

Supporting Information for  
**The Effect of Protesters' Gender on Public Reactions to Protests and  
Protest Repression**

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# 1 Data

To test my hypotheses regarding the effect of protesters' gender on public reactions to protests, I rely on data from an online survey experiment in Russia. The two subsections below give details about the data collection process and provide information about the sample composition.

## 1.1. Data Collection

The survey experiment was administered in Russia in October 2021 by Qualtrics (N=1350). Specifically, subjects (Russian nationals aged 18 and above) who are already participants in survey panels owned by Qualtrics received an invitation to participate in the study. Qualtrics has a long history with this kind of research globally, including in Russia, and subjects were recruited and compensated through the survey firm itself.

Before beginning the study, participants were required to electronically give consent to participate. The consent form outlined the nature of the study, its purpose, the time commitment, and potential risks and respondents were informed that they can stop the study at any time. Upon providing their consent to participate, respondents were asked a series of basic demographic questions, such as their gender, age, income, and education. In the experimental section of the survey, respondents were presented with two vignettes—both fictitious newspaper articles describing a social movement. No deception was involved; respondents were asked to imagine reading the given text in a newspaper and were told that researchers are interested in their feedback about the social movements described in these excerpts.

This study was conducted in compliance with relevant laws and was approved by the institutional review board at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (IRB no. 21-2258).

## 1.2. Summary Statistics

Table A.1.2.1 below reports sample summary statistics. Table A.1.2 compares the demographic composition of my sample to national benchmarks. National benchmarks for gender, education, and age were obtained via Levada Omnibus, which is nationally representative.<sup>1</sup> For religion, benchmarks were obtained from Pew Research Center's 2017 report on "Religious Belief and National Belonging in Central and Eastern Europe."<sup>2</sup> As Table A.1.2 indicates, my sample is somewhat biased toward

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.levada.ru/en/methods/omnibus/>

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.pewresearch.org/religion/2017/05/10/religious-affiliation/>

younger and female respondents but it closely approximates the Russian population on other demographic dimensions, such as religion and education. Additionally, my sample approximates the Russian population in terms of income. Namely, most people in my sample fall in the 50,001-70,000 rubles of monthly income, which corresponds to the national average in Russia when the survey was conducted in 2022 (56,545 rubles).<sup>3</sup>

Table A.1.2.1: Sample Statistics

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Education: Attained Tertiary	1,345	0.642	0.480	0	1
Religion: Orthodox Christian	1,350	0.686	0.464	0	1
Sex: Male	1,350	0.400	0.490	0	1
Age: 18-34	1,350	0.450	0.498	0	1
Age: 35-54	1,350	0.455	0.498	0	1
Age: 55+	1,350	0.096	0.294	0	1
Income: Less than 20,000 ¥	1,350	0.034	0.181	0	1
Income: 20,001-30,000 ¥	1,350	0.067	0.250	0	1
Income: 30,001-40,000 ¥	1,350	0.101	0.302	0	1
Income: 40,001-50,000 ¥	1,350	0.136	0.343	0	1
Income: 50,001-70,000 ¥	1,350	0.207	0.405	0	1
Income: 70,001-90,000 ¥	1,350	0.166	0.372	0	1
Income: 90,001-110,000 ¥	1,350	0.135	0.342	0	1
Income: Over 110,000 ¥	1,350	0.154	0.361	0	1
Support for Putin	1,340	0.550	0.334	0	1
Preemptive Violence Perception	1,349	0.427	0.320	0	1
Believing Authorities Narrative	1,349	0.372	0.271	0	1
Preemptive Repression Toleration	1,348	0.150	0.194	0	1
Reactive Repression Toleration	1,349	0.325	0.235	0	1
Perceived Immorality	1,348	0.235	0.248	0	1

Table A.1.2.2: Sample Composition against National Benchmarks

Variable	Levels	Qualtrics Survey	Benchmark
Gender	Man	40%	45%
	Woman	60%	55%
Education	Tertiary	64%	64%
	No Tertiary	36%	36%
Age	18-34	45%	34%
	35-54	45%	35%
	55+	10%	31%
Religion	Orthodox Christian	69%	71%
	Other	31%	29%

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1010660/russia-average-monthly-nominal-wage/>

## 2 Tukey’s HSD Results

Table A.2.1 below reports the pairwise differences in means between the relevant experimental conditions using ANOVA with post-hoc Tukey HSD Test.

Table A.2.1: Tukey’s HSD test results

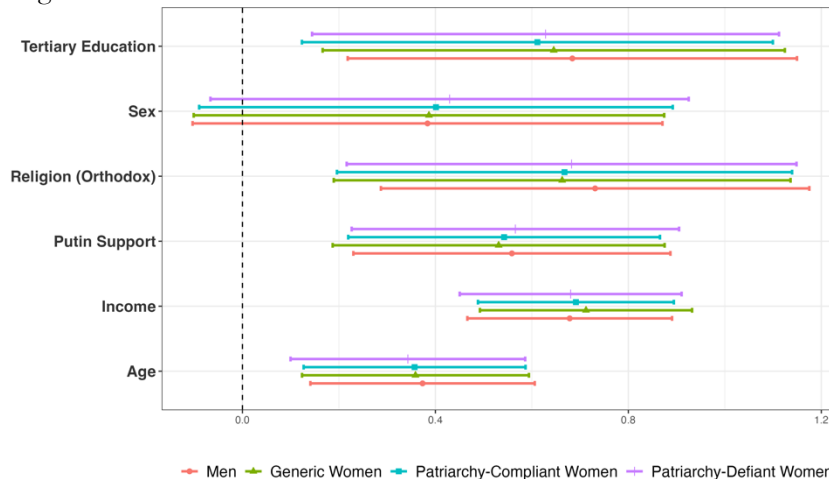
Outcome	Group Comparison	Mean Difference	95% CI		p-value
			Lower	Upper	
Violence Perception (n=1349)	Generic Women vs. Men	-0.46	-0.84	-0.09	0.01
	Patriarchy-Compliant Women vs. Men	-0.96	-1.34	-0.58	0.00
	Patriarchy-Defiant Women vs. Men	-0.77	-1.14	-0.39	0.00
	Patriarchy-Compliant vs. -Defiant Women	-0.19	-0.57	0.18	0.55
Immorality Perception (n=1348)	Generic Women vs. Men	-0.11	-0.30	0.08	0.47
	Patriarchy-Compliant Women vs. Men	-0.22	-0.42	-0.03	0.01
	Patriarchy-Defiant Women vs. Men	0.39	0.20	0.58	0.00
	Patriarchy-Compliant vs. -Defiant Women	-0.62	-0.81	-0.43	0.00
Repression Toleration (n=1348)	Generic Women vs. Men	-0.31	-0.54	-0.09	0.00
	Patriarchy-Compliant Women vs. Men	-0.47	-0.70	-0.24	0.00
	Patriarchy-Defiant Women vs. Men	-0.01	-0.24	0.22	1.00
	Patriarchy-Compliant vs. -Defiant Women	-0.46	-0.69	-0.23	0.00
Believing Authorities that Protesters were Violent (n=1349)	Generic Women vs. Men	-0.10	-0.42	0.21	0.83
	Patriarchy-Compliant Women vs. Men	-0.41	-0.73	-0.09	0.01
	Patriarchy-Defiant Women vs. Men	0.21	-0.11	0.53	0.32
	Patriarchy-Compliant vs. -Defiant Women	-0.62	-0.94	-0.30	0.00
Repression Toleration (n=1349)	Generic Women vs. Men	-0.18	-0.46	0.10	0.33
	Patriarchy-Compliant Women vs. Men	-0.42	-0.70	-0.14	0.00
	Patriarchy-Defiant Women vs. Men	0.09	-0.19	0.37	0.83
	Patriarchy-Compliant vs. -Defiant Women	-0.51	-0.79	-0.24	0.00

## 3 Demographic Covariates

### 3.1 Balance Tests

Figure A.3.1 displays means and standard deviations for covariates and indicates successful randomization. All variables are standardized to range between 0-1.

Figure A.3.1: Balance Tests Indicate Successful Randomization



### 3.2 Demographic Covariates as Controls

Given that demographic characteristics are balanced across the four experimental conditions, the ANOVA and Tukey HSD analyses presented in the main body of the paper do not control for demographic covariates. However, as shown in Table A.3.1 below, adding pre-treatment covariates to my models does not change the pattern of significant findings reported in the paper.

Table A.3.1: Tukey HSD Test Results (Controls Included)

Outcome	Group Comparison	Mean Difference	95% CI		p-value
			Lower	Upper	
Preemptive Violence Perception (n=1334)	Generic Women vs. Men	-0.47	-0.80	-0.14	0.00
	Patriarchy-Compliant Women vs. Men	-0.96	-1.30	-0.63	0.00
	Patriarchy-Defiant Women vs. Men	-0.79	-1.12	-0.46	0.00
	Patriarchy-Compliant vs. -Defiant Women	-0.18	-0.51	0.15	0.51
Immorality Perception (n=1333)	Generic Women vs. Men	-0.11	-0.29	0.06	0.36
	Patriarchy-Compliant Women vs. Men	-0.23	-0.41	-0.05	0.00
	Patriarchy-Defiant Women vs. Men	0.39	0.21	0.56	0.00
	Patriarchy-Compliant vs. -Defiant Women	-0.62	-0.80	-0.44	0.00
Preemptive Repression Toleration (n=1333)	Generic Women vs. Men	-0.31	-0.53	-0.10	0.00
	Patriarchy-Compliant Women vs. Men	-0.47	-0.68	-0.26	0.00
	Patriarchy-Defiant Women vs. Men	-0.02	-0.23	0.19	1.00
	Patriarchy-Compliant vs. -Defiant Women	-0.45	-0.66	-0.24	0.00
Believing Authorities that Protesters were Violent (n=1334)	Generic Women vs. Men	-0.10	-0.39	0.18	0.79
	Patriarchy-Compliant Women vs. Men	-0.40	-0.68	-0.11	0.00
	Patriarchy-Defiant Women vs. Men	0.21	-0.08	0.49	0.24
	Patriarchy-Compliant vs. -Defiant Women	-0.60	-0.89	-0.32	0.00
Reactive Repression Toleration (n=1334)	Generic Women vs. Men	-0.17	-0.40	0.06	0.21
	Patriarchy-Compliant Women vs. Men	-0.42	-0.65	-0.19	0.00
	Patriarchy-Defiant Women vs. Men	0.09	-0.14	0.33	0.71
	Patriarchy-Compliant vs. -Defiant Women	-0.52	-0.75	-0.29	0.00

Note: CI = confidence interval; Controls include respondent's age, gender, education, income, religion, and support for President Putin, all of which were standardized to range from 0-1.

