


# New Tendencies in Federalism: the case of Russia


Multi-Ethnic and Multi-Religious Accommodation

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# Dynamics of Russian Federalism

- The territorial transformation of the RF started with the dissolution of the USSR in 1991
  - Three parallel transitions: democratization, marketization, decentralization
  - Democratization and Marketization were priority in the politics of central government
  - Decentralization (territorial re-structuring) went largely chaotic, spontaneous and unplanned
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# 1<sup>st</sup> Wave of the 1990s

- The 1990s: decentralization (Yeltsin's government)
  - The Constitution of 1993 established de-jure symmetric federalism: 6 types of regions:
  - “The RF shall consist of republics, territories, regions, federal cities, an autonomous region and autonomous areas, which shall be equal subjects of the RF”
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# The Constitution and CUs

- ▶ In the 1990s: 89 regions (CUs):
  - ▶ 21 (ethnic) republics;
  - ▶ 6 krais (territories);
  - ▶ 49 oblasts (regions)
  - ▶ 1 autonomous oblast
  - ▶ 10 autonomous okrugs
  - ▶ 2 capital cities: Moscow and St. Petersburg


# “Matreshka” of Russian Federalism

- ▶ Article 5 of the Constitution:
  - ▶ “a region can be territorially located within another region; but both regions shall be equal subjects of the Federation”
  - ▶ All CUs are meant to be equal in terms of relationship with federal government;
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# The RF Constitution 1993


- ▶ The RF Constitution was a result of many compromises and it did not guarantee a full implementation of federalism principles.
  - ▶ It did not provide a precise structure for the existence of federalism
  - ▶ It left lots of legal space for flexibility (or manipulation) on both federal and regional side in the future.
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# 1990: Stages of Decentralization


- ▶ Ambiguity of the Constitution was a trigger for dynamic development of asymmetric federalism in the 1990s:
  - ▶ The Parade of Sovereignty
  - ▶ The parade of Treaties
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# Levels of Authority

- ▶ Levels: federal, regional, local.
  - ▶ Articles 71 and 72 of the Constitution describe the division of competences between federal and regional.
  - ▶ Where overlapping issues occur, federal laws should prevail.
  - ▶ However, in the 1990s, 85% of regional laws passed by regional parliaments violated federal laws.
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# The Parliament

