# Appendix for "Xenophobia on the Rise?"

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November 30, 2017

## 1 Description of surveys and additional variables

### 1.1 Survey description

For the period 1995-6, we use Colton and Zimmerman's Russian Elections Survey (RES) data. This dataset contains a nationally representative sample of 2,841 voting-age Russians (18 and over), achieved using a multi-stage area-probability sampling design in thirty-two regions of the Russian Federation.

The individual-level data we use for the 2003-4 analysis originates in a project carried out by Theodore Gerber and Sarah Mendelson, examining public opinion on a range of social and political issues in Russia. The investigators included special batteries of questions on bimonthly omnibus ("Monitoring") surveys conducted at the time by the Levada Analytic Center, the leading Russian academic survey research organization, and its predecessor, VTsIOM. They also conducted similar survey in six Russian regions (Kaluga, Ryazan, Perm, Sverdlovsk, Rostov, and Stavropol), as part of an evaluation of regionally-based awareness campaigns by human rights NGOs. We pool the surveys, resulting in an oversample of these six regions.[1] The surveys used multi-stage sampling, and the data encompass a total of forty-three regions of Russia and include respondents sixteen and older. The 2011-2 survey data result from the Democracy International Russian Election Surveys (DIRES), for which Theodore Gerber was the principal investigator. The Levada Analytic Center implemented the survey using a standard multi-stage cluster sampling approach to produce probability samples of respondents aged eighteen and over. The 2011-2 surveys were conducted in 135 distinct localities in forty-six subjects of the Russian Federation.

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[1] We weight accordingly to create Table 1. To account for this oversample in multivariate analyses, we conduct analyses with regional fixed effects. The results are similar to the Bayesian models with regional effects. See Appendix E for results.

## 1.2 Additional variable descriptions and summary statistics

We describe most variables of theoretical interest in the the article. This section contains information on the remaining variables.

To create high and low income variables, we use quintile cutpoints from the datasets measure of household income from the previous month. In 2004, respondents were simply asked to state how many rubles their household earned in the previous month. In 2012, respondents were asked whether their household income was less than 8,000 rubles, between 8,000 and 15,000 rubles, between 15,001 and 20,000 rubles, between 20,001 and 32,000 rubles, or greater than 32,000 rubles.

To create the No economic fears variable, we use responses from a list with which respondents were presented in the GM/DIRES surveys. Respondents were asked to choose which five or six issues from a list of 25 concern them most. Six of the issues on the list were explicitly economic: economic crisis, growing inequality, poverty, price increases, unemployment, and unpaid salaries. We then created a dichotomous variable indicating subjective economic vulnerability, assigning a value of one to respondents who denoted none of the six as being among the most serious problems facing the country. Although this measure does not directly measure whether or not there is material conflict between a particular individual's group and those groups against which he or she might feel xenophobic, this proxy does capture individuals' perceived economic vulnerability.

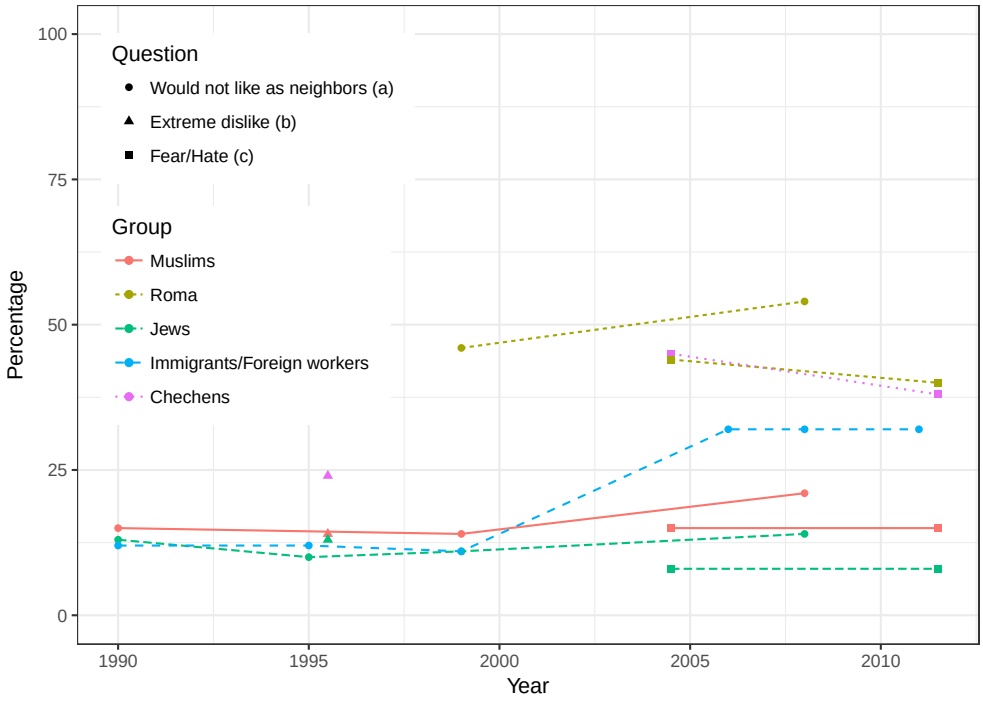
We created the demographic control variables as follows. We create a binary measure to indicate male respondents. In order to assess the effects of age, which ranged from 16-90 in the sample, we construct three categories of age from the original continuous variable. Specifically, we include dichotomous indicators representing respondents under the age of 22 and above the age of 60, with all other respondents in the reference category. We distinguish three levels of education: low (less than high school completed), high (at least some higher education), with remaining respondents in the reference category.

Table 1: Summary Statistics

| | 1995-1996 | 2003-2004 | 2011-2012 |
|---|---|---|---|
| | N=2,841 | N=11,202 | N=5,205 |
| Male | 40% | 39% | 47% |
| Age <22 (18-21) | 4% | 16%* | 7% |
| Working age (22-60) | 72% | 68% | 70% |
| Retirement age (61-90) | 25% | 17% | 23% |
| Incomplete high school or lower | 29% | 14% | 9% |
| Secondary education | 49% | 63% | 64% |
| University or higher education | 21% | 23% | 27% |
| Income (lowest quintile) | 20% | 17% | 13% |
| Income (middle-3 quintiles) | 61% | 64% | 66% |
| Income (top quintile) | 19% | 19% | 20% |
| Unemployed | 7% | 6% | 4% |
| No economic fears | | 9% | 9% |
| Moscow | 7% | 8% | 15% |
| St. Petersburg | 3% | 1% | 3% |
| Rural | 31% | 23% | 24% |
| Not Orthodox | 21% | 37% | 28% |
| Not ethnic Russian | 14% | 12% | 13% |
| Confidence in Putin (very low) | | 5% | 10% |
| Confidence in Putin (weak opinion) | | 63% | 68% |
| Confidence in Putin (very high) | | 32% | 23% |
| Extreme dislike of Chechens | 35% | | |
| Fear/hatred toward Chechens | | 47% | 39% |
| Extreme dislike of Jews | 19% | | |
| Fear/hatred toward Jews | | 8% | 8% |
| Extreme dislike of Muslims | 21% | | |
| Fear/hatred toward Muslims | | 16% | 17% |
| Fear/hatred toward Roma | | 48% | 41% |
| Fear/hatred toward Azerbaijanis | | 29% | 27% |
| Fear/hatred toward Americans | | 14% | 15% |
| Fear/hatred toward Swedes | | 1% | 4% |

**Note**: * Included respondents age 16 and over. Statistics represent proportion of respondents in different categories, with nonresponses removed. Note that descriptive statistics for xenophobia (extreme dislike and fear/hatred) diverge from Table 1 in article for two reasons. First, "not sure" responses were assigned NA in multivariate analyses ("not sure" does not correspond to ordinal categories in 1996 data, and removed from 2004/2012 for sake of consistency), but treated as non-xenophobic responses in Table 1. Second, there is no weighting in this table.

# 2 Comparison of EVS/WVS data to RES and GM/DIRES data




**Note**: Data from (a) EVS/WVS (EVS 2011, WVS 2015), (b) RES (Colton & Zimmerman 2002), and (c) GM/DIRES.

# 3 Modeling Strategy

## 3.1 Multivariate models

To assess the relationship between different hypothesized determinants of xenophobic sentiment and such sentiment across time and groups, we deploy two models. For the 1996 RES data we use an ordinal probit model; Equation 1 presents the likelihood of this model.

$$\Pr(y_{ij} = m) = \phi\left(\tau_m - X_{i,n}\beta_{n,j}\right) - \phi\left(\tau_{m-1} - X_{i,n}\beta_{n,j}\right) \tag{1}$$

Here $m$ represents the five possible ordinal response categories, and $\tau$ four thresholds distributed according to a multivariate normal prior distribution. $X$ is a vector of $n$ covariates for respondent $i$. $\beta$ is a vector of $n$ coefficients for group $j$ (Muslims, Chechens, or Jews) with $N(0, 1)$ priors. That is, our prior belief about the relationship between a given covariate and xenophobic sentiment is that there is no relationship, but sufficient evidence in the data of a relationship can overcome this belief (we do not cluster coefficient estimates across groups). This model diverges from standard ordinal probit models in that it assumes that thresholds are constant across groups (e.g. the difference between "Dislike" and "Extreme dislike" is the same with regard to Chechens and Jews), instead estimating differences in overall sentiment toward groups by a constant specific

to each group (e.g. although the difference between "Dislike" and "Extreme dislike" is the same with regard to Chechens and Jews, on average respondents are more likely to dislike Chechens). The rationale for this construction is that the distance between scale categories is common across groups.

We use a hierarchical probit model to analyze the determinants of xenophobia in the GM and DIRES surveys (the 2003-4 and 2011-12 surveys). Equation 2 presents this model.

$$\begin{aligned} \Pr(y_{ij} = 1) &= \phi\left(X_{i,m}\beta_{m,j,k}\right) \\ \beta_{m,j,k} &\sim N(\alpha_{m,j}, 1) \\ \alpha_{m,j} &\sim N(0, 1) \end{aligned} \tag{2}$$

Here, $y = 1$ if a respondent $i$ reports hatred or fear toward target group $j$, and $y = 0$ otherwise.[2] This model diverges from a standard probit model in that we assume that each of the $m$ coefficient estimates $\beta$ for target ethnic group $j$ (Jews, Muslims, Chechens, Azerbaijanis, Roma, Americans, and Swedes) survey wave $k$ (either 2003/4 or 2011/2) are distributed according to a common underlying distribution $\alpha_{m,j}$ (i.e. we hierarchically cluster coefficients by survey wave, though there is no clustering by target group). This approach is conservative, resting on the assumption that the relationship between a given characteristic and xenophobic sentiment has not changed over survey waves. However, the relatively weak $N(0, 1)$ priors on this relationship allow the coefficients to vary by survey wave; findings of a difference over time are thus strong evidence that the relationship has in fact changed (Feller & Gelman 2015).

All missing response variables are imputed over iterations of the MCMC simulation; we impute missing categorical covariates by assigning them a vague population-level Beta(1,1) or Dirichlet(1,1,1) prior distribution as appropriate. We use the R package *runjags* (Denwood 2016), which in turn employs the Bayesian statistical program JAGS (Plummer et al. 2003), to run our analyses. All analyses use eight MCMC chains; we assess convergence using the Gelman-Rubin diagnostic.

