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FORTRESS RUSSIA:
An overview of the 2005 Russian Federation Survey on
Immigration Attitudes and Ethnic Relations

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Starting in the mid-1990s, human rights groups, scholars, government agencies, and the media in the Russian Federation have documented a rising wave of individual and group acts of violence, destruction or intimidation targeting ethnic and/or religious “others.” In addition to massive brutality in Chechnya, Russia in recent years has witnessed skinhead riots and street raids by chain-and-rod wielding thugs; torchlight marches and attacks on mosques and synagogues; murders and beatings of foreign residents and diplomats; desecration of Jewish cemeteries and intimidation of Chinese traders by whip-cracking Cossack gangs. In 2000, the Moscow Helsinki Group reported an average of 30 to 40 assaults a month by local gangs targeting blacks in Moscow alone. According to hate crime expert Aleksandr Tarasov, chair of the department of youth studies at the Phoenix Center for New Sociology and the Study of Practical Politics in Moscow, the number of skinheads in Russia grew from about 20,000 in 2001 to 50,000 in 2003 and was projected to reach 80,000 by the end of 2005 (Kolesov 2004; Konygina 2004). After a spectacularly cruel murder of a 9-year old Tajik girl in St. Petersburg by a neofascist gang in February 2004, Russia’s then acting interior minister, Nurgaliev, acknowledged that “acute manifestations of extremism” against minorities had become a serious and growing trend posing a security threat to Russia (Rotkevich and Spirin 2004). The same concern was voiced by President Putin in his televised responses to questions from Russian citizens in late September 2005, monitored by this author.

Whereas few people would openly express support for xenophobic brutality of this kind in a public opinion survey, anti-migrant violence does not happen in a social vacuum. This presentation summarizes the findings of an opinion survey specifically designed to take a measure of social climate as it pertains to immigration attitudes in the Russia. The survey was carried out throughout the Russian Federation in the fall of 2005 by the Levada Analytical Center (formerly, the All-Russian Center for the Study of Public Opinion) and, in Primorskii krai, by the Public Opinion Research Laboratory of the Institute of History, Archeology and Ethnography of the Peoples of the Far East (IHAE) at the Far Eastern Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. The total number of respondents in the seven samples of the Levada Center was 4,080, drawn from multistage probability samples of the adult population of the Russian Federation (N=680), Moscow City (N=400), Moscow Oblast (N=400), Krasnodar Krai (including the Republic of Adygea) (N=650), Volgograd Oblast (N=650), Orenburg Oblast (N=650) and the Republic of Tatarstan (N=650). The IHAE survey used a stratified regional probability sampling procedure to select 660 respondents, including a multistage stratified random selection of 402 respondents who participated in the author’s 2000 Primorskii krai survey also conducted by IHAE (Alexseev 2003; Alexseev and Hofstetter 2006). The entire survey included 4,740 respondents. Using survey items, I constructed measures of ethnoreligious hostility and some of its hypothetical correlates.

1. Migration Attitudes Survey 2005: Sampling Geography

- **Levada Analytical Center:**

SAMPLE LOCATION

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 Russian Federation	680	16.7	16.7	16.7
	2 Moscow City	400	9.8	9.8	26.5
	3 Moscow Oblast	400	9.8	9.8	36.3
	4 Krasnodar, Adygea	650	15.9	15.9	52.2
	5 Volgograd	650	15.9	15.9	68.1
	6 Orenburg	650	15.9	15.9	84.1
	7 Tatarstan	650	15.9	15.9	100.0
	Total	4080	100.0	100.0	

- **IHAE (Vladivostok):**

8 Primorskii krai: 660 100.0 100.0

The bulk of the project for which the survey was design focuses on the relationship between ethnic composition change in migrant-receiving societies and variation in anti-migrant and interethnic hostility among individual members of the receiving societies. This relationship remains an important and understudied general question in social sciences and policy research. The survey part of the project examines one dimension of this general question that has not been researched systematically: The arrival of which minorities in which province of a state may engender greater hostility and why—particularly given that perceived migration trends for specific ethnic groups often vary from actual migration trends? Why are the numbers exaggerated for some groups of migrants and discounted for others? To what extent is hostility fueled by estimates of the total migration scale as opposed to migration of particular groups? I ask to what extent and under what conditions these perceptions of scale may translate into public support for exclusionist anti-migrant policies such as forced deportation, or relate to discounting the threat of violent attacks on minorities posed by extremist groups such as the Skinheads and the “Slavic fascist” Russian National Unity.

This set of questions is considerably more complex than it may appear and it goes to the heart of theoretical formulations in research on interethnic relations and conflict. Reflecting theories that interpret interethnic animosity as a “linear function of a single out-group size” (reviewed in Oliver and Wong 2003: 567-8), most research on migration attitudes in North America and Europe directly relates anti-migrant hostility and support for exclusionist policies to migration size (e.g., Quillian 1995; Citrin et al. 1997; Palmer 1999). And yet, estimates of migration scale are, in most cases, themselves a product of contrasting and conflicting interpretations that become politically contested (Teitelbaum and Winter 1998; Koopmans and Statham 2000). These estimates get particularly ambiguous and controversial in multi-ethnic environments (Kim 1999; Oboler 1995; Jones 2000). As a result, migration policy hardly follows a “clear goals/means blueprint,” but rather arises from “planning in the dark” driven by the “number game” about migration levels (Codagnone 1998). This study seeks to “unpack” and demystify the relationship between the “number game” and interethnic hostility.

The 2005 mass survey data from the Russian Federation draws on theoretical perspectives in sociology (group threat and labor market competition), social psychology (intergroup bias), and political science (interethnic security dilemma). This multi-disciplinary approach also addresses broader theoretical puzzles regarding the effects of ethnic population shifts on intergroup conflict. On the one hand, comparative research has shown that migration accounts for “some of the great cultural clashes in history” and serves as an “important determinant of local conflict in developing areas” (Choucri 1974: 205). Large-scale quantitative analyses linked ethnic transitions to mass interethnic violence from Bosnia-Herzegovina (Slack and Doyon 2001) to Los Angeles (Bergesen and Herman 1998; Morrison and Lowry 1994). On the other hand, finding out which ethnic group would become the prime target of exclusionist policies or violent backlashes has posed a greater challenge (e.g., Petersen 2002). Survey research in the European Union and North America suggests that demographic and macroeconomic trends explain anti-migrant sentiments in some cases but not others (cf., Quillian 1995: 607-608; Thalhammer, Zucha, Enzenhofer, Salfinger, and Ogris 2001: 35; Palmer 1999: 5-6; Burns and Gimpel 2000).

