

**INTER-MINORITY XENOPHOBIA IN THE RUSSIAN
FEDERATION:**

ETHNIC, RELIGIOUS, AND STATUS DIFFERENTIALS

Mikhail A. Alexseev
San Diego State University



The National Council for Eurasian and East European Research
2601 Fourth Avenue
Suite 310
Seattle, WA 98121

TITLE VIII PROGRAM

Project Information*

Principal Investigator: Mikhail A. Alexseev
NCEEER Contract Number: 822-01g
Date: April 9, 2008

Copyright Information

Individual researchers retain the copyright on their work products derived from research funded through a contract or grant from the National Council for Eurasian and East European Research (NCEEER). However, the NCEEER and the United States Government have the right to duplicate and disseminate, in written and electronic form, reports submitted to NCEEER to fulfill Contract or Grant Agreements either (a) for NCEEER's own internal use, or (b) for use by the United States Government, and as follows: (1) for further dissemination to domestic, international, and foreign governments, entities and/or individuals to serve official United States Government purposes or (2) for dissemination in accordance with the Freedom of Information Act or other law or policy of the United States Government granting the public access to documents held by the United States Government. Neither NCEEER nor the United States Government nor any recipient of this Report may use it for commercial sale.

* The work leading to this report was supported in part by contract or grant funds provided by the National Council for Eurasian and East European Research, funds which were made available by the U.S. Department of State under Title VIII (The Soviet-East European Research and Training Act of 1983, as amended). The analysis and interpretations contained herein are those of the author.

Executive Summary

The steady and precipitous decline of Slavic population and the rapid influx of non-Slav migrants in Russia since the collapse of the Soviet Union have raised concerns that interethnic hostility and violence may become intense. For example, experts have pointed out that the number of skinheads in Russia grew from about 20,000 in 2001 to 50,000 in 2003 and it likely reached 80,000 by 2005—forming one of the largest concentrations of hate groups in the world (Kolesov 2004; Konygina 2004). The principal objective of this study is to investigate systematically two sets of questions related to these concerns. Each of them addresses a distinct dimension of inter-minority xenophobia. The first set of questions compares attitudes of the ethnic majority (Russians) and ethnic minorities toward immigration. Is conflict among ethnic minorities—along the lines of the 1992 Los Angeles riots more likely than conflict between the majority Slavs and the non-Slav minorities (along the 2006 Kondopoga riots)? Would ethnic or religious minorities feel less alarmed by migrants than ethnic or religious majorities? And if migrants have similar ethnic and cultural background as the “native” minorities, are the latter more likely to accept them as kin?

The second set of questions compares immigration attitudes across migrant minorities. Are some minorities more xenophobic than others and, if so why? What drives hostility among groups who share not only minority status in a receiving state or community, but also ethnic, religious, and cultural background? Specifically, this study seeks to examine whether and how variation in administrative status, size, and ethnicity affects hostility of some minorities toward others. Which are more hostile toward incoming migrants: Predominantly Islamic groups of the Caucasus (Azerbaijanis) or Central Asia (Kazakhs)? Titular groups or non-titular groups? Titular ethnic groups that are the majority (Tatars in Tatarstan) or a minority (Adygs in Adygea)?

Incumbent (“old”) non-titular minorities (Armenians born in Krasnodar) or migrant (“new”) minorities (Armenians that arrived in Krasnodar after 1989)? To what extent is hostility mutual in any given ethnic pair?

Introduction

The steady and precipitous decline of Slavic population and the rapid influx of non-Slav migrants in Russia since the collapse of the Soviet Union have raised concerns that interethnic hostility and violence may become intense. For example, experts have pointed out that the number of skinheads in Russia grew from about 20,000 in 2001 to 50,000 in 2003 and it likely reached 80,000 by 2005—forming one of the largest concentrations of hate groups in the world (Kolesov 2004; Konygina 2004). The principal objective of this study is to investigate systematically two sets of questions related to these concerns. Each of them addresses a distinct dimension of inter-minority xenophobia. The first set of questions compares attitudes of the ethnic majority (Russians) and ethnic minorities toward immigration. Is conflict among ethnic minorities—along the lines of the 1992 Los Angeles riots more likely than conflict between the majority Slavs and the non-Slav minorities (along the 2006 Kondopoga riots)? Would ethnic or religious minorities feel less alarmed by migrants than ethnic or religious majorities? And if migrants have similar ethnic and cultural background as the “native” minorities, are the latter more likely to accept them as kin?

The second set of questions compares immigration attitudes across migrant minorities. Are some minorities more xenophobic than others and, if so why? What drives hostility among groups who share not only minority status in a receiving state or community, but also ethnic, religious, and cultural background? Specifically, this study seeks to examine whether and how variation in administrative status, size, and ethnicity affects hostility of some minorities toward others. Which are more hostile toward incoming migrants: Predominantly Islamic groups of the Caucasus (Azerbaijanis) or Central Asia (Kazakhs)? Titular groups or non-titular groups? Titular ethnic groups that are the majority (Tatars in Tatarstan) or a minority (Adygs in Adygea)?

Incumbent (“old”) non-titular minorities (Armenians born in Krasnodar) or migrant (“new”) minorities (Armenians that arrived in Krasnodar after 1989)? To what extent is hostility mutual in any given ethnic pair?

The Study Design and the Data

This paper reports the results of the first systematic, comparative analysis of xenophobic attitudes among Russia’s ethnic minorities with large survey data. The survey was conducted in 4 constituent units of the Russian Federation (RF) – Krasnodar Krai, the Republic of Adygea, the Volgograd Oblast, and the Republic of Dagestan. The constituent units (provinces) of the RF were selected by the author on the basis of the Russian State Statistical Agency (Rosstat) data on the size of the following ethnic groups residing in more or less compact clusters in these provinces. These groups are Armenians in Krasnodar Krai, Adygs in the Republic of Adygea, Kazakhs in Volgograd Oblast, and Azerbaijanis in the Republic of Dagestan.

In these designated regions, the survey was conducted among the adult (18 years and older) population of the respective ethnic groups. The size of the samples was as follows:

- Armenians residing in Krasnodar Krai – 400 respondents, including 200 people who have lived in Krasnodar Krai from the time they were born or who settled there prior to 1989 (settled Armenians) and 200 people who settled in Krasnodar Krai in 1989 or thereafter (“new” Armenians)
- Adygs residing in the Republic of Adygea – 200 respondents
- Azerbaijanis residing in the Republic of Dagestan – 200 respondents
- Kazakhs residing in Volgograd Oblast – 200 respondents¹

¹ Because the goal of the project was to develop a representative sample of each of the 4 ethnic groups in each survey province, the distribution of the sample by populated settlements within the provinces was based on the

In addition, I used a sample of 287 Tatars from Russia's Tatarstan Republic. They were polled for the same survey directed by the author and conducted by the Moscow-based Levada Analytical Center in September-October 2005. The latter survey was also used to compare immigration and interethnic attitudes of Slavs and non-Slavs in the same regions. The result was a pooled sample combining respondents in Volgograd Oblast (2005, N=650; 2007, N=208), Republic of Tatarstan (2005, N=650), Krasnodar Krai and Republic of Adygea (2005, N=650), Krasnodar Krai (2007, N=400), Republic of Adygea (2007, N=200), and Republic of Dagestan (2007, N=200). All in all, this sample includes 1,527 (51%) ethnic Russian respondents and 1,465 (49%) non-Russian respondents, for the total N=2,992. This selection of regions and ethnic populations makes it possible to generate sufficiently large data to test for the effects of ethnic, religious, and status differentials on inter-minority xenophobia in Russia.

Immigration and interethnic attitudes were first measured with four survey items that did not draw distinctions among specific ethnic groups (with the exact question wording provided in Table 1): (1) support for the slogan "Russia for ethnic Russians;" (2) support for deportation of all migrants, legal and illegal, and their children; (3) support for granting all migrants permanent residency; and (4) the sense of whether ethnic diversity strengthens or weakens Russia. The last three items closely replicate the questions asked in the Eurobarometer surveys on immigration (Thalhammer, Zucha, Enzenhofer, Salfinger, and Ogris 2000).

