

The public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden, to Washington Headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports, 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington VA, 22202-4302. Respondents should be aware that notwithstanding any other provision of law, no person shall be subject to any penalty for failing to comply with a collection of information if it does not display a currently valid OMB control number.  
PLEASE DO NOT RETURN YOUR FORM TO THE ABOVE ADDRESS.

1. REPORT DATE (DD-MM-YYYY) 28-04-2019	2. REPORT TYPE Final Report	3. DATES COVERED (From - To) 1-Aug-2013 - 30-Nov-2018
---	--------------------------------	--

4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE Final Report: Homeownership and Societal Stability: Assessing Causal Effects in Central Eurasia	5a. CONTRACT NUMBER W911NF-13-1-0303
	5b. GRANT NUMBER
	5c. PROGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER 106011

6. AUTHORS	5d. PROJECT NUMBER
	5e. TASK NUMBER
	5f. WORK UNIT NUMBER

7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAMES AND ADDRESSES University of Wisconsin - Madison Suite 6401 21 N Park Street Madison, WI 53715 -1218	8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER
--	--

9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS (ES) U.S. Army Research Office P.O. Box 12211 Research Triangle Park, NC 27709-2211	10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S) ARO
	11. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S) 64438-MA-MRI.32

12. DISTRIBUTION AVAILABILITY STATEMENT Approved for public release; distribution is unlimited.
--

13. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES The views, opinions and/or findings contained in this report are those of the author(s) and should not be construed as an official Department of the Army position, policy or decision, unless so designated by other documentation.
---

14. ABSTRACT
--------------

15. SUBJECT TERMS
-------------------

16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF:			17. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT UU	15. NUMBER OF PAGES	19a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON Theodore Gerber
a. REPORT UU	b. ABSTRACT UU	c. THIS PAGE UU			19b. TELEPHONE NUMBER 608-262-2182

**RPPR Final Report**  
as of 30-Apr-2019

Agency Code:

Proposal Number: 64438MAMRI  
**INVESTIGATOR(S):**

**Agreement Number: W911NF-13-1-0303**

**Name:** Theodore Gerber  
**Email:** tgerber@ssc.wisc.edu  
**Phone Number:** 6082622182  
**Principal:** Y

Organization: **University of Wisconsin - Madison**

Address: Suite 6401, Madison, WI 537151218

Country: USA

DUNS Number: 161202122

EIN: 396006492

**Report Date:** 28-Feb-2019

Date Received: 28-Apr-2019

**Final Report** for Period Beginning 01-Aug-2013 and Ending 30-Nov-2018

**Title:** Homeownership and Societal Stability: Assessing Causal Effects in Central Eurasia

**Begin Performance Period:** 01-Aug-2013

**End Performance Period:** 30-Nov-2018

**Report Term:** 0-Other

Submitted By: Theodore Gerber

Email: tgerber@ssc.wisc.edu

Phone: (608) 262-2182

**Distribution Statement:** 1-Approved for public release; distribution is unlimited.

**STEM Degrees:** 4

**STEM Participants:** 8

**Major Goals:** Major Goals:

Research Aim #1:

The project examines whether, how, and why homeownership and other aspects of housing affect societal stability in semi-authoritarian contexts. Specifically, we set out to examine whether housing influences the extent and nature of political grievances (directed against various levels of government), social grievances (directed against groups in society), civic engagement (subjective efficacy, participation in organized civic activities and political behaviors), social capital (networks and generalized trust), and socio-economic ideology (support for markets vs. state redistribution), all of which, in turn, are predictive of societal stability (and instability).

During the course of the project we developed two additional aims.

Research Aim #2:

In the course of our data collection we also sought to understand the nature and basis of public opinion in four post-Soviet countries regarding key issues of the day, such as support for the current governments, views of different types of political institutions, social attitudes, economic well being, and attitudes toward the United States, Russia, the conflict in Ukraine, and other foreign policy issues.

Research Aim #3:

We expanded the scope of our analysis to encompass a broader analysis of how economic, physical, and political forms of displacement can affect the risk of instability in post-Soviet countries.

Background discussion of research aims:

The US government promotes homeownership at home and abroad based on the proposition that homeownership promotes societal stability by improving living conditions, inducing respect for private property, and creating better citizens. However, there is little theoretical basis and scant evidence for these purported effects. To rectify this gap in scientific understanding of the effects of housing on stability, we developed core hypotheses specifying how different aspects of ownership might affect the proximate causes of instability: political grievances, social grievances, civic norms, social capital, and ideology. Our hypotheses disentangle the discrete components of "ownership" that are often bundled together, and they include other aspects of housing status (quantity and quality of housing) that could affect the outcomes of interest independently of ownership. We also hypothesize how these relationships vary within and across countries depending on macro-level variables such as political regime, social climate, social structure, and culture.

