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As a manuscript

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**INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN  
PARLIAMENTARY PARTIES IN THE PROCESS OF FORMING  
REGIONAL EXECUTIVE BODIES IN MODERN RUSSIA**

Specialty 23.00.02 Political institutions, processes and technologies

**STRUCTURAL ABSTRACT**

Thesis work for the degree of candidate of political sciences

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**The main results of the thesis of A.E. Klychkov «Institutionalization of interactions between parliamentary parties in the process of forming regional executive bodies in modern Russia»**

The dissertation of Klychkov A. E. for the degree of Candidate of Political Sciences, completed in the framework of specialty 23.00.02- Political institutions, processes and technologies (political sciences) is a complete independent study of the process of institutionalization of parliamentary parties in the process of forming executive bodies of state power. The paper presents a set of conclusions that have elements of scientific novelty, make a certain contribution to the development of domestic political science and practice, as well as have a significant potential for use in the activities of state authorities and political parties.

**The relevance of the topic of the thesis research** is determined by the fact that the quality and productivity of interaction of parliamentary political parties in the process of formation and activity of regional executive authorities in the Russian Federation ensures the success of socio-economic and political development of Russian regions, successful practices of which are replicated and scaled at the federal level. As a result, the study of the topic of institutionalization of interaction between parliamentary political parties of the Russian Federation in the context of the formation of executive authorities at the subnational and federal levels is particularly relevant for a number of important reasons.

Firstly, transactions and interactions at the regional level have both their benefits and their limits of positive productivity. Which is better: the rivalry of the parties or their cooperation? If rivalry, to what extent? If symmetric interaction of parties, including joint work of parties on the basis of regional administrations (governments), then where does the stage come when such cooperation begins to bring less effect, and even problems for the parties, for the region and the population? Finding a balance of interests of parties and balance in the formation and implementation of state policy with the participation of competing parliamentary parties is the actual essence of such research.

Secondly, the political tradition in both historical Russia and post-soviet Russia practically did not provide for finding a consensus between rival political forces, especially the participation of the parties in effective interaction, including the creation of coalitions in the executive power system. Consequently, the study of the functioning of parties in a competitive political struggle, experience, actions, transactions and interactions at the local level is an important scientific and applied knowledge for development of norms and rules of consensus, the formation of participant political traditions of different parties in developing and implementing public policy.

Thirdly, the positive and negative experience of conflict destructions between parliamentary parties, as well as the experience of effective cooperation of these actors at the regional level, is relevant and in demand across the country. This allows the expert and scientific community, government and administrative bodies, to build a rational algorithm of actions of party and political forces at the national level, to replicate and scale well-established competition practices that improve party design, and interaction between parties that constructively affect the socio-economic and political development of territories.

**The purpose of the research** is to explain the importance of institutionalization of interaction between parliamentary political parties in the formation and functioning of executive power at the level of the subjects of the Russian Federation, to determine the conditions and prerequisites for the emergence and establishment of practices for achieving consensus between them at the level of values, procedures and development of state policy, to implement effective forms and mechanisms of interaction between the parties in the socio-economic and political development of regional territories.

In accordance with the purpose of the research, the following **tasks** were set:

- to clarify the concept of parliamentary political parties in the perspective of the institutionalization process, in the context of scientific approaches to understanding the concepts of «institutions», «models of democracy» in order to develop optimal political practices in the regions of the Russian Federation;

– to reveal the political essence of the interaction of parliamentary political parties as a set of formats, arenas, techniques and procedures in the process of formation and functioning of executive authorities of the subjects of the Russian Federation and the implementation of regional state policy;

– to identify the features of the formation and development of the executive power system in the subjects of the Russian Federation in the period of the 2000s, the degree of influence of parliamentary political parties on the institutionalization of this process;

– to substantiate the meaning, role and significance of channels, forms and mechanisms of political interactionism of parliamentary parties and the system of executive power of the subjects of the Russian Federation in the socio-economic and political development of regional territories;

– to propose the main models of interactionism of parliamentary political parties in the subjects of the Russian Federation, the heads of executive bodies of which are representatives of the «United Russia» party (the model of technocratic teams, the model of the «drive belt», etc.);

– to identify the main forms and mechanisms of interaction of parliamentary political parties in the regions of the Russian Federation (CPRF, LDPR, «A Just Russia») with the government and the party in power, including the implementation of the political course of opposition governors in a number of subjects of the Russian Federation in order to reproduce similar practices at a new level in the future, including the creation of regional coalition governments.

**The Object of the research** is parliamentary political parties and their regional branches («United Russia», CPRF, LDPR, «A Just Russia»).

**The Subject of the research** is interaction of parliamentary political parties of the Russian Federation in the process of formation and functioning of authorities and management at the level of subjects of the Russian Federation and within the framework of General Federal trends.

**The theoretical and methodological basis of the thesis research** is based on the key concepts of foreign and domestic authors: quality and efficiency of



management, party genesis, interactionism (conflict, competition, rivalry, consensus, cooperation, coalitionism), institutional changes, political and economic modifications of regions with different types of political regimes. Of particular importance in the work is the concept of «political development», when with the help of individual institutions (for example, parties), regional political systems acquire new productive qualities and opportunities.

