

# 04\_FullData

J Andres Gannon, Erik Gartzke, Jon Lindsay, and Peter Schram, Center for Peace and Security Studies

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## Load data

Load the newly created data with all relevant covariates and subset to the European sample

```
df_full <- readRDS(paste0(here::here(), '/data/grayzone_model.rds'))

# Limit sample to just European states
df <- df_full %>%
  dplyr::filter(continent == "Europe")
```

## Fixed polr function

We use the polr function from the MASS package to compute an ordered probit. The base version of the function in the R package contains an error that does not take the log of differences in the reposed zetas which results in an optimization error where vmmin is infinite. A fixed version of the function was created and is loaded below. For this reason, the polr function is not loaded from the MASS package, but instead from the function below. All secondary functions from the MASS package do work

```
# file MASS/R/polr.R
# copyright (C) 1994-2008 W. N. Venables and B. D. Ripley
# Use of transformed intercepts contributed by David Firth
#
```

```

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# the Free Software Foundation; either version 2 or 3 of the License
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# http://www.r-project.org/Licenses/
#
polr <- function(formula, data, weights, start, ..., subset,
                 na.action, contrasts = NULL, Hess = FALSE,
                 model = TRUE,
                 method = c("logistic", "probit", "cloglog", "cauchit"))
{
  logit <- function(p) log(p/(1 - p))

  fmin <- function(beta) {
    theta <- beta[pc + 1L:q]
    gamm <- c(-Inf, cumsum(c(theta[1L], exp(theta[-1L]))), Inf)
    eta <- offset
    if (pc > 0)
      eta <- eta + drop(x %*% beta[1L:pc])
    pr <- pfun(gamm[y + 1] - eta) - pfun(gamm[y] - eta)
    if (all(pr > 0))
      -sum(wt * log(pr))
    else Inf
  }

  gmin <- function(beta)
  {
    jacobian <- function(theta) { ## dgamma by dtheta matrix
      k <- length(theta)
      etheta <- exp(theta)
      mat <- matrix(0, k, k)
      mat[, 1] <- rep(1, k)
      for (i in 2:k) mat[i:k, i] <- etheta[i]
      mat
    }
    theta <- beta[pc + 1L:q]
    gamm <- c(-Inf, cumsum(c(theta[1L], exp(theta[-1L]))), Inf)
    eta <- offset
    if (pc > 0) eta <- eta + drop(x %*% beta[1L:pc])
    pr <- pfun(gamm[y+1] - eta) - pfun(gamm[y] - eta)
    p1 <- dfun(gamm[y+1] - eta)
    p2 <- dfun(gamm[y] - eta)
    g1 <- if (pc > 0) t(x) %*% (wt*(p1 - p2)/pr) else numeric(0)
    xx <- .polrY1*p1 - .polrY2*p2
    g2 <- - t(xx) %*% (wt/pr)
    g2 <- t(g2) %*% jacobian(theta)
  }
}

```

```

    if(all(pr > 0)) c(g1, g2) else rep(NA, pc+q)
  }

m <- match.call(expand.dots = FALSE)
method <- match.arg(method)
pfun <- switch(method, logistic = plogis, probit = pnorm,
               cloglog = pgumbel, cauchit = pcauchy)
dfun <- switch(method, logistic = dlogis, probit = dnorm,
               cloglog = dgumbel, cauchit = dcauchy)
if(is.matrix(eval.parent(m$data)))
  m$data <- as.data.frame(data)
m$start <- m$Hess <- m$method <- m$model <- m$... <- NULL
m[[1L]] <- as.name("model.frame")
m <- eval.parent(m)
Terms <- attr(m, "terms")
x <- model.matrix(Terms, m, contrasts)
xint <- match("(Intercept)", colnames(x), nomatch=0L)
n <- nrow(x)
pc <- ncol(x)
cons <- attr(x, "contrasts") # will get dropped by subsetting
if(xint > 0) {
  x <- x[, -xint, drop=FALSE]
  pc <- pc - 1
} else warning("an intercept is needed and assumed")
wt <- model.weights(m)
if(!length(wt)) wt <- rep(1, n)
offset <- model.offset(m)
if(length(offset) <= 1) offset <- rep(0, n)
y <- model.response(m)
if(!is.factor(y)) stop("response must be a factor")
lev <- levels(y)
if(length(lev) <= 2) stop("response must have 3 or more levels")
y <- unclass(y)
q <- length(lev) - 1
Y <- matrix(0, n, q)
.polrY1 <- col(Y) == y
.polrY2 <- col(Y) == y - 1
if(missing(start)) {
  # try something that should always work -tjb
  u <- as.integer(table(y))
  u <- (cumsum(u)/sum(u))[1:q]
  zetas <-
    switch(method,
           "logistic"= qlogis(u),
           "probit"=   qnorm(u),
           "cauchit"=  qcauchy(u),
           "cloglog"=  -log(-log(u)) )
  s0 <- c(rep(0,pc),zetas[1],log(diff(zetas)))

##      # try logistic/probit regression on 'middle' cut
##      q1 <- length(lev) %/% 2
##      y1 <- (y > q1)
##      X <- cbind(Intercept = rep(1, n), x)

