# Individual-level analysis: mixed effects models

Part of the final project for AQMSS II

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# Mixed effects models

# **Nested Logit**

```
source(here::here("utilities", "check_packages.R"))
source(here::here("utilities", "functions.R"))
ep_raw_dep <- read_rds(here("data", "data_built", "ep_raw_dep.rds"))</pre>
data_country <- read_rds(here("data", "data_built", "data_country.rds"))</pre>
load(here("scripts", "models", "feme_bobyqa.RData"))
load(here("scripts", "models", "nlme_bobyqa.RData"))
load(here("scripts", "models", "me_allfit.RData"))
load(here("scripts", "models", "nl_fe.RData"))
# Recode no data back to native NA
model_data <- ep_raw_dep |>
  mutate(across(c(sex, age_bin, time_to_vs.less_than_hour,
                   time_to_vs.less_than_hour, out_of_Russia_time,
                  result_trust_bin),
                 ~ if_else(. %in% c("No Data", "Declined to answer"), NA, .)),
         vote = relevel(as.factor(vote), ref = "Putin"),
         sex = relevel(as.factor(sex), ref = "Male"),
         age_bin = relevel(as.factor(age_bin), ref = "25-44"),
         out_of_Russia_time = relevel(as.factor(out_of_Russia_time), ref = "Before annexation"),
         result_trust_bin = relevel(as.factor(result_trust_bin), ref = "Yes")) |>
  filter(!countryname_en %in% c("New Zealand", "Australia"))
# Drop Australia and New Zealand for this because they have very skewed and low
# n observations. Might also help with convergence
nested_me_data <- model_data |>
  filter(vote != "Tore up/took", !countryname_en %in% c("Australia",
                                                           "New Zealand")) |>
```

```
mutate(non_answer = if_else(vote == "Declined to answer", 1, 0),
      putin_else = case_when(vote == "Putin" ~ 1,
                              vote %in% c("Davankov", "Spoiled ballot",
                                          "Slutsky", "Haritonov") ~ 0,
                              .default = NA),
      nonsys_sys = case_when(vote %in% c("Davankov", "Spoiled ballot") ~ 1,
                              vote %in% c("Slutsky", "Haritonov") ~ 0,
                              .default = NA),
       davankov_spoiled = case_when(vote == "Davankov" ~ 1,
                                    vote == "Spoiled ballot" ~ 0,
                                    .default = NA),
       slutsky_haritonov = case_when(vote == "Slutsky" ~ 1,
                                    vote == "Haritonov" ~ 0,
                                     .default = NA)) |>
left_join(select(data_country,
                 -countryname_en),
          by = c("countrycode_n", "countrycode_c"))
```

We fit the model consecutively for each dichotomy this time separating data by hand in the same way as the nestedLogit package does.

For some models we get non-convergence. We diagnose which optimizers work best in those case and update the model to achieve convergence.

#### Not answer v answer

bobyqa : [OK]

```
nlminbwrap : [OK]
optimx.L-BFGS-B : [OK]
nloptwrap.NLOPT_LN_NELDERMEAD : [OK]
nloptwrap.NLOPT_LN_BOBYQA : [OK]
# Convergence results
  ## Export models
 m5a.allfit_OK <- m5a.allfit[sapply(m5a.allfit, is, "merMod")]</pre>
  ## Generate warnings encountered
  data.frame(lapply(m5a.allfit_OK, function(x) x@optinfo$conv$lme4$messages)) |>
   pivot_longer(everything(), names_to = "Method",
               values_to = "Estimation result") |>
   arrange(`Method`, `Estimation result`) |>
   distinct() |>
   mutate(`Method` = if_else(lag(`Method`) != `Method` | is.na(lag(`Method`)),
                            `Method`, ""),
           `Estimation result` = gsub("\\|", " ", `Estimation result`)) |>
   kable(booktabs = T,
         caption = paste("Convergence results for Answer/non-Answer dichotomy,",
                         "ME with level 2 variables and all optimizers")) |>
   column_spec(1, width = "8cm") |>
    column_spec(2, width = "8cm")
```

Nelder\_Mead : [OK]

Table 1: Convergence results for Answer/non-Answer dichotomy, ME with level 2 variables and all optimizers

| Method                                  | Estimation result  |
|---|--|
| Nelder_Mead                             | Model failed to converge with max grad = $0.0288314$ (tol = $0.002$ , component 1)   |
| bobyqa                                  | Model failed to converge with max grad = 0.00240407 (tol = 0.002, component 1)   |
| nlminbwrap                              | Model failed to converge with max grad = 0.071349 (tol = 0.002, component 1)   |
| ${\bf nloptwrap.NLOPT\_LN\_BOBYQA}$     | Model failed to converge with max grad = $0.0450179$ (tol = $0.002$ , component 1)   |
| ${\bf nloptwrap.NLOPT\_LN\_NELDERMEAD}$ | Model failed to converge: degenerate Hessian with 1 negative eigenvalues   |
| optimx.L.BFGS.B                         | unable to evaluate scaled gradient Model failed to converge: degenerate Hessian with 1 negative eigenvalues unable to evaluate scaled gradient |

```
# Log-Likelihoods
(lliks <- sort(sapply(m5a.allfit_OK, logLik))) |>
  kable(col.names = "Log-likelihood", booktabs = T, digits = 3)
```

|   | Log-likelihood |
|---|----------------|
| optimx.L-BFGS-B                         | -8472.303      |
| Nelder_Mead                             | -8472.302      |
| $nloptwrap.NLOPT\_LN\_BOBYQA$           | -8472.302      |
| nlminbwrap                              | -8472.302      |
| bobyqa                                  | -8472.302      |
| ${\bf nloptwrap.NLOPT\_LN\_NELDERMEAD}$ | -8472.302      |

```
# Coefficients from different optimizers
  ## Export fixef and melt into single dataframe
  models <- levels(melt(t(sapply(m5a.allfit_OK, fixef)))$Var1)</pre>
 m5a.allfit.fixef.m <- transform(melt(t(sapply(m5a.allfit_OK, fixef))),</pre>
                                   Var1 = factor(Var1, levels = names(lliks))) |>
    transmute(`Method` = Var1,
               'Coefficient' = value,
               'Variable' = case_when(
                Var2 == "(Intercept)" ~ "Intercept",
                Var2 == "sexFemale" ~ "Sex: Female",
                Var2 == "sexOther" ~ "Sex: Other",
                Var2 == "age_bin18-24" ~ "Age: 18-24 (ref 25-44)",
                Var2 == "age_bin45-64" ~ "Age: 45-65 (ref 25-44)",
                Var2 == "age_bin65+" ~ "Age: 65 + (ref 25-44)",
                Var2 == "time_to_vs.less_than_hourYes"
                  "Took < 1 hour to get to the voting station",
                Var2 == "out_of_Russia_timeAfter invasion"
                  "Moved after March 2022 (ref before 2014)",
                Var2 == "out_of_Russia_time2 - 5 years" ~
                  paste("Moved after March 2019 but before",
                         "March 2022 (ref before 2014)"),
                Var2 == "out_of_Russia_timeAfter annexation"
                  paste("Moved after March 2014 but before",
                         "March 2019 (ref before 2014)"),
                Var2 == "out_of_Russia_timeTourist (lives in Russia)" ~
                  paste("Didn't move - tourist, lives",
                         "in Russia (ref before 2014)"),
                Var2 == "result_trust_binDon't know" ~
                  "Trust in the result: Don't know (ref Yes)",
                Var2 == "result_trust_binNo" ~
                  "Trust in the result: No (ref Yes)",
                Var2 == "orthodox_share" ~ "Share of Orthodox Christians",
                Var2 == "vdem_polyarchy_2022" ~ "Polyarchy index",
                Var2 == "log(mad_gdppc_2018)" ~ "GDP per capita (log)",
                Var2 == "obl_type1" ~ "Military agreements: 1 (ref 0)",
Var2 == "obl_type2" ~ "Military agreements: 2 (ref 0)",
                Var2 == "obl_type3" ~ "Military agreements: 3 (ref 0)",
                Var2 == "obl_type4" ~ "Military agreements: 4 (ref 0)",
                Var2 == "export_share" ~ "Export share",
                Var2 == "import_share" ~ "Import share",
                Var2 == "friendly_statusUnfriendly" ~
```

```
"Unfriendly status (ref Neutral)",
               Var2 == "friendly_statusFriendly" ~
                 "Friendly status (ref Neutral)",
               Var2 == "help" ~ "Help to Ukraine",
              Var2 == "military_dummy" ~ "Russian military presence",
Var2 == "log(dist)" ~ "Geodesic distance (log)"),
## Plot
ggplot(m5a.allfit.fixef.m,
       aes(x = `Coefficient`, y = `Method`, colour = `Method`)) +
    geom_point() +
   facet_wrap(~ `Variable`, scale = "free") +
    scale_colour_brewer(palette = "Dark2") +
    scale_y_discrete(breaks = models,
                     labels = substr(models, 1, 3)) +
   labs(x = "", y = "") +
    theme_minimal() +
    theme(legend.position = "none",
          axis.text.x = element_text(angle = 45, hjust = 1))
```

