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As a manuscript

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**Factors of the Inertia's Persistence of the Institutes of Interaction between  
Interest Groups and the Authorities: the Case of All-Russian Societal  
Organizations of the Disabled People**

SUMMARY OF THE DISSERTATION

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## Research problem statement

The focus of the dissertation research is the factors of inertia of the institutes of interaction between the authorities and interest groups represented by civil organizations of persons with disabilities. The inertia of institutes was exploring in the research literature since the 1970s, but the phenomenon itself, as well as the factors contributing to its persistence<sup>1</sup>, have not attracted significant attention from Russian researchers. The focus on the study of the relationship between All-Russian public organizations and the authorities over a long period of time allows me to consider the inertia of the institutes of their interaction and the factors of its persistence in the context of the Russian social sphere. Since the early 1990s, the model of social policy and the role of societal organizations in its implementation has changed dramatically. Then, in the early 2000s, the Russian Federation government began to reform social policy, introducing decentralization, privatization and outsourcing of social services, reformatting the role of the state. The role of public organizations of the disabled and other societal organizations was also revised. In particular, it was expected that they would become not the object of the state support, but active participants in joint social projects and programs. Like any institutional change, this process was accompanied by resistance on the part of the actors, as well as the inertia of the functioning of the old institutes. Along with this, the political context, namely, the transformation of the political regime in Russia, also underwent major changes. Despite this, the inertia of the institutes of interaction showed persistence to these changes as well. The property of inertia might be traced in the state policies related education, economy, social sphere, for example, family policy<sup>2</sup> and represents a the reaction of actors to protect institutes as a sets of norms, rules and practices to emerging

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<sup>1</sup> Hayward J. Institutional inertia and political impetus in France and Britain // *European Journal of Political Research*. 1976. Vol. 4, № 4. P. 341–359.

<sup>2</sup> Дементьев В. Е. Институциональная инерция и реформирование институтов // *Вестник университета (ГУУ)*. Серия «Институциональная экономика». 2005. №. 1. С. 5.

Вольчик В. В., Скорев М. М. Институциональная инерция и развитие российской системы образования // *Terra Economicus*. 2003. Т. 1. №. 4. С. 55–63.

Костенко М. А. Эффекты институциональной инерции в реформировании российской системы защиты детства // *Вестник Костромского государственного университета*. Серия: Педагогика. Психология. Социокинетика. 2014. Т. 20. №. 3. С. 165–168.

institutional changes and not only in Russia<sup>3</sup>, testifying to the universality of this phenomenon.

Researchers of the Russian social sphere revealed changes in management processes, for example in the redistribution of budgetary resources as part of the implementation of the new public management policy. At the same time, conservative tendencies, paternalism and categorical support to social vulnerable groups (pensioners, disabled, poor) persists for a long time at the level of the rhetoric of the authorities on decision-making in the social protections of the population<sup>4</sup>. All this testifies to the inertia of the institutes.

There is a discussion about the factors of inertia's persistence in the research literature. The underlying explanation is the path dependence, describing the influence of historical factors towards persistence of the relationships between multiple actors<sup>5</sup>. The other explanation is the interpretation of the historical institutionalism where the actors might be the factor of the persistence.<sup>6</sup>

The scientific problem of this dissertation research is connected with the insufficiently studied phenomenon of inertia of the institutes and the factors of the inertia's persistence of the institutes in the social sphere. There is a lack of systematic research about the inertia of institutes, especially in Russian policy towards persons with disabilities. As shown above, the dynamics of the political regime and models of social policy in Russia did not lead to a turning point in interaction the authorities with All-Russian organizations of the disabled, which is an additional argument for studying the inertia of institutes and the factors of its persistence. The Russia is extreme case for studying the inertia of institutes, since it has a long period of maintaining relationships between representatives of All-Russian organizations of disabled people and the authorities.

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<sup>3</sup> Fløtten T. Quadruple pressure — a framework for the study of welfare-state development // Conference "Social Policy in the Baltic States", May. 2006. P. 8–10.

<sup>4</sup> Cook, Linda J., and Elena Vinogradova. NGOs and Social Policy-Making in Russia's Regions // Problems of Post-Communism. 2006. Vol. 53. № 5. P. 28–41.

Cook L. Russia's welfare regime: The shift toward statism // Gazing at welfare, gender and agency in post-socialist countries. 2011. P. 14–35.

<sup>5</sup> Mahoney J. Path dependence in historical sociology // Theory and society. 2000. Vol. 29. № 4. P. 507–548.

<sup>6</sup> Hall P. A., Thelen K. Institutional change in varieties of capitalism // Socio-economic review. 2009. Vol. 7. № 1. P. 7–34.

The scientific problem is explored on the example of studying the institutes of interaction between government bodies and All-Russian societal organizations of the disabled, due to the lack of research on the relationship between the authorities and organizations that have been operating since the Soviet era on the issues of social protection of people with disabilities. The choice of All-Russian societal organizations of the disabled and the authorities on social protection issues to study the inertia of the institutes of interaction is justified by the following reasons. The social sphere and interest groups functioning in it that can influence the implementation of the political course of social protection have been studied to a lesser extent. Researchers consider public organizations of the Soviet type as "transmission belts" of the state<sup>7</sup>, emphasizing their instrumentality. In this dissertation research, these organizations are considered as proactive actors and defined as interest groups capable of lobbying their interests in the social sphere. During the transformation of the social policy model and the change in the principles of interaction between the authorities and societal organizations, conservative interest groups are actively seeking to preserve their benefits and advantages by influencing legislative initiatives, that forms the content of inertia in the interaction with the authorities. The research puzzle is to study the phenomenon of inertia of institutes and identify the factors of the existence of this inertia on the example of the institutes of interaction between the interest groups and authorities on the issues of social protection of disabled people in Russia.

