

Putins Rusland?

Forholdet mellem staten og borgeren i dagens Rusland

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Opbygning

- Et kort tilbageblik på 1990'erne
- Putin's politiske målsætninger
- Den populære Putin?
- Den upopulære Putin?
- Konklusioner/perspektiver

Metode

- Vi skal kigge på en dejlig masse statistik:
- Valgresultater
- Meningsmålinger både om politiske overbevisninger og andre samfundsforhold
- Resultater af sociologiske undersøgelser

Metode

- Ved russiske valg er der en betydelig befolkningsandel, der ikke stemmer.
- Tilsvarende er det en ganske betydelig procentdel af de adspurgte i en meningsundersøgelse, der svarer ved ikke eller svarer, som de tror, magthaverne vil have.
- Dette gælder uanset hvilket af de tre russiske meningsmålingsinstitutter, der står bag en given meningsundersøgelse.
- Selv med dette forbehold in mente kan materialet anvendes til at udsige noget om forholdet mellem staten og borgeren i dagens Rusland

Jeltsin årene eller de vilde 90'ere

- Politisk frihed
- Økonomisk frihed
- Frie (privatejede) medier
- Men også økonomisk kaos med chokterapi og GKO boblen, der brast



Putin tiden



Putins program

- **Programmet/**
- **”Putins Manifest”:**
 - Afvisning af det kommunistiske system som samfundsmodel.
 - ”Gosudarstvennitjestvo” (en stærk stat).
 - ”Derzjavnost” (stolthed over Rusland/patriotisme).
 - En effektiv økonomi
 - Endemålet: At se Rusland genrejst som en stormagt.
- **Den førte politik:**
 - Renationalisering af strategiske sektorer (primært energisektoren)
 - Renationalisering af de elektroniske medier.
 - Indskrænkninger i de politiske friheder.
 - Styret demokrati/magtens vertikal.

Hvorfor finder russerne sig i det?

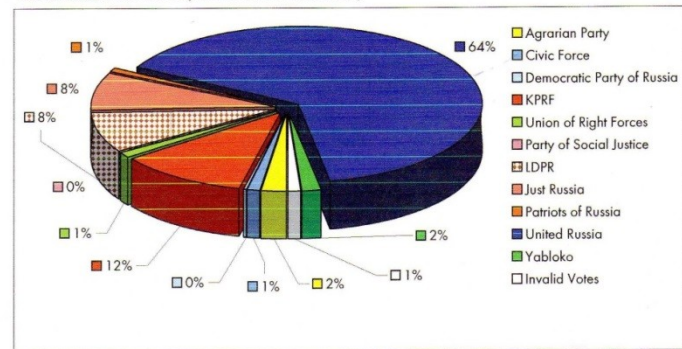
- Et todelt svar periodisk opdelt før og efter de seneste valg til Dumaen og præsidentposten.

Resultater af Duma valgene 1999, 2003, 2007

Parti	Resultat
Edinstvo (støttet af Putin)	23,3 %
SPS (borgerlige-liberale støttet af Putin)	8,5 %
KPRF (kommunisterne)	24,3 %
OVR (liberalt oppositionsparti)	13,3 %
"Imod alle"	3,3 %

The Results of the Duma Elections

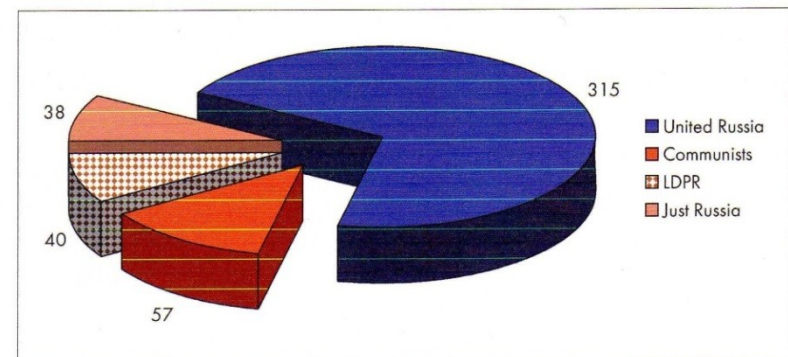
The Official End Result (As of 8 December 2007)



Source: http://www.vybory.izbirkom.ru/region/region/izbirkom?action=show&root=1&vd=100100021960186&vm=100100021960186®ion=0&global=1&sub_region=0&prver=0&pronetvd=null&vtbid=100100021960186&type=242, 10. December 2007

Parti	Resultat
Forenet Rusland	37,6 %
KPRF (kommunisterne)	12,6 %
LDPR (Nationalisterne)	11,5 %
Rodina (støtteparti til Forenet Rusland)	9,0 %
Øvrige partier, der ikke klarede spærregrensen på 5 %.	23,0 %

Distribution of Seats in the New Duma



Source: <http://www.gazeta.ru/politics/elections2007/>

Resultater af præsidentvalgene 2000, 2004, 2008

Kandidat	Resultat
Vladimir Putin	52,94 %
Gennadij Zuganov (kommunist)	29,21 %
Grigorij Javlinskij (liberal fmd. f. Jabloko)	5,80 %
Øvrige 7 kandidater tilsammen	12,05 %

- I 2004 valget med 71,3 % af stemmerne i første valgrunde.
- Hører med til historien, at hverken Zuganov (kommunisterne), Zjirenovskij (nationalisterne), eller Javlinskij (de liberale) ønskede et nyt svigende nederlag, og derfor opstillede de stråmænd.
- Kun to reelle modkandidater, hvoraf den ene stillede op på opfordring af kredsen omkring Putin.

Kandidat	Valgresultat i %
Dmitirj Medvedev	70,23 %
Gennadij Zuganov	17,72
Vladimir Zjirinovskij	9,35
Andrej Bogdanov	1,29

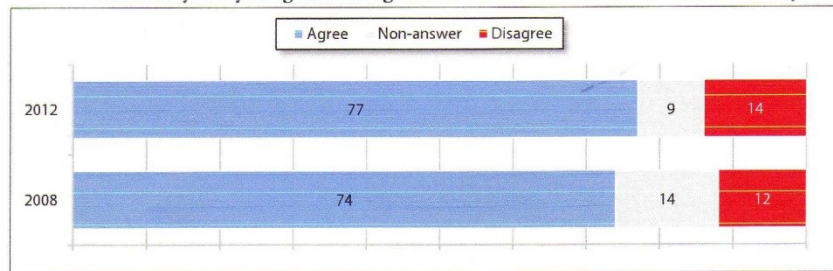
5 konklusioner om valgene 1999-2008

- Reelle valgresultater.
- 1/3 af de stemmeberettigede stemte ikke.
- Ikke et flertal i parlamentet imod præsidentens politik.
- De borgerlig-liberale partier var kompromitterede i befolkningens øjne pga. 1990'erne.
- Der var en overvældende støtte til den førte politiske linie.

Ønsker russerne demokrati?

