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Ethnocentrism in Russia and Ukraine

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ETHNOCENTRISM IN RUSSIA AND UKRAINE

by

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CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is an investigation into the causes and consequences of ethnocentrism in Russia and Ukraine. It expands on the current literature in political science which has focused exclusively on data from the United States. By examining new countries, this work increases our knowledge about the characteristics of ethnocentrism and its effects. I also go beyond what has been done in previous work by examining ethnocentrism's variable effects on different ethnic groups in a society.

The dissertation is broken down into two parts. The first half, chapters one, two and three, look at the relationship between ethnocentrism and different ethnic groups. Using the ideas of William Sumner as a starting point, I investigate the differences in in-group and out-group attitudes across high-status and low-status ethnic groups using survey data from the United States, Russia and Ukraine. I also explore how group status influences individual levels of ethnocentrism.

In chapters four and five I use ethnocentrism to help explain individual-level foreign policy attitudes and vote choice in Ukraine. Using survey data and multivariate logistic and linear regression models, I show that ethnocentrism has distinct effects on ethnic Russians and ethnic Ukrainians living in Ukraine and that these effects are substantively significant. Ethnocentric Russians in Ukraine are much more likely than ethnic Ukrainians or non-ethnocentric ethnic Russians to support integration with Russia, to support fighting terrorism and to oppose NATO membership. They were also significantly less likely to vote for Viktor Yushchenko during the 2004 Ukrainian presidential election.

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1.1 Introduction

"*Groups lie at the core of the human experience and underpin the structure and accomplishments of human society. The variety of groups we may belong to and identify with is enormous – it may include groups based on ethnicity, ability, gender, nationality, religion, political ideology, profession, employment, family, hobbies, etc.*" (Hogg, Hohman, and Rivera 2008: 1269).

Ethnocentrism is the human tendency to divide the world into in-groups and out-groups and then rate out-groups in reference to the in-group. Although the term has only been with us since the early 20th century, the feelings and beliefs that it describes are undoubtedly as old humanity. To varying degrees, individuals often possess a natural desire to associate with those who they find similar and stay away from those who are different. Familiar environments and people reduce stress and make living everyday life easier and more comfortable. In any society there can be many different cultural divisions of varying salience, for example language or religion.

As the name ethnocentrism implies, in this dissertation I focus on ethnic groups. That is, common descent and cultural communities that share a sense of solidarity with other members of the group (Fenton 2010; Smith 1989). Ethnic groups are important because they constitute one of the most fundamental (and influential) group that a person can belong to. Ethnic group identity has influence on all aspects of an individual's life.

Therefore, if we want to better understand the many factors affecting public opinion, ethnic groups are one of the key places we need to look. Ethnocentrism provides a framework for doing so.

Donald Kinder and Cindy Kam, in a series of influential works, demonstrated how ethnocentrism affects individual level attitudes on a diverse range of issues important to political scientists. Individuals with higher levels of ethnocentrism are less likely to support foreign aid, gay rights, and open immigration (Kinder and Kam 2009). Ethnocentric individuals are also more likely to support the use of force: higher levels of ethnocentrism is shown to be directly related to increased support for the war on terror, as well as an increased preference for military force over diplomacy (Kinder and Kam 2009: 81-93). Kinder and Kam's work was a major contribution to the ethnocentrism literature, but its impact was limited because they only presented data from the United States. This greatly reduces the generalizability of their work. I am seeking to expand on their results by analyzing new countries, while simultaneously taking a deeper look at how the effect of ethnocentrism differs among various ethnic groups in these societies.

The post-Soviet world is an ideal place to study ethnocentrism and its effects. According to many scholars, one of the primary forces behind the fall of the Soviet Union was the restlessness of its many different national groups (Beissinger 2002; Suny 1993). The breakup of the Soviet Union, however, did not put an end to ethnic antagonisms in the region. Instead, in the last quarter century numerous armed conflicts have emerged across the post-Soviet space: Tajikistan fought an extremely bloody civil war in the early 1990s; Russia and Chechnya had two long periods of brutal conflict; Armenia and Azerbaijan fought a war over territory from 1992 to 1994, but the conflict remains

"frozen;" Georgia descended into civil war in the 1990s leading to break away regions in Abkhazia and South Ossetia, the latter over which Georgia fought a brief war with Russia in 2008. More recently, Russia and Ukraine, the primary countries under study here, have been unofficially at war since Russia's annexation of Crimea and subsequent support of proxy separatist forces in the eastern regions of Ukraine. Studying ethnic group dynamics in post-Soviet countries can shed light on why these conflicts turned violent and, hopefully, provide advice on how to reduce the chance of future conflict.

To investigate the effects of ethnocentrism in Russia and Ukraine, I analyze large-n public opinion surveys from each country. I analyze attitudes towards both the in-group and towards a range of out-groups to see if differences emerge across different ethnic groups (chapter 2). I am particularly interested in the differences between groups that I have termed high-status and low-status. I also look at individual level factors in each country, including group status, to predict which factors are more likely to be related to higher levels of in-group pride, xenophobia and ethnocentrism (chapter 3). In Ukraine, I take an in-depth look at how ethnocentrism and ethnicity interact to affect individual level attitudes on a range of significant foreign policy issues (chapter 4) and on voting during the 2004 Ukrainian presidential election (chapter 5).

In the remainder of this first chapter, I introduce the concept of ethnocentrism and provide a brief history of its use. I then develop a set of hypotheses grounded in the current literature that investigate the relationship between ethnocentrism and ethnic group status. At the end of the chapter, I provide a simple explanation for how and why ethnocentrism affects groups differently depending on the issue or topic under consideration.

1.2 Ethnocentrism

1.2.1 What is ethnocentrism?

No consensus exists in the literature on what constitutes ethnocentrism. Understandably, a term that is over one hundred years old has had many decades to acquire many meanings and interpretations. In its simplest form, however, ethnocentrism is defined by how individuals see groups. In the classic sense, ethnocentrism is defined by both an individual's attitudes towards "others", as well as attitudes towards the "in-group" (Sumner 1906). An "other" is simply anyone who is not a member of the in-group. While many different types of salient in-groups and out-groups exist in a society, the term ethnocentrism refers to ethnic (or cultural) groupings. In this work, I use the term "ethnocentrism" to mean attitudes towards the in-group *in reference* to attitudes towards out-groups. In other words, more formally, an individual's level of ethnocentrism is a measure of the distance between attitudes towards their in-group and attitudes towards out-groups. If an individual loves his or her in-group but despises out-group members, then he or she would be considered highly ethnocentric. This is often described as the Sumnerian view of ethnocentrism: rating out-groups in reference to the in-group. Much more will be said about this definition of ethnocentrism below.

A Sumnerian understanding of ethnocentrism, however, is not the only one. Others have argued for a definition of ethnocentrism that focuses on either just the "in-group" or the "out-group." This is because researchers have often seen attitudes towards out-groups and attitudes towards in-groups as just two halves of the same ethnocentric coin (Brewer 1999). In other words, if attitudes towards the in-group and attitudes

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towards out-groups are highly correlated (i.e. they basically measure the same thing), then using just one measure or the other could be theoretically justified. As will be both described and demonstrated later, however, the evidence that in-group attitudes and attitudes towards out-groups are correlated is mixed. This dissertation will take the Sumnerian definition as its starting point.

1.2.2 Ethnocentrism conceptualized

The term "ethnocentrism" has been in use by scholars for over a century. Its first usages, however, are somewhat murky. It has long been assumed that Yale Sociologist William Sumner first used the term ethnocentrism in his 1906 book "Folkways" (LeVine and Campbell 1972: 7; Brewer and Campbell 1976: 1-3; Forbes 1985: 22; Kinder and Kam 2009: 9). Recent work, however, has argued that the term first appeared in print in an article by an Iowan born ethnologist, William McGee, in 1900 (Bizumic and Duckitt 2012). In contrast to Sumner, McGee restricts the domain of societies that have ethnocentric views to lesser-advanced (i.e. "primitive") societies. He writes: "*the prominence of self-centered thinking in lowly life is exemplified by kinship organization, the universal basis of primitive society*" (McGee 1900: 831). Foreshadowing one of the key elements of Sumner's definition of ethnocentrism, McGee writes that ethnocentric views are always present and always important (once again, however, only in non-advanced societies): "*In higher culture the recognized cosmos lies in the background of thought, at least among the great majority, but in primitive culture the egocentric and ethnocentric views are ever-present and always-dominant factors of both mentation and action*" (McGee 1900: 831).

Newer work now even casts doubt that McGee was the first to employ the term "ethnocentrism." It now appears that the first use of the term ethnocentrism was by Polish sociologist Ludwig Gumplowicz, first appearing in a number of German language articles written in the late 19th century (Bizumic 2013). Interestingly, Bizumic writes that Gumplowicz was cited by Sumner, all but ensuring that Sumner was both familiar with and influenced by his work. Sumner, however, never acknowledged Gumplowicz's use of the term.

It is not particularly important whether it was Sumner, McGee, Gumplowicz or an even earlier scholar who coined the term. Sumner remains the scholar who popularized the concept of ethnocentrism in the academic literature and it was his particular understanding that would become the foundation for how social scientists would conceptualize the concept for the next hundred years. William Sumner's classic definition of ethnocentrism states that ethnocentrism is "*the technical name for the view of things in which one's own group is the center of everything, and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it*" (Sumner 1906: 13). Sumner believed, in contrast to McGee, that ethnocentrism was common to individuals and groups everywhere. In other words, he made no distinction between advanced and primitive societies. In-groups "*boast*" about their "*superiority*" and "*exalt*" their own "*divinities*" while at the same time viewing outsiders with "*contempt*" (Sumner 1906: 13). In this way, ethnocentrism can accentuate and exaggerate cultural differences (what Sumner called "folkways"), which, in turn, lead to stark inter-group differentiation. Ethnocentrism, as conceptualized by Sumner, is thus comprised of two essential components: attitudes towards the in-group (which are expected to be positive) and attitudes all out-groups (which are expected to be negative).

Writing over sixty years later, LeVine and Campbell, following Sumner, conceptualized ethnocentrism as a combination of two halves: "*we use the term ethnocentrism to cover both the in-group-out-group polarization of hostility and the self-centered scaling of all values in terms of the in-group folkways*" (LeVine and Campbell 1972: 8). Their book provided a comprehensive look at the then up-to-date ethnocentrism research by compiling and organizing a large number of existing theories connected to ethnocentrism. Beyond the organization of theories, however, LeVine and Campbell also give an extensive list of 23 different facets of the "syndrome" of ethnocentrism (1972: 11).[1] Sumner, the authors argued, believed that the syndrome of ethnocentrism was related to group formation and intergroup competition. Moreover, all groups exhibited this syndrome (LeVine and Campbell 1972: 8). Attitudes and behaviors that favor the in-group tend to be grouped together as are negative attitudes and behaviors towards out-groups. For example, in-groups see themselves as virtuous and strong, as having an original culture and having the willingness to fight and die for the in-group. Out-groups, however, are marked by the absence of all of these characteristics.

Whether or not the concept of ethnocentrism should be focused primarily on positive in-group attitudes, negative out-group attitudes, or a combination of the two is still debated. Thus, while Sumner's definition was extremely influential on generations of scholars (Murdock 1949; LeVine and Campbell 1972; Kinder and Kam 2009), some have called for the decoupling of the concepts of the in-group and out-group components from ethnocentrism (Cashdan 2001; Hammond and Axelrod 2006; Cooper 2012; Bizumic and Duckitt 2012). Brewer and Campbell (1976) for example, in their analysis of public

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[1] By a "syndrome" the authors mean that these 23 facets are highly and positively correlated with one another.

opinion data in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania, did not confirm Sumner's claim of the reciprocal relationship between in-group and out-group relations.[2] A reciprocal relationship was possible, they said, but it was not the norm. Rather "*ethnocentrism as conceived by Sumner represents an extreme variation in the pattern of intergroup relations – one in which the in-group, and close allies, are represented in one sector of conceptual space, at the positive pole of all dimensions, and all other out-groups are located in the opposing sector. For this pattern to occur there must be a convergence of boundary-defining mechanisms such that all bases of distinction between "us" and "them" are highly correlated*" (Brewer and Campbell 1976: 144). Some of the possible factors leading to boundary convergence, they continue, could be the existence of economic or legal discrimination based on ethnic identity or threats to survival that require a high level of internal coordination and group-loyalty. Writing decades later, Brewer says that the entire East Africa project convinced her that in-group preference and out-group prejudice are two different things (Brewer 2005: 81). The concepts might be closely related, but they have different origins and different consequences for intergroup behavior. Thus, in this understanding of ethnocentrism, in-group and out-group attitudes may be distinct.

The most consistent proponents of a new, anti-Sumner understanding of ethnocentrism, have been Boris Bizumic and John Duckitt. In a 2012 article "*What is and is not ethnocentrism?*" they argue for a reconceptualization of ethnocentrism. Ethnocentrism, they say, should be seen as a "*strong sense of ethnic group self-importance and self-centeredness*" which is comprised of both intergroup expressions

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[2] This was just four years after Campbell co-authored the previously mentioned book with LeVine in 1972.

(preference, superiority, purity and exploitativeness) and intragroup expressions (devotion and group cohesion) (Bizumic and Duckitt 2012: 903). Intergroup expressions assume that the in-group is more important than other groups, while the intragroup expressions assume that the group is more important than the individual in-group members that comprise it. That ethnocentrism is a distinct concept from out-group negativity (for example, prejudice or xenophobia) is an idea, they argue, that has grounding in both theoretical and empirical work (Bizumic and Duckitt 2012: 809). Allport, for example, in *The Nature of Prejudice* writes that although groups tend to stay apart, there is no need to "*ascribe this tendency to a gregarious instinct, to a 'conscious of kind', or to prejudice. The fact is adequately explained by principles of ease, least effort and congeniality, and pride in one's own culture*" (Allport 1979: 19). In their experimental work, Bizumic and Duckitt have also shown that out-group negativity and in-group positivity are empirically distinct (Bizumic et al. 2009).

I am interested in evaluating Sumner's conceptualization of ethnocentrism and, therefore, I need to allow for both measures of in-group and out-group attitudes. It is important to note that even if these attitudes are not correlated with one another it would still be necessary to use both in-group attitudes and attitudes towards out-groups in constructing a measure of ethnocentrism. This is because what is key is the difference between an individual's attitudes towards the in-group and his or her attitudes towards out-groups. That is, what we are interested in is how individuals view their in-group *relative* to out-groups.[3] Having only a single measure (either attitudes towards the in-

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[3] If an individual loves all humanity and thus positively rates both the in-group and the out-group, then that person would not be ethnocentric (the "distance" between the in-group and out-group scores would be zero). However, if we had only used the single in-group measure to score "ethnocentrism", then this individual would have been rated as highly ethnocentric. The reverse would be true for a misanthrope:

group or attitudes towards out-groups) means that we have no reference category with which to compare. Such one-sided measures only imperfectly (inefficiently) capture what we are trying to measure. Thus, while the arguments from the authors above are important in the debate about the relationship between in-group and out-group attitudes, they do not necessarily invalidate a measure of ethnocentrism comprised of both in-group and out-group attitudes.

1.2.3 Closely linked concepts

A number of concepts in the social sciences are closely related to ethnocentrism. Theorists, however, maintain that ethnocentrism is theoretically distinct from these cognate terms. Ethnocentrism, they argue, might share features with intolerance, xenophobia, prejudice, racism, nationalism, and patriotism, but ethnocentrism is different from all of them. I believe, however, that while it can be useful to sometimes think of concepts in sharply delineated terms, in practice many concepts are extremely "fuzzy" (Sartori 1970). This means that the boundaries of where one concept ends and the next one begins are not always so clear. It is best to view these definitions as ideal, theoretical types around which there is a great deal of conceptual blurring. This is particularly true regarding the translation of these "ideal" types into indicators that can be measured and then analyzed. This is a complicated process that leads to even more blurring between concepts. Keeping these caveats in mind, I will briefly present how scholars have differentiated ethnocentrism from some of these cognate terms in their work.

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using only the negative out-group score (and ignoring the negative score for the in-group) would result in a score of high ethnocentrism despite the fact that the individual dislikes all people. It seems necessary, therefore, for any measure of ethnocentrism to account for both in-group and out-group attitudes.

Xenophobia is the fear and dislike of foreigners. Xenophobia is different from a Sumnerian understanding of ethnocentrism in the fact that xenophobia only refers to hostility towards out-groups (Kinder and Kam 2009: 246, note 4). Although both terms involve a rejection of those who are different (Bizumic and Duckitt 2012: 899), ethnocentrism also includes in-group pride. Xenophobia, along with ethnocentrism, go beyond mere anti-immigrant sentiment as they are both concerned with negative attitudes towards out-groups broadly defined, and not just towards immigrants. I will take a close look at xenophobia's relationship to ethnocentrism in both Ukraine and Russia in chapter 3.

Prejudice, a term closely related to xenophobia, also differs from ethnocentrism for the same reason: prejudice does not involve the idea of positive in-group attitudes (Levinson 1950: 102). However, in contrast to xenophobia, prejudice is hostility directed at a specific group (Kam and Kinder 2007: 322). Whether out-groups are seen similarly or whether some are seen more positively than others, will also be examined in chapter 2.

Another cognate term, racism, shares with ethnocentrism dislike of cultural out-groups because of their "biological or cultural deficiencies", but, racism is also a philosophy of exploitation and exclusion: "*Racism puts ethnocentrism to political purpose, providing justification for inequality and motivation for policies of exclusion*" (Kinder and Kam 2009: 246 note 4). Moreover, the concept of race requires visible differences among group members that help to define the group. Ethnocentrism, however, does not require phenotypical differences. For example, ethnocentric attitudes can exist among German, French and Polish peoples, even though all three ethnicities are most often seen as belonging to a single European race.

Patriotism and nationalism can also be understood as theoretically distinct from ethnocentrism. Patriotism, for example, is generally seen as comprising of positive attitudes towards the state. Negative attitudes towards out-groups are not required (Bizumic and Duckitt 2012: 898). Nationalism, according to Gellner (1983: 1), is a "*political principle which holds that the political and national unit should be congruent*" and can be seen as occupying an "*ambiguous middle ground*" between patriotism and xenophobia (Forbes 1985: 63). Levinson argues that nationalism should be seen as part of a broader ethnocentric orientation. Nationalism, he writes, is "*ethnocentric thinking in the sphere of international relations*" (Levinson 1957: 38-39). Bizumic and Duckitt assert that nationalism is not as old as ethnocentrism: "*Ethnocentrism can be seen as a more basic and fundamental (as well as much older) construct than it's more recent manifestation and modification, nationalism*" (Bizumic and Duckitt 2012: 898).

A strong connection does exist between populism and ethnocentrism. Populism has been defined as *"an ideology which pits a virtuous and homogenous people against a set of elites and dangerous 'others' who are together depicted as depriving (or attempting to deprive) the sovereign people of their rights, vales, prosperity, identity and voice"* (Albertazzi and McDonnell 2015: 3). Such a definition indicates that populist sentiment results, at least in part, from ethnocentric feelings; the idea of a *homogenous* and *virtuous* in-group set against *others* is the very essence of ethnocentrism. Populism, however, need not necessarily direct its ire against different ethnic groups (even though at times it might). Populist anger can be directed at any "out-group" that can be seen depriving the people (the in-group) of their rights. In this sense, populism is a broader concept than ethnocentrism.

This short review makes clear that ethnocentrism is conceptually distinct from any number of cognate concepts. Nonetheless, its long history means that the term has acquired many shades of meaning. The uniting factor, however, in all of the meanings is that they rely on the importance of groups.

1.3 Groups and ethnocentrism

Tajfel and Turner (1979: 40) define a group as "*a collection of individuals who perceive themselves to be members of the same social category, share some emotional involvement in this common definition of themselves, and achieve some degree of social consensus about the evaluation of their group and of their membership of it*". This is a useful definition for this work. Yet, it is also necessary to remember that individuals can belong to many different types of groups simultaneously. As Hogg et al. (2008) write in the quotation that opened this chapter, societies can be partitioned in countless ways; every individual can identify with a diverse range of groups. However, not all of these identities have the same weight. Some identities can be relatively flexible and easy to modify (such as one's profession) while other are difficult, or even impossible, to change (for example nationality, ethnicity or gender). While realizing the importance of multiple allegiances to multiple groups, as well as recognizing the significance of cross-cutting identities, this work concentrates on ethnic groups. In particular, how does ethnic group membership influence ethnocentrism and how does ethnocentrism influence the opinions an individual holds on crucial political attitudes?

Ethnocentrism, as originally envisioned by Sumner, did not entertain the possibility that members of some groups might have higher levels of ethnocentrism than

others. The idea that the effects of ethnocentrism might differ across groups was also not addressed. Yet, since we know that ethnic groups are not homogenous and that different groups have different goals and priorities, we should neither expect ethnic groups to be equally ethnocentric nor expect the effects of ethnocentrism to be the same across groups. Rather, the level of ethnocentrism of an individual, as well as the effects that ethnocentrism has on individual-level opinions, should be at least partially influenced by group membership.

I will show that ethnic groups matter in two important and related ways. First, some groups are more ethnocentric than others. That is, group membership influences ethnocentric attitudes. Second, I will show that ethnocentrism has dissimilar effects on different ethnic groups. I argue that the struggle for relative group worth is key to understanding these group differences. I begin with a simple dichotomy based on group-status: membership in a high-status or low-status ethnic group. I will show that this dichotomy can be used to explain variation in the levels of ethnocentrism across groups. I will also use it to show how the conditional relationship between group membership and ethnocentrism can significantly help explain individual-level support for key attitudinal variables (such as aggressive oriented foreign policies and vote choice) even after controlling for a large number of important demographic and attitudinal variables.

A key question in this discussion is how to determine which groups are high-status and which are low-status. This question is not straightforward, and its selection will have significant consequences for this work and thus needs to be clearly justified. A universal metric valid in all situations is not possible. Heterogeneous societies with different economies, political structures and histories of inter-group relations will have

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different ideas of what constitutes a high-status or low-status group. Context plays a crucial role.

Very often, ethnic majority and minority groups are synonymous with being high-status and low-status groups respectively. Ethnic majority group members generally have higher socioeconomic status and can more often be found in positions of power and influence in a country. Yet, this is not a universal rule and many exceptions can be found. In the US, for example, whites, the largest ethnic group, are seen as a high-status, while African Americans and Hispanics are often viewed as low-status group members. Asian Americans, while clearly an ethnic minority (albeit a very diverse one), however, are not generally seen as a low-status group. Scholars have classified Asian Americans as being in a triangulated relationship with whites and blacks (Junn and Masuoka 2008). The fact that Asian Americans are objectively well off as a group is likely a big part of the explanation why. According to the US Census Bureau, the median household income for Asian Americans is not only higher than every other minority group in the United States, it is also higher than the median incomes of non-Hispanic, whites (DeNavas-Walt 2011: 8). To the extent that group status influences attitudes, we expect to see Asian Americans holding opinions that are closer to those of whites than blacks and Hispanics.

A similar situation to the United States exists in the countries of the former Soviet Union. Across these countries, the majority ethnic group is also the group that tends to dominate politically and culturally. In other words, groups that are both ethnic-majority and high-status are those that hold the reins of power. For example, in Russia, Russians are the majority and also dominate politically. However, this does not mean that minority groups cannot be seen as high-status. As with Asian-Americans in the United States,

certain minority groups in Russia can be seen as high-status. While there are certainly many possible divisions of ethnic groups, I will argue that the most salient division into high-status and low-status group in Russia is based on the East-Slavic identity.

Most concisely, this means the high-status East-Slavic identity is centered on the perceived shared cultural and linguistic similarities of Russians, Ukrainians and Belarussians. These three groupings, which are all presently nations, comprise what is commonly called the East Slavic family. Collectively, these three states share over a millennium of history, all tracing their roots the Kievan-Rus state, a medieval kingdom that dominated much of the lands of modern day Ukraine, Belarus and Western European Russia (Bazylow and Wieczorkiewicz 2005: 23-26). Culturally, strong similarities bind these groups together. Across all three countries, the majority of people belong to the Eastern Orthodox Church which has a common liturgical language (though some differences regarding the church hierarchy do exist in each country). Russian is commonly spoken in all three countries and most educated people are bi-lingual. Moreover, Russian, Ukrainian and Belarussian languages share roots in a common Old East Slavic language (Wilson 2002: 11), meaning that the languages are generally mutually intelligible.

As the Russian empire expanded its borders throughout 16th to 19th centuries, its justification rested on its idea of a "civilizing mission" to all the non-Russian people in its periphery. The empire dominated non-Slavic peoples and at times attempted to force their conversion to Orthodoxy (Graney 2008: 198). However, religious minorities (and the overwhelming majority of ethnic minorities in the Russian Empire were religious minorities) were at all times second-class citizens (Geraci and Khodarkovsky 2001).

These centuries' old policies continue to reverberate in present day understandings of what it means to be part of the Russian cultural space. In Russia and Ukraine, Eastern Slavic identity is synonymous with high-status because this is the primary culture that has been in power in these lands at least since the second half of the 17th century.

A final point as to why these three East Slavic peoples can be grouped together concerns their appearance. In many cases Belarussians, Ukrainians and Russians are able to move freely about all three states without anyone knowing that they are actually a "foreigner". Moreover, due to the shared cultural and linguistic characteristics, the traveler is also unlikely to feel as if he or she is in a "foreign" country. While there are differences in Russian dialects, these vary as much within each country as they do across the three countries. Therefore, Russians, Belarussians and Ukrainians often look and speak like one another. The consequences of these similarities were evident in the 2014-2015 conflict in eastern Ukraine and Crimea, in which large numbers of separatist fighters were believed to be Russian citizens but were able to blend in with the local militias.[4]

The data that I will analyze in chapter allow me disaggregate groups based on status. In the Russian data, I analyze the opinions of high-status groups, including Russians and Ukrainians, and low-status groups such as Tatars and Chuvash. In Ukraine, I look at the opinions of Ukrainians and ethnic Russians. Thus, in Ukraine, I will not be

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[4] The fact that Russian soldiers blend in creates confusion that allows the Russian government to deny the involvement of the Russian military. This strategy was used in the annexation of Crimea, in which well-trained soldiers took control of the peninsula in February 2014. Only a year later did Russia admit that these troops had in fact been Russian soldiers, as opposed to local defense forces (BBC 2015).

able to compare these high-status group attitudes with low-status groups, but I will be able to see how two high-status groups compare to one another.

The rest of this section introduces what is known in the literature about the relationship between group status and ethnocentrism. I start by exploring William Sumner's brief writings about groups and ethnocentrism and compare his thoughts to more recent conclusions in the literature. The purpose of this review is to update Sumner's arguments in light of what has been learned in the preceding century in order to develop new hypotheses that will be examined in later chapters.

1.4 Groups and Sumner

William Sumner was the first to popularize the concept of ethnocentrism and, thus, is the natural starting point for thinking about ethnocentrism and groups. Unfortunately, Sumner did not provide many details about how ethnocentrism actually works. For example, he neither discussed heterogeneity in group-level attitudes towards out-groups nor did he discuss the possibility that attitudes towards the in-group might also vary by group. This is perhaps not surprising considering that the section in his book concerned with ethnocentrism is comprised of just a few short pages. Regardless of Sumner's lack of theorizing the dynamics between groups and ethnocentrism, the literature suggests that we will see differences across groups that affect ethnocentrism. Decades of social science research can help us to make informed (and updated) predictions to extend Sumner's theory.

Sumner's theory contains three primary facets: the superiority of the in-group over all out-groups, the consistency of negative attitudes towards out-groups, and an

inverse relationship between attitudes towards the in-group and attitudes towards out-groups. The citations below come from Sumner's book, *Folkways* (Sumner 1906). They justify each of these three major facets of a Sumnerian conceptualization of ethnocentrism. Each will be analyzed below in regards to more recent academic work. I will then produce up-to-date hypotheses about the nature of this conceptualization of ethnocentrism that will be tested in the next chapter.

1. In-groups will view themselves as superior to out-groups

"*each group nourishes its own pride and vanity ... and look with contempt on outsiders*" (Sumner 1906: 13).

2. Attitudes towards out-groups are generally negative

"*The insiders in a we-group are in a relation of peace, order, law, government, and industry, to each other. Their relation to all outsiders, or others-groups, is one of war and plunder, except so far as agreements have modified it*" (Sumner 1906: 12)

3. Attitudes towards the in-group and attitudes towards out-groups are negatively correlated

"*The relation of comradeship and peace in the we-group and that of hostility and war towards others-groups are correlative to each other*"

"*Loyalty to the group, sacrifice for it, hatred and contempt for outsiders, brotherhood within, warlikeness without - all grow together, common products of the same situation*" (Sumner 1906: 13)

Kinder and Kam (2009) looked for evidence of these three facets of ethnocentrism in the United States. Their results, which will be fully explained in the next chapter, were only partially supportive of Sumner's arguments. However, it is key to note, that in analyzing these three facets, Kinder and Kam were primarily focused on the attitudes of

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white respondents, the dominant ethnic group in the United States.[5] As I have outlined above, I will investigate the attitudes of a diverse range of ethnic groups in each society.

1.4.1 Facet one: in-group superiority

This **first facet** implies that individuals will always see their group more positively than outsiders. Plenty of evidence, both experimental and otherwise, indicates that in-group superiority is extremely widespread. Yet, exceptions to the rule do exist. In general, in-group members are expected to see the in-group more positively than out-groups, though some in-group members might see the "in-group" less positively (more negatively) than others.

As discussed above, Sumner did not theoretically differentiate between *types* of ethnic groups. Despite Sumner's silence, decades of experimental work on group and attitude formation clearly demonstrates that while attitudes towards the in-group are generally very favorable, they can and do vary both with groups and across groups.

Evidence of the ubiquity of the belief in-group superiority comes from the minimal group paradigm experiments of Tajfel and Turner (Tajfel 1970; Tajfel et al. 1971; Tajfel and Turner 1979). Social Identity Theory, which resulted from these experiments, theorizes that individuals strive to maintain a positive identity through membership in various groups, which try to positively differentiate themselves from other groups. In the experiments, subjects are divided into groups based on arbitrary criteria; for example, eye color or the preference of a particular style painting. Despite the trivial

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[5] Kinder and Kam do mention that they did look at other ethnic groups and that the results were very similar to whites (2009: 55). However, the authors do not give any details and did not feel the need to put the results in a very comprehensive online appendix. This is not a criticism of the authors. Rather it simply highlights the priorities they emphasized in their work.

nature in which these groups are created, when the subjects are tasked with disbursing

awards among all groups (which they have neither met nor even seen), the strategy most

commonly followed is to maximize the difference between the in-group and the out-

group (Tajfel et al. 1971; Turner, Brown, and Tajfel 1979). When the subjects are given

the choice between maximizing the award for the in-group or maximizing the difference

between the in-group and the out-group, the latter strategy prevailed. In other words, the

experiments show a strong tendency for in-group members to differentiate themselves as

much as possible from out-group members.

Results from non-experimental studies also often demonstrate the near universal

existence of in-group favoritism. In surveys across thirty different ethnic groups in East

Africa, only three in-groups rated an out-group higher than themselves on a range of

positive and negative traits (Brewer and Campbell 1976: 79-83). Moreover, only one

group rated multiple out-groups higher than the in-group. In-group favoritism was, if not

quite universal, by far the most common outcome. Surveys from Western Europe also

found evidence of widespread in-group favoritism (Koomen and Bähler 1996). The

tendency towards in-group favoritism has also been found in children. Griffiths and

Nesdale (2006) found that Anglo-Australian children (ages 5-12) consistently rated their

in-group higher than out-groups (Pacific Islanders and Aboriginals) on multiple

attitudinal measures.

The above literature testifies to the ubiquity of in-group favoritism, but much of

the work on groups has been focused on the attitudes of the dominant group (Dasgupta

2004). Many of the studies cited above come from experimental work, in which it is

difficult to replicate authentic majority-minority group relations, or surveys which did not

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disaggregate ethnic majority and minority members. However, when researchers have disaggregated the population into different groups, they have often found interesting, and at times conflicting, results.

Some work has shown that ethnic minority group members exhibit higher levels of in-group favoritism than the majority group. Branthwaite and Jones (1975), for example, using an experimental design approach similar to Tajfel et al. (1971) but with the addition of dividing subjects based on ethnic identity (English and Welsh), found that Welsh subjects were more likely to distribute awards in a way that maximized the difference with the out-group, than were the English subjects. In other words, the minority group (Welsh) showed more in-group preference than the majority group (English). In contrast, other studies have demonstrated lower levels of in-group favoritism among minority groups. Griffith and Nesdale's study (2006), which was described above in the context of the dominant group, Anglo-Australians, also demonstrated that children from a minority group, Pacific Islanders, did not rate themselves as superior to the dominant group (though, they had no problems rating themselves higher than the aboriginals). Kinder and Kam (2009: 49), based on survey data from the United States, also found evidence of Hispanics rating whites higher than the in-group on certain stereotype measures.

The contradictory results are further complicated by issues of measurement. How is the concept "in-group" favoritism actually captured? Different methods for measuring in-group favoritism, as well as different ways of operationalizing it, make interpretation complicated. Livingston (2002), in an innovative study, measured in-group favoritism among African Americans using two distinct measures, an implicit and explicit measure

of attitudes. The explicit measure was a simple feeling thermometer asking the respondent to rate the in-group on warmness. The implicit measure was a combination of the "pipeline" paradigm and a computer-based Implicit Association Test (IAT). African Americans exhibited in-group favoritism on the explicit measure, but not on the implicit measures. Moreover, African Americans who reported high perceived negativity from whites had higher levels of explicit in-group favoritism (i.e. the feeling thermometer), but lower levels of implicit in-group favoritism. In other words, the effects cut in opposite directions. This complexity would have been lost had the authors examined only one of the two measures of in-group favoritism.

It is also essential to understand that different groups can value different traits and if research fails to take this into account, the results may be biased. For example, in a clever study, Lalonde (1992) follows a losing hockey team throughout their season. The players of this losing team (i.e. a subordinate group) willingly recognized their opponents as having better skills, but rationalized this by describing their play as "dirty" (Lalonde 1992: 339). In this way, the players were still able to positively differentiate themselves from the dominant (i.e. winning) out-groups. To this subordinate group, it was not a high level of skill that was important (a trait in which they could not compete), but the morality of playing fair. In this, they saw themselves dominant. Thus, different in-groups do see themselves differently. However, we need to be cautious that what constitutes in-group favoritism can vary across groups. Operationalization and measurement are extremely important.

The above literature on in-group favoritism leads to two hypotheses that will be tested in the next chapter.

Hypotheses:

> **H1:** In comparison to low-status groups, high-status groups more frequently view their in-group favorably.

> **H2:** When low status groups view an out-group more favorably than the in-group, the out-group is often a high-status group.

1.4.2 Facet two: consistency in negative attitudes towards out-groups

The **second facet** is that there will be consistency in negative attitudes towards out-groups. Although Sumner was generalizing, he does appear to allow for the possibility of limited exceptions in negative relations towards some outsiders. He writes, "*except so far as agreements have modified it*", relations are just "*war and plunder*" (Sumner 1906: 12). Thus, negative attitudes towards out-groups appears to be the default opinion of in-group members. Unfortunately, Sumner did not expound on what exactly he meant by "*agreements.*" However, decades of empirical work on group relations has demonstrated that out-groups are not rated similarly. Rather, some out-groups are seen more positively, while others are viewed more negatively.

Returning again to Social Identity and Group Conflict Theory, early experimental work showed the ease with which group loyalties could be altered and manipulated. In these experiments, individuals grouped together on the basis of trivial measures quickly formed in-group attachments that led them to treat perceived out-groups differently (Tajfel 1970; Tajfel et al. 1971; Tajfel and Turner 1979; Turner, Brown, and Tajfel 1979). The speed in which negative attitudes could be created towards a trivial "out-group" demonstrated the fluidity of such attitudes as well as the fact that such attitudes are socially constructed. Some of these experiments showed that different out-groups

were rated differently by the in-group regarding whether or not the particular out-group was perceived as "relevant" or "irrelevant" (Turner, Brown, and Tajfel 1979). In other words, a group's status determined an in-group's attitudes towards it.

These experimental results have been confirmed with survey data, including from the former Soviet Union. Hagendoorn, Poppe and Minescu (Hagendoorn, Poppe, and Minescu 2008: 365, table 3), with an extremely large survey in Russia of ten different ethnic republics (1990-1991; n=9,936), demonstrated the existence of a wide range of stereotypes towards ethnic Russians across the republic's titular groups. Likewise, ethnic Russians also had varying levels of negative out-group stereotypes towards the titulars in each republic. Leach et al (2008: 1171-1172), using the same data set showed how two out-groups, long perceived negatively in Russian society, Jews and Chechens, are also viewed very differently. Jews were seen as more peaceful, more intelligent, less antagonistic, and, slightly more moral than Chechens.

Heterogeneity in attitudes towards out-groups in post-Soviet countries is not just limited to Russia. Surveys in Ukraine, and other post-Soviet and post-communist countries, have also shown that different ethnic groups express varying levels of tolerance for different out-groups (Paniotto 1999; Hansen and Hesli 2009). A number of surveys done by PEW in Russia, Ukraine and Lithuania showed a large degree of variation in attitudes towards out-groups. Interestingly, the surveys also reveal a great deal of variation in attitudes towards a particular out-group over time. In Russia, for example, between 1991 and 2009, attitudes towards Georgians, Lithuanians, and Ukrainians all become more negative (Pew 2009). In Ukraine, by contrast, over the same

time period, attitudes towards Georgians, Jews and Lithuanians actually became more positive; only attitudes towards Russians became more negative.

The heterogeneity observed in attitudes towards out-groups might take an innocuous form of like-dislike or it might manifest itself more intensely. Results from surveys in Russia indicate that the latter is sometime true: respondents in these surveys have reported holding "hostile" views towards certain out-groups (Herrera and Kraus 2012: table 6). Reported hostility was highest towards Roma and Chechens, followed by Americans, Muslims and Jews, and then finally Italians and Swedes, both of whom garnered the lowest amount of hostility (around one percent of respondents). Gerber (2014) confirms these results with more recent data. The percent of respondents expressing hostility or fear towards these groups varies tremendously, from around 55-60% towards Chechens and Roma, to 20-30% towards Americans and Chinese. Swedes, on the other hand, are quite well liked; only around 5% of the respondents expressed hostility towards them. Other work in Russia has convincingly shown that ethnic Russians, in comparison with ethnic non-Russians, continually express higher levels of hostility towards migrant workers (Alexseev 2010).

Variations in attitudes towards out-groups can be explained by reference to context. Russian attitudes are negative towards Chechens due to the recent wars (and grounded in stereotypes from two centuries of conflict). In contrast, attitudes towards western Europeans are based on good relations (Sweden has not invaded Russia since the 18th century) and images of prosperity. Much scholarly work has demonstrated the relevance of out-group status in determining attitudes towards the out-group (Tajfel and Turner 1979; Sachdev and Bourhis 1991). As mentioned earlier, high-status out-groups

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can sometimes be seen positively by members of lower-status in-groups. For example, Kinder and Kam noted that Blacks and Latinos were not always willing to assert their group's superiority when comparing themselves with whites (Kinder and Kam: 2009: 49-51). Griffiths and Nesdale (2006) showed that children from lower-status groups saw their own group as equal to the high-status group. The high-status group, however, did not reciprocate: the high-status group rated all out-groups more negatively, though some were seen as more negative than others.

Clearly, past research does not support the assumption that in-group members automatically see outsiders (and out-groups) negatively. Instead, there should be variation in how in-groups view and rate different out-groups.

Hypothesis:

High-status

H3a: High-status in-groups will view high-status out-groups positively (but less positively than the in-group)

H3b: High-status in-groups will view low-status out-groups negatively

Low-status

H4a: Low-status in-groups will view high-status out-groups positively (including sometimes more positively than the in-group)

H4b: Low-status in-groups will view low-status out-groups negatively

1.4.3 Facet three: attitudes towards the in-group and attitudes towards out-groups are negatively correlated

The **third**, and final, facet says that attitudes towards the in-group and attitudes towards outsiders are negatively correlated. As shown above, Sumner appeared to be adamant on this point, putting forward it twice in just a few short pages.

While this might at first seem like a reasonable assumption, it has not held up well to empirical scrutiny (Brewer 1979; Brewer 2007). A large literature of results from both experiments and field studies strongly indicates that positive in-group attitudes are not consistently related to negative attitudes towards out-groups (Brewer 1999: 432). To take one of the most well-known examples, public opinion data from thirty different ethnic groups in East Africa found that the Sumnerian form of ethnocentrism was possible under certain circumstances, but, in general, it was unlikely (Brewer and Campbell 1976: 144). Brewer, having written numerous articles on the topic, has become the strongest opponent of the idea that in-group favoritism and out-group disdain are commonly related (Brewer 1979; Brewer 1999; Brewer 2005b; Brewer 2007).

Kinder and Kam (2009), who used stereotype based measures of in-group and out-group attitudes similar to those I employ in this work, found almost no relationship between attitudes towards the in-group (whites) and attitudes towards three out-groups (Asians, blacks and Hispanics) (54). In analyzing the opinion of whites, the only statistically significant in-group correlation between whites and an out-group was with Asians and, in a full rebuttal to Sumner, the correlation was positive rather than negative.

While maintaining that positive in-group attitudes and negative out-group attitudes are not commonly related, Brewer (1999) does discuss a number of possibilities when they might be correlated. For example, if in-group favoritism takes on an element

of moral superiority such that it makes tolerance of others very difficult, then a reciprocal relationship might form. Or, if different groups share common values that they both see as necessary requirement for a positive group image[6], then conflict could arise over this value.[7]

Perhaps most commonly, the perception of threat can also cause positive in-group and out-group bias to be related (Brewer 1999). For example, following the end of Apartheid in South Africa, positive in-group identification of Blacks was shown to be inversely related to attitudes of Afrikaans Whites (Duckitt and Mphuthing 1998). However, positive black attitudes were not significantly related to attitudes towards non-Afrikaans whites. Rather the negative relationship between black in-group identification and out-group dislike of Afrikaans was due to the oppression felt under apartheid. Inglehart et al (2006) using survey data from Iraq, demonstrate that situations of extreme insecurity lead to both higher levels of xenophobia and in-group identification. Iraqi Shias, Sunnis and Kurds express higher levels of in-group trust than any country in Europe. Lastly, Brewer states that power politics can exacerbate any or all of the previously mentioned problems through "*deliberate manipulation by group leaders in the interests of mobilizing collective action to secure or maintain power*" (Brewer 1999: 437).

Based on this literature, it is possible to hypothesize about when positive in-group attitudes will be negatively related to attitudes towards out-groups. Even though the

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[6] In Social Identity Theory, we would say necessary for positive social differentiation.
[7] For example, this could have happened if the losing hockey team in Lalonde's work (2002) had valued winning over fairness.

literature tells us that the two will often be unrelated, it does suggest some circumstances in which they might be negatively correlated.

Hypothesis:

H5a: Positive attitudes towards the in-group and negative attitudes towards out-groups will be uncorrelated

H5b: Positive attitudes towards the in-group and negative attitudes towards an out-group will be correlated if there is extreme animosity between the groups

1.5 Ethnocentrism and attitudes

While the next two chapters of this dissertation (chapters 2 and 3) look at the components of ethnocentrism and investigate the different relationship between ethnocentrism and group status, the second part of this dissertation (chapters 4 and 5) aims to show how ethnic group membership and ethnocentrism work together to affect important, individual-level attitudes. To do this, I will focus on the country of Ukraine. In chapter 4 I look at how ethnocentrism affects the foreign policy opinions of Ukrainians, while in chapter 5 I analyze the effect of ethnocentrism on the highly contentious 2004 Ukrainian presidential election. In both chapters, I show how ethnocentrism affects the attitudes of ethnic Russians and ethnic Ukrainians differently.