```

```

##      fit <-
##      switch(method,
##      "logistic"= glm.fit(X, y1, wt, family = binomial(), offset = offset),
##      "probit" = glm.fit(X, y1, wt, family = binomial("probit"), offset = offset),
##      ## this is deliberate, a better starting point
##      "cloglog" = glm.fit(X, y1, wt, family = binomial("probit"), offset = offset),
##      "cauchit" = glm.fit(X, y1, wt, family = binomial("cauchit"), offset = offset))
##      if(!fit$converged)
##      stop("attempt to find suitable starting values failed")
##      coefs <- fit$coefficients
##      if(any(is.na(coefs))) {
##      warning("design appears to be rank-deficient, so dropping some coefs")
##      keep <- names(coefs)[!is.na(coefs)]
##      coefs <- coefs[keep]
##      x <- x[, keep[-1L], drop = FALSE]
##      pc <- ncol(x)
##      }
##      spacing <- logit((1L:q)/(q+1)) # just a guess
##      if(method != "logistic") spacing <- spacing/1.7
##      gammas <- -coefs[1L] + spacing - spacing[q]
##      thetas <- c(gammas[1L], log(diff(gammas)))
##      s0 <- c(coefs[-1L], thetas)
} else if(length(start) != pc + q)
stop("'start' is not of the correct length")
else {
  s0 <- if(pc > 0) c(start[seq_len(pc+1)], log(diff(start[-seq_len(pc)])))
  else c(start[1L], log(diff(start)))
}
res <- optim(s0, fmin, gmin, method="BFGS", hessian = Hess, ...)
beta <- res$par[seq_len(pc)]
theta <- res$par[pc + 1L:q]
zeta <- cumsum(c(theta[1L],exp(theta[-1L])))
deviance <- 2 * res$value
niter <- c(f.ivals=res$counts[1L], g.ivals=res$counts[2L])
names(zeta) <- paste(lev[-length(lev)], lev[-1L], sep="|")
if(pc > 0) {
  names(beta) <- colnames(x)
  eta <- offset + drop(x %*% beta)
} else eta <- offset + rep(0, n)

cumpr <- matrix(pfun(matrix(zeta, n, q, byrow=TRUE) - eta), , q)
fitted <- t(apply(cumpr, 1L, function(x) diff(c(0, x, 1))))
dimnames(fitted) <- list(row.names(m), lev)
fit <- list(coefficients = beta, zeta = zeta, deviance = deviance,
  fitted.values = fitted, lev = lev, terms = Terms,
  df.residual = sum(wt) - pc - q, edf = pc + q, n = sum(wt),
  nobs = sum(wt),
  call = match.call(), method = method,
  convergence = res$convergence, niter = niter, lp = eta)
if(Hess) {
  dn <- c(names(beta), names(zeta))
  H <- res$hessian
  dimnames(H) <- list(dn, dn)

```

```

    fit$Hessian <- H
  }
  if(model) fit$model <- m
  fit$na.action <- attr(m, "na.action")
  fit$contrasts <- cons
  fit$xlevels <- .getXlevels(Terms, m)
  class(fit) <- "polr"
  fit
}

print.polr <- function(x, ...)
{
  if(!is.null(cl <- x$call)) {
    cat("Call:\n")
    dput(cl, control=NULL)
  }
  if(length(coef(x))) {
    cat("\nCoefficients:\n")
    print(coef(x), ...)
  } else {
    cat("\nNo coefficients\n")
  }
  cat("\nIntercepts:\n")
  print(x$zeta, ...)
  cat("\nResidual Deviance:", format(x$deviance, nsmall=2), "\n")
  cat("AIC:", format(x$deviance + 2*x$edf, nsmall=2), "\n")
  if(nzchar(mess <- naprint(x$na.action))) cat("(", mess, ")\n", sep="")
  if(x$convergence > 0)
    cat("Warning: did not converge as iteration limit reached\n")
  invisible(x)
}

vcov.polr <- function(object, ...)
{
  jacobian <- function(theta) { ## dgamma by dtheta matrix
    k <- length(theta)
    etheta <- exp(theta)
    mat <- matrix(0, k, k)
    mat[, 1] <- rep(1, k)
    for (i in 2:k) mat[i:k, i] <- etheta[i]
    mat
  }

  if(is.null(object$Hessian)) {
    message("\nRe-fitting to get Hessian\n")
    utils::flush.console()
    object <- update(object, Hess=TRUE,
                     start=c(object$coefficients, object$zeta))
  }
  vc <- MASS::ginv(object$Hessian)
  pc <- length(coef(object))
  gamma <- object$zeta
  z.ind <- pc + seq_along(gamma)