The second set of measures focused on perceptions of some specific ethnic groups by

principle that approximately equal populations should be sampled from urban and suburban/rural areas. In addition, the sample was approximately evenly distributed across cities. Sampling approximately the same number of people living in different types of settlements has made it possible, on the one hand, to ensure sample consistency across 4 ethnic groups by controlling for variation in the size of these groups across the target regions. On the other hand, it made it possible to select sufficient numbers of respondents within each ethnic group to represent various population categories residing in the urban and rural areas (i.e., in settlements of different type). The lists of cities in each province was drawn in such a manner as to ensure that both the proportion of each target ethnic group is high and, at the same time, that each target group's population would not be inordinately dispersed. The latter consideration was in part also dictated by cost considerations).

others. It was based on the following survey questions: (1) support for marriage of one's family members with members of other groups who had the same socioeconomic status; (2) agreement with the statement that certain migrant groups pose a threat to Russia's national security; and (3) preference for increasing or decreasing the number of migrants of specific ethnicities.

For each of these and several additional measures, this paper reports predominantly descriptive and simple association statistics differentiated by region and ethnicity of respondents. This provides an overview of the survey findings on immigration attitudes in Russia across ethnic, religious, and status differentials.

Ethnic Differentials

The 2006-2007 survey shows definitively that non-Slav respondents of all ethnic groups have been less alarmist and exclusionist with respect to migrants than the ethnic Slav respondents in the 2005 survey. Minorities are generally less hostile to migrants than the ethnic majority in Russia. This finding is strong and robust.

First, a significant difference was observed in levels of support for the slogan "Russia for ethnic Russians" (*Rossia dlia russkikh!*). Among ethnic Russians in the pooled sample, 63 percent completely or partially agreed with this slogan, compared to 24 percent among the non-Russians. At the province level, this slogan was supported by 21 percent of Armenians in Krasnodar, 24 percent of Adygs in Adygea, 25 percent of Kazakhs in Volgograd Oblast, and 9 percent of Azerbaijanis in Dagestan—compared with 63 and 60 percent of Slavs in Krasnodar/Adygea and Volgograd Oblast, respectively. This said, it was still surprising to find a sizeable number of non-Russians agreeing with a slogan strongly associated with radical neo-Nazi and anti-immigrant movements in Russia.

Second, the proportion of non-Russian respondents in 2006-2007 surveys who supported wholesale deportation of legal and illegal migrants and their children from Russia—one of the most striking indicators of anti-migrant exclusionism and interethnic hostility—was significantly lower than the proportion of Russian respondents in the 2005 survey. Complete or partial agreement with this policy was expressed by 27 percent of non-Russians, but by 49 percent of ethnic Russians. This support was expressed by 14 percent of Armenians in Krasnodar, 21 percent of Azerbaijanis in Dagestan, 22 percent of Kazakhs in Volgograd Oblast, and 37 percent of Adygs in Adygea. At the same time, wholesale deportation was supported by 53 percent of predominantly Slav respondents in Krasnodar and Adygea and 45 percent in Volgograd Oblast in late 2005.

Third, given that tolerance and intolerance are asymmetric and intolerant views are generally more tenacious (Gibson 2006), it was important to check whether weaker exclusionist sentiments among non-Slavs corresponded to stronger inclusive sentiments. This indeed was the case illustrated by two key survey measures.

(a) Non-Russians respondents in the 2006-2007 poll expressed a substantially stronger support for granting residency rights to all migrants and their children wherever they wanted to live—70 percent of Krasnodar Armenians, 48 percent of Adygs in Adygea, 54 percent of Azerbaijanis in Dagestan, and 68 percent of Kazakhs in Volgograd Oblast. In contrast, only 38 and 30 percent of Slavs in the Krasnodar/Adygea and Volgograd samples of the 2005 survey supported the same idea. For the pooled sample overall, 58 percent of non-Russians supported unconditional residency rights for migrants, compared to 35 percent of ethnic Russians.

(b) Similarly, a significantly larger proportion of non-Russians than Russians viewed ethnic diversity as strengthening Russia—33 percent of Armenians in Krasnodar, 36 percent of

Adygs in Adygea, 61 percent of Azerbaijanis in Dagestan, and 48 percent of Kazakhs in Volgograd Oblast. In the 2005 survey where most respondents were Slavs, only 17 percent of those polled in Krasnodar/Adygea and 14 percent in Volgograd Oblast said ethnic diversity was Russia's boon. Across all samples, the view that diversity strengthened Russia was shared fully or in part by 78 percent of non-Russians vs. 56 percent of Russians.

In Figure 1, the asymmetric location of boxplots (that summarize responses between the 25th and 75th percentile for each of the first four measures of immigration attitudes) offers a succinct visual representation of these findings. Within each of the four plots in Figure 1, the distribution of responses is clearly pointing to more tolerant views among minorities and more hostile views among the ethnic Russians. The graph reveals that this is the case even on measures where the median responses for Russians and non-Russians were the same (Figure 1, A & C). The asymmetry across plots is also notable.

The pattern was the same for survey questions that measured perceptions of specific ethnic groups. Asked if the influx of migrants into one's region/republic/krai may one day result in their numbers increasing so much that one would no longer be able to consider these areas as part of Russia, most non-Russian respondents answered "no" – whereas most of the ethnic Russian respondents in the 2005 survey answered "yes." This showed that Russia's ethnic minorities are less concerned about being "invaded," "overwhelmed," or "swamped" by migrants than ethnic Slavs. Specifically, the affirmative response to the question noted above was given by 11 percent of Azerbaijanis in Dagestan, 23 percent of Adygs in Adygea, 29 percent of Kazakhs in Volgograd Oblast, and 37 percent of Armenians in Krasnodar Krai. In contrast, of the predominantly Slavic sample in the 2005 survey, approximately 66 percent of respondents in Krasnodar Krai (with Adygea) and 53 percent in Volgograd Oblast said "yes."

On the whole, members of ethnic minorities were about 5-10 percent less likely to feel that migrants of various ethnic groups--including ethnic Russians coming from the former Soviet republics-- posed a threat to the security of Russia. Respondents representing four non-Slav minorities in four provinces were asked to what degree they felt members of five various ethnic out-groups from among migrants posed a threat to the national security of Russia. For none of the 20 resulting intergroup dyads the mean or modal values on a scale of 1 (no threat) to 5 (strong threat) were higher than for any of the seven dyads in the 2005 survey measuring perceptions of ethnic Russians toward the same non-Slav migrant groups in Krasnodar/Adygea and Volgograd. For example, in the 2006-2007 survey, the Kazakhs in Volgograd and the Armenians in Krasnodar rated the threat posed by the Chechen migrants as the highest (mean = 3.6 on a 1-to-5 scale). However, the Slav respondents in Krasnodar/Adygea and Volgograd in 2005 rated the threat posed by the Chechen migrants even higher (means = 4.2 and 4.4, respectively).

Finally, one question asked at the onset of this study was whether among minorities, immigration attitudes differed systematically among the Caucasus ethnics and the Turkic ethnics. As reported in Table 2, these attitudes were mostly the same (or well within the pooled margin of sampling error)—except for the view on whether ethnic diversity strengthens or weakens Russia. Representatives of the Turkic groups (the Kazakhs and the Azeris) were significantly more acceptant than the Caucasus ethnics (the Adygs and the Armenians). Notably, the selection of ethnic groups in the sample indicates that this difference also cut across the religious divides. Predominantly Christian Armenians and predominantly Muslim Adygs held close views—with 36 and 33 percent of respondents, respectively, saying ethnic diversity strengthened Russia. The discrepancy between predominantly Sunni Muslim Kazakhs and Shiite Muslim Azerbaijanis was

larger, but among both groups a significantly higher percent of respondents believed Russia benefited from ethnic diversity—48 and 61 percent respectively.