The political science literature lacks a systematic investigation of how the effects of ethnocentrism differ across ethnic groups.[8] No work that I know of has investigated the differential effects of ethnocentrism on the foreign policy attitudes of different groups.

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[8] One exception is a short few pages in Kinder Kam's book *Us Against Them* (2009: 129-136), in which they look at the effects of ethnocentrism towards immigration attitudes from the perspective of both whites and Hispanics. They did show that ethnocentrism affected Hispanics differently than whites.

Likewise, I have seen no works that examine how ethnocentrism might affect voting differently for different groups in a society. Along with a complete reliance on data from the United States, these lacunae are serious shortfalls in the literature. If ethnocentrism does have dissimilar effects on different ethnic groups then models explaining attitudes or behavior need to take this into account. Without a correctly specified model, researchers may erroneously conclude that ethnocentrism affects everyone in society equally. Even more seriously, if, in a particular society, ethnocentrism has effects in opposite directions on different groups, then failing to account for group effects could result in ethnocentrism appearing insignificant in the models (as the opposite effects for each group could cancel each other out in the aggregate).

In contrast to this previous work, my empirical chapters account for the fact that ethnocentrism is likely to have opposite effects on ethnic Russians and ethnic Ukrainians living in Ukraine. In my story, societal context as well as the interests of the group to which the person belongs conditions the relationship between ethnocentrism and support for the particular policies. This makes sense intuitively since different groups have different interests and priorities. Certain issues (such as foreign policies or presidential candidates), particularly if they clearly line up with a group's interests, can cause the effects of ethnocentrism to be particularly salient. For a given in-group, ethnocentrism will be positively related to attitudes on policies that the in-group believes will raise the prestige of the group relative to out-groups.

Why should this be the case? My argument is that Social Identity Theory (SIT) provides a simple link between ethnocentrism and attitudes. One of the key features of SIT, as described above, is that individuals want to maximize differences with members

of other groups because this is how in-group members build prestige for the group. Individuals who are highly ethnocentric, I argue, will more strongly support policies they believe to be in the interest of their group (and not in the interest of the out-group). Again, this is because the more ethnocentric an individual is, the more he or she wants to differentiate themselves from others (i.e. "out-groups).

Ethnocentrism will play a larger role in explaining variation in attitudes towards policies that are particularly contentious between groups. This is because these issues provide clear cues about which groups will benefit and which groups will lose. Issues that do not clearly activate group identity are unlikely to be strongly affected by ethnocentrism. Chapter four, which looks at the effects of ethnocentrism on different foreign policies will demonstrate this by showing that certain polices are much more affected by ethnocentrism than others.

1.6 Outline of chapters

In the following chapter, **chapter 2**, I explore the hypotheses regarding ethnocentrism that I laid out in this chapter. The purpose is to investigate the extent to which in-group and out-group attitudes in the US, Russia and Ukraine fit Sumner's original theory.

In **chapter 3** I analyze the effects of group status on an individual's level of ethnocentrism. Does group status (dichotomized as high-status or low-status) affect an individual's level of ethnocentrism? Additionally, I examine whether group status can predict the two individual components of ethnocentrism, in-group attitudes (superiority) and attitudes towards out-groups (xenophobia).

Chapters 4 and 5, using the Ukrainian survey data, investigate how ethnocentrism affects ethnic Russians and ethnic Ukrainians in different ways. In **chapter 4,** I look at the conditional effect of ethnocentrism and ethnic group membership on individual level foreign policy attitudes in Ukraine. I show that ethnocentrism does influence foreign policy opinions in the country. Importantly, I demonstrate that the effects of ethnocentrism depend on the ethnic group: ethnocentrism affects ethnic Russians and ethnic Ukrainians in different ways.

Chapter 5 examines the effects of ethnocentrism on the 2004 Ukrainian presidential election. As in chapter four, I show that ethnocentrism affects ethnic Russians and ethnic Ukrainians differently. Ethnocentric Russians were less likely to vote for Viktor Yushchenko, the pro-western candidate, while ethnocentric Ukrainians were less likely to vote for the pro-Russian candidate, Viktor Yanukovych. The effects were large enough to rival key explanations for vote choice in the literature about Ukraine such as language use and the region in which one lives.

CHAPTER 2 ETHNOCENTRISM ACCORDING TO SUMNER

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is the first step in an in-depth investigation of ethnocentrism outside of the United States. The goal of this chapter is two-fold. First, I want to determine to what extent in-group attitudes and out-group attitudes behave in the way Sumner believed they would: Do people generally like their in-group? Do they generally dislike out-groups? And are these two attitudes highly and negatively related? In other words, is there cross-national support for the "textbook" understanding of ethnocentrism? The second goal, closely related to the first, is to compare data from two new countries to previously conducted ethnocentrism research in the United States. Because the most recent and innovative work on ethnocentrism has used data exclusively from the United States, I will use these previous results as a baseline with which to compare the results of other countries.

William Sumner, as I have written previously, believed that positive in-group feelings would be matched by negative feelings towards out-groups. He famously wrote that "*each group nourishes its own pride and vanity, boasts itself superior, exalts its own divinities, and looks with contempt on outsiders*" (Sumner 1906: 13). More than this, Sumner believed that the two would be highly correlated: "*Loyalty to the group, sacrifice for it, hatred and contempt for outsiders, brotherhood within, warlikeness without – all grow together, common products of the same situation*" (Sumner 1906: 13). Thus, it is not simply that we should always find out-group disdain and in-group superiority together, but that that they should move ("*grow*") together. Sumner did not rely on

empirical data or analysis to reach this conclusion, however. Rather, he told a number of

anecdotal stories that demonstrated how these two sides of ethnocentrism were related.

As discussed in the previous chapter, some later work has argued for a decoupling

of the two-parts of ethnocentrism (Brewer and Campbell 1976, Bizumic and Duckitt

2012). Brewer and Campbell (1976) conclude that for there to be a relationship between

positive in-group and negative out-group attitudes, there must be a "*convergence of*

boundary defining mechanisms" between the groups (144). In other words, there should

not be cross-cutting "boundaries" that vie for people's allegiance.

Bizumic and Duckitt go even further to state that out-group negativity has no

place in the definition of ethnocentrism (Bizumic et al. 2008, Bizumic and Duckitt 2012).

They argue that ethnocentrism is best seen as combination of a number of positive

intergroup and intragroup expressions:

> *Ethnocentrism as a strong sense of ethnic group self-importance and self-*
> *centeredness seems to consist of intergroup expressions (preference, superiority, purity,*
> *and exploitativeness), which assume that the in-group is more important than other*
> *groups, and intragroup expressions (devotion and group cohesion), which assume that*
> *the in-group is more important than individual in-group members* (Bizumic and Duckitt
> 2012: 903).

Thus, what they argue for is a more complex understanding of ethnocentrism that

goes beyond "mere in-group positivity" while leaving out "out-group" negativity

(Bizumic et al. 2008: 872).

That a large variety of definitions exist is understandable given the widespread

use of the term in many different disciplines such as political science, psychology,

sociology and economics. Each of these fields combines diverse scholarly traditions of

operationalizing terms and then collecting and analyzing data. In instances such as this, when conceptual clarity is missing, I argue that it is best to go back to the original definition. This is not because the original definition is more pure or correct, but rather because it marks a natural starting point from which to analyze a concept. Kinder and Kam do just this when they use Sumner as their reference and lay out and test what they considered the three primary claims of ethnocentrism in the initial chapters of their book (2009: 42-55). The three facets of Sumnerian ethnocentrism described in chapter 1 are the superiority of the in-group over all out-groups, a general consistency of negative attitudes towards out-groups, and an inverse relationship between attitudes towards the in-group and attitudes towards out-groups. These three claims, if fully present, would comprise the archetypical form of ethnocentrism.

I begin by describing the method of analysis and results from the previous literature based on data from the American National Election Survey (ANES). I focus on a measure of ethnocentrism used by Donald Kinder and Cindy Kam (2009) that is based on stereotypes both towards the in-group and towards out-groups. After a discussion of the previous ANES results, I will conduct a similar analysis on data from Ukraine and Russia. I will determine to what extent in-group and out-group attitudes in these countries exemplify a Sumnerian understanding and to what extent, if any, ethnocentrism in Russia and Ukraine differ from the United States.

2.2 In-group pride, xenophobia and ethnocentrism

Recent empirical work on ethnocentrism in political science has relied on two major operationalizations of ethnocentrism (Kam and Kinder 2007; Kinder and Kam

2009; Kam and Kinder 2012). The first measure comes from a battery of stereotype questions on the ANES involving stereotype traits of one's own in-group and traits of an array of out-groups. The second measure, also from the ANES, is based on a basic feeling thermometer: respondents are asked to rate his or her in-group and a range of out-groups on a scale from 0 to 100. This work, however, will focus exclusively on the stereotype-based measure of ethnocentrism. Stereotypes of ethnic and racial in-groups and out-groups have commonly been used to create such measures in the literature (Bobo and Zubrinsky 1996; Koomen and Bähler 1996; Kam and Kinder 2007; Kam and Kinder 2012; Sides and Gross 2013). Moreover, I believe that this is a superior measure of in-group and out-group attitudes. In contrast to the feeling thermometer, which very clearly and easily allows respondents to rank their in-group in relation to out-groups (and out-groups in relation to other out-groups), asking about multiple stereotypes of the in-group and multiple stereotypes towards out-groups does not allow the respondent to make easy comparisons between different groups. In other words, the stereotype measures are less direct. When Kinder and Kam compared stereotype and feeling thermometer measures calculated from the same respondents in the ANES, they found that all racial groups expressed feelings of in-group superiority with the thermometer. The stereotype-based measure, however, as I will show shortly, demonstrates that in-group superiority is far from universal (Kinder and Kam 2009: 49-52).

2.3 Stereotypes and hypotheses

Kinder and Kam's stereotype-based measure of ethnocentrism, what they call their "primary measure", is based on an index of stereotypes towards the in-group and a selection of "out-groups. In the 1992 ANES survey, respondents were asked their

attitudes towards four racial groups: whites, African Americans, Latinos and Asian Americans. The respondents rated their own self-identified racial group and the three out-groups on three different stereotypes: hardworking or lazy, smart or unintelligent, and peaceful or violent. The question wording from the 1992 ANES was as follows:

> *Now I have some questions about different groups in our society. I'm going to show you a seven-point scale on which the characteristics of the people in a group can be rated. In the first statement a score of 1 means that you think almost all of the people in that group tend to be "hard-working." A score of 7 means that almost all of the people in the group are "lazy." A score of 4 means that you think that most people in the group are not closer to one end or the other, and of course you may choose any number in between.*
>
> *Where would you rate whites in general on this scale?*

Respondents were also asked to rate other racial groups on the same traits. Thus, for example, a Hispanic respondent would have rated his or her own in-group (Hispanic/Latino) and all other racial out-groups (white, black and Asian) on each of the three stereotypes. Throughout the rest of this dissertation I will call all attitudes towards the in-group *in-group pride* and I will call attitudes towards out-groups *xenophobia*. As the question indicates, each stereotype was measured on a 7-point scale.

How do the components of this operationalization of ethnocentrism compare to the archetypical model of ethnocentrism as described by Sumner? This is what I will investigate in the following section. In order to explore more deeply the previous results of Kinder and Kam, as well as examine two additional countries, I will analyze the three data sets using the hypotheses that I developed in the previous chapter.

2.3.1 Facet one: in-group superiority

As I emphasized in the first chapter, I expect to see heterogeneity in responses between ethnic majority and ethnic minority groups. The expectation is based on the theoretical distinction between high-status and low-status groups. High-status groups are theorized to have an easier time asserting their superiority than low-status groups.

H1: High-status groups will frequently view their in-group as superior to all out-groups

H2: When low status groups view an out-group more favorably than the in-group, the out-group is often a high-status group.

2.3.2 Facet two: consistency in negative attitudes towards out-groups

The second criteria, generalized animosity towards out-groups, requires consistency in attitudes towards out-groups. Kinder and Kam argued that there should be "*two kinds of consistency in the beliefs and attitudes that Americans hold toward social groups*" (Kinder and Kam 2009: 52). The first is consistency among beliefs about a particular group. Ratings across different stereotypes should be consistent: if a respondent regards Hispanics as unintelligent, he or she will also see them as lazy. In other words, if an individual sees an out-group negatively on a single stereotype, then he or she should

see them negatively on all stereotypes.[9] The second is consistency across different types of out-groups. Ratings across out-groups should also be consistent. A white respondent that holds negative attitudes towards Hispanics will also have negative opinions about Asians. In short, they should have generalized attitudes (either positive or negative) towards all out-groups.

Yet, as was argued in the previous chapter, this type of consistency is unlikely to be found. Rather, various out-group are likely to be seen differently by different in-groups. Hypotheses developed from the literature in chapter 1 expect differences in stereotypes towards out-group to be partially explained by group status.

High-status

H3a: High-status in-groups will view high-status out-groups positively (but less positively than the in-group)

H3b: High-status in-groups will view low-status out-groups negatively

Low-status

H4a: Low-status in-groups will view high-status out-groups positively (including sometimes more positively than the in-group)

H4b: Low-status in-groups will view low-status out-groups negatively

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[9] This type of consistency was not discussed in the previous chapter as it does not come out of Sumner's writings. It is instead a consequence of the operationalization of ethnocentrism that is built on multiple stereotypes.

2.3.3 Facet three: attitudes towards the in-group and attitudes towards out-groups are negatively correlated

The third criteria is that in-group favoritism and out-group animosity should be negatively related. Yet again, however, a review of relevant literature provided in the first chapter casts doubt on this claim. To the extent that a consensus exists in the literature, it is that only under specific conditions will positive in-group attitudes and negative attitudes towards out-groups be correlated. The initial hypothesis, therefore, is that the two will be unrelated:

H5a: Positive attitudes towards the in-group and negative attitudes towards out-groups will be uncorrelated

H5b: Positive attitudes towards the in-group and negative attitudes towards an out-group will be correlated if there is extreme animosity between the groups

The next two sections below examine these hypotheses with data from the United States, Russia and Ukraine. The first section, section, 2.4 uses the same 1992 ANES data that Kinder and Kam used in their book. This section both replicates and expands on their previous results. Section 2.5 examines datasets from Russia and Ukraine.

2.4 ANES replication

2.4.1 In-group superiority

Table 2.1 is a reproduction of table 3.1 in Kinder and Kam's book (2009: 49, table 3.1). It shows in-group and out-group averages (by out-group) for a single stereotype (lazy vs. hard-working). The question was recoded to run from -1 to 1 with 0 as a midpoint. A negative value indicates a negative average assessment of the group, while a positive value indicates a positive average assessment. The columns represent the groups that are being rated, while the rows are the groups that are doing the rating. For example, -.06 in the first row, second column is the value given by whites to blacks, indicating that whites see blacks as more lazy than hard-working. White's in-group score was .32.

The data in Table 2.1 indicate that H1 is supported: high-status groups are likely to view their in-group as superior to out-groups. Whites and Asians both rated their in-group higher than all out-groups (.32 and .63, respectively). Asians, as argued in the previous chapter, are considered a high-status group on the basis of their median household income, which has been consistently higher than all other racial groups in the United States over the last few decades (DeNavas-Walt, Proctor, and Smith 2011: 8).

Table 2.1: Reproduction of Table 3.1 in Kinder and Kam (2009: 49)

Table 3.1. In-group favoritism expressed through stereotypes (lazy versus hard-working)

Assessments by:	Assessments of:			
	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics	Asians
Whites	0.32	-0.06	0.02	0.29
	(1627)	(1609)	(1538)	(1511)
Blacks	0.2	0.24	0.16	0.25
	(264)	(268)	249)	(239)
Hispanics	0.33	-0.01	0.28	0.3
	(168)	(168)	(167)	(157)
Asians	0.38	-0.18	0.02	0.63
	(28)	(27)	(27)	(28)

Source: 1992 NES
Note: Table entry is the average assessment of each group, among residents in each racial/ethnic group, on the lazy versus hard-working trait question. The trait assessments are coded from -1 (nearly all are lazy) to +1 (nearly all are hard-working). Number of observations appear in parentheses.

While whites and Asians had little problem asserting the superiority of their in-group, the same was not true of blacks and Hispanics. Although they rated themselves as more hard-working than whites and Hispanics, blacks gave Asians a slightly higher score than their in-group. Hispanics, on the other hand, rated both whites and Asians as more hard-working than themselves (.28 vs .33 and .3, respectively). Thus, at least concerning these data in regards to lazy/hard-working, H2 is also confirmed: low-status groups do not always see their in-group as superior; they sometimes view high-status groups more positively than the in-group.

Kinder and Kam say that this is evidence demonstrating that in-group favoritism among blacks and Hispanics is only "partial". Although both groups see themselves as hard-working, each has trouble asserting their own superiority (2009: 50-51). Partially quoting Tajfel (1982), they say that "*ethnocentrism would seem to be…something of a*

'one-way street,' appearing with consistency only in the views of dominant groups"

(Kinder and Kam: 2009: 51).

As a check on the reproduction displayed in table 2.1, I replicated the table using the original ANES data. Table 2.2 shows a replication of Kinder and Kam's table 3.1 (reproduced in table 2.1). Despite the somewhat larger sample size of white individuals, results are nearly identical between the two tables. Importantly, in table 2.2, I calculate statistical significance in those cases when an in-group scored an out-group more positively. Of these instances in the table, only once, Hispanics rating whites as more hard-working than themselves, is statistically significant.

I also analyzed the remaining two stereotypes, unintelligent versus intelligent and violent versus peaceful, using the same framework. This analysis was not included in Kinder and Kam's book. The results for each of these three stereotypes can be seen in tables 2.3 and 2.4. In these tables, the variables have been recoded to run from -1 to 1, with a higher value indicating a more positive sentiment. I also include significance tests to determine the statistical significance of those cases in which an in-group rates an out-group as superior.

Table 2.3, which shows ratings on intelligence, indicates that both Hispanics and blacks were more likely to say whites are more intelligent than their own group. In table 2.4, we see that Hispanics more often rated both whites and Asians as more peaceful. The difference is statistically significant and substantively large. Blacks also rate whites and Asians as more peaceful than their own group, but the differences are not statistically significant.

Table 2.2: Replication of Table 3.1 of stereotype measure lazy vs hard-working

Replication of Table 3.1. In-group favoritism expressed through stereotypes (lazy versus hard-working)

Assessments by:	Assessments of:			
	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics	Asians
Whites	0.32	-0.06	0.02	0.29
	(1680)	(1662)	(1591)	(1563)
Blacks	0.20	0.23	0.16	0.26
	(265)	(269)	(250)	(240)
Hispanics	0.34*	-0.01	0.28	0.30
	(169)	(169)	(168)	(158)
Asians	0.40	-0.13	0.01	0.64
	(26)	(25)	(25)	(26)

Source: 1992 NES; Two tailed t-test significance .01< ***, .05< **, .1<* (vs. in-group score); Note: Table entry is the average assessment of each racial group (in the columns) by each racial group (in the rows), on the lazy versus hard-working trait question. The trait assessments were recoded from -1 (all are lazy) to +1 (all are hard-working). The number of observations are included in the parentheses. In-group scores are in boxes.

Table 2.3: Replication of stereotype measure unintelligent vs intelligent

In-group favoritism expressed through stereotypes (unintelligent vs intelligent)

Assessments by:	Assessments of:			
	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics	Asians
Whites	0.33	0.04	0.02	0.20
	(1665)	(1646)	(1578)	(1563)
Blacks	0.34*	0.30	0.10	0.24
	(264)	(266)	(248)	(242)
Hispanics	0.41***	0.12	0.26	0.29
	(163)	(163)	(164)	(159)
Asians	0.41	0.01	0.07	0.44
	(25)	(25)	(25)	(25)

Source: 1992 NES; Two tailed t-test significance .01< ***, .05< **, .1<* (vs. in-group score); Note: Table entry is the average assessment of each racial group (in the columns) by each racial group (in the rows), on the unintelligent versus intelligent trait question. The trait assessments were recoded from -1 (all are unintelligent) to +1 (all are intelligent). The number of observations are included in the parentheses. In-group scores are in boxes.

Table 2.4: Replication of stereotype measure violent vs peaceful

In-group favoritism expressed through stereotypes (Violent vs peaceful)

Assessments by:	Assessments of:			
	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics	Asians
Whites	0.28	-0.19	-0.09	0.13
	(1655)	(1653)	(1581)	(1558)
Blacks	0.14	0.09	-0.03	0.13
	(259)	(262)	(247)	(238)
Hispanics	0.25***	-0.25	0.03	0.18***
	(163)	(164)	(163)	(159)
Asians	0.27	-0.21	-0.15	0.31
	(26)	(25)	(25)	(25)

Source: 1992 NES; Two tailed t-test significance .01< ***, .05< **, .1<* (vs. in-group score); Note: Table entry is the average assessment of each racial group (in the columns) by each racial group (in the rows), on the violent versus peaceful trait question. The trait assessments were recoded from -1 (all are violent) to +1 (all are peaceful). The number of observations are included in the parentheses. In-group scores are in boxes.

In general, therefore, the results display a similar pattern to that of table 2.1: whites and Asians, high-status groups, consistently rate their in-groups as superior across all three stereotypes. Blacks and Hispanics, however, did not rate their in-group as superior across any of the stereotypes. At best, the data indicate no statistically significant differences between the in-group and out-group (such as for blacks rating lazy/hard-working or violent/peaceful). Overall, these additional tables do not change the conclusion provided by Kinder and Kam that in-group favoritism is only partial among low-status groups. Whites and Asians, on the other hand, do consistently rank their in-group as superior.

2.4.2 Consistency in negative attitudes towards out-groups

The next two sets of hypotheses look at the consistency of attitudes towards out-groups. The first set of hypotheses were discussed in the previous chapter (H3a, H3b, H4a and H4b). These hypotheses investigate the differences in attitudes towards out-

groups between high-status and low-status groups. One additional hypothesis, H6, is concerned with the consistency of stereotypes across a particular out-group. For example, a white respondent who believes that Hispanics are hard-working should also see them as intelligent and peaceful.

H6: For a particular out-group, stereotypes should be internally consistent.

Hypothesis H6 was not discussed in chapter 1. This is because it does not come directly out of Sumner's original conceptualization of ethnocentrism. Rather, it is a hypothesis that was included by Kinder and Kam in their work (2009). They argued that multiple stereotypes towards a particular out-group should be highly correlated. In other words, blacks should not view whites as simultaneously lazy (a negative trait) and intelligent (a positive trait). Stereotypes should be consistent. This hypothesis is in agreement with a Sumnerian understanding of ethnocentrism, even if it was never alluded to by Sumner himself. Rather, the importance of this hypothesis results from the particular way ethnocentrism is operationalized (by using multiple stereotype measures). I agree with Kinder and Kam that it is both important and appropriate to measure internal consistency and, therefore, I follow them and include the measure in this chapter.

Hypotheses H3a, H3b, H4a and H4b can be assessed by returning to tables 2.2, 2.3, and 2.4. Across all three stereotypes, we see that whites and Asians are much more likely to rate their fellow high-status group highly than the low-status groups. For example, in table 2.3, we see that whites rate Asians .2 on intelligence while rating blacks

and Hispanics significantly lower (.04 and .02 respectively). Similarly, on intelligence, Asians rated whites .41 while rating blacks and Hispanics significantly lower (.01 and .07, respectively). Yet, on all three stereotypes, the high-status group rated themselves higher than the other high-status group. In these ANES data, therefore, H3a and H3b are confirmed: high-status in-groups view other high-status groups positively (H3a) while viewing low-status groups relatively more negative (H3b).

Hypotheses H4a and H4b look at the opinions of low-status group members. Across the three stereotypes, the lower-status groups (blacks and Hispanics) rated the high-status groups significantly better than the other low-status groups. For example, on the stereotype hardworking/lazy, Hispanics give blacks a score of -0.01, while whites and Asians received scores of .34 and .30, respectively. In many cases the lower-status groups even rated the higher status groups as superior to themselves. These cases are shaded in the tables with statistically significant differences marked with stars. Overall, on all three stereotypes neither of the low-status groups gave the high-status groups a negative rating (i.e. below zero). This did not hold, however, when they were asked to rate the other low-status group. Frequently (as can be seen in table 2.2 and table 2.4), blacks and Hispanics scored the other low-status groups not just poorly, but negatively. The low-status out-group was always rated much lower than the high-status out-groups. H4a and H4b are both confirmed.

Hypothesis H6, which looks at consistency of attitudes across a single group, is tested in table 2.5 below, a reproduction of table 3.3 in Kinder and Kam (2009: 54). The data presented in table 2.5 were calculated by Kinder and Kam using Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA), a method that evaluates the fit of a pre-specified factor model.

Unless otherwise noted, all of the tables showing latent variables in this chapter were calculated using CFA with the same specifications described by Kinder and Kam (2009: 53-54; 263, note 22-23).[10] H6 says that *for a particular out-group, stereotypes should be internally consistent*. The top of the table shows that for white respondents, the stereotypes for each out-group (as well as the in-group, whites) load uniformly on a single factor. H6, therefore, is confirmed. The authors state that "*the requirement of consistency within groups holds*" (Kinder and Kam 2009: 54).

The bottom of table 2.5 shows correlations between latent attitudinal variables that result from the top half of table 2.5. A latent variable is an unobservable variable (also called a latent factor) that has an influence on the observed variables. For example, the latent factor "white attitudes towards the in-group" influences white stereotypes about whites: hard-working, intelligence and peacefulness. The latent variable "white attitudes towards blacks" affects white stereotypes towards blacks. Because these latent factors are unobservable (and thus directly unmeasurable), they are approximated by estimating their relationships with each of the observable indicators.

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[10] I was able to replicate Kinder and Kam's (2009) results almost identically in table 2.6. This gives me confidence that the other CFA models provide results comparable to what they describe (but do not present) in their book.

Table 2.5: Reproduction of table 3.3 in Kinder and Kam

Reproduction: Table 3.3 in Kinder and Kam (2009: 54). Prejudice broadly conceived?
Maximum likelihood factor analysis of group stereotypes held by whites
(estimates based on variance-covariance matrix)

	Factor loadings				
	Whites	Asians	Hispanics	Blacks	Reliability
Whites – lazy	0.64				0.31
Whites – smart	-0.68				0.32
Whites – peaceful	-0.78				0.45
Asians – lazy		0.7			0.26
Asians – smart		-0.81			0.41
Asians – peaceful		-0.78			0.45
Hispanics – lazy			0.61		0.26
Hispanics – smart			-0.7		0.45
Hispanics – peaceful			-0.63		0.33
Blacks – lazy				0.76	0.44
Blacks – smart				-0.7	0.42
Blacks – peaceful				-0.72	0.37

Chi-square with 30 degrees of freedom = 133.9 (p<0.01)

Adjusted goodness of fit = .961

Root mean square residual = 0.051

	Correlations between latent factors			
	Whites	Asians	Hispanics	Blacks
Whites	1			
Asians	0.13	1		
Hispanics	0.03	0.56	1	
Blacks	-0.05	0.39	0.71	1

Source: 1992 NES

The bottom of table 2.5 shows that the latent factor "white attitudes towards Asians" and the latent factor "white attitudes towards Hispanics" are correlated at .56. This indicates that how white individuals think about Asians is positively related to how they see Hispanics (and vice-versa). The correlation between white attitudes towards blacks and white attitudes towards Hispanics is even higher, .71. All three relationships are positive and relatively large leading the authors to declare that "*what whites think about one out-group is quite consistent with what they think about another, just as*

ethnocentrism requires" (Kinder and Kam 2009: 54). However, I do not fully agree with this interpretation. While the correlations in the table do suggest that attitudes towards various out-groups are somewhat related, the crosstabs described above in tables 2.2, 2.3, and 2.4 reveal large differences between high-status out-groups and low-status out-groups: white attitudes towards Asians are quite distinct from their attitudes towards blacks or Hispanics.

2.4.3 Attitudes towards the in-group and attitudes towards out-groups are negatively correlated

The third criteria is that in-group favoritism and out-group disdain should be "*tightly bound*" and "*grow together.*" Yet, as the literature in the previous chapter showed, only sparse evidence suggests that positive in-groups attitudes and negative attitudes towards out-groups are closely related. The bottom half of the table in table 2.5, entitled "Correlations between latent factors" allows a glimpse at this relationship for white individuals by showing the correlations between the calculated latent factors towards each group.

The first column in the bottom half of table 2.5 shows that H5a is supported: the evidence does not reveal a tight relationship between positive in-group attitudes and negative attitudes towards out-groups. White stereotypes about themselves and white stereotypes towards Asians are correlated at only .13. Thus, rather than being negative, the relationship is substantively small and positive (Kinder and Kam 2009: 55). In other words, white individuals who have more positive attitudes towards the in-group actually have more positive attitudes towards Asians. In contrast, correlations of white attitudes about themselves and attitudes towards Hispanics and blacks were both very small and

statistically no different from zero. Thus, according to these data, for white respondents H5a is supported. This is a conclusion that comports with the broader literature on in-group and out-group attitudes. There is also no evidence for H5b, which says that in-group and out-group attitudes will be negative correlated in the presence of inter-group animosity. On the basis of historical animosities, the best place to look for evidence of H5b would be between whites and blacks. Although the correlation between white "attitudes towards the in-group" and white "attitudes towards blacks" is -.05, the value is not significantly different than zero.

The results presented by Kinder and Kam in the top of table 2.5 above (and my replication in table 2.6 below) present unstandardized factor loadings. This means that the magnitude of the factor loadings are expressed in the same metric as the original indicators. For this analysis, I think it is more appropriate to give results that have been standardized because standardized results can be better compared across datasets. This is because the coefficients can be easily interpreted as the correlation between the indicator and the latent factor (Brown 2015: 115).

Table 2.6: Replication of table 3.3

Replication Table 3.3 in Kinder and Kam (2009: 54). Prejudice broadly conceived?
Maximum likelihood factor analysis of group stereotypes held by whites

	Factor loadings			
	Whites	Asians	Hispanics	Blacks
Whites - hard-work	0.62			
Whites - smart	0.67			
Whites - peaceful	0.79			
Asians - hard-work		0.70		
Asians - smart		0.82		
Asians - peaceful		0.77		
Hispanics - hard-work			0.61	
Hispanics - smart			0.70	
Hispanics - peaceful			0.63	
Blacks - hard-work				0.76
Blacks - smart				0.70
Blacks - peaceful				0.72

Chi-square with 30 degrees of freedom = 131.194
(p<0.01)

Adjusted goodness of fit = xyz

Root mean square residual = 0.048

	Correlations between latent factors			
	Whites	Asians	Hispanics	Blacks
Whites	1			
Asians	0.13	1		
Hispanics	0.04	0.56	1	
Blacks	-0.04	0.40	0.72	1

Source: 1992 NES

Table 2.7: Replication of table 3.3 [standardized results]

Replication of table 3.3 in Kinder and Kam (2009: 54). Prejudice broadly conceived?
Maximum likelihood factor analysis of group stereotypes held by whites (standardized results)

	Factor loadings			
	Whites	Asians	Hispanics	Blacks
Whites - hard-work	0.54			
Whites - smart	0.56			
Whites - peaceful	0.68			
Asians - hard-work		0.51		
Asians - smart		0.64		
Asians - peaceful		0.66		
Hispanics - hard-work			0.51	
Hispanics - smart			0.66	
Hispanics - peaceful			0.58	
Blacks - hard-work				0.66
Blacks - smart				0.65
Blacks - peaceful				0.61

Chi-square with 30 degrees of freedom = 131.194
(p<0.01)

Root mean square residual = 0.048

	Correlations between latent factors			
	Whites	Asians	Hispanics	Blacks
Whites	1			
Asians	0.13	1		
Hispanics	0.04	0.56	1	
Blacks	-0.04	0.40	0.72	1

Source: 1992 NES

The pattern of the standardized results in table 2.7 is similar to the unstandardized

results reported by Kinder and Kam in table 2.5. As expected, factor loadings that were

high remained high and those that were low remained low. However, all of the

standardized factor loadings are significantly smaller than the unstandardized loadings

presented above. This does not change the overall conclusion of Kinder and Kam's

argument that the indicators tend to load on a single factor. It does mean, however, that

the loadings do not hold together quite as tightly as they initially seemed. All of the

results presented in this section will be in standardized form and thus can be

appropriately compared with the results in table 2.7.

2.4.4 Minorities and the three facets of ethnocentrism

As mentioned above a major caveat for H5a (and H6) is that the authors only

reported results from the attitudes of the dominant group, whites. Kinder and Kam

address this concern stating that the presented tables "closely resemble" what they find

when they analyzed other races (Kinder and Kam 2009:55). However, since this

dissertation specifically investigates the effects of group status on ethnocentrism, it is

necessary to look at their results in more depth. Since Kinder and Kam's findings for

other racial groups are presented neither in their book nor in the online appendix, I have

calculated them from the original 1992 ANES data set.

While the data shown in the previous tables (tables 2.5, 2.6 and 2.7) were based

on white respondents only, this section looks at the opinions of minority group members.

Table 2.8 shows a replication of table 3.3, but for black respondents. H6 appears to be

confirmed for blacks: the top of the table shows that attitudes towards any particular out-

group are fairly consistent. For each of the out-groups (whites, Asians and Hispanics),

factor loadings are .4 or higher across stereotypes, indicating internal consistency across

out-groups. These loadings are slightly smaller than for whites (table 2.7), which tells us

that black stereotypes about out-groups are somewhat less cohesive. The differences,

however, are too small to suggest a major difference between how whites and blacks

view out-groups.

Table 2.8: Replication for blacks [standardized results]

Replication Table 3.3. Prejudice broadly conceived? Maximum likelihood factor analysis of group stereotypes held by blacks (standardized results)

	Factor loadings			
	Whites	Asians	Hispanics	Blacks
Whites - hard-work	0.44			
Whites - smart	0.74			
Whites - peaceful	0.51			
Asians - hard-work		0.54		
Asians - smart		0.69		
Asians - peaceful		0.45		
Hispanics - hard-work			0.43	
Hispanics - smart			0.43	
Hispanics - peaceful			0.55	
Blacks - hard-work				0.38
Blacks - smart				0.34
Blacks - peaceful				0.83

Chi-square with 30 degrees of freedom = 63.09 (p<0.01)

Root mean square residual = 0.071

	Correlations between latent factors			
	Blacks	Whites	Asians	Hispanics
Blacks	1			
Whites	0.45	1		
Asians	0.37	0.47	1	
Hispanics	0.39	0.52	0.31	1

Source: 1992 NES

Hypothesis H5a is also confirmed: positive in-group attitudes are not related to negative attitudes towards out-groups. In the first column at the bottom of table 2.8 we see how "black attitudes towards blacks" correlates with black attitudes towards the three out-groups. In stark contrast with whites, whose correlations between in-group and out-group scores were all close to zero, black attitudes towards the in-group are actually

positively related to feelings towards out-groups. The latent variable "black attitudes towards blacks" and the latent variable "black attitudes towards whites" are correlated at .45. Thus, blacks who view blacks more positively are more likely to view whites more positively. A similar, if slightly weaker, result is seen for both Asians (.37) and Hispanics (.39). Thus, rather than being significant and negative as Sumner would have predicted, the data indicate the relationships are both statistically significant and positive.

Table 2.9 replicates for Hispanics the results that have already been shown for both whites and blacks. H6, just as for both whites and blacks, is confirmed. Stereotypes by group are again fairly consistent; standardized factor loadings range from .46 to .83. Thus, stereotypes that Hispanics hold in regards to out-groups are fairly closely related.

Also, as with blacks in table 2.9, Hispanic attitudes towards the in-group are positively correlated with attitudes towards all three out-groups. The correlations run from .74 (attitudes towards the in-group and attitudes towards whites) to .31 (attitudes towards the in-group and attitudes towards blacks). The more positive Hispanics view their in-group, the more positive they view all out-groups. H5a is confirmed for Hispanics.

Table 2.9: Replication for Hispanics [standardized results]

Replication Table 3.3. Prejudice broadly conceived? Maximum likelihood factor analysis of group stereotypes held by Hispanics (standardized results)

	Factor loadings			
	Whites	Asians	Hispanics	Blacks
Whites - hard-work	0.46			
Whites - smart	0.56			
Whites - peaceful	0.69			
Asians - hard-work		0.54		
Asians - smart		0.83		
Asians - peaceful		0.60		
Hispanics - hard-work			0.43	
Hispanics - smart			0.69	
Hispanics - peaceful			0.42	
Blacks - hard-work				0.75
Blacks - smart				0.59
Blacks - peaceful				0.49

Chi-square with 30 degrees of freedom = 56.35 (p<0.01)

RMSEA = 0.076

	Correlations between latent factors			
	Hispanics	Whites	Asians	Blacks
Hispanics	1			
Whites	0.74	1		
Asians	0.47	0.41	1	
Blacks	0.31	-0.03	0.47	1

Source: 1992 NES

No analysis of H6 and H5a were done for Asian Americans because the sample size was too small for a proper analysis. Only 28 respondents in the 1992 ANES identified as Asian.

A summary of the results of all the hypotheses by group can be seen in table 2.26 in the conclusion of this chapter. Based on this ANES data, Sumner's notion of ethnocentrism does not hold up to empirical test. I have presented strong evidence that high-status and low-status groups have very different ways of viewing their in-group and

out-groups. The data indicate that prejudice is not equally spread across all groups. Rather, high-status groups appear to resemble the Sumnerian pattern better than low-status groups. Whites and Asians always rate the in-group more positively (H1) and consistently rate low-status outgroups lower (H3b) than they rate other high-status groups (H3a). However, no evidence supports the notion that positive in-group attitudes are related to negative out-group attitudes. White individuals with high levels of in-group favoritism are neither more nor less likely to express high levels of out-group animosity (H5a). The results are different when we analyze the low status groups, blacks and Hispanics. Blacks and Hispanics frequently rated high-status out-groups as superior to the in-group (H4a). However, they always rated the other low-status group poorly (H4b).

Another important difference across groups regards hypothesis 5a. While H5a is rejected for all groups (which means that H5b is also rejected for all group), the results differ in an important way. While white attitudes towards the in-group and attitudes towards various out-groups are insignificant in two out of three cases (and very small in the significant case), black and Hispanic in-group attitudes were positively correlated with attitudes towards all out-groups. For both blacks and Hispanics, the more positive one feels about the in-group, the more positive they feel towards various out-groups. This is an interesting finding regarding low-status groups. Further analysis, however, requires more data from different countries. This is where we turn next.

2.5 Russian and Ukraine

The results presented so far in this chapter were replications and extensions of previously published work on ethnocentrism that used data from the United States. The

results represent the most recent empirical work done on ethnocentrism of which I am

aware. In this section, I analyze data from Russia and Ukraine. As with the ANES data, I

will analyze the hypotheses laid out in chapter 1 regarding the three facets of

ethnocentrism: in-group superiority, negative attitudes towards out-groups, and a

correlation between positive attitudes towards the in-group and negative attitudes towards

out-groups.

2.5.1 Russia

The data in this section are from a set of surveys done in Russia in 2005 by the

Levada Center called "The attitudes of the residents of Russia toward migration and

migrants."[11] The surveys record inter-ethnic attitudes across a number of regions in

Russia. These surveys are useful as they contain a set of stereotype questions that are

similar to the questions asked on the ANES. Thus, I am able to create measures of in-

group favoritism and out-group disdain that can be compared to Kinder and Kam's

results. To ease readability, I will call these data "the Russian data" throughout this

section.

The Russian data are comprised of seven independent samples representing six

different constituent units of the Russian Federation: Volgograd oblast (n=650), Republic

of Tatarstan (n=650), Orenburg oblast (n=650), Moscow oblast (n=400), Krasnodar krai

(n=650), and Moscow City (n=400). The seventh sample is a nationally representative

survey (n=680). Each survey was representative of the adult population (18 years and

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[11] Mikhail Alexseev, "Migration and Ethnic Relations in the Russian Federation," an opinion survey conducted by the Levada-Analytical Center (Moscow) and the Public Opinion Research Laboratory, Institute of History, Archeology, and Ethnography of the Peoples of the Far East, Russian Academy of Sciences, Far Eastern Branch (Vladivostok) (September-November 2005) (with C. Richard Hofstetter)

older) for the given constituent unit (or for the country as a whole). If the seven surveys are aggregated, there is a total sample size of 4,080 individuals. Approximately 20% of these are ethnic minorities, which, according to the 2010 Russian census, is the approximate percentage of ethnic minorities living in Russia. Thus, while the first five samples are not representative on the national level, the results presented here will give a good idea as to how different ethnic groups across Russia's regions stereotype both themselves and out-groups.

In the Russian survey, as in the ANES, respondents were asked to rate both their in-group and a range of out-groups on a number of stereotypes. While the specific stereotypes used in the Russian survey differ from those asked on the ANES, the stereotypes still allow me capture the same latent concept as in the ANES: generalized beliefs about individuals in a particular out-group. Four stereotypes were included in the survey: politeness, neatness, selfishness and aggressiveness. The question wording, taken directly from the English language translation provided by the Levada Center, was as follows:

> To what extent the following character traits are typical among members of your own ethnic group? Please respond on a scale where "1" is "totally not typical" and "5" is "very typical".

> To what extent do you think such character trait as **SELFISHNESS** is typical for members of each of the following ethnic groups? Please respond on a scale where "1" is "totally not typical" and "5" is "very typical".

In contrast to the ANES, which only asks about a relatively small number of racial/ethnic groups (white, black, Hispanic, and Asian), the Russian survey included ten different out-groups. However, due to the diversity across Russian regions, not all out-

groups were asked about in every sample. This explains the variation in sample sizes across groups that can be observed in the tables that will be presented. For instance, while stereotypes about Chechens were asked in each of the seven samples, only four of the samples measured stereotypes towards Uzbeks. The ethnic out-groups that were asked about in the largest number of samples are identified in the column headings in the tables below. This includes the in-group (which varies depending on who is doing the assessing), as well as Chechens, Uzbeks and CIS Russians.

The category CIS Russians requires further explanation. In the survey, when respondents were asked about stereotypes towards various groups, the out-group category "Russians" was qualified as "*Russians, from other parts of Russia or from the former Soviet republics.*" In other words, the focus is clearly on ethnic Russians, but Russians that are somewhat different. The emphasis is on "*other parts of Russia*" and "*former Soviet Republics.*" Thus, throughout this section I have called this out-group CIS Russians in order to clarify that the category refers to ethnic Russians broadly speaking, even if they still live in the former Republics of the USSR. In short, when discussing ethnic Russians who are assessing others, I use the term Russians. When I talk about ethnic Russians as a group being assessed, then I call them CIS Russians.

Five ethnic groups (Russians, Tatars, Ukrainians, Armenians and Chuvash) had a large enough number of respondents in order have their opinions analyzed (n=30 or greater[12]). The sample size can be seen in the parentheses under the estimate. To be consistent with the results presented earlier, all variables in the tables were recoded to run

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[12] Although all of these groups had at least 30 respondents in the sample, due to the occasional missing variables, some tables might contain results from samples smaller than 30. Results for Armenians and Chuvash are based on particularly small sample sizes.

from -1 to 1. The higher the value, the more positive the trait (unselfishness, politeness, etc.).

As described in the first chapter, the high-status/low-status distinction in the Russian data is based on the historical divide between Eastern Slavic peoples and everyone else. Thus, in the tables below, Russian and Ukrainian respondents may be considered members of high-status groups, while Tatars, Armenians and Chuvash are categorized as members of low-status groups.