## 3.2 Models with regional effects

These models use the same strategy as the baseline models, with the addition of effects for the region in which the respondent lives. In the case of the GM/DIRES probit models, this means that the linear predictor for observation $y_{ij}$ is $X_{i,m}\beta_{m,j,k} + \gamma_{j,k,n}$, where $j$ represents the target group, $k$ the survey wave and $n$ the region in which the respondent resides. As with the $\beta$ coefficients, we impose a weak temporally invariant prior on the regions, i.e. $\gamma_{j,k,n} \sim N(\omega_{j,k}, 1)$, with $\omega_{j,k} \sim N(0, 1)$. The approach regarding the RES data is the same, without the hierarchical structure over survey waves since there was only one wave: the linear predictor is $X_{i,n}\beta_{n,j} + \gamma_{j,n}$, where $\gamma_{j,k} \sim N(0, 1)$.

[2]Respondents who reported "not sure" are coded as missing values and their response is imputed over iterations of the MCMC algorithm.

# 4 Result tables

All tables were generated using the R package *stargazer* (Hlavac 2015).

## 4.1 Models without regional effects

Table 2: Xenophobia toward different different groups in 1996

| | Jews | Chechens | Muslims |
|---|---|---|---|
| Constant | -0.20 (-0.81, 0.36) | 0.49 (-0.09, 1.08) | 0.10 (-0.46, 0.70) |
| Male | 0.05 (-0.04, 0.13) | -0.03 (-0.12, 0.04) | 0.04 (-0.04, 0.13) |
| Age <22 | 0.09 (-0.14, 0.31) | 0.24 (0.04, 0.49) | 0.12 (-0.11, 0.35) |
| Age >60 | -0.22 (-0.34, -0.12) | -0.15 (-0.26, -0.04) | -0.20 (-0.32, -0.10) |
| Incomplete high school or lower | 0.22 (0.10, 0.32) | 0.16 (0.06, 0.27) | 0.17 (0.06, 0.28) |
| University or higher education | -0.11 (-0.21, -0.01) | -0.18 (-0.28, -0.08) | -0.10 (-0.21, -0.001) |
| Unemployed | 0.06 (-0.09, 0.21) | -0.06 (-0.22, 0.08) | -0.17 (-0.32, -0.01) |
| First quintile income | 0.22 (0.11, 0.34) | 0.30 (0.18, 0.41) | 0.13 (0.01, 0.25) |
| Fifth quintile income | -0.24 (-0.35, -0.13) | -0.12 (-0.24, -0.02) | -0.13 (-0.24, -0.02) |
| Rural | 0.31 (0.22, 0.40) | -0.03 (-0.11, 0.07) | -0.03 (-0.13, 0.07) |
| Moscow | -0.09 (-0.26, 0.04) | -0.33 (-0.48, -0.18) | -0.20 (-0.36, -0.04) |
| St. Petersburg | -0.66 (-0.86, -0.45) | -0.95 (-1.15, -0.74) | -0.68 (-0.90, -0.47) |
| Not Orthodox | -0.01 (-0.11, 0.10) | -0.001 (-0.10, 0.10) | -0.08 (-0.18, 0.03) |
| Not ethnic Russian | 0.05 (-0.07, 0.16) | -0.32 (-0.44, -0.20) | -0.44 (-0.56, -0.33) |
| $\tau_1$ | -1.08 (-1.65, -0.49) | | |
| $\tau_2$ | -0.59 (-1.15, 0.01) | | |
| $\tau_3$ | 0.21 (-0.35, 0.82) | | |
| $\tau_4$ | 0.76 (0.22, 1.39) | | |

**Note:** Table presents posterior median estimate across 4,000 draws from MCMC algorithm and 90% HPD intervals. Draws are from eight MCMC chains, each with 500,000 iterations and a 50,000 iteration burn-in (thinning interval: 1,000).

Table 3: Xenophobia toward different different groups in 2004/2012, with comparable variables to 1996 data

| | Jews | | Chechens | | Muslims | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2004 | 2012 | 2004 | 2012 | 2004 | 2012 |
| Constant | -1.64 (-1.71, -1.58) | -1.54 (-1.64, -1.45) | -0.03 (-0.07, 0.02) | -0.29 (-0.35, -0.22) | -1.00 (-1.05, -0.96) | -1.12 (-1.21, -1.05) |
| Male | 0.32 (0.26, 0.38) | 0.21 (0.12, 0.30) | -0.05 (-0.09, -0.01) | 0.01 (-0.05, 0.08) | 0.06 (0.01, 0.11) | 0.01 (-0.07, 0.08) |
| Age <22 | 0.27 (0.19, 0.35) | -0.12 (-0.29, 0.07) | 0.35 (0.29, 0.40) | -0.03 (-0.14, 0.10) | 0.20 (0.14, 0.27) | 0.01 (-0.12, 0.16) |
| Age >60 | 0.19 (0.11, 0.27) | -0.04 (-0.15, 0.07) | -0.10 (-0.16, -0.04) | -0.05 (-0.13, 0.03) | 0.01 (-0.06, 0.08) | -0.09 (-0.18, 0.01) |
| Incomplete high school or lower | 0.04 (-0.04, 0.13) | 0.04 (-0.12, 0.20) | -0.01 (-0.07, 0.05) | -0.03 (-0.14, 0.08) | -0.02 (-0.09, 0.06) | -0.01 (-0.15, 0.13) |
| University or higher education | -0.10 (-0.18, -0.03) | -0.06 (-0.16, 0.04) | -0.05 (-0.10, -0.01) | -0.10 (-0.17, -0.02) | -0.02 (-0.08, 0.04) | -0.08 (-0.16, 0.01) |
| Unemployed | 0.17 (0.05, 0.28) | -0.05 (-0.29, 0.19) | 0.15 (0.06, 0.24) | 0.06 (-0.10, 0.21) | 0.13 (0.03, 0.23) | 0.17 (-0.01, 0.34) |
| First quintile income | -0.04 (-0.13, 0.03) | 0.22 (0.09, 0.37) | -0.07 (-0.13, -0.02) | 0.12 (0.02, 0.23) | -0.02 (-0.08, 0.05) | 0.26 (0.13, 0.38) |
| Fifth quintile income | 0.01 (-0.07, 0.09) | 0.05 (-0.10, 0.18) | -0.01 (-0.07, 0.04) | 0.10 (-0.001, 0.21) | 0.06 (-0.002, 0.13) | 0.11 (-0.02, 0.22) |
| Rural | 0.07 (0.01, 0.15) | -0.03 (-0.14, 0.08) | 0.08 (0.03, 0.13) | -0.04 (-0.11, 0.04) | -0.05 (-0.11, 0.01) | -0.04 (-0.13, 0.06) |
| Moscow | 0.04 (-0.07, 0.16) | 0.31 (0.18, 0.44) | 0.03 (-0.05, 0.11) | 0.57 (0.47, 0.66) | 0.09 (-0.004, 0.18) | 0.77 (0.66, 0.88) |
| St. Petersburg | -0.10 (-0.38, 0.21) | -0.14 (-0.41, 0.14) | 0.08 (-0.11, 0.26) | -0.15 (-0.33, 0.03) | 0.28 (0.06, 0.47) | 0.56 (0.38, 0.75) |
| Not Orthodox | 0.05 (-0.01, 0.11) | -0.02 (-0.12, 0.08) | -0.09 (-0.13, -0.04) | -0.09 (-0.16, -0.02) | -0.01 (-0.07, 0.04) | -0.01 (-0.09, 0.08) |
| Not Russian | -0.08 (-0.18, 0.01) | -0.09 (-0.23, 0.05) | -0.31 (-0.38, -0.25) | -0.38 (-0.48, -0.29) | -0.39 (-0.47, -0.30) | -0.39 (-0.52, -0.27) |

| | Roma | | Azerbaijanis | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2004 | 2012 | 2004 | 2012 |
| Constant | -0.05 (-0.09, -0.01) | -0.20 (-0.26, -0.14) | -0.53 (-0.57, -0.49) | -0.69 (-0.77, -0.63) |
| Male | -0.17 (-0.20, -0.12) | -0.07 (-0.13, -0.003) | -0.02 (-0.07, 0.02) | -0.003 (-0.07, 0.06) |
| Age <22 | 0.42 (0.36, 0.47) | 0.15 (0.03, 0.26) | 0.29 (0.23, 0.35) | 0.25 (0.12, 0.37) |
| Age >60 | -0.02 (-0.07, 0.05) | -0.11 (-0.19, -0.04) | -0.07 (-0.14, -0.01) | -0.10 (-0.18, -0.01) |
| Incomplete high school or lower | -0.02 (-0.08, 0.05) | -0.03 (-0.14, 0.08) | -0.01 (-0.08, 0.05) | 0.11 (-0.01, 0.23) |
| University or higher education | 0.08 (0.03, 0.13) | -0.04 (-0.10, 0.04) | -0.12 (-0.17, -0.06) | -0.03 (-0.10, 0.04) |
| Unemployed | 0.05 (-0.04, 0.13) | 0.02 (-0.12, 0.17) | 0.11 (0.02, 0.20) | 0.01 (-0.16, 0.18) |
| First quintile income | -0.08 (-0.13, -0.02) | 0.11 (0.02, 0.21) | -0.08 (-0.14, -0.02) | 0.20 (0.09, 0.32) |
| Fifth quintile income | 0.10 (0.05, 0.16) | 0.13 (0.02, 0.22) | 0.12 (0.07, 0.18) | 0.14 (0.03, 0.24) |
| Rural | 0.01 (-0.04, 0.06) | -0.10 (-0.18, -0.03) | -0.12 (-0.17, -0.07) | -0.26 (-0.34, -0.18) |
| Moscow | -0.11 (-0.18, -0.02) | 0.37 (0.28, 0.47) | 0.24 (0.17, 0.33) | 0.69 (0.59, 0.78) |
| St. Petersburg | 0.10 (-0.11, 0.27) | 0.19 (0.01, 0.37) | 0.21 (0.02, 0.40) | 0.21 (0.02, 0.40) |
| Not Orthodox | -0.03 (-0.07, 0.01) | -0.02 (-0.09, 0.05) | -0.03 (-0.08, 0.02) | -0.01 (-0.09, 0.06) |
| Not Russian | -0.18 (-0.25, -0.12) | -0.32 (-0.43, -0.23) | -0.25 (-0.32, -0.18) | -0.31 (-0.43, -0.21) |

| | Americans | | Swedes | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2004 | 2012 | 2004 | 2012 |
| Constant | -1.34 (-1.40, -1.29) | -1.08 (-1.16, -1.00) | -2.34 (-2.46, -2.23) | -1.92 (-2.04, -1.79) |
| Male | 0.31 (0.26, 0.36) | 0.17 (0.10, 0.25) | -0.03 (-0.14, 0.09) | 0.11 (-0.002, 0.22) |
| Age <22 | 0.37 (0.30, 0.44) | -0.25 (-0.39, -0.07) | 0.34 (0.21, 0.47) | -0.08 (-0.32, 0.14) |
| Age >60 | 0.18 (0.10, 0.25) | 0.12 (0.02, 0.21) | 0.005 (-0.16, 0.18) | -0.08 (-0.22, 0.08) |
| Incomplete high school or lower | -0.03 (-0.11, 0.05) | -0.07 (-0.21, 0.05) | 0.18 (0.03, 0.33) | 0.16 (-0.03, 0.37) |
| University or higher education | 0.23 (0.18, 0.29) | 0.04 (-0.04, 0.12) | -0.16 (-0.33, -0.02) | 0.001 (-0.14, 0.12) |
| Unemployed | 0.09 (-0.02, 0.19) | -0.15 (-0.35, 0.06) | 0.09 (-0.12, 0.31) | 0.15 (-0.14, 0.42) |
| First quintile income | -0.07 (-0.14, -0.003) | 0.18 (0.07, 0.31) | 0.09 (-0.06, 0.23) | 0.25 (0.07, 0.43) |
| Fifth quintile income | 0.004 (-0.06, 0.07) | -0.05 (-0.17, 0.08) | 0.01 (-0.14, 0.17) | 0.08 (-0.10, 0.25) |
| Rural | -0.08 (-0.14, -0.02) | -0.15 (-0.24, -0.06) | -0.02 (-0.17, 0.11) | -0.17 (-0.31, -0.01) |
| Moscow | 0.04 (-0.06, 0.14) | 0.05 (-0.06, 0.18) | -0.004 (-0.23, 0.20) | 0.25 (0.09, 0.42) |
| St. Petersburg | -0.03 (-0.28, 0.19) | -0.42 (-0.67, -0.17) | 0.06 (-0.40, 0.59) | -0.44 (-0.91, -0.004) |
| Not Orthodox | -0.02 (-0.07, 0.03) | -0.12 (-0.21, -0.04) | 0.16 (0.03, 0.26) | -0.03 (-0.16, 0.11) |
| Not Russian | 0.04 (-0.04, 0.12) | -0.09 (-0.22, 0.01) | -0.42 (-0.68, -0.19) | 0.08 (-0.09, 0.25) |

**Note:** Table presents posterior median estimate across 4,000 draws from MCMC algorithm and 90% HPD intervals. Draws are from eight MCMC chains, each with 100,000 iterations and a 10,000 iteration burn-in (thinning interval: 200).