- ▶ The federal assembly: Upper Chamber (the Federation Council) and Lower (State Duma)
  - ▶ The Federation Council represents Rus
  - ▶ The State Duma – the people
  - ▶ The FC: 2 representatives from each of 89 regions.
  - ▶ In 1993, the FC was directly elected by regional population
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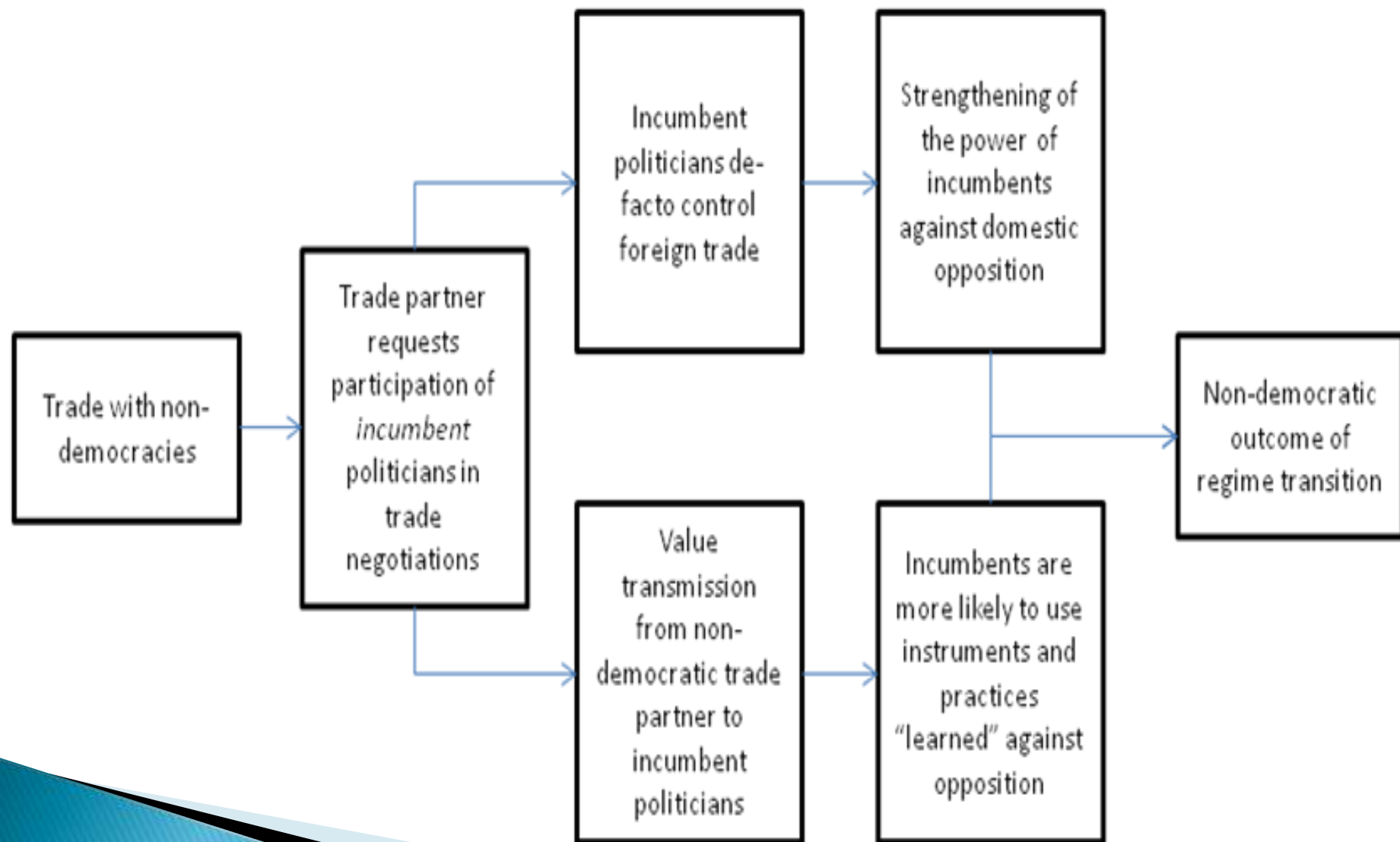
# Regions: Formal Governance

- 09/1996–12/1996: first gubernatorial elections
  - Elected governors became members of the FC
  - National: the power of jurisdiction; federal institutions, federal budget; financial institutions, taxation, energy system, foreign policy, national defense, security.
  - Shared: law, order, the use and protection of natural resources, public health, social policy, education, etc.
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# Regions: Informal Governance

- ▶ Winner-takes-it-all-mechanisms
  - ▶ Phenomenon of Regional Autocratization (1990)
  - ▶ Fusion of Politics and Business
  - ▶ Take over the total control of business in the region by the regional executive
  - ▶ Consolidation of autocracy
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## An Example of a Mechanism of Autocratic Consolidation:




# 2000s: Re-Centralization 1:

1. Putin's presidency from 2000 included recentralization reforms:
  2. Creation of 7 federal strict with a presidential representative in each of them
  3. The reform of Federal Council: regional executive and the chairmen of regional legislatures could no longer be there
  4. The federal president could dismiss a regional executive if he passes a law violating federal law
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# 2000s: Re-Centralization 2


5. Elimination of regional elections – appointment of regional executives (not promised to bring it back)
  6. Merger of the regions: cut down the number of CUs from 89 to 83 CUs.
  7. This does not yet include 2 capital cities (proposals of Mergering Moscow and Moscow Region, Mergering St. Petersburg and Leningrad oblast)
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# 2000s: Re-Centralization 3

- 8. Local Level: a regional executive can dismiss local one if they enact a law that violates federal and regional law;
  - 9. A State Council would be created where all regional executives are to be represented;
  - 10. Legal harmonization
  - 11. Enhancing federal power over federal spending in the regions
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# Democratization &/vs. Federalization?

