Bourgeoisie, State and Democracy
Graeme Gill

This book is concerned with two major issues: the role of the economic bourgeoisie in the emergence of democracy, and the nature and role of the new class of businessmen that has emerged in post-Soviet Russia. Through extensive analysis of the emergence and role of a new business class in Britain, France, Germany, and the USA at the time of their respective 'industrial revolutions' (with a brief comparative look at the pre-Soviet tsarist bourgeoisie), it explores the assumptions and conclusions of the major theories linking class and democratisation. The historical experiences of these classes is compared with that of the post-Soviet business class, and the implications for Russian politics explored. Thus, the book comprises a comprehensive analysis of the origins and development of a business class in these five countries, with Russia treated in the greatest depth. The patterns of bourgeois integration into the political structure are explored, showing that the new class of businessmen is not a clear proponent of democracy, but is content to fit in to the sort of arrangements that best enables it to exploit the state.

Post-Soviet Bourgeois Representation in Political Life
Graeme Gill

This chapter outlines the extent of bourgeois involvement in the major political institutions of contemporary Russia: legislature, executive, political parties, civil service, local/regional government, and structured interest representation. It shows how the pattern of involvement has
been shaped by the institutional structure itself, and how personal contacts into the politico-administrative structure have been crucial for businessmen to not only profit but to survive.

Power Imbalance and Institutional Interests in Russian Constitutional Engineering
Gadis Gadzhiev

in Democratic Consolidation in Eastern Europe Volume 1: Institutional Engineering

Published in print: 2001 Published Online: November 2003
Item type: chapter

Describes Russia as an incomplete democracy, in which a compromise regarding constitutional engineering was never reached and important decisions regarding power-sharing were postponed, ultimately leading to the institutionalization of a super-presidential regime created through brute force. The chapter emphasizes that Russia was the only post-communist country that experienced a military intervention after democratic elections had taken place. The first part of the chapter focuses on how the process of amending the 1978 Russian Constitution deteriorated into a power struggle between the parliament and the president and describes the institutional structure that resulted from this contentious process. Finally, the chapter demonstrates how the Russian Constitution, which set clear rules for the institutional game but without respect for the division of power principle, has contributed to state weakness. It is emphasized that by concentrating power in the presidency, the executive has become overburdened and the state ineffective.

Constitutionalism in Belarus: A False Start
Alexander Lukashuk

in Democratic Consolidation in Eastern Europe Volume 1: Institutional Engineering

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Describes the failure of the constitution-drafting process to contribute to democratic consolidation in Belarus. Today, Belarus is considered the worst authoritarian regime in Eastern Europe. The chapter characterizes
the Constitution of Belarus as an occasionally used tool for manipulation by the country's autocratic president. While the president considers the Constitution he drafted to be the sole foundation of law in the country, the democratic opposition considers it illegal and illegitimate. Nevertheless, as the focal point of the struggle between President Lukashenka and the democratic opposition, the significance of the Constitution remains strong. The chapter emphasizes how certain choices and omissions in the constitution-drafting process laid the foundation for the current undemocratic regime. The chapter indicates reasons behind the failure of constitutionalism in Belarus, such as a weak national identity, the absence of economic reforms during the first five years of independence, the state monopoly of the electronic media, and Russia's strong economic and political support of the Belarus's authoritarian leader.

In Search of Identity: The Collapse of the Soviet Union and the Recreation of Russia

Nanci Adler

in The Politics of Memory and Democratization

Published in print: 2001 Published Online: November 2003
Item type: chapter

This chapter explores Russia’s attempts to come to terms with its Stalinist past in an endeavour to build a civil society based on the rule of law. It begins by examining the nature of Stalinist repression and the legacy of Soviet terror. It goes on to focus on halted official efforts at truth telling, and persistent unofficial efforts, led by the organization Memorial, at remembering and commemorating; this provides insight into the issues that daunted the quest for moral recovery. The chapter then looks at post-Soviet efforts to come to terms with the Stalinist past, and finally it assesses the impact of the discussion of past injustices, or the politics of memory, on Russia's subsequent process of democratization. The information presented and the conclusions drawn are necessarily based on a number of scattered sources, including memoirs, interviews and official archives; Russia's experience is unique, and difficult to compare with other post-authoritarian political systems, especially as democracy has not taken substantial hold, and, since the transition is so new, questions of accountability are only beginning to be addressed.
Federalism and State-Building: Post-Communist and Post-Colonial Perspectives
Steven L. Solnick
Published in print: 2002 Published Online: November 2003
DOI: 10.1093/0199246467.003.0008
Item type: chapter

