varangians", did not turn out to be effective in solving the fundamental problems of the regional development. Communication problems appeared between the Head of the Republic of Karelia (RK) and the legislative assembly due to the failure of the communication channels, which intensified the "traditional" confrontation between the Head of the Republic of Karelia and the city administration of Petrozavodsk. In such conditions, the regional administration becomes less interested in the related to it, but still rather independent expert groups. Here is the paradox. Though by the time the administrative reform with the principles of an "open government" was launched in 2012, various regions started showing their effectiveness in attracting experts to the governing processes in the Republic with the recognized experience of such activity. This process, since then, has not received proper development, and the available potential is not used to its full extent. At the same time, the current situation cannot be interpreted as a collapse in the field of expert-analytical activity.

A new phase for the involvement of expert communities in strategic planning was released by the "Concept for the socio-economic development of the Petrozavodsk district until 2025" (the Concept). Initially, the Petrozavodsk Administration intended maximum use of the expert community potential in the capital of the Republic. In November 2012, the Petrozavodsk Administration decided to approve a project approach for the Concept and to establish a working group aimed at the harmonization of the Concept with the society. The Concept for the socio-economic development of Petrozavodsk until 2025, based on the project approach, differed from similar strategic documents. The elaboration of the content was based on a project approach, focused on the goal setting in two strategic directions. The first direction was to increase the efficiency of using the available potential. The second one was focused on the creating of new spots of economic growth. The discussion on the Concept went on from 2013-2014. During this period, there was a change of the

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22 The Expert team consisted of Aleksandr Titov, Anatoly Shishkin, Oleg Tolstoguzov, Pavel Druzhinin, Evgeny Nemkovich, Valery Shlyamin, Vladimir Surzhikov, and Vladimir Solovov.

23 The Center for Strategic Development “North West” was represented by Petr Schedrovitsky, Yuri Peryugin and others.
mayor of Petrozavodsk. Under the umbrella of the administration of Petrozavodsk City District, 15 working groups were created, which also involved experts from the academic sphere. The Concept was discussed in the committees under Petrozavodsk city administration and in the Expert Council under the Head of Petrozavodsk City District. The very establishment of the Expert Council in February 2014 witnessed the awareness of the municipal authorities about the significance of the expert support for political decision-making. However, the way the Council was constructed, as well as the way of creating a municipal information resource - the website "City Expert Online Council of Petrozavodsk City District" - point rather at the implementation of a certain PR project aimed at maintaining the image of the Head of Petrozavodsk City District as a leader focused on administrative innovation.

Since expert-analytical activities in the Republic of Karelia are primarily performed on the "guild" basis, it is important to consider the specifics of the main analytical structures of the region. These structures are located in the capital and are directly connected to the traditional research organizations performing fundamental scientific research, independent from politics.

A set of research and analytical structures in the Republic are represented by Petrozavodsk State University (PetrSU), which became a center for the development of numerous innovative projects adopted by the public administration. Since more than 30 years, the University has been a center for the development and implementation of information and communication technologies (ICT). At that time, the work was started by the representatives of the University under the supervision of the vice-rector Natalya Ruzanova. At present, this direction of expert-analytical activity is recognized as competitive at the regional and the federal levels. Petrozavodsk, along with Bratsk and Togliatti, was included into the federal targeted program "Electronic Russia 2002-2010". The project "Electronic Petrozavodsk" was implemented within the framework of the Program. In summer 2008, the State Council for Informatization was held in Petrozavodsk for good reason. The Republic is one of the leading regions in the ratings for information and communication technologies. In 2015, according to the index of information society development of the regions in Russia, Karelia was ranked 16 among other regions. In the same ranking the Republic acquired a high 4th place in the usage of ICT by the state bodies and authorities.

Active development, introduction and use of information and communication technologies create a favorable condition for the information openness of power structures in the region, the construction of a real state-society dialog, and the improvement of the quality of anti-corruption policy.

An important place in the state-society communication was taken up by an independent structure - the Center for Budget Monitoring (CBM) of Petrozavodsk University, headed by Valery Gurtov. Right after its establishment in 2003, the CBM joined a project implemented in Petrozavodsk "Citizens and authorities - the ways of cooperation to a comprehensive budget". The organizer of the project was the St. Petersburg Center for Humanities and Political Studies "Strategy". In 2004, the Republic was acknowledged as the "best region for transparency of the budget process". An important function of the CBM is the fulfillment of the state orders aimed at the improvement of the budget policy. The staff mem-
bers of the Center participate in the annual scientific conference "Improvement issues in the budget policy of regions and municipalities." The CBM fulfills the orders of the regional Ministry of Finance, federal ministries and departments, supports four federal web portals: "The budget and the inter-budget relations. Regions of Russia"\textsuperscript{24}, "The labor market and the education market. Regions of Russia"\textsuperscript{25}, "Interactive monitoring system of graduate employability"\textsuperscript{26}, "Personnel of the highest scientific qualification"\textsuperscript{27}. In March 2015, CBM became a winner of the public federal competition of projects on the presentation of the budget of Russia to the citizens in the category "Comparative analysis of the regional expenditures." The participation in this project shows the competitiveness of the CBM at the federal level, the relevance of its recommendations to government structures, and along with this the undoubted importance of its results for the Republic. The work of CBM enables scientifically-based decision-making in the following management spheres: Elaboration of the target figures for the training of personnel by the vocational education system; ensuring balanced functioning of the labor market and the education system; and adjustment of the basic vocational education programs. Assisting the Ministry of Employment and Labor of the Republic of Karelia with the implementation of the forecast-based vocational guidance for school children, CBM has developed an information portal "My Career"\textsuperscript{28}, which is aimed at improving the vocational guidance system for the youth and with that, at providing the region's economy with highly qualified personnel. In December 2015, the portal was awarded the "Trajectory" prize "For Innovativeness and Prospective" in nomination of "Senior schoolchildren" as the best project promoting the vocational self-determination of young people. In addition to the "My Career" website, CBM has created and maintains the following regional portals: “Interactive monitoring system of the graduate employability”\textsuperscript{29}, "Staffing for the development of the Arctic zone".\textsuperscript{30} Among the activity areas of the Center are: the development of modern and innovative info-graphic tools for the vocational guidance of the citizens, the creation of employers’ information cards, and educational organizations of the Republic of Karelia.

The sociological laboratory plays a significant role among the structures of PetrSU due to the implementation of the expert-analytical functions. The main goals of the laboratory are: Providing the informational and analytical support according to the demand of the Republic of Karelia for the information about the development of social processes in the society, collecting, summarizing and analyzing scientific sociological data, drawing conclusions based on them, the elaboration of the forecasts and recommendations on the studied issues; and public communication about the most significant results of conducted sociological research. Since its founding in February 2007, the laboratory has been conducting research on the orders of the Republican Executive Bodies. Thus, according to the or-
ders of the Ministry of Education and Youth Affairs, two projects on the development of patriotism among the youth were carried out; Ministry for National Politics, Relations with Public and Religious Associations and Mass Media - four projects on the issues of inter-ethnic and inter-confessional relations in the Republic of Karelia; Ministry of Health - two projects on medical services to disabled people. Upon the request of the Ministry of Economic Development, the Sociological Laboratory participated in three projects on citizens' satisfaction with the quality of the state and municipal services. As a result, the empirical data was collected during the implementation of the concept of "e-government" in the region.\(^{31}\) The demand for a professional analysis of the political processes in the Republic was met by establishing several analytical structures on the basis of the Faculty of Political and Social Sciences.\(^{32}\)

After the mass riots in Kondopoga in September 2016, a sociological research initiative "The level of social integration of migrants and voluntary resettled persons from among compatriots living abroad" was conducted in that city by the teaching staff of the Department of Political Science according to the project of the Ministry for National Politics, Relations with Public and Religious Associations of the Republic of Karelia and the Karelian Resource Center. In 2008-2009, the experts of the Department of Political Science of PetrSU, representing the Petrozavodsk Center for Electoral Support, took part in a range of informational and analytical events on “Activities of the Karelian regional branches of political parties and socio-political movements" within the project “Interregional Electoral Support Network”. The Faculty of Political and Social Sciences provided a communication platform for conducting discussions among various participants in regional politics. Members of the Legislative Assembly of the Republic of Karelia, Petrozavodsk City Council, leaders of regional branches of political parties, representatives of the mass media, NGOs, professors and students of the University participated in the events held by the Center for Electoral Support. A series of open research, practice and design discussions "Petrozavodsk - agenda 2011” was held in 2010, with the participation of the deputies of Petrozavodsk City Council, representatives of the mass media, and the professors and students of the Department of Political Science. During the discussions, the main directions of the city's strategic development were formulated. In spring 2014, the research group "Petropolis", consisting of graduate students and professors of the Department of Political Science and International Relations, implemented the project "Karelia in the Federal Agenda". Based on the results of the project, the group formulated recommendations on the formation and promotion of the Republic's image, which were sent to the administration of

\(^{31}\) A description of the project can be found at Petrozavodsk State University/Sociological Laboratory. [https://petrsu.ru/structure/884/pages/468/nashi-proekty](https://petrsu.ru/structure/884/pages/468/nashi-proekty).

\(^{32}\) Since 2014, the faculty has been integrated into the Institute of History, Political and Social Sciences. The analytical structures are Center for Political Analysis; Center for Electoral Support IRENA (the "Inter-regional Electoral Support Network" project with the support of the NGO “Center Geliks”, grant of the European Commission; Center for Political and Social Research, established within the structure of the North European Open University; NGO "Center for Public Policy, Civic Education and Human Rights". The above-mentioned structures were directly connected with the activities of the Departments of Political Science and International Relations.
the Head of the Republic of Karelia and to the politicians representing the region at the federal level.

Participation in public consultative structures under the state bodies and local self-government is a part of the public activity of the staff members of the Department of Political Science. Alexander Ilyin became a member of the Public Council for the Prevention of Extremist Activities under the Head of the Republic of Karelia and a member of the Public Council of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in the Republic of Karelia in 2007. Since 2014, he has been a member of the Expert Council under the Head of Petrozavodsk City District. In 2014-2015, as a member of the Public Council of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ilyin conducted a panel research on public opinion of Petrozavodsk citizens concerning the activities of the internal affairs bodies.

Political scientists at PetrSU gave an expert assessment of strategic planning documents of municipal and regional level at the development stage. In 2008-2012, Ilyin was a member of the Public Council on the development of a long-term municipal targeted program "Petrozavodsk - City of Tolerance" under the Administration of Petrozavodsk City District. He also provided expert support for the draft concept of the regional targeted program "Maintenance of unity of peoples and ethnic communities in Karelia for 2012-2016" ("Karjala - our house"). Professors of the Departments of political science and international relations33 (also participated in one of the working groups at the final stage of the discussion of the "Concept for socio-economic development of Petrozavodsk City District until 2025").

The implementation of the Concept of Openness of the federal executive bodies, the main purpose of which is the formation of a modern system of state-society communication, created new conditions for state support to NGOs, and with it, raised a demand for expert analysts. Elena Chernenkova34 is a member of a contest committee of the Ministry for National Politics, Relations with Public and Religious Associations for the allocation of subsidies from the budget of the Republic of Karelia to socially-oriented NGOs. In addition, Chernenkova provides informational and methodological support to Karelian NGOs on issues related to the implementation of project activities and participation in grants competitions for NGOs conducted in accordance with the order of the president of the Russian Federation.

Political scientists from PetrSU are also present in the media space of the Republic of Karelia. In addition to traditional forms of participation in media programs, they appear with expert assessments of regional events in online media, and actively debate in blogospheres. The top figures in this area of expertise and assessment are Yarovoy and Ilyin. The latter served as the speaker for the Information Center of the Central Electoral Commission of the Republic of Karelia on a single voting day on September 18, 2016.

In recent years, the activity of the Center for Public Policy has become more intense. In 2012-2013, the Center implemented the research project "The Identity Politics of Ladoga

33 These were Alexander Ilyin, Elena Tsumarova and Gleb Yarovoy.
34 Elena Chernenkova is Associate Professor of the Department of Political Science and International Relations at PetrSU.
Karelia in the context of socio-economic mobilization of the population (on the example of the historical administrative center of the region, the city of Sortavala). It was continued by the project "Ladoga Karelia: topical issues of regional identity, socio-economic mobilization of the population and cross-border cooperation in the Euro-region "Karelia". In 2014, the members of the Center for Public Policy conducted the study “Institution of Public Hearing in Petrozavodsk City District" as a part of the project "Institution of Public Hearing as an Instrument for Ensuring the Human Right to Participate in Public Affairs" with the support of the all-Russian public movement "Civic Dignity". The analytical report elaborated based on the results of the study was presented in September 2014 at a meeting of the Expert Council under the Head of the Administration of Petrozavodsk City District. The organizational and technological recommendations of the experts were implemented in the creation of a new website for the Administration of Petrozavodsk City District. However, the established working group on the improvement of the regulatory framework for public hearings in Petrozavodsk has never started its work.

An important role in the sphere of the architectural and city-planning community of the Republic of Karelia is held by Vyacheslav Orfinsky. With his direct participation as a recognized expert, it was possible to protect Levashovskiy Avenue and two hundred-year-old wooden houses on the central street of the city from destruction.

One of the most influential centers for the aggregation of the experts is still the Institute of Economics of the Karelian Research Center of the Russian Academy of Sciences; primarily due to the specifics of its academic organization. Since the mid-90s, the staff members have provided an expert-analytical support for strategic planning in the Republic, and they prepare expert recommendations on the draft state programs of the Republic of Karelia. The scientists present the results of their research at the meetings held by the Public Council of the Republic of Karelia and other public consultative structures. The leading experts of the Institute are also the members of the Council. The website of the Institute contains analytical materials, both that have been elaborated by order of the government institutions, and that were submitted to the authorities as proposals. Thus, in 2013, this document was an official note "Proposals of the Institute of Economics of KRC RAS on the organization of independent monitoring of the implementation of the Concept for the socio-economic development of the Republic of Karelia for the period until 2017 and control over achieved results."

The leading scientists of the Institute of Economics of the Karelian Research Center of the Russian Academy of Sciences take part in the work of the annual all-Russian Forum "Strategic Planning in Regions and Cities of Russia: Updating Strategies, Updating Meanings". The Forum brings together leading Russian and foreign experts in the field of strategic planning, heads of federal bodies, heads of constituent entity of the Russian Federation, heads of regional executive bodies and mayors of Russian cities. In recent years, in the process of elaborating projects for the strategic development of the Republic and its capi-

36 Vyacheslav Orfinsky is Professor for Architecture at PetrSU.
tal, an idea of a contest of various platforms came up, where an ethno-cultural platform was one of the proposed approaches.

Since September 2013, the Institute of Economics of the Karelian Research Center of the RAS has released two training courses on a regular basis according to the main directions: "Municipal development" and "Investment and business climate of the region". The courses provide a new discussion platform for common participation of the representatives of the academic community, the executive and legislative bodies of the Republic of Karelia, public figures, Karelian businessmen, representatives of major external investors, the Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs of Karelia, the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of the Republic of Karelia, the Association of Business Community of Karelia, the League of Entrepreneurs of Karelia, and NGOs. In April 2014, an information portal "Expert Karelia" was launched due to the active participation of one of the leaders of the expert community of the Republic Yuri Saveliev. The emergence of this new informational-analytical resource can be interpreted as an attempt to overcome the disunity of the representatives of the expert-analytical communities of the Republic of Karelia, and the step towards gaining a real opportunity to influence regional political and administrative processes. In April 2016, Saveliev was appointed Deputy Prime Minister, with the supervisory responsibility of overseeing the development projects of Karelia, which were designed by the business and expert community during strategic sessions. Research fellow at the Institute of Economics The NGO "Center for the Promotion of Regional Development", led by Anatoly Shishkin, carried out a sociological survey on the status of civil society in the Republic of Karelia (in terms of the activities of socially-oriented NGOs) as part of the project "Civil society of the multi-national region", and also developed and launched the website "NGOs of the Republic of Karelia".

A special niche in the expert-analytical sphere is occupied by the Karelian branch of the Russian Academy of National Economy and Public Administration (until 2011 it was the Karelian branch of the North-West Academy for Public Administration). The particularity of this institution is that it not only trains the staff for public administration (future consumer of analytical information), but also actively produces expert comments, fulfills the orders of state bodies, and conducts academic research that can be used to formulate state policy for the Republic.

In the process of implementing the Federal Law No. 131-FZ of 06.10.2003 "On general principles of organization of local self-government in the Russian Federation", a considerable increase of local self-government bodies and reformatting of their activity methods can be observed all over the country. A demand was created for large-scale research and educational programs. Thus, on the basis of the Karelian branch of the North-West Academy for Public Administration, a specialized center for developing support for local government "Municipal Consulting" (2003-2006) was created. One of the focus areas of the Academy was the development and underpinning of the criteria for the organizational

37 See: www.expertkrelia.rf.
38 Yuri Saveliev is director of the Institute of Economics of KRC RAS, and the public representative of the Agency for Strategic Initiatives in Karelia.
structure and staffing of municipal authorities, as well as the methodology for assessing municipal employees. A comprehensive sociological study was conducted to assess the system of local self-government in the Republic by the representatives of the local self-government themselves (a survey covered more than 500 people).

At the request of the State Committee of the Republic of Karelia concerning the development of local self-government, a Concept for the Development of the Municipal Service of the Republic of Karelia was elaborated on until 2012. The teaching staff at the Russian Academy of National Economy and Public Administration provided expert support for the elaboration of the “Concept of Municipal Policy in the Sphere of National Relations and Interaction with Religious Associations. Petrozavodsk - City of Tolerance” and on the draft Concept of the long-term targeted program of Petrozavodsk City District to promote the development of civil society institutions for 2012-2015 "Petrozavodsk - City of Public Partnership”. Traditionally, the experts of the Academy focus on the issues of city marketing, first on the areas of infrastructure improvement and on the development potential of the capital of the Republic - the city of Petrozavodsk.

Repeatedly, the Karelian branch of the Russian Academy of National Economy and Public Administration served as a platform for conducting seminars on the development of expert-analytical communities in the Republic of Karelia. In October 2009, a research and practice seminar "The role of the analytical community in regional policy" (in cooperation with the Public Policy Department of the Higher School of Economics in Moscow) was held within the framework of the project “Public policy and administration” conducted by the Research Committee of the RAPS. A year later, a workshop "Expert community in the development of local self-government” was conducted within the framework of the research and practice conference "Municipal service: status, issues and development prospects". In May 2014, the thematic seminar "The role of the expert community in the development of the region" was held, organized jointly with the Institute of Economics of the Karelian Research Center of the Russian Academy of Sciences. During such events, a traditional "round table" was conducted with an attempt to reflect on the image creation of the regional "expert-analytical community”.

A significant place among the analytical platforms of the Republic of Karelia is occupied by two non-academic structures. First of all, this is the Center for Political and Social Research, headed by its director and the founder of a unique analytical internet resource “Politica Karelia”, Anatoly Tsygankov.39 It is Tsygankov who leads in the list of experts-analysts of the region participating in regional political processes. Among the leading experts there is also Andrei Sukhorukov40, chairman of the Foundation for Innovation Projects Support the “New Dimension”.

40 Andrei Sukhorukov is chairman of the Foundation for Innovation Projects Support the “New Dimension”.
Conclusions

Summarizing the presented materials, we can draw the following conclusions:

1. The activities of the expert-analytical communities in the Republic of Karelia are quite diverse according to their focus areas, and have been recognized at the federal level.

2. The process of the interaction of state and municipal structures within the expert communities is mainly initiated top-down, in line with the tasks prescribed by the federal center. There is no system of communication aimed at the achievement of a conventional agreement between the authorities and expert-analytical communities, which hinders the real independence of experts and analysts.

3. There is a large number of disparate expert-analytical structures and networks at different levels. They are unconsolidated, operate within the framework of the insider strategy, and there is practically no reason for the process of unification and institutionalization. The leadership manifests itself mainly within "one section".

4. The main forms of institutional activity of representatives of the analytical communities of the Republic of Karelia are the participation in the development of the executive decisions, participation in consultative structures under state bodies and the local self-government, participation in debates (media appearances, various expert platforms). Their activity is mostly initiated by the government orders or grants.

5. The activities of the experts are focused mainly on maintaining the effectiveness of power, increasing its legitimacy, and not on the openness declared by political rhetoric. Expert-analytical support is often carried out at the initial stages of the administrative cycle.
PART 5: STATE-SOCIETY RELATIONS AND NGOS IN LOCAL POLITICS
Several Directions of State Support for Socially-Oriented NGOs in the Municipalities of the Republic of Karelia

Elena Chernenkova

Abstract: The article discusses various forms of state support for socially-oriented NGOs operating in municipal districts in the Republic of Karelia. The author elicits top case studies as well as problem areas in the process of establishing a networking interaction between state and civil institutions. The focus lies on social policy implementation in the framework provided by public administration.

Keywords: public administration, socially-oriented NGOs, municipalities of the Republic of Karelia.

The emergence of a modern doctrine about public administration in the Russian Federation has raised the issue of the effectiveness of the public-private management system. This development considers the factors strengthening citizens' trust in state institutions by increasing the openness and transparency of public administration and by participation of civil society institutions in the decision-making process.

The goal of the research is to reconstruct the transformation of the forms and the role of civil society participation in the context of changes due to the introduction of a new state doctrine concerning public administration in 2003.

The Examination of the official sources evaluating the implementation of administrative reform reveals the key factors for the participation of civil society in administrative decision-making processes. Initially, this participation was considered one of the mechanisms for implementing reforms. Thus, it turns out to be a key principle for the development of an integrated system for a modern state-civil society communication. The quest for effectiveness in implementing administrative reform requires addressing interdisciplinarity. Including data from some contiguous disciplines into this research seems to be necessary, since the issue of public administration quality remains one of the most controversial topics discussed by representatives of various disciplines.

Current research looks for the most efficient ways for using the mechanisms of public administration to ensure the stable and sustainable development of civil society. Thereby, it focuses on the main public management models from the period of the 20th and beginning of the 21st centuries, mostly emphasizing the bureaucratic model, the model of new public management, and the model of public network management.

Each of these models and their effectiveness can be evaluated not only from the standpoint of synchronous analysis, but also by means of diachronic analysis, recognizing simultaneous coexistence of principles and mechanisms from different models of public management in contemporary states. Most clearly, this simultaneous coexistence manifests through the activities of state institutions during times of transformation of economic, social and political structures of nation states. This is also typical for contemporary Russia, both at the federal and regional level.
At the beginning of the 21st century, the Russian Federation was not the only country that faced the need to modernize their whole public management system. However, the transformations in Russia are distinguishable through the simultaneous reconstruction of the public management system and the deployment of the institutional transformation processes initiated by political elites. In Western countries, this kind of institutional transformation was carried out at different stages of the political -modernization process.

The most important goal of administrative reforms, declared in the early 2000s, was to overcome the low effectiveness of the state institutions through the establishment of a functionally sound, complete, and transparent system of public management. It should have a clear delineation of powers and develop a modern system of values and motivation of public officials according to the principles of the bureaucratic model. However, the ambitious ideas of that time about the rapid optimization and improvement of public management quality were forcedly adjusted by the appearing problems. It became obvious that modern public management cannot be limited by the principles of a bureaucratic model. This has proven itself in the context of formalizing managerial procedures but has failed in achieving the most effective results. During modern times, it is impossible to provide effective public management without participation from civil society in the processes of making and implementing political decisions. However, the idea of expanding the participation of civil society in the public management process was not successful during the first phase of administrative reform.