What do the results show? Is there evidence that individuals living across Russia express general favoritism towards their in-group? The answer is a resounding yes: ethnic groups across Russia almost always see their own groups more positively than out-groups. Four different tables shown below, tables 2.10-2.13, display in-group and out-group stereotype scores for the four different stereotypes (selfishness, politeness, neatness and aggressiveness). The results provide a striking contrast to the ANES results described above.

H1 is confirmed. Russian and Ukrainian respondents (members of high-status groups) always viewed their in-group as superior to out-groups. Interestingly, twice ethnic Russians rated the group "Russians (CIS)" more favorably than the "in-group." Quite obviously, in the Russian mind there remains a sense of positive feelings towards other ethnic Russians, even if they live outside the current boundaries of the Russian Federation.

In contrast to the ANES, however, low-status groups also appear to always rate their in-group as superior. In fact, the only low-status (ie. non-Slavic) group to have rated an out-group higher than the in-group were the Armenians. However, due to the very

small number of Armenians in the sample, none of the differences were statistically

significant. In any case, H2 is not supported. Ethnic groups in Russia, regardless of

status, assert the superiority of their in-group. While this is in contrast to the ANES data,

it is fully in-line with a Sumnerian understanding of ethnocentrism which does not

distinguish between groups of different statuses. A strict reading of Sumner would argue

that all in-groups should see their in-group as superior.

Table 2.10: Stereotypes in Russia (unselfishness)

In-group favoritism expressed through stereotypes (unselfishness)

Assessments by:	In-group score	Assessments of:		
		Chechens	Uzbeks	Russians (CIS)
Russians	0.10	-0.49	-0.07	0.10
	(2659)	(2289)	(1302)	(1560)
Tatars	0.26	-0.41	-0.02	0.11
	(348	(277)	(271)	(296)
Ukrainians	0.22	-0.55	-0.09	0.17
	(88)	(78)	(48)	(62)
Armenians	0.17	-0.38	0.36	-0.11
	(29)	(21)	(7)	(9)
Chuvash	0.45	-0.52	-0.37	0.17
	(33)	(27)	(23)	(30)

Source: 2005 Russia; Two tailed t-test significance .01< ***, .05< **, .1<* (vs. in-group score);
Note: Table entry is the average assessment of each racial group (in the columns) by each racial
group (in the rows), on the selfishness trait question. The trait assessments were recoded from -1
(selfishness is very typical) to +1 (selfishness is totally not typical). The number of observations
are included in the parentheses.

Table 2.11: Stereotypes in Russia (politeness)

In-group favoritism expressed through stereotypes (politeness)

Assessments by:	In-group score	Assessments of:		
		Chechens	Uzbeks	Russians (CIS)
Russians	0.22	-0.26	-0.02	0.31***
	(2789)	(2359)	(1432)	(1630)
Tatars	0.49	-0.05	0.12	0.28
	(374)	(283)	(300)	(327)
Ukrainians	0.44	-0.20	0.01	0.37
	(90)	(74)	(48)	(60)
Armenians	0.65	0.13	0.28	0.42
	(30)	(19)	(9)	(12)
Chuvash	0.59	-0.05	0.09	0.35
	(38)	(28)	(27)	(34)

Source: 2005 Russia; Two tailed t-test significance .01< ***, .05< **, .1<* (vs. in-group score);
Note: Table entry is the average assessment of each racial group (in the columns) by each racial group (in the rows), on the politeness trait question. The trait assessments were recoded from -1 (politeness is totally not typical) to +1 (politeness is very typical). The number of observations are included in the parentheses.

Table 2.12: Stereotypes in Russia (neatness)

In-group favoritism expressed through stereotypes (Neatness)

Assessments by:	In-group score	Assessments of:		
		Chechens	Uzbeks	Russians (CIS)
Russians	0.35	-0.19	-0.33	0.40***
	(2774)	(2127)	(1396)	(1608)
Tatars	0.67	0.02	-0.19	0.29
	(379)	(240)	(286)	(316)
Ukrainians	0.54	-0.09	-0.24	0.47
	(91)	(78)	(53)	(62)
Armenians	0.75	0.03	-0.17	0.55
	(30)	(19)	(9)	(11)
Chuvash	0.62	0.29	0.15	0.50
	(37)	(24)	(24)	(33)

Source: 2005 Russia; Two tailed t-test significance .01< ***, .05< **, .1<* (vs. in-group score); Note: Table entry is the average assessment of each racial group (in the columns) by each racial group (in the rows), on the neatness trait question. The trait assessments were recoded from -1 (neatness is totally not typical) to +1 (neatness is very typical). The number of observations are included in the parentheses.

Table 2.13: Stereotypes in Russia (not aggressive)

In-group favoritism expressed through stereotypes (Not aggressive)

| | | Assessments of: | | |
Assessments by:	In-group score	Chechens	Uzbeks	Russians (CIS)
Russians	0.19	-0.78	0.00	0.20
	(2746)	(2768)	(1461)	(1649)
Tatars	0.22	-0.70	0.03	0.13
	(357)	(341)	(307)	(329)
Ukrainians	0.36	-0.78	-0.06	0.19
	(91)	(93)	(55)	(62)
Armenians	0.18	-0.54	0.33	0.25
	(30)	(28)	(9)	(12)
Chuvash	0.42	-0.79	-0.20	0.27
	(39)	(33)	(27)	(35)

Source: 2005 Russia; Two tailed t-test significance .01< ***, .05< **, .1<* (vs. in-group score);
Note: Table entry is the average assessment of each racial group (in the columns) by each racial group (in the rows), on the selfishness trait question. The trait assessments were recoded from -1 (aggressiveness is very typical) to +1 (aggressive is totally not typical). The number of observations are included in the parentheses.

Tables 2.10-2.13 also allow us to test hypotheses H3a and H4a. H3a is confirmed: ethnic Ukrainians rated the other high-status group (Russians CIS) significantly higher than the other out-groups on all stereotypes. In fact, with only a single exception, Ukrainians gave the non-Russian outgroups scores lower than zero. Russians also viewed the two low-status groups, Chechens and Uzbeks, very negatively. Across all four stereotypes, not once did ethnic Russians as a group give Chechens or Uzbeks a rating higher than zero. Thus, H3b is also confirmed; high-status groups in Russia do appear to view low-status groups negatively.

H4a and H4b are also confirmed. In the eyes of low-status group members, CIS Russians are consistently seen the most positively, though the ratings are never quite as high as the in-group (H4a). Low-status groups almost always rate other low-status groups significantly lower than the in-group (H4b). Often the ratings were below zero. Thus,

low-status groups in Russia, as in the United States, generally do not view other low-status groups in a positive light.

Table 2.14 shows results from a confirmatory factor analysis of ethnic Russian respondents using similar specifications as the ANES models above. All stereotypes were again recoded so that higher values indicated a more positive feeling. As in these previous tables, the results displayed at the top of table are factor loadings of stereotypes towards different groups (the in-group and four out-groups). The stereotypes for each group were specified to result from a single factor (e.g. "attitudes towards the in-group", "attitudes towards Chechens", etc.). As is immediately apparent in the top half of the table, the observed variables for each group do not consistently load on a single factor.[13] For example, the factor loadings for the stereotypes towards Chechens range from a low of .06 (not selfish) to a high of .81 (polite). The positive stereotypes, polite and neat, appear to be distinct from the negative stereotypes, selfishness and aggressiveness. H6, which hypothesized that for a particular out-group, stereotypes will be internally consistent, is rejected.

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[13] The correlations between the estimated latent factors cannot be calculated (bottom of table 2.15), since the latent variables could not be calculated from the four items.

Table 2.14: CFA of group stereotypes held by Russians in Russia

Maximum likelihood factor analysis of group stereotypes held by Russians (standardized results)

	Factor Loadings			
	Russians (self-score)	Chechens	Uzbeks	Russians (CIS)
Russian – not selfish	0.12			
Russian – polite	0.74			
Russian – neat	0.73			
Russian – not aggressive	0.14			
Chechens – not selfish		0.06		
Chechens – polite		0.81		
Chechens – neat		0.39		
Chechens – not aggressive		0.17		
Uzbeks – not selfish			0.58	
Uzbeks – polite			0.41	
Uzbeks – neat			0.18	
Uzbeks – not aggressive			0.59	
Russians (CIS) – not selfish				0.23
Russians (CIS) – polite				0.72
Russians (CIS) – neat				0.73
Russians (CIS) – not aggressive				0.23

CFI = .834

RMSEA = 0.088

	Correlations between latent factors			
	Russians (self-score)	Chechens	Uzbeks	Russians (CIS)
Russians	1			
Chechens	NA	1		
Uzbeks	NA	NA	1	
Russians (abroad)	NA	NA	NA	1

The results in table 2.14 indicate that the four stereotypes are not fully explained by a single factor. In order to check this, I ran an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) for

ethnic Russian respondents by out-group.[14] The results are in table 2.15. As expected, the data confirm that the stereotypes load on a two different factors.[15] While there is some variation in the size of the loadings, a commonly used rule of thumb for loadings on a single factor would be consistent loadings of at least .32 (Costello and Osborne 2005; Tabachnick and Fidell 2007). This is not the case in the table. Politeness and neatness load fairly highly on a single factor, which I will call the "positive trait factor", while the recoded selfishness and aggressiveness load on a second factor, which I will call the "negative trait factor". Thus, there is no evidence that there is internal consistency across stereotypes for any of the out-groups. H6 in Russia is rejected.

Table 2.15: EFA for Russians in Russia

Exploratory Factor Analysis for Russians (principle-factor method, rotated factor loadings (promax))

Stereotypes towards the in-group

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Uniqueness
Not selfish	-0.01	0.56	0.69
polite	0.66	0.00	0.57
neat	0.66	0.00	0.56
Not aggressive	0.02	0.56	0.68

Full Russia, Orenburg, Tatarstan & Volgograd samples only; Eigen value - Factor1: .94
Factor2: .57

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[14] I limited the sample for the EFA to just the full Russia sample and the samples from Orengburg Oblast, Volgograd Oblast and the Tatarstan samples. These three samples maximized the number of Tatars and Ukrainians that could be analyzed. (Since each sample asked about different out-groups, many individuals would have been dropped from the analysis).

[15] I used orthogonal rotation on the factors. Factors need to be rotated after extraction to make them more interpretable (Netemeyer, Bearden, and Sharma 2003:124). This is the appropriate method when there is reason to believe that the factors are in some degree correlated (Costello and Osborne 2005).

Table 2.15 - continued

Stereotypes towards Chechens

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Uniqueness
Not selfish	-0.04	0.36	0.88
polite	0.56	0.05	0.67
neat	0.57	-0.04	0.69
Not aggressive	0.05	0.36	0.86

Full Russia, Orenburg, Tatarstan & Volgograd samples only; Eigen value - Factor1: .67
Factor2: .24

Stereotypes towards Uzbeks

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Uniqueness
Not selfish	0.52	0.06	0.70
polite	0.10	0.46	0.73
neat	-0.04	0.49	0.78
Not aggressive	0.54	-0.01	0.72

Full Russia, Orenburg, Tatarstan & Volgograd samples only; Eigen value - Factor1: .85
Factor2: .22

Stereotypes towards Russians (CIS)

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Uniqueness
Not selfish	0.01	0.54	0.70
polite	0.62	0.00	0.61
neat	0.62	0.01	0.61
Not aggressive	0.00	0.54	0.71

Full Russia, Orenburg, Tatarstan & Volgograd samples only; Eigen value - Factor1: .98
Factor2: .39

Due to the fact that the four stereotypes loaded on two separate factors rather than one, I will use both of these latent factors and continue the analysis using exploratory factor analysis (EFA).[16] It should be noted, however, that a factor comprised of only two items can be unstable and thus is not entirely ideal (Yong and Pearce 2013: 86). While

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[16] Continued use of CFA is not possible due to the fact that there are only two items (traits) per factor. The primary problem is that the model is not identified as it would be attempting to estimate a larger number of parameters than pieces of available information (Acock 2013: 44).

this is important to remember, I will show in the rest of this section that despite each

factor being comprised of only two items, each holds up consistently well across the three

different in-groups whose attitudes are being analyzed (Russians, Tatars and Ukrainians).

This gives confidence that the results are more than just an anomaly of a single group.

Table 2.16 shows the correlations between the latent factors towards each out-

group held by Russian respondents. The top table displays results for the "negative trait

factor" (not selfish and not aggressive) and the bottom table has results for the "positive

trait factor" (neat and polite). The results in Table 2.16 are similar to the results presented

in the bottom half of Kinder and Kam's table 3.3 (which is reproduced above in table

2.5). Each of the latent factors was calculated from the EFA. Overall, the correlations

between the "negative trait" factors are similar to the correlations between the "positive

trait" factors. In both tables, there is some evidence that ethnic Russians have at least

some consistency in how they rate out-groups: correlations between the latent factors

"attitudes towards Chechens" and "attitudes towards Uzbeks" are, excluding scores

towards CIS Russians, the highest correlations in the table (.27 and .41, respectively).

Table 2.16: Correlations between latent factors for Russians in
Russia

Correlations between Negative Trait Factors
(Not Selfish/Not aggressive)

	Russians (in-group)	Chechens	Uzbeks	Russians (CIS)
Russians (in-group)	1.00			
Chechens	-0.04	1.00		
Uzbeks	0.11	0.27	1.00	
Russians (CIS)	0.64	-0.06	0.13	1.00

Table 2.16 - continued

Correlations between Positive Trait Factors (Neat/Polite)

	Russians (in-group)	Chechens	Uzbeks	Russians (CIS)
Russians (in-group)	1.00			
Chechens	-0.04	1.00		
Uzbeks	0.02	0.41	1.00	
Russians (CIS)	0.60	-0.04	0.08	1.00

The first column in each part of Table 2.16 shows the correlations between the attitudes towards the in-group and attitudes towards the various out-groups for ethnic Russians (H5a). If Sumner is correct and positive attitudes towards the in-group are related to negative attitudes towards out-groups, then we should expect to see large negative correlations. However, this is not what the data show. The correlations are all near zero, with the exception of the strong positive correlation between Russian attitudes towards the in-group and attitudes towards CIS Russians. Therefore, for ethnic Russians, there is no evidence of a negative relationship between positive in-group attitudes and attitudes towards out-groups. H5a for ethnic Russians is confirmed and H5b is not.

Due to the fighting in Chechnya, which was ongoing at the time of the survey, Russian attitudes towards Chechens is the best opportunity in these data to find a negative relationship between attitudes towards the in-group and attitudes towards an out-group. Although the correlation is slightly negative (-.04), it is not statistically different that zero. The lack of a positive finding in what should be the easiest case indicates that H5b is unlikely to be significant for any of the ethnic groups in the Russian data.

I also analyze H5a and H6 in regards to ethnic Tatars and ethnic Ukrainians. Table 2.17 shows results from an EFA on Tatar attitudes towards three out-groups. As was the case for ethnic Russians, the data load on two separate factors across all out-groups: a negative trait factor and a positive trait factor. H6 is therefore not confirmed for Tatars. The first column of both tables in Table 2.18 indicate that Tatar attitudes towards the in-group are positively related to "attitudes towards Uzbeks" and "attitudes towards CIS Russians". The correlations between "attitudes towards the in-group" and "attitudes towards Chechens", however, were close to zero and were not statistically significant. Again, H5a is confirmed (and thus H5b is not confirmed).

Table 2.17: EFA for Tatars in Russia

Exploratory Factor Analysis for Tatars (principle-factor method, rotated factor loadings (promax))

Stereotypes towards the in-group

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Uniqueness
Not selfish	-0.02	0.55	0.70
Polite	0.65	0.00	0.57
Neat	0.65	0.00	0.57
Not aggressive	0.02	0.55	0.69

Full Russia, Orenburg, Tatarstan & Volgograd samples only; Eigen value - Factor1: .94 Factor2: .52

Stereotypes towards Chechens

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Uniqueness
Not selfish	0.01	0.37	0.86
Polite	0.54	0.11	0.69
Neat	0.55	-0.11	0.69
Not aggressive	-0.01	0.48	0.77

Full Russia, Orenburg, Tatarstan & Volgograd samples only; Eigen value - Factor1: .60 Factor2: .38

Table 2.17 – continued

Stereotypes towards Uzbeks

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Uniqueness
Not selfish	0.54	0.04	0.71
Polite	0.10	0.51	0.72
Neat	-0.10	0.53	0.72
Not aggressive	0.56	-0.04	0.69

Full Russia, Orenburg, Tatarstan & Volgograd samples only; Eigen value - Factor1: .65
Factor2: .52

Stereotypes towards Russians (CIS)

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Uniqueness
Not selfish	0.08	0.48	0.73
Polite	0.54	0.01	0.71
Neat	0.53	0.03	0.70
Not aggressive	-0.03	0.50	0.77

Full Russia, Orenburg, Tatarstan & Volgograd samples only; Eigen value - Factor1: .86
Factor2: .23

Table 2.18: Correlations between latent factors for Tatars in Russia

Correlations between Negative Trait Factors
(Not Selfish/Not aggressive)

	Tatars (in-group)	Chechens	Uzbeks	Russians (CIS)
Tatars (in-group)	1.00			
Chechens	-0.01	1.00		
Uzbeks	0.31	0.14	1.00	
Russians (CIS)	0.36	-0.05	0.33	1.00

Correlations between Positive Trait Factors
(Neat/Polite)

	Tatars (in-group)	Chechens	Uzbeks	Russians (CIS)
Tatars (in-group)	1.00			
Chechens	0.03	1.00		
Uzbeks	0.23	0.52	1.00	
Russians (CIS)	0.26	0.27	0.25	1.00

The last set of results for the aggregated Russian data investigate the attitudes of Ukrainians living in Russia. Table 2.19 displays the exploratory factor analysis results for stereotypes towards each out-group. In line with earlier results, the traits again load on two separate factors. H6 is not confirmed for ethnic Ukrainians in Russia: stereotypes are not internally consistent across all out-groups.

Table 2.19: EFA for Ukrainians in Russia

Exploratory Factor Analysis for Ukrainians (principle-factor method, rotated factor loadings (promax))

Stereotypes towards the in-group

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Uniqueness
Not selfish	0.15	0.64	0.57
Polite	0.76	0.17	0.39
Neat	0.76	0.13	0.40
Not aggressive	0.21	0.64	0.55

Full Russia, Orenburg, Tatarstan & Volgograd samples only; Eigen value - Factor1: 1.54 Factor2: .54

Stereotypes towards Chechens

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Uniqueness
Not selfish	0.56	0.21	0.64
Polite	0.10	0.45	0.79
Neat	0.04	0.44	0.80
Not aggressive	0.55	-0.09	0.69

Full Russia, Orenburg, Tatarstan & Volgograd samples only; Eigen value - Factor1: .69 Factor2: .38

Stereotypes towards Uzbeks

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Uniqueness
Not selfish	0.65	0.10	0.57
Polite	0.46	0.09	0.78
Neat	0.46	-0.15	0.77
Not aggressive	0.24	0.28	0.87

Full Russia, Orenburg, Tatarstan & Volgograd samples only; Eigen value - Factor1: .90 Factor2: .10

Table 2.19 - continued

Stereotypes towards Russians (CIS)

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Uniqueness
Not selfish	0.55	0.04	0.69
polite	0.24	0.50	0.69
neat	0.08	0.47	0.77
Not aggressive	0.58	0.23	0.61

Full Russia, Orenburg, Tatarstan & Volgograd samples only; Eigen value - Factor1: .95
Factor2: .30

In contrast to H6, H5a is confirmed for Ukrainian respondents. Correlations between the calculated latent factors can be seen in Table 2.20.[17] The table shows that for Ukrainians living in Russia the correlations between attitudes towards the in-group and attitudes towards out-groups are all positive or close to zero. This is in agreement with H5a, which rejected the idea that that positive in-group attitudes would be correlated with negative out-group attitudes. Because H5a is confirmed, H5b is rejected.

Table 2.20: Correlations between latent factors for Ukrainians

Correlations between Negative Trait Factors
(Not Selfish/Not aggressive)

	Ukrainians (in-group)	Chechens	Uzbeks	Russians (CIS)
Tatars (in-group)	1.00			
Chechens	0.06	1.00		
Uzbeks	0.24	0.35	1.00	
Russians (CIS)	0.58	-0.01	0.19	1.00

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[17] Because Ukrainian attitudes towards Uzbeks tended to load on a single factor, I used only the first factor when calculating the correlations towards Uzbeks in both tables in Table 2.21.

Table 2.20 - continued

Correlations between Positive Trait Factors (Neat/Polite)

	Ukrainians (in-group)	Chechens	Uzbeks	Russians (CIS)
Tatars (in-group)	1.00			
Chechens	0.02	1.00		
Uzbeks	0.00	-0.05	1.00	
Russians (CIS)	0.65	-0.11	0.30	1.00

Note the extremely high correlations between Ukrainians attitudes towards the in-group and attitudes towards CIS Russians in table 2.20. These correlations are almost identical to the correlations between ethnic Russian attitudes towards the in-group and attitudes towards CIS Russians (table 2.16). This demonstrates the close relationship between ethnic Russians and ethnic Ukrainians in Russia (at least from the point of view of the Ukrainians). This further justifies my high-status/low-status division along the lines of Slavic and non-Slavic peoples in Russia, which places Russians and Ukrainians in the same high-status category.

Overall, the data from Russia are not very supportive of Sumner's theory. While it is true that in-groups are nearly universal in rating themselves higher than out-groups, respondents do not consistently attribute negative traits to out-groups. High-status groups view low-status groups more negatively than other high-status groups. Low-status groups view other low-status groups negatively, but view high-status groups more positively (but still lower than the in-group). Moreover, exploratory factor analysis demonstrated that attitudes towards out-groups do not load on a single factor. Thus, respondents' attitudes towards out-groups are more sophisticated than a simple positive-negative dichotomy. I find no evidence that higher levels of positive in-group attitudes are related to higher

levels of negative attitudes towards out-groups: across all analyzed groups, correlations between attitudes towards the in-group and attitudes towards out-groups were never negatively and significantly related. In Russia, in-group pride and out-group disdain are two unrelated phenomenon.

2.5.2 Ukraine

The data from both the United States and Russia have provided little evidence for the Sumnerian thesis. Instead we have seen that in-group pride is only universal among high-status groups. Also, attitudes towards out-groups have been shown to be inconsistent. Some out-groups are seen more positively than others (regardless if the group is high or low status). Feelings about the in-group have not been related to higher levels of negative feelings towards out-groups. To the contrary, there has been a slight positive relationship: more positive feelings towards the in-group leads to more positive feelings towards the out-group. This section investigates data from the third country under investigation, Ukraine. The data come from a 2005 nationally representative survey. They will again be analyzed in regards to the three broad areas that have been used in this chapter: feelings of in-group superiority, generally negative attitudes towards out-groups, and a negative relationship between the two.

As with the Russia data above, I will continue to analyze the results using the high-status/low-status dichotomy based on membership in the Eastern-Slavic group. Russians have been a dominant group in Ukraine for hundreds of years. From the middle of the 17th century onwards, large areas of Ukraine were ruled from Moscow and St. Petersburg as first part of the Russian empire and then later part of the Soviet Union (Magocsi 1996: 216). The role of ethnic Russians in founding the Soviet Union, the fact

that they were the single largest nationality, and that Russian was the lingua franca, ensured that they would dominate the USSR (Subtelny 2000: 521). Thus, it is appropriate to consider them as high-status group members. Ethnic Ukrainians in Ukraine are also categorized as high-status for the simple fact that they are the titular nationality in Ukraine and they are, by far, the country's largest ethnic group.

While this is an appropriate division, it does lead to unfortunate data limitations. The Ukrainian survey only recorded three ethnic groups: Ukrainians, Russians and "others." The "other" category is comprised of non-Russian ethnic minorities. Because these respondents did not have their ethnic group specified in the survey, I am only able to calculate their out-group scores (i.e. their attitudes towards Russians, Ukrainians, etc.), not scores for their in-group. Thus, only ethnic Ukrainians and ethnic Russians, the high-status group members, will have both in-group and out-group ratings in the tables below. In the Ukrainian data I am only able to compare attitudes among the high-status groups. However, I have included the ratings of out-groups given by the ethnic-"others" in order to see how these group members rate both high-status groups.

The Ukraine data, like the previous surveys in this section, asked the respondents to rate various out-groups on a number of stereotypes. Respondents were asked to rate Ukrainians, Russians, Crimean Tatars and Roma on a five-point scale on the following traits: hard-working or lazy, intelligent or unintelligent, and trustworthy or untrustworthy. As before, the variables were all coded from -1 to 1 with higher values indicating a more positive aspect of each trait.

The stereotype questions were worded as follows:

> Now I have some questions about different groups in our society. I'm going to show you a five-point scale on which the characteristics of the people in a group can be rated.

> In the first statement a score of 1 means that you think almost all of the people in that group tend to be "hard-working." A score of 5 means that you think most people in the group are "lazy." A score of 3 means that you think that most people in the group are not closer to one end or the other, and of course, you may choose any number in between.

Tables 2.21, 2.21 and 2.23 show average in-group and out-group stereotype scores for the three ethnic groups. The three tables show that H1 is fully confirmed for Ukrainians, but not for Russians. While Ukrainians viewed themselves as universally superior, Russian respondents actually rate Ukrainians as harder working than themselves (table 12). The difference (.74 to .64) is statistically significant at 99%. This is the only case, in which an in-group rated an out-group higher than itself. In all other cases, the in-group prevailed.[18] Tables 2.21, 2.22 and 2.23 do show that H3a is confirmed. Both Russians and Ukrainians rated each other significantly higher than the two low-status out-groups (Crimean Tatars and Roma).

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[18] The "other" category cannot be compared since, as an amalgamation of various groups, and thus there is no "in-group".

Table 2.21: Stereotypes in Ukraine (hard-working)

In-group favoritism expressed through stereotypes (lazy versus hard-working)

Assessments by:	Assessments of:			
	Ukrainians	Russians	Crimean Tatars	Roma
Ukrainians	0.85	0.49	0.24	-0.67
	(945)	(912)	(597)	(849)
Russians	0.74***	0.64	0.25	-0.62
	(192)	(191)	(123)	(165)
Others	0.75	0.56	0.20	-0.69
	(34)	(34)	(25)	(31)

Source: Ukraine 2005; Two tailed t-test significance .01< ***, .05< **, .1<* (vs. in-group score); Note: Table entry is the average assessment of each racial group (in the columns) by each racial group (in the rows), on the selfishness trait question. The trait assessments were recoded from -1 (lazy) to +1 (hard-working). The number of observations are included in the parentheses. In-group scores are in boxes.

Table 2.22: Stereotypes in Ukraine (intelligent)

In-group favoritism expressed through stereotypes (unintelligent versus intelligent)

Assessments by:	Assessments of:			
	Ukrainians	Russians	Crimean Tatars	Roma
Ukrainians	0.78	0.71	0.37	0.15
	(911)	(900)	(613)	(775)
Russians	0.76	0.77	0.44	0.18
	(184)	(183)	(127)	(155)
Others	0.63	0.74	0.17	0.16
	(34)	(34)	(27)	(32)

Source: Ukraine 2005; Note: Table entry is the average assessment of each racial group (in the columns) by each racial group (in the rows), on the selfishness trait question. The trait assessments were recoded from -1 (unintelligent) to +1 (intelligent). The number of observations are included in the parentheses. In-group scores are in boxes.

Table 2.23: Stereotypes in Ukraine (trustworthy)

In-group favoritism expressed through stereotypes (untrustworthy versus trustworthy)

Assessments by:	Assessments of:			
	Ukrainians	Russians	Crimean Tatars	Roma
Ukrainians	0.73	0.61	0.09	-0.71
	(922)	(909)	(655)	(856)
Russians	0.65	0.73	0.05	-0.69
	(184)	(183)	(139)	(171)
Others	0.67	0.63	0.12	-0.69
	(35)	(34)	(26)	(34)

Source: Ukraine 2005; Note: Table entry is the average assessment of each racial group (in the columns) by each racial group (in the rows), on the selfishness trait question. The trait assessments were recoded from -1 (untrustworthy) to +1 (trustworthy). The number of observations are included in the parentheses. In-group scores are in boxes.

Russians and Ukrainians held very different attitudes towards the two out-groups: Roma were seen very negatively, while Tatars who were seen in a much better light. However, Tatars were still rated significantly lower than the high-status groups. Therefore, H3b is confirmed. Although high-status Russian and Ukrainians see Tatars more positively than Roma, both low-status out-groups are still viewed poorly when compared to high-status groups.

The results for testing H5a and H6 for Ukrainians in Ukraine are displayed in table 2.24. The results are similar to those seen in the ANES data: there is clear internal consistency in Ukrainian attitudes towards different out-groups. For each of the three out-groups, the large factor loadings indicate the presence of strong latent variables ("attitudes towards Russians", "attitudes towards Crimean Tatars" and "attitudes towards Roma"). Thus, H6 is strongly supported for Ukrainians.

Table 2.24: CFA of group stereotypes held by Ukrainians in Ukraine

Maximum likelihood factor analysis of group stereotypes held by Ukrainians

| | | Factor loadings | | | |
		Ukrainians	Russians	Crimean Tatars	Roma
Ukrainians	hard-working	0.66			
Ukrainians	intelligent	0.68			
Ukrainians	trustworthy	0.62			
Russians	hard-working		0.65		
Russians	intelligent		0.71		
Russians	trustworthy		0.61		
Crimean Tatars	hard-working			0.75	
Crimean Tatars	intelligent			0.70	
Crimean Tatars	trustworthy			0.72	
Roma	hard-working				0.63
Roma	intelligent				0.46
Roma	trustworthy				0.67

chi2(30) = 57.64
RMSEA=.046
CFI = .986

| | Correlations between latent factors | | | |
	Ukrainians (self-score)	Russians	Crimean Tatars	Roma
Ukrainians	1			
Russians	0.66	1		
Crimean Tatars	0.42	0.44	1	
Roma	0.04	0.19	0.52	1

Source: Ukraine 2005

H5a, is also confirmed (meaning H5b is rejected). The first column in the bottom half of table 2.24 shows the correlations between "attitudes towards the in-group" and attitudes towards the three out-groups. Rather than being negative, as Sumner would have predicted, all three correlations are positive. Two of the three, Russians and Tatars, are particularly large. This is especially true of Russians: the latent variables "Ukrainian

attitudes towards the in-group" and "attitudes towards Russians" are highly and positively correlated at .66. The correlation with Roma is small and is not statistically different than zero.

The last set of results in this section reruns the same analysis but now looking at the opinions of ethnic Russians living in Ukraine. The results are shown in table 2.25. The top of the table shows that all of the factors load highly onto the latent variable for each out-group. Thus, H6 supported. Moving to the bottom half of the table, we see that H5a is also supported (and H5b is rejected). In fact, the results mirror the results for Ukrainians, but only stronger. Russian "attitudes towards Ukrainians" are almost identical to their attitudes of the in-group: the correlation is .9. In other words, at least as far as three stereotypes are concerned, Russians living in Ukraine simply do not see Ukrainians as an out-group.

Table 2.25: CFA of group stereotypes held by Russians in Ukraine

Maximum likelihood factor analysis of group stereotypes held by Russians

		Factor loadings			
		Ukrainians	Russians	Crimean Tatars	Roma
Ukrainians	hard-working	0.86			
Ukrainians	intelligent	0.75			
Ukrainians	trustworthy	0.61			
Russians	hard-working		0.74		
Russians	intelligent		0.85		
Russians	trustworthy		0.63		
Crimean Tatars	hard-working			0.71	
Crimean Tatars	intelligent			0.77	
Crimean Tatars	trustworthy			0.80	
Roma	hard-working				0.48
Roma	intelligent				0.63
Roma	trustworthy				0.65

chi2(30) = 43.25
RMSEA=.071
CFI = .976

	Correlations between latent factors			
	Russians (self-score)	Ukrainians	Crimean Tatars	Roma
Russians	1			
Ukrainians	0.90	1		
Crimean Tatars	0.43	0.47	1	
Roma	0.17	0.27	0.73	1

Source: Ukraine 2005

As stated earlier, both ethnic Ukrainians and ethnic Russians represent high-status groups. Both Russians and Ukrainians had fairly positive feelings towards Tatars, but view Roma very differently. Yet, even for Roma, higher levels of positive Russian and Ukrainian in-group feelings did not result in increased levels of negative feelings. The relationship between positive in-group feelings and negative out-group feelings in the Ukrainian data does not exist.

2.6 Conclusion

The three datasets (ANES, the Russian data and the Ukrainian data show both areas of similarity and difference in the overall results. Table 2.26 summarizes the findings from all three datasets.

First, the similarities. High-status groups in all three datasets generally rate their in-groups higher than all out-groups on all stereotype measures. The lone exception dealt with ethnic Russian's living in Ukraine rating ethnic Ukrainians as harder working. While not possible to confirm with this data, this likely stems from the fact that the Ukrainian nation has historically been perceived as peasants living off the land, a lifestyle associated with long hours and physical labor. In general, however, the overall results concerning Ukraine make clear that ethnic Russians living in Ukraine see themselves as very similar to ethnic Ukrainians living in Ukraine. (Russians attitudes towards the in-group and attitudes towards Ukrainians was correlated at .9).

Table 2.26: Chapter 2 summary tables

ANES Summary table: Confirmed hypotheses by group

	White	Black	Latino	Asian
H1	Yes	NA	NA	Yes
H2	NA	Yes	Yes	NA
H3a	Yes	NA	NA	Yes
H3b	Yes	NA	NA	Yes
H4a	NA	Yes	Yes	NA
H4b	NA	Yes	Yes	NA
H5a	Yes	Yes	Yes	NA
H5b	No	No	No	NA
H6	Yes	Yes	Yes	NA

Russian data summary table: Confirmed hypotheses by group

	Russians	Tatars	Ukrainians	Armenians	Chuvash
H1	Yes	NA	Yes	NA	NA
H2	NA	No	NA	No	No
H3a	NA	NA	Yes	NA	NA
H3b	Yes	NA	Yes	NA	NA
H4a	NA	Yes	NA	Yes	Yes
H4b	NA	Yes	NA	Yes	Yes
H5a	Yes	Yes	Yes	NA	NA
H5b	No	No	No	No	No
H6	No	No	No	No	No

Ukraine data summary table: Confirmed hypotheses by group

	Ukrainians	Russians
H1	Yes	No
H2	Na	NA
H3a	Yes	Yes
H3b	Yes	Yes
H4a	Na	NA
H4b	Na	NA
H5a	Yes	Yes
H5b	No	No
H6	Yes	Yes

High status groups are consistently given high ratings by all out-groups. At times this means that out-group scores are higher than the scores given to the in-group, but this is not always the case. Collectively, results show that in general, high-status groups are given a certain degree of reverence by all groups in society. High-status groups do not reciprocate the feelings towards low-status groups, however. While there is variation in how high-status groups view low-status groups, generally they are not seen positively.

Across all the datasets, there is absolutely no evidence that higher levels of in-group favoritism are correlated with higher levels of out-group disdain. In fact, particularly among ethnic Russians and ethnic Ukrainians (either in Russia or in Ukraine), the relationship is strong and positive. While arguments can be made that Ukrainians and Russians, due to their long shared history and closely related languages, do not represent an honest test of Sumner's claims, such a view would ignore the many antagonisms that have developed over the centuries and hardened as a result of Ukrainian independence.[19] In particular, the survey in Ukraine was carried out immediately after the 2004 Orange Revolution which can be seen, at least in part, as a rejection of Russia-oriented policies. Thus, although it was not an anti-Russian uprising, tensions were high and finding negative attitudes among ethnic Ukrainians in Ukraine would not have been surprising.

The primary difference across the surveys has to do with the stereotypes held by low-status groups. In Russia, all groups regardless of status rate their in-groups higher than all out-groups. This is not the case with the ANES data in which low-status groups

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[19] Ukraine gained its independence from the Soviet Union in 1991. The survey was done in 2005.

do not consistently give themselves the highest ratings. Thus, in Russia the data reveal high levels of in-group pride across all groups.

The second important difference also concerns the Russia data. There is a lack of internal consistency towards a given out-group regarding the four stereotypes. Rather, the stereotypes align on two different dimensions. This is a surprising result that is not repeated in either the ANES or the Ukrainian data. It is possible that Russian respondents are sensitive to the differences of these stereotypes when applying them to out-groups.

Three primary conclusions come from these data: 1) In-group favoritism is extremely common, but not universal, 2) there is no evidence that in-group favoritism and out-group disdain are negatively bound together, and 3) in-groups hold different attitudes towards different out-groups and these attitudes can be partially explained by group status.

CHAPTER 3 THE EFFECTS OF GROUP STATUS ON ETHNOCENTRISM, IN-GROUP PRIDE AND XENOPHOBIA

3.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at the effects of group status on levels of ethnocentrism, xenophobia and in-group pride. The primary question that this chapter addresses is: does group status have an independent effect on an individual's level of in-group pride, xenophobia or ethnocentrism? This chapter builds directly off of the literature of the first chapter and the results described in the previous chapter.

In chapter 2 the results indicated that group status is an important factor to consider when investigating an individual's attitudes towards out-groups. While the results so far are telling, they have been based only on simple cross-tabulations. This chapter, in contrast, makes use of multivariate regression models to determine if the differences between high-status and low-status groups that were observed in the last chapter still hold while controlling for a host of common demographic factors that can also be expected to affect levels of in-group pride, xenophobia and ethnocentrism. Thus, I will treat the individual level in-group pride, xenophobia and ethnocentrism scores as dependent variables. If I am able to show that group status is a significant predictor with these controls, then I will have more confidence that group status really does have an effect on in-group pride, xenophobia and ethnocentrism.

The chapter will proceed in the following fashion: first, I will highlight the main findings from chapter 2 and use them to develop a hypothesis for each of the dependent variables. Then, in section 3.3, I will describe the data and measures. While the three data sets are the same as the previous chapter, the construction of the dependent variables is

new and they must be formally defined. In this section I will also describe the control

variables that will be included in the regression models. I then present and discuss the

results of the models for each of the datasets in section 3.4. I then wrap up the chapter

with a conclusion in section 3.5.

3.2 Prior findings and new hypotheses

The results in the previous chapter demonstrated that high-status groups[20] in the

United States, Ukraine and Russia always view their in-group as superior to out-groups.

Moreover, high-status groups generally rated other high-status groups positively (though

always lower than the in-group), indicating a clear distinction with groups deemed to be

low-status. The results for low-status groups were more complicated. My replications

from the ANES data showed that low-status groups occasionally saw high-status groups

as superior to the in-group. The data from Russia, however, did not follow this pattern.

All ethnic groups analyzed in the Russian surveys, regardless of group status, expressed

feelings of in-group superiority. Thus, we can say that minority groups in Russia are

more confident of their group's position in relation to other, seemingly more high-status,

groups.

In all samples low-status groups were almost always viewed poorly. That is, high-

status groups viewed low-status groups poorly and low-status groups viewed other low-

status groups poorly. Very often, low-status groups were actually seen in negative terms

(not just relatively lower than the in-group). However, negative assessments of out-group

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[20] As described in the second chapter, the high-status groups in each survey were as follows: whites and
Asians in the ANES data; Russians, Ukrainians and Belarussians (ie. Slavs) in the Russian data; and
Ukrainians and Russians in the Ukrainian data.

traits were less common in Ukraine than in either Russia or the ANES. Variation is expected since each country has different histories of inter-ethnic relations that influence how out-groups are viewed. Moreover, the patterns of scores are partially be dependent on the particular ethnic groups that are being rated.

In-group pride, xenophobia and ethnocentrism will be formally defined in the following section, but it is necessary to briefly address them here. In this chapter what I call *in-group pride* is an individual level measure created by averaging all of an individual's stereotype ratings towards his or her own in-group. Thus, it is a generalized measure of attitudes towards the in-group. Relatedly, *xenophobia* is a generalized measure of attitudes towards out-groups. It is an individual level measure created by averaging all of an individual's stereotypes towards each out-group. In contrast to the concepts of in-group superiority and out-group negativity that I discussed in the last chapter, the measures of in-group pride and xenophobia used here are aggregated from multiple stereotypes (and in the case of xenophobia, from multiple out-groups).

The results from the previous chapter imply that high-status group members will have more in-group pride that low-status group members. The possible exception is Russia, where low-status groups exhibited universal feelings of in-group superiority just like high-status groups. This leads to the first hypothesis of this chapter:

> **H7:** High-status group members will have more in-group pride than low-status group members.

Findings in the previous chapter also suggest that high-status groups will be more xenophobic than low-status groups. As was shown, high-status groups viewed other high-status groups positively, but viewed low-status groups significantly lower and often negatively. Low-status groups, on the other hand, while viewing other low-status groups poorly, often saw high-status groups positively (though not necessarily superior). This was consistent across all the surveys. Thus, individuals in low-status groups, in general, are unlikely to be as xenophobic as high-status group members.

The literature provides further justification. Bettencourt et al. (2001), in a meta-analysis of 92 different studies, found that across all of these studies high-status groups scored out-groups more negatively than low-status groups. The prediction, therefore, is for high-status groups to express more xenophobia than low-status groups. This leads to the second hypothesis of this chapter:

H8: High-status group members will be more xenophobic than low-status group members.

The concept of ethnocentrism was discussed at length in the first chapter. There I described that measure of ethnocentrism most common in political science, and the measure that I use throughout this dissertation, can be conceptualized as the distance between attitudes towards the in-group and attitudes towards a range of out-groups. Thus, groups that are high in in-group pride and high in-out group negativity (xenophobia) will also be high in ethnocentrism. Groups having both low in-group pride and low out-group negativity will be low on ethnocentrism. It then follows from the first two hypotheses that

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high-status groups should also be higher in ethnocentrism than low status groups. This results in the third and final hypothesis of this chapter:

H9: High-status group members will be more ethnocentric than low-status group members.

These three hypotheses will be investigated below in each of the datasets. However, it is first necessary to formally define the three dependent variables, in-group pride, xenophobia and ethnocentrism, and discuss the control variables that will be included in the analysis. This is the purpose of the next section.

3.3 Data and measures

The data employed in this chapter remain the same as in chapter 2. I use the 1992 American National Election Survey data that was prominently featured in Kinder and Kam's work on ethnocentrism (Kinder and Kam 2009). I also use survey data from the two largest successor states of the Soviet Union, Russia and Ukraine. Both of these surveys were conducted in 2005.

As discussed in the first chapter, I have partitioned the respondents from the Russian and Ukrainian data into high-status and low-status groups on the basis of belonging to a supranational identity group "Eastern Slavs." This is a group that includes ethnic Belarussians, Ukrainians and Russians. It is not a group in a formal sense, but members share a large number of common features that distinguish them from other groups in these countries. This includes mutually intelligible languages, centuries of

shared historical experiences including tracing their lineages to a common proto-state

based in Kyiv in the 9th-13th centuries, and a common religion, Eastern Orthodoxy

(primarily, but not exclusively, the Russian Orthodox Church).

Using the Eastern Slav criteria with the Ukraine data means that both Russians

and Ukrainians are classified as high-status. These are the two most numerous ethnic

groups in Ukraine, comprising over 95% of the population.[21] In this chapter, in order to

investigate the relevance of group status, I will maintain the Eastern-Slav (high-status) /

non-Eastern Slav (low-status) dichotomy, which means that Russians and Ukrainians will

be treated as the same group.

