**Supplementary Materials**

Figure 1. Research Regions in the Russian Federation: Arkhangelsk oblast (Arkhangelsk), Republic of Tatarstan (Kazan), Republic of Buryatia (Ulan-Ude), and Sakha Republic (Yakutsk).



**\* Arkhangelsk**

**\* Kazan**

**\*Ulan Ude**

**\*Yakutsk**

**Vignette & Experimental Measure Questions**

Olga Ryabova/Oleg Ryabov has been serving her/his third year as a mayor of a small town in one of the peripheral regions of the Russian Federation.[[1]](#footnote-1) By the end of the fiscal year, there was only a limited amount of money available in the budget. The citizens of the town were very concerned about two important issues that needed immediate attention and improvement: the quality of the local schools and quality of the local public health clinics. There was enough money to make investments only in one area.

Before making a decision, mayor Olga Ryabova/Oleg Ryabov consulted with members of the town council, met with several local interest groups, and citizens of the town. Many people expressed concern about the quality of education their children were receiving in overcrowded schools; even more parents were concerned about having their children travel to a faraway school without any supervision. This was especially dangerous during the winter, when children had to wait for public transportation outside in the cold.

Other citizens, however, viewed the lack of quality healthcare and long waiting lists at the local policlinic as the major problem in town. They argued that poor health care services affect many more people, including vulnerable groups, like children and the elderly, and thus, the improvement at the local health clinic should be given priority over the local public school. Mayor Olga Ryabova/Oleg Ryabov considered all public demands very carefully and wondered what to do. In the end, after careful reflection and analysis of the situation the mayor decided to invest in public school/public health clinic [we randomized the final choice].

*Note:* In each region, there are eight versions of this vignette (2 x 2 x 2: Ethnicity x Sex x Policy Decision). Names of mayors are fictitious, but were chosen to reflect gender and ethnicity differences.

**Experimental Measures of Gender Trait Attribution**

Below is a list of characteristics that can describe a mayor. We realize you do not have extensive knowledge of the mayor, but hopefully you have a picture of what Olga Ryabova/Oleg Ryabov is like and this will help you to answer the following questions. Grade her/him on the following 1-7 scales.

 1. Trustworthy 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Untrustworthy

 2. Boring 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Charismatic

 3. Decisive 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Cautious

 4. Emotional 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Calm

 5. Weak 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strong

 6. Realistic 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Idealistic

 7. Dishonest 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Honest

 8. Caring 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Self-centered

 9. Unqualified 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Well Qualified

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| **Table 1: Modeling Evaluations of Mayor's Characteristics, Unreliable – Reliable, in Arkhangelsk Oblast, Tatarstan, Buryatia, and Sakha (S.E.).** |
|  | **Arkhangelsk** | **Tatarstan** | **Buryatia** | **Sakha** |
| Mayor's Sex(Male=1) | **-.63\*****(.32)** | -.20(.27) | .001(.27) | -.20(.32) |
| Ethnic Mayor(Non-Russian = 1) | .15(.16**)** | .07(.16) | .23(.15**)** | **-.57\*****(.20**) |
| Respondent's Age | -.01(.05) | **.17\*****(.05)** | .08(.05) | -.01(.04) |
| Respondent’s Sex(Male=1) | .18(.17) | -.22(.15) | -.18(.12) | **-.50\*\*****(.15**) |
| Ethnicity Respondent(Non-Russian = 1) | -.28(.67) | -.02(.14) | -.15(.12) | **-.32\*****(.15)** |
| Males Make Better Leaders  | **-.20\*****(.07)** | -.03(.06) | .06(.18) | .01(.06) |
| Interaction: Male Resp.& Male Mayor | -.17(.24) | .29(.20) | .29(18) | .27(.22) |
| Interaction: Ethnicity Respondent & Ethnicity Mayor | 1.23(.83) | .03(.20) | .07(.17) | **.65\*****(.21)** |
| Interaction: Males Better Leader & Male Mayor | .23(.10) | .06(.08) | -.10(.07) | .01(.08) |
| Interaction: Male Non-Russian Mayor | -.18(.22)  | -.02(.20) | -.15(.18) | -.12(.20) |
| Constant |  **5.48\*\*** **(.27)** |  **4.7\*\*** **(.25)** | **4.70\*\*****(.25)** | **5.7\*\*****(27)** |
| Observations | 617 | 727 | 1190 | 742 |
| Adjusted R2 | 0.05 | 0.03 | 0.03 | 0.03 |