Since 2008-2009, the ideological underpinning of administrative reforms has put special emphasis on the establishment of a public management system capable of responding to the needs of innovative development and civil society interests. Significant attention was paid to the issues of decentralization, increasing the autonomy and responsibility of public institutions, as well as their informational openness.

A new phase of administrative reform began with the implementation of the Decree of the President of the Russian Federation on May 7th, 2012 "On the main directions of improvement of the(?) public management system." The decree contained instructions for the development of an integral system, ensuring the implementation of the principles of transparency and openness of public institutions, state initiatives and processes, free access to administrative information, and citizens’ participation in the administrative decision-making process. The new stage of administrative reforms envisaged the introduction of the basic principles of "open government" to all levels of public administration, implementing them in seven areas: social policy, protection of citizens' rights, development of innovations, long-term macroeconomic and fiscal policy, regional policy and decentralization, infrastructure and transport, and informatization.

On January 30th, 2014, the Government of the Russian Federation approved the Concept of Openness of the Federal Executive Authorities. It defined the basic principles of the state-civil society interaction system, which should be followed at the present stage of ad-
ministrative reforms. Among other basic principles, special goals were set to optimize the cooperation of state and socially-oriented NGOs in terms of the implementation of social policy and to ensure informational openness and informational support for state-civil society communication.

The promotion of these principles to the regional and municipal level of public administration predetermined the need to solve certain problems of normative, organizational, informational, and financial nature, taking into account the peculiarities of state-civil society interaction in different regions. The analysis of state-civil society communication in the Republic of Karelia is of special interest because it has quite well-established and diverse forms that have received a rather high evaluation in research literature. This serves as a good basis for the necessary modification of the forms of state-civil society dialogue in the framework of open government. By 2014, the Karelian Republican authorities had completed the development of a legal framework that determines the implementation of the principles of open state governance at the regional level.

Informational support for the activities of state institutions is developed on the basis of the regional target program "Informatization of the Republic of Karelia". The main informational resource accumulating materials regarding the activities of the state and the municipal administration is the constantly updated portal "The Official Karelia". In a rating of information openness from spring 2016, the Government of the Republic of Karelia ranked 19th from 85 regional governments in the Russian Federation.

Administrative activities also include the option of providing state and municipal services in electronic form, which was empowered by the development of a multifunctional centers system in the Republic of Karelia. Provision of information openness of executive bodies is well developed for regional authorities. In this sense, it should be mentioned that informational openness itself is an important principle, but it is insufficient for ensuring the citizens' trust in the authorities. At least, the events in Karelia show that the main evaluation criterion for the effectiveness of public authorities by the population is its ability to block the growth of unfavorable socio-economic trends. In this respect, the population also shows dissatisfaction with its situation. Thus, in a survey of social well-being in 2013-2016, the Republic of Karelia received one of the lowest rankings for governors' efficiency ratings and for management effectiveness in the constituent entities of the Russian Federation. At the same time, the following phenomena were recorded: a high level of inter-elite confrontation, a high degree of politicization of administrative activities, and a lack of consensus among elite groups regarding measures to overcome crises in the economy and the


social sphere. The consequences are the increasing distance between the population and the administration, as well as insufficient development of conventional participation forms. However, the regional authorities make certain efforts to overcome these negative phenomena, primarily through the introduction of a feedback-providing mechanism and an interactive cooperation mechanism. The traditional form of cooperation is, for example, dealing with citizens' appeals. But there are also new forms of interaction to observe. One of the examples is the expanding activity of the Public Receptions of the Head of the Republic of Karelia in the city districts and municipal districts of the Republic. Since 2013, they have also become coordinating centers for various civic organizations to implement local initiatives and monitor the activities of public authorities and local governments.

In 2014, the Support Program for Local Initiatives was launched. The goal of the program was to develop the social infrastructure of municipalities through the allocation of subsidies for the implementation of social projects, with the precondition that they are important for small territories, initiated by the civil society, and supported by the local business community. The subsidies were granted on a competitive basis. In 2014, about 8 million rubles were allocated for the implementation of 19 projects within the program. In 2015, more than 27 million rubles were allocated to support 40 projects developed by municipal communities. In the future, the implementation of this program can help to consolidate the work of municipal activists, representatives of local business and municipal authorities. It can also help to strengthen their dialogue with regional authorities on the principles of intersectoral dialogue.

In late 2013, the State Program "Development of civil society institutions and local self-government, protection of human rights and freedoms" was adopted, which is set for the period of 2014-2020.3 The program prescribes the main directions for involving the third sector in the implementation of social policy, as well as the forms of state support for socially-oriented NGOs (hereinafter – SO NGOs) in the Republic of Karelia. This program is designed to provide support for SO NGOs, which focus their activities on strengthening interethnic and inter-confessional relations, preventing extremism and xenophobia, supporting indigenous peoples, solving problems of spiritual, moral and patriotic education, developing culture and education, and supporting search activities after the World War II. It also encourages the implementation of projects to support people with disabilities and their families, children and young people in difficult life situations, post-orphanage support for orphans, and the provision of life security for the population. The improvement of state support mechanisms is associated with the development of a regulatory framework, the construction of a network of dialogue platforms, growing competences of the SO NGOs members, and informational support of this activity.

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In recent years, quite interesting projects have been implemented that promote interaction of civil organizations on a national scale. One of the examples is the non-commercial partnership "Karelian Resource Center of NGOs" which coordinates a network of centers for social and cultural integration of migrants in the municipal districts of the Republic of Karelia. By now, such centers have been established in 11 municipal districts.

The series of events held in 2013-2015, including the Karelian Republican Exhibition of SO NGOs (2013), was aimed to establish an interaction network of regional, municipal authorities, business, and the third sector. The organizers of the event were the Karelian regional NGO "Association of the Peoples of Karelia", the municipal authorities of Kondopoga district, and the ministries of social services. In 2014, the Civil Forum "Karelia - Territory of Consent" was held. Four thematic platforms were provided within the Forum: "The Role of the Family in the Spiritual and Moral Development of the Society", "Friendship of Peoples - Unity of Russia: Forming the All-Russian Identity, Strengthening the Cultural and Spiritual Community of Russians", "Civil Organizations - Resource for the Development of the Youth Movement in Karelia", and "Investment Attractiveness of Small Towns". Representatives of regional authorities, local self-governments, SO NGOs and businesses discussed the implementation of tripartism in the field of social policy. In 2015, the discussion concerning these issues was continued within the framework of the project “Open Day” of SO NGOs. The event was attended by more than 30 organizations and was organized by the Karelian NGO for the revival of cultural traditions "Art Tent", with the support of the ministries of social services. Such projects enable articulation of civil initiatives, inform about the activities of NGOs in the sphere of ethno-cultural development of peoples and interethnic cooperation, solve the most urgent social problems of the regions, and empower new models and forms of social partnership.

Another quite well developed form of state support for NGOs in the Republic is the implementation of training workshops. More and more initiative is coming from experienced NGOs, which involve representatives of regional organizations. One of the examples is the Karelian Regional Civil Charity Foundation "Center for Development of Youth and Civil Initiatives", which implemented a number of projects in 2014-2015 that aimed at establishing networking interaction between civil organizations and state institutions. Their interaction was focused on creating an independent system for assessment of the quality of social services. In whole, representatives of more than 70 NGOs of the Republic and more than 1,500 participants from almost all municipal districts of Karelia were involved in different events for the projects. Such examples witness the existence of innovative practices of intersectoral cooperation towards the solution of current social issues.

Among different forms of state support for NGOs, the most significant is financial support for socially significant projects. This support is granted to NGOs on a competitive basis according to the application terms. The systematic nature of this activity in the Republic is ensured by the fact that the regional state program "Development of civil society institutions

and local self-government, protection of human rights and freedoms" is annually submitted to the Ministry of Economic Development of the Russian Federation for subsidies from the federal budget to the budgets of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation for support of SO NGOs. In addition, NGO grants are also provided from the regional budget. Besides that, the SO NGOs of the Republic are invited to participate in the presidential contests for grants directed to support civil organizations. Data on the amount of the financial state support for the third sector in the Republic of Karelia is presented in Fig. 1.

Fig.1: Volumes of financial support for socially-oriented NGOs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>2013</th>
<th>2014</th>
<th>2015</th>
<th>2016</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Federal Budget</td>
<td>7.189.000</td>
<td>12.181.000</td>
<td>9.298.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional Budget</td>
<td>8.124.600</td>
<td>8.330.000</td>
<td>10.107.490</td>
<td>7.330.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presidential Contest</td>
<td>8.876.516</td>
<td>5.333.000</td>
<td>7.513.678</td>
<td>11.568.866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>24.190.116</td>
<td>25.844.000</td>
<td>26.919.168</td>
<td>18.898.866</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Own calculation.

The ministries providing social services are responsible for the organization of the contests that distribute federal and regional budget funds for the support of SO NGOs. In addition, municipal contests are planned in seven municipal districts of the Republic. For example, in the list of socially-oriented organizations from the administration of the Petrozavodsk municipality, eight organizations are regularly involved in contests for obtaining municipal grants. In general, over the past years, the municipalities of the republic have supported 51 projects from organizations starting their activities in the sphere of social policy at the local level.

The experience of participation of Karelian SO NGOs in contests for presidential grants is expanding gradually. In 2013-2016, 82 NGOs of the Republic participated in these contests, 25 organizations became grantees. The total amount of funds attracted to the Republic through this financing channel amounted to 33,292,060 rubles. As an example of suc-

cessful implementation of subsidized projects, the Karelian Republican Civil Organization "Karelian Federation of Sled Dog Sports" can be mentioned, the activities of which were supported by presidential grants. The organization is registered in the Pryazha district and it initiates the interaction of government, business, and the civil society when performing the international sled dog races. These international competitions have become a valuable brand for the Republic.

Karelian NGOs participate also in contests organized by Russian national, charitable foundations, by the Elena and Gennady Timchenko Charitable Foundation, by the Fund for Support of Public Diplomacy named after A. Gorchakov, by the Foundation for "Support of Children in a Difficult Life Situation", and by the Orthodox Charitable Foundation "Consolation." Moreover, a number of Karelian Republican charitable organizations accumulate funds to provide financial support to other NGOs. Among them we can mention the funds "Nevond", "Petrozavodsk", "New Education", "The Mill", and "Kurkieki". All this gives grounds to recognize a quite well formed multi-channel system of financial support for SO NGOs. The results of participation in contests allow making certain conclusions about both the growing social activity and effectiveness of NGOs, as well as identification of some emerging problem zones. Records of both are necessary in order to develop innovations and to determine the role of NGOs in the social policy of the state.

Most of the previous studies of the third sector in the Karelian Republic were related to the analysis of the activities of NGOs registered in Petrozavodsk. But the experience of NGOs operating in the regions of the Republic is also of strong interest. Their involvement in contests for government subsidies is examined in this article on the basis of data posted on the websites from the Ministry of Justice of the Russian Federation, the portal "The Official Karelia", and on websites from non-profit organizations. The most important indicator of the development of the NGO system is information provided in the register of the Ministry of Justice of the Russian Federation. Despite all doubts concerning the real number of NGOs that are actually active and not just listed in the official reports, the data can still be used to estimate the number of NGOs registered in the municipal districts of the Republic. According to the author's calculations, as of April 1st, 2016, 475 organizations were registered on the territory of 17 municipalities (excluding the Petrozavodsk municipality), which is 35.7 percent of the total number of NGOs registered in the Republic, even though the differences in the regions are quite significant. One of the generally excepted indicators for the estimation of territorial structure in NGOs is the number of NGOs per 1,000 inhabitants. In the beginning of 2016, this indicator was 2.1 NGOs per thousand people in the Republic (which fully corresponds to the all-Russian realities). However, the situation is somewhat different in each region. The average figure is 1.3 NGO per thousand inhabitants, while the situation differs from

district to district. The cumulative data on the number of organizations registered as of the beginning of 2016, as well as the quantitative data of the subsidies provided to the NGOs in municipal regions are presented in the following table:

Table 1: Quantitative data of the development of NGOs in the regions of Karelia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Municipal District</th>
<th>Number of registered NGOs</th>
<th>Number of religious organizations</th>
<th>Number of NGOs per 1,000 inhabitants (Density of NGOs)</th>
<th>SO NGOs</th>
<th>The amount of subsidies from the federal and regional budgets</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Petrozavodsk City Distrikt</td>
<td>876</td>
<td>46 (5.7%)</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>45,335,872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kostomuksha City Distrikt</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>9 (20%)</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1,120,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Sea</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>15 (48.3%)</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalevala</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8 (66.7%)</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1,070,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kem</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4 (28.6%)</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>400,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kondopoga</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>11 (22.9%)</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>624,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lahdenpohja</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>5 (18.5%)</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1,327,053</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louhi</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8 (50%)</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medvezhyegorsk</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>9 (32.1%)</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>798,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muezersky</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11 (91.7%)</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>240,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olonets</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>12 (38.7%)</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2,321,418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pitkyaranta</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>11 (47.8%)</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>135,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pryonezhsky</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>12 (40%)</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>223,121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pryazha</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>7 (30.4%)</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2,674,320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pudozh</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>13 (59%)</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>242,944</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Segezha</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>10 (27%)</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>47,694</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sortavala</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>19 (29.7%)</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suoyarvi</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4 (30.7%)</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>179,644</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1352</strong></td>
<td><strong>214 (15.9%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>2.1</strong></td>
<td><strong>154</strong></td>
<td><strong>56,740,866</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: own calculation.

A specific feature of the NGO structure for some districts is a significant number of religious organizations. 35.4 percent of registered organizations operating in municipalities are religious communities. In addition to Orthodox parishes, Lutheran, Evangelic Pentecostal, and to a lesser extent Muslim communities are widespread. For example, in the Muezersky district bordering Finland, with a population of less than 18,000 people, 11 out of 12 registered NGOs are religious organizations. Among them five Orthodox, one Evangelical, one Evangelic Lutheran and four Pentecostal communities. This situation is quite typical for most municipalities near the Finish border. On the one hand, it is an obvious recognition of the freedom of religious self-determination in local communities, but on the other hand, it shows the inferior institutionalization of social activity of secular organizations in comparison to religious communities. Additionally, their involvement in social programs has a
specific character and a different level of interest in interacting with regional and municipal authorities.

There is an obvious openness towards dialogue with the structures of civil society and the authorities of orthodox and evangelical organizations. Their involvement in the development of inter-confessional dialogue is accompanied by grant support and an entry in the Republican register of SO NGOs.

The summarized results of subsidies for SO NGOs in the Republic of Karelia for the period of 2012-2016 are as follows: altogether 154 organizations received subsidies, including 37 regional organizations. Eight of them were local religious organizations. Altogether, 402 projects were supported, including 148 (36.8 percent) municipal projects. The total amount of subsidies was 56,740,866 rubles, including 11,404,994 rubles (20.1 percent) allocated to SO NGOs registered in municipalities. The total amount of subsidies allocated to local religious organizations since 2012 amounted to 1,648,484 rubles. Considering the distribution of subsidies for NGOs in the regions of Karelia, one can see a certain inequality in the number of grantees, in allocation of subsidies in terms of quantity and amount. This is mostly due to the unequal activity of the NGOs themselves, and the fact that many organizations prefer not to participate in contests for state subsidies, but instead to build a dialogue with charitable foundations. This can be explained by the fact that state contests precondition quite high levels of regulatory requirements. Furthermore, state subsidies are provided on co-financing terms and organizations must ensure the implementation of projects with their own investments (10 percent of the requested subsidy from the state). Of course, the experience of organizations differs, especially when the lack of necessary skills leads to the nomination of clearly uncompetitive applications. This restricts the members of the contest committee in choosing the right applications, and as a consequence, they choose the applications of those organizations that have more experience and that prepare better documents. Therefore, between the years 2012-2016, out of 148 subsidies distributed by the contest committee of the ministries providing social services, only 37 were granted to regional organizations. For the number of subsidies received, the most effective were the organizations from the Pryazha, Olonets, and Kalevala districts. For the amounts of subsidies received - the organizations of Pryazha, Olonets and Lahdenpohja districts were most effective. At the same time, the organizations of the three regions with a well-developed NGO system did not participate in these contests and did not receive any subsidies.

At the same time, there is a certain selective attitude of the contest committees of the ministries providing social services, which are also the contest initiators, toward the applications submitted by the regional NGO. Thus, in 2012-2016, the contest committee for the Ministry of the Republic of Karelia on National Policy Issues, Public Relations, Relations with the Media and Religious Communities selected 61 applications from 28 organizations representing 14 regions in the Republic. The data of the other ministries looks even more modest. The Ministry for Youth, Physical Culture and Sports selected 14 projects of nine organizations from five regions in the Republic. The contest committee for the Ministry of Health selected only nine projects from seven organizations from four regions for the same period. The Ministry of Nature Management and Ecology selected just one application from the Lahdenpohja district. The situation with the allocation of subsidies by the Ministry of
Education of the Republic is the most paradoxical. In 2012-2015, despite the existence of a significant pool of NGOs engaged in educational activities, subsidies amounting to 2,044,500 rubles were distributed between only five organizations, all of them registered in the city of Petrozavodsk. The regional NGOs received also no subsidies from the Ministry of Culture. Such a situation reveals a poor orientation towards regional NGOs. However, it should be mentioned that the main responsibility for the quality of the proposed applications lies primarily with the NGOs.

The main problem in the implementation of subsidized projects is the inadequate degree of public data reporting and generally weak informational support in the process of project implementation. The reason is the lack of representation for SO NGOs on the internet, which is reflected in the indicators in the Fig. 2.

![Fig.2: Informational openness of the SO NGOs (grantees)](image)

Source: own calculation.

Only 12 out of 37 municipal organizations listed in the republican register of SO NGOs (excluding the Petrozavodsk city district) have their own websites. Ten other organizations are represented in social networks. In eight cases, information about NGOs can be found on the third-party websites, including the websites of municipal authorities. No information could be found about seven organizations, although the availability of such information is an indispensable requirement for participation in contests. An interesting fact is that seven out of eight religious organizations have their own informational resources, but they do not publish reports on the projects’ implementation. At the same time, the number of organizations which are active on the internet is gradually increasing in recent years.
The given data reveals, along with still unsolved problems, the existence of potentially strong, civil structures in the republic which are interested in participation in social policy implementation. Their participation in contests stimulates the organization of events, which on the one hand corresponds with the municipal agenda. On the other hand, it excludes duplication of the functions of state and municipal authorities by civil organizations. An indispensable requirement for the funding of SO NGOs is the coverage of a certain territory, including several settlements, or municipal entities (depending on the amount of funding). The following indicators display the effectiveness of the subsidy use: the identification of beneficiary groups and the social services they receive, the impact of the project on the development of an intersectoral dialogue, on enhancing the professional and social competence of managers and members of NGOs, and the information support of the projects. These requirements and criteria allow the development of networking interaction while preserving the autonomy of NGOs, provided their project activities aim at both strengthening interaction with government institutions and tightening social interaction in municipalities. Their participation in the processes of state-civil society dialogue is challenged by the current goals: implementation of the administrative reforms in the region, improvement of management quality, and growth of the citizens’ satisfaction with the quality of provided social services. To ensure maximum impact of this potential, it is important to improve information policy, to increase informational openness and transparency for all actors of modern state-civil society communication at the regional level.
State-Society Cooperation in Improving the Quality of Social Services at the Municipal Level

Yelena Antoshko

Abstract: This article reveals the prerequisites for the origin and the formation of an independent quality assessment for the activities of organizations in the Republic of Karelia as a form of public control that ensures sustainable development of state-society cooperation, in order to improve the quality of social services and the quality of life in general.

Keywords: State-society cooperation, quality of social services, quality assessment, participation

At present, the state and society in the Russian Federation pay special attention to the development of the transforming state-society relations, in which all of its participants are inclined to unification, to join new opportunities for interaction, to move from the relations of 'paternalism' to the relations of 'cooperation' in resolving crucial tasks.

The state and society have initial differences in the means they use for building positive relations to each other. The society is characterized by "a combination of various forms of social activity of its citizens ... expressed in the self-organization of the society"¹. The state, on the contrary, is a "regulated relationship of politically organized economic and social structures regulated by constitutional and legal means"².

Thus, the state and society together create the necessary conditions, on the one hand, to meet basic human needs, and, on the other hand, to ensure the livelihood of every citizen.

Analysis of the various studies in sociology and political science allows the conclusion that the state-society relations undergo several stages (levels) of formation and development:

- institutional trust, based in general on interpersonal trust in society. Intergenerational, intercultural, inter-confessional, professional and other social relations and connections are important here.


cooperation, formed in the process of interpersonal cooperation and manifested through formal and informal civil society institutions, primarily through various non-governmental organizations, non-profit partnerships, and pressure groups. These institutions create favorable conditions for the formation of social activism of individuals. This stage (level) of development of state-society relations presupposes a maturity of specific civic preferences and value systems, and the formation of a civic culture, expressed in the willingness and ability to accept responsibility for the development of society and state.

The highest stage (level) presupposes the process of co-creation, i.e. efficient, mature, rational and legal relations of participants. It is evident that a stable and effectively managed civil society is possible when it is in the process of co-creation with the state. "This is achieved by painstaking creative activities by all society actors provided that it is possible to develop a certain system of contacts and reciprocal exchange".

In 2014, the Karelian regional public charity foundation “Center for the Development of Youth and Public Initiatives” carried out a survey “Studying the Potential of the Civil Society of the Republic of Karelia” by order of the Ministry of the Republic of Karelia for National Politics, relations with Public and Religious Associations and Mass Media. The aim was to engage civil society actors on incipient public control and an independent quality assessment of social services in Russia. This proves the emerging tendency to bring together state and society potentials. On the one hand, the state is interested in cooperation by qualifying civil society institutions as the main experts on the events in the country. On the other hand, part of the society shows that active citizenship is being formed intensively.

Table 1 presents the results of the assessment by the representatives of the society, showing their level of trust in the state in solving crucial problems.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Representatives of the society, little engagement in socially useful activities</th>
<th>Representatives of the society actively engaged in socially useful activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>395 people</td>
<td>414 people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I trust the state</td>
<td>I trust the state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: own calculation.

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5 A report on the implementation of the activities of the Comprehensive Project for the Development of the Research Potential of Socially-oriented Non-Profit Organizations "Civil Maturity" can be found at: URL: http://svet-avard.ru/resources/doc-6078-file-block_files_6078-6079.file/name/%D0%93%D1%80%D0%B0%D0%B6%D0%B4%D0%BD%D1%81%D0%BA%D0%B0%D1%8F+%D0%B7% D1%80%D0%B5%D0%BE%D1%81%D1%82%D1%8C+%D0%A1%D0%BE%D0%B4%D0%B5%D1%80%D0%B6%D0%B0%D1%82+%D0%9E%D1%82%D1%87%D0%B5%D1%82.doc (24.07.2017).

The development of favorable state-society relations is also guaranteed by favorable relations among the civil society actors. The study confirms that the most favorable relations develop among family members, colleagues in professional teams, people of generations and, to a little smaller extent, between people of different religious views.

Fig. 1: Development of Favorable Relations in Society as a Factor of Developing Efficient Cooperation with the State (in percent)

![Bar chart showing the percentage of favorable relations among different groups.]

Source: own calculation.

The quality of relations among people of different nationalities and neighbors (73 percent), between service recipients and representatives of service rendering organizations (72 percent), between citizens and law enforcement units (68 percent), between citizens and authorities (63 percent) is somewhat lower. But they also confirm the readiness of these representatives of the society for rapprochement, the desire to hear, to accept, to respond, to participate, and to take responsibility.

