



# BELIEVING FACTS IN THE FOG OF WAR

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**Believing Facts in the Fog of War: Identity, Media, and Hot Cognition in Ukraine's 2014 Odesa Tragedy**

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**BELIEVING FACTS IN THE FOG OF WAR**  
**Identity, Media, and Hot Cognition in Ukraine’s 2014 Odesa Tragedy**

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**Abstract:** How do people form beliefs about the factual content of major events when established geopolitical orders are violently challenged? Here we address the tragic events of May 2, 2014, in Odesa, Ukraine. There, Euromaidan protest movement supporters and opponents clashed following Russia’s annexation of Crimea and the onset of the Donbas conflict, culminating in the worst civilian death toll the city had seen since World War II. Shortly after, we surveyed Ukraine’s population about who they thought had actually perpetrated the killings and relate people’s answers to alternative narratives (frames) that an original content analysis finds were available to Ukrainian citizens through different media. We find evidence, consistent with theories of hot cognition and motivated reasoning, that the Odesa violence triggered emotional responses linked to ethnic, regional, and partisan identity, which then activated attitudes associated with these identities that, in turn, led people to adopt very different (sometimes highly improbable) beliefs about who carried out the killings. Ethnic identity in particular is found to have strongly moderated the effects of television, with Ukrainian television greatly influencing Ukrainians but backfiring among Russians, and Russian television mainly impacting non-Ukrainians. Education and local information are found to reduce susceptibility to televised factual narratives.

**Keywords:** political violence, ethnicity, media, belief formation, Ukraine

How do people form beliefs about the factual content of major events when established geopolitical orders are violently challenged? The answer has major theoretical and practical implications because such beliefs can (1) alter levels of support for different sides in the conflict,



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3 potentially shaping its outcome, and (2) impact the degree to which elements within each side are  
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5 able to commit atrocities without sanction from within their own communities.<sup>1</sup> In this paper, we  
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7 use original survey evidence to study the case of the tragic events of May 2, 2014, in Odesa, a  
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9 clash culminating in 48 dead between people we will call “pro-Maidaners” (demonstrators and  
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11 their supporters pursuing what they understood to be the agenda of the 2013-14 “Euromaidan”  
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13 protest movement, also referred to as “pro-unity” forces) and “anti-Maidaners” (demonstrators  
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15 and their supporters opposing this agenda, also referred to as “pro-federalization” forces).  
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17 According to official statistics, 42 perished by fire in the city’s Trade Union Building at  
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19 Kulykove Pole and 6 lost their lives in earlier clashes in the city center, with 208 being  
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21 wounded.<sup>2</sup> This represents not only the worst civilian death toll the city has seen since World  
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23 War II, but one of three major “shock events” (along with the sniper attacks of February 20,  
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25 2014, and the downing of Malaysian Airlines flight 17 on July 17, 2014) that quickly came to  
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27 punctuate the narratives of both sides regarding Ukraine’s Euromaidan protests and the emerging  
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29 conflict in Ukraine’s eastern Donbas region.<sup>3</sup>  
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35 Despite the event’s importance, the Odesa tragedy has generally not yet been treated in  
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37 depth in the scholarly literature<sup>4</sup> and, crucially for our purposes, it poses an important puzzle.  
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39 Three aspects of this event are largely undisputed in Ukraine. First, the deaths occurred during  
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41 violent clashes between pro- and anti-Euromaidan protesters. Second, of the 48 fatalities, almost  
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43 all (46) were anti-Euromaidan protesters and their supporters, of which 42 were among the Trade  
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45 Union building dead and 4 died from gunshot wounds sustained during clashes downtown earlier  
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47 in the day.<sup>5</sup> Third, these were in fact killings, the intentional taking of lives: Survey research that  
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49 we will discuss extensively below finds that only 1 percent of the population in the immediate  
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51 aftermath of the tragedy considered these deaths to be accidental. Given this general agreement  
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that the dead anti-Maidaners were intentionally killed during clashes with pro-Maidaners, one might expect ordinary citizens to have accepted as fact that the anti-Maidaners had been killed by pro-Maidaners, with disagreements centering mainly around attitudes to the event, including whether such violence was justifiable under the circumstances. This expectation turns out to be incorrect. Instead, we find that a clear majority of Ukrainian citizens believed that the killings of anti-Maidan activists had been committed by anti-Maidaners *themselves*. We thus formulate our study's central puzzle as follows: What caused ordinary Ukrainian citizens to diverge not only in their attitudes to the Odesa tragedy, which is less puzzling, but about their beliefs regarding the facts themselves as to who committed the killings?

While there is a robust theoretical literature explaining why people adopt different political attitudes of all kinds, far fewer studies have systematically addressed why people come to adopt different versions of the actual facts toward which attitudes form, especially facts involved in the occurrence of political violence. By standard definitions, a *fact* refers to a specific piece of information that is true.<sup>6</sup> Thus for our purposes in analyzing a conflict setting, terms like "belief regarding the facts" refer to acceptance that a given set of specific events actually occurred in the course of a conflict. Beliefs about facts are distinct from attitudes, preferences, opinions, or values, all of which reflect people's evaluations or normative interpretations of what they regard to be factual material.<sup>7</sup> Our focus is thus not on whether people believed the Odesa killings were somehow justified or morally forgivable under the circumstances, or even about who was to "blame," which also implies a normative evaluation of what occurred and can involve judgments of indirect as well as direct causation.<sup>8</sup> Instead, we investigate why people in Ukraine developed different beliefs about the facts of who actually



perpetrated the killings, regardless of whether the killers were regarded as somehow justified or blameworthy.

Our approach builds upon existing theory in two ways. Initially, it considers whether theories developed to explain attitudes can be extrapolated also to explain differing beliefs about facts involved in political violence. Secondly, it takes those theories that have been developed to explain differing beliefs about facts, most of which address “settled times” in longstanding democracies or are conducted in laboratory settings, and explores the extent to which they help us understand patterns in an actual conflict setting like that in Ukraine in 2014. These theories are evaluated using original survey research conducted in Ukraine almost immediately after the Odesa tragedy and relating these data to a careful analysis of two dominant narratives that appeared in media widely available in Ukraine at that time.

Most broadly, we find not only that humans regularly fail to be impartial in evaluating events in a conflict setting where the stakes in accuracy would seem to be high, but that what they regard as the basic facts themselves also varies systematically with identifiable predispositions. Perhaps reflecting the heightened role of affect in conflict, we find the most support for theories of hot cognition and motivated reasoning: The Odesa violence appears to have triggered emotional responses linked to ethnic, regional, and partisan identity, which then drove responses to media coverage and activated attitudes associated with these identities, all of which in turn powerfully shaped people’s conclusions about the facts of what happened. One implication is that media’s role is far from straightforward. Ukrainian television had the effect of leading self-identified Ukrainians to believe its version of the facts but also backfired among self-identified Russians viewers, making them less likely to adopt this same narrative. And Russian media were effective in casting doubt on the Ukrainian television line, but only among



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3 non-Ukrainians and not in getting them actually to adopt Russia’s own version of the facts.  
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5 Education and access to local information are found to be the most potent forms of “inoculation”  
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7 against a dominant narrative, but only weakly so. All this sheds light on why reconciliation  
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9 during conflict generally as well as in Ukraine specifically has proven to be very difficult.  
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15 **Explaining Beliefs Regarding the Facts of War**  
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17         At least since Plato’s *Republic*, thinkers have agonized over diverging beliefs about what  
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19 is factual.<sup>9</sup> Carl von Clausewitz recognized it might be particularly difficult to discern basic facts  
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21 in wartime, comparing this uncertainty with a “fog” that “gives to things exaggerated dimensions  
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23 and an unnatural appearance.”<sup>10</sup> While we now know a great deal about the nature of this fog and  
24  
25 its consequences, we still have much to learn about why different people might discern different  
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27 things within it as we describe having happened in Odesa. A large and interdisciplinary body of  
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29 documents explains the production of alternative conflict narratives that can involve differing  
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31 portrayals of the facts involved, but these tend not to engage in a systematic analysis of what  
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33 types of people tend to form or adopt different beliefs about these facts. In addition, their units of  
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35 analysis are usually the narratives themselves or their elite spinners rather than the “ordinary”  
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37 individuals who may or may not buy into them.<sup>11</sup>  
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42         Other studies do take the individual as the unit of analysis and thus offer some purchase  
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44 on our empirical puzzle, employing survey methodology and experimental techniques to explore  
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46 attitude formation in the presence of alternative narratives (often called “frames” in this  
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48 literature). Their focus, though, tends to be mostly about attitudes (preferences, opinions, values),  
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50 leaving application to beliefs regarding facts untested.<sup>12</sup> Research that does systematically  
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52 address individual-level variation in beliefs regarding facts appears primarily in efforts to  
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3 understand why people believe rumors, conspiracy theories, or other forms of misinformation  
4 and to explore what might induce people to reject them.<sup>13</sup> And most focuses on “peacetime”  
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6 questions like why people believe false information presented in an election campaign or policy  
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8 debate in the United States.<sup>14</sup> While these peacetime findings can supply some plausible  
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10 solutions to our central puzzle, their portability to violent settings largely remains to be tested.  
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15 This peacetime research has generally centered around two broad bodies of theory that  
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17 share a common point of departure. What they share is a general agreement that people are far  
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19 from the rational information processors that they themselves--and many social science theories--  
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21 -tend to assume they are.<sup>15</sup> More specifically, they concur that people tend not to harbor coherent  
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23 belief systems but instead a conglomeration of thoughts (“considerations”) that are usually not  
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25 entirely consistent with one another.<sup>16</sup> The particular attitudes that people happen to formulate at  
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27 any given moment, as when responding to an interviewer or deciding how to vote, will thus be  
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29 highly subject to the particular considerations they happen to have in mind (that are cognitively  
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31 “available”) at that time.<sup>17</sup> Where the two schools diverge is in whether they emphasize  
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33 influences on availability that are primarily internal (emerging primarily from the person’s own  
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35 cognitive drives) or external (resulting mainly from influences in the environment). That is,  
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37 theories of external influences tend to portray individuals as highly responsive to cues available  
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39 in a given situation itself, such as media accounts or elite efforts to “frame” situations in different  
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41 ways, with these cues effectively “priming” individuals to have certain considerations (and not  
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43 others) foremost in mind when formulating an attitude or belief.<sup>18</sup> Theories of internal influence,  
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45 on the other hand, concentrate on impulses people themselves bring to a situation--such as  
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47 emotional drives or self-interest linked to social identities--that predispose them to form beliefs  
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49 in particular ways or make them more receptive to some situational cues than others.<sup>19</sup>  
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Our study develops two sets of hypotheses that emerge from these two schools, one set (which we together describe as H1) coming from external influence theory and the other set (H2) from internal influence theory. Turning first to external influence theory, perhaps the staple finding supporting it is that repeated exposure to a particular narrative (frame) will make it more familiar and hence influential in belief formation.<sup>20</sup> This is because repetition enhances the availability of the considerations involved and hence the probability that the individual will base conclusions on these considerations.<sup>21</sup> A counterintuitive implication is that even the act of debunking false information can *increase* the propensity to believe it simply because the debunking keeps the idea available in memory.<sup>22</sup> Media are particularly powerful shapers of availability through frame repetition, with regular viewership priming individuals to have certain considerations in mind when forming beliefs about important issues.<sup>23</sup> Hence:

*H1a. More frequent consumption of media that consistently convey a particular version of the facts will correlate with a tendency to believe these are the facts.*

