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LEVEL OF DOMESTIC DEMOCRACY AND ESTIMATION OF RUSSIAN 1993 POLITICAL CRISIS: INTERDEPENDENCE AND POLITICAL MANAGEMENT OPPORTUNITIES

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ABSTRACT

There are very different estimations of the Russian 1993 political crisis and international science. Russian scientific evaluations of this crisis have changed substantially since 1993. The aim of this paper is to examine the interdependence between the estimation of the Russian 1993 political crisis and the level of democracy. For this purpose, the authors assigned Russian scientific papers into four separate categories: positive, neutral, negative, and extremely negative. The number of the articles in each category was compared with the democracy index for the same time period, and analyzed the results. The percentage of neutral scientific papers was positively correlated with all of the different characteristics of the democracy index, but not with the rank. The reduction of the democracy liberties in Russia was positively correlated with the percentage of negative and extremely negative articles. Political management opportunities are interconnected with stabilization of democracy liberties.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The political crisis in Russia in 1993 is still a frequently discussed topic in Russian and international science. Most scientific articles have been dedicated to the problem, circumstances, and results of the political crisis. Many articles were also dedicated to the influence of these events on the modern development of democracy in Russia. This article presents some political management ideas, based on this observed interdependence.

The scientific papers addressing this time period provide very different estimations of the events surrounding the political crisis, ranging from positive to extremely negative. A summary of these

papers is presented and examined. All of the Russian scientific papers on this topic were divided into different categories to determine the authors' key estimations of that crisis; the papers were categorized by time period as well. Because the political crisis in Russia in 1993 was associated with changes in democracy levels, the data were aligned with data from the democracy index, which reports democracy levels in different countries all over the world. The goal of this article was to examine the interdependence between the estimation of Russian 1993 political crisis and the level of domestic democracy.

According to the paper's results, it is possible to forecast future scientific publications dedicated to the 1993 political crisis in Russia, and the estimations provided by them. Moreover, the article provides ideas about the mechanism of political management reflection in Russian scientific literature. It also covers the influence of scientific literature's predictions of political management in Russia.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The 1993 political crisis in Russia is described differently in Russian and international science. Scientists analyze all spheres of social development simultaneously and also interdependence between them. Sometimes they provide a broader analysis of particular spheres (Bobylev, 2007). Studies characterized by a large scale were provided by Shahrai (2015), Kalinin (2012) and others (Sharon, 2016; Kashintsev, 1996); and more specific analyses by Gelman (1996), Lyubimov (2013), Ludrova et al. (2014). The common vector of political thought in this field of research can be defined as revealing causes of the crisis, specifics of its development, and analysis of the results (Kydyraliev, 2005). These studies are dedicated to the society in common or to a specific sphere of social development (Makarov, 2014). The vast majority of them concentrate on exact political management decisions related to the political crisis in the year 1993.

In foreign political science, under which are assumed publications in foreign languages, where at least one author is not a Russian citizen, the 1993 political crisis in Russia is analyzed in a very different way. Foreign political science can be divided into three key vectors:

2.1 ANALYSIS OF THE COMMON VECTOR OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF RUSSIA

Traditionally, foreign scientists point out periods of more than one decade, such as 1993-2012, 1993-2007 and others. According to this approach, the 1993 political crisis is not considered as a separate political event, but as a factor that determined the long-term development of the country. The main distinctive feature of the research is the disclosure of stable political positions which influence the development of Russian society, and the perspectives of their transformations. Moreover, researchers of this group compare 1993 events with further key events which have determined democratic developments in modern Russia (Perepechko et al., 2011).

2.2 COMPARATIVE RETROSPECTIVE ANALYSIS OF RUSSIAN SOCIETY'S DEVELOPMENT IN DIFFERENT PERIODS OF TIME

This group is dedicated to comparative analysis of Russian society's development. Usually scientists compare specific features and developments of Tsarist Russia with Post-Soviet Russia. The main interest in the research is to find out if modern Russia is similar to Tsarist Russia or if the influence of the Soviet Union is still strong in the country (Whitefield, 2009).