While multivariate recursive and complex statistical analysis of various hypothetical correlates of migration size perception and anti-migrant hostility is in progress, the survey generates vast descriptive data offering a panoramic view of regional variation in immigration attitudes and ethnic relations in Russia. Some key findings are summarized here in tabular form.

2. MIGRATION SIZE ESTIMATES BY MIGRANTS' ETHNICITY AND REGION

<i>Modal Responses on the Size and Trends of Migrant Minority Populations in the Russian Federation, 2005-2015</i>								
Russia 2005 Ethnic Relations Survey: Perceived size of migrant minorities as % of the population in respondents' regions	Russian Federation	Moscow City	Moscow Oblast	Krasnodar	Volgograd	Orenburg	Tatarstan	Primorskii
1. CHECHENS								
Now (2005)	5	10	0	10	10	5	2	1
In 10 years	10	20	5	10	20	10	2	10
2002 Census count		0.14	0.03	0.06	0.45	0.09	0.02	0.03
1989-2002 Census change		0.12	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.04	0.01	0.01
2. ARMENIANS								
Now (2005)	10	10	10	10	-	-	5	-
In 10 years	10	20	10	20	-	-	5	-
2002 Census count		1.2	0.6	5.4	-	-	0.16	-
1989-2002 Census change		0.7	0.5	1.8	-	-	0.11	-
3. AZERBAIJANIS								
Now (2005)	-	10	10	5	-	-	5	-
In 10 years	-	20	20	10	-	-	10	-
2002 Census count	-	0.92	0.22	0.2	-	-	0.26	-
1989-2002 Census change	-	0.7	0.1	0.0	-	-	0.15	-
4. CHINESE								
Now (2005)	0	5	0	-	5	0	-	20
In 10 years	0 (5.0)	10	5	-	10	0	-	30
2002 Census count		0.12	0.0027	-	0.009	0.002	-	0.185
1989-2002 Census change		0.116	0.0021	-	0.008	0.001	-	0.178
5. KAZAKH								
Now (2005)	-	5	0	-	5	10	-	-
In 10 years	-	10	5	-	10	10	-	-
2002 Census count		0.08	0.04	-	1.68	5.76	-	-
1989-2002 Census change		-0.01	-0.01	-	0.08	0.62	-	-
6. UZBEK								
Now (2005)	5	-	-	-	5	10	5	-
In 10 years	10	-	-	-	10	10	5	-
2002 Census count		-	-	-	0.11	0.15	0.13	-
1989-2002 Census change		-	-	-	0	0.07	0.06	-
7. MESKHETIAN TURKS								
Now (2005)	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-
In 10 years	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-
2002 Census count	-	-	-	0.26	-	-	-	-
1989-2002 Census change	-	-	-	0.22	-	-	-	-
8. TATAR								
Now (2005)	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	1
In 10 years	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	5
2002 Census count	-	-	-	0.5	-	-	-	0.7
1989-2002 Census change	-	-	-	0.16	-	-	-	-0.2
9. RUSSIAN FROM CIS								
Now (2005)	10	-	-	-	10	10	10	-
In 10 years	10	-	-	-	10	20	10	-
2002 Census count		-	-	-				-
1989-2002 Census change		-	-	-				-
10. KOREANS								
Now (2005)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
In 10 years	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
2002 Census count	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.86
1989-2002 Census change	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.5
11. VIETNAMESE								
Now (2005)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
In 10 years	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
2002 Census count	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.01
1989-2002 Census change	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.01
ALL MIGRANTS								
Now (2005)	30	50	30	30	30	30	30	30
In 10 years	50	50	30	50	50	50	50	50

3. SURVEY MEASURES OF ANTI-MIGRANT/INTERGROUP HOSTILITY

(Based on responses in the seven samples of the Levada Center, by question number)

15_b TO WHAT EXTENT DO YOU AGREE/DISAGREE WITH EACH OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS: «Russia for ethnic Russians» is a sensible, good idea

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 completely agree	1095	26.8	28.0	28.0
	2 mostly agree	1170	28.7	29.9	57.9
	3 mostly disagree	1009	24.7	25.8	83.7
	4 completely disagree	636	15.6	16.3	100.0
	Total	3910	95.8	100.0	
Missing	998 don't know	157	3.9		
	999 refused to answer	12	.3		
	Total	170	4.2		
Total		4080	100.0		

40_a TO WHAT EXTENT DO YOU AGREE/DISAGREE WITH EACH OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS ABOUT THE PROBLEMS ARISING FROM THE MIGRANTS' PRESENCE IN RUSSIA: All migrants-legal and illegal-and their children should be deported to where they came from

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 completely agree	893	21.9	23.7	23.7
	2 mostly agree	856	21.0	22.7	46.4
	3 mostly disagree	1352	33.1	35.9	82.3
	4 completely disagree	665	16.3	17.7	100.0
	Total	3766	92.3	100.0	
Missing	998 don't know	296	7.2		
	999 refused to answer	19	.5		
	Total	314	7.7		
Total		4080	100.0		

41_b TO WHAT EXTENT DO YOU AGREE/DISAGREE WITH EACH OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS: It is incorrect to call such groups as "Pam'iat" or the "Russian National Unity" (RNE) fascist

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 completely agree	307	7.5	12.8	12.8
	2 mostly agree	605	14.8	25.2	37.9
	3 mostly disagree	848	20.8	35.2	73.2
	4 completely disagree	645	15.8	26.8	100.0
	Total	2405	58.9	100.0	
Missing	998 don't know	1639	40.2		
	999 refused to answer	36	.9		
	Total	1675	41.1		
Total		4080	100.0		

The most explicit proxy for hostility toward ethnic and religious “others” in the Russian context is the item that represents support for coercive, exclusionist action directed against ethnic and/or religious out-groups (predominantly represented by non-Slav migrant minorities) It is the question on how strongly respondents agreed or disagreed with the following statement: “All migrants, legal and illegal, and their children should be sent back to wherever they came from.”

Whereas this measure covers respondents’ hostility toward migrants that may represent any ethnic group, it serves as an appropriate proxy for ethnic and religious hostility in the specific model that I designed for this study. This is because the model incorporates items measuring perceptions of particular migrant groups that differ in their ethnic makeup and predominant religious affiliations from the majority of the 2005 survey respondents (83 percent of whom are ethnic Slavs as is the general population of Russia). Therefore, an association of specific groups with hostility toward migrants in multivariate analysis will signal the extent of ethnic and religious hostility among respondents. In the entire survey sample (N=4,740), approximately 47.4 percent of respondents (excluding the “don’t knows”) said they agreed or mostly agreed that all migrants (or “outsiders”) should be deported—a staggeringly high number suggesting widespread social support for coercive anti-migrant policies (cf., in the EU this number stays on average under 20 percent). The distribution of responses resembles a bell-shaped curve that peaked at “mostly agree.”