### **Literature review**

The phenomenon of inertia of the institutes is considered within the framework of the new institutional paradigm, is part of the explanatory models in the theory of institutional change, the theory of the welfare state, the neoliberal approach and in the new public management<sup>8</sup>. Inertia is manifested in examples of

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<sup>7</sup> Сунгуров А. Ю. Модели взаимодействия структур гражданского общества и органов власти: российский опыт // Модернизация экономики и глобализация. 2009. № 3. С. 500–508.

<sup>8</sup> Christensen T., Lægreid P. New Public Management: The effects of contractualism and devolution on political control // Public Management Review. 2001. Vol. 3. № 1. P. 73–94; Belina B. et al. Neoliberalising the Fordist university: A tale of two campuses in Frankfurt a. M., Germany // Antipode. 2013. Vol. 45. № 3. P. 738–759; MacNeil R., Paterson M. Neoliberal climate policy: from market fetishism to the developmental state // Environmental Politics. 2012. Vol. 21. № 2. P. 230–247.

the reproduction of routine procedures, norms, mechanisms that can lead to the isolation of the repetitive practices of institutes, the limited ability of actors to respond to certain actions of actors<sup>9</sup>. This dissertation research is focused on the study of four institutes of interaction: financial, advisory, property, interaction in the information sphere. Research links the phenomenon of inertia of the institutes to the path dependence effect in the theory of historical institutionalism. To study the inertia in the interaction between the authorities and societal organizations of disabled people in Russia, the concept of inertia of institutes is used. As a notion of middle-level theory, the inertia of institutes makes it possible to study the mechanisms and factors responsible for its maintenance, as well as to effectively draw on other middle-level theories for explanation.

One of the factors for inertia's persistence of institutes is the purposeful activity of interest groups to preserve their activities. Interest groups are communities of people united by common goals. To achieve these goals, interest groups seek to influence the adoption process without seeking a political mandate<sup>10</sup>. The studies describe and explain the organized collective activity of groups of citizens aimed at the realization of common interests through pressure on the authorities to make decisions that correspond to their interests<sup>11</sup>. Business and labor are popular subjects for interest group research, leaving many other groups in the shade<sup>12</sup>. Recent studies consider interest groups as one of the reasons that influence the formation of a certain logic of reform in various policy areas within and outside the government<sup>13</sup>. Interest groups both promote and oppose reforms

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<sup>9</sup> Hannan M. T., Freeman J. Structural inertia and organizational change // *American sociological review*. 1984. P. 149–164; Collinson S., Wilson D. C. Inertia in Japanese organizations: Knowledge management routines and failure to innovate // *Organization Studies*. 2006. Vol. 27. № 9. P. 1359–1387; Gilbert C. Unbundling the structure of inertia: Resource versus routine rigidity // *Academy of management journal*. 2005. Vol. 48. № 5. P. 741–763; Sydow J., Schreyögg G., Koch J. Organizational path dependence: Opening the black box // *Academy of management review*. 2009. Vol. 34. № 4. P. 689–709.

<sup>10</sup> Bentley A. F. *The process of government*. 1955; Dahl R. A. *Democracy and its Critics*. Yale University Press, 1989; Olson, M. *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups* (second edition). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1965; Шмиттер Ф. Неокорпоративизм // *Политология: хрестоматия*. Сост. проф. М. А. Василик, доц. М. С. Вершинин. М.: Гардарики, 2000. С. 304–319; Дюверже М. *Политические партии*. М., 2000; Watts, D. *Pressure groups*. Edinburgh University Press, 2007.

<sup>11</sup> Павроз А. В. *Группы интересов и лоббизм в политике: Учебное пособие*. СПб.: Изд-во СПбГУ, 2006.

<sup>12</sup> Шмиттер Ф. Неокорпоративизм // *Полис*. 1997. № 2. С. 15.

<sup>13</sup> Huang X. The politics of social welfare reform in urban China: Social welfare preferences and reform policies // *Journal of Chinese Political Science*. 2013. Т. 18. № 1. С. 61–85.

focused on the effectiveness of governance and the use of market mechanisms in social policy, health care, education, economic policy<sup>14</sup>. Studies by L. Cook, T. Cox, V. Ya. Gelman and A. V. Starodubtsev, V. V. Volchik and I. V. Berezhny, E. V. Maslyukova argue that conservative interest groups contribute to the preservation of institutes, their actions are ambiguous, representation is limited, and bureaucratic tools do not create incentives for innovation<sup>15</sup>. Part of the articles indicate the possibility of interest groups to influence the preservation of previous management practices and the emergence of new ones<sup>16</sup>.

Another factor of the inertia of the institutes of interaction between the authorities and interest groups might be formed social values based on historical heritage and contributing to the preservation of inertial practices. Russian citizens generally adhere to conservative and survival-oriented values<sup>17</sup>. The value orientations of citizens are often focused on maintaining the relationship between macro-demographic and socio-economic trends and maintaining the status quo, which can also help maintain the inertia of institutes<sup>18</sup>. A. A. Auzan studied the cultural factors of modernization and described the socio-cultural portrait of Russian citizens, which is a combination of restrictions in the form of a high distance from power and a high desire to avoid any uncertainty, non-compliance

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<sup>14</sup> Cook L., Aasland A., Prisyazhnyuk D. Russian pension reform under quadruple influence // *Problems of Post-Communism*. 2019. Vol. 66. № 2. P. 96–108; Snyder Jr J. M., Ting M. M. Interest groups and the electoral control of politicians // *Journal of Public Economics*. 2008. Vol. 92. № 3–4. P. 482–500; Gilens M., Page B. I. Testing theories of American politics: Elites, interest groups, and average citizens // *Perspectives on politics*. 2014. Vol. 12. № 3. P. 564–581; Remington T. F. Pension reform in authoritarian regimes: Russia and China compared. [Unpublished paper]. 2015; Тарасенко А. В., Кулмала М. Представительство интересов и социальная политика в России: ветеранские организации как посредники между обществом и государством // *Журнал исследований социальной политики*. 2016. Т. 14. № 4. С. 551–568; Hacker J. S. US Welfare State Retrenchment // *Beyond continuity: Institutional change in advanced political economies*. 2005. P. 40.