2.3 INVESTIGATION OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF PARTICULAR SOCIAL SPHERES, INCLUDING LAWS, REGULATIONS, AND POWER STRUCTURES IN MODERN RUSSIA

The research conducted in this group have three specific features. First, some include the subject and object of the research in each particular scientific article, which are much narrower than the corresponding studies of Russian scientists (Baudoin, 2006). The second feature is the total coverage of the themes of articles in this field (Chaisty and Schleiter, 2002; Henderson, 2007; Kryshstanovskaya and White, 2005). The third feature of the papers of this group is the revealing of the dynamics of the particular object of the study and concentration on delayed political and social changes (Kunicova and Remington, 2008).

Thus, there is no international or Russian science dedicated to the Russian 1993 political crisis that use statistical analysis of publications. Moreover, the democracy index was not involved in the analysis of the crisis.

The vast majority of articles dedicated to scientific publication analysis use several methods (Grigoriev et al. 2019; Isakov, and Timoshenko, 2018): homogeneous estimation among papers (Hedges, 1984; Iyengar, S., & Greenhouse, 1988); estimation of article homogeneous with t-statistics and p-value (Simonsohn et al., 2014); standard value and standard deviation (Gelman, 2015); connections between articles (Schuch, et al. 2016). In this article, the first three on this list are used.

3. RUSSIAN 1993 POLITICAL CRISIS

In current Russian science, there are some discussions dedicated to the 1993 political crisis. Political events of this time still influence political events, culture, and development of modern Russia. Moreover, they are strongly correlated with the improvement of democracy in Russia. Political management in Russia is also significantly determined by those events. In this study, research of other Russian scientists in different periods of time dedicated to the 1993 political crisis are investigated and their results are evaluated. These results are compared to the democracy index provided by the Economist Intelligence Unit. Thus, according to evaluations of Russian scientists, the interdependence between the estimation of the Russian 1993 political crisis and the level of domestic democracy are shown.

The main aim of this article is to find the interdependence between the estimation of the Russian 1993 political crisis and the level of domestic democracy. One important issue is to assume political management changes in Russia, based on interdependence observation. Therefore, the main research questions of this paper are formulated as the following:

RQ1: What is the conversion of democracy in Russia according to the democracy index?

RQ2: What are the transformations of the evaluations of the Russian 1993 political crisis according to studies of Russian scientists?

RQ3: Is there any interdependence between the estimation of the Russian 1993 political crisis and the level of domestic democracy?

RQ4: What are the opportunities for future political management in Russia, according to the interdependence?

4. METHODS AND DATA

In this study, two key figures are measured: the number of scientific papers in Russia dedicated to the 1993 political crisis, and the democracy index. The scientific papers are separated in four categories of the articles: positive, neutral, negative, and extremely negative, correspondingly with the evaluation of the Russian 1993 political crisis. The estimation is based on homogeneous papers according to meta-analysis and their evaluations of the crisis. P-values, standard deviation, standard value, and t-statistics are estimated for each group of articles. Moreover, the papers are divided into seven time periods: 1993-2004; 2005-2006; 2007-2008; 2009-2010; 2011-2012; 2013-2014; 2015-2016, and 2017-2018. The first group includes articles which were published before the publication of the first democracy index in 2006. All the other time periods are similar to the time periods of the democracy index data for valid comparisons provided.

For each category, the number of the articles is calculated for each time period. The share of each category for each time period is estimated. The Russian scientific article data are collected based on the materials of the Russian State Library, and the largest scientific websites in the country: cyberleninka.ru and elibrary.ru.

The study of democracy in this research is based on the democracy index provided by the Economist Intelligence Unit. This index covers five large categories: electoral process and pluralism, civil liberties, functioning of government, political participation, and political culture. The Economist Intelligence Unit provides four democracy types, according to the overall scores: full democracies (scores from 8 to 10), flawed democracies (scores from 6 to 8), hybrid regimes (scores from 4 to 6), and authoritarian regimes (scores from 0 to 4).

Moreover, the Economist Intelligence Unit provides a ranking of countries according to their overall scores. In this case, if two or more countries have the same scores, all of them will have the same rank, but they will be counted in the rank according to the rule: the countries with the same rank should be counted according to their quantity.

The most important data analysis is based on the time period of 2006-2018. During these years, the power authorities in Russia were quite stable. Therefore, the research provides a comparison of the data and calculate changes of each variable and correlations between them.

