Trust in political institutions as a resource of reputation capital of the state
TRUST IN POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AS A RESOURCE OF REPUTATION CAPITAL OF THE STATE
CONFIANZA EN INSTITUCIONES POLÍTICAS COMO RECURSO DEL CAPITAL DE REPUTACIÓN DEL ESTADO

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Abstract
The issue of the effectiveness of the state’s reputation capital in Russian political system is being studied in the context of its matter, structure, organization factors, trends, approaches and patterns.

The subject of the study is the trust in the main political institutions as a resource of reputation capital of the state.

The following Russian and foreign scientists devoted their works to the study of the reputation capital and its trust: Anokhin, Byba, Grankin, Rozanova, Rudakova, Timofeeva, Baudrillard, Bourdieu, Toffler, and Fukuyama.

The purpose of the study is to analyze Russian reputation capital in the context of turbulence, increasing global instability, new challenges, risks and threats. The researchers tend to solve the following tasks: to determine the essence of the state’s reputation capital; to reveal the
The following Russian scientists devoted their works to the study of trust in political institutions: Anokhin, Byba, Grankin, Rozanova, Rudakova, Timofeeva, Baudrillard, Bourdieu, Toffler and Fukuyama. The purpose of the article is to analyze the capital of reputation of the state in the political system; to identify trends of its strengthening and weakening in the context of trust.

In the article, the essence of the state’s reputation capital is considered. The components of its structure are studied. Aspects of disappointment with the functioning of some classical political institutions are highlighted. The establishment and development of new growth points in Russia is impossible without the increasing of the trust in the state and its political institutions, without building up its reputation capital, ensuring civil peace and harmony.

**Keywords:** trust, political institution, state, reputation, reputation capital, political system, risk, threat.

**Resumen**
El tema del estudio es la confianza en las principales instituciones políticas como recurso de reputación capital del estado. Los siguientes científicos rusos y extranjeros dedicaron sus trabajos al estudio del capital de reputación y su confianza: Anokhin, Byba, Grankin, Rozanova, Rudakova, Timofeeva, Baudrillard, Bourdieu, Toffler y Fukuyama. El objetivo del estudio es analizar el capital de reputación ruso en el contexto de turbulencias, aumento de la inestabilidad global, nuevos desafíos, riesgos y amenazas. Los investigadores tienden a resolver las siguientes tareas: determinar la esencia del capital de reputación del estado; revelar el nivel de reputación del estado a través del nivel de confianza en sus instituciones políticas; identificar tendencias de su fortalecimiento y debilitamiento en el contexto de la confianza. Los autores aplicaron los siguientes enfoques y métodos de estudio: enfoques sistemáticos, institucionales, neoinstitucionales y comparativos; análisis comparativo, análisis estructural y funcional, análisis sociológico, observación, observación abierta y extrapolación. El establecimiento y desarrollo de nuevos puntos de crecimiento en Rusia es imposible sin el aumento de la confianza en el estado y sus instituciones políticas, sin construir su capital de reputación, garantizando la paz y la armonía civil.

**Palabras clave:** confianza, institución política, estado, reputación, capital de reputación, sistema político, riesgo, amenaza.

**Introduction**
Effective transformation of political institutions is developed and implemented in order to gain advantages over the equal participants of political, social, economic and other processes [29, 30]. In addition, it is necessary to improve the process of state tasks solving at the macro level, namely: to conclude effective economic and political agreements, to establish mutually beneficial and trust relations with international partners. Among the intangible assets, trust is regarded as the most important resource of the reputation capital of the state as a political organization [27, 28]. Recent protests in Russia made the authorities to provide reforms for bringing the institutions of the political system in line with the current requirements, society demands for strengthening the democratic institutions and procedures that would allow the citizens to present and defend their interests. To a certain extent, these measures contributed to the competitiveness and power quality improvement and, neutralization new political threats and risks [31, 32].

The purpose of the article is to analyze the degree of trust in the basic political institutions as a potential resource for the development and implementation of the state’s reputation capital. The following Russian scientists devoted their works to the study of this...
issue: Anokhin [1], Byba [5], Grankin [8], Rozanova [11], Rudakova [13], Timofeeva [16]. They analyze the state’s reputation capital in the framework of Russian specific conditions. The theoretical basis for the development of the modern state reputation is partially substantiated in the works of such foreign authors as: Baudrillard [2], Bourdieu [4], Toffler [17], and Fukuyama [18]. Trust in the state as a whole and in its foundations in particular is analyzed in the works of the following authors: Arantes and Couto [19], Haber, Maurer and Razo [21], Klewes and Wreschniok [24], Resina [25]. Trust in particular political institutions and in parliament is analyzed in the works of the following researchers: Lehmbruch [22], Marques, Aquino and Miola [23]. These works are focused on political relations between political institutions and citizens, and highlight the problems of the state functioning as well as its representative branch.