As described in the first chapter, the Russian data are a collection of seven

independent samples from six different federal units of the Russian Federation. The

seventh sample was a nationally representative survey. In the analysis for this chapter, I

analyze the nationally representative survey (n=679), as well as the samples from the

Republic of Tatarstan (n=648) and Orenburg Oblast (n=650).[22]

Group status in the Russian data is also determined on the basis of East-Slavic

identity. Thus, ethnic Russians, Ukrainians and Belarussians are considered to be high-

status groups, while members of all other ethnic groups are considered to be members of

low-status groups. Tatars are the single largest minority group in Russia comprising

about 3.8% of the total population (RF Federal State Statistic Service 2010). Tatars are

also the largest minority group in each of my three samples: 3.25% of the national

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[21] In 2001, Ukrainians comprised 77.8% of the population, while 17.3% identified as Russian (State Statistics Committee of Ukraine 2003). The survey sample was comprised of 80% Ukrainians and 16% Russians.

[22] The samples from Tatarstan and Orenburg oblast each contained a large number of non-Slavic ethnic minorities that justified their inclusion in the analysis.

sample, 43.5% of the Republic of Tatarstan sample and 13.25% of the sample from

Orenburg Oblast. The remaining low-status group members come from a diverse range of

ethnic groups. However, with the exception of Chuvash in Tatarstan (3.2% of the sample)

and Kazaks in Orenburg Oblast (3.7% of the sample), no other single group represented

more than 1% of each sample.

3.3.1 Dependent variables

This section describes the construction of the three dependent variables that will

be analyzed in this chapter: in-group pride, xenophobia and ethnocentrism. The

operationalization of these three concepts will be used to analyze the hypotheses

described above.

In-group pride

The in-group pride and xenophobia measures were discussed in chapter two. In

this section, however, I discuss the operationalizations more formally in relation to the

specific datasets. Both measures are an attempt to quantify an individual's general

attitudes towards his or her ethnic in-group and a range of ethnic out-groups. Similar

measures that focus on attitudes towards the in-group or attitudes towards out-groups are

common in the literature, though they sometimes go by very different names. For

example, some of the terms that one can see in the literature: in-group preference and out-

group hostility (Bobo and Zubrinsky 1996), in-group identification (Duckitt and

Mphuthing 1998), group hostility and social distance (Sniderman, Hagendoorn, and Prior

2004), group self-centeredness, in-group positivity and out-group negativity (Bizumic et

al. 2009), in-group and out-group favoritism (Dasgupta 2004) and in-group solidarity and

out-group prejudice (Kinder and Kam 2009).

In-group pride is operationalized by taking the average of the respondent's stereotype scores towards the in-group. For example, the in-group pride score for Ukrainians in Ukraine would consist of summing their scores on how hard-working, intelligent and trustworthy for the in-group and dividing by the total number of stereotypes (in this case, three). More formally:

$$\textbf{In-group pride = (stereotype1 for in-group + stereotype2 for in-group + stereotype3 for in-group) / 3}$$

All final in-group pride scores range from a low of zero to a high of one with higher values indicating a more positive feeling. An individual having a final in-group score of one, gave his or her in-group the highest possible rating on all stereotypes. Likewise, an individual with a final score of zero gave the in-group the lowest possible score on all stereotypes.

Xenophobia

The xenophobia measure is created by taking the average stereotype scores by out-group and then averaging those scores to get a generalized feeling towards out-groups. For Ukrainians in Ukraine, for example, the xenophobia measure is created by summing their average scores across three stereotypes for each out-group and dividing by three. More formally, the equation is (stereotype1_og1 stands for the first stereotype for the first out-group):

$$\textbf{Xenophobia = [(stereotype1\_og1 + stereotype2\_og1 + stereotype3\_og1) /3 +} \\ \textbf{(stereotype1\_og2 + stereotype2\_og2 + stereotype3\_og2) /3 +} \\ \textbf{(stereotype1\_og3 + stereotype2\_og3 + stereotype3\_og3) /3] /3}$$

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Similar to the in-group pride variables, the out-group stereotype variables have been coded to run from 0 to 1. However, the values have been reversed so that a higher value indicates a more negative stereotype. This was done to make interpretation more intuitive. Thus, a final xenophobia score of 1 indicates that the respondent gave all out-groups the lowest possible rating on each stereotype. A final rating of zero indicates the opposite; the highest possible score across all stereotypes.

Each sample is comprised of a slightly different mix of out-groups. In Ukraine all respondents were asked their opinion about Ukrainians, Russians, Crimean Tatars and Roma. In the Russian samples, all respondents were asked to rate Chechens, Uzbeks and Russians from the CIS. In addition, each individual Russian sample was asked to rate two other out-groups. The out-groups that were rated in each sample are displayed below in table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Out-groups rated in each Russian sample

	Chechens	Uzbeks	CIS Russians	Armenian	Chinese	Kazakhs	Azerbaijanis
Russia (national sample)	■	■	■	■	■		
Orenburg Oblast sample	■	■	■		■	■	
Republic of Tatarstan sample	■	■	■				■

Ethnocentrism

Over the course of the previous two chapters I have said much about the concept of ethnocentrism. However, I have not yet described in detail how it is operationalized in this work. Ethnocentrism, as I have defined it, utilizes both attitudes towards the in-group

and attitudes towards out-groups. Formally, this is the same measure used by Kinder and

Kam in their works on ethnocentrism, as well as other recent works on ethnocentrism in

political science (Kam and Kinder 2007; Kinder and Kam 2009; Kam and Kinder 2012;

Sides and Gross 2013; Valentino, Brader, and Jardina 2013). The measure is created by

first summing the differences between each in-group stereotype and the average

stereotype towards the out-groups. This number is then divided by the number of

stereotypes. The equation itself is straightforward and can be seen below:

Ethnocentrism =
     [(stereotype1 in-group score – stereotype1 average out-group score) +
     (stereotype2 in-group score – stereotype2 average out-group score) +
     (stereotype3 in-group score – stereotype3 average out-group score)] /3

In the operationalization above, each set of stereotypes, both in-group and the

average out-group, runs from 0 to 1, with higher values always indicating a positive

evaluation. Thus, the final ethnocentrism variable can run from -1 to 1, with a score of 1

indicating an extremely ethnocentric individual. To achieve such a value, the respondent

would need to give the in-group the highest possible score (1) on each stereotype while

also giving all stereotypes for all out-groups the lowest possible score (0). A score of -1,

on the other hand, would indicate an individual who, while completely enamored with

out-groups, fully dislikes their in-group.

The focus of the measure is the distance between the in-group and out-groups

scores. From a Social identity theory standpoint, such an operationalization makes sense

since group members constantly want to maximize the distance between their in-group

and out-groups. A large difference in how the in-group views itself and how it views out-

groups is the very essence of ethnocentrism. An individual's attitude towards the in-

group acts as anchor against which that same individual's attitudes towards out-groups

can be compared. A measure of "ethnocentrism" comprised of only in-group attitudes or

only attitudes towards out-groups would be unable to determine if the individual was

truly ethnocentric or simply misanthropic (i.e. dislikes all people, in-group and out-group

members) or a philanthropic (i.e. loves all people, in-group and out-group members

alike). What we really want to know is how an individual sees the in-group *in reference*

to out-groups.

Take once again the example of an individual who scores all out-groups as fully

negative. Definitions of "ethnocentrism" that take advantage of only "out-group"

measures, as can sometimes be seen in the literature (Altemeyer 1996; Pettigrew et al.

1997), would see this person as being extremely ethnocentric. Under my classification,

however, such a measure comprised of only "out-group" scores would be called

xenophobia. Without the measure of attitudes towards the in-group, we are unable to

create a full measure of ethnocentrism.

It is worth reiterating the results from the previous chapter showed that in the

United States[23], Ukraine and Russia, attitudes towards the in-group and attitudes towards

out-groups were not often related.[24] Thus, it is particularly important to have both in-

group and out-group measures. Had the attitudes towards the in-group and attitudes

towards out-groups been consistently correlated (either positively or negatively), then it

would have been possible to rely on just a single measure since they could each be seen

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[23] The results from the ANES data from the United States were replications of previous findings by Kinder
and Kam (2009).
[24] The major exception was Ukrainians and Russians living in Ukraine. Both groups showed high levels of
correlation between attitudes towards the in-group and attitudes towards the other.

as substitutes. Thus, for these reasons I argue that only when both scores are present in a single operationalization can a precise measure of ethnocentrism be calculated.

It is also worth repeating that this operationalization of ethnocentrism allows for multiple ways to get the same score. For example, there are many different ways to get an ethnocentrism score of zero. A score of zero simply tells us that there is no difference in how the in-group views itself and how they view out-groups. Thus, an individual who loves their in-group and all out-groups unconditionally (by giving them the most positive ratings) would have an ethnocentrism score of zero. Likewise, an individual who rated their in-group and all out-groups negatively (by giving them the most negative ratings) would also have an ethnocentrism score of zero. Although the paths taken to get to a score of zero by these two individuals are very different, the final measures are equivalent because in both cases they demonstrate that the respondent does not see a significant difference between the in-group and out-groups.

Table 3.2 below aggregates the average scores of high-status and low-status group members in each survey sample for each of the three dependent variables: in-group pride, xenophobia and ethnocentrism. Thus, for example, high-status group members in the ANES survey had an average in-group pride score of .66 while low-status group members had an average score of .6. I have highlighted the higher value to make comparison across surveys clear.

Table 3.2: Average pride, xenophobia and ethnocentrism scores by group status for each sample

Average in-group pride score by survey

	ANES	Ukraine[25]	Russia	Tatarstan	Orenburg	Krasnodar	Volgograd	Moscow Oblast
High-status	0.66	0.89	0.54	0.59	0.63	0.56	0.55	0.61
Low-status	0.60	NA	0.63	0.61	0.71	0.59	0.64	0.63

Average xenophobia score by survey

	ANES	Ukraine	Russia	Tatarstan	Orenburg	Krasnodar	Volgograd	Moscow Oblast
High-status	0.48	0.42	0.61	0.68	0.60	0.761	0.57	0.67
Low-status	0.41	0.34	0.63	0.60	0.48	0.758	0.55	0.58

Average ethnocentrism score by survey

	ANES	Ukraine	Russia	Tatarstan	Orenburg	Krasnodar	Volgograd	Moscow Oblast
High-status	0.13	0.30	0.14	0.27	0.24	0.31	0.11	0.20
Low-status	0.01	NA	0.21	0.23	0.14	0.27	0.16	0.08

Note: Table entry is the average in-group pride, xenophobia and ethnocentrism scores by high-status and low-status groups for each survey. The entry for "Russia" is the nationally representative survey. In-group pride and xenophobia scores run from 0 to 1. Ethnocentrism scores run from a possible -1 to 1.

Table 3.2 shows that in the United States high-status groups express more in-group pride, more xenophobia and more ethnocentrism. In Russia however, across all the samples, low-status groups have more in-group pride and less xenophobia than high-

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[25] In the Ukraine data, only ethnic Russian and Ukrainian respondents rated their in-groups. Since these are both "high-status" groups under my East Slavic classification, the difference between high-status and low-status groups in Ukraine will not be analyzed.

status groups. High-status groups in Russia also are more likely to have higher levels of ethnocentrism. In Ukraine, high-status group members were also more xenophobic than the low-status group members.

3.3.2 Covariates

In this section I describe demographic factors that are likely to have effects on an individual's level of in-group pride, xenophobia and ethnocentrism. These factors will be included as control variables in the regression models presented below. Specifically, I include measures of education, age, gender, and income and measure of how large of a community the respondent lives in.

Education is commonly recognized to be related to higher levels of tolerance (Bobo and Licari 1989; Vogt 1994; Coenders and Scheepers 2003).[26] Exposure to new ideas (such as new cultures and belief systems) help to make out-group members seem less frightening. Kinder and Kam showed that in the United States education had significant negative effects on individual levels of ethnocentrism (2009: 65). The expected effect of education on in-group pride, however is less certain. Education might cause group members to be less prideful by providing them with the ability to see the worth of other groups. On the other hand, education might cause low-status group members to have higher levels of group awareness and confidence. Hansen and Hesli (2009) found evidence that in Ukraine higher levels of education were related to stronger in-group ethnic attachment for some groups but was insignificant for others. I predict that education will be inversely related to higher levels of xenophobia and ethnocentrism.

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[26] There are some exceptions, however. For example, Oliver and Wong (2003) showed that among Asians in some US urban areas education was positively related to negative stereotypes towards out-groups.

However, education will not have a negative effect on in-group pride in Russia or Ukraine. Rather, it will be either positive or not significant.

The predicted effects of **age** on xenophobia, pride and ethnocentrism are also complicated. On one hand, to the extent that these concepts are related to conservatism (Maltby 1997; Cornelis et al. 2009), older individuals may be expected to be more ethnocentric. Older individuals may be more apprehensive about changes in society that have come about as a result of cultural change and immigration and thus hold negative attitudes towards immigrants (and "out-groups" generally). This has been shown to be true in both Europe and the United States (Sides and Citrin 2007; Valentino, Brader, and Jardina 2013). On the other hand, however, the Soviet Union was a very ethnically diverse place and older individuals might look back on this time fondly, which might lead them to express more positive attitudes towards out-groups. While there is some evidence that older individuals in Russia express less hostility towards certain out-groups than younger individuals, work also shows that older respondents are more likely to express nationalistic ideas (Gerber and Mendelson 2008: 61-62; Gerber 2014: 124). In contrast, results from Ukraine demonstrate no strong effects of age on either in-group or out-group attitudes (Hansen and Hesli 2009). Thus, lacking strong evidence to the contrary, I predict that the age will follow patterns consistently observed in Europe and the United States: older individuals will be more likely to express both in-group pride and out-group disdain.

Living in an **urban area** is expected to be negatively related to xenophobia and ethnocentrism. As with education, urban residents are more likely to be exposed to new ideas and people. To the extent that urban areas are more diverse, living in such areas

could lead to increased inter-group contact resulting in more positive attitudes towards out-groups (Welch et al. 2001; Hood and Morris 1998). Large capital cities like Moscow and Kyiv (and to a lesser extent large provincial cities) are cosmopolitan and this gives residents increased opportunities to meet and interact with foreigners and other "out-groups". The very opposite would be true of many rural regions in both countries that remain impoverished and relatively homogeneous. Thus, individuals living in larger urban areas are hypothesized to exhibit lower levels of ethnocentrism than individuals living in rural areas.[27]

The predicted effect of **gender** on in-group pride, xenophobia and ethnocentrism is again complicated. Some work appears to show that women are more tolerant towards immigrants and other cultures, while other work disputes this. Jolly and DiGusto (2014) demonstrate with survey data from France that women are more likely to hold xenophobic views towards immigrants. Hainmueller and Hiscox (2007), in a more nuanced study, show that European women are more likely than men to favor immigrants from poorer countries, but less likely than men to favor immigrants from wealthy countries. Sidanius, Pratto and Brief (1995), looking at respondents from Australia, Sweden, United States and Russia, found that males had higher levels of ethnocentrism and generalized anti-egaliterianism than females. Additionally, an anthropological study of teenagers from the Russian region of Krasnodar indicates that young females were

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[27] While the general prediction is that living in cosmopolitan settings should result in increased tolerance, some specific work from Russia does contradict this expectation. Gerber (2014), with survey data, showed that Muscovites were, in fact, significantly less tolerant and more hostile towards a range of out-groups than other areas in Russia, including Russia's second largest city, St. Petersburg. Attitudes towards Jews, Americans, Chechens, Gypsies, among others, were more likely to be negative if the respondent was a Moscow resident. This is a curious finding, and I agree with Gerber when he writes that "it challenges the 'modernization theory' perspective linking urbanization to greater tolerance and social liberalism" (p 119.).

more tolerant than young males. The authors reported that the females more often declared that all cultures had equal value and that other nationalities had the right to live in Krasnodar (Omelchenko and Goncharova 2008). This literature leads me to predict that females will be more likely than males to have positive attitudes towards out-groups and that females will exhibit less in-group pride.

Finally, **income** is predicted to have a negative effect on xenophobia and ethnocentrism. Wealthier individuals, as they are likely to have higher paying jobs, are less likely to feel threatened (economically or otherwise) by members of low-status out-groups.

I am including all of the above demographic factors as controls so that I can properly test the relationship between group status and ethnocentrism. I hypothesize group status will remain important even after controlling for these other effects. In many countries, both developed and developing, ethnic status is an extremely important (and inescapable) feature of one's life. It influences all interactions with people and the state. This omnipresent nature means that it will not only be relevant, but that it will be a significant factor determining both in-group and out-group attitudes.

3.4 Results

The operationalizations of ethnocentrism, xenophobia and pride variables lead to considerable practical problems with missing data. For example, any respondent who failed to rate any group on any stereotype could be dropped from the analysis. For the xenophobia and ethnocentrism variables, this could result in dropping over half the sample from the analysis. To avoid this problem, I have imputed the missing values using

the MICE method (multivariate imputation using chained equations) available in Stata

14. I have imputed the missing values for pride, xenophobia, ethnocentrism and monthly

income. Thirty different imputations were created for the models.[28]

Some might express concern that I imputed values for pride, xenophobia and

ethnocentrism, since these variables are used as my dependent variables in this chapter.

However, a number of recent works have supported using imputed dependent variables

(Young and Johnson 2011; Johnson and Young 2011). As a check however, I ran the

models both with and without multiple imputation and found that the results were not

significantly different. I have included the results for the un-imputed models in Appendix

A. Substantive results from the ANES and Ukraine were exactly the same and the results

from Russia were very similar. The only differences of note were that some of the

coefficients in the Russia data were stronger in the imputed data. As such, I have decided

to only report in this chapter imputed models in the tables below.

All three of the dependent variables (pride, xenophobia and ethnocentrism) for

each of the three samples are continuous. The appropriate method for analyzing

continuous dependent variables is ordinary least squares regression (OLS). In all of the

tables below, the results are presented as unstandardized OLS regression coefficients with

standard errors in parentheses.

3.4.1 Predicting pride, xenophobia and ethnocentrism in the ANES

I begin the analysis by looking at the 1992 ANES data. The OLS results for all

three dependent variables (pride, xenophobia and ethnocentrism) can be seen in table 3.3

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[28] The imputation models were created using all demographic covariates that were then later used in the
regression models. Exact replication is possible by using a unique seed that can recreate the same
imputation values.

below. Immediately we can see that the estimated coefficient for low-status groups (blacks and Latinos) is negative and statistically significant across all three dependent variables. Because high-status groups (whites and Asians) are the reference category, these negative coefficients indicate that when compared with low-status groups, high-status groups are more prideful, more xenophobic and more ethnocentric. Collectively, therefore, these results confirm hypotheses H7, H8 and H9: high-status groups are respectively more prideful, more xenophobic and more ethnocentric than low-status groups.

Table 3.3: Predicting in-group pride, xenophobia and ethnocentrism (ANES)

	In-group Pride	Xenophobia	Ethnocentrism
Low-status	-0.063***	-0.080***	-0.133***
	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.010)
Age	0.001***	0.000	0.001***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Income	0.000	-0.001	-0.000
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Female	0.025***	-0.012**	0.009
	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.008)
Education	-0.015***	-0.011***	-0.025***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.003)
Constant	0.667***	0.533***	0.181***
	(0.017)	(0.014)	(0.018)
N	2,420	2,420	2,420

Note: Table entry is the OLS regression coefficient with standard errors below in parentheses.
Source: 1992 ANES.
* *p*<0.1; ** *p*<0.05; *** *p*<0.01

Some of the covariates match the expectations laid out above. Education is significant and negative across all three models as expected: higher levels of education leads to lower levels of in-group pride, xenophobia and ethnocentrism. Interestingly,

gender also has a statistically significant effect. Women are more likely than men to express in-group pride, but less likely than men to be xenophobic. In the model predicting ethnocentrism, these two opposing tendencies cancel each other out and gender is no longer significant. Also as predicted, age is positively related to both in-group pride and ethnocentrism.

3.4.2 Predicting pride, xenophobia and ethnocentrism in Ukraine

Results

The results in table 3.4 below are from the Ukraine data. As discussed previously, the data provide for three different groups: Ukrainians, Russians and all others (i.e. anyone not in the other two categories.) Russians, along with the numerically dominant Ukrainians, are considered members of the high-status group (Eastern Slavs). All other respondents (approximately 4% of the sample) are considered low-status. To repeat again, however, because low-status group members did not evaluate their in-groups, it is not possible to calculate pride and ethnocentrism scores for them. Therefore, while using the low-status/high-status distinction, I am limited to looking at xenophobia.

Table 3.4: Predicting xenophobia
(Ukraine data)

	Xenophobia
Low-status	-0.090**
	(0.042)
Age	-0.000
	(0.000)
Income (monthly)	0.000***
	(0.000)
Female	-0.015
	(0.014)
Education	-0.006
	(0.007)
More urban	-0.005
	(0.005)
Constant	0.440***
	(0.038)
N	1,199

Note: Table entry is the OLS regression
coefficient with standard errors below in
parentheses.
Source: 2005 Ukrainian data.
* $p<0.1$; ** $p<0.05$; *** $p<0.01$

As predicted, the negative coefficient on low-status indicates that in Ukraine high-status groups are more xenophobic than low-status. H2 is confirmed. This corresponds to the results from the ANES, in which high-status groups were also more xenophobic. The only significant control variable is monthly income and it is in the opposite direction of the prediction: higher levels of income are related to higher levels of xenophobia. Lastly, it is worth noting the lack of significance on the education variable. This is surprising given consistent cross-national findings that higher levels of education are related to increased levels of tolerance and lower levels of xenophobia (Hello, Scheepers, and Gijsberts 2002).

Some might find the results of Table 3.4 unsatisfying as I am unable to produce measures for either in-group pride or ethnocentrism. In the appendix, I do include results from a number of models that disaggregated the high-status group into ethnic Russians and Ukrainians. The results show that ethnic Ukrainians in Ukraine are both more prideful and more ethnocentric than ethnic Russians. Ethnic Ukrainians, however, were neither more nor less xenophobic than ethnic Russians.

3.4.3 Predicting pride, xenophobia and ethnocentrism in Russia

This section contains results from three different surveys in Russia: the nationally representative sample of Russia and representative samples from the Republic of Tatarstan and Orenburg Oblast. Both Tatarstan and Orenburg have significant non-slavic populations that make them appropriate cases for analysis. In particular, Tatarstan is one of the few minority-majority regions in Russia. The other samples from the Russian data did not contain enough minority respondents to be analyzed.

One possible option to make use of all of the data would be to pool all of the individual surveys and analyze the resulting data using multi-level modeling (MLM) techniques. This would allow for random intercepts or slopes to be estimated for each separate sample while making use of the increased statistical power due to the larger number of observations. However, MLM was not employed in this chapter because many of the Russian samples asked respondents to rate different sets of out-groups. This means that the components of the ethnocentrism measure would vary from sample to sample. I decided that pooling such a measure, while possible, would not have been entirely appropriate. I do believe that this method of analysis could be extremely useful in future work provided that appropriate data are collected.

The three Russian samples that were chosen for analysis, along with the out-groups that were asked about in each sample, are shown below.

Russian national survey: Chechens, Uzbeks, Armenians, Chinese and CIS Russians

Orenburg Oblast survey: Chechens, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Chinese and CIS Russians

Republic of Tatarstan survey: Chechens, Uzbeks, Armenians, Azeris and CIS Russians

As discussed previously, the category I have labeled CIS Russians actually includes both ethnic Russians from CIS countries as well as ethnic Russians from "other parts of Russia."[29] As was seen in the previous chapter, ethnic Russians scored CIS Russians very positively, sometimes even more positively than the in-group. Moreover, ethnic Russian attitudes towards the in-group and attitudes towards CIS Russians were highly correlated. This is not at all surprising given that most Russians consider themselves members of the larger ethnic Russian community. Therefore, in creating xenophobia and ethnocentrism scores for ethnic Russians, I dropped the ratings towards the CIS Russian group. This was in-order to not bias the results for ethnic Russians by making them appear less xenophobia and less ethnocentric by treating their "in-group" as one of the "out-groups". Ethnocentrism and xenophobia scores for all other respondents, however, included the full range of out-groups listed.

As was shown in the last chapter, the four stereotypes in 2005 Russian data did not load on a single factor. Therefore, I have not combined them into a single measure of

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[29] In the official English language questionnaire the category question wording is: RUSSIANS (from other parts of Russia or from the former Soviet republics)?"

ethnocentrism. The results in this chapter for Russia use a measure of ethnocentrism calculated from just two stereotypes: aggressiveness and selfishness.

3.4.3.1 Russian (nationally representative sample)

The nationally representative survey results are in Table 3.5 below. The table shows that in-group pride is affected by the group status variable. The positive coefficient is in the opposite of the predicted direction, however: non-Slavic respondents were more likely to exhibit in-group pride than Slavic respondents. The group status variable for both xenophobia and ethnocentrism was not significant. Thus, all three hypotheses are rejected. These results indicate that on the country level, high-status group members are quite different than their American counterparts (who were found to be more prideful, more xenophobic and more ethnocentric).

The results in Table 3.5 are difficult to explain. The simplest explanation is that relative to low-status group members, high-status East-Slavic group members have lower levels of self-esteem. Perhaps these dominant group members have not yet recovered from the psychological shock caused by the collapse of the Soviet Union. The loss of status that came with the collapse could account for the lower levels of in-group self-esteem for the dominant East-Slavs. As for xenophobia and ethnocentrism, a possible, if somewhat unsatisfying, explanation is that group status is simply not a salient cleavage the way that age and education are.

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Table 3.5: Predicting in-group pride, xenophobia and ethnocentrism (Russian national sample)

	In-group Pride	Xenophobia	Ethnocentrism
Low-status	0.112**	0.024	0.076
	(0.044)	(0.033)	(0.055)
Age	0.002***	0.001*	0.003***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Income (monthly)	-0.000**	0.000	-0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Female	0.006	-0.007	-0.015
	(0.026)	(0.020)	(0.038)
Education	0.012*	-0.009*	0.012
	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.008)
More urban	-0.001	0.004	-0.004
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.006)
Constant	0.412***	0.589***	-0.020
	(0.047)	(0.038)	(0.063)
N	679	679	679

Note: Table entry is the OLS regression coefficient with standard errors below in parentheses. * $p<0.1$; ** $p<0.05$; *** $p<0.01$
Source: 2005 Russia data (Full Russian sample)

As for the other covariates, age is significant and positive as in previous models and in-line with expectations. Education, moves in separate directions for the in-group pride and xenophobia models. More education is linked to less xenophobia. This is the relationship predicted in the literature and observed in the ANES; higher levels of education should be related to higher levels of tolerance as people become more knowledgeable about other groups.

The positive relationship between in-group pride and education is a curiosity that does not fully correspond with the literature.[30] It also does not correspond to the data

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[30] As discussed above, if higher education leads to more in-group pride among low-status groups, then this could explain the finding. However, this seems unlikely since the sample is dominated by high-status groups (over 88% of the sample is high-status).

previously presented in this chapter from the United States, which shows a negative

relationships between the level of education and in-group pride, xenophobia and

ethnocentrism. The conclusion, however, is that better educated Russians are more likely

to see their in-group positively.

Lastly, the most consistently significant variable in all three models is age. Older

individuals exhibit higher levels of in-group pride, higher levels of xenophobia and

higher levels of ethnocentrism. This is a result that seems to be at least partially

confirmed in both the US and Ukraine and is consistent with earlier predictions.

3.4.3.2 Tatarstan

The Republic of Tatarstan is one of the 83 constituent subjects of the Russian

Federation. Its status as a Republic (in contrast to other subjects such as oblasts,

autonomous okrugs and krais), gives it more independence than other units. The Republic

of Tatarsan has its own constitution and, along with Russian, its own official state

language, Tatar. However, Vladimir Putin's centralizing reforms of the 2000's, reasserted

control over many areas of the Republic's politics. For example, Tatarstan's constitution

was amended to suspend the clause regarding the independent election of Tatarstan's

president. Moscow instead decided that regional leaders would be appointed (Cashback

2007: 82-83).

Tatars are the largest minority ethnic group in Russia. According to the 2010

Russian Census, they constitute just under 4% of Russia's 142.8 million citizens. In

Tatarstan, they comprise a slight majority: 53% of the Republic's approximate 3.79

million residents are Tatars (Russian Census 2010). As a people, the Tatars trace their

history in the Volga region of Russia to both the Volga Bulgars (8th to 13th centuries) and later to the Tatars of the Golden Horde, the remnants of Ghenghis Khan's European empire (Yuzeev 2005: 93:95; Gorenburg 2003: 20). The Volga Bulgars adopted Islam in the tenth century and the Tatars today still profess Sunni Islam. This has been a continuous thorn in the relations with the Russian state, which has numerous times over the centuries pursued policies of forced conversion. More recently, during the Soviet period high levels of industrialization and ethnic Russian in-migration to the Republic resulted in heightened tensions between Tatars and ethnic Russians (Broxup 1995: 75-81).

Results

The results from Tatarstan are slightly more sympathetic to the three hypotheses than the national Russian sample. They can be seen in Table 3.6 below. Eastern-Slavs living in Tatarstan are more likely than their non-Slavic neighbors to express feelings of xenophobia. However, in regards to both in-group pride and ethnocentrism, there is no relationship to group-status. Thus, only hypothesis H2 is confirmed.

As in the nationally representative Russian sample, age is the most consistently significant variable across all the models. Age is positively related to in-group pride, xenophobia and ethnocentrism. Education, surprisingly, does not have a significant effect on any of the three outcome variables. This is in contrast to both the literature and the full Russia sample analyzed above. As in Ukraine, higher levels of reported income is positively related to xenophobia. This is likely an indication that wealthier individuals feel either threatened or challenged by out-groups.

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Table 3.6: Predicting in-group pride, xenophobia and ethnocentrism (Tatarstan)

	In-group Pride	Xenophobia	Ethnocentrism
Low-status	0.014	-0.071***	-0.022
	(0.024)	(0.026)	(0.036)
Age	0.002***	0.001**	0.003***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Income (monthly)	0.000	0.000**	0.000**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Female	-0.002	0.052*	0.043
	(0.024)	(0.027)	(0.029)
Education	0.007	-0.001	0.010
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.008)
More urban	-0.003	-0.007**	-0.009*
	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.005)
Constant	0.488***	0.617***	0.061
	(0.051)	(0.055)	(0.080)
N	650	650	650

Note: Table entry is the OLS regression coefficient with standard errors below in parentheses.
Source: 2005 Russia data (Tatarstan sample)
* $p<0.1$; ** $p<0.05$; *** $p<0.01$

3.4.3.3 Orenburg

Orenburg Oblast is another one of the Russian Federations 83 constituent subjects. To the south, the oblast shares a land border with Kazakhstan of over 900 miles. The oblast also borders five other Russian subjects: Saratov, Samara and Chelyabinsk Oblasts and the Republics of Tatarstan and Bashkortostan. According to the 2010 Russian Census, the population is just over 2 million residents. Ethnic Russians comprise the majority of the population (75%), while Tatars (7.5%) and Kazakhs (6%) are the largest ethnic minority groups.

Due to its proximity to Central Asia, the oblast has a large number of migrant workers. Official statistics are not available, but an estimate from 2007, near the period

when the surveys were conducted, put the number of migrant workers at around 100,000 individuals (Savin 2010: 174). The perceived high numbers of foreign workers has led to perceptions among locals that inter-ethnic tensions are on the rise.

Results

The results from Orenburg oblast are in Table 3.7 below. The group-status variable in the first model is not significant. Hypothesis 1 is not confirmed: group status does not affect levels of in-group pride. Hypotheses H2 and H3, however, are confirmed: members of low-status groups are less likely to be xenophobic and ethnocentric than their East-Slavic neighbors. Both coefficients are highly significant with t-values of -3.13 and -1.96 for xenophobia and ethnocentrism, respectively.

Table 3.7: Predicting in-group pride, xenophobia and ethnocentrism (Orenburg)

	In-group Pride	Xenophobia	Ethnocentrism
Low-status	0.049	-0.100***	-0.098*
	(0.031)	(0.032)	(0.050)
Age	0.001	-0.000	0.000
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Income (monthly)	-0.000**	-0.000	-0.000*
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Female	0.037	0.043*	0.096***
	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.034)
Education	-0.010	0.006	-0.007
	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.009)
More urban	-0.006	0.006	-0.003
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.007)
Constant	0.655***	0.553***	0.241***
	(0.055)	(0.052)	(0.080)
N	647	647	647

Note: Table entry is the OLS regression coefficient with standard errors below in parentheses.
Source: 2005 Russia data (Orenburg sample)
 * p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

Consistent with the survey from Tatarstan, education has no effect on any of the models. This is in contrast to the full Russian sample which indicated that education has a positive relationship with in-group pride and a negative relationship with xenophobia. In two of the three models, pride and ethnocentrism, higher levels of monthly income are negatively related to both pride and ethnocentrism. This is different than in the Tatarstan model above in which higher incomes were positively related to xenophobia and ethnocentrism. Finally, it is worth noting that in the Orenburg sample, in contrast to both the national and Tatarstan samples, age is not significant in any of the models.

3.5 Conclusion

The results presented in this chapter show that the effects of group status on in-group pride, xenophobia and ethnocentrism vary greatly across the United States, Ukraine and Russia. There is also variation among the three different Russian samples. Yet, despite this variation, there is a clear indication that group status is an important predictor for in-group pride, xenophobia and ethnocentrism. Moreover, the results tend to show that high-status group members are more prideful, xenophobia and ethnocentric than their low-status compatriots.

In the United States, membership in a high-status group is positively related to higher levels of pride and xenophobia and ethnocentrism. These results followed the initial predictions that I laid out in this chapter. In Ukraine, high-status groups are also more xenophobic than low-status group members.[31] The Russian data, however, revealed

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[31] It is worth noting that in Ukraine, when the analysis was rerun after Russians and Ukrainians were disaggregated, ethnic Ukrainians were shown to be have significantly more pride and ethnocentrism than ethnic Russians. This indicates that in Ukraine a different dynamic is at work in which the numerically dominant group (ethnic Ukrainians) exhibits higher levels of ethnocentrism than other groups.

different patterns. In the national sample, low-status group members are actually more prideful than high-status group members, but there is no effect on xenophobia or ethnocentrism. In sharp contrast, in the two analyzed units of the Russian Federation, the Republic of Tatarstan and Orenburg oblast, xenophobia was higher among high-status group members. In the Orenburg oblast sample high-status groups were also more ethnocentric than low-status group members.

What have we learned from this analysis? I think there are two primary lessons to be taken away from the results presented here. The first lesson is that the effects of group status in the United States are not representative of the effects in other countries. In the US group status has unambiguous effects on all three dependent variables, but in Russia this is not the case. In the nationally representative sample, group status was significant in only the in-group pride model (and it was not in the predicted direction). The cross-tabs in the previous chapter foreshadowed these conflicting results: all ethnic groups in Russia regardless of status exhibit in-group superiority. In the United States, by contrast, low-status groups had difficulty consistently asserting their group's superiority. This difference is the key to explaining these results.

The results from Tatarstan and Orenburg oblast are valuable because they demonstrate that the relationship between group status and xenophobia/ethnocentrism at the regional level differs from the relationship at the national level. In both of these units the results were more representative of what was found in the United States and Ukraine. A possible explanation for this difference could be the fact that each of these regions contain higher percentages of non-Slavic minorities than Russia as a whole. In line with the racial threat hypothesis (Key Jr. 1949), larger numbers of ethnic minorities might

result in a backlash. In this case, higher levels of xenophobia and ethnocentrism among the high-status Slavs. Testing such an explanation would require higher quality data.

The second lesson concerns the measures of in-group pride, xenophobia and ethnocentrism. This chapter demonstrates that these three measures are not only distinct conceptually, but they are distinct empirically. Across the three countries, the measures have different relationships with both group status and the demographic covariates. Thus, it is not possible to exchange one measure for another in different analyses, a problem that others have observed is common in ethnocentrism literature (Bizumic et al. 2009: 872). That these concepts would be empirically distinct was also foreshadowed in the previous chapter by the consistent result that in-group superiority and out-group negativity are unrelated. In other words, in-group pride and xenophobia are not two sides of the same coin and they cannot be treated as such.

Regarding control variables, it is worth noting the rather odd finding concerning education. While higher levels of education are consistently significant and negative in all models in the United States, in Russia and Ukraine education is only significant and in the predicted direction for one of the ten models presented.[32] In the Orenburg Oblast and Republic of Tatarstan samples, not a single significant relationship emerges between any of the dependent variables and education. This result is particularly surprising given that the literature clearly predicts a negative relationship between education and xenophobia. A possible explanation could be that the education system in Russia does not teach or instill toleration.[33]

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[32] The xenophobia model in the Russian nationally representative survey.
[33] In the Ukrainian data that disaggregated high-status groups into ethnic Russians and ethnic Ukrainians (shown in the appendix), education had a negative effect on both levels of in-group pride and ethnocentrism. Thus, education in Ukraine has a similar effect as in the United States.

In the next two chapters I will look at the conditional effect of group status and ethnocentrism on select outcome variables. I will focus exclusively on the data from Ukraine, which will require me to disaggregate the high-status group into ethnic Russians and ethnic Ukrainians. In chapter 4, I will examine how group identity and ethnocentrism work together to affect individual level attitudes on a range of aggressive-oriented foreign policies in Ukraine. Then, in chapter 5 I will investigate how ethnocentrism and group status affected vote choice during the contentious 2004 Ukrainian presidential elections.

CHAPTER 4 ETHNOCENTRISM AND FOREIGN POLICY ATTITUDES IN UKRAINE

4.1 Introduction

In the last chapter I looked at how group status affects individual levels of

ethnocentrism in the United States, Russia and Ukraine. In chapters four and five, I shift

my focus to examine how ethnocentrism and group status work together to influence

attitudes and behavior in Ukraine. As I described in chapter one, the Ukrainian survey

data contains a wealth of well-designed indicators that allow not only for the

investigation of the effects of ethnocentrism and group status, but also allow for the

application of a number of robustness checks. It is for these reasons that I focus on these

data.

In this chapter I focus on the foreign policy attitudes of ethnic Russians and ethnic

Ukrainians. I will investigate whether or not ethnocentrism plays a role in influencing the

attitudes of each group. Importantly, I want to determine if ethnocentrism affects the

foreign policy attitudes of Russians and Ukrainians differently. I begin this chapter

reviewing the literature on the link between ethnocentrism and support for aggressive

foreign policies and the literature regarding group differences in attitudes towards the use

of force. I also describe the situation in Ukraine around the time in which the survey was

completed. I then detail four different foreign policies, the attitudes towards which will

be analyzed at the end of the chapter. Two of the foreign policies are closely related to

issues central to Russian-Ukrainian state relations, while the other two are not. This

design will allow me to see how the effects of ethnocentrism on ethnic Russians and

Ukrainians might change as the policies change.

To my knowledge, how the effects of ethnocentrism differ by ethnic group in regards to foreign policy attitudes is an area of research that has received no prior attention. Even in the American political science literature, as far as I know, there are no published works on this topic. Yet, there are a number of good reasons why political science should not ignore studying the effects of ethnocentrism on policy attitudes. First, the literature from the U.S. has shown that ethnocentrism is related to higher levels of support for foreign policies, including support for the use of force (Kam and Kinder 2007; Kinder and Kam 2009; Sides and Gross 2013). However, it is unclear to what extent ethnocentrism will affect foreign policy attitudes in other countries. As the world's only hegemon since the collapse of the Soviet Union, Americans undoubtedly hold foreign policy opinions that are quite distinct from the opinions of other peoples around the world. Thus, it is not at all clear that the effects of ethnocentrism will be similar across multiple countries.

Second, the work on the relationship between ethnocentrism and foreign policy attitudes in the U.S. has not fully explored the effects of group status. Although prior research has shown a significant and positive relationship between ethnocentrism and support for the use of force (Kinder and Kam 2009), this finding could be primarily driven by the attitudes of a single group. For example, if ethnocentric whites living in the U.S. are very likely to support the use of force, it does not necessarily follow that ethnocentric blacks or ethnocentric Hispanics will similarly support the use of force. Previous works on ethnocentrism did not fully investigate the conditional effects of race (or ethnicity) and ethnocentrism on key outcome variables. The primary focus of this chapter is to explore these interaction effects on policy attitudes.

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The third reason concerns case selection. Ukraine is a particularly important country in which to study the effects of ethnocentrism and group membership on aggressive foreign policy attitudes. With the exception of Russia, Ukraine is the most populous country to emerge from the former Soviet Union. It's extremely large (about the size of Texas) and with an estimated population of 44.4 million, making it one of the most populous countries in Europe (Central Intelligence Agency 2016). Ukraine's political and economic stability has a direct impact on stability of the entire region, including the European Union, an organization with which Ukraine shares part of its western border. All of these reasons make Ukraine and its stability an important element to western security.

Foreign policy, though important to varying degrees for all countries, is particularly crucial to Ukraine given that Ukraine's relations with Russia have been tense and uncertain. Relations reached a new nadir, however, following Russia's 2014 annexation of Ukraine's southern peninsula, Crimea, as well as its support for separatist rebels in the eastern regions of Donetsk and Luhansk (NATO 2015). As these events of 2014 show, tensions with Russia are likely to persist. Therefore, an examination of Ukrainian foreign policy attitudes in the period directly following the 2004 Orange Revolution, a period marked by strained relations with Russia, can yield insights to help us better understand policy attitudes during these times of heightened tension.

4.2 Literature

4.2.1 Ethnocentrism and aggressive foreign policy

In the United States, ethnocentrism has frequently been used to explain individual level foreign policy attitudes. Kam and Kinder (2007), for example, use ethnocentrism to help explain American support for the war on terror. They argue, and show empirically, that ethnocentrism is a positively related such support. Specifically, individuals with higher levels of ethnocentrism are more supportive of increased spending on homeland security, defense, and border control. They are also more likely to support the war in Iraq (Kam and Kinder 2007: 328, table 1). Substantively, the effects are large. The probability of supporting increased spending for the war on terror and border security increases by over 80% when moving from the lowest to the highest levels of ethnocentrism (p 331, figure 1).

In their book, Kinder and Kam (2009) continue the same line of reasoning as they expand their analysis beyond opinions regarding terrorism. They show that ethnocentric individuals also had higher levels of support for military force during the first Gulf War and were more likely to believe that the war should have continued until Saddam Hussein was driven from power. More broadly, Kinder and Kam show that ethnocentric individuals were more likely to support many types of policies involving confrontation and violence. For example, higher levels of ethnocentrism were positively related to support for an aggressive foreign policy during the Cold War. Ethnocentric individuals were also more likely to want to prevent the spread of communism, to take a harder line with the Soviet Union, and to disapprove of arms control agreements (Kinder and Kam

2009: 89-91).[34] Other scholars have also linked foreign policy attitudes to orientations

related to ethnocentrism. For example, Hurwitz and Peffley (1990) showed that strong

feelings of patriotism among American respondents was positively related to higher

levels of support for a "*militant posture*" in the international arena (1990: 16). Other

works has shown that feelings of threat are also positively related to the use of force

(Herrmann, Tetlock, and Visser 1999; Huddy et al. 2005).

Sides and Gross (2013), confirm the existence of a positive relationship between

ethnocentrism and support for the War on Terror with more recent data. They further

argue, however, that when a political issue implicates a particular group (for example,

Muslims and terrorism), then attitudes towards that specific group might be more relevant

in predicting policy opinions than a generalized ethnocentrism. In contrast, if there is no

strong link between a particular out-group and a policy, then the more generalized

ethnocentrism will better predict opinions (Sides and Gross 2013: 595). Other studies

show similar findings. Valentino, Brader and Jardina (2013), for example, demonstrate

the importance of attitudes towards Latinos in influencing attitudes towards immigration

policy among whites. These works provide new insights into when ethnocentrism is more

likely to be relevant. While not necessarily undermining the generalizability of

ethnocentrism and its effects, these works remind us that foreign policy attitudes might be

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[34] Kinder and Kam also show that ethnocentrism can be used to help predict a whole range of issues that are not directly related to policies of confrontation and violence. For example, increasing levels of ethnocentrism leads to a decrease in support for immigration (except for among Hispanics, among whom ethnocentric individuals are more likely to support immigration) (Kinder and Kam 2009: 131-144). Ethnocentric individuals are also more likely to oppose gay marriage (chapter 7) and desire a decrease in spending on social welfare (chapter 9). This last finding, that ethnocentric individuals want to decrease welfare spending, is only true of whites; there is no effect for African Americans or Hispanics (Kinder and Kam 2009: 185).

driven to a larger or lesser degree by attitudes towards a particular group, than towards all out-groups more generally.