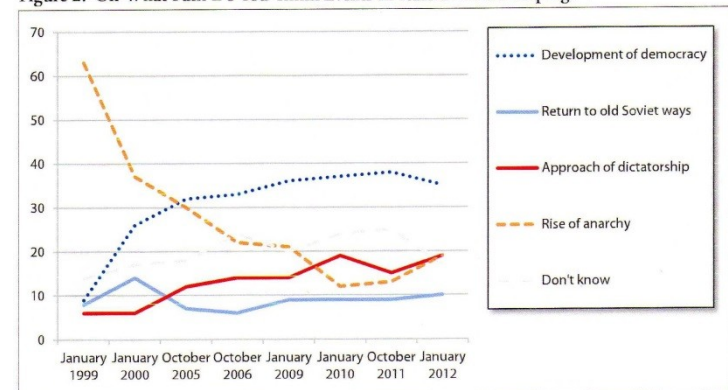
Democracy and/or a Strong State?

Figure 1: Distribution (percent) of answers to: “Many people in Russia today talk a lot about democracy. Do you agree or disagree that Russia should be a democratic country?”



Source: Russian Election Studies (RES) surveys 2008 and 2012 (Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Sociology, Demoscope Group)

Figure 2: On What Path Do You Think Events In Russia Are Developing?

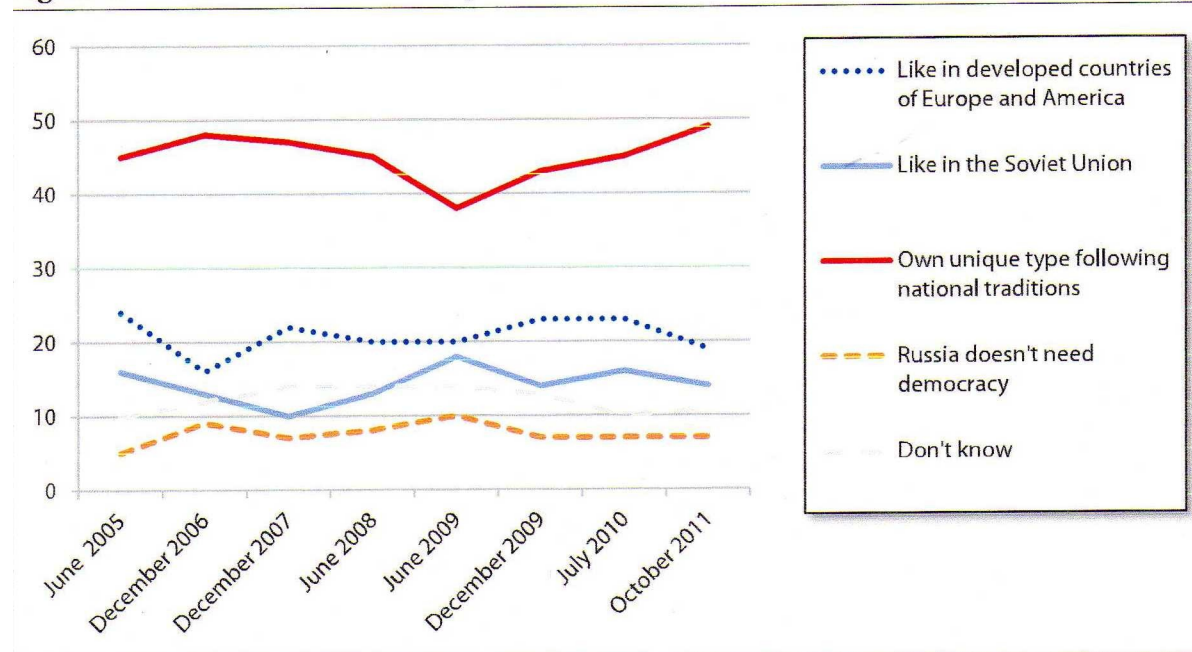


Source: representative opinion poll by Levada Center, www.russiavotes.org

Hvad forstår russerne ved begrebet demokrati?

Conceptions of Democracy

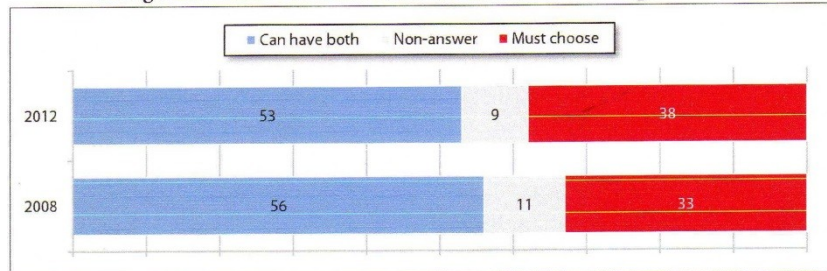
Figure 1: What Kind Of Democracy Does Russia Need?



Source: representative opinion poll by Levada Center, www.russiavotes.org

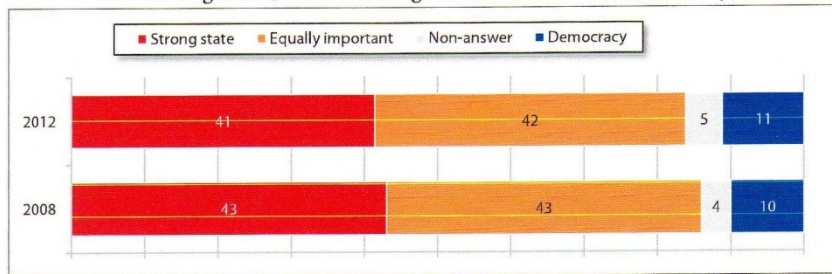
Russernes demokratiopfattelse

Figure 3a: Distribution (percent) of answers to: “What do you think, is it possible for Russia at the present time to be simultaneously a democratic country and a country with a strong state or must we choose one or the other: either a strong state or democracy?”



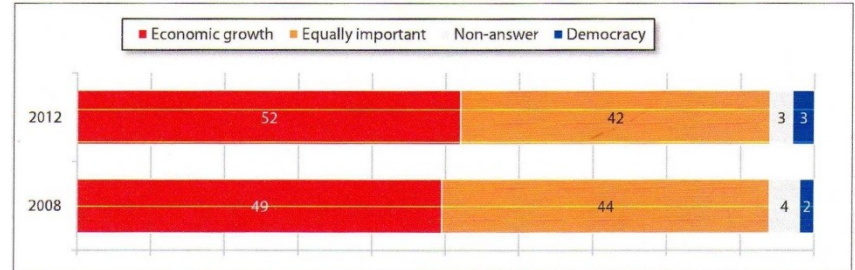
Source: Russian Election Studies (RES) surveys 2008 and 2012 (Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Sociology, Demoscope Group)

Figure 3b: Distribution (percent) of answers to: “And what, in your opinion, is more important for Russia right now, to have a strong state or to be a democratic country?”



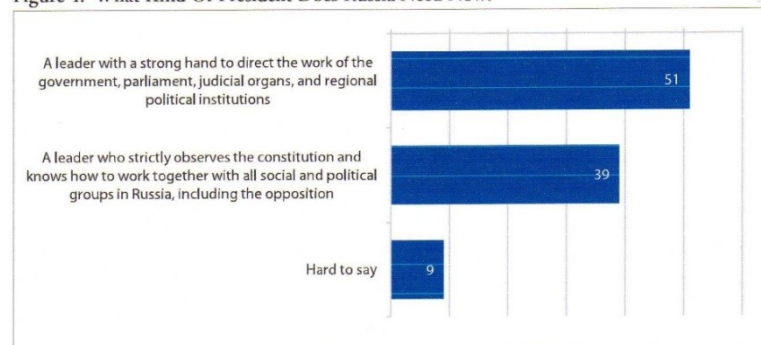
Source: Russian Election Studies (RES) surveys 2008 and 2012 (Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Sociology, Demoscope Group)

Figure 4b: Distribution (percent) of answers to: “And what, in your opinion, is more important for Russia right now, economic growth or democracy?”