Methodology

The following categories of political science are used in the article: political institutions, state, state reputation capital, political system and politics. The applied scientific concepts do not contradict to the system of principles, methods and means of theoretical knowledge, emphasize the beginnings of practical understanding of the object of political science, and reflect the important laws of the development of modern research approaches (systemic, institutional, neoinstitutional and comparative approaches). In addition, they reveal the structure of practical impact and the ratio of theoretical and practical aspects of political activity. The applied categories reinforce the argumentation introduced by the authors. The methods used in the study are adequate. Among them are: comparative analysis, structural and functional analysis, sociological analysis, observation, overt observation and extrapolation. The methods and approaches help to achieve the goal of the study and to solve its tasks. The theoretical basis of the study is formed by a set of scientific political, economic, philosophical and sociological concepts. They are related to the understanding of the intangible assets specifics, which is the basis of the phenomenon of “state reputation capital”. It is worth highlighting the works of Deutsch and Kottre (concepts of political communication), Cher (explanation of the “goodwill” theory), March and Olsen (concepts of institutionalism and neoinstitutionalism), Anokhin (study of the technological base of the state’s reputation capital).

Results

At present, it is not correct to affirm that the functional crisis of most Russian political institutions has been overcome. Existing political institutions, working under strict sanctions and in the framework of the unprecedented information warfare against Russia, provide relatively favorable economic and political stability. Although, they cannot always find an adequate and timely response to new geopolitical and geoeconomic challenges [20, p.315]. According to sociological surveys, the level of distrust in the state and its institutions, authorities and law enforcement bodies is rather high in Russian society. However, the confidence in Putin personally is rather high [9, p. 60]. High ratings of the President and some representatives of the ruling elite (Shoygu, Lavrov) and low trust in state and public institutions are regarded as destabilizing factors. They affect functioning of political actors, public authorities and government, and favorable political conjuncture as a whole.

The sanction rhetoric in relation to Russia contributes the necessity to use various political instruments to solve state problems and achieve goals that meet its interests. Reputation capital of the state, as an intangible asset, can be such an instrument, which may be politically and economically profitable. It is formed through the trust of international partners and the citizens of Russia, business investments, profitable agreements, etc. In this regard, Rozanova notes that “in general, the buildup of domestic political trust and reputation
capital of the authorities’ subjects is an important approach for the modern Russian state development” [12, p. 93]. Rudakova declares that “State’s reputation is regarded as a political resource, namely, an intangible asset that can provide a competitive advantage in the sphere of strategic positions, domestic and foreign political loyalty. As a result, there are observed effective security policy, favorable industrial and commercial relations, cultural development, and participation in international sociocultural experience, social and humanitarian cooperation” [14, p.66–67]. Reputation is one of the basic factors for predicting state behavior in domestic and foreign policy.

The current state of Russian reputation capital depends on the historical background, geographical and climatic, demographic and other a priori peculiarities of the country. An important role in the reputation capital formation is played by the quality of political institutions functioning, and as a result, the level of trust in them (Table 1. State institutions functioning) [6]. Thus, the Parliament in Russia has all the necessary means to improve the functioning of representative bodies; however it does not implement them. As a result, the parliamentary institution is stagnant. There is no optimal party system capable to meet the interests of all groups of the population. There is a lack of interaction between the Parliament and the Civic Chamber (Table 2. Public institutions functioning) [7]. In general, there are trends to improve the reputation of the President of Russia and law enforcement bodies [7].

### Table 1. State institutions functioning

| Approval           | August, 11, 2019 | August, 18, 2019 | August, 25, 2019 | September, 01, 2019 |
|--------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| President of Russia| 63.2             | 63.1             | 62.7             | 64.2                |
| Government of Russia| 41.2             | 41.4             | 39.7             | 41.5                |
| Chairman of the Government of Russia| 38.0             | 39.0             | 37.4             | 37.5                |