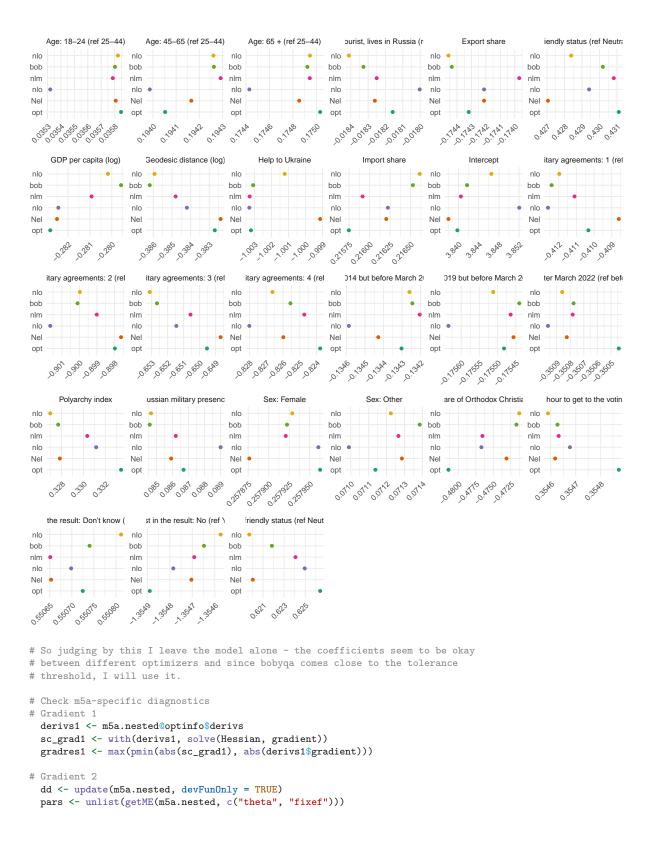


Table 3: Diagnostics for Answer vs No answer to poll model (with preferred optimizer)

| Gradient, method I  | Gradient, method II | Singular fit? |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------|
| 0.00240406734519638 | 0.00243011504717848 | No            |

The model doesn't converge.

## Putin v everyone else

```
# Putin (1) vs everyone else (0), declined to answer NA
m4p.nested <- glmer(putin_else ~ sex + age_bin + time_to_vs.less_than_hour</pre>
                    + out_of_Russia_time + result_trust_bin
                    + (1 | countryname_en),
                    data = nested_me_data, family = binomial,
                    control = glmerControl(optimizer = "bobyqa"))
# Converges!
m5p.nested <- glmer(putin_else ~ sex + age_bin + time_to_vs.less_than_hour</pre>
                    + out_of_Russia_time + result_trust_bin
                    + orthodox_share + vdem_polyarchy_2022
                    + log(mad_gdppc_2018) + obl_type + export_share
                    + import_share + friendly_status + help + military_dummy
                    + log(dist) + (1 | countryname_en),
                    data = nested_me_data, family = binomial,
                    control = glmerControl(optimizer = "bobyqa",
                                           optCtrl = list(maxfun = 1e9)))
```

```
# Fit with all optimizers (loaded with other models)
m5p.allfit <- allFit(m5p.nested, maxfun = 1e9)</pre>
bobyqa : [OK]
Nelder_Mead : [OK]
nlminbwrap : [OK]
optimx.L-BFGS-B : [OK]
nloptwrap.NLOPT_LN_NELDERMEAD : [OK]
nloptwrap.NLOPT_LN_BOBYQA : [OK]
# Convergence results
  ## Export models
  m5p.allfit_OK <- m5p.allfit[sapply(m5p.allfit, is, "merMod")]</pre>
  ## Generate warnings encountered
  data.frame(lapply(m5p.allfit_OK, function(x) x@optinfo$conv$lme4$messages)) |>
   pivot_longer(everything(), names_to = "Method",
                values_to = "Estimation result") |>
   arrange(`Method`, `Estimation result`) |>
   distinct() |>
   mutate(`Method` = if_else(lag(`Method`) != `Method` | is.na(lag(`Method`)),
                            `Method`, ""),
           `Estimation result` = gsub("\\|", " ", `Estimation result`)) |>
   kable(booktabs = T,
         caption = paste("Convergence results for Answer/non-Answer dichotomy,",
                        "ME with level 2 variables and all optimizers")) |>
    column_spec(1, width = "8cm") |>
   column_spec(2, width = "8cm")
```

Table 4: Convergence results for Answer/non-Answer dichotomy, ME with level 2 variables and all optimizers

| Method                        | Estimation result                                  |
|-------------------------------|--|
| Nelder_Mead                   | Model failed to converge with max grad =           |
|                               | 0.0439094  (tol = 0.002,  component 1)             |
| bobyqa                        | Model failed to converge with $\max \text{grad} =$ |
|                               | 0.00486188  (tol = 0.002,  component 1)            |
| nlminbwrap                    | Model failed to converge with max grad =           |
|                               | 0.0198981  (tol = 0.002,  component 1)             |
| nloptwrap.NLOPT_LN_BOBYQA     | Model failed to converge with max grad =           |
|                               | 0.0277748  (tol  = 0.002,  component  1)           |
| nloptwrap.NLOPT_LN_NELDERMEAD | Model failed to converge with max grad =           |
|                               | 0.0240685  (tol = 0.002,  component 1)             |

```
# Log-Likelihoods
(lliks <- sort(sapply(m5p.allfit_OK, logLik))) |>
  kable(col.names = "Log-likelihood", booktabs = T, digits = 3)
```

