

Supplemental Material

**Appendix A:** Descriptive statistics for the items measuring attitudes towards immigrants and facets of national identity

	Frequency			N <sub>total</sub>	Median	Mean	SD
	N	%	Valid %				
<b>1995</b>							
Rather be a citizen of Russia				1466	4	4.05	1.07
	Disagree strongly	41	2.6	2.8			
	Disagree	120	7.6	8.2			
	Neither nor	203	12.8	13.8			
	Agree	459	29.0	31.3			
	Agree strongly	643	40.6	43.9			
World better place other like Russians				1292	3	2.69	1.19
	Disagree strongly	225	14.2	17.4			
	Disagree	389	24.5	30.1			
	Neither nor	355	22.4	27.5			
	Agree	205	12.9	15.9			
	Agree strongly	118	7.4	9.1			
Russia better country than other				1362	3	3.20	1.26
	Disagree strongly	134	8.5	9.8			
	Disagree	307	19.4	22.5			
	Neither nor	352	22.2	25.8			
	Agree	297	18.7	21.8			
	Agree strongly	272	17.2	20.0			
Support their country even is wrong				1437	4	3.61	1.27
	Disagree strongly	123	7.8	8.6			
	Disagree	191	12.1	13.3			
	Neither nor	236	14.9	16.4			
	Agree	456	28.8	31.7			
	Agree strongly	431	27.2	30.0			

	Frequency			N <sub>total</sub>	Median	Mean	SD
	N	%	Valid %				
Well in international - makes proud				1470	5	4.34	0.89
	Disagree strongly	22	1.4	1.5			
	Disagree	45	2.8	3.1			
	Neither nor	156	9.8	10.6			
	Agree	437	27.6	29.7			
	Agree strongly	810	51.1	55.1			
Proud of: way democracy works				1347	2	1.80	0.84
	Not proud at all	588	37.1	43.7			
	Not very proud	489	30.9	36.3			
	Somewhat proud	221	13.9	16.4			
	Very proud	49	3.1	3.6			
Proud of: political influence in world				1352	2	2.04	0.92
	Not proud at all	461	29.1	34.1			
	Not very proud	459	29.0	33.9			
	Somewhat proud	350	22.1	25.9			
	Very proud	82	5.2	6.1			
Proud of: economic achievements				1419	1	1.67	0.83
	Not proud at all	751	47.4	52.9			
	Not very proud	434	27.4	30.6			
	Somewhat proud	183	11.5	12.9			
	Very proud	51	3.2	3.6			
Proud of: social security system				1494	1	1.42	0.67
	Not proud at all	1010	63.7	67.6			
	Not very proud	361	22.8	24.2			
	Somewhat proud	107	6.8	7.2			
	Very proud	16	1.0	1.1			
Proud of: scientific achievements				1422	3	2.87	0.92
	Not proud at all	160	10.1	11.3			
	Not very proud	225	14.2	15.8			
	Somewhat proud	676	42.6	47.5			

		Frequency			N <sub>total</sub>	Median	Mean	SD
		N	%	Valid %				
Proud of: achievements in sports	Very proud	361	22.8	25.4	1428	3	3.06	0.86
	Not proud at all	100	6.3	7.0				
	Not very proud	191	12.1	13.4				
	Somewhat proud	661	41.7	46.3				
Proud of: achievements in arts	Very proud	476	30.0	33.3	1412	3	3.14	0.84
	Not proud at all	85	5.4	6.0				
	Not very proud	161	10.2	11.4				
	Somewhat proud	640	40.4	45.3				
Proud of: its history	Very proud	526	33.2	37.3	1425	3	3.19	0.90
	Not proud at all	101	6.4	7.1				
	Not very proud	158	10.0	11.1				
	Somewhat proud	529	33.4	37.1				
Proud of: fair treatment of groups	Very proud	637	40.2	44.7	1401	1	1.49	0.75
	Not proud at all	889	56.1	63.5				
	Not very proud	382	24.1	27.3				
	Somewhat proud	88	5.6	6.3				
Immigrants increase crime rates	Very proud	42	2.6	3.0	1333	4	3.69	1.23
	Disagree strongly	82	5.2	6.2				
	Disagree	192	12.1	14.4				
	Neither nor	216	13.6	16.2				
	Agree	410	25.9	30.8				
	Agree strongly	433	27.3	32.5				
Immigrants generally good for economy	Disagree strongly	236	14.9	19.3	1225	2	2.54	1.12
	Disagree	409	25.8	33.4				