<sup>15</sup> Cook, L. *Postcommunist Welfare States: Reform Politics in Russia and Eastern Europe*. London: Cornell University Press, 2007; Cox, T. *Interest Representation and State-Society Relations in East Central Europe*. Aleksanteri Paper. Kikimora Publications, 2012; Гельман В. Я., Стародубцев А. В. Возможности и ограничения авторитарной модернизации: российские реформы 2000-х годов // *Журнал политической философии и социологии политики «Полития: Анализ. Хроника. Прогноз»*. 2014. № 4 (75). С. 6–30; Вольчик В. В., Бережной И. В. Группы интересов и качество экономических институтов // *Terra Economicus*. 2007. Т. 5. № 2. С. 57–66; Вольчик В. В., Маслюкова Е. В. Нарративы, идеи и институты // *Terra Economicus*. 2018. Т. 16. № 2. С. 150–168.

<sup>16</sup> Orenstein M. A. Poverty, inequality, and democracy: Postcommunist welfare states // *Journal of Democracy*. – 2008. Vol. 19. № 4. P. 80–94; Juerges N., Newig J. How interest groups adapt to the changing forest governance landscape in the EU: A case study from Germany // *Forest Policy and Economics*. 2015. Vol. 50. P. 228–235.

<sup>17</sup> Inglehart R. *The silent revolution: Changing values and political styles among Western publics*. Princeton University Press, 2015.

<sup>18</sup> Cook L. Russia's welfare regime: The shift toward statism // *Gazing at welfare, gender and agency in post-socialist countries*. 2011. P. 14–35.

with the rules and the desire for individualism, which together leads to cultural restrictions, blocking innovations and inertia's of the institutes<sup>19</sup>.

During the exploring of the inertia, the studies related to the description of the transformation Russian social policy and changes in the system of social protection are deserved a special attention<sup>20</sup>. The recent studies analyze the reforms in social policies of various countries and describing the features of social work practices. The modernization processes in the social policy of modern Russia are overwhelmingly initiated by the federal center, but the powers in their implementation in the field of social protection are assigned to the regional authorities. At the same time, public opinion about the model of social protection is characterized by paternalistic ideas about the role of the state in the provision of social assistance<sup>21</sup>. Scandinavian researchers argue that social policy in Russia is presented as a set of incoherent and poorly coordinated measures, arguing that there is a lack of democratic accountability, a biased system of representation of interests, and bureaucratic inefficiency, both at the national and subnational levels<sup>22</sup>.

Thus, the literature review on the relationship between the properties of institutes that characterize inertia and interest groups in hybrid political regimes showed: 1) the lack of a definition and detailed description of the phenomenon of inertia of the institutes; 2) research gap in the analysis of interest groups in the social sphere; 3) lack of understanding of the relationship between the phenomenon of inertia of the institutes and factors contributing to its persistence.

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<sup>19</sup> Аузан А. А. Национальные ценности и модернизация. ОГИ, 2010.

<sup>20</sup> Григорьева И. Российская социальная политика в последние годы: между уже пройденным путем и все еще неопределенным будущим // Журнал исследований социальной политики. 2007. Т. 5. № 1. С. 7-23; Якобсон Л. И. Социальная политика: попечительство или солидарность? // Общественные науки и современность. 2008. № 1. С. 69–80; Романов П. В., Смирнова Е. Р., Ярская В. Н. Новый социальный менеджмент и реформы российской социальной политики // Мир России. Социология. Этнология. 2008. Т. 17. № 3. С. 109-131.

<sup>21</sup> Андрущенко О. Е. Формирование модели социальной защиты населения в условиях социальной модернизации России // Logos et Praxis. 2012. № 3. С. 172-177.

<sup>22</sup> Кивинен М., Никула Ю. Исследуя переходный период // Мир России. Социология. Этнология. 2006. Т. 15. № 1. С. 50-75; Kulmala K. et al. Russian state and civil society in interaction: an ethnographic approach // Laboratorium. Журнал социальных исследований. 2011. № 1. С. 51–83; Kulmala M. et al. Paradoxes of agency: Democracy and welfare in Russia // Demokratizatsiya. 2014. Vol. 22. № 4. P. 523.

## **Scope and limitations of the research**

The boundaries of the research are inertial practices on social protection of persons with disabilities in the interaction of legislative and executive bodies of state authorities and the central offices of the Russian societal organizations of disabled people "All-Russian Society of Disabled People", "All-Russian Order of the Red Banner of Labor Association of the Blind", "All-Russian Society of the Deaf" (VOI, VOS, VOG – further) and their regional departments in Moscow and St. Petersburg in the reformation of political course on the social protection of persons with disabilities. These organizations are created during the Soviet period, have a hierarchical management structure and have their own divisions and infrastructure in most regions of the Russian Federation. The time frame of the study is an objective change in the principles of Russian social policy and the beginning of large-scale reforms in all areas from 1995 to 2020. Empirical analysis is focused on the study of the persistence of the inertia of the institutes (norms, rules and practices) of the interaction between the interest groups and authorities in social policy towards persons with disabilities and does not consider in detail the political struggle and political context, that both might also influence a change in political course.