Source: Russian Election Studies (RES) surveys 2008 and 2012 (Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Sociology, Demoscope Group)

Figure 4: What Kind Of President Does Russia Need Now?



Source: representative opinion poll by Levada Center, www.levada.ru

Russernes tilfredshed med Putin

- Rusland er gået fra at være den 22. til at blive den 6. største økonomi i verden.
- Blandt BRIC landene har Rusland haft den hurtigst voksende middelklasse og den største vækstrate i indtægten pr. capita.

Figure 1: Russia is now the world's sixth largest economy by GDP (PPP)

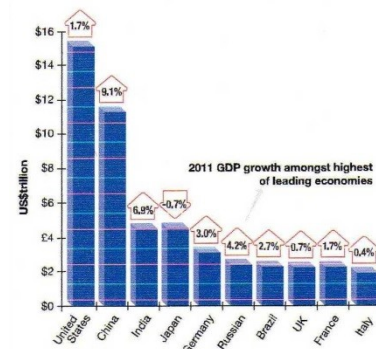
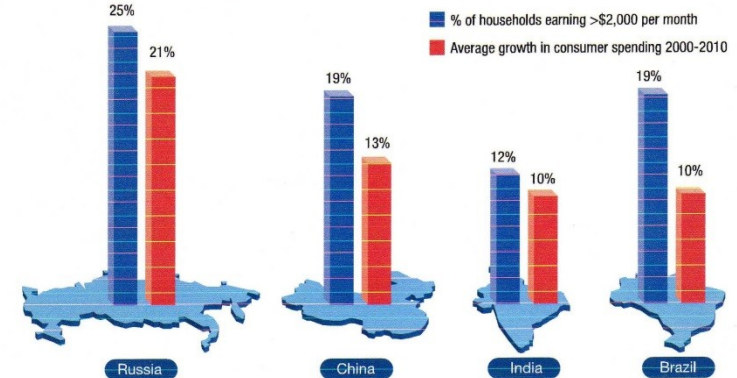


Figure 4: Russia has the highest proportion of high income households and fastest rate of consumer spending in the BRICs



Den populære Putin

Putin's Future after the Elections of 2008

Is the Procedure of the President Presently in Office Choosing His Successor Legal and Legitimate, or is it Undemocratic and Unconstitutional?

It is a completely legal and legitimate procedure	43%
It is an undemocratic and unconstitutional procedure	29%
No answer	28%

Do You Support the Idea of Making Putin Prime Minister of Russia after the End of his Term in Office as President?

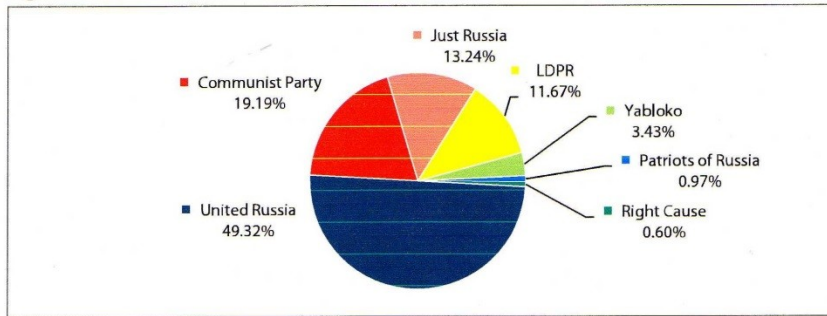
Yes, very much so	28%
On the whole yes	35%
On the whole no	13%
Not at all	8%
No answer	16%

Forholdet til politik og magthavere før 2011-12 valgene

- Sandsynligvis været nogle eksempler på ulige vilkår og valgsvindel, men resultaterne afspejlede reelt folkestemningen.
- Politisk apati.
- Fået social sikkerhed.
- En ny stolthed over at være russere.
- Demokrati i vestlig forstand opfattet som noget negativt.
- Et svagt civilsamfund og dårligt organiserede politiske partier.
- Den borgerlige-liberale opposition fremstår kompromitteret i den russiske befolknings øjne.

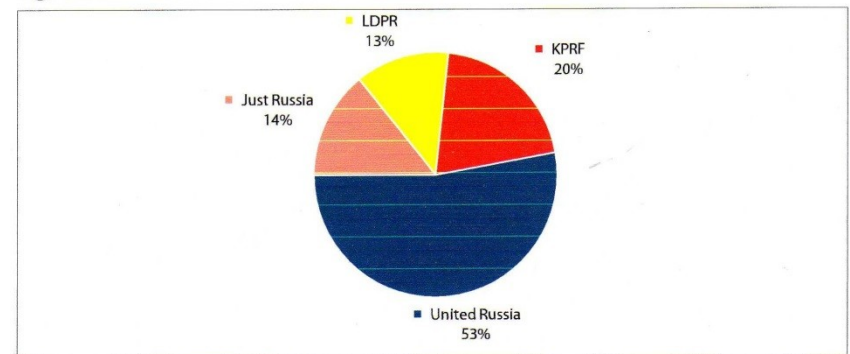
Resultaterne af Duma valget 2011

Figure 1: Final Result of the Duma Elections, 4 December 2011



Source: Central Election Commission of the Russian Federation, http://www.vybory.izbirkom.ru/region/region/izbirkom?action=show&root=1&tvd=100100028713304&vm=100100028713299®ion=0&global=1&sub_region=0&prver=0&pronetvd=null&vbid=100100028713304&ttype=242

Figure 2: Allocation of Seats in the Duma



Source: Central Election Commission of the Russian Federation, Rossiiskaia gazeta, 10 December 2011, <http://www.rg.ru/printable/2011/12/10/duma-itogi-dok.html>

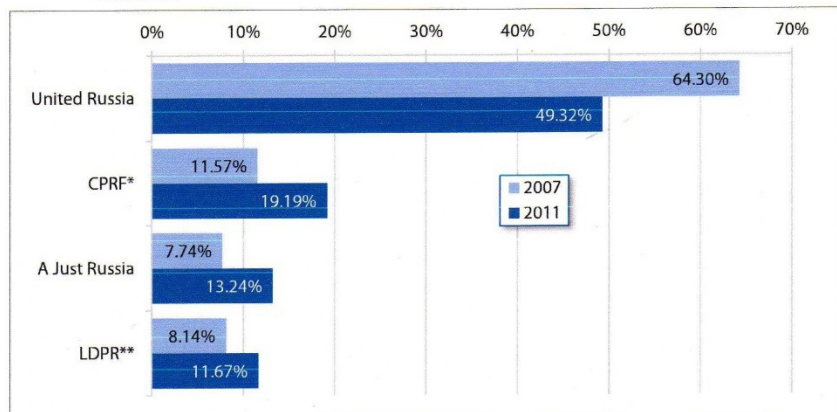
Præsidentvalg 2012

Valgresultatet efter 1. runde

Kandidat	Parti	Resultat i %
Vladimir Putin	Forenet Rusland	63,60
Gennadij Zuganov	KPRF	17,18
Mihail Prohonov	Uafhængig	7,98
Vladimir Zjirinovksij	LDPR	6,22
Sergej Mironov	Et retfærdigt Rusland	3,85