5. RESULTS

5.1 RQ1: WHAT IS THE CONVERSION OF THE DEMOCRACY IN RUSSIA ACCORDING TO THE DEMOCRACY INDEX?

According to the methodology of the Economist Intelligence Unit, hybrid regimes are countries with a democracy index from 4 to 6. Russia became a regime of this type before 2012 and an authoritarian regime since that year. Simultaneously, the rank of Russia has substantively decreased by 32 positions in the list from 2006 to 2018 (Table 1). The indicator “Electoral process and pluralism”, which was at its highest in 2006 (7), decreased to its lowest in 2018 (2.17). The best indicator in 2016 and 2018 was “Political participation” (5), that includes participation of citizens in the dominant party and in elections. This indicator has not been changed significantly since the year 2006 and showed a reduction of 0.56 point. The decreasing of the overall score from 2006 to 2018 was from 5.02 to 2.94. This decrease can be described as significant due to the fact that Russia changed from a hybrid regime to an authoritarian one.

Table 1: The Russian democracy index for 2006-2018, according to the Economist Intelligence Unit

Year	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018
Rank	102	107	107	122	132	134	144
Overall Score	5.02	4.48	4.26	3.74	3.39	3.24	2.94
Electoral process and pluralism	7	5.25	5.25	3.92	3.08	2.67	2.17
Functioning of government	3.21	2.86	3.21	2.86	2.86	2.5	1.79
Political participation	5.56	5.56	5	5	5	5	5
Political culture	3.75	3.75	3.13	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5
Civil liberties	5.59	5	4.71	4.41	3.53	3.53	3.24

Source: <https://www.eiu.com/topic/democracy-index>

Characterizing the changes in the indicators of the democracy index, according to the set of the five variables, it should be highlighted that the most substantial reduction was in the year 2008 and it was practically the same in the year 2012. Simultaneously, the largest number of reduced characteristics was in the year 2012. In this year, four out of five variables were reduced. The year 2010 was the only year with an increase to at least one of the variables “functioning of government”. It has increased by 0.35 points. It was one of the two characteristics which decreased for 10 years, with less than 1. The second of these characteristics was “political participation”. According to data, the list of decreases in the democracy characteristics from the most substantial to the least is:

1. Electoral process and pluralism, 4.83
2. Civil liberties, 2.35
3. Functioning of government, 1.42
4. Political culture, 1.25
5. Political participation, 0.56

Thus, the overall score decrease was between civil liberties and political culture. In other words, there was significant reduction in several aspects of democracy in Russia, but the reductions in other aspects were not as high. However, the overall score of the democracy index reduced significantly and evaluation of democracy in Russia changed from a hybrid regime to an authoritarian one.

5.2 RQ2: WHAT ARE THE TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE EVALUATIONS OF THE RUSSIAN 1993 POLITICAL CRISIS ACCORDING TO STUDIES OF RUSSIAN SCIENTISTS?

The topic of the 1993 political crisis is still real in modern Russian science. Overall, there have been 236 published articles and other scientific material dedicated to these events since 1993 in Russian Scientific Index (<http://elibrary.ru>). The vast majority (48) of the papers were published in the years 2013-2014, the smallest number (16) of the articles were published in 2005-2006 (Table 2).

Table 2: Number of scientific papers in Russia dedicated to the Russian 1993 political crisis.

Year	1993-2004	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018
Positive articles, number	9	4	8	2	4	4	0	0
Positive articles, %	26.47	28.6	40	12.5	11.1	8.33	0	0
Neutral articles, number	19	8	8	6	18	18	10	8
Neutral articles, %	55.88	57.1	40	37.5	50	37.5	29.4	23.5
Negative articles, number	6	2	4	6	10	20	18	21
Negative articles, %	17.64	14.3	20	37.5	27.8	41.7	53	61.8
Extremely negative articles, number	0	0	0	2	4	6	6	5
Extremely negative articles, %	0	0	0	12.5	11.1	12.5	17.6	14.7
Total number of articles	34	14	20	16	36	48	34	34
Percent in total number of articles, %	14.41	5.93	8.47	6.78	15.2	20.3	14.4	14.4