### 3.3 Treatment Heterogeneity

Table A.3.2: The moderating effect of respondents' sex (Experimental Conditions: Men vs. Generic Women)

Outcome	Predictor	df	SS	MS	F	p
Preemptive Repression Tolerance (n=675)	Experimental Condition	1	16.56	16.56	13.09	0.0003
	Male Sex	1	3.65	3.65	2.88	0.0901
	Condition:Sex	1	0.91	0.91	0.72	0.3958
	Residuals	671	848.96	1.27		
Reactive Repression Tolerance (n=675)	Experimental Condition	1	5.52	5.52	2.79	0.0955
	Male Sex	1	21.38	21.38	10.79	0.0011
	Condition:Sex	1	5.61	5.61	2.83	0.0929
	Residuals	671	1329.98	1.98		

Table A.3.3: The moderating effect of respondents' sex (Conditions: Men vs. Patriarchy-Compliant Women)

Outcome	Predictor	df	SS	MS	F	p
Preemptive Repression Tolerance (n=665)	Experimental Condition	1	36.40	36.40	28.00	0.0000
	Male Sex	1	0.23	0.23	0.18	0.6722
	Condition:Sex	1	0.19	0.19	0.15	0.6988
	Residuals	661	859.47	1.30		
Reactive Repression Tolerance (n=665)	Experimental Condition	1	29.89	29.89	16.29	0.0001
	Male Sex	1	2.04	2.04	1.11	0.2918
	Condition:Sex	1	0.57	0.57	0.31	0.5761
	Residuals	661	1212.79	1.83		

Table A.3.4: The moderating effect of respondents' sex (Conditions: Patriarchy-Compliant Women vs. Patriarchy-Defiant Women)

Outcome	Predictor	df	SS	MS	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Preemptive Repression Tolerance ( <i>n</i> =673)	Experimental Condition	1	35.10	35.10	26.14	0.0000
	Male Sex	1	14.60	14.60	10.88	0.0010
	Condition:Sex	1	13.75	13.75	10.24	0.0014
	Residuals	669	898.29	1.34		
Reactive Repression Tolerance ( <i>n</i> =673)	Experimental Condition	1	44.19	44.19	24.10	0.0000
	Male Sex	1	27.66	27.66	15.09	0.0001
	Condition:Sex	1	20.14	20.14	10.99	0.0010
	Residuals	669	1226.50	1.83		

Table A.3.5: The moderating effect of respondents' sex (Conditions: Men vs. Patriarchy-Defiant Women)

Outcome	Predictor	df	SS	MS	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Preemptive Repression Tolerance ( <i>n</i> =670)	Experimental Condition	1	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.9078
	Male Sex	1	18.29	18.29	11.75	0.0006
	Condition:Sex	1	10.49	10.49	6.74	0.0096
	Residuals	666	1036.09	1.56		
Reactive Repression Tolerance ( <i>n</i> =670)	Experimental Condition	1	1.31	1.31	0.65	0.4196
	Male Sex	1	36.30	36.30	18.07	0.0000
	Condition:Sex	1	13.66	13.66	6.80	0.0093
	Residuals	666	1337.93	2.01		

Table A.3.6: Subset Analysis for Male Respondents (Experimental Conditions: Patriarchy-Compliant Women vs. Patriarchy-Defiant Women)

Outcome	Mean Difference	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper	p-value
Preemptive Repression Tolerance ( <i>N</i> =280)	-0.79	-1.11	-0.46	0.00
Reactive Repression Tolerance ( <i>N</i> =280)	-0.91	-1.28	-0.54	0.00

Table A.3.7: Subset Analysis for Male Respondents (Conditions: Men vs. Patriarchy-Defiant Women)

Outcome	Mean Difference	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper	p-value
Preemptive Repression Tolerance ( <i>N</i> =273)	0.28	-0.07	0.63	0.12
Reactive Repression Tolerance ( <i>N</i> =273)	0.41	0.02	0.80	0.04

Table A.3.8: Subset Analysis for Female Respondents (Conditions: Patriarchy-Compliant vs. -Defiant Women)

Outcome	Mean Difference	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper	p-value
Preemptive Repression Tolerance ( <i>N</i> =393)	-0.21	-0.40	-0.02	0.03
Reactive Repression Tolerance ( <i>N</i> =393)	-0.21	-0.44	0.03	0.08

Table A.3.9: Subset Analysis for Female Respondents (Conditions: Men vs. Patriarchy-Defiant Women)

Outcome	Mean Difference	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper	p-value
Preemptive Repression Tolerance ( <i>N</i> =397)	-0.23	-0.45	-0.02	0.03
Reactive Repression Tolerance ( <i>N</i> =397)	-0.17	-0.42	0.07	0.17

Table A.3.10: Demographic Covariates as Moderators of the Treatment Effect

Outcome	Predictor	df	SS	MS	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Preemptive Repression Tolerance ( <i>n</i> =1350)	Experimental Condition	3	53.72	17.91	13.73	0.0000
	Male Sex	1	16.48	16.48	12.64	0.0004
	Condition:Sex	3	16.43	5.48	4.20	0.0057
	Residuals	1340	1747.25	1.30		
Reactive Repression Tolerance ( <i>n</i> =1350)	Experimental Condition	3	51.95	17.32	9.08	0.0000
	Male Sex	1	48.57	48.57	25.46	0.0000
	Condition:Sex	3	25.59	8.53	4.47	0.0039
	Residuals	1341	2557.82	1.91		
Preemptive Repression Tolerance ( <i>n</i> =1348)	Experimental Condition	3	55.29	18.43	15.58	0.0000
	Support for Putin	1	193.68	193.68	163.75	0.0000
	Condition:Support for Putin	3	4.63	1.54	1.30	0.2717
	Residuals	1330	1573.05	1.18		
Reactive Repression Tolerance ( <i>n</i> =1349)	Experimental Condition	3	52.08	17.36	12.35	0.0000
	Support for Putin	1	747.09	747.09	531.44	0.0000
	Condition:Support for Putin	3	7.64	2.55	1.81	0.1431
	Residuals	1331	1871.10	1.41		
Preemptive Repression Tolerance ( <i>n</i> =1348)	Experimental Condition	3	50.98	16.99	12.99	0.0000
	Tertiary Education	1	3.75	3.75	2.87	0.0906
	Condition:Tertiary Education	3	1.84	0.61	0.47	0.7049
	Residuals	1335	1746.86	1.31		
Reactive Repression Tolerance ( <i>n</i> =1349)	Experimental Condition	3	51.22	17.07	8.73	0.0000
	Tertiary Education	1	0.84	0.84	0.43	0.5123
	Condition:Tertiary Education	3	2.21	0.74	0.38	0.7702
	Residuals	1336	2612.65	1.96		
Preemptive Repression Tolerance ( <i>n</i> =1350)	Experimental Condition	3	53.72	17.91	13.52	0.0000
	Orthodox Religion	1	1.76	1.76	1.33	0.2495
	Condition:Orthodox	3	3.37	1.12	0.85	0.4676
	Residuals	1340	1775.03	1.32		
Reactive Repression Tolerance ( <i>n</i> =1350)	Experimental Condition	3	51.95	17.32	8.88	0.0000
	Orthodox Religion	1	11.25	11.25	5.77	0.0164
	Condition:Orthodox	3	6.26	2.09	1.07	0.3607
	Residuals	1341	2614.46	1.95		
Preemptive Repression Tolerance ( <i>n</i> =1350)	Experimental Condition	3	53.72	17.91	13.65	0.0000
	Age	1	20.05	20.05	15.28	0.0001
	Condition:Age	3	1.99	0.66	0.51	0.6783
	Residuals	1340	1758.11	1.31		
Reactive Repression Tolerance ( <i>n</i> =1350)	Experimental Condition	3	51.95	17.32	8.89	0.0000
	Age	1	9.68	9.68	4.97	0.0260
	Condition:Age	3	9.24	3.08	1.58	0.1924
	Residuals	1341	2613.06	1.95		
Preemptive Repression Tolerance ( <i>n</i> =1350)	Experimental Condition	3	53.72	17.91	13.55	0.0000
	Income	1	0.65	0.65	0.49	0.4845
	Condition:Income	3	8.97	2.99	2.26	0.0793
	Residuals	1340	1770.54	1.32		
Reactive Repression Tolerance ( <i>n</i> =1350)	Experimental Condition	3	51.95	17.32	8.85	0.0000
	Income	1	0.93	0.93	0.48	0.4907
	Condition:Income	3	8.08	2.69	1.38	0.2479
	Residuals	1341	2622.96	1.96		

## 4 Manipulation Checks

As a manipulation check, at the end of the survey, I asked respondents how protesters were described (multiple answers allowed: 1-Men; 2-Students; 3-Women; 4-Pensioners; 5-Mothers; 6-Feminists; 7-Teachers; 8-Other) and what the motivating issue behind the protest was (one answer

allowed: 1-Worsening Economy; 2-Corruption; 3-LGBT rights; 4-Election Transparency; 5-Foreign Interference; 6-Other).