Religious Differentials

The same pattern with one exception obtained across religious lines. Respondents who identified themselves as Muslims were on the whole less exclusionist and hostile toward migrants than non-Muslim respondents. (The majority of the latter identified themselves as Orthodox Christians.) Figure 2 illustrates this strong finding.

The central tendency among Muslim respondents was to say that ethnic diversity strengthens Russia, whereas the central tendency among non-Muslim respondents was to say that ethnic diversity weakens Russia (Figure 2, A). This contrast is not necessarily apparent if one only compares median responses. The latter are the same for both sub-groups—i.e., 2 on a scale of 1 to 3. But the average response between the 25th and 75th percentile—represented by shaded rectangles—is between 1 and 2 for Muslims and 2 and 3 for non-Muslims. And as the outlier (T-shaped) lines show, Muslims saying ethnic diversity weakened Russia was generally as unlikely as non-Muslims saying ethnic diversity strengthened Russia.

This asymmetry is most pronounced on the attitude toward the slogan “Russia for ethnic Russians!” The median responses, the central tendencies and the outliers all show that most non-Muslims partially agree with that statement, but that most Muslims partially or strongly disagree with it (Figure 2, B). This finding is also strengthened by the distribution of responses on granting all migrants permanent legal residence in Russia. Whereas the outlier and central tendencies are identical, the median responses indicated that Muslims lean toward agreeing with this idea, while non-Muslims lean toward disagreeing (Figure 2, D).

The exception—which points to interesting areas of further research—concerns support for wholesale deportation of migrants and their children from Russia. Whereas the median responses—partial disagreement (3 on this scale)—are the same, the distribution of responses within the 25th and 75th percentiles indicates that fewer Muslims than non-Muslims strongly opposed deportation (Figure 2, C). In other words, it is not necessarily that Muslims on average exhibited more intolerance of migrants than non-Muslims, but that fewer Muslims were likely to oppose extreme exclusionist measures.

This conclusion is strengthened if we compare responses to the same four questions by Muslims and non-Muslims exclusively among ethnic non-Russians. This is based on a pooled and filtered sample from my 2005 and 2006-2007 surveys. It is comprised of 1,850 respondents who identified themselves as non-Russians by ethnicity. Of the latter, 895 (48.4 percent) identified themselves as Muslim.

Figure 3 (A and D) shows that adherence to Islam made no difference among non-Russians regarding acceptance of ethnic diversity and support for granting migrants legal residency. On two other measures it showed that religious differences affect immigration attitudes independently of ethnic differences. Those who said they professed Islam were more likely to completely oppose the slogan “Russia for Ethnic Russians!” (Figure 3, B). At the same time, they were less likely to completely disagree with wholesale deportation of migrants and their children (Figure 3, C). Thus, Islam was related with greater opposition to symbolic intolerance (expressed in slogans), and with weaker opposition to intolerant policies such as deportation.

This pattern is also evident, with a few variations, if we narrow down our focus to the Southern Russia/North Caucasus region, as illustrated in Figure 4. The median scores and the

distributions of responses on ethnic diversity, “Russia for ethnic Russians,” and residency rights indicate greater tolerance among the Muslims (Figure 4, A, B, D). Support for deportation is again the exception. But it is not as pronounced in the North Caucasus region. Complete disagreement with wholesale deportation is not an extreme (outlier) view among Muslims in that region, but part of the central tendency (Figure 4, D). Taken together, these results show that while Muslims are on average more tolerant and acceptant of immigrants in Russia, they are less likely to be anti-intolerant than non-Muslims on specific migration policy measures.

Other survey questions suggest that the reason for this asymmetry among Muslims may well have to do with the distinction between cultural and socioeconomic aspects of migration. At the very least it is clear that while Muslims exhibited a strong desire to integrate into Russian society, non-Muslims were not quite sure they would be able to do so. One striking illustration is the distribution of responses expressing agreement or disagreement with the statement: “It is possible that Islam can productively interact with Russian culture.” Here, responses by non-Russians Muslims contrasted sharply with responses by either Russians or non-Russians who were not Muslims. Thus, 92 percent of Adygs in Adygea, 80 percent of Azerbaijanis in Dagestan, and 89 percent of Kazakhs in Volgograd Oblast agreed partially or completely that Islam was compatible with the Russian culture. In contrast, only 46 percent of Armenians in Krasnodar as well as 49 percent and 54 percent of predominantly Slavic respondents in Krasnodar/Adygea and in Volgograd Oblast, respectively, shared the same view.

In addition, the willingness of Muslim minorities to become part of Russia’s society is apparent in responses to the question: “Suppose your child or some other beloved family member wanted to marry a migrant whose family income is about the same as yours. To what extent would you find migrants belonging to which of the following ethnic groups acceptable as a

spouse of your child or close relative?” Respondents representing predominantly Muslim minorities identified ethnic Russian migrants coming from the former Soviet republics (CIS Russians) as the most desirable spouses. This held even for ethnically and culturally proximate non-Slav Muslim groups. For example, among the Kazakhs in Volgograd Oblast, 57 percent said that Uzbeks (fellow Turkic ethnics and Muslims) would be the least acceptable and only 5 percent said they would be “the most acceptable” as spouses. Yet only 28 percent of the same Kazakh respondents found CIS Russian migrants as “the least acceptable,” and 11 percent found them as “the most acceptable.” Similarly, the Adygs considered CIS Russians as more acceptable spouses than the Chechens who, like the Adygs, are predominantly Muslim Caucasian ethnics. Azerbaijanis considered the CIS Russians as more acceptable spouses than their fellow Turkic and Muslim Tatars.

Based on these findings, one hypothesis to explore is whether Muslims in Russia feel that other migrant groups may compete for integration within Russian society or distract attention and resources from the needs of Muslims communities.² And because they know that ethnic Russians are wary of the Muslims’ capacity to integrate, more Muslims than non-Muslims may favor stricter immigration restrictions. An alternative plausible explanation has to do with the political-administrative status of minorities within the Russian Federation, the effects of which are discussed below.

Status Differentials and Conflict History

This study reveals systematic differences in immigration attitudes among ethnic groups

² A case in point is a widely publicized “national project” of the Russian government allocating significant resources to attract citizens of the former Soviet republics to Russia. The majority of these citizens are ethnic Slavs and Russian officials openly stated that cultural and linguistic similarities matter in making this group of prospective migrants particularly valuable for Russia’s economy and society.

that are titular and non-titular. Titular ethnic groups are those that constitute a sizeable proportion of the population in a constituent unit of the Russian Federation and whose name forms the title of that constituent unit. In this manner, the Adygs are the titular ethnic group (*titul'naia natsional'nost'*) of the Republic of Adygea and the Tatars are the titular ethnic group of the Republic of Tatarstan.

In contrast, the Armenians in Krasnodar Krai, the Kazakhs in Volgograd Oblast, and the Azeris in Dagestan are non-titular ethnic groups (*netitul'nie natsional'nosti*). The reason to distinguish between these types of ethnic minorities in Russia is that titular groups have a privileged position in the political system of a province giving them higher ownership stakes and a sense of belonging. Since classic work by Blumer (1958) explained prejudice as a threat to privileged group position, it is plausible that privileged status would make titular ethnic minorities more threatened by migrants than non-titular minorities would be.

Table 3 shows a two-way distinction in the way titular ethnic minorities view migration compared to non-titular minorities. First, as one would deduce from Blumer's work, titular minorities in Russia exhibited less tolerant and more exclusionary attitudes toward migrants than non-titular minorities did. Among the titular Adygs and Tatars, 31 percent of respondents on average said ethnic diversity strengthened Russia. Among non-titular Armenians, Kazakhs, and Azeris, the same view was expressed by 44 percent of respondents averaged across these groups. Support for "Russia for ethnic Russians" was also stronger among titular minorities, although this difference is not as pronounced. Most difference on this particular question is due to Azeri respondents in Dagestan—one of the world's most segmented and ethnically diverse administrative units where interethnic tolerance is a strong social and political norm.

