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**Signals of adaptive social readiness as a cornerstone and a driving force of Russian authoritarianism**

The aim of this article is to show the relationship between, the features (in cultural, sociological and political science terms) exhibited by contemporary Russian society and the political regime, that existed in the RF in the years 2007-2015.

Kew word: Russia, authoritarianism, communicative signals, Russian society, political regime.

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**Сигналы адаптивной социальной готовности как краеугольный камень и движущая сила русского авторитаризма**

В статье показана связь между особенностями (в культурном, социологическом и политологическом отношении), демонстрируемыми современным российским обществом, и политическим режимом, существовавшим в РФ в период 2007-2015 гг.

Ключевые слова: Россия, авторитаризм, коммуникативные сигналы, российское общество, политический режим.

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Referring to the theory of "the state in society" by D. Migdal, We put the thesis that it is just the Russian way of thinking resulting in certain behavior, that causes the permanence of Russian authoritarianism with a tendency to move on the line continuum toward totalitarianism.

We hypothesize that the stability of the authoritarian system in modern Russia results from the persistence of traditional (in the straight or transformed form, different conceptual variations) collective, tribal and statecratic thinking of Russian people. This thinking provides a high level of legitimacy of power in the conditions of a specific law.

Hence the chronological framework of presented analysis covers the period from 2007 until 2016. There has been a shift from "Perestroika 2" model (a government program for the modernization of the state announced in 2009 by President Dmitry Medvedev) to the model of "Stalin-light" [4].

Just like Linz[3], we assume that both the structure of political and social awareness and the level and type of social activity are interdependent.

Persistence of authoritarianism in Russia is an important part of the tradition, which is based on a way of seeing and feeling of reality by the Russians. The phenomenon of Russian thinking is the subject of many interesting analyzes [2]. Among its many specific moments I am pointing out only the ones that are the most “aboriginal” , most releasing and preserving authoritarianism in Russia:

* collectivism and post collectivism
* Tribal and post tribal awareness
* Statecraticawareness
* Russians approach to law

Authoritarian system in Russia pursues in an exemplary way applied in all authoritarian systems a rule blocking all activities aimed at the conquest of power, undertaken by entities not related to the center of state power. Russian society can articulate its interests, even if they do not coincide with the interests of the power elite, as long as this action does not give a chance to the removal from power of the current team. Intra-system opposition plays the role of a stabilizer Russian Federation system. It is also a “safety valve” through which passes the accumulated social frustration, and holds Russian system as “sovereign democracy (according to Surkov). In addition to actions of quasi-opposition mounted in the system there exists anti-system opposition. Since 2008, anti-system opposition has been marginalized, with no seats in parliament and free access to the media. In 2014 it was completely broken. It is unable to organize mass actions [1].

In modern Russia, we observe a large level of social apathy (Linz, 2000). Rather high level of social passivity consists of:

* a lack of well-established tradition of civil society
* a lack of transparency and predictability experienced phenomena and situations, which causes the desire to maintain the status quo of individuals and society as a whole
* low social capital, a lack of horizontal ties
* a high level of legitimacy of President Putin power

The durability of Russian authoritarianism is a result of well-established tradition of the Russians approach to:

* own state (state interest identified with the interests of the nation)
* state power (legitimacy of charismatic leader strengthening the state)
* statutory law (rejection of the model of the rule of law)
* West (tribal and confrontational thinking expressed in aggressive anti-occidental rhetoric).

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