Another survey measure probes the extent of public acceptance in Russia of some of the most radical perpetrators of anti-minority and anti-migrant violence—the Skinheads. It was based on agreement or disagreement with the statement: “Skinheads do not pose any threat to interethnic relations in Russia.” In this sense, the Skinheads question relates to public attitudes to specific xenophobic agency and behavior. Regarding acceptance as normal of extremist anti-minority groups such as the Skinheads, nearly a quarter of respondents other than the “don’t knows” in the combined survey sample agreed or mostly agreed that these groups posed no threat to interethnic relations in Russia. This general pattern largely held within each of the eight survey sub-samples, although some regional variation is notable (see Tables 1 and 2).

On aggregate, patterns of regional variation are not straightforward – they do more to raise puzzles about conventional social sciences explanations of interethnic hostility, rather than to confirm any of them. For example, it is tempting to jump to a conclusion that support for wholesale deportation of migrants and their children was the highest in the Moscow City, because this area has been receiving the largest and most ethnically heterogeneous influx of immigrants in Russia, especially since the collapse of the Soviet Union. However, not only is the intensity of such parochially exclusionist views inconsistent with Moscow’s evolution as a global metropolis in the post-Soviet era with a vibrant, thriving economy, but support for deportation was nearly as strong (and within the margin of combined sampling error) in Primorskii krai where the scale and rates of immigration have been significantly lower. Moreover, given similar rates and ethnic heterogeneity of immigration as well as its border location and less benign economic conditions, one would have expected respondents in Krasnodar to express stronger support for deportation than the one expressed by respondents in Moscow. After all, as Table 2 shows, more than twice as many respondents in Krasnodar than almost elsewhere discounted the threat to interethnic relations in Russia posed by Skinheads--one of the most active and brutal perpetrators of violence against migrant minorities.

Table 1: TO WHAT EXTENT DO YOU AGREE/DISAGREE WITH EACH OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS
 PROBLEMS ARISING FROM THE MIGRANTS' PRESENCE IN RUSSIA: All migrants—legal and illegal—and their
 should be deported to where they

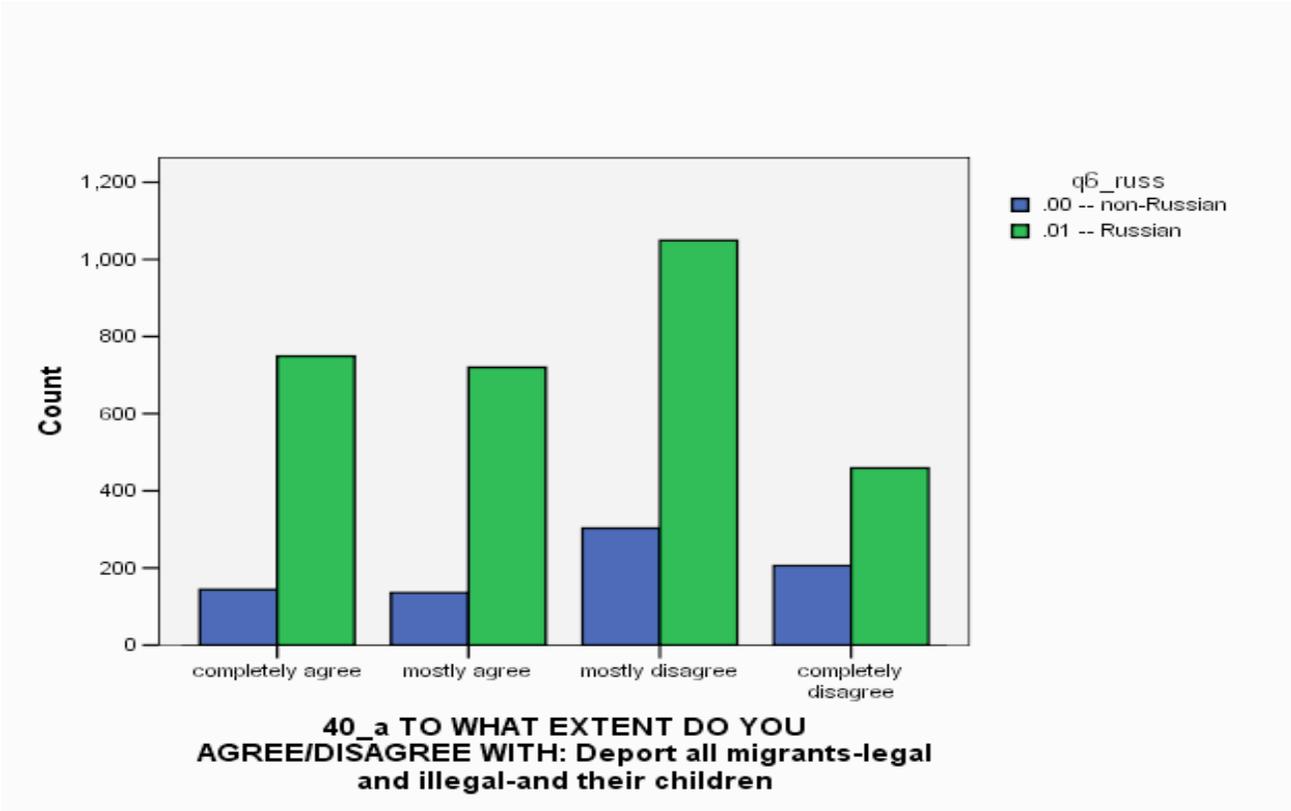
SAMPLE			From	Perce	Valid	Cumul Perce
1 Russian	Valid	1	14	20	20	20
		2	10	10	24	40
		3 months	20	20	20	60
		4 completely	10	10	20	100
		Tot	20	24	100	
	Missin	non	5	7		
		non refused to				
Tot		5	7			
	Tot	25	31			
2	Valid	1	10	27	20	20
		2	14	27	20	57
		3 months	10	24	20	77
		4 completely	0	0	10	100
		Tot	20	28	100	
	Missin	non	4	4		
		non refused to				
Tot		4	4			
	Tot	24	32			
3 Moscow	Valid	1	7	10	20	20
		2	0	24	20	50
		3 months	14	20	10	74
		4 completely	0	7	0	100
		Tot	21	26	100	
	Missin	non	5	10		
		non refused to				
Tot		5	10			
	Tot	26	36			
4 Krasnodar	Valid	1	10	20	20	20
		2	10	24	20	50
		3 months	17	20	20	70
		4 completely	10	10	10	100
		Tot	50	20	100	
	Missin	non	5	0		
		non refused to		4		
Tot		0	4			
	Tot	25	24			
5	Valid	1	10	24	20	20
		2	10	24	20	40
		3 months	24	27	20	60
		4 completely	0	14	15	100
		Tot	24	24	100	
	Missin	non	0	5		
		non refused to				
Tot		0	5			
	Tot	24	29			
6	Valid	1	10	24	20	20
		2	10	10	17	40
		3 months	20	20	20	70
		4 completely	10	20	24	100
		Tot	24	28	100	
	Missin	non	0	4		
		non refused to				
Tot		0	4			
	Tot	24	32			
7	Valid	1	10	10	20	20
		2	10	10	24	44
		3 months	20	20	24	70
		4 completely	14	24	20	100
		Tot	50	28	100	
	Missin	non	4	7		
		non refused to				
Tot		4	7			
	Tot	25	35			
8	Valid	1	17	27	20	20
		2	10	24	20	50
		3 months	24	24	20	70
		4 completely	0	14	14	100
		Tot	24	28	100	
	Missin	non	4	0		
		non refused to				
Tot		4	0			
	Tot	28	28			