The total number of the papers in the years 2011-2012 and 2015-2016 was practically equal to the same number in 1993-2004. Thus, it can be concluded that scientific interest in the political crisis of 1993 has grown since 2011. The main trend in published papers is the number of positive evaluations had grown from 1993 to 2008 and then rapidly decreased. In the years 2013-2014, there were just 8.33 percent of positive publications, while in 2007-2008 there were 40 percent. For articles characterized as neutral, the number as consistently decreased during all examining periods. However, there was a growth in 2011-2012. Controversially, the number of the negative papers has had a strict tendency to grow. There was growth both of the absolute and relative number. Moreover, there were no extremely negative scientific publications up to the year 2009 and after that their number has grown.

Thus, it can be concluded that according to studies of Russian scientists the evaluations of the political crisis in Russia in 1993 has become worse from year to year. Events that previously were estimated positively, now are considered negative. Characteristics of scientific papers heterogeneous are presented in Table 3.

Table 3: Heterogeneous characteristics of scientific papers in Russia dedicated to the 1993 political crisis.

Year	Average	SD	t-statistics
Positive articles, number	3.88	3.31	1.17
Positive articles, %	15.87	14.39	1.10
Neutral articles, number	11.88	5.46	2.17
Neutral articles, %	41.37	12.11	3.42
Negative articles, number	10.88	7.66	1.42
Negative articles, %	34.19	17.29	1.98
Extremely negative articles, number	2.88	2.70	1.07
Extremely negative articles, %	8.56	7.34	1.17
Total number of articles	29.50	11.70	2.52
Percent in total number of articles, %	12.50	4.96	2.52

Thus, in the scientific field, the total number of articles and number of neutral articles, including their shares, are stable enough according to t-statistics. Moreover, the share of negative articles is quite stable, but not their number. Thus, neutral and negative estimations of the Russian 1993 political crisis are quite stable in Russian scientific society, whereas the number of publications with different estimations can vary. The total number of scientific publications is quite stable, according to t-statistics. In other words, the topic of the Russian 1993 political crisis is still very important and actual in domestic science. Simultaneously, evaluations of those events are significantly diverse.

5.3 RQ3: IS THERE ANY INTERDEPENDENCE BETWEEN THE ESTIMATION OF THE RUSSIAN 1993 POLITICAL CRISIS AND THE LEVEL OF DOMESTIC DEMOCRACY?

According to the democracy index, the rank of the country is correlated with the absolute number of the neutral articles, and strongly correlated with the absolute number of the negative and extremely negative articles. Practically the same, but negative, correlation coefficients characterize interdependence between overall scores of the democracy index and its main categories. The least absolute values of the correlation are between the functioning of government and the number of the articles in each category. However, they are enough for the determination of interdependence between the number of negative and extremely negative articles and functioning of the government (Table 4). Thus, it can be concluded that the number of the articles, especially neutral, negative, and extremely

negative is strongly correlated with the level of the democracy in Russia.

Table 4: Correlations between the democracy index and scientific publications in absolute numbers dedicated to the political crisis of 1993

Characteristics	Positive, number	Neutral, number	Negative, number	Extremely negative, number
Rank	-0.47	0.67	0.97	0.97
Overall Score	0.49	-0.61	-0.95	-0.97
Electoral process and pluralism	0.41	-0.60	-0.93	-0.93
Functioning of government	0.24	-0.36	-0.71	-0.67
Political participation	0.68	-0.49	-0.72	-0.84
Political culture	0.59	-0.72	-0.88	-0.96
Civil liberties	0.49	-0.56	-0.98	-0.96

Moreover, the same correlations have been studied for the characteristics of the democracy index and the scientific papers in relative numbers dedicated to the Russian 1993 political crisis. Overall, the correlation coefficients showed strong interdependence between all measures. However, they are a little bit weaker than for the absolute numbers. The most important result of this particular analysis is that the percent of neutral scientific papers is positively correlated with all characteristics of the democracy index, but not with the rank. Thus, it can be concluded that the worse estimations of the democracy, the lowest percent of the neutral scientific papers are dedicated to the 1993 political crisis.