|   | Log-likelihood |
|---|----------------|
| Nelder_Mead                             | -3178.423      |
| $nloptwrap.NLOPT\_LN\_BOBYQA$           | -3178.423      |
| optimx.L-BFGS-B                         | -3178.423      |
| nlminbwrap                              | -3178.423      |
| ${\bf nloptwrap.NLOPT\_LN\_NELDERMEAD}$ | -3178.423      |
| bobyqa                                  | -3178.423      |

```
# Coefficients from different optimizers
  ## Export fixef and melt into single dataframe
  models <- levels(melt(t(sapply(m5p.allfit_OK, fixef)))$Var1)</pre>
 m5p.allfit.fixef.m <- transform(melt(t(sapply(m5p.allfit_0K, fixef))),</pre>
                                   Var1 = factor(Var1, levels = names(lliks))) |>
    transmute(`Method` = Var1,
               Coefficient = value,
               `Variable` = case_when(
                Var2 == "(Intercept)" ~ "Intercept",
                Var2 == "sexFemale" ~ "Sex: Female",
                Var2 == "sexOther" ~ "Sex: Other",
                Var2 == "age_bin18-24" ~ "Age: 18-24 (ref 25-44)",
                Var2 == "age_bin45-64" ~ "Age: 45-65 (ref 25-44)",
                Var2 == "age_bin65+" ~ "Age: 65 + (ref 25-44)",
                Var2 == "time_to_vs.less_than_hourYes"
                  "Took < 1 hour to get to the voting station",
                Var2 == "out_of_Russia_timeAfter invasion"
                  "Moved after March 2022 (ref before 2014)",
                Var2 == "out_of_Russia_time2 - 5 years"
                  paste("Moved after March 2019 but before",
                         "March 2022 (ref before 2014)"),
                Var2 == "out_of_Russia_timeAfter annexation" ^
                  paste("Moved after March 2014 but before",
                         "March 2019 (ref before 2014)"),
                Var2 == "out_of_Russia_timeTourist (lives in Russia)" ~
                  paste("Didn't move - tourist, lives",
                         "in Russia (ref before 2014)"),
                Var2 == "result_trust_binDon't know"
                   "Trust in the result: Don't know (ref Yes)",
                Var2 == "result_trust_binNo"
                  "Trust in the result: No (ref Yes)",
                Var2 == "orthodox_share" ~ "Share of Orthodox Christians",
                Var2 == "vdem_polyarchy_2022" ~ "Polyarchy index",
                Var2 == "log(mad_gdppc_2018)" ~ "GDP per capita (log)",
                Var2 == "obl_type1" ~ "Military agreements: 1 (ref 0)",
Var2 == "obl_type2" ~ "Military agreements: 2 (ref 0)",
```

```
Var2 == "obl_type3" ~ "Military agreements: 3 (ref 0)",
                Var2 == "obl_type4" ~ "Military agreements: 4 (ref 0)",
               Var2 == "export_share" ~ "Export share",
Var2 == "import_share" ~ "Import share",
Var2 == "friendly_statusUnfriendly" ~
                  "Unfriendly status (ref Neutral)",
                Var2 == "friendly_statusFriendly" ~
                  "Friendly status (ref Neutral)",
                Var2 == "help" ~ "Help to Ukraine",
               Var2 == "military_dummy" ~ "Russian military presence",
               Var2 == "log(dist)" ~ "Geodesic distance (log)"),
## Plot
ggplot(m5p.allfit.fixef.m,
       aes(x = 'Coefficient', y = 'Method', colour = 'Method')) +
    geom_point() +
    facet_wrap(~ `Variable`, scale = "free") +
scale_colour_brewer(palette = "Dark2") +
    scale_y_discrete(breaks = models,
                      labels = substr(models, 1, 3)) +
    labs(x = "", y = "") +
    theme_minimal() +
    theme(legend.position = "none",
           axis.text.x = element_text(angle = 45, hjust = 1))
```

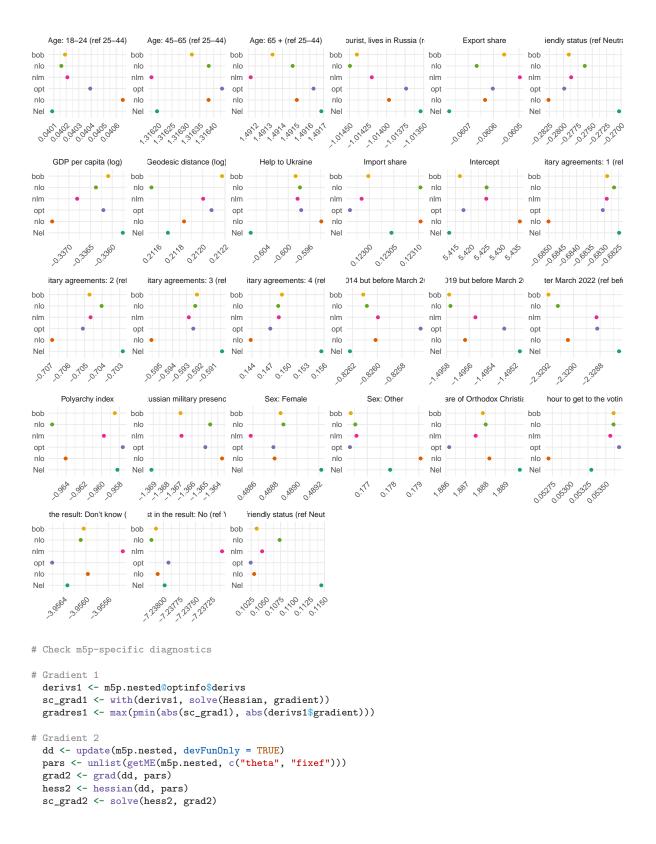


Table 6: Diagnostics for Putin vs Everyone else model (with preferred optimizer)

| Gradient, method I | Gradient, method II | Singular fit? |
|--------------------|---------------------|---------------|
| 0.0132050081447233 | 0.0131996664023155  | No            |

## Non-systemic v systemic opposition

```
# Non-systemic - Davankov or Spoiled (1) vs systemic - Haritonov, Slutsky (0)
# opposition, declined to answer and Putin are NA
m4s.nested <- glmer(nonsys_sys ~ sex + age_bin + time_to_vs.less_than_hour</pre>
                     + out_of_Russia_time + result_trust_bin
                     + (1 | countryname_en),
                     data = nested_me_data, family = binomial,
                     control = glmerControl(optimizer = "bobyqa"))
# Converges
m5s.nested <- glmer(nonsys_sys ~ sex + age_bin + time_to_vs.less_than_hour</pre>
                     + out_of_Russia_time + result_trust_bin
                     + orthodox_share + vdem_polyarchy_2022
                     + log(mad_gdppc_2018) + obl_type + export_share
+ import_share + friendly_status + help + military_dummy
                     + log(dist) + (1 | countryname_en),
                     data = nested_me_data, family = binomial,
                     control = glmerControl(optimizer = "bobyqa",
                                             optCtrl = list(maxfun = 1e9)))
# Singular fit!
# The predictors most likely to cause issues are obl_type and friendly_status
# as they are broadly (and correlated between themselves and other variables)
# defined dichotomous predictors. Remove them from the model and try again
```

```
m5s.red <- update(m5s.nested, ~ . - obl_type - friendly_status)
# Works great and no issues with convergence either</pre>
```