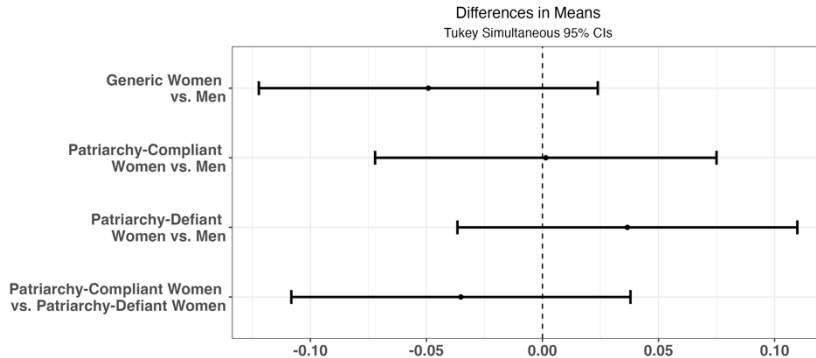
## 4.1 Gender of Protesters

As Table A.4.1.1 shows, around 84% of respondents across all four conditions correctly identified how protesters in their condition were described. As Figure A.4.1.1 indicates, no statistically significant differences between relevant experimental conditions were detected.

Table A.4.1.1: Results of a manipulation check (gender of protesters)

Condition	N	Mean	SD
Men	331	0.84	0.37
Generic Women	344	0.79	0.41
Patriarchy-Compliant Women	334	0.84	0.37
Patriarchy-Defiant Women	340	0.88	0.33
All	1349	0.84	0.37

Figure A.4.1.1: The effect of experimental condition on success of manipulating protesters' gender



Note: See Table A.4.1.2 below for numeric results.

Table A.4.1.2: Differences between experimental condition on success of manipulating protesters' gender

Group Comparison	Mean Difference	95% CI		p-value
		Lower	Upper	
Generic Women vs. Men	-0.05	-0.12	0.02	0.31
Patriarchy-Compliant Women vs. Men	0.00	-0.07	0.07	1.00
Patriarchy-Defiant Women vs. Men	0.04	-0.04	0.11	0.57
Patriarchy-Compliant vs. Patriarchy-Defiant Women	-0.04	-0.11	0.04	0.60

Note: Sample size used = 1349; CI = Confidence Interval.



## 4.2 Protest Issue

As Table A.4.2.1 shows, around 86% of respondents across all four conditions correctly identified the motivating issue behind the protest, namely worsening economic conditions in Russia.

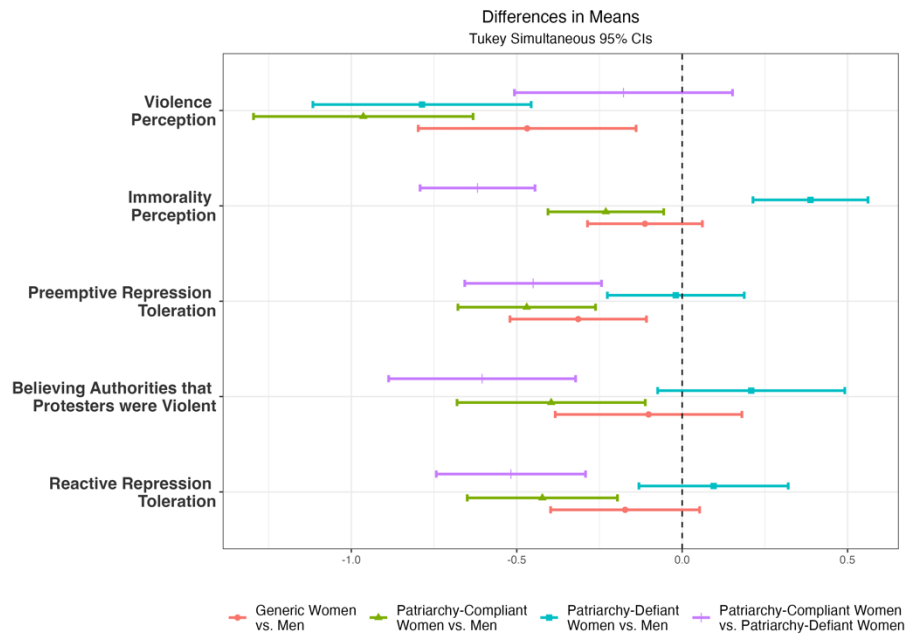
Table A.4.2.1: Results of a manipulation check (protest issue)

Condition	N	Mean	SD
Men	331	0.86	0.35
Generic Women	344	0.89	0.32
Patriarchy-Compliant Women	334	0.90	0.31
Patriarchy-Defiant Women	340	0.81	0.40
All	1349	0.86	0.34

## 4.3 Conditioning on Manipulation Checks

Table A.4.3.1 and Figure A.4.3.1 display results when my models include manipulation checks as controls. Conditioning my analyses on manipulation checks produces results that are consistent with the findings presented in the main body of the paper.

Figure A.4.3.1: The Effect of Protesters' Gender on Public Reactions to Protest, Manipulation Checks Included as Controls



Note: See Table A.4.3.1 below for numeric results.

Table A.4.3.1: The Effect of Protesters' Gender on Public Reactions to Protest, Manipulation Checks Included as Controls

Outcome	Group Comparison	Mean Difference	95% CI		p-value
			Lower	Upper	
Preemptive Violence Perception (n=1334)	Generic Women vs. Men	-0.47	-0.80	-0.14	0.00
	Patriarchy-Compliant Women vs. Men	-0.96	-1.30	-0.63	0.00
	Patriarchy-Defiant Women vs. Men	-0.79	-1.12	-0.46	0.00
	Patriarchy-Compliant vs. Patriarchy-Defiant Women	-0.18	-0.51	0.15	0.51
Immorality Perception (n=1333)	Generic Women vs. Men	-0.11	-0.29	0.06	0.34
	Patriarchy-Compliant Women vs. Men	-0.23	-0.41	-0.06	0.00
	Patriarchy-Defiant Women vs. Men	0.39	0.21	0.56	0.00
	Patriarchy-Compliant vs. Patriarchy-Defiant Women	-0.62	-0.79	-0.44	0.00
Preemptive Repression Toleration (n=1333)	Generic Women vs. Men	-0.31	-0.52	-0.11	0.00
	Patriarchy-Compliant Women vs. Men	-0.47	-0.68	-0.26	0.00
	Patriarchy-Defiant Women vs. Men	-0.02	-0.23	0.19	1.00
	Patriarchy-Compliant vs. Patriarchy-Defiant Women	-0.45	-0.66	-0.24	0.00
Believing Authorities that Protesters were Violent (n=1334)	Generic Women vs. Men	-0.10	-0.38	0.18	0.79
	Patriarchy-Compliant Women vs. Men	-0.40	-0.68	-0.11	0.00
	Patriarchy-Defiant Women vs. Men	0.21	-0.07	0.49	0.23
	Patriarchy-Compliant vs. Patriarchy-Defiant Women	-0.60	-0.89	-0.32	0.00
Reactive Repression Toleration (n=1334)	Generic Women vs. Men	-0.17	-0.40	0.05	0.20
	Patriarchy-Compliant Women vs. Men	-0.42	-0.65	-0.20	0.00
	Patriarchy-Defiant Women vs. Men	0.09	-0.13	0.32	0.70
	Patriarchy-Compliant vs. Patriarchy-Defiant Women	-0.52	-0.74	-0.29	0.00

Note: CI = Confidence Interval. Controls include manipulation checks as well as respondent's age, gender, education, income, religion, and support for President Putin, all of which were standardized to range from 0-1.

## 5 Weighted Analysis

As shown in Table A.5.1, results from Tukey HSD analyses with weights for age and gender are consistent with the findings presented in the main body of the paper. Weights were created using a ranking approach where I specify the sample should be 45% male and 55% female, 34% aged 18-34, 35% aged 35-54 and 31% aged 55+, corresponding to national benchmarks (See Figure A.1.2).

Table A.5.1: Tukey HSD Test Results Weighted by Respondent's Gender and Age

Outcome	Group Comparison	Mean Difference	95% CI		p-value
			Lower	Upper	
Preemptive Violence Perception (n=1344)	Generic Women vs. Men	-0.63	-1.00	-0.26	0.00
	Patriarchy-Compliant Women vs. Men	-1.00	-1.38	-0.62	0.00
	Patriarchy-Defiant Women vs. Men	-0.94	-1.32	-0.56	0.00
	Patriarchy-Compliant vs. Patriarchy-Defiant Women	-0.06	-0.44	0.31	0.97
Immorality Perception (n=1343)	Generic Women vs. Men	-0.10	-0.29	0.10	0.57
	Patriarchy-Compliant Women vs. Men	-0.18	-0.37	0.02	0.09
	Patriarchy-Defiant Women vs. Men	0.34	0.15	0.53	0.00
	Patriarchy-Compliant vs. Patriarchy-Defiant Women	-0.51	-0.71	-0.32	0.00
Preemptive Repression Toleration (n=1343)	Generic Women vs. Men	-0.25	-0.47	-0.02	0.03
	Patriarchy-Compliant Women vs. Men	-0.42	-0.65	-0.19	0.00
	Patriarchy-Defiant Women vs. Men	-0.03	-0.25	0.20	0.99
	Patriarchy-Compliant vs. Patriarchy-Defiant Women	-0.40	-0.62	-0.17	0.00
Believing Authorities that Protesters were Violent (n=1344)	Generic Women vs. Men	0.09	-0.23	0.41	0.90
	Patriarchy-Compliant Women vs. Men	-0.26	-0.58	0.06	0.16
	Patriarchy-Defiant Women vs. Men	0.30	-0.02	0.62	0.07
	Patriarchy-Compliant vs. Patriarchy-Defiant Women	-0.56	-0.88	-0.24	0.00
Reactive Repression Toleration (n=1344)	Generic Women vs. Men	-0.09	-0.36	0.19	0.86
	Patriarchy-Compliant Women vs. Men	-0.40	-0.68	-0.12	0.00
	Patriarchy-Defiant Women vs. Men	0.10	-0.18	0.38	0.79
	Patriarchy-Compliant vs. Patriarchy-Defiant Women	-0.50	-0.77	-0.22	0.00

Note: CI = confidence interval.