Examines the process of bargaining over the creation of new rules and institutions after radical regime transitions. The analysis addresses the limited but important class of cases where a weakened central authority—whether constituted by the provinces or established as a legacy of imperial administration—must win the support or acquiescence of a minimal coalition of territorial actors in order to remain in power. It focuses on the relationship between cohesiveness achieved and impartiality of administration, with particular regard to the mode of the bargaining between central and provincial elites during the state-building process. It then tests this theoretical account against the experiences of post-communist Russia and Ukraine, of the consolidating Indian states in and around 1947, and of other post-colonial cases.

Breakdown and Continuity
Axel Hadenius
in Institutions and Democratic Citizenship
Published in print: 2001 Published Online: November 2003
DOI: 10.1093/0199246661.003.0008
Item type: chapter

Demonstrates how medieval institutional tendency could be continued in certain countries in the modern era, while autocratic backlash was the pattern elsewhere. England, Sweden, the Netherlands, and North America represent the former trend. Russia, Prussia, Spain, and France illustrate the latter. These different paths, which were conditioned by military and geographic constraints, strongly affected the prospects for democracy in modern times.
Building Democracy in Romania: Internal Shortcomings and External Neglect

Tom Gallagher

in Democratic Consolidation in Eastern Europe Volume 2: International and Transnational Factors

Published in print: 2001 Published Online: November 2003
Item type: chapter

Argues that the process of building democracy in Romania is dependent on a favourable external environment and active support from abroad. However, Romania has benefited far less from external efforts to promote democracy than most other ex-Warsaw Pact States. The chapter points to some of the reasons of the retarded progress of democratization in Romania, such as a historical legacy of foreign occupation and sharp internal economic, cultural, and ethnic cleavages. The communist regime's determination to retain absolute control over politics and society and oppose any liberal initiatives in economics blocked off the possibility of any democratic transition. The activity of anti-reformers described as 'nomenklatura nationalists' also contributed to the weakness of democratic consolidation in Romania. They demonstrated their ascendancy by blocking economic reforms between 1989 and 96, with the support of Russia, which sought to make Romania dependent on Russia's cheap energy supplies in return for political compliance. The author makes a case for a new approach to democracy building from domestic reformers and international organizations that recognizes Romania's special problems and pursues realistic targets.

Former Yugoslavia: International Efforts to Link Peace, Stability, and Democracy

Radovan Vukadinovic

in Democratic Consolidation in Eastern Europe Volume 2: International and Transnational Factors

Published in print: 2001 Published Online: November 2003
Item type: chapter

Describes how the international community has sought to advance the consolidation of democracy, transformation to a market economy, promotion of regional peace and security, and the protection of human and minority rights in the area of former Yugoslavia. This chapter defines
the ‘international community’ as comprising all external actors engaged in seeking to resolve the Yugoslav crisis, including the joint activities of the European Union, USA, and Russia. Given the conflicts in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, as well as the Kosovo crisis in 1999, external actors gave priority to peace building over the promotion of democratic goals. The first part of the chapter analyses the role of international factors in the disintegration of Yugoslavia, concentrating on the new states of Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Hercegovina, Macedonia, and rump Yugoslavia. The second part examines the Dayton Accord as an example of direct external engagement to promote peace in the region. The third part analyses the main Western plans, the regional approach of the EU and US approaches, which seek the promotion of security through cooperation in the region. This part also assesses the policies adopted by external actors, and their efficiency in contributing to regional peace and security.

Russia and the West: To Belong or not to Belong?
Marie Mendras

in Democratic Consolidation in Eastern Europe Volume 2: International and Transnational Factors

Published in print: 2001 Published Online: 2003
Published Online: November 2003
Item type: chapter