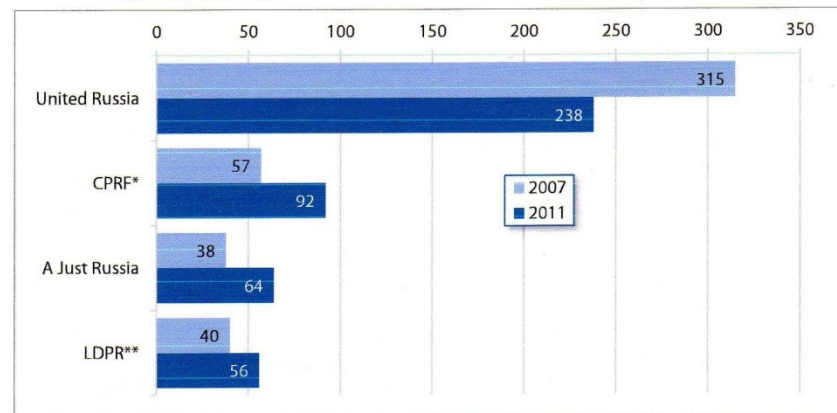
Resultatet af Duma valget 2011 i et komparativt perspektiv

Figure 1: Share of the Vote of the Parties Represented in the Duma in the Duma Elections 2007 and 2011



* = Communist Party of the Russian Federation, ** = Liberal Democratic Party of Russia

Figure 2: Number of Mandates of the Parties Represented in the Duma after the Duma Elections 2007 and 2011

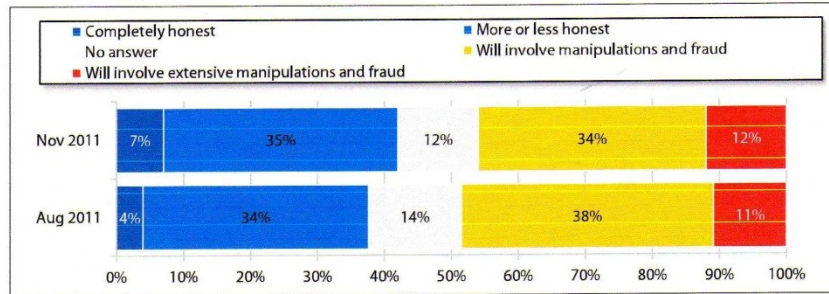


* = Communist Party of the Russian Federation, ** = Liberal Democratic Party of Russia

Utilfredsheden over udsigten til valgsvindel

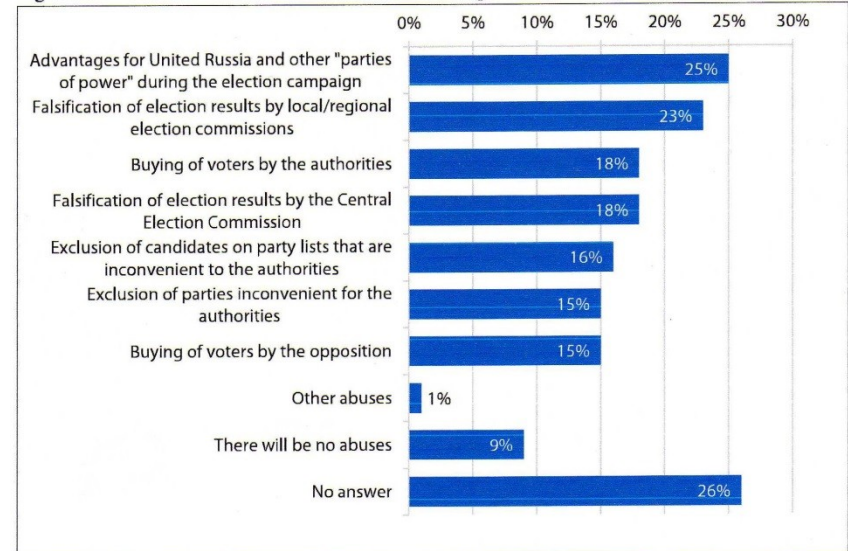
Pre-Election Assessment of the Fairness of the Elections

Figure 1: Will the Duma Elections Be Honest or Will They Involve Manipulations and Election Fraud?



Source: representative opinion polls by Levada Center, 2011, latest polls conducted on 18–21 November 2011, <http://www.levada.ru/25-11-2011/noyabrskie-rejtingi-odobreniya-i-doveriya-rejtingi-partii>.

Figure 2: Will We Be Confronted with the Following Abuses During the Duma Elections?



Source: representative opinion polls by Levada Center on 19–23 August 2011 <http://old.levada.ru/press/2011091301.html>

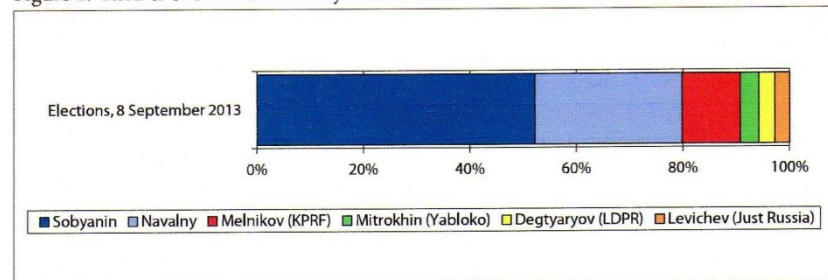
Resultatet af borgmestervalget i Moskva den 8. september 2013

Table 1: Results of the Moscow Mayoral Elections

Persons eligible to vote	7,250,879	
Invalid ballots	35,610	
Valid ballots	2,286,972	
Voter turnout		32.03%
Degtyaryov (LDPR)	66,532	2.86%
Levichev (Just Russia)	64,778	2.79%
Melnikov (KPRF)	248,294	10.69%
Mitrokhin (Yabloko)	81,493	3.51%
Navalny (RPR-PARNAS)	632,697	27.24%
Sobyanin (United Russia, incumbent)	1,193,178	51.37%

Source: http://www.moscow_city.vybory.izbirkom.ru/region/region/moscow_city?action=show&root=1&tvd=27720001368293&vrn=27720001368289®ion=77&global=&sub_region=0&prver=0&pronetvd=null&vbid=27720001368293&type=222. 11 September 2013

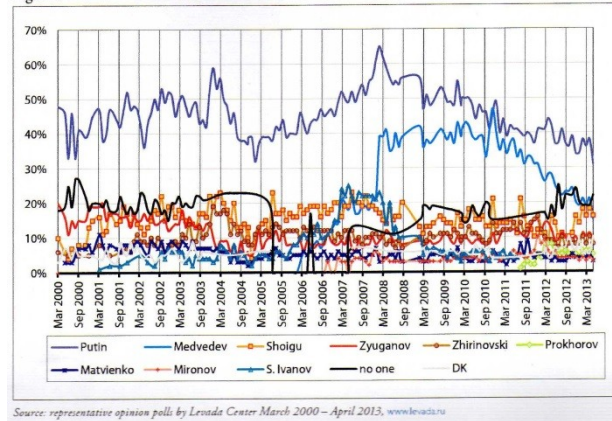
Figure 1: Results of the Moscow Mayoral Elections