Table 4: Xenophobia toward different different groups in 2004/2012, with all variables

| | Jews | | Chechens | | Muslims | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2004 | 2012 | 2004 | 2012 | 2004 | 2012 |
| Constant | -1.55 (-1.68, -1.42) | -1.69 (-1.88, -1.50) | 0.14 (0.05, 0.22) | -0.17 (-0.32, -0.04) | -0.96 (-1.06, -0.86) | -1.02 (-1.19, -0.86) |
| Male | 0.31 (0.25, 0.37) | 0.20 (0.12, 0.30) | -0.05 (-0.09, -0.01) | 0.01 (-0.05, 0.07) | 0.05 (0.001, 0.10) | -0.004 (-0.08, 0.06) |
| Age <22 | 0.29 (0.22, 0.37) | -0.12 (-0.29, 0.07) | 0.36 (0.30, 0.42) | -0.02 (-0.14, 0.10) | 0.21 (0.14, 0.27) | 0.02 (-0.12, 0.16) |
| Age >60 | 0.19 (0.10, 0.27) | -0.04 (-0.15, 0.07) | -0.11 (-0.16, -0.04) | -0.05 (-0.14, 0.02) | 0.01 (-0.07, 0.08) | -0.09 (-0.19, 0.005) |
| Incomplete high school or lower | 0.05 (-0.03, 0.14) | 0.06 (-0.09, 0.23) | -0.01 (-0.07, 0.05) | -0.03 (-0.14, 0.08) | -0.01 (-0.09, 0.06) | 0.001 (-0.15, 0.14) |
| University or higher education | -0.10 (-0.18, -0.03) | -0.08 (-0.18, 0.02) | -0.05 (-0.10, -0.004) | -0.10 (-0.17, -0.03) | -0.02 (-0.08, 0.04) | -0.09 (-0.18, -0.01) |
| Unemployed | 0.17 (0.05, 0.29) | -0.09 (-0.35, 0.15) | 0.15 (0.06, 0.24) | 0.05 (-0.10, 0.22) | 0.13 (0.03, 0.24) | 0.15 (-0.02, 0.34) |
| First quintile income | -0.05 (-0.12, 0.04) | 0.20 (0.05, 0.34) | -0.07 (-0.12, -0.01) | 0.10 (-0.01, 0.21) | -0.02 (-0.08, 0.05) | 0.24 (0.11, 0.36) |
| Fifth quintile income | 0.02 (-0.06, 0.10) | 0.02 (-0.12, 0.16) | -0.002 (-0.06, 0.05) | 0.09 (-0.02, 0.20) | 0.06 (-0.004, 0.13) | 0.09 (-0.02, 0.21) |
| Rural | 0.07 (-0.003, 0.14) | -0.02 (-0.14, 0.08) | 0.08 (0.03, 0.13) | -0.03 (-0.10, 0.05) | -0.05 (-0.12, 0.004) | -0.03 (-0.13, 0.06) |
| Moscow | 0.04 (-0.07, 0.15) | 0.25 (0.11, 0.38) | 0.04 (-0.04, 0.12) | 0.54 (0.44, 0.63) | 0.09 (-0.003, 0.18) | 0.72 (0.62, 0.84) |
| St. Petersburg | -0.11 (-0.42, 0.18) | -0.16 (-0.45, 0.10) | 0.09 (-0.09, 0.28) | -0.14 (-0.32, 0.04) | 0.28 (0.06, 0.47) | 0.56 (0.37, 0.75) |
| Not Orthodox | 0.04 (-0.02, 0.10) | -0.05 (-0.17, 0.04) | -0.09 (-0.14, -0.05) | -0.10 (-0.17, -0.03) | -0.02 (-0.07, 0.03) | -0.02 (-0.12, 0.06) |
| Not Russian | -0.08 (-0.17, 0.02) | -0.09 (-0.23, 0.05) | -0.31 (-0.38, -0.25) | -0.38 (-0.48, -0.29) | -0.39 (-0.47, -0.30) | -0.38 (-0.52, -0.27) |
| Economic fear | -0.10 (-0.21, 0.01) | 0.08 (-0.07, 0.23) | -0.16 (-0.22, -0.08) | -0.15 (-0.25, -0.03) | -0.04 (-0.13, 0.04) | -0.13 (-0.27, 0.001) |
| Very not confident in Putin | 0.51 (0.39, 0.62) | 0.60 (0.48, 0.73) | 0.11 (0.01, 0.21) | 0.37 (0.27, 0.48) | 0.23 (0.12, 0.34) | 0.48 (0.37, 0.59) |
| Very confident in Putin | -0.05 (-0.12, 0.02) | 0.03 (-0.08, 0.14) | -0.02 (-0.06, 0.02) | 0.09 (0.01, 0.17) | -0.04 (-0.09, 0.02) | 0.03 (-0.06, 0.12) |

| | Roma | | Azerbaijanis | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2004 | 2012 | 2004 | 2012 |
| Constant | -0.02 (-0.11, 0.06) | -0.13 (-0.26, 0.01) | -0.45 (-0.54, -0.36) | -0.68 (-0.83, -0.54) |
| Male | -0.17 (-0.21, -0.13) | -0.07 (-0.13, -0.005) | -0.03 (-0.07, 0.02) | -0.01 (-0.08, 0.05) |
| Age <22 | 0.42 (0.37, 0.48) | 0.16 (0.04, 0.28) | 0.30 (0.24, 0.36) | 0.25 (0.13, 0.38) |
| Age >60 | -0.02 (-0.07, 0.05) | -0.12 (-0.20, -0.04) | -0.07 (-0.14, -0.01) | -0.09 (-0.17, -0.003) |
| Incomplete high school or lower | -0.01 (-0.08, 0.05) | -0.03 (-0.14, 0.09) | -0.01 (-0.08, 0.06) | 0.13 (0.01, 0.25) |
| University or higher education | 0.08 (0.03, 0.13) | -0.04 (-0.12, 0.03) | -0.12 (-0.17, -0.07) | -0.04 (-0.12, 0.03) |
| Unemployed | 0.05 (-0.03, 0.14) | 0.02 (-0.14, 0.17) | 0.11 (0.02, 0.20) | 0.005 (-0.17, 0.18) |
| First quintile income | -0.08 (-0.13, -0.02) | 0.09 (-0.003, 0.20) | -0.08 (-0.13, -0.02) | 0.19 (0.07, 0.29) |
| Fifth quintile income | 0.10 (0.04, 0.16) | 0.12 (0.005, 0.21) | 0.12 (0.06, 0.18) | 0.12 (0.02, 0.23) |
| Rural | 0.01 (-0.04, 0.06) | -0.10 (-0.17, -0.02) | -0.12 (-0.17, -0.06) | -0.25 (-0.33, -0.16) |
| Moscow | -0.11 (-0.18, -0.03) | 0.35 (0.26, 0.45) | 0.25 (0.18, 0.34) | 0.65 (0.55, 0.75) |
| St. Petersburg | 0.10 (-0.10, 0.28) | 0.19 (0.02, 0.36) | 0.22 (0.03, 0.42) | 0.22 (0.03, 0.42) |
| Not Orthodox | -0.03 (-0.07, 0.01) | -0.03 (-0.10, 0.05) | -0.03 (-0.08, 0.01) | -0.03 (-0.11, 0.05) |
| Not Russian | -0.18 (-0.24, -0.12) | -0.32 (-0.41, -0.22) | -0.24 (-0.31, -0.17) | -0.32 (-0.41, -0.20) |
| Economic fear | -0.02 (-0.09, 0.06) | -0.10 (-0.21, -0.001) | -0.05 (-0.12, 0.03) | -0.04 (-0.15, 0.08) |
| Very not confident in Putin | 0.06 (-0.04, 0.16) | 0.30 (0.19, 0.40) | 0.15 (0.05, 0.25) | 0.45 (0.34, 0.56) |
| Very confident in Putin | -0.04 (-0.09, 0.001) | 0.10 (0.02, 0.17) | -0.11 (-0.16, -0.06) | -0.01 (-0.10, 0.07) |

| | Americans | | Swedes | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2004 | 2012 | 2004 | 2012 |
| Constant | -1.42 (-1.52, -1.31) | -1.09 (-1.24, -0.92) | -2.35 (-2.59, -2.12) | -2.11 (-2.34, -1.85) |
| Male | 0.30 (0.25, 0.36) | 0.17 (0.10, 0.25) | -0.05 (-0.16, 0.07) | 0.10 (-0.02, 0.22) |
| Age <22 | 0.37 (0.31, 0.44) | -0.25 (-0.40, -0.08) | 0.36 (0.23, 0.51) | -0.08 (-0.33, 0.14) |
| Age >60 | 0.17 (0.10, 0.24) | 0.11 (0.02, 0.20) | 0.01 (-0.17, 0.18) | -0.07 (-0.22, 0.08) |
| Incomplete high school or lower | -0.02 (-0.10, 0.06) | -0.07 (-0.21, 0.06) | 0.18 (0.03, 0.33) | 0.18 (-0.04, 0.38) |
| University or higher education | 0.23 (0.17, 0.29) | 0.03 (-0.05, 0.12) | -0.17 (-0.32, -0.01) | -0.03 (-0.16, 0.11) |
| Unemployed | 0.09 (-0.02, 0.19) | -0.16 (-0.37, 0.05) | 0.09 (-0.15, 0.30) | 0.12 (-0.16, 0.40) |
| First quintile income | -0.07 (-0.14, 0.01) | 0.17 (0.05, 0.29) | 0.07 (-0.07, 0.23) | 0.23 (0.05, 0.43) |
| Fifth quintile income | 0.004 (-0.06, 0.07) | -0.06 (-0.18, 0.06) | 0.03 (-0.13, 0.18) | 0.05 (-0.13, 0.23) |
| Rural | -0.09 (-0.15, -0.02) | -0.14 (-0.24, -0.05) | -0.02 (-0.14, 0.14) | -0.16 (-0.31, -0.01) |
| Moscow | 0.04 (-0.05, 0.14) | 0.02 (-0.10, 0.13) | -0.01 (-0.24, 0.21) | 0.17 (-0.002, 0.35) |
| St. Petersburg | -0.05 (-0.28, 0.19) | -0.41 (-0.67, -0.17) | 0.03 (-0.46, 0.54) | -0.45 (-0.92, 0.01) |
| Not Orthodox | -0.03 (-0.08, 0.02) | -0.14 (-0.22, -0.05) | 0.14 (0.03, 0.26) | -0.07 (-0.20, 0.07) |
| Not Russian | 0.05 (-0.03, 0.12) | -0.08 (-0.20, 0.04) | -0.40 (-0.63, -0.15) | 0.09 (-0.10, 0.26) |
| Economic fear | 0.05 (-0.03, 0.14) | -0.04 (-0.16, 0.09) | -0.03 (-0.23, 0.16) | 0.11 (-0.08, 0.29) |
| Very not confident in Putin | 0.36 (0.26, 0.47) | 0.36 (0.23, 0.48) | 0.59 (0.40, 0.78) | 0.63 (0.49, 0.79) |
| Very confident in Putin | -0.005 (-0.06, 0.05) | 0.10 (0.0005, 0.18) | -0.01 (-0.14, 0.12) | 0.02 (-0.13, 0.16) |

**Note:** Table presents posterior median estimate across 4,000 draws from MCMC algorithm and 90% HPD intervals. Draws are from eight MCMC chains, each with 100,000 iterations and a 10,000 iteration burn-in (thinning interval: 200).

