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Nadezhda Lebedva

Russian Academy of Sciences

Alexander Tatarko

Russian Academy of Sciences

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Lebedva, N., & Tatarko, A. (2004). Socio-psychological factors of ethnic intolerance in Russia's multicultural regions. In B. N. Setiadi, A. Supratiknya, W. J. Lonner, & Y. H. Poortinga (Eds.), *Ongoing themes in psychology and culture: Proceedings from the 16th International Congress of the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology*. https://scholarworks.gvsu.edu/iaccp_papers/243

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SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS OF ETHNIC INTOLERANCE IN RUSSIA'S MULTICULTURAL REGIONS

Nadezhda Lebedeva and Alexander Tatarko

Russian Academy of Sciences

Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology

For a number of years the benefits of intercultural contact have stimulated the growth of social-psychological studies of ethnic tolerance across cultures. Because many contemporary societies are multicultural, several questions regarding ethnic tolerance can be asked: Can culturally-diverse groups live together without mutual distrust, conflict, and attempts to dominate? What social-psychological factors create the basis for such coexistence? How does the growth of ethnic and religious identity in contemporary Russia influence ethnic tolerance? These questions have become important to researchers of interethnic interaction and communication in post-communist Russia.

The problem of ethnic intolerance has been studied by social psychologists interested in intergroup relations, stereotypes and prejudice. Particularly in the United States, psychologists have studied the attitudes of the majority whites towards minority blacks, Hispanics and others (Aboud & Skerry, 1984; Duckitt, 1994; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986). Attitudes held by minorities towards the majority, and the mutual attitudes among various minorities, have received less attention. Yet, in a plural society, a multiple perspective is appropriate (Berry & Kalin, 2000). To understand the prospects for ethnic harmony and tolerance in the society, it is important to know the attitudes of various ethnic groups towards the larger society, as well as the attitudes of various ethnic groups toward each other.

The social psychology of prejudice in ethnic relations can be characterized by two broad approaches. One emphasizes individual differences, the other intergroup processes. The intergroup approach was used in the investigation conducted by Berry and Kalin (1979). That study dealt with the presence of ethnocentrism, the existence of a consensual ethnic hierar-

chy, and the extent of reciprocity in intergroup attitudes among the numerous ethnic groups in Canada. The study was based on the theoretical work of LeVine and Campbell (1972) and the empirical investigations of Brewer and Campbell (1976) who studied intergroup attitudes in East Africa.

The existence of an attitudinal hierarchy, or a vertical preference order of ethnic groups, has been found in several Canadian investigations (Berry et al., 1977; Berry & Kalin, 1995; Pineo, 1977). Ethnic groups of Western and Northern European background were generally evaluated most positively, followed by those of Eastern and Southern European background, and then by those of non-European origin. A similar hierarchy was also found in research in the Russian Federation among the five largest ethnic groups in the Karachaev-Cherkes Republic (Lebedeva & Malkhozova, 2002).

Problems in ethnic relations are also related to group (ethnic, religious) identity. There is empirical evidence that positive group identity is related to tolerance, and that a threatened identity and extremely strong positive identity are associated with intolerance (Berry & Pleasants, 1984; Lebedeva, 1999). In the study on acculturation of ethnic Russians in the New Independent States, the value that respondents attached to their ethnic identity (measured via positive or negative ethnic autostereotypes and feelings related to their ethnicity) strongly correlated with their tolerance towards the society in which they settled (positive or negative ethnic heterostereotypes) (Lebedeva, 1999). These findings confirmed the relation between positive ethnic identity and out-group tolerance.

Russia has many multicultural regions in which various ethnic and cultural groups have been living together for centuries (North Caucasus, Bashkortostan, Volga regions, the South of Russia and others). Very often, the ethnic groups have strong relations with each other and develop similar ways of living, shared values and similar cultural identities.

In 1998, we conducted research on ethnic relations in the North Caucasus (Karachaev – Cherkes Republic). The psychosocial roots of ethnic attitudes and stereotypes among five ethnic groups (Karachaies, Circassians, Russians, Nogaies, Abazas) were examined. One of the main findings of this research was that the rise of religious (Muslim) identity stimulated the rise of ethnic intolerance. Positive ethnic identity was also strongly correlated with ethnic tolerance (Lebedeva & Malkhozova, 2002).

In 2000-2002, we conducted similar investigations in three other multicultural regions of Russia (the city of Samara in the Volga region; the Bashkir Republic; and the Rostov Province in the Southern Russia). This paper reports methods and the findings of this program of research. The objective of the research was to examine the association between identity, perceived discrimination and ethnic attitudes.

The following hypotheses were tested:

1. Positive valence of ethnic identity predicts positive (tolerant) interethnic attitudes.
2. Salience of ethnic identity, high level of perceived discrimination and religious identity are the predictors of negative ethnic attitudes (ethnic intolerance).

Method

Respondents

The respondents ($N = 1338$) from the four regions of Russia, namely the Rostov Province in Southern Russia (Rostov), the Bashkir Republic (Bashkir), the city of Samara in the Volga region, and the Karachay-Cherkess Republic in the Northern Caucasus participated in this research project. The ethnic composition of the regional samples is shown in Table 1. The respondents' ages ranged from 22 to 63 years, and the educational background was from secondary school and above. The survey was conducted in the Karachay-Cherkess Republic in 1999-2000; in the Bashkir Republic and Samara, in 2000-2001; and in Southern Russia, in 2002. The respondents were selected randomly from the communities.