Source: http://www.moscow_city.vybory.izbirkom.ru/region/region/moscow_city?action=show&root=1&tvd=27720001368293&vrn=27720001368289®ion=77&global=&sub_region=0&prver=0&pronetvd=null&vbid=27720001368293&type=222. 11 September 2013

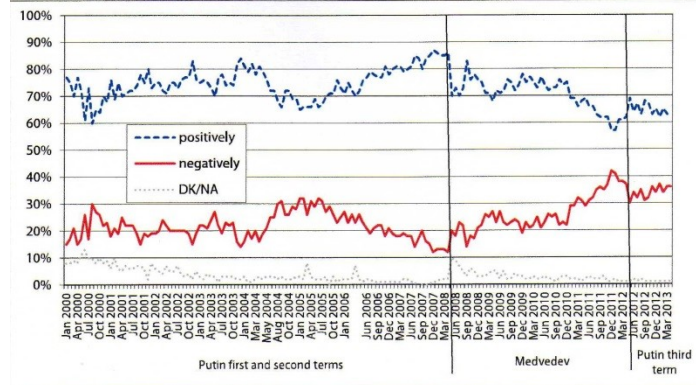
Målinger af støtte til præsidenten hhv. regeringen 2000-2013

Figure 3: Which Politician Do You Trust?



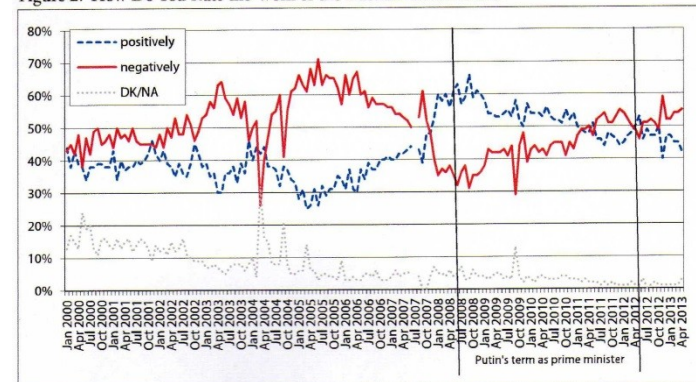
Source: representative opinion polls by Levada Center March 2000 – April 2013, www.levada.ru

Figure 1: How Do You Rate the Work of Putin and Medvedev as Russian President?



Source: representative opinion polls by Levada Center January 2000 – April 2013, www.levada.ru

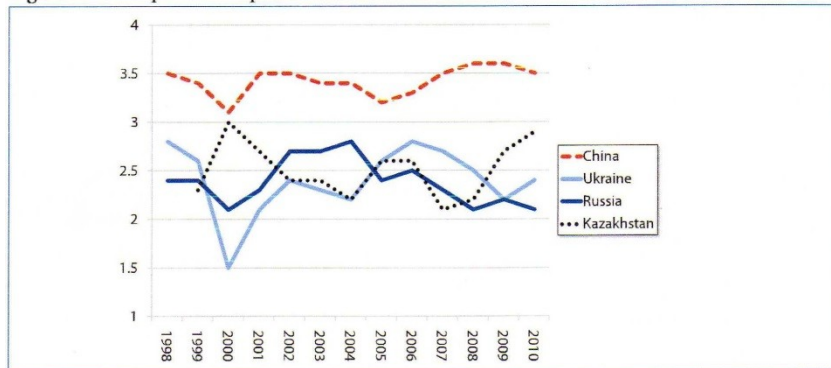
Figure 2: How Do You Rate the Work of the Russian Government?



Source: representative opinion polls by Levada Center January 2000 – April 2013, www.levada.ru

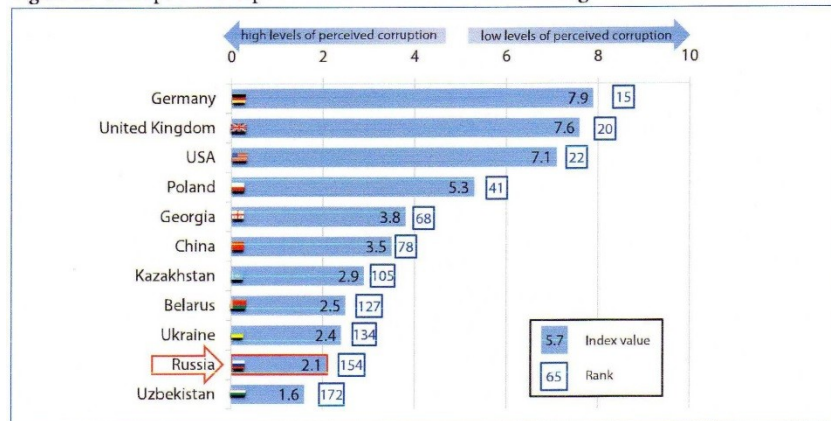
Den oplevede korrruption

Figure 2: Corruption Perception Index 1998–2010



- Danmark kæmper hvert år med Finland og New Zealand om førstepladsen som det mindst korruperte land.
- Rusland placeringer:
 - 2010: 154
 - 2011: 143
 - 2012: 133

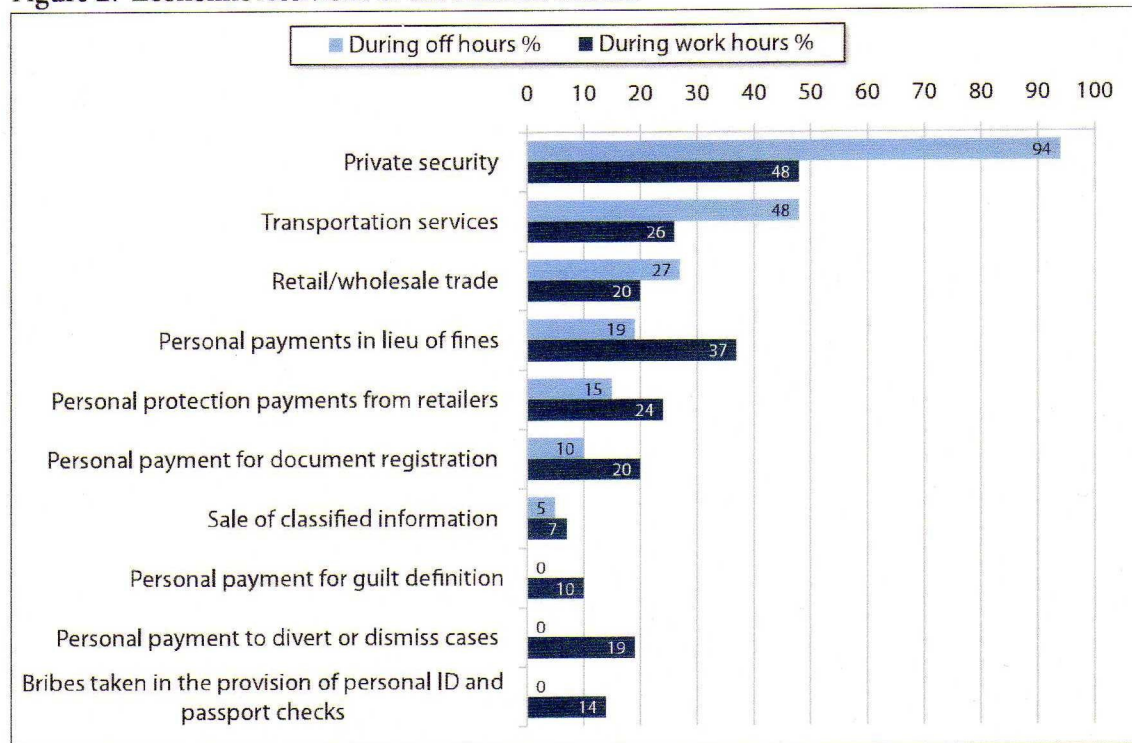
Figure 1: Corruption Perception Index 2010: Scores and Ranking



- Fra 2011 til 2012 har Rusland bevæget sig fra et niveau som Nigeria til at være på niveau med Iran. Måske ikke imponerende, men dog et fremskridt.