These findings give further proof of society's demand for cooperation between regional and municipal authorities within mutual socially beneficial activities with the general public, for active engagement of both parties in the dialogue on developing the region and the municipality, for inviting citizens to take part in state and public management. A favorable development of relations can be facilitated by a system of measures on promoting professional and social competencies of participants, on engaging them in mutual law making, in socially beneficial and socially important activities, as well as involving them in assessing the quality of these activities and studying satisfaction with social services.

In the course of the research, it was necessary to examine how effectively civil society institutions influence socially important processes in Karelia. It was important to understand from what point the possible impact on the quality of social services is started by the socially oriented NGOs and the citizens as major actors of public control and independent assessment of the quality of social services. The findings show that the socially oriented NGOs and the state authorities have the same level of influence over the development of
the region, the citizens, and the local self-government authorities also have the same level of influence.

Figure 2 shows the result of the survey participants' assessment of the effectiveness of the influence of the civil society institutions on socially significant processes in Karelia: citizens, socially oriented NGOs, local self-government bodies and state authorities.

Fig. 2: Effectiveness of the Influence of the Civil Society Institutions and State Authorities over Socially Important Processes in Karelia

![Graph showing the effectiveness of influence](https://doi.org/10.5771/9783845282213)

Source: own calculation.

The findings emphasize equal importance of the specified civil society institutions for the development of the region, which shows prospects for further unification of capacities from socially oriented NGOs, citizens, local self-government authorities, and regional state authorities. Possible increase in the level of confidence in local government bodies and their actions will occur if the high potential of pressure groups of the society and their social responsibility are used to solve crucial problems of the citizens. It is also worth continuing to develop cooperation with the social groups and NGOs in implementing state, regional, and municipal programs and projects aimed at improving social well-being in the Republic.

Survey participants consider the motivation of citizens to take part in socially important activities and in state and public administration as the major growth point for raising the influence-effectiveness level. This is confirmed by the answers of the survey participants, revealing effective ways for citizens to influence the social and economic development of the region, presented in Table 2.

Survey findings prove that the involvement of every civil society actor and state authorities in the development of relations ensures a high level of civic maturity, which is manifested through various forms of civic initiative. For the survey organizers, it was important to see that participation in state and public government and self-government bodies, as well as participation in socially oriented NGOs and the development of innovative forms of active public participation, is a priority for the citizens of the Republic of Karelia. These innovative forms include recourse to authorities with practical suggestions, participation in
surveys, participation in the independent assessment of the quality of social services, and cooperation with mass media through the distribution of positive information.

Table 2: Effective Ways for the Citizens to Influence the Social and Economic Development of the Region

| Participation in the state and public administration and self-government bodies | 63% |
| Participation in the activities of socially oriented, non-commercial organizations | 56% |
| Participation in educational activities | 54% |
| Charity work | 47% |
| Cooperation with mass media through distribution of positive information | 43% |
| Recourse to authorities with practical suggestions | 40% |
| Participation in surveys | 39% |
| Participation in independent assessment of the quality of social services | 38% |
| Cooperation with mass media through distribution of criticizing information | 32% |
| Recourse to organizations with claim letters | 26% |
| Participation in activities of political parties | 19% |
| Participation in strikes and protest campaigns | 18% |
| Other | 2% |

Source: own calculation.

A person's civic maturity is mainly manifested through civic responsibility, which includes the desire and ability to assess one's behavior from the viewpoint of benefit or harm for society; to compare one's behavior towards demands, norms and laws of the society; and to correlate needs with real possibilities. Table 3 presents survey findings that enable us to determine the major factors of the sustainable and qualitative development of civil society.

Table 3: Factors that Allow the Sustainable and Qualitative Development of Civil Society

| Everyone's responsibility for oneself | 64% |
| Everyone's responsibility for forming harmonious relations | 46% |
| Responsible contribution to the creative development of society | 53% |
| Responsible contribution to the creative development of state | 20% |
| State's responsibility for the development of society | 49% |
| Society's responsibility for the development of the state | 29% |
| Other | 1% |

Source: own calculation.

In general, we can conclude that the quality of relations in the civil society of the Republic of Karelia has reached a level of development when the majority of citizens demonstrate a civic maturity in their relations with the society and show responsibility for its development. The major growth point for the next qualitative level of relations, when more citizens contribute to the quality of state-society cooperation, becomes the responsibility for the positive development of the state in general. In this case, the awareness of a citizen grows into the perception that “we are the state”.

https://doi.org/10.5771/9783845282213
Das Erstellen und Weitergeben von Kopien dieses PDFs ist nicht zulässig.
Effective state-society cooperation does not require complicated procedures and specially organized institutions. The only requirements are active efforts on the part of the citizens, their openness and readiness to cooperate on the part of the state. Under these conditions, positive results in improving to a better life quality may be achieved.

The independent system of quality assessment which is being formed may turn into a workable mechanism for a state-society cooperation in revealing and developing creative potential of an individual, a family, activities in social services, and state-society relations.


In Federal Law No. 256 of July 21, 2014, the independent quality assessment of organizations' activities and their services is defined as "a form of public control aimed at delivering information about the quality of activities and services rendered by organizations in the sphere of culture, social services, healthcare, and education"7.

According to the resolutions of the Russian Federation Government, social services include: education, culture, healthcare, social care, sports and physical culture, youth policy. It is assumed that the professional expert assessment and the opinion of the citizens as the recipients of services will significantly improve their quality, find points of growth and jointly influence the improvement of the quality of life of the population. Moreover, the documents of the executive bodies dedicated to independent quality assessment express the hope that both the recipients of services and their family members, will grow from consumers to enlightened service recipients, and then possibly to their conscious creators, thanks to the participation in the assessment and expression of their satisfaction with service quality.

For organizations that provide social services and constantly improve their quality, that offer services important for social, professional and personal growth, this is a good invitation to develop their potential, their partnership with the state, their cooperation with the public and joint co-creation.

The idea of creating independent quality assessment for organizations in Russia, and considering opinions of service recipients, has its own history. At the end of the 1980s, the nation started to form a contemporary system of public assessment of changes that were being prepared, decisions that were being made, and their consequences. It replaced the totalitarian system of public control that had been inspired by the Communist Party of the USSR. Official acceptance and the analysis of public assessment and public accreditation have only recently been set forth by new legal and regulatory acts, but the practice of stud-

ying recipients' satisfaction with service quality, as well as the practice of engaging public associations in control procedures, has demonstrated positive results in various spheres. Thanks to this experience, many public organizations have nurtured professionals that are much needed as top-level experts. The activities of public and professional experts from socially oriented NGOs include, but are not limited to: competitions of socially important projects and public leadership; assessments of international, state and municipal development programs, bills and other regulatory legal acts; expert evaluation of effectiveness and the quality of organizations' activities. More than 100 organizations out of 1,350 registered in Karelia have the positive experience of expert activities, a quality system of internal quality assessment, and serve as partners with the society and state in improving the quality of socially beneficial services.8

The current practice of participating in the formation of independent quality assessments and the fact that state authorities stake on socially oriented NGOs, means trust after many years of joint activities on one hand, and an offer to share responsibility for the results of life quality development in the state and society on the other. The 2016 Address of the Russian Federation President to the Federal Assembly emphasizes the importance of the "active engagement of NGOs in the social sphere" and of improving its quality through resources and the experience of socially oriented NGOs.9

At present, 24 socially oriented NGOs have express interest in the creation of state and public mechanisms of forming an independent quality assessment system in the sphere of the social services in the Republic of Karelia, thereby taking part in an innovative social phenomenon.10

The author of the article is the head of the Karelian regional public charity foundation “Center for the Development of Youth and Public Initiatives” - one of the four regional socially oriented NGOs that have had three years of experience as operators in independent quality assessment in the sphere of social services and education.

Accepting the offer from the state to cooperate, it was impossible to rush to the assessment. It was important to recognize the need for a special training of the professional experts for practicing independent quality assessment, to develop objective tools for assessment, to understand and describe the procedures of assessment, and to ensure their impact on the further improvement of the quality of social services.

The professional and expert community that takes part in forming both internal and independent systems of quality assessment for organizations and social services draws attention to the following points:

- the importance and timeliness of decisions on making independent assessments of quality which includes opportunities for the development for all participants and organizations in general;

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10 Cf. (fn. 8).
The importance of developing relations that are involved in the independent quality assessment according to the principles of cooperation and co-creation, when every assessment participant develops competencies of self-analysis, self-development, self-fulfillment of every individual, organization and society in general; need to regard the independent quality assessment as a working mechanism for consolidating trust between state and society in order to improve life quality.

The apparent potential of developing both internal and independent systems of quality assessment:

1. Development of conscious recipiency of social services will form social competencies of successful self-fulfillment among participants of relations, including integration of the disabled into society.
2. Improvement of the quality of social services, which are both a factor and a vector of the growth of professional and social competencies of participants, will ensure their life quality.
3. Formation of social and humanitarian content and creation of developmental technologies for both internal and independent systems of quality assessment will ensure improvement of the quality of the organizations' activities and delivery of quality social services.
4. Development of the conscious delivery of social services among organization employees through forming their professional and personal competencies, aimed at successful self-fulfillment and the readiness to find and develop the potential of healthy and creative life among service recipients, will increase their personal, corporate, and social creative potential and will ensure engagement in an organization's objective.
5. Creation of conditions needed for developing the best practices of self-assessment of organizations' activities and forming internal quality assessment systems will apparently improve the quality of activities and services, and will increase the demand for them among recipients.
6. Development of the openness potential of organizations and availability of information about it will increase the responsibility of professional teams for the development of their organizations and the sphere in general.
7. Correlation of content, technologies, forms and methods of internal, independent and external quality assessment will help regulate the process of assessment as well as internal and external control and monitoring, will cultivate meaningful and mutually beneficial creative cooperation in the framework of assessment.
8. Preservation of the internal balance of organization management aimed both at engagement of all relations participants in management and positive creativity of decisions and actions will result in good performance, effectiveness and quality of activities.
9. Formation of an expert community that would unconditionally accept the value of life, would have confidence in the possibilities of developing healthy and creative life for every participant of relations, and would regard assessment as a factor for developing the personal, corporate, and public creative potential of any individual, professional team, society, and state will help to use the potential of independent quality assessment for promoting consciousness and responsibility for mutual results.
10. Construction of sensible and mutually beneficial relations between the state and professional and public expert community, based on universal human values and social responsibility, will make a significant contribution to improving everyone's life quality.

The program of forming independent quality assessment in the sphere of social services in the republic was being developed through the consistent experience of cooperation with a regional executive body, the Ministry of Healthcare and Social Development of the Republic of Karelia, and local self-governments of 14 (78 percent) municipalities of the Republic. This cooperation involved multidimensional projects funded by the Ministry on a competitive basis. Development of cooperation potential, from project to project, gained more resources from mutual cooperation, gained trust of the state in the professional activities of a socially oriented NGO as well as better quality of expert services on the part of the public association as an operator of independent quality assessment. Table 4 presents major quality and quantity results on developing the expert potential of professional community.

Table 4: Developing the Cooperation Potential of a Socially Oriented NGO and an Executive Body as an Example of Effective State-Society Relations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Cooperation Quality</th>
<th>Multidimensional Project</th>
<th>Cooperation Content</th>
<th>Independent Quality Assessment Results</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>formal cooperation</td>
<td>public assessment for the benefit of the disabled</td>
<td>establishment of trust, formation of internal quality assessment system for organizations, engagement of service recipients and their family members in the assessment, development of regional and municipal patterns of an independent quality assessment system</td>
<td>4 state organizations, 4 municipal organizations, 2 socially oriented NGOs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>committed partnership</td>
<td>independent quality assessment for the benefit of the disabled</td>
<td>increasing employees’ competence, development of professional expert community, creation of assessment methodology in accordance with federal regulations, development of service passports (description)</td>
<td>10 municipal organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>responsible cooperation</td>
<td>from service quality to the quality of society life</td>
<td>informational openness of organizations, increase in the number of assessment actors, engagement of service recipients in government bodies, mindset to improve the quality of the recipients' vitality, improvement of the level of expert and analytical activities</td>
<td>6 municipal organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016-2017</td>
<td>creative cooperation</td>
<td>state-society cooperation for the benefit of life quality</td>
<td>information openness of public councils, regional and municipal authorities to independent quality assessment, development of cooperation potential between organizations delivering social services and socially oriented NGOs</td>
<td>planned 6 municipal organizations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: own compilation.
Over three-and-a-half years of taking part in the independent quality assessment, socially oriented organizations and their partners managed to create a system of professional training and development for independent quality experts in the sphere of social services of the Center for Innovations and Expertise in Education of the State Educational Organization of the Republic of Karelia “Educational Development Institute (SEORK Educational Development Institute”).

Table 5 presents major quality and quantity results on developing expert potential of the professional community.

Table 5: Developing the Expert Potential of Representatives of the Professional Community

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quality Results</th>
<th>Quantity Results</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Independent quality experts from among leaders, professionals and volunteers from the sphere of social services, education, culture, and youth policy are trained and take part in the assessment</td>
<td>264 people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instructors delivering educational programs in the sphere of independent quality assessment of social services are trained</td>
<td>15 people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People with successful experience as regional and municipal coordinators, consulting experts, and project managers in the sphere of independent quality assessment of social services at the local, municipal, and regional level</td>
<td>27 people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People who took part in the developing and testing of the methodology of independent quality assessment of social services</td>
<td>106 people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Growth of expert competencies intensified thanks to training and participation in the internal and external quality assessment</td>
<td>42 percent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Growth level of expert competencies was self-evaluated on a ten-point scale at the beginning and at the end of programs*

Source: own compilation.

The study also aimed at engaging participants of relations in quality assessment through questionnaires, interviews, educational training in order to reveal their level of satisfaction. They referred to service recipients, their family members, employees and partners of organizations. Table 6 presents major quality and quantity results on developing the expert potential of society.

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Table 6: Developing Expert Potential of Service Recipients and their Family Members

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quality Results</th>
<th>Quantity Results</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Service recipients that have taken part in the independent assessment of quality of social services</td>
<td>4,246 people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30% of relations participants in organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with the quality of social services (average result)</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: own compilation.

And last but not least, they created a methodology of the independent quality assessment for social services with assessment tools for a professional expert and participants of relations, based on the federal and regional criteria, factors, and indicators.

The fact that the participating organizations turned at this stage into helpful allies, in the creation of available, efficient, and customized tools of assessment, was important for creating effective methods for independent quality assessment. The managers and professionals of organizations taking part in the independent quality assessment study the assessment mechanism closely and intensively and show supreme patience and trust towards the new phenomenon and experts. The methods allowed for examining and assessing available and open information about organizations; conditions in which services are delivered; duration of delivering services; the level of kindness, courtesy, and competence of employees, the satisfaction level of recipients, their family members, employees, and partners.

Participants of the independent quality assessment realize the importance of practicing creative cooperation and co-creation, when priorities of joint activities include mutual understanding, search for growth points and the identification of further ways of effective organization development. Immediate engagement of service recipients in the assessment has provided important information for improving the quality of conditions, processes, and results of activities; has helped service recipients and participants of relations to accept the importance of cooperating with service delivering organizations and to open new possibilities of taking part in their quality development. Table 7 presents major quality and quantity results of the impact of the independent quality assessment on improving service quality. The findings were obtained through a survey of organizations in the sphere of social services that underwent the independent quality assessment in 2014-2016.

Table 7: Impact of Independent Quality Assessment on Improving Service Quality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quality results</th>
<th>Quantity results</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Improvement of legal and regulatory support of quality management</td>
<td>93%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engagement of participants of relations in decision making and service quality management</td>
<td>92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increasing professional competencies of employees</td>
<td>89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revealing the potential of service availability</td>
<td>84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managing the efficiency of formation of social competencies aimed at life quality, healthy and creative life, among service recipients.</td>
<td>81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improvement of IT resources in quality management</td>
<td>77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expanding the variety of technologies, forms and methods of studying satisfaction of service recipients with their quality</td>
<td>77%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: own compilation.
As a result, some general conclusions on the quality of the organizations’ activities in the area of social services:

1. Organizations rendering social services and involved in independent quality assessment are demanded to provide vital social services for a part of Karelia’s population including, which is critical, disabled individuals and their families.
2. Employees of the organizations are competent, friendly and ready to act in the current environment of the social services development. Professional activities in these organizations are performed by professionals who in general meet requirements of professional standards, unified qualification criteria and ethical demands of service recipients.
3. The range of services in these organizations is based on citizens’ needs and enjoys active demand from target recipients.
4. Service delivery and activities are based on cooperation principles, which significantly improve the quality and productivity of the service rendering process and generate a shared creative potential proven by quite a high level of satisfaction by the organization activities among the employees and service recipients.
5. Organizations use opportunities found in project activities to increase resources aimed to improve the quality of services and to expand the recipient audience.
6. Most service recipients and employees are satisfied by organization activities and the quality of services.

Key growth points of potential development in the quality of conditions, processes and results of organizations' activities are:

1. to provide conditions for educational and professional development of employees in accordance with their positions.
2. to continue focused and systematic development of employees’ skills in unlocking and developing their individual creative potential and potential of healthy and creative life among service recipients, also by a system of training and education, tutorial workshops, creative laboratories etc.
3. to create conditions that enable employees to increase and demonstrate their managerial, universal and expert competence and also their competence in delivering social services.
4. to involve employees, service recipients, partners, and the public into the system of state and public management of the organizations. It is also important to ensure efficient activities of all governance bodies stipulated by the laws of the Russian Federation, including Governing, Community and Guardian Councils, and engage socially oriented NGOs in cooperation with each other.
5. to improve the quality of operation and the development of internal social services quality assessment system.
6. to provide safe, comfortable and accessible environments for delivering services to recipients, particularly to disabled recipients, i.e.:
   - To reconstruct (extend) or erect organization buildings to ensure quality environment of activities and services for the disabled recipients and their families.
   - to deal with matters related to condition improvement of life assurance and service comfort enhancement systems.
7. to expand the range of differentiated individual and group social/legal, social/economic, social/educational, and social/psychological services allowing the viability potential to develop, and to increase social adaptation of service recipients.

8. to develop and approve descriptions/rules for all social services being rendered based on a tailored approach to unlocking the creative life potential of service recipients, fostering their viability and developing sustainable skills allowing to solve vital issues independently.

9. to establish an integrated system of interaction with family members of service recipients aimed to maintain and strengthen family relations, involvement of family members in the service delivery process, improve the service delivery efficiency, and the further successful social integration of disabled recipients.

10. to ensure the information transparency of organizations in accordance with contemporary requirements; increase the information accessibility for recipients and employee involvement into the development of digital resources.

11. to establish a system of post-rehabilitation support of service recipients until their full social adaptation, and

12. to continue the research and implementation of innovative technologies, social development forms and methods, support, foster care, adaptation, rehabilitation and integration in activities of organizations.

This will allow a more active involvement of citizens in enhancing the quality of life. Yet, it should be noted that internal and independent quality assessment systems form and develop while the regulatory and scientific/procedural foundations in the Russian Federation and the Republic of Karelia are being developed. On one hand, this allows to demonstrate the methodical and expert potential of quality assessment in the region while amendments to the social service legislation require further adjustment of the internal and independent quality assessment methods for organization activities and social services for their possible use in performing procedures.

In order to improve the quality and efficiency of implementing an independent quality assessment system, three major aspects are necessary:

1. Agreement on unified procedures of independent quality assessment within entire social sphere, the full cycle of quality management to be as follows:
   - unified quality criteria, figures and indicators stipulated in federal legislation;
   - unified additional criteria, quality indicators stipulated by local legislation;
   - additional quality figures and indicators (stipulated by internal documents of organizations);
   - organization self-examination (primary areas or requirements to be stipulated by federal and/or local legislation and internal documents of the organizations);
   - an internal quality assessment system (structure and composition to be recommended by federal legislation and approved by internal documents of the organizations) allowing feedback to service recipients’ requests, internal development assessment and necessary external evaluation;
   - independent quality assessment system (structure, composition and procedures to be recommended by federal and local legislation);
unified schedule of the organizations’ involvement in assessment, monitoring and supervision procedures.

2. the introduction of the mandatory system of professional development for organization managers and professionals on implementation of internal quality assessment system and preparation for independent quality assessment. This also includes the training of professional and public experts specializing in independent quality assessment.

3. the active promotion of the independent quality assessment in mass media and the promotion of the opportunities and values of the public's participation in the assessment.

To improve the independent quality assessment procedures, it is important to:

1. Establish public coordination boards at federal, regional and municipal levels with participation of the chairs of public councils under authorized bodies, as well as the heads of independent quality assessment organizations and authority representatives who supervise the implementation of an independent quality assessment system at the federal, regional and municipal levels.

2. Perform external quality assessment including independent assessment only after the organization's preliminary self-examinations and publication of self-examination reports in open information resources, the former to be in line with the independent quality assessment. The unified terms of self-examination can be specified (today in education only).

3. Mandatory competitive selection of operator organizations not only by prices but also based on their expert potential.

4. Invite for selection the professional and public experts accredited at public councils under the authorized bodies or Public Chambers and trained for: independent quality assessment.

5. Have independent quality assessment tools separately for professional and public experts.

6. Develop service/activity quality assessment programs (the quality of conditions, processes and results) taking into account the specific nature of service recipients (children, youth, disabled or people with reduced capabilities).

7. Develop and approve service/activity quality assessment indicators equally suitable for both the internal and independent, and any other external quality assessment.

8. Continue creating science/procedural and methodological frameworks for the internal and independent quality assessment and align the concepts used in internal and independent quality assessment systems with real life terminology. Differentiate the concepts of delivery, quality, and efficiency of activities and services.

To that end, the emerging independent quality assessment system can become a real mechanism for cooperation and co-creation between state and society in revealing and developing the creative potential of an individual, a family, activities in social services and state-society relations, improving service quality and life quality in general.
Abstract: In the article the author makes an attempt to analyze the history of the development of civil society in Karelia, relations between the authorities and NGOs. On the example of the Karelian Resource Center of NGO’s the author reveals the work of NGOs in the field of inter-ethnic relations, social support and cross-border cooperation.

Keywords: Civil Society Institution, interaction between authorities and NGOs, cross-border cooperation, Centers for social and cultural adaptation of migrants, inter-ethnic relations.

In the Republic of Karelia, there are 1,352 registered NGOs. This is quite a high level of development of civil society institutions in comparison with other regions of the country. The Karelian Resource Center of NGO’s believes that the “third sector” in Karelia developed mostly due to the high educational level of the population and due to the cross-border cooperation. But it did not reach that high level because our Republic ceased to be a typical Russian region.

In Karelia, it is important that there is a stable circle of people consisting of professionals, government officials and business elites that recognizes the value of the “third sector” and supports it as an institution of civil society.

Of course, the NGO is a living organism: regularly changing leaders, frequently changing legislation, and continuous counseling of NGO managers. The main mission of our organization is to help NGOs on legal issues, accounting work, and information work, which is expressed in dozens of annual seminars in Petrozavodsk and throughout the regions of Karelia, in the edition of “Vestnik NGOs Karelia”, dozens of brochures and information leaflets, as well as the work of the main website and the websites of projects.

Since 2008, we opened the Legal Advice Center for NGOs of the famous Russian human rights organization “Lawyers for Civil Society”, on the basis of our NGO. It allowed us to significantly improve the quality of legal services, including annual seminars for NGOs with the participation of the leading lawyers from Moscow.

In 2007, our organization worked on the project “Development of the Support Center for Non-Profit Organizations Operating in the Territory of the Republic of Karelia and the Adjacent Territories of the Russian Federation”. During the implementation of this project, we understood that no one knew the true picture of what was done in the third sector.