All of these results provide strong evidence that ethnocentrism does play a role in influencing individual attitudes. Ethnocentrism is positively related to support for aggressive oriented policies including the use of violence. The major shortcoming that is immediately clear, however, is that these results are based entirely off of data from the United States.

4.2.2 Groups and use of force literature

In addition, despite the solid evidence of a link between ethnocentrism and aggressively-oriented foreign policy attitudes, my earlier analyses reveal that ethnocentric attitudes are not equally spread across all individuals in a society. Foreign policy attitudes also vary across demographic groupings. Just as research has shown the existence of gender gap regarding issues of force and conflict (Shapiro and Mahajan 1986; Huddy, Cassese, and Lizotte 2008), research suggest that a similar racial or ethnicity gap exists.

In the United States race has been shown to be a consistently significant predictor of support for a range of aggressive foreign policies, including the use of force. When compared to whites, African Americans are less likely to support defense spending (Smith and Seltzer 1992) and were less hawkish about military intervention during the Korean, Vietnam and the first Gulf War wars (Mueller 1973; Mueller 1994: 43; Nincic and Nincic 2002: 550). African Americans were also less likely than whites to support the War on Terror including the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq after 9/11 (Kinder and Kam 2009: web appendix, 14,20). This apparent race gap is even present among active duty personnel: a survey of actively serving American troops conducted in 2003 showed

that while US soldiers were more supportive of the Iraqi War than the American population as a whole, African American soldiers were significantly less likely than whites to support the war or to approve of the President's handling of the war (Rohall and Ender 2007: 111-112). Thus, evidence suggests that whites and blacks in the United States see conflict through very different eyes.

Research has shown that reduced support for conflict is not limited to African Americans. Some work has shown that Latinos are also less supportive of aggressive-oriented policies. Gartner and Segura (2000:128-129) demonstrated that Latinos, like blacks, were less likely than whites to approve of the Vietnam war. Interestingly, they also showed that Asian respondents were more likely than whites to support the war. The authors argued that that this could be due to the anti-communist nature of the conflict. But, as I have argued previously in this dissertation, another possibility is that high-status groups (whites and Asians) hold opinions and attitudes that are distinct to the attitudes and opinions of low-status groups (Latinos and African Americans).

These findings regarding a link between high-status racial/ethnic groups and higher levels of support for the use of force are not limited to the United States. Clements (2013), for example, in an analysis of British public opinion regarding the recent military interventions in Afghanistan, Iraq and Libya found that whites were more likely to support these military interventions than minorities. Although the gap between ethnicities was not as large as the gender gap (which averaged 16 percentage points): the gap between whites and other ethnic groups was fairly consistent at around 4 percentages points across all the three conflicts. This is yet more evidence that members of the

dominant ethnic or racial group are more likely to be supportive of the use of force than other group members.

Related work from Russia lends additional support. Alexseev (2010) showed how attitudes towards aggressively-oriented policies can vary by ethnic group. For example, the deportation of all immigrants (*legal* and *illegal*) was supported by 49% of ethnic Russians, but only 27% of ethnically non-Russians supported such a measure (Alexseev 2010: 96). Alexseev also shows that titular ethnic groups (those belonging to the titular group in a non-Russian republic) were also more hostile towards migrants than were non-ethnically Russian, non-titular ethnic individuals. Thus, a pattern emerges in which the majority group (either the Russian or the titular group) is more likely to support forced deportations than the minority ethnic groups (non-titular, non-Russian). [35]

Collectively, these works strongly indicate that foreign policy attitudes can and do vary based on one's membership in a racial or ethnic group. While much of the evidence comes from the United States making generalizations difficult, evidence from the UK and Russia support the argument that high-status group members are more likely to support the use of force (or aggressive policies in general) than members of low-status groups. In Ukraine I also expect to find that ethnocentrism will have significant effects on foreign policy attitudes. As the next section makes clear, there are also good reasons to believe that the effects of ethnocentrism will be very different on ethnic Russians and ethnic Ukrainians.

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[35] Forced deportation is far from benign. Alexseev describes it as "*the kind of deportation that, in practice, can only be achieved by applying strong coercive measures, if not brutal force, on a mass scale – along the lines of mass deportations under Stalin*" (Alexseev 2010: 95).

4.2.3 Ukraine and the Orange Revolution

The Orange Revolution that took place in Ukraine at the end of 2004 is just one of the three "colored revolutions" that took place in the post-Soviet space during the same 18-month time period. The first, the so-called "rose revolution", took place in Georgia at the end of 2003 and resulted in the ouster of President Eduard Shevarnadze[36] and the election of the pro-western leader Mikhail Saakashvili. The protests and transition of power, as would happen later in Ukraine, were relatively peaceful. The third revolution, called the Tulip Revolution, took place in Kyrgyzstan in March 2005. Following parliamentary elections that were believed by many to be fraudulent, protests spread across the country eventually leading to the resignation of the president, Askar Akaevich. While free from extreme levels of violence, the protests in Kyrgyzstan did involve localized rioting and clashes with government troops (Radnitz 2006: 135).

As in Georgia and Kyrgyzstan, the Orange Revolution was fundamentally a question about the future direction of the country. In Ukraine, this meant deciding whether or not the country would align itself politically with the West, particularly with the European Union, or remain subservient to Russia. Many in the country knew that the 2004 presidential election was going to be a watershed event and that the outcome would have important consequences for the political and economic direction of the country. However, few knew what to expect. Only two things were certain. First, the country was starkly divided into two opposing camps, each with a different vision of how the country should develop. And second, Russia was determined to play a significant role in supporting its preferred candidate, Victor Yanukovych (Aslund and McFaul 2006;

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[36] Shevarnadze had been the First Secretary of the Communist Party in Georgia during the 1970s and 80s before becoming the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR from 1985 until its collapse.

Karatnycky 2005: 49-50). These two factors all but ensured that the election would be heated and closely contested.

This second factor, Russia's intervention into the election deserves more comment. Russia saw the 2004 Ukrainian presidential election in near absolutist terms: a Yanukovych loss would result in the loss of Ukraine to the West. For the Russian government this was a startling prospect. After Russia itself, Ukraine was by far the largest and most important of the post-Soviet states. It was also the country that most resembled Russia. The two countries share much linguistically, culturally and historically. They share so much in common that many histories of Russia simply consider Ukraine to be an inseparable part of Russia (Magocsi 1996: chapter 2). Similarly, many Russians and Ukrainians believe their two nations to be a single people, though admittedly the idea has much more traction in Russia than in Ukraine. It was unfathomable to Russian elites and the Russian public that Ukraine could shun them and become a part of the West.

This explains why Russia wholeheartedly and unabashedly supported the ruling party's candidate, Viktor Yanukovych. They believed that he was the candidate who would best preserve Russia's influence in Ukraine. This led to Russia becoming intimately involved in the Yanukovych campaign, including providing him with hundreds of millions of dollars as well as a retinue of public relations specialists from Moscow that could manage the campaign (Petrov and Ryabov 2006: 148-153). Russian president Vladimir Putin became personally involved when he visited Ukraine for three days prior to the first round of voting to unofficially campaign for Yanukovych (Aslund 2009: 183). In addition to these more traditional ways of supporting a party, there remains lingering

questions regarding Russia's role in an attempted assassination against the opposition candidate, Victor Yushchenko, shortly before the election.[37]

Victor Yanukovych, however, did not become president. After a month of protests following a run-off election widely believed to be fraudulent, Viktor Yushchenko was eventually elected in a second run-off election in December. Yanukovych's loss, as well as the Ukrainian leadership's inability to ensure his victory, was a big shock for Russia. Some even called it Russia's biggest foreign policy disaster since the collapse of the Soviet Union (Petrov and Ryabov 2006: 145).

The literature suggests, therefore, that in Ukraine ethnic Russians and ethnic Ukrainians should hold different opinions concerning Ukraine's relationship with Russia and the country's foreign policy direction. As stated above, I expect that ethnocentrism will have different effects on the attitudes of each group. However, it is the particulars of any given policy that will be key in determining the effects of ethnocentrism. For example, foreign policies that involve closer economic or political cooperation with the West are likely to be viewed with more skepticism by ethnic Russians than ethnic Ukrainians. Ethnocentrism, therefore, should be expected to positively affect Ukrainian attitudes towards these issues, but negatively affecting Russian attitudes. It is to these different foreign policies that I turn next.

4.3 Foreign policy variables and hypotheses

The domestic context sketched above should have a major impact on the foreign policy preferences of Ukrainian citizens. However, as the previous literature

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[37] In September 2004, after having dinner with a number of Ukrainian officials, Viktor Yushchenko became ill. He was taken to Vienna where he was diagnosed with dioxin poisoning.

foreshadows, I expect that the effects of ethnocentrism on support for an aggressive foreign policy will vary depending on the issue. Certain issues will have more resonance with particular groups and this will influence the degree to which ethnocentrism is important. In Ukraine, this implies that attitudes towards issues or policies that are intimately related to Ukraine-Russian state relations should be more strongly influenced by ethnocentrism and by group membership than other non-Russian oriented policies. Depending on the society and its particular history, culture and economy, different types of policies will be more or less salient for members of different groups. Thus, while higher levels of ethnocentrism and membership in a high-status group often result in more support for aggressive foreign policies, the societal context is equally important. The ways in which this context matters and how context influences ethnocentrism is described in detail below for each of the key dependent variables.

This chapter looks at four dependent variables that measure support for different kinds of foreign policy. The first two variables are concerned with issues that have long been contentious in Russian-Ukrainian relations: 1) Ukraine's relationship with NATO and 2) whether Ukraine should integrate more closely with Europe or with Russia. The next two variables concern foreign policy issues that are not specifically connected to Russia: 1) support for fighting terrorism and 2) support for maintaining Ukrainian troops in Iraq.

Based on the above discussion, my first hypothesis can be specified:

H0.1: Attitudes towards foreign policies that are directly related to Ukrainian-Russian relations will be more affected by ethnocentrism than attitudes toward foreign policies that are not directly related to Russia.

This means that ethnocentrism should be particularly important in influencing attitudes about NATO and European integration. Supporting for fighting terrorism and keeping Ukrainian troops in Iraq should be influenced less. The rest of this section explores each of these policies in depth in order to justify these predictions.

4.3.1 Ukraine and NATO

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is a military alliance that was created at the beginning of the cold war in 1949 to serve as a counterweight to Russian expansion in Eastern Europe. The linchpin of the agreement is the treaty's well-known Article 5 which states that "*an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all*" (NATO Treaty 1949). The organization's appeal in the eyes of its European members was simple: membership all but guaranteed that the United States would be obligated to fight if the Soviet Union were to invade or attack any member of the alliance. Thus, NATO presented itself as a defensive alliance.

The USSR, however, feared a strong alliance between the countries of Europe and the United States, believing that such a partnership represented a significant threat to its security (Gvosdev and Marsh 2013: 242). NATO controlled thousands of nuclear

weapons[38], many of which were based in NATO member countries in Europe and Turkey.[39] When NATO allowed Western Germany to join the alliance in 1995, the Soviet Union responded by creating its own alliance with its Eastern European allies called the Warsaw pact. While the Warsaw Pact quickly disintegrated in 1989 as the Cold War was ending, NATO carried on.

In this new post-Cold War era, relations between newly-independent Russia and NATO quickly became extremely frigid. Despite Yeltisn's supposed overtures about Russia joining NATO in the early 1990's, relations deteriorated swiftly as NATO implemented plans to expand eastward in the face of Russian protests (Trenin 2007: 71-72). In March 1997, Russia's fractious parliament, in a purely symbolic act of defiance, voted 300-1 against NATO's eastward expansion (Riasanovsky and Steinberg 2005: 635). Two years later in 1999 the former communist countries of Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland joined the organization and in 2004, seven more former communist countries joined, including the former Soviet Republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. For the first time ever, NATO now shared a land border with Russia.

Attitudes of the Russian public further hardened when NATO intervened offensively during the Balkan wars following the break-up of Yugoslavia. In particular, NATO's 2½ month long air campaign during the Kosovo War against Serbia provoked outrage among both elites and the general public in Russia (Riasanovsky and Steinberg

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[38] The first tactical nuclear weapons were deployed in Europe in 1953. At the height of the Cold War, in the late 1960s/early 1970s, around 7000 tactical nuclear weapons were based in Europe (Weitz 2012:4-7).
[39] One of the conditions of the agreement ending the Cuban Missile Crisis was that the US would remove nuclear missiles based in NATO-member Turkey, a country which shared a border with the Soviet Union in the South Caucasus.

2005: 636-637). The animosity nearly resulted in a hostile conflict between NATO and Russia over the Pristina airport in June 1999 (Mankoff 2011: 98).

While Russian-NATO relations have been consistently strained for much of the past two decades, Ukraine's relationship with the military alliance has been much more variable. In the 1990s the Ukrainian leadership's multi-vectored foreign policy simultaneously supported closer cooperation with both Russia and NATO. In 2002, Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma went as far as to declare that NATO membership was one of Ukraine's foreign policy goals (Aslund 2009: 226). In the 2004 presidential election, however, Viktor Yanukovych campaigned strongly against NATO membership. His rival, the pro-western Viktor Yushchenko, although favoring eventual NATO membership for Ukraine, did not actively campaign on it (Aslund 2009: 226). It has been argued that this led to extremely low levels of support among the broader public for NATO membership: between early 2004 and early 2005, support for membership fell from 27% to 15% (Sushko and Prystayko 2006: 128). In the data analyzed in this chapter, just over 14% of the sample reported that they wanted Ukraine to have "full-membership" in NATO.

Based on the Ukrainian context, what hypotheses are reasonable regarding ethnocentrism, group status and NATO integration? Support for NATO will be low across both groups but, ethnic Ukrainians should be much more supportive of NATO membership than ethnic Russians. There are two reasons for this. The first is that NATO membership represents western integration and a western orientation is generally more supported among Ukrainians than Russians (Kubicek 2000). Second, and related to the first reason, is that in the run-up to the elections, Yanukovych was strongly against

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eventual membership for Ukraine. His position undoubtedly had an important impact on people across the entire country since it was not countered with a pro-NATO message from Yushchenko. However, it is likely that the impact of the anti-NATO message was greatest in the eastern and southern regions of the country, where the majority of Yanukovych supporters live (including ethnic Russians).

Ethnocentrism will have a negative effect on support for NATO membership among Russians: ethnocentric Russians will be significantly less likely to support Ukraine's eventual membership into NATO. This is because ethnocentrism leads to individuals to desire maximum differentiation with other groups. For many ethnic Russians in Ukraine, the in-group is exemplified by Russia. Thus, ethnocentrism will lead ethnic Russians to support policies that comport with their in-group. That is, being strongly against NATO membership.

Hypotheses:

H1.1: Ethnocentrism will have a positive effect on Ukrainian attitudes towards NATO

H1.2: Ethnocentrism will have a negative effect on Russian attitudes towards NATO membership

The question that is used to test these hypotheses is:

How do you think relations between Ukraine and NATO should develop? Using the variants of the answers given on this card, tell how, in your opinion, relations between Ukraine and NATO should develop?

1. *Ukraine should completely avoid NATO dealings and obligations*
2. *Ukraine should decrease its ties with NATO*
3. *Relations should stay the same*
4. *Ukraine should gradually increase ties with NATO, but not join the alliance*
5. *Ukraine should become a full member of NATO*

4.3.2 Ukraine and the EU

Ilya Prizel called the collapse of the Soviet Union and Ukraine's subsequent attainment of statehood quite possibly "*the most propitious development in Eastern European history since the collapse of the Ottoman, German and Habsburg empires after World War I*" (Prizel 1998: 372). This is because for the first time since the 17th century, an independent power base would be centered in Ukraine. Rather than being ruled from Warsaw, Moscow or Vienna, the Ukrainian state would be able to forge its own path. Just how it would do that and with who it would align remains a key question.

For much of Ukraine's first thirteen years of independence (1991-2004), Ukrainian foreign policed oscillated between pro-western and pro-Russian polices. Some saw Ukraine's relationship with the West as moving through a series of stages: from disinterest to partnership and from partnership to disillusionment (Kuzio 2003). That relations between the West and Ukraine were inconsistent was the result of a number of issues on both sides. Most significantly however, was Ukraine's desire under President Kuchma to pursue a multi-vectored foreign policy that included improving relations with both the West and Russia.

It has been argued that national identity is closely linked to foreign policy preferences (Prizel 1998). In Ukraine this is undoubtedly true. Scholars have shown that

in Ukraine different understandings of ethnic identity lead people to hold different attitudes towards Russia and Europe. Ukrainian nationalists see Russia as a colonizer that attempted to eradicate, or at the very least relegate to a lower status, Ukrainian culture in favor of the Russian language and culture. In contrast, those who profess a strong Eastern Slavic identity believe that the two countries share a long history, including closely related cultural and religious traditions (Shulman 2004). This results in a belief among a significant minority of Ukrainians that Ukraine and Russia are intricately linked and that any division would be both unnatural and illegitimate. In this view, a western oriented Ukraine would represent the betrayal of a brotherly nation and the repudiation of a thousand years of history.

Those who support western integration have different priorities. In addition to Ukrainian nationalists who are negatively disposed towards Russia, many others simply see the European Union as an opportunity for Ukraine to transform itself into a democratic, economically prospering state. This is likely in part due to the economic and political transitions that took place in its western neighbors, Poland, Hungary and Slovakia, all three of which became members of the European Union in 2004 (Kubicek 2005: 287). High levels of corruption have also likely resulted in a desire to adopt EU-style standards and regulations. Both Ukraine and Russia have consistently ranked as some of the most corrupt countries in Europe (Transparency International 2015). The 2014 revolution in Ukraine was precisely over the issues of corruption, poverty and western integration. The protests erupted after Yanukovych reneged last minute on his pledge to sign an Association Agreement with the European Union.

In line with the story told above, ethnic Russians should be more likely to support unifying with Russia (rather than joining the EU) than ethnic Ukrainians and ethnocentrism should also play an important role in determining these attitudes. Higher ethnocentrism among Ukrainians should be linked to more support for joining the EU, while higher levels of ethnocentrism in ethnic Russians should be negatively related to joining the EU. As I have argued in previous chapters, ethnocentrism should matter because it results from the desires of group members to maximally differentiate themselves from other groups (in-order to raise the prestige of the in-group). Thus, ethnocentric Ukrainians are likely to want to differentiate themselves as much as possible from Russia, the country that has been the primary subjugator of Ukraine over the last century. This should lead to ethnocentrism working in two different directions across Russians and Ukrainians.

Hypotheses:

H2.1: Ethnocentrism will have a positive effect on ethnic Ukrainian attitudes towards Ukraine joining the European Union

H2.2: Ethnocentrism will have a negative effect on ethnic Russian attitudes towards Ukraine joining the European Union

The survey question used to test these hypotheses is**:**

Some people feel that Ukraine should unify with Russia, even at the expense of better ties with Europe. Others think it is more important for Ukraine to become a member of the

European Union, even at the expense of better ties with Russia. Of course, some people have an opinion that is somewhat between these two options. Where would you place YOURSELF on this scale?

    1.   Ukraine and Russia should unify
    2. – 6.
    7.   Ukraine should become a members of the EU

4.3.3 Combatting international terrorism

The third foreign policy question that I examine in this chapter is support for combatting terrorism. Ukraine in the post-Soviet era has not experienced serious problems with terrorism. This is in sharp contrast with Russia which, in connection with the two wars it fought in Chechnya, has been a constant victim of large-scale terrorist acts. While many of these attacks took place in the North Caucasus republics, many also occurred outside of the region, including apartment bombings in numerous cities in 1999 (293 killed), the Moscow theatre siege in 2002 (170 killed), a 2003 suicide bombing at a Moscow rock festival (16 killed) and the 2010 Moscow subway bombings (40 killed). The single most significant terrorist attack in Russia's post-communist period, however, took place in Beslan, North Osetia in September 2004, six months prior to when the survey analyzed in this dissertation was conducted. Over a thousand school children and their teachers were taken hostage by Chechen separatists on the first day of school. When the crisis ended two days later, nearly 400 people, many of them students, had been killed. While Beslan was exceptional, in the early 2000's deadly terrorist attacks occurred monthly across the North Caucasus region.

It is likely that these numerous terrorist attacks had a more significant impact on the opinions and attitudes of ethnic Russians living in Ukraine than on ethnic Ukrainians in Ukraine. This is not only because many ethnic Russians in Ukraine share the same

media market as Russians in Russia, but also because people are more likely to identify with victims from their own in-group. Experimental research, for example, has demonstrated that in-group members who feel that their group has been a victim of terrorism are more likely to report fear and fear-related behavior (Dumont et al. 2003). In Ukraine, this might mean that the continuous stream of terrorist attacks that occurred in Russia in the late 1990s and early 2000s was a more salient topic for ethnic Russians living in Ukraine than for ethnic Ukrainians. Because Ukrainians were neither the targets of the attacks nor was their in-group directly involved, the issue of terrorism affected them less directly. Thus, combatting terrorism should be a more relevant policy issue for ethnic Russians in Ukraine than ethnic Ukrainians in Ukraine.

The prediction, therefore, is that Russians will be more supportive of combatting terrorism than Ukrainians. Ethnocentrism should have a positive effect on ethnic Russian's support for combatting terrorism. Ukrainian attitudes towards combatting terrorism, on the other hand, are unlikely to be significantly influenced by ethnocentrism. Because combatting international terrorism does not build prestige for the in-group for Ukrainians, ethnocentrism will play no role in ethnic Ukrainians support for combatting terrorism.

Hypotheses:

H3.1: Ethnocentrism will not have a significant effect on Ukrainian support for

combatting terrorism

H3.2: Ethnocentrism will have a positive effect on Russian support for

combatting terrorism.

The question used to test these hypotheses is *In your opinion, should COMBATTING INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM be a VERY IMPORTANT foreign policy goal, a SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT foreign policy goal, or NOT AN IMPORTANT foreign policy goal at all?*

1. *Not important at all*
2. *Somewhat important*
3. *Very important*
4. *Extremely important*

4.3.4 Maintaining Ukrainian troops in Iraq

In Ukraine, the politics surrounding support for keeping or withdrawing

Ukrainian troops from Iraq was complicated. The political context is essential to

understanding how ethnocentrism and group status will affect support. Initially, it would

seem likely that ethnocentric Ukrainians would be more willing than other ethnic groups

in Ukraine to support having troops in Iraq. If Ukrainians desire a stronger relationship

with the West (and with western organizations such as the European Union and NATO),

then maintaining Ukrainian troops in Iraq would be an appropriate way for the

government to demonstrate that commitment.

Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma (in office 1994-2005) made the decision to

send two-thousand Ukrainian troops to Iraq in 2003 as part of the international coalition

(Kuzio 2003: 39). The troops were to serve in a peace-keeping capacity in the relatively calm Polish-governed sector of Iraq. Many believe that Kuchma sent the troops to Iraq in order to repair Ukraine's disastrous relations with the United States, which had fallen to their lowest levels since Ukrainian independence (Kuzio 2003: 26). Ukraine was seen by the United States as an unreliable partner who talked about democratization, reforming the economy, and fighting corruption, but actually did very little. Relations hit an especially low level in 2000 when secretly recorded conversations of Kuchma were made public in which he appeared to order the death of a journalist (who was later found beheaded in a forest outside Kyiv). To make matters even worse, the tapes also revealed that he had authorized the sale of radar equipment to Iraq, in full disregard of the international sanctions regime. Kuchma was, at that time, a pariah in western capitals.[40]

Dispatching Ukrainian troops to Iraq, therefore, was a way for both Kuchma and Ukraine to earn at least a partial redemption in the eyes of the West. Yet, at the same time Kuchma also drew closer to Russia. In 2003 Kuchma was named the first non-Russian head of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) (Kubicek 2005: 281), and a year later Ukraine, along with Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan, became founding members of the Common Economic Space (CES)(Aslund 2009: 170). These eastern shifts in policy towards Russia were not supported by Yushchenko, but he said very little about them during the presidential campaign (Aslund 2009: 187). He did, however, promise that if elected he would bring home the troops from Iraq. Thus, despite being the pro-western

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[40] This includes a well-known incident involving President Kuchma arriving at a NATO summit in Prague in 2002, despite the fact that he had been asked not attend. For the first time ever, NATO used the French language to assign seats to the delegates thus ensuring that President Kuchma (Ukraine) would not be seated next to the leaders from the United States or Great Britain (Kuzio 2003: 26).

candidate, Yushchenko was not associated with a pro-US policy in Iraq.[41] Rather, it's possible to see his lack of support for the Iraq war in the broader context of the anti-war sentiments in Western Europe.

The context surrounding Ukrainian troops in Iraq suggests that supporters of Yushchenko will support removing troops from Iraq. As Yushchenko's support was strongest among ethnic Ukrainians, ethnic Ukrainians should be more likely to support removing troops than ethnic Russians. Ethnocentrism among Ukrainians, however, is not expected to be significantly associated with attitudes toward troops in Iraq. In contrast to first two foreign policy issues described above that directly involve Russia, and thus give ethnic Ukrainians a group to rally against, removing troops from Iraq has no clear out-group that ethnocentric Ukrainians could use to boost in-group prestige. It's likely, therefore, that ethnocentrism will not have significant effects on Ukrainians. Similarly, ethnocentrism should not have significant effects on ethnic Russians. Although Viktor Yanukovych also called for reductions in the number of Ukrainian troops in Iraq, this was not supported by Kuchma or his administration (Moscow Times 2004). Also, as with Ukrainians, removing troops from Iraq is not a policy that can be used to increase the prestige of the in-group.

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[41] Many countries in Eastern and Central Europe supported the US invasion of Iraq and sent troops or other forms of support: Poland, Romania, Hungary, and the Baltic states among many others.

Hypotheses:

> **H4.1:** Ethnocentrism will have no effect on Ukrainian attitudes towards keeping
>
> troops in Iraq

> **H4.2:** Ethnocentrism will have no effect on Russian attitudes towards keeping
>
> troops in Iraq

The question to be analyzed is:

Thinking about the Ukrainian troops that are now in Iraq. Do you think that it is important for Ukraine to continue its current military presence in Iraq, increase the number of troops or should the government withdraw Ukraine's troops?

> 1. *Keep the troops as they are*
> 2. *Increase the number of Ukrainian troops in Iraq*
> 3. *Withdraw Ukraine's troops from Iraq*

4.4 Data and measures

The data analyzed in this chapter come from a nationally representative face-to-face survey of respondents living in Ukraine. The survey was conducted in the second half of March 2005. The timing of the fieldwork is critical, since the interviews took place just a few months after the December 2004 Orange Revolution. While the protests and eventual transition of power were peaceful, there were real fears that the situation could turn violent.[42] Thus, the period in which these data were collected followed the

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[42] This is what would happen nearly a decade later during a second Ukrainian revolution in the winter of 2014 in which protests in the capital Kyiv turned violent resulting in the death of over a hundred people.

tensest (and most significant) event in Ukraine's post-independence history. This context

needs to be kept in mind as the data are analyzed and interpreted.

As discussed above, the focus is on investigating the differences between the two

most significant ethnic groups in Ukraine, Ukrainians and Russians. This is primarily a

practical decision: according to the 2001 Ukrainian census, ethnic Russians and ethnic

Ukrainians comprise 95% of all people living on the territory of Ukraine (State Statistics

Committee of Ukraine 2003). With the exception of ethnic Russians, who are about 17%

of the population, no single minority ethnic group comprises more than .6% of the

population.[43] Thus, ethnic Russians and Ukrainians are by far that two most significant

ethnic groups in the country.

4.4.1 Key independent variables

4.4.1.1 Ethnocentrism

As described in previous chapters, ethnocentrism is operationalized as the average

difference between the in-group and out-group scores on three different stereotypes. The

three stereotypes used in the calculation of the Ukrainian ethnocentrism score in this

chapter are hard-working, trustworthy and intelligence. Formally, ethnocentrism was

calculated using the following equation:

Ethnocentrism = [(hard-working in-group score – avg. hard-working out-group score)
+ (trustworthy in-group score – avg. trustworthy out-group score)
+ (intelligence in-group score – avg. intelligence out-group score)] /3

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[43] The 2001 census included a total of 19 ethnic groups (including ethnic Ukrainians, ethnic Russians and an "other" category). The remaining ethnic groups were very small: Belarussians (.6%), Moldavians (.5%), Crimean Tatars (.5%), Bulgarians (.4%), Hungarians (.3%), Romanians (.3%), Poles (.3%), Jews (.2%) and so on (State Statistics Committee of Ukraine 2003).

All variables were coded to run from 0 to 1, with a value of 1 indicating a higher level of the trait (e.g. more intelligence, more trust, etc.) Thus, the final ethnocentrism score for each individual can theoretically run from -1 to 1. An ethnocentrism score of 1 is possible only when an individual gives the in-group the highest possible scores on each stereotype while giving each out-group the lowest possible scores on each stereotype. A score of 0 indicates no difference in the rating of the in-group and out-groups. While -1 and 1 are the theoretical maximums, they are not seen often in practice. The ethnocentrism scores in the Ukrainian survey data that I am using in this chapter ranged from -.22 to .78.

Figure 4.1 below shows the distribution of ethnocentrism scores for Ukrainian citizens (top pane) and Americans (bottom pane). As is immediately clear, compared with the United States, Ukrainian society exhibits a fairly high amount of ethnocentrism. The average ethnocentrism score across Ukrainian society is .3 (standard deviation of .18). The mean score of the ANES data, in contrast, is only .11 (standard deviation of .17, min score = -.48, max score = .94). Clearly, at least when compared to the Americans, Ukrainians exhibit much more ethnocentrism.

Figure 4.1: Distribution of ethnocentrism in Ukraine and ANES

Ukraine (top), ANES (bottom)
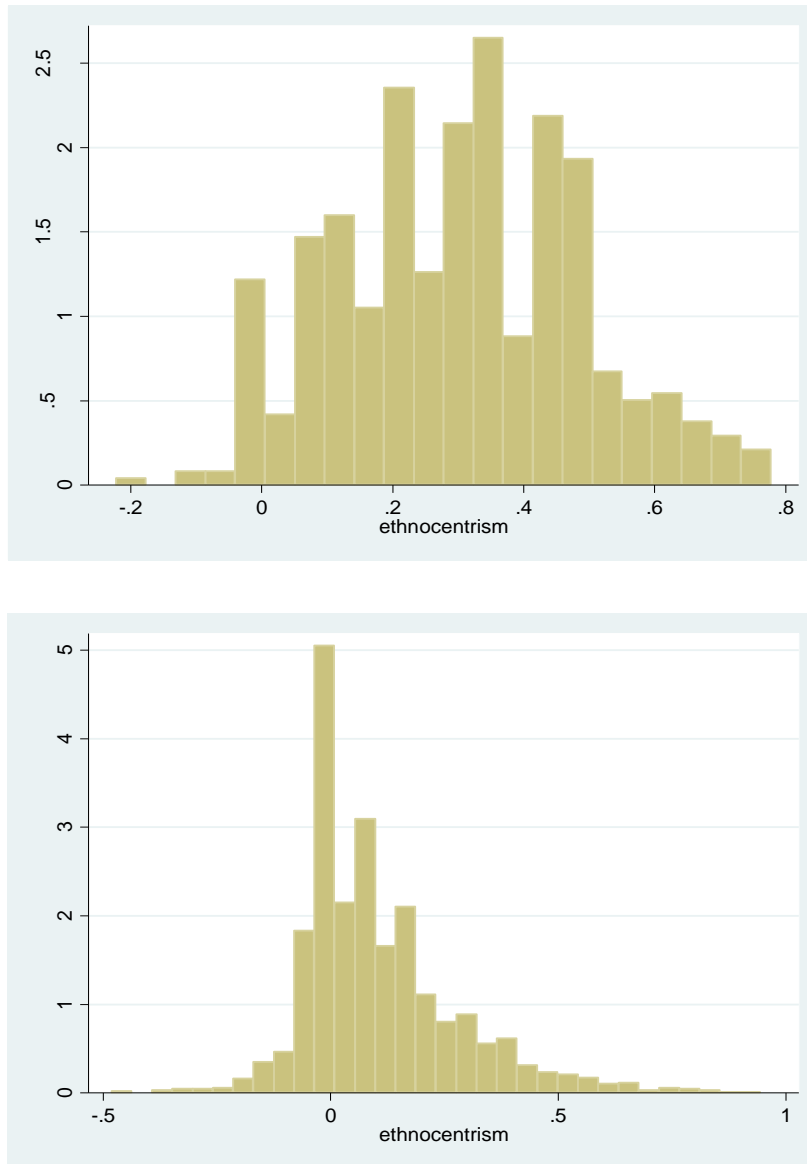
Source: Ukraine data 2005; 1992 ANES

4.4.1.2 Group status

The group status variable in this chapter investigates the differences between the two most significant ethnic groups in the country, Ukrainians and Russians. That ethnic

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Russians and Ukrainians view foreign policy differently is arguably the most significant

cleavage in the entire country (Barrington and Faranda 2009: 233). It is a cleavage,

therefore, that is not only extremely politically relevant, but it has also had a significant

impact on the country's post-independence development. The Russian-Ukrainian split is

not only based on ethnicity, however, but also contains a strong regional and linguistic

component. While those who consider themselves ethnically Ukrainian comprise a

majority in all oblasts of the country (except Crimea), the largest concentration of ethnic

Russians are found in the Eastern and Southern oblasts. Moreover, large numbers of

ethnic Ukrainians who live in the South and East are more sympathetic towards Russia

and more likely to be nostalgic for the USSR (Wilson 2002: 216). They are also much

more likely to be profess being native Russian speakers.

The linguistic and ethnic diversity of Ukraine can be seen in the two figures

below. Figure 4.2 shows the percent declaring to be ethnic Ukrainian by oblast while

Figure 4.3 shows the distribution of Ukrainian speakers across the country. In both

figures clear differences in the distribution of ethnicity and language use can be seen

between the western/central regions and the eastern/southern regions. In addition to

ethnicity, therefore, it is important to include controls for both language use and region.

Ukraine's various regions have been shown to be particularly strong sources of variation

and scholars have been nearly unanimous in recognizing the importance of accounting for

this diversity (Barrington and Herron 2004; Barrington and Faranda 2009; Colton 2010).

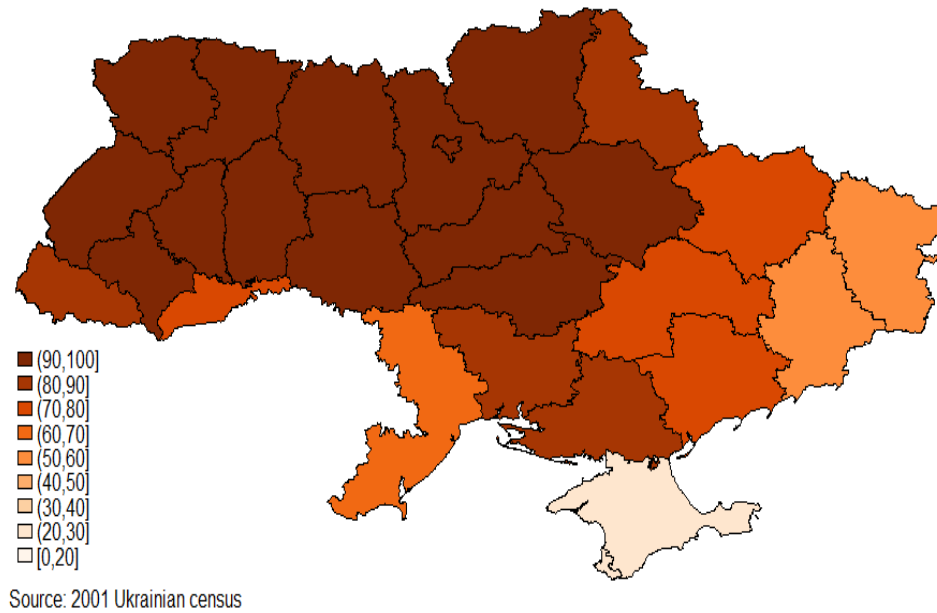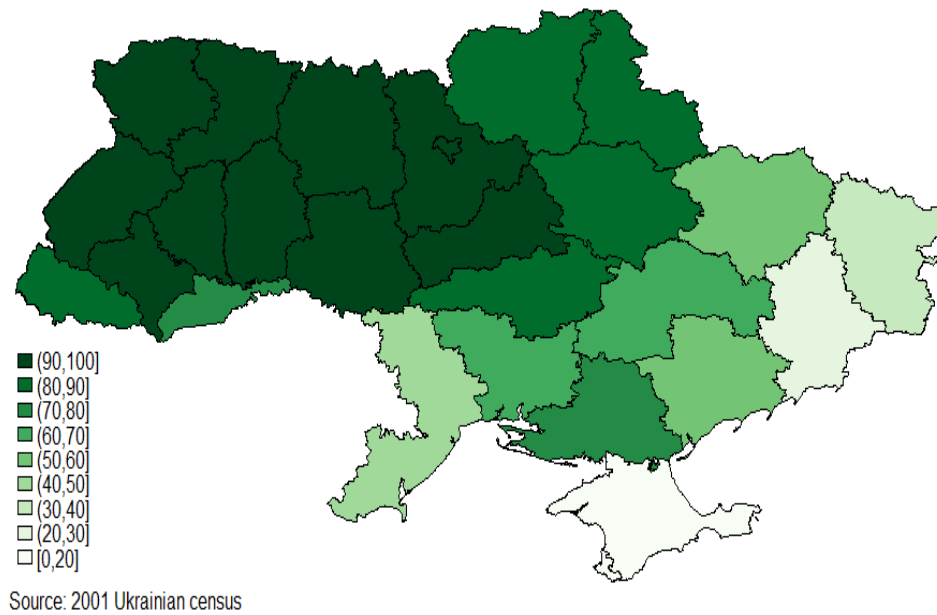**Figure 4.2:** Percent Ukrainians by Oblast (2001 Census)

Source: 2001 Ukrainian census

Figure 4.3: Percent declaring Ukrainian as native language (2001 Census)

Source: 2001 Ukrainian census

4.5 Analyses

In this section I will specify and test models that help explain attitudes towards the four different foreign policies described earlier. The models contain my three key independent variables: ethnocentrism, ethnicity and an interaction between ethnocentrism and ethnicity. The models also include control variables that are frequently included in models explaining Ukrainian public opinion. The models are developed using a variety of different statistical methods. Two of the dependent variables are ordinal and thus are analyzed with an ordered logit model.[44] This is an appropriate method since it takes into account the non-continuous nature of the dependent variable. One of the dependent variables, whether or not Ukraine should keep its troops in Iraq, is analyzed with an ordinary logit model. The variable was recoded so that support for keeping troops in Iraq was coded as a one, while desiring their removal was coded as a zero. Finally, one of the dependent variables, whether or not Ukraine should unify with Russia or join the European Union, was coded on a seven-point scale which allowed it to be analyzed using linear regression.

Missing values necessary for the calculation of the ethnocentrism scores were imputed using the same MICE method that I employed in chapter 3. Thirty imputation models were estimated for each of the variables. Missing values were imputed at the stereotype level before calculating the ethnocentrism scores. This is opposed to imputing

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[44] The "cut points" labeled in the ordered logit models represent the thresholds on an unmeasured latent variable (that is proxied by our dependent variable) which indicate how the values of the dependent variable maps to this latent variable. For example, the dependent variable "attitudes to NATO" used in this chapter has five categories, but can be thought of as a continuous, latent variable. The survey only measures five points, but there actually exists an infinite number of possible attitudes to the question (for example, the latent variable could have been measured on a scale 0 to 100). In the NATO example, four cutpoints are needed to differentiate the latent variable into the five categories that were measured.

the ethnocentrism score at the individual level, which would inappropriately drop useful information.[45] An average of 181 values for each stereotype/ethnic group combination were imputed (i.e. *Russians are trustworthy* or *Tatars are hard-working*). Missing values were also imputed for income (n=390).

The models contain standard demographic control variables age, monthly income, gender and education. Cross-nationally, females have often been shown to be less supportive of aggressive oriented policies (Shapiro and Mahajan 1986; Huddy, Cassese, and Lizotte 2008; Eichenberg 2012). The models also contain controls for two variables that have been shown to be extremely important in explaining public opinion in Ukraine, language use and region of residence. Both of which were briefly mentioned above. Language use was measured by asking the respondent about the primary language they use while at home. Because many Ukrainians are bilingual, primary language use can tell us more information than simply knowing a respondent's ethnicity. Accounting for regional diversity in Ukraine is more complex. While recognized as significant, the debate has instead focused on how many of Ukraine's regions should be included in a properly specified model. In this work I use the standard four-region model that divides the country's 27 regions into four blocks: west, east, south and central (Barrington and Herron 2004: 60; Colton 2011: 14).

4.5.1 Foreign policies related to Russia

I begin the analyses by looking at how ethnocentrism affects attitudes towards foreign policies that are closely related to Russia. This includes support for Ukraine

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[45] If a respondent was missing only a single stereotype towards a single out-group, then the ethnocentrism score would not have been calculated. Imputing at the individual level (i.e. imputing the ethnocentrism variable directly) would not have made use of all the other stereotypes for which there were values, thus greatly underusing the available information.

joining NATO and the European Union. The next section will look at two additional foreign policies that do not directly relate to Russia. That is, support for the War on Terrorism and support for maintaining Ukrainian troops in Iraq.

What were the attitudes of Ukrainians towards NATO in 2005? Table 4.1 displays a tabulation of the percentages for each answer to the question: *How do you think relations between Ukraine and NATO should develop?* Not surprisingly, Ethnic Ukrainians are nearly three times more likely than ethnic Russians to believe that Ukraine should be a full members of NATO. Relatedly, on the opposite end of the scale, a much larger percentage of Russians than Ukrainians would prefer to completely avoid NATO. Clearly, Ukrainians are more supportive of NATO membership.

Table 4.1: Relations between NATO and Ukraine

		Ukrainians	Russians
1	Ukraine should completely avoid NATO dealings and obligations	34.2 (277)	52.57 (92)
2	Ukraine should decrease its ties with NATO	12.96 (105)	15.43 (27)
3	Relations should stay the same	12.84 (104)	11.43 (20)
4	Ukraine should gradually increase ties with NATO, but not join the alliance	23.83 (193)	14.86 (26)
5	Ukraine should become a full member of NATO	16.17 (131)	5.71 (10)
	TOTAL	100% (810)	100% (175)

Note: Table entry is the percent of respondents agreeing with each answer category. Sample size is in parentheses.
Source: 2005 Ukraine data

Table 4.2 shows that ethnic Ukrainians are much more likely than Russians to want to become a member of the EU. Over a quarter of ethnic Ukrainians believe that Ukraine should join the EU (those reporting a 6 or 7), while under 7% of Russians believe that Ukraine should join the EU. On the end of the scale the results are nearly as

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stark: about 46% of ethnic Russians living in Ukraine believe that Ukraine and Russia should unify (those reporting a 1 or 2), while only around 24% of ethnic Ukrainians believe so.