```

```

theta <- c(gamma[1L], log(diff(gamma)))
J <- jacobian(theta)
A <- diag(pc + length(gamma))
A[z.ind, z.ind] <- J
V <- A %*% vc %*% t(A)
structure(V, dimnames = dimnames(object$Hessian))
}

summary.polr <- function(object, digits = max(3, .Options$digits - 3),
                        correlation = FALSE, ...)
{
  cc <- c(coef(object), object$zeta)
  pc <- length(coef(object))
  q <- length(object$zeta)
  coef <- matrix(0, pc+q, 3, dimnames=list(names(cc),
                                           c("Value", "Std. Error", "t value")))

  coef[, 1] <- cc
  vc <- vcov(object)
  coef[, 2] <- sd <- sqrt(diag(vc))
  coef[, 3] <- coef[, 1]/coef[, 2]
  object$coefficients <- coef
  object$pc <- pc
  object$digits <- digits
  if(correlation)
    object$correlation <- (vc/sd)/rep(sd, rep(pc+q, pc+q))
  class(object) <- "summary.polr"
  object
}

print.summary.polr <- function(x, digits = x$digits, ...)
{
  if(!is.null(cl <- x$call)) {
    cat("Call:\n")
    dput(cl, control=NULL)
  }
  coef <- format(round(x$coefficients, digits=digits))
  pc <- x$pc
  if(pc > 0) {
    cat("\nCoefficients:\n")
    print(x$coefficients[seq_len(pc), , drop=FALSE], quote = FALSE,
          digits = digits, ...)
  } else {
    cat("\nNo coefficients\n")
  }
  cat("\nIntercepts:\n")
  print(coef[(pc+1):nrow(coef), , drop=FALSE], quote = FALSE,
        digits = digits, ...)
  cat("\nResidual Deviance:", format(x$deviance, nsmall=2), "\n")
  cat("AIC:", format(x$deviance + 2*x$edf, nsmall=2), "\n")
  if(nzchar(mess <- naprint(x$na.action))) cat("(", mess, ")\n", sep="")
  if(!is.null(correl <- x$correlation)) {
    cat("\nCorrelation of Coefficients:\n")
    ll <- lower.tri(correl)

```

```

        correl[11] <- format(round(correl[11], digits))
        correl[!11] <- ""
        print(correl[-1, -ncol(correl)], quote = FALSE, ...)
    }
    invisible(x)
}

predict.polr <- function(object, newdata, type=c("class","probs"), ...)
{
    if(!inherits(object, "polr")) stop("not a \"polr\" object")
    type <- match.arg(type)
    if(missing(newdata)) Y <- object$fitted
    else {
        newdata <- as.data.frame(newdata)
        Terms <- delete.response(object$terms)
        m <- model.frame(Terms, newdata, na.action = function(x) x,
                        xlev = object$xlevels)
        if (!is.null(cl <- attr(Terms, "dataClasses")))
            .checkMFClasses(cl, m)
        X <- model.matrix(Terms, m, contrasts = object$contrasts)
        xint <- match("(Intercept)", colnames(X), nomatch=0L)
        if(xint > 0) X <- X[, -xint, drop=FALSE]
        n <- nrow(X)
        q <- length(object$zeta)
        eta <- drop(X %*% object$coefficients)
        pfun <- switch(object$method, logistic = plogis, probit = pnorm,
                      cloglog = pgumbel, cauchit = pcauchy)
        cumpr <- matrix(pfun(matrix(object$zeta, n, q, byrow=TRUE) - eta), , q)
        Y <- t(apply(cumpr, 1L, function(x) diff(c(0, x, 1))))
        dimnames(Y) <- list(rownames(X), object$lev)
    }
    if(missing(newdata) && !is.null(object$na.action))
        Y <- napredict(object$na.action, Y)
    switch(type, class = {
        Y <- factor(max.col(Y), levels=seq_along(object$lev),
                    labels=object$lev)
    }, probs = {})
    drop(Y)
}

extractAIC.polr <- function(fit, scale = 0, k = 2, ...)
{
    edf <- fit$edf
    c(edf, deviance(fit) + k * edf)
}

model.frame.polr <- function(formula, ...)
{
    dots <- list(...)
    nargs <- dots[match(c("data", "na.action", "subset"), names(dots), 0)]
    if(length(nargs) || is.null(formula$model)) {
        m <- formula$call
        m$start <- m$Hess <- m$... <- NULL
    }
}

```

```

    m[[1L]] <- as.name("model.frame")
    m[names(nargs)] <- nargs
    if (is.null(env <- environment(formula$terms))) env <- parent.frame()
    data <- eval(m, env)
    if(!is.null(mw <- m$weights)) {
      nm <- names(data)
      nm[match("(weights)", nm)] <- as.character(mw)
      names(data) <- nm
    }
    data
  } else formula$model
}

pgumbel <- function(q, loc = 0, scale = 1, lower.tail = TRUE)
{
  q <- (q - loc)/scale
  p <- exp(-exp(-q))
  if (!lower.tail) 1 - p else p
}

dgumbel <- function (x, loc = 0, scale = 1, log = FALSE)
{
  x <- (x - loc)/scale
  d <- log(1/scale) - x - exp(-x)
  d[is.nan(d)] <- -Inf # -tjb
  if (!log) exp(d) else d
}

anova.polr <- function (object, ..., test = c("Chisq", "none"))
{
  test <- match.arg(test)
  dots <- list(...)
  if (length(dots) == 0L)
    stop('anova is not implemented for a single "polr" object')
  mlist <- list(object, ...)
  nt <- length(mlist)
  dflis <- sapply(mlist, function(x) x$df.residual)
  s <- order(dflis, decreasing = TRUE)
  mlist <- mlist[s]
  if (any(!sapply(mlist, inherits, "polr")))
    stop('not all objects are of class "polr"')
  ns <- sapply(mlist, function(x) length(x$fitted.values))
  if(any(ns != ns[1L]))
    stop("models were not all fitted to the same size of dataset")
  rsp <- unique(sapply(mlist, function(x) paste(formula(x)[2L])))
  mds <- sapply(mlist, function(x) paste(formula(x)[3L]))
  dfs <- dflis[s]
  lls <- sapply(mlist, function(x) deviance(x))
  tss <- c("", paste(1L:(nt - 1), 2:nt, sep = " vs "))
  df <- c(NA, -diff(dfs))
  x2 <- c(NA, -diff(lls))
  pr <- c(NA, 1 - pchisq(x2[-1L], df[-1L]))
  out <- data.frame(Model = mds, Resid.df = dfs, Deviance = lls,