## RPPR Final Report as of 30-Apr-2019

Since 2014 years tensions between the United States and Russia have increased dramatically, due to Russia's military aggression in Ukraine, its heightened propaganda efforts against the United States and its allies, the efforts of the Putin regime to solidify its domestic standing by pursuing a confrontational foreign policy, and Russian government interference in the 2016 US Presidential election. The renewed tensions call for increased efforts to understand public opinion about political issues, including (but not limited to) views of the United States, within Russia and within other former Soviet countries that are on the front line of the geopolitical conflict. The clear connection between domestic political considerations within all the countries of the former USSR and the prospects for international confrontations between Russia and the West places a premium on obtaining good data about how the populations of these countries view major political issues.

Finally, Russia's annexation of Crimea and the ongoing military conflict in Eastern Ukraine have produced the largest population of internally displaced people in Europe. We did not anticipate this development when we initially proposed our research, but in the last two years of the project we expanded the scope of our study to include analysis of various ways that displaced populations can threaten to undermine stability. We take a comparative approach, drawing on the data we collected on IDPs (and attitudes toward them) in Azerbaijan, as well as a 2017 survey in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan (which also has large groups of displaced people, including economically displaced, return migrants from Russia, and internal migrants fleeing areas of recent ethnic conflict), and a new major survey focusing on IDPs in Ukraine, which we completed in 2018. We seek to understand multiple dimensions of the relationship between displacement and societal stability on the basis of our data from these three countries, including efforts by the displaced to self-organize, policy responses by governments and non-governmental organizations, and attitudes toward the displaced on the part of local populations.

### Methodological Approach:

We sought test our hypotheses empirically by conducting original focus group and surveys in four semi-authoritarian countries: Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Ukraine. These countries are uniquely suited for testing whether housing has causal effects on societal stability for the following reasons. First, they face elevated risk of experiencing various forms of instability. Second, they experienced a quasi-experimental distribution of homeownership as a result of Soviet-era housing distribution policies, post-Soviet housing privatization, and failed housing markets since the Soviet collapse: our data confirm that, although these countries have become "homeowner" societies, transfers (from the state or family members) remain the dominant path to homeownership among current owners, with market-based paths nonetheless claiming a growing and substantial proportion. Third, property rights that in Western contexts are usually bundled together under "ownership" are often dispersed in these countries, producing a rare opportunity to test hypotheses about which specific aspects of ownership matter for which outcomes related to societal stability. Finally, variations in macro-conditions across these four study countries permit us to test hypotheses about macro-micro linkages.

We sought to collect qualitative and quantitative data contain extensive measures of housing status (tenure, quality, and quantity of housing), and also measures of our key outcomes of interest (grievances against the government and social groups, civic voluntarism and political activity, subjective efficacy, social networks, generalized trust, and ideology.) We also collected data on subjective satisfaction with housing, a wide range of other relevant political attitudes (to address objective #2), and other potential drivers of attitudes such as exposure to Russian and Western media, migration experience in Russia and other countries (in our 2017 Bishkek survey), internal migration and displacement (in the 2017 Bishkek survey and 2018 Ukrainian IDP survey), and basic demographic and socioeconomic characteristics.

We planned to analyze our focus group and interview data in order to obtain insight into how residents of our four study countries perceive their housing situation, their governments, groups in society (such as ethnic minorities, elites, immigrants), their levels of civic and political engagement, their ideology, and the relationship of their housing status to these other factors. We aimed to measure these relationships quantitatively using statistical models that take into account measurement error, endogeneity, and multi-factor causation.

**Accomplishments:** We have described our accomplishments in a document that we have uploaded in the "Upload" section.

## RPPR Final Report as of 30-Apr-2019

**Training Opportunities:** PI Gerber employed five different PhD students as research assistants on the project at different points in time, and co-PI Zavisca employed three PhD students as research assistants. These students have received training in the collection, management, and analysis of survey data pertaining to housing and societal stability, the collection and interpretation of qualitative (focus group and interview) data on housing, societal stability, public opinion, and displacement. They have also been engaged as co-authors of scholarly papers that either have been published, are under review, or will be submitted to academic journals. Two of Gerber's student employees received their PhDs during the project: Nicole Kraus began a job as Assistant Professor of Sociology (tenure-track) at the University of New Jersey, Newark, and Hannah Chapman, with whom Gerber co-authored one published article based on data from the project and who used the project data for her PhD thesis (and will publish the relevant chapter as a standalone paper), began a job as Assistant Professor of Political Science at Miami University, Ohio. Both Chapman and Kraus will continue to conduct policy-relevant research on Russia and other post-Soviet societies. Two of Gerber's other two student employees on the project, Qian He and Jia Wang, are working on their PhD dissertations at UW-Madison, and are both co-authors of project-based papers with Gerber. The fifth student Gerber has hired as a research assistant, Khasan Radjboev, is a first-year student in UW-Madison's Political Science program, and he will conduct policy-relevant research on Russia and other former Soviet countries for his PhD thesis. Gerber plans to co-author a paper with Radjboev.