The biggest contrast between titular and non-titular minorities was on support for specific

migration policies. The proportion of respondents among titular minorities who supported wholesale deportation of migrants was more than twice as high as the same proportion among non-titular minorities (41 to 18 percent). Conversely, titular minorities were less likely than non-titular minorities to support granting residency rights to migrants (47 to 66 percent, respectively). Strikingly, the position of titular minorities on granting residency rights is almost identical to the position of ethnic Russians (47 and 46 percent). On deportation, the position of titular minorities is closer to that of ethnic Russians than to that of non-titular minorities (41 to 49 percent vs. 41 to 18 percent, respectively). On the whole, the views of titular ethnics on immigration were somewhere in between those of ethnic Russians and non-titular minorities.

It is worth considering in future research whether this difference may explain why Muslim respondents in the survey came through as more supportive of wholesale deportation of migrants than non-Muslims. After all, both titular groups (487 respondents out of the pooled sample of 2,992) are Muslim. This explanation, however, cannot be straightforward. On the one hand, it is consistent with the finding that fewer Muslims completely opposed wholesale deportation than non-Muslims did. On the other hand, it is inconsistent with the finding that Muslims were on the whole about as much or more supportive than were the non-Muslims of granting residency rights to migrants (cf. Figures 3 and 4).

Overall, however, the effects of titular status are robust and impressive. An additional test strengthens this conclusion. I asked in this study whether the “incumbency” factor (length of settlement in the migrant-receiving area) may have a systematic effect on immigration attitudes. If so, one may question whether titular status mattered, because titular status may simply be a proxy for incumbency. For that purpose, Armenians in Krasnodar Krai were oversampled to represent three distinct groups: (1) those who were born in the province; (2) those who migrated

to the province before 1989 (capturing a significant number of Armenian refugees resettled in Krasnodar fleeing ethnic violence in Azerbaijan over Nagorno-Karabakh in 1988); and (3) those who migrated to the province after 1989 (capturing post-Soviet labor and family migration).

As shown in Table 4, however, these differences are small and they are not statistically significant.³ At all levels of incumbency Armenians felt that ethnic diversity strengthened Russia and that “Russia for ethnic Russians” was not a sensible, good idea. On average the native, pre-1989 and post-1989 Armenians in Krasnodar to about the same degree on the survey scales rejected the idea of wholesale deportation of migrants and partially supported granting residency to all migrants.

Finally, I considered if recent history of intergroup violence affected immigration attitudes among minorities. Having such a history may conceivably increase perceptions that a specific group is more likely to challenge one’s own group’s position. In this study, Armenians and Azerbaijanis represent two ethnic groups that experienced significant violent conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh since 1988. This territory remains disputed between Armenia and Azerbaijan. The descriptive statistics indicate that recent conflict history is not a significant factor. As shown in Table 5, the Armenians and Azerbaijanis do not see the other group as a threat to Russia’s security more so than each of them sees the Tatars. On the whole, they don’t want the size of each other’s group reduced more so than they want to see the number of Tatars reduced. And they are less opposed to having each other group’s members as spouses of their family members than they are with respect to the Tatars. These findings, as well as the result for the Adygs and the Kazakhs indicate that reciprocity was not a factor in the formation of immigration attitudes.

³ Based on Chi-square and correlation tests.

Complexities and Exceptions to the Pattern

Whereas minorities came through as more tolerant and less exclusionist than ethnic Russians, the study also revealed substantial complexities in the way specific minorities view one another and other minorities. In particular, the minorities have not necessarily been more likely than ethnic Russians to feel that these migrants contribute positively to their provinces or to accept non-Russian migrants as marriage partners.

Whereas it was reasonable to expect that lesser anti-migrant exclusionism among non-Russians than among Russians would correspond to a more benign assessments of the migrants' impact on their lives, this was not found to be the case. When asked how migrants of various ethnic groups affected the lives of their provinces in general, the mean and modal respondents were approximately the same among the ethnic Russians and non-Russians across all ethnic groups. The sole exception was a somewhat more benign perception of the impact of ethnic Chechens among the Adygs in Adygea and the Azerbaijanis in Dagestan. For the most part, the mean responses oscillated around 2.5 and the modal response was around 3 on the scale of 1 ("very negative") to 5 ("very positive"). Predictably, the lowest valuations were regarding the Chechens. Among other groups, only the Adygs were viewed by the Kazakhs in Volgograd Oblast with similar negativity (mean = 2.1, modal = 1).

This finding is consistent with the differentiation among titular and non-titular minorities and among Muslim and non-Muslim respondents on symbolic (diversity, "Russia for ethnic Russians") vs. policy (deportation, residency) issues. It suggests that while minority status and ethnic kinship affect general views of society and its values, strategic considerations (factoring status, privilege, and competition) weigh in when policy preferences are formed.

Intriguingly, responses to the interethnic marriage question suggest that in parts of the

Russian Federation with large non-Slav populations the potential for inter-minority conflict may be higher than the potential for the majority-minority (Slav—Non-Slav) conflicts. At the very least, there is a considerable pool of positive attitudes toward ethnic Russian migrants on the part of ethnic minorities, even though the native Slavs in these areas do not reciprocate. For example, in the predominantly Slav sample of Krasnodar and Adygea (2005 survey) 72 percent of respondents said Azerbaijanis were “the least acceptable” as spouses and only 4 percent said they would be “the most acceptable.” Yet, only 52 percent of Azerbaijanis in Dagestan found ethnic Russians “the least acceptable” and 19 percent found them to be the “the most acceptable” as spouses. Given responses by other groups across all survey provinces, it is unlikely that regional differences would explain away this asymmetry.

Additionally, the largest inter-minority cultural gap emerging in multi-ethnic Russian territories is between the Caucasus and Asian ethnics (*litsa kavkazskoi i aziatskoi natsional'nosti*). Whichever cross-group segment of the survey data one looks at, this conclusion is evident. For example, among ethnic Armenians in Krasnodar more respondents (79 percent) found the Chinese to be unacceptable in marriage than they found the Chechens (71 percent), Azerbaijanis (56 percent), or Tatars (72 percent). Whereas the Chinese were seen as the least acceptable marriage partners by all four minority groups in the survey, this view was significantly more pronounced among the Caucasus ethnic respondents (averaging 86 percent among the Armenians, Adygs, and Azerbaijanis) than among Asian respondents (75 percent among the Kazakhs) and ethnic Russians (67 percent in the Volgograd survey where the Kazakhs were also polled). At the same time, the least unacceptable marriage partners for the Kazakhs from among ethnic minorities were the Uzbeks—a fellow Turkic and Islamic group from Central Asia (57 percent of Kazakhs completely rejecting them).

Conclusions

This study finds unambiguously that ethnic and religious minorities are generally less hostile to migrants than the ethnic majority in Russia. This finding is strong and robust, whether we look at the data averaged for all ethnic non-Russians or at the data for specific minorities. When responses by ethnic Russians and non-Russians are compared, the study finds that among ethnic minorities:

- Support for “Russia for ethnic Russians” was 2.5 times weaker
- Support for wholesale deportation of migrants and their children was nearly twice as weak
- Support for granting permanent residency to all migrants was 1.5 times stronger
- Support for ethnic diversity of Russia was about 50 percent stronger
- Perception that migration may result in Russia losing sovereignty over their province about 2-6 times less widespread depending on specific groups and regions
- Fewer respondents felt that migrants in general posed a threat to Russia’s national security
- Fewer respondents feared that the Chechen migrants posed a security threat to Russia

Religious differentials also matter at the national level. In particular, the distributions of responses on support for ethnic diversity, “Russia for ethnic Russians,” and residency rights indicate greater tolerance among the Muslims than the non-Muslims. Islam was related with greater opposition to symbolic intolerance (expressed in slogans), and with weaker opposition to intolerant policies such as deportation.