Other external stimuli are found to limit the power of a dominant narrative to shape attitude formation, however, the most important being simple access to contradictory accounts or information.<sup>24</sup> When people face a single narrative about the facts, meaning that only one narrative is strongly available in the environment, the addition of even a single dissenting voice can significantly weaken the ability of the most prevalent narrative to influence belief formation—at least, among certain kinds of people.<sup>25</sup> Relatedly, direct access to credible alternative sources of information about an event, including the kind of first-hand information that people living in close physical proximity to the event might have, has been reported to make people more resistant to a prevalent view, even when this prevalent view dominates the media they consume.<sup>26</sup> This leads us to anticipate:



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3 *H1b. People who consume media or other sources of information not associated with the*  
4 *most media-prevalent narrative, or who avoid media conveying the dominant narrative*  
5 *altogether, will be less likely to adopt the version of the facts conveyed in a dominant*  
6 *narrative.*  
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12 Similarly, since geographic place is widely found to reflect complex local clusters of experiences  
13 and shared understandings, and scholarship on Ukraine specifically has repeatedly highlighted  
14 the role of regional division, we would expect these aspects of the environment to shape which  
15 considerations are most available for individuals when forming beliefs.<sup>27</sup> We thus expect:  
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21 *H1c. Patterns of belief formation will be spatially patterned, with regions having related*  
22 *experiences being most likely to interpret the new event in line with interpretations of*  
23 *their own experiences.*  
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28 Turning to internal influence theories (H2), we concentrate here on research into  
29 *motivated reasoning*, which occurs when a (usually) subconscious, uncontrolled motivation of  
30 some kind drives certain considerations to become cognitively available during attitude  
31 formation.<sup>28</sup> By these lights, people are held not to be neutrally responding to external frames or  
32 environmentally available stimuli when formulating beliefs, but instead bring certain cognitive  
33 drives to the situation that lead them to be selective among or even outright reject what they find  
34 in the situation itself. One such motivation has been found to be a drive for cognitive consistency  
35 that can be highly impervious to the appearance of new facts.<sup>29</sup> To the extent such a drive is  
36 important, we would anticipate:  
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49 *H2a. People will tend to adopt beliefs about the factual nature of a new event that are*  
50 *consistent with (that justify rather than challenge) older relevant beliefs.*  
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Other research, however, has found that the most powerful belief-influencing motives involve affect, supporting theories of “hot cognition.”<sup>30</sup> Studies have thus found that people spontaneously and unconsciously experience feelings within the first milliseconds of becoming aware of an event, with these feelings then activating cognitive pathways of considerations to produce an initial opinion that is highly resistant to change--all before conscious processing ever has a chance to kick in.<sup>31</sup> Since social group identities tend to be deeply associated with senses of linked fate and hence powerful feelings when events impacting group life chances occur,<sup>32</sup> we would expect (and research finds) connections linked to identity to be important pathways through which hot cognition occurs. Even more specifically, we would expect this affective cognitive process to predispose people toward beliefs that somehow favor their own social groups.<sup>33</sup> Here we focus on two identity categories that longstanding research has determined to be major influences on attitudes and beliefs: ethnicity<sup>34</sup> and partisanship.<sup>35</sup> This yields:

*H2b. People will tend to express beliefs about the factual nature of a new event that put their own ethnic categories in a more positive light.*

*H2c. People with strong political party identification are more likely than are others to adopt a belief that is advanced by leaders of their party.*

While these hypotheses and the theories they reflect are not mutually exclusive, it remains an open research question exactly when and where internal or external influences can be expected to dominate cognition.<sup>36</sup> Violent settings are a case in point because the roles of emotion and uncertainty are expected to be greater than in the kinds of peacetime contexts that gave rise to these theories.<sup>37</sup> On one hand, some research indicates that higher levels of anxiety (likely to be found in conflict situations<sup>38</sup>) tend to motivate people to prioritize accuracy and seek out new information, which can lead them to rely less on their prior views and heuristics while



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3 becoming more susceptible to cues available in the environment (for example, media  
4 coverage).<sup>39</sup> This would lead us to expect stronger findings for H1 than for H2 in a setting like  
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6 Ukraine in May 2014. On the other hand, different studies find that high accuracy motivation can  
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8 lead people to conduct deeper memory searches that wind up mainly accessing and thus  
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10 heightening the impact of prior (internal) attitudes on current attitudes.<sup>40</sup> Moreover, since  
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12 violence can trigger a wide range of strong feelings, not just anxiety, one might expect internal  
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14 cognitive processes driven by affect to dominate immediate environmental factors in belief  
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16 formation.<sup>41</sup> Violent upheaval can also be expected to raise the levels of complexity and  
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18 uncertainty, which research has linked to a greater role for internal influences like cognitive  
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20 heuristics.<sup>42</sup> These considerations would thus lead us to expect to find stronger support for H2 in  
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22 the immediate aftermath of the Odesa tragedy and the developing conflict. Our study now turns  
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24 to a discussion of the May 2, 2014, Odesa tragedy as a useful case for testing these hypotheses in  
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26 a setting of political violence.  
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### 35 **The Odesa Tragedy: Competing Narratives in Media Available in Ukraine**

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37 To understand who came to form different beliefs about the facts in our case at hand, it is  
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39 important to establish what we can about the May 2 events even though we do not attempt to  
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41 establish “the truth.” Three and a half years after the tragedy, the official investigation remains  
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43 incomplete and many questions remain unanswered. The investigation itself has been criticized  
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45 by the Council of Europe for falling short of European standards and the requirements of the  
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47 European Human Rights Convention.<sup>43</sup> Other rights groups, such as the Office of the UN High  
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49 Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) and the Kharkiv Human Rights Protection Group  
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51 (KHPPG), have also criticized the failings of the official investigation (which led to a case against  
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Ukraine filed in the European Court of Human Rights),<sup>44</sup> arbitrariness of the courts dealing with the May 2 cases, and delays in judicial proceedings.<sup>45</sup> The sensational acquittal on September 18, 2017, by a court in the Odesa region of 20 anti-Maidan defendants charged with involvement in riots on May 2, 2014, is unlikely to put the case to rest, given the presiding judge's conclusion that the prosecution's case was so poor that it didn't even try to prove guilt and the Prosecutor General's promise to appeal the acquittal.<sup>46</sup>

Despite the failures of the official investigations, non-partisan civic groups and international agencies have conducted extensive investigative work and have issued reports that document key facts about the tragedy. The International Advisory Panel (IAP) of the Council of Europe--set up to review the investigations into the violent incidents that took place in Ukraine from November 30, 2013, onwards, including the events in Odesa--issued its report on the key facts of the May 2, 2014, tragedy and presented the results of its official investigation.<sup>47</sup> Other useful sources include the reports of the "May 2 Group," a group of ten Odesa activists representing a range of political views who have been carrying out their own inquiry in parallel with the official investigation. The May 2 Group published a detailed chronology of the May 2 events, as well as an expert examination of the fire in the Trade Union Building, on its website.<sup>48</sup> This is in addition to early and as-yet unpublished scholarly treatments of the topic and related events.<sup>49</sup> Based on the evidence available to date, the background to what transpired on May 2 can be summarized as follows.

*Background to the Events of May 2*

The fire and resulting deaths in the Trade Union building followed an afternoon of clashes in downtown Odesa between pro-Ukrainian and pro-Russian activists. The two camps –



often referred to as “Euromaidan” (or simply “Maidan,” meaning public square) and “Anti-Maidan” – had been publicly active in Odesa since shortly after the Euromaidan protests began in late 2013. The Anti-Maidan was physically concentrated around a tent encampment set up on Kulykove Pole, a large public square in front of the Trade Union building. Euromaidan activists did not have a permanent camp but routinely gathered along Prymorsky Boulevard, near a monument to Duke de Richelieu.<sup>50</sup> The two groups had tense relations and their activists had clashed before, though only on a small scale and without fatalities. This being said, it is possible to trace a history of coordination and non-hostile interaction between the two camps, leading some observers to find it credible that the May 2 violence was instigated not by Odesans themselves but by outsiders.<sup>51</sup>

According to the May 2 Group investigation, representatives of local authorities covertly developed a plan together with the leaders of the two conflicting forces to end the standoff. The idea was that after a scheduled pro-Ukrainian unity march that included local Euromaidan activists as well as soccer fans sometimes known as “ultras,” the ultras of the eastern cities of Odesa and Kharkiv (whose teams were slated to play a match in the city on the evening of May 2) would demolish the Kulykove Pole tents. It was believed by local actors that the liquidation of the Anti-Maidan tent city at the hands of soccer ultras was in the interests of all sides - including the Anti-Maidan activists themselves, as the maintenance of their tent city had become too expensive and difficult to maintain. The Anti-Maidan forces would thus avoid the embarrassment of having to shut it down themselves and instead be able later to claim that they were victimized.<sup>52</sup> The alleged plan was foiled when the tent-camp leadership split, with one group issuing an appeal to Anti-Maidan activists to gather in downtown Odesa to prevent a march of “fascists.”<sup>53</sup> Violent clashes between Pro-Maidan and Anti-Maidan activists in



downtown Odesa resulted in the first six deaths, all by firearm. With the first two being Pro-Maidan activists, the other four came from the Anti-Maidan camp.<sup>54</sup>

Pro-Maidan activists then marched to Kulykove Pole, where some Anti-Maidan activists – up to 400 people, not all party to the protests - barricaded themselves inside the Trade Union building. Numerous videos show the two sides exchanging gunfire and hurling Molotov cocktails at each other, with Pro-Maidan protesters being filmed burning the Anti-Maidan tents.

According to subsequent investigations, the deadly fire inside the Trade Union building started in five separate places, with the main source being a barricade blocking the entrance to the building. And while the official government investigation found that fires had started from inside the building in four of these locations, this is disputed by a May 2 Group expert, who finds that these four fires were secondary and occurred as a result of the fire spreading from lower floors.<sup>55</sup> Investigations concur that the barricade at the entrance caught fire when Pro-Maidan forces threw Molotov cocktails and other objects like a burning tire at it. Anti-Maidan activists defending the entrance threw Molotov cocktails in return. Flames quickly engulfed the barricade, which was made out of wooden objects connected to a trail of combustible liquids brought into the building by its defenders. A May 2 Group activist (an expert in biochemistry) explained in a report that given the available evidence, it is not possible to make a definitive determination as to which of these specific simultaneous activities and conditions (e.g., Molotov cocktails being thrown both ways, the spillage of combustible liquids, the explosion of these liquids thereafter) was the main cause of the front entrance fire. The only thing certain is that the fire started “as a result of throwing or preparing combustible mixtures inside the building or in its immediate proximity.”<sup>56</sup> The front barricade blaze subsequently spread into the lobby and up the central staircase, with temperatures rising sharply and rapidly due to a chimney effect, causing



42 people inside to lose their lives from burns, carbon monoxide poisoning, and jumping out of the burning building.

Investigations by independent groups such as the May 2 group and the International Advisory Panel of the Council of Europe have also linked the high number of fire deaths to a fatal delay in the emergency services' response. The first fire crews took up to 40 minutes to arrive at the scene even though the closest fire station was less than a five minute drive away, with specific officials directly responsible for fire engines not being ordered immediately into action.<sup>57</sup> Five emergency services officials were charged with criminal negligence in the fire's aftermath.<sup>58</sup> Two of them, including Volodymyr Bodelan, then the head of the Odesa region emergency services (who ordered a delay in dispatching the fire engines), have gone into hiding-with allegations made that Bodelan had assistance in escaping justice.<sup>59</sup>

From the very day of the tragedy, dramatically different narratives accounting for the May 2 events emerged in Ukrainian and Russian media that continued to be prominent throughout the period of our study. The difference was particularly stark in television coverage, where two almost diametrically opposed versions of the facts emerged. On social media, in particular on Facebook (headquartered in the United States), more nuanced narratives developed as users of opposing persuasions challenged each other's accounts in public posts. Because television has far greater reach than any other form of media in Ukraine, we focus our study on the main televised framings of events, though we do later explore whether alternative sources of information tended to weaken Ukrainians' adherence to key elements of the televised narratives. The accounts below are based on an original analysis of a randomly selected sample of reports from the most-watched Ukrainian (1+1, Inter, Ukraiina, Channel 5, ICTV, and First National)



and Russian television channels (First Channel/ORT, NTV, Russia 1) during May 2014 by one of the authors.