Zavisca's student, Hyungjun Suh, has co-authored several papers with the investigators, and has developed themes from his work on the project for his dissertation project, which focuses on political aspects of homeownership in a large-scale comparative analysis. Of particular note, Zavisca's student Nadina Anderson received her PhD in Spring 2017, and is now a postdoctoral fellow at the Consortium Research Fellows Program, a partnership between the Consortium of Universities of the Washington Metropolitan Area and several Department of Defense agencies. Dr. Anderson is an expert on Ukraine and served as a research assistant on our Minerva project for four years. Her experience working on our Minerva project, including attending the Minerva meeting and program review in 2016, played a role in her decision to apply for and accept a defense-related postdoctoral fellowship. Her postdoctoral research is focused on gender integration in the US Army.

# RPPR Final Report

## as of 30-Apr-2019

**Results Dissemination:** Monograph (in progress):

Working title: Housing and Societal Stability in Former Soviet Countries: Testing Causal Effects in Russia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Kyrgyzstan. Theodore P. Gerber and Jane Zavisca

Chapter outline:

Introduction: Soviet and Post-Soviet Housing Systems

Chapter 1: Concepts, Hypotheses, and Data

Chapter 2: Housing and Inequality in Russia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Kyrgyzstan

Chapter 3: Housing Status, Political, and Social Grievances

Chapter 4: Homeownership and Civic Engagement

Chapter 5: Housing Characteristics and Social Capital

Chapter 6: Homeownership Societies? Housing, Middle Class Status, and Socioeconomic Ideology

Chapter 7: Macro-micro Linkages: Theme and Variation within and between Countries

Conclusion: Key Findings and Broader Implications

Progress and timeline: We have conducted the initial analyses and written preliminary drafts of chapters 1-6. We expected to have a full draft of the manuscript ready for submission by May 2020.

Peer-reviewed journal articles:

Hannah S. Chapman and Theodore P. Gerber. "Foreign Media Broadcasts as a Tool of Soft Power: Opinion Formation and Issue Framing Effects of Russian News in Kyrgyzstan." *International Studies Quarterly*. Forthcoming.

Theodore P. Gerber. "Public Opinion on Human Rights in Putin-Era Russia: Continuities, Changes, and Sources of Variation." *The Journal of Human Rights*. Vol. 16, no. 3, 2017, pp. 314-331.

Jane Zavisca and Theodore P. Gerber. "The Socioeconomic, Demographic, and Political Effects of Housing in Comparative Perspective." *Annual Review of Sociology*. Vol. 42, July 2016, pp. 347-367.

Theodore P. Gerber and Jane Zavisca. "Does Russian propaganda work? Survey evidence from four post-Soviet countries." *The Washington Quarterly*. Vol. 39, no 2, Summer 2016, pp. 79-98.

Magazine Articles, Policy Memos, and Op-eds:

Beth Mitchneck, Jane Zavisca, and Theodore P. Gerber. "Europe's forgotten refugees: the humanitarian crisis in Ukraine." *Foreign Affairs*. August 24, 2016. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/ukraine/2016-08-24/europes-forgotten-refugees-0>

Theodore P. Gerber and Jane R. Zavisca. "The Kremlin blamed our work when it declared Russia's most respected polling firm a 'foreign agent.'" *The Monkey Cage*. *The Washington Post*. September 17, 2016. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/09/17/the-kremlin-blamed-our-work-when-it-declared-russias-most-respected-polling-firm-a-foreign-agent/>

Theodore P. Gerber. "Grounds for (a little) optimism? Russian public opinion on human rights." *OpenDemocracy*. January 18, 2016. <https://opendemocracy.net/openglobalrights/theodore-p-gerber/grounds-for-little-optimism-russian-public-opinion-on-human-right>.

Theodore P. Gerber and Jane Zavisca. "What 18 Focus Groups in the Former Soviet Union Taught Us about America's Image Problems." *The Wilson Quarterly*. Summer 2015. <http://wilsonquarterly.com/quarterly/summer-2015-an-age-of-connectivity/what-18-focus-groups-in-former-ussr-taught-us-about-americas-pr-problems/>. (Reprinted as "We are Losing Hearts and Minds in the Former Soviet Empire," *Newsweek*. August 2, 2015. <http://www.newsweek.com/we-are-losing-hearts-and-minds-former-soviet-empire-358989>. Also reprinted on the Russia Direct website and in the Kyiv Post.)

Theodore P. Gerber and Jane Zavisca, "Geopolitical Remittances: Russian Soft Power and Kyrgyz Labor Migration." *PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo*. Forthcoming.

Theodore P. Gerber and Jane Zavisca. "Civic Activism, Political Participation, and Homeownership in Four Post-

## RPPR Final Report as of 30-Apr-2019

Soviet Countries.” PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo #505. January 2018.

Theodore P. Gerber and Jane Zavisca. “Political and Social Attitudes of Russia’s Muslims: Caliphate, Kadyrovism, or Kasha?” PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo #468. April 2017.

Theodore P. Gerber and Jane Zavisca. “Housing and Political Grievances in Post-Soviet Eurasia.” PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo #415. January 2016.

Theodore P. Gerber and Jane Zavisca. “Pro et Contra: Views of the United States in Four Eurasian Countries.” PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo #354. September 2014.