Addresses the question of how Western responsibility for the early promise and later disappointments of Russia's development in the 1990s should be assessed. It contends that internal dynamics and historic legacies have played a large part in shaping the behaviour of the Russian elite. The chapter focuses on Russia's relations with the democratic world, highlighting its attraction to Western, mainly European, ways of life and values, as well as a propensity for resisting influence and subordination. The chapter notes two major symptoms of a growing disregard for democratic rule, civil rights, and the rule of law: (1) the second war in Chechnya (2) Vladimir Putin's predetermined presidential election. The author points out to several reasons for the deterioration of democratic society in Russia's ‘new capitalism’: the flawed nature of elections, the pressure on powerful rivals not to compete, the scale of corruption and the frequency of financial-political scandals. Nevertheless, the chapter also shows that in a number of cases Russia has demonstrated the will to play by international Western rules. Despite daunting internal problems, the opening of Russia and its immersion into the world of affairs has fundamentally changed the political environment.
In recent years, there has been a regression of democracy and a growing resistance to Western democratization efforts within the governments of Central Asian states. To uncover the sources of the ineffectiveness of these efforts, Democracy in Central Asia focuses on the discursive aspect of democracy promotion abroad. It examines ideas, beliefs, and perspectives advanced by the US, EU, Russia, and China in the three Central Asian republics of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan, in addition to perspectives on democratization advocated by the governments of these states. The study illuminates competing presentations of democracy and explores how these competing ideas influence societies subjected to international democratization. Based on extensive fieldwork, survey, and focus group data, the book shows that what has been promoted by the US and EU in Central Asia is culturally unsound, inconsistent, and lacking in credibility for Central Asian societies and states. Democracy promotion policies have neglected important attitudinal changes in the Central Asian population and local understandings of regional and national needs. The book's commitment to the idea of democracy and democracy promotion as open-ended conversations to which political leaders, political theorists, activists, ordinary citizens, and academics can contribute debunks the notions of democratization as a given and as somehow removed from the struggle for power and domination. Moreover, this study shows that there are multiple ways of portraying and defending the idea of democracy and alternative routes to democratization.

A Framing Perspective on Democracy Promotion
Mariya Y. Omelicheva

in Democracy in Central Asia: Competing Perspectives and Alternative Strategies

This chapter begins with a discussion of international perspectives on democratization, premised on the assumption that the strategies of international actors determine the outcomes of democracy.
promotion abroad. It then offers a novel perspective on international
democratization that relies on the concept of frames to discern the
content of democracy promotion discourses. Specifically, this chapter
looks at democracy promotion frames, which encompass a certain
understanding of democracy, assumptions about why it is important,
intended goals of democratization, and explanations of how to meet
these democratic expectations. This chapter also outlines the various
forms of research and analysis the author utilized for the study, including
the process by which she examined texts produced by representatives of
the US, EU, Russia, China, and the Central Asian governments, as well as
her survey design.

Western Perspectives on Democracy in Central Asia
Mariya Y. Omelicheva

in Democracy in Central Asia: Competing Perspectives and Alternative
Strategies

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Item type: chapter

Discussed in this chapter are US and EU views on democracy and
international democratization, as well as normative and instrumental
beliefs about the benefits and intrinsic merits of democracy as a political
system that underlie the US and EU frames. Despite the growing
strategic importance of Central Asia for both the US and EU, the official
discourses of American and European administrations have framed
democracy assistance as a necessary, if not inevitable, element of
foreign policy. Western-sponsored foundations and NGOs pursued
a range of liberalization and democracy-enhancement projects in
Central Asia that were similar to those introduced in other former
Soviet territories. The IMF and World Bank also became heavily involved
in advising all the Central Asian governments on the macro-level
reforms required for rapid economic liberalization. This chapter names
democracy, good governance, and the rule of law as the focus of US
and EU engagement with the region. There are, however, important
differences in terms of views on democracy and expectations in Central
Asia that must be supported to facilitate these countries' democratic
transformation, conveyed through the language of discourse.
Models of Governance Promoted by Russia and China
Mariya Y. Omelicheva

in Democracy in Central Asia: Competing Perspectives and Alternative Strategies
Published in print: 2015 Published Online: May 2016
Item type: chapter

This chapter examines alternative democracy promotion frames advocated by Russia and China through their foreign policies toward the Central Asian states, including through regional organizations such as the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). By the early 2000s, Central Asia had become the prize in a geopolitical race for influence and control of its vast energy resources, with Russia and China being key competitors. They have not, however, promoted their views on governance as actively as the US and EU have. Neither Russia nor China has openly stated an ambition to impose its practices on other states. In their foreign policy statements and internal security documents, both Russia and China have affirmed their adherence to the principle of noninterference in the domestic affairs of other nations. This chapter outlines the competing ideas and strategies for political development and economic modernization proposed by Russia and China for Central Asia, as well as the attractive models they have presented for maintaining stability and generating prosperity in the region without meaningful democratization. Both powers have disbursed growing amounts of bilateral aid to the Central Asian governments for a mix of humanitarian, economic, and political aims.