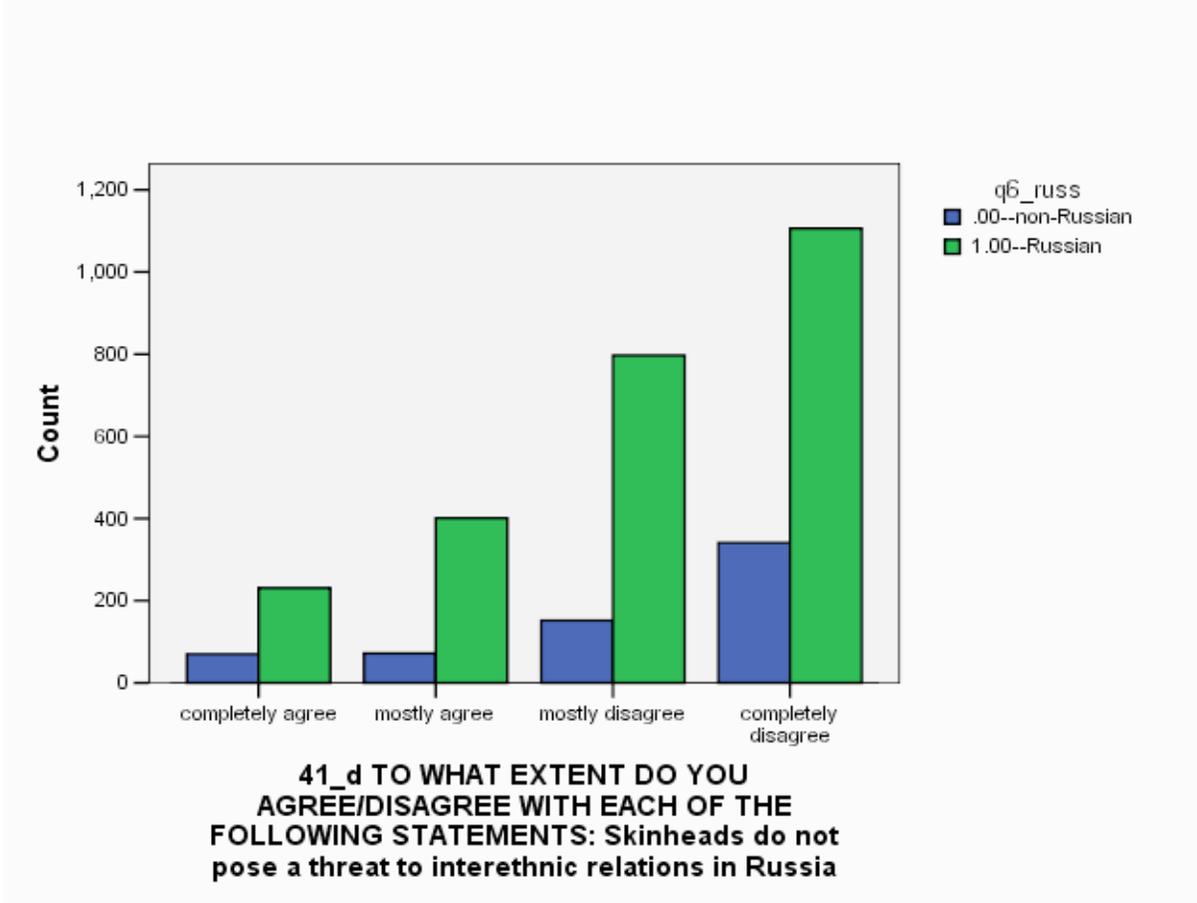
Table 2: TO WHAT EXTENT DO YOU AGREE/DISAGREE WITH EACH OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS: Skinheads
nose a threat to interethnic relations in

SAMPLE			From	From	Valid	Cumul From
1 Russian	Valid	1	0	5	5	5
		2	0	12	17	22
		2 mostly	10	20	30	50
		4 completely	21	22	40	100
	Missin	000	22	20	100	
		000 refused to	11	21		
		Tot	11	21		
Tot	Tot	33	100			
2	Valid	1	0	7	0	0
		2	7	10	17	17
		2 mostly	10	25	35	57
		4 completely	15	20	35	100
	Missin	000	22	11	100	
		000 refused to	0	0		
		Tot	0	0		
Tot	Tot	40	100			
3 Moscow	Valid	1	0	5	0	0
		2	7	17	24	24
		2 mostly	10	27	37	61
		4 completely	11	20	31	100
	Missin	000	21	20	100	
		000 refused to	0	21		
		Tot	0	21		
Tot	Tot	40	100			
4 Krasnodar	Valid	1	0	10	11	11
		2	1	0	1	12
		2 mostly	11	17	28	40
		4 completely	21	27	48	100
	Missin	000	10	21	100	
		000 refused to	17	27		
		Tot	1	1		
Tot	Tot	40	100			
5	Valid	1	0	0	7	7
		2	7	11	18	25
		2 mostly	17	20	37	62
		4 completely	21	27	48	100
	Missin	000	22	11	100	
		000 refused to	11	17		
		Tot	1	1		
Tot	Tot	40	100			
6	Valid	1	5	0	10	10
		2	7	10	17	27
		2 mostly	15	21	36	63
		4 completely	20	21	41	100
	Missin	000	20	27	100	
		000 refused to	11	20		
		Tot	11	20		
Tot	Tot	35	100			
7	Valid	1	5	0	11	11
		2	5	0	10	21
		2 mostly	0	11	11	32
		4 completely	21	20	41	100
	Missin	000	15	20	100	
		000 refused to	10	20		
		Tot	10	20		
Tot	Tot	35	100			
8	Valid	1	1	0	0	0
		2	11	10	21	21
		2 mostly	10	21	31	52
		4 completely	25	20	47	100
	Missin	000	21	11	100	
		000 refused to	10	10		
		Tot	10	10		
Tot	Tot	35	100			

The graphs that follow explore some key bivariate correlates of these measures of anti-migrant hostility.