## 4.2 Models with regional effects

Table 5: Xenophobia toward different different groups in 1996

| | Jews | Chechens | Muslims |
|---|---|---|---|
| Constant | -0.10 (-0.84, 0.55) | 0.47 (-0.29, 1.12) | 0.04 (-0.68, 0.71) |
| Male | 0.06 (-0.02, 0.14) | -0.03 (-0.12, 0.05) | 0.03 (-0.06, 0.12) |
| Age <22 | 0.10 (-0.14, 0.32) | 0.27 (0.03, 0.48) | 0.09 (-0.13, 0.35) |
| Age >60 | -0.26 (-0.36, -0.14) | -0.17 (-0.27, -0.05) | -0.17 (-0.29, -0.06) |
| Incomplete high school or lower | 0.22 (0.11, 0.34) | 0.21 (0.09, 0.32) | 0.17 (0.05, 0.28) |
| University or higher education | -0.14 (-0.24, -0.04) | -0.17 (-0.27, -0.06) | -0.11 (-0.21, -0.003) |
| Unemployed | 0.04 (-0.10, 0.20) | -0.05 (-0.19, 0.10) | -0.10 (-0.27, 0.04 ) |
| First quintile income | 0.23 (0.10, 0.35) | 0.22 (0.10, 0.34) | 0.15 (0.01, 0.27) |
| Fifth quintile income | -0.37 (-0.49, -0.25) | -0.23 (-0.34, -0.10) | -0.28 (-0.42, -0.18) |
| Rural | 0.18 (0.04, 0.31) | 0.08 (-0.06, 0.21) | 0.11 (-0.02, 0.26) |
| Not Orthodox | -0.04 (-0.14, 0.08) | 0.03 (-0.08, 0.14) | -0.03 (-0.14, 0.08) |
| Not ethnic Russian | 0.05 (-0.09, 0.17) | -0.20 (-0.33, -0.06) | -0.19 (-0.31, -0.05) |
| $\tau_1$ | | -1.11 (-1.78, -0.48) | |
| $\tau_2$ | | -0.59 (-1.24, 0.05) | |
| $\tau_3$ | | 0.26 (-0.40, 0.90) | |
| $\tau_4$ | | 0.85 (0.21, 1.50) | |

**Note:** Table presents posterior median estimate across 4,000 draws from MCMC algorithm and 90% HPD intervals. Draws are from eight MCMC chains, each with 500,000 iterations and a 50,000 iteration burn-in (thinning interval: 1,000).

Table 6: Xenophobia toward different different groups in 2004/2012, with comparable variables to 1996 data

| | Jews | | Chechens | | Muslims | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2004 | 2012 | 2004 | 2012 | 2004 | 2012 |
| Constant | -1.69 (-2.04, -1.36) | -1.65 (-1.99, -1.28) | 0.03 (-0.32, 0.35) | -0.30 (-0.65, 0.03) | -1.07 (-1.42, -0.74) | -1.18 (-1.52, -0.83) |
| Male | 0.31 (0.25, 0.37) | 0.21 (0.13, 0.31) | -0.05 (-0.10, -0.01) | 0.02 (-0.05, 0.08) | 0.04 (-0.01, 0.09) | -0.001 (-0.08, 0.07) |
| Age <22 | 0.23 (0.15, 0.31) | -0.13 (-0.32, 0.06) | 0.31 (0.25, 0.37) | -0.04 (-0.17, 0.08) | 0.15 (0.08, 0.22) | -0.004 (-0.15, 0.15) |
| Age >60 | 0.17 (0.08, 0.25) | -0.05 (-0.16, 0.08) | -0.14 (-0.20, -0.07) | -0.07 (-0.15, 0.01) | -0.02 (-0.10, 0.05) | -0.14 (-0.24, -0.04) |
| Incomplete high school or lower | 0.08 (-0.002, 0.18) | 0.13 (-0.04, 0.29) | 0.01 (-0.05, 0.08) | -0.01 (-0.12, 0.12) | 0.002 (-0.08, 0.08) | 0.01 (-0.14, 0.16) |
| University or higher education | -0.14 (-0.22, -0.07) | -0.06 (-0.16, 0.04) | -0.08 (-0.12, -0.02) | -0.07 (-0.15, 0.001) | -0.06 (-0.12, 0.002) | -0.08 (-0.16, 0.01) |
| Unemployed | 0.16 (0.05, 0.29) | -0.10 (-0.34, 0.17) | 0.15 (0.06, 0.23) | 0.13 (-0.03, 0.29) | 0.13 (0.03, 0.23) | 0.15 (-0.03, 0.33) |
| First quintile income | -0.04 (-0.13, 0.04) | 0.30 (0.15, 0.45) | -0.06 (-0.11, -0.003) | 0.18 (0.06, 0.28) | -0.01 (-0.08, 0.06) | 0.32 (0.18, 0.44) |
| Fifth quintile income | 0.03 (-0.06, 0.11) | 0.03 (-0.12, 0.17) | -0.03 (-0.09, 0.02) | 0.07 (-0.03, 0.19) | 0.06 (-0.01, 0.13) | 0.04 (-0.08, 0.16) |
| Rural | 0.04 (-0.03, 0.11) | -0.10 (-0.22, 0.02) | 0.09 (0.03, 0.13) | -0.04 (-0.12, 0.04) | -0.07 (-0.13, -0.003) | -0.08 (-0.18, 0.02) |
| Not Orthodox | 0.07 (0.003, 0.13) | -0.005 (-0.12, 0.10) | -0.09 (-0.14, -0.05) | -0.08 (-0.15, 0.005) | 0.01 (-0.04, 0.07) | -0.02 (-0.12, 0.07) |
| Not Russian | -0.08 (-0.18, 0.03) | -0.06 (-0.23, 0.11) | -0.29 (-0.37, -0.23) | -0.34 (-0.45, -0.21) | -0.35 (-0.44, -0.25) | -0.21 (-0.35, -0.04) |

| | Roma | | Azerbaijanis | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2004 | 2012 | 2004 | 2012 |
| Constant | -0.03 (-0.36, 0.31) | -0.22 (-0.56, 0.10) | -0.51 (-0.86, -0.19) | -0.74 (-1.07, -0.39) |
| Male | -0.17 (-0.22, -0.13) | -0.06 (-0.12, 0.003) | -0.02 (-0.06, 0.03) | 0.01 (-0.06, 0.08) |
| Age <22 | 0.39 (0.33, 0.45) | 0.15 (0.02, 0.27) | 0.29 (0.23, 0.35) | 0.22 (0.10, 0.35) |
| Age >60 | -0.04 (-0.10, 0.03) | -0.12 (-0.20, -0.04) | -0.10 (-0.17, -0.04) | -0.11 (-0.20, -0.03) |
| Incomplete high school or lower | 0.01 (-0.06, 0.07) | -0.02 (-0.13, 0.10) | -0.01 (-0.08, 0.06) | 0.16 (0.03, 0.28) |
| University or higher education | 0.07 (0.02, 0.12) | -0.01 (-0.08, 0.06) | -0.12 (-0.18, -0.07) | -0.01 (-0.08, 0.07) |
| Unemployed | 0.05 (-0.04, 0.14) | 0.10 (-0.06, 0.26) | 0.12 (0.02, 0.21) | 0.05 (-0.11, 0.23) |
| First quintile income | -0.07 (-0.13, -0.02) | 0.15 (0.05, 0.26) | -0.06 (-0.13, -0.01) | 0.26 (0.15, 0.38) |
| Fifth quintile income | 0.10 (0.04, 0.15) | 0.11 (-0.004, 0.21) | 0.08 (0.02, 0.14) | 0.10 (-0.01, 0.21) |
| Rural | 0.01 (-0.04, 0.06) | -0.09 (-0.16, -0.01) | -0.08 (-0.13, -0.02) | -0.22 (-0.31, -0.13) |
| Not Orthodox | -0.02 (-0.07, 0.02) | -0.02 (-0.10, 0.05) | -0.05 (-0.10, -0.002) | -0.05 (-0.13, 0.03) |
| Not Russian | -0.20 (-0.27, -0.13) | -0.25 (-0.36, -0.13) | -0.22 (-0.30, -0.14) | -0.39 (-0.52, -0.26) |

| | Americans | | Swedes | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2004 | 2012 | 2004 | 2012 |
| Constant | -1.34 (-1.69, -1.02) | -1.15 (-1.49, -0.81) | -2.82 (-3.22, -2.44) | -2.22 (-2.59, -1.84) |
| Male | 0.31 (0.26, 0.37) | 0.18 (0.11, 0.26) | -0.02 (-0.13, 0.11) | 0.12 (-0.02, 0.23) |
| Age <22 | 0.31 (0.24, 0.38) | -0.23 (-0.39, -0.06) | 0.35 (0.20, 0.48) | -0.12 (-0.38, 0.12) |
| Age >60 | 0.15 (0.08, 0.23) | 0.10 (0.003, 0.19) | 0.03 (-0.15, 0.20) | -0.09 (-0.26, 0.07) |
| Incomplete high school or lower | -0.01 (-0.09, 0.07) | -0.05 (-0.19, 0.09) | 0.20 (0.05, 0.36) | 0.20 (-0.003, 0.44) |
| University or higher education | 0.20 (0.14, 0.26) | 0.05 (-0.03, 0.14) | -0.19 (-0.35, -0.04) | 0.01 (-0.13, 0.15) |
| Unemployed | 0.10 (-0.01, 0.20) | -0.14 (-0.35, 0.07) | 0.10 (-0.12, 0.32) | 0.02 (-0.27, 0.30) |
| First quintile income | -0.05 (-0.12, 0.03) | 0.24 (0.11, 0.37) | 0.11 (-0.05, 0.26) | 0.38 (0.18, 0.58) |
| Fifth quintile income | -0.003 (-0.07, 0.07) | -0.07 (-0.19, 0.05) | 0.04 (-0.13, 0.19) | 0.01 (-0.17, 0.19) |
| Rural | -0.12 (-0.19, -0.06) | -0.21 (-0.31, -0.12) | -0.06 (-0.19, 0.10) | -0.28 (-0.44, -0.09) |
| Not Orthodox | -0.02 (-0.08, 0.03) | -0.13 (-0.23, -0.04) | 0.17 (0.04, 0.29) | -0.09 (-0.24, 0.07) |
| Not Russian | 0.05 (-0.03, 0.14) | -0.08 (-0.22, 0.06) | -0.48 (-0.77, -0.24) -0.12 (-0.36, 0.11) | |

**Note:** Table presents posterior median estimate across 4,000 draws from MCMC algorithm and 90% HPD intervals. Draws are from eight MCMC chains, each with 10,000 iterations and a 1,000 iteration burn-in (thinning interval: 20).