## Davankov v spoiled

```
# Davankov (1) vs Spoiled (0) declined to answer, Haritonov, Slutsky and Putin
m4d.nested <- glmer(davankov_spoiled ~ sex + age_bin + time_to_vs.less_than_hour</pre>
                    + out_of_Russia_time + result_trust_bin
                    + (1 | countryname_en),
                    data = nested_me_data, family = binomial,
                    control = glmerControl(optimizer = "bobyqa"))
m5d.nested <- glmer(davankov_spoiled ~ sex + age_bin + time_to_vs.less_than_hour
                    + out_of_Russia_time + result_trust_bin
                    + orthodox_share + vdem_polyarchy_2022
                    + log(mad_gdppc_2018) + obl_type + export_share
+ import_share + friendly_status + help + military_dummy
                    + log(dist) + (1 | countryname_en),
                    data = nested_me_data, family = binomial,
                    control = glmerControl(optimizer = "bobyqa",
                                           optCtrl = list(maxfun = 1e9)))
m5d.allfit <- allFit(m5d.nested, maxfun = 1e9)</pre>
bobyqa : [OK]
Nelder_Mead : [OK]
nlminbwrap : [OK]
optimx.L-BFGS-B : [OK]
nloptwrap.NLOPT_LN_NELDERMEAD : [OK]
nloptwrap.NLOPT_LN_BOBYQA : [OK]
# Convergence results
  ## Export models
 m5d.allfit_OK <- m5d.allfit[sapply(m5d.allfit, is, "merMod")]</pre>
  ## Generate warnings encountered
  data.frame(lapply(m5d.allfit_OK, function(x) x@optinfo$conv$lme4$messages)) |>
   pivot_longer(everything(), names_to = "Method",
                values_to = "Estimation result") |>
    arrange(`Method`, `Estimation result`) |>
    distinct() |>
    mutate(`Method` = if_else(lag(`Method`) != `Method` | is.na(lag(`Method`)),
                              `Method`, ""),
           `Estimation result` = gsub("\\|", " ", `Estimation result`)) |>
    kable(booktabs = T,
          caption = paste("Convergence results for Answer/non-Answer dichotomy,",
```

```
"ME with level 2 variables and all optimizers")) |>
column_spec(1, width = "8cm") |>
column_spec(2, width = "8cm")
```

Table 7: Convergence results for Answer/non-Answer dichotomy, ME with level 2 variables and all optimizers

| Method                        | Estimation result                                  |
|-------------------------------|--|
| Nelder_Mead                   | Model failed to converge with max grad =           |
|                               | $0.425244 \text{ (tol} = 0.002, component 1)}$     |
| bobyqa                        | Model failed to converge with $\max \text{grad} =$ |
|                               | 0.0157886  (tol = 0.002, component 1)              |
| nlminbwrap                    | Model failed to converge with $\max \text{grad} =$ |
|                               | 1.66793  (tol = 0.002,  component 1)               |
| $nloptwrap.NLOPT\_LN\_BOBYQA$ | Model failed to converge with max grad =           |
|                               | 0.0678025  (tol = 0.002,  component 1)             |
| nloptwrap.NLOPT_LN_NELDERMEAD | Model failed to converge with max grad =           |
|                               | 0.081166  (tol = 0.002,  component 1)              |
| optimx.L.BFGS.B               | Model failed to converge with max grad =           |
|                               | 0.0682182  (tol = 0.002,  component 1)             |

```
# Log-Likelihoods
(lliks <- sort(sapply(m5d.allfit_OK, logLik))) |>
   kable(col.names = "Log-likelihood", booktabs = T, digits = 3)
```

| Log-likelihood |
|----------------|
| -20537.76      |
| -20537.73      |
| -20537.73      |
| -20537.73      |
| -20537.73      |
| -20537.73      |
|                |

```
Var2 == "sexFemale" ~ "Sex: Female",
              Var2 == "sexOther" ~ "Sex: Other",
              Var2 == "age_bin18-24" ~ "Age: 18-24 (ref 25-44)",
              Var2 == "age_bin45-64" ~ "Age: 45-65 (ref 25-44)",
              Var2 == "age_bin65+" ~ "Age: 65 + (ref 25-44)",
              Var2 == "time_to_vs.less_than_hourYes" ~
                "Took < 1 hour to get to the voting station",
              Var2 == "out_of_Russia_timeAfter invasion" ~
                "Moved after March 2022 (ref before 2014)",
              Var2 == "out_of_Russia_time2 - 5 years" ~
                paste("Moved after March 2019 but before",
                      "March 2022 (ref before 2014)"),
              Var2 == "out_of_Russia_timeAfter annexation" ~
                paste("Moved after March 2014 but before",
                     "March 2019 (ref before 2014)"),
              Var2 == "out_of_Russia_timeTourist (lives in Russia)" ~
                paste("Didn't move - tourist, lives",
                     "in Russia (ref before 2014)"),
              Var2 == "result_trust_binDon't know" ^
                "Trust in the result: Don't know (ref Yes)",
              Var2 == "result_trust_binNo" ~
                "Trust in the result: No (ref Yes)",
              Var2 == "orthodox_share" ~ "Share of Orthodox Christians",
              Var2 == "vdem_polyarchy_2022" ~ "Polyarchy index"
              Var2 == "log(mad_gdppc_2018)" ~ "GDP per capita (log)",
              Var2 == "obl_type1" ~ "Military agreements: 1 (ref 0)",
              Var2 == "obl_type2" ~ "Military agreements: 2 (ref 0)",
              Var2 == "obl_type3" ~ "Military agreements: 3 (ref 0)",
              Var2 == "obl_type4" ~ "Military agreements: 4 (ref 0)",
              Var2 == "export_share" ~ "Export share",
              Var2 == "import_share" ~ "Import share",
              Var2 == "friendly_statusUnfriendly" ~
                "Unfriendly status (ref Neutral)",
              Var2 == "friendly_statusFriendly" ~
                "Friendly status (ref Neutral)",
              Var2 == "help" ~ "Help to Ukraine",
              Var2 == "military_dummy" ~ "Russian military presence",
              Var2 == "log(dist)" ~ "Geodesic distance (log)"),
## Plot
ggplot(m5d.allfit.fixef.m,
        aes(x = 'Coefficient', y = 'Method', colour = 'Method')) +
   geom_point() +
   facet_wrap(~ `Variable`, scale = "free") +
   scale_colour_brewer(palette = "Dark2") +
   scale_y_discrete(breaks = models,
                    labels = substr(models, 1, 3)) +
   labs(x = "", y = "") +
   theme_minimal() +
   theme(legend.position = "none",
         axis.text.x = element_text(angle = 45, hjust = 1))
```

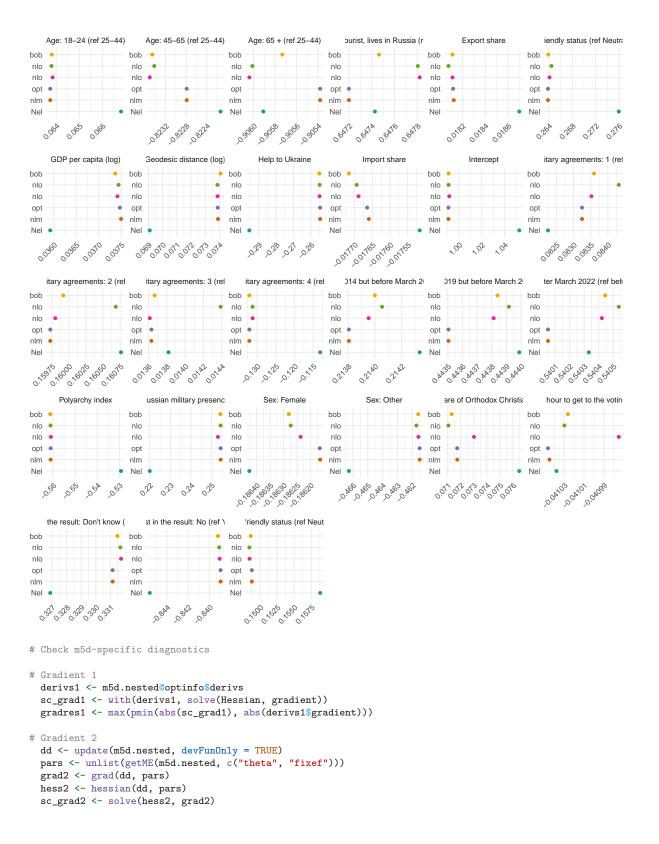


Table 9: Diagnostics for Davankov vs Spoil the ballot model (with preferred optimizer)