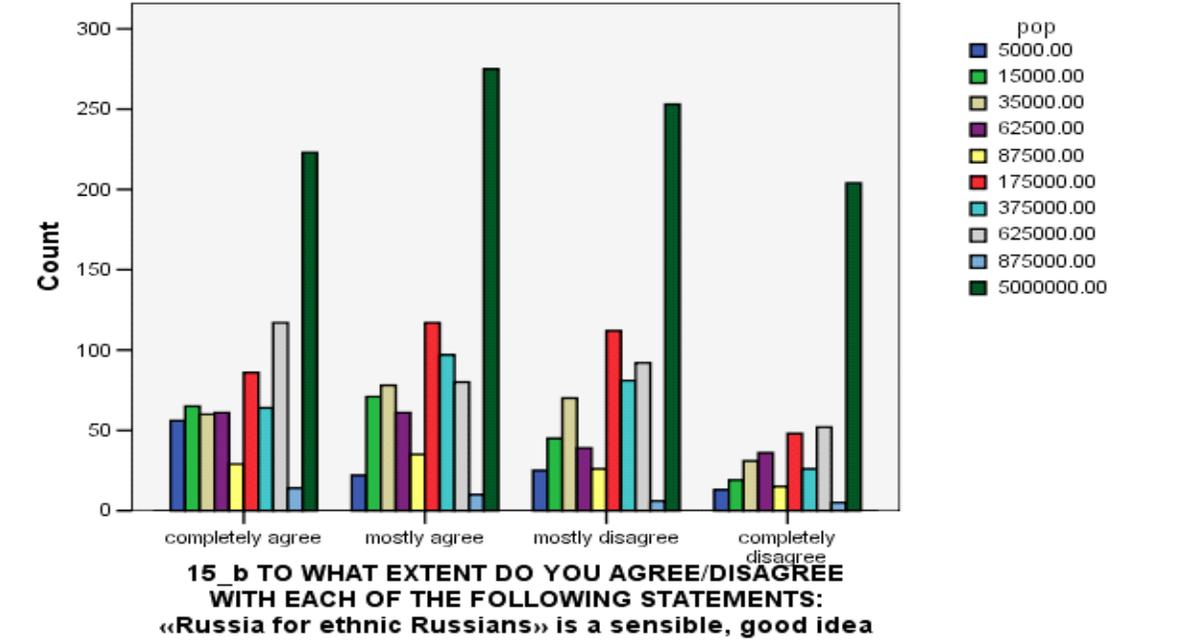
4. HOSTILITY AND ETHNICITY OF RESPONDENTS





Correlation coefficients: for Q15_b: Russians: R = - .265*; Tatars: R = .236***; Ukrainians: R = .019 (insig); for Q40_a: Russians: R = - .123***; Tatars: R = .031*; Ukrainians: R = .054*; for Q41_d: all insignificant.**

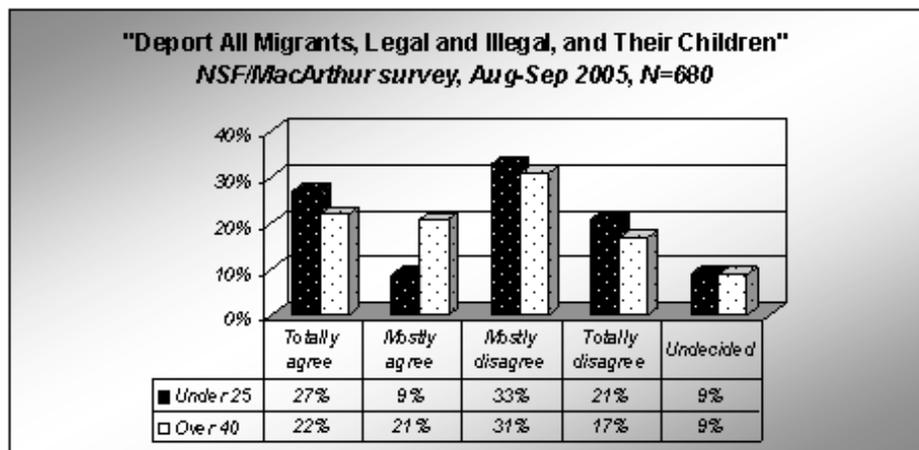
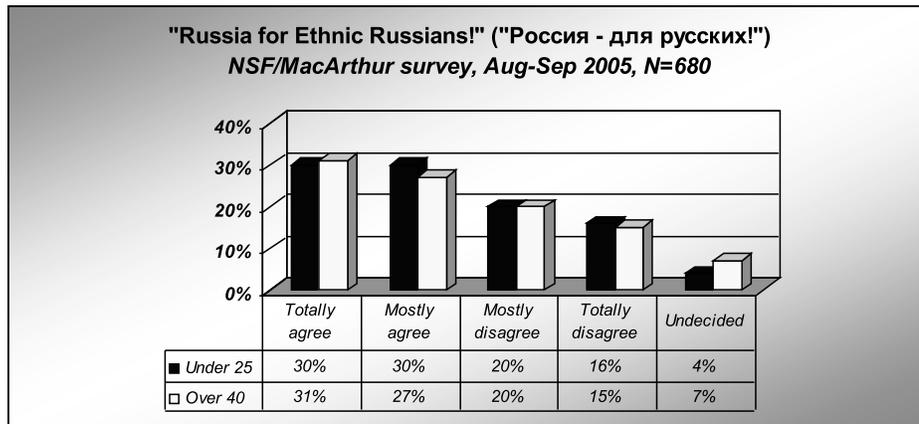
5. HOSTILITY: AN URBAN PROBLEM (R= .103*)