		Frequency			N <sub>total</sub>	Median	Mean	SD
		N	%	Valid %				
Immigrants take jobs away from people	Neither nor	328	20.7	26.8	1335	4	3.37	1.28
	Agree	190	12.0	15.5				
	Agree strongly	62	3.9	5.1				
	Disagree strongly	126	7.9	9.4				
	Disagree	261	16.5	19.6				
	Neither nor	233	14.7	17.5				
	Agree	418	26.4	31.3				
Immigr make open to new ideas + cultures	Agree strongly	297	18.7	22.2	1200	3	2.82	1.22
	Disagree strongly	215	13.6	17.9				
	Disagree	276	17.4	23.0				
	Neither nor	321	20.3	26.8				
	Agree	285	18.0	23.8				
	Agree strongly	103	6.5	8.6				
	Number of immigrants increase							
	Reduced a lot	254	16.0	24.3				
	Reduced a little	350	22.1	33.5				
	Remain the same	354	22.3	33.9				
	Increased a little	63	4.0	6.0				
	Increased a lot	23	1.5	2.2				
<b>2003</b>								
Rather be a citizen of Russia					2262	4	4.10	1.05
	Disagree strongly	87	3.7	3.8				
	Disagree	107	4.5	4.7				
	Neither nor	305	12.8	13.5				
	Agree	761	31.9	33.6				
	Agree strongly	1002	42.0	44.3				
World better place other like Russians					2045	3	2.95	1.19
	Disagree strongly	260	10.9	12.7				

		Frequency			N <sub>total</sub>	Median	Mean	SD
		N	%	Valid %				
Russia better country than other	Disagree	485	20.4	23.7	2151	3	3.35	1.21
	Neither nor	619	26.0	30.3				
	Agree	452	19.0	22.1				
	Agree strongly	229	9.6	11.2				
	Disagree strongly	168	7.0	7.8				
Support their country even is wrong	Disagree	392	16.4	18.2	2201	4	3.52	1.26
	Neither nor	539	22.6	25.1				
	Agree	628	26.4	29.2				
	Agree strongly	424	17.8	19.7				
	Disagree strongly	185	7.8	8.4				
Well in international - makes proud	Disagree	333	14.0	15.1	2263	5	4.45	0.77
	Neither nor	410	17.2	18.6				
	Agree	693	29.1	31.5				
	Agree strongly	580	24.3	26.4				
	Disagree strongly	20	.8	.9				
Proud of: way democracy works	Disagree	31	1.3	1.4	1939	2	1.82	0.80
	Neither nor	186	7.8	8.2				
	Agree	697	29.2	30.8				
	Agree strongly	1329	55.8	58.7				
	Not proud at all	770	32.3	39.7				
Proud of: political influence in world	Not very proud	811	34.0	41.8	2000	2	2.21	0.88
	Somewhat proud	303	12.7	15.6				
	Very proud	55	2.3	2.8				
	Not proud at all	476	20.0	23.8				
	Not very proud	762	32.0	38.1				

		Frequency			N <sub>total</sub>	Median	Mean	SD
		N	%	Valid %				
Proud of: economic achievements	Somewhat proud	627	26.3	31.4	2123	2	1.80	0.79
	Very proud	135	5.7	6.8				
	Not proud at all	860	36.1	40.5				
Proud of: social security system	Not very proud	878	36.8	41.4	2260	1	1.51	0.73
	Somewhat proud	326	13.7	15.4				
	Very proud	59	2.5	2.8				
Proud of: scientific achievements	Not proud at all	1390	58.3	61.5	2114	3	2.90	0.85
	Not very proud	641	26.9	28.4				
	Somewhat proud	180	7.6	8.0				
Proud of: achievements in sports	Very proud	49	2.1	2.2	2142	3	2.96	0.82
	Not proud at all	164	6.9	7.8				
	Not very proud	390	16.4	18.4				
Proud of: achievements in arts	Somewhat proud	1052	44.1	49.8	2067	3	3.06	0.81
	Very proud	508	21.3	24.0				
	Not proud at all	120	5.0	5.6				
Proud of: its history	Not very proud	400	16.8	18.7	2176	3	3.19	0.84
	Somewhat proud	1060	44.5	49.5				
	Very proud	562	23.6	26.2				
	Not proud at all	97	4.1	4.7	2176	3	3.19	0.84
	Not very proud	324	13.6	15.7				
	Somewhat proud	1005	42.2	48.6				
	Very proud	641	26.9	31.0	2176	3	3.19	0.84
	Not proud at all	107	4.5	4.9				
	Not very proud	272	11.4	12.5				