At the request of the Civil Chamber of the Russian Federation, we tried to create a unified database of NGOs operating in the Republic of Karelia, and somehow divide them into groups according to their fields and activities. We failed to do it as well as other regions of the Russian Federation. We were able to verify just 200 organizations. The Ministry of Culture and Public Relations of the Republic of Karelia was able to find a little more information. The Department of the Federal Service for State Registration, Cadstral Rec-
ords and Cartography for the Republic of Karelia had a clear figure, revealing that there
were 1350 registered non-profit organizations in the Republic of Karelia, of which 575
were non-governmental organizations. But there were other figures: on April 15th, 2008
only 33 percent of non-governmental organizations, and 11 percent of non-profit organiza-
tions submitted reports on their activities to the Federal Registration Service of the Repub-
lic of Karelia as provided in the legislation of the Russian Federation. Both, theoretically
and practically, the Federal Registration Service of the Republic of Karelia could have
eliminated hundreds of nonprofit organizations in Karelia in a court case. How many unre-
gistered organizations operated in the Republic of Karelia in general, no one knew. In 2016,
the situation with the analysis was better, but not much. Of course, it is necessary to know
the true picture of the situation with the “third sector” in Karelia and its real possibilities.

Of course, we are concerned because without a clear understanding of what is happen-
ing today with the non-governmental organizations, and what civil society consequently
represents in Karelia, it is difficult to develop any strategy. We set the goal of trying to sort
out this issue because we think that this topic is very relevant today.

Every year, we conduct various sociological researches in different fields: cultural, so-
cial, tourism, civil society, etc. The results of this research are widely used by the national
and municipal authorities, by the scientific sphere, and of course by NGOs.

Professional research is needed, above all, to highlight which problems NGOs are able
or unable to solve (in partnership with business and government).

After research, we always give training seminars in order to improve the skills of local
participants to a level which is sufficient for practical implementation of measures to re-
solve the problem.

We take into account that federal research of social problems is conducted. However,
there is the question if they can be compared with local and regional research, where there
is no averaging of the results and the emphasis is on important local factors. Also, there is
the involvement of local authorities, citizens, and businesses.

The analysis of NGO memberships shows that they mainly work in the social sphere.
150 NGOs are officially recognized as socially-oriented. It allows them to use financial
support from the authorities. What a pity that there is a small amount of NGOs tackling the
problems of the environment and the protection of human rights.

We created the Karelian Resource Center of NGOs in 2001 and, of course, we faced the
same problems as did hundreds of other similar public organizations in the region and in
the country. The main problem of these organizations is funding.

When we addressed businessmen, banks and other commercial organizations, we some-
times found sympathy, but we were not properly supported. By the end of the first year of
our work, we came to the conclusion that it was necessary to change the strategy of our
development. 15 years have passed. These years have taught us many things; some of these
lessons should be shared.

First of all, you should have your own resources. To reach this goal, we have learned to
make money by realizing projects, or participating in other projects on an expert basis.
The second trend is the creation of partnerships. We started to offer our assistance in solving the problems that are acute to the local authorities, enterprises, deputies. And when we combined forces, we obtained a significant result.

Here are some examples related to two large enterprises in Karelia: Nadvoitsky Aluminium Plant and a pulp and paper mill JSC “Kondopoga”. At these enterprises, the wage is quite high for Karelia and social issues resolve appropriately. At the same time both in Kondopoga and Nadvoicy, there is a high unemployment rate because the wage rate at other enterprises in these towns is very low. This causes social tension. These and other issues certainly affect the general state of these towns. Sometimes, there were even abnormal situations. Not everyone in town liked such enterprise management initiatives, such as the acquisition of the expensive organ for the Palace of Arts or the construction of the Luxury Ice Palace. By the way, it is appropriate to note that business management pursued their own pragmatic purpose by allocating funds for these social facilities. How can employees of the enterprises produce high quality products of world-class if they, for example, go to work through muddy streets, and cannot go pursue sports at the gym or in the pool in the evening, or cannot visit a concert in the Palace of Arts?

Generally there were a lot of problems in these towns. In their resolution, interests of all parties were achieved: enterprise management, local government administration management, and public organizations. Moreover, it was social structures, including our organization, who became the initiators of new and interesting projects, which were claimed by all. Promptly, premises in the center of these settlements was found and repaired. With our help, we managed to train NGO activists, equip the premises with necessary office equipment, supply the libraries with books necessary for non-governmental organizations, announce a competition of public initiatives, etc.

After the conclusion of tripartite agreements with mutual obligations, we managed to raise significant funds and create support centers for NGOs in Segezha, Kondopoga and Nadvoicy. Here we fully understood that money comes only when we understand what this money is for.

The same situation exists in other towns: Sortavala and Olonets. Karelia is a multinational republic, and our organization addressed a proposal to organize Migrant Adaptation Centers. These centers can work with the citizens on issues of national relations. We quickly received support from the local administration to find premises, repair them and to select a number of experts, etc.

That is why, when we hear the complaints of some non-governmental organizations, that the government does not give them premises or does not help, we understand that it means that social organizations were not able to explain their activities to interest businesses and the government. And the latter could not understand their interests.

Today, authorities and business are ready to cooperate with NGOs more closely in contrast to previous years, when they often did not notice the activities of NGOs. The third sector is not ready to cooperate due to the lack of trained personnel (in the presence of strict accountability for budget spending), as well as the inability to clearly justify the importance of social projects proposed for implementation.
The competition between NGOs prevents the work of NGOs. Sometimes different public organizations implement their projects on the same issue. It leads to the waste of money, narrowing the possibilities and reducing the quality of the achieved results.

What in our opinion are the main problems that prevent the interaction of the triangle: government, business, and NGOs?

The main problem that prevents this interaction is multi-directionality of NGO’s interests, namely:

a) Representative organizations advocate and lobby the interests of their members and target groups. This is quite a broad group of organizations having their own internal classification. First and foremost they include “Union of Employers of the Republic of Karelia”, the NGO “Association of Fishermen ‘North-West’”, “Karelian Union of Timber Industrialists and Exporters” and so on. There are a lot of such organizations.

b) “Monitoring” organizations carry out public control. The motive of this human rights and environmental organizations is to limit the government with the rigid framework (which is consistent with the nature of power). They do not allow the government to go beyond its limits. There are not a lot of these kinds of organizations in Karelia: Karelian Republican Council of All-Russia Society for Nature Preservation, Karelian regional organization “Society of Soldiers' Mothers”, Karelian regional public organization “Green Association of Karelia”, etc.

c) Service organizations provide social assistance to certain groups of the population; provide services to citizens and organizations. These organizations include Karelian republican branch of the All-Russian non-commercial association “Russian Red Cross”, Charity Fond “Health of Karelia”. There are a lot of such organizations in our Republic.

d) Project organizations - the interests of this group are completely determined by the projects implemented by it. These organizations are “The Karelia Resource Center of NGOs” charitable trust “New Education”. There are a lot of such organizations in Karelia.

e) And finally the so called “Pocket Organizations”. They are created during the election, under the policy objectives for the implementation of financial schemes. I will not list these organizations, because I do not want to offend them. Everyone in our region knows what organizations were created by deputies, businessmen or political forces and that they were forced to work out financial support, and to work actively in the elections in favor of a deputy or a political force.

Another important problem of NGOs is that citizens do not treat NGOs as a mean to realize their interests. They continue to rely primarily on the state.

What is the problem of the state authorities?

- Authorities often do not know how to solve many problems because of their complexity, novelty, and lack of ready-made solutions;
- Authorities’ notion concerning the needs and interests of the citizens is not true;
• Authorities are not always capable in assessing and predicting the consequences of their decisions.

What resources do NGOs and the government have?

Mostly NGOs have human resources, based on the intrinsic motivation of citizens. Through these resources they have access to additional non-state funding sources, as well as reserves of the company, which are beyond any capital (intelligence) or authorities (freedom of creativity).

Government has state budget and management effects. Those are associated with the possibilities of financial and fiscal flexibility and administrative resources. Those forms of cooperation between the authorities and NGOs, which are known in Russia and are used to some extent in Karelia, are namely:

1) Economic
• Providing NGOs with grants, subsidies, including in the framework of ongoing projects fairs;
• Placement of social orders;
• Granting tax and other benefits;
• Providing NGOs with other benefits, including full or partial exemption from fees for the use of state and municipal property.

2) Non-Economic
• Joint activities;
• Public and expert councils (our organization participated in five public councils under different ministries and departments of Karelia);
• Participation of NGOs in the legislative process (Article 42 of the Constitution of the Republic of Karelia provides NGOs with that right but, unfortunately, NGOs hardly enjoy this right);
• Mutual consultation, training, information exchange and others.

What are the problems of more successful cooperation between the government and NGOs?
• Bureaucratic red tape; some government representatives underestimating the need to interact with NGOs;
• The availability of the rights of citizens and public associations to participate in decision-making processes, as the exponents of their will that affects their interests;
• The inability of the parties to hear each other;
• The vague understanding about each other’s activities and interests.

Principles for Cooperation with NGOs:

1. The Principle of the Process Control
   They need to control the interaction with NGOs rather than the organizations themselves, as NGOs are self-governing bodies!

2. The Principle of Encouraging Dependency
   They should support only those organizations that are capable of independent action.
3. The Principle of Supporting Initiatives

NGOs are strong with their ideas. What does not fit into the program of territorial socio-economic development today, may become a widespread practice tomorrow.

4. The Principle of Openness

After establishing contacts with a certain group, NGOs should ensure that the community remains open to new members and does not constitute a vicious circle of “those who are close to power”.

5. Principle of Public and Expert Examination

You cannot judge the uselessness or low efficiency of an organization, based solely on your own impression and managers’ opinion.

The Republic of Karelia is multi-national; it is a home of over 130 nationalities. Three municipal districts of Karelia (Kalevala, Onolents, Pryazha) are national districts where the Karelians prevail among other nations. There are 75 national-cultural autonomies in the republic.

All Karelian NGOs, no matter how they call themselves, regard Karelia as their homeland. They cherish its identity, culture, history and try to maintain respect towards Karelia’s society, the Karelian people and their traditions, as best as they can. The motto of the NGOs is: “We live and work in Karelia!” is the “leitmotif” through all their various activities. “Tolerance: the art of living together” - is the credo for the Karelian Resource Center of NGOs.

Since 2007, our NGO is seriously concerned with the strengthening of inter-ethnic relations, and the social and cultural adaptation of migrants. Our firm belief is that, despite the fact that the primary responsibility for maintaining peace and harmony in the Republic of course lies on the government, the role of the “third sector”, the NGOs working in the Republic, cannot be underestimated.

Of course, any NGO work in this field is interesting, but we are absolutely sure that maximum results can be achieved when two conditions are met:

- Close cooperation, both with the authorities and joining forces with other NGOs;
- The work should be carried out within the framework of national programs.

If those conditions are given, the NGO’s activities wouldn’t be isolated anymore but a general system for the solution of possible problems in this field.

Since 2007, our organization implemented more than 15 projects (large and small) in this field. We accumulated experience, gained a mechanism of interaction with NGOs and the authorities at both national and municipal levels. I would like to elaborate two results of our activity.

In 2007, with the support of the Ministry of the Republic of Karelia for National Politics, Relations with Public and Religious Associations, the administrations of the pilot areas and the Library Association of the Republic of Karelia, we managed to create an effective tool for working in the sphere of inter-ethnic harmony. This was in the three municipalities on the basis of regional libraries; Centers of social and cultural adaptation of migrants.

We invested strength and money to repair premises, buy equipment and literature, train specialists for the Center and people who would help them. All of these paid off in spades.
Almost ten years have passed since the end of the project, and these Centers work successfully. They do not only work, but they have created eight more Centers in other regions of Karelia.

There are Centers for the social and cultural adaptation of migrants in other regions of Russia which provide basic services (legal, social, and psychological). Our Centers provide the same services, but have also been created on the basis of regional libraries, with a huge data base by municipal standards. They have specialists (librarians), trained to work with people. That is why these Centers have become centers of attraction to the local people, and it is not by chance. These centers, by the nature of their activity and taking into account the accumulated experience, gradually switched to work with society and especially with school-age children. And these Centers of social and cultural adaptation for migrants changed their name to Centers of International Cooperation, taking first of all into account all of the work with people of different nationalities.

Taking into account the specificity of the different districts, Olonets national district, where a large number of Karelians live, we focus on maintaining and strengthening the language, dances, songs and traditions of Karelia, including the representatives of other nationalities residing in the district.

In Kondopoga municipal district, taking into account the proximity to the capital of Karelia - Petrozavodsk, where all cultural autonomies take place, we try to acquaint residents of the area with the culture and traditions of all of the peoples living in the Republic, by inviting them to local activities.

The Sortavala municipal district is the border district. It has close international relations with representatives of NGOs in Finland.

The Center of Kondopoga municipal district implemented a number of projects aimed at fostering tolerance:

- the project “In an Age of Tolerance - With Dolls”. The purpose of the project is to tell children about the culture of different peoples using dolls in national costume. During the Project, the festival “I, You, He, She - Together – We Are the Whole Country” was held;
- the project “Karelia: at the Crossroads of Cultures”. The aim of the project was the spreading of knowledge about the history, culture and traditions of native peoples of Karelia. During the Project, a conference “Native Peoples of Karelia” was held;
- the festival of the National Press;
- the “Days of Greek Culture”;
- the days of Ukrainian and Belarusian culture “Slavic World”;
- an information day “Multi-Cultural Fair: Advice and Information”. The purpose was to provide free access to information to the maximum number of desired through databases, printed materials, and expert advice;
- the project “From the Family Album of Ingrian Finns”;
- “Karelia: At the Crossroads of Cultures”;
- “National Cuisine”;
- “Interaction Between Women's Organizations to Enhance Women's Movement in a Multi-Cultural Society”;

https://doi.org/10.5771/9783845282213

Das Erstellen und Weitergeben von Kopien dieses PDFs ist nicht zulässig.
the “International Day of Poetry: White Nights in the Land “Kalevala”;
the publication of children's books in both languages, “Flower meadow” etc.

The center of Olonets national municipal district implemented the following:

- the scientific-practical conference “Olonets - the Spiritual Cradle of the Karelian People”;
- the festival “Olonets - the Goose Capital”;
- a workshop for high school students “Life in Harmony with Yourself and Others”.
  The goal of the project: training senior students to find a constructive way to get out of conflict situations;
- an information day for Migrants “Who and Where Will Help You”;
- a Seminar “Cooperation of Local Government, Law Enforcement, National and Religious Associations on the Harmonization of National and Confessional Relations and the Prevention of Inter-Ethnic and Inter-Religious Conflicts”;
- a festival of Karelian Literature named after V.E Brendoev “Here my Homeland Starts”;
- an event dedicated to the International Day of Tolerance “Talisman of my Heart”;
- the competition “Olonets - The Memory of our Hearts”;
- a round table “Mechanisms for Strengthening Inter-Ethnic Relations”.

The center of Sortavala municipal district carried out the following activities:

- an evening meeting “We are Children of Different Peoples”, dedicated to tolerant attitudes toward each other and friendships of the younger generation of our multi-national town;
- the participation in the contest of the Republican project “Karelia is our Home”;
- the Information Service Fair “Collaboration”;
- the project “Life and Work in the Republic of Karelia”;
- the project “Traveling Exhibition “Tell Extremism ´No´”;
- the project “Internet for You”;
- the Seminar “Tolerance and the Library - the Road to the Future”;
- the creative campaign “Tree of Tolerance”;
- the reader's conference “Peace in Your House”;
- the russian-finnish seminar “Poetry of Two Karelias”;
- the campaign “Christmas in the Nordic Countries”;
- the evening meeting “Its Unfashionable Word ´Mercy´”.

There are interesting types of work within the Centers, such as playing with children, and working with the elderly. In other Centers, there is work done with multi-national communication in Segezha, Belomorsk, Kostomuksha and others.

Based on the gathered experience of cooperation between the Karelian Resource Center of NGOs and public authorities, an effective mechanism for successful collaboration has been worked out. In the table, the vertical axis represents the algorithm of the project, study or activity implementation. The horizontal axis is a reflection of the parties' interaction.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vertical axis</th>
<th>Horizontal axis</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Defining the Agenda</strong></td>
<td><strong>Information</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Launching an initiative to unite the efforts of the government of Karelia, federal agencies, local authorities and non-governmental organizations to solve the problem. The project was developed on the basis of the target program.</td>
<td>Confirmation of the relevance of the problem in joint activities of authorities of the Republic of Karelia and non-governmental organizations. Centers of information concentration — seminars and working meetings with the participation of public authorities from the Republic of Karelia and non-governmental organizations. Carrying out sociological research and publication of information materials.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Drafting of the Project</strong></td>
<td><strong>Consultations</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The project was developed by a working group that consisted of NGOs and public authorities of the Republic of Karelia.</td>
<td>For The Karelian resource Center of NGOs, permanent mode of invitation by state officials to the sessions of the Government, Public and Coordinating Council under the Head of the Republic of Karelia and State Committee of the Republic of Karelia for National Politics, Relations with Public and Religious Associations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Decision</strong></td>
<td><strong>Dialogue</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The project is developed by a special work group, its presentation is held in the bodies of federal, republican and municipal authorities. As a result of this activity, it has been received their support (letters).</td>
<td>Leaders of non-governmental organizations, officials of municipal, republican and federal authorities are involved in the development and implementation of the project, for which purpose the dialogue platform between the government and third sector is used, the working meetings are conducted, the project team and working groups are formed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Implementation</strong></td>
<td><strong>Partnership</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collective activity is a mechanism for implementation of the project, during which the project team members, under the process of regular internal seminars, develop approaches for implementing and carrying out project activities, monitor project implementation and its result evaluation.</td>
<td>Authorities undertake some organizational issues and provide official information. Representatives of non-governmental organizations teach the target groups, prepare and publish methodical materials.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Monitoring</strong></td>
<td><strong>Program documents</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Monitoring of the effectiveness of achieving the objectives of the project is carried out by the authorities in the order of the planned activities, as well as during the discussion of joint activities.</td>
<td>The main program document “The Development of Civil Society Institutions and the Development of Local Self-Government, Protection of the Rights and Freedoms of Man and Citizen” (2014-2020)</td>
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<td><strong>Reformulation</strong></td>
<td><strong>Structures of the Cooperation</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A session, dealing with the project results, is conducted with the participation of the representatives of authorities, non-governmental organizations, focus groups. With the help of refinements and additions, the project activities in the Republic of Karelia are developed.</td>
<td>The main: Council of non-governmental organizations under the Chairman of the Legislative Assembly of the Republic of Karelia and the Public Council under the Head of the Republic of Karelia for the Prevention of Extremist Activity.</td>
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Source: own compilation
Socially-Oriented Organizations

Socially-oriented organizations are organizations in Russia that are based on social priorities. Our organization, because of statutory provisions and practices in this field, is a socially-oriented NGO. From the first days of our activity, we mainly focused on the support of the socially vulnerable social groups; the elderly people and people with disabilities.

During the first years of our work, we provided assistance to medical institutions of Karelia. We helped to acquit medical equipment and drugs. Then after 2006, the national project “Health” was started in Russia and the supply shortage of medical equipment and drugs was over. The law of benefits monetization for pensioners showed that the “third sector” should pay more attention to the elderly.-That is why we began to implement projects with people older than 50 years.

Demographic problems in Karelia are pronounced, but they are also typical for all of Russia: Firstly, the low birth rate is the reason for the aging and decreasing of the population. Secondly, demographic problems evolved because of special socio-economic conditions, poor medical care, and the inability to carry a healthy lifestyle.

Statistics show that old people in Russia live shorter than people in Finland and Norway. The Charity Fond “Health of Karelia” and the Karelian Resource Center of NGOs conducted research with the most vulnerable categories of the elderly.

The research of needs and demands of the elderly with the involvement of the latter, as an active participant in the process, was intended to make care for the elderly to satisfy their true needs. It should be aimed at protecting their rights and filling the gaps in the work of relevant state bodies and institutions. Types, forms, and methods of assistance should be defined taking into account points of view and wishes of the elderly themselves. The research, conducted with the involvement of beneficiaries was intended to start a dialogue and interaction with the state structures.

Basic goals are to:

- reflect the experiences, interests and ideas of the elderly so that those are going to be considred by the representatives of the authorities and aid organizations;
- contribute to the further development of the dialogue between third sector organizations and government agencies regarding the roles, responsibilities, spheres and the nature of accountability in the provision of care and support for the elderly;
- help NGOs to find their place in the overall system of activities, to provide practical assistance to the elderly and the organization of information advocacy and outreach activities aimed at defending their interests, with the involvement of the population.

During the meetings with elderly, the following questions came up in the joint discussion:

- nutrition;
- household and savings;
- social exclusion, as a side effect of poverty;
- isolation associated with environmental factors.

In the past, elderly residents of Karelia repeatedly demonstrated their ability to rise to the struggle for the defense of their rights. Especially their activity was high in the period of the adoption of the law about replacing benefits with monetary compensation. However,
when participants discussed the United Nations Principles about the elderly, they unanimously agreed that they should be given more opportunities to communicate, to discuss common problems and ways to solve them, as well as to communicate their voice to the competent authorities responsible for the development of the social sphere. First of all, they should report about the quality of services, as well as be involved in decision making processes and the implementation decisions that follow.

As a result of research, we came to the conclusion that the main vulnerabilities of the elderly (as they stated) relate to their complicated relationships with government agencies and institutions responsible for the social sector. That is why we concluded that the work of NGOs should be primarily aimed at contributing to improving and strengthening these relationships, rather than performing the relevant government functions and tasks. Although we knew that and one-time assistance from NGOs may lead to some short-term, qualitative changes in the lives of older people. However, there was a concern that such assistance without simultaneously establishing effective interaction between older people and responsible government bodies and structures will not help to eliminate the root cause of the problem.

Moreover, temporary reorientation of pensioners receiving help of the third sector, which is alternative to the support of government agencies, could provoke a further deterioration and rupture of relations between the elderly and social welfare and health care agencies.

Thus, we defined three problems that other NGOs and we faced during the organization of our work:

- We should help the most vulnerable amongst the elderly in solving their most acute and urgent problems or we should provide them directly with the necessary assistance or actively contribute to the production of such assistance, through the responsible government bodies and structures.
- We should increase the influence of the elderly in the legislative and executive bodies (primarily which are responsible directly for the development of the social sphere) by strengthening information and advocacy, educational and organizational work.
- We should ensure that the institutions and structures that provide public health and social services, as well as bodies and persons responsible for making the appropriate decisions, were more responsive to the real needs of the elderly, and also that they increase their accountability to the latter.

Our projects in this sphere, such as the creation of a territorial resource center for working with the elderly, improving the quality of life of older people in Karelia or the creation of a system of profile support for socially vulnerable categories of citizens in the Republic of Karelia, were carried out with the help of Polish colleagues from Gdansk and the fund “Samara Province”. They were just aimed at addressing problems raised in the research.

The second category of the most vulnerable people is the group of people with disabilities.

The concept “Accessible Environment” has become very popular in recent years. Since 2013, Russia launched a similarly-named state program, aimed at creating a barrier-free environment for people with disabilities. Our organization, together with our Finnish part-
ners, launched the international project “Learning Lab for Accessibility in Built Environment”. This project was aimed at improving the functionality of the surrounding areas for people with limited mobility. It is worth mentioning that we started this project before the federal program was launched.

The name of the project speaks for itself and includes both international meeting of Russian and Finnish partners to exchange experiences; as well as special “learning modules”, which served as a platform for training social workers. The most significant result of the project was networking between the project partners, social enterprises, as well as design and construction organizations of Karelia and Finnish enterprises for the production of special equipment and furniture for people with disabilities.

After the completion of the project in Petrozavodsk, there were two centers for the elderly where Finnish technology and equipment have been applied. In Kostomuksha, school №2 was equipped with accessible environment for children with disabilities. The project was carried out jointly by the Finnish and Russian designers.