## 6 T-Test Analysis

Tables A.6.1-4 display the results from individual  $t$ -tests. These results are consistent with the results from Tukey's HSD, which are presented in the main body of the paper.

A.6.1:  $t$ -test results comparing public reactions to male and female protesters

	Outcome	$\mu_m$	$\mu_w$	$\mu_m - \mu_w$	$t$	$p$	$df$
	Violence Perception	4.11	3.65	0.46	3.17	0.00	672
	Immorality Perception	1.92	1.82	0.11	1.49	0.14	672
	Preemptive Repression Toleration	3.31	3.20	0.10	0.85	0.40	673
Believing Authorities that Protesters were Violent		2.10	1.78	0.31	3.60	0.00	640
	Reactive Repression Toleration	3.08	2.90	0.18	1.66	0.10	672

Note:  $\mu_m$  = Mean response among subjects exposed to male protesters;  $\mu_w$  = Mean response among subjects exposed to women protesters;  $df$  = degrees of freedom.

A.6.2:  $t$ -test results comparing public reactions to male and patriarchy-compliant female protesters

	Outcome	$\mu_m$	$\mu_{tw}$	$\mu_m - \mu_{tw}$	$t$	$p$	$df$
	Violence Perception	4.11	3.15	0.96	6.56	0.00	661
	Immorality Perception	1.92	1.70	0.22	3.10	0.00	663
	Preemptive Repression Toleration	3.31	2.90	0.41	3.36	0.00	663
Believing Authorities that Protesters were Violent		2.10	1.63	0.47	5.29	0.00	644
	Reactive Repression Toleration	3.08	2.65	0.42	4.04	0.00	656

Note:  $\mu_m$  = Mean response among subjects exposed to male protesters;  $\mu_{tw}$  = Mean response among subjects exposed to patriarchy-compliant women protesters;  $df$  = degrees of freedom.

A.6.3:  $t$ -test results comparing public reactions to male and patriarchy-defiant female protesters

	Outcome	$\mu_m$	$\mu_{ntw}$	$\mu_m - \mu_{ntw}$	$t$	$p$	$df$
	Violence Perception	4.11	3.34	0.77	5.51	0.00	667
	Immorality Perception	1.92	2.32	-0.39	-5.13	0.00	663
	Preemptive Repression Toleration	3.31	3.52	-0.21	-1.71	0.09	666
Believing Authorities that Protesters were Violent		2.10	2.09	0.01	0.11	0.91	668
	Reactive Repression Toleration	3.08	3.17	-0.09	-0.79	0.43	668

Note:  $\mu_m$  = Mean response among subjects exposed to male protesters;  $\mu_{ntw}$  = Mean response among subjects exposed to patriarchy-defiant women protesters;  $df$  = degrees of freedom.

A.6.4:  $t$ -test results comparing reactions to patriarchy-compliant and patriarchy-defiant female protesters

	Outcome	$\mu_{tw}$	$\mu_{ntw}$	$\mu_{tw} - \mu_{ntw}$	$t$	$p$	$df$
	Violence Perception	3.15	3.34	-0.19	-1.29	0.20	666
	Immorality Perception	1.70	2.32	-0.62	-8.09	0.00	665
	Preemptive Repression Toleration	2.90	3.52	-0.62	-4.95	0.00	668
Believing Authorities that Protesters were Violent		1.63	2.09	-0.46	-5.05	0.00	645
	Reactive Repression Toleration	2.65	3.17	-0.51	-4.83	0.00	663

Note:  $\mu_{tw}$  = Mean response among subjects exposed to patriarchy-compliant women protesters;  $\mu_{ntw}$  = Mean response among subjects exposed to patriarchy-defiant women protesters;  $df$  = degrees of freedom.

## 7 Mediation Analysis Results

Tables A.7.1-16 below display the results from a series of mediation analyses, conducted using the *mediation* package in R (Tingley et al., 2014). I estimate the *average causal mediation effects* (ACME) and the *average direct effects* (ADE) with 95% confidence intervals obtained via non-parametric bootstrap with 1000 resamples.

Table A.7.1: The mediating effect of preemptive perception of violence on support for repression of patriarchy-compliant vs. patriarchy-defiant female protesters

	Estimate	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper	p-value
Violence Perception (ACME)	-0.03	-0.07	0.00	0.09
Protesters' Gender (ADE)	-0.37	-0.52	-0.19	0.00
Total Effect	-0.40	-0.55	-0.21	0.00
Prop. Mediated	0.07	-0.01	0.17	0.09

Note: Sample size used = 665; CI = Confidence Interval.

Table A.7.2: The mediating effect of preemptive perception of violence on support for repression of patriarchy-compliant female vs. male protesters

	Estimate	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper	p-value
Violence Perception (ACME)	-0.05	-0.11	0.00	0.05
Protesters' Gender (ADE)	-0.41	-0.59	-0.23	0.00
Total Effect	-0.47	-0.62	-0.31	0.00
Prop. Mediated	0.11	-0.00	0.27	0.05

Note: Sample size used = 667; CI = Confidence Interval.

Table A.7.3: The mediating effect of preemptive perception of violence on support for repression of generic female vs. male protesters

	Estimate	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper	p-value
Violence Perception (ACME)	-0.01	-0.03	0.02	0.60
Protesters' Gender (ADE)	-0.28	-0.46	-0.12	0.00
Total Effect	-0.29	-0.47	-0.12	0.00
Prop. Mediated	0.02	-0.08	0.15	0.60

Note: Sample size used = 668; CI = Confidence Interval.

Table A.7.4: The mediating effect of preemptive perception of violence on support for repression of patriarchy-defiant female vs. male protesters

	Estimate	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper	p-value
Violence Perception (ACME)	-0.03	-0.08	0.01	0.13
Protesters' Gender (ADE)	-0.05	-0.22	0.14	0.59
Total Effect	-0.08	-0.24	0.09	0.36
Prop. Mediated	0.42	-4.65	4.01	0.45

Note: Sample size used = 664; CI = Confidence Interval.

Table A.7.5: The mediating effect of reactive violence perception on support for repression of patriarchy-compliant vs. patriarchy-defiant female protesters

	Estimate	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper	p-value
Reactive Violence Perception (ACME)	-0.27	-0.40	-0.15	0.00
Protesters' Gender (ADE)	-0.17	-0.30	-0.02	0.02
Total Effect	-0.44	-0.61	-0.26	0.00
Prop. Mediated	0.62	0.42	0.94	0.00

Note: Sample size used = 665; CI = Confidence Interval.

Table A.7.6: The mediating effect of reactive violence perception on support for repression of patriarchy-compliant female vs. male protesters

	Estimate	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper	p-value
Reactive Violence Perception (ACME)	-0.17	-0.28	-0.08	0.00
Protesters' Gender (ADE)	-0.22	-0.35	-0.07	0.00
Total Effect	-0.39	-0.55	-0.21	0.00
Prop. Mediated	0.45	0.23	0.76	0.00

Note: Sample size used = 657; CI = Confidence Interval.

Table A.7.7: The mediating effect of immorality perception on preemptive support for repression of patriarchy-compliant vs. patriarchy-defiant female protesters

	Estimate	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper	p-value
Immorality Perception (ACME)	-0.32	-0.43	-0.23	0.00
Protesters' Gender (ADE)	-0.08	-0.22	0.09	0.39
Total Effect	-0.40	-0.55	-0.21	0.00
Prop. Mediated	0.81	0.57	1.35	0.00

Note: Sample size used = 665; CI = Confidence Interval.

Table A.7.8: The mediating effect of immorality perception on preemptive support for repression of patriarchy-compliant female vs. male protesters

	Estimate	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper	p-value
Immorality Perception (ACME)	-0.13	-0.21	-0.05	0.00
Protesters' Gender (ADE)	-0.34	-0.49	-0.20	0.00
Total Effect	-0.47	-0.62	-0.31	0.00
Prop. Mediated	0.27	0.12	0.44	0.00

Note: Sample size used = 657; CI = Confidence Interval.

Table A.7.9: The mediating effect of immorality perception on preemptive support for repression of generic female vs. male protesters

	Estimate	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper	p-value
Immorality Perception (ACME)	-0.04	-0.12	0.03	0.21
Protesters' Gender (ADE)	-0.25	-0.39	-0.11	0.00
Total Effect	-0.29	-0.45	-0.14	0.00
Prop. Mediated	0.15	-0.12	0.40	0.21

Note: Sample size used = 667; CI = Confidence Interval.

Table A.7.10: The mediating effect of immorality perception on preemptive support for repression of patriarchy-defiant female vs. male protesters

	Estimate	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper	p-value
Immorality Perception (ACME)	0.22	0.13	0.32	0.00
Protesters' Gender (ADE)	-0.30	-0.44	-0.15	0.00
Total Effect	-0.08	-0.24	0.09	0.36
Prop. Mediated	-2.64	-29.80	28.52	0.36

Note: Sample size used = 664; CI = Confidence Interval.

Table A.7.11: The mediating effect of immorality perception on reactive support for repression of patriarchy-compliant vs. patriarchy-defiant female protesters

	Estimate	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper	p-value
Immorality Perception (ACME)	-0.30	-0.40	-0.21	0.00
Protesters' Gender (ADE)	-0.13	-0.29	0.05	0.14
Total Effect	-0.44	-0.61	-0.26	0.00
Prop. Mediated	0.70	0.48	1.16	0.00

Note: Sample size used = 665; CI = Confidence Interval.

Table A.7.12: The mediating effect of immorality perception on reactive support for repression of patriarchy-compliant female vs. male protesters

	Estimate	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper	p-value
Immorality Perception (ACME)	-0.12	-0.20	-0.05	0.00
Protesters' Gender (ADE)	-0.27	-0.45	-0.10	0.00
Total Effect	-0.39	-0.55	-0.21	0.00
Prop. Mediated	0.31	0.14	0.58	0.00

Note: Sample size used = 657; CI = Confidence Interval.