```



```

        Test = tss, Df = df, LRtest = x2, Prob = pr)
names(out) <- c("Model", "Resid. df", "Resid. Dev", "Test",
              "Df", "LR stat.", "Pr(Chi)")
if (test == "none") out <- out[, 1L:6]
class(out) <- c("Anova", "data.frame")
attr(out, "heading") <-
  c("Likelihood ratio tests of ordinal regression models\n",
    paste("Response:", rsp))
out
}

polr.fit <- function(x, y, wt, start, offset, method)
{
  logit <- function(p) log(p/(1 - p))

  fmin <- function(beta) {
    theta <- beta[pc + 1L:q]
    gamm <- c(-Inf, cumsum(c(theta[1L], exp(theta[-1L]))), Inf)
    eta <- offset
    if (pc > 0)
      eta <- eta + drop(x %*% beta[1L:pc])
    pr <- pfun(gamm[y + 1] - eta) - pfun(gamm[y] - eta)
    if (all(pr > 0))
      -sum(wt * log(pr))
    else Inf
  }

  gmin <- function(beta)
  {
    jacobian <- function(theta) { ## dgamma by dtheta matrix
      k <- length(theta)
      etheta <- exp(theta)
      mat <- matrix(0, k, k)
      mat[, 1] <- rep(1, k)
      for (i in 2:k) mat[i:k, i] <- etheta[i]
      mat
    }
    theta <- beta[pc + 1L:q]
    gamm <- c(-Inf, cumsum(c(theta[1L], exp(theta[-1L]))), Inf)
    eta <- offset
    if (pc > 0) eta <- eta + drop(x %*% beta[1L:pc])
    pr <- pfun(gamm[y+1] - eta) - pfun(gamm[y] - eta)
    p1 <- dfun(gamm[y+1] - eta)
    p2 <- dfun(gamm[y] - eta)
    g1 <- if (pc > 0) t(x) %*% (wt*(p1 - p2)/pr) else numeric(0)
    xx <- .polrY1*p1 - .polrY2*p2
    g2 <- - t(xx) %*% (wt/pr)
    g2 <- t(g2) %*% jacobian(theta)
    if (all(pr > 0)) c(g1, g2) else rep(NA, pc+q)
  }

  pfun <- switch(method, logistic = plogis, probit = pnorm,
                 cloglog = pgumbel, cauchit = pcauchy)

```

```

dfun <- switch(method, logistic = dlogis, probit = dnorm,
               cloglog = dgumbel, cauchit = dcauchy)
n <- nrow(x)
pc <- ncol(x)
lev <- levels(y)
if(length(lev) <= 2L) stop("response must have 3 or more levels")
y <- unclass(y)
q <- length(lev) - 1L
Y <- matrix(0, n, q)
.polrY1 <- col(Y) == y
.polrY2 <- col(Y) == y - 1L
# pc could be 0.
s0 <- if(pc > 0) c(start[seq_len(pc+1)], diff(start[-seq_len(pc)]))
else c(start[1L], diff(start))
res <- optim(s0, fmin, gmin, method="BFGS")
beta <- res$par[seq_len(pc)]
theta <- res$par[pc + 1L:q]
zeta <- cumsum(c(theta[1L], exp(theta[-1L])))
deviance <- 2 * res$value
names(zeta) <- paste(lev[-length(lev)], lev[-1L], sep="|")
if(pc > 0) {
  names(beta) <- colnames(x)
  eta <- drop(x %*% beta)
} else {
  eta <- rep(0, n)
}
list(coefficients = beta, zeta = zeta, deviance = deviance)
}

profile.polr <- function(fitted, which = 1L:p, alpha = 0.01,
                        maxsteps = 10, del = zmax/5, trace = FALSE, ...)
{
  Pnames <- names(B0 <- coefficients(fitted))
  pv0 <- t(as.matrix(B0))
  p <- length(Pnames)
  if(is.character(which)) which <- match(which, Pnames)
  summ <- summary(fitted)
  std.err <- summ$coefficients[, "Std. Error"]
  mf <- model.frame(fitted)
  n <- length(Y <- model.response(mf))
  O <- model.offset(mf)
  if(!length(O)) O <- rep(0, n)
  W <- model.weights(mf)
  if(length(W) == 0L) W <- rep(1, n)
  OriginalDeviance <- deviance(fitted)
  X <- model.matrix(fitted)[, -1L, drop=FALSE] # drop intercept
  zmax <- sqrt(qchisq(1 - alpha, 1))
  profName <- "z"
  prof <- vector("list", length=length(which))
  names(prof) <- Pnames[which]
  start <- c(fitted$coefficients, fitted$zeta)
  for(i in which) {
    zi <- 0