Table 7: Xenophobia toward different different groups in 2004/2012, full sample, all variables

| | Jews | | Chechens | | Muslims | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2004 | 2012 | 2004 | 2012 | 2004 | 2012 |
| Constant | -1.57 (-1.94, -1.21) | -1.80 (-2.21, -1.44) | 0.19 (-0.15, 0.52) | -0.27 (-0.63, 0.07) | -1.01 (-1.36, -0.65) | -1.10 (-1.48, -0.71) |
| Male | 0.30 (0.24, 0.36) | 0.21 (0.11, 0.30) | -0.05 (-0.10, -0.01) | 0.01 (-0.05, 0.08) | 0.04 (-0.01, 0.09) | -0.01 (-0.09, 0.07) |
| Age <22 | 0.25 (0.18, 0.33) | -0.12 (-0.30, 0.08) | 0.32 (0.26, 0.38) | -0.03 (-0.16, 0.09) | 0.16 (0.09, 0.22) | 0.01 (-0.14, 0.16) |
| Age >60 | 0.16 (0.08, 0.25) | -0.05 (-0.16, 0.08) | -0.14 (-0.20, -0.08) | -0.07 (-0.16, 0.003) | -0.03 (-0.10, 0.05) | -0.14 (-0.25, -0.04) |
| Incomplete high school or lower | 0.09 (-0.001, 0.18) | 0.14 (-0.03, 0.30) | 0.02 (-0.05, 0.08) | 0.002 (-0.11, 0.12) | 0.01 (-0.07, 0.08) | 0.01 (-0.15, 0.15) |
| University or higher education | -0.15 (-0.22, -0.07) | -0.08 (-0.18, 0.04) | -0.08 (-0.12, -0.02) | -0.07 (-0.15, -0.004) | -0.06 (-0.11, 0.005) | -0.09 (-0.17, 0.01) |
| Unemployed | 0.17 (0.06, 0.29) | -0.13 (-0.38, 0.13) | 0.14 (0.06, 0.24) | 0.13 (-0.04, 0.28) | 0.13 (0.03, 0.23) | 0.14 (-0.05, 0.33) |
| First quintile income | -0.04 (-0.12, 0.04) | 0.29 (0.14, 0.44) | -0.05 (-0.11, 0.003) | 0.17 (0.06, 0.28) | -0.004 (-0.08, 0.06) | 0.31 (0.18, 0.46) |
| Fifth quintile income | 0.04 (-0.05, 0.11) | 0.02 (-0.14, 0.16) | -0.02 (-0.08, 0.03) | 0.07 (-0.04, 0.17) | 0.07 (-0.003, 0.13) | 0.04 (-0.08, 0.16) |
| Rural | 0.04 (-0.03, 0.12) | -0.09 (-0.21, 0.04) | 0.08 (0.04, 0.14) | -0.03 (-0.11, 0.05) | -0.07 (-0.13, -0.001) | -0.07 (-0.17, 0.04) |
| Not Orthodox | 0.06 (-0.01, 0.13) | -0.03 (-0.13, 0.09) | -0.09 (-0.14, -0.05) | -0.09 (-0.16, -0.01) | 0.01 (-0.05, 0.06) | -0.03 (-0.13, 0.06) |
| Not Russian | -0.08 (-0.19, 0.02) | -0.05 (-0.22, 0.12) | -0.29 (-0.36, -0.23) | -0.33 (-0.45, -0.21) | -0.35 (-0.44, -0.25) | -0.20 (-0.36, -0.04) |
| Economic fear | -0.13 (-0.23, -0.01) | 0.08 (-0.08, 0.23) | -0.16 (-0.23, -0.09) | -0.07 (-0.19, 0.03) | -0.05 (-0.14, 0.04) | -0.11 (-0.24, 0.04) |
| Very not confident in Putin | 0.50 (0.37, 0.61) | 0.57 (0.43, 0.70) | 0.09 (-0.003, 0.19) | 0.36 (0.25, 0.48) | 0.19 (0.07, 0.30) | 0.44 (0.31, 0.56) |
| Very confident in Putin | -0.06 (-0.13, 0.004) | 0.04 (-0.08, 0.15) | -0.02 (-0.07, 0.02) | 0.05 (-0.03, 0.12) | -0.04 (-0.10, 0.01) | 0.01 (-0.09, 0.10) |

| | Roma | | Azerbaijanis | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2004 | 2012 | 2004 | 2012 |
| Constant | 0.02 (-0.36, 0.33) | -0.22 (-0.60, 0.12) | -0.44 (-0.78, -0.10) | -0.79 (-1.15, -0.43) |
| Male | -0.18 (-0.22, -0.14) | -0.06 (-0.13, -0.001) | -0.02 (-0.07, 0.02) | 0.004 (-0.06, 0.07) |
| Age <22 | 0.39 (0.33, 0.45) | 0.15 (0.03, 0.28) | 0.30 (0.24, 0.36) | 0.22 (0.09, 0.35) |
| Age >60 | -0.03 (-0.09, 0.03) | -0.12 (-0.20, -0.04) | -0.10 (-0.17, -0.04) | -0.11 (-0.19, -0.02) |
| Incomplete high school or lower | 0.01 (-0.05, 0.08) | -0.02 (-0.14, 0.09) | -0.0002 (-0.07, 0.07) | 0.16 (0.03, 0.29) |
| University or higher education | 0.07 (0.02, 0.12) | -0.01 (-0.09, 0.05) | -0.13 (-0.18, -0.07) | -0.02 (-0.09, 0.06) |
| Unemployed | 0.05 (-0.03, 0.14) | 0.09 (-0.06, 0.26) | 0.12 (0.02, 0.20) | 0.04 (-0.13, 0.22) |
| First quintile income | -0.07 (-0.13, -0.01) | 0.14 (0.04, 0.25) | -0.06 (-0.13, -0.003) | 0.25 (0.14, 0.37) |
| Fifth quintile income | 0.10 (0.05, 0.16) | 0.10 (-0.01, 0.20) | 0.08 (0.02, 0.14) | 0.10 (-0.01, 0.21) |
| Rural | 0.01 (-0.04, 0.07) | -0.08 (-0.16, -0.003) | -0.08 (-0.14, -0.02) | -0.21 (-0.30, -0.12) |
| Not Orthodox | -0.02 (-0.07, 0.02) | -0.03 (-0.11, 0.04) | -0.06 (-0.11, -0.01) | -0.06 (-0.14, 0.02) |
| Not Russian | -0.20 (-0.27, -0.13) | -0.24 (-0.36, -0.13) | -0.22 (-0.30, -0.15) | -0.38 (-0.51, -0.25) |
| Economic fear | -0.02 (-0.09, 0.05) | -0.02 (-0.13, 0.09) | -0.04 (-0.12, 0.03) | 0.02 (-0.09, 0.15) |
| Very not confident in Putin | 0.05 (-0.05, 0.15) | 0.27 (0.15, 0.37) | 0.16 (0.06, 0.26) | 0.44 (0.33, 0.56) |
| Very confident in Putin | -0.05 (-0.10, -0.01) | 0.05 (-0.02, 0.14) | -0.11 (-0.16, -0.06) | -0.01 (-0.09, 0.08) |

| | Americans | | Swedes | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2004 | 2012 | 2004 | 2012 |
| Constant | -1.40 (-1.77, -1.07) | -1.18 (-1.52, -0.79) | -2.79 (-3.24, -2.36) | -2.40 (-2.84, -1.99) |
| Male | 0.31 (0.25, 0.36) | 0.18 (0.11, 0.26) | -0.03 (-0.16, 0.08) | 0.11 (-0.01, 0.24) |
| Age <22 | 0.32 (0.25, 0.39) | -0.22 (-0.39, -0.05) | 0.37 (0.23, 0.51) | -0.10 (-0.38, 0.13) |
| Age >60 | 0.15 (0.07, 0.22) | 0.10 (0.001, 0.19) | 0.03 (-0.15, 0.21) | -0.09 (-0.25, 0.07) |
| Incomplete high school or lower | -0.01 (-0.09, 0.07) | -0.04 (-0.19, 0.08) | 0.21 (0.05, 0.36) | 0.21 (-0.004, 0.44) |
| University or higher education | 0.20 (0.13, 0.26) | 0.05 (-0.04, 0.14) | -0.19 (-0.35, -0.03) | -0.02 (-0.17, 0.11) |
| Unemployed | 0.10 (-0.02, 0.20) | -0.16 (-0.37, 0.06) | 0.10 (-0.12, 0.32) | 0.003 (-0.27, 0.31) |
| First quintile income | -0.05 (-0.13, 0.02) | 0.22 (0.09, 0.34) | 0.09 (-0.07, 0.25) | 0.37 (0.16, 0.57) |
| Fifth quintile income | -0.003 (-0.08, 0.06) | -0.07 (-0.20, 0.05) | 0.05 (-0.13, 0.20) | 0.01 (-0.18, 0.20) |
| Rural | -0.13 (-0.19, -0.06) | -0.21 (-0.30, -0.10) | -0.05 (-0.19, 0.10) | -0.28 (-0.45, -0.10) |
| Not Orthodox | -0.03 (-0.08, 0.03) | -0.14 (-0.24, -0.05) | 0.16 (0.03, 0.28) | -0.12 (-0.28, 0.03) |
| Not Russian | 0.05 (-0.03, 0.14) | -0.07 (-0.21, 0.06) | -0.46 (-0.74, -0.19) | -0.09 (-0.34, 0.16) |
| Economic fear | 0.04 (-0.04, 0.13) | -0.01 (-0.14, 0.13) | -0.06 (-0.25, 0.15) | 0.09 (-0.11, 0.29) |
| Very not confident in Putin | 0.33 (0.22, 0.44) | 0.35 (0.22, 0.47) | 0.57 (0.38, 0.77) | 0.64 (0.48, 0.81) |
| Very confident in Putin | -0.01 (-0.07, 0.05) | 0.08 (-0.01, 0.18) | -0.02 (-0.15, 0.11) | 0.02 (-0.15, 0.17) |

**Note:** Table presents posterior median estimate across 4,000 draws from MCMC algorithm and 90% HPD intervals. Draws are from eight MCMC chains, each with 100,000 iterations and a 10,000 iteration burn-in (thinning interval: 200).