Note: \*p<0.05, \*\*p<0.001

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| **Table 2: Modeling Evaluations of Mayor's Characteristics, Non-Realistic - Realistic, in Arkhangelsk Oblast, Tatarstan, Buryatia, and Sakha (S.E.).** |
|  | **Arkhangelsk** | **Tatarstan** | **Buryatia** | **Sakha** |
| Mayor's Sex(Male=1) | -.12(.36**)** | -.04(.31) | .12(.31) | .37(.37) |
| Ethnic Mayor(Non-Russian = 1) | .14(.18**)** | .12(.18) | -.09(.18**)** | -.26(.23) |
| Respondent's Age | -.01(.07) | **.13\*****(.05)** | -.04(.05) | -.32(.06) |
| Respondent’s Sex(Male=1) | .24(.19) | .15(.17) | .12(.15) | **-.34\*****(.18**) |
| Ethnicity Respondent(Non-Russian = 1) | .60 (.78) | -.10(.16) | -.18(.14) | -.08(.17) |
| Males Make Better Leaders  | -.05(.08) | -.06(.07) | .007(.06) | -.03(.07) |
| Interaction: Male Resp.& Male Mayor | .04(.27) | .003(.22) | -.13(.21) | .05(.25) |
| Interaction: Ethnicity Respondent & Ethnicity Mayor | .50(.96) | .06(.22) | .02(.20) | -.04(.25) |
| Interaction: Males Better Leader & Male Mayor | .04(.12) | -.03(.09) | .07(.08) | .08(.10) |
| Interaction: Male Non-Russian Mayor | .10(.26)  | -.18(.22) | .22(.20) | .03(.24) |
| Constant |  **4.8\*\*** **(.31)** |  **4.86\*\*** **(.27)** | **4.60\*\*****(.27)** | **4.95\*\*****(32)** |
| Observations | 616 | 743 | 1146 | 719 |
| Adjusted R2 | 0.01 | 0.001 | 0.001 | 0.02 |

Note: \*p<0.05, \*\*p<0.001

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| **Table 3: Modeling Evaluations of Mayor's Characteristics, Boring – Charismatic, in Arkhangelsk Oblast, Tatarstan, Buryatia, and Sakha (S.E.).** |
|  | **Arkhangelsk** | **Tatarstan** | **Buryatia** | **Sakha** |
| Mayor's Sex(Male=1) | -.39(.27) | -.21(.26) | .23(.27) | -.27(.30) |
| Ethnic Mayor(Non-Russian = 1) | -.11(.14**)** | .18(.16) | -.21(.15**)** | -.07(.19) |
| Respondent's Age | **-.13\*****(.05)** | .06(.05) | -.05(.04) | **.10\*****(.05**) |
| Respondent’s Sex(Male=1) | -.07(.14) | .06(.13) | -.12(.12) | **-.52\*\*****(.15**) |
| Ethnicity Respondent(Non-Russian = 1) | -.95(.55) | -.0003(.13) | -.13(.12) | **-.30\*****(.14)** |
| Males Make Better Leaders  | **-.21\*\*****(.06)** | -.10(.06) | -.03(.05) | .04(.06) |
| Interaction: Male Resp.& Male Mayor | .25(.20) | -.20(.20) | .27(17) | .38(.21) |
| Interaction: Ethnicity Respondent & Ethnicity Mayor | **2.9\*\*****(.66)** | -.13(.18) | .16(.17) | .33(.20) |
| Interaction: Males Better Leader & Male Mayor | .13(.08) | .05(.08) | -.07(.07) | -.04(.08) |
| Interaction: Male Non-Russian Mayor | .01(.19)  | **-.40\*****(.18)** | .005(.17) | -.07(.19) |
| Constant |  **5.25\*\*** **(.23)** |  **4.8\*\*** **(.24)** | **4.42\*\*****(.22)** |  **4.67\*\*****(27)** |
| Observations | 573 | 694 | 1142 | 742 |
| Adjusted R2 | 0.06 | 0.01 | 0.003 | 0.03 |

