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**SPECIFICS OF POLITICAL MECHANISMS FOR ENSURING
CORPORATE INTERESTS IN MODERN RUSSIA**

Abstract of the thesis for the degree of
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The relevance of the thesis research. In today's complex world, the problem of representation of interests plays a significant role. The possibility of expressing one's political interest in the political space and the subsequent implementation of that interest is largely due to the specifics of the existing system of representation of interests in the state. In this system, the model of representation of corporate interests is of particular importance.

After the collapse of the USSR and the transition to market economy, the number of corporate structures in Russia increased, complicating social and political systems. Corporate structures have ceased to function solely as economic entities and have become a political actor and started influencing political life. Despite the fact that today representatives of large corporate structures no longer determine the policy of the country, as it was in the 1990s, their importance in political processes remains significant nevertheless. This is due to the specifics of the socio-political and economic order established in the 21st century in Russia.

Over the past decade, there has been a steady trend of transition from societal to state type of corporatism, which is primarily due to the creation of state-owned companies, state corporations, as well as the increasingly important role of joint-stock companies affiliated with the state. As a result of these processes, a large number of state-owned corporations emerged in a broad range of areas: the media, road construction, electric power industry, innovative products, a wide range of technical and industrial production, etc.

The presence of state-affiliated structures in various spheres also reinforces the more significant role of the corporate model of representation compared to the pluralistic model. This circumstance shows the necessity of studying the specifics of the political mechanisms of expression and representation of the interests of state-owned structures. There is no single concept in the scientific community of the nature of the established socio-political and economic order. The transitology paradigm of transformation of the socio-political system in Russia of the 1990s was proved ineffective by subsequent practice: the specific features of the existing Russian

corporatism do not fit completely into the framework of Western theories of corporatism. This circumstance points to the research problem of understanding the specifics of Russian corporatism.

The relevance of the thesis research is also due to the lack of institutional frameworks aimed at the interaction of the state and corporations (the absence of a law on lobbying, the closed nature of corporate structures, significant corruption risks, the backroom nature of decision-making on issues of state importance). Under these conditions the improvement of knowledge about the specific features of Russian corporatism, the mechanisms of interaction between the state and corporate structures, as well as the institutionalization of a number of such political mechanisms are of major theoretical and practical importance for Russian political science.

The objective of the work is to identify the specific features in the political mechanisms of ensuring corporate interests at the present stage of the development of Russia.

Based on this goal, the following research **objectives** were stated:

1. to reveal theoretical and methodological bases for the analysis of corporate model of representation of interests;
2. to review the evolution of theoretical ideas about the corporate model of representation of interests;
3. to clarify the concept of a state corporation based on the specifics of the Russian state type of corporatism;
4. to identify specific features of Russian state corporatism;
5. to substantiate the specifics of political mechanisms for ensuring corporate interests in modern Russia.

The object of the thesis is the process of interaction between domestic corporations and political institutions.

The subject of the thesis is the specific features of political mechanisms ensuring the representation of corporate interests in modern Russia.

The theoretical and methodological basis of the study consists of theories and concepts that reveal the essence and significance of corporatism. The study examines the models of political representation of interests, including the corporate model of representation of interests (G. Lehmbruch, P. Schmitter, A. Cawson), the pluralistic model of representation of interests (H. Laski), the theory of neocorporatism by P. Schmitter, the concept of integrated business groups suggested by Ya. Pappe, the concept of state-bureaucratic capitalism by Yu. Krasin.

The specific features of the domestic model of corporate representation of interests determines the need for a systematic study of the accumulated scientific developments in various fields of political and other sciences.

This study uses a set of general scientific and logical research methods, such as analysis, synthesis, deductive and inductive methods. Among the general research methods of the study one should mention comparative, structural-functional, and historical forms of analysis. The historical assessment of the role of corporate model of interests representation was performed through cross-temporal and political analysis, and structural and functional method was used to assess the structural elements of corporate structures, relations between them and the stakeholders. The deductive method allowed to reveal hidden processes of interaction between corporate structures and power structures. The method of dialectics was used in the study of statutory and regulatory enactments as an instrument of regulation of Russian corporations. The neoinstitutional approach was used to identify specific features of lobbying activities of Russian state corporations.

The content analysis method was used in the study of such materials as reports on the activities of state corporations, electronic registers, official websites of state authorities and state corporations, and media materials.

The case study method is used in the study of practical aspects of activities of individual state corporations.

The empirical base of the research consists of statutory and regulatory enactments, opinions of supervisory state bodies, analytical reports and reports of

public organizations, political journalism, data from online resources, which reflect the issues examined in the thesis.

The results of the research presented for the thesis defense which make the components of the academic novelty of the work:

1. The approaches to the analysis of classical theories of corporatism and neocorporativism within the framework of the issues of this study have been determined. The monistic type of corporatism noted by P. Schmitter and G. Almond is redundant, because it duplicates to a great degree the characteristics of the state corporatism type. The analysis of the corporate model of representation of interests showed the need to first take into account the characteristics of interest groups based on the degree of their institutionalization and focus of interests. These factors seem to be of great importance, since, based on the specifics of the object of study, the main focus of the study is institutional groups of interests.

2. It has been established that the process of representation of corporate interests in the modern domestic political process is controversial: on the one hand, it develops under the conditions of the existing formal institutions of representation such as parliamentary structures, public and professional associations, but, on the other hand, a significant part of the mechanisms of representation of corporate interests is non-institutionalized. These are the circumstances that play the major role in determining the effectiveness of representation and support of corporate interests.

