Supplementary Appendix

Appendix 1: Firm Survey

We employed VCIOM, a Moscow-based polling company to survey 922 firms drawn from 24 sectors in 15 regional capitals in Russia from November 15 to December 22nd 2011. Firms were stratified by size and sector and then sampled randomly from within these strata. Only top managers, the CEO, CFO or the Chief Legal Officer of each firm took part in the survey. Twenty percent of respondents were called after the survey to verify their responses. Of 1240 firm managers contacted, 318 refused to take part in the survey for a response rate of 74 percent. Interviews were conducted face to face in the employers' place of work.

The 15 regional capitals included at least one regional capital drawn from each of Russia's 7 federal districts. Regional capitals included: Voronezh, Ekaterinburg, Kemerovo, Kursk, Moscow, Nizhnii Novgorod, Novgorod, Omsk, Rostov, Smolensk, Tula, Ulyanovsk, Ufa, Irkutsk, and Khabarovsk.

Summary Statistics: Firm Survey

	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Mobilized Workers to Vote	828	0.2428	0.4290	0	1
Firm Size (Log)	893	4.0583	1.8417	0	8.7796
Firm Age (Log)	890	2.1776	0.9982	0	5.273
State-Owned Enterprise	922	0.0358	0.1859	0	1
Investment Change in 2011	864	1.5394	0.6965	1	3
Energy	922	0.0130	0.1134	0	1
Oil and Gas	922	0.0119	0.1086	0	1
Heavy Industry	922	0.1453	0.3526	0	1
Forestry	922	0.0271	0.1625	0	1
Light Industry	922	0.1952	0.3966	0	1
Construction	922	0.1063	0.3084	0	1
Transportation	922	0.0531	0.2244	0	1
Communications	922	0.0434	0.2038	0	1
Financial	922	0.0694	0.2543	0	1
Real Estate	922	0.0727	0.2597	0	1
Trade	922	.2624729	.4402171	0	1
Firm Sells to the State	895	0.4458	0.4973	0	1
Firm Receives Government Support	904	0.1327	0.3395	0	1
Firm Offers Benefits to Workers	892	0.5135	0.5001	0	1
Firm Experiences Difficulties Finding Workers	891	2.862	1.4253	1	5
Firm Director: Age	900	44.3378	9.7686	20	73
Firm Director: Education	873	0.8912	0.3116	0	1
Firm Director: UR Supporter	702	0.3875	0.4875	0	1

Appendix 2. Survey of Employees

We added questions to the monthly nationally representative survey of residents of Russia conducted by the Levada Center, a Moscow-based polling company. Levada's Courier survey asks a wide range of questions of 1600 residents in 130 primary sampling units in 45 regions. Interviewers conducted face to face in the home of the respondent. Twenty percent of respondents received follow-up telephone calls, mailings, and visits used to ensure the authenticity of the responses. The margin of error is less than 3.4 percent. Nine regions representing less than 4 percent of the sample are not included in the survey, including regions that are difficult to access for a variety of reasons, including Chechnya, and regions in the far north. For details on the survey design in Russian see http://www.levada.ru/omnibusnyi-opros

Summary Statistics: Individual Survey					
	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Mobilized to Vote by Employer	800	0.2534	0.4352	0	1
Lives in Single Company Town	1600	0.1588	0.3656	0	1
State-Owned Enterprise	944	0.1250	0.3309	0	1
Firm Size	601	2.5890	0.8539	1	4
Voted in 2007 Parl. Election	1600	0.5269	0.4994	0	1
Heavy Industry	633	0.0932	0.2910	0	1
Light Industry	633	0.0521	0.2225	0	1
Mining	633	0.0142	0.1185	0	1
Oil and Gas	633	0.0269	0.1618	0	1
Utilities / Energy	633	0.0553	0.2287	0	1
Construction	633	0.1627	0.3694	0	1
Transportation	633	0.1311	0.3378	0	1
Communications	633	0.0395	0.1949	0	1
Agriculture	633	0.0348	0.1833	0	1
Other Sector	633	0.1422	0.3495	0	1
Trade	633	0.2480	0.4322	0	1
Male	1600	0.4494	0.4976	0	1
Age	1600	44.1050	16.4849	18	88
Level of Education	1600	5.2900	1.8959	1	8
Household Income (log)	1600	8.4014	3.1874	2.079	12.899
Town Size	1600	4.9650	2.1010	1	7
Government Employee	944	0.2383	0.4263	0	1
Opposition Supporter	1600	0.2150	0.4110	0	1
N	1600				