### **Research question**

What are the factors for the inertia's persistence of the institutes of interaction between interest groups and authorities on the issues of social protection of persons with disabilities in Russia?

### **Aim**

To analyze the factors of the inertia's persistence of the institutes of interaction between interest groups and authorities on the example of All-Russian societal organizations of the disabled.

### **Objectives**

1. To conduct the research literature and formulate a definition of the inertia of institutes for the analysis of the interaction of All-Russian public organizations of the disabled and the authorities; to formulate assumptions



- about the factors of maintaining the inertia of the institutes of interaction between all-Russian organizations of the disabled with the authorities;
2. To develop methodological tools for empirical analysis, including the operationalization of the terms “inertia of institutes”, “interest groups”, values broadcasted by interest groups, norms and rules for coordinating actors in institutes of interaction and developing a methodology for their analysis;
  3. To conduct a case-study analysis of the functioning of the four institutes of interaction in terms of their continuity and resistance to change in order to characterize the features of the phenomenon of inertia of these institutes;
  4. To analyze the activities of All-Russian public organizations of people with disabilities as an interest group, with a focus on interaction with the authorities, to study the relationship of value orientations of representatives of All-Russian public organizations of people with disabilities with the persistence of institutes of interaction with the authorities;
  5. To identify the features of the corporatist model in Russia and characterize it as a factor in the interaction of the authorities with public organizations;
  6. To describe and systematize the factors of the inertia’s persistence of the institutes of interaction between the authorities and All-Russian public organizations of the disabled.

## **Methodology**

The theoretical framework of the work is historical institutionalism, the theory of interest groups, state corporatism and the theory of values. Studies of historical institutionalism note that institutes provide cognitive templates for interpreting actions, providing individuals with strategically useful information and influencing their self-identity, self-image, and preferences<sup>23</sup>. Historical institutionalism implies an analysis of the possibility of various institutes to influence the structuring of interactions among legislators, organized interests, the

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<sup>23</sup> Hall P., Taylor R. Political science and the three new institutionalisms // *Political studies*. 1996. Vol. 44. № 5. P. 936–957; Selznick P. Institutionalism "old" and "new" // *Administrative science quarterly*. 1996. P. 270–277; March J., Olsen J. Institutional perspectives on political institutions // *Governance*. 1996. Vol. 9. № 3. P. 247–264; Scott W. *Institutions and organizations. Foundations for organizational science*. London: A Sage Publication Series, 1995; Thelen K. Historical institutionalism in comparative politics // *Annual review of political science*. 1999. Vol. 2. № 1. P. 369–404.

electorate and the judiciary. A feature of the approach is the idea of institutional development, emphasizing the process of dependence on previous development experience and unintended consequences<sup>24</sup>. Another feature is the concept's focus on the relationship between institutes and ideas or beliefs and how these factors can lead to political outcomes<sup>25</sup>.

According to the interest group theory, all governments are influenced by organized groups of citizens seeking to achieve their own goals. Some researchers argue that current social problems are the result of the machinations of business, transnational corporations, trade unions, and criminal elements. Others insist that interest groups are an important element of the democratic process, helping to achieve the goals set effectively<sup>26</sup>. In the dissertation research, All-Russian societal organizations of the disabled are considered as interest groups. The theory of state corporatism, in particular, the features of the model of interaction within the framework of state corporatism, was used to describe the actions of the authorities in relation to VOI, VOS, VOG as interest groups. The study assumes that the activity of the studied societies of citizens is a factor in maintaining the inertia of the institutes of interaction with the authorities on the implementation of social protection of disabled people in Russia.

The explanation of the factors of preservation and reproduction of the institutes at a certain stage of historical development is possible through the theory of values, represented by the ideas of E. Durkheim, G. Spencer, T. Parsons. The theoretical concept implies that the inertia of the institutes is preserved due to the complex nature of values: individuals influence the formation of values, but values

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<sup>24</sup> Steinmo S. Taxation and democracy: Swedish, British, and American approaches to financing the modern state. – Yale University Press, 1993; Weir M. Ideas and the politics of bounded innovation // Structuring politics: Historical institutionalism in comparative analysis. Cambridge University Press. 1992. Vol. 8. № 1. P. 188–216; Weir M., Skocpol T. State structures and the possibilities for ‘Keynesian’ responses to the Great Depression in Sweden, Britain, and the United States // Bringing the state back in. 1985. P. 107-164.

<sup>25</sup> Goldstein J. Ideas, institutions, and American trade policy // International Organization. 1988. Vol. 42. № 1. P. 179–217; Weir M. Ideas and politics: The acceptance of Keynesianism in Britain and the United States // The political power of economic ideas: Keynesianism across nations. 1989. P. 53-86; Hall P. A. et al. (ed.). The political power of economic ideas: Keynesianism across nations. Princeton University Press, 1989.

<sup>26</sup> Олсон М. Логика коллективных действий. Общественные блага и теория групп // М.: ФЭИ. 1995. С. 55-80.

affect the state of society and can both unite and divide it<sup>27</sup>. In relation to the dissertation research, the argument of T. Parsons is important that values occupy a leading place in matters of the performance by social systems of the function of preserving and reproducing certain samples and are a kind of standard by which the goals of action are chosen<sup>28</sup>. Researchers of the institutes note the importance of the values, identities and interests of actors for the preservation and change of institutes, since value orientations are not only propagated, but also maintained within institutes<sup>29</sup>. With their help, the dominant norms of behavior are preserved, socialized and reproduced as socially acceptable practices<sup>30</sup>.