Measures and Procedures

The respondents were asked to complete a questionnaire containing scales developed for this research as well as modified versions of some well-established techniques.

1. The **positive valence of ethnic identity** scale assessed feelings associated with ethnic belonging using a 5-point scale from 1 (feeling humiliated) to 5 (feeling pride).

Table 1

Description of the Samples

Region	Ethnic Groups	Number of Respondents	Regional N
Rostov Province (Southern Russia- SR)	Cossacks	144	451
	Russians (SR)	127	
	Meskhethians (Turks)	75	
	Chechens	35	
	Ukrainians	30	
	Armenians	40	
Bashkir Republic (BR)	Bashkirs	108	406
	Tatars (BR)	106	
	Russians (BR)	98	
	Udmurts	94	
Volga region (VR)	Chuvashes	35	127
	Tatars (VR)	92	
Carachaevo-Cherkes Republic (Northern Caucasus)	Circassians	90	354
	Karachaies	90	
	Abazas	87	
	Nogaies	87	
	Total N	1338	1338

2. The **ambivalence of ethnic identity** was measured by the statement, "I feel that I am closer to and understand better the people of a different ethnic group than those of my own one." A 5-point scale ranged from 1 (disagree) to 5 (agree).
3. **Ethnic attitudes** were assessed by three indicators. One was the positive valence of heterostereotypes, where respondents were asked to give 5-6 characteristic traits of a "typical" representative of given

ethnic groups; these were scored using a 5-point scale, ranging from 1 (all characteristics are negative) to 5 (all characteristics are positive). The second indicator of ethnic intolerance assessed the degree to which they were ready to accept members of other ethnic groups; for this we used a social-distance scale from 1 – “I accept a member of a particular ethnic group as a citizen of a state” to 7 – “I accept the same as a spouse”). The respondents' general ethnic intolerance was evaluated using the statement, “To tell the truth, I would prefer not to have contacts with the members of certain ethnic groups.” The response options were evaluated by 5-point rating scale from 1 (I totally disagree) to 5 (I fully agree).

4. The **willingness to distinguish between people according to religious and ethnic criteria** was evaluated by rating on a 5-point scale the agreement with statements such as, “If people confess the same religion, it is easier for them to understand each other” and “When meeting a person, I pay attention to his/her nationality (ethnicity).” Higher scores reflect greater willingness to distinguish.
5. The **level of perceived discrimination** was measured by agreement (1 to 5) with the statement, “I feel stung to the quick when I hear someone say something insulting about my ethnic group.”
6. The **level of religious identity** was assessed using the question, “How religious are you?” The response options ranged from 1 (not at all) to 2 (average) and 3 (very religious).

Method of Analysis

A standard multiple regression analysis was used to determine whether indices of ethnic intolerance are predicted by ethnic identity, the level of perceived discrimination and the level of religious identity. The statistical package SPSS 11.0 was employed to process the data. A separate analysis was conducted for each of the 16 groups of respondents.

Results

Tables 2-5 present the means and standard deviations of major indices of ethnic identities and attitudes of the groups' members from four multicultural regions.

Table 2

Means and Standard Deviations (Rostov Province– Southern Russia)

Variable	Rostov Province (Southern Russia- SR)											
	Cossacks		Russians		Turks (Meskh.)		Chechens		Ukrainians		Armenians	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Valence of ethnic identity	3.6	1.6	3.5	1.5	2.3	1.75	2.3	1.7	3.4	1.57	4.2	1.04
Ambivalence of identity	4.7	.72	1.8	1.3	2.7	1.5	1.4	0.9	1.76	1.23	4.2	1.7
Ster.of Russians	3.5	1.54			4.91	.42	3.18	1.44	4.63	.68	4.55	.94
Ster.of Ukrainians	3.5	1.54	3.76	1.54	4.81	.55	4.20	.77			4.19	1.38
Ster.of Armenians	2.1	1.37	2.11	1.41	4.67	.82	3.94	1.16	2.53	1.50		
Ster.of Chechens	1.5	.88	1.77	1.17	3.75	1.50			1.67	1.11	2.00	1.22
Ster.of Gypsies	1.3	.66	2.39	.96	2.97	1.72	3.84	.83	2.76	1.35	1.63	1.15
Ster.of Turks	1.6	.99	2.96	1.02			3.15	1.45	2.14	1.25	1.85	1.05
Distinguish. by religion	4.62	.78	3.51	1.24	3.97	1.47	4.15	1.42	4.32	1.38	4.45	1.36
Distinguish. by ethnicity	3.64	1.50	1.52	1.44	3.58	1.68	3.93	1.45	2.37	1.57	2.58	1.68
Perceived discrim.	4.90	.44	4.60	1.01	4.30	1.44	4.30	1.38	4.42	1.02	4.11	1.56
Soc. Dist. to Cossacks	7.00	.00	5.57	1.37	4.04	1.24	4.71	1.81	5.82	1.73	5.21	1.20
Soc. Dist. to Russians	6.80	.84	6.84	0.81	5.18	1.81	3.42	1.13	6.86	1.05	6.62	.96
Soc. Dist. to Armenians	1.82	.51	3.80	1.02	5.21	1.62	4.29	2.52	2.82	1.45	6.6	.95
Soc. Dist. to Ukrainians	4.85	1.05	5.21	1.05	3.44	1.51	3.34	1.77	6.50	.95	5.85	1.43
Soc. Dist. to Chechens	1.21	.55	2.10	1.05	3.08	1.90	7.00	0.00	2.72	1.71	2.85	1.90
Soc. Dist. to Gypsies	1.25	.76	2.28	.46	2.90	1.53	4.26	2.29	1.11	.21	2.85	.54
Soc. Dist. to Turks	1.22	.95	3.35	1.07	6.64	.71	4.86	1.15	2.31	0.98	1.72	0.99
Ethnic intolerance	4.00	1.27	2.05	1.40	2.01	1.52	2.67	1.11	2.26	1.69	2.05	1.61
Religious Identity	2.19	.43	1.83	.58	1.61	.50	2.53	.51	2.00	.47	2.16	.69