| Gradient, method I | Gradient, method II | Singular fit? |
|--------------------|---------------------|---------------|
| 0.0040686829458804 | 0.00394873324194497 | No            |

```
save(list = c("m5a.nested", "m5p.nested", "m5s.nested", "m5s.red", "m5d.nested"),
     file = "nlme_bobyqa.RData")
save(list = c("m4a.nested", "m4p.nested", "m4s.nested", "m4d.nested"),
     file = "feme_bobyqa.RData")
save(list = c("m5a.allfit", "m5p.allfit", "m5d.allfit"),
     file = "me_allfit.RData")
resizebox.stargazer(m4a.nested, m4p.nested, m4s.nested, m4d.nested,
          title = "Mixed effects models, level 1", header = F,
          dep.var.labels = c("Declined to answer vs answer",
                              "Putin vs everyone else",
                              "Non-systemic vs systemic opposition",
                              "Davankov vs Spoiled"),
          tab.height = "\\textheight", tab.width= "\\textwidth")
m3.answer <- models(m3.nested.fe, 1)</pre>
m3.putin <- models(m3.nested.fe, 2)</pre>
m3.nonsys <- models(m3.nested.fe, 3)
m3.davankov <- models(m3.nested.fe, 4)</pre>
resizebox.stargazer(m4a.nested, m3.answer, m4p.nested, m3.putin,
          title = "Mixed effects models, comparison I", header = F,
          omit = "as.factor",
          dep.var.labels = c("Declined to answer vs answer",
                              "Declined to answer vs answer",
                              "Putin vs everyone else",
                             "Putin vs everyone else"
                             ),
          tab.height = "\\textheight", tab.width= "\\textwidth")
```

Table 10: Mixed effects models, level 1

|   | Dependent variable:          |                        |                                     |                     |
|---|------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------|
|   | Declined to answer vs answer | Putin vs everyone else | Non-systemic vs systemic opposition | Davankov vs Spoiled |
|   | (1)                          | (2)                    | (3)                                 | (4)                 |
| sexFemale                                   | 0.275***                     | 0.482***               | 0.022                               | -0.199***           |
|   | (0.044)                      | (0.071)                | (0.056)                             | (0.024)             |
| sexOther                                    | 0.064                        | 0.171                  | -0.375                              | -0.470***           |
|   | (0.237)                      | (0.368)                | (0.296)                             | (0.144)             |
| age_bin18-24                                | -0.003                       | 0.026                  | -0.095                              | $0.062^{*}$         |
|   | (0.081)                      | (0.124)                | (0.086)                             | (0.037)             |
| age_bin45-64                                | 0.180***                     | 1.322***               | $-0.302^{***}$                      | -0.826***           |
|   | (0.059)                      | (0.086)                | (0.087)                             | (0.039)             |
| age_bin65+                                  | 0.170**                      | 1.507***               | $-0.957^{***}$                      | -0.931***           |
|   | (0.077)                      | (0.131)                | (0.155)                             | (0.106)             |
| time_to_vs.less_than_hourYes                | 0.376***                     | 0.094                  | -0.099                              | -0.034              |
|   | (0.052)                      | (0.081)                | (0.061)                             | (0.026)             |
| out_of_Russia_time2 - 5 years               | $-0.207^{***}$               | -1.480***              | 0.409***                            | 0.454***            |
|   | (0.075)                      | (0.109)                | (0.091)                             | (0.042)             |
| out_of_Russia_timeAfter annexation          | $-0.159^{**}$                | -0.806***              | 0.296***                            | 0.219***            |
|   | (0.080)                      | (0.120)                | (0.102)                             | (0.045)             |
| out_of_Russia_timeAfter invasion            | -0.359***                    | -2.330***              | 0.766***                            | 0.565***            |
|   | (0.069)                      | (0.101)                | (0.084)                             | (0.040)             |
| out_of_Russia_timeTourist (lives in Russia) | -0.039                       | -0.975***              | 0.041                               | 0.652***            |
|   | (0.096)                      | (0.143)                | (0.144)                             | (0.087)             |
| result_trust_binDon't know                  | 0.499***                     | -3.960***              | 0.718***                            | 0.387***            |
|   | (0.082)                      | (0.109)                | (0.127)                             | (0.139)             |
| result_trust_binNo                          | -1.328***                    | -7.218***              | 1.903***                            | -0.806***           |
|   | (0.060)                      | (0.101)                | (0.094)                             | (0.105)             |
| Constant                                    | -2.658***                    | 1.992***               | 1.267***                            | 1.558***            |
|   | (0.123)                      | (0.158)                | (0.123)                             | (0.117)             |
| Observations                                | 53,824                       | 51,202                 | 42,363                              | 40,946              |
| Log Likelihood                              | -9,143.189                   | -3,369.086             | -5,864.162                          | -22,658.160         |
| Akaike Inf. Crit.                           | 18,314.380                   | 6,766.172              | 11,756.320                          | 45,344.320          |
| Bayesian Inf. Crit.                         | 18,438.890                   | 6,889.982              | 11,877.480                          | 45,465.000          |

\*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

Table 11: Mixed effects models, comparison I

|   | $Dependent\ variable:$               |                              |                                       |                        |
|---|--------------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------|
|   | Declined to answer vs answer         | Declined to answer vs answer | Putin vs everyone else                | Putin vs everyone else |
|   | $generalized\ linear\ mixed-effects$ | logistic                     | $generalized\ linear\\ mixed-effects$ | logistic               |
|   | (1)                                  | (2)                          | (3)                                   | (4)                    |
| sexFemale                                   | 0.275***                             | 0.275***                     | 0.482***                              | 0.481***               |
|   | (0.044)                              | (0.044)                      | (0.071)                               | (0.072)                |
| sexOther                                    | 0.064                                | 0.039                        | 0.171                                 | 0.208                  |
|   | (0.237)                              | (0.240)                      | (0.368)                               | (0.369)                |
| age_bin18-24                                | -0.003                               | -0.008                       | 0.026                                 | 0.019                  |
|   | (0.081)                              | (0.082)                      | (0.124)                               | (0.126)                |
| age_bin45-64                                | 0.180***                             | 0.172***                     | 1.322***                              | 1.304***               |
|   | (0.059)                              | (0.059)                      | (0.086)                               | (0.087)                |
| age_bin65+                                  | 0.170**                              | 0.161**                      | 1.507***                              | 1.501***               |
| <u> </u>                                    | (0.077)                              | (0.078)                      | (0.131)                               | (0.132)                |
| time_to_vs.less_than_hourYes                | 0.376***                             | 0.310***                     | 0.094                                 | 0.071                  |
|   | (0.052)                              | (0.055)                      | (0.081)                               | (0.085)                |
| out_of_Russia_time2 - 5 years               | -0.207***                            | $-0.217^{***}$               | -1.480***                             | $-1.467^{***}$         |
|   | (0.075)                              | (0.075)                      | (0.109)                               | (0.110)                |
| out_of_Russia_timeAfter annexation          | $-0.159^{**}$                        | $-0.179^{**}$                | -0.806***                             | -0.798***              |
|   | (0.080)                              | (0.081)                      | (0.120)                               | (0.121)                |
| out_of_Russia_timeAfter invasion            | -0.359***                            | $-0.363^{***}$               | -2.330***                             | $-2.357^{***}$         |
|   | (0.069)                              | (0.069)                      | (0.101)                               | (0.103)                |
| out_of_Russia_timeTourist (lives in Russia) | -0.039                               | -0.002                       | -0.975***                             | $-0.997^{***}$         |
|   | (0.096)                              | (0.098)                      | (0.143)                               | (0.146)                |
| result_trust_binDon't know                  | 0.499***                             | 0.521***                     | -3.960***                             | -3.955***              |
|   | (0.082)                              | (0.083)                      | (0.109)                               | (0.110)                |
| result_trust_binNo                          | -1.328***                            | -1.293***                    | -7.218***                             | -7.204***              |
|   | (0.060)                              | (0.060)                      | (0.101)                               | (0.102)                |
| Constant                                    | -2.658***                            | -2.146***                    | 1.992***                              | 1.379***               |
|   | (0.123)                              | (0.144)                      | (0.158)                               | (0.247)                |
| Observations                                | 53,824                               | 53,824                       | 51,202                                | 51,202                 |
| Log Likelihood                              | -9,143.189                           | -9,008.215                   | -3,369.086                            | -3,287.206             |
| Akaike Inf. Crit.                           | 18,314.380                           | 18,166.430                   | 6,766.172                             | 6,724.412              |
| Bayesian Inf. Crit.                         | 18,438.890                           |                              | 6,889.982                             |                        |

