# Online Supplementary Material

# SM 1: Comparability of the different survey waves

Since the data is cross-sectional – for every wave, new samples were drawn – it might be that changes in prejudice between different waves are rather due to different, incomparable samples than to political events. To account for this possibility, I checked if the composition of the samples differs in several demographic characteristics that should be rather stable between successive years. If the samples of successive waves are rather similar in these characteristics, it seems plausible to argue that the different samples are comparable and that sampling succeeded either in obtaining unbiased samples that reflect the characteristics of the population or samples that are biased in the same way and thus allow comparison.

Table 1 shows the mean of age, the proportion of males and the proportion of urban residents. Using t-tests I checked if these number differ significantly from the year before (p-values are reported in the table). The analysis shows some significant differences between the different waves, but those are rather rare.

Similarly, Figures 1-4 show the density of age for the samples of the different waves. Generally, the age structure in succeeding years is rather similar. At last, Figure 5 presents the education level for different waves. The figures indicate that the differences are rather small.

Table 1: Comparison of different characteristics between the different samples

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Year | Mean Age | p-value t-test age | Proportion male | p-value proportion test male | Proportion urban | p-value proportion test urban |
| 1995 | 46.58 |  | 0.448 |  | 0.512 |  |
| 1996 | 46.36 | 0.760 | 0.440 | 0.674 | 0.618 | 0.000 |
| 1997 | 46.40 | 0.952 | 0.403 | 0.054 | 0.534 | 0.000 |
| 1998 | 48.39 | 0.003 | 0.407 | 0.818 | 0.551 | 0.369 |
| 1999 | 47.79 | 0.401 | 0.428 | 0.291 | 0.537 | 0.458 |
| 2000 | 48.54 | 0.269 | 0.428 | 0.996 | 0.560 | 0.227 |
| 2001 | 48.90 | 0.570 | 0.403 | 0.159 | 0.544 | 0.390 |
| 2002 | 49.09 | 0.766 | 0.410 | 0.698 | 0.546 | 0.925 |
| 2003 | 48.40 | 0.281 | 0.391 | 0.271 | 0.562 | 0.349 |
| 2004 | 46.63 | 0.005 | 0.407 | 0.342 | 0.559 | 0.830 |
| 2006 | 47.69 | 0.093 | 0.387 | 0.256 | 0.567 | 0.629 |
| 2007 | 48.41 | 0.246 | 0.376 | 0.501 | 0.520 | 0.008 |
| 2008 | 47.87 | 0.374 | 0.375 | 0.942 | 0.558 | 0.032 |
| 2009 | 47.56 | 0.615 | 0.366 | 0.597 | 0.537 | 0.227 |
| 2010 | 48.33 | 0.220 | 0.419 | 0.002 | 0.582 | 0.010 |
| 2012 | 48.49 | 0.787 | 0.379 | 0.019 | 0.585 | 0.875 |
| 2013 | 49.53 | 0.089 | 0.381 | 0.892 | 0.571 | 0.438 |
| 2014 | 50.58 | 0.077 | 0.377 | 0.840 | 0.584 | 0.451 |
| 2015 | 50.31 | 0.639 | 0.367 | 0.541 | 0.603 | 0.268 |
| 2016 | 49.41 | 0.122 | 0.362 | 0.730 | 0.582 | 0.197 |
| 2017 | 49.95 | 0.332 | 0.387 | 0.109 | 0.570 | 0.471 |
| 2018 | 49.28 | 0.213 | 0.366 | 0.184 | 0.583 | 0.430 |



Figure 1: Density of age in the different waves, 1995-2000



Figure 2: Density of age in the different waves, 2000-2006



Figure 3: Density of age in the different waves, 2006-2012



Figure 4: Density of age in the different waves, 2012-2018



Figure 5: Education level in the different waves

# SM 2: Samples

## First sample

The categorization as a Ukrainian speaking Ukrainian – the first sample – is determined by two different aspects, ethnicity and language. Ethnicity is measured with the question: “Of which ethnicity [*national’nist’*] do you consider yourself to be?” The given answer categories are Ukrainian, Russian and a residual category. In the sample fall only those that answered Ukrainian. It was noted when people answered – which was not an answer category suggested by the interviewer – to be both Ukrainian and Russian, which happened in around 2% of the sample. In several years (and since 2007 regularly), those having responded Ukrainian or Russian were asked to classify themselves into a five-point scale from “only Ukrainian” to “only Russian”. As this question was not asked in all years, I use the first question, but I am aware that the variable does not consider the mixed identity that many Ukrainian citizens have.

The language variable I use is based on the first question in the interview that asks which language – Ukrainian or Russian – is more convenient to the respondent; this question determines the language of the interview. Only those who prefer Ukrainian are in the sample; indifferent respondents are excluded. This answer mirrors both language use and language identification. Since it happens quite often that respondents answer in another language than they named as the most convenient (Onuch and Hale 2018), the language the respondent spoke during the interview is specified after the interview by the interviewer. This second variable which mirrors language practice better than the first variable, has been used for robustness tests; the results are robust.

## Third sample

The third sample is based on the change of the share of Ukrainian speaking Ukrainians (that is sample 1) during the period under observation. I compare the share of Ukrainian speaking Ukrainians in the pooled population in 1995-97 and 2017-18. The regions in which this share has changed less than 5 percentage points fall into the sample. This has been the case in Kyiv city, Vinnits’ka, Rivens’ka, Khar’kiv’ska, Khersons’ka, Khmel’nits’ka and Chernivets’ka regions. The share of Ukrainian speaking Ukrainians in these regions differs extremely.

## Fourth sample

The fourth sample comprises regions where the share of IDPs makes up less than 0.5% of the population. This share is calculated by the number of IDPs in a given region in May 2016 (*Slovo i dilo*, May 10, 2016) and the regional population in November 2013 by the State Statistics Service of Ukraine (n.d.). This is the case for the following regions: Volins’ka, Zakarpats’ka, Ivano-Frankivs’ka, L’vivs’ka, Rivens’ka, Ternopils’ka, Khmel’nits’ka, and Chernivets’ka regions.

# SM 3: Control variables

In the following, some more information is given on how the control variables are operationalized. **Education** is categorized into the following four groups: Less than secondary education (this includes vocational training school after 7-8 years of school); general secondary school (completed secondary school with or without vocational training); specialized secondary education (such as colleges or technical schools); and higher education (at least 3 years). In the regression models, for the different education levels dummies are included; the low educated form the reference group.

To control for the **size of the place of residence**, I differ only between villages and larger places (which I call urban); another categorization is not possible because the survey categories changed between the waves and make it not possible to build other categories. Thus, I use a dummy for urban residence. The size of the place of residence was indicated by the interviewer.

I control for different **cohorts** following the categorization by Surzhko-Harned and Turkina (2018, xx): born before 1931; born in 1931-1951; born in 1952-1972"; born in 1973-1990"; born after 1990. I use different dummies (with those born in 1931-1951 in the reference category).

My **region**al categorization – East, South, Central and West –, follows the proposition by Barrington and Faranda (2009); in the models, I use dummy variables; the East is the reference group.