Under journal review

Jane Zavisca, Theodore P. Gerber, and Hyungjun Suh. “Housing Status as a Multi-Dimensional Construct: A Test in Post-Soviet Contexts.” Revise and Resubmit, Social Indicators Research.

Theodore P. Gerber, and Jane Zavisca. “Mixed migrant experiences, ethnic hierarchies, and geopolitical remittances: focus groups with returnees from Russia.” Under review.

Government briefings:

Briefed officials from the US Department of State and other government agencies about current challenges facing the Russian government and Russian public opinion. Washington DC, August 11, 2016.

Briefed US government officials at an Analytical Exchange on Russia: Internal Political Dynamics 2016. US Department of States. June 14, 2016.

Briefed EUCOM on current Russian public opinion on the Putin administration and the United States. Via teleconference. November 6, 2015.

Briefed (with Jane Zavisca) the SMA network on the topic: “How effective is Russian soft power?” Via teleconference. July 16, 2015.

Conference presentations:

Here is a sampling of the 20+ conference presentations we have given on data collected through the project. For additional presentations from 2018 and 2019, see the uploaded manuscripts or powerpoint files in “Products.”

Theodore P. Gerber and Jane Zavisca, “Kyrgyz migrants’ experiences in Russia: human capital formation, work experience, and living arrangements.” Second International Research and Practical Conference, “Migration processes and their influence on the socio-economic and demographic development of the Russian Far East,” Far Eastern Federal University, Vladivostok, Russia, June 5, 2018.

Theodore P. Gerber. “Russian public opinion: digging beneath the apparent pro-Putin consensus.” Association of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies, Chicago, IL, November 10, 2017.

Theodore P. Gerber and Jane Zavisca. “Civic activism, political participation, and homeownership in four post-Soviet countries.” PONARS academic workshop, Kharkiv, Ukraine. June 18, 2017

Theodore P. Gerber and Jane Zavisca. “Labor migrant experiences in Russia: Views from back home.” Conference on Eurasian Migration, Nazarbayev University, Astana, Kazakhstan, May 26, 2017.

Hannah Chapman and Theodore P. Gerber. “Foreign Media Broadcasts as a Tool of Soft Power: Agenda Setting and Issue Framing Effects of Russian News Consumption in Kyrgyzstan.” Conference on Russian Media Influence, George Washington University. May 3, 2017.

Theodore P. Gerber, Jia Wang and Jane R. Zavisca. “Does Housing Status Affect Fertility Intention? Evidence from Three Post-Soviet Countries” Population Association of America. Chicago, IL, April 2017

Jane Zavisca, Hyungjun Suh, and Theodore Gerber, “Housing Status as a Multi-Dimensional Construct: A Test in Post-Soviet Contexts.” Research Committee on Social Stratification (RC28) of the International Sociological Association. Cologne, Germany, March 31, 2017.

## RPPR Final Report as of 30-Apr-2019

Theodore P. Gerber and Hannah Chapman. "Two Comparative Lenses on Trust in Institutions in Putin-Era Russia: Temporal Dynamics and Contrasts with Ukraine, Kyrgyzstan, and Azerbaijan." Association of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies, Washington, DC, November 2016.

Hannah Chapman and Theodore P. Gerber. "Soft Power and the Media: Russia's Media Strategy in the Near Abroad." American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA, September 2016.

Jane Zavisca, Theodore P. Gerber, Beth Mitchneck, and Nadina Anderson. "IDPs and Societal Stability in Ukraine." Minerva Conference, Washington DC, September 2016.

Nadine Lauren Anderson, Jane Zavisca, and Theodore P. Gerber. "Controlling the Home: Ownership and Household Structure in Four Post-Soviet Countries." American Sociological Association, Seattle, WA, August 2016.

**Honors and Awards:** Nothing to Report

**Protocol Activity Status:**

**Technology Transfer:** Nothing to Report

### PARTICIPANTS:

**Participant Type:** PD/PI

**Participant:** Theodore Paul Gerber

**Person Months Worked:** 12.00

Project Contribution:

International Collaboration:

International Travel:

National Academy Member: N

Other Collaborators:

**Funding Support:**

**Participant Type:** Co PD/PI

**Participant:** Jane Zavisca

**Person Months Worked:** 12.00

Project Contribution:

International Collaboration:

International Travel:

National Academy Member: N

Other Collaborators:

**Funding Support:**

### CONFERENCE PAPERS:

**Publication Type:** Conference Paper or Presentation

**Publication Status:** 0-Other

**Conference Name:** American Political Science Association

Date Received: 31-Aug-2016

Conference Date: 03-Sep-2016

Date Published: 01-Sep-2016

Conference Location: Philadelphia, PA

**Paper Title:** Soft Power and Mass Media: Russia's Media Strategy in the Near Abroad

**Authors:** Hannah Chapman and Theodore P. Gerber

Acknowledged Federal Support: **Y**

**RPPR Final Report**  
as of 30-Apr-2019

**Publication Type:** Conference Paper or Presentation **Publication Status:** 0-Other  
**Conference Name:** Conference on Eurasian Migration, Nazarbayev University, Astana, Kazakhstan  
Date Received: 30-Aug-2017 Conference Date: 17-May-2017 Date Published: 17-May-2017  
Conference Location: Nazarbaev University, Astana, Kazakhstan  
**Paper Title:** Labor migrant experiences in Russia: Views from back home  
**Authors:** Theodore Gerber, Jane Zavisca  
Acknowledged Federal Support: **Y**