*Ukrainian Television and Its Version of the “Anti-Maidaners Did It (AMDI)” Narrative*

Taken together, Ukrainian television channels reach a far greater audience than any other medium in the country. According to our survey (described below), this amounts to some 92 percent of the population. Channels have different ownership, and their owners are sometimes political opponents. A summary of the ownership patterns of the main outlets viewable in Ukraine during May 2014 can be found in an online appendix (Table A1) along with survey findings as to the share of the population that had watched news on each channel at least once in the week preceding the survey, also in May 2014. Yet, despite this diversity of ownership, with the exception of some minor nuances in coverage, there was not much diversity in the narratives of the May 2 events advanced by different Ukrainian television channels, so we treat what they conveyed as a single general frame.

The dominant narrative in the coverage of the Odesa events by Ukrainian television can be summarized as follows. On May 2, Odesa witnessed a Russia-orchestrated provocation that was meant to be the first step in a large-scale “Russian spring” destabilization of southeastern Ukrainian regions. The pattern closely resembled what had recently happened in Donetsk, where violent attacks on Pro-Maidan marches by Anti-Maidan radicals were followed by takeovers of government buildings and the proclamation of “people’s republics” that Russia then propped up militarily. Local Anti-Maidan activists and paramilitary groups from the breakaway Transnistria region of Moldova carried out the attack on the Pro-Maidan march that started the chain of



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3 violence on May 2, coordinated by subversive groups from Russia and financed by former  
4 officials of Yanukovych's government.<sup>60</sup>  
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8 Ukrainian television portrayed Odesa's police as having either failed to prevent the  
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10 clashes or colluded with Anti-Maidan activists, again drawing parallels with Donetsk, where  
11  
12 earlier that same week police had stood by while Pro-Maidan activists were violently assaulted.<sup>61</sup>  
13  
14 Widely aired video footage supported these claims in Odesa, showing Anti-Maidan activists  
15  
16 shooting at Pro-Maidan demonstrators from behind police lines and police and Anti-Maidan  
17  
18 attackers sporting the same red arm bands. The May 2 Group investigation later clarified that the  
19  
20 police "arm bands" were in fact red tape commandeered from Pro-Russian activists so as to  
21  
22 attach protective gear to their clothing.<sup>62</sup>  
23  
24  
25

26  
27 Regarding the Trade Union building fire, this narrative emphasized that Pro-Maidaners  
28  
29 did not necessarily cause it. Instead, television showed video of Anti-Maidan activists inside the  
30  
31 building hurling Molotov cocktails from the roof and windows at the Pro-Maidan crowd outside,  
32  
33 indicating that Anti-Maidaners could have caused the fire themselves. Ukrainian television also  
34  
35 showed Pro-Maidan activists trying to save their opponents from the burning building once the  
36  
37 fire started, and focused neither on shooters from the Pro-Maidan side nor on instances of Pro-  
38  
39 Maidaners attacking Anti-Maidaners who tried to escape the burning building.  
40  
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#### 44 45 *Russian Television and Its Version of the "Pro-Maidaners Did It (PMDI)" Narrative*

46

47  
48 The primary narrative emerging on television that challenged the AMDI narrative  
49  
50 dominating Ukrainian television appeared on Russia's three main, state-controlled television  
51  
52 channels. A significant share of Ukrainian citizens could still access these outlets one way or  
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other throughout May 2014 even though the government had initiated efforts to block their broadcast in Ukraine back in March; the full ban came into effect only later in the year.<sup>63</sup>

The Russian channels characterized the Odesa events as “the 21<sup>st</sup> century’s Khatyn,” drawing parallels with the infamous episode in which Nazis trapped civilians in a building and burned them to death in the Belarusian village of Khatyn during World War II.<sup>64</sup> According to this version of the facts, it was Ukrainian radical nationalists who had done the killing, having been brought in from outside the city by Right Sector activists from Kyiv and soccer ultras from Kharkiv. Post-Euromaidan Ukrainian law enforcement agencies (the SBU and Ministry of Interior) were guiding events. Accordingly, it was reported that in mid-April, after the start of the armed conflict in Donetsk and Luhansk regions, Euromaidan activists had started blocking roads leading to Odesa and Andriy Parubiy (head of the National Defense and Security Council and former head of the Euromaidan self-defense units) had visited Odesa shortly before the tragedy. Moreover, the events in Odesa coincided with the start of Ukrainian government military action against pro-Russian forces in the Donetsk region (in Sloviansk and Kramatorsk). Overall, Russian television painted a picture of an aggressive post-Maidan Kyiv “junta” trying violently to put down “supporters of federalism” and Russian-speakers more generally.

Russian television also highlighted the inaction and possible collusion of the police with the perpetrators of violence, but characterized the activists with red armbands attacking Pro-Maidan march participants from behind police lines as Pro-Maidan agents-provocateurs, not Anti-Maidan activists. Accordingly, the red “armbands” worn by police were interpreted as evidence that Ukrainian law enforcement had colluded with Ukrainian nationalists to stage a provocation. The provocation would then provide an excuse for Pro-Maidan forces to attack the Anti-Maidaners in the Trade Union building.<sup>65</sup> The Russian coverage neglected instances of Pro-



1  
2  
3 Maidan activists aiding those trapped in the burning building to escape and instead emphasized  
4  
5 Pro-Maidaners attacking those who tried to escape the inferno and preventing fire crews from  
6  
7 reaching the burning building. Overall, the narrative was clear that Pro-Maidan activists intent on  
8  
9 murdering their completely unarmed opponents had set the deadly fire on purpose.  
10  
11

12 Various conspiratorial and semi-conspiratorial accounts also found their way into Russian  
13  
14 news coverage. These ranged from claims that there were many more victims and that the  
15  
16 Ukrainian authorities had covered up the real numbers to allegations that Pro-Maidaners had  
17  
18 used an unknown poisonous gas against the Anti-Maidan activists inside the building. One  
19  
20 version even attempted a link to the United States, noting that the new head of the Odesa  
21  
22 regional police appointed days after the May 2 tragedy, Ivan Katerynychuk, had studied in the FBI  
23  
24 European Academy in Budapest in the 1990s.<sup>66</sup>  
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### 31 **Method: UCEPS Data and the Odesa Events**

32  
33 Given the “factual” context as best it can be reconstructed at this point and these two  
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35 dominant competing frames, how did adult residents of Ukraine form their beliefs about exactly  
36  
37 what happened within the first few weeks after it happened? We exploit the first wave of the  
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39 Ukrainian Crisis Elections Panel Survey (UCEPS), original data commissioned by two of the  
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41 authors and carried out by the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology (KIIS). A stratified  
42  
43 multistage area probability technique produced (with a respectable overall response rate of 51  
44  
45 percent) a sample of 2,015 respondents designed to be representative of the whole of Ukraine  
46  
47 minus Crimea. The survey thus included full subsamples in Donetsk and Luhansk, though we  
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49 had to replace certain sampling points with methodologically equivalent ones (including 75  
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51 respondents) to avoid violent areas. When percentages of the population with one or other  
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disposition are given in this paper, they are calculated with a KIIS-computed weight designed to bring the sample into line with official population statistics from 2013 on sex, age, and region. Interviews began May 16, 2014, just two weeks after the Odesa events, and ended May 24, 2014, on the eve of Ukraine's post-revolution presidential election. While ideally we would have measures of people's political attitudes that were collected prior to the Odesa events, we are aware of no panel survey that includes the necessary questions while also spanning and asking about the Odesa tragedy. Our survey thus provides an unusually good opportunity to study people's beliefs regarding the facts of a new event while memories were still likely to be fresh but also after people had experienced at least two weeks of exposure to the different narratives discussed above.

Our survey included one question specifically devoted to the Odesa events. This item was designed to be as specific as possible about the facts of the case and thus did not ask generally about who was to "blame" for the tragedy, a formulation that could have led people to finger those they held responsible for unleashing the larger crisis facing Ukraine that made the Odesa tragedy possible, which is not precisely what interests us in this study. Instead, the questionnaire asked people who they thought *actually committed* the majority of the killings that took place:

*A lot has been said and written about the fact that dozens of people were killed in clashes in the city of Odesa in early May. If you have heard about these events, please tell me, in your opinion, who most likely committed the majority of the killings?*

1. *Provocateurs from the Russian Federation*
2. *Local pro-Russian Odesans*
3. *Local pro-Ukrainian Odesans*
4. *Ukrainian nationalists not from Odesa*
5. *Provocateurs from the European Union or USA.*

Responses were also coded for people who volunteered that they did not know about these events, who thought someone or something else was mainly responsible for the killings, who



volunteered that no one was to blame (i.e., that it was an accident), who found themselves unable to answer the question, and who refused to answer. Respondents who answered “other” were asked what they meant, and the answers were hand-coded by two of the coauthors. The estimated distribution of views in the population is given in Table 1.

[TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE]

Because the nuances distinguishing only moderately different versions of the facts are not what interest us in this study, we create a variable that collapses the answers to this question into three main categories: people whose responses fit an AMDI version of the facts, those whose responses correspond with the PMDI narrative, and those who for whatever reason did not give a response in line with one of these narratives (a category we treat here as constituting “neutral” responses). These summary categories and statistics are also in Table 1. Importantly, in coding someone’s beliefs about the killings as being in line with “the PMDI (AMDI) narrative,” we do not assume that this individual was buying into any of the other normative or factual claims propagated on Russian (Ukrainian) television. We are concerned only with whether accounts about the factual question of who carried out the killings match.

To test H1 and H2, we undertake a multinomial logit regression analysis designed to identify the correlates of adopting beliefs about the Odesa killings consistent with the primary claims of either the AMDI or PMDI narratives or with a neutral response. Along with basic demographic controls such as age, gender, education, and community size (capturing, in part, urban-rural distinctions), we include in our model a variety of factors that should be correlated with adoption of a given belief if one of the hypotheses is valid. Each measure is described in the discussion that follows, and a full listing of the survey items used to generate these indicators and a frequency distribution of these dispositions can be found in an online appendix (Tables A2



and A3), along with information on how these variables are correlated with each other (Table A4). To avoid listwise deletion, for those independent variables that are not binary (distinguishing only between the affirmation of a trait and failing to affirm it for any reason), we substitute means for responses of hard to say or refusals to answer; a discussion of patterns among these can be found in the online appendix's Discussion 1.

**Findings**

Table 2a presents the main results. They are reported as “full effects,” which is simply an average marginal effect when all independent variables are scaled from 0 to 1, with 0 representing the variable’s minimum observed value in the dataset and 1 its maximum observed value. The advantage over reporting average marginal effects is to avoid intractably small coefficients for finely gradated independent variables while also making the coefficients on each variable more readily comparable in that all coefficients (not just those on binary variables) reflect the estimated effect of going from a variable’s observed minimum to its observed maximum value. So, in ordinary language, a full effect is our complete model’s estimate of the average change it makes in people’s likelihood of adopting a particular belief if everyone in the dataset began at the minimum observed value of a factor (for example, having no education) but then everyone was raised to that factor’s maximum value (for example, having the highest level of education) with all respondents kept at their actual values on all other independent variables. Accordingly, full effects are an “observed-value” approach of the kind that has become recommended for presenting results like ours.<sup>67</sup> We deem a finding insignificant if we cannot rule out a zero effect with at least 95 percent statistical confidence. For convenience of interpretation, factors that are significantly correlated with a belief about the Odesa killers



consistent with the Anti-Maidaners Did It (AMDI) narrative are shaded in orange (that is, such factors correlate positively with believing Anti-Maidan forces committed the majority of the killings and/or negatively with believing pro-Maidan forces did it). Factors correlated with a view of the Odesa deaths consistent with the Pro-Maidaners Did It (PMDI) narrative are shaded blue (that is, correlated positively with believing pro-Maidan forces perpetrated the killings and/or negatively with believing anti-Maidan forces did it). Readers interested in the full results of the regressions reported in both parts of Table 2 can find them in online appendix Tables A5 and A6.