Table A.7.13: The mediating effect of immorality perception on reactive support for repression of patriarchy-defiant female vs. male protesters

	Estimate	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper	p-value
Immorality Perception (ACME)	0.18	0.11	0.27	0.00
Protesters' Gender (ADE)	-0.14	-0.30	0.03	0.11
Total Effect	0.05	-0.13	0.23	0.62
Prop. Mediated	4.09	-30.49	24.37	0.62

Note: Sample size used = 664; CI = Confidence Interval.

Table A.7.14: The mediating effect of immorality perception on reactive perception of violence of patriarchy-compliant vs. patriarchy-defiant female protesters

	Estimate	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper	p-value
Immorality Perception (ACME)	-0.38	-0.50	-0.27	0.00
Protesters' Gender (ADE)	-0.16	-0.38	0.06	0.17
Total Effect	-0.54	-0.77	-0.31	0.00
Prop. Mediated	0.70	0.47	1.19	0.00

Note: Sample size used = 665; CI = Confidence Interval.

Table A.7.15: The mediating effect of immorality perception on reactive perception of violence of patriarchy-compliant female vs. male protesters

	Estimate	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper	p-value
Immorality Perception (ACME)	-0.11	-0.18	-0.04	0.00
Protesters' Gender (ADE)	-0.24	-0.43	-0.05	0.01
Total Effect	-0.35	-0.55	-0.16	0.00
Prop. Mediated	0.31	0.13	0.73	0.00

Note: Sample size used = 657; CI = Confidence Interval.

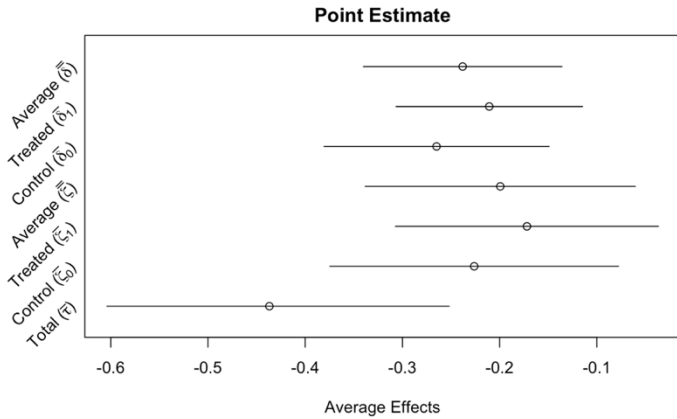
Table A.7.16: The mediating effect of immorality perception on reactive perception of violence of patriarchy-defiant female vs. male protesters

	Estimate	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper	p-value
Immorality Perception (ACME)	0.20	0.11	0.31	0.00
Protesters' Gender (ADE)	-0.03	-0.24	0.16	0.74
Total Effect	0.17	-0.06	0.38	0.13
Prop. Mediated	1.21	-6.00	9.23	0.13

Note: Sample size used = 664; CI = Confidence Interval.

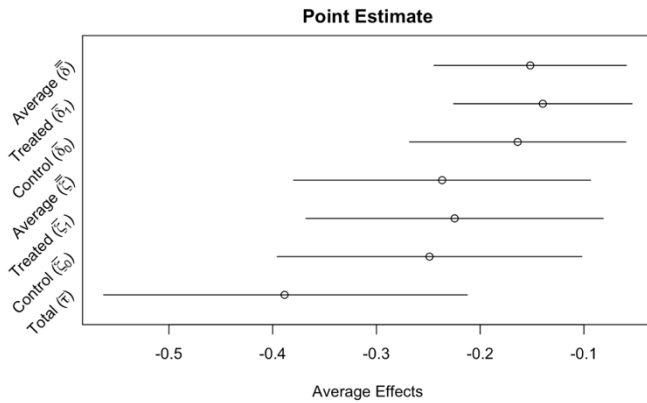
Figures A.7.1 and A.7.2 below display the results from a multiple mediation analysis investigating the mediating effects of reactive violence perception (main mediator) and perceived protesters' morality (alternative mediator) on the relationship between the gender of frontline protesters and public support for protest repression. The multiple mediation analysis was performed using the *multimed* function in the *mediation* package in R and the graphs were produced by the same mediation package (Tingley et al., 2014).

Figure A.7.1: Reactive violence perception (main mediator), perceived immorality (alternative mediator), and support for repression of patriarchy-compliant vs. patriarchy-defiant female protesters



Note: See Table A.7.17 for numeric results.

Figure A.7.2: Reactive violence perception (main mediator), perceived immorality (alternative mediator), and support for repression of patriarchy-compliant female vs. male protesters



Note: See Table A.7.18 for numeric results.

Table A.7.17: The mediating effect of reactive violence perception (main mediator) and perceived immorality (alternative mediator) on support for repressing patriarchy-compliant vs. patriarchy-defiant female protesters

	Estimate	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper
ACME (treated)	-0.21	-0.31	-0.11
ACME (control)	-0.27	-0.38	-0.15
ACME (average)	-0.24	-0.34	-0.13
ADE (treated)	-0.17	-0.31	-0.04
ADE (control)	-0.23	-0.37	-0.08
ADE (average)	-0.20	-0.34	-0.06
Total Effect	-0.44	-0.61	-0.26

Note: Sample size used = 665; CI = Confidence Interval. Controls include respondent's age, gender, education, income, religion, and support for President Putin, all of which were standardized to range from 0-1.



Table A.7.18: The mediating effect of reactive violence perception (main mediator) and perceived immorality (alternative mediator) on support for repressing patriarchy-compliant female vs. male protesters

	Estimate	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper
ACME (treated)	-0.14	-0.23	-0.05
ACME (control)	-0.16	-0.27	-0.06
ACME (average)	-0.15	-0.25	-0.06
ADE (treated)	-0.23	-0.36	-0.08
ADE (control)	-0.25	-0.39	-0.10
ADE (average)	-0.24	-0.38	-0.10
Total Effect	-0.39	-0.56	-0.21

Note: Sample size used = 657; CI = Confidence Interval. Controls include respondent’s age, gender, education, income, religion, and support for President Putin, all of which were standardized to range from 0-1.

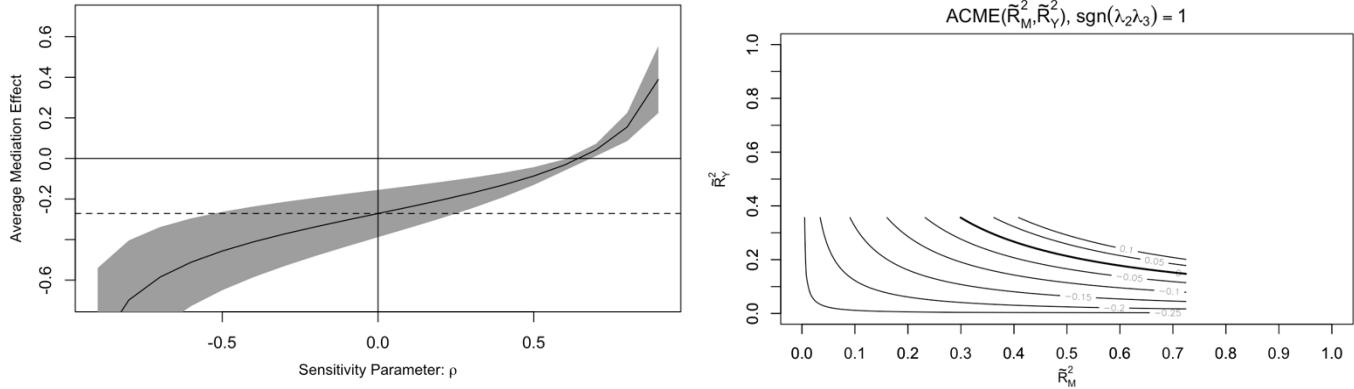
## 8 Mediation Sensitivity Plots

Following Imai et al., (2010), I conduct a sensitivity analysis, which allows us to quantify the threat to causal inference from unmeasured covariates confounding the relationship between the mediator of interest (e.g., a respondent’s perceptions of protesters’ immorality) and the outcome of interest (e.g., a respondent’s tolerance of protest repression). Sensitivity analysis was not conducted for mediation models where the indirect effect (ACME) is not statistically significant.

The plots below represent a graphical summary of sensitivity analyses using the *medsens* function in the *mediation* package in R (Tingley et al., 2014). The left panel in each of the below figures plots values of the true ACME as a function of the correlation  $\rho$  between the error terms in the mediator ( $M$ ) and outcome ( $Y$ ) regression models. The sensitivity analysis is performed by changing the value of  $\rho$  and observing changes in the estimated ACME. The dashed line depicts the estimated ACME under the sequential ignorability assumption ( $\rho = 0$ ). The right panel in each figure shows results from a sensitivity analysis as a function of the product of  $R^2$  statistics corresponding to the mediator and outcome models. Sensitivity analysis with reference to the product of  $R^2$  statistics allows us to quantify the proportion of total variance an unobserved confounder would need to explain in  $M$  and  $Y$  for the point estimate of the ACME to change sign. The *x-axis* (*y-axis*) shows the proportion of total variance in the mediating variable (the outcome variable) explained by the unmeasured confounder. The bold line traces the combinations of  $R^2$  statistics where ACME equals 0.