### Table 2. Public institutions functioning

| Disapproval         | August, 11, 2019 | August, 18, 2019 | August, 25, 2019 | September, 01, 2019 |
|---------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| Chairman of the Government of Russia| 47.4             | 46.1             | 48.1             | 48.1                |
| Government of Russia| 46.2             | 46.4             | 47.5             | 46.7                |
| Disapproval | August, 11, 2019 | August, 18, 2019 | August, 25, 2019 | September, 01, 2019 |
|-------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| President of Russia | 28.2 | 27.5 | 28.1 | 27.8 |

| Index | August, 2019 | August, 2019 | August, 2019 | September, 2019 |
|-------|--------------|--------------|--------------|------------------|
| President of Russia | 35 | 36 | 35 | 36 |
| Government of Russia | -5 | -5 | -8 | -5 |
| Chairman of the Government of Russia | -9 | -7 | -11 | -11 |

| Approval | May, 26, 2019 | June, 23, 2019 | July, 21, 2019 | August, 25, 2019 |
|----------|--------------|----------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Federation Council of Russia | 38.4 | 44.2 | 43.0 | 39.4 |
| State Duma of Russia | 34.9 | 36.0 | 40.0 | 35.0 |

| Disapproval | May, 26, 2019 | June, 23, 2019 | July, 21, 2019 | August, 25, 2019 |
|-------------|--------------|----------------|-----------------|------------------|
| State Duma of Russia | 47.4 | 46.5 | 44.0 | 47.3 |
| Disapproval                  | May, 26, 2019 | June, 23, 2019 | July, 21, 2019 | August, 25, 2019 |
|------------------------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| Federation Council of Russia | 32.7          | 30.2           | 29.3           | 33.6            |

| Index                        | May, 2019    | June, 2019    | July, 2019    | August, 2019   |
|------------------------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|
| Federation Council of Russia | 6            | 14            | 14            | 6              |
| State Duma of Russia         | -13          | -11           | -4            | -12            |

**Table 1. Dynamics of weekly and monthly assessments of approval and disapproval of the state institutions’ activities over the past month, %**

| Approval                      | April, 2019 | May, 2019 | June, 2019 | July, 2019 |
|-------------------------------|-------------|-----------|------------|------------|
| Russian Army                  | 82.4        | 83.9      | 80.8       | 83.5       |
| Russian Orthodox Church       | 67.1        | 63.4      | 64.7       | 63.1       |
| Mass Media                    | 52.6        | 50.5      | 55.8       | 52.9       |
| Law Enforcement Bodies        | 55.4        | 52.8      | 52.2       | 52.6       |
| Civic Chamber                 | 40.1        | 41.7      | 41.3       | 40.4       |
| Legal System                  | 36.5        | 34.2      | 37.1       | 37.1       |
| Approval       | April., 2019 | May, 2019 | June, 2019 | July, 2019 |
|----------------|-------------|-----------|------------|------------|
| Political Parties | 32.2        | 33.9      | 37.6       | 37.0       |
| Trade Unions    | 33.5        | 31.2      | 31.5       | 33.8       |
| Opposition      | 34.1        | 30.0      | 35.6       | 32.7       |

| Disapproval     | April, 2019 | May, 2019 | June, 2019 | July, 2019 |
|-----------------|-------------|-----------|------------|------------|
| Legal System    | 41.2        | 38.3      | 39.0       | 39.8       |
| Opposition      | 39.3        | 42.7      | 37.6       | 39.0       |
| Political Parties | 40.1       | 37.0      | 35.9       | 34.9       |
| Mass Media      | 36.4        | 34.3      | 32.3       | 34.7       |
| Law Enforcement Bodies | 30.1     | 29.8      | 32.9       | 33.7       |
| Trade Unions    | 36.0        | 36.2      | 35.1       | 33.7       |
| Russian Orthodox Church | 19.5 | 22.3      | 21.1       | 23.0       |
| Civic Chamber   | 24.1        | 20.8      | 21.2       | 22.6       |
| Disapproval | April, 2019 | May, 2019 | June, 2019 | July, 2019 |
|-------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|-------------|
| Russian Army | 8.2         | 6.1       | 9.3         | 7.6         |

| Index of Approval | April, 2019 | May, 2019 | June, 2019 | July, 2019 |
|------------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|-------------|
| Russian Army     | 74          | 78        | 72          | 76          |
| Russian Orthodox Church | 48          | 41        | 44          | 40          |
| Law Enforcement Bodies | 25          | 23        | 19          | 19          |
| Civic Chamber    | 16          | 21        | 20          | 18          |
| Mass Media       | 16          | 16        | 24          | 18          |
| Trade Unions     | -2          | -5        | -4          | 0           |
| Opposition       | -5          | -13       | -2          | -6          |
| Legal System     | -5          | -4        | -2          | -3          |
| Political Parties| -8          | -3        | 2           | 2           |

Table 2. Dynamics of assessments of approval and disapproval of the public institutions’ activities in recent months, %
As a result, the state’s reputation capital can be regarded as a specific compound multi-level intangible asset with the characteristics of a compound integral phenomenon. It has a multi-element structure, which comprises the knowledge and impression about the reputation carrier that have been formed in the minds of the target audience. The reputation carrier, in its turn, develops positive, loyal, trusting attitude to him. Thus, it can provide material, social, political and other investments.