The methodological basis of the work is an interdisciplinary approach based on the main provisions and methods of neo-institutional analysis. The research methodology is determined by a set of scientific approaches and methods, including the system and comparative method, structural-functional and normative approaches, statistical analysis, the «single field» method (stadiality of the formation of territorial-political systems). The author also used the method of monitoring mass media and new media, content analysis of documents, the method of observation, included observation, as well as the casestudy method in the analysis and evaluation of the practices of interaction and competition of parliamentary political parties in Russian regions.

**The scientific novelty of the thesis research** is conveyed in:

1. Identifying the potential of multidimensional political interaction of parliamentary political parties, non-system structures, in terms of usefulness and quality, which can have a significant impact on the development of an optimal strategy for the development of regions, on the effectiveness of the implementation of state policy of the subjects of the Russian Federation in various sectors and spheres.

2. Understanding that in political terms, in the Russian Federation of 2000- the authoritarian and technocratic regimes in the Russian regions, in the functioning of which parliamentary political parties are integrated, as a rule, are the most successful in socio - economic development of territories. Thus, on the example of many subjects of the Russian Federation, the position is confirmed that economically democracy is not always more creative than other forms of government, and democratic regimes are not sufficiently effective in terms of

management. However, the greater effectiveness of authoritarian-technocratic regimes in comparison with democratic ones does not exclude the need for openness and transparency of the authorities of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation in decision-making, their compliance with democratic procedures, the importance of the participation of party structures in the regional political process as mechanisms for preventing and overcoming conflict destructions. At the same time, it is the interactionism of the branches of parliamentary parties that carries positive practices in the institutionalization of rules for authorities and management. This interactionism of parties ultimately contributes to the stability of regional political systems.

3. Substantiating the provision on the political development of the subjects of the Russian Federation, according to which party branches legitimize regional political regimes by their activities, many of which are either authoritarian-technocratic with various variations of «enlightenment», or hybrid (for example, dictablanda – liberalization, without democratization). This is the activity of the parliamentary parties which enhances the competitive democratic process in the territories (Khabarovsk Region, Vladimir Region), and in combination with interactionism, parties Institute reduces the level of regional authoritarianism, the scale patronage politics and principal-agent relations, contributing to the functioning of the regime in the direction of «liberalization-democratization-consolidation».

4. Identifying specific channels, forms and mechanisms of interaction of parliamentary parties in competitive conditions (agreements, nomination of unified candidates, joint actions, creation of coalitions) that are justified from the point of view of ensuring the trust and support of voters, in the interests of the development of territories and the population, the resilience and stability of party - political systems.

5. Justification of the two main formats of interaction of parliamentary parties at the regional level, which protect the region from destabilization and political chaos. This is 1) the Governor from the winning «party of power», which

minimizes the use of the potential (ideas, attitudes, programs, projects) of opposition parties and their candidates in the executive power system, 2) the Governor from opposition parties that integrate the potential and resources of the «party in power» to a large extent.

6. Development of scientific-theoretical approach in which it should be assumed that the main stimulus to the development of territories is a factor of parliamentary political parties, which concentrate the ideas of institutional change, leaders and active that are ready to implement these changes and support such changes by part of active population. As a result, the competition and cooperation of parties provide a mechanism for continuity and renewal that improves the quality of public administration and the state itself.

**The main provisions submitted for thesis defense:**

1. Parliamentary political parties, functioning in the regional institutional environment, articulate and aggregate the interests of territorial communities in the form of party platforms, transferring them through successful parliamentary elections to decision-making on these interests. The presence of effectively functioning parliamentary political parties in the constituent entities of the Russian Federation, their interaction with the executive power in the formation and functioning of regional governments determines the quality of state institutions and the usefulness of democratic processes, which result in optimal political decisions.

2. Parliamentary political parties operate under the conditions of two main paradigms of interaction: the conflictological paradigm and the paradigm of cooperation. The interaction of these parties is a complex of formats, arenas, techniques and technologies for the exchange of information, experience and practices that lead to cooperation or conflict destruction, to the growth of positive deeds, baggage and potential, or to political marginalization. Within the framework of the «peace period», the paradigm of cooperation between them in the interests of socio-economic development of the territory, as well as the increment of the common public good, looks more logical.

3. Significant political actors at the regional level are the parliamentary political parties of the Russian Federation, which interact with each other in the formation and functioning of the system of executive power in the subject of the Russian Federation: administrations, regional governments. The system of state authorities of the subjects of the Russian Federation is established by them independently. What is common in the functioning of the executive authorities of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation is that they are part of the unified system of executive power of the Russian Federation. The highest official of the region (the Governor, regional Head, President) is elected and endowed with legal competencies; he appoints heads of direct reporting structures, is involved in the solution of personnel issues of structures of double subordination, bears the federal responsibility. At the same time, in considering many issues, he has a channel of interaction with the leaders and activists of parliamentary political parties, which is in demand by party structures.