In contrast, the study shows that intra-minority distinctions are less pronounced and, if anything, more nuanced and complex. The strongest finding is that titular minorities are

consistently more anti-migrant than non-titular minorities. Political status matters in line with the original hypothesis. This implies that migrants pose less risk of social instability in Russia, the more they settle in ethnically diverse areas outside Russia's ethnic republics and/or in communities with a strong presence of non-titular ethnic minorities. This conclusion is also consistent with my research elsewhere showing that support for the ultranationalist Zhirinovskiy Bloc in Russia is strongest among ethnic Slavs in ethnically non-Russian republics (Alexseev 2006). This indicates that in those regions both inter-minority and majority-minority tensions may be cumulative and/or mutually reinforcing.

Two findings are suggestive, but raise important questions. The first one is that disproportionately strong animosities have emerged between the ethnic Caucasian incumbent minorities and ethnic Asian migrant minorities. Even though this has been most revealing on the intermarriage issue, the Caucasus-Asian negativity has been stronger than intra-Caucasus and Caucasus-Slav negativity. The second one is that whereas ethnic Slavs generally hold negative views of most non-Slav minorities, the latter hold considerably more positive views of ethnic Slavs than of other non-Slav minorities. This indicates that minorities in Russia yearn to be accepted as part of the Russian society in civic and cultural terms. But the results also show that for specific minority pairs ("dyads") hostility may be as likely and as intense as the majority-minority hostility in Russia over migration and related issues—even though minorities on the whole come through as more tolerant and acceptant of ethnic and religious diversity.

References

- Alexseev, Mikhail A. 2006. "Ballot-Box Vigilantism: Ethnic Population Shifts and Xenophobic Voting in Post-Soviet Russia," *Political Behavior* 28 (3) (September 2006): 211-240.
- Blumer, Herbert. 1958. "Race Prejudice as a Sense of Group Position." *Pacific Sociological Review* 1: 3-7.
- Gibson, James L. 2006. "Enigmas of Intolerance: Fifty Years after Stouffer's Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties," *Perspectives on Politics* 4 (March): 21-34.
- Kolesov, Yu. 2004. "Skins of the Fatherland: Moscow-St. Petersburg Fashion for Shaved Heads is Creeping across the Country," *Vremya novostei* (Feb. 27), 3, in *The Current Digest of Post-Soviet Press* 56 (9).
- Konygina, N. 2004. "Police Try Hard to Conceal Xenophobic Nature of Crimes," *Izvestia* (Feb. 11), 2, in *The Current Digest of Post-Soviet Press* 56 (6).
- Thalhammer, Eva, Vlasta Zucha, Edith Enzenhofer, Brigitte Salfinger, and Gunther Ogris. 2001a. "Attitudes Toward Minority Groups in the European Union: A special analysis of the Eurobarometer 2000 opinion poll on behalf of the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia," Vienna, Austria. www.sora.at.

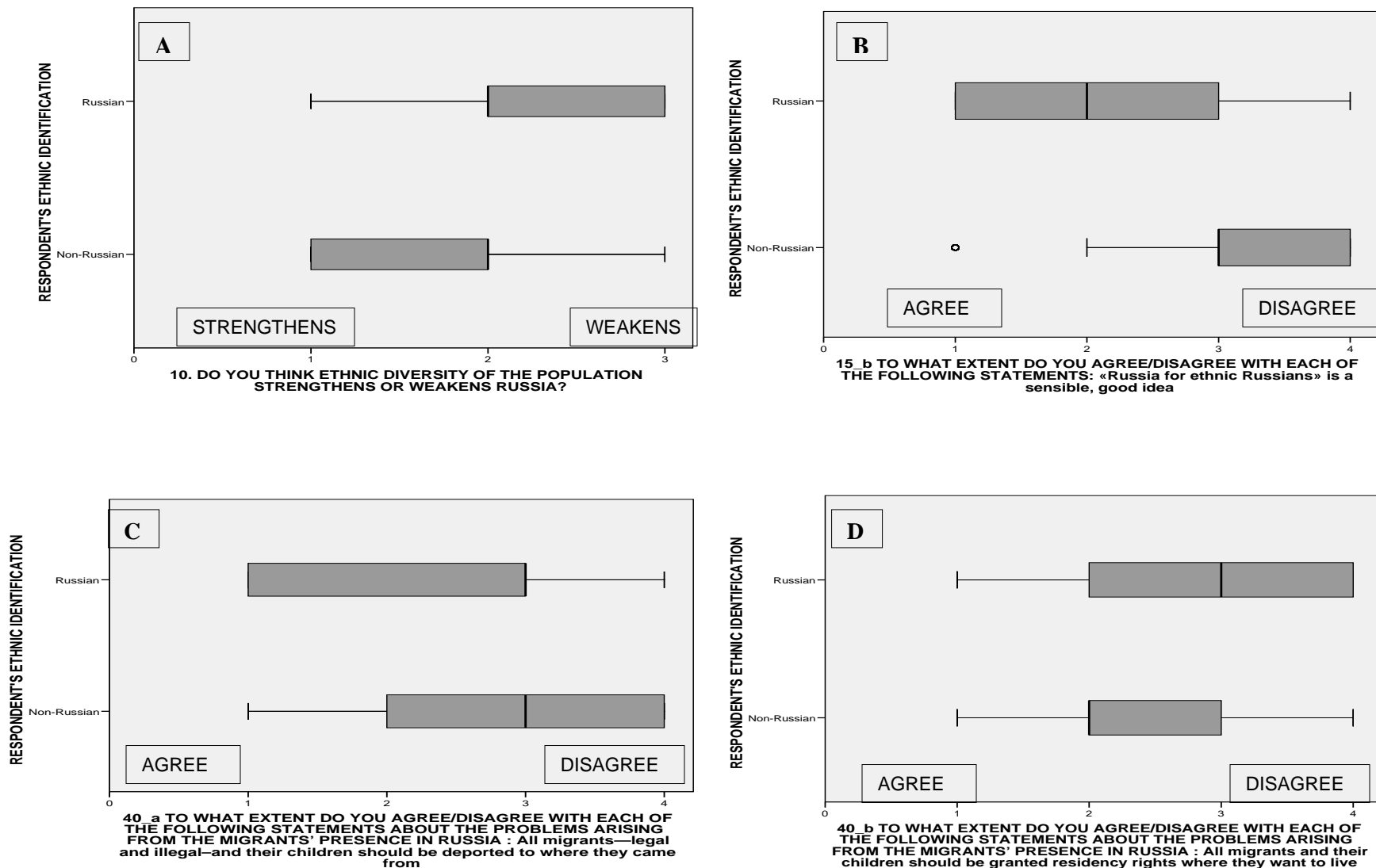


Figure 1. Attitudes of Ethnic Russians and Non-Russians toward Migration. Based on a pooled sample of opinion surveys in Volgograd Oblast (2005, N=650; 2007, N=208), Republic of Tatarstan (2005, N=650), Krasnodar Krai and Republic of Adygea (2005, N=650), Krasnodar Krai (2007, N=400), Republic of Adygea (2007, N=200), and Republic of Dagestan (2007, N=200). N (Russians) = 1,527 (51%); N (non-Russians)=1,465 (49%); total N=2,992.

NOTE: The graphs show responses between 25th and 75th percentile (shaded rectangles); median response values (thick vertical lines); the outliers (thin horizontal lines); and extreme values (small circles).