```

```

pvi <- pv0
Xi <- X[, - i, drop = FALSE]
pi <- Pnames[i]
for(sgn in c(-1, 1)) {
  if(trace) {
    message("\nParameter:", pi, c("down", "up")[(sgn + 1)/2 + 1])
    utils::flush.console()
  }
  step <- 0
  z <- 0
  ## LP is the linear predictor including offset.
  ## LP <- X %*% fitted$coef + 0
  while((step <- step + 1) < maxsteps && abs(z) < zmax) {
    bi <- B0[i] + sgn * step * del * std.err[i]
    o <- 0 + X[, i] * bi
    fm <- polr.fit(x = Xi, y = Y, wt = W, start = start[-i],
                  offset = o, method = fitted$method)

    ri <- pv0
    ri[, names(coef(fm))] <- coef(fm)
    ri[, pi] <- bi
    pvi <- rbind(pvi, ri)
    zz <- fm$deviance - OriginalDeviance
    if(zz > - 1e-3) zz <- max(zz, 0)
    else stop("profiling has found a better solution, so original fit had not converged")
    z <- sgn * sqrt(zz)
    zi <- c(zi, z)
  }
}
si <- order(zi)
prof[[pi]] <- structure(data.frame(zi[si]), names = profName)
prof[[pi]]$par.vals <- pvi[si, ]
}
val <- structure(prof, original.fit = fitted, summary = summ)
class(val) <- c("profile.polr", "profile")
val
}

confint.polr <- function(object, parm, level = 0.95, trace = FALSE, ...)
{
  pnames <- names(coef(object))
  if(missing(parm)) parm <- seq_along(pnames)
  else if(is.character(parm)) parm <- match(parm, pnames, nomatch = 0L)
  message("Waiting for profiling to be done...")
  utils::flush.console()
  object <- profile(object, which = parm, alpha = (1. - level)/4.,
                   trace = trace)
  confint(object, parm=parm, level=level, trace=trace, ...)
}

confint.profile.polr <-
function(object, parm = seq_along(pnames), level = 0.95, ...)
{
  of <- attr(object, "original.fit")

```

```

pnames <- names(coef(of))
if(is.character(parm)) parm <- match(parm, pnames, nomatch = 0L)
a <- (1-level)/2
a <- c(a, 1-a)
pct <- paste(round(100*a, 1), "%")
ci <- array(NA, dim = c(length(parm), 2L),
            dimnames = list(pnames[parm], pct))
cutoff <- qnorm(a)
for(pm in parm) {
  pro <- object[[ pnames[pm] ]]
  if(length(pnames) > 1L)
    sp <- spline(x = pro[, "par.vals"][, pm], y = pro[, 1])
  else sp <- spline(x = pro[, "par.vals"], y = pro[, 1])
  ci[pnames[pm], ] <- approx(sp$y, sp$x, xout = cutoff)$y
}
drop(ci)
}

logLik.polr <- function(object, ...)
  structure(-0.5 * object$deviance, df = object$edf, class = "logLik")

simulate.polr <- function(object, nsim = 1, seed = NULL, ...)
{
  if(!is.null(object$model) && any(model.weights(object$model) != 1))
    stop("weighted fits are not supported")

  rgumbel <- function(n, loc = 0, scale = 1) loc - scale*log(rexp(n))

  ## start the same way as simulate.lm
  if(!exists(".Random.seed", envir = .GlobalEnv, inherits = FALSE))
    runif(1) # initialize the RNG if necessary
  if(is.null(seed))
    RNGstate <- get(".Random.seed", envir = .GlobalEnv)
  else {
    R.seed <- get(".Random.seed", envir = .GlobalEnv)
    set.seed(seed)
    RNGstate <- structure(seed, kind = as.list(RNGkind()))
    on.exit(assign(".Random.seed", R.seed, envir = .GlobalEnv))
  }
  rfun <- switch(object$method, logistic = rlogis, probit = rnorm,
                cloglog = rgumbel, cauchit = rcauchy)
  eta <- object$lp
  n <- length(eta)
  res <- cut(rfun(n*nsim, eta),
            c(-Inf, object$zeta, Inf),
            labels = colnames(fitted(object)),
            ordered_result = TRUE)
  val <- split(res, rep(seq_len(nsim), each=n))
  names(val) <- paste("sim", seq_len(nsim), sep="_")
  val <- as.data.frame(val)
  if (!is.null(nm <- rownames(fitted(object)))) row.names(val) <- nm
  attr(val, "seed") <- RNGstate
  val

