

The Origins of Dominant Parties

In many autocracies, regime leaders share power with a ruling party, which can help generate popular support and reduce conflict among key elites. Such ruling parties are often called dominant parties. In other regimes, leaders prefer to rule solely through some combination of charisma, patronage, and coercion, rather than sharing power with a dominant party. This book explains why dominant parties emerge in some nondemocratic regimes, but not in others. It offers a novel theory of dominant party emergence that centers on the balance of power between rulers and other elites. Drawing on extensive fieldwork in Russia, original data on Russian political elites, and cross-national statistical analysis, the book's findings shed new light on how modern autocracies work and why they break down. The analysis also provides new insights about the foundations of Vladimir Putin's regime and challenges several myths about the personalization of power under Putin.

Ora John Reuter is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee and a Senior Researcher at the Higher School of Economics in Moscow. His articles on elections, authoritarianism, and political economy have appeared in leading social science journals, including the *Journal of Politics*, *World Politics*, the *British Journal of Political Science*, *Comparative Political Studies*, and *Post-Soviet Affairs*.

The Origins of Dominant Parties

*Building Authoritarian Institutions in
Post-Soviet Russia*

Ora John Reuter

University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
4843/24, 2nd Floor, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, Delhi – 110002, India
79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107171763

DOI: 10.1017/9781316761649

© Ora John Reuter 2017

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2017

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Reuter, Ora John, author.

Title: The origins of dominant parties: building authoritarian institutions in post-soviet Russia / Ora John Reuter.

Description: Milwaukee: Cambridge University Press, 2017. |

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2016051824 | ISBN 9781107171763 (hardback)

Subjects: LCSH: Political parties – Russia (Federation) |

Authoritarianism – Russia (Federation) | Post-communism –

Russia (Federation) | Russia (Federation) – Politics and government –

1991– | BISAC: POLITICAL SCIENCE / Government / International.

Classification: LCC JN6699.A795 R48 2017 | DDC 324.247–dc23

LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2016051824>

ISBN 978-1-107-17176-3 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>page</i> vi
<i>List of Tables</i>	vii
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	ix
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xiii
1 Introduction	1
2 A Theory of Dominant Party Formation	42
3 False Starts: The Failure of Pro-Presidential Parties under Yeltsin	74
4 The Emergence of a Dominant Party in Russia: United Russia, Putin, and Regional Elites, 2000–2010	107
5 United Russia as the Dominant Party	159
6 United Russia and Russia's Governors	202
7 Economic Elites and Dominant Party Affiliation	222
8 Dominant Party Emergence around the World	244
9 Conclusion	267
<i>References</i>	283
<i>Index</i>	301

Figures

1.1 Proportion of authoritarian regimes with dominant parties: 1946–2006	<i>page 2</i>
1.2 Dominant parties around the world in 2006	8
1.3 Conceptual map of terms	10
1.4 Balance of resources and dominant party emergence	24
4.1 Russia's governors in United Russia, 2003–2007	128
4.2 United Russia performance in regional legislative election cycles	128
4.3 Percentage of SMD seats won by UR in regional legislative elections	129
4.4 Backgrounds of United Russia regional secretaries	134
4.5 Oil prices and economic growth in post-Soviet Russia	138
4.6 Share of gubernatorial appointees who are UR members prior to appointment	147
5.1 Popularity ratings of major Russian political parties	174
6.1 Effect of key variables on hazard of joining United Russia	218
8.1 Marginal effects plots	261
8.2 Predicted probability of dominant party emergence across various distributions of resources between leaders and elites	263

Tables

4.1 United Russia in the legislative, regional, and local elite	<i>page</i> 130
4.2 United Russia in the Federal Executive Branch	132
5.1 Bills passed in Duma by initiator, December 2, 2007–July 29, 2010	164
5.2 Transitional partisanship in Russia (2012)	175
5.3 Defections from United Russia in Russian regional legislatures	180
5.4 Defections from United Russia in gubernatorial and mayoral races, 2009–2014	181
5.5 UR defectors among top opposition candidates in regional legislative elections, 2009–2014	182
6.1 Weibull model estimates of governor’s hazard of joining United Russia	216
7.1 Convocations used in analysis	228
7.2 Professions of regional deputies	231
7.3 Logistic regression estimates for effect of sector on likelihood of being visited by tax authorities	232
7.4 Logit models of dominant party affiliation	235
7.5 Sector employment and United Russia faction membership	236
7.6 Differentiating between party affiliation strategies	240
8.1 Conceptual map of party organization under autocracy	245
8.2 Determinants of dominant party emergence	258
8.3 Predicted probability of dominant party emergence	262

Acknowledgments

The roots of this project go all the way back to my undergraduate years. In the early 2000s, Russia's political system was undergoing a transformation and those changes seemed worthy of study. The creation of a single dominant party was hard to ignore, and I entered graduate school with a desire to study Russia's new party system.

The task of turning those nebulous interests into a dissertation and then turning that dissertation into a book was not undertaken alone. Many have lent a hand along the way. The first word of thanks must be reserved for my dissertation adviser, Thomas Remington. Early on, he pushed me to transform my hunches into theories and my ideas into a dissertation. His professionalism, intellectual curiosity, and scholarly rigor set a powerful example. I have tried to follow that example.