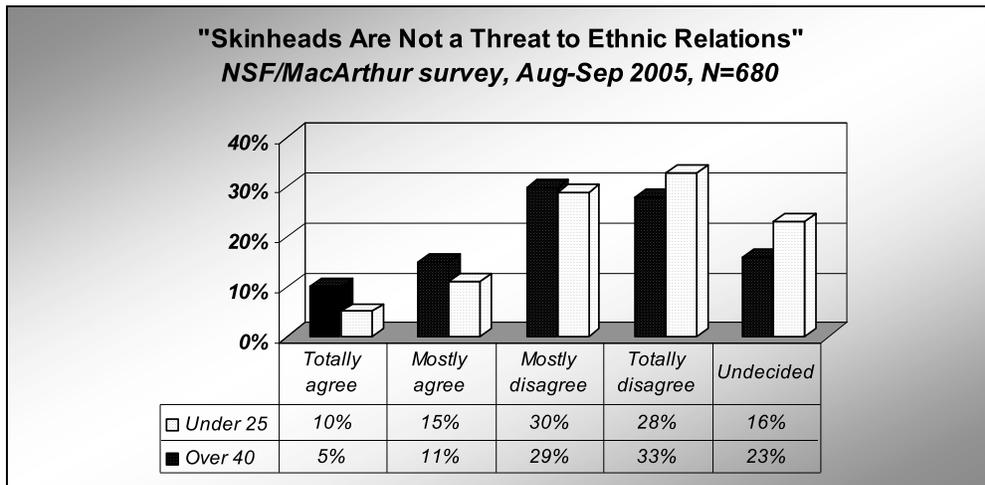


6. HOSTILITY: A GENERATIONAL DIVIDE?

The survey data makes it possible to examine whether xenophobic, exclusionist proclivities are more typical of Russians aged 18 through 25 than of Russians aged 40 and over. The latter cohort was culturally and politically socialized during the Soviet period, in the days of Marxist-Leninist indoctrination that explicitly denounced racism and interethnic hostility. Closed to mass immigration from outside its borders, the Soviet Union also placed restrictions on internal movement of people, thus limiting the prospects of ethnic groups rapidly coming into contact in large numbers at the neighbourhood or city/district level. It is also worth remembering that the Soviet government imposed tight restrictions on information coming into the country through media censorship, policing, and import regulations. In contrast, the 18-to-25 age group are those Russians who reached their teenage years after the Soviet Union collapsed and social taboos on racism and xenophobia weakened. Political priming of the Russian public for military campaigns in Chechnya could only further undermine these taboos. This cohort not only became socialized at the time of rapid exposure to global youth subculture, including violent extremism, but at the time when Russia emerged as a major destination country for migrants. Moreover, at the same time non-Slavic ethnic groups became increasingly visible in Russian cities, towns and counties, Russia's Slavic population core experienced a demographic decline on a scale not observed since World War II.

This analysis is based only on the sample representative of the Russian Federation as a whole (N=680). The findings are summarized in these tables.





An examination of correlation coefficients revealed that almost no combinations of age difference (under 25 vs. over 40) and education level (secondary vs. post-secondary) yielded a significant association with support for “Russia for the Russians” and for wholesale deportation of migrants and their children. Nor did I find any relationships stronger than chance between age-and-education clusters and support for granting migrants permanent residency rights in Russia. The sole exception from this pattern showed that the older Russians had more xenophobic proclivities than the younger ones: being a lower-educated Russian over 40 had a non-random relationship with support for deportation of all migrants and their children.

Where the young differ: the Skinhead factor

Correlation analysis showed that age in general was related nonrandomly to respondents’ perception of Skinheads in Russia. The older the respondent, the more likely they are to disagree with the statement that Skinheads pose no threat to interethnic relations in Russia. This is a strong indication that the younger respondents are more likely to deny that Skinheads are a social problem in Russia. While this is not indicative of direct support for violent groups, it is cause for concern. Denial of an extremist threat from Skinhead groups is consistent with the sense of “normalization of violence” and hence, a social climate in which inter-group violence is more likely.

Looking at the distribution of responses to the Skinhead question, close to 25 percent of respondents under 25 years of age agreed completely or partially that Skinheads posed no threat of interethnic violence. In contrast, only about 15 percent of respondents over 40 shared this view.

When controlling for education, these age cohorts also exhibited a marked difference on the Skinhead question. Among the under-25s, respondents without any post-secondary education

were approximately *twice more* likely to deny the Skinhead threat than did respondents with more than high-school education (29 percent to 15 percent, respectively). Among the over-40s, respondents without any post-secondary education were only about *half* as likely to deny the Skinhead threat as did respondents with more than high-school education (12.5 percent to 20 percent).

Among regional survey samples, I tested these relationships in Krasnodar krai—arguably one of the regions where xenophobic behavior and attitudes have been most strongly manifested in the last decade or so. The general pattern is largely the same as I reported for the Russian sample, except that the tendency of the younger respondents to deny the Skinhead threat was found to be more pronounced.

7. EDUCATION vs. XENOPHOBIA: THE COLLEGE BONUS

Across all samples, I find a statistically significant ($R = .120$, $p < .001$) reverse relationship between the education level of respondents and xenophobic attitudes. The “tipping point” is college education. Respondents educated to elementary, secondary, and vocational-technical level without secondary were more likely to agree than disagree with wholesale deportation of migrants out of Russia, those who had secondary education were about as likely to agree as to disagree, but those who had any level of college education were more likely to disagree to this policy option. About the same response pattern obtained across samples on support for

“Russia for ethnic Russians” ($R=.057$, $p< .001$) and no relationship overall was found between education levels and denial of the Skinhead threat.

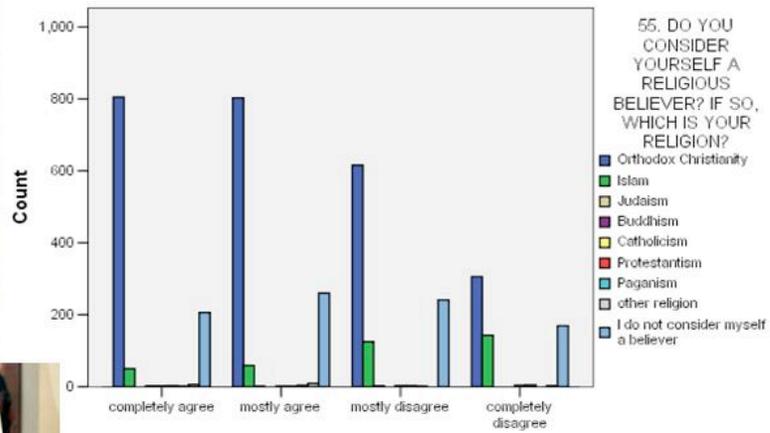
At the same time, as the next table shows, we also find an education paradox—higher levels of education correlate with less support for xenophobic slogans, but they do not correlate, for the most part, with support for tolerance and multicultural integration of migrants.