In 2015 at the Museum “Kizhi”, we implemented a project together with Finnish experts. We created an accessible environment in the museum of wooden architecture known not only in Russia but also in the whole world.

Basically tourists’ places in Karelia are mostly situated in Petrozavodsk, Kizhi, Lake Ladoga – Balaam and “Blue” road, which lies amidst the beautiful lakes and rivers.

The role of NGOs is significant in the economic development sphere of the Republic of Karelia. Since 2004, our NGO engaged in the development of tourism as a priority direction of the economy in the Republic of Karelia.

In July 2004, we launched a project called “Training of Hotel Staff on the Basis of European Standards”, which was funded by the European Union. The main objective of the project was to develop and implement an effective model of hotel staff training. Partners of the project were Polytechnic University Savonia (Kuopio, Finland), the Ministry of Economic Development of the Republic of Karelia and Tourism Institute Karelian branch of the Russian International Academy of Tourism.

Between 2008 and 2009, our organization implemented the project “Education - Tourism - Health. Russian-Norwegian Tourism. Life-Long, Learning Partnership.” which was organized with the support of fund “New Eurasia”.

The project was implemented in the territory of Louhi district - the northern-most district in Karelia. From the Norwegian part, our partner was the museum “Varanger” (Vardo). From Karelia: the Ministry of Economic Development of the Republic of Karelia, Petrozavodsk branch of Petrovsky College, and the administration of Louhi district. Project participants set the aim to create conditions for sustainable socio-economic development of the northern territories of Karelia and Norway, through the introduction of continuous tourist education system, which is based on an institutional partnership.

During the implementation of the project with our Norwegian partners in 2008-2009, we were surprised that in the small town of Vardo there are about a dozen museums that are visited by hundreds of tourists every year.

Moreover, in this small Norwegian town, there are a lot of various international events, such as “Yukigassen” (team play in the snowballs, which came in Vardo and in Norway
from the Japanese town Sobettsu in the late 1990s), “Yukitantsu” (dancing in the snow glory) and the Pomor Festival.

During the implementation of the project in 2008-2009, we admired how our Norwegian partners created tourist products out of nowhere (the trip to the tundra, aurora, fascinating tour, the main feature of which was an opportunity for every tourist to look through binoculars and see the territories of three countries: Norway, Finland, Russia and the trip to the history museum of the witches of the 17th Century). Immediately, there is an analogy with the museums of the characters of the epos “Kalevala”.

Between 2009 and 2010, our organization implemented the project “Self-Employment - The Path to Success” in a number of pilot regions of the country. The main aim of the project was to create conditions for the organization of jobs in the pilot areas for further socioeconomic development and tourist attraction.

At the end of 2012, our organization won the tender of the ENPI CBC Program. On November 1st, 2013 we launched the project “White Road”.

Under the project “White Road”, we created the joint tourist products with Finnish partners. It was necessary to focus primarily not only on fishing and hunting (certainly not excluding this sphere), but also on the development of the so-called “cultural tourism” and to integrate things like Solovki-Islands, the White Sea-Baltic Canal, and the Petroglyphs in Belomorsk, that you could not find in Scandinavia or Europe.

One of the main tasks of the project “White road” is the creation of joint projects by participants in the two partner countries: Russia and Finland.

For our organization, it was the first big project designed for more than two years: 2012 – 2014. This project involved a large number of partners from the administrations of six northern districts of Karelia: Louhi, Kalevala, Kem, Belomorsk and Segezha, as well as the town of Kostomuksha, The Ministry of the Republic of Karelia of Youth Affairs, Physical Training, and Sports, Petrozavodsk State University, Karelian travel companies (“Intourist”, “Korela”), etc.

The leading partners from the Finnish side were the Kajaani University of Applied Sciences, Travel Agency Voigt (Netherlands), a number of educational institutions and tourism companies in Northern Finland.

Geography of the project is the northern territory of the Republic of Karelia, Petrozavodsk, Kainuu, Oulu (Northern Ostrobothnia).

The main goal of the project is to strengthen cross-border ties in the field of tourism and to attract the attention of tourists to the project area.

The project activities were designed:
- to attract tourists from other regions and from abroad to the project area;
- to strengthen the system of cooperation in the development and marketing of tourist products;
- to ensure investment in tourism development in the project area;
- to create an electronic service system and websites;
- to develop the education system in the tourism sector;
- to ensure the safe cross-border tourism.
It was important to improve the quality of tourism services on both sides of the border in the project area, to establish uniform quality standards for tourism services offered both in Finland and in Russia (Republic of Karelia).

Tourism development in the northern territories of Karelia is mainly for the employment of people rather than budgetary recharge. If we want tourism industry to gain significant traction, we need to create a huge infrastructure, excellent roads, modern ski resorts, and sustainable energy.

The implementation of the project “White Road” was the most successful for our organization in economic development. The project took second place at the Russian contest “Russian Miracle” and we received a diploma from the Ministry of Economic Development of the Russian Federation as the best project of cross-border cooperation between Russia and the EU.

Karelia is a border area in the European Union and it is natural that the Karelian Resource Center of NGOs and other NGOs have quite close ties with foreign partners and the European institutions, in particular with the Council of Europe and the Nordic Council of Ministers.

From the beginning of the 1990’s, non-governmental organizations of the Republic of Karelia have started active cooperation with European NGOs, first of all with Finland. But the system’s turning point was in 2005. According to our point of view, it happened in January at the Petrozavodsk conference “Cross-Border Cooperation between Russian and Foreign NGOs in the North-West of the Russian Federation”.

The aim of the conference was to determine the place and role of NGOs in the development of cross-border cooperation between the Russian Federation and neighboring countries (through the example of Karelia).

This aim was achieved and, moreover, it gave a huge boost to further development.

In the autumn of 2005, there was an international forum in Petrozavodsk “Development of Cooperation of Non-Governmental Organizations in the European North: Status and Prospects”. It was conducted with the support of the Council of Europe and the Russian Foreign Ministry. Our organization took an active part in the preparation and carrying out of this event.

An important outcome of the forum was the fact that we could attract attention of the Council of Europe to cooperate not only with the leading Moscow-based NGO, but also with regional non-governmental organizations. As they told us, they “opened their eyes” towards a number of NGOs in the regions which carry out social initiatives and trying to develop a civil society. In addition to this, after this forum, our NGOs became increasingly involved in European cooperation through participation in forums and conferences. It significantly increased the quality of our events.

After the forum, we were given the status of a national partner of the Council of Europe. Since that time, we worked quite closely with INGOs and the Director General for Political Affairs of the Council of Europe. Employees of our organization participated in all European forums “Future of Democracy” which took places in Moscow, Stockholm, Madrid, and Kiev. They also participated at the 3rd Regional NGO Congress of the Council of Europe in Penza, spoke at the plenary and section sessions, participated in the prepara-
tion of documents. It was together with the Council of Europe and INGOs (Conference of International Non-Governmental Organizations).

In 2007, 2009 and 2011, on behalf of the Council of Europe, we organized international seminars in Petrozavodsk: “The Practice of the Current Legislation in Relation to Non-Profit Organizations” and “Strengthening the Role of Non-Governmental Organizations Dealing with the Protection of the Culture and Languages of National Minorities” and “The development of Finnish and Karelian Languages in the Context of Globalization”. For our small organization, and Karelia as a whole, it is responsible enough.

Programs of the Nordic Council of Ministers play an important role in the mutual cooperation of non-governmental organizations.

The cooperation of the North-West, in particular, the Republic of Karelia with certain regions provides extension relations with the north of Europe through the Nordic Council of Ministers and increases the degree of interaction between the various regional and international organizations active in certain regions.

Our organization works in the programs of the Nordic Council of Ministers in two directions: the first is participation in projects, when our employees go to Europe to get new experiences and new expertise in a variety of fields including culture, protection of minority languages, etc. And the second is the participation in joint projects in priority fields for the Baltic Sea countries.

The Karelian Recourse Center of NGOs began a dialogue and cooperation with Polish NGOs in 2006. During this time, we found a lot of partners in different cities of Poland. We were able to implement about ten Russian-Polish projects. These are some of them:
- “Youth Cooperation - Training for Young Leaders of the National Associations”;
- “Equal to Equal. Applying Polish Experience in working with the Unemployed in Karelia”;
- Non-Governmental Organizations for the Improvement of Living Conditions of Karelia Elderly Population.

During the implementation of these projects, 100 people from Karelia visited Poland, participated in youth camps, various seminars and became acquainted with the activities of NGOs in these countries. We have hosted three delegations of activists of the Polish “third sector” in Karelia, and not only in Petrozavodsk, but also in the Kondopoga, Pryazha, and Sortavala districts. The work of our organization was assessed by the Polish Consulate General in St. Petersburg.

In Karelia, dozens of projects were actively implemented under the program “Cross-Border Cooperation in the Framework of the European Neighborhood and Partnership Instrument”. In 2017, the new ENPI program starts. It will finish in 2020.

Over the years, Karelian Resource Center of NGOs gained experience in cooperation with business and government, repeatedly acted as the organizer of seminars and meetings of different levels and scale. Now, we can say that we know how to help. We have sufficient material and technical foundation, volunteers, experts and significant potential for further work.
Social Partnership in the Sphere of Legal Awareness of Socially-Oriented NGOs. The Experience of Petrozavodsk

Anastasia Lesik

Abstract: In the article author considers the practice of project activity on legal education of representatives of socially-oriented non-profit organizations (SO NGOs) and problematic issues of representatives of the third sector and methods for their solution within the framework of the project "Legal support of socially-oriented non-profit organizations". Consideration of the practice of the project allowed to analyze the social partnership between NGOs and public authorities built in the process of implementation the project and to analyze main results of the project activity on legal education of NGOs.

Keywords: civil society, socially oriented NGOs, social partnership, legal education, project activity

The projects on enhancing legal awareness of non-governmental organizations, which are conducted by the Association of “Jurists for civil society” (Moscow)1 in affiliation with the Karelian resource Center of NGOs2, have been implemented in Karelia since 2007 for the purpose of free legal assistance provision. According to the legislation, the legal awareness of the various social groups can be provided by government bodies, local self-government bodies, state law offices, attorneys, notary officers3, law clinics and non-governmental, free legal aid centers.4 All aforementioned subjects respond to steady alterations in legislation, and introduction of the legal statuses, but their interpretations of legislation in power do not always coincide. Hence, there is a need for a constant mutual analysis of the current legal matters.

Taking into consideration the changes to the regulatory framework — the introduction of the federal laws “On Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of the Russian Federation on the Issue of Support for Socially-oriented Non-Profit Organizations”5 and “Concerning the Fundamental Principles of Social Services for Citizens in the Russian Federation”6 in

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late 2015, the Ministry of Economic Development of Russia allocated a subsidy for the Association of “Jurists for Civil Society” for the project “Legal Support for Socially-oriented Non-Profit Organizations” (hereinafter referred to as — the project). This covers 50 regions in Russia.

The project started at the end of 2015 and is divided into two stages:
- the first stage – from November 2015 to December 2016;
- the second phase – from January 2017 to December 2017.

The project aims at “strengthening the practice of professional legal support for socially-oriented non-profit organizations in the regions of Russia by means of expanding the scope of support and improving professional expertise of the non-profit sector jurists”\(^7\). Socially-oriented non-profit organizations were selected as the project target group, since these organizations engage in the activities aimed at solving social problems, the development of civil society.\(^8\) The corresponding government programs for these non-governmental organizations are operating at all power levels in Russia:

The state program “Social Support for Citizens” runs until 2020 (it was developed by the Government of the Russian Federation) and is expected to result in the establishment of a transparent and competitive system of government support for socially-oriented, non-profit organizations that will ensure the efficiency and financial sustainability of socially-oriented non-profit organizations. Owing to the offering of financial support for non-profit organizations, there is an expected increase in the range of social services provided by socially-oriented, non-profit organizations. In 2016, 1,178,101,868 rubles (about 15,700,000 Euro) and in 2017, 1,257,056,400 rubles (about 16,745,000 Euro) were allocated from the budget for these purposes. These funds are distributed across the budgets of all territorial entities and municipalities, whereupon non-profit organizations can receive them on a competitive basis:

1) project activities implementation subsidies;
2) special purpose consumer subsidies;
3) to award government contracts;
4) to receive compensation for the provision of social services.\(^9\)

\(^7\) Despite the fact that the aim of the project is to enhance the practice of professional legal support for socially-oriented (SO) NGOs in the regions of the Russian Federation, legal support was distributed mainly on the SO NGOs at the municipal level.

\(^8\) The complete list consisting of 18 types of activity is presented in item 31.1 of the Federal Law “On Non-Profit organizations”. The status of “Socially-oriented Non-Profit Organization” is not assigned by the authority, is not limited, and, in fact, depends on the availability of these types of activities in the of organization's charter. Simultaneously, the confirmation that the NGO is engaged particularly in socially-oriented activities (as opposed to others, envisaged in its charter) is not required.

There is an operating program “The Development of Civil Society Institutions and the Development of Local Self-Government, Protection of the Rights and Freedoms of a Man and a Citizen for the Period 2014-2020”\textsuperscript{10} in the Republic of Karelia that enables provision for socially-oriented non-profit organizations through grants from the regional budget.

However, in order to receive financial support, a socially-oriented NGO has to satisfy a large number of requirements, among which are legal awareness and legal culture. Therefore, the major purpose of the “Legal Support for Socially-oriented Non-Profit Organizations” project is “to promote the improvement of the practical application of legislation, governing the interaction among the authorities and socially-oriented NGOs (in particular, the state support for socially-oriented NGOs), at the federal and regional levels”.

Thus, the regional representatives of the Association of “Jurists for Civil Society” were assigned the following tasks:

1. to expand the spheres of information and consultation for socially-oriented NGOs, concerning relevant legislation issues and
2. to strengthen the organizational capacity of socially-oriented NGOs through the enhancement the legal literacy of a socially-oriented NGOs’ directors and employees.\textsuperscript{11}

Each jurist of the project received instructions in their own region. In order to solve the first objective, the opening suggestion was to build a constructive dialogue with representatives from socially-oriented NGOs. For instance, to invite them to organized events and to send letters to them, responding to which managers, staff, and volunteers of socially-oriented NGOs could specify what kind of assistance they need:

- receiving notifications of changes in the legislation regulating the activities of non-profit organizations;
- participation in the events devoted to the discussion of relevant legal topics;
- consultation on legal issues concerning non-profit organizations’ activities;
- examination of organization’s documents for the compliance with relevant laws and regulations;
- assistance in the preparation of new documents.

The lawyer proceeded to address the task on enhancing the legal literacy SO NGOs after he had become aware of the need of the non-governmental organizations. In this regard, it is necessary to identify the problems faced by non-profit organizations in their activity.

Those questions, which coursed concerns among representatives of socially-oriented non-profit organizations, can be roughly divided into several groups on the basis of popularity:

\textsuperscript{10} Ratified by the Republic of Karelia Government Resolution dated 12/19/2013 N 365-P (as amended of 31.03.2014).

Firstly, these are the questions related to the receipt of funding from all levels of the Russian budgetary system (search for the corresponding competitive tenders and programs at the regional and local levels): grants\(^\text{12}\), private donations from businesses, inclusion into the register of social services providers\(^\text{13}\) (preparation of necessary documents, the requirements for the NGO which are engaged in the provision of social services), the amount and order of compensation receipt, tax concessions for providers of social services, and other rights and obligations of the social services providers.

Secondly, these are the issues related to the interaction with public authorities: sending submissions of the NGO representatives to functionaries, the non-governmental organizations reporting on their activities, preparation for the inspections conducted by the state bodies, legal liability of NGO managers and concerning the observation of legislative acts governing the NGO activity, the terms of the inclusion of the non-profit organization in the register of non-profit organizations performing functions of a foreign agent\(^\text{14}\).

Thirdly, these are corporate issues (record keeping): what documents the non-profit organizations should necessarily have, how to conclude agreements with non-profit organization, and how to introduce amendments to the NGO’s founding document. Additionally, there are questions related to the taxation and accounting that often arise\(^\text{15}\).

Fourthly, these are the questions concerning the information space: what are the existing legal risks for non-profit organizations operating in the information realm? What law principles must the NGOs possessing their own website be aware of? What can a NGO publish on its website alongside its own materials?

Fifthly, these are the matters concerning legislative amendments for the NGOs. The representatives from the socially-oriented NGOs rarely asked questions about the latest changes. Although there were more than 20 amendments to the NGO law in 2016, among which the regulations for missionary work through religious organizations\(^\text{16}\), which also represent a certain kind of non-profit organizations, is the most remarkable example.

Most often, these issues were resolved within a framework of delivering events as well as by means of providing judicial advice in a form convenient for a non-profit organiza-

\(^{12}\) One of the major mechanisms of state support for the non-profit organizations in Russia is presidential grants to non-state, non-profit organizations. [Link](http://grants.oprf.ru/competitions/) (28.06.2017). However, in 2016 it appeared that the NGOs in Petrozavodsk are less interested in receiving grants considering that only a few organizations can receive them.

\(^{13}\) Inclusion in the Register of social service providers gives the right to non-profit organizations to receive a monthly indemnity for rendered social services and tax concessions (Article 2 of the Federal Law of 12/29/2014 N 464-FZ “On Amendments to Part Two of the Tax Code of the Russian Federation”).

\(^{14}\) The status of “Foreign Agent” is assigned to a non-profit organization providing that the NGO is getting foreign funding and participating in a political activity. In 2016, the definition of “Political Activities” of non-profit organizations was amended, for which reason many socially-oriented NGOs, by definition, cannot be recognized as “Foreign Agents”.

\(^{15}\) These questions were redirected by me to more experienced and qualified accountants of the NGOs.

\(^{16}\) Federal Law of 7/6/2016 № 374-FZ places restrictions on the engagement of citizens in religious organizations: religious organizations can encourage citizens to join their organizations in particular places and if they have special permits. The violation of the rules by a religious organization implicates substantial fines.
tion. At this point in Petrozavodsk, there have been more than 90 consultations for 75 different NGOs held:

Fig. 1: Legal consultations for NGOs (in absolute numbers, by type)

![Consultation Types Graph]

Source: own compilation.

After providing recommendations, the lawyer assessed the results of his own activity in the report on legal support for 25 socially-oriented NGOs. He described the content of legal assistance during a quarter period and pointed out how his work influenced the activities of non-profit organizations.

In addition to the consultations, each jurist has to conduct ten to 12 events each a year:
- seminars lasting more than four hours with participation of at least 30 people;
- round-table meetings (lasting more than 1.5 hours with at least 15 people);
- information oriented meetings – at least one hour with more than 10 people.

The following events were held in Petrozavodsk and Olonets. They were attended by more than 170 representatives of socially-oriented NGOs and the government bodies\(^\text{17}\), which provided information and other support. They are as follows:

\(^{17}\) Among them there were the Petrozavodsk City Administration, The Ministry of the Republic of Karelia on National Politics, Relations with Public and Religious Associations and Mass Media, Ministry of Labour and Employment of the Republic of Karelia, Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Karelia.
Table 1: Meetings of representatives of NGOs and government bodies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Meeting Description</th>
<th>Date</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>The round-table meeting “Possibilities of Socially-Oriented NGOs to Receive Government Funding for Providing Social Services”</td>
<td>22.01.2016</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>The round-table meeting “On the Tax, Accounting, Statistical and Other Forms of Reporting on the Activities of SO NGOs”</td>
<td>11.03.2016</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Seminar “Mission is Achievable: How an NGO Can Pass an Inspection without any Serious Consequences.”</td>
<td>30.03.2016</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Information-oriented meeting “Easily Render a Report to the Justice Ministry!”</td>
<td>30.03.2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>The round-table meeting “Enhancing Legal Awareness of Chief Executives and Employees: Knowledge in Aid of SO NGOs”</td>
<td>24.05.2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>The round-table meeting “Socially-Oriented NGOs as Social Services Providers: Possibilities and Limitations”</td>
<td>02.06.2016</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Seminar “Legal Risks NGO, Related to Public Activities”</td>
<td>23.09.2016</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Information-oriented meeting “From Missionary Work to Social Services”</td>
<td>13.10.2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>The round-table meeting “Establishment of the NGOs’ Guardianship Boards”</td>
<td>23.11.2016</td>
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</table>

Source: own compilation.

The aforementioned topics of the events were coordinated by the lawyer among the non-profit organizations, government bodies (which provided the facilities for meetings and conferences as well as information support) in Petrozavodsk and the Association of “Jurists for Civil Society” (which also provided advisory support and approved the meeting’s topics).

Arrangement of such events was the foundation for the successful implementation of the project: the lawyer was made familiar with the needs and issues of interest for the NGOs during their in-person meetings, as well as during organized events.

At the same time, these public meetings provided the socially-oriented NGOs with the opportunity to give feedback to the authorities. That is to say, they allow demonstrating how the recent decisions of the legislative and executive bodies are perceived by the NGOs and what issues need to be tackled in the first place. Actually, these are the questions that the NGOs address with the lawyer.

Despite the fact that the first phase of the project „Legal Support for Socially-Oriented, Non-Profit Organizations“ has not yet been completed, it still delivered interesting results.

At the level of Petrozavodsk, the project is effective and beneficial for a variety of reasons. Firstly, it contributes to the increase in legal awareness and legal culture of chief executives and workers of socially-oriented NGOs, and to the decrease in the risks stemming from legal ignorance that may lead to the usage of sanctions, fines to the extent of the or-
organization dissolution. Unlike other non-profit organizations, socially-oriented NGOs are more attentive to the legislation. At this phase of the project, socially-oriented NGOs in Petrozavodsk and Karelia, in concert with the authorities, are discussing the organization of social services for citizens under federal law № 442-FZ “Concerning the Fundamental Principles of Social Services for Citizens in the Russian Federation”, inclusion into the Register of socially-oriented NGOs providers of social services, and the introduction of the status “Non-Profit Organization - Executor of Public Utility Services”\textsuperscript{18} from January 1, 2017. That allows SO NGOs to receive governmental support. The socially-oriented NGO that provides social services for more than a year, does not perform functions of a foreign agent and has no tax or other mandatory payments and in arrears can be granted the status of NGO – Executor of Public Utility Services.

Secondly, it should be noted that a sufficient level of legal literacy allows us to implement new and current projects. The less socially-oriented NGOs are engaged in the legal issues of their activity organization, the more resources and time they can spend on the implementation of their statutory activity. The latter provides opportunities to improve the quality of social services for the local citizens, makes decisions concerning the issues of local significance, and enables more active participation of various local community representatives. For instance, Karelian regional NGO for social rehabilitation and support “Vozrozhdenie” provides assistance for other NGOs on the issues of inclusion in the register of providers of social services and lobbies the tariff increases of social services, thus advocating the interests of other SO NGOs and recipients of these services. Currently, in the register of social service providers of the Republic of Karelia\textsuperscript{19}, there are four socially-oriented NGOs that work with a specific target audience, provide services which are free of charge and closer to the public, and have the experience and resources to deliver these social services. Legal support for providers of social services encourages their competitive performance with the existing Petrozavodsk municipal system of social services. The latter consists of only two institutions, on the basis of which, the work with low-income families with children, pensioners, the disabled, families with disabled children, and citizens experiencing hardship\textsuperscript{20} is organized.