Table 4.2: Integration with Russia and EU

		Ukrainians	Russians
1	Ukraine and Russia should unify	13.77 (126)	30.89 (59)
2		10.27 (94)	14.66 (28)
3		10.49 (96)	13.09 (25)
4		27.87 (255)	29.84 (57)
5		11.15 (102)	4.71 (9)
6		13.11 (120)	3.14 (6)
7	Ukraine should become a member of EU	13.33 (122)	3.66 (7)
	TOTAL	100% (915)	100% (191)

Note: Table entry is the percent of respondents agreeing with each answer category. Sample size is in parentheses.
Source: 2005 Ukraine data

To investigate the effect of ethnocentrism on these Russia-oriented foreign policies, I use ordered logit and ordinary least squares regression models. The model results can be seen in Table 4.3 below. Model 1, Ukraine should join NATO, uses ordered logit, while model 2, Ukraine should join the EU (not Russia), uses OLS regression. The coefficients in model 1 are log odds and, therefore, cannot be directly compared with the coefficients in model 2.

Table 4.3 shows that ethnocentrism does indeed have different effect on ethnic Russians and ethnic Ukrainians. In both models the coefficient on ethnocentrism and the interaction term are significant. Although they move in opposite directions, the magnitude of the interaction term is larger than the magnitude of the ethnocentrism coefficient in each model. Therefore, for Ukrainians (*Ukrainian*=1), higher levels of

ethnocentrism is related to increased support for NATO and the EU, respectively.

However, in both models the ethnocentrism term by itself is significant and negative

indicating that ethnocentrism affects Russians in the opposite direction. This can be seen

by mentally setting the dummy variable *Ukrainian* to zero in the model output (the

equivalent of setting our reference category, *Russian*, to one). By doing this, the

coefficients for both *Ukrainian* and the interaction term drop out leaving a the negative

coefficient on ethnocentrism indicating that higher levels of ethnocentrism among ethnic

Russians is related to decreased levels of support for NATO and EU membership. The

effects can be more easily seen in Figure 4.4 and Figure 4.5 below.[46]

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[46] In the appendix I have also included output from all models in this chapter replacing Ukrainians with Russians. The results of these models corroborate my interpretation in this chapter.

Table 4.3: Effect of ethnocentrism on attitudes towards foreign policies related to Russia

VARIABLES	(1) Ukraine should join NATO	(2) Strengthen ties with Europe (not Russia)
Ethnocentrism	-1.818*	-2.291***
	(1.053)	(0.801)
Ukrainian	-0.541	-0.476*
	(0.336)	(0.274)
Ukrainian*Ethnocentrism	2.945***	3.023***
	(1.118)	(0.859)
Ukrainian Language	0.241	0.464***
	(0.175)	(0.145)
Age	-0.011***	-0.014***
	(0.004)	(0.003)
Monthly income	0.000	0.000***
	(0.000)	(0.000)
Female	-0.029	-0.144
	(0.119)	(0.102)
Education	0.210***	0.148***
	(0.059)	(0.048)
Central region	-0.846***	-0.891***
	(0.173)	(0.148)
South region	-1.551***	-1.365***
	(0.240)	(0.199)
East region	-1.294***	-1.584***
	(0.205)	(0.173)
Constant cut1	-1.289**	
	(0.503)	
Constant cut2	-0.640	
	(0.502)	
Constant cut3	-0.032	
	(0.501)	
Constant cut4	1.333***	
	(0.503)	
Constant		4.825***
		(0.414)
Observations	985	1,104

Source: 2005 Ukraine data
Note: Table entry for model 1 is the ordered logit regression coefficient with standard error in parentheses. Table entry for model 2 is ordinary least squares regression coefficient with standard error in parentheses.
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Many of the other covariates are also significant. Higher levels of education are related to support for both NATO and EU integration. Regional variables clearly indicate that Ukrainian citizens living in the west of the country (the reference category) are more likely to support NATO and EU integration than Ukrainians citizens living in any other region of the country. Older individuals are less likely to support both NATO and EU membership. Ukrainian speakers and individuals with higher incomes were both more likely to support EU integration over unifying with Russia, but in the case of NATO membership, neither variable was significant.

The tests of the hypotheses based on the results in Table 4.3 can be more easily interpreted in graphical form. Figures 4.4 and 4.5[47] are graphs of predicted probabilities that show how ethnocentrism effects the attitudes of an average ethnic Ukrainian respondent and an average ethnic Russian respondent. To calculate these predicted probabilities, I held all covariates at their mean values while allowing ethnocentrism to change for both ethnic Ukrainians and ethnic Russians.

Figure 4.4 shows the attitudes of ethnic Ukrainians and ethnic Russians towards NATO. Graphs for four of the five categories of the dependent variable are shown. The graph in the top left-hand corner shows how the probability of a respondent agreeing with the statement "*Ukraine should completely avoid NATO dealings and obligations*" changes as the level of ethnocentrism increases. The probability of an ethnic Russian agreeing with this statement increases by over two-fold when moving from a hypothetical ethnocentrism score of 0 to an ethnocentrism score of 1, approximately .3 to .7. A similarly powerful effect, but in the opposite direction, is seen for Ukrainians: highly

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[47] These graphs were made with the help of an online article available from UCLA's Institute for Digital Research and Education, *How can I get margins and marginsplot with multiply imputed data*? (IDRE 2016)

ethnocentric Ukrainians are unlikely to say that NATO should be avoided when compared to non-ethnocentric Ukrainians.

The bottom two graphs in Figure 4.4 show the predicted probability of support for increasing ties with NATO, including becoming a full member (bottom right). Highly ethnocentric ethnic Russians in Ukraine statistically have a probability of no different than zero of agreeing with either statement. Ethnocentric Russians do not want Ukraine to join NATO. The effect on Ukrainians, however, is clearly in the other direction. In the bottom right-hand graph the effect of ethnocentrism on Ukrainians is both positive and significant: the probability that an ethnic Ukrainian says that Ukraine should join NATO increases from around .1 (at very low levels of ethnocentrism) to approximately .2 (at extremely high levels of ethnocentrism). Thus, the graphs do make clear that ethnocentrism has a significant and consistent impact on how Russians and Ukrainians see NATO membership.

Figure 4.4: Effect of ethnocentrism on attitudes towards Ukraine's relationship with NATO [by ethnicity]
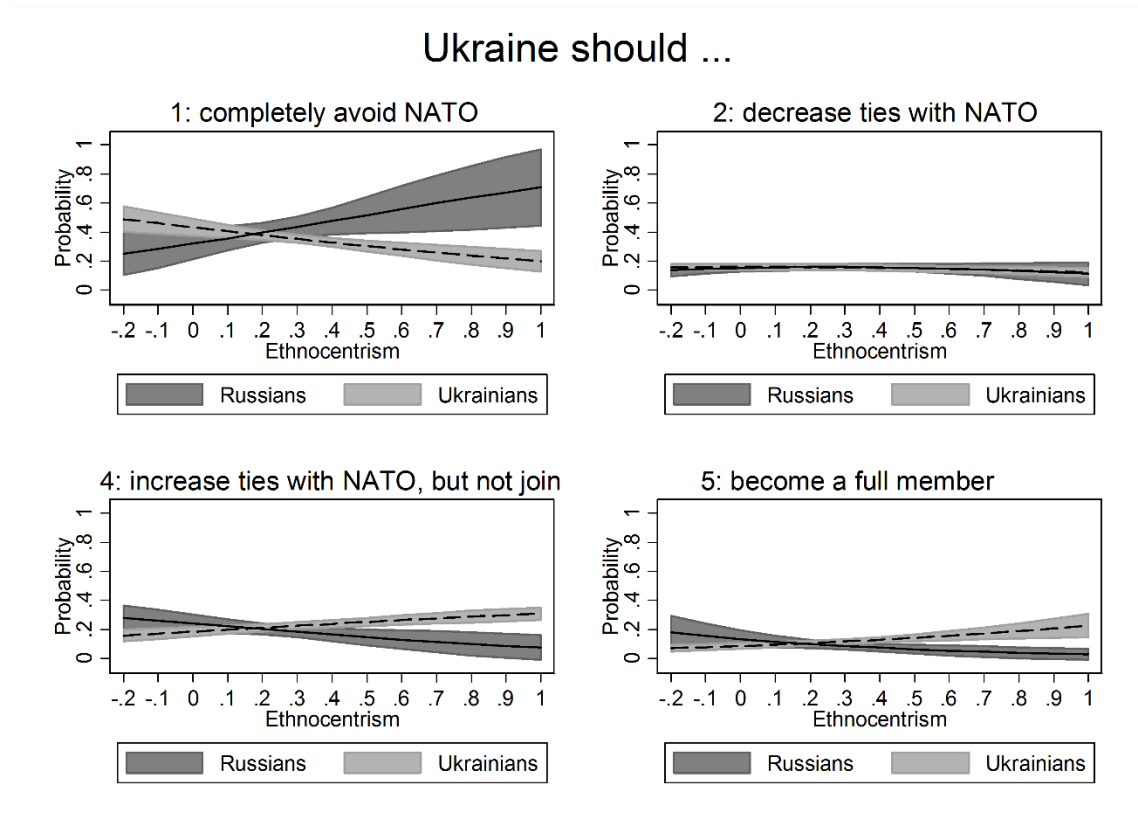

Note: Predicted probabilities from the ordered logit results from table 4.3, model 1. All variables set to their means while allowing ethnocentrism to change.
Question: How do you think relations between Ukraine and NATO should develop? [1 = Ukraine should completely avoid NATO dealings and obligations; 2 = Ukraine should decrease its ties with NATO; 3 = Relations should stay the same (not shown); 4 = Ukraine should gradually increase ties with NATO, but not join the alliance; 5 = Ukraine should become a full member of NATO]

Figure 4.5 shows the linear prediction of placing oneself on the continuum of unifying with Russia or becoming a member of the European Union. According to the results from the regression results in Table 4.3, ethnocentrism has a large and significant impact on both ethnic Russians and Ukrainians. The effect of ethnocentrism is larger, however, on ethnic Russians: a move from an ethnocentrism score of zero to a score of one causes an average ethnic Ukrainian to move from a score of approximately 3.5 to

approximately 4.5, just around one-point. A similar move in the ethnocentrism score for

an average ethnic Russian, however, is about 2 points (approx. 4 to 2). Ethnocentrism has

a powerful effect on both ethnic Russians and ethnic Ukrainians on support for EU or

Russian integration.

Figure 4.5: Effect of ethnocentrism on attitudes towards integration: Russia or the European Union? [by ethnicity]
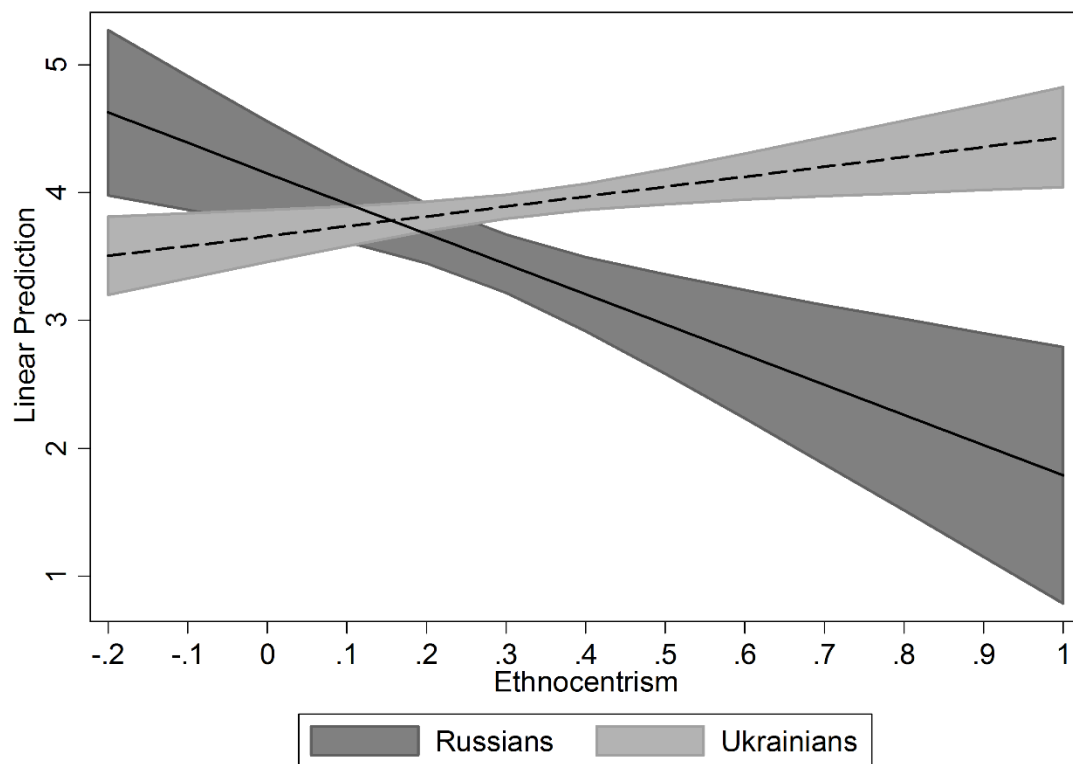
Note: Linear prediction from the ordinary least squares results in model 2, Table 4.3. All covariates held at their means while allowing ethnocentrism to change.
Question: Should Ukraine unify with Russia (1) … Should Ukraine become a member of the EU (7).

Thus, the data in the tables show, and the graphs confirm, that the first four

hypotheses are all confirmed (H1.1, H1.2, H2.1, H2.2). Ethnocentrism has a positive

effect on Ukrainian attitudes towards NATO and the EU (H1.1 & H2.1), but it has negative effects on Russian attitudes towards the same policies (H1.2 & H2.2).

4.5.2 Foreign policies not related to Russia

The next two dependent variables are attitudes towards foreign policies that are not specifically concerned with Russia. In other words, these questions allow us to determine if ethnocentrism affects each ethnic group differently even if the policy issues are not points of contention between Russia and Ukraine. The two questions concern support for fighting international terrorism and support for keeping Ukrainian troops in Iraq. Although these issues were not contentious in Russian-Ukrainian state relations, differences between ethnic Russians and ethnic Ukrainians are expected. The specific societal context for each group influences their responses to each question and determines the extent to which ethnocentrism should play a significant role.

Table 4.4 shows a tabulation by ethnicity of support for combatting international terrorism. No significant differences appear between ethnic Russians and ethnic Ukrainians and a difference in means test confirms this (t = -.77). According to this simple test, Russians are not more supportive of combatting terrorism than Ukrainians. Similarly, as Table 4.5 indicates, maintaining Ukrainian troops in Iraq was not a popular policy among either ethnic Russians or ethnic Ukrainians. Over 90% of both groups wanted to see the troops withdrawn. A difference in means test indicates Russian and Ukrainian attitudes are not significantly different from each other (t = -1.28). However, these difference of means tests do not include controls for other relevant predictors of foreign policy attitudes. In order to test the hypotheses about ethnocentrism, it is necessary to look at results of the models in Table 4.6.

Table 4.4: Combatting International Terrorism

		Ukrainians	Russians
1	Not important	6.72 (62)	4.89 (9)
2	Somewhat important	20.15 (186)	20.11 (37)
3	Very important	25.24 (233)	25.0 (46)
4	Extremely important	47.89 (442)	50.0 (92)
	TOTAL	100% (923)	100% (184)

Note: Table entry is the percent of respondents agreeing with each
answer category. Sample size is in parentheses.
Source: 2005 Ukraine data

Table 4.5: Ukrainian troops in Iraq

		Ukrainians	Russians
1	Withdraw	95.77 (884)	93.19 (178)
2	Don't withdraw	4.23 (39)	6.81 (13)
	TOTAL	100% (923)	100% (191)

Note: Table entry is the percent of respondents agreeing with each
answer category. Sample size is in parentheses.
Source: 2005 Ukraine data

Model 1 and 2 in Table 4.6 show that the interaction term is significant in both models. However, it is negative in model 1 and positive in model 2. Despite moving in opposite direction, the significant coefficients demonstrate that ethnocentrism is important in influencing attitudes towards these policies and that it affects ethnic Ukrainians and ethnic Russians differently.

In contrast to the simple tabulation in Table 4.4, model 1 in Table 4.6 indicates that there are differences between Russians and Ukrainians regarding support for fighting terrorism: ethnocentric ethnic Russians are more likely to support fighting terrorism than Ukrainians. The similar magnitude of the logit coefficients on ethnocentrism (3.257) and the interaction term (-2.992) in model 1 imply that the overall effect of ethnocentrism on

ethnic Ukrainian's support for fighting terrorism will be relatively small (an effect which is confirmed in Figure 4.6 below).[48] In contrast, the effect of ethnocentrism on ethnic Russians attitudes towards fighting against international terrorism is both positive and very large.[49] H3.1 and H3.2 are both confirmed.

In model 2 we see that ethnocentrism has a positive effect on Ukrainian attitudes towards maintaining Ukrainian troops in Iraq. The prediction, however, was that there would be no relationship. H4.1, is therefore not confirmed. The predicted effect on ethnic Russians, however, is not significant and so H4.2 is confirmed. Finally, it is worth noting that in the absence of ethnocentrism (i.e. when ethnocentrism = 0) ethnic Ukrainians are less supportive than Russians for keeping the troops in Iraq.

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[48] In the appendix I estimate a model predicting support for fighting terrorism on a sample comprised of only ethnic Ukrainians. The ethnocentrism variable is not significant indicating that the ethnocentrism does not affect Ukrainian attitudes towards fighting terrorism. The effect on ethnic Russian, however, is significant.

[49] This can be seen by looking at the coefficient on ethnocentrism (and hypothetically setting the value of "Ukrainian" to zero). Since there are only two ethnic groups in the model, Ukrainians and Russians, the coefficient on ethnocentrism is the effect on ethnic Russians.

Table 4.6: Effect of ethnocentrism on attitudes towards foreign policies unrelated to Russia

| VARIABLES	(1) Fighting terrorism is important	(2) Keep troops in Iraq
Ethnocentrism	3.257***	-3.761
	(1.002)	(2.386)
Ukrainian	0.470	-1.680**
	(0.319)	(0.672)
Ukrainian*Ethnocentrism	-2.992***	4.526*
	(1.066)	(2.569)
Ukrainian Language	0.029	0.102
	(0.164)	(0.434)
Age	0.007*	-0.007
	(0.004)	(0.009)
Monthly income	0.000	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)
Female	0.089	-0.491*
	(0.115)	(0.294)
Education	0.015	0.208
	(0.056)	(0.146)
Central region	0.181	0.162
	(0.168)	(0.440)
South region	-0.379	0.333
	(0.236)	(0.575)
East region	-0.357*	-0.031
	(0.194)	(0.522)
Constant cut1	-1.758***	
	(0.481)	
Constant cut2	-0.075	
	(0.471)	
Constant cut3	1.043**	
	(0.472)	
Constant		-2.374**
		(1.126)
Observations	1,105	1,112

Source: 2005 Ukraine data
Note: Table entry for model 1 is the ordered logit regression coefficient with standard error in parentheses. Table entry for model 2 is logistic regression coefficient with standard error in parentheses.
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

In contrast to Table 4.3, many of the covariates are not significant in Table 4.6. In particular, regional differences are nearly non-existent as are difference regarding language use. This is a clear indication that these two issues do cut as deeply into Ukrainian society as do the issues that involve Russia. Consistent with prior literature about female attitudes towards violence, women are less supportive of keeping Ukrainian troops in Iraq. Age is also only weakly related to more support for fighting terrorism.

Figure 4.6 shows four graphs of predicted probabilities for the fighting terrorism dependent variable. As I have done previously, all values were held at their means with exception of ethnocentrism and ethnicity, which were allowed to vary. Consistent with the results in model 1, table 4.6, ethnocentrism does not appear to have a substantive effect on Ukrainian attitudes towards fighting terrorism, and thus, the predicted probabilities in each of the graphs is flat across all levels of ethnocentrism. The effects of ethnocentrism on Russian attitudes, however, are large. The probability of an ethnic Russian stating that he or she "*strongly agrees*" with fighting terrorism increases from around .2 (at the lowest levels of ethnocentrism) to .9 (at the highest levels of ethnocentrism). An increase of 4.5 times. Ethnocentric Russians are very strong supporters of the fight against international terrorism.

Figure 4.6: Effect of ethnocentrism on attitudes towards fighting terrorism [by ethnicity]
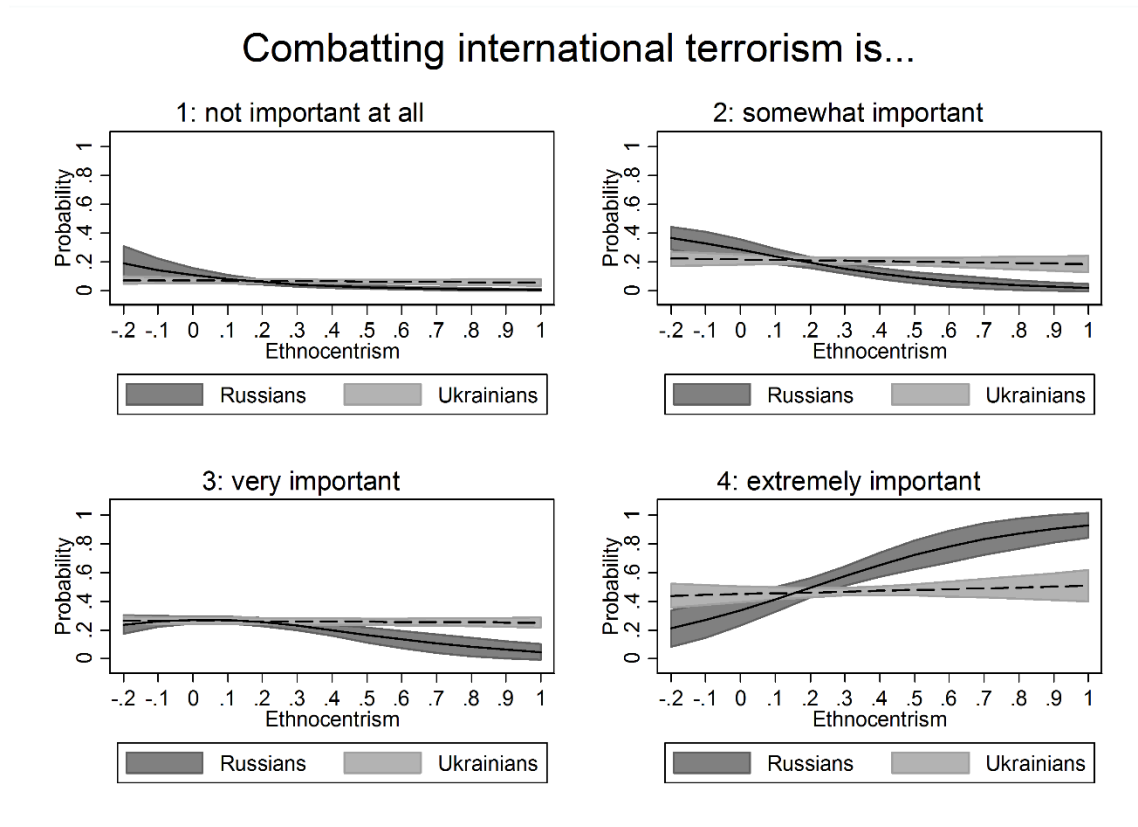
Note: Predicted probabilities from the ordered logit results from table 4.4, model 1. All variables set to their means while allowing ethnocentrism to change.

Question: In your opinion, should combatting international terrorism be extremely important (4), very important (3), somewhat important (2), not at all important (1).

Figure 4.7: Effect of ethnocentrism on attitudes towards keeping troops in Iraq [by ethnicity]
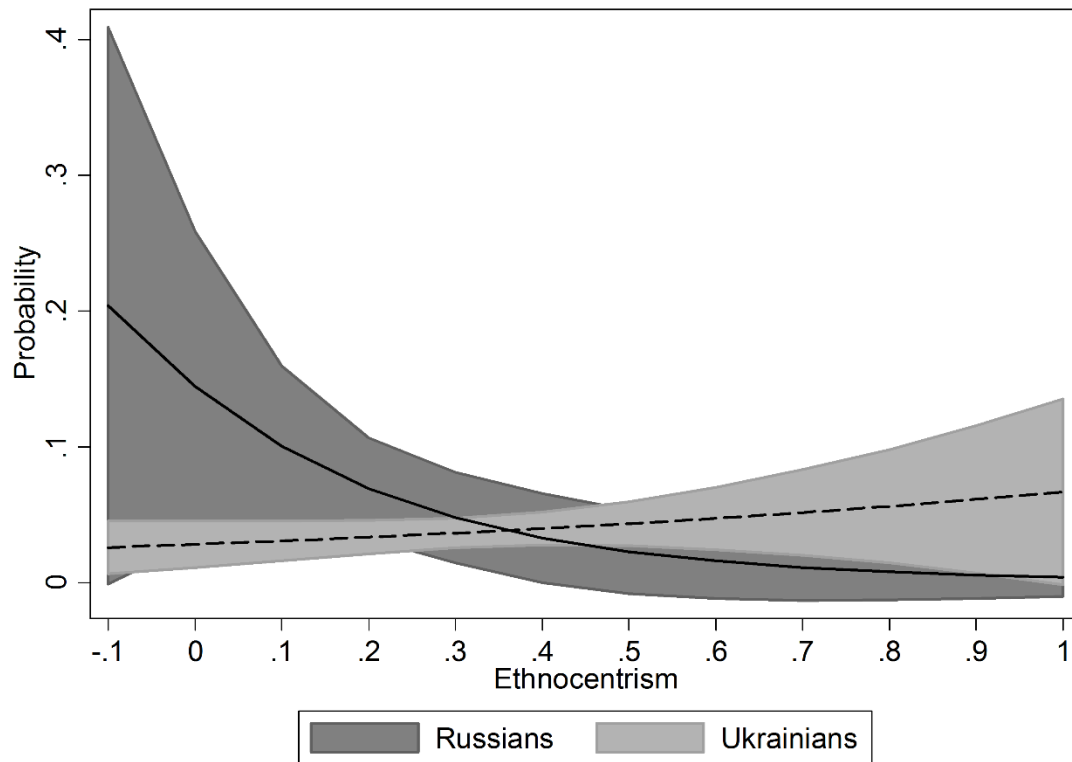
The graph of predicted probabilities for support for keeping troops in Iraq can be seen in figure 4.7. As the results of table 4.6 showed, there are effects of ethnocentrism on Ukrainians support for maintaining troops. The graph confirms this effect, but it is weak and the overall probabilities do not differ much from ethnic Russians. Thus, although the model demonstrated effects, substantively the effects were very small.

4.6 Conclusion

The results from this chapter indicate that in Ukraine ethnocentrism and ethnicity work together to influence individual level attitudes towards aggressive oriented foreign

policies. In fact, ethnocentrism was important in each of the policies analyzed in this chapter and, importantly, ethnocentrism often had opposite effects among ethnic Russians and ethnic Ukrainians.

On policies that were most closely connected with Russia, the effects of ethnocentrism, unsurprisingly, were the largest. Thus, attitudes towards NATO and EU membership were the policies most strongly affected by ethnocentrism. Ethnocentric ethnic Ukrainians were much more likely than Russians to want Ukraine to join NATO and to desire joining the European Union (over integrating with Russia). That ethnocentrism should have a larger effect on these contentious questions makes sense intuitively. As I have argued throughout this work, the effects of ethnocentrism will be more important if the issue under consideration is able to enhance (or reduce) the in-group's prestige vis-à-vis ethnic out-groups. In Ukraine, foreign policy issues concerning Russia and the West immediately activate ethnic group identities that result in competition for group prestige. This is why ethnocentrism is particularly powerful on issues central to Russia-Ukrainian relations.

The importance of ethnocentrism on individual attitudes, however, did not end with foreign policies related to Russia. Even when the policies had no obvious connection to Ukrainian-Russian relations, ethnocentrism played a part in influencing attitudes. The effects, however, were much weaker having only weak positive effects on Ukrainian attitudes towards fighting terrorism and keeping Ukrainian troops in Iraq. These results were quite different than the large and strong effects seen on the policies concerning Russia among ethnic Ukrainians.

An important conclusion from this chapter is that the effects of ethnocentrism were generally much larger on ethnic Russians than on ethnic Ukrainians. This can be most clearly seen in figures 4.4, 4.5 and 4.6 in which the predicted probabilities for ethnic Russians change more rapidly as the level of ethnocentrism increases. To my mind, there is really just one clear explanation: ethnocentric ethnic Russians living in Ukraine strongly desire to regain their lost status in the country. This causes the link between ethnocentrism and pro-Russia attitudes in Ukraine to be especially strong for ethnic Russians; much more so than the link between ethnocentrism and pro-Western attitudes for ethnic Ukrainians. Ethnocentric Russians especially want to regain their lost status and prestige, so they are very strong supporters of policies seen as pro-Russian.

CHAPTER 5 ETHNOCENTRISM AND VOTE CHOICE IN UKRAINE

5.1 Introduction

The last chapter investigated the effects of ethnocentrism on the foreign policy attitudes of ethnic Russians and ethnic Ukrainians living in Ukraine. The results showed that ethnocentrism consistently played a predictor role for all four policies. Ethnocentrism's strength was particularly large when explaining attitudes towards policies that are contentious between the Russian and Ukrainian states. Among ethnic Ukrainians, ethnocentrism was positively and significantly related to increased levels of support for both NATO membership and an increased desire to join the European Union. On ethnic Russians living in Ukraine, the effects of ethnocentrism were in the opposite direction and the magnitude of the estimated coefficient was even larger. Ethnocentric Russians were nearly universally opposed to Ukraine's membership in both NATO and the EU.

This chapter analyzes voting behavior during the 2004 Orange Revolution. There are two primary questions that this chapter seeks to answer. The first, *to what extent, if any, did ethnocentrism influence individual vote choice among ethnic Ukrainians and ethnic Russians in Ukraine*? The 2004 election, as highlighted in the previous chapter, was cast in stark geopolitical terms: a Yushchenko win, it was believed, would lead to western integration (at Russia's expense), while a Yanukovych victory would result in closer ties with Russia (at the West's expense). Irrespective of the validity of these simplistic zero-sum views, this was the dominant frame in which the election was portrayed. Thus, to a large extent, the election pitted these two different geopolitical views against one another. Because supporters of each view believed they had much to

gain if their candidate won (and much to lose if he lost), it is likely that ethnocentrism had a role to play in influencing the vote.

The second important question that this chapter seeks to address is: *if ethnocentrism was a significant predictor of vote choice for Ukrainians and Russians, did it have a larger effect on Russians or Ukrainians*? As presented in chapter one, ethnocentrism should have a larger impact on high-status group members than on low-status group members. However, as has been argued previously, such a distinction in Ukraine is complicated since both ethnic Ukrainians and ethnic Russians (collectively over 95% of the country's population) can be seen as high-status. Yet, despite this, as I demonstrated in the previous chapter, ethnocentrism has a larger impact on ethnic Russian foreign policy attitudes than on the foreign policy attitudes of ethnic Ukrainians. Perhaps a similar pattern will be seen for vote choice.

In this chapter I will investigate these questions by developing vote choice models explaining the vote for the 2004 Ukrainian presidential election. It is my contention that ethnocentrism will have a big part to play in explaining an individual's vote choice. I will begin by reviewing the literature on vote choice, both generally and specifically as it pertains to Ukraine. I will also review the (very brief) literature tying together ethnocentrism and vote choice. Then, in sections 5.3 and 5.4, I will respectively discuss the hypotheses I will test and the data and measures employed. In the data and measures section I describe the many control variables that I use to ensure the robustness of the models. Section 5.5 contains the analysis and discussion of findings. Section 5.6 contains the conclusion.

Why might ethnocentrism have a larger effect on the vote choice of ethnic Russians? In addition to the results from chapter four, two other reasons cause me to think that it might. The first is that Russians in Ukraine might still see themselves (at least subconsciously) as the dominant group in Ukraine. After all, the Russian state has ruled over much of Ukraine for centuries, during which much of this time Ukrainians were known as "little Russians" (Davies 1996: 831). A derogatory name meant to highlight their lower status in regards to "true Russians." The loss of this status in Ukraine as a result of the collapse of the Soviet Empire (and, perhaps, a desire by some to get it back), therefore, might lead ethnic Russians to desire more differentiation with Ukrainians. This would result in ethnocentrism having stronger effects.

Second, the effects of ethnocentrism might be stronger on Russians because Russians are a numerically smaller and more homogeneous group in Ukraine. Whereas ethnic Ukrainians live in all parts of the country and are often bilingual in both Russian and Ukrainian, ethnic Russians are highly concentrated in Ukraine's eastern and southern regions and generally do not speak Ukrainian (Hrytsak 1998; Wilson 2002: 218-221). From a purely practical standpoint, ethnocentrism should larger effects on groups that are more homogenous because opinions towards different issues (or candidates) will exhibit less variation.

Why are these questions worth addressing? Voting behavior is one of the most common areas of study for political scientists. In democracies, and even in competitive authoritarian regimes, voting is an essential act. Elections are the critical democratic instruments (Powell 2000: 4). Voting establishes, however imperfectly, a link between the preferences of the electorate and those who govern. In a competitive system, voters

have the power to choose new representatives and to get rid of those leaders they no longer want (Flanigan and Zingale 2009: 8). This imparts legitimacy to the system. If ethnocentrism plays a significant role in influencing vote choice, then models that fail to account for ethnocentrism's effects are miss-specified and their findings could be problematic.

In fact, previous work based on data from the United States demonstrates that ethnocentrism does in fact play a role in influencing vote choice. Kam and Kinder showed that ethnocentrism was influential in the 2008 election in the United States: ethnocentric whites were less likely to vote for Obama (Kam and Kinder: 2012). This was the case even after controlling for the standard explanations such as partisanship, policy positions, national and household economic assessments, and general demographics. In fact, after partisanship, the variable that best explained white support for Obama was ethnocentrism (Kam and Kinder 2012: 329). The effects varied, however, depending on one's party identification. The largest effects of ethnocentrism were on democrats and independents: non-ethnocentric democrats were nearly twice as likely to vote for Obama as ethnocentric democrats. Non-ethnocentric independents were over four times as likely to vote for Obama. Clearly, ethnocentrism mattered and it mattered in a big way.[50]

The 2004 Ukrainian presidential election is a good place to evaluate the effect of ethnocentrism on vote choice. The election was one of the most important events in Ukraine's post-Independence history. It was a clear repudiation of the idea that the public would continue to sit passively while the country's leaders falsified election results to

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[50] There was no effect on Republicans as self-proclaimed Republicans only very rarely voted for Obama.

maintain their rule. It thus marked a clear break with the past. Given the contentious nature of the elections and the sharp cleavages running through the two largest ethnic groups, my expectation is that ethnocentrism significantly affected voting choices.

5.2 Literature

5.2.1 Salience of election and Orange Revolution

Both the context and the events of the Orange Revolution were described in the previous chapter. In this section, I provide a quick summary of why the presidential election of 2004 was important enough to bring people into the streets to demonstrate against its fraudulent results. A better understanding of this electoral context will make it clearer why ethnocentrism is hypothesized to have a strong effect on vote choice.

The Orange Revolution is the name given to the events following the second round presidential vote in Ukraine in 2004. Initially, official results revealed that the pro-western candidate, Viktor Yushchenko, was defeated by the pro-regime/pro-Russian candidate, Viktor Yanukovych. Yanukovych's victory was unexpected, however, as polling had indicated that he would lose (Hesli 2006). There were hundreds of instances of fraud reported by both local and international observers (McFaul 2006: 175-176). After the results were released, demonstrators began to fill the central squares and streets in Kyiv setting off weeks of street protests. Finally, after the Supreme Court of Ukraine nullified the results a week and a half after the vote, a new election was scheduled. In what was widely seen as a fair process (thanks to an army of foreign observers), Viktor Yushchenko was declared the victor with 52% of the vote (Aslund and McFaul 2006).

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Yushchenko officially took office on January 23, 2005 after the Ukrainian Supreme Court rejected Yanukovych's appeals.

A number of factors came together to make the 2004 election particularly salient. The first had to do with the importance of the office of the president. The Presidency in Ukrainian is not a primarily symbolic position as it is in many European countries. Under the 1996 Constitution that was operating at the time of the 2004 elections,[51] the Ukrainian President has the power to nominate the Prime Minister, veto legislation and, under certain conditions, dissolve parliament (Comparative Constitutions Project 2016). The President is also the commander-in-chief of the armed forces and the primary foreign affairs representative, functions that, in contrast to many Presidents in Europe, he exercises with full *de facto* power (Kubicek 2015: 154-156).

It is also relevant to note that Ukraine had had the same president, Leonid Kuchma, since 1994. As highlighted in the last chapter, a number of serious domestic and international scandals (including the possible involvement in the murder of an opposition journalist and a brazen attempt to skirt Iraqi sanctions) had left President Kuchma severely damaged politically. A poll done in 2003 showed that only 1% of the voting public would vote for Kuchma if he were to stand for a third term (Kuzio 2005: 184). Although Kuchma was technically ineligible to run for third term, the low approval rating

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[51] Further evidence as to how just important the President's role is was the fact that the out-going regime, after coming to the conclusion that they would lose power, weakened the role of the president by adopting a new constitution between the prior to Yushchenko's victory in the second run-off ballot (Aslund 2009: 195-196). Under the new constitution, the President no longer nominated the Prime Minister (along with a number of other important positions) and his ability to dissolve parliament was greatly restricted.

does indicate that many Ukrainians were deeply dissatisfied with him and were ready for a change.

Second, as discussed in the previous chapter, Russia made a strong and blatant attempt to influence the outcome of the election, investing both a lot of time and resources. Buoyed by high energy prices that supported economic growth, Russian President Vladimir Putin had been pursuing policies that would allow Russia to again play a global role (Mankoff 2011: 30-31). At the very least, this meant regaining some of Russia's lost influence in what it calls its "near abroad". Increasing economic and political cooperation between the states of the former Soviet Union was (and continues to be) one of the primary ways Russia can do this. Thus, for example, in 2003, Russia managed to get Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan to sign up to be members of a regional integration organization, the Common Economic Space (CES). Although few expected Ukraine to follow through with many of the organization's provisions, in Ukraine the CES was still controversial and a number of ministers resigned in protest (Bukkvoll 2004: 112; Aslund 2009: 171). Unquestionably, increased Russian assertiveness and the real fear (or joy) at the prospect of Moscow increasing its influence over Ukraine added to the contentiousness of the election.

And finally, the draw of the European Union was getting stronger. Between 2000 and 2004, support for EU membership in Ukraine was fairly consistent, just under 60% of the population either "*strongly support*" or "*somewhat support*" joining the EU (White, McAllister, and Feklyunina 2010: 354, Table 3). However, these aggregate numbers mask large regional and ethnic diversity in opinions. The results from the last chapter showed that ethnic Ukrainians, particularly those living in the western and central regions

of the country, were more supportive of integrating with their western neighbors (the EU) than with Russia. With the EU now directly bordering their country, many Ukrainians undoubtedly saw the prospects of membership as being much more real. By electing a president that supported western integration, many voters might have believed they could help the country quickly move towards EU membership.

While it would be possible to come up with more reasons to explain why the 2004 election was viewed as being so crucial for many Ukrainians, the three points that I discussed above, I believe are the most important. Collectively, the importance of the office, Russian assertiveness and EU expansion all contributed to raising the stakes of the election which, in turn, contributed to the ethnocentric feelings of the public.

5.2.2 Vote choice

Elections, provided they are free and fair, are how citizens exert control over government policy and decisions (Dahl 1989: 233). Its study has a long history that stretches back to the very beginnings of public opinion research in the pre-WWII period. In the 1940s and 50s, researchers at Columbia University, headed by Paul Lazarsfeld, published two extremely influential studies (Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet 1944; Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and McPhee 1954) demonstrating that the American public takes their voting cues from their social class and like-minded acquaintances, and not election campaigns or the media or political parties (Bartels 2010: 240). Three cleavages were seen to be particularly important: differences in socio-economic status, differences concerning one's religious and racial makeup, and a divide between urban and rural residents (Kaufmann 2004: 14). From these very first vote choice studies, therefore, the

central focus was on group identities and how they dominate their members' political preferences.

The work by Lazarsfeld and his associates laid the foundation for a set of influential studies at the University of Michigan. Armed with a number of nationally representative panel surveys, the Campbell, Miller, Converse and Stokes developed what would later be called the "Michigan model". *The American Voter* (Campbell et al. 1960) was the most significant and influential work to come out of the Michigan school and it most clearly developed the argument. Briefly stated, partisanship was now seen as playing the dominant role. While group identities remained relevant, they were no longer believed to form a direct link to vote choice.

The key insight came from the need to explain variations across elections: if demographic factors were relatively immutable, then what could explain differences in election outcomes? This was a major theoretical challenge for the Columbia school. The Michigan school posited that rarely changing long-term factors, such as SES or partisanship, color and shape our impressions of both the issues and candidates, both of which are seen as short-term and subject to change. The entire process was called the "funnel of causality" because factors at the top of the funnel (SES and partisanship) have a direct influence on factors at the bottom of the funnel (attitudes towards the issues and candidates) which, in turn, directly affect the vote.

The Michigan model has held up exceptionally well over time. In fact, it's been claimed that over the last 50 years of political science research, not a single work has been published in American politics that has made a "significant dent" in the model (Bartels 2010: 244). The general framework has also been employed successfully

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internationally (Hellwig 2008; Hobolt, Spoon, and Tilley 2009; Lewis-Beck and Nadeau 2012). However, it is important to note that the framework is only a proposed starting point. Only very rarely do published works on vote choice include all of the proposed elements of the Michigan model. Different societal contexts and research questions lead scholars to use a diverse range of specifications.

One issue in particular, however, often included in vote choice models in both the United States and internationally is evaluations of the economy. Three primary dimensions dominate the literature on economic evaluations: *target*, *time* and *context* (Lewis-Beck and Stegmaier 2000: 191). *Target* indicates whether the voter is evaluating his personal economic situation, an egotropic voter, or whether he or she is evaluating national economic conditions, a sociotropic voter (Kinder and Kiewiet 1981; Kiewiet 1983). *Time* indicates whether or not the voter is looking into the past or the future to make his or her evaluation. Retrospective voters look to the past, while prospective voters look to the future. And finally, *context* is concerned with whether or not the target (egotropic or sociotropic evaluations) is somehow directly connected to a particular policy. Sociotropic voting is generally seen to be more important than pocketbook voting in American presidential elections (Lewis-Beck and Stegmaier 2000: 194). In a recent paper, Lewis-Beck and Nadeau, using individual level data from the 2008 US presidential election, find strong support for retrospective, sociotropic evaluations: those who viewed the national economy as having performed poorly over the last year were more likely to vote for Obama (Lewis-Beck and Nadeau 2009).

Despite the scholarly consensus around the general framework, some problematic areas remain. For example, an emphasis on short term factors near the vote (attitudes

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towards the candidates or issues) has been controversial (Lewis-Beck et al. 2008: 28). The problem is that evaluating a candidate just before an election (or particularly just after an election) is not likely to provide much explanatory information. This is especially true if the researcher is measuring vote choice with a binary variable, a vote for candidate A or a vote for candidate B. The respondent is likely to vote for the candidate to whom he or she gave the higher rating. Others have argued that including both attitudinal and demographic variables as independent variables in models, as the funnel of causality suggests, can be problematic because very often the attitudinal variables are significantly influenced by the demographic variables (Barrington and Herron 2001). Barrington and Herron caution that by not fully accounting for the indirect effects of demographic variables in their models, scholars might not be presenting an accurate description of the causal mechanisms at work.