Education and the Xenophobia vs. Tolerance Paradox

<u>Xenophobia measures/Индикаторы ксенофобии</u>	<u>Level/Уровень</u>	<u>College/Высш.</u>
--«Russia for ethnic Russians» is a sensible, good idea («Россия – для русских» хорошая идея)	.087**	.089**
--Deport all migrants, legal & illegal & their children (Депортировать всех мигрантов и их детей)	.130**	.119**
--Skinheads not a threat to interethnic relations (Скинхеды не угроза национальным отношениям)	.062**	.054**
<u>Tolerance indicators/Индикаторы толерантности</u>		
-- All ethnic groups can be patriots of Russia (Люди любой национальности--патриоты России)	-.010	-.014
--All migrants should be given residency rights (Всем мигрантам – право вида на жительство)	-.035*	-.010
--School classes to be taught in minority languages (Ввести преподавание на языках нацменьшинств)	-.029	-.033*

8. XENOPHOBIA AND RELIGIOSITY: A LIMITED CORRELATION

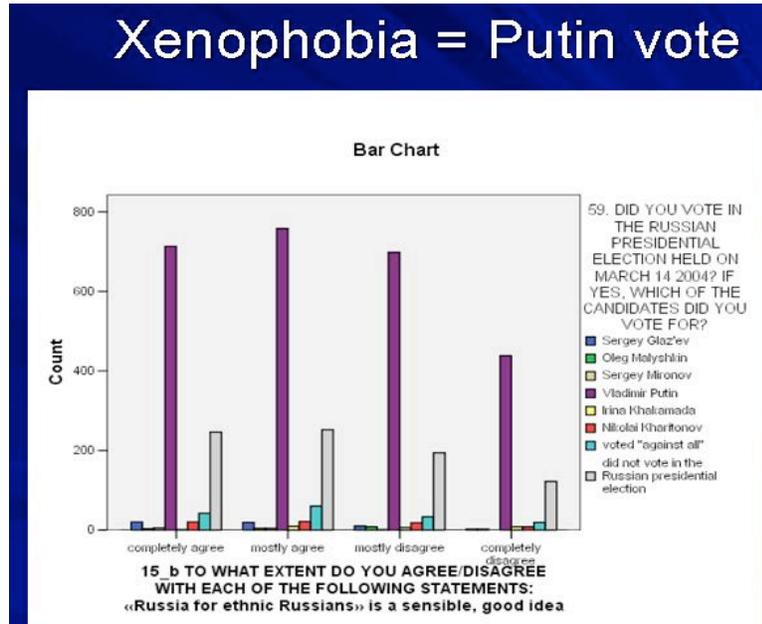
A significant, but not strong relationship was found between religiosity and xenophobia. Respondents who said they more frequently attended church other than for weddings, funerals, and baptismal were also more likely to agree with the slogan, “Russia for Ethnic Russians.” ($R = -.045$, $p < .01$). No statistically significant correlations were found regarding support for deportation and denial that Skinheads pose a threat to ethnic relations.



15_b TO WHAT EXTENT DO YOU AGREE/DISAGREE WITH EACH OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS: «Russia for ethnic Russians» is a sensible, good idea

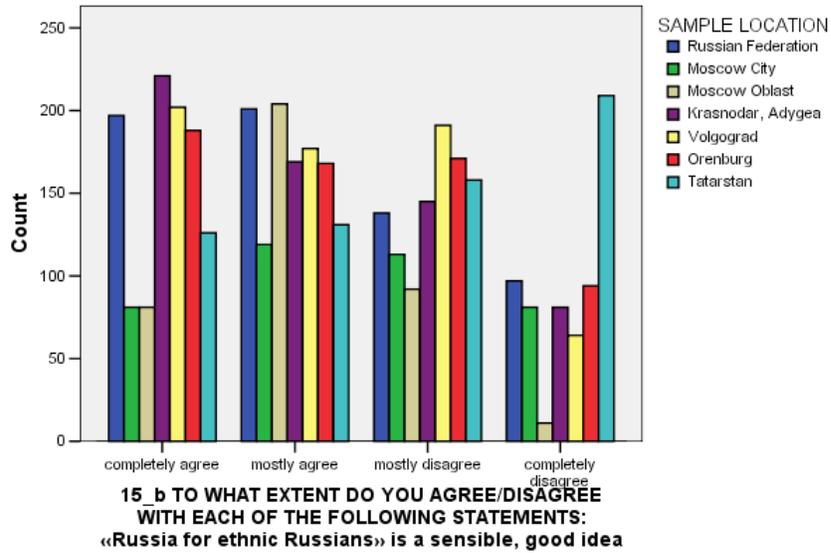
9. XENOPHOBIA AND VOTING FOR PUTIN

Respondents who said they voted for Putin in the 2004 presidential election were on the whole more likely than others to support the “Russia for the Russians,” although this relationship did not hold for complete support of this slogan.



10. REGIONAL CONTRASTS: KRASNODAR vs. TATARSTAN

On support for “Russia for the Russians” and wholesale deportation, the clear contrast was between the pattern of responses in Krasnodar krai and Tatarstan.



In Primorskiï krai where a separate poll was conducted, the response patterns on “Russia for the Russians” (q15_b) and deportation (q40_a) was close to Levada’s cross-regional averages.

q15_b

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1	206	31.3	31.3	31.3
2	204	30.9	30.9	62.1
3	153	23.1	23.1	85.3
4	66	10.0	10.0	95.3
998	30	4.6	4.6	99.8
999	1	.2	.2	100.0
Total	660	100.0	100.0	

q40_a

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1	178	27.0	27.0	27.0
2	162	24.5	24.5	51.5
3	211	31.9	31.9	83.4
4	93	14.1	14.1	97.5
998	16	2.4	2.4	99.9
999	0	.1	.1	100.0
Total	660	100.0	100.0	

11. SEEING A THREAT TO NATIONAL SECURITY: THE STRONGEST FACTOR

At the presentation, I also reported the results of multiple regression analysis regarding the views of five ethnic migrant minorities across five regions of the Russian Federation. In the table below, association of any migrants with threats to national security of Russia was the only statistically significant predictor of support for wholesale deportation of migrants regardless of which migrant group respondents were asked about, or in which region the survey was taken. Complete results, discussed at length, are below (the full version of the

paper in which they were originally presented can be obtained on the web site of the International Studies Association, isanet.org).