Table 3

Means and Standard Deviations (Bashkir Republic - BR)

Variable	Bashkir Republic (BR)							
	Bashkirs		Tatars (BR)		Russians(BR)		Udmurts	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Valence of ethnic identity	2.8	1.1	3.4	1.64	2.9	1.37	2.8	1.1
Ambivalence of ethnic identity	4.5	2.1	1.9	1.98	1.71	1.58	4.1	2.2
Stereotype of Bashkirs			3.88	1.54	2.76	1.69	2.56	1.66
Stereotype of Tatars	4.24	1.30			2.90	1.63	2.59	1.68
Stereotype of Russians	4.49	1.04	4.14	1.25			4.44	1.12
Stereotype of Udmurts	3.30	1.56	3.57	1.43	3.37	1.71		1.1
Distinguishing by religion	4.04	1.14	3.98	1.26	3.96	1.13	4.02	1.27
Distinguishing by ethnicity	3.38	1.39	3.26	1.50	3.59	2.97	3.16	1.57
Perceived discrimination	4.27	1.12	4.17	1.23	4.61	.94	4.39	.96
Social Distance to Bashkirs	5.90	1.42	5.50	1.35	4.93	1.18	1.85	1.21
Social Distance to Tatars	6.45	.95	6.22	1.17	5.22	1.18	2.27	1.23
Social Distance to Russians	5.37	1.19	5.16	1.10	6.79	1.07	3.37	1.08
Social Distance to Udmurts	4.90	1.21	4.66	1.12	6.50	.77	2.65	1.19
Ethnic intolerance	2.96	2.25	2.11	2.67	1.82	2.44	3.52	2.69
Religious identity	1.83	.55	1.67	.52				

The results of multiple regression analyses are shown in Tables 6–11. Only significant coefficients of regression were included in the tables.

A standard multiple regression was performed using general ethnic intolerance as the dependent variable and valence of ethnic identity, its ambivalence, religious identity and perceived discrimination as independent variables. It yielded eleven significant models among the sixteen possible ones (68.8%), and 25 significant dependencies among 64 that were possible (37.5%). According to our first hypothesis, positive ethnic valence is predictive of ethnic tolerance. This hypothesis was confirmed with five groups (Armenians, Russians in Rostov, Circassians, Abazas, Nogaies) and the opposite relation was revealed among Turks-Meskhetians. Ambi-

Table 4

Means and Standard Deviations (Volga Region - VR)

Variable	Volga Region (VR)			
	Chuvashes		Tatars (VR)	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Valence of ethnic identity	2.9	.97	3.95	.79
Salience of ethnic identity	3.1	1.79	1.85	1.06
Stereotype of Chuvashes			3.14	1.13
Stereotype of Tatars	3.2	1.11		
Stereotype of Russians	4.1	1.28	3.56	1.45
Distinguishing by religion	4.32	1.91	3.97	1.85
Distinguishing by ethnicity	3.12	1.34	3.21	1.41
Perceived discrimination	4.46	.72	4.31	1.24
Social Distance to Chuvashes			6.55	1.06
Social Distance to Tatars	6.62	.78		
Social Distance to Russians	6.26	1.18	5.07	1.41
Ethnic intolerance	2.28	1.38	2.54	1.13
Religious identity	1.37	1.33	2.16	1.65

valence of ethnic identity was the strong predictor of ethnic intolerance in four of the sixteen cases (Russians in Rostov, Turks-Meskhetians, Chechens and Abazas). The level of religious identity predicted general ethnic intolerance among six groups of respondents (Armenians, Cossacks, Chechens, Circassians, Karachaies, Tatars in Volga region) and general ethnic tolerance - with the group of Ukrainians. The fourth factor - perceived discrimination - predicted general ethnic intolerance with seven ethnic groups (Armenians, Cossacks, Ukrainians, Circassians, Karachaies, Nogaies, Russians in Rostov) and general ethnic tolerance with Turks-Meskhetians only.