I control for the **economic status** using the information about the consumption possibilities of the respondent’s family. This variable has four different categories: very bad, if the family has not enough money for food; bad, if the money is enough for food, but it is difficult to buy clothes; okay, if there is enough money for food and clothes, but not enough for expensive things such as TVs or fridges; and good, if there is enough money for some expensive things or everything they want. I include them in the regression models as dummy variables with very bad economic status as reference category.

# SM 4: Results of the regression models

Table 2: Linear regression models: Social distance toward Russian-speaking Ukrainians (sample: Ukrainian-speaking Ukrainians)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | | (3) | | (4) | | (5) | | (6) | |
|  | Distance toward Russian-speaking Ukrainians (metric) | Distance toward Russian-speaking Ukrainians (metric) | | Distance toward Russian-speaking Ukrainians (metric) | | Acceptance family member | | Acceptance friend | | Acceptance resident | |
| Presidency  (Reference: 2010-2013: Yanukovych) | | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  |
| 1995-2004 | 0.074 | 0.108\* | | 0.031 | | -0.0116 | | -0.0195 | | -0.019\* | |
| (Kuchma) | (0.041) | (0.047) | | (0.056) | | (0.0126) | | (0.0125) | | (0.008) | |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| 2006-2009 | 0.031 | 0.030 | | 0.003 | | -0.0420\*\*\* | | -0.0137 | | 0.017\* | |
| (Yushchenko) | (0.046) | (0.046) | | (0.046) | | (0.0124) | | (0.0122) | | (0.007) | |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| 2014-2018 | 0.517\*\*\* | 0.476\*\*\* | | 0.475\*\*\* | | -0.101\*\*\* | | -0.130\*\*\* | | -0.028\*\*\* | |
| (Poroshenko) | (0.044) | (0.044) | | (0.045) | | (0.0114) | | (0.0115) | | (0.007) | |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Region  (Reference: East) |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| South |  | -0.107 | | -0.115 | | 0.0147 | | 0.0135 | | 0.031\*\*\* | |
|  |  | (0.063) | | (0.078) | | (0.0219) | | (0.0183) | | (0.008) | |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Central |  | 0.552\*\*\* | | 0.496\*\*\* | | -0.125\*\*\* | | -0.134\*\*\* | | -0.033\*\*\* | |
|  |  | (0.045) | | (0.056) | | (0.015) | | (0.012) | | (0.007) | |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| West |  | 1.469\*\*\* | | 1.386\*\*\* | | -0.341\*\*\* | | -0.363\*\*\* | | -0.120\*\*\* | |
|  |  | (0.047) | | (0.059) | | (0.015) | | (0.013) | | (0.008) | |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Education |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| (Reference: low) |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| General secondary |  | -0.036 | | -0.091 | | 0.020 | | 0.011 | | 0.006 | |
|  |  | (0.046) | | (0.056) | | (0.012) | | (0.012) | | (0.008) | |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Specialized secondary |  | -0.091 | | -0.161\*\* | | 0.025 | | 0.027\* | | 0.014 | |
|  |  | (0.049) | | (0.059) | | (0.013) | | (0.013) | | (0.008) | |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Higher |  | -0.130\* | | -0.209\*\*\* | | 0.038\*\* | | 0.036\*\* | | 0.022\* | |
|  |  | (0.052) | | (0.062) | | (0.014) | | (0.014) | | (0.009) | |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Man |  | 0.0401 | | -0.010 | | -0.013 | | -0.001 | | -0.002 | |
|  |  | (0.027) | | (0.031) | | (0.007) | | (0.007) | | (0.005) | |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Age |  | 0.006\*\* | | 0.004 | | -0.001 | | -0.002\*\* | | -0.001 | |
|  |  | (0.002) | | (0.003) | | (0.001) | | (0.001) | | (0.001) | |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Urban |  | -0.265\*\*\* | | -0.261\*\*\* | | 0.070\*\*\* | | 0.069\*\*\* | | 0.012\*\* | |
|  |  | (0.027) | | (0.031) | | (0.007) | | (0.007) | | (0.005) | |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Cohort |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| (Reference:1931-1951) |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| <1931 |  | -0.037 | | -0.026 | | 0.019 | | 0.010 | | -0.001 | |
|  |  | (0.065) | | (0.083) | | (0.017) | | (0.017) | | (0.011) | |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| 1952-1972 |  | 0.0919 | | 0.038 | | -0.029\* | | -0.021 | | -0.004 | |
|  |  | (0.054) | | (0.063) | | (0.014) | | (0.014) | | (0.009) | |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| 1973-1990 |  | 0.273\*\* | | 0.157 | | -0.057\* | | -0.076\*\* | | -0.017 | |
|  |  | (0.092) | | (0.108) | | (0.024) | | (0.024) | | (0.015) | |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| >1990 |  | 0.445\*\* | | 0.298 | | -0.068 | | -0.107\*\* | | -0.047 | |
|  |  | (0.142) | | (0.159) | | (0.036) | | (0.037) | | (0.025) | |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Financial situation |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| (Reference: very bad) |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Bad |  |  | | 0.171\*\*\* | |  | |  | |  | |
|  |  |  | | (0.040) | |  | |  | |  | |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Okay |  |  | | 0.201\*\*\* | |  | |  | |  | |
|  |  |  | | (0.047) | |  | |  | |  | |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Good |  |  | | 0.375\*\*\* | |  | |  | |  | |
|  |  |  | | (0.080) | |  | |  | |  | |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Constant | 2.583\*\*\* | 1.483\*\*\* | | 1.619\*\*\* | | 0.658\*\*\* | | 0.899\*\*\* | | 0.987\*\*\* | |
|  | (0.035) | (0.175) | | (0.209) | | (0.047) | | (0.046) | | (0.029) | |
| N | 19363 | 19363 | | 14383 | | 19363 | | 19363 | | 19363 | |
| *R*2 | 0.012 | 0.097 | | 0.099 | | 0.078 | | 0.090 | | 0.029 | |
| Adjusted *R*2 | 0.012 | 0.097 | | 0.098 | | 0.077 | | 0.089 | | 0.028 | |