- ▶ Democratization (RT) is associated with de-centralization (or federalization) (e.g., Spain)
  - ▶ The Interconnection is more complex
  - ▶ Multi-Level Regime Transition:
    - ▶ National Regional, Local Levels of RT
  - ▶ The direction of RT does not coincide across the levels
  - ▶ Religious factor comes into play at a local level of RT and provides the paradoxical results
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# Mutli-Ethnicity in the Regions:

- ▶ Ethnic groups were categorized in the USSR in the 1920s by ethnologists according to:
  - ▶ criteria of size,
  - ▶ the use of mother tongue,
  - ▶ presence of written language and
  - ▶ language tradition,
  - ▶ presence or absence of national consciousness (self-identification)
- ▶ In the 20th century: the existence of ethnic groups changed.
- ▶ The Census 2002 revealed the following results


# Multi-Ethnicity of the Regions:

Status and name of a region	Titular-ethnic group of region	Percent of titular-ethnic group	Percent of Russian in a region
<b>Adygeya / REP</b>	Adige	<b>24.2%</b>	64.5%
<b>Bashkortostan / REP</b>	Bashkir	<b>29.8%</b>	36.3%
<b>Buriatya / REP</b>	Buriats	<b>27.8%</b>	67.8%
<b>Chechnya/ REP</b>	Chechens	<b>93.3%</b>	3.7%
<b>Ingushetia / REP</b>	Ingush	<b>77.3%</b>	1.2%
<b>Chuvashia / REP</b>	Chuvash	<b>67.7%</b>	26.5%
<b>Dagestan / REP</b>	10 nationalities	<b>N/A</b>	6.7%
<b>Altai/ REP</b>	Altai	<b>33.5%</b>	57.4%
<b>Kabardino-Balkaria/ R EP</b>	Kabards/ Balkars	<b>55.3%/11.6%</b>	25.2%
<b>Kalmyk / REP</b>	Kalmyk	<b>53.3%</b>	33.6%
<b>Karachaevo-Cherkessia/REP</b>	Karachays / Cherkess	<b>38.5% / 11.3%</b>	33.6%
<b>Karelia / REP</b>	Karelians	<b>10%</b>	73.6%
<b>Khakassia / REP</b>	Khakass	<b>12.0%</b>	80.3%
<b>Komi / REP</b>	Komi	<b>25.2%</b>	59.6%
<b>Mari-El / REP</b>	Marii	<b>42.9%</b>	47.5%


# Multi-Ethnicity of the Regions:

Status and name of a region	Titular-ethnic group of region	Percent of titular-ethnic group	Percent of Russian in a region
<b>Mordova / Republics / REP</b>	Mordovinians	<b>31.9%</b>	60.8%
<b>North-Ossetia / REP</b>	Ossetians	<b>62.7%</b>	23.2%
<b>Tatarstan / REP</b>	Tatars	<b>48.5%</b>	43.3%
<b>Tuva / REP</b>	Tuvinian	<b>77.0%</b>	20.1%
<b>Udmurtia / REP</b>	Udmurts	<b>29.3%</b>	60.1%
<b>Sakha-Yakutia / REP</b>	Yakuts	<b>45.5</b>	41.2
<b>Jewish A.OBLAST</b>	Jewish	<b>1.22%</b>	89.93%
<b>Agin-Buryat / AO</b>	Buriats	<b>62.5%</b>	35.1%
<b>Chukotka /AO</b>	Chukchis	<b>23.5%</b>	51.9%
<b>Evenk /AO</b>	Evenks	<b>21.5%</b>	61.9%
<b>Komi-Permyak /AO</b>	Komi-Permyak	<b>59.0%</b>	38.2%
<b>Koryak / AO</b>	Koryaks	<b>26.7%</b>	50.6%
<b>Khanty-Maniisk / AO</b>	Khanty / Mansi	<b>1.2% / 0.7%</b>	66.1%
<b>Nenets /AO</b>	Nenets	<b>18.7%</b>	62.4%
<b>Taimyr / AO</b>	Dolgans / Nenets	<b>13.9% / 7.7%</b>	58.6%
<b>Ust-Orda Buryat / AO</b>	Buryats	<b>39.6%</b>	54.4%
<b>Yamal-Nenets / AO</b>	Nenets	<b>5.2%</b>	58.8%