**Publication Type:** Conference Paper or Presentation **Publication Status:** 0-Other  
**Conference Name:** Annual Academic Workshop, PONARS Eurasia  
Date Received: 30-Aug-2017 Conference Date: 23-Jun-2017 Date Published: 23-Jun-2017  
Conference Location: Kharazin National University, Kharkiv, Ukraine  
**Paper Title:** Civic activism, political participation, and homeownership in four post-Soviet countries  
**Authors:** Theodore Gerber, Jane Zavisca  
Acknowledged Federal Support: **Y**

**Publication Type:** Conference Paper or Presentation **Publication Status:** 0-Other  
**Conference Name:** Population Association of America  
Date Received: 30-Aug-2017 Conference Date: 28-Apr-2017 Date Published: 28-Apr-2017  
Conference Location: Chicago, IL  
**Paper Title:** Does Housing Status Affect Fertility Intention? Evidence from Three Post-Soviet Countries  
**Authors:** Theodore P. Gerber, Jia Wang, Jane Zavisca  
Acknowledged Federal Support: **Y**

**Publication Type:** Conference Paper or Presentation **Publication Status:** 0-Other  
**Conference Name:** Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies  
Date Received: 30-Aug-2017 Conference Date: 17-Nov-2016 Date Published: 17-Aug-2017  
Conference Location: Washington, DC  
**Paper Title:** Two Comparative Lenses on Trust in Institutions in Putin-era Russia: Temporal Dynamics and Contrasts with Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Kyrgyzstan in 2015  
**Authors:** Theodore Gerber, Hannah Chapman  
Acknowledged Federal Support: **Y**

**Publication Type:** Conference Paper or Presentation **Publication Status:** 0-Other  
**Conference Name:** 2016 Minerva Annual Meeting and Progeram Review  
Date Received: 31-Aug-2017 Conference Date: 21-Sep-2016 Date Published: 21-Sep-2016  
Conference Location: Washington, DC  
**Paper Title:** IDPs and Societal Stability in Ukraine  
**Authors:** Jane Zavisca, Theodore Gerber, Beth Mitchneck, Nadina Anderson  
Acknowledged Federal Support: **Y**

**Publication Type:** Conference Paper or Presentation **Publication Status:** 0-Other  
**Conference Name:** American Sociological Association  
Date Received: 31-Aug-2017 Conference Date: 22-Aug-2016 Date Published: 22-Aug-2016  
Conference Location: Seattle, Washington  
**Paper Title:** Housing and Social Capital in Russia  
**Authors:** Hyungjun Suh, Jane Zavisca, Theodore Gerber  
Acknowledged Federal Support: **Y**

**RPPR Final Report**  
as of 30-Apr-2019

**Publication Type:** Conference Paper or Presentation **Publication Status:** 0-Other  
**Conference Name:** Second International Research and Practical Conference, "Migration processes and their influence on the socio-economic and demographic development of the Russian Far East"  
Date Received: 20-Sep-2018 Conference Date: 05-Jun-2018 Date Published:  
Conference Location: Far East Federal University, Vladivostok, Russia  
**Paper Title:** Kyrgyz migrants' experiences in Russia: human capital formation, work experience, and living arrangements  
**Authors:** Theodore Gerber, Jane Zavisca  
Acknowledged Federal Support: **Y**

**Publication Type:** Conference Paper or Presentation **Publication Status:** 0-Other  
**Conference Name:** Population Association of America  
Date Received: 01-Sep-2018 Conference Date: 28-Apr-2018 Date Published:  
Conference Location: Denver, CO  
**Paper Title:** Socioeconomic Status and Housing Inequality: Evidence from Four Post-Soviet Countries  
**Authors:** Theodore Gerber, Jia Wang, Jane Zavisca  
Acknowledged Federal Support: **Y**

**Publication Type:** Conference Paper or Presentation **Publication Status:** 0-Other  
**Conference Name:** Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies  
Date Received: 01-Sep-2018 Conference Date: 10-Nov-2017 Date Published:  
Conference Location: Chicago, IL  
**Paper Title:** Russian public opinion: digging beneath the apparent pro-Putin consensus  
**Authors:** Theodore Gerber  
Acknowledged Federal Support: **Y**

**Publication Type:** Conference Paper or Presentation **Publication Status:** 0-Other  
**Conference Name:** Association of American Geographers  
Date Received: 28-Apr-2019 Conference Date: 06-Apr-2019 Date Published:  
Conference Location: Washington, DC  
**Paper Title:** Housing and Societal Exclusion of Internally Displaced Persons in Ukraine  
**Authors:** Jane Zavisca, Beth Mitchneck, Theodore P. Gerber  
Acknowledged Federal Support: **Y**