Assessing the Effectiveness of Democracy Promotion Frames
Mariya Y. Omelicheva

in Democracy in Central Asia: Competing Perspectives and Alternative Strategies
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Item type: chapter

In this chapter, alternative democracy promotion frames used by the US, EU, Russia, China, and the governments of the Central Asian states are assessed on several dimensions of effectiveness, including cultural compatibility, salience, consistency, and credibility. The effectiveness of the Central Asian governments' discursive frames is assessed against
the beliefs, values, and dispositions of their own citizens, as determined by the survey instrument and focus groups. By looking at the limitations of the Western democracy promotion frames and the interest-based compatibility of ideas promoted by Russia and China, as well as by investigating the public resonance of national democracy frames, this chapter demonstrates that the alternative models for governance promoted by Russia and China enjoy greater support in Central Asia—just as the Central Asian governments' own models of democracy resonate strongly with their respective populations.

The Kremlin’s Cameras and Virtual Potemkin Villages: ICT and the Construction of Statehood

Gregory Asmolov

in Bits and Atoms: Information and Communication Technology in Areas of Limited Statehood

Published in print: 2014 Published Online: January 2014

Analyzing the role of sensors, the chapter explores how information communication technologies (ICTs) are used by state actors to strengthen governance. While ICTs contribute to implementation and enforcement of political decisions, they also play a role in construction of symbolic statehood. Case studies demonstrate the role of web cameras in Russia: monitoring of national projects, post-emergency relief, elections monitoring, and city management. While web cameras increase accountability and provide means for the decisions’ enforcement, deployment of networked sensors also provide means for deception through the symbolic construction of statehood. Web cameras are used for imitating statehood by communicating to the public the illusion of accountability and control. However, citizens’ sensors challenge the symbolic construction that relies on governments’ sensors. While ICT-based construction of statehood provides stability, in the long term increasing dissonance between the two systems of sensors can lead to a clash and the collapse of statehood.
The chapter explores the role of ICT for emergency response in areas of limited statehood. It addresses whether ICT can make the crowd not only a resource for emergency response but also an actor in that response, capable of developing alternative modes of governance. Relying on the analysis of two case studies of natural disasters in Russia, the chapter argues that ICT provides new opportunities for the organization of large-scale collective action, making it possible for volunteers to play a dominant independent role in emergency response. The role of citizen collective action in emergency situations depends on the attitude of the state actors toward horizontal citizen structures. The chapter suggests that if the state is open to the synergy of formal and informal structures, the role of citizens will be embedded within the institutional response; if the state ignores or restricts networked volunteers, alternative modes of governance emerge.

The Orthodox hesitation: the ‘liberal-democracy’ paradox
John Anderson

This chapter addresses liberalism and pluralism. It explains how traditionally dominant churches have handled the acceptance of a wider range of sexual difference, with the focus on homosexuality, and the growth of religious free markets. The chapter then investigates the role of Orthodoxy in civil-society-building in Russia and the experience of minority Orthodox communities in the USA. For all religious institutions, the pluralism associated with democratic political orders creates real problems. It is suggested that Eastern Orthodoxy has struggled with the democratic experiment in countries where it has traditionally been dominant. An impressionistic survey of the Orthodox experience in
America largely mirrors that of the much larger Catholic community. The Russian Orthodox Church's political presence and anti-pluralist stance in a context of incomplete or ‘managed’ democratisation has been one of a number of factors that have hindered the full acceptance of social and political pluralism in Russia.

Conclusion, Implications, and Future Research

Melody E. Valdini

in The Inclusion Calculation: Why Men Appropriate Women's Representation

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Chapter 7 presents the implications of the book’s findings as well as suggestions for future research. Because the findings suggest that women’s political presence can be a strategic tool used by male gatekeepers to maintain power, one of the key implications of this project is that scholars of women’s descriptive representation should engage more with the strategies of male elites in their analyses. In addition, the chapter suggests that scholars use more caution when their findings demonstrate a correlation between women’s low confidence and their representation in government; it may not be as simple as instructing women to “lean in.” Finally, the chapter offers several paths for future research, including proposing the engagement of intersectionality, the variation in women’s assumed traits, and a theoretical broadening to engage those countries in which strategic feminization is never an advantageous approach (e.g., Russia and the Central African Republic).