







Q

Home ► All Journals ► Politics & International Relations ► Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics ► List of Issues ► Volume 27, Issue 3-4 ► Russian Patrimonial Capitalism and the I

Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics > Volume 27, 2011 - <u>Issue 3-4</u>

1,107 24

0

Views CrossRef citations to date Altmetric

Articles

Russian Patrimonial Capitalism and the International Financial Crisis

Neil Robinson

Pages 434-455 | Published online: 15 Sep 2011

66 Cite this article

⚠ https://doi.org/10.1080/13523279.2011.595155

Sample our
Politics & International
Relations Journals
>> Sign in here to start your access
to the latest two volumes for 14 days

Full Article

Figures & data

66 Citations

Metrics

Reprints & Permissions

Read this article

Share

Abstra

The inte

This, ho

Russia's

patrimer econ

under

economi system, We Care About Your Privacy

We and our 907 partners store and access personal data, like browsing data or unique identifiers, on your device. Selecting "I Accept" enables tracking technologies to support the purposes shown under "we and our partners process data to provide," whereas selecting "Reject All" or withdrawing your consent will disable them. If trackers are disabled, some content and ads you see may not be as relevant to you. You can resurface this menu to change your choices or withdraw consent at any time by clicking the ["privacy preferences"] link on the bottom of the webpage [or the floating icon on the bottom-left of the webpage, if applicable]. Your choices will have effect within our Website. For more details, refer to our Privacy Policy. Here

We and our partners process data to provide:

and the second of the second o

l Accept

Reject All

ernization.

a halt and

Show Purpose economy.

orm of

ce of global

d stabilized

promote

ounded this

Notes

See Justin Robertson (ed.), Power and Politics after Financial Crises: Rethinking Foreign Opportunism in Emerging Markets (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2008), for a general discussion of how crises in emerging markets have changed the way that they relate to the global economy and the balance of power in these markets.

Other examples abound: see, inter alia, Medvedev's article, 'Forward Russia!', of 2009, available at

http://eng.kremlin.ru/text/speeches/2009/09/10/1534_type104017_221527.shtml, accessed 14 Sept. 2009; his 'Opening Remarks at Meeting of Commission for Modernization and Technological Development of Russia's Economy', 23 March 2010, available at

http://eng.kremlin.ru/text/speeches/2010/03/23/1953_type82913_224939.shtml, accessed 24 March 2010; or the interview with Elvira Nabiullina, the economy minister, in Charles Clover, 'Interview: Elvira Nabiullina, Russian Economy Minister', Financial Times, 27 Oct. 2009, available at http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/a2d03e64-c2f1-11de-8eca-00144feab49a.html, accessed 28 Oct. 2009. For a longer Russian academic treatment see I. Diskin, Krizis ... i vse zhe modernizatsiya [Crisis – and modernization all the same] (Moscow: Yevropa, 2009).

Dmitrii Medvedev, 'Poslanie Federal'nomu Sobraniyu Rossiiskoi Federatsii, November 12. 2009' [Address to the Foderal Assembly of the Pussian Foderation 12 November 2009], a X Nov. 2009). See 'Eko ussia: an expert v V. Lokosov iticheskaya (eds.), R situatsiy ial and official socio-po i ego asses/ vliya OSY ekonomi The divid es used togethei de Richard academ Sakwa, 44; A.

lizmu?'

Radygin

[Russia in 2000-4 on the way to state capitalism?], Voprosy ekonomiki, 2004, No.4, pp.42-65; Anders Aslund, 'Russia's Energy Policy: A Framing Comment', Eurasian Geography and Economics, Vol.47, No.3 (2006), pp.321-8; David Lane, 'From Chaotic to State-led Capitalism', New Political Economy, Vol.13, No.2 (2008), pp.177-84; Peter Rutland, 'Putin's Economic Record: Is the Oil Boom Sustainable?', Europe-Asia Studies, Vol.60, No.6 (2008), pp.1051-72. Indeed, developments in Russia have been portrayed as a leading edge of a global rise in state capitalism that is being reinforced by the crisis and the failure of neo-liberalism, and as a rediscovery of a Russian national model of development that does not slavishly follow Western liberal market models: see National Intelligence Council, Global Trends 2025: A Transformed World (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 2008); Ian Bremmer, 'State Capitalism Comes of Age', Foreign Affairs, Vol.88, No.3 (2009), pp.40-55; Ian Bremmer, The End of the Free Market: Who Wins the War Between States and Corporations? (New York: Viking, 2010); M. Wolnicki, 'The Day After Neoliberal Triumphalism', International Journal of Social Economics, Vol.37, No.7 (2010), pp.476-87. On Russia's national model of development see the very useful summary in Joachim Zweynert, 'Conflicting Patterns of Thought in Russian Debate on Transition: 2003-2007', Europe-Asia Studies, Vol.62, No.4 (2010), pp.547-70 (pp.550-54).

made to mporary X Develop pard) for /'S political commer <u> 827.shtml</u>>, XI veka: accesse orrow] obraz zh (Moscow On R Russian **Politic** eds.), 2007), Varieties pp.149-See Neil ew of Internati 1998 and the Dev International

Political Economy, vol.10, No.3 (2009),

See, for example, Medvedev's call for changes to Russia's 'development paradigm'

Hence his explicit rejection of state capitalism as a developmental choice in an interview in April 2011: see 'Interv'yu Dmitriya Medvedeva Tsentral'nomu televideniyu Kitaya' [Dmitrii Medvedev's interview with Central Television of China], at http://kremlin.ru/transcripts/10911>, accessed 13 April 2011.

