

## Appendix

Coding procedures for the *ex ante* and *ex post* types of electoral malpractice.

We rely on a variety of datasets and primary sources for coding the extent to which each type of electoral malpractice is observed.

Table A. The sources of data for each legislative election

#	Year of elections	Sources	Links
1	2003	NELDA v. 4.0, V-Dem v.7.1, OSCE/ODIHR	<a href="https://www.v-dem.net/en/data/data-version-6-2/">https://www.v-dem.net/en/data/data-version-6-2/</a> <a href="https://sites.google.com/site/electoralintegrityproject4/announcements/neldaupdateddataset">https://sites.google.com/site/electoralintegrityproject4/announcements/neldaupdateddataset</a> <a href="http://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/russia/21482">http://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/russia/21482</a>
2	2007	NELDA, V-Dem, Independent Institute for Elections (domestic), Golos (domestic)	<a href="http://www.vibory.ru/Regs/monitor.htm">http://www.vibory.ru/Regs/monitor.htm</a> <a href="https://www.golosinfo.org/en">https://www.golosinfo.org/en</a> <a href="https://sites.google.com/site/electoralintegrityproject4/announcements/neldaupdateddataset">https://sites.google.com/site/electoralintegrityproject4/announcements/neldaupdateddataset</a>
3	2011	NELDA, V-Dem, Independent Institute for Elections (domestic), Golos (domestic), OSCE/ODIHR	<a href="http://www.osce.org/odihr/86959">http://www.osce.org/odihr/86959</a> <a href="http://www.vibory.ru/elects/parlam_r11.html">http://www.vibory.ru/elects/parlam_r11.html</a> <a href="https://www.golosinfo.org/en">https://www.golosinfo.org/en</a> <a href="https://sites.google.com/site/electoralintegrityproject4/announcements/neldaupdateddataset">https://sites.google.com/site/electoralintegrityproject4/announcements/neldaupdateddataset</a>
4	2016	PEI v. 5.0 (Perceptions of Electoral Integrity), Golos (domestic), OSCE/ODIHR	<a href="https://www.golosinfo.org/ru/zayavleniya?ed=2016-09-18&amp;te=">https://www.golosinfo.org/ru/zayavleniya?ed=2016-09-18&amp;te=</a> <a href="http://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/russia/252136">http://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/russia/252136</a> <a href="https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/KI5WB4">https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/KI5WB4</a>

Table B. Assessments of electoral integrity/malpractice: NELDA

year	Before elections, are there significant concerns that elections will not be free and fair?	Were opposition leaders prevented from running?	Is there evidence that the government harassed the opposition?	In the run-up to the election, were there allegations of media bias in favor of the incumbent?	Were there riots and protests after the election?	If yes (nelda46), were there allegations by Western monitors of significant vote-fraud?	nelda47notes	Did any monitors refuse to go to an election because they believed that it would not be free and fair?
2003	no	unclear	yes	yes	no	yes	The Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) assessed their results as distorted because Unified Russia's campaign had benefited from state resources, such as television airtime.	no
2007	no	no	yes	yes	no	yes	These were dubbed the dirtiest and most unfair elections held in Russia's post-USSR period.	yes
2011	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes		no

Source: Susan D. Hyde and Nikolay Marinov, 2012. "Which Elections can be Lost?" *Political Analysis*, 20(2), 191-210. Codebook:

[http://www.nelda.co/NELDA\\_Codebook\\_version4.pdf](http://www.nelda.co/NELDA_Codebook_version4.pdf)

**Table C. Assessments of electoral integrity/malpractice by PEI v.5.0**

Rank	Country	PEI Index	Electoral laws	Electoral procedures	District bound.	Voter registr.	Party registr.	Media coverage	Campaign finance	Voting process	Vote count	Results	Electoral authority.
120	Russia	44	35	43	49	53	43	33	34	54	39	64	40
		low	Very low	low	moderate	moderate	low	Very low	Very low	moderate	low	high	low

*Source:* Norris, Pippa; Grömping, Max, 2017, "Perceptions of Electoral Integrity, (PEI-5.0)", doi:10.7910/DVN/KI5WB4, Harvard Dataverse, V1, UNF:6:RIRLjEG5jWANoJgXAG7IMQ==

Table D. Assessments of electoral integrity/malpractice:V-Dem

Year	Electoral malpractice					Ex post		
	Ex ante							
	Legislative framework on parties and elections (registration requirements and electoral threshold) <sup>1</sup>	Candidate restriction by ethnicity, race, religion, or language	EMB capacity	Election voter registry	Election free campaign media	Election vote buying	Election other voting irregularities	Election government intimidation
2003	Inclusive	0 <sup>2</sup>	3 <sup>3</sup>	3 <sup>4</sup>	1 <sup>5</sup>	2 <sup>6</sup>	1 <sup>7</sup>	2 <sup>8</sup>
2007	discriminatory	0	3	3	1	2	0 <sup>9</sup>	2
2011	discriminatory	0	3	3	1	2	0	2

Source: Coppedge, Michael, John Gerring, Staffan I. Lindberg, Svend-Erik Skaaning, Jan Teorell, with David Altman, Michael Bernhard, M. Steven Fish, Adam Glynn, Allen Hicken, Carl Henrik Knutsen, Kelly McMann, Pamela Paxton, Daniel Pemstein, Jeffrey Staton, Brigitte Zimmerman, Frida Andersson, Valeriya Mechkova, and Farhad Miri. 2016. “V-Dem Codebook v7.1” Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) Project. <https://www.v-dem.net/en/data/data-version-7-1/>

<sup>1</sup> The coding is based on the changes in the Russian legislature on political parties and elections (Federal laws as of 2001, 2005, 2012).

<sup>2</sup> Yes, there are such statutory restrictions.

<sup>3</sup> Mostly. There are partial deficits in resources but these are neither serious nor widespread.

<sup>4</sup> Yes, somewhat. The registry was imperfect but less than 10% of eligible voters may have been disenfranchised, and double-voting and impersonation could not have affected the results significantly.

<sup>5</sup> Some parties in addition to the governing party receive free access.

<sup>6</sup> Restricted. Money and/or personal gifts were distributed by parties or candidates but these offerings were more about meeting an ‘entry-ticket’ expectation.

<sup>7</sup> Yes, some. There were non-systematic, but rather common other irregularities,

<sup>8</sup> Yes, some. There was periodic, not systematic, but possibly centrally coordinated – harassment and intimidation of the opposition by the government or its agents.

<sup>9</sup> Yes. There were systematic and almost nationwide other irregularities.