Renovation, Metro, Highways: How Does Authoritarian Modernization Affect Electoral Outcomes? (Evidence from 2019 Moscow Elections)

Large infrastructural programs are vastly used as means of pragmatic redistribution and political clientelism to secure political support of the citizens in both democratic and nondemocratic settings. Do these programs always succeed in bringing about what they were originally intended by the incumbents to deliver when it comes to electoral politics, though? The case of contemporary Moscow, where the implementation of a wide array of such projects coincides with recent increases in the opposition’s legislative representation, suggests the answer is more complex. In this paper, we estimate the effects of key large-scale infrastructural projects (Metro enlargement, construction of intra-city highways - 'chords', and Renovation redevelopment plan) on the outcomes of 2019 Moscow City Duma elections by employing geocoded and administrative data on exposure to such projects matched to over 3,000 electoral precincts. We find the diverging patterns of these projects' impact on electoral arena: while transport projects are likelier to trigger increases in incumbents' support, Renovation incentivizes opposite shifts in turnout in exposed areas and their immediate neighbors.