Note: \*p<0.05, \*\*p<0.001

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| **Table 4: Modeling Evaluations of Mayor's Characteristic, Non-Qualified – Qualified, in Arkhangelsk Oblast, Tatarstan, Buryatia, and Sakha (S.E.).** |
|  | **Arkhangelsk** | **Tatarstan** | **Buryatia** | **Sakha** |
| Mayor's Sex(Male=1) | -.61(.34**)** | .16(.29) | .023(.28) | -.01(.32) |
| Ethnic Mayor(Non-Russian = 1) | .25(.17**)** | -.002(.17) | -.22(.16**)** | **-.68\*\*****(.20**) |
| Respondent's Age | **.13\*****(.06**) | .04(.06) | -.005(.05) | .06(.05) |
| Respondent’s Sex(Male=1) | .07(.18) | -.09(.16) | -.08(.13) | **-.41\*****(.15**) |
| Ethnicity Respondent(Non-Russian = 1) | -.34(.73) | -.16(.15) | **-.33\*****(.12)** | -.27(.15**)** |
| Males Make Better Leaders  | -.07(.07) | -.03(.07) | .006(.05) | .06(.06) |
| Interaction: Male Resp.& Male Mayor | .06(.26) | .02(.22) | .02(19) | .34(.21) |
| Interaction: Ethnicity Respondent & Ethnicity Mayor | 1.21(.91) | .09(.21) | .27(.19) | **.84\*\*****(.21)** |
| Interaction: Males Better Leader & Male Mayor | .89(.10) | -.03(.09) | -.03(.07) | .001(.08) |
| Interaction: Male Non-Russian Mayor | **-.69\*****(.24)**  | -.06(.21) | **.41\*****(.19)** | .04(.20) |
| Constant |  **5.10\*\*** **(.29)** |  **5.04\*\*** **(.26)** | **5.20\*\*****(.25)** | **5.1\*\*****(27)** |
| Observations | 629 | 749 | 1171 | 731 |
| Adjusted R2 | 0.01 | -0.01 | 0.01 | 0.03 |

Note: \*p<0.05, \*\*p<0.001

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| **Table 5: Modeling Evaluations of Mayor's Characteristics, Weak-Strong, in Arkhangelsk Oblast, Tatarstan, Buryatia, and Sakha (S.E.).** |
|  | **Arkhangelsk** | **Tatarstan** | **Buryatia** | **Sakha** |
| Mayor's Sex(Male=1) | -.11(.35) | .01(.29) | **-.60\*****(.29)** | -.45(.32) |
| Ethnic Mayor(Non-Russian = 1) | .14(.18**)** | -.02(.17) | .22(.17**)** | -.34(.22) |
| Respondent's Age | .07(.06) | **.13\*****(.05)** | .01(.05) | .05(.06) |
| Respondent’s Sex(Male=1) | .24(.19) | -.09(.15) | -.22(.14) | **-.66\*\*****(.16**) |
| Ethnicity Respondent(Non-Russian = 1) | -1.02(.74) | -.11(.15) | -.04(.13) | **-.35\*****(.16)** |
| Males Make Better Leaders  | -.06(.08) | -.05(.06) | **-.14\*****(.06)** | .04(.07) |
| Interaction: Male Resp.& Male Mayor | .02(.26) | .19(.22) | .28(.2) | .37(.23) |
| Interaction: Ethnicity Respondent & Ethnicity Mayor | **1.88\*****(.92)** | -.01(.21) | .11(.08) | **.58\*****(.23)** |
| Interaction: Males Better Leader & Male Mayor | .002(.11) | -.01(.09) | .09(.08) | -.07(.09) |
| Interaction: Male Non-Russian Mayor | -.16(.25)  | -.11(.21) | -.20(.20) | .01(.22) |
| Constant |  **4.84\*\*** **(.31)** |  **5.04\*\*** **(.26)** | **5.12\*\*****(.26)** | **5.45\*\*****(29)** |
| Observations | 605 | 722 | 1161 | 710 |
| Adjusted R2 | 0.001 | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.03 |

Note: \*p<0.05, \*\*p<0.001

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| **Table 6: Modeling Evaluations of Mayor's Characteristics, Cautious - Decisive, in Arkhangelsk Oblast, Tatarstan, Buryatia, and Sakha (S.E.).** |
|  | **Arkhangelsk** | **Tatarstan** | **Buryatia** | **Sakha** |
| Mayor's Sex(Male=1) | **-.87\*****(.36)** | -.04(.29) | .16(.29) | .52(.41) |
| Ethnic Mayor(Non-Russian = 1) | .19(.18**)** | -.002(.18) | .26(.17**)** | **-.67\*****(.26**) |
| Respondent's Age | -.01(.06) | **.12\*****(.05)** | .07(.05) | .07(.07) |
| Respondent’s Sex(Male=1) | .04(.18) | -.16(.16) | **-.29\*****(.14)** | -.22(.20) |
| Ethnicity Respondent(Non-Russian = 1) | -.62(.08) | -.08(.15) | **-.33\*****(.13)** | -.21(.19) |
| Males Make Better Leaders  | -.13(.08) | .06(.07) | .03(.06) | -.06(.09) |
| Interaction: Male Resp.& Male Mayor | -.24(.26) | .13(.22) | **.38\*****(.19)** | .22(.28) |
| Interaction: Ethnicity Respondent & Ethnicity Mayor | 1.34(.93) | -.15(.22) | .11(.19) | **.89\*****(.28)** |
| Interaction: Males Better Leader & Male Mayor | .19(.11) | -.03(.09) | -.12(.08) | .21(.11) |
| Interaction: Male Non-Russian Mayor | -.63(.22)  | .04(.22) | -.34(.19) | -.05(.27) |
| Constant |  **5.84\*\*** **(.31)** |  **4.97\*\*** **(.27)** | **5.00\*\*****(.25)** | **4.54\*\*****(.35)** |
| Observations | 632 | 742 | 1180 | 732 |
| Adjusted R2 | 0.01 | -0.001 | 0.01 | 0.02 |

