

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>page</i> x
<i>List of Maps</i>	xii
<i>List of Tables</i>	xiii
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xv
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xviii
1 Introduction	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 The Shadow of the CPSU	4
1.3 Empirical Strategy	10
1.4 Outline of the Book	12
2 The CPSU Legacy: Leninism or Clientelism?	18
2.1 Historical Legacies and the Legacies of Communism	18
2.2 CPSU Members as Agents of Persistence in Russian Regions?	23
2.3 CPSU Members and Communist Socialization	26
2.4 CPSU Legacy as a Legacy of (Neo)Patrimonialism	35
2.5 Pre-Communist Legacies and the Legacies of the CPSU	37
2.6 Mechanisms of Persistence	41
2.7 Limited Access Order and Selection of Dependent Variables	45
2.8 Conclusion: Main Hypotheses of the Study	47
3 Cultural Environment and Soviet Cinematography as a Legacy of the CPSU	52
3.1 The Power of the Movie: If You Conquer the Hearts, You Will Conquer the Minds! Soviet Movies as a Legacy	52
3.2 Soviet Movies: Are They Actually Popular? Happy New Year!	62
3.3 Modern Russian Cinematography, Nostalgia, and the Vertical of Power	71
3.4 Conclusion	76
4 Measuring CPSU Legacies	82
4.1 Capturing Subnational Party Saturation	82
4.2 CPSU Saturation or Other Developmental Legacies?	91
4.3 Empirical Setting: Post-Communist Regions	94
4.4 Validating the CPSU Saturation Data: Evidence from Archives	96
4.5 Conclusion: Soviet Movies, Nostalgia, and the Vertical of Power	99
	vii

viii	Contents	
5	Democracy	100
5.1	Theory and Hypotheses	102
5.2	Data and Model	105
5.3	Results	113
5.4	Causal Mechanisms	121
5.5	CPSU Legacies and Federal Elections	130
5.6	Conclusion	136
6	Corruption	138
6.1	Empirical Setting	140
6.2	Theory and Hypotheses	143
6.3	Data and Model	150
6.4	Results	158
6.5	Causal Mechanisms	163
6.6	Conclusion	166
7	Inequality	168
7.1	Empirical Setting	169
7.2	Theory and Hypotheses	174
7.3	Data and Model	181
7.4	Results	186
7.5	Causal Mechanisms	191
7.6	Conclusion	201
8	Mortality	203
8.1	Empirical Setting	204
8.2	Theory and Hypotheses	207
8.3	Data and Model	210
8.4	Results	214
8.5	Conclusion	222
9	Attitudes Toward Migrants	225
9.1	Empirical Setting	227
9.2	Theory and Hypotheses	231
9.3	Data and Model	240
9.4	Results	244
9.5	Trust: Why Is There No CPSU Effect?	247
9.6	Conclusion	252
10	Economic Development and Innovations	255
10.1	Theory and Hypotheses	255
10.2	Data and Model	262
10.3	Results	267
10.4	Explaining the Results and Nonresults	275
10.5	Conclusion	278

Contents	ix
11 The Origin and Persistence of Legacies	280
11.1 Temporal Depth of Legacies	282
11.2 Temporal Persistence of Legacies	288
11.3 Additional Tests	295
11.4 Conclusion	296
12 Conclusion	299
12.1 Main Findings and Contributions	299
12.2 Soviet Cinematography: The Story of <i>Dog's Heart</i> and <i>Garage</i>	302
12.3 Post-Communism in Post-Soviet Eurasia: United by the CPSU Legacy?	308
12.4 Modern Communism: Worldwide Perspective – So Different and Yet So Similar	311
12.5 Legacy of Single-Party Regimes and (Neo)Patrimonialism	315
<i>Bibliography</i>	319
<i>Index</i>	361