Robust standard errors in parentheses

\* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

Table 3: Linear regression models: Social distance toward Russian-speaking Ukrainians (sample: whole population)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | | (4) | | (5) | | (6) | | |
|  | Distance toward Russian-speaking Ukrainians (metric) | Distance toward Russian-speaking Ukrainians (metric) | Distance toward Russian-speaking Ukrainians (metric) | | Acceptance family member | | Acceptance friend | | Acceptance resident | | |
| Presidency  (Reference: 2010-2013: Yanukovych) | | | |  | |  | |  | |  |
| 1995-2004 | -0.0004 | 0.015 | -0.003 | | 0.002 | | 0.006 | | -0.011\* | | |
| (Kuchma) | (0.029) | (0.033) | (0.039) | | (0.009) | | (0.009) | | (0.005) | | |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | | |
| 2006-2009 | 0.007 | 0.013 | 0.00006 | | -0.041\*\*\* | | 0.0001 | | 0.010\* | | |
| (Yushchenko) | (0.033) | (0.032) | (0.033) | | (0.009) | | (0.009) | | (0.005) | | |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | | |
| 2014-2018 | 0.374\*\*\* | 0.344\*\*\* | 0.346\*\*\* | | -0.078\*\*\* | | -0.094\*\*\* | | -0.022\*\*\* | | |
| (Poroshenko) | (0.032) | (0.031) | (0.032) | | (0.009) | | (0.008) | | (0.005) | | |
| Region  (Reference: East) |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | | |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | | |
| South |  | -0.058\* | -0.037 | | 0.021\* | | 0.012 | | -0.003 | | |
|  |  | (0.027) | (0.032) | | (0.009) | | (0.008) | | (0.004) | | |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | | |
| Central |  | 0.503\*\*\* | 0.488\*\*\* | | -0.132\*\*\* | | -0.123\*\*\* | | -0.036\*\*\* | | |
|  |  | (0.022) | (0.026) | | (0.007) | | (0.006) | | (0.003) | | |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | | |
| West |  | 1.404\*\*\* | 1.379\*\*\* | | -0.355\*\*\* | | -0.345\*\*\* | | -0.120\*\*\* | | |
|  |  | (0.027) | (0.032) | | (0.007) | | (0.007) | | (0.005) | | |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | | |
| Education |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | | |
| (Reference: low) |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | | |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | | |
| General secondary |  | -0.082\* | -0.127\*\* | | 0.032\*\*\* | | 0.024\*\* | | 0.009 | | |
|  |  | (0.034) | (0.041) | | (0.010) | | (0.009) | | (0.005) | | |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | | |
| Specialized secondary |  | -0.125\*\*\* | -0.170\*\*\* | | 0.040\*\*\* | | 0.037\*\*\* | | 0.017\*\* | | |
|  |  | (0.035) | (0.043) | | (0.010) | | (0.009) | | (0.006) | | |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | | |
| Higher |  | -0.157\*\*\* | -0.208\*\*\* | | 0.059\*\*\* | | 0.044\*\*\* | | 0.021\*\*\* | | |
|  |  | (0.036) | (0.044) | | (0.010) | | (0.010) | | (0.006) | | |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | | |
| Man |  | 0.050\*\* | 0.015 | | -0.019\*\*\* | | -0.007 | | -0.002 | | |
|  |  | (0.019) | (0.022) | | (0.005) | | (0.005) | | (0.003) | | |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | | |
| Age |  | 0.004\* | 0.003 | | -0.001 | | -0.001\* | | -0.0001 | | |
|  |  | (0.002) | (0.002) | | (0.0004) | | (0.0004) | | (0.0002) | | |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | | |
| Urban |  | -0.261\*\*\* | -0.249\*\*\* | | 0.075\*\*\* | | 0.065\*\*\* | | 0.015\*\*\* | | |
|  |  | (0.020) | (0.023) | | (0.006) | | (0.005) | | (0.003) | | |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | | |
| Cohort |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | | |
| (Reference:1931-1951) |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | | |
| <1931 |  | -0.001 | -0.018 | | 0.006 | | -0.001 | | -0.004 | | |
|  |  | (0.046) | (0.058) | | (0.013) | | (0.012) | | (0.007) | | |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | | |
| 1952-1972 |  | 0.063 | 0.026 | | -0.023\* | | -0.007 | | -0.002 | | |
|  |  | (0.038) | (0.044) | | (0.011) | | (0.010) | | (0.006) | | |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | | |
| 1973-1990 |  | 0.208\*\* | 0.148 | | -0.050\*\* | | -0.045\*\* | | -0.011 | | |
|  |  | (0.064) | (0.076) | | (0.018) | | (0.017) | | (0.010) | | |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | | |
| >1990 |  | 0.309\*\* | 0.233\* | | -0.053 | | -0.064\* | | -0.026 | | |
|  |  | (0.101) | (0.113) | | (0.028) | | (0.026) | | (0.016) | | |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | | |
| Financial situation |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | | |
| (Reference: very bad) |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | | |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | | |
| Bad |  |  | 0.175\*\*\* | |  | |  | |  | | |
|  |  |  | (0.029) | |  | |  | |  | | |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | | |
| Okay |  |  | 0.175\*\*\* | |  | |  | |  | | |
|  |  |  | (0.033) | |  | |  | |  | | |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | | |
| Good |  |  | 0.345\*\*\* | |  | |  | |  | | |
|  |  |  | (0.055) | |  | |  | |  | | |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | | |
| Constant | 2.288\*\*\* | 1.718\*\*\* | 1.673\*\*\* | | 0.650\*\*\* | | 0.819\*\*\* | | 0.967\*\*\* | | |
|  | (0.025) | (0.120) | (0.144) | | (0.034) | | (0.032) | | (0.019) | | |
| N | 34229 | 34229 | 25269 | | 34229 | | 34229 | | 34229 | | |
| *R*2 | 0.008 | 0.116 | 0.116 | | 0.097 | | 0.103 | | 0.035 | | |
| Adjusted *R*2 | 0.008 | 0.115 | 0.115 | | 0.096 | | 0.103 | | 0.034 | | |