It is shown that the analysis of the corporate model of representation of interests in the thesis is based on a number of provisions of the theory of interests representation, in particular, on the model of representation of principal/agent type; the concept of state-bureaucratic capitalism. The synthesis of these theoretical approaches allows us to solve the main task of the study, i. e., to present a descriptive characteristic of the corporate model of representation of interests in the context of the modern domestic political process.

3. An elaborated description of the specific features of modern Russian corporatism is presented. These include: the specifics of the current political regime,

the state character of a number of subjects of corporate interests, the symbiosis of state corporations and the state power, the mutual transit process of bureaucracy and corporate elites.

The political regime largely determines the evolution of Russian corporatism in the direction of reinforcement of the state-centric model of corporatism.

The state nature as a defining feature of Russian corporatism is manifested through the following circumstances:

- the state is the stakeholder in respect of corporations;
- the state forms the institutional environment for the functioning of corporations;
- a significant part of domestic state corporations are "quasi-ministries" by their type.

4. The specific features of lobbying as a political mechanism to ensure corporate interests is shown and substantiated. The outlined personal factor of lobbying as direct influence of heads of the state corporations on decision-makers, is the specific feature of lobbying of interests both in the Russian political space and in other countries. Also of great practical importance in the actual conditions of modern Russia are the specifics of judicial procedures as an indirect method of lobbying corporate interests. Along with other features, the non-public nature of lobbying activities of Russian state corporations is highlighted, which is manifested in the absence of information about such activities in the corporate reports and in the media.

5. Institutional approach and case study methods were used to determine the features of corporate interests in the framework of public-private partnership projects, based on the cases in Saint Petersburg. The analysis of the interaction between the state and state corporations in the framework of such projects as the Western High-Speed Diameter, Pulkovo Airport, as well as the high-speed tram on the route "Kupchino metro station" – Shushary – Slavyanka" confirmed the relevance and effectiveness of public-private partnership as a mechanism to ensure corporate interests. It is shown that the support of corporate and public interests is largely due

to the successful experience of legislative regulation at the regional level. In this context, the experience of Saint Petersburg has not only regional but also federal significance.

Theoretical and practical relevance of the research.

The theoretical relevance of the research is in the substantiation of the specifics of the Russian corporate model of representation of interests. The solution to this problem is provided by the use of the model of political representation of interests (G. Lehmbruch, P. Schmitter, A. Cawson), the pluralistic model of representation of interests (H. Laski), the provisions of the theory of neocorporatism by P. Schmitter, the concept of integrated business groups suggested by Ya. Pappe, concepts of state-bureaucratic capitalism by Yu. Krasin.

Practical relevance. The conclusions presented in the study can be used to improve the legislative regulation of corporate structures, as well as the institutional environment conducive to the development of relations between corporate structures and the state in the Russian political space. The materials of the dissertation research can be used in teaching such subjects as Political Science, Leadership and Lobbying, as well as special courses in the sphere of political science; in the development of manuals, as well as in scientific works devoted to the issue of representation of interests.

Approbation of the results:

The main provisions and conclusions of the study were evaluated at the following Russian and international research conferences and forums: Saint Petersburg International Youth Forum 3.0 (Saint Petersburg, 2015), Saint Petersburg International Youth Forum 4.0 (Saint Petersburg, 2016); civil forum "Saint Petersburg polylogue: efficiency and responsibility" (Saint Petersburg, 2016); Corporate social responsibility: practices of Russian regions (Saint Petersburg, the Vedomosti conference, 2017); Taurian Readings (Saint Petersburg, 2017); Corporate social responsibility: practices of Russian regions (Saint Petersburg, the Vedomosi conference, 2018); IV Annual Research Conference "Public-private

partnership in the field of transport: models and experience" (Saint Petersburg, GOSM of SPbSU, 2018.)

There are 8 publications on the topic of the thesis, 4 of which were published in periodicals recommended by the HAC of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation.

The structure of the thesis is the following: it consists of the Introduction, three chapters, the Conclusion and the References.

Articles in peer-reviewed scientific journals and publications recommended by the Higher Attestation Commission of the Russian Ministry of Education and Science:

1. Kostin, A. E. Integrated Group of Companies as Subject of Public Policy by the Case of JSC «Gazprom-Media Holding» // Administrative Consulting. - 2018. - No. 3 (111). - p. 132-139.

2. Kostin, A. E. To the Issue of the Applicability of P. C. Schmitter'S Theory of Corporatism in Modern Russian Political Space // Administrative Consulting. - 2018. - No. 2 (110). - p. 145-151.

3. Kostin, A. E. Features of mechanisms o ensure the interests of domestic corporate groups in the conditions of anti-Russian sanctions // Political Science Issues. – 2019. - No. 9(49). – p. 1998-2006.

4. Kostin, A. E. Political characteristics of the modern model of the russian state corporatism: govenment and corporate structures // Administrative Consulting. - 2018. - No. 7 (115). - p. 139-145.

Works published in other scientific publications:

1. Kostin, A. E. Historical and conceptual bases of the corporate model of representation of interests // Bulletin of Modern Research. - 2018. - No. 5-1 (20). - p. 259 – 262.

2. Kostin, A. E. Corporate interests in the system of public-private partnership // Tendencies in the Development of Science and Education. - 2018. - No. 5 (1). - p. 51-55.

3. Kostin, A. E. Lobbying activities of Russian state corporations in the European Union: institutional aspects // Bulletin of Modern Research. - 2018. - No.5-3 (20). - p. 260-264.

4. Kostin, A. E. Some issues of corporate interests in public-private partnership projects // Public-private partnership in the field of transport: models and experience: collection of abstracts and reports of the IV annual conference (Saint Petersburg, June 1, 2018). – SPb: Saint Petersburg State University Press, 2018. - p. 95-99.

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