# Historical Legacy of Religious Pluralism

- ▶ Russian Orthodoxy
  - ▶ Islam
  - ▶ Neopaganism and Tengrism
  - ▶ Buddhism
  - ▶ Hinduism
  - ▶ The Atheism as the USSR's heritage
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# Orthodox Church

- ▶ Russia adopted Orthodox Christianity in the 10th century.
  - ▶ According to a 2007 poll: 63% of respondents considered themselves Russian Orthodox.
  - ▶ In a 2011 survey by the Levada Center, the number of people self-identifying as Russian Orthodox has been on a steady increase from 31% in 1991, to 50% in 2001, and to nearly 70% in 2011
  - ▶ Other Orthodox Churches: the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, the Georgian Orthodox Church, the Armenian Apostolic Church, etc. comprise 1.4% (2.100.000) of the total population of Russia. They are practiced by the ethnic minorities.
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# Islam: Ethnic-Territorial Concentration



# Islam:


- ▶ Islam is traditional & predominant amongst some Caucasian ethnicities (Chechens, Ingush, Adyghe) & some Turkic people (Tatars and Bashkirs)
  - ▶ Muslims in Russia are 9.400.000 or 6.5% of the total population as of 2012.
  - ▶ Regions: Kabardino–Balkaria (49%), Bashkortostan (38%), Karachay–Cherkessia (34%), Tatarstan (31%), Yamalia (13%), **Orenburg (11%)**, Adygea (11%) and Astrakhan (11%). Most of the regions of Siberia have an unaffiliated Muslim population of 1% to 2%.
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# Buddhism: Ethnic-Territorial Concentration



# Buddhism:

- ▶ practiced by 700,000 people in Russia, or 0.4% of the total federal population
  - ▶ It is the traditional religion amongst some Turkic and Mongolic ethnicities in Russia (Kalmyks, Buryats and Tuvans).
  - ▶ It is the religion of the 62% of the total population of Tuva, 38% of Kalmykia and 20% of Buryatia.
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# Religious Pluralism in Russia

- ▶ The sociological survey of religious affiliations in Russia demonstrated the following results:
  - ▶ Russian Orthodox: 41%
  - ▶ Muslim: 6.5%
  - ▶ “Unaffiliated” Christians: 4.1%
  - ▶ Other Orthodox: 1.4%
  - ▶ Neopagan and Tengrist: 1.1%
  - ▶ Other religions: 2.4%
  - ▶ Spiritual but not religious: 25.1%
  - ▶ Atheist and non-religious: 12.9%
  - ▶ Undecided: 5.5%
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# Legal Framework: The Constitutions 1993

- ▶ **Article 1.** Russia shall be a democratic federal rule-of-law state with the republican form of government. The names "Russian Federation" and "Russia" shall be equivalent.
- ▶ **Article 2.** Man, his rights and freedoms shall be the supreme value. It shall be a duty of the state to recognize, respect and protect the rights and liberties of man and citizen.
- ▶ **Article 3.** The multinational people of the Russian Federation shall be the vehicle of sovereignty and the only source of power in the Russian Federation.
- ▶ The people of the Russian Federation shall exercise their power directly, and also through organs of state power and local self-government.
- ▶ The referendum and free elections shall be the supreme direct manifestation of the power of the people.
- ▶ No one may arrogate to oneself power in the Russian Federation. Seizure of power or appropriation of power authorization shall be prosecuted under federal law.