		Frequency			N <sub>total</sub>	Median	Mean	SD
		N	%	Valid %				
Proud of: fair treatment of groups	Somewhat proud	887	37.2	40.8	2120	1	1.59	0.78
	Very proud	910	38.2	41.8				
	Not proud at all	1199	50.3	56.6				
	Not very proud	655	27.5	30.9				
Immigrants increase crime rates	Somewhat proud	203	8.5	9.6	2080	4	3.89	1.18
	Very proud	63	2.6	3.0				
	Disagree strongly	102	4.3	4.9				
	Disagree	220	9.2	10.6				
Immigrants generally good for economy	Neither nor	294	12.3	14.1	1913	2	2.51	1.12
	Agree	652	27.4	31.3				
	Agree strongly	812	34.1	39.0				
	Disagree strongly	382	16.0	20.0				
	Disagree	651	27.3	34.0				
	Neither nor	482	20.2	25.2				
Immigrants take jobs away from people	Agree	313	13.1	16.4	2177	4	3.74	1.21
	Agree strongly	85	3.6	4.4				
	Disagree strongly	116	4.9	5.3				
	Disagree	297	12.5	13.6				
	Neither nor	362	15.2	16.6				
	Agree	669	28.1	30.7				
Immigr make open to new ideas + cultures	Agree strongly	733	30.8	33.7	1848	3	2.68	1.19
	Disagree strongly	358	15.0	19.4				
	Disagree	505	21.2	27.3				
	Neither nor	474	19.9	25.6				
	Agree	390	16.4	21.1				

		Frequency			N <sub>total</sub>	Median	Mean	SD
		N	%	Valid %				
Number of immigrants increase	Agree strongly	121	5.1	6.5	1852	1	1.74	0.92
	Reduced a lot	929	39.0	50.2				
	Reduced a little	598	25.1	32.3				
	Remain the same	246	10.3	13.3				
	Increased a little	39	1.6	2.1				
	Increased a lot	40	1.7	2.2				
<b>2013</b>								
Rather be a citizen of Russia					1454	4	4.03	0.95
	Disagree strongly	23	1.5	1.6				
	Disagree	80	5.3	5.5				
	Neither nor	258	17.0	17.7				
	Agree	569	37.5	39.1				
	Agree strongly	524	34.6	36.0				
World better place other like Russians					1337	3	3.17	1.06
	Disagree strongly	83	5.5	6.2				
	Disagree	268	17.7	20.0				
	Neither nor	464	30.6	34.7				
	Agree	380	25.1	28.4				
	Agree strongly	142	9.4	10.6				
Russia better country than other					1402	4	3.51	1.05
	Disagree strongly	46	3.0	3.3				
	Disagree	207	13.7	14.8				
	Neither nor	389	25.7	27.7				
	Agree	504	33.2	35.9				
	Agree strongly	256	16.9	18.3				
Support their country even is wrong					1408	4	3.64	1.07
	Disagree strongly	47	3.1	3.3				
	Disagree	174	11.5	12.4				
	Neither nor	346	22.8	24.6				

