

Article

“Anti-establishment Influentials”: A Case Study of the “Free Navalny” Protests in Russia

Appendices

Appendix 1. Classification of anti-regime influentials in Russia

Category	Description
Politician/activist	Political actors, activists, and former politicians, “that are excluded from elections, spoils distribution, and policymaking” (Armstrong et al., 2020, p. 2). E.g., Alexey Navalny.
Journalist/media outlet	The media outlets or journalists that criticise the Russian government: can be sometimes government-funded, e.g., <i>Echo of Moscow</i> ; media outlets and journalists that are not sponsored by the government and whose editorial policy is not dependent on government decisions (e.g., <i>Meduza</i>); activists’ media (e.g., <i>Navalny LIVE</i>), independent opinion journalists (e.g., Alexander Nevzorov), and foreign media outlets for Russian-speaking audiences (e.g., BBC Russian).
Commentator/blogger	Anti-establishment commentators and bloggers in Russia. E.g., Mark Feigin
Comedian/satiric account	Comedians’ or satiric accounts that express anti-establishment stances. E.g., @prof_preobr account on Twitter.
Other	Can be NGOs, non-registered parties, charity organisations, and other actors expressing anti-Kremlin views. E.g., <i>Anti-Corruption Foundation</i> , recognised as extremist.

Appendix 2. Twitter anti-establishment influentials (as identified through mentions and retweet networks, sorted by weighted in-degree in mentions). Grey cells represent accounts that do not repeat both retweets and mentions.

Mentions					Retweets	
Rank	User Screen Name (@)	Non-systemic Influential	Category	Weighted in-degree	Rank	Weighted in-degree
1	tvrain	TV channel Rain	Journalist/media outlet	96752	1	86944
2	dw_russian	DW Russian	Journalist/media outlet	72278	Below 25 or not present	Not explored
3	navalny	Alexey Navalny	Politician/activist	65272	12	26837
4	SobolLubov	Lyubov Sobol	Politician/ activist	51390	3	42367
5	fbkinfo	FBK	Other	42919	2	42492
6	prof_preobr	Professor Preobrazhensky	Comedian/satiric account	40648	4	39959

Article

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Mentions					Retweets	
Rank	User Screen Name (@)	Non-systemic Influential	Category	Weighted in-degree	Rank	Weighted in-degree
7	EchoMskRu	Echo of Moscow	Journalist/ media outlet	38944	7	33633
8	the_ins_ru	The Insider	Journalist/ media outlet	36753	5	35586
9	teamnavalny	Team of Navalny	Other	35254	6	34003
10	SvobodaRadio	Radio Svoboda	Journalist/ media outlet	33789	8	33244
11	mediazzzona	Mediazzona	Journalist/ media outlet	33431	9	31347
12	pevchikh	Mariya Pevchikh	Politician/activist	33027	13	26038
13	leonidvolkov	Leonid Volkov	Politician/activist	31275	10	26038
14	MBKhMedia	MBKH Media	Journalist/ media outlet	30250	Below 25 or not present	Not explored
15	ioannZH	Ivan Zhdanov	Politician/activist	29881	11	26937
16	bbcRussian	BBC Russian	Journalist/ media outlet	23819	15	21379
17	Kira_Yarmysh	Kira Yarmysh	Politician/activist	25054	14	22451
18	novaya_gazeta	Novaya Gazeta	Journalist/ media outlet	22054	16	20794
19	navalnylive	Navalny LIVE	Journalist/ media outlet	19977	18	18732
20	IlyaYashin	Ilya Yashin	Politician/activist	19176	17	19276
21	OvdInfo	OVD-info	Journalist/ media outlet	15623	19	15253
22	rshaveddinov	Ruslan Shaveddinov	Politician/activist	14791	21	13609
23	roizmangbn	Evgeny Roizman	Politician/activist	14280	Below 25 or not present	Not explored
24	openrussia_team	Open Russia	Other	14263	20	13897
25	teamnavalny_mos	Team of Navalny in Moscow	Other	14249	22	13382

Article

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Mentions					Retweets	
Rank	User Screen Name (@)	Non-systemic Influential	Category	Weighted in-degree	Rank	Weighted in-degree
Below 25 or not present	adagamov	Rustem Adagamov	Commentator/blogger	Not explored	23	11558
Below 25 or not present	RuFailedState	Anonymous account discussing Russian politics	Other	Not explored	24	11184
Below 25 or not present	*	*	Other	Not explored	25	11155

Appendix 3. Top 25 Russian anti-establishment influentials on YouTube (based on recommendation algorithms and number of subscribers). Note: Gold colour of cells represent Gold Status on YouTube, and grey - Silver Status on YouTube.