# Legal Framework: Russia as a secular country

- ▶ The preamble to the 1997 law regulates religious organizations.
  - ▶ It names Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, and Judaism as the most important in Russian history.
  - ▶ Russian ambassador Alexander Kadakin:
  - ▶ “Russia is a secular and democratic country where all religions enjoy equal respect... Even more applicable it is to the holy scriptures of various faiths -- whether it is the Bible, the Holy Quran, Torah, Avesta and, of course, Bhagvad Gita -- the great source of wisdom for the people of India and the world.”
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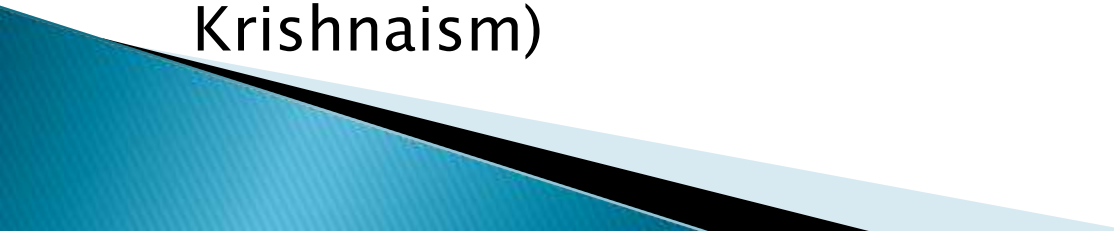
# Results of the First Religious Self-identification Survey:

- ▶ Data on 79 out of 83 regions.
  - ▶ Total population is 143.200.000
  - ▶ Approaches used in Survey:
    1. Ethnic Approach
    2. Cultural Approach
    3. Legal Approach
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# Ethnic Approach to Religion:


- ▶ The ethnic approach is applied when ethnic religious communities are small and territorially concentrated.
  - ▶ Based on an assumption that 100% of population of every ethnic minority are adherents of their group's traditional religion
  - ▶ It is an Ideal type but almost non-existent.
  - ▶ Example: Assyrian Church of the East is represented by ethnic Assyrians (15,000 people)
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# Cultural Approach to Religion:

- ▶ N of observants followers of every religion
  - ▶ Members of ethnic groups often live out of their territorial regions
  - ▶ Religious self-identification for cultural reasons
  - ▶ They don't fit to the criteria of traditional religiousness (e.g., church attendance, familiarity with dogmas, respecting fast periods and fiests, etc.)
  - ▶ The only RSI that fits the criteria is non-ethnic one (Protestantism, Roman Catholicism, Hinduism and Krishnaism)
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# Legal Approach:


- ▶ Number of legally resgistered religious organizations
  - ▶ Data from the Ministry of Justice (MOJ):
  - ▶ **21.664** resgistered RO & groups in Russia (by 01 / 2004) (out of which 20.403 are local congregations):
    - ▶ 10.767 are **Russian Orthodox**
    - ▶ 3.397 were **Muslim**
    - ▶ 5.000 were **Protestant**
    - ▶ 267 were **Old Believers**
    - ▶ 256 were **Jewish**
    - ▶ 235 were **Roman Catholic**
    - ▶ 180 were **Buddhist**
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# MLRT Approach:


## Triangle of Religion, Democracy & Federalism

- ▶ RT & Christianity
  - ▶ RT & Islam
  - ▶ RT & Buddhism
- 
- ▶ Carnegie Dataset on the level of democratization across regions and levels

# RT & Christinity

- ▶ National–Regional Intersection:
  - ▶ Autocracy–democracy;
  - ▶ Democracy – autocracy
  - ▶ Local Level: Neutral Impact of Religion
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# RT & Islam, Buddhism

- ▶ National–Regional Intersection: remains the same as in Christian Regions
  - ▶ Regional–Local Intersection is the opposite:
  - ▶ Islamic and Buddhist regions have high level of democracy at a local level of municipalities (higher than Christian ones)
  - ▶ Holds true even when they have consolidated autocracies at regional level
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# MLRT Approach: Federalism, Religious & Political Pluralism

- ▶ MLRT approach provides counter-intuitive results on the triangle relationship between federalism, democracy, and religious issues
  - ▶ Case-studies confront the results of statistical studies on positive correlation between Autocracy & Islam (at a national level world-wide study, World Politics)
  - ▶ Multi-level approach may provide a different insight on this issue
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