		Frequency			N <sub>total</sub>	Median	Mean	SD
		N	%	Valid %				
Well in international - makes proud	Agree	514	33.9	36.5	1457	4	4.19	0.88
	Agree strongly	327	21.6	23.2				
	Disagree strongly	14	.9	1.0				
	Disagree	58	3.8	4.0				
	Neither nor	202	13.3	13.9				
Proud of: way democracy works	Agree	553	36.5	38.0	1360	2	2.18	0.82
	Agree strongly	630	41.6	43.2				
	Not proud at all	285	18.8	21.0				
	Not very proud	622	41.0	45.7				
	Somewhat proud	377	24.9	27.7				
Proud of: political influence in world	Very proud	76	5.0	5.6	1386	3	2.46	0.87
	Not proud at all	207	13.7	14.9				
	Not very proud	485	32.0	35.0				
	Somewhat proud	543	35.8	39.2				
	Very proud	151	10.0	10.9				
Proud of: economic achievements	Not proud at all	322	21.2	22.6	1425	2	2.20	0.87
	Not very proud	596	39.3	41.8				
	Somewhat proud	403	26.6	28.3				
	Very proud	104	6.9	7.3				
	Not proud at all	578	38.1	39.8				
Proud of: social security system	Not very proud	530	35.0	36.5	1451	2	1.90	0.90
	Somewhat proud	251	16.6	17.3				
	Very proud	92	6.1	6.3				
	Not proud at all	578	38.1	39.8				
	Not very proud	530	35.0	36.5				
Proud of: scientific achievements	Very proud	92	6.1	6.3	1412	3	2.83	0.85
	Not proud at all	116	7.7	8.2				

		Frequency			N <sub>total</sub>	Median	Mean	SD
		N	%	Valid %				
Proud of: achievements in sports	Not very proud	303	20.0	21.5	1456	3	3.01	0.84
	Somewhat proud	703	46.4	49.8				
	Very proud	290	19.1	20.5				
Proud of: achievements in arts	Not proud at all	85	5.6	5.8	1395	3	3.02	0.85
	Not very proud	250	16.5	17.2				
	Somewhat proud	685	45.2	47.0				
	Very proud	436	28.8	29.9				
Proud of: its history	Not proud at all	99	6.5	7.1	1443	3	3.21	0.82
	Not very proud	192	12.7	13.8				
	Somewhat proud	683	45.1	49.0				
	Very proud	421	27.8	30.2				
Proud of: fair treatment of groups	Not proud at all	67	4.4	4.6	1422	2	1.94	0.94
	Not very proud	163	10.8	11.3				
	Somewhat proud	607	40.0	42.1				
	Very proud	606	40.0	42.0				
Immigrants increase crime rates	Not proud at all	572	37.7	40.2	1448	4	3.97	0.99
	Not very proud	460	30.3	32.3				
	Somewhat proud	288	19.0	20.3				
	Very proud	102	6.7	7.2				
Immigrants generally good for economy	Disagree strongly	22	1.5	1.5	1428	3	2.74	1.11
	Disagree	117	7.7	8.1				
	Neither nor	244	16.1	16.9				
	Agree	562	37.1	38.8				
	Agree strongly	503	33.2	34.7				

		Frequency			N <sub>total</sub>	Median	Mean	SD
		N	%	Valid %				
Immigrants take jobs away from people	Disagree strongly	199	13.1	13.9	1460	4	3.83	1.05
	Disagree	423	27.9	29.6				
	Neither nor	433	28.6	30.3				
	Agree	291	19.2	20.4				
	Agree strongly	82	5.4	5.7				
Immigr make open to new ideas + cultures	Disagree strongly	24	1.6	1.6	1390	3	2.61	1.10
	Disagree	173	11.4	11.8				
	Neither nor	282	18.6	19.3				
	Agree	530	35.0	36.3				
	Agree strongly	451	29.7	30.9				
Number of immigrants increase	Reduced a lot	526	34.7	37.0	1421	2	2.06	1.05
	Reduced a little	445	29.4	31.3				
	Remain the same	332	21.9	23.4				
	Increased a little	71	4.7	5.0				
	Increased a lot	47	3.1	3.3				