Table 5

Means and Standard Deviations (Carachaevo-Cherkes Republic - Northern Caucasus)

Variable	Carachaevo-Cherkes Republic (Northern Caucasus) (NK)							
	Circassians		Karachaies		Abazas		Nogaies	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Valence of ethnic identity	3.15	1.36	3.19	1.28	2.95	1.23	3.38	1.07
Ambivalence of ethnic identity	1.63	.96	1.56	1.02	3.29	1.26	3.37	1.79
Stereotype of Circassians			3.89	1.65	3.21	1.73	4.03	1.23
Stereotype of Karachaies	3.42	1.78			3.72	1.27	4.11	1.18
Stereotype of Abazas	3.51	1.98	4.01	1.43			3.98	1.49
Stereotype of Nogaies	3.29	1.35	3.91	1.38	3.92	1.84		
Distinguishing by religion	4.45	.97	3.89	1.61	4.21	1.32	4.11	1.19
Distinguishing by ethnicity	3.65	1.65	3.46	1.68	3.78	1.43	4.71	1.29
Perceived discrimination	4.51	.91	4.72	1.15	4.78	.85	4.51	.71
Social Distance to Circassians	6.89	.45	6.02	1.01	5.94	1.72	5.79	1.34
Social Distance to Karachaies	5.90	.78	6.87	.87	6.11	1.28	5.92	1.12
Social Distance to Abazas	6.11	1.27	5.87	1.34	6.97	.78	5.73	1.72
Social Distance with Nogaies	6.13	1.13	5.93	1.19	5.81	1.45	6.69	.97
Ethnic intolerance	2.27	1.42	2.31	1.95	2.61	1.14	2.14	1.18
Religious identity	2.34	.67	2.27	.59	2.56	.91	2.54	.83

Table 6

Results of Multiple Regression, Predicting General Ethnic Intolerance

Ethnic Groups of Respondents	Valence β	Ambivalence β	Religious Identity β	Perceived Discrimination β	R^2	F
Armenians	-.40*	-.09	.80**	.66*	.58	4.08*
Cossacks	-.05	.02	.19*	.19*	.07	2.29*
Russians (Rostov)	-.28**	.22*	.16	.04	.17	5.17***
Turks-Meskhethians	.23*	.23*	-.13	-.23*	.17	2.93*
Ukrainians	-.06	-.06	-.38*	.27*	.17	3.53*
Chechens	-.05	.78***	.32*	-.02	.69	12.86***
Circassians	-.20*	.05	.42**	.38**	.21	6.17**
Karachaies	.17	.12	.29*	.35**	.19	2.98**
Abazas	-.28*	.31*	.17	.19	.32	2.64*
Nogaies	-.41*	.15	.11	.32*	.15	2.70*
Bashkirs	.28	-.01	-.20	.09	.13	1.15
Russians (Bashkir)	-.07	.17	.09	.26*	.14	2.00
Tatars (Bashkir)	.004	.14	-.05	-.02	.03	.25
Udmurts	.09	-.03	.05	-.11	.02	.26
Chuvashes	.09	.21	.19	.12	.05	1.18
Tatars (Volga)	.16	.21	.38**	.15	.16	2.87*

* $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$. *** $p < 0.001$

Table 7 displays the results of a standard multiple regression performed using social distance as the dependent variable and valence of ethnic identity, its ambivalence, religious identity and perceived discrimination as independent variables. It yielded seventeen significant models from the seventy-six possible ones (22.5%), and 37 significant dependencies among 248 possible ones (15%). The main findings were as follows:

1. Positive valence of ethnic identity predicted close social distance toward other ethnic groups among the respondents of eight groups (Armenians, Russians in Rostov, Ukrainians, Cossacks, Circassians, Karachaies, Nogaies, Udmurts).

Table 7

Results of Multiple Regression, Predicting Social Distance towards the Contacting Out-group

Ethnic Groups of Respondents	Valence β	Ambivalence β	Religious Identity β	Perceived Discrimination β	R^2	F	Perceived Group
Armenians	.48*	-.12	-.80**	-.56*	.24	2.94*	Gypsies
Cossacks	.07	-.20*	-.10	.05	.05	1.5	Armenians
	.21*	.00	-.21*	-.19	.10	2.6*	Turks
Russians	-.08	.25**	.12	.002	.08	2.5*	Cossacks
	.22**	-.01	-.12	-.05	.07	2.3*	Chechens
Turks-Meskhetians	.17	.11	.31*	-.14	.14	2.4*	Cossacks
	.11	.19	-.31*	.07	.12	2.1	Russians
	.10	.30	-.09	.42***	.17	2.9*	Ukrainians
Ukrainians	.04	.45*	.51*	.21	.35	2.8*	Cossacks
	.22	.43*	-.04	.66*	.46	2.6*	Russians
	.48*	.68**	.75***	-.11	.63	4.7**	Armenians
	.51*	.77***	.30	-.07	.40	2.8*	Chechens
	.63*	.51*	.27	-.24	.36	2.5*	Gypsies
Chechens	-.27	.31*	-.38*	.73*	.31	2.7*	Armenians
	-.31	.10	-.06	-.42*	.24	1.7	Gypsies
Circassians	.48*	.07	-.12	-.31*	.21	2.9*	Russians
Karachaies	.34*	.11	-.37*	-.14	.36	2.8*	Russians
Abazas	.15	.29*	.01	-.15	.19	1.8	Karachaies
Nogaies	.36*	.12	.17	.09	.17	1.9	Circassians
Bashkirs	.09	.40*	.28	.05	.23	2.4*	Tatars
	-.01	.48*	.01	-.04	.22	2.7*	Russians
Tatars (Bashkir)	-.24	.02	.27	-.50***	.23	2.4*	Bashkirs
	-.20	-.02	.21	-.44*	.15	1.1	Udmurts
Udmurts	.30*	-.005	.15	.012	.11	1.1	Russian

* $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$. *** $p < 0.001$

- High ambivalence of ethnic identity predicted close social distance toward other ethnic groups among the respondents of five groups (Russians in Rostov, Ukrainians, Chechens, Abazas, Bashkirs) and increased social distance among Cossacks.
- The level of religious identity predicted increased social distance toward contacting groups among the respondents of five ethnic groups (Armenians, Cossacks, Turks-Meskhetians, Chechens, Karachaies) and close social distance – among the members of three groups (Turks – Meschetians, Ukrainians and Chechens).