Note:  ${}^*p{<}0.1; {}^{**}p{<}0.05; {}^{***}p{<}0.01$ 

Table 12: Mixed effects models, comparison II

|   | Dependent variable:                              |                                      |   |                                       |  |
|---|--|--------------------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|--|
|   | Non-systemic vs systemic opposition              | Non-systemic vs systemic opposition  | Davankov vs Spoiled                               | Davankov vs Spoiled                   |  |
|   | $generalized\ linear\ mixed-effects$             | logistic                             | generalized linear<br>mixed-effects               | logistic                              |  |
|   | (1)  | (2)                                  | (3)   | (4)                                   |  |
| sexFemale   | 0.022 $(0.056)$                                  | $0.019 \ (0.057)$                    | $-0.199^{***}$ $(0.024)$                          | $-0.195^{***}$ $(0.024)$              |  |
| sexOther  | -0.375 (0.296)                                   | -0.371 (0.301)                       | $-0.470^{***}$ (0.144)                            | $-0.455^{***}$ (0.146)                |  |
| age_bin18-24  | -0.095 (0.086)                                   | -0.114 (0.088)                       | 0.062*<br>(0.037)                                 | 0.072*<br>(0.037)                     |  |
| age_bin45-64  | $-0.302^{***}$ (0.087)                           | $-0.294^{***}$ (0.088)               | $-0.826^{***}$ (0.039)                            | $-0.827^{***}$ (0.039)                |  |
| $age\_bin65+$   | $-0.957^{***} \ (0.155)$                         | $-0.994^{***}$ (0.159)               | -0.931***<br>(0.106)                              | $-0.952^{***}$ $(0.107)$              |  |
| time_to_vs.less_than_hourYes                                      | -0.099 (0.061)                                   | -0.086 (0.067)                       | -0.034 (0.026)                                    | -0.028 (0.027)                        |  |
| out_of_Russia_time2 - 5 years                                     | 0.409***<br>(0.091)                              | 0.419***<br>(0.093)                  | 0.454***<br>(0.042)                               | 0.438***<br>(0.042)                   |  |
| $out\_of\_Russia\_timeAfter\ annexation$                          | 0.296***<br>(0.102)                              | 0.299***<br>(0.103)                  | 0.219***<br>(0.045)                               | 0.213***<br>(0.046)                   |  |
| $out\_of\_Russia\_timeAfter\ invasion$                            | 0.766***<br>(0.084)                              | 0.820***<br>(0.090)                  | 0.565***<br>(0.040)                               | 0.539***<br>(0.040)                   |  |
| out_of_Russia_timeTourist (lives in Russia)                       | $0.041 \\ (0.144)$                               | 0.134<br>(0.150)                     | 0.652***<br>(0.087)                               | 0.633***<br>(0.088)                   |  |
| result_trust_binDon't know  | 0.718***<br>(0.127)                              | 0.716***<br>(0.129)                  | 0.387***<br>(0.139)                               | 0.392***<br>(0.141)                   |  |
| result_trust_binNo  | 1.903***<br>(0.094)                              | 1.891***<br>(0.095)                  | -0.806*** (0.105)                                 | $-0.804^{***}$ (0.106)                |  |
| Constant  | 1.267***<br>(0.123)                              | 1.223***<br>(0.198)                  | 1.558***<br>(0.117)                               | 1.401***<br>(0.130)                   |  |
| Observations Log Likelihood Akaike Inf. Crit. Bavesian Inf. Crit. | 42,363<br>-5,864.162<br>11,756.320<br>11,877.480 | $42,363 \\ -5,809.709 \\ 11,769.420$ | 40,946<br>-22,658.160<br>45,344.320<br>45,465.000 | $40,946 \\ -22,553.850 \\ 45,257.690$ |  |

```
"Non-systemic vs systemic opposition",
                             "Davankov vs Spoiled"
                             ),
          tab.height = "\\textheight", tab.width= "\\textwidth")
resizebox.stargazer(m4a.nested, m5a.nested, m4p.nested, m5p.nested,
         title = "Mixed effects models with level 2, comparison I", header = F,
          omit = "as.factor",
          dep.var.labels = c("Declined to answer vs answer",
                             "Declined to answer vs answer",
                             "Putin vs everyone else",
                             "Putin vs everyone else"
                             ),
          tab.height = "\\textheight", tab.width= "\\textwidth")
resizebox.stargazer(m4s.nested, m5s.red, m4d.nested, m5d.nested,
         title = "Mixed effects models with level 2, comparison II", header = F,
         omit = "as.factor",
          dep.var.labels = c("Non-systemic vs systemic opposition",
                             "Non-systemic vs systemic opposition",
                             "Davankov vs Spoiled",
                             "Davankov vs Spoiled"
                            ),
          tab.height = "\\textheight", tab.width = "\\textwidth")
```