**Appendix B.** Correlations between items measuring the three facets of national identity

	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
<b>1995</b>													
Rather be a citizen of Russia (1)	.241**	.363**	.290**	.273**	.046	.084**	.052	.073**	.065*	.138**	.087**	.138**	.050
World better place other like Russians (2)	1	.495**	.218**	.076**	.067*	.063*	.113**	.105**	.016	.082**	.050	.065*	.127**
Russia better country than other (3)		1	.291**	.199**	.069*	.143**	.144**	.081**	.128**	.204**	.132**	.205**	.088**
Support their country even is wrong (4)			1	.251**	.044	.084**	.098**	.089**	.062*	.146**	.110**	.179**	.088**
Well in international - makes proud (5)				1	.085**	.131**	.083**	.002	.270**	.478**	.323**	.317**	.027
Proud of: way democracy works (6)					1	.545**	.479**	.333**	.135**	.141**	.162**	.053	.385**
Proud of: political influence in world (7)						1	.538**	.327**	.299**	.245**	.227**	.122**	.317**
Proud of: economic achievements (8)							1	.448**	.257**	.211**	.195**	.118**	.384**
Proud of: social security system (9)								1	.173**	.104**	.130**	.093**	.525**
Proud of: scientific achievements (10)									1	.635**	.619**	.400**	.150**
Proud of: achievements in sports (11)										1	.632**	.439**	.128**
Proud of: achievements in arts (12)											1	.542**	.128**
Proud of: its history (13)												1	.113**
Proud of: fair treatment of groups (14)													1
<b>2003</b>													
Rather be a citizen of Russia (1)	.411**	.370**	.258**	.217**	.089**	.186**	.120**	.108**	.091**	.067**	.048*	.133**	.105**
World better place other like Russians (2)	1	.517**	.291**	.097**	.166**	.188**	.212**	.184**	.037	.089**	.079**	.105**	.210**
Russia better country than other (3)		1	.373**	.211**	.111**	.223**	.185**	.134**	.092**	.114**	.095**	.170**	.152**
Support their country even is wrong (4)			1	.241**	.075**	.127**	.141**	.101**	.050*	.053*	.021	.100**	.088**
Well in international - makes proud (5)				1	-.019	.124**	.035	-.021	.204**	.253**	.155**	.189**	-.007
Proud of: way democracy works (6)					1	.475**	.476**	.401**	.094**	.140**	.076**	.073**	.383**
Proud of: political influence in world (7)						1	.542**	.343**	.227**	.243**	.176**	.191**	.312**
Proud of: economic achievements (8)							1	.460**	.236**	.222**	.174**	.131**	.423**
Proud of: social security system (9)								1	.157**	.131**	.064**	.060**	.497**
Proud of: scientific achievements (10)									1	.485**	.501**	.332**	.135**

Proud of: achievements in sports (11)													1	.527**	.285**	.181**
Proud of: achievements in arts (12)														1	.371**	.132**
Proud of: its history (13)															1	.136**
Proud of: fair treatment of groups (14)																1

**2013**

Rather be a citizen of Russia (1)	.250**	.418**	.360**	.343**	.189**	.216**	.178**	.105**	.185**	.252**	.179**	.232**	.109**				
World better place other like Russians (2)	1	.460**	.302**	.100**	.239**	.188**	.233**	.202**	.160**	.105**	.112**	.101**	.247**				
Russia better country than other (3)		1	.445**	.277**	.211**	.281**	.232**	.151**	.241**	.212**	.191**	.217**	.189**				
Support their country even is wrong (4)			1	.355**	.124**	.172**	.177**	.128**	.148**	.155**	.165**	.188**	.184**				
Well in international - makes proud (5)				1	.080**	.199**	.148**	.013	.241**	.379**	.334**	.324**	.022				
Proud of: way democracy works (6)					1	.593**	.584**	.533**	.295**	.221**	.206**	.127**	.464**				
Proud of: political influence in world (7)						1	.681**	.452**	.366**	.313**	.263**	.259**	.404**				
Proud of: economic achievements (8)							1	.557**	.373**	.290**	.262**	.180**	.497**				
Proud of: social security system (9)								1	.260**	.154**	.127**	.072**	.592**				
Proud of: scientific achievements (10)									1	.541**	.551**	.371**	.239**				
Proud of: achievements in sports (11)										1	.607**	.394**	.193**				
Proud of: achievements in arts (12)											1	.456**	.184**				
Proud of: its history (13)												1	.144**				
Proud of: fair treatment of groups (14)																	1