Appendix 3. Mobilization Across Sectors

The table below shows the percentage of firms in the listed sectors that held a political activity in the workplace.   With a few exceptions that are discussed in the main text, firms in sectors characterized by immobile assets are much more likely to report holding a political activity.

Industry	Percentage of Firms Engaging in Political Activity	Percent of Sample
Heavy Industry	48	15
Oil and Gas	40	1
Forestry	38	3
Light Industry	26	20
Communications	22	4
Financial Services	21	7
Electricity	20	1
Construction	20	11
Real Estate	16	7
Transportation	16	5
Trade and Services	13	26

Appendix Table 3. Alternative Specifications

We present a range of robustness checks for our firm survey models in Appendix Table 3. Columns 2-9 of Appendix Table 3 tables show the results produced by dropping each independent variable one at a time from Model 2, Table 3 in the main text (the original results are reproduced in Column 1, Appendix Table 3 for comparison). Column 10 of Appendix Table 3 presents the original Model 2 specification without region fixed effects for the firm survey. In this model, we use random effects. The signs and statistical significance on our variables of interest remain robust to the random effects approach.

Appendix Table 3: Employer Campaigning - Firm Survey Models (Dropping Variables)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Firm Size (Log)	0.374***		0.291***	0.377***	0.341***	0.442***	0.406***	0.410***	0.389***	0.309***
	(0.107)		(0.103)	(0.107)	(0.0985)	(0.109)	(0.106)	(0.107)	(0.100)	(0.0954)
Firm Age (Log)	-0.220**	0.0532		-0.202*	-0.192	-0.151*	-0.230**	-0.219**	-0.194*	-0.247***
	(0.105)	(0.124)		(0.109)	(0.117)	(0.0838)	(0.109)	(0.111)	(0.101)	(0.0766)
State-Owned Enterprise	0.786**	0.802**	0.668*		0.817**	0.511	0.657*	0.931**	0.844**	1.161**
	(0.356)	(0.373)	(0.353)		(0.384)	(0.398)	(0.356)	(0.402)	(0.337)	(0.480)
Investment Change in 2011	0.0901	0.230	0.0931	0.0929		0.0471	0.169	0.116	0.159	-0.137
	(0.239)	(0.232)	(0.247)	(0.240)		(0.237)	(0.227)	(0.232)	(0.242)	(0.247)
Energy	-0.672	-0.318	-0.608	-0.557	-0.631		-0.562	-0.798	-0.781	0.312
	(0.667)	(0.670)	(0.627)	(0.626)	(0.619)		(0.751)	(0.669)	(0.716)	(0.698)
Oil and Gas	-0.167	0.330	-0.0866	-0.122	-0.0338		-0.271	0.117	-0.113	0.793
	(0.575)	(0.634)	(0.607)	(0.536)	(0.491)		(0.644)	(0.551)	(0.550)	(0.608)
Heavy Industry	1.216**	1.434***	1.182**	1.185**	1.242***		1.128**	1.213**	1.293**	1.208**
	(0.521)	(0.482)	(0.481)	(0.514)	(0.465)		(0.536)	(0.504)	(0.537)	(0.478)
Forestry	1.094**	1.331***	1.168**	1.054**	0.907*		1.281**	0.972**	1.177**	1.073***