Note: \*p<0.05, \*\*p<0.001

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| **Table 7: Modeling Evaluations of Mayor's Characteristics, Emotional - Calm, in Arkhangelsk Oblast, Tatarstan, Buryatia, and Sakha (S.E.).** |
|  | **Arkhangelsk** | **Tatarstan** | **Buryatia** | **Sakha** |
| Mayor's Sex(Male=1) | **.98\*****(.33)** | -.34(.29) | -.18(.28) | .46(.34) |
| Ethnic Mayor(Non-Russian = 1) | .13(.17**)** | .29(.17) | .06(.16**)** | -.20(.21) |
| Respondent's Age | .04(.06) | -.06(.05) | -.02(.05) | .10(.06) |
| Respondent’s Sex(Male=1) | **.38\*****(.17)** | .12(.16) | **.36\*****(.14)** | -.17(.17) |
| Ethnicity Respondent(Non-Russian = 1) | .18(.68) | -.19(.14) | .17(.13) | **-.36\*****(.16)** |
| Males Make Better Leaders  | **.15\*****(.07)** | **-.22\*\*****(.07)** | **-.22\*\*****(.06)** | -.005(.06) |
| Interaction: Male Resp.& Male Mayor | -.09(.25) | -.09(.22) | -.20(.18) | .26(.23) |
| Interaction: Ethnicity Respondent & Ethnicity Mayor | **-2.53\*****(.86)** | **-.43\*****(.21)** | -.25(.19) | -.12(.31) |
| Interaction: Males Better Leader & Male Mayor | **-.26\*****(.10)** | **.20\*****(.09)** | .14(.07) | .07(.09) |
| Interaction: Male Non-Russian Mayor | .24(.24)  | -.32(.20) | -.35(.18) | .39(.22) |
| Constant |  **3.30\*\*** **(.28)** |  **4.9\*\*** **(.26)** | **4.56\*\*****(.25)** | **4.01\*\*****(.29)** |
| Observations | 600 | 728 | 1156 | 718 |
| Adjusted R2 | 0.05 | 0.03 | 0.02 | 0.02 |

Note: \*p<0.05, \*\*p<0.001.

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| **Table 8: Modeling Evaluations of Mayor's Characteristics, Dishonest – Honest, in Arkhangelsk Oblast, Tatarstan, Buryatia, and Sakha (S.E.).** |
|  | **Arkhangelsk** | **Tatarstan** | **Buryatia** | **Sakha** |
| Mayor's Sex(Male=1) | -.63(.34) | .10(.28) | -.42(.30) | .01(.33) |
| Ethnic Mayor(Non-Russian = 1) | .21(.18**)** | .12(.16) | .19(.17**)** | -.24(.21) |
| Respondent's Age | .09(.07) | **.12\*****(.05)** | .06(.05) | .05(.05) |
| Respondent’s Sex(Male=1) | .31(.18) | -.19(.15) | .14(.14) | -.29(.16) |
| Ethnicity Respondent(Non-Russian = 1) | -1.11(.72) | .18(.14) | -.02(.13) | -.09(.15**)** |
| Males Make Better Leaders  | -.11(.87) | **.05****(.06)** | **-.15\*****(.06)** | -.02(.06) |
| Interaction: Male Resp.& Male Mayor | .005(.25) | **.40\*****(.21)** | .29(.21) | -.04(.22) |
| Interaction: Ethnicity Respondent & Ethnicity Mayor | **1.74\*****(.89)** | -.10(.20) | .17(.19) | .38(.22) |
| Interaction: Males Better Leader & Male Mayor | .16(.11) | -.20(.20) | .02(.08) | .06(.09) |
| Interaction: Male Non-Russian Mayor | -07(.24)  | -.22(.20) | -.36(.20) | -.22(.21) |
| Constant |  **5.07\*\*** **(.29)** |  **4.85\*\*** **(.26)** | **5.14\*\*****(.27)** | **5.20\*\*****(.29)** |
| Observations | 607 | 727 | 1162 | 718 |
| Adjusted R2 | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.02 |

Note: \*p<0.05, \*\*p<0.001.