4. Perceived discrimination predicted increased social distance toward contacting groups among the respondents of four ethnic groups (Armenians, Chechens, Karachaies, Tatars) and close social distance among Turks-Meskhetians, Ukrainians and Chechens.

Table 8

Results of Multiple Regression, Predicting Willingness to Distinguish among People by Religion

Ethnic Groups Of Respondents	Valence β	Ambiva- lence β	Religious Identity β	Perceived Discrimination β	R^2	F
Armenians	.07	.50*	-.07	-.33	.21	3.8*
Cossacks	-.11	-.04	.10	.38***	.15	5.5***
Russians (Rostov)	-.20*	.11	.03	.20*	.07	2.4*
Turks-Meskhetians	-.03	.007	.22	.07	.06	.96
Ukrainians	-.06	-.41	-.11	-.42	.29	1.1
Chechens	-.21	-.07	.02	-.28	.10	.61
Circassians	-.34*	.04	.15	-.21	.21	3.2*
Karachaies	-.28*	.17	-.04	.11	.18	2.9*
Abazas	-.18	.01	.07	.09	.04	1.2
Nogais	.02	-.13	.00	.19	.05	.95
Bashkirs	.18	.21	.09	.40*	.21	2.8*
Russians (Bashkir)	.08	.10	.09	.47***	.22	3.4*
Tatars (Bashkir)	-.25	.11	.30*	-.07	.15	2.8*
Udmurts	.10	-.11	.26*	.40**	.28	4.4**
Chuvashes	-.17	-.08	.09	-.11	.05	.89
Tatars (Volga)	.18	.22	.18	.35*	.27	2.87*

* $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$. *** $p < 0.001$

Table 8 displays the results of a standard multiple regression performed using willingness to distinguish among people by religion as the dependent variable and valence of ethnic identity, its ambivalence, religious identity and perceived discrimination as independent variables. The multiple regression produced ten significant models among sixteen possible ones (62.5%) and twelve significant dependencies from sixty-four possible ones (18.8%).

Positive valence of ethnic identity explained unwillingness to distinguish between people by religion among the respondents of three groups (Russians in Rostov, Circussians and Karachaies). The high ambivalence of ethnic identity, in turn, predicted willingness to distinguish between people by religion among only Armenians. The level of religious identity served as predictor of this index of ethnic intolerance among Tatars in Bashkir Republic and Udmurts. Perceived discrimination explained the willingness to distinguish between people by religion among the respondents of six ethnic groups (Cossacks, Russians in Rostov, Bashkirs, Russians in Bashkir Republic, Udmurts and Tatars in the Volga region).

Table 9

Results of Multiple Regression, Predicting Willingness to Distinguish among People by Ethnicity

Ethnic Groups of Respondents	Valence β	Ambivalence β	Religious Identity β	Perceived Discrimination β	R^2	F
Armenians	.33	-.17	-.10	.25	.03	.80
Cossacks	-.12	.05	.07	.20*	.07	2.6*
Russians (Rostov)	-.20*	.09	.03	.19*	.08	2.4*
Turks-Meskhetians	-.04	.00	.17	-.41***	.17	3.0*
Ukrainians	-.91***	-.42*	-.25	-.07	.66	5.4**
Chechens	.01	-.41*	.03	.18	.17	1.3
Circassians	-.29*	-.31*	.16	.22	.35	3.8*
Karachaies	-.27*	.17	-.04	.11	.21	2.5*
Abazas	-.16	.09	.21	.39*	.28	2.7*
Nogaies	-.32*	-.14	.15	.17	.22	2.9*
Bashkirs	-.14	.11	.24	.37*	.17	2.7*
Russians (Bashkir)	-.11	-.10	.17	.32*	.11	2.5*
Tatars (Bashkir)	.02	.14	.32*	.08	.06	1.7
Udmurts	.11	-.33*	-.04	.07	.13	1.6
Chuvashes	-.07	-.18	.08	-.01	.02	.71
Tatars (Volga)	-.11	.12	.35*	.13	.23	2.7*

* $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$. *** $p < 0.001$

Table 9 displays the results of a standard multiple regression performed using willingness to distinguish among people by ethnicity as the

dependent variable and valence of ethnic identity, its ambivalence, religious identity and perceived discrimination as independent variables. Multiple regression produced eleven significant models among sixteen possible ones (68.8%) and seventeen significant dependencies from sixty-four possible ones (26.6%).

Positive valence of ethnic identity explained unwillingness to distinguish between people by ethnicity among the respondents of five groups (Russians in Rostov, Ukrainians, Circassians, Karachaies, Nogaies). The high ambivalence of ethnic identity, in turn, predicted unwillingness to distinguish between people by ethnicity among four groups (Ukrainians, Chechens, Circassians, Udmurts). The level of religious identity served as predictor of this index of ethnic intolerance among the respondents of two groups of Tatars (in Bashkir Republic and Volga Region). Perceived discrimination explained the willingness to distinguish between people by ethnicity among the respondents of five ethnic groups (Cossacks, Russians in Rostov, Bashkirs, Abazas, Russians in Bashkir Republic) and unwillingness to distinguish between people by ethnicity among the Turks-Meskhetians.