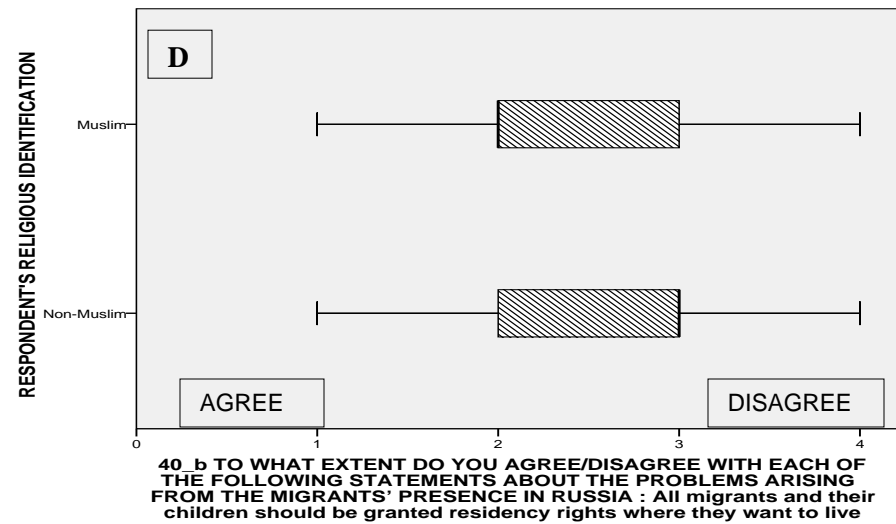
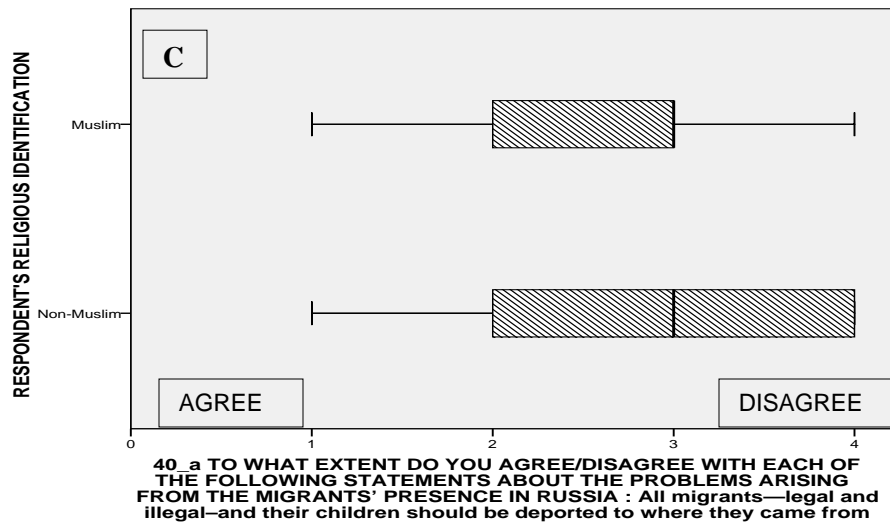
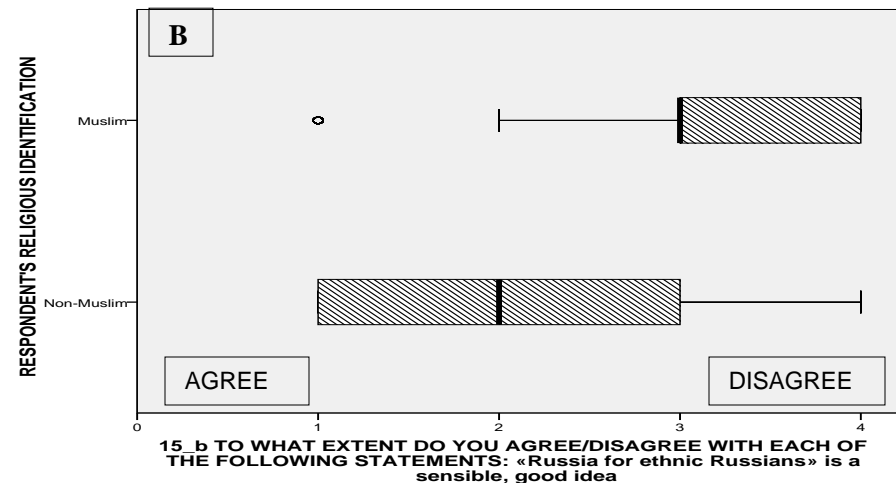
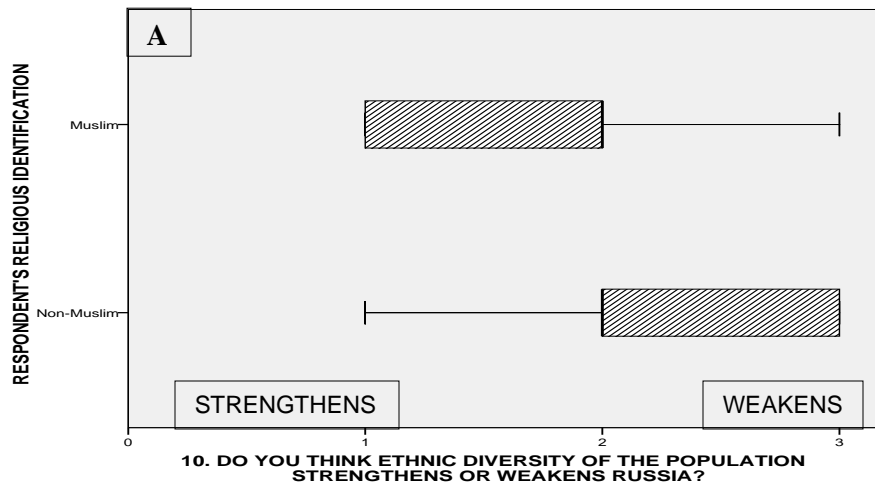


Figure 2. Attitudes of Muslims and Non-Muslims in Russia toward Migration. Based on a pooled sample of opinion surveys in Volgograd Oblast (2005, N=650; 2007, N=208), Republic of Tatarstan (2005, N=650), Krasnodar Krai and Republic of Adygea (2005, N=650), Krasnodar Krai (2007, N=400), Republic of Adygea (2007, N=200), and Republic of Dagestan (2007, N=200). N (Russians) = 761 (25.4%); N (non-Muslims)=2,231 (74.6%); total N=2,992.

NOTE: The graphs show responses between 25th and 75th percentile (shaded rectangles); median response values (thick vertical lines); the outliers (thin horizontal lines); and extreme values (small circles).