# 5 Frequentist sensitivity analyses

## 5.1 1996 Data

### 5.1.1 No regional effects

Table 8: Xenophobia toward Chechens, 1996

| | *OLS* | *Ordered probit* | *Probit*> 50 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Male | −1.02 (1.61) | −0.06 (0.05) | 0.01 (0.06) |
| Age <22 | 4.86 (5.12) | 0.21 (0.17) | −0.02 (0.20) |
| Age >60 | −3.52* (2.08) | −0.10 (0.07) | −0.09 (0.08) |
| Incomplete high school or lower | 5.74*** (2.06) | 0.20*** (0.07) | 0.26*** (0.08) |
| University or higher education | −3.71* (1.99) | −0.14** (0.07) | −0.12 (0.08) |
| Unemployed | −1.58 (3.01) | −0.03 (0.10) | 0.02 (0.12) |
| First income quintile | 5.65*** (2.13) | 0.23*** (0.07) | 0.24*** (0.09) |
| Fifth income quintile | −3.18 (2.04) | −0.08 (0.07) | −0.07 (0.08) |
| Moscow | −9.35*** (3.22) | −0.32*** (0.11) | −0.33** (0.13) |
| St. Petersburg | −27.39*** (4.41) | −0.82*** (0.15) | −0.77*** (0.18) |
| Rural | 1.60 (1.77) | 0.05 (0.06) | 0.07 (0.07) |
| Not Orthodox | 0.06 (1.99) | −0.02 (0.07) | −0.01 (0.08) |
| Not Russian | −8.05*** (2.33) | −0.26*** (0.08) | −0.20** (0.09) |
| Constant | 69.02*** (1.63) | | 0.21*** (0.06) |
| 1\|2 | | −1.40*** (0.06) | |
| 2\|3 | | −0.97*** (0.06) | |
| 3\|4 | | −0.27*** (0.06) | |
| 4\|5 | | 0.35*** (0.06) | |
| Observations | 1,733 | 1,733 | 1,733 |
| $R^2$ | 0.06 | | |
| Log Likelihood | | | −1,142.13 |
| *Note:* | | | *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01 |

Table 9: Xenophobia toward Jews, 1996

| | *OLS* | *Ordered probit* | *Probit*> 50 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Male | 0.52 (1.68) | 0.03 (0.05) | 0.001 (0.07) |
| Age <22 | 8.74 (5.80) | 0.24 (0.19) | 0.20 (0.23) |
| Age >60 | −5.02** (2.13) | −0.19*** (0.07) | −0.19** (0.09) |
| Incomplete high school or lower | 6.68*** (2.14) | 0.23*** (0.07) | 0.37*** (0.09) |
| University or higher education | −2.49 (2.06) | −0.09 (0.07) | −0.13 (0.09) |
| Unemployed | 1.45 (3.07) | 0.06 (0.10) | 0.13 (0.12) |
| First income quintile | 4.34* (2.26) | 0.17** (0.07) | 0.23** (0.09) |
| Fifth income quintile | −6.74*** (2.09) | −0.24*** (0.07) | −0.20** (0.09) |
| Moscow | −5.62* (3.29) | −0.14 (0.11) | −0.11 (0.14) |
| St. Petersburg | −20.32*** (4.46) | −0.65*** (0.15) | −0.93*** (0.26) |
| Rural | 10.20*** (1.87) | 0.33*** (0.06) | 0.38*** (0.07) |
| Not Orthodox | 1.23 (2.08) | 0.01 (0.07) | 0.09 (0.08) |
| Not Russian | 2.47 (2.43) | 0.07 (0.08) | 0.14 (0.10) |
| Constant | 48.42*** (1.68) | | −0.59*** (0.07) |
| 1\|2 | | −0.91*** (0.06) | |
| 2\|3 | | −0.36*** (0.06) | |
| 3\|4 | | 0.50*** (0.06) | |
| 4\|5 | | 0.97*** (0.06) | |
| Observations | 1,658 | 1,658 | 1,658 |
| $R^2$ | 0.08 | | |
| Log Likelihood | | | −992.08 |
| *Note:* | | | *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01 |

Table 10: Xenophobia toward Muslims, 1996

| | *OLS* | *Ordered probit* | *Probit*$>50$ |
|---|---|---|---|
| Male | 0.75 (1.73) | 0.02 (0.06) | 0.02 (0.07) |
| Age $<22$ | 0.63 (5.86) | 0.03 (0.19) | $-0.14$ (0.23) |
| Age $>60$ | $-3.85^{*}$ (2.25) | $-0.13^{*}$ (0.07) | $-0.05$ (0.09) |
| Incomplete high school or lower | $6.98^{***}$ (2.24) | $0.23^{***}$ (0.07) | $0.23^{***}$ (0.09) |
| University or higher education | $-2.22$ (2.13) | $-0.08$ (0.07) | $-0.10$ (0.08) |
| Unemployed | $-4.74$ (3.20) | $-0.15$ (0.10) | $-0.15$ (0.13) |
| First income quintile | 0.31 (2.35) | 0.03 (0.08) | 0.07 (0.09) |
| Fifth income quintile | $-2.28$ (2.14) | $-0.07$ (0.07) | $-0.08$ (0.08) |
| Moscow | $-7.15^{**}$ (3.42) | $-0.22^{**}$ (0.11) | $-0.23^{*}$ (0.14) |
| St. Petersburg | $-20.91^{***}$ (4.70) | $-0.67^{***}$ (0.15) | $-0.77^{***}$ (0.22) |
| Rural | 2.28 (1.93) | 0.06 (0.06) | 0.08 (0.07) |
| Not Orthodox | $-2.86$ (2.17) | $-0.08$ (0.07) | 0.04 (0.08) |
| Not Russian | $-13.53^{***}$ (2.46) | $-0.43^{***}$ (0.08) | $-0.30^{***}$ (0.10) |
| Constant | $56.69^{***}$ (1.75) | | $-0.24^{***}$ (0.07) |
| 1\|2 | | $-1.11^{***}$ (0.06) | |
| 2\|3 | | $-0.63^{***}$ (0.06) | |
| 3\|4 | | $0.18^{***}$ (0.06) | |
| 4\|5 | | $0.77^{***}$ (0.06) | |
| Observations | 1,575 | 1,575 | 1,575 |
| $R^2$ | 0.06 | | |
| Log Likelihood | | | $-1{,}027.69$ |
| *Note:* | | | $^{*}$p$<$0.1; $^{**}$p$<$0.05; $^{***}$p$<$0.01 |

### 5.1.2 Regional fixed effects

Table 11: Xenophobia toward Chechens, 1996 (Regional fixed effects, Moscow as reference)

| | *OLS* | *Ordered probit* | *Probit*> 50 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Male | −0.73 (1.58) | −0.04 (0.05) | 0.02 (0.07) |
| Age <22 | 4.18 (4.99) | 0.20 (0.18) | −0.08 (0.21) |
| Age >60 | −3.97* (2.03) | −0.11 (0.07) | −0.11 (0.09) |
| Incomplete high school or lower | 6.40*** (2.03) | 0.22*** (0.07) | 0.32*** (0.09) |
| University or higher education | −3.11 (1.95) | −0.13* (0.07) | −0.09 (0.08) |
| Unemployed | −1.33 (2.96) | −0.02 (0.10) | 0.02 (0.12) |
| First income quintile | 3.44 (2.13) | 0.16** (0.08) | 0.17* (0.09) |
| Fifth income quintile | −5.56*** (2.13) | −0.17** (0.07) | −0.14 (0.09) |
| Rural | 5.17** (2.54) | 0.19** (0.09) | 0.13 (0.11) |
| Not Orthodox | 1.66 (2.05) | 0.02 (0.07) | 0.06 (0.09) |
| Not Russian | −4.19* (2.51) | −0.16* (0.09) | −0.09 (0.11) |
| Constant | 59.98*** (3.33) | | −0.13 (0.14) |
| 1\|2 | | −1.15*** (0.12) | |
| 2\|3 | | −0.70*** (0.12) | |
| 3\|4 | | 0.04 (0.11) | |
| 4\|5 | | 0.69*** (0.12) | |
| Observations | 1,733 | 1,733 | 1,733 |
| $R^2$ | 0.14 | | |
| Log Likelihood | | | −1,079.11 |

*Note:* *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 12: Xenophobia toward Jews, 1996 (Regional fixed effects, Moscow as reference)

| | *OLS* | *Ordered probit* | *Probit*$>50$ |
|---|---|---|---|
| Male | 0.59 (1.62) | 0.03 (0.06) | 0.03 (0.07) |
| Age $<22$ | 4.67 (5.58) | 0.12 (0.19) | 0.12 (0.24) |
| Age $>60$ | $-5.28^{**}$ (2.06) | $-0.21^{***}$ (0.07) | $-0.20^{**}$ (0.09) |
| Incomplete high school or lower | $6.07^{***}$ (2.09) | $0.22^{***}$ (0.07) | $0.36^{***}$ (0.09) |
| University or higher education | $-3.02$ (1.99) | $-0.11^{*}$ (0.07) | $-0.17^{*}$ (0.09) |
| Unemployed | $-0.25$ (2.97) | 0.001 (0.10) | 0.06 (0.13) |
| First income quintile | 3.49 (2.20) | $0.15^{*}$ (0.08) | $0.21^{**}$ (0.09) |
| Fifth income quintile | $-9.59^{***}$ (2.16) | $-0.35^{***}$ (0.07) | $-0.36^{***}$ (0.10) |
| Rural | $6.86^{***}$ (2.64) | $0.24^{***}$ (0.09) | $0.24^{**}$ (0.11) |
| Not Orthodox | 0.69 (2.11) | $-0.01$ (0.07) | 0.01 (0.09) |
| Not Russian | 2.37 (2.58) | 0.05 (0.09) | 0.11 (0.11) |
| Constant | $44.69^{***}$ (3.37) | | $-0.61^{***}$ (0.15) |
| 1\|2 | | $-0.89^{***}$ (0.12) | |
| 2\|3 | | $-0.31^{***}$ (0.12) | |
| 3\|4 | | $0.61^{***}$ (0.12) | |
| 4\|5 | | $1.10^{***}$ (0.12) | |
| Observations | 1,658 | 1,658 | 1,658 |
| $R^2$ | 0.18 | | |
| Log Likelihood | | | $-929.66$ |
| *Note:* | | | $^{*}$p<0.1; $^{**}$p<0.05; $^{***}$p<0.01 |

Table 13: Xenophobia toward Muslims, 1996 (Regional fixed effects, Moscow as reference)

| | *OLS* | *Ordered probit* | *Probit*> 50 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Male | 0.66 (1.64) | 0.02 (0.06) | 0.02 (0.07) |
| Age <22 | 0.55 (5.55) | 0.02 (0.19) | −0.16 (0.25) |
| Age >60 | −3.08 (2.14) | −0.11 (0.07) | −0.01 (0.09) |
| Incomplete high school or lower | 5.78*** (2.16) | 0.20*** (0.07) | 0.19** (0.09) |
| University or higher education | −2.14 (2.03) | −0.08 (0.07) | −0.08 (0.09) |
| Unemployed | −2.76 (3.04) | −0.09 (0.11) | −0.12 (0.14) |
| First income quintile | 1.51 (2.26) | 0.08 (0.08) | 0.09 (0.10) |
| Fifth income quintile | −7.02*** (2.18) | −0.25*** (0.08) | −0.29*** (0.10) |
| Rural | 7.15*** (2.66) | 0.23** (0.09) | 0.25** (0.11) |
| Not Orthodox | −0.84 (2.17) | −0.03 (0.07) | 0.09 (0.09) |
| Not Russian | −5.67** (2.58) | −0.22** (0.09) | −0.12 (0.11) |
| Constant | 50.49*** (3.45) | | −0.42*** (0.15) |
| 1\|2 | | −1.00*** (0.12) | |
| 2\|3 | | −0.49*** (0.12) | |
| 3\|4 | | 0.40*** (0.12) | |
| 4\|5 | | 1.04*** (0.12) | |
| Observations | 1,575 | 1,575 | 1,575 |
| $R^2$ | 0.18 | | |
| Log Likelihood | | | −931.31 |
| *Note:* | | | *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01 |

