

Contents

<i>List of Figures and Tables</i>	page x
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xii
1 Elections, Protest, and Regime Dynamics	1
The Evolution of Russian Elections: From Feckless Pluralism to Non-democracy	3
Democratic Institutions, Informal Institutions, and the Puzzle of Regime Stability	7
Why Russia? Theoretic Innovation, Internal Validity, and Generalization	16
The Plan of the Book	20
2 Winning Elections: Organized Opposition, Incumbent Regimes, and the Threat of Popular Engagement	25
Controlled Elections and Regime Change: Refocusing on Information and Mobilization	26
The Roots of Regime Control: Asymmetric Information and Ballot Access	32
The HEM Game: Formalizing the Argument	34
Discussion: Moving from Theory to Empirics	48
3 The Long Game: Inter-election Efforts to Shape Electoral Victories	51
Strategies, Regime Type, and Post-election Protest: An Empirical Test	52
Managing Russian Elections: Accumulating Capacity in the Context of Constant Change	63

	Shaping Majorities between Elections: Agenda Setting, Organizational Impact, and Electoral Management	67
	From State Hegemony to Opposition Challenges	74
4	The Unexpected Power of Weak Opposition: Organizations, Frames, and Political Opportunities	76
	Exploring the Roots of Coordination: Opportunities, Frames, and Organizational Form	77
	The Changing Structure of Opposition Organization, 2008–2011	82
	Organizations, Frames, and Tactics: The Emergence of FFE	90
	The State Project: Constraining Opposition and Institutionalizing Regime Support	95
	Opportunity Structure and Strategic Choice: The Building Blocks of Coordination	98
5	The Vote Protest: State, Opposition, and Voters in Russian Elections	101
	The Kremlin's Pre-election Strategy: Electoral Management, Personalism, and Institutional Innovation	102
	The Opposition's Response: Coalitions, Contestation, and Protest	106
	Voting, Vote Protest, and Abstention in the 2011 Duma Elections	114
	Discussion: From Vote Protest to Street Protests	126
6	The Polls Close and Two Movements Emerge	129
	Two Movements Emerge	130
	Explaining Protest and Rally Participation	136
	Testing Models of Protest and Rally Participation	138
	The Meaning of Inaction	147
	The Legacy of Post-election Protest	150
7	Protest and Rally Dynamics: A National Conversation over Russia's Future	153
	The Rise and Decline of the FFE Movement: December 2011–June 2012	154
	Explaining Protest Dynamics	160
	The National Conversation	167
	Demobilization and the Lessons of Protest Dynamics	177
8	The Perpetual Campaign: Regime Response and Opposition Innovation	180
	Building a Theory of Movement Legacies	181
	The Regime Response	190
	Controlling the Media Ecology	200
	Redefining the Protest Legacy	202

9	2018–2020: Competition and Contestation	204
	The Rise of New Challenges in Russia	205
	Putin's Victory and Buyer's Remorse?	207
	The January Surprise	210
	Elections, Protest, and Regime Stability	215
	What Comes Next in Russia?	221
	<i>Appendix 1 PRN Survey and Variable Construction</i>	224
	<i>Appendix 2 Proof of Proposition 1 for HEM Game</i>	230
	<i>Appendix 3 Variables Coded from NELDA and VDem</i>	232
	<i>Appendix 4 Variables Coded from White Data</i>	233
	<i>References</i>	235
	<i>Index</i>	262