Oliver Schlumberger, 'Structural Reform, Economic Order, and Development: Patrimonial Capitalism', Review of International Political Economy, Vol.15, No.4 (2008), pp.622–49, especially pp.233–6; see also his Patrimonial Capitalism. Economic Reform and Economic Order, unpublished doctoral thesis (Tübingen: University of Tübingen, 2004).

For reviews of these issues, see Jean-Francois Médard, 'The Underdeveloped State in Tropical Africa: Political Clientelism or Neo-patrimonialism?', in Christopher Clapham (ed.), Private Patronage and Public Power (London: Pinter, 1982), pp.162–92; Gero Erdmann and Ulf Engel, Neopatrimonialism Revisited: Beyond a Catch-All Concept (Hamburg: GIGA Working Papers, 2006). My thanks to Paul Chaisty and Patrick Köllner for passing on these two references.

Schlumberger, 'Structural Reform, Economic Order and Development', p.622.

One further benefit of using patrimonial capitalism is that it enables us to talk about Russia a X undiffere al and leals with econom zakhstan. Of one com nialism, course i :h a somewh rimonialism tendenc and neo umberger, Thes 'Structui A Book of Alexand Essays (

nd Late

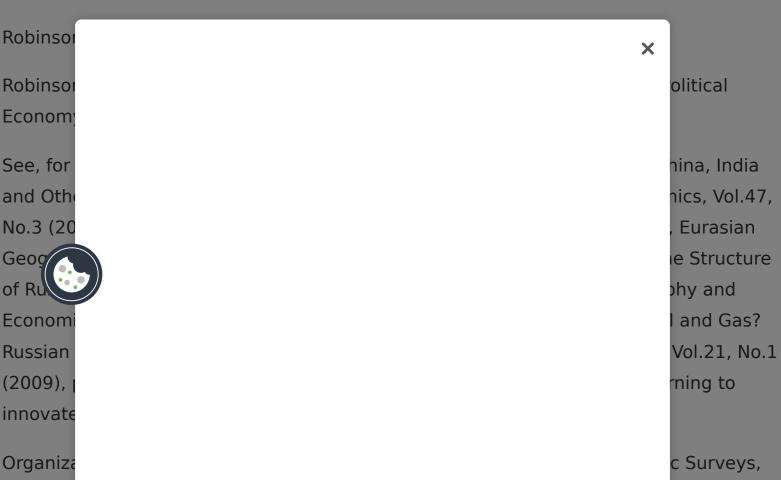
For more

Develop

A patrimonial capitalist system is thus vulnerable to the instability that is normal for any limited access order, that is to the instability that can affect any political system that rests on a coalition held together by rent distribution: see D.C. North, J.J Wallis and B.R Weingast, Violence and Social Orders: A Conceptual Framework for Interpreting Recorded Human History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

On patrimonial communism, see Herbert Kitschelt, Zdenka Mansfeldova, Radoslaw Markovski and Gabor Toka, Post-Communist Party Systems: Competition, Representation, and Inter-Party Cooperation (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), especially pp.21–4; Henry E. Hale, 'Correlates of Clientelism: Political Economy, Politicized Ethnicity, and Post-communist Transition', in Herbert Kitschelt and Steven I. Wilkinson (eds.), Patrons, Clients, and Policies: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp.227–50. On the USSR specifically see Michael E. Urban, 'Conceptualizing Political Power in the USSR: Patterns of Binding and Bonding', Studies in Comparative Communism, Vol.18, No.4 (1985), pp.207–26; Neil Robinson, Russia: A State of Uncertainty (London: Routledge, 2002), Ch.2.

S. Solnick, Stealing the State: Control and Collapse in Soviet Institutions (Cambridge, MA; Harvard University Press, 1998).



Russian

For example, Cyprus has consistently been a major source of foreign direct investment in Russia.

Cameron Ross, Local Politics and Democratization in Russia (London: Routledge, 2008), pp.116–18; I. Sinitsina, Experience in Implementing Social Benefits Monetization Reform in Russia: Literature Review (Warsaw: Case Network Studies & Analyses, 2009).

The democratic governance score here is a composite of the scores for Voice and Accountability, and Political Stability. The public and economic governance score is a composite of the scores for Government Effectiveness, Regulatory Quality, Rule of Law, and Control of Corruption.