Robust standard errors in parentheses

\* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

Table 4: Linear regression models: Social distance toward Russian-speaking Ukrainians (sample: regions with low change in identity)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | | (4) | | (5) | | (6) | |
|  | Distance toward Russian-speaking Ukrainians (metric) | Distance toward Russian-speaking Ukrainians (metric) | Distance toward Russian-speaking Ukrainians (metric) | | Acceptance family member | | Acceptance friend | | Acceptance resident | |
| Presidency  (Reference: 2010-2013: Yanukovych) | | | |  | |  | |  | |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| 1995-2004 | -0.091 | -0.097 | -0.070 | | -0.015 | | 0.031\* | | -0.00009 | |
| (Kuchma) | (0.049) | (0.055) | (0.066) | | (0.017) | | (0.015) | | (0.007) | |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| 2006-2009 | -0.090 | -0.101 | -0.114\* | | -0.015 | | 0.034\* | | 0.016\* | |
| (Yushchenko) | (0.055) | (0.053) | (0.054) | | (0.016) | | (0.015) | | (0.007) | |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| 2014-2018 | 0.513\*\*\* | 0.491\*\*\* | 0.489\*\*\* | | -0.135\*\*\* | | -0.147\*\*\* | | -0.011 | |
| (Poroshenko) | (0.054) | (0.053) | (0.054) | | (0.015) | | (0.015) | | (0.007) | |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Region |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| (Reference: East) |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| South |  | -0.377\*\*\* | -0.350\*\*\* | | 0.146\*\*\* | | 0.103\*\*\* | | 0.013\* | |
|  |  | (0.045) | (0.055) | | (0.016) | | (0.013) | | (0.005) | |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Central |  | 0.602\*\*\* | 0.655\*\*\* | | -0.195\*\*\* | | -0.151\*\*\* | | -0.020\*\*\* | |
|  |  | (0.035) | (0.042) | | (0.011) | | (0.010) | | (0.004) | |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| West |  | 0.943\*\*\* | 0.930\*\*\* | | -0.277\*\*\* | | -0.231\*\*\* | | -0.052\*\*\* | |
|  |  | (0.051) | (0.059) | | (0.015) | | (0.014) | | (0.007) | |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Education |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| (Reference: low) |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| General secondary |  | -0.062 | -0.103 | | 0.045\*\* | | 0.016 | | 0.004 | |
|  |  | (0.055) | (0.068) | | (0.017) | | (0.016) | | (0.008) | |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Specialized secondary |  | -0.143\* | -0.209\*\* | | 0.058\*\* | | 0.042\* | | 0.012 | |
|  |  | (0.058) | (0.071) | | (0.018) | | (0.016) | | (0.008) | |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Higher |  | -0.279\*\*\* | -0.352\*\*\* | | 0.112\*\*\* | | 0.074\*\*\* | | 0.018\* | |
|  |  | (0.059) | (0.072) | | (0.018) | | (0.017) | | (0.008) | |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Man |  | 0.009 | -0.017 | | -0.011 | | 0.009 | | -0.002 | |
|  |  | (0.031) | (0.037) | | (0.009) | | (0.009) | | (0.004) | |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Age |  | 0.002 | 0.003 | | -0.002\* | | -0.001 | | 0.0004 | |
|  |  | (0.003) | (0.003) | | (0.001) | | (0.001) | | (0.0003) | |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Urban |  | -0.322\*\*\* | -0.325\*\*\* | | 0.129\*\*\* | | 0.093\*\*\* | | 0.008 | |
|  |  | (0.033) | (0.040) | | (0.010) | | (0.009) | | (0.005) | |
| Cohort |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| (Reference:1931-1951) |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| <1931 |  | 0.066 | 0.035 | | 0.028 | | -0.023 | | -0.017 | |
|  |  | (0.075) | (0.096) | | (0.023) | | (0.021) | | (0.010) | |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| 1952-1972 |  | 0.139\* | 0.114 | | -0.075\*\*\* | | -0.028 | | -0.006 | |
|  |  | (0.062) | (0.073) | | (0.019) | | (0.017) | | (0.008) | |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| 1973-1990 |  | 0.213\* | 0.205 | | -0.112\*\*\* | | -0.057 | | -0.003 | |
|  |  | (0.106) | (0.127) | | (0.032) | | (0.030) | | (0.014) | |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| >1990 |  | 0.152 | 0.172 | | -0.123\* | | -0.058 | | 0.011 | |
|  |  | (0.167) | (0.190) | | (0.050) | | (0.047) | | (0.022) | |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Financial situation |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| (Reference: very bad) |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Bad |  |  | 0.176\*\*\* | |  | |  | |  | |
|  |  |  | (0.048) | |  | |  | |  | |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Okay |  |  | 0.121\* | |  | |  | |  | |
|  |  |  | (0.057) | |  | |  | |  | |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Good |  |  | 0.300\*\*\* | |  | |  | |  | |
|  |  |  | (0.090) | |  | |  | |  | |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Constant | 2.150\*\*\* | 1.859\*\*\* | 1.727\*\*\* | | 0.710\*\*\* | | 0.789\*\*\* | | 0.943\*\*\* | |
|  | (0.042) | (0.199) | (0.239) | | (0.061) | | (0.056) | | (0.027) | |
| N | 10731 | 10680 | 7877 | | 10680 | | 10680 | | 10680 | |
| *R*2 | 0.025 | 0.105 | 0.114 | | 0.112 | | 0.098 | | 0.013 | |
| Adjusted *R*2 | 0.025 | 0.103 | 0.112 | | 0.111 | | 0.097 | | 0.011 | |

Robust standard errors in parentheses

\* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

Table 5: Linear regression models: Social distance toward Russian-speaking Ukrainians (sample: regions with few IDPs)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | | (3) | | (4) | | (5) | | (6) | |
|  | Distance toward Russian-speaking Ukrainians (metric) | Distance toward Russian-speaking Ukrainians (metric) | | Distance toward Russian-speaking Ukrainians (metric) | | Acceptance family member | | Acceptance friend | | Acceptance resident | |
| Presidency  (Reference: 2010-2013 (Yanukovych)) | | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| 1995-2004 | 0.196\*\* | 0.271\*\*\* | | 0.232\*\* | | -0.011 | | -0.054\*\* | | -0.033\*\* | |
| (Kuchma) | (0.061) | (0.071) | | (0.084) | | (0.017) | | (0.019) | | (0.013) | |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| 2006-2009 | 0.079 | 0.116 | | 0.095 | | -0.021 | | -0.039\* | | 0.007 | |
| (Yushchenko) | (0.068) | (0.069) | | (0.071) | | (0.017) | | (0.019) | | (0.012) | |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| 2014-2018 | 0.702\*\*\* | 0.677\*\*\* | | 0.650\*\*\* | | -0.123\*\*\* | | -0.181\*\*\* | | -0.032\*\* | |
| (Poroshenko) | (0.064) | (0.065) | | (0.066) | | (0.015) | | (0.017) | | (0.012) | |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Region |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| (Reference: Central) |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| West |  | 0.521\*\*\* | | 0.507\*\*\* | | -0.072\*\*\* | | -0.114\*\*\* | | -0.094\*\*\* | |
|  |  | (0.051) | | (0.059) | | (0.014) | | (0.014) | | (0.008) | |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Education  (Reference: low) |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| General secondary |  | 0.012 | | -0.051 | | -0.011 | | -0.006 | | 0.025 | |
|  |  | (0.073) | | (0.088) | | (0.017) | | (0.019) | | (0.014) | |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Specialized secondary |  | -0.010 | | -0.028 | | -0.017 | | 0.00003 | | 0.032\* | |
|  |  | (0.077) | | (0.092) | | (0.018) | | (0.020) | | (0.014) | |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Higher |  | -0.142 | | -0.154 | | 0.009 | | 0.033 | | 0.058\*\*\* | |
|  |  | (0.080) | | (0.096) | | (0.019) | | (0.021) | | (0.015) | |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Man |  | 0.021 | | -0.016 | | -0.002 | | 0.0003 | | 0.002 | |
|  |  | (0.039) | | (0.045) | | (0.009) | | (0.010) | | (0.007) | |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Age |  | 0.009\*\* | | 0.009\* | | -0.001 | | -0.002\* | | -0.001\* | |
|  |  | (0.003) | | (0.004) | | (0.001) | | (0.001) | | (0.001) | |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Urban |  | -0.390\*\*\* | | -0.403\*\*\* | | 0.091\*\*\* | | 0.099\*\*\* | | 0.008 | |
|  |  | (0.041) | | (0.047) | | (0.010) | | (0.011) | | (0.008) | |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Cohort   Reference: 1931-1951 |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| <1931 |  | 0.134 | | 0.016 | | -0.038 | | -0.047 | | -0.002 | |
|  |  | (0.103) | | (0.131) | | (0.024) | | (0.026) | | (0.020) | |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| 1952-1972 |  | 0.073 | | 0.062 | | -0.018 | | -0.011 | | -0.016 | |
|  |  | (0.081) | | (0.094) | | (0.019) | | (0.021) | | (0.015) | |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| 1973-1990 |  | 0.371\*\* | | 0.372\* | | -0.064 | | -0.088\* | | -0.052\* | |
|  |  | (0.136) | | (0.160) | | (0.033) | | (0.036) | | (0.025) | |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| >1990 |  | 0.614\*\* | | 0.592\* | | -0.072 | | -0.118\* | | -0.103\*\* | |
|  |  | (0.206) | | (0.232) | | (0.048) | | (0.053) | | (0.038) | |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Financial situation |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| ( Reference: very bad) |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Bad |  |  | | 0.046 | |  | |  | |  | |
|  |  |  | | (0.065) | |  | |  | |  | |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Okay |  |  | | -0.004 | |  | |  | |  | |
|  |  |  | | (0.072) | |  | |  | |  | |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Good |  |  | | 0.118 | |  | |  | |  | |
|  |  |  | | (0.110) | |  | |  | |  | |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Constant | 2.929\*\*\* | 2.078\*\*\* | | 2.131\*\*\* | | 0.440\*\*\* | | 0.726\*\*\* | | 1.009\*\*\* | |
|  | (0.052) | (0.260) | | (0.305) | | (0.062) | | (0.068) | | (0.047) | |
| N | 9694 | 9694 | | 7185 | | 9694 | | 9694 | | 9694 | |
| *R*2 | 0.019 | 0.044 | | 0.048 | | 0.030 | | 0.043 | | 0.016 | |
| Adjusted *R*2 | 0.018 | 0.043 | | 0.046 | | 0.029 | | 0.041 | | 0.014 | |