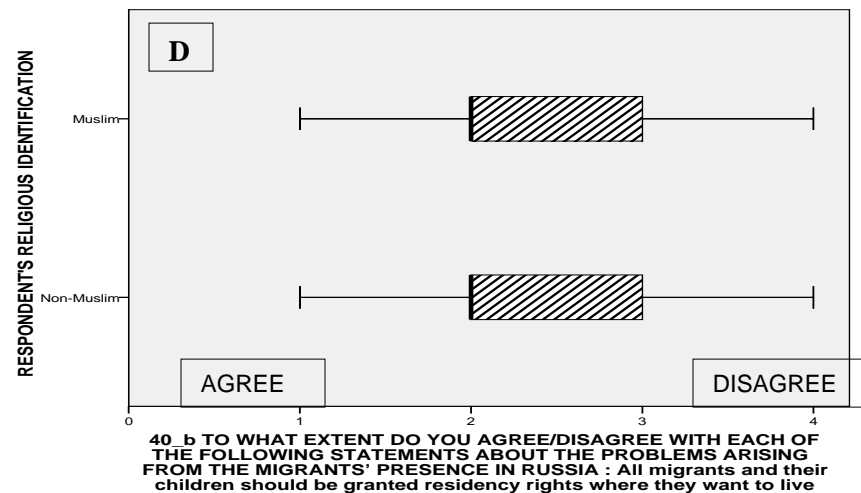
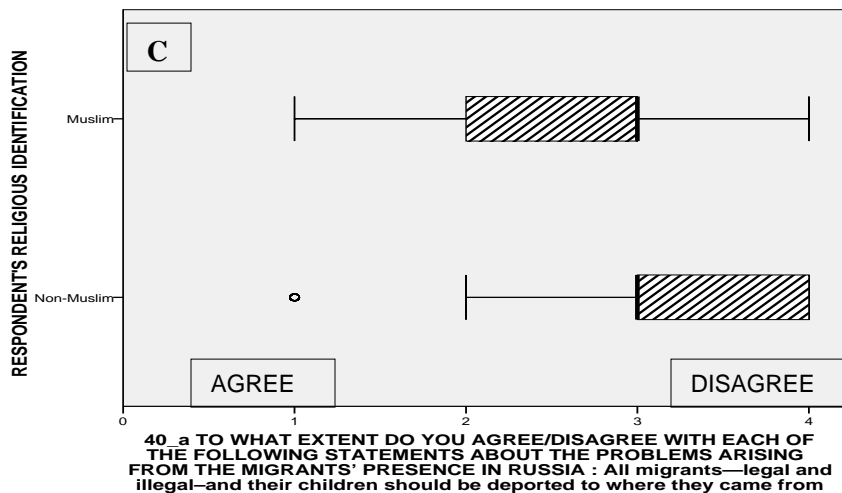
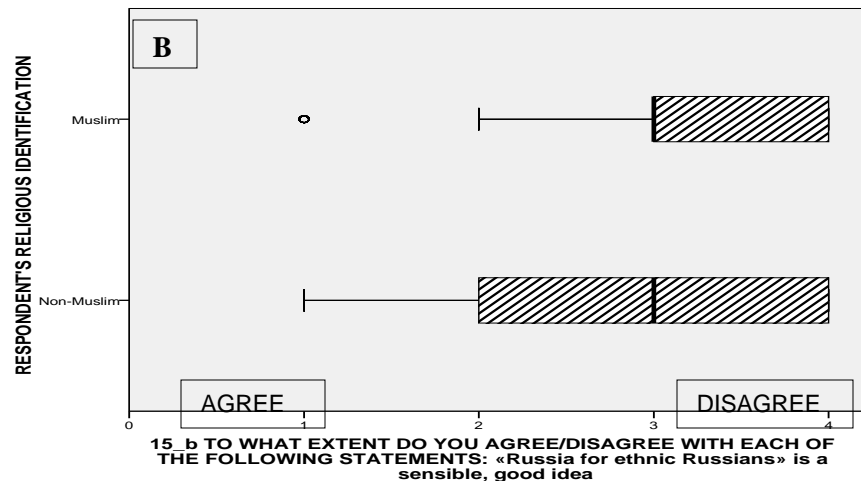
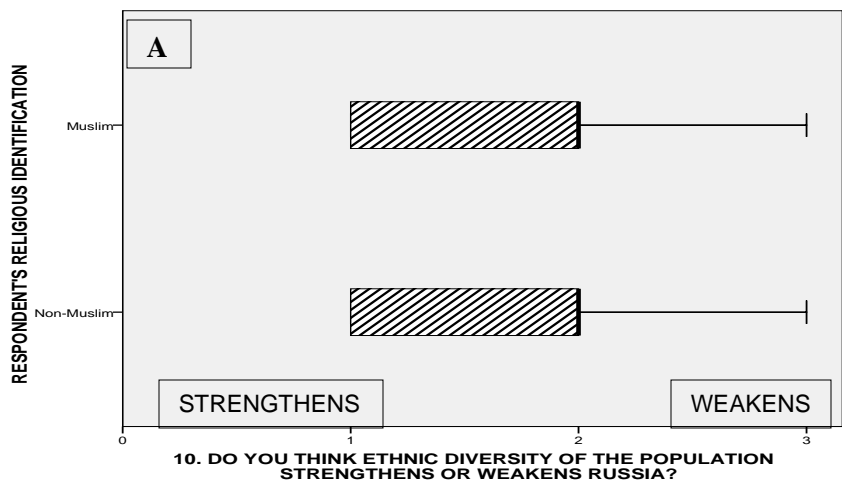


Figure 3. Attitudes toward Migration of Muslims and Non-Muslims among Ethnic Non-Russians. Based on a pooled and filtered sample of opinion surveys of Kazakhs in Volgograd Oblast (2007, N=200), Armenians in Krasnodar Krai (2007, N=400), Adygs in the Republic of Adygea (2007, N=200), Azerbaijanis in the Republic of Dagestan (2007, N=200), and non-Russians in the 2005 survey (samples of the Russian Federation, Moscow City, Moscow Oblast, Volgograd Oblast, Orenburg Oblast, Republic of Tatarstan, Krasnodar Krai/Adygea, and Primorskiy Krai, total N=4,740). For this sample, N (Muslims) = 895 (48.4%) and N (Non-Muslims) = 955 (51.6%), total N=1,850. *NOTE:* The graphs show responses between 25th and 75th percentile (shaded rectangles); median response values (thick vertical lines); the outliers (thin horizontal lines); and extreme values (small circles).

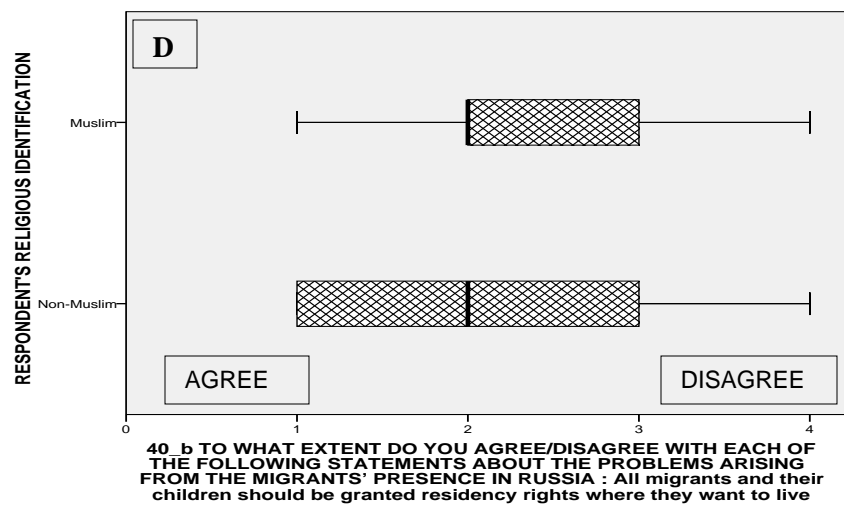
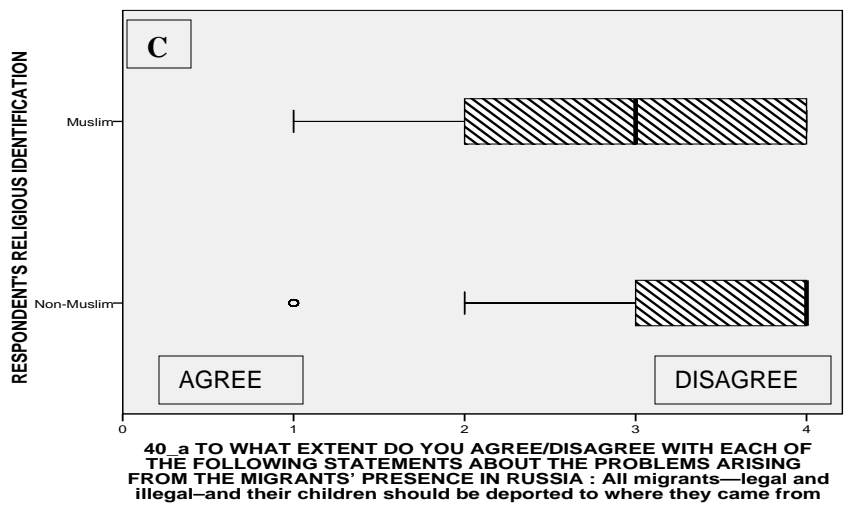
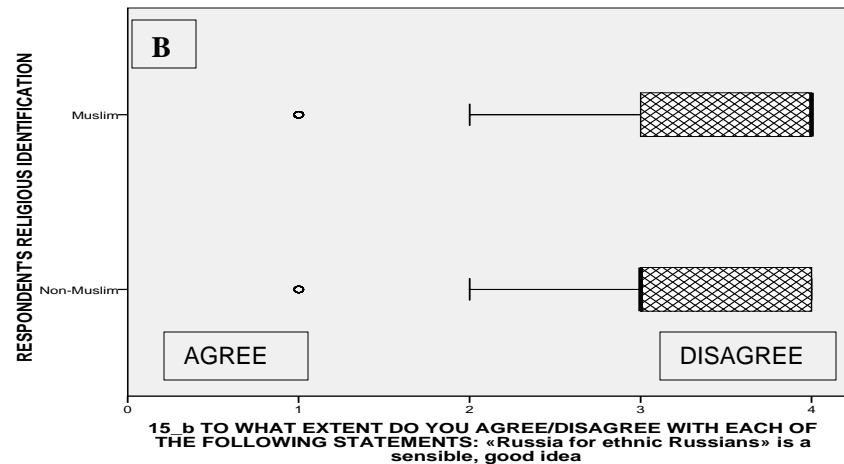
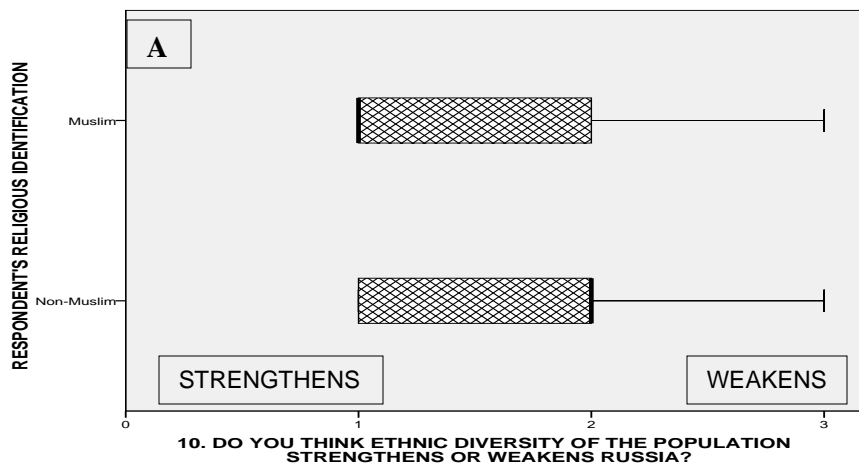