[TABLE 2A ABOUT HERE]

*H1: Environmental Influences (Media and Local Information/Experience)*

A quick glance might seem to confirm H1a: Consuming Ukrainian television news (a binary variable) is associated with a statistically significant 14 percent greater chance of believing that Anti-Maidan forces carried out the killings (that is, its full effect is 14 percentage points). But the next column reveals something unexpected: Ukrainian television news is also associated with a greater likelihood of believing that the Pro-Maidan forces “did it,” with a full effect of 5 percentage points. This is possible because our dependent variable has three outcomes: Effectively, Ukrainian newscasts’ primary effect appears to be making people much less likely (with a full effect of 19 percentage points) to give a neutral response. While the net effect is in the expected direction since the magnitude of the pro-AMDI effect is greater than that of the pro-PMDI effect, this dual effect is not what is anticipated by H1a. We suspect based on internal influence theory, however, that certain cognitive impulses may be interacting with



consuming Ukrainian television in ways that can explain these findings, so we return to discussing Ukrainian television's effects later, when evaluating H2.

Also surprising is that media conveying alternative narratives or potentially contradictory information neither weaken the propensity to adopt the dominant narrative (AMDI) nor enhance the chances of believing PMDI, thereby failing to support H1b. Remarkably, this concerns not only use of most prominent social media platforms in Ukraine (as captured by binary variables for Facebook, VKontakte, and Odnoklassniki), but also watching Russian television (also a binary variable). It would appear, then, that the potency of Russian media as established in studies of attitude formation and blame attribution<sup>68</sup> does not extend unambiguously to belief formation regarding the facts involved in conflict. This null finding does not appear to be the result of too few observations: Not only is 2,015 a relatively large number of respondents for such an analysis, but the signs of the coefficients are negative not only for believing AMDI but also for believing PMDI. If anything, then, Russian television appears to be effective not in fostering belief in its preferred narrative but in promoting skepticism of both narratives. But again, these findings are insignificant. Avoiding television altogether (not just avoiding newscasts) is also not significantly correlated with a tendency to adopt either narrative, though television teetotalers are 15 percentage points less likely to be neutral.

The only external influence theories (versions of H1) that find support in Table 2a have to do with local knowledge and experience, as captured in binary variables for living in Odesa, the Donbas (Donetsk or Luhansk regions), and Galicia (Lviv, Ternopil', and Ivano-Frankiv'sk regions). As expected by H1b, people who live in Odesa and thus are most likely to have more direct access to private information about what actually happened are 5 percentage points more likely to believe an alternative to the dominant narrative, fingering pro-Maidaners as the killers.



And confirming H1c, residents of the Donbas, which has directly experienced large-scale unpopular violence carried out by pro-Maidan forces as part of the “Anti-Terrorist Operation” that was then getting underway, were 11 percentage points more willing to believe Pro-Maidan forces could be capable of the Odesa killings. Galicians, without this direct local experience of Pro-Maidan violence on this scale, do not stand out one way or other, controlling for everything else. While we cannot rule out that these regional variables are capturing some other feature of these regions that is not controlled for in our study, they are at least consistent with H1c. With only these very modest exceptions, therefore, our findings so far are in line with prior research implying that internal cognitive drivers are likely to dominate environmental framing when individuals form beliefs about the factual content of new events occurring in violent settings.

*H2: Internal Cognitive Drivers (Cognitive Consistency, Ethnicity, Partisanship)*

On the surface, Table 2a appears to strongly support H2a regarding the importance of cognitive consistency but not H2b or H2c regarding the role of ethnic and partisan identities in influencing belief formation about the Odesa tragedy. To test H2a on cognitive consistency, we included two variables that measured other relevant beliefs through self-reported actions (binary variables for participating in either a Euromaidan or an Anti-Maidan protest) and four variables capturing positions on distinct major issues of that period that were widely believed to be connected with the conflict between Pro- and Anti-Maidaners: a six-point scale of job performance approval regarding pro-Maidan Prime Minister Arseny Yatseniuk (with the lowest value being that he was not actually a legitimate prime minister) and four-point scales on whether people mostly or fully (dis)agreed with the propositions that Ukraine should join the European Union, that “Ukraine’s regions should be allowed to make Russian an official language



locally,” and that “the central government should use force to regain control of any state buildings seized by pro-Russian forces in eastern Ukraine” (a government initiative that was officially dubbed the Anti-Terrorist Operation and often referred to simply as the ATO).

The confirmation of H2a is robust: people who supported then-Prime Minister Arseny Yatseniuk, the government’s military campaign to reestablish control of the Donbas, and integrating with the European Union and those who opposed giving regions autonomy on language rights were significantly more likely to believe that people who disagreed with them on these issues (Anti-Maidaners) were the killers and to reject the claim that Pro-Maidaners did it. Moreover, the full effects were the largest of all the factors tested here, in several cases over 20 percentage points. Similarly, self-reported Euromaidan participants were 11 percentage points more likely to buy the AMDI version of the facts, though results are insignificant regarding the PMDI narrative. Anti-Maidan participation is also insignificant. Of course, we have no measures of what these individuals’ views were prior to May 2, so we cannot definitively rule out the possibility that Odesa caused a massive shift in beliefs. But we think this unlikely. For one thing, as shown when we set up the puzzle in this study’s introduction, the widely agreed-upon factual information available in the situation itself would most likely have led people to conclude that Pro-Maidaners were the killers, which if anything should have triggered changes of belief away from rather than toward the Pro-Maidan perspective. In addition, if media were forming the initial impressions of Odesa that triggered a massive belief conversion to Pro-Maidan sentiment, we should have seen much more pronounced media effects on beliefs about Odesa. Finally, extensive research on public opinion in Ukraine has documented attitudinal cleavages that are deep and enduring and closely associated with the attitudes examined here.<sup>69</sup> It is highly likely,



then, that for the most part, these attitudes predated May 2 and shaped beliefs about the events of that day more than the other way around. Additional evidence will be presented below.

Beyond this, at first glance, Table 2a would seem broadly to discredit the notion that identities, either partisan or ethnic, matter as predicted by H2b and H2c. In our analysis, we consider basic measures of language use, ethnicity, and religion, all of which have been persistently and robustly linked to political dispositions in Ukraine.<sup>70</sup> We capture language through a standard measure: A bilingual interviewer begins with a greeting that is the same in both Ukrainian and Russian, records the language of the response, and uses that language to ask which language the respondent is “more comfortable” speaking, recording Russian, Ukrainian, and different versions of “both.” We created a binary variable for people who unequivocally answer “Russian.” For ethnic self-identification, we construct a binary variable that codes as “Russian” an individual who, after telling the interviewer “the degree to which” they “belong to the following groups” (Russian, Ukrainian, other), responds “Russian” when then asked “if you had to register as only one nationality, which would you choose?” We also analyze binary variables for the two largest religious denominations in Ukraine, the Orthodox Church headquartered in Kyiv and the one based in Moscow. In addition, we include measures of “transitional partisanship” (a concept developed specifically for the postcommunist context<sup>71</sup>) for the two parties that were the most powerful leading up to 2014: the Party of Regions, formerly led by Viktor Yanukovich, and the Batkivshchyna Party, led by Yulia Tymoshenko, whose associates became both prime minister and acting president after President Yanukovich fled. Of all these measures, we find only two relatively weak significant results in the predicted direction: 7 percent full effects for Russian nationality and Party of Regions partisanship on adopting the PMDI account.



Here, however, we should recall that internal influence theories would place identity at an early point along the cognitive pathway from the initial emotional response triggered by an event to the final formulation of a belief expressed in a survey. In fact, identity is likely to be there right at the beginning, providing the cognitive categories through which the event's relationship to the individual is initially perceived and which in turn determine the nature of the instantaneously occurring affective response.<sup>72</sup> If this interpretation of hot cognition theory is correct, we might suspect that the belief consistency reported in Table 2a is actually mediated by identity, that identity is in fact the mechanism activating the internally stored attitudes (Pro- and Anti-Maidan) that are found to influence what people come to think are the facts in a situation of violence.

Table 2b provides substantial evidence for this interpretation, presenting results from a version of the regression analysis that includes only variables measuring identity (as we have defined it) and geographic place (along with the demographic controls). In combination with Table 2a, it reveals that belief formation regarding Odesa is very strongly related to all the identity categories we consider here except for religion, and all in the expected direction, but that these effects virtually “disappear” or shrink considerably once the attitudinal variables are included in the equation. The much higher potency of the spatial variables in Table 2b compared with Table 2a also suggests that influential regional identities are at work that are distinct from the informational and experiential effects discussed above, a possibility that has foundations in other studies of Ukraine.<sup>73</sup> It appears to be the case, then, that the drive for cognitive consistency detected in Table 2a is strongly channeled by identity.

[TABLE 2B ABOUT HERE]



This finding also leads us to wonder whether identity might help us understand the puzzling polarizing effect of Ukrainian television news: Perhaps what is happening is that (in line with hot cognition theories) individuals are bringing strong identity-charged predispositions to the television screen that might moderate their reaction to what they see there. That is, maybe predispositions are not so much driving people to select only programming with which they agree (indeed, about 92 percent of the population watches Ukrainian television news, so any such self-selection is minimal) as driving polarized reactions to it. Because no single party could claim even as much as 4 percent of the population as its loyalists in May 2014, partisan identity is certainly not capable of driving the effects we find for Ukrainian television. For this reason, we train our attention on ethnic identity as a possible moderator of media effects.

It turns out this is exactly what we find if we add to our full statistical model (the one reported in Table 2a, with all variables included) an interaction between identifying as Russian and consuming Ukrainian television news. Figure 1 reports the results graphically, with the dots representing the estimated full effects of Russian and Ukrainian television news among different ethnic populations and the whiskers representing 95-percent confidence intervals. Most important are Figures 1a and 1b: These show that consuming Ukrainian television makes non-Russians close to 20 percent more likely to believe the “Anti-Maidaners Did It” version of the facts that predominated on its airwaves, but that it backfires among Russians, who become about 15 percent more likely to believe the “Pro-Maidaners Did It” account. Figures 1c and 1d show that this finding holds if we replace “Russian” as our ethnic and linguistic category of interest with “Ukrainian”: Ukrainian television’s narrative falls on fertile soil among Ukrainians but backfires among non-Ukrainians. Figures 1e through 1h show that Russian news does not produce this same kind of polarization, instead having no consistent, statistically significant



effects. (If anything, Russian television just makes non-Ukrainians more skeptical of the AMDI narrative, though we are on thinner ice ruling out self-selection effects here since Russian ethnicity is a predictor of watching Russian television, though not Ukrainian television; see online appendix Table A7 for an analysis of the correlates of consuming different Ukrainian media.)

[FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE]

An analogous analysis, summarized in Figure 2, informs us that an individual language preference for Russian (unlike ethnic self-identification as Russian) is not significantly contributing to the polarizing effect of Ukrainian television. On average, Figures 2a through 2d report that Ukrainian television’s impact is consistently positive for both the AMDI and PMDI narratives across categories of language preference. This indicates that what is primarily driving the polarizing reactions to Ukrainian television is not about pragmatic language preference but ethnic self-identification, as the theory of hot ethnic cognition would lead us to expect. As for Russian television, we also find in Figures 2e through 2h that its impact on beliefs about the facts of Odesa does not vary strongly by what language someone prefers to speak, except that it appears to be making non-Ukrainian-speakers more skeptical of the AMDI narrative.

[FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE]

Might individual characteristics other than ethnicity also be driving the polarizing effect of Ukrainian television news? To begin, we test for interactions with education and do find evidence for a limited moderating effect. As Figure 3 shows, Ukrainian television’s backlash effect rises slightly with higher education levels while its positive effect on believing AMDI declines sharply with education. In analysis not presented here due to space constraints but available in the online appendix (Figure A1), we find that these patterns are consistent among



both Russians and non-Russians, indicating that education's moderating effects are separate from those of ethnic self-identification. We also detect very slight interactions between age and television consumption (see summary results in online appendix Figure A2): The effect of Ukrainian television is positive across all age categories, though youth are slightly less susceptible to it and a bit more likely to backlash by becoming more likely to believe PMDI. Youth tend to be more influenced by Russian television than their older counterparts, but the difference in full effects between the very oldest and very youngest people in the sample is in the low single digits. Age does moderate the effect of television, therefore, but this moderation is too weak to be driving the polarization reported in Table 2a. We find that gender does not significantly moderate the effects of Ukrainian television, though Russian television is more effective in sowing doubts about the AMDI narrative among its female than among its male viewers (see online appendix Figure A3). Overall, then, while ethnic lines appear to be the most pronounced driver of Ukrainian television's polarizing effect, it also appears to depend on education levels and, to a much lesser degree, age, but not gender.

[FIGURE 3 ABOUT HERE]

## Conclusion

Overall, to the extent that Ukraine in May 2014 is representative of violent settings, our study indicates that internal influence theories are better at explaining how people come to believe different versions of the facts in conflict situation than are external influence theories. In particular, the results of our analysis are consistent with a hot cognition argument that the Odesa violence initially stimulated strong feelings linked to identity (ethnic, partisan, and regional) that then activated associated political attitudes, leading people to adopt versions of the facts that



were consistent with these attitudes.<sup>74</sup> Importantly, these internal processes are detected even in an environment in which powerful domestic mass media (which often feature as major drivers of cognitive outcomes in accounts informed by external influence theory) were virtually united in presenting a different version of the facts. In particular, despite presenting a coherent AMDI narrative and having by far the most consumers of any mass media in Ukraine, Ukrainian television was able systematically to persuade only non-Russians and the less educated. Among Russian viewers and the more educated, Ukrainian television actually produced a backlash, making them more likely to believe the alternative PMDI version of the facts. While watching Russian media is not found to have a significant average effect, we do find small effects specifically among non-Ukrainians, women, and youth. These effects, though, primarily involve generating skepticism of the dominant account instead of actually convincing people that the PMDI account favored by Russian television is correct.

While we do not offer a paired comparison with a peacetime setting, our study at a minimum suggests the following implication for how people form beliefs about facts: In violent settings, people are more likely to follow their own identity-charged predispositions and less likely to have their minds changed by media or other external influences than they are in peacetime. In our study, the only external factor that stands out for influencing beliefs about what happened in the Odesa tragedy is physical proximity to the event in question: People who lived in Odesa and presumably had more private sources of information about what happened were more resistant to the dominant narrative on Ukrainian media. A related implication seems to be that strong state-led efforts to shape media coverage of the facts of a conflict risk polarizing society rather than unifying it around the preferred view: People already predisposed by identity and other beliefs to support the government's version of the facts may be convinced, but such



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3 coverage can generate a backlash among others, who can be prompted not only to doubt the  
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5 official line but actually to regard its opposite as more credible. This constitutes an important  
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7 limitation to theories of media effects and external influence theories more generally that would  
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9 seem to bear further testing in other violent situations.  
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12 Drawing implications for Ukraine itself overcoming deep social divisions more generally,  
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14 our results would seem to justify a good deal of pessimism. If people are quick to interpret events  
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16 primarily in ways that exonerate their own in-groups and justify their prior beliefs rather than in  
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18 ways that reflect considered and impartial reasoning--a finding that applies to both "sides"  
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20 considered here--reconciliation may be difficult and each side may feel rather unconstrained  
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22 domestically from engaging in bad behavior. One bright spot, however, could be our finding on  
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24 education: Education, at least the highest levels of it, does seem to give people tools they need to  
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26 subject what they see on television to criticism. Local knowledge also indicates that at least this  
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28 form of environmental stimulus can moderate people's tendency to reaching self-serving  
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30 conclusions about the facts involved in violence. But if our case study of the May 2 Odesa  
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32 tragedy is any indication, despite the progress in national unity that has been noted in some  
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34 studies,<sup>75</sup> Ukraine still has ahead of it a long road to reconciliation and full social unity, a road  
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36 that state leaders could do much more to promote.<sup>76</sup>  
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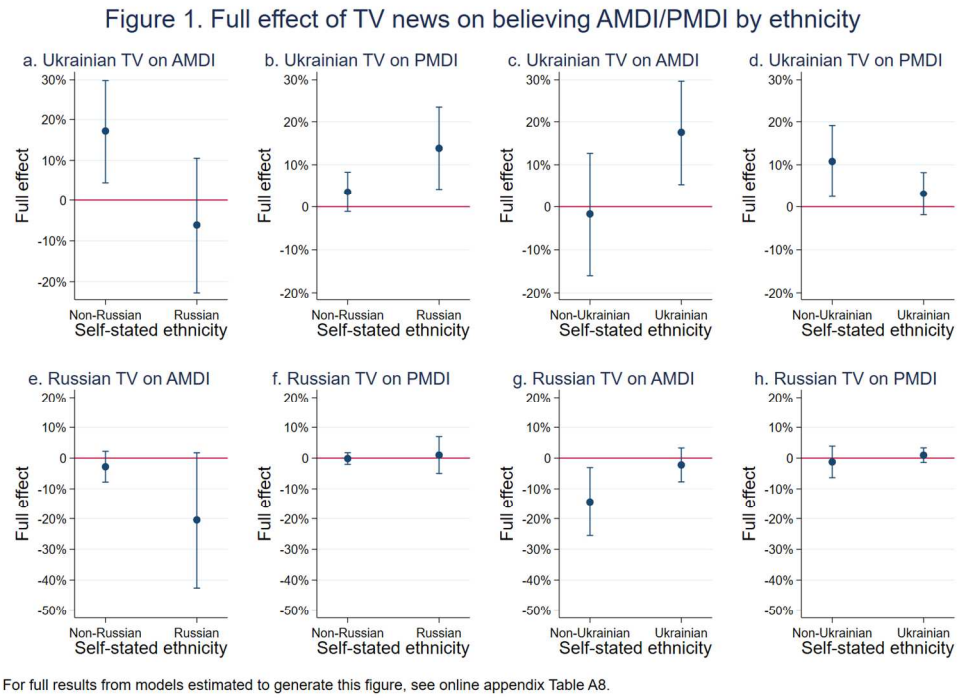
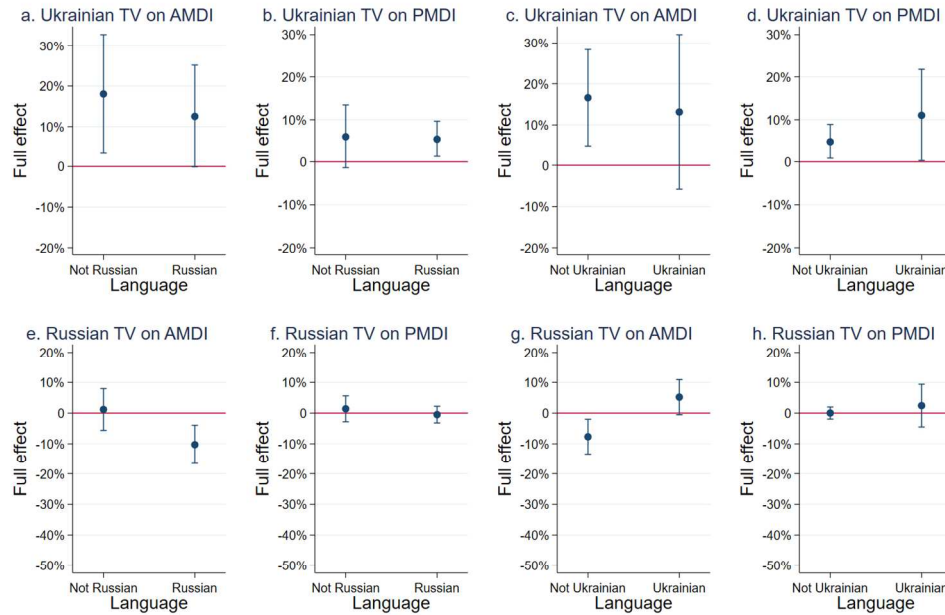


Figure 1

564x410mm (72 x 72 DPI)



Figure 2. Full effect of TV news on believing AMDI/PMDI by language



For full results from models estimated to generate this figure, see online appendix Table A9.

Figure 2

564x410mm (72 x 72 DPI)



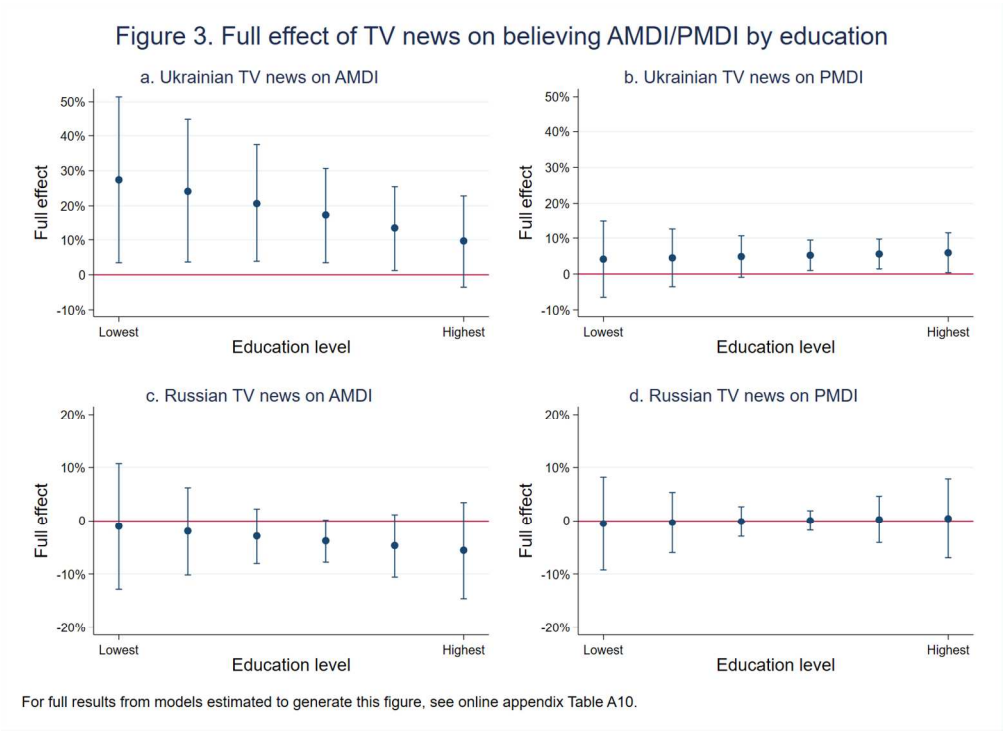


Figure 3

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**Table 1: Distribution of views among adult residents of Ukraine on who committed the May 2, 2014, Odesa killings as of May 16-24, 2014 (sum is not 100% due to rounding.)**