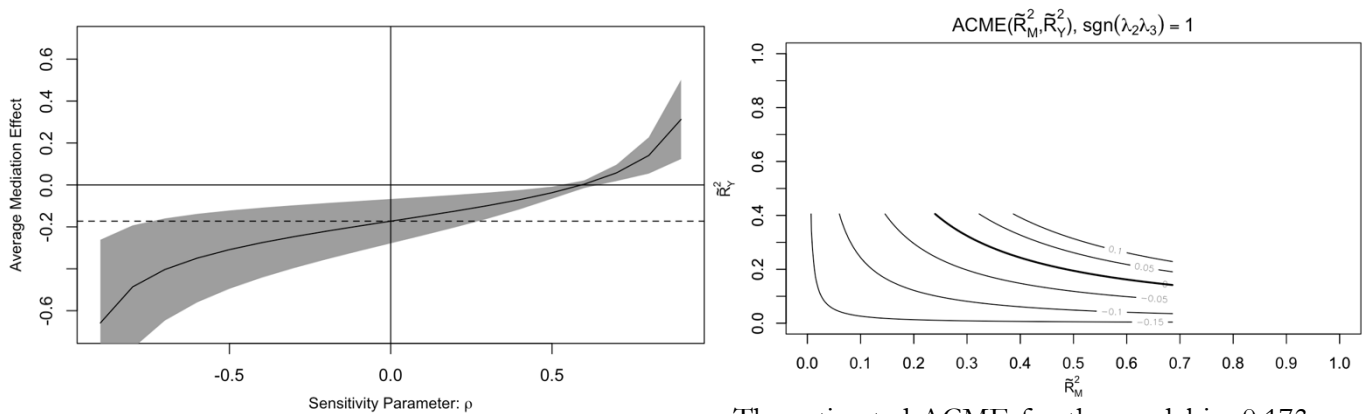
## 8.1 Reactive Perception of Violence and Support for Repression

Figure A.8.1.1: Graphical summary of sensitivity analysis for the mediating effect of reactive perception of violence on support for repression of patriarchy-compliant vs. patriarchy-defiant female protesters



The estimated ACME for the model is -0.272 and the proportion mediated is 62%. The point estimate for ACME becomes 0 when  $\rho$  equals 0.6. With regards to the  $R^2$  statistics version of sensitivity analysis, the product of the  $R^2$  values where ACME equals 0 is 0.115. Therefore, my ACME estimate is robust to confounding if the unobserved confounder explains less than about 34% ( $\approx \sqrt{0.115}$ ) of the total variance in the mediator and outcome.

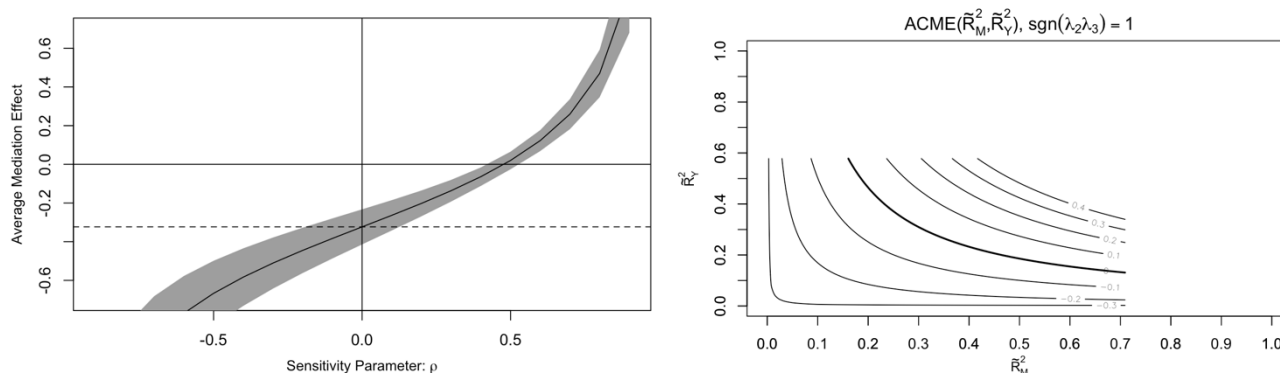
Figure A.8.1.2: Graphical summary of sensitivity analysis for the mediating effect of reactive perception of violence on support for repression of male vs. patriarchy-compliant female protesters



The estimated ACME for the model is -0.173 and the proportion mediated is 45%. The point estimate for ACME becomes 0 when  $\rho$  equals 0.6. With regards to the  $R^2$  statistics version of sensitivity analysis, the product of the  $R^2$  values where ACME equals 0 is 0.124. Therefore, my ACME estimate is robust to confounding if the unobserved confounder explains less than about 35% ( $\approx \sqrt{0.124}$ ) of the total variance in the mediator and outcome.

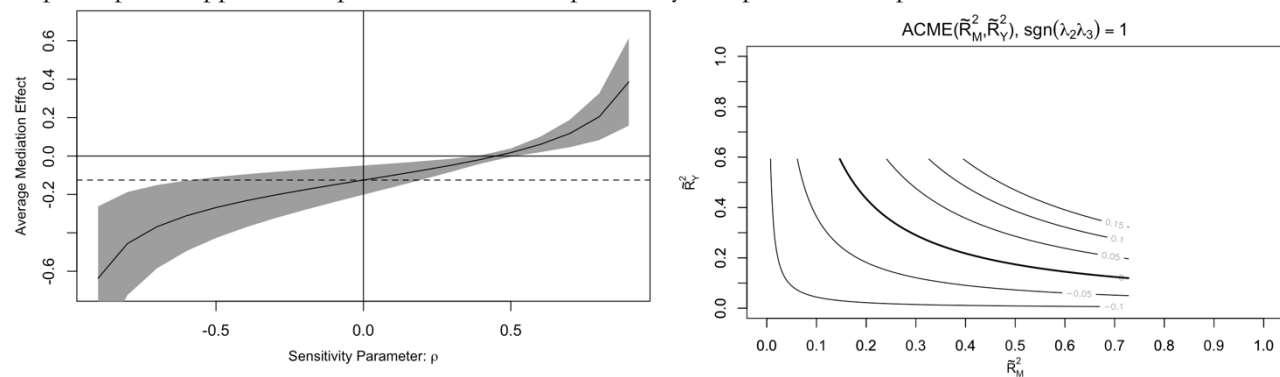
## 8.2 Perceived Immorality and Preemptive Support for Repression

Figure A.8.2.1: Graphical summary of sensitivity analysis for the mediating effect of perceived immorality on preemptive support for repression of patriarchy-compliant vs. patriarchy-defiant female protesters



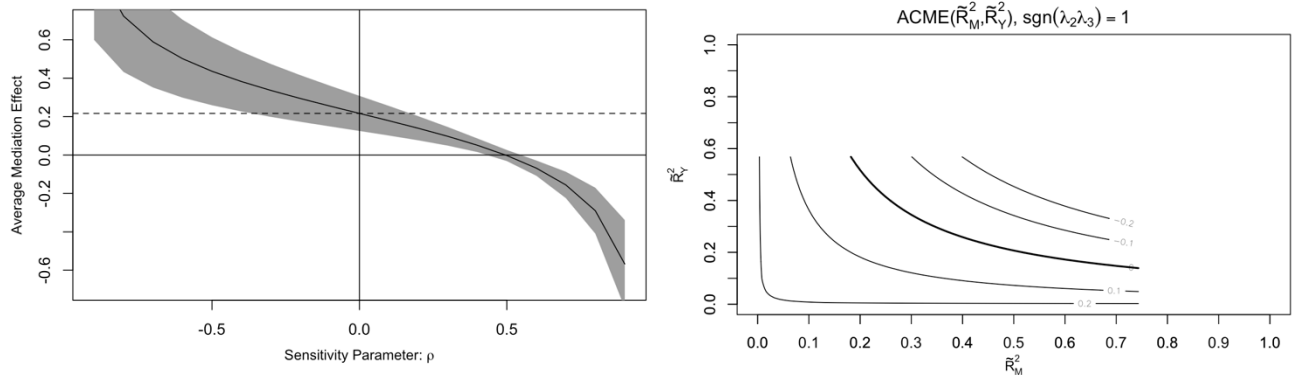
The estimated ACME for the model is -0.324 and the proportion mediated is 81%. The point estimate for ACME becomes 0 when  $\rho$  equals 0.5. With regards to the  $R^2$  statistics version of sensitivity analysis, the product of the  $R^2$  values where ACME equals 0 is 0.127. Therefore, my ACME estimate is robust to confounding if the unobserved confounder explains less than about 36% ( $\approx \sqrt{0.127}$ ) of the total variance in the mediator and outcome.

Figure A.8.2.2: Graphical summary of sensitivity analysis for the mediating effect of perceived immorality on preemptive support for repression of male vs. patriarchy-compliant female protesters



The estimated ACME for the model is -0.125 and the proportion mediated is 27%. The point estimate for ACME becomes 0 when  $\rho$  equals 0.4. With regards to the  $R^2$  statistics version of sensitivity analysis, the product of the  $R^2$  values where ACME equals 0 is 0.085. Therefore, my ACME estimate is robust to confounding if the unobserved confounder explains less than about 29% ( $\approx \sqrt{0.085}$ ) of the total variance in the mediator and outcome.

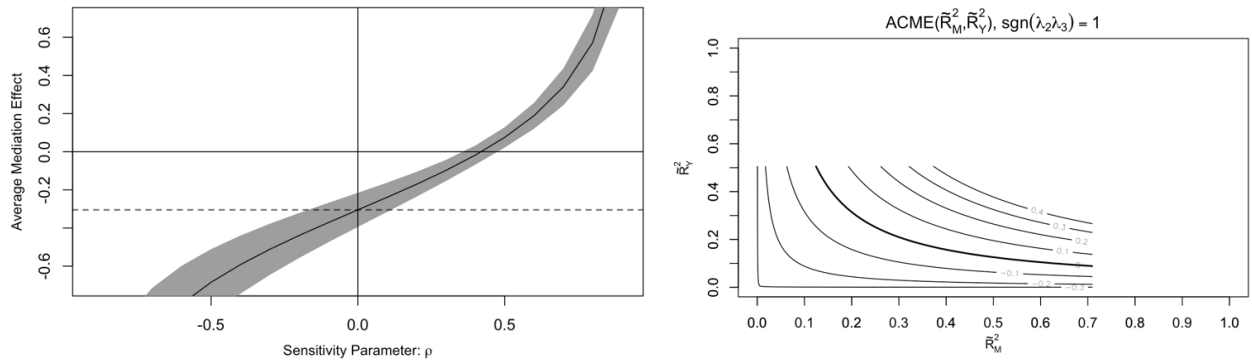
Figure A.8.2.3: Graphical summary of sensitivity analysis for the mediating effect of perceived immorality on preemptive support for repression of male vs. patriarchy-defiant female protesters



The estimated ACME for the model is 0.217 and the proportion mediated is -2.6. The point estimate for ACME becomes 0 when  $\rho$  equals 0.5. With regards to the  $R^2$  statistics version of sensitivity analysis, the product of the  $R^2$  values where ACME equals 0 is 0.13. Therefore, my ACME estimate is robust to confounding if the unobserved confounder explains less than about 36% ( $\approx \sqrt{0.13}$ ) of the total variance in the mediator and outcome.