In the third place, the problem of interaction between the SO NGOs and government authorities has been solved. Thus, at the events organized within the framework of the project, the NGOs could share about their problems to public authorities and put forward their own proposals. Almost at all the meetings with the participation of officials the directors of NGOs pointed out the inadequacy of existing funding received from the municipal and regional budgets being parts of the federal budget system. The major reason is the specific


character of the sphere of a NGOs’ activities. Although virtually every NGO in the Russian Federation is considered to be a socially-oriented one, the settlement of social, cultural and economic problems for the socially-oriented NGOs is labor-consuming, and the “rules of the game” (legal regulation) are in constant alteration. Therefore, socially-oriented NGOs need more interaction with public authorities and state support. Trying to compensate for the lack of funding, socially-oriented NGOs raise additional resources at the local level which include, for instance, searching for partners among non-profit organizations, and non-financial (mostly informational, advisory) forms of support from public authorities.

All these above mentioned reasons elucidate the current attention to the project implementation from socially-oriented non-profit organizations and the inclusion of new representatives, which are ready to become project partners. Initially, only the Karelian Resource Center of Non-Governmental Organizations lent support for the lawyer in Petrozavodsk, while now there are more NGOs involved in this project. Among them there are the Karelian Regional NGO for Social Rehabilitation and Support “Vozrozhdenie”, the Social and Cultural Center of NGOs, and the Center for the Territories Promotion that developed the website for Karelian NGOs21, providing information about the project and presenting legal materials.

In this regard, I express my gratitude to the Director General of the Karelian Resource Center of Non-Governmental Organizations, representatives of the Karelian Regional NGO for Social Rehabilitation and Support “Vozrozhdenie”, the Director of Social and Cultural Center for NGOs, Director of the Center for the Promotion of the Territories, the representatives of the Department of Administrative Support of the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Karelia, personnel of the Ministry of National Policy, Relations with Civil Society, Religious Organizations and the Media of the Republic of Karelia and the Petrozavodsk City Administration, for providing considerable assistance in the organization of events and the publicity of the project “Legal Support for Socially-Oriented, Non-Profit Organizations”. In 2017, high hopes are set for the involvement in the project and provision of legal support for socially-oriented NGOs in other districts of the Republic of Karelia, as receiving legal aid is more complicated for them. Therefore, the development of a social partnership of non-profit organizations in the field of legal education contributes to the increase and improvement of legal awareness and legal culture of the directors and employees of socially-oriented NGOs (their internal control over their own activities), which allows them to tackle the problem of interaction among non-profit organizations state and municipal authorities, and enables new and current projects implementation. Legal awareness of non-profit organizations takes legislation amendments into account and contributes to the elaboration of a new legal practice at the regional and local levels. It allows socially-oriented NGOs not only to become eligible for government support, but also provides the population with free social services of proper quality, participation in solving issues of local significance and encourages more active engagement from local community representatives.

PART 6: LOCAL POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
Cultural and Social Exchange as a Vital Part of Citizen Participation. Petrozavodsk’s View

Natalya Lavrushina

Abstract: Petrozavodsk’s sister relations started in the 1960s and are now part of the city’s life, in which citizens, authorities, institutions and NGOs are involved. In general, these decades of cooperation have been working towards development of the city and active citizen participation in the process. The communication system from the different proponents of international relations has been created in this city. And since the very beginning of the sister relation role of NGOs – friendship societies have been and are first and foremost very important. The relations between Petrozavodsk and Tübingen are a good example of different levels of successful cooperation.

Keywords: sister cities, international relations, public diplomacy, joint projects, territorial development.

For centuries, international relations had been a prerogative of governments and states. The 20th century seriously changed communication between states and peoples. A phenomenon called the “People’s Diplomacy” developed first in the 20th century. And today, active participation of citizens in international relations is our reality.

Petrozavodsk began to develop sister city relations in the 1960s during the “cold war” period; this was the only accessible form of international relations for the Soviet cities at the time. The first contacts were established with the closest neighbors - the Finns, and the first sister city Varkaus appeared. In the 1970s, two more cities, La Rochelle (France) and Umeå (Sweden), established contact with Petrozavodsk. Such was the beginning of our international relations.

Today, we have 13 agreements on sister relations with cities from 11 countries. For the last few years, we celebrated the 50th anniversary of sister relations with Varkaus, 40 years with La Rochelle and Umeå, and 25 with Tübingen. These jubilees were warmly received on both sides. We should point out the fact, that cooperation with our traditional partners has been important and actively supported by the citizens of Petrozavodsk for all these years.

In 2017, Petrozavodsk and Duluth (Minnesota, USA) commemorate the 30th anniversary of the signing of the Friendly Relations’ Agreement.

We can say these decades of sister relations work on us today – it proves the fact that the consistent participants of different international initiatives and projects are many regional and municipal authorities and institutions, higher and professional educational institutions, companies and other structures of the republic and the city. Repeated sociological polls confirm the importance of international relations for citizens. Karelian Research Center at the Russian Academy of Science, Petrozavodsk State University, Petrozavodsk State Conservatory, and many NGOs play a very active role in the realization of different international exchanges and projects. Since the 1990s, the main aim of the development of in-
International relations, which applies to several organizations, exists in Petrozavodsk. Practically all it means a wide network covering different areas of the city’s life has been functioning.

Besides it should be mentioned that for centuries Petrozavodsk was and is the capital of one of the Russian border regions – the Olonets province in the 18th century XVIII – early 20th century and the Republic of Karelia now. Since the very beginning in the 18th century, Petrozavodsk was connected to Europe and Europeans – the Northern war between Russia and Sweden which caused the establishment of the Petrovsky factory and settlement was a part of European (World) policy and international relations at that time. Many Europeans wrote interesting pages in the history of the city.

The Republic of Karelia is one of the Russian regions, which have actively participated in international relations since the early 1990s. Hundreds of international projects had been put into practice for these years; all the municipalities have sister towns abroad. A number of republican program and conceptual documents targeted the development and improvements of international relations were elaborated on and came to life even during the 1990s and 2000s.

That is why relations with the neighbors from the other side of the border have always been especially important here. There has always been a full and clear understanding of the importance of having true friendship with neighbors, and this fact is the main condition for stability and effective international relations.

International relations are a system of connections which has been constructed over the years. It is the process which requires not only one’s foreign language speaking habits but, first of all, learning the culture, the partner´s traditions and the readiness to accept your interlocutor’s point of view and having the willingness to understand them.

A very special role in these systems and processes belongs to the civil society. Since the very beginning of our sister-relations in 1960-1970, the public took actively part in the establishment and development of relations between the foreign twin cities. At that time, it was mainly the friendship societies, local branches of the All-Union Societies like “USSR – Finland”, “Friends of France”, “USSR – Sweden”, etc. And still we can see that the most interesting and regular contacts exist between the cities where public participation and official contacts go hand-in-hand. Today in Petrozavodsk, there are more than 40 friendship-and national-cultural societies which keep contacts with the similar societies and the other NGOs in other countries. They used to organize different exchanges and initiate cooperation projects.

Relations between Petrozavodsk and Tübingen is a good example of such cooperation between both cities’ administrations and NGOs – “West – Ost” and “Karelia – Germany” societies. Since 1989, when the official Friendship Agreement was signed, both sides used to coordinate their activities on the official and the citizens’ levels. The 2012-2013 Russia – Germany Cultural Year and the jubilee year 2014 of 25th anniversary of relations have been celebrated both in Petrozavodsk and Tübingen. They were full of cultural, educational and public activities organized jointly by the municipalities and the “West – Ost” and “Karelia – Germany” societies. A special DVD about joint jubilee events was prepared.
Besides the friendship societies, some other organizations and NGOs from two cities used to keep direct contact in different years. The Red Cross branches, organizations for the disabled, music, sport and secondary schools, communal companies Stadtwerke Tübingen and Petrozavodsk Communal Systems, Tübingen Landestheater and the National Theatre of Karelia, the post offices, etc. should be mentioned.

In general, by the efforts of the public volunteers, many different joint projects were initiated in the fields of humanitarian communication and the whole system of official and unofficial contacts dealing with social, cultural, sport, and inter-ethnic life in both cities has been created. Realization of such projects involved dialogue of thousands of citizens. Among them are pupils, teachers, artists, sportsmen, experts, members of the city councils and municipal officers.

A joint publication of the cities’ administrations “Tübingen – Petrosawodsk: Stadtpartnerschaft” published in 2012 was devoted to this experience of cooperation.

Besides the projects realized in the form of everyday partner communication such as theater performances, concerts, art and photo exhibitions, sport competitions, professional traineeships and exchanges, international conferences and seminars in both cities, one of the most successful forms of joint work is the ‘Days of Germany’ in Petrozavodsk and the ‘Karelian Week’ in Tübingen, which have been repeatedly organized during all the years of cooperation.

Days of Germany in Petrozavodsk were organized several times during the last decade - in 2004, 2010, 2013, and 2016. Success of the Days in Petrozavodsk is due to the fact that there are people and organizations having good relations with the German partners and who are interested in learning German culture, language, traditions and contemporary Germany. Such actions give a so-called synergistic effect of cooperation. The concept of such actions is about coordinating plans for different components; different institutions used to only be concerned with their own activities, but by combining efforts they all achieve much more important and visible results, both in attracting greater attention in their audience and media, and in new resources and partners – just as many small streams create a big river. It is an example of quite successful networking between the civil society and municipalities’ structures in the field of public diplomacy.

The Days of Germany in Petrozavodsk in September 2016 can show the mechanism of preparation and realization of such actions. It started in 2015, based on the results of work and discussions about the 25 years of cooperation. During 2014, a special research project “Kommunale Politik im Wandel” was supported by the cities’ administrations. This was related to the experience of the development between Petrozavodsk and Tübingen over 25 years, since the signing of the agreement in 1989, led by Dr. Rolf Frankenberger from the Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences of Tübingen University. In 2015, during one talk in Tübingen, an idea to organize discussions for representatives of the scientific community and NGOs concerning public participation in the development of municipalities in

1 Stadtpartnerschaft or Städtepartnerschaft is the German word for „town twinning“.
2 Kommunale Politik im Wandel means Local Politics under Change and refers to the manifold changes in determinants and regulations of local politics during the past 25 years.
Russia and Germany, next autumn in Petrozavodsk, appeared. The idea was supported by the Institute of History, Political and Social Sciences of Petrozavodsk State University. At the same time, the Tübingen “West – Ost” society and Petrozavodsk City Exhibition Hall arranged an exhibition of artists from both cities in 2016. And the third part of the preliminary program was the idea of inviting musicians. A jazz-pianist and composer Patrick Bebelaar and his Moscow colleague – vibraphonist Vladimir Golouhov agreed to perform in Petrozavodsk. The “Petrozavodsk” foundation and Petrozavodsk City Administration prepared an application to the German Embassy in Moscow grant program. Those were the initial actions of the ‘Days of Germany’. Step by step a number of other partners joined the initiative.

Finally, the ‘Days of Germany’ in Petrozavodsk in September 2016 were supported by the Karelian Resource Center of NGOs, the Petrozavodsk Children Music-Choral School, Karl Rautio Musical College, the National Library of Karelia, the Art-Residence of the Ministry of Culture of Karelia, and the Petrozavodsk German Cultural center. From the German side, the project was also supported by the Consulate General of Germany in Saint-Petersburg, the Administration of Tübingen, Tübingen University, and the Goethe-Center in Saint-Petersburg. The Days’ program coordinator was Petrozavodsk city’s administration’s manager for International Relations.

The ‘Days of Germany’ were opened by the joined exhibition of four female artists - Jutta Czcon-Vorwerk (Tübingen), Marlene Neumann (Reutlingen), Olga Juntunen and Xenia Trofimova (both from Petrozavodsk) – “Reise zur Harmonie” (engraving, crayon, aquarelle) in the City Exhibition Hall on September 1st.

During that month, the program included a number of cultural and informational events:

- a master-class by Jutta Czcon-Vorwerk for young artists;
- a presentation of Tübingen’s artist Margaret Bauer’s work, presented to the art gallery of Derzhavisky lyceum;
- concerts and master-classes for Patrick Bebelaar’s and Vladimir Golouhov’s students with their own program “Highly in the Clouds”;
- open lectures from Ernest Tsypkin, Associate Professor of the German and French languages’ chair of Petrozavodsk University “Breakup and Reunification of Germany after the WWII”;
- literary soiree with Dagmar Leopold presenting her book «Nach den Kriegen» in the National library of Karelia;
- a number of lectures and presentations about contemporary Germany in some schools of the city conducted by students of Petrozavodsk University and representatives from some of the NGOs;
- open lectures held by Rolf Frankenberger for History and Political Studies students from Petrozavodsk University on “Political Culture and Participation – a comparative perspective”.

The final event of the Days became the Round Table “Public Participation in the Development of Municipalities in Russia and Germany”. Its purpose was discussion concerning experience and possibilities of dialog and cooperation between representatives of the academic community, civil society and authorities in Petrozavodsk and Tübingen.
Rolf Frankenberger held a lecture on the experience of public participation in Baden-Württemberg and Tübingen. Elena Chernenkova and Aleksand Ilyin, from the Institute of History, Political and Social Sciences, analyzed the existing regional and municipal practices of communication between authorities and civil society in Karelia. Representatives of the third Sector - Nikolay Os’kin (Karelian Resource center of NGOs), Artyom Shishkin (Support Center for Territorial Development), Elena Antoshko (Development Center for Youth and Public Initiatives) spoke about their organizations’ best practices concerning dialogue between society and authorities, public control, and information support of NGOs’ work in realizing socially important projects on the municipal level. This discussion has shown the significance of comparative interdisciplinary studies which can annotate the current experience of dialogue between society and authorities. As a result, it promotes the functionality of municipal and civil structures more effectively.

Without exaggeration, it can be said that hundreds of Petrozavodsk citizens of different ages and occupations have been participants of the ‘Days of Germany’. The Days were positively covered in the local media (TV, radio, newspapers and internet-resources) from more than 20 sources.

Such actions, except for becoming acquainted with the culture and history of the other countries, are also an effective instrument for both internal dialogue and partnership between the city and the external world. Success of these events depends on serious organizational work; including the preparation of applications and negotiations with partners and possible supporters, especially in lieu of very limited financial resources, when a lot of work is done during daily operations, owing to the great enthusiasm of the volunteers.

Experience of cooperation within such actions can also help in the realization of other important social projects.

One of the most significant characteristics of the ‘Days of Germany’ in Petrozavodsk was joint participation of representatives of professional, creative and volunteer communities in preparation and organization of the events. The vital focus on active involvement of the generation of younger citizens was caused by the fact that activists of establishing relations between Petrozavodsk and Tübingen are getting elder and less active. Another important task was and remains supporting tolerance towards cultural traditions of other peoples and nationalities.

The Days and culture of different countries are welcomed by the citizens. It is already a positive tradition which lets us meet people of other cultures every year. Petrozavodsk is the city in which the public anticipates interesting events and respects all sorts of unusual creative works. The Onego Lake Walk with the sister cities’ contemporary sculptures’ park proves this point.

We also used to organize Petrozavodsk’s Days in our sister cities. Due to financial and organizational limits on both sides, usually the resources are devoted to the sister cities’ jubilees. For example, Petrozavodsk’s Days in Varkaus (Finland) in 2015 was the commemoration the 50th anniversary of cooperation, and in 2014 was the 25th anniversary of agreement between Petrozavodsk and Tübingen. The mechanism of preparation of such events is similar to the ‘Days of Germany’ in Petrozavodsk and includes informational and cultural events which can be interesting for the general public and specialists. And it is
always in collaboration with different actors taking part in cooperation and exchanges. But the success of these events depends largely on public participation and citizen involvement and cooperation in general. The friendship societies traditionally are significant in the processes involved in the cities’ partnership in general, as well as in organizing the jubilee events in the sister cities. They used to take care of many practical things, sometimes accommodating guests in their home, distributing information about events, and more. By these means, they support the sister relations in general.

Another important instrument of cooperation since the 1990s is participation in joint development projects within the different international programs. Strategic approach of such projects is comprised of joint work between different bodies: local authorities, as well as educational, social, and cultural institutions, NGO, and SME for development of particular areas and the territory in general. If the main focus in cooperation over the past decades was on cultural and sports exchange, and official visits, the city’s International Relations have received new directions since then, including for sister relations.

Some examples of projects in different fields:

- Entrepreneurship, Strategic Planning, Territorial Development and Tourism: Cities by the Move (2007-2009), Cities by the Water (2011-2013), Contemporary Old City (2012-2014) within the cross-border cooperation programs with sister city Joensuu (Finland);
- Ecology: Green Economy: From Green Thinking to Green Economy (with partners in Finland and Denmark);
- Social Protection: New Steps for At-Risk Families and Children (“Duluth model”) implemented together with sister city Duluth within the U.S.-Russia Peer-To-Peer Dialogue Program (2014-2015), etc.

Most of the projects include new methods of work, the opportunity to experience exchange, volunteer work and cooperation of different aspects including education, adaptation to the local conditions and implementation of the best practices. These examples confirm that the diversity of international projects is being realized nowadays in Petrozavodsk.

As for modern Petrozavodsk, is the city interested in the further development of international relations? A deep understanding of the importance of this activity exists; we have many years’ experience and the comprehension of new tasks; the most necessary preconditions for future work. Because of that we can surely say that international relations have a special meaning for the city.

This point is also confirmed by the fact that very different organizations and institutions in the city, public authorities, universities, NGOs, companies, etc. used to be the organizers of many international events and projects, together with their foreign partners. Annually about 40-50 different international conferences, fairs, and forums are held in Petrozavodsk. Over decades of relations across borders, many citizens can see that cooperation is an effective instrument of territorial development which creates further dialogue and networking. And this is a kind of ongoing round table which opens new opportunities.

Concerning current situations, some challenges should be mentioned. Today’s world creates both new opportunities and restrictions. On the one hand, we can now travel more and that is why traditional contacts, between sister cities for example, are not seen as so impor-
tant as before. On the other hand, some political decisions make many peoples’ lives more complicated and decrease a climate of trust. To ease this tension, we revisit people’s diplomacy again.

Success of international relations depends principally on regular and systematic work, and activities and communication on different levels. We cannot stop contact for a few years and then start again as though nothing had happened.

Another important factor is the level of the participants’ competence in International Relations. Its importance and complexity in the modern world has been growing, and it demands a constantly developing competence of all participants reflected in actions and their correspondence to the international approach.

Rather outdated expectations and simplified attitudes of some parts of society towards the international and sister relations, considering them only to be an instrument of cultural and sport exchange, can limit the variety and possibilities of cooperation between cities. This can therefore decrease their importance both in communication between people and in development of the territories. Within this framework, the role of local media coverage of international activities is very important.

Furthermore, winning new cooperation and participation in cultural and social exchange receives a special meaning, first and foremost concerning young people.

The 21st century; it is time of new (or long forgotten) truth. One aspect of this means that people and territories do not only need daily bread, but attraction of high-level specialists, finances, and other resources is becoming a more important task for cities and villages. To obtain them, we have to create an atmosphere of a(n) comfortable, safe, creative and interesting life. Today, we know that cities and people with a high level of culture (in a broad sense), education, and active public life attract many more different resources compared to those which consider these spheres of society to be of secondary importance.

Cultural and social dialog and exchange can be the instruments of development and answers to the challenges of today’s life.

**Why Do the Municipalities Need International Relations?**

First of all, to support peace and dialog; civil diplomacy is less subject to the vibrations of political and intellectual environment, and rulers everywhere understand this. It is an open secret that the role of people’s diplomacy, so called “soft power” has been increasing over the years. Nowadays, its role in dialogue between representatives of different cultures is rising in importance again. The second reason is that international relations are the instrument of development which allows people and municipalities to solve their problems in more effective ways. It also helps to create more attractive territory for life, business, and tourism. For Petrozavodsk, decades of international relations between people and cities of other countries mean a lot. Thanks to it, our city has an image of one of the most European cities in the country. And the citizens are still interested in keeping such contacts. We are sure that true mutual understanding and willingness in cooperation in different areas assist growth and development in general. Finally, Petrozavodsk is the city where East and West meet and our cooperation is our competitive advantage, which provides an opportunity to solve the tasks of territorial development and to create better conditions for its citizens.
Cultural and Social Exchange as Vital Part of Citizen Participation. The Tübingen View

Stephan Klingebiel

Abstract: Almost every city in Germany has sister cities. Most cities present their international relations with signs right at the road when you enter the city. They want to show that they are part of something bigger and express that they have an international appeal. Cities not only highlight their contribution to a better international understanding but also the enrichment of their inhabitants’ lives. Starting from a brief history of town twinnings, I will highlight four dimensions of town twinnings that contribute to these intentions: Reconciliation and peacekeeping, “enabling” citizens, fostering education, innovation and networking, and last but not least, city marketing.

Keywords: local international relations, town twinning, municipal cooperation

A Brief History of Town Twinnings

Partnerships between cities are not an invention of the 19th century. They are already known in the 16th century when cities and principalities fostered international coalitions and friendships. We can find the oldest friendship even further back in time - it is the connection between Paderborn and Le Mans from the year 836. Only in 1967 the cities converted this connection into a modern town twinning like we know it today. Also in times of the Hanseatic League partnerships between cities were common, but they were based only on economic interest and can therefore not fully be compared with modern town twinnings.

Twinnings like we know them today were established as an instrument of reconciliation and international understanding after the Second World War.1 The initiative goes back to two authors from Switzerland who tried to promote the international understanding on a civic level rather than an official peace contract. After the experience of the failed peace treaty between Germany and France concluding the First World War the initiators invited Mayors from France and Germany to Switzerland to get together and establish independent connections from federal politics and propaganda2. Two years later, in 1950, they founded the “International Mayors Union” (Internationale Bürgermeisterunion, IBU). Most of the early twinnings after the Second World War are based on that union. Also Tübingen’s first sister city with the francophone Monthey in Switzerland is based on their work.

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1950 was also the year of the foundation of the Council of European Municipalities and Regions (CCRE; Rat der Gemeinden und Regionen Europas, RGRE). In contrast to the IBU they promoted federal European States and therefore tried to use town twinnings as a tool for fostering a European consciousness. These two organizations stand for the keystones of the town twinning system: Reconciliation and European Integration.

This explains also why 12,000 of the 15,000 existing town twinnings are between European countries. Tübingen extended its sister city network throughout the following years. In 1960 they established an official connection with Aix-en-Provence in France. Ann Arbor in the USA was 1965 the next sister city and at the same time one of the earliest connection between a German and an American city. Durham (United Kingdom) joined the network 1969. This connection can be seen as growing effort of the UK to getting closer to the European Union - which they entered in 1973. The Italian city Perugia became Tübingen’s sister city in 1984. Only a few years later in 1987 the city council of Tübingen decided to build connections to a city in the Soviet Union in order to get a closer understanding of this close neighbor to Europe. The Soviet embassy made the decision to connect Tübingen to Petrozavodsk. The partnership was established in 1989 just before the fall the Berlin Wall.

The exact number of twinnings of all the cities in the world is hard to tell since not all the twinnings are registered in associations. There are also different definitions of town twinnings, which explains the variety of number in the literature. For example, a broad definition “describes cooperative arrangements between cities, towns, and even non-adjacent countries promoting economic and cultural ties.” The high number of town twinnings within the European Union is not only a historically motivated, but also connected to the funding the European Union supplies. The Deutsch-Französisches Jugendwerk, the Deutsch-Polnisches Jugendwerk and the Stiftung Deutsch-Russischer Jugendaustausch contribute furthermore to promoting exchanges especially within these countries.