In terms of studying the values transmitted by public organizations, the dissertation research is based on the works of R. Inglehart, K. Welzel, suggesting that economic stability and physical security of citizens, the level of trust between citizens leads to openness, diversity, new ideas, which cultivates values in citizens self-expression. The authors aggregate the individual values of citizens among various countries and argue that most countries, due to increasing incomes and decreasing mortality, are moving from values of survival to values of self-expression, changing prevailing norms regarding religion, gender equality, tolerance of outgroups and providing growing support for environmental protection. and democratic institutions<sup>31</sup>.

### **Empirical data**

The empirical base of the study is a set of data. The work collected and used for analysis open data characterizing the institutes of interaction between All-Russian public organizations of the disabled with the authorities, available for analysis for the period from 1995 to 2020, including (1) legal acts on the social

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<sup>27</sup> Спенсер, Г. Основания социологии. 2011. С. 505 Дюркгейм Э. Социология, Ее предмет, метод, предназначение. М.:Терра-Книжный клуб, 2008.

<sup>28</sup> Парсонс, Т. Система современных обществ. М.: Аспект Пресс, 1997. С. 270.

<sup>29</sup> Wendt A. Social Theory of International Relations // Political Science 748, Winter. 2011. P. 20.

<sup>30</sup> Powell W., DiMaggio P. (ed.). The new institutionalism in organizational analysis. University of Chicago Press, 2012.

<sup>31</sup> Inglehart R., Baker W. E. Modernization, Cultural Change, and the Persistence of Traditional Values // American Sociological Review. Vol. 65 2000. P. 19–51.; Inglehart R., Norris P. Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change around the World. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003; Inglehart R., Welzel C. Modernization, cultural change, and democracy: The human development sequence. Cambridge university press, 2005; Welzel C. Freedom rising. Cambridge University Press, 2013.

protection of disabled people, (2) information materials on the activities of the VOI, VOS, VOG, (3) annual reports on the activities of the central offices and regional divisions of All-Russian public organizations of the disabled in Moscow and St. Petersburg, (4) information provided on the websites of organizations, (5) charters of central and regional organizations if available, (6) the content of monthly All-Russian and regional newspapers and magazines published by VOI, VOS, VOG, that have the public domain. The public data collected was analyzed using a combination of qualitative analysis, content analysis, quantitative analysis, and visualization using the MAXQDA 2020 software.

In addition, during 2019 and 2020 I collected and transcribed 13 in-depth interviews with employees of the central administrative offices and regional divisions of the VOI, VOS, VOG of Moscow and St. Petersburg, experts studying the Russian third sector. The choice of respondents for the interview is justified by three considerations. First, the respondents took part in the work of All-Russian public organizations of the disabled. Secondly, the respondents could characterize the interaction of All-Russian organizations of the disabled with the state authorities at the federal and regional levels. Thirdly, the respondents could talk about the participation of representatives of All-Russian organizations of disabled people in the activities of working groups and advisory structures under government bodies, in conducting examinations and research related to the activities of the VOI, VOS, VOG. The collected in-depth interviews were analyzed using qualitative analysis, content analysis.

## **Methods**

The PhD dissertation is based on a detailed study of the institutes of interaction between All-Russian public organizations of the disabled and the authorities on issues of social protection of the disabled. Since the purpose of the study is to describe and analyze the factors of maintaining the inertia of the institutes of interaction, the research is not limited to testing hypotheses about the influence of factors. Its advantage lies in a detailed analysis of what is the mechanism of manifestation of these factors that affect the inertia of institutes.

However, the work contains assumptions based on theories from which the formulation of the research problem comes. The interest group theory describes the idea that All-Russian public organizations of disabled people can be characterized as interest groups whose activities are aimed at maintaining the status quo in relation to resources and social benefits. These interest groups operate in the context of the corporatist model of interaction between society and the state that has developed in modern Russia. This model is manifested in the functioning of channels of access to political decision-making, limiting the representation of public interests. In addition to this, an assumption is made based on the theory of values the studied interest groups share a combination of social values that does not imply a transition to self-expression and the development of civic initiatives, this combination of values is a condition for the development of inertial practices in cooperation with the authorities on the issues of social protection of the disabled.

During the primary analysis of the relationship between All-Russian organizations and authorities, the method of included non-standardized observation was used for the primary study of interaction practices. The method is implemented through participation in the VOI, VOS, VOG' events. The results obtained in the course of non-standardized observation formed the basis for the description of inertial practices of interaction.

In order to analyze the empirical material, a detailed case study of the institutes of interaction between legislative and executive authorities at the federal level with the central offices of all-Russian public associations of persons with disabilities and their regional divisions in Moscow and St. Petersburg was carried out. The choice of institutes of interaction for study is justified by the lack of understanding of the actions of interest groups on the issues of social protection of disabled people in Russia as a whole, as well as the ability to reflect the general trend of interaction between All-Russian societies of the disabled and the state, revealing the phenomenon of inertia in the institutes of interaction and the factors of its persistence in the most developed regional divisions. The focus on a certain

type of civil society actors to study the persistence of inertia in the selected cases-institutes of interaction is justified by the historically established long-term relationships of the All-Russian organizations of the disabled with the authorities, the large number of members of organizations, the All-Russian public organizations of the disabled' representations in most regions of the Russian Federation, the presence of a complex organizational structure similar to with state, property and resources. The institutes of interaction between the all-Russian public organizations of the disabled and the authorities are analyzed as a whole without a detailed study of each organization separately. This is justified by the heterogeneity of data available for analysis on VOI, VOS, VOG. The general analysis is justified by the fact that organizations are guided by identical principles for building interaction with the authorities and carry out statutory activities during the time frame of the study.

In order to study empirical data on key indicators of inertia in the institutes of interaction between VOI, VOS, VOG and the authorities, a qualitative analysis of the available information on the interaction of the studied organizations and the authorities from in-depth interviews, legal acts on the social protection of persons with disabilities, official documents of VOI, VOS, VOG, federal and regional media VOI, VOS, VOG was conducted.