	(0.501)	(0.421)	(0.494)	(0.508)	(0.541)		(0.618)	(0.468)	(0.484)	(0.398)
Light Industry	0.420	0.379	0.477	0.405	0.434		0.580	0.409	0.468	0.615
	(0.397)	(0.396)	(0.347)	(0.401)	(0.353)		(0.380)	(0.392)	(0.385)	(0.406)
Construction	0.162	0.375	0.177	0.162	0.107		0.158	0.235	0.321	0.0796
	(0.436)	(0.451)	(0.411)	(0.437)	(0.393)		(0.444)	(0.444)	(0.394)	(0.465)
Transportation	-0.253	-0.181	-0.217	-0.168	-0.401		0.118	-0.207	-0.257	-0.391
	(0.499)	(0.504)	(0.486)	(0.481)	(0.475)		(0.344)	(0.455)	(0.520)	(0.530)
Communications	0.664	0.522	0.639	0.630	0.641		0.499	0.652	0.790	0.653
	(0.526)	(0.519)	(0.519)	(0.521)	(0.545)		(0.505)	(0.546)	(0.531)	(0.524)
Financial	0.373	0.316	0.506	0.322	0.225		0.283	0.386	0.505	0.356
	(0.479)	(0.464)	(0.505)	(0.486)	(0.436)		(0.590)	(0.473)	(0.507)	(0.457)
Real Estate	0.244	0.0503	0.222	0.208	0.365		0.0828	0.239	0.298	0.529
	(0.684)	(0.634)	(0.629)	(0.682)	(0.613)		(0.695)	(0.686)	(0.675)	(0.597)
Firm Sells to the State	1.121***	1.256***	1.069***	1.112***	1.177***	1.052***		1.092***	1.137***	1.106***
	(0.283)	(0.254)	(0.268)	(0.284)	(0.262)	(0.268)		(0.277)	(0.300)	(0.210)
Firm Receives Government Support	0.513**	0.628***	0.613**	0.602***	0.407**	0.595***	0.565**		0.453**	0.384**
	(0.216)	(0.232)	(0.257)	(0.232)	(0.206)	(0.204)	(0.253)		(0.195)	(0.191)
Firm Offers Benefits to Workers	0.426**	0.630***	0.496**	0.441**	0.408*	0.514**	0.464*	0.441**		0.471**
	(0.209)	(0.187)	(0.224)	(0.210)	(0.216)	(0.207)	(0.243)	(0.209)		(0.190)
Constant	-4.444***	-3.832***	-4.606***	-4.445***	-3.965***	-4.532***	-4.014***	-4.652***	-4.562***	-3.254***
	(0.644)	(0.504)	(0.621)	(0.647)	(0.448)	(0.593)	(0.590)	(0.642)	(0.640)	(0.632)
Observations	706	719	726	706	733	706	722	717	720	706

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
Logit Models. Dependent variable is binary: 1 if Firm mobilized workers to vote; 0 - otherwise.
Robust standard errors in parentheses
Region Fixed Effects (except for Column 10); Errors Clustered on Region.

Appendix Table 4. Alternative Specifications

Appendix Table 4 presents similar robustness checks for the individual survey models. Columns 2-10 of Appendix Table 4 drop independent variables one at a time from Model 1, Table 4 in the main text (original results reproduced in Column 1, Appendix Table 4 for comparison). Our main results remain robust to this check as well. Column 11 of Appendix Table 4 presents the model specification without okrug fixed effects for the individual survey. In this model, we use random effects. The signs and statistical significance on our variables of interest remain robust to the random effects approach.