Det russiske politis økonomiske aktiviteter

Figure 2: Economic Activities of the Russian Militia



Source: O. Kolennikova, L. Kosals, R. Ryvkina, Yu. Simagin, D. G. Wilson: "The 'economic activities' of Russian police," *International Journal of Police Science and Management*, Volume 10, No. 1, 2008.

Meningsmålinger med positive og negative vurderinger af udviklingen under Putin 2004-2012

Table 1: In Which Areas Has Vladimir Putin Had Success During His Years in Power?*

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2012	Trend
Improving the standard of living, growth of salaries and pensions	37%	29%	28%	30%	36%	43%	40%	29%	
Strengthening of Russia's international position	19%	22%	25%	32%	26%	26%	26%	25%	
Economic development of the country	21%	14%	15%	31%	35%	31%	24%	23%	
Increase in optimism and hope for a rapid improvement of the state of things in the country	27%	21%	24%	25%	27%	26%	26%	19%	
Introducing order in the country, maintaining of a quiet political situation	18%	19%	19%	23%	24%	23%	22%	19%	
Improving Russia's relations with the West	21%	26%	25%	28%	20%	22%	29%	17%	
Solving the Chechen problem	10%	10%	10%	21%	20%	18%	12%	16%	
Increasing combat efficiency and reforming the armed forces	11%	13%	9%	14%	14%	12%	11%	15%	
Creating an acceptable economic and political environment for private business	11%	8%	7%	13%	10%	12%	13%	12%	
Cooperation with the other countries of the CIS	15%	16%	16%	15%	14%	14%	19%	12%	
Curbing the oligarchs, limiting their influence	18%	15%	13%	11%	8%	9%	9%	10%	
Eliminating the danger of terrorism in the country	3%	6%	6%	10%	10%	10%	6%	9%	
Combating corruption and bribe-taking	14%	12%	8%	14%	8%	9%	9%	7%	
Defending democracy and citizens' political liberties	6%	5%	8%	8%	4%	4%	4%	5%	
Fighting crime	8%	10%	7%	9%	8%	8%	7%	5%	
Improving relations between people of different ethnicity in Russia	3%	5%	7%	5%	5%	4%	6%	5%	
Reinforcing ethics and morals in the country	2%	3%	3%	3%	3%	3%	4%	3%	
I don't see any achievements	24%	26%	28%	20%	10%	15%	17%	30%	

* Sorted by the results of the latest polls

Source: representative opinion polls by Levada Center from 2004 to 24th-27th February 2012, <http://www.levada.ru/print/12-03-2012/10s-siyane-o-edinoi-rossii-i-narodnom-fronte-politizatsiyuchestnykh-i-imidzhe-v-putina>

Table 2: ... And In Which Areas Have Putin's Actions Been Least Successful?*

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2012	Trend
Combating corruption and bribe-taking	19%	14%	16%	20%	18%	23%	24%	38%	
Improving the standard of living, growth of salaries and pensions	21%	21%	20%	19%	17%	13%	13%	21%	
Curbing the oligarchs, limiting their influence	19%	14%	16%	20%	18%	23%	24%	20%	
Reinforcing ethics and morals in the country	7%	5%	5%	10%	6%	6%	4%	15%	
Economic development of the country	18%	19%	16%	11%	8%	12%	12%	14%	
Fighting crime	28%	27%	28%	33%	32%	35%	37%	13%	
Solving the Chechen problem	25%	20%	18%	23%	17%	19%	18%	10%	
Introducing order in the country, maintaining of a quiet political situation	10%	7%	8%	6%	4%	6%	6%	7%	
Creating an acceptable economic and political environment for private business	4%	4%	4%	6%	3%	5%	5%	7%	
Improving relations between people of different ethnicity in Russia	3%	3%	4%	4%	3%	3%	2%	7%	
Eliminating the danger of terrorism in the country	3%	3%	2%	3%	3%	3%	3%	6%	
Increasing combat efficiency and reforming the armed forces	34%	27%	18%	13%	7%	9%	10%	5%	
Increase in optimism and hope for a rapid improvement of the state of things in the country	6%	6%	7%	6%	4%	5%	4%	5%	
Cooperation with the other countries of the CIS	24%	15%	9%	7%	4%	4%	9%	5%	
Strengthening of Russia's international position	3%	1%	3%	3%	3%	3%	3%	4%	
Improving Russia's relations with the West	3%	3%	4%	4%	3%	3%	3%	4%	
Defending democracy and citizens' political liberties	6%	5%	6%	4%	3%	5%	4%	3%	
I don't see any failures	13%	13%	16%	22%	14%	16%	16%	6%	

* Sorted by the results of the latest polls

Source: representative opinion polls by Levada Center from 2004 to 24th-27th February 2012, <http://www.levada.ru/print/12-03-2012/10s-siyane-o-edinoi-rossii-i-narodnom-fronte-politizatsiyuchestnykh-i-imidzhe-v-putina>

Den pessimistiske vestlige konklusion

- Russerne er veltilfredse med en stærk leder, der kan skabe økonomisk vækst og ser ikke dette som værende i strid med begrebet demokrati.
- Det er lykkedes Putin at skabe en forbrugsøkonomi, der tilfredsstiller den fremvoksende middelklasse og derved afholder den fra at gå imod Putin politisk.

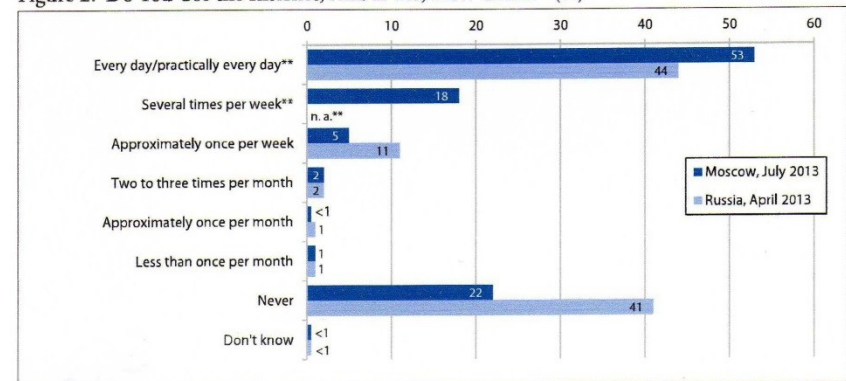
Russernes adgang til Internettet 2009 og 2013