Robust standard errors in parentheses

\* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

# SM 5: Robustness checks

## 5.1 Regressions with slightly shifted presidency category

Table 6: Linear regression of the social distance toward Russian-speaking Ukrainians (whole population) with slightly shifted presidency categories I

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | | (2) | | | (3) | | | (4) | | | (5) | | | (6) | | |
|  | Distance toward Russian-speaking Ukrainians | | Distance toward Russian-speaking Ukrainians | | | Distance toward Russian-speaking Ukrainians | | | Acceptance family member | | | Acceptance friend | | | Acceptance resident | | |
| Slightly shifted presidency categories  (Reference: 2011-2014) | | | |  | | |  | | | |  | | |
|  |  |  | | |  | | |  | |  | | |  | | |  |
| 1995-2006 | -0.085\*\* | | -0.070\* | | | -0.088\* | | | 0.016 | | | 0.020\* | | | -0.008 | | |
|  | (0.029) | | (0.0332) | | | (0.037) | | | (0.009) | | | (0.009) | | | (0.005) | | |
|  |  | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |
| 2007-2010 | -0.066\* | | -0.060 | | | -0.061 | | | -0.009 | | | 0.014 | | | 0.007 | | |
|  | (0.033) | | (0.033) | | | (0.033) | | | (0.009) | | | (0.009) | | | (0.005) | | |
|  |  | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |
| 2015-2018 | 0.329\*\*\* | | 0.300\*\*\* | | | 0.312\*\*\* | | | -0.047\*\*\* | | | -0.089\*\*\* | | | -0.025\*\*\* | | |
|  | (0.034) | | (0.033) | | | (0.033) | | | (0.009) | | | (0.009) | | | (0.005) | | |
|  |  | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |
| Region  (Reference: East) |  | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |
|  |  | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |
| South |  | | -0.059\* | | | -0.039 | | | 0.021\* | | | 0.012 | | | -0.003 | | |
|  |  | | (0.027) | | | (0.032) | | | (0.009) | | | (0.008) | | | (0.004) | | |
|  |  | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |
| Central |  | | 0.502\*\*\* | | | 0.487\*\*\* | | | -0.132\*\*\* | | | -0.122\*\*\* | | | -0.036\*\*\* | | |
|  |  | | (0.022) | | | (0.026) | | | (0.007) | | | (0.006) | | | (0.003) | | |
|  |  | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |
| West |  | | 1.404\*\*\* | | | 1.379\*\*\* | | | -0.355\*\*\* | | | -0.345\*\*\* | | | -0.120\*\*\* | | |
|  |  | | (0.027) | | | (0.032) | | | (0.007) | | | (0.007) | | | (0.005) | | |
|  |  | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |
| Education  (Reference: low) |  | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |
|  |  | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |
| General secondary |  | | -0.083\* | | | -0.128\*\* | | | 0.0300\*\* | | | 0.023\*\* | | | 0.010 | | |
|  |  | | (0.034) | | | (0.041) | | | (0.010) | | | (0.009) | | | (0.005) | | |
|  |  | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |
| Specialized secondary |  | | -0.123\*\*\* | | | -0.168\*\*\* | | | 0.036\*\*\* | | | 0.036\*\*\* | | | 0.017\*\* | | |
|  |  | | (0.035) | | | (0.043) | | | (0.010) | | | (0.009) | | | (0.006) | | |
|  |  | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |
| Higher |  | | -0.157\*\*\* | | | -0.209\*\*\* | | | 0.055\*\*\* | | | 0.043\*\*\* | | | 0.021\*\*\* | | |
|  |  | | (0.036) | | | (0.044) | | | (0.010) | | | (0.010) | | | (0.006) | | |
|  |  | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |
| Man |  | | 0.051\*\* | | | 0.015 | | | -0.019\*\*\* | | | -0.008 | | | -0.003 | | |
|  |  | | (0.019) | | | (0.022) | | | (0.005) | | | (0.005) | | | (0.003) | | |
|  |  | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |
| Age |  | | 0.003\* | | | 0.003 | | | -0.001\*\* | | | -0.0009\* | | | -0.00007 | | |
|  |  | | (0.002) | | | (0.002) | | | (0.0004) | | | (0.0004) | | | (0.0002) | | |
|  |  | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |
| Urban |  | | -0.261\*\*\* | | | -0.250\*\*\* | | | 0.076\*\*\* | | | 0.065\*\*\* | | | 0.015\*\*\* | | |
|  |  | | (0.020) | | | (0.023) | | | (0.006) | | | (0.005) | | | (0.003) | | |
|  |  | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |
| Cohort   (Reference: 1931-1951) |  | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |
|  |  | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |
| <1931 |  | | 0.008 | | | -0.005 | | | 0.017 | | | -0.0003 | | | -0.006 | | |
|  |  | | (0.045) | | | (0.058) | | | (0.013) | | | (0.012) | | | (0.007) | | |
|  |  | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |
| 1952-1972 |  | | 0.054 | | | 0.013 | | | -0.034\*\* | | | -0.008 | | | -0.0002 | | |
|  |  | | (0.037) | | | (0.044) | | | (0.011) | | | (0.010) | | | (0.006) | | |
|  |  | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |
| 1973-1990 |  | | 0.187\*\* | | | 0.118 | | | -0.072\*\*\* | | | -0.046\*\* | | | -0.007 | | |
|  |  | | (0.063) | | | (0.075) | | | (0.018) | | | (0.017) | | | (0.010) | | |
|  |  | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |
| >1990 |  | | 0.273\*\* | | | 0.186 | | | -0.082\*\* | | | -0.063\* | | | -0.021 | | |
|  |  | | (0.100) | | | (0.113) | | | (0.028) | | | (0.026) | | | (0.016) | | |
|  |  | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |
| Financial situation   (Reference: very bad) |  | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |
|  |  | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |
| Bad |  | |  | | | 0.174\*\*\* | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |
|  |  | |  | | | (0.029) | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |
|  |  | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |
| Okay |  | |  | | | 0.178\*\*\* | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |
|  |  | |  | | | (0.033) | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |
|  |  | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |
| Good |  | |  | | | 0.353\*\*\* | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |
|  |  | |  | | | (0.055) | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |
|  |  | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |  | | |
| Constant | 2.369\*\*\* | | 1.826\*\*\* | | | 1.788\*\*\* | | | 0.666\*\*\* | | | 0.808\*\*\* | | | 0.960\*\*\* | | |
|  | (0.0252) | | (0.120) | | | (0.144) | | | (0.035) | | | (0.032) | | | (0.019) | | |
| N | 34401 | | 34229 | | | 25269 | | | 34229 | | | 34229 | | | 34229 | | |
| *R*2 | 0.008 | | 0.115 | | | 0.116 | | | 0.095 | | | 0.103 | | | 0.035 | | |
| Adjusted *R*2 | 0.008 | | 0.115 | | | 0.115 | | | 0.095 | | | 0.103 | | | 0.034 | | |