Note. \*\* p < .01; \* p < .05

**Appendix C.** Unstandardized measurement weights of indicators of nationalism, political patriotism, and cultural patriotism

<i>Item</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>
<b>Nationalism</b>			
I would rather be a citizen of Russia than of any other country in the world	1.000		
The world would be a better place if people from other countries were more like Russians	1.353	0.050	< .001
Generally speaking, Russia is a better country than most other countries	1.666	0.061	< .001
People should support their country even if it is in the wrong	1.108	0.046	< .001
<b>Political patriotism</b>			
Proud of the way democracy in Russia works	1.000		
Proud of Russian political influence in the world	1.178	0.029	< .001
Proud of Russian economic achievements	1.201	0.029	< .001
Proud of the Russian social security system	0.809	0.024	< .001
Proud of Russian fair and equal treatment of all groups in society	0.799	0.026	< .001
<b>Cultural patriotism</b>			
Proud of Russian scientific and technological achievements	1.000		
Proud of Russian achievements in sports	0.994	0.023	< .001
Proud of Russian achievements in the arts and literature	1.010	0.023	< .001
Proud of Russian history	0.720	0.022	< .001

*Note.* *B* = unstandardized regression weight; *SE* = standard error. Correlation between the two items of political patriotism scale (“...social security system” and “...fair and equal treatment of all groups in society”) was positive and significant ( $p < .001$ ) in all three waves ( $r_{1995} = .335$ ,  $r_{2003} = .284$ ,  $r_{2013} = .382$ ). Model fit:  $\chi^2 = 941.05$ ,  $df = 183$ , CFI = 0.957, TLI = 0.945, RMSEA = 0.048.

**Appendix D.** Correlations between latent variables and control variables

	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<b>1995</b>									
Attitudes towards immigrants (1)	-.276***	.076	-.039	-.050	-.159***	.206***	.176***	.132**	.014
Nationalism (2)	1	.221***	.236***	.026	.281***	-.257***	-.209***	-.042	-.031
Political patriotism (3)		1	.334***	-.006	-.046	.059*	.126***	.332***	.032
Cultural patriotism (4)			1	-.038	-.016	.060*	-.002	.102**	.035
Gender (5)				1	.093***	-.049	.050	.033	.203***
Age (6)					1	-.395***	-.300***	-.096**	0.029
Education (7)						1	.419***	.106***	-.036
Subjective social status (8)							1	.183***	-.020
Support for the regime (9)								1	.025
Attendance at religious services (10)									1
<b>2003</b>									
Attitudes towards immigrants (1)	-.098**	.184***	.079**	-.018	-.171***	.189***	.114***	-.011	.005
Nationalism (2)	1	.347***	.186***	.013	.252***	-.222***	-.036	.058	.020
Political patriotism (3)		1	.352***	.010	-.062**	-.015	.160***	.157***	.021
Cultural patriotism (4)			1	.028	-.065**	.085**	.054*	.093**	.048*
Gender (5)				1	.106***	.021	-.021	.016	.234***
Age (6)					1	-.309***	-.304***	.109***	.054**
Education (7)						1	.210***	-.049	.038
Subjective social status (8)							1	-.007	.046*
Support for the regime (9)								1	.043
Attendance at religious services (10)									1
<b>2013</b>									
Attitudes towards immigrants (1)	-.134**	.304***	-.034	.006	-.121**	.086*	.204***	.052	.026
Nationalism (2)	1	.417***	.394***	.059*	.162***	-.096**	.030	.170***	.153***
Political patriotism (3)		1	.450***	.035	.039	-.006	.229***	.216***	.076**
Cultural patriotism (4)			1	.038	.015	.012	.101***	.198***	.041
Gender (5)				1	.083**	.020	-.056*	.079*	.184***
Age (6)					1	-.370***	-.298***	-.081**	.118***
Education (7)						1	.285***	.000	-.028
Subjective social status (8)							1	.079*	-.048
Support for the regime (9)								1	.003
Attendance at religious services (10)									1

Note. \*\*\*  $p < .001$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*  $p < .05$