Appendix Table 4: Employee Campaigning - Individual Survey: Dropping Variables

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Single Company Town	1.168**		1.220***	1.135**	1.115**	1.176**	1.169**	1.170**	1.161**	1.267***	1.168**
	(0.473)		(0.460)	(0.467)	(0.491)	(0.470)	(0.474)	(0.473)	(0.480)	(0.464)	(0.473)
Firm Size	0.281**	0.322**		0.286**	0.470***	0.280**	0.281**	0.279**	0.268**	0.267**	0.281**
	(0.115)	(0.125)		(0.114)	(0.141)	(0.114)	(0.118)	(0.114)	(0.115)	(0.116)	(0.115)
Voted in 2007 Parl. Election	0.490**	0.429**	0.404*		0.491**	0.496**	0.538**	0.492**	0.493**	0.552***	0.490**
	(0.215)	(0.218)	(0.228)		(0.220)	(0.209)	(0.213)	(0.215)	(0.213)	(0.185)	(0.215)
Heavy Industry	1.167**	1.233**	1.536***	1.191**		1.108**	1.227**	1.168**	1.190**	1.095**	1.167**
	(0.495)	(0.524)	(0.503)	(0.494)		(0.456)	(0.485)	(0.496)	(0.501)	(0.471)	(0.495)
Light Industry	-0.639	-0.566	-0.361	-0.559		-0.685	-0.590	-0.631	-0.632	-0.664	-0.639
	(0.715)	(0.698)	(0.745)	(0.716)		(0.714)	(0.719)	(0.719)	(0.722)	(0.707)	(0.715)
Oil and Gas	0.454	0.293	0.661	0.364		0.379	0.491	0.464	0.426	0.576	0.454
	(0.615)	(0.630)	(0.682)	(0.608)		(0.617)	(0.592)	(0.622)	(0.610)	(0.595)	(0.615)
Mining	1.345**	1.179	1.962***	1.570***		1.294**	1.309*	1.352**	1.355**	1.560**	1.345**
	(0.631)	(0.784)	(0.625)	(0.609)		(0.613)	(0.679)	(0.622)	(0.651)	(0.616)	(0.631)
Utilities / Electricity	-0.123	-0.0329	0.0637	-0.0743		-0.180	-0.0190	-0.116	-0.138	-0.0499	-0.123
	(0.562)	(0.511)	(0.557)	(0.552)		(0.533)	(0.507)	(0.557)	(0.557)	(0.546)	(0.562)
Construction	-0.108	-0.0468	0.0157	-0.0570		-0.185	-0.0597	-0.101	-0.119	-0.0969	-0.108
	(0.430)	(0.414)	(0.438)	(0.417)		(0.380)	(0.422)	(0.424)	(0.427)	(0.429)	(0.430)
Transportation	-0.0705	0.114	0.255	-0.0198		-0.132	-0.0133	-0.0622	-0.0643	-0.0755	-0.0705
	(0.342)	(0.360)	(0.386)	(0.349)		(0.323)	(0.316)	(0.336)	(0.346)	(0.341)	(0.342)
Communications	-1.593	-1.626	-1.469	-1.607		-1.662	-1.516	-1.583	-1.575	-1.662	-1.593
	(1.066)	(1.154)	(1.052)	(1.087)		(1.047)	(1.074)	(1.066)	(1.064)	(1.037)	(1.066)
Agriculture	0.182	0.120	0.148	0.209		0.113	0.272	0.167	0.201	0.297	0.182
	(0.755)	(0.774)	(0.730)	(0.787)		(0.707)	(0.711)	(0.766)	(0.764)	(0.758)	(0.755)
Other Sector	0.269	0.205	0.491	0.282		0.259	0.303	0.279	0.274	0.298	0.269
	(0.432)	(0.471)	(0.426)	(0.436)		(0.427)	(0.421)	(0.423)	(0.431)	(0.439)	(0.432)
Male	-0.166	-0.208	-0.0786	-0.183	-0.185		-0.194	-0.173	-0.166	-0.154	-0.166
	(0.218)	(0.204)	(0.215)	(0.216)	(0.186)		(0.220)	(0.213)	(0.214)	(0.211)	(0.218)
Age	0.00972	0.00976	0.00948	0.0139	0.00838	0.0105		0.00936	0.00900	0.0101	0.00972
	(0.0105)	(0.00999)	(0.0106)	(0.0105)	(0.00940)	(0.0103)		(0.01000)	(0.0103)	(0.0105)	(0.0105)
Education	0.0240	0.0292	-0.00675	0.0280	0.0110	0.0280	0.0171		0.0276	-0.00571	0.0240
	(0.0601)	(0.0590)	(0.0598)	(0.0600)	(0.0592)	(0.0585)	(0.0574)		(0.0591)	(0.0579)	(0.0601)
Income	-0.0328	-0.0267	-0.0246	-0.0342	-0.0398	-0.0328	-0.0293	-0.0337		-0.0354	-0.0328
	(0.0330)	(0.0383)	(0.0363)	(0.0324)	(0.0322)	(0.0327)	(0.0323)	(0.0328)		(0.0318)	(0.0330)
Town Size	0.119	0.160**	0.107*	0.135*	0.115*	0.117	0.120	0.114	0.120		0.119
	(0.0753)	(0.0696)	(0.0638)	(0.0692)	(0.0658)	(0.0743)	(0.0749)	(0.0739)	(0.0750)		(0.0753)
Constant	-2.097	-2.052*	-2.999**	-2.096*	-1.141	-2.207*	-1.758	-1.925	-2.453*	-1.454	-2.097
	(1.304)	(1.113)	(1.210)	(1.264)	(1.067)	(1.295)	(1.236)	(1.360)	(1.325)	(1.212)	(1.304)
Observations	559	559	585	559	560	559	559	559	559	559	559