Robust standard errors in parentheses

\* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

Table 7: Linear regression of the social distance toward Russian-speaking Ukrainians (whole population) with slightly shifted presidency categories II

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | | (3) | | (4) | | (5) | | (6) | |
|  | Distance toward Russian-speaking Ukrainians | Distance toward Russian-speaking Ukrainians | | Distance toward Russian-speaking Ukrainians | | Acceptance family member | | Acceptance friend | | Acceptance resident | |
| Slightly shifted presidency categories  (Reference: 2009-2012) | | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| 1995-2003 | 0.047 | 0.060 | | 0.056 | | 0.008 | | -0.0004 | | -0.020\*\*\* |
|  | (0.030) | (0.033) | | (0.042) | | (0.010) | | (0.009) | | (0.005) |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  |
| 2004-2008 | 0.109\*\*\* | 0.126\*\*\* | | 0.082\* | | -0.045\*\*\* | | -0.018\* | | -0.004 |
|  | (0.032) | (0.032) | | (0.034) | | (0.009) | | (0.009) | | (0.005) |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  |
| 2013-2018 | 0.400\*\*\* | 0.371\*\*\* | | 0.352\*\*\* | | -0.064\*\*\* | | -0.094\*\*\* | | -0.027\*\*\* |
|  | (0.030) | (0.030) | | (0.031) | | (0.009) | | (0.008) | | (0.005) |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  |
| Region  (Reference: East) |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  |
| South |  | -0.046 | | -0.021 | | 0.017 | | 0.009 | | -0.002 |
|  |  | (0.028) | | (0.034) | | (0.009) | | (0.008) | | (0.004) |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  |
| Central |  | 0.508\*\*\* | | 0.493\*\*\* | | -0.128\*\*\* | | -0.124\*\*\* | | -0.036\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.022) | | (0.027) | | (0.007) | | (0.006) | | (0.003) |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  |
| West |  | 1.397\*\*\* | | 1.369\*\*\* | | -0.353\*\*\* | | -0.345\*\*\* | | -0.120\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.028) | | (0.033) | | (0.008) | | (0.007) | | (0.005) |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  |
| Education  (Reference: low) |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  |
| General secondary |  | -0.090\*\* | | -0.132\*\* | | 0.036\*\*\* | | 0.026\*\* | | 0.008 |
|  |  | (0.035) | | (0.044) | | (0.010) | | (0.009) | | (0.006) |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  |
| Specialized |  | -0.126\*\*\* | | -0.163\*\*\* | | 0.042\*\*\* | | 0.038\*\*\* | | 0.015\*\* |
| secondary |  | (0.036) | | (0.045) | | (0.010) | | (0.010) | | (0.006) |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  |
| Higher |  | -0.166\*\*\* | | -0.204\*\*\* | | 0.062\*\*\* | | 0.046\*\*\* | | 0.020\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.037) | | (0.046) | | (0.011) | | (0.010) | | (0.006) |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  |
| Man |  | 0.053\*\* | | 0.020 | | -0.019\*\*\* | | -0.008 | | -0.003 |
|  |  | (0.019) | | (0.023) | | (0.005) | | (0.005) | | (0.003) |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  |
| Age |  | 0.004\* | | 0.005\* | | -0.0009 | | -0.0009\* | | -0.0002 |
|  |  | (0.002) | | (0.002) | | (0.0005) | | (0.0004) | | (0.0003) |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  |
| Urban |  | -0.265\*\*\* | | -0.252\*\*\* | | 0.078\*\*\* | | 0.067\*\*\* | | 0.014\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.020) | | (0.024) | | (0.006) | | (0.005) | | (0.003) |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  |
| Cohort  (Reference: 1931-1951) |  |  | |  | |  | |
| <1931 |  | -0.005 | | -0.061 | | 0.011 | | 0.0003 | | -0.004 |
|  |  | (0.047) | | (0.062) | | (0.014) | | (0.013) | | (0.008) |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  |
| 1952-1972 |  | 0.064 | | 0.055 | | -0.027\* | | -0.007 | | -0.002 |
|  |  | (0.039) | | (0.046) | | (0.011) | | (0.010) | | (0.006) |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  |
| 1973-1990 |  | 0.207\*\* | | 0.205\*\* | | -0.057\*\* | | -0.045\* | | -0.013 |
|  |  | (0.067) | | (0.079) | | (0.019) | | (0.018) | | (0.010) |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  |
| >1990 |  | 0.322\*\* | | 0.319\*\* | | -0.067\* | | -0.069\* | | -0.029 |
|  |  | (0.103) | | (0.116) | | (0.028) | | (0.027) | | (0.016) |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  |
| Financial situation  (Reference: very bad) |  |  | |  | |  | |
|  |  | |  | |  | |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  |
| Bad |  |  | | 0.170\*\*\* | |  | |  | |  |
|  |  |  | | (0.030) | |  | |  | |  |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  |
| Okay |  |  | | 0.153\*\*\* | |  | |  | |  |
|  |  |  | | (0.034) | |  | |  | |  |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  |
| Good |  |  | | 0.293\*\*\* | |  | |  | |  |
|  |  |  | | (0.058) | |  | |  | |  |
|  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  |
| Constant | 2.225\*\*\* | 1.658\*\*\* | | 1.537\*\*\* | | 0.655\*\*\* | | 0.831\*\*\* | | 0.978\*\*\* |
|  | (0.024) | (0.122) | | (0.147) | | (0.035) | | (0.033) | | (0.019) |
| N | 32811 | 32649 | | 23702 | | 32649 | | 32649 | | 32649 |
| *R*2 | 0.009 | 0.114 | | 0.113 | | 0.095 | | 0.102 | | 0.034 |
| Adjusted *R*2 | 0.008 | 0.114 | | 0.112 | | 0.095 | | 0.102 | | 0.033 |

Robust standard errors in parentheses

\* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

## 5.2 Logit regressions

To test robustness, logit regressions were estimated for the categorical dependent variables, that is for dummy variables that say if the respondents accepted Russian speakers as family members, as friends or family members or as residents and in closer positions. We have mainly on the same places significant values. Similar to the linear probability models, we have negative and statistically significant values for the Poroshenko presidency in all models. In addition, for the other periods we can see some more significant effects, but they are not stable among the models. In addition, the effects are smaller than for the Poroshenko period.