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| **Table 9: Modeling Evaluations of Mayor's Characteristics, Self-Centered - Caring, in Arkhangelsk Oblast, Tatarstan, Buryatia, and Sakha (S.E.).** |
|  | **Arkhangelsk** | **Tatarstan** | **Buryatia** | **Sakha** |
| Mayor's Sex(Male=1) | -.53(.33) | .29(.27) | -.22(.28) | .07(.34) |
| Ethnic Mayor(Non-Russian = 1) | .02(.17**)** | -.26(.16) | -.22(.16**)** | -.41(.22) |
| Respondent's Age | -.06(.06) | -.03(.05) | **-.12\*****(.05)** | -.04(.06) |
| Respondent’s Sex(Male=1) | .03(.18) | -.19(.14) | **-.30\*****(.13)** | -.20(.17) |
| Ethnicity Respondent(Non-Russian = 1) | -.46(.70) | -.09(.14) | **-.33\*****(.13)** | -.26(.16) |
| Males Make Better Leaders  | -.02(.08) | -.004(.06) | .07(.06) | -.002(.07) |
| Interaction: Male Resp.& Male Mayor | -.38(.25) | .05(.21) | .07(.18) | .20(.23) |
| Interaction: Ethnicity Respondent & Ethnicity Mayor | 1.3(.88) | .08(.20) | .25(.19) | **.54\*****(.23)** |
| Interaction: Males Better Leader & Male Mayor | .15(.10) | -.004(.09) | .11(.08) | -.02(.09) |
| Interaction: Male Non-Russian Mayor | -.23(.24)  | **.39\*****(.20)** | .22(.18) | .29(.22) |
| Constant |  **5.36\*\*** **(.29)** |  **5.11\*\*** **(.25)** | **5.78\*\*****(.24)** | **5.36\*\*****(.29)** |
| Observations | 615 | 740 | 1175 | 720 |
| Adjusted R2 | 0.01 | 0.001 | 0.01 | 0.001 |

Note: \*p<0.05, \*\*p<0.001.

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| **Table 10: Modeling Evaluations of Mayor's Characteristics, Unreliable - Reliable, in Arkhangelsk Oblast, Tatarstan, Buryatia, and Sakha (S.E.). Intersectional Analysis.** |
|  | **Arkhangelsk** | **Tatarstan** | **Buryatia** | **Sakha** |
| Respondent's Age | .02(.05) | **.17\*****(.05)** | .10(.05) | -.02(.05) |
| Respondent’s Sex(Male=1) | -.04(.11) | -.04(.09) | .01(.08) | -.32(.11) |
| Interactions: Mayor’s Sex and Mayor’s Ethnicity  Russian Male Mayor | -.02(.16) | .11(.14) | -.19(.12) | -.15(.14) |
| Non-Russian Female Mayor  | .01(.15) | .11(.14) | .09(.13) | -.28(.15) |
| Non-Russian Male Mayor | .08(.16) | .19(.19) | .05(.12) | -.26(.11) |
| Constant |  **4.91\*\*** **(.21)** |  **4.53\*\*** **(.17)** | **4.71\*\*****(.15)** |  **5.51\*\*** **(.17)** |
| Observations | 636 | 746 | 1203 | 754 |
| Adjusted R2 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 |

Note: \*p<0.05, \*\*p<0.001.

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| **Table 11: Modeling Evaluations of Mayor's Characteristics, Idealistic - Realistic, in Arkhangelsk Oblast, Tatarstan, Buryatia, and Sakha (S.E.). Intersectional Analysis.** |
|  | **Arkhangelsk** | **Tatarstan** | **Buryatia** | **Sakha** |
| Respondent's Age | .02(.06) | .11(.05**)** | -.04(.05) | -.03(.06) |
| Respondent’s Sex(Male=1) | .3(.12) | .09(.10) | .07(.10) | -.30(.11) |
| Interactions: Mayor’s Sex and Mayor’s Ethnicity  Russian Male Mayor | .05(.18) | -.10(.15) | .25(.14) | .11(.16) |
| Non-Russian Female Mayor  | .27(.18) | -.05(.15) | .06(.14) | -.27(.16) |
| Non-Russian Male Mayor | .16(.18) | .03(.15) | .18(.14) | -.16(.17) |
| Constant |  **4.60\*\*** **(.22)** |  **4.74\*\*** **(.17)** | **4.53\*\*****(.15)** |  **5.03\*\*** **(.19)** |
| Observations | 633 | 761 | 1187 | 725 |
| Adjusted R2 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 |

Note: \*p<0.05, \*\*p<0.001.