Table 13: Mixed effects models with level 2

|   | D 11 1 .                     | Depend                  | D 1 2 :                                 |                           |
|---|------------------------------|-------------------------|---|---------------------------|
|   | Declined to answer vs answer | Putin vs everyone else  | Non-systemic vs systemic opposition (2) | Davankov vs Spoileo       |
| F 1   | (1)<br>0.258***              | (2)<br>0.489***         | (3)                                     | (4)<br>-0.186***          |
| sexFemale                                   | (0.045)                      | (0.073)                 | 0.015<br>(0.059)                        | (0.025)                   |
| exOther                                     | 0.071<br>(0.240)             | 0.176<br>(0.376)        | -0.232 $(0.328)$                        | -0.462***<br>(0.148)      |
| ge_bin18-24                                 | 0.036                        | 0.040                   | -0.117                                  | 0.064*                    |
|   | (0.083)                      | (0.125)                 | (0.088)                                 | (0.038)                   |
| ge_bin45-64                                 | 0.194***<br>(0.060)          | 1.316***<br>(0.089)     | -0.299***<br>(0.090)                    | -0.823***<br>(0.040)      |
| ge_bin65+                                   | 0.175**<br>(0.078)           | 1.491***<br>(0.134)     | -0.930***<br>(0.159)                    | -0.906***<br>(0.108)      |
| ime_to_vs.less_than_hourYes                 | 0.355***                     | 0.054                   | -0.081                                  | -0.041                    |
|   | (0.054)                      | (0.084)                 | (0.065)                                 | (0.027)                   |
| out_of_Russia_time2 - 5 years               | -0.175** (0.076)             | -1.496***<br>(0.111)    | 0.402***<br>(0.093)                     | 0.444***<br>(0.042)       |
| ut_of_Russia_timeAfter annexation           | -0.134*                      | -0.826***               | 0.318***                                | 0.214***                  |
| out of Donois simolafter investiga          | (0.081)<br>-0.351***         | (0.121)<br>-2.329***    | (0.103)<br>0.817***                     | (0.045)<br>0.540***       |
| out_of_Russia_timeAfter invasion            | (0.071)                      | (0.103)                 | (0.090)                                 | (0.040)                   |
| out_of_Russia_timeTourist (lives in Russia) | -0.018 (0.099)               | -1.014***<br>(0.148)    | 0.148<br>(0.153)                        | 0.647***<br>(0.090)       |
| esult_trust_binDon't know                   | 0.551***                     | -3.956***               | 0.700***                                | 0.331**                   |
|   | (0.084)                      | (0.111)                 | (0.133)                                 | (0.146)                   |
| esult_trust_binNo                           | -1.355*** $(0.062)$          | -7.238***<br>(0.103)    | 1.910***<br>(0.098)                     | $-0.839^{***}$ $(0.111)$  |
| rthodox_share                               | -0.472 $(0.468)$             | 1.888***<br>(0.412)     | $-0.360^{**}$ $(0.142)$                 | 0.071<br>(0.163)          |
| dem_polyarchy_2022                          | 0.328                        | -0.959                  | 0.532**                                 | -0.561**                  |
| dem_polyarcny_2022                          | (0.668)                      | -0.959<br>(0.674)       | (0.250)                                 | (0.233)                   |
| $\log(\mathrm{mad\_gdppc\_2018})$           | -0.280 (0.174)               | $-0.336^*$ $(0.176)$    | 0.036<br>(0.088)                        | 0.037 $(0.072)$           |
| bbl_type1                                   | -0.412 $(0.471)$             | -0.683 $(0.454)$        |   | 0.084<br>(0.162)          |
| bl_type2                                    | -0.900*                      | -0.705                  |   | 0.160                     |
|   | (0.507)                      | (0.485)                 |   | (0.171)                   |
| bl_type3                                    | -0.653 (0.463)               | -0.592 $(0.427)$        |   | 0.014<br>(0.162)          |
| bl_type4                                    | -0.826 $(0.814)$             | 0.149<br>(0.739)        |   | -0.132 $(0.278)$          |
| export_share                                | -0.174***                    | -0.061                  | 0.030                                   | 0.018                     |
| 4.1.  | (0.062)                      | (0.058)                 | (0.024)                                 | (0.016)                   |
| mport_share                                 | 0.217***<br>(0.063)          | 0.123**<br>(0.056)      | -0.020 (0.020)                          | -0.018 (0.018)            |
| riendly_statusUnfriendly                    | 0.622<br>(0.819)             | 0.103<br>(0.794)        |   | 0.149<br>(0.284)          |
| riendly_statusFriendly                      | 0.430                        | -0.279                  |   | 0.264                     |
| nelp  | (0.480)<br>-1.003**          | (0.466)<br>-0.599       | -0.124                                  | (0.183)<br>-0.255         |
| - 1   | (0.476)                      | (0.532)                 | (0.194)                                 | (0.196)                   |
| nilitary_dummy                              | 0.085<br>(0.728)             | $-1.367^{**}$ $(0.678)$ | 0.224<br>(0.195)                        | 0.254 $(0.264)$           |
| og(dist)                                    | $-0.386^{**}$ $(0.151)$      | 0.212<br>(0.144)        | -0.150***<br>(0.057)                    | 0.074<br>(0.050)          |
| Constant                                    | 3.842*                       | 5.416***                | (0.057)                                 | 0.050)                    |
|   | (1.965)                      | (2.091)                 | (1.051)                                 | (0.907)                   |
| Observations<br>Log Likelihood              | 48,964                       | 46,494                  | 37,827<br>5 242 410                     | 36,523<br>-20,537.730     |
| Akaike Inf. Crit.                           | -8,472.302<br>17,000.600     | -3,178.423 $6,412.846$  | -5,342.410<br>10,728.820                | -20,537.730<br>41,131.460 |
| Bayesian Inf. Crit.                         | 17,246.970                   | 6,657.764               | 10,916.720                              | 41,369.610                |

\*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

Table 14: Mixed effects models with level 2, comparison I

|   | Declined to answer vs answer Declined to answer vs answer Declined to answer vs and v |                          |                          |                          |  |
|---|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--|
|   |  |                          |                          |                          |  |
|   | (1)  | (2)                      | (3)                      | (4)                      |  |
| sexFemale                                   | 0.275***<br>(0.044)  | 0.258***<br>(0.045)      | 0.482***<br>(0.071)      | 0.489***<br>(0.073)      |  |
| sexOther                                    | 0.064  | 0.071                    | 0.171                    | 0.176                    |  |
|   | (0.237)  | (0.240)                  | (0.368)                  | (0.376)                  |  |
| age_bin18-24                                | -0.003 $(0.081)$   | 0.036<br>(0.083)         | 0.026<br>(0.124)         | 0.040 $(0.125)$          |  |
| age_bin45-64                                | 0.180***   | 0.194***                 | 1.322***                 | 1.316***                 |  |
| li ar                                       | (0.059)<br>0.170**   | (0.060)                  | (0.086)                  | (0.089)                  |  |
| age_bin65+                                  | (0.077)  | 0.175**<br>(0.078)       | 1.507***<br>(0.131)      | 1.491***<br>(0.134)      |  |
| time_to_vs.less_than_hourYes                | 0.376***   | 0.355***                 | 0.094                    | 0.054                    |  |
|   | (0.052)  | (0.054)                  | (0.081)                  | (0.084)                  |  |
| out_of_Russia_time2 - 5 years               | $-0.207^{***}$ $(0.075)$   | -0.175** $(0.076)$       | $-1.480^{***}$ $(0.109)$ | $-1.496^{***}$ $(0.111)$ |  |
| out_of_Russia_timeAfter annexation          | -0.159**   | -0.134*                  | -0.806***                | -0.826***                |  |
|   | (0.080)  | (0.081)                  | (0.120)                  | (0.121)                  |  |
| out_of_Russia_timeAfter invasion            | $-0.359^{***}$<br>(0.069)  | $-0.351^{***}$ $(0.071)$ | $-2.330^{***}$ $(0.101)$ | -2.329*** $(0.103)$      |  |
| out_of_Russia_timeTourist (lives in Russia) | -0.039   | -0.018                   | -0.975***                | -1.014***                |  |
| No. 1 1 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 | (0.096)  | (0.099)                  | (0.143)                  | (0.148)                  |  |
| result_trust_binDon't know                  | 0.499***<br>(0.082)  | 0.551***<br>(0.084)      | -3.960***<br>(0.109)     | $-3.956^{***}$ $(0.111)$ |  |
| result_trust_binNo                          | -1.328***  | -1.355***                | -7.218***                | -7.238***                |  |
|   | (0.060)  | (0.062)                  | (0.101)                  | (0.103)                  |  |
| orthodox_share                              |  | -0.472 $(0.468)$         |                          | 1.888***<br>(0.412)      |  |
| vdem_polyarchy_2022                         |  | 0.328                    |                          | -0.959                   |  |
| ( ) ( ) ( )                                 |  | (0.668)                  |                          | (0.674)                  |  |
| log(mad_gdppc_2018)                         |  | -0.280 $(0.174)$         |                          | $-0.336^{*}$ $(0.176)$   |  |
| obl_type1                                   |  | -0.412                   |                          | -0.683                   |  |
| -l.l2                                       |  | (0.471)                  |                          | (0.454)                  |  |
| bbl_type2                                   |  | -0.900*<br>(0.507)       |                          | -0.705 $(0.485)$         |  |
| obl_type3                                   |  | -0.653                   |                          | -0.592                   |  |
| 11.4.4                                      |  | (0.463)                  |                          | (0.427)                  |  |
| bbl_type4                                   |  | -0.826 $(0.814)$         |                          | 0.149 $(0.739)$          |  |
| export_share                                |  | -0.174***                |                          | -0.061                   |  |
|   |  | (0.062)                  |                          | (0.058)                  |  |
| import_share                                |  | 0.217***<br>(0.063)      |                          | 0.123**<br>(0.056)       |  |
| friendly_statusUnfriendly                   |  | 0.622                    |                          | 0.103                    |  |
| Cincilla de ConTrina II.                    |  | (0.819)                  |                          | (0.794)                  |  |
| friendly_statusFriendly                     |  | 0.430<br>(0.480)         |                          | -0.279 $(0.466)$         |  |
| help  |  | -1.003**<br>(0.476)      |                          | -0.599<br>(0.532)        |  |
| military dummy                              |  |                          |                          | (0.532)<br>-1.367**      |  |
| military_dummy                              |  | 0.085<br>(0.728)         |                          | (0.678)                  |  |
| $\log(\mathrm{dist})$                       |  | -0.386**<br>(0.151)      |                          | 0.212                    |  |
| Ctt   | 9.650***   | (0.151)                  | 1.000***                 | (0.144)                  |  |
| Constant                                    | -2.658*** $(0.123)$  | 3.842*<br>(1.965)        | 1.992***<br>(0.158)      | 5.416***<br>(2.091)      |  |
| Observations                                | 53,824   | 48,964                   | 51,202                   | 46,494                   |  |
| Log Likelihood                              | -9,143.189   | $-8,\!472.302$           | -3,369.086               | -3,178.423               |  |
| Akaike Inf. Crit.                           | 18,314.380   | 17,000.600               | 6,766.172                | 6,412.846                |  |