Today town twinnings are not limited to Europe. We can identify two main motives for twinnings with cities outside of Europe. One is globalization and the other is sustainable development. The growing economic intertwining’s, their ecological and social impacts and the joint efforts to solve them through exchange on the municipal level are the basic

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5 The CCRE lists 7178 town twinnings only for German Municipalities.
8 Ibidem.
motivations for transcontinental partnerships. Citizens of Tübingen established in the early 1980s a connection to the impoverished Villa El Salvador, a growing city at the edge of Lima in Peru, which later became a district of Lima. The idea was to learn more about the then so called “Third-World-Countries”, reasons of poverty and our trade relations. Villa El Salvador became Tübingen’s official sister city in 2006. Only one year later a process to find a suitable town twinning with a city in Africa has been started by the new Mayor Boris Palmer. The underlying concept was to find joint approaches to reduce the consequences of the climate change and learn about our relations and history to Africa. In 2014 Tübingen and Moshi in Tanzania signed a town twinning contract.

The new sister cities are causing new challenges due to the longs distances, different time zones and cultures. This leads to a different kind of collaboration compared to the established European twinnings. Hence the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development supports municipalities in Germany with their new responsibility of development cooperation. The so called “Service Agency Communities in One World” actively supports projects of development cooperation between municipalities with funding and manpower. Federal programs of development cooperation are more and more put into practice by the municipalities even though it is not their responsibility in the first place.

Looking at the historical development of municipal cooperation shows that the underlying concept of sister cities for peace keeping and reconciliation is still there, but extended with many more fields of motivation and cooperation between cities. How sister cities are organized today in Tübingen will be explained with the following concept of the “Four Dimensions of municipal cooperation”.

Four Dimensions of Municipal Cooperation

Reconciliation and Peace-keeping

As mentioned before, the sister cities were and are an important instrument for reconciliation and peace keeping. The close relations between around 3000 cities in France and Germany prove to be a stable instrument for exchanging people and making them less prone to prejudices and propaganda. Therefor promoting exchange, especially between young people, is still the basic layer of the work in the international office. Every school...
exchange, every exchange of sport groups or young musicians is a success. Personal friendships tend to survive global conflicts. Building these connections is part of every project in the exchange program of Tübingen and its sister cities.

The notion of peace-keeping is especially important when the official federal foreign politics are in conflict. The cities of Tübingen and Petrozawodsk celebrated their 25th anniversary of twinning in 2014, right when the Crimean-Crisis was at its climax. It was important for us to continue our exchange programs and the official program even when there where controversial discussions, incomprehension and maybe even mistrust on some level. But this is the strength of town twinnings: Keeping relations stable and bringing people together in order to get a closer understanding and insight to hopefully understand each other’s positions better. Another example is a Mayors exchange Durham and Tübingen one year before the referendum about the Brexit. The meeting brought insight about the motivation for a Brexit and how our partners cared about migration and the refugee situation in Europe very differently. This open dialog between politicians can in the long term influence their parties’ politics.

“Enabling” of Citizens

Town twinnings are all about citizens’ participation. Without the participation of citizens a town twinning is neither vital nor constructive. Of course there are different motivations of engaging in town twinning to start with – there might be vain and prestige included - but providing new opportunities for the citizens should always be a dominant factor. Naturally travelling into neighboring countries within or even without the EU isn’t something special anymore. Most of the people go abroad for their vacation. So why do we need sister cities for providing opportunities for the citizens to make international experience?

First of all, the sister city network provides a “low-threshold” access to international experiences. Especially associations like small sport groups, brass or choral societies don’t have international connections and it would be rather difficult for them to find a partner in France to host them, to do some joint activities and in doing so, providing a cheap field trip and team building journey. The same applies for young musicians, artists or activists who want to get some experience abroad and exchange ideas about their field of work. They can rely on the international network of their city and get connected and maybe even funded for their exchanges. This low-threshold approach is only offered by our public bodies. Once there is a yearly exchange established between two organizations, the funding by their city keeps the exchange stable and makes them more independent from private funding like sponsoring or charitable foundations. For instance the school exchange between the Carlo-Schmid-Gymnasium in Tübingen and the Lyceum Nr. 1 in Petrozawodsk is carried out for several years. When costs of the exchange almost doubled in 2015 due to the devaluation of the ruble the city of Tübingen increased their funding while the pupil from Tübingen passed their funding over to the pupils from Petrozawodsk. This action did help in keeping the exchange stable in politically unrest. The exchange between the municipal service units of Petrozawodsk and Tübingen is a stable for the last 25 years already.
But the notion of enabling the citizens has another facet as well. There are numerous possibilities to engage in public life as a citizen. The international relations of the city are an opportunity to satisfy a need of participation and maybe even an urge to change something in the world. Citizens can put their own ideas into practice with the funding and professional support of the administration. This is especially the case for Tübingens’ sister cities in the Global South, Moshi (Tanzania) and Villa El Salvador (Peru). The money that is granted by the city council is not used to pay for projects directly, like equipping schools with computers, building toilets or helping with environmental issues. The money is rather spent to support the active citizens in Tübingen to implement their projects. This has many advantages. First of all, the projects are usually more often long term and not a single investment or upgrade in equipment. The involved people do follow their project and try to make is sustainable. Secondly, there are relations built between the people while implementing the project. This personal connection adds a cultural exchange to the project and it will last longer than the fulfilment of just a contract. It furthermore leads to a higher identification not only with the project itself but also the city of Tübingen, since all of it is done in the framework of the sister city relations. Another advantage is that the citizens act as multipliers for their project. They involve more people and raise other third-party funding too.

**Education – Innovation - Networking**

Looking at the given examples makes it obvious that the dimensions are not easy to separate from each other. Most projects do incorporate several, if not all of them. The notion of Education - Innovation – Networking tries to summarize the resource that sister cities can be for a city. The exposure to new ideas, new ways of problem solving, new techniques or even new materials can help the own citizens in their way of living. This applies to all levels of development – on a personal level, a creative level or the expert level.

When the Mayor of Tübingen travelled to Ann Arbor in 2008 he saw that they already exchanged all the street lighting with more economic LED-technique and he made a push to start replacing them in Tübingen as well. The cooperation between the municipal service units between Tübingen and Petrozawodsk led to a considerable improvement in energy savings of the district heating in Petrozawodsk in the 1990s. The city planning in Tübingen is quiet unique in its approach, which is why several delegations learned more about this method. Last but not least was the exchange of political scientists between Tübingen and Petrozawodsk based on the foundations of this town twinning and it proves to be a great opportunity for both researchers to broaden their field.
City marketing

The fourth dimension of municipal cooperation is city marketing. Every year several hundreds of visitors come from the sister cities. Through their close ties to the citizens they usually make good experiences, return home, tell their friends and often come back with their families and friends. This is especially important for smaller cities like Tübingen or cities that lie a bit off the beaten track. The personal connections that are established within the framework of the town twinning lead to a very different experience of the visit compared to being just a tourist. The twinnings and its advantage of personal connections makes the cities worth visiting. That contributes to making the city more known in the world.

Summary

Town twinnings are today much more than just a project of reconciliation and peacekeeping, even though these aspects are as important as 70 years ago. Town twinnings provide an opportunity for the citizens to participate in public life, to put ideas into practice, to learn in an informal and formal way and to make the city more known in the world. They also contribute to a peaceful and more developed world today by doing so. Civic participation is the core concept of municipal cooperation.
Sister City Collaboration as an Added Value for a University.  
A Case Study of Petrozavodsk

Marina S. Gvozdeva/Inna V. Kreneva/Olga A. Veselovskaya

Abstract: The article dwells on the history of the sister city relations of Petrozavodsk with the partners in Germany, France and USA. The sister city collaboration is viewed as an added value for the city-dwellers, municipal structures, NGOs, Petrozavodsk State University and other stakeholders. The article elaborates on the formats and best practices of such collaboration developed in the course of years. Besides, the authors make a special focus on the on-going intercultural dialogue as an asset to training prospective teachers in the region.

Keywords: intercultural communication, intercultural competence, target culture, exchange program, joint activities.

Learning a foreign language and not immersing in a foreign culture is impossible. Culture transcends differences and discovers the common. Culture involves representatives of different countries in a dialogue and helps to find practical solutions for real problems. Participation in an intercultural dialogue gives the modern person, who is constantly faced with the challenges of globalization, new opportunities and prospects. Thanks to the sister city agreements, which Petrozavodsk established with foreign cities and thanks to the cooperation with the partners from sister cities, we are able to implement projects focused on the future. Mastering a foreign language in the context of professional training creates a foundation for successful academic and professional careers. The role of public discourse is also very important today. Representatives of various public non-profit organizations, acting as partners and experts, learn in the course of cross-cultural interaction to state their position and to share views on socially and politically relevant topics.

An invaluable role in promoting the German language and German culture in Petrozavodsk has been played by the NGO “West-East”. An agreement on cooperation between Petrozavodsk and Tübingen was signed on October 9th, 1989, which was a key event in creating a society whose goals are to expand and deepen the relations between the people of Western and Eastern Europe in the region, to strengthen understanding between representatives of different cultures. The society “West-East” has two offices in each of the sister cities. They serve as the bridges of friendship between citizens, public organizations, institutions and official bodies. The office in Petrozavodsk has been open since 1994. Though they have a small staff, they have been carrying out quite a workload: correspondence with citizens, preparation of exchange programs for schoolchildren, students and professionals, as well as family trips, and assistance in implementation of projects in the fields of culture, ecology, medicine, politics and economy.
At the same time, in Petrozavodsk there was a NGO created under the name of “Karelia-Germany” aimed at solving the same problems in Russia. At the time of signing the agreement, none of the partners could foresee, how intense and multifaceted the cooperation would become. Initial contacts with the sister city Tübingen primarily consisted of humanitarian aid from individuals or organizations to low-income families with many children, special schools, orphanages and nursing homes. Only in the first winter, following the signing of the partnership agreement, children with diabetes received aid from the “Lyon Club Tübingen” in the amount of 15,000 German Marks. During the first 13 years after signing the agreement, 900 tons of humanitarian aid was delivered to Petrozavodsk by the former chairman of the NGO Ernst-Moritz Friedrich. An invaluable support came to the low-income and socially deprived people of Petrozavodsk from Tübingen in the difficult period of the harsh winter months during the trying economic situation, in the form of the charity campaign “Food basket”. This aid was organized through designated stores in Petrozavodsk to provide people in need with food stamps, funded by donations received from the people of Tübingen.

Professional contacts between specialists in the fields of medicine, science, culture, and education were rapidly developing, which contributed to the exchange of the best practices and the implementation of new projects. A great desire to know each other better and to immerse in the language and culture of the representatives of the sister city has become a driving force, which is the basis for friendship and professional contacts.

It is impossible to miss a great cultural event connected with the erection of the sculptures that symbolize friendship between our cities. The composition “Tübingen Panels”, which appeared on the embankment of Lake Onega in 1994 and consists of 61 metal columns, represents the interaction between the two cities: their cooperation, enduring friendship, the strong cultural ties between them, and awareness of the history in both towns. The sculpture, created by Kurt Gayzelhart and Bernhard Fogelmann, brings expression to the topics of changeability and eternity; it makes one stop and think deeply about the most important things in one’s life. As a return gift in 1995, Petrozavodsk presented Tübingen with the sculpture “Kalevala”, created by Petrozavodsk artists Stanislav Shevchenko and Michael Kopalev.

In 1997, the German-Russian Center of meetings was established in Petrozavodsk. It provided the opportunity for all ethnic Germans in Petrozavodsk to get acquainted with their mother tongue, German traditions, customs, songs and dances. Master classes on cooking national Swabian dishes, which were taught by “West-East” society activist Rosemary Hess, were exciting workshops on preparation for Christmas and Easter, organized by the faculty of the Calvi Academy of Teacher Training and they impressed all the participants. Literary-musical parties devoted to German writers and composers became unforgettable for center guests, which were organized regularly by the first chairman of the society "West-East" Dr. Joerg Bose.

In the 2000s, it has become a good tradition to organize a “Karelian week” in Tübingen. During which, many residents of Petrozavodsk have had an opportunity to present about the nature, culture and industry of their native land, and to sign mutually beneficial agreements in the fields of tourism and economy. One of the most beautiful areas of Tü-
bingen received the name “Karelian Square” at this time. This is where one could enjoy the performance of folk groups from Petrozavodsk, buy national souvenirs, taste traditional Karelian food and drinks. Words failed to describe the atmosphere of the holiday: new meetings, unforgettable experiences, and new joint ideas.

In 2002 in Tübingen, there was an exhibit of icons of the Old Russian North from the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts in Petrozavodsk, which contributed to the establishment of further cultural contacts between the two cities. Such direct meetings of residents of sister cities helped to strengthen the partnership. Nowadays, joint projects continue to develop and have acquired new content. They include socio-cultural exchanges of representatives of different professions from the two cities, joint sports events and tours, exhibitions, literary readings, theatrical performances from creative groups in the twin cities, as well as joint symposia and conferences on political, legal and social issues, where all can discuss the possibility of cooperation in the economic and environmental spheres, and in social and educational issues.

If the joint activities with Tübingen mentioned above have a cultural or economic component for Petrozavodsk dwellers in general, such partnerships are vital for acting and prospective German language teachers, because intercultural interaction contributes to the improvement of communicative, socio-cultural and professional competence. For students and teachers of the PetrSU Institute of Foreign Languages, joint projects with the society “West-East” have always been invaluable. We express our sincere gratitude for organizing and conducting various activities for German majors to the founder of the society Dr. Joerg Bose, former chairman of the society Ernst Moritz Friedrichs and current chairperson of the society Lilie Kyunstle.

One of the most significant projects implemented in cooperation with this society for several years is the project “Do you know Tübingen?”. The students of the Institute of Foreign Languages have been offered an opportunity to become more familiar with the history of Tübingen and the University of Tübingen to get acquainted with its attractions and famous residents. The winners of the quiz were given a unique opportunity to spend two unforgettable weeks in the twin city: to get acquainted with the city and its residents, to immerse in the language and use theoretical university knowledge in practice. This project has already been implemented for five years, now we are looking for new perspectives and ways of cooperation.

When we talk about the relations between Karelia and the federal state of Baden-Württemberg, it is important to mention the name of the teacher of foreign languages Nagold Margot Rёmech. It was she who organized numerous study abroad trips for our students and teachers in Germany and found host families for us. By virtue of her profession, Ms. Rёmech knew very well how important it was to learn a language in the target culture and in the country. Such large cities like Moscow and St. Petersburg have had direct contact with German universities for a long time. Petrozavodsk State University cannot boast the same sustainable cooperation. Therefore, study abroad trips organized by Ms. Rёmech contributed not only to the development of the communicative competence of German majors, but also to the development of partnership and mutual understanding between our peoples.
For the third year, the PetrSU Institute of Foreign Languages has been implementing a new project with the German Foreign Society (DAG), whose headquarters are located in Lübeck. The project is called Minireferendariat. Almost all German teachers from our Institute attended training workshops in Lübeck the home of three Nobel laureates. The goal of the German foreign society remains unchanged: the establishment of personal and cultural contacts between representatives of different cultures, and professional development for German language teachers. Since the early days of its foundation, this non-profit organization has focused on the younger generation; the prospective teachers of German language in the Northern Europe.

The Minireferendariat program is specially designed for them. During this project, the top senior students spend five to ten weeks in Germany and it is accredited to them as the student teaching requirements at their home university. The goal of the project is to increase the attractiveness of the profession of a German language teacher in European countries and to develop an interest in German language and culture. The diverse program includes workshops on cross-cultural and didactic topics, study visits, home stays with German teachers, and daily observation of three to five classes in different types of schools. At the end of the excursion, our students must take over and conduct at least six German lessons themselves. This program is implemented with the support of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Thanks to such non-profit organizations, such as the society “West-East” and the German Foreign Society, we are able to establish direct contact with native speakers, to share experiences and to enrich our knowledge of the language and target culture. Petrozavodsk is proud of friendship not only with the sister city of Tübingen in Germany, but also of partnership with sister cities in France and the United States.

Relations with France are one of the priorities in Russia’s foreign policy. The Russian Federation and French Republic relations traditions date back to October 28th, 1924, when the USSR and the French Republic established diplomatic ties. February, 7th, 1992, the Treaty was signed by Russia and France to confirm both countries’ intention to develop “the relations of consent, based on trust, solidarity and cooperation”.

In 2018, we will celebrate the 45th anniversary of sister cities ties between Petrozavodsk (Russia) and La Rochelle (France). La Rochelle, a seaport on the western coast of France, is the administrative center of Charente Maritime department. The Protocol to the sister-cities relations was signed in 1973 in Petrozavodsk by Pavel Sepsyakov, the Chairman of Petrozavodsk City Council, and Michel Crépeau, the Mayor of La Rochelle. The second ceremony of signing the Protocol took place in April 1974 with the entire La Rochelle Municipal Council being present.

It should be noted that since 1965, Petrozavodsk had just had one sister city - Varkaus, a city in neighboring Finland. All other partnership agreements were signed later; either in the late 1980s or after the Soviet Union collapse. Therefore, it can be said that La Rochelle became Petrozavodsk’s first partner in Western Europe and the history of this friendship is very interesting. The Society “France - USSR”, with Michel Crépeau’s consent, included La Rochelle into the list of the cities which expressed their intention to have a sister city partnership with Russia. Michel Crépeau was invited to the Congress of the sister cities,
and the potential sister cities, and this is where the two Mayors met. But it was Pavel Sep-
syakov who chose La Rochelle as a partner, as our cities are similar by their coastal loca-
tion, besides, the city name was familiar to Russian citizens by the novels of Alexandre
Dumas. However, the city mayors were separated by the “political abyss” as Mr. Michel
Crépeau did not share the ideas of Communism. Nevertheless, he changed his views about
the Soviet people after his visit to Petrozavodsk; both men became great friends. The two
cities leaders became active supporters of expanding France – USSR relations and mutual
cooperation. In 1994, both Mayors were awarded the title of Honorary Citizen of Petroza-
vodsk; it is the sign of the highest appreciation for those who made a significant contribu-
tion to the development of the city and strengthening its position.

At the same time, in the sister cities, the societies of Soviet - French and French - Sovi-
et friendship were founded; transformed later into “The Friends of France” and “Friend-
ship” societies. Pavel Sepsyakov and Michel Crépeau encouraged cultural cooperation, de-
legations, exchanges and development of friendly relations between the sister cities’ citi-
zens as well as they supported the organization of various events according to mutual
agreement. Soon one of the squares of the French city was named after Petrozavodsk and
in the capital of Karelia a new street appeared – La Rochelle River-Front. In 1999, the
shore of Lake Onego was decorated with the present from the French sister-city – a Sleep-
ing Beauty sculpture. According to sculptor Jean-Pierre Dussaillant, it symbolizes both
Karelian nature and the Karelian woman who is part of this nature.

The sister-cities’ relationship actively involves the participants on different levels: mu-
nicipal structures, NGOs and personal contacts. The cooperation is based on the following
principles:

- assistance in organizing exchange programs in the spheres of education, culture and
  sport in order to promote understanding and friendship between the citizens;
- securing long-term ties for creating the conditions to compare the cities’ similar
  problems, expertise and models of development.

Thus, education and training, economic cooperation, exchange in the variety of fields cre-
ate the solid foundation for cooperation and actions aimed at strengthening solidarity.

All these years, our cities have been exchanging official and cultural as well as student,
athlete, and professional community delegations. The days of Petrozavodsk in La Rochelle
and the days of La Rochelle in Petrozavodsk will stay in the memory of the people forever:
art and photo exhibitions, ballet Tristan and Isolde on the stage of Petrozavodsk theater
performed by La Rochelle Théâtre du Silence and numerous performances of Karelia vari-
ous art groups in La Rochelle.

In 2003, the official delegation from La Rochelle arrived to take part in Petrozavodsk’s
300th anniversary celebration. At the meetings and negotiations, the perspectives of further
cooperation and steps for the revival of contacts were discussed. During the reciprocal visit
of the Petrozavodsk delegation in September 2003, a new Protocol to Sister City Coopera-
tion was signed as the prolongation and development of the Protocol of 1973, created in a
different historical and political situation.
In December 2003, the craftsmen of hand-made art went to La Rochelle to take part in the Christmas Fair and this has become a good tradition. Petrozavodsk and La Rochelle are united by interesting economic initiatives: in March 2007, one of executives of *Intermarche*, a large trade network, visited Petrozavodsk to discuss the possibilities of cooperation with whole sale companies and supermarkets. In September 2007, Petrozavodsk was presented at Foire Expo; this exhibition has been organized in La Rochelle for more than 60 years. There, the products of Karelia enterprises were sold and the meetings with the business and enterprise representatives were conducted. Karelian entrepreneurs also met with the French companies’ representatives in Charente Maritime Chamber of Commerce.

Among other co-operative activities are the exchange in the sphere of social work (the young with special needs), starting partnership between athletic runners’ clubs, a training seminar on the water resource research with the school teachers and students’ participation, and with the cooperation of volunteer associations from Petrozavodsk and La Rochelle.

One of the most exciting and extensive cooperation projects between Petrozavodsk and La Rochelle has become the student exchange between two educational institutions of the twin cities: Jean Dautet Lyceum (Lycée Jean Dautet), where Russian is taught, and the French department of the Faculty of Foreign Languages of the Karelian State Pedagogical Institute (today it is the Institute of Foreign Languages at Petrozavodsk State University). The friendship between the two cities’ Mayors and their mutual trust serve as the basis for this exchange, as well as the fact that during all these years the official interpreters at all the events were Jocelyne Compagnon, a teacher of Russian in Lycée Jean Dautet and Natalia Melnikova, a professor of French in Karelian State Pedagogical Institute. They both were dedicated to their work, fascinated by the culture of the countries and the language of which they taught. They became good friends and had the great idea to establish friendly ties between their students. The initiative was supported both by the educational institutions and the city Mayors, though such projects between our countries did not exist then. La Rochelle was the first city in France which was allowed to host young Soviet citizens in their families.

In 1986, there was the first visit of students from La Rochelle to Petrozavodsk, and the next year the first group of Soviet students discovered the French twin city. It was in those years, when the exchange program’s traditions were born and they are still being kept in the present. All exchange students live in host families, and it is difficult to overestimate the importance of this fact, both in terms of language practice as well as in terms of socio-cultural development. The exchange program participants have an opportunity to plunge into the life of an ordinary French or Russian family for two weeks, learning their habits and way of life.

In addition, the mandatory visit program includes class attendance at the host institution. It gives students the opportunity to compare education systems in two countries, to evaluate the approaches to learning and teaching, which is especially interesting and useful for Russian students - future teachers of French, English and German. In recent years, other schools of La Rochelle have begun to show interest in Russia and invite our students to conduct Russian language and cultural lessons, and such lessons are of great interest to...
French students. Leisure time is filled with a variety of projects. When mixed, French and Russian teams participate in round table discussions, discussing topical issues, carry out sociological studies, have cultural sightseeing quizzes, visit the attractions of the region, cook national dishes and create artistic performances for traditional “Friendship Evenings”, which conclude their stay in the country.

This exchange has been operating for 30 years already, it survived several political regimes, the times of enthusiasm and crises, but every other year a student group goes to the sister city to become better familiar with the culture of the country and to improve their language skills. More than 500 students and 40 teachers and professors have been part of this exchange over these years. By living in host families, many of the participants have found life-time friends. The ones who had difficulties in language learning were inspired and motivated, which enabled them to achieve academic success and encouraged their further trips, internships and interesting professional projects. For many Russian project participants, French has become part of their lives: almost all the school teachers of the French language in Petrozavodsk and the French language teachers at PetrSU have taken part in this exchange.

The history of Russia - US relations is full of controversy. Still, even in the time of the Cold War, President Eisenhower proposed the People-to-People concept in 1956, which gave way to the development of the Sister City International non-profit organization. The idea to pair Duluth and a city in the Soviet Union belonged to peace activist Brook Anderson who was sure that a positive and constructive dialogue with people from a communist country would be a powerful tool in overcoming the ideologically-packed attitude.