**Publication Type:** Conference Paper or Presentation **Publication Status:** 0-Other  
**Conference Name:** Population Association of America  
Date Received: 28-Apr-2019 Conference Date: 12-Apr-2019 Date Published:  
Conference Location: Austin, TX  
**Paper Title:** Mixed migrant experiences, ethnic hierarchies, and geopolitical remittances: Focus groups with returnees from Russia  
**Authors:** Theodore Gerber, Jane Zavisca  
Acknowledged Federal Support: **Y**

**Publication Type:** Conference Paper or Presentation **Publication Status:** 0-Other  
**Conference Name:** Ponars Academic Conference  
Date Received: 28-Apr-2019 Conference Date: 14-Mar-2019 Date Published:  
Conference Location: St. Petersburg, Russia  
**Paper Title:** Homeownership, the middle class, and political-economic ideology: modernization theory revisited in four post-Soviet countries  
**Authors:** Theodore Gerber, Jane Zavisca  
Acknowledged Federal Support: **Y**

**RPPR Final Report**  
as of 30-Apr-2019

## **Accomplishments Under Goals:**

### *Data collected*

For the first phase of the project, in 2014 we conducted an initial round of 18 focus groups (six in Kyrgyzstan, four in the other three countries) and completed a harmonized survey in all four countries, which we call the Comparative Housing Experiences and Stability Survey (CHESS). The focus groups explored themes of housing experiences, political and social attitudes relevant to our study, and other country-specific topics. We have drawn on the focus group materials to write articles and also to help formulate survey questions using local ways of phrasing attitudes on our topics of interest.

For the CHESS, we worked with local teams from each of the four countries to develop questionnaires that included common questions for all four countries, common questions for subsets of countries, and country-specific questions. The surveys cover many aspects of housing, living arrangements, and perceptions of housing, as well as measures of social and political attitudes on major issues. The focus groups we implemented in all four countries assisted in question wording. Our questionnaires were pretested and revised for clarity (and, in some cases, political sensitivity). They were translated into the appropriate local languages and implemented by our partners in the four countries using modern sampling techniques. In each country, we have a nationally representative sample of approximately 2000 and an oversample of 400 respondents designed to help us address specific theoretical questions, constructed as follows: in Russia, residents of four Muslim-majority republics (Bashkortostan, Dagestan, Kabardino-Balkaria, and Tatarstan); in Ukraine, mortgagers; in Azerbaijan, internally displaced persons (IDPs); and in Kyrgyzstan, residents in regions with a recent history of ethnic violence. We use weights to correct for the over-representation of these subpopulations and to adjust the samples to conform to known population demographic characteristics. Because we lack independent information on the proportion of mortgagers in Ukraine and they were sampled using a different technique we exclude them from most of our analyses, and we plan to use the Ukraine data for a detailed analysis comparing mortgagers to outright owners with respect to a variety of outcomes. In all cases we restricted the age range of respondents to 18-49 year olds, cohorts most likely to experience housing concerns that may lead to destabilizing political action.

Field work was carried out February-May 2015. Refusal rates were somewhat elevated for Russia and Ukraine, but this reflects typical trends in survey studies conducted in those two countries. We note, as well, that we were unable to conduct our study in rural areas of Azerbaijan due to concerns on the part of our partners that without extensive connections in such areas it would be politically problematic to conduct research there under the conditions that prevailed at the time. (In fact, although we intended to conduct follow-up research in Azerbaijan in the second phase of the project, that turned out to be impossible due to unfavorable political conditions, which remain a concern for sociological studies in that country through today.)

The CHESS parameters are as follows:

<b>Table 1. CHESs survey basic information</b>						
<b>Country</b>	<b>General sample composition</b>	<b>General sample N</b>	<b>Over-sample (400)</b>	<b>Response rate</b>	<b>Date started</b>	<b>Date completed</b>
Russia	Urban and rural	2001	4 Muslim regions	34%	1/27/2015	5/31/2015
Ukraine	Urban and rural	2000	Mortgagers	32%	2/27/2015	3/30/2015
Azerbaijan	Urban only	2010	IDPs	67%	2/9/2015	3/18/2015
Kyrgyzstan	Urban and rural	2000	regions with recent ethnic violence	67%	3/4/2015	5/3/2015

Following the CHESs survey, we collected additional qualitative data emphasizing our original themes of housing and political attitudes, including: eight additional focus groups in Russia (four in October 2015, four in May/June 2016); six additional focus groups in Kyrgyzstan (November 2015); and four additional focus groups in Ukraine (September 2015). We have drawn on these supplemental focus groups to provide qualitative context and nuance that help make sense of our quantitative findings.