<b>Belief</b>	<b>% support</b>
<b>“Anti-Maidaners Did It” (AMDI)</b>	
<i>Provocateurs from the Russian Federation</i>	43.6
<i>Local pro-Russian Odesites</i>	10.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>54.5</b>
<b>“Pro-Maidaners Did It (PMDI)”</b>	
<i>Local pro-Ukrainian Odesites</i>	2.7
<i>Ukrainian nationalists from Odesa</i>	10.3
<i>Provocateurs from the European Union or the United States</i>	5.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>18.4</b>
<b>“Neutral”: responses not clearly aligning with AMDI or PMDI</b>	
<i>Other</i>	2.9
<i>I have not heard about these events</i>	0.8
<i>Nobody is to blame, it was an accident</i>	1.1
<i>Hard to say</i>	21.9
<i>Refuse to answer</i>	0.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>27.2</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100.1</b>



Table 2a. Full effect of factors on probability of adopting beliefs about the Odesa killings

	Anti-Maidan Did It (AMDI)		Pro-Maidan Did It (PMDI)		Neutral	
H1a. Ukrainian TV news	0.14**	(0.05)	0.05*	(0.02)	-0.19**	(0.04)
H1a. Internet TV news	0.06	(0.03)	-0.01	(0.03)	-0.06	(0.04)
H1b. Russian TV news	-0.04	(0.02)	-0.00	(0.01)	0.04	(0.02)
H1b. Facebook	0.07	(0.04)	0.01	(0.03)	-0.08	(0.05)
H1b. VKontakte	-0.02	(0.03)	0.00	(0.02)	0.01	(0.03)
H1b. Oknoklassniki	-0.02	(0.03)	0.02	(0.01)	-0.00	(0.02)
H1b. No TV	0.10	(0.07)	0.05	(0.03)	-0.15*	(0.07)
H1b. Lives in Odesa	-0.05	(0.04)	0.05**	(0.02)	-0.00	(0.04)
H1c. Donbas	-0.06	(0.08)	0.11**	(0.03)	-0.06	(0.07)
H1c. Galicia	0.03	(0.07)	-0.09	(0.06)	0.06	(0.05)
H2a. Maidan participant	0.11**	(0.04)	-0.05	(0.04)	-0.06	(0.05)
H2a. Antimaidan participant	-0.14	(0.07)	0.11	(0.05)	0.03	(0.09)
H2a. Approves Yatseniuk	0.22**	(0.04)	-0.21**	(0.05)	-0.01	(0.06)
H2a. Pro-ATO	0.27**	(0.07)	-0.11**	(0.03)	-0.16**	(0.05)
H2a. Pro-EU	0.12**	(0.04)	-0.09*	(0.03)	-0.04	(0.05)
H2a. Pro-language autonomy	-0.14**	(0.05)	0.08*	(0.03)	0.06	(0.04)
H2b. Russian-speaker	-0.07	(0.03)	0.02	(0.02)	0.04	(0.03)
H2b. Russian ethnicity	-0.05	(0.04)	0.07*	(0.03)	-0.01	(0.04)
H2b. Orthodox (Moscow)	-0.05	(0.04)	0.01	(0.02)	0.04	(0.06)
H2b. Orthodox (Kyiv)	0.03	(0.03)	0.03	(0.02)	-0.06*	(0.03)
H2c. Batkivshchyna Party	0.07	(0.06)	-0.04	(0.05)	-0.02	(0.08)
H2c. Party of Regions	-0.06	(0.11)	0.07*	(0.03)	-0.00	(0.09)
Age	-0.07	(0.04)	0.00	(0.03)	0.07	(0.04)
Education	0.06	(0.04)	0.00	(0.03)	-0.06	(0.04)
Female	-0.07**	(0.02)	-0.01	(0.02)	0.07**	(0.02)
Larger community	-0.04	(0.04)	0.07**	(0.02)	-0.03	(0.04)
N	2015		2015		2015	

Note: As full effects, the reported numbers (calculated from a multinomial logit model) reflect the difference in the probability of adopting a given belief about Odesa (relative to all other responses) that results when a given factor is raised from its minimum value in the dataset to its maximum and all other variables are held at their actual values in the dataset (standard errors in parentheses, \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ ).



**Table 2b. Full effect of factors on probability of adopting beliefs about Odesa killings**

	Anti-Maidan Did It (AMDI)		Pro-Maidan Did It (PMDI)		Neutral	
<b>H1b. Odesa</b>	-0.08 <sup>*</sup>	(0.04)	0.09 <sup>**</sup>	(0.02)	-0.01	(0.04)
<b>H1c. Donbas</b>	-0.25 <sup>**</sup>	(0.07)	0.23 <sup>**</sup>	(0.04)	0.02	(0.08)
<b>H1c. Galicia</b>	0.22 <sup>*</sup>	(0.09)	-0.19 <sup>*</sup>	(0.07)	-0.03	(0.06)
<b>H2b. Russian-speaker</b>	-0.14 <sup>**</sup>	(0.04)	0.07 <sup>**</sup>	(0.02)	0.07	(0.04)
<b>H2b. Russian ethnicity</b>	-0.15 <sup>**</sup>	(0.04)	0.13 <sup>**</sup>	(0.04)	0.02	(0.05)
<b>H2b. Orthodox (Moscow)</b>	-0.05	(0.05)	0.03	(0.02)	0.02	(0.06)
<b>H2b. Orthodox (Kyiv)</b>	0.07	(0.04)	0.02	(0.03)	-0.09 <sup>*</sup>	(0.03)
<b>H2c. Batkivshchyna Party</b>	0.19 <sup>**</sup>	(0.06)	-0.15 <sup>*</sup>	(0.06)	-0.04	(0.08)
<b>H2c. Party of Regions</b>	-0.18	(0.14)	0.14 <sup>**</sup>	(0.05)	0.03	(0.10)
<i>Age</i>	-0.06	(0.04)	-0.01	(0.03)	0.07	(0.04)
<i>Education</i>	0.12 <sup>*</sup>	(0.05)	-0.02	(0.03)	-0.10	(0.05)
<i>Female</i>	-0.09 <sup>**</sup>	(0.02)	-0.01	(0.02)	0.10 <sup>**</sup>	(0.03)
<i>Larger community</i>	-0.03	(0.04)	0.07 <sup>**</sup>	(0.02)	-0.03	(0.04)
<i>N</i>	2015		2015		2015	

Note: As full effects, the reported numbers (calculated from a multinomial logit model) reflect the difference in the probability of adopting a given belief about Odesa (relative to all other responses) that results when a given factor is raised from its minimum value in the dataset to its maximum and all other variables are held at their actual values in the dataset (standard errors in parentheses, <sup>\*</sup>  $p < 0.05$ , <sup>\*\*</sup>  $p < 0.01$ ).



**ONLINE APPENDIX**

**BELIEVING FACTS IN THE FOG OF WAR  
Identity, Media, and Hot Cognition in Ukraine’s 2014 Odesa Tragedy**

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## 1. TABLES

Table A1: Ownership and viewership of TV channels

TV channel	% of population who watched daily news or political show in the last 7 days	% of population who did not watch daily news or political show in the last 7 days	Channel ownership/control <sup>1</sup>
1 + 1	69%	20%	Privat Media Group (Ihor Kolomoiskyi)
INTER	71%	18%	Inter Media Group (Dmytro Firtash, Serhii Liovochkin)
ICTV	55%	33%	StarLight Media (Viktor Pinchuk)
Channel Ukraine	50%	36%	Media Group Ukraina (Rinat Akhmetov)
Channel 5	52%	32%	Petro Poroshenko
First National	41%	43%	Ukrainian state-owned
A local channel (regional / municipal)	39%	37%	
A European or American cable channel	5%	44%	
Ukrainian internet channels (Espresso, HromadskeTV, SpilnoTV)	14%	40%	
Espresso			MPs Vadym Denysenko (Poroshenko Bloc) and Mykola Kniazhytsky (People's Front)
Hromadske TV			Journalists' collective
Spilno TV			Journalists' collective
Any of the following Russian channels: First Channel / ORT, Russia 1, NTV	30%	39%	Russian state-controlled

Local Odesa channels: Dumskaya – more Pro-U; Timer – more pro-R.

Table A2. Construction of variables in study

Dependent Variable			
Captures	Question in survey	Coding	Variable

<sup>1</sup> Media ownership information from in Dmytro Korol, Yurii Vinnychuk, Diana Kostenko, "Informatsiina zbroia – komu nalezhat' ukrainski ZMI," *Insider*, 9 December 2015, [http://www.theinsider.ua/infographics/2014/2015\\_smi/vlasnyky.html](http://www.theinsider.ua/infographics/2014/2015_smi/vlasnyky.html)



			name
Who did the killing in Odesa?	<p>54. A lot has been said and written about the fact that dozens of people were killed in clashes in the city of Odesa in early May. If you have heard about these events, please tell me, in your opinion, who committed the majority of murders? Please choose <u>only one answer</u>. [Interviewer please give card 54 to the respondent.]</p> <p>Provocateurs from the Russian Federation=1, Local pro-Russian Odesites=2, Local pro-Ukrainian Odesites=3, Ukrainian nationalists from Odesa=4, Provocateurs from the European Union or the United States=5, Other=94, I have not heard about these events=95, Nobody is to blame, it was an accident=96, H/S=97, REF=98</p>	<p>Categorical variable 1= “pro-Russians did it” (Provocateurs from the Russian Federation and Local pro-Russian Odesites), 2= “pro-Ukrainians did it” (Local pro-Ukrainian Odesites, Ukrainian nationalists from Odesa, Provocateurs from the European Union or the United States), 3= “other answers” baseline category (Other, I have not heard about these events, Nobody is to blame, it was an accident, H/S, REF and V54othcrod),</p> <p>V54othcrod is hand-coded by Author and Author of responses that fall into the category of “Other” on Question 54.</p> <p>Those 11 respondents who responded “other” (V54=94) but did not name anything or anyone when asked what “other” meant are treated as missing values in this analysis.</p> <p>The N for this variable is thus 2,004.</p>	odwhodiditx3
Independent Variables			
Participation in Maidan	<p>35. Since autumn of last year, how did you participate in any of the following demonstrations? Options: Never=1, Once=2, More than once=3, H/S=4, REF=5</p>	<p>Binary variable 1= have participated once (2) or more than once (3) in the Euromaidan in Kyiv or</p>	maidan05