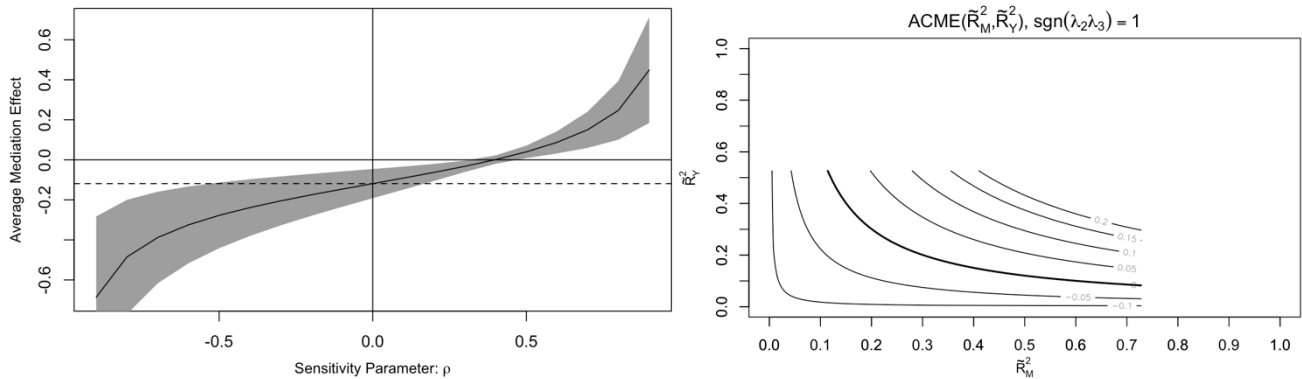
### 8.3 Perceived Immorality and Reactive Support for Repression

Figure A.8.3.1: Graphical summary of sensitivity analysis for the mediating effect of perceived immorality on reactive support for repression of patriarchy-compliant vs. patriarchy-defiant female protesters



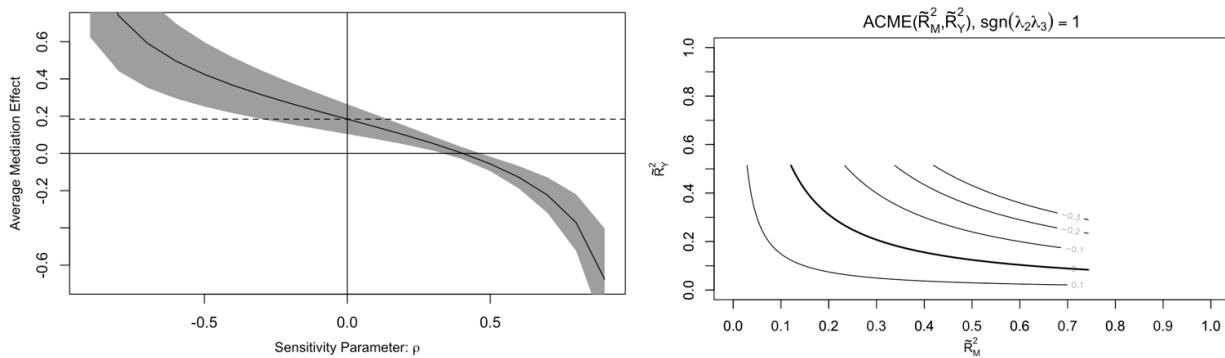
The estimated ACME for the model is -0.305 and the proportion mediated is 70%. The point estimate for ACME becomes 0 when  $\rho$  equals 0.4. With regards to the  $R^2$  statistics version of sensitivity analysis, the product of the  $R^2$  values where ACME equals 0 is 0.071. Therefore, my ACME estimate is robust to confounding if the unobserved confounder explains less than about 27% ( $\approx \sqrt{0.071}$ ) of the total variance in the mediator and outcome.

Figure A.8.3.2: Graphical summary of sensitivity analysis for the mediating effect of perceived immorality on reactive support for repression of male vs. patriarchy-compliant female protesters



The estimated ACME for the model is -0.119 and the proportion mediated is 31%. The point estimate for ACME becomes 0 when  $\rho$  equals 0.4. With regards to the  $R^2$  statistics version of sensitivity analysis, the product of the  $R^2$  values where ACME equals 0 is 0.076. Therefore, my ACME estimate is robust to confounding if the unobserved confounder explains less than about 28% ( $\approx \sqrt{0.076}$ ) of the total variance in the mediator and outcome.

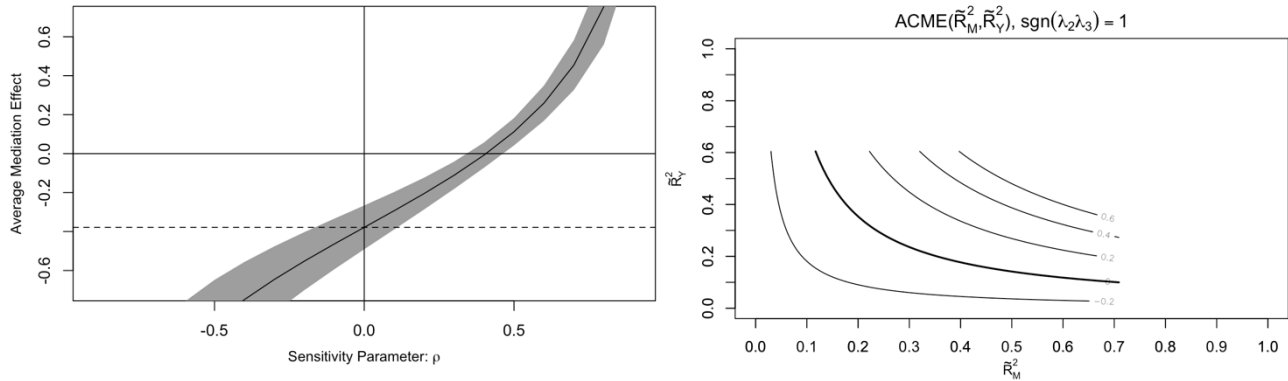
Figure A.8.3.3: Graphical summary of sensitivity analysis for the mediating effect of perceived immorality on reactive support for repression of male vs. patriarchy-defiant female protesters



The estimated ACME for the model is 0.184 and the proportion mediated is 4.1. The point estimate for ACME becomes 0 when  $\rho$  equals 0.4. With regards to the  $R^2$  statistics version of sensitivity analysis, the product of the  $R^2$  values where ACME equals 0 is 0.075. Therefore, my ACME estimate is robust to confounding if the unobserved confounder explains less than about 27% ( $\approx \sqrt{0.075}$ ) of the total variance in the mediator and outcome.

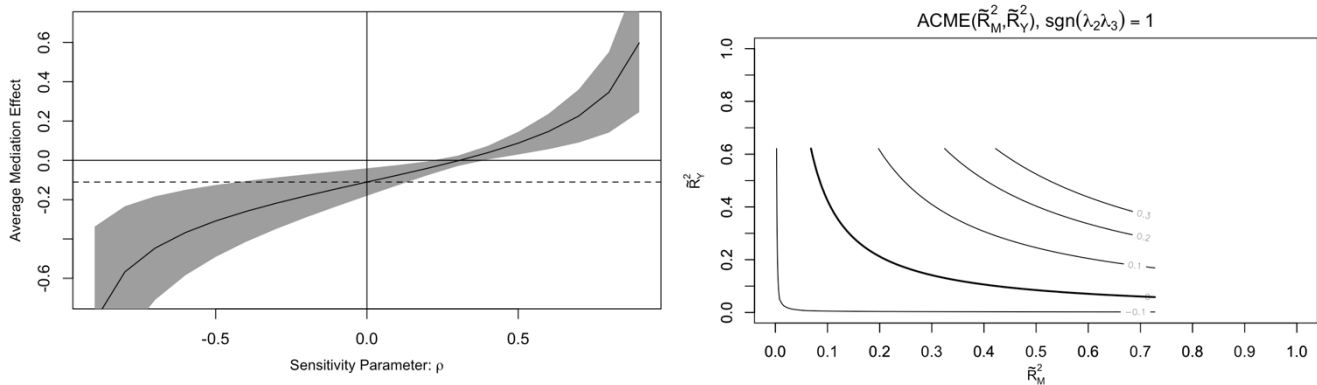
## 8.4 Perceived Immorality and Reactive Perception of Violence

Figure A.8.4.1: Graphical summary of sensitivity analysis for the mediating effect of perceived immorality on reactive perception of violence of patriarchy-compliant vs. patriarchy-defiant female protesters



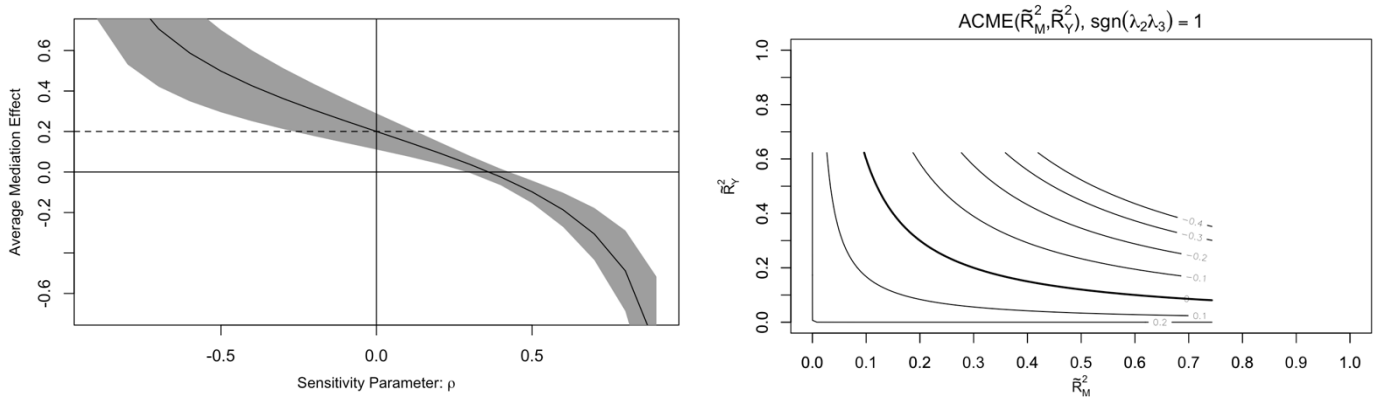
The estimated ACME for the model is -0.379 and the proportion mediated is 70%. The point estimate for ACME becomes 0 when  $\rho$  equals 0.5. With regards to the  $R^2$  statistics version of sensitivity analysis, the product of the  $R^2$  values where ACME equals 0 is 0.127. Therefore, my ACME estimate is robust to confounding if the unobserved confounder explains less than about 36% ( $\approx \sqrt{0.127}$ ) of the total variance in the mediator and outcome.