To study the manifestation of the characteristics of interest groups, norms and rules for coordinating actors in the interaction of All-Russian public organizations of the disabled with the authorities to develop a policy in relation to the social protection of the disabled, a content analysis of the available information on the results of the activities of deliberative structures was carried out, namely, media mentions of participation VOI, VOS, VOG in the activities of advisory structures under the authorities, official decisions taken at meetings with the participation of VOI, VOS, VOG was conducted.

To study the social values of representatives of VOI, VOS, VOG, broadcasted in interaction with the authorities, the MAXQDA 2020 program was used to mark up and visualize the data of the empirical research base. A content

analysis of values was carried out, codes were identified - four types of values and subcodes - indicators of values in text fragments containing narratives about interaction with the authorities, then a quantitative analysis and visualization of indicators of values broadcast by representatives of the VOS, VOS, VOG in interaction with the authorities was carried out.

### **Scientific contribution to the subject field**

1. A study of the existing scientific literature on the causes of institutional stability and change showed the lack of an approach to understanding the phenomenon of inertia of institutes for the analysis of All-Russian public organizations of the disabled. The scientific contribution of this work is the development of the inertia of institutes term and its adaptation to the analysis of All-Russian public organizations, as well as the operationalization of its indicators «stability of norms and rules», «continuity of practices», which allow verifying the presence of the phenomenon in various institutes in the Russian context.
2. The study raises a little covered in the scientific literature question: why are the institutes of interaction created in the late Soviet period in Russia preserved. The research analyzes the norms, rules and practices that contribute to the inertia's persistence of the institutes of interaction between the authorities and the All-Russian public organizations of the disabled on the social protection of the disabled sphere. Such a comprehensive analysis of how the authorities, along with interest groups, preserve and reproduce the institutes of interaction was carried out for the first time.
3. Among the existing scientific literature, there is a perception of groups of people with disabilities as marginal due to their social vulnerability prevails, which does not allow one to see their real lobbying potential. One of the contributions of this research is the rejection of the dominant interpretation and the consideration of the All-Russian organizations of the disabled as rationally acting interest groups. The studied associations of citizens represent actors of the conservative part of civil society, the analysis of their empirical practices in

cooperation with the authorities contributes to the scientific literature on the peculiarities of the relationship between interest groups and authorities in the context of the transformation of the model of social policy and governance. The work brings novelty in terms of identifying the actions of all-Russian public organizations as proactive actors trying to influence the course of policy towards persons with disabilities.

4. The dissertation uses the results of a World value survey and adapts the theory of R. Inglehart and K. Welzel to analyze the social values of representatives of All-Russian public organizations of the disabled, broadcasted in cooperation with the authorities and not previously studied. The conducted research shows the diversity of values broadcasted by the All-Russian organizations of the disabled, which has not been systematically studied and confirmed earlier. At the same time, the dominance of traditional values is one of the factors for the inertia's persistence in the institutes of interaction with the authorities.
5. The identified and systematized factors of inertia' persistence of the institutes of interaction between the authorities and civil organizations bring novelty to the study of the long-term existence of institutional structures in the Russian third sector and make it possible to verify their presence, as well as a causal relationship in modern studies of the stability / change of institutes in the Russian context.

### **Statements to be defended**

1. The dissertation research substantiates the use of the concept of "inertia of the institutes" for the purposes of empirical analysis of the properties of the institutes of interaction between the VOI, VOS, VOG and the authorities. The Inertia is understood as the property of institutes to preserve and continuously reproduce key norms, rules and practices for a long period of time. It has been proved that the inertia is supported by the efforts of the actors involved in the interaction, and not by the influence of the "path dependence" inherent in the paradigm of historical determinism.



2. The four institutes of interaction between the VOI, VOC, VOG and authorities have been identified and characterized by inertia, including financial, advisory property interaction, the institute of interaction in the information sphere. The research represented that these institutes, formed at the moment of a critical juncture in 1995, are able to sustainably preserve and continuously reproduce paternalistic forms of the state support until 2020.
3. The inertia of the institutes of interaction is implemented unevenly. The institute of financial interaction has the most stable norms, rules and continuous practices from 1996 to 2020. The norms and rules, practices of institutes of consultative and interaction in the information sphere are less stable and continuous. The least stability of norms, rules and continuity of practices were identified from 2010 to 2020 at the institute of property interaction.
4. The participation of organizations in the role of interest groups in preserving the sustainability and continuity of the practices of the institute of consultative interaction is implemented differently. The regular representation of VOI in the advisory structures under the state authorities provides a basis for greater influence on preserving the inertia of the institute of consultative interaction in comparison with other considered organizations.
5. The interaction of the VOI, VOS, VOG and the authorities takes place in the context of established model of state corporatism, which involves control by the authorities of the methods and forms of interaction with All-Russian societal organizations of the disabled, limited access for organizations to make proposals and change the political course towards persons with disabilities.
6. During the values analysis, there were not only traditional types of values revealed, but also the self-expression values traced in the rare actions of representatives of the VOI, VOS, VOG at the regional level, in the form of participation in civil initiatives and attempts to influence the political course, social and economic changes. The quantitative prevalence of survival values over other types of values among the interaction between the representatives of VOI, VOS VOG with authorities corresponds to the assumption about their role

in maintaining the inertia of the institutes of interaction with the authorities. It was shown that the dominant values determine the content of the institutes of interaction and their immutability contributes to the inertia of the institutes of interaction.