Table 8. Logit regression for social distance (categorical) (sample: whole population and Ukrainian-speaking Ukrainians)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
|  | Acceptance family member  sample: whole population | Acceptance friend    sample: whole population | Acceptance resident    sample: whole population | Acceptance family member  sample: Ukrainian-speaking Ukrainians | Acceptance friend    sample: Ukrainian-speaking Ukrainians | Acceptance resident    sample: Ukrainian-speaking Ukrainians |
| Presidency  (Reference: 2010-2013 (Yanukovych)) | |  |  |  |  |
| 1995-2004 | 0.010 | 0.035 | -0.166\* | -0.051 | -0.087 | -0.203\* |
| (Kuchma) | (0.042) | (0.045) | (0.078) | (0.056) | (0.057) | (0.089) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2006-2009 | -0.182\*\*\* | 0.001 | 0.172\* | -0.184\*\*\* | -0.063 | 0.217\* |
| (Yushchenko) | (0.041) | (0.045) | (0.082) | (0.055) | (0.056) | (0.093) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2014-2018 | -0.345\*\*\* | -0.457\*\*\* | -0.315\*\*\* | -0.460\*\*\* | -0.576\*\*\* | -0.292\*\*\* |
| (Poroshenko) | (0.039) | (0.041) | (0.070) | (0.052) | (0.052) | (0.080) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Region  (Reference: East) |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| South | 0.094\* | 0.068 | -0.115 | 0.065 | 0.059 | 1.098\*\*\* |
|  | (0.041) | (0.050) | (0.107) | (0.092) | (0.110) | (0.300) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Central | -0.553\*\*\* | -0.677\*\*\* | -0.820\*\*\* | -0.513\*\*\* | -0.691\*\*\* | -0.538\*\*\* |
|  | (0.030) | (0.035) | (0.074) | (0.061) | (0.072) | (0.136) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| West | -1.525\*\*\* | -1.615\*\*\* | -1.698\*\*\* | -1.488\*\*\* | -1.648\*\*\* | -1.395\*\*\* |
|  | (0.035) | (0.037) | (0.074) | (0.064) | (0.073) | (0.135) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Education  (Reference: low) |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| General secondary | 0.142\*\*\* | 0.119\*\* | 0.123 | 0.089 | 0.050 | 0.066 |
|  | (0.042) | (0.044) | (0.072) | (0.055) | (0.054) | (0.082) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Specialized secondary | 0.174\*\*\* | 0.185\*\*\* | 0.234\*\* | 0.108 | 0.121\* | 0.147 |
|  | (0.044) | (0.046) | (0.076) | (0.058) | (0.058) | (0.088) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Higher | 0.258\*\*\* | 0.217\*\*\* | 0.300\*\*\* | 0.169\*\* | 0.161\*\* | 0.238\* |
|  | (0.046) | (0.048) | (0.080) | (0.061) | (0.061) | (0.094) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Man | -0.084\*\*\* | -0.038 | -0.036 | -0.057 | -0.003 | -0.025 |
|  | (0.024) | (0.025) | (0.042) | (0.032) | (0.031) | (0.048) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Age | -0.003 | -0.004\* | -0.002 | -0.004 | -0.008\*\* | -0.006 |
|  | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.004) | (0.003) | (0.003) | (0.004) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Urban | 0.329\*\*\* | 0.321\*\*\* | 0.205\*\*\* | 0.314\*\*\* | 0.309\*\*\* | 0.125\* |
|  | (0.024) | (0.026) | (0.044) | (0.032) | (0.032) | (0.050) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Cohort   (Reference: 1931-1951) |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| <1931 | 0.0273 | -0.011 | -0.063 | 0.086 | 0.044 | -0.001 |
|  | (0.057) | (0.061) | (0.101) | (0.076) | (0.076) | (0.115) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1952-1972 | -0.101\* | -0.034 | -0.022 | -0.130\* | -0.095 | -0.037 |
|  | (0.048) | (0.051) | (0.087) | (0.064) | (0.064) | (0.099) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1973-1990 | -0.221\*\* | -0.222\* | -0.149 | -0.257\* | -0.342\*\* | -0.175 |
|  | (0.081) | (0.087) | (0.145) | (0.110) | (0.110) | (0.167) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| >1990 | -0.232 | -0.306\* | -0.321 | -0.309 | -0.475\*\* | -0.455 |
|  | (0.123) | (0.130) | (0.216) | (0.166) | (0.165) | (0.246) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | 0.629\*\*\* | 1.520\*\*\* | 3.430\*\*\* | 0.679\*\* | 1.830\*\*\* | 3.354\*\*\* |
|  | (0.152) | (0.164) | (0.280) | (0.210) | (0.214) | (0.338) |
| N | 34229 | 34229 | 34229 | 19363 | 19363 | 19363 |
| Pseudo *R*2 | 0.072 | 0.082 | 0.061 | 0.060 | 0.068 | 0.044 |
| *AIC* | 44054.2 | 39863.2 | 17588.1 | 24520.9 | 24597.9 | 12689.6 |
| *BIC* | 44197.7 | 40006.7 | 17731.6 | 24654.7 | 24731.7 | 12823.4 |

Standard errors in parentheses

\* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

# SM 6: Regional differences

Table 9: Linear regression models: Distance toward Russian-speaking Ukrainians in four different regions; robust standard errors