Discussion

The study of the state’s reputation capital is caused by the involvement of modern states, including Russia, into the global competition for limited resources and advantageous positions in the international political arena. The state with the material and non-material advantages can succeed in such a competition. Polypolar world realities dictate to Russia the conditions for the active use of political resources of various types to strengthen (increase) the reputation capital.

There are various approaches to the state concept understanding. Thus, Bourdieu believes that it is the final stage in the process of capital concentration. Physical coercion by law enforcement bodies, economic, cultural, symbolic fixations determine the state as the owner of meta-capital, that has power over other types of capital and over their owners [4, p.220–254].

The results of the political experience analysis confirm the idea that the clear understanding of theoretical foundations of the phenomenon of “state reputation capital”, its features, trends, contradictions, and its formation and implementation algorithms can improve the domestic and foreign policies of a modern state.

From the earliest times, good reputation was valuable. It could be compared with material resources. Thus, for example, “Business reputation is one of intangible benefits. It is an assessment of the professional qualities of a particular person. Any citizen, including those engaged in entrepreneurial activity, as well as any legal entity, such as: commercial and non-commercial organizations, state and municipal enterprises, institutions, etc. can possess it.”

The concept of business reputation or goodwill appeared in the late of the 19th century. It got its name (goodwill) when transactions were deliberately concluded with overpayment, basing on a strong business reputation, i.e. “of good will”. Goodwill is an intangible asset that can be valued and placed to a special account. However, it does not have a market value [3, p.127]. Moreover, the concept of “reputation” is more complicated than the concept of “business reputation”. Nowadays, the global political competition mostly includes states, actors, and authoritative powers with attractive reputation, which are recognized by world public opinion. The reputation of the state is regarded as a set of evaluative judgments, attitudes and opinions of individual target groups considering its political activity, political authorities’ activity, socio-demographic and economic indicators, culture and history, and other independent variables.

Grankin analyzes business corporations’ ability to diversify and expand in the conditions of globalization. In his works he suggests that due to this quality they can be regarded as corporate enterprises. In addition, he highlights the fact that the convergence of the state and business corporations is possible. In his opinion, it contributes to the development of the hybrids, which are called “corponations”. As a result, the concept of “reputation capital” is extrapolated on the state [8, p.64–69]. We accept this statement.

Reputation capital is similar to intangible assets and therefore is an important component of the political process [26]. It is necessary to have well-developed information and communication space to transfer information about the image, brand and reputation of the

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1 The Russian Civil Code: [federal. law: adopted by the State Duma of the Federation Council of the Russian Federation on 10.21.1994]. http://www.zakonrf.info/gk/150/ (Accesses date: 07.07.2019).
The basis of reputation capital is similar to the concept of symbolic capital due to the system of conditional values. To form a positive reputation capital, the state must incur the necessary costs, take into account costs and losses, which is similar to human capital formation. Like “soft power”, reputation capital is a modern and innovative means of non-violent influence. It provides the improvement of the state status, its strength and the effectiveness of domestic and foreign policy [15, p.176–179].

The emotional attractiveness of the state can be assessed by means of the analysis of the surveys’ results about the will of the foreigners to move to Russia for permanent residence. Thus, for example, the result of a survey conducted in the Federal Republic of Germany at the Russian Embassy in 2016 suggests that more than 50% of the republic’s residents, including middle class, are potentially ready to move to Russia if they are allowed using German as the second state language and are provided with school education in German [10].

Reputation capital of the state can become an element of the algorithm of successful political development in the globalizing world

**Conclusion**

The research result showed the complexity and dimensionality of the state’s reputation capital as an intangible asset. Reputation capital is multicomponent. In fact, capital is a monetary expression of the reputation as a whole. The concept of “reputation capital” is the next qualitative level of reputation. Reputation can be either negative or positive. Reputation capital by its very definition contains a positive characteristic, although it can be weak (small).

Reputation capital has a compound structure consisting of impressions and beliefs about the reputation carrier. They are fixed in the mass consciousness of target audience. Impressions and beliefs form the trust of the target groups in the carrier. Therefore, being an intangible asset, reputation capital can make a profit in the form of political, social, material and other investments (this depends on how positive the beliefs and impressions were).

Reputation capital has its own specific structural and functional features. It takes a special place in a conditional reputation field, consisting of the essential features of a reputation carrier, image, brand, as well as impressions, associations and stereotypes that have developed in the mass consciousness. Therefore, risks and losses are eliminated.

Each component of reputation should be study carefully. Harmonious combination of the political, economic and social realities of the state with the image formation and brand development allows us to perceive reputation carrier as a reliable partner. As a result, “reputation” is transformed into “reputation capital”, starting to bring real income, such as: profitable partnerships, contracts, increased investment, etc.

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