Thus, the standard vote choice model according to the Michigan framework would include socio-demographics and partisanship as long-term factors and attitudes towards the issues as a short-term factor (very often economic evaluations, among others). This general framework serves as a good starting point from which to develop a vote choice model for Ukraine. This is what I do in the next section.

5.2.3 The Ukrainian voter

To restate, the goal of this chapter is to demonstrate that ethnocentrism has significant conditional effects on vote choice on both majority and minority groups in Ukraine. I seek to demonstrate that even after accounting for all those factors that are normally addressed in vote choice models, ethnocentrism plays a big role. To that end, this section

reviews the many elements that have been common in such models in Ukraine over the last quarter century.

As in the US, a wide range of specifications for voter models exist in Ukraine. Because I am using individual survey data in this chapter, I will focus on past work that has employed similar data. This is contrast to work on voter models in Ukraine that has made use of aggregate level election data (Birch 1995; Bloom and Shulman 2011; Colton 2011). Different individual level voter models in Ukraine tend to share demographic variables but little else. In order to explain party support in the 1998 parliamentary election, Birch relies entirely on demographic characteristics (Birch 2000a: Chapter 7, 101-122). While language, ethnicity and region are almost always included, attitudinal factors vary from model to model. Examples of variables in the multitude of vote-choice models are: sociotropic evaluations (Wilson and Birch 1999; Klobucar, Miller, and Erb 2002), egotropic evaluations (Hesli, Reisinger, and Miller 1998), aggregate-level regional characteristics (Birch 2000b), nationalist sentiment (Wilson and Birch 1999), partisanship (Klobucar, Miller, and Erb 2002), relations with Russia (Hesli, Reisinger, and Miller 1998; Klobucar, Miller, and Erb 2002), communism/democracy (Klobucar, Miller, and Erb 2002; Constant, Kahanec, and Zimmermann 2011) and preferences towards different economic systems (Constant, Kahanec, and Zimmermann 2011).

5.2.3.1 Key Demographic factors

The starting point of any review of the factors influencing Ukrainian public opinion must be the three big demographic variables: region, language and ethnicity. In a Michigan school conception of vote choice these three long-term factors would sit at the top or the funnel influencing everything else below it. Models predicting attitudes, policy

positions, vote choice or other issues of consequence often find significant effects of the big three and, I would argue, no serious attempt should be made to explain public opinion or vote choice in Ukraine without addressing the influence of each of these factors (Hesli 1995; Arel 1995; Birch 2000b; Barrington and Herron 2004; Barrington and Faranda 2009).

These three factors, of course, are not mutually exclusive. There is significant overlap and blending of all three demographics across the country. For those unfamiliar with Ukraine's diversity, it is best to conceptualize the country as being centered around two poles: the western city of Lviv and the eastern city of Donestk. Each city is just an hour's drive away from Poland and Russia, respectively. Lviv is seen as a bastion of Ukrainian language and culture and the overwhelming majority of people there identify as ethnically Ukrainian and they speak Ukrainian in their daily lives. Donestk, on the hand, is an entirely Russian-speaking city populated with ethnic Russians and Russian-speaking Ukrainians. Yet, in-between these two poles lies a great deal of linguistic and ethnic blending and blurring that make it difficult to generalize broadly about the population. However, below, I will briefly address each of these three big demographic characteristic (region, ethnicity and language) separately in order to emphasize the significance of each.

Region: Ukraine is diverse country. Only after World War II, were all the lands that currently comprise Ukraine brought under the control of a single government. Prior, the lands had belonged for centuries to the neighboring countries: the Polish Commonwealth, the Russian Empire and Habsburgs. This legacy of different rulers has had an enormous effect on present day attitudes (Kuzio 2010). To take just one example,

the region of Galicia in western Ukraine, often recognized as the center of Ukraine nationalism, until the end of WWII had never been a part of the Russian Empire or the Soviet Union (Magocsi 1996: 648). Thus, these regions have been much less influenced by Russian culture and language than other areas of the country.

In empirical work on Ukraine, the importance of regional differences are nearly universally acknowledged (Hesli 1995; Pirie 1996; Lowell 1997; Kubicek 2000; Birch 2000b; Barrington 2002; Rodgers 2006; Barrington and Faranda 2009). The question is not whether region matters, but rather what is the best way to represent it. Some have argued that it is best to divide Ukraine into eight separate regions in order better account for the country's regional diversity (Barrington and Herron 2004). Most scholars today, however, rely on a four-region model: west, central, east and south (Colton 2011: 14). Each of the four regions has been uniquely shaped by history that differentiates it from the surrounding regions. A methodological advantage of the four-region model is that each region provides strong explanatory power without the loss of parsimony that would be associated with more complicated designs.

Ethnicity: Ukraine has a large number of ethnic groups (many of which have lived on Ukrainian lands for centuries), but presently, with the exceptions of ethnic Russians, not one of these groups comprises more than 1% of the country's population (State Statistics Committee of Ukraine 2004). Thus, as mentioned previously, this work focuses on the differences of the two politically relevant ethnic groups: ethnic Ukrainians and ethnic Russians. Russians first began entering the lands of Ukraine in the 17th century, but it wasn't until industrialization took hold in Eastern Ukraine in the second half of the 19th century that large numbers of Russians immigrate to Ukraine (Magocsi

1996: 332). Presently, ethnic Russians comprise about 17% of the population and primarily reside in the large urban areas in Eastern and Southern Ukraine (State Statistics Committee of Ukraine 2003).

Russian and Ukrainian attitudes do differ substantially. As I demonstrated in the previous chapter, ethnic Russians tend to support policies that are pro-Russia while ethnic Ukrainians tend to support policies in a pro-western direction. This is a ubiquitous finding in the literature (Shulman 1998, 2004; Barrington and Faranda 2009; White, McAllister, and Feklyunina 2010). Ethnic Russians were much more supportive of the Communist party in Ukraine than ethnic Ukrainians (Birch 2000: 97, 113). Ethnic Russians were also more likely to support Yanukovych in the 2004 presidential election (Constant, Kahanec, and Zimmermann 2011). Aggregate level data from the 2010 presidential election also demonstrated that ethnic Ukrainians were more likely to support Yushchenko and ethnic Russians were more likely to support Yanukovych (Bloom and Shulman 2011: 423).

Language: Throughout its history, the Ukrainian language has often been thought of as a peasant language by its Polish and Russian rulers (who both happen to speak languages closely related to Ukrainian). In the eastern regions of Ukraine, the perception of the Ukrainian language as having a significant lower status meant that little effort was made by the incoming Russians to learn it (Subtelny 2000: 274). Tsarist authorities also battled with the language supporting the view that it "*has not, does not, and cannot exist*" (Valuev decree, 1863) and banning the publication of works in Ukrainian (Ems Decree, 1876) (Snyder 2004: 121-122). For many Ukrainian speakers, particularly in the western

regions, these policies were not forgotten and they affect, either consciously or subconsciously, attitudes towards language.

Today, Ukrainian speakers are spread across the country. Even the Russian language-dominated eastern oblasts of Donetsk and Luhansk have large minorities of native Ukrainian speakers (24% and 30% respectively) (State Statistics Committee of Ukraine 2003). Large urban areas in the east, however, are fully Russian speaking areas where Ukrainian is rarely heard. By contrast, in western and central regions native Ukrainian speakers make up between 90-98% of the population. Ukrainian speakers (when compared to Russian speakers) have been shown to be more supportive of an EU orientation (White, McAllister, and Feklyunina 2010: 356), more supportive of Kuchma's government (Barrington and Herron 2004), and expressing less attachment towards Russia (Barrington and Faranda 2009: 243). In voting models, researchers have shown that Ukrainian language users were less likely to report voting for the communist party in the 1990s and less likely to vote for Yanukovych in 2004 (Hesli, Reisinger, and Miller 1998; Constant, Kahanec, and Zimmermann 2011).

5.2.3.2 Attitudinal factors

In addition to these key demographic variables, important attitudinal variables have also been included in previous work. Six of these constructs are particularly relevant to this work: economic evaluations, support for democracy, attitudes towards a limited government, authoritarianism and patriotism.

Economic Evaluations: Egotropic retrospective economic evaluations have been shown to be related to increased support for the communist party (Hesli, Reisinger, and Miller 1998). Klobucar, Miller and Erb (2002) found similar, but only partial, support for

prospective sociotropic evaluations: pessimistic assessments were related to support for the Communist Party presidential candidate in 1999. Given the economic security that the Soviet Union provided, it is not surprising that struggling households would long for a return of the Communist Party.

*Democracy***:** Research also has shown that individuals who profess support for democracy and democratic values are more likely to support western-oriented parties and candidates. I expect that the link between democratic values and the western-oriented candidate will be particularly clear during the Orange Revolution since a desire for a more democratic system was one of the underlying reasons for the protests (Aslund and McFaul 2006). It is no surprise therefore that Ukrainians who said they supported a "*western-type democracy*" were significantly more likely to support Yushchenko in 2004 than those individuals who wanted a return to a soviet-style system (Constant, Kahanec, and Zimmermann 2011). More generally, others have shown that Ukrainians who favor an Eastern Slavic identity (i.e. more pro-Russia) are less likely to support democracy and economic liberalism (Shulman 2005).

Limited government: As in many countries, public attitudes towards government intervention remains an important issue in Ukraine (Aslund 2005). Issues regarding limited government might even be more relevant in post-communist countries owing to the fact that many people in these societies grew up in a time when their governments were extremely interventionist. Some work has indeed shown a link between support for government intervention and support for a particular party or candidate. Wilson and Birch (1999), for example, demonstrated that Ukrainians desiring less government intervention (i.e. wanting more free market) expressed less support for the Communist

Party and more support for the pro-western Rukh party in the 1998 parliamentary elections. Similarly, in 2004, a desire for higher levels of government intervention was negatively related to support for the pro-western Viktor Yushchenko (Constant, Kahanec, and Zimmermann 2011).

Partisanship – As described above, the importance of partisanship in the United States to explain political behavior is widely recognized (Jacoby 2010: 264). However, the large number of parties that came into existence in the immediate post-Soviet period meant that the standard ANES question on partisanship would be inappropriate (Miller et al. 2000: 461).[52] Scholars have gotten around this problem by instead asking respondents if a particular party *expresses your views better than any other party* and then following up by asking about the party name and then how close they feel to the party (Miller et al. 2000: 461-462). This measure of partisanship has been used in Ukraine to show that Ukrainians with positive attitudes towards the free market or nationalist feelings are more likely to support reform parties (Miller et al. 2000: 482). The measure was also used to explain voting in the 1999 presidential election: those who identified with the communist party[53] were more likely to vote for the Communist Party candidate, Petro Symonenko (Klobucar, Miller, and Erb 2002: 336).

Authoritarianism - While it is my argument that ethnocentrism will be a significant predictor of vote choice in the 2004 Ukrainian presidential election, cognate factors are also expected to be important for explaining candidate choice. In particular,

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[52] *Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?*

[53] The party had been banned in Ukraine in 1991, but was again legalized in 1993 (Birch 2000: 15).

authoritarianism and patriotism, two concepts theoretically distinct from ethnocentrism, should also exhibit effects that are in addition to the effects of ethnocentrism.

Feldman conceptualizes authoritarianism as a conflict between autonomy and social conformity (Feldman 2003). He argues that this comes from the fundamental societal problem of how to maintain the social order in a society. There is tension between personal liberty (the freedom to do what want) and the social conventions and norms that keep society stable. What is important, he argues, is the relative trade-off between the two options. The question is "*how highly will people value personal autonomy when it comes into conflict with their desire for social conformity?*" (Feldman 2003: 48). In other words, when forced to choose between two options, individuals who value conformity over autonomy will be more likely to accept restrictions on a range of behaviors, such as freedom of speech, freedom to form oppositional groups and general civil rights (Feldman 2003: 49-50).

Patriotism - Another force that is expected to have an effect on vote choice is patriotism. Patriotism has been defined as the "*degree of love for and pride in one's nation*" or "*the degree of attachment to the nation*" (Kosterman and Feshbach 1989: 271).[54] In Ukraine, feelings of patriotism likely differ for ethnic Russians and ethnic Ukrainians. Ethnic Ukrainians will be more likely to express their fondness of the state and, as we saw in the last chapter, support foreign policies that strengthen the Ukrainian state. The importance of patriotism on vote choice can be expected to be particularly significant as the events around the Orange Revolution activated an increased sense of

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[54] In contrast, Kosterman and Feshbach argue that nationalism reflects "*a perception of national superiority and an orientation toward national dominance*" (1989: 271). This difference has appeared to have garnered a lot of support in the literature (Blank and Schmidt 2003; Li and Brewer 2004; Huddy and Khatib 2007).

national identity vis-à-vis Russia. There was a sense of threat that Russia was responsible for trying to manipulate the elections to their benefit. The literature shows that when faced with an outside threat, social identification, patriotism and nationalism all increase for members of the threatened group (Li and Brewer 2004: 728).

5.3 Primary hypotheses

The primary focus of this chapter is to investigate the effects of ethnocentrism and ethnicity on voting for Yushchenko. I aim to show that ethnocentrism plays an important role on vote choice in Ukraine even after controlling for wide range of commonly used explanatory factors. Formally, I will provide evidence to support the following three hypotheses:

H5.1: Ethnocentric Ukrainians will be more likely to vote for Yushchenko than non-ethnocentric Ukrainians

H5.2: Ethnocentric Russians will be less likely to vote for Victor Yushchenko than non-ethnocentric Russians

H5.3: Ethnocentrism will have a stronger effect on Ukrainians than on Russians

In addition to these three hypotheses, I am also interested in the significance of the many control variables that I discussed above. In particular, regional and linguistic effects as well as attitudes towards the economy, democracy and limited government are particularly important. Predictions for these and other control variables are fully discussed in the following section, Data and Measures.

5.4 Data and measures

5.4.1 Dependent variable

The dependent variable in this analysis is the individual-level, self-reported vote for Yushchenko in the second ballot of the second round of the 2004 Presidential election. Only individuals who reported voting for either Yushchenko or Yanukovych are included in the analysis. Those who reported that they did not vote, chose "*against all*", or had missing values, were excluded from the analysis. This was approximately 8% of the sample.

5.4.2 Ethnocentrism

As in previous chapters, all respondents rated three out-groups (Tatars, Roma and Russians or Ukrainians depending on the respondent's in-group) on three stereotypes (hard-working, trustworthiness and intelligence). Ethnocentrism scores were then calculated with the following equation.

Ethnocentrism = [(hard-working in-group score – avg. hard-working out-group score)
  + (trustworthy in-group score – avg. trustworthy out-group score)
  + (intelligence in-group score – avg. intelligence out-group score)] /3

All variables were coded to run from 0 to 1, with a value of 1 indicating a higher level of the trait (e.g. more intelligence) This means that the final ethnocentrism score for each individual can run from a low of -1 to a high of 1. A score of 1 is only possible if an individual gives the in-group the highest possible score on each stereotype while simultaneously giving each out-group the lowest possible scores on each stereotype. An ethnocentrism score of zero indicates the absence of ethnocentrism (i.e. in-groups and out-groups are seen as being exactly the same). While -1 and 1 are the theoretical lows and highs, in practice they are not often seen. In the present data, the ethnocentrism scores ranged from -.22 to .78. As in previous chapter, missing values of ethnocentrism were imputed.[55]

5.4.4 Demographics

Along with ethnicity, region and language are identified in the literature as the most important factors that explain Ukrainian public opinion. Therefore, I expect that both will have significant effects on the vote for Yushchenko.

Region: Was coded as four separate dummy variables: west, central, south and east. West was the reference category and, therefore, was left out of the models. Those living in the east and the south will be less likely to vote for Yushchenko.

Language: Most Ukrainians are bilingual in both Russian and Ukrainian. Therefore, it is problematic to simply ask if they speak Ukrainian or Russian as many

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[55] Missing values were imputed using the MICE method available in Stata 14. Thirty imputations were created for each missing value of the independent variables. I did not impute missing values for the dependent variable, vote choice. This was because the dependent only includes those individuals who actually cast a vote for one of the two candidates.

would answer both. In this work, language was operationalized as the language in which the respondent "*usually communicates*". The variable was coded as a one if they reported that their primary language was Ukrainian and zero for Russian and all other languages. Individuals who primarily communicate in the Ukrainian will be more likely to support Yushchenko.

Age: The broad expectation is that older individuals will be more likely to vote for Yanukovych (over Yushchenko) since he most closely represents the link to economic security of the Soviet past. This is not because Yanukovych and his Party of the Regions was more socialist oriented than Yushchenko, but simply because his party was associated with the being pro-Russia and had inherited many of the eastern and southern voters who had previously supported the Communist Party throughout the 1990s. Moreover, younger individuals will be better placed to prosper under a new economic and political system than older individuals.

Education: Individuals with higher levels of education are better to cope with the changes that take place during period of economic and political transition that those who are less educated. Lesser-educated individuals are more likely to fear such changes. Thus, since Yushchenko represented westernization (and the associated economic and political changes), voters with higher levels of education should have been more supportive of his candidacy. Education was coded on a six-point scale ranging from primary education up to having a doctorate. Higher values indicate more education.

More Urban: The population of the city, town or village was recorded. Five values were coded: village, less than 50 thousand inhabitants, 50-100k inhabitants, 100-500k inhabitants and 500k or more inhabitants. The variable was coded so that higher

values indicated the respondent lived in a higher populated area. Many, though not all, of Ukraine's largest urban areas are in the east and south of the country.

Household evaluations: Respondents were asked to evaluate the current economic situation of their family. 2004 was a time of relative economic prosperity for the general economy in Ukraine; the country posted the largest single yearly increase in GDP since independence, 12.1% (World Bank 2016). However, Ukraine was still a significantly poorer country than when the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991. World Bank data show that in 2004 Ukrainian GDP per capita was only around two-thirds of what it was in 1989. Higher values indicate more household economic security.

1. *How do you evaluate the financial situation in your family?*
    1. *We hardly make ends meet, not enough money even for food*
    2. *We have enough for food, but the procurement of clothes and footwear*
    3. *In general, we have enough for life, but for the procurement*
    4. *We don't have any financial difficulties*

5.4.5 Attitudinal factors

National Economic evaluations: In this work, I will follow Lewis-Beck and Nadeau (2009) in their analysis of the 2008 US presidential election and employ a measure of retrospective, sociotropic voting. From a practical standpoint, using a retrospective measure also makes sense. As I have stressed many times in this work, the survey was conducted very shortly after an extremely contentious election. It could therefore be problematic to use prospective economic evaluations because those individuals who voted for the winning candidate are likely to be optimistic about the future state of the economy than supporters of the losing candidate, who are likely to express more pessimism.

1. *Now thinking about the economy in the country as a whole, how would you say the nation's economy has changed over the past year?*

   Much better, somewhat better, the same, somewhat worse, much worse

The variable was recoded so that higher values indicated a more positive evaluation of the economy over the last 12 months. It seems likely that supporters of Yushchenko will be more willing than Yanukovych supporters to say that that the economy was worse in the past 12 months. Because Yanukovych was the sitting Prime Minister in the year prior to the election some supporters of Yushchenko might view his handling of the country's economy poorly even though objectively the national economy did exceedingly well.

Democracy: The democracy variable is an index comprised of three questions that measure the respondent's willingness to support democratic values.

1. *To achieve success political leader will often need to compromise with his political opponents.*

2. *Government works best when there is strong opposition to criticize and expose the weakness in its policies.*

3. *All "parties of power" should be willing to tolerate the existence of opposition parties.*

All questions were coded so that higher values indicated more agreement (i.e. more democratic support). Responses to the three questions hold together fairly well with a Cronbach's alpha of .71. The prediction is that democratic values will be positively related to support for Yushchenko.

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Limited government: Limited government was measured as the sum of the answer to two questions about the role of government in society.

1. *Some people feel the government of Ukraine should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Others think the government should just let each person get ahead on their own. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6. Where would you place YOURSELF on this scale?*

2. *Some people think the government should provide fewer services even in areas such as health and education in order to reduce the amount of spending from the state budget. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Other people feel it is important for the government to provide many more services even if it means an increase in spending from the state budget. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5 or 6.*

Before the results to the questions were added together, question 2 was recoded so that higher values indicated more limited government (i.e. providing fewer services). Thus, in the model, positive coefficients indicate support for less government intervention. Voters who supported Yushchenko should be more likely to favor limited government than Yanukovych supporters. This is because high levels of government intervention is closely related to the Soviet regime which is strongly disliked by those who are more likely to vote for Yushchenko

Soviet identity: Whether or not an individual feels an attachment to the Soviet Union is measured as the result of a single question.

1. *Although the Soviet Union no longer exists, some people still think of themselves as Soviets; whereas others have stopped thinking of themselves in those terms. To what extent would you say you think of yourself as a Soviet: a great deal, somewhat, very little or not at all?*

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The variable was recoded so that higher values indicated a stronger Soviet identity. Soviet identity should be negatively related to voting for Yushchenko. The reason should fairly obvious at this point; Soviet identity should be much more tightly related to Russian ethnic identity and eastern/southern regional identities.

Party identification: Partisanship is measured by asking the respondent about which party he or she voted for in the 2002 Parliamentary elections. In contrast to how partisanship has often been operationalized in the Ukrainian literature, which has tended to focus on current party preferences (Miller et al. 2000; Klobucar, Miller, and Erb 2002), directly asking about past party support allows the measure to capture continuity across elections.

1. *Tell me please, which party or bloc did you vote for at the last 2002 parliamentary elections?*

Because a large number of parties were on the ballot, I created two dummy variables for the parties that had direct links with Yushchenko and Yanukovych. Respondents who said they had voted for *Viktor Yushchenko "Our Ukraine" Bloc* or *Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc* were coded together as one dummy variable, the Orange Party. Those who reported voting for *"For Ukraine United" Bloc*, of which Viktor Yanukovych's party was a member, were coded as the second dummy variable, the Blue Party. Votes for all other parties were left uncoded and are the reference category.

Authoritarianism: The Ukraine survey was designed with a number of questions that allow me to create a measure of authoritarianism that is corresponds to Feldman's

conceptualization described above (Feldman 2003). Three questions in particular measure individual attitudes towards freedom of speech, the activities of oppositional groups, and a general belief in freedom vs order.

1. *Too many claims and active actions of oppositional groups destabilize society and bring harm to society.*

2. *People who agitate harmful ideas must not be permitted to speak publicly.*

3. *It is better to live in an orderly society than to allow people so much freedom that they become disruptive.*

All questions were measured on a five-point scale from "*disagree strongly*" (1) to "*agree strongly*" (5). Thus, higher values indicate less autonomy and more social conformity (i.e. authoritarianism). Cronbach's alpha was .55 indicating that the three items hold together moderately well. The three items were averaged into a single measure called authoritarianism. Because the Soviet Union stressed conformity over individualism, individuals expressing authoritarian beliefs in Ukraine are also expected to express regret over the collapse of the Soviet Union. Relatedly, such people are hypothesized to be more likely to support parties and candidates that are sympathetic towards Russia. Thus, authoritarians should be more likely to support the pro-Russian candidate Yanukovych as he better represents a stronger link to the Soviet past, an era in which authoritarians are more likely to feel comfortable.

Patriotism: Huddy and Khatib (2007) remind us that there are many ways to measure patriotism and different measures will lead to radically different results. They go on to list four different types: symbolic, national pride, uncritical, and constructive. Symbolic patriotism in the ANES, for example, is measured by asking respondents about their pride in being American along with their pride in the flag and the national anthem.

Despite their criticism that in an American context symbolic patriotism is associated with conservatism, I will employ a similar measure here.

1. *When you see the Ukrainian flag flying does it make you feel extremely good, very good, somewhat good or not very good?*

The flag symbolizes the Ukrainian state and the colors, blue and yellow, which symbolize the sky and steppes, have long been associated with Ukrainian nationalists (Aslund 2009: 179). Thus, this operationalization of patriotism is likely to only influence Ukrainians.

Thus, to the extent that ethnic Ukrainians felt under siege by the events that led to the Orange Revolution (and perhaps united by them), they will have expressed higher levels of patriotism. In turn, these individuals will have been much more likely to vote for Yushchenko, the candidate who was seen as representing the Ukrainian nation.

5.5 Analyses

5.5.1 Primary hypotheses - ethnocentrism

This section presents two sets of results, both of which predict the vote for Viktor Yushchenko. Since the dependent variable is dichotomous, I use logistic regression to model the vote. The first set of estimates are from models that include only demographics and ethnocentrism. The second set of results, however, will display the results from models containing a full range of controls: demographics, relevant policy issues, partisanship, authoritarianism, patriotism, and, of course, ethnocentrism.

Table 5.1 has results from two separate specifications. The first model is without ethnocentrism. This is the basic demographic vote choice model in Ukraine. As expected, Ukrainians, Ukrainian speakers, and individuals living in the west (the reference category) were all significantly more likely to vote for Yushchenko. Partisanship was also significant indicating that individuals who voted for parties in the 2002 parliamentary elections that would be aligned with Yushchenko in 2004 (what I have called the "orange bloc"), were also more likely to vote for Yushchenko. Finally, positive retrospective evaluations of the household economy was also related to higher levels of support for Yushchenko.

Model two in Table 5.1, which includes both ethnocentrism and the interaction term, Ukrainian*Ethnocentrism, does indeed show that ethnocentrism was important. Moreover, the interaction term is significant indicating that ethnocentrism had a conditional effect on the dichotomous ethnicity variable. Ethnocentrism affects vote choice, but it affects ethnic Russians and ethnic Ukrainians differently. All of the other demographic control variable remained virtually unchanged from the first model. The only exception is that now a vote for the For Ukraine United party in 2002 was negatively related to voting for Yushchenko.

We can learn two more important things from the results of model 2. The first is that the coefficient on Ethnic Ukrainian is *not* significant (and it is far from significant). This indicates that in the absence ethnocentrism (i.e. when ethnocentrism is equal to zero), there is no difference between Ukrainians and Russians voting for Yushchenko. Second, the fact that the size of the coefficients on ethnocentrism and the interaction term are nearly the same magnitude but moving in opposite directions indicates that

ethnocentrism had a much larger effect on Ethnic Russians than Ukrainians. While the

effect of ethnocentrism will be weaker on ethnic Ukrainians, it should still have a positive

effect on voting for Yushchenko.[56] To get a clearer picture of the effects of

ethnocentrism, it is best to graph the results. The results are in Figure 5.1.

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[56] To see this, imagine a fully ethnocentric Ukrainian (ethnocentrism = 1 and ethnic Ukrainian=1). The coefficients for each of these variables would nearly cancel each other out (-4.005 + 4.756). Similarly, if we look at Russians (i.e. set Ethnic Ukrainian to zero), then we are left with only the effect of the Ethnocentrism variable (-4.005)

Table 5.1: Predicting the vote for Yushchenko

VARIABLES	(1) Yushchenko	(2) Yushchenko	(3) Yushchenko
Ethnic Ukrainian	0.966***	-0.094	-0.079
	(0.270)	(0.504)	(0.552)
Ethnocentrism		-4.129**	-3.660**
		(1.678)	(1.820)
Ethnic Ukrainian*Ethnocentrism		4.828***	4.503**
		(1.800)	(1.930)
Ukrainian language	1.334***	1.381***	1.296***
	(0.277)	(0.275)	(0.286)
Central	-0.413	-0.571	-0.391
	(0.439)	(0.443)	(0.460)
South	-1.806***	-2.222***	-1.917***
	(0.463)	(0.464)	(0.489)
East	-2.647***	-3.109***	-2.648***
	(0.432)	(0.431)	(0.452)
Age	-0.005	-0.002	-0.004
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.007)
Female	0.108	0.118	0.171
	(0.206)	(0.200)	(0.213)
Education	0.129	0.221**	0.148
	(0.098)	(0.097)	(0.104)
More urban	0.055	0.044	0.038
	(0.075)	(0.073)	(0.077)
House economy (retr.)	0.216**	0.267**	0.232**
	(0.108)	(0.106)	(0.110)
Orange bloc	3.214***		3.143***
	(0.610)		(0.610)
For Ukraine United bloc	-0.611		-0.644*
	(0.373)		(0.375)
Constant	-0.504	0.321	0.144
	(0.797)	(0.926)	(0.991)
Observations	930	906	906

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
*Note*: Table entries are logit coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. All control variables are displayed above. Dependent variable is a vote for Viktor Yushchenko in the 2004 presidential election.
Source: Ukraine Data 2005

Figure 5.1 displays the predicted effect of ethnocentrism on both Ukrainians and

Russians for model 2 in Table 5.1. The predicted probabilities were estimated by holding

all values at their mean with the exception of Ethnic Ukrainian, Ethnocentrism and the interaction term, which are all allowed to vary.

Figure 5.1: Effect of Ethnocentrism on Voting for Yushchenko

Note: 90% confidence interval
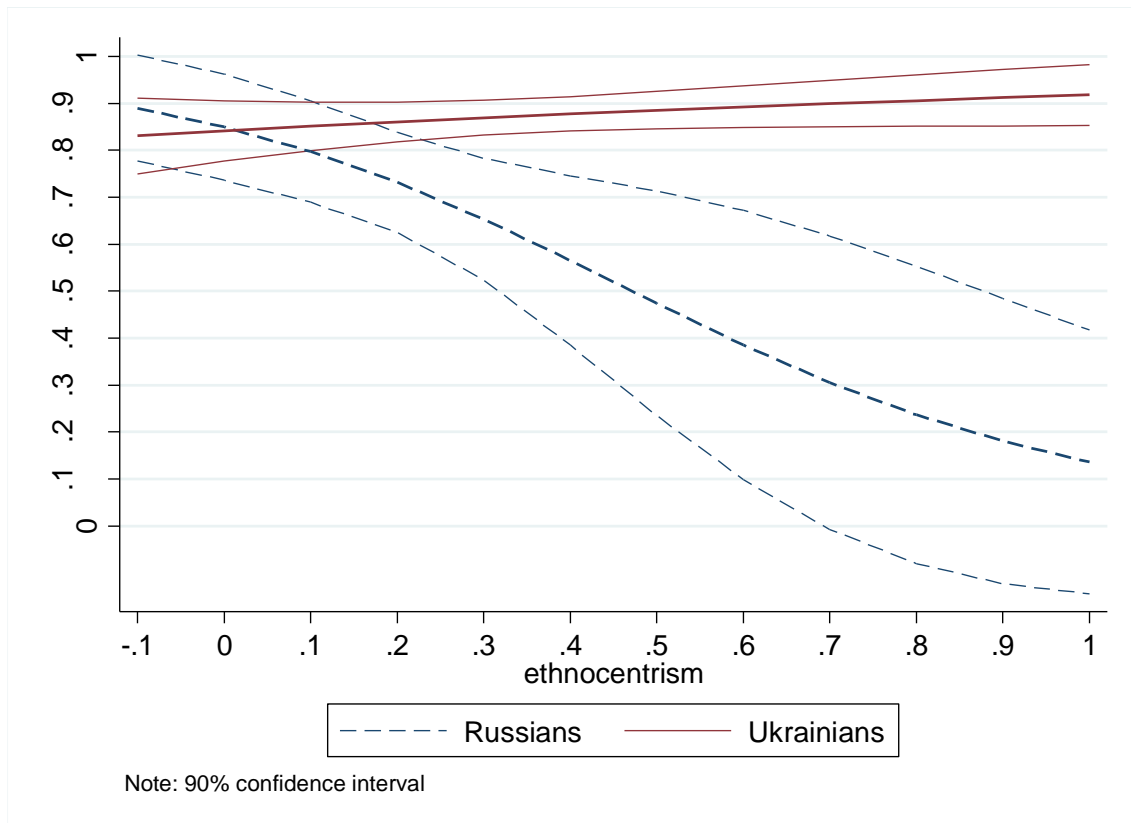
Predicted probabilities for model 2 in Table 5.1. All values are held at their means while ethnocentrism and ethnicity are allowed to vary.

Figure 5.1 depicts an extremely large effect of ethnocentrism on ethnic Russians: moving from an ethnocentrism score of zero (i.e. no ethnocentrism) to the highest level of ethnocentrism (i.e. ethnocentrism equals 1) results in a nearly 75 percentage point shift away from voting for Yushchenko (approximately .85 to .1). While "average" non-ethnocentric Russians were neither more nor less likely to vote for Yushchenko than

"average" non-ethnocentric ethnic Ukrainians, highly ethnocentric Russians were very unlikely to vote for Yushchenko. Ethnocentrism does not have a large effect on the likelihood of ethnic Ukrainians voting for Yushchenko, however. While there is an upward trend, it is minimal (under 10 percentage points) when compared to the effect on Russians. Ethnocentrism mattered in the election in a big way, but its effect was primarily on ethnic Russians.

While Table 5.1 provided strong evidence that ethnocentrism was a significant factor in the 2004 election, the models primarily controlled for only demographics. In order to confirm that ethnocentrism really is playing the role that I have argued, I ran a number of robustness checks with other factors that influence vote choice. Table 5.2 shows the results of these more specified models.

Table 5.2: Predicting the vote for Yushchenko (Full Models)

VARIABLES	(1) Yushchenko	(2) Yushchenko	(3) Yushchenko	(4) Yushchenko
Ethnic Ukrainian	0.026	-0.135	0.071	-0.000
	(0.562)	(0.559)	(0.534)	(0.573)
Ethnocentrism	-3.192*	-3.866**	-3.609**	-3.326*
	(1.838)	(1.852)	(1.763)	(1.891)
Ethnic Ukrainian*Ethnocentrism	3.723*	4.362**	3.467*	3.520*
	(1.970)	(1.964)	(1.900)	(2.025)
Ukrainian language	1.266***	1.326***	1.376***	1.269***
	(0.299)	(0.295)	(0.297)	(0.306)
Central	-0.303	-0.207	-0.276	-0.139
	(0.475)	(0.467)	(0.462)	(0.480)
South	-1.838***	-1.706***	-1.805***	-1.590***
	(0.506)	(0.501)	(0.491)	(0.516)
East	-2.661***	-2.503***	-2.916***	-2.529***
	(0.469)	(0.457)	(0.453)	(0.472)
Age	0.010	-0.003	0.013*	0.010
	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.008)
Female	0.167	0.201	0.123	0.180
	(0.222)	(0.217)	(0.215)	(0.225)
Education	0.164	0.163	0.208**	0.167
	(0.109)	(0.106)	(0.105)	(0.110)
More urban	0.045	0.062	0.119	0.076
	(0.081)	(0.079)	(0.081)	(0.083)
Orange bloc	3.086***	3.055***		2.982***
	(0.623)	(0.613)		(0.627)
For Ukraine United bloc	-0.740*	-0.563		-0.656*
	(0.386)	(0.383)		(0.395)
House economy (retr.)	0.071	0.062	0.019	0.015
	(0.130)	(0.126)	(0.127)	(0.132)
National economy (retr.)	0.389**	0.275*	0.320**	0.356**
	(0.159)	(0.151)	(0.149)	(0.159)
Soviet identity	-0.229**		-0.339***	-0.238**
	(0.113)		(0.107)	(0.116)
Democracy	-0.366**		-0.369***	-0.393***
	(0.145)		(0.140)	(0.149)
Limited government	0.408***		0.374***	0.394***
	(0.100)		(0.095)	(0.101)
Authoritarianism		-0.018	-0.001	-0.003
		(0.125)	(0.122)	(0.131)
Patriotism		0.375***	0.467***	0.386***
		(0.111)	(0.111)	(0.117)

Table 5.2 – continued

|				
Constant	-0.314	-1.307	-0.717	-0.944
	(1.225)	(1.164)	(1.254)	(1.328)
Observations	906	906	906	906

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
Note: Table entries are logit coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. All control variables are displayed above. Dependent variable is a vote for Viktor Yushchenko in the 2004 presidential election.
Source: Ukraine Data 2005

In Table 5.2, ethnocentrism and the interaction term remain significant even after controlling for a large and diverse range of attitudinal factors. This provides strong evidence that ethnocentrism did in fact play an important role in influencing vote choice. Again, however, model 3 shows that the effect of ethnocentrism was much larger on ethnic Russians; the coefficients on Ethnocentrism and the interaction term are nearly identical but in opposite directions. However weak, the model does show a significant effect of ethnocentrism on Ukrainian. H5.1 is confirmed: ethnocentrism does have an effect on ethnic Ukrainians voting for Yushchenko. The effect on Russians is significant, extremely large and negative. H5.2 is also confirmed. The importance of ethnocentrism is seen more easily in Figure 5.2. The effects are nearly identical to Figure 1, with the only difference being the larger error bands around the estimate. Again, the graph demonstrates that the effect of ethnocentrism is larger on ethnic Russians than on ethnic Ukrainians. H5.3 is also confirmed.

Figure 5.2: Effect of Ethnocentrism on Voting for Yushchenko (Full Model)
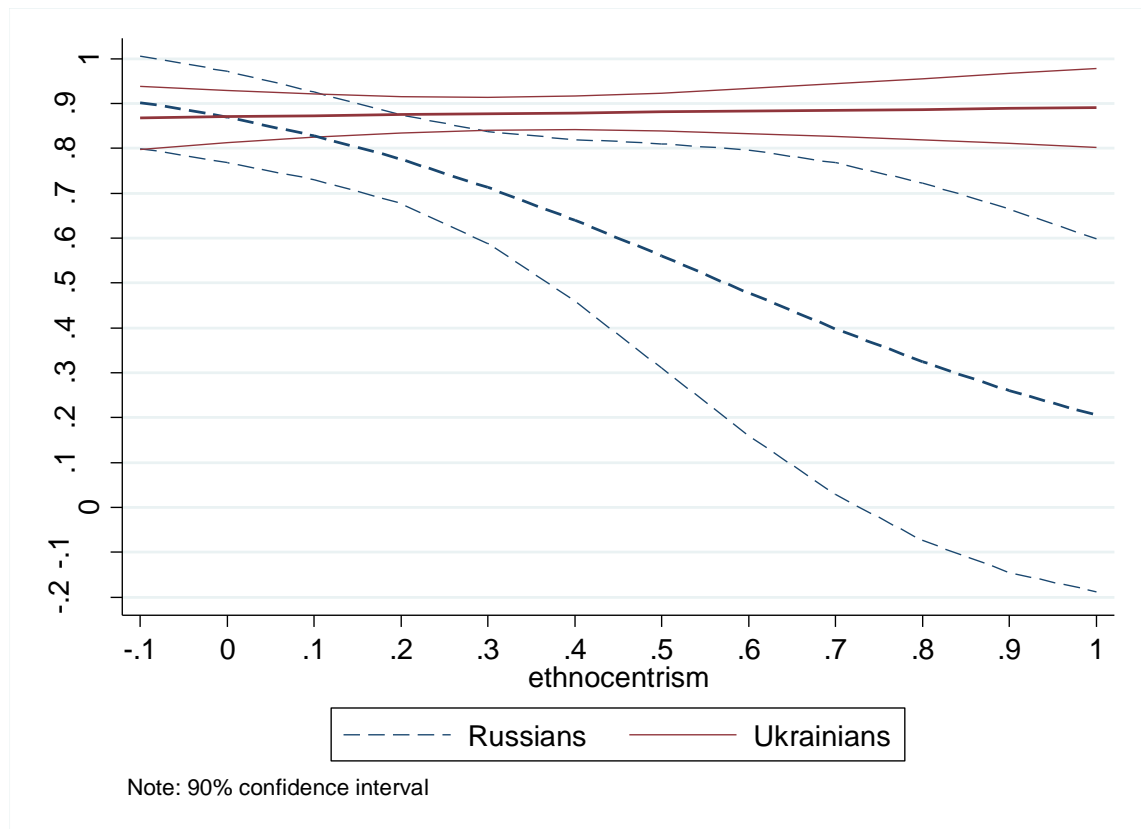
Predicted probabilities for model 4 in Table 2. All values are held at their means while ethnocentrism and ethnicity are allowed to vary.

5.5.2 Secondary hypotheses - covariates

Although I have shown that ethnocentrism played an important role in influencing vote choice in the presidential election, I do want to briefly address the relevance of the many control variables. I will do this by focusing on model 4 in Table 5.2.

As predicted, the regional dummy variables and the language variable are significant and in the expected direction: easterners and southerners were less likely to vote for Yushchenko than westerners and Ukrainian speakers were more likely to vote for Yushchenko. Thus, along with ethnicity which was discussed with ethnocentrism in the

previous section, all three of the important demographic variables proved to be significant predictors of vote choice. Other demographic variables, however, were not significant. Thus, age, gender, education and the rural/urban divide did not have an effect on vote choice.

The measure of partisanship, unsurprisingly, was significant for both the "Orange bloc" (parties associated with the Yushchenko) and the "For Ukraine United bloc" (parties associated with Yanukovych). Both of the coefficients were in the expected direction. Due to concerns of endogeneity between partisanship and vote choice, I ran the model without the party variables. As can be seen in model 3 in table 2, the results are not substantively different than the model including partisanship.

Retrospective, sociotropic evaluations of the economy was positive and significant. This is actually in contrast to the expectation. This is somewhat surprising considering Kuchma/Yanukovych were in power during the majority of this time. I had expected individuals dissatisfied with the economy to vote for Yushchenko. Rather, this appears to indicate that voters likely did not attribute the relatively positive state of the country's economy to the head of the government.

Two other important issue areas, support for democracy and limited government, were also significant, and, in opposite directions. The democracy variable is negatively related to support for Yushchenko, indicating that his supporters were less willing to compromise and tolerate the opposition. This is unexpected finding and requires a re-thinking of the degree to which the Orange Revolution was indeed about democratic values. Rather the election pitted pro-Russian versus pro-West elements against each other – but the pro-West elements are not more pro-democratic. This analysis reveals that

pro-West is not a synonym for pro-democratic. After having won a closely contested

election that was nearly stolen, Yushchenko supporters might be feeling less like

compromising with the opposition than Yanukovych supporters.

While they weren't more likely to support democratic values, Yushchenko

supporters were significantly more likely to support policies of limited government. This

is understandable since, as argued above, many of the supporters of Yanukovych came

from the eastern and southern regions of the country, where support for communism has

traditionally been the strongest. Related to the measure of limited government, is the

measure of Soviet identity. It was expected that the two measures would opposite effects

on vote choice and they did. Maintaining a Soviet identity was negatively related to

support for Yushchenko.

Finally, it is necessary to discuss the two factors related to ethnocentrism that

might also influence vote choice, authoritarianism and patriotism. To start, the

authoritarian variable was nowhere near significant in any of the models.

Authoritarianism, given the other controls in the model, is not important in predicting

vote choice. Ukrainian patriotism, however, was strongly and positively related to

support for Yushchenko. A comparison across the three models show that ethnocentrism

and patriotism are measuring very separate concepts: the coefficient on ethnocentrism

and the interaction term in model 3 (with patriotism) change only slightly compared to

model 1 (without patriotism). Ukrainian patriotism was important in the election, but so

was ethnocentrism.

5.6 Conclusion

The results of the models presented in this chapter strongly indicate that ethnocentrism played a significant role in affecting vote choice in the 2004 Ukrainian presidential elections. This was the case even after controlling for a wide range of demographic and attitudinal factors that have also been shown to affect vote choice in both the United States and internationally.

Figures 1 and 2 demonstrate that ethnocentrism's effect on voting for Yushchenko was limited almost entirely to ethnic Russians. The effects on ethnic Ukrainians, in contrast, were negligible. Interestingly, when ethnocentrism was low, ethnic Russians were, on average, just as likely as ethnic Ukrainians to vote for Yushchenko. It is curious, therefore, that ethnocentrism had a negative influence on voting for Yushchenko and not a positive influence. In other words, ethnocentrism only reduced the probability of ethnic Russians voting for Yushchenko, but it did not significantly increase the probability of ethnic Ukrainians voting for Yushchenko.