Rank	Channel name	Name in English	Type of the channel	Weighted in-degree	Subscribers (mln)	YouTube status
1	Телеканал Дождь	TV channel Rain	Journalist/media outlet	3148	2.7	gold
2	Varlamov	Ilya Varlamov	Journalist/media outlet	2280	2.96	gold
3	Алексей Навальный	Alexey Navalny	Politician/activist	2272	6.44	gold
4	Редакция	Editorial	Journalist/media outlet	2124	2.46	gold
5	вДудь	vDud'	Journalist/media outlet	2052	9.64	gold
6	Навальный LIVE	Navalny LIVE	Journalist/media outlet	1927	2.45	gold
7	А поговорить?	And to talk?	Journalist/media outlet	1156	1.97	gold
8	В гостях у Гордона	Meeting Gordon	Journalist/media outlet	1138	2.2	gold
9	Осторожно: Собчак	Beware: Sobchak	Journalist/media outlet	901	2.51	gold

Article

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Rank	Channel name	Name in English	Type of the channel	Weighted in-degree	Subscribers (mln)	YouTube status
10	Данила Поперечный	Danila Poperechny	Comedian/satiric account	770	3.31	gold
11	Эхо Москвы	The Echo of Moscow	Journalist/media outlet	634	1.02	gold
12	Настоящее Время	Current Time	Journalist/media outlet	632	1.77	gold
13	SOBOLEV	Ilya Sobolev	Comedian/satiric account	453	5.11	gold
14	Александр Невзоров	Alexander Nevzorov	Journalist/media outlet	442	1.2	gold
15	55x55	55x55	Comedian/satiric account	401	2.87	gold
16	RusNews	RusNews	Journalist/media outlet	351	0.17	silver
17	РБК	RBK	Journalist/media outlet	313	1.45	gold
18	* ¹	*	Commentator/blogger	237	0.31	silver
19	RTVI Новости	RTVI News	Journalist/media outlet	179	0.69	silver
20	DW на русском	DW in Russian	Journalist/media outlet	167	0.87	silver
21	МБХ медиа	MBKH media	Journalist/media outlet	149	0.18	silver
22	Илья Яшин	Ilya Yashin	Politician/activist	121	0.69	silver
23	Дмитрий Гордон	Dmitry Gordon	Journalist/media outlet	94	1.64	gold
24	Радио Свобода	Radio Svoboda	Journalist/media outlet	87	1.27	gold

¹ We did not include the names of bloggers marked with asterisks for ethical reasons.

Article

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Rank	Channel name	Name in English	Type of the channel	Weighted in-degree	Subscribers (mln)	YouTube status
25	ФЕЙГИН LIVE	Feigin LIVE	Commentator/blogger	82	0.27	silver

Appendix 4. Top 25 Russian anti-establishment influentials on Facebook detected by the most engagement with posts.

Rank	Original Account Name	English Name	Type of Facebook space	Category of non-systemic influentials	Total Engagement	Subscribers
1	Akunin Chkhartishvili	Akunin Chkhartishvili	Verified Facebook Profile	Politician/activist	14657	291574
2	Алексей Навальный	Alexey Navalny	Facebook Page	Politician/activist	13504	484633
3	Дмитрий Львович Быков	Dmitry L'vovich Bykov	Facebook Page	Politician/activist	6643	126971
4	Виталий Наливкин	Vitaly Nalivkin	Facebook Page	Comedian/satiric account	6340	7528
5	Григорий Явлинский	Grigory Yavlinsky	Facebook Page	Politician/activist	5970	117392
6	Евгений Ройзман	Evgeny Roizman	Verified Facebook Profile	Politician/activist	5266	138519
7	Илья Яшин / Ilya Yashin	Ilya Yashin/ Ilya Yashin	Facebook Page	Politician/activist	5154	8970
8	Ёшкін Крот	Yoshkin Krot	Facebook Page	Comedian/satiric account	4700	435167
9	Михаил Ходорковский	Mikhail Khodorkovsky	Facebook Page	Politician/activist	4674	343215
10	Александр Невзоров	Aleksandr Nevzorov	Facebook Page	Journalist/media outlet	4603	71835

Article

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Rank	Original Account Name	English Name	Type of Facebook space	Category of non-systemic influentials	Total Engagement	Subscribers
11	Ilya Yashin	Ilya Yashin	Verified Facebook Profile	Politician/activist	4222	176652
12	Mikhail Zygar	Mikhail Zygar	Verified Facebook Profile	Journalist/media outlet	3993	38788
13	Татьяна Лазарева	Tatyana Lazareva	Verified Facebook Profile	Politician/activist	3513	204240
14	Леонид Парфёнов	Leonid Parfyonov	Facebook Page	Journalist/media outlet	3501	152248
15	Andrey Loshak	Andrey Loshak	Verified Facebook Profile	Journalist/media outlet	3210	85865
16	Страдающее средневековье	Suffering Middle Ages	Facebook Page	Comedian/satiric account	3177	174158
17	Усы Пескова	Peskov's Moustache	Facebook Page	Comedian/satiric account	2990	423932
18	Интеллектуальный юмор	Intellectual Humour	Facebook Page	Comedian/satiric account	2980	1082892
19	Аркадий Бабченко	Arkady Babchenko	Verified Facebook Profile	Journalist/media outlet	2920	36851
20	Лев Шлосберг	Lev Shlosberg	Verified Facebook Profile	Politician/activist	2629	37492
21	Соболь Любовь	Sobol Lyubov	Facebook Page	Politician/activist	2622	48452
22	Заповедник	Reserve	Facebook Page	Comedian/satiric account	2548	92103
23	*	*	Facebook Page	Other	2548	113955

Article

“Anti-establishment Influentials”: A Case Study of the “Free Navalny” Protests in Russia

Rank	Original Account Name	English Name	Type of Facebook space	Category of non-systemic influentials	Total Engagement	Subscribers
24	Масяня	Masyanya	Facebook Page	Comedian/satiric account	2165	54046
25	Настоящее Время	Current Time	Facebook Page	Politician/activist	1934	992086