The interaction of parliamentary political parties and bodies of power took place in the following format: parties' actions affected the development of political course of this government by participating in political threads (issues, lobbying structures, their representatives in power structures), whereas government bodies in the constituent entities of the Russian Federation carried out this policy. Parliamentary parties, before and after gubernatorial elections (appointments), have a strong influence on the formation of the political agenda of the executive power system of the subject of the Russian Federation and political decision-making.

4. In the period of 2000s in Russian regions channels, forms and mechanisms of political interactions of the parliamentary parties and the system of executive power of subjects of the Russian Federation in the socio-economic and political development of the regional territories were institutionalized. When implementing this interaction, parliamentary political parties at the subnational level were guided by consensus (value consensus, consensus of procedures, consensus of specific policy development). As a result, at the subnational level,

regardless of the party in power – «United Russia» or opposition political parties (CPRF, LDPR, «A JustRussia») – these parties largely implement state policy in the interests of the development of territories and the majority of the population.

5. During the 2000s, there were two main models of interaction between the heads of regions from the «United Russia» party and opposition parliamentary political parties, regardless of whether the Governor was elected by the entire population or appointed by the President of the Russian Federation. The first model is the Governor, who forms the team of the administration (government) of the region and interacts with other actors in the drive belt system (Moscow region). The second model is the management of regions by the heads of regions in the system of technocratic teams (Belgorod, Kaluga regions). The results of the implementation of the two models made it possible to achieve certain results in the socio-economic development of the regions and in strengthening stability in society, either through the loyalty of the regional leadership of the regional branches of parliamentary political parties, or through the integration of some ideas and counter-elite into the political practices of the executive authorities.

6. The Interaction of opposition parliamentary political parties and the authorities in the period of the 2000s was implemented within the framework of the state administration system in the constituent entities of the Russian Federation. This allowed the three opposition parliamentary political parties to introduce the best of their party programs and practices into the activities of regional administrations (governments) by appointing (electing) regional heads from among themselves. The formats of interaction between them and the «United Russia» party were the creation of coalition governments (Smolensk region), agreements with the choice of development priorities, with personnel policy, support for specific projects (Oryol region, TRANS-Baikal territory). This contributed to the formation of a coordination democracy, which allows the implementation of policies responsible for the development of territories and the welfare of citizens at the level of the subject of the Russian Federation.

**Approbation and implementation of the results.** The main conclusions and provisions of the dissertation research were presented by the author at international and regional scientific and practical conferences. The key points of the dissertation research were reflected in the author's scientific works devoted to the problems of parties in the perspective of theories of institutionalism, models of democracy, competition in the political market. 6 scientific articles were published on the topic of the thesis, including 3 articles in reviewed scientific editions included into the list of VAK of the Ministry of science and higher education of the Russian Federation and included in the List of editions, approved by the decision of the Academic Council of the Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration under the President of the Russian Federation.

**List of author's publications:**

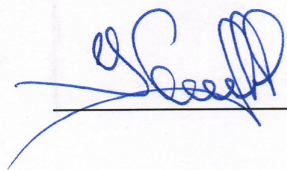
1. Klychkov, A.E. On the issue of basic models of democracy: the Institute of political parties in the conditions of competitive democratic procedures [Text] // Scientific Bulletin of the Belgorod state University. Series: History. Political science. – 2019. – Vol. 46. – №. 4. – P. 774-782. (0,8 p.s.)
2. Klychkov, A.E. Problems of development of political parties in the perspective of the main theories and varieties of institutionalism [Text] // Central Russian Journal of Social Sciences. – 2019. – Vol. 14. – №. 3. – P. 57-78. (0,9 p.s.).
3. Klychkov, A.E. The problem of the conflict of political parties in a competitive political market: on the issue of political marketing [Text] / A. E. Klychkov, P. A. Merkulov // Management consulting. – 2019. – № 11 (131). – P. 16-26. (1 p.s., author's – 0.5 p.s.).
4. Klychkov, A.E. Specifics and prospects of parliamentary interaction between Russia and Belarus within the framework of the Union state [Text] // Russia-Belarus: prospects for integration and development strategies of the Union state (to the 20th anniversary of the signing of The Treaty on the establishment of the Union state) (December 13, 2019).: proceedings of the International scientific and practical conference. Under the editorship of V. A. Levtsov. – Orel: Publishing



house of the Central Russian Institute of Management – branch of RANEPa, 2020.  
– P. 23-27. (0,3 p.s.).

5. Klychkov, A.E. Dynamics of institutional changes: features of transformation of the country's party system after the adoption of the Constitution of the Russian Federation in 1993 [Text] // Constitution of the Russian Federation: legal and political experience (to the 25th anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution of Russia): Materials of the panel discussion within the framework of the Central Russian scientific forum « Public relations in the era of digitalization: problems, challenges and solutions» // Under the General editorship of doctor of historical Sciences, prof. P.A. Merkulov. – Orel: Publishing house of the Central Russian Institute of Management – branch of RANEPa, 2019. – P. 111-115. (0,25 p.s.).

**Content of the thesis.** The proposed topic, goals and objectives of the research determined the structure of the thesis, which consists of an introduction, three chapters, a conclusion, a list of references and attachments.



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