```

```
}
```

## European sample

### Model 1

For the baseline model we just look at the relationship between the intensity of Russia intervention and whether the target is a NATO member as well as logged minimum distance from Russia. These are our two independent variables of interest. We use year fixed effects and cluster standard errors at the country level.

```
m1 <- polr(intensity ~
           NATOmem_MEM +
           lnmindistkm_rus +
           year,
           data = df,
           method = "probit",
           Hess = TRUE)

# Country-clustered SE
m1 <- lmtest::coeftest(m1, vcov = sandwich::vcovCL(m1, factor(df$cname1)))

# Odds ratio
m1_or <- exp(coef(m1))
stargazer::stargazer(m1,
                      coef = list(m1_or),
                      omit = "year",
                      title = "Model 1 Odds Ratios",
                      p.auto = FALSE,
                      type = "text")
```

```
##
## Model 1 Odds Ratios
## =====
##                               Dependent variable:
##                               -----
## -----
## NATOmem_MEM1                0.769
##                               (0.218)
##
## lnmindistkm_rus             0.911***
##                               (0.035)
##
## =====
## =====
## Note:                *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01
```

Old model 1:

```
# Prep matrix inversion option for model
d <- rms::datadist(df)
options(datadist = "d")
```

```

# Model
m1 <- rms::lrm(intensity ~
                NATOmem_MEM +
                lnmindistkm_rus +
                year,
                data = df,
                x = TRUE,
                y = TRUE)

## country-clustered standard errors
m1 <- rms::robcov(m1, df$cabbrev1)

# Show results
texreg::screenreg(m1)

ggstatsplot::ggcoefstats(m1,
                          title = "Model 1",
                          package = "ggsci",
                          only.significant = TRUE,
                          palette = "category20c_d3",
                          )

ggeffects::ggpredict(m1) %>%
  plot()

```

## Model 2

Independent variables are NATO membership and logged minimum distance from Russia. Controls include logged GDP per capita, logged population, democracy, and nuclear status. We use year fixed effects.

```

# Model
m2 <- polr(intensity ~
            NATOmem_MEM +
            lnmindistkm_rus +
            demo1 +
            nuclear1 +
            lnpop1 +
            lngdppc1_2010const +
            year,
            data = df,
            method = "probit",
            Hess = TRUE)

# Country-clustered SE
m2 <- lmtest::coeftest(m2, vcov = sandwich::vcovCL(m2, factor(df$cname1)))

# Odds ratio
m2_or <- exp(coef(m2))
stargazer::stargazer(m2,
                      coef = list(m2_or),
                      title = "Model 2 Odds Ratios",
                      omit = "year",
                      p.auto = FALSE,

```

```
type = "text")
```

```
##
## Model 2 Odds Ratios
## =====
##                               Dependent variable:
##                               -----
## -----
## NATOmem_MEM1                0.869
##                               (0.197)
##
## lnmindistkm_rus             0.916***
##                               (0.028)
##
## demo11                      1.288
##                               (0.387)
##
## nuclear1                    2.905**
##                               (0.449)
##
## lnpop1                      1.215**
##                               (0.076)
##
## lngdppc1_2010const          0.648***
##                               (0.112)
##
## =====
## =====
## Note:                *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01
```

Old model 2:

```
# Prep model
d <- rms::datadist(df)
options(datadist = "d")

# Model
m2 <- rms::lrm(intensity ~
  NATOmem_MEM +
  lnmindistkm_rus +
  demo1 +
  nuclear1 +
  lnpop1 +
  gdppc1_2010const +
  year,
  data = df,
  x = TRUE,
  y = TRUE)

## country-clustered standard errors
m2 <- rms::robcov(m2, df$cabbrev1)

# Show results
texreg::screenreg(m2)
```

```
ggstatsplot::ggcoefstats(m2,
                          title = "Model 2",
                          package = "ggsci",
                          only.significant = TRUE,
                          palette = "category20c_d3",
                          )

ggeffects::ggpredict(m2) %>%
  plot()
```

## Model 3

For the final model, we include controls for CINC ratio, democracy, nuclear status, and civil war with year fixed effects and country-clustered standard errors.

```
# Model
m3 <- polr(intensity ~
           NATOmem_MEM +
           lnmindistkm_rus +
           demo1 +
           nuclear1 +
           lnpop1 +
           lngdppc1_2010const +
           cinc_ratio +
           year,
           data = df,
           method = "probit",
           Hess = TRUE)

# Country-clustered SE
m3 <- lmtest::coeftest(m3, vcov = sandwich::vcovCL(m3, factor(df$cname1)))

# Odds ratio
m3_or <- exp(coef(m3))
stargazer::stargazer(m3,
                      coef = list(m3_or),
                      omit = "year",
                      title = "Model 3 Odds Ratios",
                      p.auto = FALSE,
                      type = "text")
```

```
##
## Model 3 Odds Ratios
## =====
##                               Dependent variable:
##                               -----
## -----
## NATOmem_MEM1                1.344
##                               (0.269)
##
## lnmindistkm_rus             0.834***
##                               (0.049)
```



```
##
## demo11                1.290
##                      (0.503)
##
## nuclear11             15.288***
##                      (0.780)
##
## lnpop1                1.066
##                      (0.174)
##
## lngdppc1_2010const    0.336***
##                      (0.184)
##
## cinc_ratio            0.123
##                      (2.523)
##
## =====
## =====
## Note:                *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01
```