This is in stark contrast to results from the 2008 US presidential election, in which higher levels of ethnocentrism among democrats and independents resulted in reduced support for their candidate, Barack Obama (Kam and Kinder 2012: 330, Figure 2). There was, however, no effect of ethnocentrism on the probability of Republicans of voting for Obama, which remained low across all levels of ethnocentrism. In short, in the US ethnocentrism worked to turn a candidate's natural supporters (democrats) against him, while in Ukraine the effect of ethnocentrism was limited to the candidate's natural opponents (ethnic Russians).

This makes sense if we remember that ethnocentrism causes us to think of the world in terms of in-group and out-groups. For ethnocentric democrats, Obama was an out-group member. Not only was he an African American, but during the election he was also often accused of being a secret Muslim or not being an American citizen by birth (Dimock 2008; Condon 2011). Even for those who shared the same party as Obama, ethnocentrism made the ethnic in-group (or in this case racial in-group) more salient. Similarly, in Ukraine Yushchenko was an out-group member for ethnic Russians. Publicly, he spoke Ukrainian and was supportive of policies aimed at strengthening the Ukrainian state vis-à-vis Russia. Ethnocentrism led to increased support among Russians for the candidate who best represented Russian interests in Ukraine.

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION

6.1 Summary of key findings

In the conclusion of their book Kinder and Kam lament the fact that there is no literature on the effects of ethnocentrism on politics out the United States (2009: 229). This work represents a step towards filling this gap. I have shown that ethnocentrism is not only present in Ukraine and Russia, but that its effects in Ukraine are extremely large and politically relevant. Ethnocentrism in Ukraine significantly affects both individual-level foreign policy attitudes and vote choice. In short, ethnocentrism is important and it needs to be accounted for when studying public opinion and political behavior.

In chapter two, using data from the ANES, Russia and Ukraine, I investigated a number of hypotheses that come directly out of William Sumner's original writings on ethnocentrism. However, I go beyond Sumner by investigating the attitude differences among high-status and low-status group members. Thus, I looked at how group attitudes toward a range of both in-groups and out-groups varies depending on group status. I then assessed whether or not individual-level attitudes towards the in-group and attitudes towards out-groups were negatively related, again paying special attention to the differences between high-status and low status groups.

The results of chapter 2 showed that the patterns varied in regards to in-group and out-group perceptions across high-status and low-status group members. In the US, high-status group members rated themselves as superior to out-groups on all traits. Low-status group members, however, did not consistently rate their in-group as superior, at times seeing high-status groups more positively. In Russia, by contrast, low-status group

members did rate their in-groups as superior compared with all out-groups. High-status groups in Russia, like their counter-parts in the US, always saw the in-group positively relative to out-groups. In Ukraine, where only high-status Russians and Ukrainians were fully analyzed, ethnic Ukrainians always viewed the in-group as superior to out-groups. In contrast, Ethnic Russians sometimes saw Ukrainians more positively than themselves.

In chapter 3 I looked at the effects of group status on individual levels of in-group pride, xenophobia and ethnocentrism. The question was, does being a member of a low-status or high-status group result in higher or lower levels of ethnocentrism? In contrast to chapter 2, chapter 3 demonstrated that group status was often important in predicting xenophobia and ethnocentrism even while controlling for a host of covariates. As we saw, results were not consistent across samples. In the US and Orenburg Oblast sample, high-status groups were more likely to be ethnocentric than low-status groups. However, in the Russian national sample and Tatarstan sample no significant relationship was found between group status and ethnocentrism.

Chapters 4 and 5 investigate group differences between ethnic Russians and ethnic Ukrainians living in Ukraine. I provide strong evidence that ethnocentrism has significant influence on both individual-level foreign policy attitudes and on vote choice. The results demonstrate that in Ukraine ethnocentrism is a powerful force that has substantive effects on important political attitudes and behavior.

Chapter 4 demonstrates that ethnocentrism affects the foreign policy attitudes of ethnic Russians and ethnic Ukrainians in Ukraine differently. In addition, the strength of the effects depend on the specific foreign policy. Policies that are closely connected with Russia are more heavily influenced by a respondent's level of ethnocentrism than policies

unrelated to Russia. Thus, I showed that ethnocentrism has large effects on both ethnic Russians and ethnic Ukrainians in regards to European integration and NATO expansion: higher levels of ethnocentrism lead ethnic Ukrainians to be more supportive of integrating with the EU and NATO, while ethnocentrism has opposite effects on ethnic Russians. On support for fighting terrorism, ethnocentrism leads ethnic Russians to increase their support, but has little effect on ethnic Ukrainians.

In chapter 5 I showed how ethnocentrism affected vote choice in the 2004 Ukrainian presidential election. The general pattern from chapter 4 remained the same: ethnocentrism affected ethnic Russians and ethnic Ukrainians differently. The effects of ethnocentrism on the probability of an ethnic Russian voting for Yushchenko were large and negative. The effects on ethnic Ukrainians were positive, but more moderate than on Russians.

6.2 Implications for the study of Ukraine

This work has shown that ethnocentrism plays a key role in influencing attitudes in Ukraine. Significantly, the data show that ethnocentrism remains important even when controlling for language use, region and ethnicity; the three important factors that serve as a foundation in studies explaining Ukrainian public opinion. Moreover, the effects are not just statistically significant, they are substantively significant as well. Ethnocentric individuals can hold opinions that are different from their non-ethnocentric compatriots. For example, highly ethnocentric ethnic Russians desire uniting with Russia, while ethnic Russians with low levels of ethnocentrism lean instead towards joining the EU (Chapter 4, Figure 4.5).

Importantly, the results show that ethnocentrism does not affect all Ukrainian citizens similarly. Rather, the effects of ethnocentrism on ethnic Russians and ethnic Ukrainians differ greatly. Predicted probabilities show that highly ethnocentric ethnic Ukrainians and highly ethnocentric ethnic Russians hold entirely different foreign policy opinions (e.g. joining NATO or the EU). The strength of these results indicate that ethnocentrism should not be ignored when analyzing Ukrainian public opinion.

In fact, this study highlights the importance of investigating the effects of ethnocentrism on public attitudes towards other policy areas in Ukraine. Although ethnocentrism has opposite effects on ethnic Russians and ethnic Ukrainians in regards to foreign policy and voting, it is not clear that similar effects will be found in other policy areas. For example, issues that are not closely connected to Ukrainian-Russian relations (and thus do not necessarily make ethnicity salient) could result in ethnocentrism having weaker effects on ethnic Russians and ethnic Ukrainians. Some evidence for this was seen in chapter 4. Ethnocentrism had only a small effect on group attitudes towards keeping Ukrainian troops in Iraq, a policy that did not clearly divide ethnic Ukrainians and ethnic Russians. Many domestic policies in Ukraine might activate a broad form of ethnocentrism that cuts across ethnic cleavages to affect ethnic Russians and Ukrainians similarly.

6.3 Implications for other societies

While this study focused on post-Soviet Russia and Ukraine, it is necessary to think about how the findings presented here might generalize to other cases. This is a difficult endeavor as questions concerning ethnocentrism are both broad and complex. For example, the significance of both ethnic cleavages and issues can vary across both

time and space (i.e. in different societies). This greatly complicates developing and

testing a theory that can fully explain how ethnocentrism works. Yet, despite the

challenges involved in creating a general theory, it is not an impossible task. To my mind,

any general theory of ethnocentrism would need to address three big questions:

1) What causes some groups to be more or less ethnocentric?

2) Which issues will be affected by ethnocentrism (and how does the relevance of
   these issues vary by group)?

3) The significance of time: when will groups be more or less ethnocentric? When
   will an issue be affected by ethnocentrism?

I addressed the first question in chapter 3 when I investigated the relationship

between ethnic group status and ethnocentrism, xenophobia and in-group pride. Yet, in

addition to group status, there are likely many other important characteristics that can

help explain why some groups are more or less ethnocentric than others. For example, the

length in which a group has been residing in a place or territory might influence their

attitudes. Groups that have been living (or perceive themselves to have been living) in a

particular territory for long periods of time might be more likely to exhibit ethnocentrism

than groups that are more recent. The argument being that these "older" groups might see

themselves as being original or authentic in comparison to more recent "invaders."

Another possible explanation for different levels of ethnocentrism across groups

and societies is racial threat theory (Key Jr. 1949). In accordance with this argument, the

relative size of different ethnic or racial groups could have an influence on both attitudes and behaviors. The dominant group could feel increasingly threatened as the number of minorities in a society increases, possibly leading to higher levels of xenophobia for the dominant group. However, a related argument, but with opposite conclusions, is contact theory (Allport 1979). This theory argues that increased inter-group contact can actually lead to a reduction in prejudice as groups become more familiar with one another. Thus, higher number of out-group members might actually result in less prejudice. Both of these theories could be developed to investigate the relationship between group size and ethnocentrism.

It might also be the case that ethnic groups living in certain parts of the world are more or less likely to express ethnocentric attitudes that groups in other regions. This variation could be due to culture, economics, or simply the peculiarities of history. Each of these factors might influence and shape the ethnocentric attitudes of groups in unique ways. To take just one previously mentioned example, it has been shown that xenophobia is much more likely to be present in countries or regions besieged by war (Inglehart, Moaddel, and Tessler 2006). Higher levels of conflict are related to higher levels of xenophobia. It is very possible that a similar findings could be observed regarding ethnocentrism. Ethnic groups living in regions more threatened by war and conflict might exhibit higher levels of ethnocentrism than groups living in more peaceful regions. This is an empirical that can easily be tested if the appropriate data were available.

The second question is difficult to address generally. Across different countries and societies many different issues are likely to be affected by ethnocentrism. The salience of an issue may vary by society or group. For example, in this study I showed

that fighting terrorism was a significant issue for ethnic Russians living in Ukraine, but not for ethnic Ukrainians: ethnocentrism among ethnic Russians resulted in increased support for fighting international terrorism. I argued that this was likely connected to the serious problems with terrorism that Russia faced throughout the 2000s. Ethnic Ukrainians, who were not as affected by terrorist attacks taking place in Russia, were much less likely to think combatting international terrorism was an important foreign policy goal. Without knowledge of the specific terrorism threat facing each country, it would not have been possible to predict the differential effects of ethnocentrism on each group. This example illustrates the difficulty of identifying issue salience for different groups.

Yet, a general theory of ethnocentrism will need to develop a set of rules, even if only loosely, that can help determine which issues will be relevant for a given society and how this relevance will vary by group. While some issues such as immigration are likely to arouse a certain level of ethnocentric feelings in diverse sets of countries around the globe, other issues, such as supporting the war on terrorism, as described above, or attitudes towards gender equality will vary greatly across societies, as well as across groups in a given society.

In this dissertation, I have described one possible, albeit very general, framework in which to think about the effects of ethnocentrism in a single society. The framework involves examining existing group and policy cleavages in the society. If a particular issue (whether it be a foreign policy or choosing a candidate in an election) aligns with a salient ethnic cleavage, then there is a greater chance that ethnocentrism will be important on that issue for a particular group. This is because the issue can likely be seen as raising

the prestige of the group. However, if popular support for an issue transcends ethnic cleavages, then the effects of ethnocentrism will unlikely vary by group. That is, if supporting an issue does not bring increased prestige to the in-group relative to other groups (which is likely the case if ethnic group and policy cleavages do not align), then ethnocentrism is unlikely to be important in influencing attitudes towards that issue. This very general framework helps to think about the possible effects of ethnocentrism on different groups, but it does require the analyst to research the relationship between ethnic groups and various policy cleavages in each society.

The third point above concerns the temporal dimension in reference to the first two points. The dynamics involving ethnocentrism and its relations to various issues are not static. Ethnocentric feelings of individuals (and groups) will vary over time. Similarly, the effects of ethnocentrism on individual attitudes towards certain issues are also likely to vary over time. That is, ethnocentrism should be more important in some time periods than in others. Many factors, both short-term, such as the economy or geo-political shocks (such as terrorist attacks or war), and long-term, such as demographic or cultural transformations, can have an impact on level of ethnocentrism a group has, the relevance of ethnocentrism and the salience of particular issues. Disentangling this complex mix of factors will require data resources that are not currently available.

6.4 Need for more data

All three of the points above could be addressed with better data, a problem that seriously hinders the advancement of the ethnocentrism literature. It is necessary to both expand the number of societies under analysis and to collect these data at regular intervals. By looking at a larger number of societies, researchers will be able to examine

differences across cases (and not just the within them). Does ethnocentrism have larger effects on attitudes in certain countries than in others? If so, what are the attributes of these countries? Only multi-country studies will be able to answer these and related questions. Such an analysis, however, would require large amounts of survey data to be collected.

A significant problem is that the data needed to measure ethnocentrism the way it is operationalized in this study is not often collected. The measure requires a large battery of questions that can take up valuable space on opinion surveys. For example, the Ukraine survey asked every respondent to rate four different groups (the in-group and three out-groups) on three stereotypes, for a total of twelve questions. This is a significant block of space even before considering the attitudinal and behavioral questions that the researcher is actually interested in explaining. Yet, as this dissertation and previous work demonstrates, the effects of ethnocentrism are large and substantively important. Hopefully, as the number of studies using ethnocentrism increases, there will be more willingness on the part of researchers to pay the costs associated with collecting these data.

In order to address temporal variation, appropriate data will need to be collected at semi-regular intervals. This will give researchers the ability to compare findings from one period to the next. This is significant because we live in in a dynamic world and the attitudes people hold are constantly changing. The data from Ukraine that I used in this dissertation were collected in the aftermath of one such a big change, the Orange Revolution. It is very possible, even likely, that the effects of the Orange Revolution on individual-level attitudes accentuates the results that I found. Time series data would

allow researchers to account for these shocks by having a baseline with which to compare. Moreover, it is likely that not only does the general level of ethnocentrism in society rise and fall over time, but the importance of ethnocentrism to political attitudes or behavior is also likely to vary temporally. These are relatively straightforward questions that can be answered empirically if better data were available.

One possible way to get a handle on the paucity of proper ethnocentrism measures in large-n survey data might be to explore other methods. Computer-based Implicit Association Tests (IAT) have become popular as an alternative way to measure individual level attitudes towards out-groups. Rather than relying on the respondent to explicitly score out-groups on various stereotypes as is done in survey research, IAT capture subconscious attitudes by measuring the speed with which respondents associate different group members with positive or negative ideas. Such measures alleviate the concerns associated with social desirability effects.

Another advantage of using mixed methods is that it might give us more leverage to better assess Sumner's original arguments. Sumner's ideas were extremely influential over the last century, but many of them have been shown to hold up poorly under empirical scrutiny. As I have described though out this dissertation, survey data from many countries over many years seems to undermine many of his original points. However, new methods, such as IAT, will allow researchers new avenues to explore the relationship between in-group and out-groups attitudes and perceptions. It is very possible that new methods might lead to new conclusions that make us re-evaluate previous findings. The final verdict on Sumner's theory is not yet in.

APPENDIX A – ADDITIONAL MODELS BY CHAPTER

Tables

Figures

Chapter 2

Exploratory Factor Analysis and Confirmatory Factor Analysis

A latent factor variable is an unobservable variable that influences one or more of the observed variables (i.e. the measured variables). Because a latent variable can't be measured directly, analysts need to develop indirect ways to capture its effects. Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) and Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) are two methods to measure the effects of latent factors on the observable variables. CFA is related to EFA in the sense that they are both based on the common factor model (Brown 2015). They are, however, distinct methods and they produce distinct results.

EFA and CFA are similar in the fact that they both seek to divide the total variance of each observed variable into two parts: common variance (the variance accounted for by one or more factors) and unique variance (error specific only to the indicator). Thus, both methods attempt to explain the relationships among indicators with a smaller set of latent factors.

EFA is a data-driven approach that does not specify the initial number of factors or the relationship between the factors and the indicators (Brown 2015: 11). Instead, the goal is to determine the appropriate number of common factors and then decide which observed variables (based on the factor loadings) are appropriate indicators of the various latent dimensions. There are a number of methods for determining the appropriate number of factors from a larger number of indictors (Fabrigar et al. 1999). In EFA it is common practice to use a standardized covariance (i.e. correlation) matrix along with standardized indicators. Thus, factor loadings in EFA can often be interpreted as correlations (or standardized regression coefficients) (Brown 2015: 36). Squaring the standardized factor loading produces an estimate of the percent of variation in the indicator that the factor explains.

In CFA, in contrast to EFA, the number of factors, as well as the relationships between factors and indicators, is specified in advanced based on prior research or theory. The pre-specified factor solution is judged based on how well it fits the variance-covariance matrix of the measured variables (Brown 2015: 36). Figure 2b is a diagram specifying the CFA model used to estimate the results in Figure 2. Rectangles represent observed variables (e.g. stereotypes), while the ovals represent specified latent factors (attitudes towards whites, attitudes towards blacks, etc.) Circles represent the unique variance (unexplained by the factor). Finally, the arches allow for the two connected components to covary. For example, Figure 2b shows that the latent variables were allowed to correlate with one another. The unique variances of each stereotype (by group) were also allowed to correlate (white hard-working, black hard-working, Latino hard-working and Asian hard-working). All other covariances were assumed to be zero.

Kinder and Kam (2009: 53) argued that allowing the unique variances to covary was necessary to account for the systematic way respondents might answer a battery of questions. In line with Tversky and Kahneman's "anchoring and adjustment" judgment heuristic. Tversky and Kahneman write "*In many situations, people make estimates by starting from an initial value that is adjusted to yield the final answer. ... different starting points yield different estimates, which are biased toward the initial values* (Tversky and Kahneman 1974: 1128). CFA, Kinder and Kam argue, is a "proper remedy" for this problem, as well as for other systematic measurement problems (Kinder and Kam: 2009: 53).

Maximum likelihood is often used to estimate CFA models. The goal is to *confirm* the specified model on the basis of how good it fits the actual data. It is common for CFA results to be reported both in standardized and unstandardized forms. Unstandardized factor loadings retain the same metric as the original indicators, while standardized factor loadings run from 0 to 1. Thus, it is neither uncommon nor problematic for unstandardized factor loadings to be larger than 1. Because standardized results can be easily interpreted as the correlation between the latent factor and the measured variable, I will present standardized results throughout this dissertation, unless otherwise noted.

Chapter 3

The tables in this section do not have imputed dependent variables (unlike the tables presented in chapter 3). The table numbers in this section correspond to the relevant tables in chapter 3.

ANES

Table A0-1: Table 3.3: Predicting in-group pride, xenophobia and ethnocentrism (ANES)

	In-group Pride	Xenophobia	Ethnocentrism
Low-status	-0.061	-0.075	-0.129
	(0.010)***	(0.009)***	(0.010)***
Age	0.001	0.000	0.001
	(0.000)***	(0.000)	(0.000)***
Income	0.000	-0.001	-0.000
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Female	0.027	-0.010	0.013
	(0.007)***	(0.006)	(0.008)
Education	-0.014	-0.009	-0.024
	(0.002)***	(0.002)***	(0.003)***
Constant Low-status	0.000	-0.000	-0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
	0.654	0.529	0.169
	(0.017)***	(0.014)***	(0.018)***
R^2	0.07	0.07	0.15
N	1,902	1,734	1,758

Note: Table entry is the OLS regression coefficient with standard errors below in parentheses. Missing values for dependent variables were not imputed.
Source: 1992 ANES.
    * $p<0.1$; ** $p<0.05$; *** $p<0.01$

Ukraine

Table A0-2: Table 3.4a: Predicting xenophobia (Ukraine data)

	xenophobia
Low-status	-0.097
	(0.043)**
Age	-0.000
	(0.001)
Income (monthly)	0.000
	(0.000)***
Female	-0.027
	(0.019)
Education	-0.006
	(0.008)
More urban	-0.004
	(0.006)
Constant	0.425
	(0.045)***
R^2	0.04
N	353

Note: Table entry is the OLS regression coefficient with standard errors below in parentheses. Missing values for dependent variables were not imputed.
Source: 2005 Ukrainian data.
 * $p<0.1$; ** $p<0.05$; *** $p<0.01$

Russia (national sample)

Table A0-3: Table 3.5: Predicting in-group pride, xenophobia and
ethnocentrism (Russian national sample)

	In-group Pride	Xenophobia	Ethnocentrism
Low-status	0.096	0.025	0.080
	(0.046)**	(0.029)	(0.058)
Age	0.002	0.001	0.003
	(0.001)***	(0.001)	(0.001)***
Income (monthly)	-0.000	0.000	-0.000
	(0.000)**	(0.000)	(0.000)**
Female	-0.002	-0.006	-0.010
	(0.027)	(0.021)	(0.037)
Education	0.012	-0.009	0.008
	(0.006)*	(0.005)*	(0.009)
More urban	-0.000	0.004	-0.004
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.005)
Constant	0.408	0.592	0.015
	(0.048)***	(0.038)***	(0.068)
R^2	0.04	0.03	0.05
N	553	291	287

Note: Table entry is the OLS regression coefficient with standard errors below in parentheses.
Missing values for dependent variables were not imputed.
Source: 2005 Russia data (Russian national sample).
   * $p<0.1$; ** $p<0.05$; *** $p<0.01$

Tatarstan

Table A0-4: Table 3.6: Predicting in-group pride, xenophobia and ethnocentrism (Tatarstan)

	In-group Pride	Xenophobia	Ethnocentrism
Low-status	0.008	-0.066	-0.027
	(0.023)	(0.024)***	(0.034)
Age	0.002	0.001	0.003
	(0.001)**	(0.001)*	(0.001)**
Income (monthly)	0.000	0.000	0.000
	(0.000)**	(0.000)***	(0.000)***
Female	-0.007	0.057	0.029
	(0.025)	(0.026)**	(0.036)
Education	0.009	-0.003	0.009
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.009)
More urban	-0.003	-0.008	-0.009
	(0.003)	(0.003)**	(0.005)**
Constant	0.497	0.620	0.097
	(0.050)***	(0.055)***	(0.073)
R^2	0.02	0.09	0.07
N	490	310	291

Note: Table entry is the OLS regression coefficient with standard errors below in parentheses.
Missing values for dependent variables were not imputed.
Source: 2005 Russia data (Tatarstan sample)
    * $p<0.1$; ** $p<0.05$; *** $p<0.01$

Orenburg

Table A0-5: Table 3.7: Predicting in-group pride, xenophobia and ethnocentrism (Orenburg)

	In-group Pride	Xenophobia	Ethnocentrism
Low-status	0.033	-0.070	-0.123
	(0.033)	(0.027)**	(0.048)**
Age	0.001	-0.000	-0.000
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Income (monthly)	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000
	(0.000)**	(0.000)	(0.000)**
Female	0.026	0.038	0.099
	(0.026)	(0.023)	(0.038)***
Education	-0.011	0.004	-0.011
	(0.006)*	(0.006)	(0.010)
More urban	-0.004	0.006	-0.001
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.006)
Constant	0.674	0.550	0.299
	(0.056)***	(0.055)***	(0.089)***
R^2	0.05	0.07	0.09
N	481	267	256

Note: Table entry is the OLS regression coefficient with standard errors below in parentheses.
Missing values for dependent variables were not imputed.
Source: 2005 Russia data (Orenburg sample)
   * $p<0.1$; ** $p<0.05$; *** $p<0.01$

Ukrainian models (ethnic Russians disaggregated)

Table A0-6 corresponds to table 3.4 in chapter 3. Table 3.4a, however, shows results from models that disaggregate ethnic Russians from the "high-status" group. Ethnic Ukrainians are now the reference category. The first and third columns demonstrate that, when compared to ethnic Russians, ethnic Ukrainians express both more in-group pride and ethnocentrism.

Table A0-6: Table 3.4a: Predicting xenophobia (Ukraine data)

	In-group pride	xenophobia	ethnocentrism
Russian	-0.037	-0.013	-0.057
	(0.013)***	(0.018)	(0.021)***
Other ethnicity		-0.092	
		(0.043)**	
Age	0.001	-0.000	0.000
	(0.000)***	(0.000)	(0.000)
Income (monthly)	-0.000	0.000	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)***	(0.000)**
Female	0.014	-0.015	0.003
	(0.009)	(0.014)	(0.018)
Education	-0.010	-0.006	-0.017
	(0.004)**	(0.007)	(0.007)**
More urban	-0.003	-0.004	-0.005
	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Constant	0.908	0.438	0.338
	(0.024)***	(0.039)***	(0.037)***
R^2	.	.	.
N	1,162	1,199	1,162

Note: Table entry is the OLS regression coefficient with standard errors below in parentheses.
Source: 2005 Ukrainian data.
  * $p<0.1$; ** $p<0.05$; *** $p<0.01$

Chapter 4

Table A0-7 corresponds to table 4.3 in chapter 4. However, in table A0-7 ethnic Ukrainians are the reference category.

Table A0-7: Effect of ethnocentrism on foreign policy attitudes related to Russia

VARIABLES	(1) Ukraine should join NATO	(2) Strengthen ties with Europe (not Russia)
Ethnocentrism	1.123***	0.774**
	(0.385)	(0.339)
Russian	0.488	0.493*
	(0.326)	(0.272)
Russian*Ethnocentrism	-2.774***	-3.138***
	(1.077)	(0.855)
Ukrainian Language	0.235	0.454***
	(0.175)	(0.145)
Age	-0.011***	-0.014***
	(0.004)	(0.003)
Monthly income	0.000	0.000***
	(0.000)	(0.000)
Female	-0.032	-0.150
	(0.119)	(0.102)
Education	0.213***	0.153***
	(0.059)	(0.048)
Central region	-0.850***	-0.900***
	(0.173)	(0.147)
South region	-1.553***	-1.372***
	(0.240)	(0.199)
East region	-1.294***	-1.587***
	(0.205)	(0.173)
Constant cut1	-0.772*	
	(0.409)	
Constant cut2	-0.123	
	(0.409)	
Constant cut3	0.484	
	(0.409)	
Constant cut4	1.849***	
	(0.413)	
Constant		4.374***
		(0.352)
Observations	985	1,104

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A0-8 corresponds to table 4.6 in chapter 4. However, in table A0-8 ethnic Ukrainians are the reference category.

Table A0-8: Effect of ethnocentrism on Russian attitudes towards foreign policies unrelated to Russia

VARIABLES	(1) Fighting terrorism is important	(2) Keep troops in Iraq
Ethnocentrism	0.230	0.893
	(0.375)	(0.970)
Russian	-0.478	1.749***
	(0.317)	(0.671)
Russian*Ethnocentrism	3.040***	-4.921*
	(1.072)	(2.624)
Ukrainian Language	0.028	0.089
	(0.164)	(0.434)
Age	0.007*	-0.007
	(0.004)	(0.009)
Monthly income	0.000	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)
Female	0.089	-0.499*
	(0.115)	(0.294)
Education	0.015	0.215
	(0.055)	(0.146)
Central region	0.177	0.157
	(0.168)	(0.438)
South region	-0.383	0.332
	(0.236)	(0.575)
East region	-0.358*	-0.027
	(0.194)	(0.522)
Constant cut1	-2.248***	
	(0.403)	
Constant cut2	-0.565	
	(0.390)	
Constant cut3	0.552	
	(0.391)	
Constant		-4.070***
		(1.036)
Observations	1,105	1,112

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Chapter 5

Table A0-9 below correspond to table 5.1 in chapter five. However, in A0-9 the ethnic group reference category is ethnic Ukrainians.

Table A0-9: Basic logit models predicting vote for Yushchenko (for ethnic Russians)

VARIABLES	(1) Yushchenko	(2) Yushchenko	(3) Yushchenko
Ethnic **Russian**	-1.075***	0.094	0.079
	(0.292)	(0.504)	(0.552)
Ethnocentrism		0.699	0.842
		(0.668)	(0.687)
Ethnic **Russian***Ethnocentrism		-4.828***	-4.503**
		(1.800)	(1.930)
Ukrainian language	1.304***	1.381***	1.296***
	(0.279)	(0.275)	(0.286)
Central	-0.387	-0.571	-0.391
	(0.440)	(0.443)	(0.460)
South	-1.860***	-2.222***	-1.917***
	(0.465)	(0.464)	(0.489)
East	-2.632***	-3.109***	-2.648***
	(0.432)	(0.431)	(0.452)
Age	-0.006	-0.002	-0.004
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.007)
Female	0.147	0.118	0.171
	(0.206)	(0.200)	(0.213)
Education	0.133	0.221**	0.148
	(0.099)	(0.097)	(0.104)
More urban	0.048	0.044	0.038
	(0.074)	(0.073)	(0.077)
Orange bloc	0.205*	0.267**	0.232**
	(0.108)	(0.106)	(0.110)
For Ukraine United bloc	3.240***		3.143***
	(0.610)		(0.610)
House economy (retr.)	-0.595		-0.644*
	(0.372)		(0.375)
Constant	0.497	0.227	0.065
	(0.766)	(0.802)	(0.847)
Observations	930	906	906

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

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Table A0-10 corresponds to table 5.2 in chapter five. Table A0-10, however, uses ethnic Ukrainians as the ethnic group reference category.

Table A0-10: Fully specified logit models predicting vote choice for Yushchenko (for Russians)

VARIABLES	(1) Yushchenko	(2) Yushchenko	(3) Yushchenko	(4) Yushchenko
Ethnic **Russian**	-0.026	0.135	-0.071	0.000
	(0.562)	(0.559)	(0.534)	(0.573)
Ethnocentrism	0.531	0.496	-0.141	0.194
	(0.732)	(0.711)	(0.725)	(0.745)
Ethnic **Russian***Ethnocentrism	-3.723*	-4.362**	-3.467*	-3.520*
	(1.970)	(1.964)	(1.900)	(2.025)
Ukrainian language	1.266***	1.326***	1.376***	1.269***
	(0.299)	(0.295)	(0.297)	(0.306)
Central	-0.303	-0.207	-0.276	-0.139
	(0.475)	(0.467)	(0.462)	(0.480)
South	-1.838***	-1.706***	-1.805***	-1.590***
	(0.506)	(0.501)	(0.491)	(0.516)
East	-2.661***	-2.503***	-2.916***	-2.529***
	(0.469)	(0.457)	(0.453)	(0.472)
Age	0.010	-0.003	0.013*	0.010
	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.008)
Female	0.167	0.201	0.123	0.180
	(0.222)	(0.217)	(0.215)	(0.225)
Education	0.164	0.163	0.208**	0.167
	(0.109)	(0.106)	(0.105)	(0.110)
More urban	0.045	0.062	0.119	0.076
	(0.081)	(0.079)	(0.081)	(0.083)
Orange bloc	3.086***	3.055***		2.982***
	(0.623)	(0.613)		(0.627)
For Ukraine United bloc	-0.740*	-0.563		-0.656*
	(0.386)	(0.383)		(0.395)
House economy (retr.)	0.071	0.062	0.019	0.015
	(0.130)	(0.126)	(0.127)	(0.132)
National economy (retr.)	0.389**	0.275*	0.320**	0.356**
	(0.159)	(0.151)	(0.149)	(0.159)
Soviet identity	-0.229**		-0.339***	-0.238**
	(0.113)		(0.107)	(0.116)
Democracy	-0.366**		-0.369***	-0.393***
	(0.145)		(0.140)	(0.149)
Limited government	0.408***		0.374***	0.394***
	(0.100)		(0.095)	(0.101)
Authoritarianism		-0.018	-0.001	-0.003
		(0.125)	(0.122)	(0.131)

Table A0-10 - continued

|				
Patriotism		0.375***	0.467***	0.386***
		(0.111)	(0.111)	(0.117)
Constant	-0.288	-1.442	-0.646	-0.944
	(1.106)	(1.054)	(1.161)	(1.220)
Observations	906	906	906	906

Standard errors in parentheses   *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A0-11 corresponds to column 4 in table 5.2 in chapter five. The dependent variable in A1-11, however, is the vote for Yanukovych.

Table A0-11: Predicting the vote for Yanukovych
(Full Model)

| VARIABLES	(1) YANUKOVYCH
Ethnic Ukrainian	0.000
	(0.573)
Ethnocentrism	3.326*
	(1.891)
Ethnic Ukrainian*Ethnocentrism	-3.520*
	(2.025)
Ukrainian language	-1.269***
	(0.306)
Central	0.139
	(0.480)
South	1.590***
	(0.516)
East	2.529***
	(0.472)
Age	-0.010
	(0.008)
Female	-0.180
	(0.225)
Education	-0.167
	(0.110)
More urban	-0.076
	(0.083)
Orange bloc	-2.982***
	(0.627)
For Ukraine United bloc	0.656*
	(0.395)
House economy (retr.)	-0.015
	(0.132)
National economy (retr.)	-0.356**
	(0.159)
Soviet identity	0.238**
	(0.116)
Democracy	-0.386***
	(0.117)
Limited government	-0.394***
	(0.101)
Authoritarianism	0.393***
	(0.149)
Patriotism	0.003
	(0.131)
Constant	0.944
	(1.328)
Observations	906

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Figure A1: Rope plot of marginal effects of covariates of voting for Yushchenko (Ethnic Ukrainians)
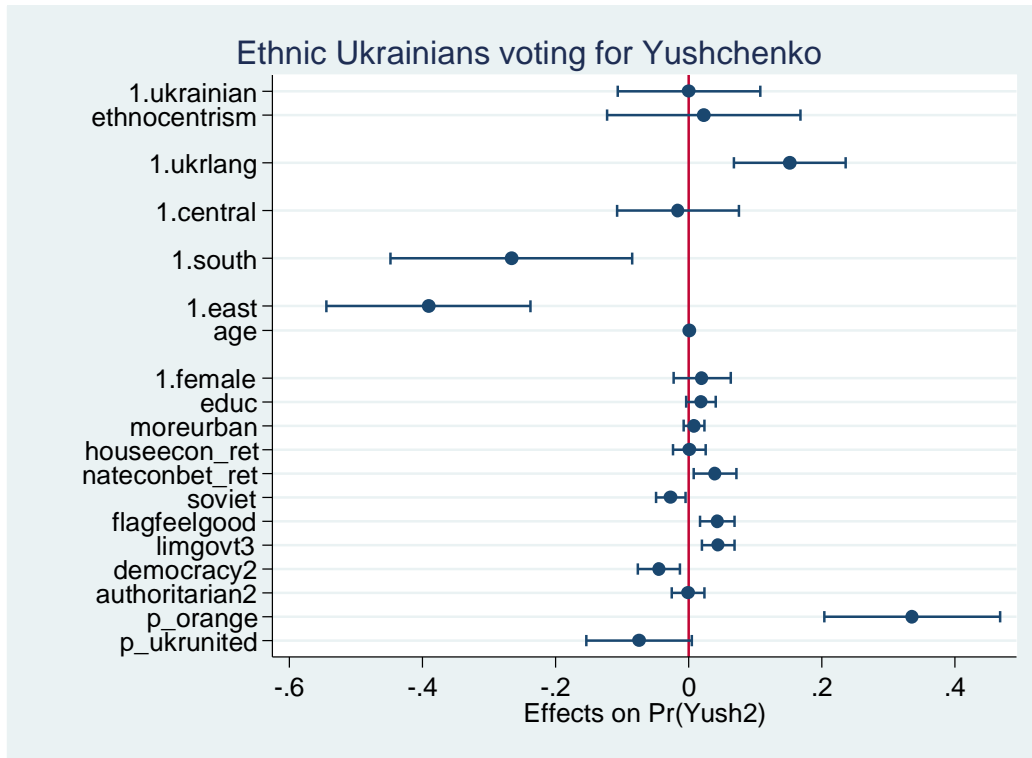
Note: The graph shows the marginal effects of individual covariates of ethnic Ukrainians voting for Yushchenko in the absence of ethnocentrism. All other values are held at their means when calculating each marginal effect (Ukrainian = 1 and ethnocentrism=0). The effects are derived from model 4 in Table 2 in chapter 5.

Figure A2: Rope plot of marginal effects of covariates of voting for Yushchenko (Ethnic Russians)
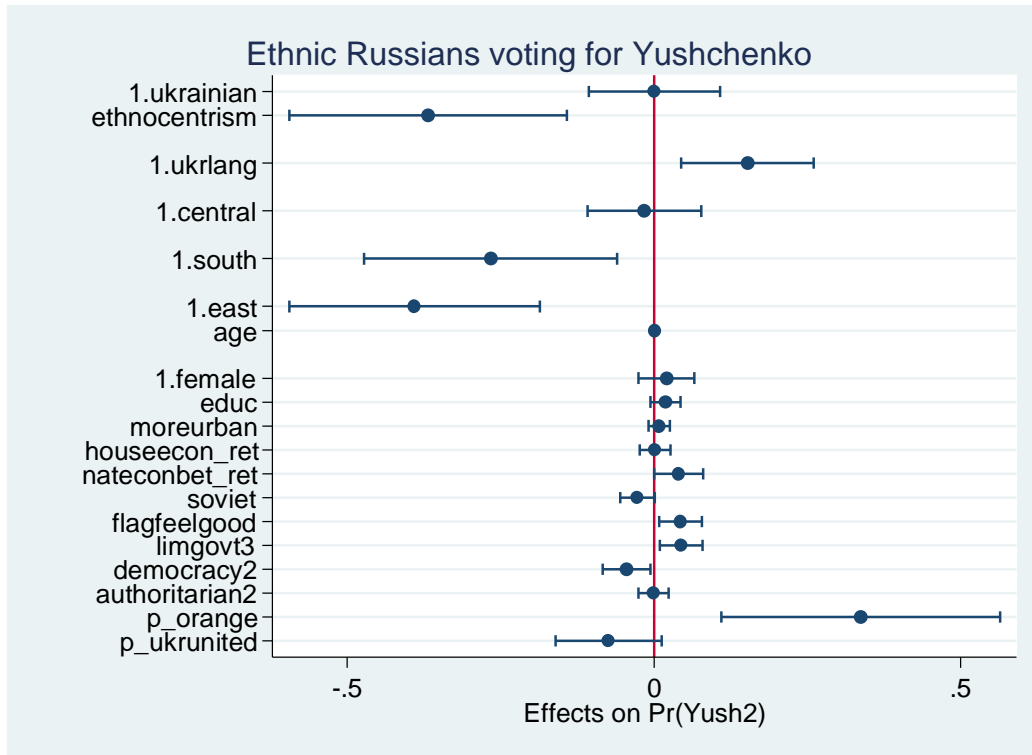
Note: The graph shows the marginal effects of individual covariates of ethnic Russians voting for Yushchenko in the absence of ethnocentrism. All other values are held at their means when calculating each marginal effect (Ukrainian = 0 and ethnocentrism=0). The effects are derived from model 4 in Table 2 in chapter 5.

APPENDIX B – DESCRIPTION OF SURVEYS

Ukraine

"Ukraine after the Presidential Elections 2005" is a nationally representative public opinion survey of Ukraine completed three months after the December 2004 presidential elections. The survey instrument was developed in a collaboration between the University of Iowa and Taras Shevchenko National University in Kyiv. Professor Vicki Claypool (Hesli) was the primary investigator for the survey. The fieldwork was carried out by the research company SOCIS (Center for Social and Political Investigations, СОЦІС - Центр соціальних та політичних досліджень). All individuals living in Ukraine, aged 18 or older, were eligible to be part of the sample. The final sample size was 1,200 individuals.

The data were gathered through individual face-to-face interviews in the homes of the respondents. A multistage, stratified method of sampling was used to represent the population of the country as a whole. At the first stage, using social and cultural characteristics of the populations, and economic development of the territories, Ukraine was divided into eleven regions.[57] Census data on population size and rural versus urban distribution were used in the second step to determine the number of interviews to be conducted in each region. At the third stage, cities were selected randomly from an alphabetical list compiled for each region. Interviews were conducted in 42 cities and 8 settlements from each region. In each region between one and three rural settlements

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[57] The eleven regions are 1. The City of Kiev, 2. Northern (Kiev, Chernigov and Zhitomir areas), 3. Central (the Cherkassk, Poltava, Vinnitsa and Kirovograd areas), 4. North - East (the Kharkov and Sumy areas), 5. North - Western (the Volynsk, Rovno and Khmelnitskiy areas), 6. South - East (the Dnepropetrovsk and Zaporozhye areas), 7. Western (Lvov, Ivano-Frankivska and the Ternopol areas), 8. South - Western (Chernovtsy and Zakarpatye areas), 9. Southern (Odessa, Nikolaev and Kherson areas), 10. Crimea, 11. East (Donetsk and Lugansk areas).

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were also selected following a similar procedure. Finally, once a street was identified, respondents were selected based on the Kish method. Although formulating, pre-testing, and printing the questionnaires took several months, fieldwork was conducted in two-week period, March 17 to March 30, 2005.

Russia

"Migration and Ethnic Relations in the Russian Federation" is a collection of seven independent public opinion surveys completed in six different constituent regions of the Russian Federation in 2005. The principal investigators on the survey were Professors Mikhail Alexseev (San Diego State University) and Sergey Golunov (Volgograd State University). The survey was made possible with funding from the John D. and Catherine T MacArthur Foundation, Program on Global Security and Sustainability.[58] The fieldwork was carried out by the Levada Center. Each survey was designed to be representative of the particular constituent unit of the Russian Federation or, in the case of the nationally representative sample, the entire country. The total sample size across all seven surveys was 4,080 respondents.

The seven individual samples include the adult populations of: the Russian Federation (n=680), Volgograd oblast (n=650), the Republic of Tatarstan (n=650), Orenburg oblast (n=650), Krasnodar krai, including the Republic of Adygeya (n=650), the Moscow oblast (n=400) and Moscow city (n=400).

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[58] http://alexseev.sdsu.edu/migration_and_ethnic_conflict/hostility.html

While the majority of the questions were identical across samples, different out-groups were asked about in different regions. The following list shows which out-groups were addressed in each sample.

RUSSIAN FEDERATION: Chechens, Armenians, Chinese, Uzbeks, Russians from CIS
MOSCOW CITY: Chechens, Armenians, Azerbaijanis, Chinese, Kazakhs
MOSCOW OBLAST: Chechens, Armenians, Azerbaijanis, Chinese, Kazakhs
VOLGOGRAD: Chechens, Chinese, Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Russians from CIS
ORENBURG: Chechens, Chinese, Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Russians from CIS
KRASNODAR: Chechens, Armenians, Azerbaijanis, Meskhetian Turks, Tatars
TATARSTAN: Chechens, Armenians, Azerbaijanis, Uzbeks, Russians from CIS

Surveys were conducted as face-to-face interviews in the respondent's residence. All surveys were designed as three-tier stratified probability samples representative of all adults in the constituent unit. The fieldwork for the Russian Federation survey was carried out from August 10, 2005 to August 28, 2005. The samples from the constituent units were interviewed between August 10 and September 10, 2005. Quality control measures required 140 surveys to be redone. All of these surveys were completed by September 25, 2005.

ANES

The American National Election Study for 1992 is a public opinion survey produced by the Survey Research Center and the Center for Political Studies at the University of Michigan with funding from the National Science Foundation. The 1992 survey was the twenty-second ANES survey. The survey was conducted under the direction of Warren E. Miller, Donald R. Kinder and Steven J. Rosenstone.

The respondents were interviewed in the nine weeks prior to the US Presidential election on November 3, 1992. The majority of the individuals were interviewed face-to-face (88.8%), while the remaining were interviewed over the phone (11.2%). The total sample size was 2,485 individuals. The study population included all US citizens living in the forty-eight coterminous states, who would be 18 years or older on or before the day of 1992 election. Before the survey was fielded, a pilot study was carried out with the purpose of testing new instrumentation.

The study was based on a multi-stage area probability sample. A four stage sampling process was used. Metropolitan Statistical Areas and counties were sampled in the first stage followed by a secondary stage sampling of area segments. The third stage included sampling individual households from these area segments. Finally, single respondents were selected inside each chosen household using the Kish method.

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