Clifford Gaddy and Barry Ickes, Russia's Virtual Economy (Washington, DC: Brookings, 2002).

I.N. Ustinov, Mezhdunarodnye ekonomicheskie otnosheniya Rossii. Entsiklopediya statisticheskaya [Russia's international economic relations: A statistical encyclopedia] (Moscow: Ekonomika, 2004), pp.136–7.

Rudiger Ahrend, 'Russia's Post-crisis Growth: Its Sources and Prospects for Continuation', Europe–Asia Studies, Vol.58, No.1 (2006), pp.1–24 (pp.15–16).



Richard Connolly, 'Financial Vulnerabilities in Russia', Russian Analytical Digest, No.65 (2009), pp.2-6 (p.4).

On the fund's foundation and some of the principles involved, see A. Kudrin, 'Stabilizatsionnyi fond: zarubezhnyi i rossiiskii opyt' [Stabilization fund: foreign and Russian experience], Voprosy ekonomiki, 2006, No.2, pp.8–45; E.T. Gurvich, 'Formirovanie i ispol'zovanie Stabilizatsionnogo fonda' [Foundation and utilization of the Stabilization fund], Voprosy ekonomiki, 2006, No.4, pp.31–55, O. Dmitrieva, 'Formirovanie stabilizatsionnykh fondov: predposylki i sledstviya' [Formation of stabilization funds: assumptions and consequences], Voprosy ekonomiki, 2006, No.8, pp.17–30.

Vladimir Putin, 'Speech at Expanded Meeting of the State Council on Russia's Development Strategy through to 2020', Johnson's Russia List, 2008, No.29, 11 Feb. 2008.

Ya. Pappe and A. Zudin, 'Chto razvivayut "instituty razvitiya"?' [What do 'development institutes' develop?], available at http://www.politcom.ru/article.php?Id=6708, accessed 22 Jan. 2009.

B. Makarenko, 'Vozmozhna li v Rossii modernizatsiya?' [Is modernization possible in Russia?]

See, for Federati publishe

e Russian 17-20,

For a de [The cris perekbe

ennoi Rossii

See the (GU-VES School of po podd measure

2009, No

ekonomiki , – Higher zisnykh mer crisis

konomiki,

Charles Clover, 'Russians Resort to Bonds and Barter', Financial Times, 26 March 2010, available at http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/3e4690ae-38f0-11df-9998-00144feabdc0.html, accessed 27 March 2010.

See World Bank, Russian Economic Report, No.21 (2010), p.11.

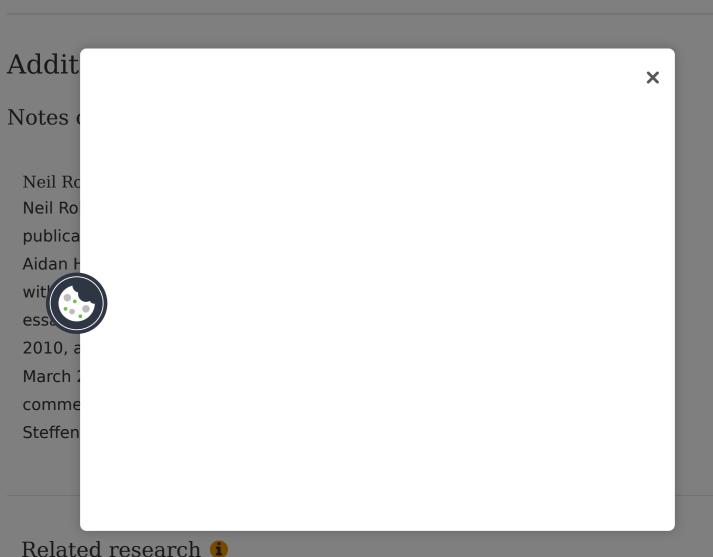
N.K Akindova, S.V. Alekashenko and E.G. Yasin, 'Scenarios and Challenges of Macroeconomic Policy', Report at XII International conference on economic and social development, Moscow, 5–7 April 2011 (Moscow: HSE Publishing House, 2011), p.5.

Ibid, p.13.

See, for example, the assessment in Gosudarstvenii universitet – Vysshaya shkola ekonomiki, 'Otsenka antikrizisnykh mer'.

S. Dzarasov, 'The Russian Crisis: Sources and Lessons', Problems of Economic Transition, Vol.52, No.5 (2009), pp.52–73 (p.66).

Medvedev, 'Poslanie Federal'nomu Sobraniyu Rossiiskoi Federatsii, November 12, 2009'.



Open access

Information for

Authors Overview

R&D professionals Open journals

Open Select Editors

Librarians **Dove Medical Press**

F1000Research Societies

Help and information Opportunities

Reprints and e-prints Help and contact

Advertising solutions Newsroom

Accelerated publication All journals

Corporate access solutions

Keep up to date

Register to receive personalised research and resources

by email















X

or & Francis Group