Note: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

Table 15: Mixed effects models with level 2, comparison  ${\rm II}$ 

|   | Dependent variable:  Non-systemic vs systemic opposition Non-systemic vs systemic |                         |                           |                          |  |
|---|---|-------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|--|
|   | (1)   | (2)                     | (3)                       | (4)                      |  |
| exFemale                                    | 0.022   | 0.015                   | -0.199***                 | -0.186***                |  |
| and the second                              | (0.056)   | (0.059)                 | (0.024)                   | (0.025)                  |  |
| exOther                                     | -0.375  | -0.232                  | $-0.470^{***}$            | -0.462***                |  |
|   | (0.296)   | (0.328)                 | (0.144)                   | (0.148)                  |  |
| ge_bin18-24                                 | -0.095  | -0.117                  | 0.062*                    | 0.064*                   |  |
|   | (0.086)   | (0.088)                 | (0.037)                   | (0.038)                  |  |
| age_bin45-64                                | -0.302***   | -0.299***               | -0.826***                 | -0.823***                |  |
|   | (0.087)   | (0.090)                 | (0.039)                   | (0.040)                  |  |
| ge_bin65+                                   | -0.957***   | -0.930***               | -0.931***                 | -0.906***                |  |
|   | (0.155)   | (0.159)                 | (0.106)                   | (0.108)                  |  |
| ime_to_vs.less_than_hourYes                 | -0.099  | -0.081                  | -0.034                    | -0.041                   |  |
|   | (0.061)   | (0.065)                 | (0.026)                   | (0.027)                  |  |
| out_of_Russia_time2 - 5 years               | 0.409***  | 0.402***                | 0.454***                  | 0.444***                 |  |
|   | (0.091)   | (0.093)                 | (0.042)                   | (0.042)                  |  |
| out_of_Russia_timeAfter annexation          | 0.296***  | 0.318***                | 0.219***                  | 0.214***                 |  |
|   | (0.102)   | (0.103)                 | (0.045)                   | (0.045)                  |  |
| ut_of_Russia_timeAfter invasion             | 0.766***  | 0.817***                | 0.565***                  | 0.540***                 |  |
|   | (0.084)   | (0.090)                 | (0.040)                   | (0.040)                  |  |
| out_of_Russia_timeTourist (lives in Russia) | 0.041   | 0.148                   | 0.652***                  | 0.647***                 |  |
|   | (0.144)   | (0.153)                 | (0.087)                   | (0.090)                  |  |
| esult_trust_binDon't know                   | 0.718***  | 0.700***                | 0.387***                  | 0.331**                  |  |
|   | (0.127)   | (0.133)                 | (0.139)                   | (0.146)                  |  |
| esult_trust_binNo                           | 1.903***  | 1.910***                | -0.806***                 | -0.839***                |  |
|   | (0.094)   | (0.098)                 | (0.105)                   | (0.111)                  |  |
| orthodox_share                              |   | -0.360**                |                           | 0.071                    |  |
|   |   | (0.142)                 |                           | (0.163)                  |  |
| dem_polyarchy_2022                          |   | 0.532**                 |                           | -0.561**                 |  |
|   |   | (0.250)                 |                           | (0.233)                  |  |
| og(mad_gdppc_2018)                          |   | 0.036                   |                           | 0.037                    |  |
| 547   |   | (0.088)                 |                           | (0.072)                  |  |
| bbl_type1                                   |   |                         |                           | 0.084                    |  |
|   |   |                         |                           | (0.162)                  |  |
| bbl_type2                                   |   |                         |                           | 0.160                    |  |
| -5 F  |   |                         |                           | (0.171)                  |  |
| obl_type3                                   |   |                         |                           | 0.014                    |  |
| or_types                                    |   |                         |                           | (0.162)                  |  |
| bbl_type4                                   |   |                         |                           | -0.132                   |  |
| noi_type4                                   |   |                         |                           | (0.278)                  |  |
|   |   | 0.030                   |                           | 0.019                    |  |
| export_share                                |   | (0.024)                 |                           | 0.018<br>(0.016)         |  |
| 4.3   |   | 0.000                   |                           | 0.010                    |  |
| mport_share                                 |   | -0.020<br>(0.020)       |                           | -0.018<br>(0.018)        |  |
|   |   | . ,                     |                           | 0.140                    |  |
| riendly_statusUnfriendly                    |   |                         |                           | 0.149<br>(0.284)         |  |
|   |   |                         |                           |                          |  |
| riendly_statusFriendly                      |   |                         |                           | 0.264<br>(0.183)         |  |
|   |   |                         |                           |                          |  |
| nelp  |   | -0.124 $(0.194)$        |                           | -0.255 $(0.196)$         |  |
|   |   |                         |                           |                          |  |
| nilitary_dummy                              |   | 0.224<br>(0.195)        |                           | 0.254<br>(0.264)         |  |
|   |   |                         |                           | (0.204)                  |  |
| og(dist)                                    |   | -0.150***               |                           | 0.074                    |  |
|   |   | (0.057)                 |                           | (0.050)                  |  |
| Constant                                    | 1.267***  | 1.739*                  | 1.558***                  | 0.991                    |  |
|   | (0.123)   | (1.051)                 | (0.117)                   | (0.907)                  |  |
| Observations                                | 42,363  | 37,827                  | 40,946                    | 36,523                   |  |
| og Likelihood<br>Akaike Inf. Crit.          | -5,864.162 $11,756.320$   | -5,342.410 $10,728.820$ | -22,658.160<br>45,344.320 | -20,537.730 $41,131.460$ |  |
|   |   |                         |                           |                          |  |

Note: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01