Table 10 shows fourteen significant models from seventy-six that were possible (18.4%) and twenty five significant dependencies among two hundred forty-eight possible ones (10.1%), explaining the influence of four predictors on ethnic out-group stereotypes' valence.

The valence of ethnic identity predicted positive ethnic heterostereotypes among the respondents of six ethnic groups (Cossacks, Turks-Meskhetians, Chechens, Karachaies, Abazas, Nogaies). The ambivalence of ethnic identity predicted negative ethnic heterostereotypes among the respondents of four ethnic groups (Cossacks, Russians in Rostov, Abazaz, Nogaies) and positive ethnic stereotypes with only Tatars in Bashkir Republic. The high level of religious identity predicted negative stereotypes among Russians and Circassians, and positive heterostereotypes of other ethnic groups among Turks-Meskhetians, Ukrainians and Chechens. Perceived discrimination predicted negative ethnic stereotypes among the respondents of four ethnic groups (Armenians, Ukrainians, Karachaies and Abazas).

Further, in order to test the stability of the revealed models we conducted a standard multiple regression on data from the groups combined (1338 respondents from 16 ethnic groups). Stereotype and social distance indices were calculated separately toward the dominant group (Russians)

Table 10

Results of Multiple Regression, Predicting Ethnic Stereotypes

Ethnic Groups of Respondents	Valence β	Ambivalence β	Religious Identity β	Perceived Discrimination β	R^2	F	Perceived Group
Armenians	-.07	.11	.07	-.76*	.66	3.8*	Gypsies
Cossacks	.22*	-.08	-.04	-.09	.13	1.8	Russians
	.30***	-.06	-.19	-.02	.19	2.8*	Ukrainians
	.06	-.25*	-.03	-.12	.17	2.4*	Chechens
Russians (Rostov)	.14	-.22*	.12	.06	.15	2.3*	Armenians
	.01	-.20*	-.20*	-.07	.18	2.5*	Chechens
Turks-Meskhetians	.46***	-.13	.30*	-.19	.30	3.4*	Gypsies
Ukrainians	.12	.27	.40*	-.63**	.45	2.9*	Armenians
Chechens	.47*	.32	.62*	.15	.40	2.7*	Armenians
Circassians	.13	.23	-.45*	.21	.23	3.1*	Russians
Karachaies	.34*	.21	-.26	-.35*	.37	3.6*	Abazas
	.31*	.11	-.20	-.33*	.34	3.2*	Russians
Abazas	.27*	-.25*	.03	-.12	.28	2.9*	Circassians
	.36*	.08	.14	-.43*	.32	3.4*	Russians
Nogaies	.29*	-.30*	.15	-.09	.29	3.1	Karachaies
Tatars (Bashkir)	-.04	.50**	-.07	-.06	.28	2.4*	Udmurts

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

and toward the groups of ethnic minorities (as a means of all the respondents' indices of these attitudes). Table 11 presents all the predictors and the seven ethnic attitude outcomes.

According to the results, four predictors (valence and ambivalence of ethnic identity, perceived discrimination, and the level of religious identity) can explain from 3% to 15% of variance in the outcomes. Valence of ethnic identity predicted only one attitude outcome, namely stereotypes of ethnic minorities; those with a highly positive ethnic identity held more negative stereotypes. The most powerful predictor, ambivalence of ethnic identity, was associated with most ethnic attitudes: general ethnic intolerance, distinguishing among people by religion and ethnicity, increased social distance to ethnic minorities, negative stereotypes of the dominant group and ethnic minorities groups, and decreased social distance with the

Table 11

Summary of Multiple Regression Results Predicting Ethnic Attitudes

Ethnic Attitudes	Valence β	Ambivalence β	Perceived Discrimination β	Religious Identity β	R^2	F
General Ethnic Intolerance	.01	.35***	.12**	.09	.14	14.9***
Distinguishing among People by Religion	-.009	.11*	.12*	-.02	.03	2.7*
Distinguishing among People by Ethnicity	.008	.21***	.08	-.11*	.06	5.7***
Social Distance with Dominant Group	.09	.22***	.27***	-.22***	.13	9.3***
Social Distance with Ethnic Minorities Groups	.03	-.24***	-.18***	.20***	.12	12.3***
Stereotype of Dominant Group	.07	-.19**	-.12	.001	.06	3.2*
Stereotype of Ethnic Minorities Groups	-.13*	-.26***	-.20***	.23***	.15	13.2***

* $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$. *** $p < 0.001$

dominant group. The level of perceived discrimination predicted general ethnic intolerance, distinguishing among people by religion, close social distance with the dominant group, increased social distance with minorities, and negative stereotype of ethnic minorities. The level of religious identity predicted unwillingness to distinguish among people by ethnicity, increased social distance toward the dominant group, decreased social distance toward minorities, and a positive stereotype of ethnic minority groups.

Discussion

From the results of multiple regression analyses – predicting ethnic attitudes, performed separately for each indicator – we can see that the valence of ethnic identity mostly influences positive ethnic attitudes: general ethnic tolerance, close social distance toward other ethnic groups, unwillingness to distinguish among people by religion and ethnicity and positive ethnic stereotypes. Nevertheless testing this influence on the whole sample

revealed the high instability of this explanatory model; it showed the opposite dependence of negative ethnic stereotypes of minorities on the positive valence of ethnic identity. Thus we can state that in Russia's multicultural regions, ethnic attitudes cannot be definitely predicted by the valence of ethnic identity.