Table 4. Regression of Support for Wholesale Deportation of Migrants from Russia on Select Predictors: The Impact of Total Migration Size Estimates

Explanatory Variables	Moscow Oblast (N=400)	Krasnodar (N=650)	Orenburg (N=650)	Tatarstan (N=650)	Primorskii (N=660)
H1a: Proportion of all migrant groups: change by 2015	** .010(.004)	- .003(.005)	** -.013(.005)	.001(.005)	.003(.004)
H1c: Association of migrant groups with security threat	** .190(.062)	***-.269(.070)	***-.213(.000)	*-.141(.065)	***-.250(.056)
H2a: Support for intermarriage with ethnic out-groups	***.383(.074)	***.226(.068)	.043(.059)	** .151(.065)	- .053(.610)
H3a: Proportion of natives benefitting from migrants by 2015	**-.011(.004)	- .001(.005)	.002(.003)	.002(.004)	***.009(.002)
H3b: Perception that migrants take jobs from locals	.000(.000)	-9.06E-005 (.000)	-6.10E-005 (.000)	.000(.000)	.000(.000)
Controls:					
Income	**-.3.13E-005 (.000)	-3.91E-005 (.000)	-1.19E-005(.000)	-3.91E-005(.000)	-1.63E-005(.000)
Life Satisfaction	.001 (.035)	- .026(.035)	* - .067(.034)	- .004(.035)	- .021(.031)
College education	***.542(.136)	- .002(.076)	.175(.165)	*.306(.161)	** .354(.130)
Alienation	** .202(.008)	.072(.169)	.090(.069)	*.125(.066)	.110(.077)
Slav (majority status)	** .712(.266)	***.727(.214)	.156(.143)	- .006(.126)	.030(.220)
Religiosity	- .004(.007)	- .002(.008)	- .006(.012)	- .003(.007)	- .003(.036)
Age	- .004(.003)	.004(.004)	- .002(.003)	- .001(.004)	.001(.003)
Sex	*-.213 (.116)	.134(.131)	.103(.118)	- .189(.129)	** .290(.103)
Constant	***3.22(.415)	***2.81(.367)	***2.36(.305)	***2.60(.317)	**1.20(.425)
R	0.543	0.467	0.335	0.307	0.473
R Square	0.295	0.218	0.112	0.094	0.223
Adjusted R Square	0.246	0.175	0.075	0.051	0.194
Std. Error	0.798	0.984	1.021	1.027	0.928

Some Anomalies Worth Further Investigation (Based on the ISA paper table above)

While supporting the core logic of the security dilemma complex in the formation of hostility directed against ethnic and religious “others,” this analysis of the 2005 Russia immigration attitudes survey also generated intriguing and counterintuitive findings that are sufficiently non-trivial to suggest productive new lines of inquiry. They include, but are not limited to, the following:

(1) Respondents in Moscow Oblast were systematically likely to support deportation of migrants if they also believed the total proportion of migrants of all groups in the Oblast population—and, which is even more puzzling, the proportion of Chechens who are widely associated with terrorist threats in Russia—would *decrease* between 2005 and 2015. Why would the natives be more wary and hostile toward groups whose size decreases relative to their own? Whereas in the case of the perceived trends for all migrant minorities combined this relationship is explicable with the vigilante logic reversed (as I discussed in The Results section), the views on the Chechens remain puzzling. The only plausible explanation that came to mind was that residents in Moscow Oblast felt that if only a small number of Chechens would arrive into their region, these newcomers would more likely to be terrorists or perpetrators of other violent or criminal activity than if a large number of Chechens arrived. This makes sense considering that Moscow Oblast had seen significant and vibrant economic development since the late 1990s. In these circumstances one would expect that if migrants had “normal” (or peaceful or “defensive”) intentions, they would be “pulled into” the Moscow economy in large numbers. Conversely, the only logical explanation for migration levels remaining low would be that most of these migrants are secretive and harbor hostile (“offensive”) intentions, yet perhaps know how to circumvent restrictions on migration in the region. If this logic is at play, then it would also suggest that valuation of migration size by ethnic group arise first from the association of particular ethnic groups with threats to Russia’s security. This is consistent with the finding that threat perception was a robust significant predictor of hostility (Table 6).

(2) The immigration security dilemma model explained impressive amounts of variation in hostility in Moscow Oblast, Krasnodar, and Primorskii krai, but rather trivial amounts of variation in hostility in Tatarstan and Orenburg. Broadly, this variation suggests that the latter two regions have weaker social bases for the perceptual logic of vigilantism (or pre-emptive retaliation). In the case of Tatarstan, this may plausibly reflect the region’s traditional ethnic heterogeneity (with the Tatars comprising just over 50 percent of the population and the Russians a close second)—which reduces the social utility of ethnic and religious based vigilantism. The case of Orenburg is harder to explain. Being a border region that sees significant volumes of illegal migration, that is more ethnically diverse than the majority of the “European core” provinces in Russia, and that serves as one of the regional bases for border vigilantes (the Cossacks), Orenburg appears to fit the same profile as Krasnodar. Yet, in Krasnodar the security dilemma model explained significantly more variation in ethnoreligious hostility than in Orenburg. One wonders if the difference lies with different political approaches to immigration and ethnic relations issues by the two regional governments—with Orenburg long favoring accommodationist, inclusive local policies and Krasnodar consistently standing out in the last 15 years or so as the citadel of hostile anti-immigrant policies. The latter included officially endorsed anti-Semitic statements, denial of residency registration to the Meskhetian Turks in violation of the Russian citizenship laws, and the construction of deportation centers and holding tanks to which migrants could be consigned without a chance to take their case to a court first. Symptomatic in this respect was the fact that patterns of regional differentiation on support for deportation were also replicated in patterns of regional differentiation on acceptance of Skinhead groups—although the level of association was lower. While requiring further investigation, this is an alarming preliminary finding, suggesting tolerance of extremist xenophobic groups arises in the same contexts as the proclivity for pre-emptive vigilantism.¹

(3) If the security dilemma model explains more variation in hostility levels toward ethnic and religious minorities associated with security threats to Russia, one would need to account for the finding that in the Moscow Oblast the model explained more variation in hostility levels among respondents when they were asked about ethnic Kazakhs—rather than, say, about the Chechens. This

¹ In addition, both measures are strongly intercorrelated, with Pearson’s $R = .132$ and $p < .01$.

is especially paradoxical since an average respondent in Moscow Oblast feared that the Chechens could undermine the security of Russia or serve the interests of foreign powers against Russia almost twice as intensely by comparison with the Kazakhs. Respectively for these two measures, the average score for the Chechens on a 1-to-5 ascending scale was 4.19 and 4.21 and for Kazakhs it was 2.24 and 2.9. In the regression model, hostility for both groups was associated about as strongly with economic insecurity (benefits to the native residents and concern about job competition). The relationship between threat and hostility, however, was stronger for the Kazakhs than for the Chechens, while both were statistically significant. One tentative explanation that came through in interviews in Volgograd and in a press review in Primorskii krai was that anti-immigrant extremists in Russia abstained from attacking the Chechens fearing brutal retaliation; at the same time, representatives of South and East Asian ethnic groups reported increasing levels of violence against them and attributed that to their reputation for not having the capacity to respond in kind. Yet, this intriguing finding calls for detailed further investigation—especially since it may reveal important counterintuitive insights about the nature of ethnic targeting in the Russian Federation and beyond.

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