### **Research approbation**

The research results formed the basis for several publications:

- 1) Bugrovskii A.I. Institutional Inertia in the Sphere of Social Policy and Conditions for its Renewal in Russia: Review of Research Literature // Bulletin of Perm University. Political Science. T. 12. № 4. 2019. C. 51-61.
- 2) Bugrovskii A.I. All-Russian Societies of People with Disabilities: the Nature of Inertia in Interaction with State Authorities // The Journal of Social Policy Studies T.19 №4. 2021. C. 685-700.
- 3) Bugrovskii A.I. Domestic NGOs Resisting Global Neoliberalism: The Impact of the All-Russian Societies of the Disabled, the Deaf, and the Blind on Russian Government Policy // Laboratorium: Russian Review of Social Research. T.14 №2. 2022. (in press).

The research results were presented at the following scientific conferences:

- 1) 10th World Congress of the International Council for Central and East European Studies, Concordia University, Montréal, August 3-8, 2021. Report: «Factors of Institutional Inertia in Russian Social Policy: The Case of Civic Organizations of People with Disabilities».
- 2) Public Administration Theory Network Conference, June 4-6, 2021. Report: «Institutional Inertia Persistence in Russian Social Policy: Case for Civic Organizations of People with Disabilities».
- 3) XII April International Academic Conference on Economic and Social Development, April 21, 2021. Report: «All-Russian Societies of People with Disabilities in the Role of Interest Groups in Russian Social Policy».
- 4) 79th Annual Midwest Political Science Association Conference, Chicago, April 14-18, 2021. Report: «Factors of Institutional Inertia Persistence in

Russian Social Policy: Case of civic Associations of People with Disabilities».

- 5) 2nd St. Petersburg International Conference on Inequality and Diversity, November 5-7, 2020. Report: «The Impact of Civic Organizations of People with Disabilities as Factor of Institutional Inertia in Russian Welfare policy».
- 6) The borderless international scientific conference: “Russia in the historical perspective. cultural, economic and political issues” State academic university for the humanities (GAUGN), June 15, 2020. Report «The Impact of Civic Organizations of People with Disabilities as Factor of Institutional Inertia in Russian Social Policy».
- 7) Second Annual Conference on Public Policy 2019 «Glocal pressures, democratic practices, vested interests» (RANEPA), April 27, 2019. Report: «Interest groups and institutional inertia: The Case of NGOs Working with People with Disabilities in Russia».
- 8) 18th Annual Aleksanteri Conference "Liberation – Freedom – Democracy? 1918–1968–2018". Report: «The Impact of Interest Groups on Institutional Inertia: The Case of Social Protection of Disabled People in Russia».
- 9) First Annual International Conference Public Policy in the Post-Soviet Context: Institutions, Ideas, and Societies, 2018 (RANEPA). Report: «Impact of Interest Groups on Institutional Inertia: The Case of Social Protection of People with Disabilities».

### **Analysis of data and findings**

The dissertation is focused on the analysis of factors in the form of activities of interest groups and features of public values that contribute to the inertia's persistence of the institutes of interaction between the legislative and executive authorities and the central offices of All-Russian societal organizations of persons with disabilities and their regional divisions in Moscow and St. Petersburg in the time period from 1995 to 2020.

The first chapter is devoted to concretizing the term of inertia of interaction of institutes and putting forward assumptions about the factors of its persistence. Theoretical concepts and theories for the definition of the phenomenon of inertia, tested in the second and third chapters, are analyzed. Significant features of the theories of historical institutionalism, the path dependence effect, the stickiness of institutes and their weakness and strength, which contribute to the preservation of the inertia of institutes, are revealed. Then, the key characteristics of the stability and continuity of institutes that characterize the obstacles to institutional change are described, and the term inertia of institutes is specified for further testing on empirical data. The inertia of the institutes of interaction between the authorities and All-Russian societal organizations of the disabled is defined as a property of institutes to preserve and continuously maintain key norms, rules and practices of actors for a long time. Further, the analyzed works on the theory of interest groups provided the theoretical characteristics of All-Russian societal organizations in the role of interest groups, which argued the possibility of analyzing All-Russian societal organizations from the position of interested groups on the empirical data of the institutes of interaction between the All-Russian organizations of the disabled and authorities. Then, the relationship between the public organizations and authorities in the Russian context is analyzed, the specifics of the state-corporatist model of interaction, its norms, rules, practices that contribute to maintaining the inertia of the institutes of interaction between the All-Russian organizations of the disabled and authorities are identified. Then, works on the study of public values of citizens are analyzed, a combination of value orientations of Russian citizens is characterized, and it is revealed that specific types of values can be a factor in maintaining the inertia of institutes.

The second chapter describes a methodological approach for study of All-Russian societal organizations of the disabled as interest groups. A qualitative analysis of the available data on the activities of VOI, VOS, VOG was carried out: reports, materials from the media, legislative acts and in-depth interviews, key characteristics of the phenomenon of inertia of the institutes of interaction between

the VOI, VOS, VOG and authorities were identified. In the case study analysis the inertial institutes of financial interaction, consultative interaction, interaction in the information sphere, and property interaction were identified. The existence of inertia of institutes in the interaction of the authorities and All-Russian societal organizations of disabled is argued by the identified key indicators of inertia - "stability of norms, rules" and "continuity of practices" considered in the empirical data of the four institutes of interaction.

The next step is to compare the theoretical characteristics of interest groups with the specifics of the activities of All-Russian societal organizations of the disabled in cooperation with the authorities on issues of social protection of the disabled in Russia. As a result of the analysis, it is argued that public organizations of the disabled, the blind and the deaf are characterized by the characteristics of interest groups. Content analysis of the activities of VOI, VOS, VOG revealed a commonality of interests broadcast by the central and regional branches of organizations, the consistency of interests of each organization and direct lobbying of interests in maintaining state support in matters of social protection of people with disabilities. The activities of All-Russian public organizations of people with disabilities in the role of interest groups are aimed at maintaining state support for organizations, lobbying for additional benefits and resources, building informal relations with government officials, which is a factor of the inertia's persistence of institutes of interaction with the authorities.