Table 2: Education & Internet Penetration, Russia & Moscow

Education	Russia	Moscow	Percent of [level of education] that go online at least once per month – Russia	Percent of [level of education] that are monthly Internet users – Moscow
Advanced degree	17%	43%	63%	76%
Secondary education	39%	31%	30%	48%
High School Education	32%	21%	22%	41%
Less than High School	12%	6%	5%	12%

Source: FOM, *Internet in Russia, Special Report, Spring 2009*, http://bd.fom.ru/report/cat/smi/smi_int/d091617

Figure 2: Do You Use the Internet, And If Yes, How Often?* (%)



* This question was formulated as follows in the April 2013 Russia poll: "Do you use the internet (apart from e-mail), and if yes, how often?"
 ** In the April 2013 Russia poll, the answers "every day/practically every day" and "several times per week" were combined into one answer
 Source: representative polls by Levada Center in Moscow and Russia 4–8 July 2013 and in April 2013, respectively, published on 15 July 2013 on <http://www.levada.ru/15-07-2013/istoriya-informatsii-moskvi>

Russernes adgang til Internettet 2009 og 2013

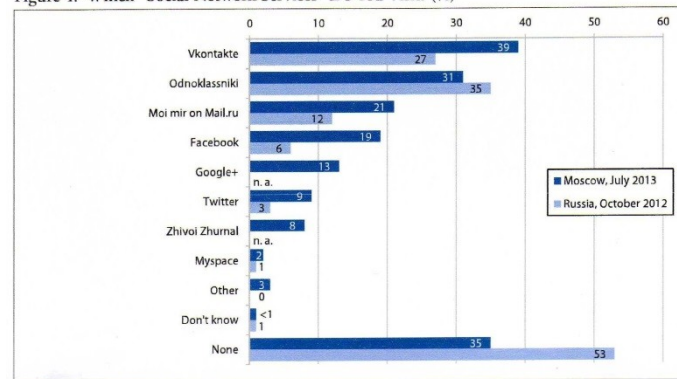
Table 3: Blog/Social Networking Sites & Audience Numbers

Blog Hosting & Social Networking Sites	Monthly audience	Percentage of Russia's monthly users (32–35 million)
1. <i>Vkontakte.ru</i>	14.3 million	40–45%
2. <i>Live Journal</i>	8.7 million	25–27%
3. Odnoklassniki.ru	7.8 million	22–24%
4. Mail.Ru – My World	6.3 million	18–20%
5. <i>Live Internet</i>	5.6 million	16–17.5%
6. <i>Blogs.Mail.ru</i>	4.7 million	13–14%
7. <i>Ya.Ru</i>	Under 3 million	Under 9%

Key: Social networking sites in black. Blog hosting sites in red italics.

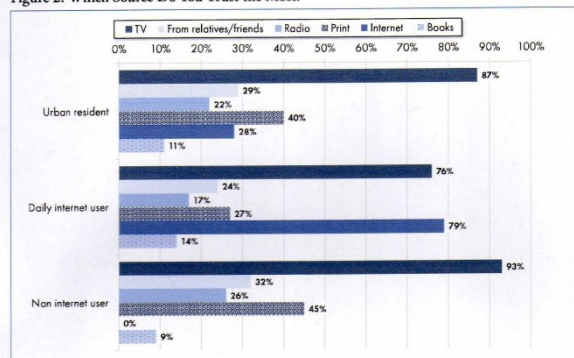
Source: Comscore "Russia Has World's Most Engaged Social Networking Audience," http://www.comscore.com/Press_Events/Press_Releases/2009/7/Russia_has_World_s_Most_Engaged_Social_Networking_Audience_July_2_2009 and Yandex "Trends in the Blogosphere," http://download.yandex.ru/company/yandex_on_blogosphere_spring_2009.pdf, Spring 2009.

Figure 4: Which "Social Network Services" Do You Visit? (%)



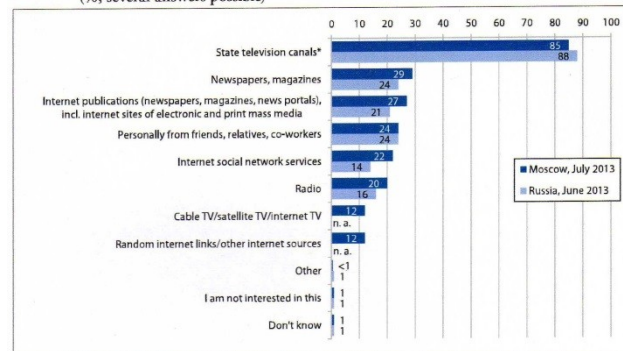
Source: representative polls by Levada Center in Moscow and Russia 4–8 July 2013 and in October 2012, respectively, published on 15 July 2013 on <http://www.levada.ru/15-07-2013/rozhniki-informatsii-moskva-ru>

Figure 2: Which Source Do You Trust the Most?



Source: Medijnye predpochtenija naselenija: internet i teletelevidenie 23 April 2009, <http://bd.lom.ru/pdf/d16lp.pdf>

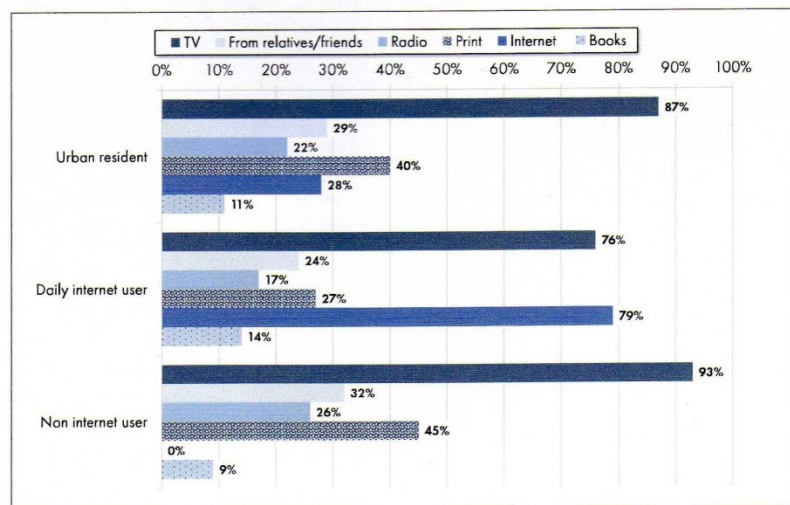
Figure 1: What Are Your Sources for News in the City, Country, and the World? (% several answers possible)



* In the June 2013 poll for all of Russia, this answer was "television" instead of "state television canals"
Source: representative polls by Levada Center in Moscow and Russia 4–8 July 2013 and in June 2013, respectively, published on 15 July 2013 on <http://www.levada.ru/15-07-2013/rozhniki-informatsii-moskva-ru>

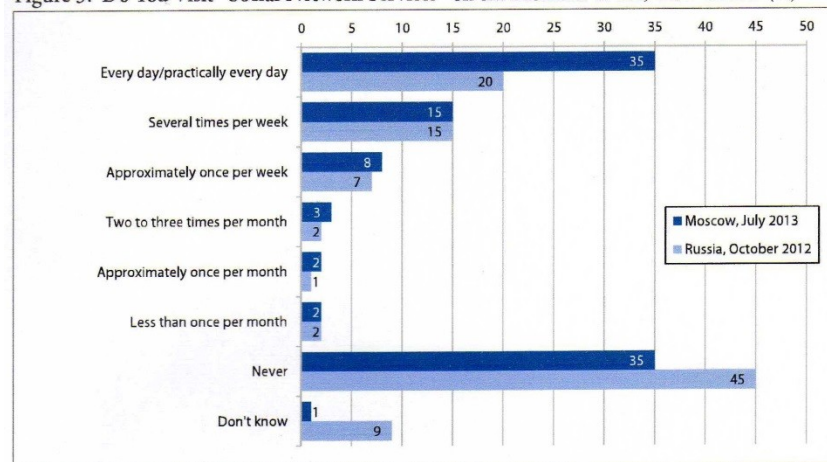
Russernes brug af de sociale medier 2009 og 2013

Figure 1: Where Do You Most Often Find Interesting Information?