I have also accrued debts to other members of my dissertation committee. Jennifer Gandhi's support and friendship have been unfailing. She always asked the tough questions that have forced me to clarify my argument. For this, I cannot thank her enough. Other faculty members at Emory gave useful input at various stages. Clifford Carrubba, Hubert Tworzecki, Eric Reinhardt, Jeffrey Staton, Alan Abramowitz, Dan Reiter, and Kyle Beardsley all deserve thanks for this.

At various conferences and presentations, I received helpful feedback from Vladimir Gel'man, Regina Smyth, Lucan Way, John Paul Goode, Gulnaz Sharafitudinova, Rostislav Turovsky, Grigorii Golosov, and Henry Hale. I would also like to thank the anonymous reviewers at Europe Asia Studies and Comparative Political Studies, as well as George Breslauer, for providing comments on drafts of articles that formed the basis for several chapters.

While I was writing the book manuscript, Tim Frye, Graeme Robertson, Jen Gandhi, Sam Greene, and Tom Remington provided invaluable advice and encouragement. Noah Buckley, Israel Marques, David Szakonyi, Michael Rochlitz, Guzel Garifullina, and the rest of the gang at the Center for the Study of Institutions and Development were

x Acknowledgments

kind enough to put up with me as I finished fieldwork during our stints in Moscow.

Fieldwork for this project has been supported by the International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX), American Councils (ACTR), the Department of Education's Fulbright–Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad Program, and Emory University's professional development grants.

In Russia, my debts are many. The fieldwork for this project would not have been possible without the selfless assistance of those who helped with contacts and advice. Rostislav Turosky deserves special thanks in this regard for sharing from his bottomless well of contacts in the regions. I would also like to thank Rostislav for sharing with me his profound knowledge of Russian regional politics. Alexander Kynev must also be thanked for helping me get my foot in the door in the regions. I also owe a deep debt to Andrey Yakovlev and the Center for the Study of Institutions and Development at the Higher School of Economics for providing me an institutional base for fieldwork carried out between 2011 and 2014.

In Moscow, many others gave of their time and expertise, including Mikhail Tulskaa, Konstantin Gaaze, Boris Makarenko, Vyacheslav Igrunov, Sergei Ryzhenkov, and Nikolai Petrov.

In Yaroslavl, Alexander Sokolov shared his knowledge of the region with me and helped me gain access. Vladimir Khryashchev's wry sense of humor made doing research in Yaroslavl a joy. A number of others in Yaroslavl deserve thanks for administrative, moral, and professional support, including Albina Egorova, Alexander Prokhorov, Pavel Isayev, Tatyana Akopova, and Irina Vorobyova.

In Perm, Viktor Mokhov, Oleg Podvintsev, Pyotr Panov, Vitalii Kovin, Nadezhda Borisova, Lyudmila Fadeeva, and Ilya Karnaukhov helped with contacts and counsel. In Ekaterinburg, it was Eduard Abelinskias, Maria Dronova, and Konstantin Kiselyov; in Kurgan, Pavel Ovsiyannikov; in Marii El, Sergei Kiselyev; in Kirov, Tatyana Vitkovskaya; in Chelyabinsk, Andrei Koretskii and Alexei Tabalov; and in Samara, Olga Popova and Vladimir Zvonovskii. In addition, I would like to acknowledge the institutional support I received at Perm State University and Yaroslavl State University.

Finally, I must give thanks to all the regional officials and legislators who facilitated my interviews in Russia. Doing interviews in Russia requires building relationships and maintaining them. Out of respect for their anonymity, I cannot name many of the individuals who helped me string together contacts, but without their help, my fieldwork would have been much less fruitful. My thanks to them.

Acknowledgments

xi

My biggest debts of gratitude are to my family. My late mother was my longest-standing supporter. Her love and guidance made everything possible. My partner, Terri, has been with me since the early stages of this project, and with a lawyer's eye for detail, she copy-edited several versions of the manuscript. I am forever grateful to her for putting up with my peripatetic lifestyle. She keeps the smile on my face and the spring in my step. For that, I owe her everything.

Abbreviations

BNP	Bangladesh National Party
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
DIP	Department of Internal Politics
DPC	Dispersion per Capita
GOLKAR	Party of the Functional Groups (Indonesia)
KANU	Kenya Africa National Union
KMT	Kuomintang (Taiwan)
KPRF	Communist Party of the Russian Federation
LDPR	Liberal Democratic Party of Russia
NDR	Our Home Is Russia
NDP	National Democratic Party (Egypt)
OKS	All-Russian Coordination Council
ONF	All-Russian People's Front
OTAN	Fatherland (Kazakhstan)
OVR	Fatherland–All Russia
PDCI	Democratic Party of Cote d'Ivoire
PDP	People's Democratic Party (Nigeria)
PRES	Party of Russian Unity and Accord
PR	Proportional Representation
PRI	Institutional Revolutionary Party (Mexico)
SMD	Single Member District
SPS	Union of Right Forces
UMNO	United Malays National Organization (Malaysia)
UR	United Russia