For the second phase of the project, we collected more data in Kyrgyzstan and Ukraine to address our emergent focus on the effects of displacement and migration on housing and political attitudes. In Kyrgyzstan, we conducted six additional focus groups (November 2016) and a major new survey (May-June 2017, N=2619) focusing on internal and external migrants. Our survey, carried out in the capital city, Bishkek, and surrounding province (Chuy *oblast*), systematically sampled respondents from four types of neighborhoods: long-term Bishkek neighborhoods, recent “settlements” (characterized by squatter housing constructed on unincorporated territory adjacent to Bishkek neighborhoods that are populated largely by internal migrants), older “settlements,” and towns near Bishkek that are not settlements. We also took steps to over-sample return labor migrants from Russia (primarily) and elsewhere (N=486). The survey traces the housing histories of internal migrants to Bishkek, with comparable histories from long-time Bishkek residents, obtains information about the experiences of return migrants prior to and during their migrations abroad, as well as information about members of respondents’ households currently living abroad, and multiple measures of attitudes toward internal migrants in Bishkek, along with most of the social and political attitudes from the CHESs questionnaire. This design supports qualitative and quantitative analyses of the impact of internal migration in a developing country, the housing experiences and political views of internal migrants (which can be compared to those of long-time residents), and the relationship between foreign labor migration, housing experiences, and political attitudes.

In Ukraine, we collected qualitative data (six focus groups, nine in-depth interviews, 24 expert

interviews) emphasizing displacement and its potential impact on societal stability (June/July 2016). We conducted a large survey in Ukraine (December 2017-March 2018), with a sample of 1600 IDPs in 4 cities and 8 towns across 6 regions with significant IDP populations and a matched (by locality) sample of 1600 "local" residents. We used respondent-driven sampling to obtain the IDP sub-sample. The survey obtained extensive information about the experiences of the IDPs, with particular focus on their housing experiences prior and subsequent to displacement, as well as detailed measures of social network resources, socioeconomic wellbeing, and social and political attitudes among both IDPs and the local residents of the areas where the IDPs were sampled. A separate battery of questions measures attitudes toward IDPs, to facilitate analysis of the extent to which they are stigmatized by different groups of locals. The major (and, to our knowledge, unique) strength of our design is our sampling of corresponding populations of locals, which (in contrast to other surveys of IDPs) provides us with a meaningful "control" group for assessing how displacement has affected those who have fled violence and Russian aggression in Donbass and Crimea.

### *Analysis, writing and publications*

Despite the heavy time demands for undertaking major data collection efforts such as those we have accomplished in this project, we have also made significant progress in analyzing the data we have collected and disseminating the results through presentations and publications. We have published four peer-reviewed journal articles (including one that is in press), and have two others currently under review (including one that has "revise and resubmit" status). We have given over 25 presentations of results at conferences and invited public lectures. We also published five policy memos in the "Ponars Eurasia" policy memo series (including one that is in press), and op-eds or short pieces in *The Monkey Cage*, *Foreign Affairs*, *OpenDemocracy*, and the *Wilson Quarterly*. For details on these publications and presentations, see the sections in this report on Dissemination and Uploads.

Given the closely related nature of our over-arching themes regarding how homeownership and other aspects of housing may affect societal stability, we have decided to present the main findings addressing these themes in a book-length monograph. We have provided a chapter outline and timeline for completion and submission of the manuscript in the Dissemination section. So far, we have conducted the analyses and have written up preliminary drafts of six of the seven substantive chapters we plan for the book. In addition, we have conducted initial analyses, presented findings, and will be completing and submitting standalone articles on the following topics that fall somewhat outside our main themes: the political views of Russia's Muslim population, the experiences of Kyrgyz migrants while in Russia and the impact on how they view Russia's institutions, the effects of housing on fertility intentions on all four study countries, and the role of housing conditions and other factors in the adaptation and integration of IDPs in Ukraine. We have also begun preliminary analyses of the following topics, which we intend to eventually produce additional standalone articles in peer-reviewed journals: attitudes toward internal migrants in Kyrgyzstan, attitudes toward IDPs in Ukraine, variations in the political views of Ukrainian homeowners depending on whether they have mortgages, and factors accounting for variations in views of the 2013-14 Maidan protests in Ukraine. Other standalone papers planned for the future include in-depth studies of political mobilization by internal migrants in Kyrgyzstan, further comparisons of the living standards and political views

of IDPs and locals in Ukraine, and an analysis of the IDP population in contrast to other urbanites in Azerbaijan.

We have also conducted four government briefings based on our data that we have listed in the Dissemination section, as well as additional briefings that must remain confidential.