There are two contradictory influences of valence of ethnic identity. The first one, partly confirmed by our data, is that the higher people value their own ethnic identity, the more tolerant they are toward members of other ethnic groups, the closer their desired interactions, and the less willing they are to discriminate among others on the basis of ethnicity and religion. These findings are consistent with the results of our previous research (Lebedeva, 1999) and verify our first hypotheses that intergroup attitudes can be predicted by the valence of ethnic identity.

The second influence, revealed in the combined data set, shows the opposite effect. A very high value attached to one's ethnic identity predicted negative ethnic stereotypes of the minority groups. This is consistent with the results of our previous research on the New Russian Diaspora, where we found that an extremely strong positive identity was associated with ethnic intolerance. This relationship may be explained when positive self-image serves as a mechanism of psychological defense (Lebedeva, 1999).

The ambivalence of ethnic identity, according to separate multiple regression analyses, predicted negative ethnic attitudes (general ethnic intolerance, decreased social distance toward out-groups, willingness to distinguish among people by religion, negative ethnic stereotypes) as well as positive ethnic attitudes (close social distance with ethnic out-groups, unwillingness to distinguish among people by ethnicity and positive ethnic stereotype). The results of multiple regression of all groups combined showed a more consistent explanatory model. This predictor mostly influenced negative outcomes. General ethnic intolerance, distinguishing among people by religion and ethnicity, increased social distance to ethnic minorities and negative stereotypes of the dominant group and the ethnic minorities' groups. Ambivalence was associated with only one positive outcome, namely decreased social distance with the dominant group. We can therefore state that people who feel closer to another group are less positive and desire less social closeness with ethnic minorities than those who are certain. At the same time high ambivalence of ethnic identity

leads to closer social distance with the dominant group (Russians). This makes us suggest that ambivalence of ethnic identity among members of ethnic minorities means social and cultural closeness with Russians.

The concept "salience-ambivalence of group identity" has different meanings in different research (Brown, 2000); in this research ambivalence was measured in terms of feeling closer to another group than to one's own group. Salience, then, would be feeling closer to one's own group than to others. Many studies revealed that the high salience of ethnic identity and the distinctiveness of group boundaries related to negative intergroup outcomes (Brewer & Miller, 1984; Gaertner et al., 1993; Lebedeva, 1999). In our recent research, we discovered the reverse relationship: high salience of ethnic identity was connected to positive intergroup attitudes and high ambivalence to negative ones. The possible explanation of these results is that in an unstable society the ethnic (cultural, religious) self-identification may reduce general uncertainty and serve as a tool for the process of self-awareness and self-definition. This conclusion is consistent with research on the changes of social identities in post-Soviet states (Lebedeva, 2000a), which revealed one of the main directions of identity's changes - the change from positive self-conception towards a more accurate and certain (sometimes more negative) one. It was stated there that this change satisfies a basic human need in meaning and understanding and increases the feeling of control over one's life. In unstable social conditions, the search for meaning and understanding answers the main question of self-identification "Who am I" much better than the search for positive distinctions of one's group (Lebedeva, 2000a).

The third factor, the level of religious identity, also had a mixed influence on indices of ethnic intolerance. Mostly, high level of religious identity led to high level of general ethnic intolerance (the exception is the group of Ukrainians). Religious identity was also conducive to increased social distance toward contacting groups (the exceptions were Ukrainians, Chechens and Turks-Meskhetians). Willingness to distinguish among people by religion and ethnicity also depended on the high level of religious identity among the respondents of four groups. Analysis of the relation between ethnic stereotypes and the level of religious identity showed that this predictor influenced positive ethnic stereotypes of groups sharing the same religion and negative stereotypes of groups who belonged to another religion. Thus, on the basis of separate multiple regressions we conclude that the high

level of religious identity generally predicts intolerant intergroup attitudes. At the same time the analysis of composite data showed that level of religious identity influenced unwillingness to distinguish among people by ethnicity, positive stereotype of and close social distance with ethnic minorities, and increased social distance with the dominant ethnic group. It can be explained by the large number of respondents with the same (Muslim) religious identity (i.e., 1113 Muslims among 1338 respondents).

The level of perceived discrimination also demonstrated mixed influence on the indices of ethnic intolerance. In general, the high level of perceived discrimination led to high general ethnic intolerance (the exception was the group of Turks-Meskhetians), willingness to distinguish among people by religion and ethnicity (the group of Turks-Meskhetians was the exception again) and negative stereotypes of contacting groups. The relation between social distance and perceived discrimination was more complex. With the groups of Armenians, Circassians, Chechens and Tatars the high level of perceived discrimination led to the increased social distance toward the contacting groups, while with the groups of Ukrainians, Turks-Meskhetians and Chechens it led to decreased social distance toward ethnic out-groups (toward Russians among Ukrainians and Turks-Meskhetians, and toward Armenians among Chechens).

The results of multiple regression analyses on the combined group data are presented below as the Final Model of Socio-Psychological Factors of Ethnic Tolerance-Intolerance in Russia's multicultural regions in the Figure 1.

This final model demonstrates relations between ethnic attitudes and four predictors: valence and ambivalence of ethnic identity, perceived discrimination, and level of religious identity. According to this model, ambivalence of ethnic identity is the strongest predictor of ethnic tolerance – intolerance. The second strongest is perceived discrimination, following by the level of religious identity. The weakest predictor is the valence of ethnic identity.