Decreasing the democratic level in Russia leads to the increase in scientific papers dedicated to the 1993 political crisis, the vast majority of which are negative. In other words, it can be concluded that the restrictions of civil liberties, violations in the electoral process and pluralism, degradation of the political culture, and lower political participation led to the intensification of the scientific publications dedicated to the 1993 political crisis. Simultaneously, the lower level of the democracy in Russia leads to the reduction of the percent of neutral articles and to the increase of the percent of negative and extremely negative articles.

5.4 RQ4: WHAT ARE THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR FUTURE POLITICAL MANAGEMENT IN RUSSIA, ACCORDING THE INTERDEPENDENCE?

Future political management in Russia, according to presented data, will demonstrate negative tendencies in democratic characteristics. Electoral process and pluralism, function of government, and civil liberties will reduce in the first place. In scientific papers, the reduction of democracy components and democracy index reflects a lag, by about two years. It can be explained by the scientific article publication process that takes about a year or more. However, there is one more tendency in the interdependence of scientific publications and democracy index trends. The more critical articles that are published, the lower the reduction of democracy index during the next several years. In other words, if estimations of the political crisis in Russia become too negative, the democracy index reduces gradually for the next several years. The 1993 political crisis marked the beginning of democracy in Russia. In case, if its estimations become negative, the government stops restricting democracy and civil liberties in Russia for several years. After that, estimations of the crisis become more positive and the government resumes the restrictions.

Political management opportunities in such situation are very wide and depend on political goals. Thus, the goal is to restrict domestic democracy and should be done smoothly for negative estimation reduction. In case, if the goal is to stabilize the situation in the country, and the democracy index

reduction is just a consequence, but not the goal of the government policy, political management should concentrate on issues and instruments that can help to slow down the reduction. Instead of reacting to political management, an active one should be used. As a result, the reduction of political crisis will be stopped and at least slow down. Thus, political management opportunities are interconnected with stabilization of democracy liberties and index.

6. DISCUSSION

This study showed that current events can stimulate scientists to review the past. However, there are two directions for reviewing. The first of them is the analysis of the events, the main aim of which is to find the moment where the process has been disrupted irreversibly. The second direction is explaining current problems, including political ones, by previous decisions. In fact, the second approach offers rejection of the responsibility for present events.

Moreover, scientific discussions of the 1993 events can be characterized as a form of public protest to the current policy. In circumstances of political and democratic restrictions, the discussion of the earlier events could be a legalized form of public negative opinion expression.

Nevertheless, the study has had comparable results with the Whitefield's (2009), Kunicova and Remington's (2008), Kryshstanovskaya and White's (2005) research. Russia is still trying to determine what democracy is. However, the study showed that there is no united definition of evaluation for the 1993 political crisis. There are many points of view, that those are more determined by recent political events.

7. CONCLUSION

The interests of Russian science in the 1993 political crisis has increased substantially since 2012. According to the democracy index, significant reduction of all characteristics of democracy has led to the increasing in interest of the origins of modern democracy in Russia. Previously positively evaluated events are now estimated in a negative context. As shown by the analysis of the scientific publications, the vast majority of expectations about the crisis were positive, especially in improving the democratic liberties in Russia and increasing the standard of living. The democracy index in Russia has reduced since 2006 (this index did not exist earlier). Moreover, the index has shown a reduction in each category that means overall reduction of the democratic level in Russia. The first significant reduction of the democracy index in 2008 did not influence scientific publications significantly. However, since that time, the number of negative articles dedicated to the 1993 political crisis increased. In 2010, the number and percent of negative articles increased substantially. Simultaneously, the first extremely negative scientific evaluations of the 1993 political crisis were published. This tendency has continued since that time.

The study showed that the percent of neutral scientific papers positively correlated with all characteristics of the democracy index, but not with the rank. In other words, reduction of the democracy liberties in Russia decreases the percent of the neutral articles and increases the negative and extremely negative ones. However, the current policy and democratic restrictions have led to an increase of the neutral, negative, and extremely negative scientific publications dedicated to the 1993 political crisis. Thus, Russian scientists are trying to analyze those events to find out the reasons of

the current policy, and how liberalization led to the present democratic restrictions. Political management opportunities are interconnected with stabilization of democracy liberties and index.

8. DATA AND MATERIAL AVAILABILITY

All relevant information used in this study is already included in this article.

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