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Logit Models. Dependent variable is binary: 1 if Respondent was mobilized to vote; 0 - otherwise.

Robust standard errors in parentheses

Okrug Fixed Effects (except for Column 11); Errors Clustered on Primary Sampling Unit.

Appendix Table 5: Effect of Employer Mobilization on Turnout

Appendix Table 5 presents the results of two logit models using the dependent variable "Turned Out to Vote in the 2011 Parliamentary Elections." Here we are interested in whether mobilization by employers has an impact on the likelihood of an individual going to the polls. Because of the strong collinearity between many of our original set of covariates, we present reduced form models on turnout propensity. Model 1 estimates the effect of workplace mobilization on turn out, when controlling for employment status. We find a point estimate that is positive and significant at conventional levels, which suggests that workplace mobilization is effective. Similarly, when we limit the sample to only those who are employed in Model 2, we find a positive coefficient on the variable Mobilized to Vote by Employer. The standard error is larger in this model (p<.1), largely due to the reduced sample size.

Appendix Table 5: Effect of Employee Mobilization on Voter Turnout		
	(1)	(2)
	Turned Out to Vote	Turned Out to Vote
Mobilized to Vote by Employer	0.305**	0.294*
	(0.156)	(0.174)
Employed	0.151	
	(0.183)	
Male	-0.427***	-0.353***
	(0.121)	(0.103)
Age	0.0343***	0.0267***
	(0.00454)	(0.00673)
Education	0.116**	0.109***
	(0.0453)	(0.0387)
Income	-0.0443**	-0.0345
	(0.0177)	(0.0235)
Lives in Ethnic Republic	1.388***	-0.317
	(0.0550)	(0.448)
Constant	-0.774**	-0.228
	(0.350)	(0.567)
Observations	1,440	879

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Logit Models. Dependent Variable: 1 if Respondent Voted in 2011 Parl. Elections; 0 - otherwise
Robust standard errors in parentheses and clustered on Primary Sampling Unit.
Model (1): Full Sample, Controlling for Employment Status. Region Fixed Effects used
Model (2): Sample is only those currently employed. Okrug Fixed Effects used.