### *Major findings*

Our findings are all or will be disseminated through our publications and presentations, and the materials we have uploaded in the Products section contain the details and empirical support for our claims. Here, for summary purposes, we report ten key broad conclusions that we have reached based on the data we have collected and the analyses that we have conducted thus far:

- 1) Rising tensions between Russia and the West make public perceptions of the United States in the post-Soviet region an important policy issue. Positive perceptions of the United States could counter Kremlin efforts to blame Washington for conflicts in Ukraine (and elsewhere), while negative perceptions could lead U.S. leaders to reconsider how to project “soft power” in the region. Two common themes emerged from focus groups we held in Russia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Kyrgyzstan in 2014. Two common themes emerged: 1) widespread hostility toward U.S. foreign policy and conduct; 2) respect for U.S. institutions, living standards, and culture.
- 2) Russian information efforts (“propaganda”) has sought to delegitimize the United States and the Euro-Atlantic institutional model and instead promote Russia’s institutions as a preferable alternative. Although these efforts have received extensive attention in the Western press, there have been few studies of their effectiveness. As we document in several published papers, our data indicate that Russian messaging has not been particularly effective in former Soviet countries: views of the US are mixed in the countries in our sample, and Russian media broadcasts are more effective at setting the agenda (shaping the issues that people think about) than they are at framing Russian institutions as superior. Overall, although we have some evidence that Russian messaging has some impact, the precise nature of that impact in former Soviet countries is more limited and complex than many accounts appear to imply.
- 3) The relationship between housing, on the one hand, and social stratification, demographic processes, and politics, on the other, is a topic of growing interest among social scientist. The emergent literature, however, needs to embrace a more holistic concept of “housing status” (incorporating aspects of housing quality and quantity in addition to tenure), to distinguish between individual- and household-level homeownership, to attend to the challenges of identifying causal effects, and to incorporate a comparative perspective that attends to significant institutional differences across countries in the structure of housing markets. The combination of the Soviet-era housing distribution system, post-Soviet housing privatization, and subsequent obstacles to mortgage credit make post-Soviet countries especially well-suited for studies of how homeownership and housing quality and quality related to other outcomes.

- 4) More than two decades after the collapse of the Soviet Union, post-Soviet societies are characterized by a hybrid, dualistic system of homeownership. Although these are clearly “homeownership societies,” in that the vast majority of households live in owner-occupied housing, over half of homeowners became owners via transfer (from the state or from family members) rather than via purchase on the market. Moreover, homeownership acquired via transfer is unrelated to classic measures of socio-economic standing, such as education, income, and occupation, while market-based homeownership is correlated in intuitive ways with these variables. Thus, homeownership, as well as other aspects of housing status, has a complex (and, overall, muted) relationship to socio-economic inequality in these countries, which reflects the hybrid, dualistic character of homeownership in their institutional contexts.
- 5) Homeowners tend to be more supportive of incumbent regimes in post-Soviet societies, including not only the presidents of these regimes, but also other federal political institutions. The effects of homeownership vary somewhat across countries and also depending on whether ownership is held at the individual or household level and whether it was obtained via the market or via transfer, but the general finding points to a tendency of homeowners to endorse the status quo, rather than a tendency for homeowners to object to particular types of regimes or policies.
- 6) Homeownership matters for subjective satisfaction with housing in our study countries. The distinction between individual- and household-level ownership is important: individual owners reap greater benefits from ownership, in terms of housing satisfaction, than do other members of their household who are not homeowners. Structural equation models show that housing quantity and quality are also related to satisfaction, confirming our initial claims that a multidimensional concept of housing status should be employed by researchers seeking to understand how housing relates to other social, political, and economic phenomena.
- 7) Homeowners tend to be more politically active and civically engaged than non-homeowners. Here, too, we find variations in the effects of homeownership across countries and by type of home ownership, but the broad finding is consistent with theories that link homeownership to personal efficacy, stronger civic orientation, and greater interest in political and social issues.
- 8) Homeowners have richer neighborhood-based social networks, on average, than non-homeowners. Much of this effect is mediated by the tendency of homeowners to have lived longer in the same neighborhood.
- 9) The experiences of labor migrants in Russia may be expected to turn them against Russia, given widespread reports of abuse, exploitation, and other negative experiences of migrants in that host society. However, data from focus groups we conducted in Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan and from our 2017 survey in Kyrgyzstan indicate that the opposite is the case: despite experiencing some difficulties during the migrations to Russia, many migrants have more positive views of Russia than do non-migrants with similar characteristics. Based on these findings, we propose that “geopolitical

remittances” – perceptions of the host society on the part of migrants – are an important, though generally overlooked, aspect of migration to major global powers such as the United States, Russia, and Germany.

- 10) The most pressing issue for internally displaced persons in Ukraine is lack of access to the housing market in their new communities. Most IDPs owned their homes in their origin localities in Donbass or Crimea; displacement has deprived them of ownership status, which is the most notable feature distinguishing them from the corresponding local populations in their new localities and the most pressing issue they perceive.

### *Infrastructure*

As stipulated in our initial proposal and in subsequent applications for supplemental funding, we will deposit all the survey data we have collected in the course of the project at the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research at the University of Michigan. Once the data are archived there, along with extensive technical reports and other documentation, researchers will have access to it for use in their own research projects. We will complete the deposits of the data prior to November 30, 2019 (one year following the end date of the project).

In addition, we have contributed to the capacity of our partner in Kyrgyzstan, Crossroads Central Asia, to conduct large-scale surveys in Kyrgyzstan, through extensive work with them on the two surveys we implemented in that country during the project.