The ambivalence of ethnic identity influences all the outcomes investigated in our research and predicts general ethnic intolerance, willingness to distinguish among people by religion and ethnicity, negative stereotypes of dominant group and groups of ethnic minorities, close social distance with the dominant group and increased social distance with ethnic minorities. It can be stated, therefore, that high ambivalence of ethnic

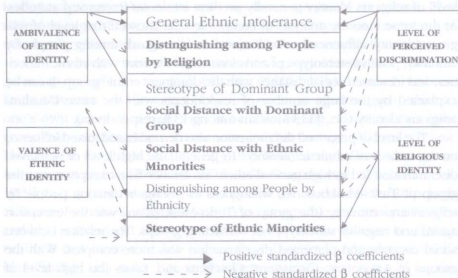


Figure 1. Model of social-psychological factors of ethnic tolerance-intolerance in Russia's multicultural regions.

identity is a strong predictor of ethnic intolerance, except social distance with the dominant group which is the essence of our measure of ambivalence of identity.

The high level of perceived discrimination, according to this model, is conducive to general ethnic intolerance, willingness to distinguish among people by religion, negative stereotype of ethnic minorities and increased social distance toward them as well as close social distance toward the dominant ethnic group. From our point of view these relations reflect the importance of a hierarchy in contemporary Russian society (Schwartz & Bardi, 1997; Lebedeva, 2000b), and the desire to be close to the dominant group reflects a need for high social status, which is perceived as an advantage in a hierarchical society.

According to the final model, the two factors encompassing ambivalence of ethnic identity and perceived discrimination are the most powerful predictors of negative ethnic attitudes in multicultural regions of Russia.

The level of religious identity influenced unwillingness to distinguish among people by ethnicity, close social distance toward ethnic minorities,

and positive ethnic stereotype of minority groups, as well as the decreased social distance toward the dominant group. Because of the predominance of minority group members among our respondents, this factor shows the influence of religious identity on ethnic attitudes toward the groups with a shared or different religious identity. The growth of religious identity among groups sharing the same religion is conducive to mutual positive attitudes and desire of mutual social closeness as well as estrangement of the group with another religious identity (Russians). It conforms to our previous research in Karachay-Cherkess Republic, which revealed that the rise of religious (Muslim) identity stimulated the rise of ethnic intolerance toward Russians (Lebedeva & Malkhozova, 2002).

The final model shows that the valence of ethnic identity influences only one outcome – negative stereotypes of ethnic minorities: the more positive one's ethnic identity, the more negative are the ethnic minority stereotypes.

To understand the specifics of interethnic interaction in multicultural regions we need to examine a higher unit of analysis, namely the social system. If we look at regions as a social system where every ethnic group is an element of the whole, we can understand the aim of the differentiation and integration processes. Multicultural regions with a long history of ethnic group coexistence can be viewed as a balanced social system, where the processes of integration prevail over the processes of differentiation. Regions where multicultural characteristics are the consequence of contemporary migration of culturally-distant groups present a non-balanced system with high levels of differentiation of the groups. The aim of such differentiation processes may be not a separation of social (ethnic) groups, but a building of effective group boundaries, which in turn enable people to maintain ethnic group distinctiveness needed for positive group self-identity and ethnic tolerance. Therefore, the revealed interethnic attitudes may be aimed at preserving/obtaining positive and salient ethnic identity as the basis for individual/group ethnic tolerance and at achieving a balanced system of intergroup interaction in a multicultural region.

Conclusion

1. The results of the research in multicultural regions of Russia – the Rostov Province in Southern Russia, the Bashkir Republic, Samara in

the Volga region, the Karachay-Cherkess Republic in Northern Caucasus – demonstrated that the valence and ambivalence of ethnic identity, perceived discrimination and the level of religious identity predict interethnic attitudes.

2. The most powerful predictor of ethnic intolerance is the ambivalence of ethnic identity. It is conducive to general ethnic intolerance, negative ethnic stereotypes of out-groups, increased social distance toward ethnic out-groups, and willingness to distinguish among people according to ethnic and religious criteria.
3. The level of perceived discrimination is the second significant predictor of ethnic intolerance. It influences the high level of general ethnic intolerance, willingness to distinguish among people according to the religion, negative stereotype of ethnic minorities, and increased social distance toward them.
4. At the same time, high ambivalence of ethnic identity and perceived discrimination are conducive to more close social distance toward the dominant ethnic group, namely Russians, which can be explained by the cultural closeness to this group among those people who have ambivalent ethnic identity as well as by the desire to have more high social status in the society with high significance of hierarchy's values.
5. The level of religious identity influences the two opposite tendencies of intergroup attitudes: unwillingness to distinguish among people by ethnicity, close social distance toward the groups of ethnic minorities with shared religious identity, and positive ethnic stereotype of these groups, as well as the decreased social distance toward the dominant group with another religious identity.
6. The positive valence of ethnic identity mostly influences positive intergroup attitudes: general ethnic tolerance, close social distance toward other ethnic groups, unwillingness to distinguish among people according to ethnicity and religion, positive out-group stereotypes. At the same time the final model, derived from the total sample, demonstrates the influence of this predictor on negative stereotype of minorities' groups. These data show the mixed influence of valence of ethnic identity on ethnic attitudes.

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Author Note

This study was sponsored by Federal Program for the improved Tolerance and Prevention of the Extremism in Russian Federation (2001-2005) and Russian Foundation for Humanities, No. 02-06-00261a.

Lebedeva's e-mail address: lebedhope@mail.cnt.ru