Figure A.8.4.2: Graphical summary of sensitivity analysis for the mediating effect of perceived immorality on reactive perception of violence of male vs. patriarchy-compliant female protesters



The estimated ACME for the model is -0.110 and the proportion mediated is 31%. The point estimate for ACME becomes 0 when  $\rho$  equals 0.3. With regards to the  $R^2$  statistics version of sensitivity analysis, the product of the  $R^2$  values where ACME equals 0 is 0.05. Therefore, my ACME estimate is robust to confounding if the unobserved confounder explains less than about 22% ( $\approx \sqrt{0.05}$ ) of the total variance in the mediator and outcome.

Figure A.8.4.3: Graphical summary of sensitivity analysis for the mediating effect of perceived immorality on reactive perception of violence of male vs. patriarchy-defiant female protesters

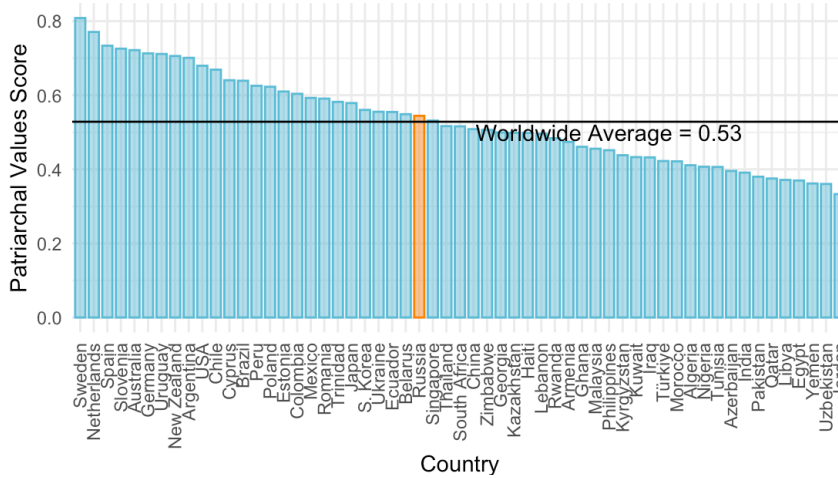


The estimated ACME for the model is 0.2 and the proportion mediated is 1.2. The point estimate for ACME becomes 0 when  $\rho$  equals 0.4. With regards to the  $R^2$  statistics version of sensitivity analysis, the product of the  $R^2$  values where ACME equals 0 is 0.09. Therefore, my ACME estimate is robust to confounding if the unobserved confounder explains less than about 30% ( $\approx \sqrt{0.09}$ ) of the total variance in the mediator and outcome.

## 9 Patriarchal Values in Russia

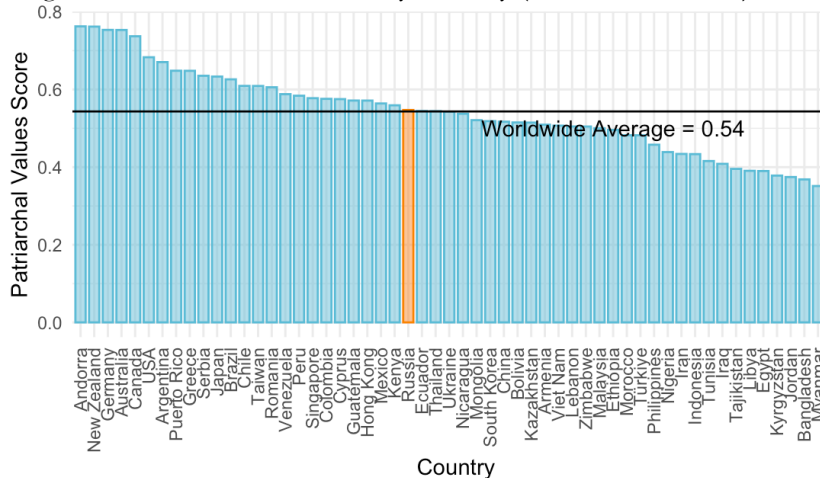
Figure A.9.1 below compares Russia to other countries with respect to patriarchal values. To measure patriarchal values, I create an index using World Values Survey (WVS) questions suited to indicate support for the subordination of women to men. Example items include: “When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women.” “On the whole men make better political leaders than women do.” “A university education is more important for a boy than for a girl.” Each item is a Likert-style agree/disagree question.

Figure A.9.1: Patriarchal Scores by Country (WVS-6, 2010-2014)



Note: WVS-6 World Mean: 0.53; WVS-6 Russia Mean: 0.54

Figure A.9.2: Patriarchal Scores by Country (WVS-7, 2017-2020)



Note: WVS-7 World Mean: 0.54; WVS-7 Russia Mean: 0.55

## 10 Single-Day Protest Arrests

**2011:** Over 625 arrests, December 6<sup>th</sup>. “For Fair Elections” Protest.

Balmforth, Tom. “Hundreds Arrested On Second Night Of Opposition Protests In Russia.” *Radio Free Europe*, 6 Dec. 2011, [www.rferl.org/a/russia\\_rallies\\_arrests\\_opposition\\_protests/24413923.html](http://www.rferl.org/a/russia_rallies_arrests_opposition_protests/24413923.html).

**2012:** About 650 arrests, May 6<sup>th</sup>. Election protest.

“Russia: Investigate Police Use of Force against Peaceful Protesters.” *Human Rights Watch*, 8 May 2012, [www.hrw.org/news/2012/05/08/russia-investigate-police-use-force-against-peaceful-protesters](http://www.hrw.org/news/2012/05/08/russia-investigate-police-use-force-against-peaceful-protesters).



**2014:** Around 500 arrests, February 24<sup>th</sup>. Protestor rights protest.  
“Mass Arrest of Protesters at Rallies in Russia.” *BBC News*, 25 Feb. 2014, [www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-26337693](http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-26337693).

**2017:** 1769 arrests, June 12<sup>th</sup>. Anti-corruption protest.  
“12 Июня На Улицы Вышло Больше Людей, Чем 26 Марта Карта Протестов ‘Медузы’ и ‘ОВД-Инфо’. Самые Полные Данные (More people took to the streets on June 12 than on March 26 Map of protests by Meduza and OVD-Info. The most complete data).” *Meduza*, 13 June 2017, <https://meduza.io/feature/2017/06/13/skolko-lyudey-protestovali-12-iyunya-i-skolko-zaderzhali>

**2018:** Around 1600 arrests, May 5<sup>th</sup>. Anti-corruption protest:  
“Russia’s Alexei Navalny Arrested as 1,600 Detained Nationwide.” *The Guardian*, 5 May 2018, [www.theguardian.com/world/2018/may/05/russian-police-arrest-more-than-200-anti-putin-protesters-siberia](http://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/may/05/russian-police-arrest-more-than-200-anti-putin-protesters-siberia).

**2019:** Over 1373 arrests, July 27<sup>th</sup>. Duma election protest.  
Oliynyk, Kateryna. “Blood, Broken Legs, and Mass Detentions: 2019’s Moscow Protests.” *Radio Free Europe*, 23 Dec. 2019, [www.rferl.org/a/moscow-protests-2019-photos-detentions-blood-broken-legs/30330552.html](http://www.rferl.org/a/moscow-protests-2019-photos-detentions-blood-broken-legs/30330552.html).

**2021:** Over 4000 arrests, January 23<sup>rd</sup>. Over 5000, January 31<sup>st</sup>. Pro-Navalny protest.  
“Список Задержанных На Акции в Поддержку Алексея Навального 31 Января 2021 Года: ОВД (List of detainees at the rally in support of Alexei Navalny on January 31, 2021).” *OVD-Info News*, 31 Jan. 2021, <https://ovd.news/news/2021/01/31/spisok-zaderzhannyh-na-akcii-v-podderzhku-alekseya-navalnogo-31-yanvarya-2021-goda>.

“Russia: Police Double down on Detaining Protesters.” *Human Rights Watch*, 1 Feb. 2021, [www.hrw.org/news/2021/01/31/russia-police-double-down-detaining-protesters](http://www.hrw.org/news/2021/01/31/russia-police-double-down-detaining-protesters).

**2022:** Around 5,000 arrests, March 26<sup>th</sup>. Anti-war protest.  
Treisman, Rachel. “Russia Arrests Nearly 5,000 Anti-War Protesters over the Weekend.” *NPR*, 7 Mar. 2022, [www.npr.org/2022/03/07/1084967986/russia-arrests-more-protesters](http://www.npr.org/2022/03/07/1084967986/russia-arrests-more-protesters).

“Cracked Heads and Tasers: Results of the March 6th Anti-War Protests.” *OVD-Info News*, 7 Mar. 2022, <https://en.ovdinfo.org/cracked-heads-and-tasers-results-march-6th-anti-war-protests>.