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|  | Distance toward Russian-speaking Ukrainians East | Distance toward Russian-speaking Ukrainians South | Distance toward Russian-speaking Ukrainians Central | Distance toward Russian-speaking Ukrainians West |
| Presidency  (Reference: 2010-2013 (Yanukovych)) | |  |  |
| 1995-2004 | 0.179\*\* | -0.305\*\*\* | -0.154\*\* | 0.324\*\*\* |
| (Kuchma) | (0.056) | (0.078) | (0.054) | (0.077) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| 2006-2009 | 0.086 | 0.244\*\* | -0.186\*\*\* | 0.168\* |
| (Yushchenko) | (0.054) | (0.081) | (0.052) | (0.076) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| 2014-2018 | 0.345\*\*\* | -0.115 | 0.345\*\*\* | 0.606\*\*\* |
| (Poroshenko) | (0.054) | (0.075) | (0.052) | (0.070) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Education |  |  |  |  |
| (Reference: low) |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| General secondary | -0.037 | -0.166\* | -0.074 | -0.046 |
|  | (0.056) | (0.074) | (0.054) | (0.082) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Specialized secondary | -0.032 | -0.137 | -0.195\*\*\* | -0.055 |
|  | (0.059) | (0.077) | (0.056) | (0.086) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Higher | -0.037 | -0.062 | -0.220\*\*\* | -0.156 |
|  | (0.061) | (0.081) | (0.058) | (0.088) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Man | 0.082\* | 0.070 | 0.039 | 0.019 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.045) | (0.030) | (0.043) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Age | 0.002 | -0.005 | 0.001 | 0.012\*\*\* |
|  | (0.003) | (0.004) | (0.003) | (0.004) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Urban | -0.030 | -0.078 | -0.372\*\*\* | -0.349\*\*\* |
|  | (0.036) | (0.045) | (0.031) | (0.045) |
| Cohort   Reference: 1931-1951 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| <1931 | 0.044 | 0.040 | -0.042 | 0.060 |
|  | (0.077) | (0.105) | (0.072) | (0.115) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| 1952-1972 | 0.021 | -0.041 | 0.091 | 0.092 |
|  | (0.065) | (0.088) | (0.061) | (0.089) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| 1973-1990 | 0.293\* | -0.062 | 0.062 | 0.488\*\* |
|  | (0.115) | (0.150) | (0.103) | (0.149) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| >1990 | 0.204 | -0.087 | 0.139 | 0.799\*\*\* |
|  | (0.187) | (0.241) | (0.163) | (0.222) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | 1.440\*\*\* | 2.295\*\*\* | 2.579\*\*\* | 2.408\*\*\* |
|  | (0.209) | (0.276) | (0.191) | (0.280) |
| N | 7635 | 4215 | 14023 | 8356 |
| *R*2 | 0.013 | 0.023 | 0.029 | 0.030 |
| Adjusted *R*2 | 0.011 | 0.020 | 0.028 | 0.028 |

Standard errors in parentheses

\* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

# SM 7: Attitudes toward other groups

To account for the possibility that Russian speakers are evaluated more negatively during the war because of a general pessimism and thus a more negative evaluation of everybody or at least every outgroup, I checked how attitudes toward other groups have developed during the same period in the whole population. First, I look at Russians where the same – even stronger – effects should be found. In the KIIS, it is not defined if ethnic Russians or Russian citizens are meant.[[1]](#footnote-1) Second, I examine attitudes toward Ukrainian-speaking Ukrainians. In addition, the social distance toward Belarusians and Jews is analyzed. Both these groups are minorities in Ukraine that have not been directly linked to the conflict in Donbas or Crimea – in contrast to the Crimean Tatars who have experienced much attention after the annexation of Crimea – and have no kinship states in the European Union.

As expected, the social distance toward the Russians has increased pronouncedly. For Ukrainian speakers there is a significant, but small increase of social distance between the Yanukovych and the Poroshenko period. Surprisingly, the Ukrainian speakers were evaluated most positively under Yanukovych. The small increase in social distance under Poroshenko compared to the Yanukovych era might be explained by a generally more negative evaluation of others in times of crises or it might be a reaction of the Russian speakers who are opposed to ukrainization and felt threatened by the identity politics under Poroshenko. However, it should be noted that under Yushchenko the effect is smaller and statistically insignificant. The development of attitudes toward Belarusians and Jews clearly speaks against the interpretation that all people are evaluated more negatively. Social distance toward both groups decreased after the beginning of the war (only for the Jews significant, though). However, the magnitude is relatively small and thus should not be overrated.

Table 10: Linear regression models: Social distance (metric) toward different ethnic groups (sample: whole population)

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|  | Distance toward Russians | Distance toward Ukrainian-speaking Ukrainians | Distance toward Belarusians | Distance toward Jews |
| Presidency  (Reference: 2010-2013 (Yanukovych)) | |  |  |  |
| 1995-2004 | -0.251\*\*\* | 0.062\* | -0.176\*\*\* | 0.030 |
| (Kuchma) | (0.035) | (0.031) | (0.037) | (0.037) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| 2006-2009 | -0.144\*\*\* | 0.053 | -0.032 | 0.060 |
| (Yushchenko) | (0.034) | (0.030) | (0.038) | (0.038) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| 2014-2018 | 1.048\*\*\* | 0.101\*\*\* | -0.009 | -0.182\*\*\* |
| (Poroshenko) | (0.035) | (0.029) | (0.035) | (0.034) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Region   (Reference: East) |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| South | -0.083\*\* | -0.071\* | -0.228\*\*\* | -0.313\*\*\* |
|  | (0.032) | (0.028) | (0.036) | (0.038) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Central | 0.692\*\*\* | 0.182\*\*\* | 0.216\*\*\* | 0.157\*\*\* |
|  | (0.025) | (0.022) | (0.027) | (0.028) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| West | 1.869\*\*\* | 0.071\*\* | 0.802\*\*\* | 0.733\*\*\* |
|  | (0.029) | (0.025) | (0.031) | (0.031) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Education  (Reference: low) |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| General secondary | -0.172\*\*\* | -0.033 | -0.161\*\*\* | -0.140\*\*\* |
|  | (0.036) | (0.032) | (0.039) | (0.038) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Specialized secondary | -0.241\*\*\* | -0.048 | -0.230\*\*\* | -0.241\*\*\* |
|  | (0.038) | (0.033) | (0.041) | (0.040) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Higher | -0.278\*\*\* | -0.069\* | -0.296\*\*\* | -0.440\*\*\* |
|  | (0.039) | (0.034) | (0.042) | (0.042) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Man | 0.057\*\* | 0.037\* | -0.086\*\*\* | 0.052\* |
|  | (0.021) | (0.018) | (0.021) | (0.022) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Age | -0.001 | 0.002 | 0.001 | 0.009\*\*\* |
|  | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Urban | -0.217\*\*\* | -0.062\*\*\* | -0.194\*\*\* | -0.407\*\*\* |
|  | (0.021) | (0.018) | (0.022) | (0.022) |
| Cohort   (Reference: 1931-1951) |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| <1931 | 0.083 | -0.027 | -0.013 | -0.146\*\* |
|  | (0.049) | (0.043) | (0.053) | (0.053) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| 1952-1972 | 0.021 | 0.056 | 0.075 | 0.168\*\*\* |
|  | (0.041) | (0.036) | (0.043) | (0.044) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| 1973-1990 | 0.129 | 0.124\* | 0.250\*\*\* | 0.508\*\*\* |
|  | (0.070) | (0.061) | (0.073) | (0.074) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| >1990 | 0.116 | 0.140 | 0.363\*\* | 0.680\*\*\* |
|  | (0.112) | (0.095) | (0.112) | (0.112) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | 2.384\*\*\* | 1.795\*\*\* | 3.283\*\*\* | 3.956\*\*\* |
|  | (0.131) | (0.115) | (0.138) | (0.140) |
| N | 34180 | 34296 | 32586 | 32379 |
| *R*2 | 0.205 | 0.005 | 0.044 | 0.058 |
| Adjusted *R*2 | 0.205 | 0.004 | 0.044 | 0.058 |

Robust standard errors in parentheses

\* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

References for the Supplementary Material

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1. In the Russian version of the survey, the term *russkyi* is used that (in contrast to *rossiskiy*) reflects rather ethnicity than citizenship. However, the terms are quite often used synonymously. In Ukrainian, only one term (*rosiys’kiy*) is used. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)