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| **Table 12: Modeling Evaluations of Mayor's Characteristics, Boring-Charismatic, in Arkhangelsk Oblast, Tatarstan, Buryatia, and Sakha (S.E.). Intersectional Analysis.** |
|  | **Arkhangelsk** | **Tatarstan** | **Buryatia** | **Sakha** |
| Respondent's Age | -.13(.05) | .07(.05**)** | -.05(.04) | .12(.06) |
| Respondent’s Sex(Male=1) | -.02(.10) | -.09(.10) | -.001(.08) | -.29(.10) |
| Interactions: Mayor’s Sex and Mayor’s Ethnicity  Russian Male Mayor | .08(.13) | -.19(.12) | .12(.12) | .03(.13) |
| Non-Russian Female Mayor  | -.05(.14) | **-.30\*****(.13)** | -.16(.12) | .05(.14) |
| Non-Russian Male Mayor | .01(.14) | .05(.12) | -.03(.12) | .15(.14) |
| Constant |  **4.64\*\*** **(.22)** |  **4.54\*\*** **(.16)** | **4.25\*\*****(.15)** |  **4.32\*\*** **(.17)** |
| Observations | 587 | 711 | 1165 | 699 |
| Adjusted R2 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.02 |

Note: \*p<0.05, \*\*p<0.001.

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| **Table 12b: Marginal Effects of Mayor’s Sex and Mayors Ethnicity on Mayor Evaluation, Boring – Charismatic in Tatarstan (95% CI). Intersectional Analysis.** |
|  | **Margin (S.E.)** |
| Russian Female Mayor | 4.68(.09) |
| Russian Male Mayor | 4.49 (.09) |
| Non-Russian Female Mayor | **4.37****(.10)** |
| Non-Russian Male Mayor  | 4.64(.09) |

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| **Table 13: Modeling Evaluations of Mayor's Characteristics, Non-Qualified - Qualified, in Arkhangelsk Oblast, Tatarstan, Buryatia, and Sakha (S.E.). Intersectional Analysis.** |
|  | **Arkhangelsk** | **Tatarstan** | **Buryatia** | **Sakha** |
| Respondent's Age | .14(.06) | .05(.05**)** | .03(.04) | .06(.06) |
| Respondent’s Sex(Male=1) | .08(.12) | -.04(.10) | -.03(.09) | -.19(.10) |
| Interactions: Mayor’s Sex and Mayor’s Ethnicity  Russian Male Mayor | -.32(.17) | .08(.14) | .14(.13) | .14(.16) |
| Non-Russian Female Mayor  | **-.38\*****(.17)** | -.007(.15) | **.31\*****(.13)** | -.09(.14) |
| Non-Russian Male Mayor | -.06(.17) | .14(.15) | .06(.13) | .05(.15) |
| Constant |  **4.88\*\*** **(.22)** |  **5.01\*\*** **(.18)** | **4.99\*\*****(.16)** |  **5.05\*\*** **(.17)** |
| Observations | 645 | 770 | 1193 | 737 |
| Adjusted R2 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 |

Note: \*p<0.05, \*\*p<0.001.

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| **Table 13b: Marginal Effects of Mayor’s Sex and Mayors Ethnicity on Mayor Evaluation, Non-Qualified – Qualified in Arkhangelsk oblast (95% CI). Intersectional Analysis.** |
|  | **Margin (S.E.)** |
| Russian Female Mayor | 5.30(.12) |
| Russian Male Mayor | 4.98 (.12) |
| Non-Russian Female Mayor | **4.91****(.12)** |
| Non-Russian Male Mayor  | 5.23(.12) |

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| **Table 13c: Marginal Effects of Mayor’s Sex and Mayors Ethnicity on Mayor Evaluation, Non-Qualified – Qualified in Buryatia (95% CI). Intersectional Analysis.** |
|  | **Margin (S.E.)** |
| Russian Female Mayor | 5.03(.09) |
| Russian Male Mayor | 5.17 (.09) |
| Non-Russian Female Mayor | **5.34****(.10)** |
| Non-Russian Male Mayor  | 5.08(.09) |

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| **Table 14: Modeling Evaluations of Mayor's Characteristics, Weak - Strong, in Arkhangelsk Oblast, Tatarstan, Buryatia, and Sakha (S.E.). Intersectional Analysis.** |
|  | **Arkhangelsk** | **Tatarstan** | **Buryatia** | **Sakha** |
| Respondent's Age | .05(.07) | **.13\*****(.05)** | .01(.05) | .06(.06) |
| Respondent’s Sex(Male=1) | .18(.12) | .01(.10) | -.09(.09) | -.44(.11) |
| Interactions: Mayor’s Sex and Mayor’s Ethnicity  Russian Male Mayor | -.10(.17) | .03(.14) | -.16(.13) | -.03(.15) |
| Non-Russian Female Mayor  | -.02(.17) | -.14(.15) | .07(.13) | .05(.16) |
| Non-Russian Male Mayor | .06(.17) | .06(.15) | .08(.13) | -.01(.16) |
| Constant |  **4.72\*\*** **(.22)** |  **4.79\*\*** **(.18)** | **4.60\*\*****(.17)** |  **4.98\*\*** **(.18)** |
| Observations | 621 | 741 | 1182 | 717 |
| Adjusted R2 | -0.001 | 0.01 | 0.001 | 0.02 |

Note: \*p<0.05, \*\*p<0.001.