## 5.2 2004 and 2012 data

### 5.2.1 Same covariates as 1996

Table 14: Probit analyses of xenophobia toward Chechens, 2004 and 2012

| | (2004) | (2012) | (2004) | (2012) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Male | −0.04 (0.03) | 0.05 (0.04) | −0.05* (0.03) | 0.05 (0.04) |
| Age <22 | 0.36*** (0.04) | −0.06 (0.09) | 0.32*** (0.04) | −0.09 (0.09) |
| Age >60 | −0.10*** (0.04) | −0.09* (0.05) | −0.13*** (0.04) | −0.10* (0.05) |
| Incomplete high school or lower | −0.01 (0.04) | −0.02 (0.07) | 0.02 (0.04) | 0.03 (0.08) |
| University or higher education | −0.05* (0.03) | −0.10** (0.05) | −0.07** (0.03) | −0.08 (0.05) |
| Unemployed | 0.14** (0.06) | 0.11 (0.11) | 0.14** (0.06) | 0.18 (0.11) |
| First income quintile | −0.07** (0.03) | 0.05 (0.06) | −0.06* (0.04) | 0.05 (0.07) |
| Fifth income quintile | −0.02 (0.03) | 0.04 (0.06) | −0.04 (0.04) | 0.02 (0.07) |
| Moscow | 0.02 (0.05) | 0.61*** (0.07) | | |
| St. Petersburg | 0.08 (0.12) | −0.16 (0.12) | | |
| Rural | 0.10*** (0.03) | −0.04 (0.05) | 0.10*** (0.03) | −0.04 (0.05) |
| Not Orthodox | −0.10*** (0.03) | −0.12** (0.05) | −0.09*** (0.03) | −0.09* (0.05) |
| Not Russian | −0.32*** (0.04) | −0.36*** (0.07) | −0.29*** (0.04) | −0.34*** (0.08) |
| Constant | −0.03 (0.03) | −0.25*** (0.04) | 0.02 (0.05) | 0.36*** (0.08) |
| Regional FE | N | N | Y | Y |
| Observations | 10,133 | 4,113 | 10,133 | 4,113 |
| Log Likelihood | −6,893.46 | −2,657.83 | −6,755.28 | −2,555.29 |

*Note:* *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 15: Probit analyses of xenophobia toward Jews, 2004 and 2012

| | (2004) | (2012) | (2004) | (2012) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Male | 0.33*** (0.04) | 0.22*** (0.06) | 0.32*** (0.04) | 0.21*** (0.06) |
| Age <22 | 0.26*** (0.05) | −0.20 (0.14) | 0.22*** (0.05) | −0.17 (0.15) |
| Age >60 | 0.19*** (0.05) | −0.06 (0.07) | 0.17*** (0.05) | −0.06 (0.08) |
| Incomplete high school or lower | 0.06 (0.05) | 0.08 (0.10) | 0.10* (0.06) | 0.18 (0.11) |
| University or higher education | −0.09* (0.05) | −0.05 (0.07) | −0.13*** (0.05) | −0.04 (0.07) |
| Unemployed | 0.17** (0.07) | −0.02 (0.16) | 0.17** (0.07) | −0.05 (0.17) |
| First income quintile | −0.04 (0.05) | 0.10 (0.09) | −0.04 (0.05) | 0.12 (0.09) |
| Fifth income quintile | −0.01 (0.05) | 0.02 (0.09) | 0.01 (0.05) | 0.04 (0.09) |
| Moscow | 0.03 (0.07) | 0.32*** (0.09) | | |
| St. Petersburg | −0.08 (0.18) | −0.29 (0.20) | | |
| Rural | 0.08* (0.04) | −0.07 (0.07) | 0.05 (0.05) | −0.13 (0.08) |
| Not Orthodox | 0.05 (0.04) | −0.06 (0.07) | 0.07* (0.04) | −0.02 (0.07) |
| Not Russian | −0.08 (0.06) | 0.001 (0.09) | −0.08 (0.07) | 0.04 (0.11) |
| Constant | −1.64*** (0.04) | −1.50*** (0.06) | −1.60*** (0.08) | −1.20*** (0.10) |
| Regional FE | N | N | Y | Y |
| Observations | 10,237 | 4,144 | 10,237 | 4,144 |
| Log Likelihood | −2,824.97 | −1,168.40 | −2,724.90 | −1,097.04 |

*Note:* *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 16: Probit analyses of xenophobia toward Muslims, 2004 and 2012

| | (2004) | (2012) | (2004) | (2012) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Male | 0.05* (0.03) | 0.03 (0.05) | 0.04 (0.03) | 0.02 (0.05) |
| Age <22 | 0.21*** (0.04) | −0.01 (0.11) | 0.15*** (0.04) | −0.02 (0.12) |
| Age >60 | 0.01 (0.05) | −0.10* (0.06) | −0.02 (0.05) | −0.15** (0.07) |
| Incomplete high school or lower | −0.02 (0.05) | −0.06 (0.09) | −0.01 (0.05) | −0.03 (0.10) |
| University or higher education | −0.03 (0.04) | −0.10* (0.06) | −0.07* (0.04) | −0.10* (0.06) |
| Unemployed | 0.13** (0.06) | 0.14 (0.13) | 0.13** (0.06) | 0.12 (0.13) |
| First income quintile | −0.02 (0.04) | 0.20*** (0.08) | −0.01 (0.04) | 0.20** (0.08) |
| Fifth income quintile | 0.06 (0.04) | 0.01 (0.07) | 0.06 (0.04) | −0.05 (0.08) |
| Moscow | 0.07 (0.06) | 0.89*** (0.08) | | |
| St. Petersburg | 0.29** (0.13) | 0.62*** (0.13) | | |
| Rural | −0.04 (0.04) | −0.06 (0.06) | −0.06 (0.04) | −0.10 (0.07) |
| Not Orthodox | −0.01 (0.03) | −0.08 (0.06) | 0.02 (0.03) | −0.10 (0.06) |
| Not Russian | −0.38*** (0.05) | −0.29*** (0.09) | −0.34*** (0.06) | −0.08 (0.10) |
| Constant | −1.00*** (0.03) | −1.09*** (0.05) | −0.91*** (0.06) | −0.16* (0.08) |
| Regional FE | N | N | Y | Y |
| Observations | 10,050 | 4,104 | 10,050 | 4,104 |
| Log Likelihood | −4,430.81 | −1,723.88 | −4,314.27 | −1,629.28 |

*Note:* *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

### 5.2.2 All covariates

Table 17: Probit analyses of xenophobia toward Chechens, 2004 and 2012

| | (2004) | (2012) | (2004) | (2012) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Male | −0.03 (0.03) | 0.04 (0.04) | −0.04 (0.03) | 0.04 (0.05) |
| Age <22 | 0.36*** (0.04) | −0.05 (0.09) | 0.33*** (0.04) | −0.09 (0.10) |
| Age >60 | −0.13*** (0.04) | −0.10** (0.05) | −0.15*** (0.04) | −0.11** (0.06) |
| Incomplete high school or lower | −0.02 (0.04) | 0.02 (0.08) | −0.001 (0.04) | 0.07 (0.08) |
| University or higher education | −0.04 (0.03) | −0.10* (0.05) | −0.06* (0.03) | −0.08 (0.05) |
| Unemployed | 0.13** (0.06) | 0.10 (0.11) | 0.13** (0.06) | 0.19* (0.12) |
| First income quintile | −0.07** (0.04) | 0.03 (0.07) | −0.06* (0.04) | 0.04 (0.07) |
| Fifth income quintile | −0.02 (0.04) | 0.05 (0.07) | −0.04 (0.04) | 0.04 (0.07) |
| Moscow | 0.04 (0.05) | 0.56*** (0.07) | | |
| St. Petersburg | 0.09 (0.12) | −0.14 (0.13) | | |
| Rural | 0.10*** (0.03) | −0.07 (0.05) | 0.11*** (0.03) | −0.07 (0.06) |
| Not Orthodox | −0.10*** (0.03) | −0.14*** (0.05) | −0.10*** (0.03) | −0.11** (0.05) |
| Not Russian | −0.33*** (0.04) | −0.36*** (0.07) | −0.31*** (0.05) | −0.34*** (0.08) |
| No economic fear | −0.15*** (0.05) | −0.04 (0.08) | −0.16*** (0.05) | 0.03 (0.08) |
| Very not confident in Putin | 0.09 (0.06) | 0.30*** (0.07) | 0.06 (0.06) | 0.27*** (0.08) |
| Very confident in Putin | −0.002 (0.03) | 0.11** (0.05) | −0.005 (0.03) | 0.07 (0.05) |
| Constant | −0.01 (0.03) | −0.27*** (0.05) | 0.06 (0.06) | 0.30*** (0.08) |
| Regional FE | N | N | Y | Y |
| Observations | 9,465 | 3,780 | 9,465 | 3,780 |
| Log Likelihood | −6,430.31 | −2,436.21 | −6,297.62 | −2,338.27 |

*Note:* *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 18: Probit analyses of xenophobia toward Jews, 2004 and 2012

| | (2004) | (2012) | (2004) | (2012) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Male | 0.32*** (0.04) | 0.23*** (0.06) | 0.31*** (0.04) | 0.22*** (0.07) |
| Age <22 | 0.28*** (0.05) | −0.23 (0.15) | 0.24*** (0.05) | −0.20 (0.15) |
| Age >60 | 0.17*** (0.05) | −0.09 (0.08) | 0.15*** (0.06) | −0.09 (0.08) |
| Incomplete high school or lower | 0.04 (0.06) | 0.15 (0.11) | 0.07 (0.06) | 0.24** (0.11) |
| University or higher education | −0.10** (0.05) | −0.08 (0.07) | −0.14*** (0.05) | −0.08 (0.08) |
| Unemployed | 0.18** (0.08) | −0.0000 (0.17) | 0.18** (0.08) | −0.02 (0.18) |
| First income quintile | −0.07 (0.05) | 0.06 (0.09) | −0.07 (0.06) | 0.07 (0.10) |
| Fifth income quintile | 0.002 (0.05) | −0.01 (0.09) | 0.03 (0.05) | 0.02 (0.10) |
| Moscow | 0.09 (0.08) | 0.29*** (0.10) | | |
| St. Petersburg | −0.06 (0.18) | −0.28 (0.21) | | |
| Rural | 0.09* (0.05) | −0.05 (0.08) | 0.06 (0.05) | −0.11 (0.09) |
| Not Orthodox | 0.07* (0.04) | −0.10 (0.07) | 0.08** (0.04) | −0.06 (0.08) |
| Not Russian | −0.07 (0.06) | −0.04 (0.10) | −0.07 (0.07) | 0.003 (0.12) |
| No economic fear | −0.12* (0.07) | 0.16 (0.11) | −0.14** (0.07) | 0.23** (0.11) |
| Very not confident in Putin | 0.48*** (0.07) | 0.56*** (0.09) | 0.47*** (0.07) | 0.48*** (0.09) |
| Very confident in Putin | −0.05 (0.04) | 0.02 (0.07) | −0.07 (0.04) | 0.01 (0.08) |
| Constant | −1.65*** (0.04) | −1.55*** (0.07) | −1.55*** (0.08) | −1.28*** (0.11) |
| Regional FE | N | N | Y | Y |
| Observations | 9,558 | 3,802 | 9,558 | 3,802 |
| Log Likelihood | −2,612.05 | −1,055.16 | −2,518.06 | −989.47 |