	(1) Euromaidan in Kyiv (3) [Do not ask respondents in Kyiv] Euromaidan in your native region	the Euromaidan in native region  0= all other responses	
Participation in Anti-Maidan	35. Since autumn of last year, how did you participate in any of the following demonstrations? Never=1, Once=2, More than once=3, H/S=4, REF=5 (2) Anti-Maidan in Kyiv (4) [Do not ask respondents in Kyiv] Anti-Maidan in your native region (5) Pro-Russian meetings	Binary variable 1 = have participated once (2) or more than once (3) in the Anti-Maidan in Kyiv, in the Anti-Maidan in native region or in the Pro-Russian meetings  0 = all other responses	antimaidan05
<b>Biographical and Political Availability Variables</b>			
<b>Age</b>	Year of birth of respondent.	Continuous variable	age05
<b>Education</b>	61. What is your education? [Please give card 61 to the respondent] No formal education 1, Prima Education 2, Some High School/ Secondary Education 3, High School/ Secondary School 4, Professional tertiary education 5, Incomplete higher or tertiary or university Education 6, Higher or tertiary or University Education 7, PhD 8, H/S 97, REF 98	Categorical variable (six categories) 1 = No formal education and Prima Education, 2 = Some High School/ Secondary Education 3 = High School/ Secondary School 4 = Professional tertiary education 5 = Incomplete higher or tertiary or university Education 6 = Higher or tertiary or University Education and PhD coded as missing = H/S and REF	educ05
<b>Community Size</b>	Va14. Type and settlement size: Rural Residence =1, SMT (Urban-type settlement) =2, Towns of less than 20,000=3, Small city (20,000-49,999)=4, City 50,000-99,999=5, Big city (100,000-499,999)=6, Very big city (500,000 or more)=7	Categorical variable	commsize
<b>Resident of the Donbas</b>	Va13. What region was the interview	Binary variable	donbas



	conducted in?	1= Luhansk (7) and Donesk (13) 0= all other regions	
<b>Resident of Galicia</b>	Va13. What region was the interview conducted in?	Binary variable 1= Ternopil'ska (20), Lviv (14), and Ivano-Frankiv'ska (11)  0= all other regions	galicia
<b>Resident of Odesa</b>	Va13. What region was the interview conducted in?	Binary variable 1= Odesa (16)  0= all other regions	odesa
<b>Language of Comfortable Use Russian</b>	Vlang. Language spoken in the survey, determined by standard KIIS method. Interviewer asks: Tell me please, is it easier for you to speak Ukrainian (said in Ukrainian) or maybe it is easier for you speak in Russian (said in Russian). Interviewer answers: In what language is it more convenient for the respondent to speak with you: Ukrainian=1 (conduct interview IN UKRAINIAN), Russian=2 (conduct interview IN RUSSIAN), All the same but more often speaks Ukrainian=3 (conduct interview IN UKRAINIAN), Hard to say but answers in Ukrainian =4 (conduct interview IN UKRAINIAN), All the same but more often speaks Russian=5 (conduct interview IN RUSSIAN), Hard to say but answers in Russian=6 (conduct interview IN RUSSIAN).	Binary variable 1= easier to speak in Russian (2) 0= all other responses	rulangsvy05
<b>Language of Comfortable Use Ukrainian</b>	Language spoken in the survey, determined by standard KIIS method as above (see above).	Binary variable 1= easier to speak in Ukrainian (1) 0= all other responses	uklangsvy05



<b>Nationality Russian</b>	64. If you had to register only one nationality, which would you choose? Russian=1, Ukrainian=2, Other (please specify:)=3, H/S=7, REF=8	Binary variable 1= Russian (1) 0= all other responses	runats05
<b>Nationality Ukrainian</b>	64. If you had to register only one nationality, which would you choose? Russian=1, Ukrainian=2, Other (please specify:)=3, H/S=7, REF=8	Binary variable 1= Ukrainian (2) 0= all other responses	uknats05
<b>Sex</b>	58. [Interviewer note gender of the respondent.] Men=1, Women=2	Binary variable 1= Female (2)  0= all other responses	female
<b>Orthodox Church Moscow Patriarchate</b>	73. Tell me, to what denomination/church do you belong to [Interviewer: give card 73 to the respondent.] Choose one answer only: Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Kyiv Patriarchate)=1, Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Moscow Patriarchate)=2, Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church=3, Greek Catholic Church=4, Roman Catholic Church=5, Protestant Christian churches=6, Muslim=7, Other confessions=8, I do not belong to one denomination=9, Another answer=10, H/S=97, REF=98	Binary variable 1= Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Moscow Patriarchate) (2)  0= all other responses	orthmos05
<b>Orthodox Church - Kyiv Patriarchate</b>	Same as above	Binary variable 1= Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Kyiv Patriarchate) (1)  0= all other responses	orthkyiv05
<b>Political Partisanship</b>			
<b>Batkivshchyna transitional partisanship (Colton 2000)</b>	12. Now let's talk a little about politics. Please tell me you are a member of a political party?	Binary variables 1 = Questions 13, 16, 19 text answer is	tpbat05



	<p>YES=1, NO=2, H/S=7, REF=8</p> <p>13. What political party is it? [Interviewer: recorded], H/S=97, REF=98</p> <p>14. [Ask only those who do not list the party of regions in the previous question 13] Please tell me, in the last five years, you were a member of the Party of Regions? YES=1, NO=2, H/S=7, REF=8</p> <p>15. Please tell me, is there, among all existing parties, movements, associations, one about which you could say “This is my party, movement, association?” YES=1, NO=2, H/S=7, REF=8</p> <p>16. What is the party, movement, association? Can you please name it. [Interviewer: recorded], H/S=97, REF=98</p> <p>18. Please tell me whether there is a party, movement, association, which more than any other reflects your interests, opinions and concerns? Yes=1, No=2, H/S=7, REF=8</p> <p>19. What party, movement, association is it? Please name it. [Interviewer: recorded], H/S=97, REF=98</p>	<p>“Batkivshchyna”</p> <p>0= all other responses</p> <p>Respondents naming two parties are counted for neither party.</p>	
<b>Party of Regions transitional partisanship</b>	Same as above.	Binary variables 1 = Questions 13, 16, 19	tppr05



(Colton 2000)		text answer is "Party of Regions"  0= all other responses  Respondents naming two parties are counted for neither party.	
<b>Approval of Yatseniuk performance as prime minister</b>	20. Some people like the way political leaders are acting at their posts, others – do not. What about you, do you approve or disapprove of the actions of the following politicians? [Interviewer, release give the respondents card 20-21]  (1) The actions of Arseniy Yatseniuk as Prime Minister since February of this year. Completely approve = 1 Rather approve = 2 Approve, of some things and not of other things = 3 Rather disapprove = 4 Completely disapprove = 5 He is not the legitimate / not the real Prime Minister = 6 H/S = 7 REF = 8	Categorical ordinal variable  5 = Completely approve  4 = Rather approve 3 = Approve, of some things and not of other things 2 = Rather disapprove 1 = Completely disapprove 0 = He is not the legitimate / not the real Prime Minister Coded as missing = H/S and REF	appyatspm05
<b>Policy preferences</b>			
<b>Support for regional language autonomy</b>	57. Please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements: [Interviewer: give card 48-49-50-56-57 To the respondent] (options: I completely agree=1, I somewhat agree=2, I somewhat disagree=3, I completely disagree=4, H/S=7, REF=8)  (5) Ukraine's regions should be allowed to make Russian an official language locally	Categorical ordinal variable 4 = I completely agree, 3 = I somewhat agree, 2 = I somewhat disagree, 1 = I completely disagree, Coded as missing = H/S and REF	reglangaut05
<b>Support for EU</b>	48. People's opinions differ on the subject of Ukraine's relations with other countries. Please tell me if you agree or disagree with the following statements: [Interviewer: give card	Categorical ordinal variable 4 = I completely agree, 3 = I somewhat agree, 2 = I somewhat disagree,	proeu05



	48-49-50-56-57 To the respondent] (options: I completely agree=1, I somewhat agree=2, I somewhat disagree=3, I completely disagree=4, H/S=7, REF=8)  (4) Ukraine should join the European Union.	1 = I completely disagree, Coded as missing = H/S and REF	
Support for ATO	57. Please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements. [Interviewer: give card 48-49-50-56-57 To the respondent] (options: I completely agree=1, I somewhat agree=2, I somewhat disagree=3, I completely disagree=4, H/S=7, REF=8)  (7) The central government should use force to regain control of any state buildings seized by pro-Russian forces in eastern Ukraine.	Categorical ordinal variable 4 = I completely agree, 3 = I somewhat agree, 2 = I somewhat disagree, 1 = I completely disagree, Coded as missing = H/S and REF	ato05
News Source and Consumption			
Watch ukrainian TV news	4. In the last seven days did you watch any daily news programs or political shows on the following TV Channels. (Options: Yes, No, Do not get channel, H/S, REF) (1) 1 + 1 (2) INTER (3) w (4) Channel Ukraine (5) Channel 5 (6) First National (7) Any of the following Russian channels: First Channel / ORT, Russia 1, NTV (8) A local channel (regional / municipal) (9) A European or American cable channel (10) Ukrainian internet channels (Espresso, hromadsketv, spilnotv)	Binary variable  1= if answered yes to watching 1 + 1, INTER, ICTV, Channel Ukraine, Channel 5, First National  0= all other options	uktv05
Watch Russian TV news	Same as above.	Binary variable 1= if answered yes to watching any of the following Russian channels: First Channel /	rftv05



		ORT, Russia 1, NTV 0= all other options	
<b>Watch Internet TV news</b>	Same as above.	Binary variable 1= if answered yes to watching Ukrainian internet channels (Espresso, hromadsketv, spilnotv) (10) 0= all other options	itv05
<b>No TV</b>	1. Please tell me do you watch TV? Yes=1, No=2, H/S=7, REF=8	Binary variable 1= if answered No (2) 0= all other options	notv05
<b>Social Media Usage</b>	8. Which of the following social media sites, which I will list, do you use? And if you are using any of the them, then for how many years? [Interviewer: Record number of years, if less than 1 year, write 1] (1) Odnoklasnyky (2) VKontakte (3) Facebook (4) Livejournal (5) Twitter Yes=1, _____ # of Years, No=2, H/S=97, REF=98	Binary variable Facebook 1= if answered yes (3) 0= all other options  Binary variable Odnoklasnyky 1= if answered yes (2) 0= all other options  Binary variable VKontakte 1= if answered yes (1) 0= all other options	facebook05 odnoklas05 vk05
<b>Odnoklassniki user</b>		Binary variable Odnoklassniki 1= if answered yes (2) 0= all other options	odnoklas05
<b>VKontakte user</b>		Binary variable VKontakte 1= if answered yes (1) 0= all other options	vk05
<b>Facebook user</b>		Binary variable	facebook05



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		Facebook 1= if answered yes (3) 0= all other options	
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For Peer Review Only



**Table A3: Estimated frequencies in population for each independent variable (percentage points)**

***Watches Russian TV news***

No 73.1

Yes 26.9

***Watches Ukrainian TV news***

No 8.8

Yes 91.2

***No TV***

Watches TV 95.2

No TV 4.8

***Watches Internet TV news***

No 86.5

Yes 13.5

***Facebook user***

No 90.75

Yes 9.25

***Vkontakte user***

No 73.7

Yes 26.3

***Odnoklassniki user***

No 75.4

Yes 24.6

***Batkivshchyna partisan***

No 96.6

Yes 3.4

***Party of Regions partisan***

No 97.7

Yes 2.3

***Maidan participant***

No 89.6

Yes 10.4

***Antimaidan participant***

No 97.85

Yes 2.15

***Approves Yatseniuk work as PM***

Illegitimate 3.9

Absolutely not 24.5

Mostly not 10.6

Mixed 25.4

Mostly yes 16.9

Fully yes 11.4

H/S, Ref 7.3

***Pro-ATO***

Fully disagree 14.2

Tend to disagree 12.4

Tend to agree 26.3

Fully agree 29.8

H/S, Ref 17.3



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<b>Pro-EU</b>		
Fully disagree		19.7
Tend to disagree		13.2
Tend to agree		14.0
Fully agree		36.9
H/S, Ref		16.2
<b>For regional language autonomy</b>		
Fully disagree		14.4
Tend to disagree		10.4
Tend to agree		36.6
Fully agree		31.6
H/S, Ref		7.1
<b>Language of comfortable use</b>		
Ukrainian		39.9
Russian		41.4
More Ukrainian		4.0
Both (answers in Ukrainian)		3.9
More Russian		3.1
Both (answers in Russian)		7.6
<b>Russian ethnicity (natsional'nist)</b>		
No	87.9	
Yes	12.1	
<b>Ukrainian ethnicity (natsional'nist)</b>		
No	82.6	
Yes	17.4	
<b>Orthodox (Moscow)</b>		
No	78.7	
Yes	21.4	
<b>Orthodox (Kyiv)</b>		
No	66.6	
Yes	33.4	
<b>Odesa</b>		
No	94.7	
Yes	5.3	
<b>Donbas</b>		
No	83.9	
Yes	16.1	
<b>Galicia</b>		
No	88.8	
Yes	11.2	
<b>Age Group</b>		
Under 30	21.8	
30-39	18.0	
40-49	16.6	
50-59	17.6	
60-69	11.9	
Over 70	14.1	
<b>Education level</b>		
Elementary or less	2.0	
Incomplete secondary	5.0	