That is why the collaboration between Petrozavodsk and Duluth is quite special. It started during the Cold War, which by itself has a deep peace-making meaning. On April 8th, 1985, the City Hall of Duluth, MN unanimously voted for the resolution to invite Petrozavodsk to become a sister city. That was a great example of the citizen diplomacy and the implementation of the slogan “Think global, act local”. There were some clear historical reasons for this choice. Many Finnish-Americans moved to the Soviet Union, to Karelia to build Socialism in their historical motherland. The dean of the Faculty of Foreign Languages from that period, Mayme Sevander, who was brought from Duluth to Petrozavodsk at the age of ten, would later write a series of books about the tragic fate of “her people” (Finnish-Americans in Karelia): Red Exodus: Finnish-American Emigration to Russia, Of Soviet Bondage, They Took my Father. For the couple of years, the sister city project was all about reuniting the families of the idealists who came to the Soviet Union and later were repressed.

In March 1986, the agreement on the sister city relations between Duluth and Petrozavodsk was signed, under the umbrella of which various projects in medicine, education, culture and sports developed. In March 1990, the President of College of Saint Scholastica (CSS) Daniel Pilon and the father-founder of the project from the American side, professor Thomas Morgan, came to Petrozavodsk to sign the agreement between the sister colleges. That launched a glorious era of the Summer Language Camps that have been organized every other year in Russia and America alternatively for over 26 years already. From the early days, the major focus of this camp format has been on the person-to-person dimen-
The main idea is to give young people an opportunity to plunge into the target culture, to learn more about the new country through personal contacts with their peers and through daily routines. Students attend language classes at the Karelian Pedagogical Academy (which later merged with Petrozavodsk State University) and explore the amazing culture and landscape of northern Russia through excursions in Karelia and visits to St. Petersburg and Moscow. No previous knowledge of Russian is necessary. In the beginning stages of the program, students used to stay in a dormitory whereas are nowadays put in host families and have considerable opportunity to meet and interact with native Russian speakers. Such contacts with Russians outside the classroom play a significant role in language acquisition. It is crucial to stick to the rule of changing roles. It means that when in Russia, American students are made aware of cultural taboos and traditions by their Russian peers, who act as cultural guides and teachers. Next time the students and teachers change their roles.

In America, our English majors get a glimpse of the unique American culture of Indian tribes and study modern American Literature, American English and current issues in American society. They get culture-specific knowledge and understanding of global issues and trends. This study tour is a great asset to their regular English teacher training program, as they are involved in networking with their peers, polish their speaking skills in the target culture and develop critical thinking, and overcome preconceived notions and cultural prejudices.

Another unique program since 1997 within the sister college project was a debate exchange program. Rather than put Russians against Americans they paired CSS students with Russians, and together they publically defended their cases. This interaction let them view similarities and differences of their respective cultures and national values in a personal way. The International debaters program was instrumental in the development of the Study Course on Public Speech, which is now incorporated in the English majors’ curriculum as a popular elective.

It was Duluth that started the tradition of sculpture exchange in 1991. “The Fishermen” casting their net out to the sea by Raphael Consuegra symbolizes the joint effort of the sister city dwellers, who have virtually the same nature, love on the shores of Great Lakes and develop similar survival skills. In return, Petrozavodsk sculptors Leo Lankinen and Valter Soini cast the sculpture “Green Bears” in bronze. Initially, the sculpture of a male and a female bear with a tulip flower symbolized a new life, but later the sculpture was nicknamed “Peace Bears” and is now known as a symbol of peaceful co-existence of Russia and US.

Collaboration with the sister city has a multi-dimensional positive effect on the traditional teacher-training program. In 1997, Professor Prozorov participated in comparative sociological research “Value Orientations and Life Styles of Russian and American Female Students”. Practically every English faculty member had a study trip to CSS, Duluth for the summer camp or a semester-long academic mobility program, and got a chance to hone their teaching skills, do research and actively participate in outreach projects. They prepared modern learning materials and defended their theses on the topics identified during the sister college exchange.
All in all, during 27 years of cooperation, about 600 Russian and American students and 20 faculty members have participated in the sister-college program, and about a dozen Russian-American couples got married. The major outcome of the program is the fact that those who have been through the camp or debates have found friends in the sister city, have had their first-hand experience of the other culture and become sensitive to the other culture.

One of the father-founders of the sister colleges project Vladimir Prozorov refers to the relations between Russia and USA as a bridge, both real (a bridge over the Atlantic Ocean) and metaphorical (a bridge over an abyss of misunderstanding and hostility). Professor Prozorov identifies two factors of sustainability in this project: the official diplomacy, stated in the inter-governmental agreements and the grass-root level people-to-people diplomacy, exercised by free contacts of people of various age, status, training and affiliation.

Sister cities are the cities with established friendship ties to acquaint each other with their own life, history, and culture. Today, the sister city relationship not only can but must be the foundation of the two states rapprochement, especially in the economy. The cities need to look for the areas of common interests and to be mutually committed to in long-term partnership.

For Petrozavodsk State University, sister city collaboration is a clear added value and a framework for the outreach mandate. While teaching and research is addressed through the sister city projects to various extents in various cities, every sister city contributes to public involvement of the university and its population via outreach activities, turning students from educational travelers into intercultural specialists.
Jews of Petrozavodsk and Christians of Tübingen. An Amazing Love-Story

Dmitry Tsvibel

Abstract: On July 19th, 1996 the Jewish community of Petrozavodsk received its Torah Scroll, purchased with money raised by the people of Tübingen. This event has changed the life of Petrozavodsk Jewry, enabling them to become a full-fledged community and uniting them with their ancestors and the great traditions of their people. The gift of Torah was initiated by a group of Tübingen Christians, who set their aim, as Christians and Germans, to build new ties of friendship with the Jews, particularly Russian Jews, spreading awareness of the Jewish history. The article is a brief recapitulation of an amazing love story between Petrozavodsk Jewish community and Tübingen Dietrich Bonhoeffer-Kirche, which has now entered into its third decade.

Keywords: Jewish-Christian dialogue, tolerance, Dietrich Bonhoeffer-Kirche, Petrozavodsk Jewish community

The history of humanity is full of endless wars, bloodshed, and violence. People too often forget in whose image they are made. The plan of the Creator is a happy life for all creatures, where one’s happiness cannot be built upon the unhappiness of the other.

The Psalmist says, “Our days may come to seventy years, or eighty, if our strength endures; yet the best of them are but trouble and sorrow, for they quickly pass, and we fly away” (Ps. 90:10). It is our task to make use of this short time in order to create, to leave this world habitable for future generations, and improve it a little, making it a little better, cleaner and brighter.

The world is one, and if something happens somewhere, it will have its impact on what is going on everywhere, sometimes in a much unexpected way. Who could imagine that what had happened on November 9th, 1938 in Germany would echo in Petrozavodsk on July 19th, 1996? The 20th century brought Germany and Russia the black ordeals of Fascism and Communism. It is impossible to assess the damage done to humanity by these two ideologies, which denied God and promised to build a paradise on earth.

It was on July 19th, 1996, that the Jewish community of Petrozavodsk received its Torah Scroll, purchased with money raised by the people of Tübingen. This event has changed the life of Petrozavodsk Jewry, enabling them to become a full-fledged community and uniting them with their ancestors and the great traditions of their people. As a small pebble, thrown at the wellspring of a river may alter the direction it flows, so this Scroll gave a new impetus to the emerging Jewish life of Petrozavodsk and to the city itself both as part of Karelia and Russia and as a sister city of Tübingen. Tübingen Oberbürgermeister Dr. Eugen Schmid wrote in his congratulatory address on the gift of the Torah Scroll to the Jews of Petrozavodsk,

“I am much pleased that there is a chapter on German-Jewish friendship that is being written now in the story of our city sisterhood. For this we are indebted to the people who care in both cities – to the Jewish cultural center ‘Shalom’ and a large circle of the Christians of Tübingen, which had formed around
priests Dankwart-Paul Zeller and Michael Volkmann, who carried on this impressive action of altruism and gave Jewish men, women and children of Petrozavodsk a Torah, which laid the foundation of a new Jewish community. This civil initiative, born out of a conversation between a few people, tells me that the initially tender sapling of Russian-German Petrozavodsk-Tübingen partnership has now taken deep roots and could nurture many branches which we until very recently could have never hoped to see springing”.

Indeed the ongoing Christian-Jewish dialogue between our communities, a dialogue of equal partnership, represents an example of how communities should come together, that previously mistrusted each other, having confronted each other for centuries, sometimes, with tragic consequences. We managed to leave this pay that leads nowhere. It is said, “Who is the hero? Who makes a foe into a friend” (Abot de R. Nathan). First, the members of the Petrozavodsk community met an offer of a Torah Scroll from Christians suspiciously – there were doubts, whether it could be a prelude for missionary activity. But these suspicions were dispelled by a letter from Dankwart-Paul Zeller and Michael Volkmann, laying the strong foundation for our future friendship,

“We discard the millennial Christian prejudice against Jews and their religion, which were the cause and excuse for immeasurable crimes. If we are giving you a Torah Scroll, it is not because we wait for the Jews to cease being Jews. We are seeking dialogue between spiritually kin people, not conversion into our faith”.

It is on this foundation that our relations grew. It is worthwhile mentioning that not so long ago, on December 10th, 2015 the Vatican published a statement with an official renunciation of a Catholic mission among Jews. Now the Jews, according to Catholic doctrine, are the only people on earth that does not need the “good news” of Christianity to be saved. In spite of Jews not believing in Jesus, Catholic theologians accept the salvation of Jews as “theologically indubitable” and characterize this paradox as “an inscrutable divine mystery”.

There was another problematic issue which had to be dealt with; namely, that many members of the community were World War II veterans. It was a difficult task to stop seeing enemies in the people right before you, though old enemies, enemies still. It was a job of mentally separating criminal regimes with their corrupt ideologies and the living people, many of whom became hostages of their political systems. It is remarkable how two ex-artillery used to work similarly, one Salman Kaufmann, another Paul Zeller, who had fought on opposite sides of the battlefront. It turned out that both stayed at a place named Borovitchi – Zalman Kaufmann as a wounded patient in a hospital, Paul Zeller as a prisoner of war. This is the story told by Paul Zeller, of what happened to him there:

“It happened when I was in the working crew at the brick factory, where we laid wet clay bricks into ovens and rolled out the baked bricks in the trolleys. Once, a truck with food got stuck in snow. So we were left with no cabbage soup and bread for dinner. Hunger was biting at the entrails. We, the prisoners, rested apathetically against the warm ovens. A few days before I had noticed a tiny cottage, buried in snow, near the factory. At dinner time, I saw smoke rising from its chimney. Who could possibly live there? Maybe, it’s the factory watchman? I don’t know even today what made me make use of our guard’s absence and walk in snow towards the cottage. Its door wasn’t closed. I knocked and entered. The more you suffer from hunger, the lower the barrier of your inhibitions and you become quite impudent. A nar-
row passageway with a hard clay floor led past the only room into the whitewashed kitchen with a small wooden table, two stools, a shelf above the ancient oven, with a couple of old and shaggy enameled bowls and some dishes. A little icon in the corner there stood before me, her head bowed, a little woman in black, mumbling something under breath and ceaselessly crossing herself. When I gave a delicate cough, she turned to me, looked at me with a questioning, almost expecting glance, as if she had waited for my visit, her eyes a bit misty, and then crossed herself the last time. I stood stone-still, without saying a word, and then indecisively but clearly pointed to my belly with my hand and then touched my mouth – a gesture understandable in all languages. The old woman nodded and without saying a word took from behind the icon two photographs, brought them before my face, then pointed at herself with her other hand. One photograph showed a middle-aged man in military uniform with a year written at the bottom – 1916. On the other there was a Red Army soldier with a medal on his chest. She didn’t have to explain: the first was her husband, the other her only son. The first was killed by German bullets or grenades in the first (World War), the other died in the second war against Germans who invaded her country. She carefully placed the photographs behind the icon again, crossed herself, then silently walked to the oven and, opening the stove, brought out a dish. It was her dinner, which she was warming – four boiled wrinkled potatoes in their skins. Besides this she must have had nothing. She put the dish on the table, took a crooked knife from the table-drawer, skinned the potatoes and handed over two of them, half of her dinner, to me, a stranger, an enemy, and now an uninvited guest, who might have reminded her of her dead son. We ate in silence, chewing slowly, right from our hands, each their two potatoes. The old woman kept nodding her head, as we partook of our meal – was it not a communion? When I rose from the table, I was seized with the feeling that I took part in an ancient mystery. I thanked her, bowed awkwardly and gave this “widow of Zarepheth” (1 Kings 17) both hands in farewell. She took my head, kissed me on the forehead, crossed herself again and waved farewell with her shaking hand as I made my way through the clay-floored passageway into the cold. This Russian woman of Borovitchi has taught me more than a dozen professors of theology in eight college terms. Never again was I honored to meet such mercy, grace, and what is called in the Scripture by a Hebrew word “shalom”.

Maybe, it was then that a long path of an ex-soldier of the Wehrmacht began, through his pastoral service towards sisterhood between Tübingen and Petrozavodsk, and the collection of funds to give the Karelian Jews their Torah Scroll. This is how stereotypes are brought down, how a person changes, how bonds evolve between strangers, and we start to fulfill the commandment “Love your neighbor as thyself” (Lev. 19:18).

There are not many people now left alive who took part in World War II, and in Russia, Victory Day is pompously celebrated by those who have never been there and have no idea of what a terrible disaster a war brings to people, even if they do not perish in it. The celebrations of today are loud, brutal, and warmongering; there are no bowed heads and silent remembrance of the fallen, let alone, grief for them. It is a red alert tendency in a country where human life has never been a priority. Andrey Dmitriyevich Sakharov warned about this already in the late 20th century, “The strong, real human feelings – a hatred for the war and pride for what people did in the war, is now exploited by official propaganda, for the simple reason, there’s nothing more left to exploit… But there is also a manipulative cult of the Great Patriotic War, which is serving the political agenda of today, and that is disgusting and dangerous!” (“Memoirs”, written between 1978 and 1989: 37).
To make young people understand the tragedy of war, which is instigated by the cult of violence and neglect for the basic human right of life, on Victory Day, we read the Kaddish near the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, at the Eternal Fire. We then go to the cemetery of the German prisoners of war, which is at the outskirts of the city, and, according to Jewish custom, leave pebbles from Jerusalem on the memorial stone. In doing so, we want to signal that there are no winners in a war – all sides lose. I remember the first visit of the Dietrich-Bonhoeffer-Kirche-Delegation to Petrozavodsk in 1998. It turned out, that one of the visitors, Traute Sommer, had already been to Karelia in 1945. She, then a 16-year-old girl, was brought here from East Prussia and transported to a women’s concentration camp in Padozero, near Petrozavodsk. She survived there by a miracle. On the first day of her 1998 visit, she went to the German cemetery and honored those, who had stayed there forever. That is why what is going on between our communities is so important. A person, who has looked into the eyes of another person and felt the warmth of another’s heart, will never look at another through a weapon’s sight.

From a letter by Dankwart-Paul Zeller:

“Dear Dima, I think our common work to restore Jewish life in Karelia is blessed by our Lord. When I think of you, of my brothers and sisters of the synagogue and ‘Shalom’, I am always filled with deep gratitude and hope that community life will develop further and become stronger, so that many people who take part in it, the Jewish friends will shed their light on other dwellers of the city, whose souls were left empty by the oppression of Soviet bureaucracy. I am strongly convinced that the Lord of Abraham and Moses is true to his chosen people and that we, the so-called ‘Christians’, in spite of everything, also partake of the blessing of Abraham, though we have done so much evil to his people. The problem is that those ‘Christians’ and Jews know nothing about the Torah, though it contains everything that should serve the prosperity of humanity. I put the word ‘Christians’ in quotation marks because it implies that the prophet of Nazareth was the Messiah. Personally, I don’t think that Jesus should be considered Messiah. He himself, as many pious Jews of his time waited and hoped for the soon advent of Messianic age and that’s why the Jewish brothers and sisters want to go back to Torah, and find there the primordial truth. It is not that both Jews and ‘Christians’ together hope for the coming kingdom of shalom, which the Lord of Abraham will fill with his spirit. The future of Messianic kingdom is in itself the big issue, and we, who accept its gift, must be prepared in our hearts that any day the act of love may be done and become permanent. This way is paved by the Lord with his kind cobblestones. And may the Lord help you, dear Dima, on your way where you find your Jewish self, and bless you further in that”.

To Dankwart-Paul Zeller:

Dear Paul!

Our meeting in the apartment of Vadim Mizko (It was when the problem of Torah Scroll was first mentioned – D. T.) was life-changing for me. Without it I might have not realized myself as a Jew, as a son of my father. When I held the Torah Scroll in my hands for the first time, at the Petersburg Synagogue, I really felt my connection to my people, to its history and destiny. The only thing that cast a shadow on my joy was that my dad never lived to see this moment. It would have been important for him to know not only that his son has become a real Jew, but that a German helped him to become one…

In 2005, two statements were made independently in Petrozavodsk and in Tübingen. Paul Zeller and Michael Volkmann published “An Appeal to Churches of All Confessions in our Country to Establish an Official Church day of Remembrance on November 9th as a ‘Day of Memory and Repentance’ (Erinnerung und Umkehr)”. I suggested that all religious organizations of Karelia create a standing committee representing all registered reli-
igious communities of Karelia, with a “World Ethos Declaration” as its guiding document, written by Hans Küng, head of “World Ethos” foundation and accepted by the Second Parliament of World Religions in Chicago (1993). I called for a round table to discuss interreligious relations, to get together, speak about our problems and find our common points. This call needed time to be heard and answered.

Finally, in 2006, in the 10th year of friendship between Dietrich-Bonhoeffer Kirche and Petrozavodsk Jewish community, Petrozavodsk city hall hosted the first round table. Hans Küng sent a big greeting address, where he said,

“I joyfully welcome the initiative of the Jewish community in Petrozavodsk to invite the religious leaders of Petrozavodsk, as well as friends from Dietrich-Bonhoeffer Evangelical community from the sister city of Tübingen to meet at the round table... To all participants of the round table... I send my gratitude for their readiness for discussion and on behalf of World Ethos Foundation wish them an open and prolific dialogue and good luck!”

The meeting was attended by the German delegation represented by Dankwart-Paul Zeller, Dr. Kurt Suetterlin, Ulrica Elstner-Suetterlin, Lora Auer, Dr. Michael Volkmann, translator Valentina Dvinskaya; by Olga Sidlovskaya, Secretary of Archbishop Manuil (Russian Orthodox Church); Pastor Victor Grinevitch (Evangelical Lutheran Church of Inginga); Vyodor Akimenko (Union of Christians of the Evangelical Faith (Pentecostals)); Captain Leonid Badanin (Karelian Corps of the Salvation Army); Alexander Stashkov (The Church of Latter Day Saints (Mormons)); Mufti Visam Ali Bardvil (spiritual leader of Karelian Muslims); Victoria Veber (NPO “Islamic Education”). The Jewish community was represented by Dmitry Tsvibel and Dmitry Gendelev. The meeting was moderated by Farida Fadayeva, with representatives of city administration present.

After official introductions and greetings, Paul Zeller made a speech. Its main point was the common origin of all communities gathered there in Israel’s Torah. Michael Volkmann talked about Christian churches and other religions in Germany and the fundamental changes that have occurred to the views regarding Jews in all Evangelical churches of Baden-Württemberg and in the Catholic Church. In the course of further speeches, Olga Sidlovskaya read a greeting address from archbishop Manuil to those present. The representatives of religions made presentations of their respective traditions and spoke in favor of peaceful coexistence and dialogue. After an hour and a half of discussion, the participants were given texts of World Ethos declaration and Hans Küng’s greeting to the round table “World Ethos Foundation: For Intercultural and Interreligious Studies, Education and Meetings”.

In 2014, Petrozavodsk’s delegation took part in a Day of Remembrance for the first time on November 9th in Synagogenplatz in Tübingen, where the local synagogue had been burnt down by Nazis in 1938. The event hosted 150 people. Speeches were made by Oberbürgermeister Boris Palmer, the head of Tübingen’s Jewish community David Holinstat, and civil and youth activists. According to the tradition, the story was told of one Tübingen family who perished in the Holocaust. I also gave a talk, saying in conclusion, “The great Jewish teacher Hillel said, ‘That which is hateful unto you do not do to your neighbor.’. It is a long way. But, as the Chinese proverb says, ‘The longest journey begins with the first
And we have made that step. On the following day, an article appeared in “Schwäbi-
sches Tagblatt” with a report on the meeting and a quote from my speech.

During that visit, wonderful meetings happened, which demonstrate how small our
world is, how our lives are intertwined, and how we must treasure that and do everything
we can to make people understand it and feel responsible for what is going on Earth.

In a recently opened, little synagogue in Esslingen, we met Rabbi Yehuda Pushkin,
who had lived in Petrozavodsk. He remembered studying at Petrozavodsk University and
even my daughter Natasha Tsvibel once helping him with a term paper. After repatriating
to Israel, he finished a Yeshiva and became a Rabbi. In Germany, he supervises communi-
ties in several little towns. The Jews are now gathering funds to buy a Torah Scroll. We
wished them good luck.

Another unexpected meeting happened in Ulm. In a beautiful, modern building of a lo-
cal synagogue in the center of the city, we were greeted by Rabbi Shaul Trebnik. I asked
him, if the names Shimon Trebnik and Nohim Trebnik ring a bell with him. He gasped:
– Of course, Shimon Trebnik was my grandfather, who headed a Yeshiva in Moscow. And
Nohim Trebnik was my grandfather’s brother, who headed a Yeshiva in Paris after the war.
How do you know these names?

I told that our Rabbi Efim Levin, ימידון לֹואָה, born in Snovsk, went to a heder there.
When the heder was closed by the Bolsheviks, he took lessons from Shimon Trebnik who
taught Humash with Rashi’s commentary, Shulkhan Arukh and Gemara. Upon their part-
ing, he presented Efim with a copy of the Tanakh with his autograph.

Shneur was stunned. Of course, he knew that his grandfather taught at a Yeshiva, but
had never met anyone of his students before. We had a book “The Revival of Jewish com-
community in Karelia” with photos of Efim Levin and we were happy to give it to Shneur as a
present.

Michael Volkmann arranged a meeting at a World Ethos Foundation with the scholarly
coordinator of the foundation, Dr. Gunter Gebhardt. We were well accepted, and during
our conversation there Hans Küng himself appeared, unexpectedly. It was a great surprise
for everyone. We had a warm and friendly talk, and Michael Volkmann gave Küng a copy
of the book “The Revival of Jewish community in Karelia” translated into German by Ju-
lita Huf. In turn, Hans Küng gave us a signed Russian copy of his book “What I believe”.

A big and valuable overview of the relations between our communities was made by
Michael Volkmann in a book “Juden in Petrozawodsk, Christen in Tübingen: eine erstaun-
liche Liebesgeschichte”, published in Tübingen in 2007. In 2011, it was translated into
Russian by Valentina Dvinskaya and published in Petrozawodsk.

The story of the Torah Scroll presented to the Jews of Petrozawodsk by the Christians
of Tübingen became a plot for a novel “Das Geheimnis der Partisanen – Torah” by Dank-
wart-Paul Zeller, whose genre was defined by the author as a “theological crime story”.
This book was also translated into Russian by Irina Benzeman-Ryvkina and published in
Petrozawodsk in 2012.

We believe that in a titanic, multi-colored mosaic of the world, which is being created
by the Lord, there is our particle – the particle of the relations between Tübingen Christians
and Petrozawodsk Jews, and we want it to be seen.
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