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| **Table 15: Modeling Evaluations of Mayor's Characteristics, Cautious - Decisive, in Arkhangelsk Oblast, Tatarstan, Buryatia, and Sakha (S.E.). Intersectional Analysis.** |
|  | **Arkhangelsk** | **Tatarstan** | **Buryatia** | **Sakha** |
| Respondent's Age | .001(.06) | .12(.06**)** | **.09\*****(.04)** | .07(.07) |
| Respondent’s Sex(Male=1) | -.11(.12) | -.10(.11) | -.05(.09) | -.07(.13) |
| Interactions: Mayor’s Sex and Mayor’s Ethnicity  Russian Male Mayor | -.42(.17) | -.07(.15) | -.12(.13) | -.08(.18) |
| Non-Russian Female Mayor  | **-.40\*****(.17)** | -.01(.15) | -.07(.13) | -.15(.19) |
| Non-Russian Male Mayor | **-.19\*****(.17)** | -.16(.15) | .15(.13) | -.15(.15) |
| Constant |  **5.53\*\*** **(.22)** |  **5.06\*\*** **(.19)** | **4.81\*\*****(.16)** |  **4.86\*\*** **(.22)** |
| Observations | 648 | 762 | 1203 | 738 |
| Adjusted R2 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.002 | -0.002 |

Note: \*p<0.05, \*\*p<0.001.

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| **Table 16: Modeling Evaluations of Mayor's Characteristics, Emotional - Calm, in Arkhangelsk Oblast, Tatarstan, Buryatia, and Sakha (S.E.). Intersectional Analysis.** |
|  | **Arkhangelsk** | **Tatarstan** | **Buryatia** | **Sakha** |
| Respondent's Age | .03(.06) | -.06(.06**)** | -.04(.05) | **.11\*****(.06)** |
| Respondent’s Sex(Male=1) | **.32\*****(.12)** | -.001(.10) | .15(.09) | .03(.11) |
| Interactions: Mayor’s Sex and Mayor’s Ethnicity  Russian Male Mayor | .19(.17) | .15(.15) | .15(.13) | **.33\*****(.15)** |
| Non-Russian Female Mayor  | .29(.17) | -.25(.15) | .23(.13) | .12(.16) |
| Non-Russian Male Mayor | **.**132(.17) | **.28\*****(.15)** | .06(.13) | .04(.16) |
| Constant |  **3.81\*\*** **(.21)** |  **4.47\*\*** **(.18)** | **4.01\*\*****(.16)** |  **3.86\*\*** **(.18)** |
| Observations | 616 | 747 | 1178 | 728 |
| Adjusted R2 | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.002 | 0.01 |

Note: \*p<0.05, \*\*p<0.001.

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| **Table 16b: Marginal Effects of Mayor’s Sex and Mayors Ethnicity on Mayor Evaluation, Self-Centered – Charismatic in Sakha (95% CI). Intersectional Analysis.** |
|  | **Margin (S.E.)** |
| Russian Female Mayor | 4.17(.11) |
| Russian Male Mayor | **4.50** **(.10)** |
| Non-Russian Female Mayor | 4.22(.11) |
| Non-Russian Male Mayor  | 4.21(.11) |

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| **Table 17: Modeling Evaluations of Mayor's Characteristics, Dishonest- Honest, in Arkhangelsk Oblast, Tatarstan, Buryatia, and Sakha (S.E.). Intersectional Analysis.** |
|  | **Arkhangelsk** | **Tatarstan** | **Buryatia** | **Sakha** |
| Respondent's Age | .06(.06) | **.11\*****(.05)** | .07(.06) | .07(.05) |
| Respondent’s Sex(Male=1) | .22(.12) | -.02(.09) | -.03(.10) | **-.29\*****(.10)** |
| Interactions: Mayor’s Sex and Mayor’s Ethnicity  Russian Male Mayor | -.19(.17) | -.22(.13) | -.22(.13) | -.20(.15) |
| Non-Russian Female Mayor  | .08(.17) | -.15(.14) | -.06(.14) | -.21(.15) |
| Non-Russian Male Mayor | .001(.17) | -.13(.14) | .008(.13) | -.22(.15) |
| Constant |  **4.87\*\*** **(.22)** |  **5.00\*\*** **(.17)** | **4.60\*\*****(.17)** |  **5.22\*\*** **(.17)** |
| Observations | 624 | 745 | 1185 | 721 |
| Adjusted R2 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 |

Note: \*p<0.05, \*\*p<0.001.