Further, the existing norms, rules and practices for coordinating actors in the interaction of the authorities and VOI, VOC, VOG are identified. The norms and rules for the coordination of actors emphasize the leading role of the state in interaction with the VOI, VOS, VOG in the formation and regulation of interaction institutes, which indicates the interaction model of state corporatism. The generated model represents the paternalistic support of public organizations of the disabled by the authorities, and the actions of the VOI, VOS, VOG to lobby for this support. The state adheres to a firm position in building vertical relationships with All-Russian societal organizations of the disabled, dictates and controls the

norms and rules of interaction institutes. The authorities provide VOI, VOC, VOG a public status that allows organizations to participate in making changes to the course of social policy, in agreement with the authorities, which contributes to the actions of VOI, VOC, VOG as interest groups, and therefore maintaining the inertia of the institutes of interaction between the authorities and VOI, VOC, VOG on social protection of disabled people.

Then, the participation of VOI, VOS, VOG in the public advisory structures under the authorities in matters of reforming the course of policy in relation to the social protection of persons with disabilities was analyzed. The actions of the VOI, VOS, VOG during the period under review of interaction with the authorities did not contribute to a significant revision of the state policy towards persons with disabilities. The participation of VOI, VOS, VOG in public advisory structures did not lead to the achievement of additional significant privileges for organizations, nor to the emergence of critical junctures that change the norms, rules and practices of coordinating actors in the institutes of interaction under consideration, which confirms the persistence of inertia of institutes.

The third chapter of the dissertation research presents a methodology for analyzing the social values of representatives of VOI, VOS, VOG based on content analysis and quantitative data analysis. The combination of values broadcast by representatives of the All-Russian societal organizations of the disabled in cooperation with the authorities is analyzed and identified. Both the values of survival and the values of self-expression are revealed, which argues for the presence of a complex combination of values broadcast by representatives of the VOI, VOS, VOG in interaction with the authorities. The quantitative prevalence of survival values and traditional values over other types of values is argued. The value orientations of representatives of VOI, VOS, VOG on issues of interaction with the authorities have been preserved due to their consolidation in the charters of organizations and the regular mention of previously successful Soviet practices of interaction with the authorities through various public events and statutory activities of organizations.

The results of the analysis of traditional and survival values indicate instability in the economic situation of organizations, which forces representatives and leaders of the VOI, VOS, VOG to be guided by the values of survival, supported by traditional values and beliefs that the authorities are responsible for solving the problems of All-Russian organizations of disabled people both at the federal and at the regional levels. Such beliefs do not imply steps towards the modernization of the third sector policy, development of professionalism and competitiveness among public organizations, and therefore contribute to the inertia of the institutes of interaction. In addition, in the identified traditional and survival values, features of Soviet value orientations are traced, which argues for the preservation of the inertia of values, and, consequently, of Soviet norms and rules in the form of control and paternalistic support from the authorities, as well as requests and expectations of support from the state on the part of the subjects under study. organizations of the disabled.

The results of the revealed values of self-expression and secular-rational values testify to the attempts of representatives of the VOI, VOS, VOG to change the state course of social support and protection of persons with disabilities. Success is achieved only in isolated cases on the examples of individual representatives of VOI, VOS, VOG, their actions are not systematized and are “dispersed” within the framework of collective actions of organizations. Such a situation does not contribute to a massive improvement in the socio-economic situation of representatives of the VOI, VOS, VOG and the transition from the survival values to the self-expression values.

The revealed combination of traditional and survival values of representatives of the VOI, VOS, VOG at the level of actions of collective actors represent a standard with features of Soviet value orientations, on the basis of which norms and rules for coordinating interaction are developed and reproduced: actions by the authorities and response actions by interest groups, which contributes to the preservation of the practices of interest groups and the firm position of the state in building vertical relationships in cooperation with the VOI,

VOS, VOG. Thus, the social values of representatives of the VOI, VOS, VOG, aggregated at the level of actions of collective actors, represent a factor of the inertia's persistence of the institutes of interaction between the government bodies and All-Russian societal organizations of the disabled.

In conclusion, the results obtained, the value of the considered Russian context and the practical application of the research results are discussed. The main results of the study are: (1) the identification of the phenomenon of inertia's persistence of institutes on the example of four institutes of interaction between the authorities and All-Russian public organizations of the disabled as interest groups in the Russian sphere of social protection of persons with disabilities from 1995 to 2020; (2) description and analysis of a detailed mechanism for the manifestation of factors that affect the persistence of inertia - the actions of interest groups and values of representatives of All-Russian public organizations of the disabled.

One of the conclusions is that interest groups contribute to persistence the inertia of the institutes of interaction. The identified practices of All-Russian organizations of disabled people in the role of interest groups emphasize the inequality of relationships between the actors in the considered cases-institutes of interaction. Such inequality in interaction reinforces incrementalism in the social protection of persons with disabilities, in which the choice of one or another decision regarding persons with disabilities is not influenced by its rational justification, but rather by the differences in the interests of the groups involved in the adoption of legislation, thereby the actions of interest groups preserve the inertia of the institutes of interaction. This statement is supported by the identification of features of the model of state corporatism in the analysis of the norms, rules and practices of coordinating actors in the studied institutes of interaction between the authorities and VOI, VOS, VOG.

Another conclusion is that representatives of All-Russian organizations of disabled people are guided by an invariable standard of values that reproduces the norms and rules, practices for coordinating the interaction of the model of state corporatism, thereby proving that the invariance of dominant values



representatives of All-Russian public organizations of the disabled contributes to the inertia of interaction institutes.