*Note:* *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 19: Probit analyses of xenophobia toward Muslims, 2004 and 2012

| | (2004) | (2012) | (2004) | (2012) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Male | 0.06* (0.03) | 0.05 (0.05) | 0.05 (0.03) | 0.05 (0.05) |
| Age <22 | 0.21*** (0.04) | 0.02 (0.11) | 0.15*** (0.05) | 0.02 (0.12) |
| Age >60 | −0.01 (0.05) | −0.10 (0.07) | −0.03 (0.05) | −0.15** (0.07) |
| Incomplete high school or lower | −0.04 (0.05) | 0.02 (0.10) | −0.03 (0.05) | 0.05 (0.10) |
| University or higher education | −0.02 (0.04) | −0.12* (0.06) | −0.06 (0.04) | −0.12* (0.06) |
| Unemployed | 0.12* (0.07) | 0.16 (0.13) | 0.11* (0.07) | 0.16 (0.14) |
| First income quintile | −0.03 (0.04) | 0.17** (0.08) | −0.02 (0.05) | 0.16* (0.09) |
| Fifth income quintile | 0.04 (0.04) | 0.02 (0.08) | 0.05 (0.04) | −0.02 (0.08) |
| Moscow | 0.09 (0.06) | 0.83*** (0.08) | | |
| St. Petersburg | 0.32** (0.13) | 0.60*** (0.13) | | |
| Rural | −0.05 (0.04) | −0.07 (0.07) | −0.06 (0.04) | −0.10 (0.08) |
| Not Orthodox | −0.01 (0.03) | −0.12* (0.06) | 0.01 (0.03) | −0.13* (0.07) |
| Not Russian | −0.36*** (0.06) | −0.33*** (0.09) | −0.31*** (0.06) | −0.10 (0.11) |
| No economic fear | −0.05 (0.06) | −0.07 (0.10) | −0.06 (0.06) | −0.03 (0.10) |
| Very not confident in Putin | 0.19*** (0.07) | 0.47*** (0.08) | 0.15** (0.07) | 0.41*** (0.08) |
| Very confident in Putin | −0.04 (0.03) | 0.04 (0.06) | −0.05 (0.04) | 0.003 (0.07) |
| Constant | −0.99*** (0.03) | −1.13*** (0.06) | −0.89*** (0.07) | −0.26*** (0.09) |
| Regional FE | N | N | Y | Y |
| Observations | 9,393 | 3,769 | 9,393 | 3,769 |
| Log Likelihood | −4,125.09 | −1,569.41 | −4,024.03 | −1,481.47 |

*Note:* *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 20: Probit analyses of xenophobia toward Roma, 2004 and 2012

| | (2004) | (2012) | (2004) | (2012) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Male | −0.17*** (0.03) | 0.01 (0.04) | −0.17*** (0.03) | 0.01 (0.04) |
| Age <22 | 0.43*** (0.04) | 0.15 (0.09) | 0.41*** (0.04) | 0.11 (0.10) |
| Age >60 | −0.04 (0.04) | −0.14*** (0.05) | −0.06 (0.04) | −0.14** (0.05) |
| Incomplete high school or lower | −0.001 (0.04) | −0.01 (0.08) | 0.02 (0.04) | 0.02 (0.08) |
| University or higher education | 0.11*** (0.03) | −0.04 (0.05) | 0.10*** (0.03) | −0.03 (0.05) |
| Unemployed | 0.03 (0.06) | 0.10 (0.11) | 0.03 (0.06) | 0.19 (0.11) |
| First income quintile | −0.08** (0.04) | 0.06 (0.06) | −0.07* (0.04) | 0.05 (0.07) |
| Fifth income quintile | 0.09*** (0.04) | 0.08 (0.07) | 0.09*** (0.04) | 0.08 (0.07) |
| Moscow | −0.13** (0.05) | 0.42*** (0.07) | | |
| St. Petersburg | 0.10 (0.12) | 0.29** (0.12) | | |
| Rural | 0.02 (0.03) | −0.14*** (0.05) | 0.03 (0.03) | −0.14** (0.06) |
| Not Orthodox | −0.03 (0.03) | −0.07 (0.05) | −0.03 (0.03) | −0.06 (0.05) |
| Not Russian | −0.20*** (0.04) | −0.26*** (0.07) | −0.22*** (0.05) | −0.21*** (0.08) |
| No economic fear | 0.01 (0.05) | −0.04 (0.08) | 0.01 (0.05) | 0.04 (0.08) |
| Very not confident in Putin | 0.06 (0.06) | 0.20*** (0.07) | 0.04 (0.06) | 0.14* (0.08) |
| Very confident in Putin | −0.04 (0.03) | 0.13*** (0.05) | −0.05* (0.03) | 0.08 (0.05) |
| Constant | −0.03 (0.03) | −0.22*** (0.05) | −0.15** (0.06) | 0.20** (0.08) |
| Regional FE | N | N | Y | Y |
| Observations | 9,393 | 3,769 | 9,393 | 3,769 |
| Log Likelihood | −4,125.09 | −1,569.41 | −4,024.03 | −1,481.47 |

*Note:* *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 21: Probit analyses of xenophobia toward Azerbaijanis, 2004 and 2012

| | (2004) | (2012) | (2004) | (2012) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Male | −0.02 (0.03) | 0.04 (0.05) | −0.02 (0.03) | 0.04 (0.05) |
| Age <22 | 0.29*** (0.04) | 0.25*** (0.10) | 0.30*** (0.04) | 0.22** (0.10) |
| Age >60 | −0.09** (0.04) | −0.13** (0.06) | −0.12*** (0.04) | −0.13** (0.06) |
| Incomplete high school or lower | −0.01 (0.04) | 0.19** (0.08) | −0.01 (0.04) | 0.25*** (0.09) |
| University or higher education | −0.10*** (0.03) | −0.07 (0.05) | −0.10*** (0.04) | −0.05 (0.06) |
| Unemployed | 0.11* (0.06) | 0.13 (0.12) | 0.11* (0.06) | 0.17 (0.12) |
| First income quintile | −0.08** (0.04) | 0.11 (0.07) | −0.07* (0.04) | 0.13* (0.07) |
| Fifth income quintile | 0.12*** (0.04) | 0.10 (0.07) | 0.08** (0.04) | 0.09 (0.07) |
| Moscow | 0.25*** (0.05) | 0.69*** (0.07) | | |
| St. Petersburg | 0.21* (0.12) | 0.13 (0.13) | | |
| Rural | −0.11*** (0.03) | −0.26*** (0.06) | −0.06* (0.04) | −0.24*** (0.06) |
| Not Orthodox | −0.03 (0.03) | −0.13** (0.06) | −0.06* (0.03) | −0.12** (0.06) |
| Not Russian | −0.23*** (0.05) | −0.28*** (0.08) | −0.21*** (0.05) | −0.34*** (0.09) |
| No economic fear | −0.05 (0.05) | 0.03 (0.08) | −0.04 (0.05) | 0.09 (0.09) |
| Very not confident in Putin | 0.13** (0.06) | 0.38*** (0.07) | 0.14** (0.06) | 0.34*** (0.08) |
| Very confident in Putin | −0.11*** (0.03) | −0.03 (0.06) | −0.12*** (0.03) | −0.03 (0.06) |
| Constant | −0.50*** (0.03) | −0.68*** (0.05) | −0.22*** (0.06) | 0.02 (0.08) |
| Regional FE | N | N | Y | Y |
| Observations | 9,484 | 3,787 | 9,484 | 3,787 |
| Log Likelihood | −5,606.10 | −2,063.32 | −5,469.62 | −1,974.45 |

*Note:* *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 22: Probit analyses of xenophobia toward Americans, 2004 and 2012

| | (2004) | (2012) | (2004) | (2012) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Male | 0.32*** (0.03) | 0.17*** (0.05) | 0.32*** (0.03) | 0.17*** (0.05) |
| Age <22 | 0.36*** (0.04) | −0.21* (0.12) | 0.30*** (0.05) | −0.17 (0.13) |
| Age >60 | 0.16*** (0.05) | 0.07 (0.06) | 0.14*** (0.05) | 0.05 (0.06) |
| Incomplete high school or lower | −0.05 (0.05) | −0.06 (0.09) | −0.03 (0.05) | −0.02 (0.10) |
| University or higher education | 0.22*** (0.04) | −0.03 (0.06) | 0.18*** (0.04) | −0.01 (0.06) |
| Unemployed | 0.07 (0.07) | −0.17 (0.15) | 0.07 (0.07) | −0.13 (0.16) |
| First income quintile | −0.07 (0.05) | 0.08 (0.08) | −0.06 (0.05) | 0.11 (0.08) |
| Fifth income quintile | 0.01 (0.04) | −0.003 (0.08) | 0.01 (0.04) | −0.001 (0.08) |
| Rural | −0.10** (0.04) | −0.20*** (0.06) | −0.13*** (0.04) | −0.26*** (0.07) |
| Moscow | 0.04 (0.06) | −0.06 (0.09) | | |
| St. Petersburg | −0.01 (0.15) | −0.52*** (0.19) | | |
| Not Orthodox | −0.01 (0.03) | −0.19*** (0.06) | −0.01 (0.04) | −0.19*** (0.07) |
| Not Russian | 0.06 (0.05) | −0.07 (0.08) | 0.07 (0.06) | −0.02 (0.10) |
| No economic fear | 0.04 (0.06) | 0.03 (0.09) | 0.04 (0.06) | 0.08 (0.10) |
| Very not confident in Putin | 0.33*** (0.07) | 0.22** (0.08) | 0.29*** (0.07) | 0.19** (0.09) |
| Very confident in Putin | −0.004 (0.04) | 0.11* (0.06) | −0.01 (0.04) | 0.10 (0.06) |
| Constant | −1.36*** (0.04) | −1.04*** (0.06) | −1.29*** (0.07) | −1.11*** (0.10) |
| Regional FE | N | N | Y | Y |
| Observations | 9,516 | 3,783 | 9,516 | 3,783 |
| Log Likelihood | −3,733.46 | −1,576.98 | −3,652.88 | −1,505.87 |

*Note:* *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 23: Probit analyses of xenophobia toward Swedes, 2004 and 2012

| | (2004) | (2012) | (2004) | (2012) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Male | −0.02 (0.07) | 0.18** (0.08) | −0.01 (0.08) | 0.19** (0.09) |
| Age <22 | 0.34*** (0.09) | 0.02 (0.17) | 0.34*** (0.09) | 0.05 (0.19) |
| Age >60 | −0.05 (0.11) | −0.13 (0.11) | −0.01 (0.12) | −0.16 (0.12) |
| Incomplete high school or lower | 0.19* (0.10) | 0.22 (0.14) | 0.21** (0.10) | 0.27* (0.16) |
| University or higher education | −0.14 (0.10) | −0.05 (0.09) | −0.18* (0.10) | −0.03 (0.10) |
| Unemployed | 0.06 (0.15) | 0.14 (0.21) | 0.07 (0.15) | 0.04 (0.22) |
| First income quintile | 0.06 (0.10) | 0.18 (0.12) | 0.07 (0.10) | 0.22* (0.13) |
| Fifth income quintile | −0.01 (0.10) | 0.005 (0.12) | 0.02 (0.10) | −0.03 (0.13) |
| Rural | −0.01 (0.09) | −0.21* (0.11) | −0.06 (0.09) | −0.37*** (0.13) |
| Moscow | 0.09 (0.14) | 0.25** (0.12) | | |
| St. Petersburg | 0.11 (0.30) | −0.33 (0.30) | | |
| Not Orthodox | 0.13* (0.08) | −0.11 (0.10) | 0.13* (0.08) | −0.14 (0.11) |
| Not Russian | −0.34** (0.15) | 0.14 (0.12) | −0.37** (0.17) | 0.10 (0.16) |
| No economic fear | −0.03 (0.13) | 0.16 (0.14) | −0.06 (0.13) | 0.20 (0.15) |
| Very not confident in Putin | 0.55*** (0.12) | 0.55*** (0.11) | 0.54*** (0.12) | 0.49*** (0.12) |
| Very confident in Putin | −0.03 (0.08) | −0.07 (0.10) | −0.05 (0.08) | −0.09 (0.11) |
| Constant | −2.34*** (0.08) | −1.95*** (0.09) | −2.27*** (0.16) | −1.66*** (0.14) |
| Regional FE | N | N | Y | Y |
| Observations | 9,286 | 3,731 | 9,286 | 3,731 |
| Log Likelihood | −630.35 | −569.31 | −598.87 | −514.95 |

*Note:* *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

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