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| **Table 18: Modeling Evaluations of Mayor's Characteristics, Self-centered - Caring, in Arkhangelsk Oblast, Tatarstan, Buryatia, and Sakha (S.E.). Intersectional Analysis.** |
|  | **Arkhangelsk** | **Tatarstan** | **Buryatia** | **Sakha** |
| Respondent's Age | -.03(.06) | -.01(.05) | -.09(.04) | -.04(.05) |
| Respondent’s Sex(Male=1) | -.12(.12) | -.12(.09) | **-.21\*****(.10)** | -.09(.10) |
| Interactions: Mayor’s Sex and Mayor’s Ethnicity  Russian Male Mayor | -.26(.17) | **.30\*****(.13)** | .14(.13) | .21(.15) |
| Non-Russian Female Mayor  | .15(.17) | .19(.14) | .15(.13) | .24(.15) |
| Non-Russian Male Mayor | .22(.17) | .10(.14) | .07(.13) | .18(.16) |
| Constant |  **5.30\*\*** **(.21)** |  **5.00\*\*** **(.17)** | **5.26\*\*****(.16)** |  **5.09\*\*** **(.18)** |
| Observations | 630 | 760 | 1196 | 726 |
| Adjusted R2 | -0.001 | 0.01 | 0.01 | -0.001 |

Note: \*p<0.05, \*\*p<0.001.

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| **Table 18b: Marginal Effects of Mayor’s Sex and Mayors Ethnicity on Mayor Evaluation, Self-Centered – Charismatic in Tatarstan (95% CI). Intersectional Analysis.** |
|  | **Margin (S.E.)** |
| Russian Female Mayor | 4.92(.10) |
| Russian Male Mayor | **5.22** **(.10)** |
| Non-Russian Female Mayor | 5.11(.10) |
| Non-Russian Male Mayor  | 5.02(.09) |

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| **Table 19: Modeling Evaluations of Mayor's Characteristics in Sakha (S.E.). Truncated Model.** |
|  | **Reliable**  | **Realistic** | **Boring** | **Qualified** |
| Mayor’s Sex(Male =1) | .11(.09) | **.25\*****(.10)** | **.21\*****(.08)** | **.32\*****(.09)** |
| Mayor’s Ethnicity(Non-Russian =1) | **-.30\*\*****(.09)** | **-.40\*\*****(.10)** | -.11(.09) | **-.30\*\*****(.09)** |
| Constant |  **5.30\*\*** **(.08)** |  **4.91\*\*** **(.08)** | **4.64\*\*****(.07)** |  **5.06\*\*** **(.08)** |
| Observations | 1,023 | 992 | 967 | 1005 |
| Adjusted R2 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.02 |
| **Table 19 (cont’d): Modeling Evaluations of Mayor's Characteristics in Sakha (S.E.). Truncated Model.** |
|  | **Emotional**  | **Honest** | **Caring** |  |
| Mayor’s Sex(Male =1) | **.25\*****(.09)** | .12(.09) | **.22\*****(.08)** |  |
| Mayor’s Ethnicity(Non-Russian =1) | **-.22\*\*****(.09)** | **-.22\*\*****(.09)** | -.12(.09) |  |
| Constant |  **4.50\*\*** **(.08)** | **5.14\*\*** **(.08)** | **5.11\*\*****(.07)** |  |
| Observations | 996 | 984 | 994 |  |
| Adjusted R2 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.01 |  |

Note: \*p<0.05, \*\*p<0.001.

**Table 20: Summary of Results from the OLS Regression Analysis: Neutral Leadership Characteristics by Interaction Effects of Sex, Ethnicity, Respondents’ Group Bias, and Intersectional Analysis.**

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| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Arkhangelsk** | **Tatarstan** | **Buryatia** | **Sakha** |
| **Leadership Characteristic: Unreliable – Reliable** |
| None | None | None | *Role congruity:*Non-Russian mayors are viewed less reliable; *Social Identity:*Co-ethnics evaluate mayor as more reliable. |
| **Leadership Characteristic: Boring - Charismatic** |
| *Social Identity:*Co-ethnics evaluate mayor as more charismatic. | *Intersectionality:* Female non-Russian mayors are viewed as the least charismatic. | None | *Role congruity:*Male mayors are viewed more charismatic.\* |
| **Leadership Characteristic: Idealistic - Realistic** |
| None | None | None | *Role congruity:*Male mayors are viewed more realistic.\*Non-Russian mayors are viewed less realistic.\* |

Note: Only statistically significant results are reported.

\*These results are from truncated regressions reported in Supplementary materials.

1. Olga Ryabova/Oleg Ryabov are the names for the cases where the mayor is Russian (female/male). Aigul Mustafina/Marat Mustafin are used for the cases where the mayor is Tatar (female/male). Dorima Bashkeeva/Bair Bashkeev are the names for the Buryat mayor, while Sargylana Alekseeva/Nyurgun Alekseev are used for the cases where the mayor is Sakha (female/male). [↑](#footnote-ref-1)