Source: *Mediynye predpochteniya naseleniya: internet tesnit televidenie* 23 April 2009, <http://bd.fom.ru/pdf/d10lp.pdf>

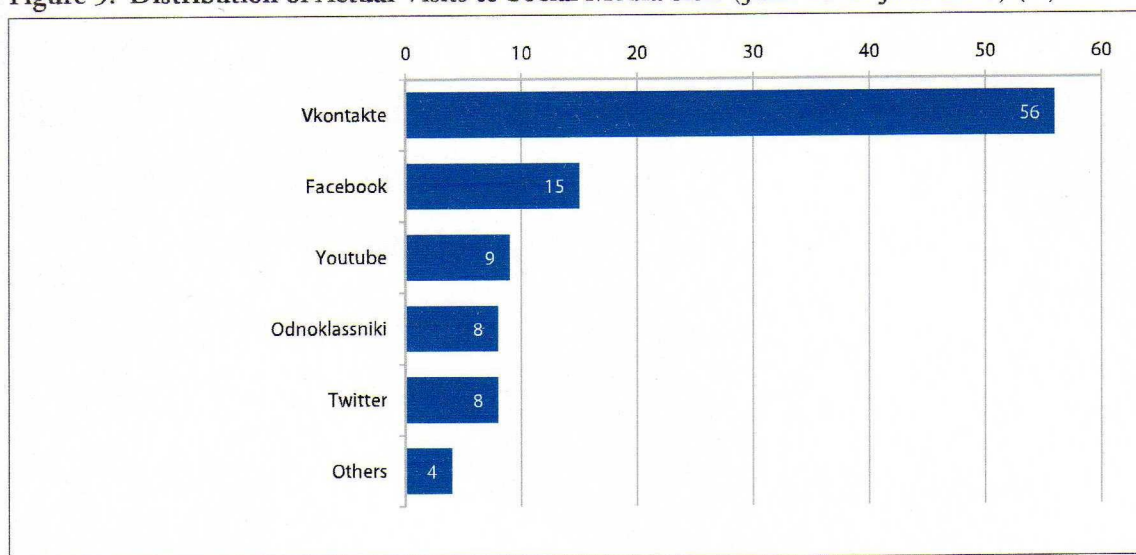
Figure 3: Do You Visit "Social Network Services" on the Internet? If Yes, How Often? (%)



Source: representative polls by Levada Center in Moscow and Russia 4–8 July 2013 and in October 2012, respectively, published on 15 July 2013 on <http://www.levada.ru/15-07-2013/stochniki-informatsii-rnoskvichef>

Antal besøg på de russisksprogede sociale medier 2012-2013

Figure 5: Distribution of Actual Visits to Social Media Sites (June 2012–June 2013) (%)



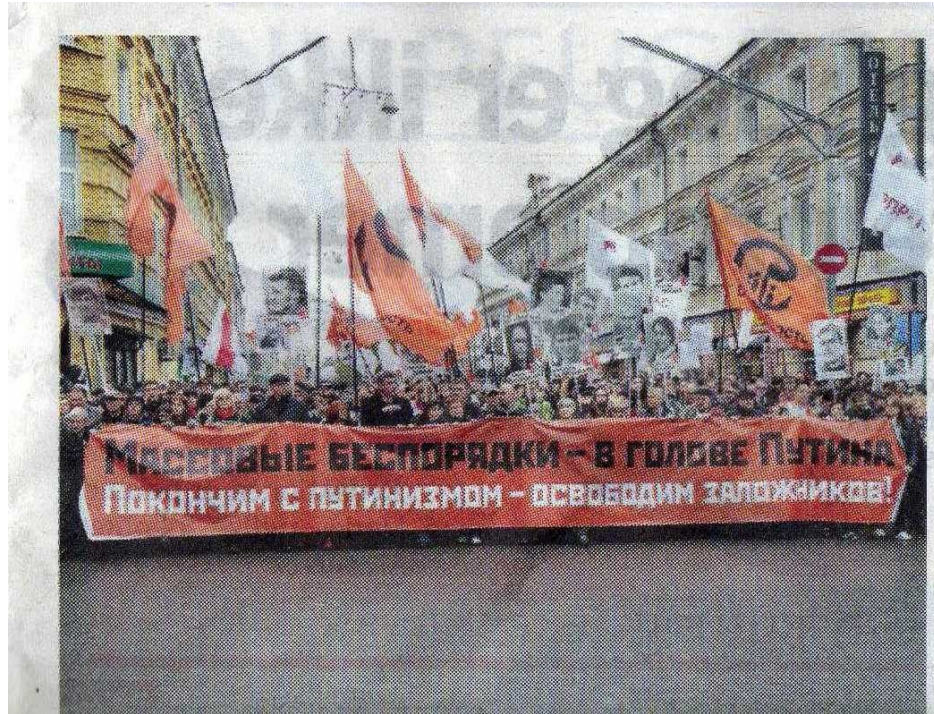
Note: Whereas the public opinion poll documented above shows how many people use specific social media at all, the statistics used for this figure measure how often specific sites have actually been visited. That means the opinion poll counts users (independently of how often they visit the respective site), while the statistics count visits (many of which may come from the same person).

Source: data taken from http://gs.statcounter.com/#social_media-RU-monthly-201206-201306-bar. Statistics for Russia are based on coverage of more than one hundred million page views per month, see http://gs.statcounter.com/sample-size/StatCounterGlobalStatsAug12_SampleSizeCountry-Breakdown.csv

4 typer af brugere af de sociale medier

1. Konformisterne
2. De venstreorienterede
3. Nationalisterne
4. Liberale demokrater

En 5. gruppe af brugere?



Statsmagtens stramninger

- NGO loven
- Bestræbelser på at stramme grebet om Internettet
- Beskyttelse af de menige i systemet
- Homofobi
- Xenofobi
- Slå på klassiske, nationale værdier
- Skabe GONGO'er

Civilsamfundets muligheder

- Reelle oppositionspartier
- Organisere landsdækkende NGO'er/interesseorganisationer
- Frie fagforeninger
- Russerne bliver nødt til at overkomme deres "organisationsfobi"

Situationen i dag

- I Rusland er der opstået en situation, hvor statsmagten på en række områder søger at stramme grebet.
- Samtidig er der et civilsamfund under stadig udvikling særligt via de sociale medier.
- Disse to tendenser peger i hver deres retning.
- Hvordan det kommer til at gå fremadrettet i Rusland, afhænger i meget høj grad af, hvordan de to tendenser kommer til at udvikle sig.

TAK FOR OPMÆRKOMHEDEN