Old model 3:

```
# Exclude post-2012 observations since missing control variables (cinc) cause a singular information ma
df_m3 <- df
```

```
df_m3$year <- as.integer(df_m3$year) + 1993
```

```
df_m3 <- df_m3 %>%
  dplyr::filter(year < 2013) %>%
  dplyr::mutate(year = as.factor(year))
```

```
# Reset datadist so levels match
d <- rms::datadist(df_m3)
options(datadist = "d")
```

```
# Model
m3 <- rms::lrm(intensity ~
  NATOmem_MEM +
  lnmindistkm_rus +
  demo1 +
  nuclear1 +
  cinc_ratio +
  gdppc1_2010const +
  year,
  data = df_m3,
  x = TRUE,
  y = TRUE)
```

```
## country-clustered standard errors
m3 <- rms::robcov(m3, df_m3$cabbrev1)
```

```
# Show results
texreg::screenreg(m3)
```

```
ggstatsplot::ggcoefstats(m3,
```

```

        title = "Model 3",
        package = "ggsci",
        only.significant = TRUE,
        palette = "category20c_d3",
      )

ggeffects::ggpredict(m3) %>%
  plot()

```

## Relevant states sample

We run the same models as above on a different sample. Here, we limit sample to European states that meet any 1 of the following criteria:

1. **History of conflict** – European states that have had a MID or ICB incident with Russia/the Soviet Union from 1945-1994.
2. **Former Soviet Union/Warsaw Pact** – European states that were formerly members of either the Soviet Union or Warsaw Pact.
3. **Contiguity** – European states that are contiguous with Russia.

```

df_conserv <- df %>%
  dplyr::filter(relevant_conserv == 1)

```

## Model 4

Replicate model 1 with the new sample.

```

# Model
m4 <- polr(intensity ~
  NATOmem_MEM +
  lnmindistkm_rus +
  year,
  data = df_conserv,
  method = "probit",
  Hess = TRUE)

# Country-clustered SE
m4 <- lmtest::coeftest(m4, vcov = sandwich::vcovCL(m4, factor(df_conserv$cname1)))

# Odds ratio
m4_or <- exp(coef(m4))
stargazer::stargazer(m4,
  coef = list(m1_or),
  omit = "year",
  title = "Model 4 Odds Ratios",
  p.auto = FALSE,
  type = "text")

##
## Model 4 Odds Ratios
## =====

```

```
##                               Dependent variable:
##                               -----
##                               -----
## NATOmem_MEM1                0.769**
##                               (0.252)
##
## lnmindistkm_rus             0.911
##                               (0.034)
##
## =====
## =====
## Note:                *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01
```

Old model:

```
# Prep matrix inversion option for model
d <- rms::datadist(df_conserv)
options(datadist = "d")

# Model
m4 <- rms::lrm(intensity ~
               NATOmem_MEM +
               lnmindistkm_rus +
               year,
               data = df_conserv,
               x = TRUE,
               y = TRUE)

## country-clustered standard errors
m4 <- rms::robcov(m4, df_conserv$cabbrev1)

# Show results
texreg::screenreg(m4)

ggstatsplot::ggcoefstats(m4,
                          title = "Model 4",
                          package = "ggsci",
                          only.significant = TRUE,
                          palette = "category20c_d3",
                          )

ggeffects::ggpredict(m4) %>%
  plot()
```

## Model 5

Replicate model 2

```
# Model
m5 <- polr(intensity ~
           NATOmem_MEM +
           lnmindistkm_rus +
           demo1 +
```

```

        nuclear1 +
        lnpop1 +
        lngdppc1_2010const +
        year,
data = df_conserv,
method = "probit",
Hess = TRUE)

# Country-clustered SE
m5 <- lmtest::coeftest(m5, vcov = sandwich::vcovCL(m5, factor(df_conserv$cname1)))

# Odds ratio
m5_or <- exp(coef(m5))
stargazer::stargazer(m5,
                      coef = list(m5_or),
                      omit = "year",
                      title = "Model 5 Odds Ratios",
                      p.auto = FALSE,
                      type = "text")

```

```

##
## Model 5 Odds Ratios
## =====
##                               Dependent variable:
##                               -----
## -----
## NATOmem_MEM1                1.073
##                               (0.416)
##
## lnmindistkm_rus              0.968
##                               (0.029)
##
## demo11                       1.099
##                               (0.468)
##
## nuclear11                     2.009
##                               (0.492)
##
## lnpop1                       1.139**
##                               (0.057)
##
## lngdppc1_2010const           0.634**
##                               (0.192)
##
## =====
## =====
## Note:                *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

```

Old model:

```

# Prep model
d <- rms::datadist(df_conserv)
options(datadist = "d")

```

```

# Model
m5 <- rms::lrm(intensity ~
                NATOmем_MEM +
                lnmindistkm_rus +
                demo1 +
                nuclear1 +
                lnpop1 +
                gdppc1_2010const +
                year,
                data = df_conserv,
                x = TRUE,
                y = TRUE)

## country-clustered standard errors
m5 <- rms::robcov(m5, df_conserv$cabbrev1)

# Show results
texreg::screenreg(m5)

ggstatsplot::ggcoefstats(m5,
                          title = "Model 2",
                          package = "ggsci",
                          only.significant = TRUE,
                          palette = "category20c_d3",
                          )

ggeffects::ggpredict(m5) %>%
  plot()