Figure 4. Attitudes toward Migration of Muslims and Non-Muslims among Ethnic Non-Russians in South Russia/North Caucasus. Based on a pooled sample of opinion surveys of Kazakhs in Volgograd Oblast (2007, N=200), Armenians in Krasnodar Krai (2007, N=400), Adygs in the Republic of Adygea (2007, N=200), and Azerbaijanis in the Republic of Dagestan (2007, N=200). N (Muslims) = 515 (51.1%) and N (Non-Muslims) = 493 (49.9%), total N=1,008.

NOTE: The graphs show responses between 25th and 75th percentile (shaded rectangles); median response values (thick vertical lines); the outliers (thin horizontal lines); and extreme values (small circles).

Table 2. Attitudes of Turkic and Caucasus Ethnicities toward Migration

Respondents' ethnicity and region		Measures of interethnic hostility			
		% respondents supporting:			
		Ethnic diversity strengthens Russia (q10)	"Russia for ethnic Russians only" (q15_b)	Deportation of all migrants (q40_a)	Residency rights of all migrants (q40_b)
CAUCASUS ETHNICS	(N=600)	34	22	22	63
Adygs (Adygea)	(N=200)	36	24	37	48
Armenians (Krasnodar)	(N=400)	33	21	14	70
TURKIC ETHNICS	(N=408)	55	17	22	61
Kazakhs (Volgograd)	(N=208)	48	25	22	68
Azeris (Dagestan)	(N=200)	61	9	21	54

Table 3. Attitudes of Titular vs. Non-Titular Ethnic Minorities toward Migration

Respondents' ethnicity and region		Measures of interethnic hostility			
		% respondents supporting:			
		Ethnic diversity strengthens Russia (q10)	"Russia for ethnic Russians only" (q15_b)	Deportation of all migrants (q40_a)	Residency rights of all migrants (q40_b)
TITULAR MINORITIES (N=487)		31	26	41	47
Adygs (Adygea)	(N=200)	36	24	37	48
Tatars (Tatarstan)	(N=287)	27	28	43	46
NON-TITULAR MINORITIES (N=808)		44	19	18	66
Armenians (Krasnodar)	(N=400)	33	21	14	70
Kazakhs (Volgograd)	(N=208)	48	25	22	68
Azeris (Dagestan)	(N=200)	61	9	21	54
NON-RUSSIANS AVERAGE (N=1374)		39	24	27	58
ETHNIC RUSSIANS AVERAGE (N=1352)		19	63	49	46

Table 4. Attitudes of Settled vs. Migrant Armenians in Krasnodar Krai toward Migration

		Report				
			15_b TO WHAT EXTENT DO YOU AGREE/ DISAGREE WITH EACH OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS ABOUT THE PROBLEMS ARISING FROM THE MIGRANTS' PRESENCE IN RUSSIA : All migrants—leg al and illegal—and their children should be deported to where they came from	40_a TO WHAT EXTENT DO YOU AGREE/ DISAGREE WITH EACH OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS ABOUT THE PROBLEMS ARISING FROM THE MIGRANTS' PRESENCE IN RUSSIA :	40_b TO WHAT EXTENT DO YOU AGREE/ DISAGREE WITH EACH OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS ABOUT THE PROBLEMS ARISING FROM THE MIGRANTS' PRESENCE IN RUSSIA : All migrants and their children should be granted residency rights where they want to live	
1B. HAVE YOU LIVED HERE SINCE BIRTH OR MOVED IN BEFORE OR AFTER 1989?		10. DO YOU THINK ETHNIC DIVERSITY OF THE POPULATION STRENGTHENS OR WEAKENS RUSSIA?				
	since birth	Mean	1.87	3.16	3.24	2.15
		N	105	104	108	109
		Std. Deviation	.636	.883	1.022	.998
		Median	2.00	3.00	4.00	2.00
		% of Total N	29.5%	29.1%	29.9%	30.4%
before 1989	Mean	1.67	3.00	3.55	2.06	
	N	75	77	69	68	
	Std. Deviation	.622	.932	.738	.944	
	Median	2.00	3.00	4.00	2.00	
	% of Total N	21.1%	21.5%	19.1%	18.9%	
	in 1989 or later	Mean	1.72	3.18	3.46	2.01
	N	176	177	184	182	
	Std. Deviation	.632	.934	.835	.831	
	Median	2.00	3.00	4.00	2.00	
	% of Total N	49.4%	49.4%	51.0%	50.7%	
Total	Mean	1.75	3.13	3.41	2.06	
	N	356	358	361	359	
	Std. Deviation	.634	.919	.884	.906	
	Median	2.00	3.00	4.00	2.00	
	% of Total N	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

Table 5. Migration Attitudes and Reciprocity in Inter-Minority Dyads

		Measures of Inter-Minority Relations (2006-07 Survey)		
		% respondents saying:		
Ethnicity of: Respondents → Migrants		Unacceptable as spouses	Threaten Russia's national security	Their numbers must be reduced
<u>Armenians</u>	→ <u>Azerbaijanis</u>	71	28	42
<u>Azerbaijanis</u>	→ <u>Armenians</u>	76	16	53
<u>Armenians</u>	→ <u>Tatars</u>	84	16	39
<u>Tatars</u>	→ <u>Armenians</u>	91	20	68
<u>Azerbaijanis</u>	→ <u>Tatars</u>	70	13	32
<u>Tatars</u>	→ <u>Azerbaijanis</u>	90	23	70
<u>Adygs</u>	→ <u>Kazakhs</u>	94	5	45
<u>Kazakhs</u>	→ <u>Adygs</u>	82	15	53