```

## Model 6

Replicate model 3 on the new sample

```

# Model
m6 <- polr(intensity ~
            NATOmем_MEM +
            lnmindistkm_rus +
            demo1 +
            nuclear1 +
            lnpop1 +
            lngdppc1_2010const +
            cinc_ratio +
            year,
            data = df_conserv,
            method = "probit",
            Hess = TRUE)

# Country-clustered SE
m6 <- lmtest::coeftest(m6, vcov = sandwich::vcovCL(m6, factor(df_conserv$cname1)))

# Odds ratio
m6_or <- exp(coef(m6))
stargazer::stargazer(m6,

```

```

coef = list(m6_or),
omit = "year",
title = "Model 6 Odds Ratios",
p.auto = FALSE,
type = "text")

```

```

##
## Model 6 Odds Ratios
## =====
##                               Dependent variable:
##                               -----
## -----
## NATOmem_MEM1                1.522
##                               (0.403)
##
## lnmindistkm_rus             0.909**
##                               (0.046)
##
## demo11                      0.992
##                               (0.586)
##
## nuclear1                    3.861*
##                               (0.813)
##
## lnpop1                      0.724
##                               (0.224)
##
## lngdppc1_2010const          0.363***
##                               (0.188)
##
## cinc_ratio                  36.414
##                               (3.760)
##
## =====
## =====
## Note:                *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

```

Old model:

```

# Exclude post-2012 observations since missing control variables (cinc) cause a singular information matrix
df_m6 <- df_conserv

df_m6$year <- as.integer(df_m6$year) + 1993

df_m6 <- df_m6 %>%
  dplyr::filter(year < 2013) %>%
  dplyr::mutate(year = as.factor(year))

# Model
m6 <- rms::lrm(intensity ~
  NATOmem_MEM +
  lnmindistkm_rus +
  demo1 +
  nuclear1 +

```

```

        cinc_ratio +
        year,
        data = df_m6,
        x = TRUE,
        y = TRUE)

## country-clustered standard errors
m6 <- rms::robcov(m6, df_m6$cabbrev1)

# Show results
texreg::screenreg(m6)

ggstatsplot::ggcoefstats(m6,
                          title = "Model 6",
                          package = "ggsci",
                          only.significant = TRUE,
                          palette = "category20c_d3",
                          )

ggeffects::ggpredict(m6) %>%
  plot()

```

## Compiled results

Compiled results of the 6 models are shown below:

```

# Make list of models
models <- list(m1, m2, m3, m4, m5, m6)

# HTML version for markdown
texreg::screenreg(models,
  stars = c(0.01, 0.05, 0.1, 0.15),
  symbol = "\\dagger",
  omit.coef = "(y)",
  custom.coef.names = c("NATO member",
                        "Russia min. distance",
                        "Democracy",
                        "Nuclear power",
                        "Population",
                        "GDP per capita",
                        "CINC ratio"),
  custom.gof.rows = list("Fixed effects" = c("Yes", "Yes", "Yes", "Yes", "Yes", "Yes")),
  custom.header = list("Full sample" = 1:3, "Relevant states sample" = 4:6))

```

```

##
## =====
##
##               Full sample               Relevant states sample
##      -----
##      Model 1   Model 2   Model 3   Model 4   Model 5   Model 6
## -----
## NATO member   -0.26     -0.14     0.30    -0.53 **   0.07     0.42
##                (0.22)    (0.20)    (0.27)    (0.25)    (0.42)    (0.40)

```

```
## Russia min. distance  -0.09 ***  -0.09 ***  -0.18 ***  -0.01      -0.03      -0.10 **
##                      (0.04)      (0.03)      (0.05)      (0.03)      (0.03)      (0.05)
## Democracy              0.25        0.25        0.09        -0.01
##                      (0.39)      (0.50)      (0.47)      (0.59)
## Nuclear power          1.07 **     2.73 ***     0.70        1.35 *
##                      (0.45)      (0.78)      (0.49)      (0.81)
## Population             0.19 **     0.06         0.13 **     -0.32
##                      (0.08)      (0.17)      (0.06)      (0.22)
## GDP per capita         -0.43 ***   -1.09 ***   -0.46 **    -1.01 ***
##                      (0.11)      (0.18)      (0.19)      (0.19)
## CINC ratio              -2.10         3.59
##                      (2.52)         (3.76)
## -----
## Fixed effects          Yes          Yes          Yes          Yes          Yes          Yes
## =====
## *** p < 0.01; ** p < 0.05; * p < 0.1; \dagger p < 0.15
```

*# Tex version for manuscript*

```
texreg::texreg(models,
  stars = c(0.01, 0.05, 0.1, 0.15),
  symbol = "\\dagger",
  omit.coef = "(y)",
  custom.coef.names = c("NATO member",
    "Russia min. distance",
    "Democracy",
    "Nuclear power",
    "Population",
    "GDP per capita",
    "CINC ratio"),
  custom.gof.rows = list("Fixed effects" = c("Yes", "Yes", "Yes", "Yes", "Yes", "Yes")),
  custom.header = list("Full sample" = 1:3, "Relevant states sample" = 4:6),
  label = "table:model",
  caption = "All models are ordinal probits with year fixed effects and standard errors cl",
  float.pos = "h",
  file = paste0(here::here(), "/paper/figures/", "model.tex")
)
```

## The table was written to the file '/home/andresgannon/Dropbox (rex)/Grad School/andres\_github\_privat