Secondary	28.2
Specialized secondary	33.7
Incomplete higher	5.7
Higher	25.1
H/S, Ref	0.3

***Female***

No	45.1
Yes	54.9

***Lives in larger community***

Rural	30.3
Settlement	8.6
Towns under 20,000	6.0
Small city (20,000-49,999)	7.5
City (50,000-99,999)	6.2
Big city (100-499,999)	20.6
Very big city (500,000 or more)	20.8



Table A4. Correlation matrix for independent variables in study

	rftv05	uktv05	notv05	itv05	faceb-05	vk05	odnok-05	tpbat05	tppr05	maidan05	antim-05	appya-05	ato05	proeu05	regla-05	rula-y05	ukla-y05
rftv05	1.0000																
uktv05	0.1478	1.0000															
notv05	-0.1215	-0.7235	1.0000														
itv05	-0.0653	0.1131	-0.0818	1.0000													
facebook05	0.0238	-0.0245	0.0406	0.1078	1.0000												
vk05	0.0356	-0.0597	0.0921	0.0758	0.3783	1.0000											
odnoklas05	0.1211	0.0272	0.0017	0.1062	0.2699	0.5569	1.0000										
tpbat05	-0.0980	0.0281	-0.0219	0.0873	-0.0295	-0.0451	-0.0508	1.0000									
tppr05	0.1004	-0.0095	-0.0083	-0.0359	0.0418	0.0022	0.0358	-0.0372	1.0000								
maidan05	-0.1448	0.0401	-0.0321	0.2107	0.1155	0.1362	0.0564	0.0216	-0.0487	1.0000							
antimaidan05	0.1325	0.0394	-0.0285	-0.0211	0.1345	0.0651	0.0558	-0.0324	0.1289	0.1050	1.0000						
appyatpm05	-0.3799	0.0767	-0.0360	0.1960	-0.0081	-0.0485	-0.0600	0.1808	-0.1480	0.2487	-0.0867	1.0000					
ato05	-0.3573	0.0580	-0.0534	0.1918	0.0236	0.0247	0.0056	0.0479	-0.1304	0.2069	-0.1322	0.5287	1.0000				
proeu05	-0.3405	0.0589	-0.0684	0.2703	0.0406	0.0582	0.0019	0.1278	-0.1478	0.2888	-0.0845	0.6287	0.5571	1.0000			
reglangaut05	0.1697	-0.0271	0.0449	-0.1192	-0.0901	-0.0735	-0.0329	-0.0613	0.0794	-0.2173	-0.0075	-0.3338	-0.2691	-0.3599	1.0000		
rulangsvy05	0.3302	-0.1028	0.0767	-0.2070	0.0222	0.0358	0.0797	-0.0901	0.1119	-0.1874	0.0960	-0.4507	-0.3857	-0.5103	0.3331	1.0000	
uklangsvy05	-0.2742	0.0977	-0.0978	0.1684	-0.0223	-0.0140	-0.0452	0.0372	-0.0937	0.2629	-0.0481	0.4395	0.3334	0.4924	-0.3822	-0.7217	1.0000
runats05	0.2738	0.0058	-0.0213	-0.1119	0.0061	-0.0193	0.0305	-0.0486	0.0954	-0.1179	0.1280	-0.3558	-0.3702	-0.3577	0.2005	0.3808	-0.3019
uknats05	-0.2788	-0.0301	0.0426	0.1210	0.0063	0.0464	-0.0081	0.0244	-0.0639	0.1149	-0.0957	0.3693	0.3688	0.3805	-0.2125	-0.3870	0.3077
orthmos05	0.2299	0.0225	-0.0277	-0.1558	-0.0081	-0.0298	0.0268	-0.0161	-0.0084	-0.1342	0.0646	-0.2443	-0.2496	-0.2212	0.1772	0.2179	-0.1528
orthkyiv05	-0.0782	0.0382	-0.0319	0.0283	-0.0335	-0.0441	-0.0414	0.0348	-0.0146	0.0341	-0.0466	0.1395	0.1348	0.1604	-0.2044	-0.1756	0.1257
odesa	-0.0207	0.0317	-0.0244	-0.0391	0.0030	-0.0378	-0.0269	0.0516	-0.0388	-0.0396	-0.0099	-0.0772	0.0423	-0.1331	0.0687	0.2138	-0.1776
donbas	0.4812	-0.0433	-0.0036	-0.1872	0.0233	0.0162	0.0752	-0.0992	0.1405	-0.1705	0.1447	-0.5226	-0.5497	-0.5015	0.2441	0.5518	-0.4064
galicia	-0.1757	0.0306	-0.0321	0.3269	0.0075	0.0418	0.0134	-0.0376	-0.0703	0.3869	-0.0026	0.2890	0.2395	0.3632	-0.1626	-0.3632	0.4858
age05	-0.0067	0.0826	-0.1020	-0.1041	-0.2541	-0.5451	-0.3771	0.0767	0.0231	-0.1473	-0.0399	0.0284	-0.0563	-0.1044	0.1117	0.0490	-0.0721
educ05	-0.0177	-0.0671	0.0602	0.1237	0.1671	0.2327	0.2366	-0.0600	-0.0252	0.1682	0.0378	0.0513	0.0340	0.1007	-0.0436	0.0667	-0.0298
female	0.0309	-0.0221	-0.0194	-0.1026	-0.0493	-0.0238	0.0567	0.0209	0.0469	-0.0554	-0.0156	-0.0477	-0.1259	-0.0908	-0.0046	0.0505	-0.0492
commsize	0.0669	-0.1046	0.0915	0.0095	0.1280	0.0967	0.1025	-0.0710	0.0683	0.0469	0.0274	-0.1329	-0.0803	-0.1545	0.1552	0.4157	-0.4119
runats05	1.0000																
uknats05	-0.8404	1.0000															
orthmos05	0.2632	-0.2480	1.0000														
orthkyiv05	-0.1563	0.1598	-0.4083	1.0000													
odesa	-0.0145	-0.0384	-0.0746	0.0351	1.0000												
donbas	0.4287	-0.4014	0.3199	-0.2061	-0.1129	1.0000											
galicia	-0.1452	0.1584	-0.2048	-0.0199	-0.0930	-0.2045	1.0000										
age05	0.0906	-0.1088	0.0682	0.0270	0.0706	0.0142	-0.1021	1.0000									
educ05	-0.0096	0.0003	0.0297	-0.0647	-0.0009	-0.0719	0.0357	-0.2451	1.0000								
female	0.0350	-0.0227	0.1285	0.0597	-0.0156	0.0663	-0.0601	0.1265	0.0101	1.0000							
commsize	0.1169	-0.1312	0.0195	-0.0914	0.0710	0.1020	-0.1562	0.0214	0.2324	0.0633	1.0000						



**Table A5. Raw output for regressions generating results reported in Table 2a**

```
. svy: mlogit odwhodiditx3 rftv05 ukvtv05 notv05 itv05 facebook05 vk05 odnoklas05
tpbat05 tppr05 maidan05 antimaidean05 appyatspm05u ato05u proeu05u reglangaut05u
rulangsvy05 runats05 orthmos05 orthkyiv05 odesa donbas galicia age05u educ05u female
commsizeu, base(3)
(running mlogit on estimation sample)
```

Survey: Multinomial logistic regression

Number of strata	=	1	Number of obs	=	2,015
Number of PSUs	=	25	Population size	=	2,015
			Design df	=	24
			F( 24, 1)	=	.
			Prob > F	=	.

	odwhodiditx3	Coef.	Linearized Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]
1						
	rftv05	-.2689366	.156074	-1.72	0.098	-.5910574 .0531843
	ukvtv05	1.174505	.3575628	3.28	0.003	.4365321 1.912479
	notv05	.8931432	.5275282	1.69	0.103	-.1956214 1.981908
	itv05	.4440645	.2586735	1.72	0.099	-.0898115 .9779404
	facebook05	.5499232	.3078007	1.79	0.087	-.0853461 1.185193
	vk05	-.1110408	.2050306	-0.54	0.593	-.5342031 .3121215
	odnoklas05	-.0734406	.1880854	-0.39	0.700	-.4616298 .3147486
	tpbat05	.3699411	.4855694	0.76	0.454	-.6322249 1.372107
	tppr05	-.2728614	.7249118	-0.38	0.710	-1.769006 1.223283
	maidan05	.6718031	.2676131	2.51	0.019	.1194767 1.224129
	antimaidean05	-.6955404	.5459834	-1.27	0.215	-1.822395 .4313141
	appyatspm05u	1.01107	.3266133	3.10	0.005	.3369733 1.685167
	ato05u	1.647509	.4373261	3.77	0.001	.7449123 2.550106
	proeu05u	.6548147	.2884817	2.27	0.032	.0594178 1.250212
	reglangaut05u	-.8141146	.298765	-2.72	0.012	-1.430735 -.197494
	rulangsvy05	-.4182367	.2455736	-1.70	0.101	-.9250758 .0886023
	runats05	-.2073697	.2893215	-0.72	0.480	-.8044999 .3897604
	orthmos05	-.3364098	.3549261	-0.95	0.353	-1.068941 .3961216
	orthkyiv05	.3230165	.1913842	1.69	0.104	-.071981 .718014
	odesa	-.2313213	.2985892	-0.77	0.446	-.8475791 .3849365
	donbas	-.0782468	.5624211	-0.14	0.891	-1.239027 1.082533
	galicia	-.0301752	.3963491	-0.08	0.940	-.8481995 .7878491
	age05u	-.4850801	.2525169	-1.92	0.067	-1.006249 .0360892
	educ05u	.4157441	.2804157	1.48	0.151	-.1630054 .9944936
	female	-.5158775	.1293334	-3.99	0.001	-.7828085 -.2489465
	commsizeu	-.0801649	.2717788	-0.29	0.771	-.6410887 .4807589
	_cons	-1.612637	.5903978	-2.73	0.012	-2.831158 -.394116
2						
	rftv05	-.1065135	.1578973	-0.67	0.506	-.4323974 .2193704
	ukvtv05	1.067469	.302087	3.53	0.002	.443992 1.690946
	notv05	.9952108	.4807474	2.07	0.049	.0029969 1.987425
	itv05	.096138	.4340272	0.22	0.827	-.7996502 .9919262
	facebook05	.2987887	.5061394	0.59	0.560	-.7458316 1.343409
	vk05	-.0341132	.238194	-0.14	0.887	-.5257214 .457495
	odnoklas05	.2092657	.1344021	1.56	0.133	-.0681266 .4866579
	tpbat05	-.4323002	.7585808	-0.57	0.574	-1.997934 1.133334
	tppr05	.7974029	.3164985	2.52	0.019	.1441821 1.450624
	maidan05	-.3395951	.5219834	-0.65	0.521	-1.416916 .7377256
	antimaidean05	1.172584	.6409542	1.83	0.080	-.1502801 2.495449
	appyatspm05u	-2.368268	.5525777	-4.29	0.000	-3.508732 -1.227804
	ato05u	-.786565	.3198063	-2.46	0.022	-1.446613 -.1265173
	proeu05u	-.9107239	.4146917	-2.20	0.038	-1.766605 -.0548423
	reglangaut05u	.7388116	.4360884	1.69	0.103	-.1612305 1.638854
	rulangsvy05	.1592202	.2435316	0.65	0.519	-.3434044 .6618448
	runats05	.8357002	.3121001	2.68	0.013	.1915573 1.479843
	orthmos05	-.0333131	.3740109	-0.09	0.930	-.8052336 .7386074
	orthkyiv05	.4968427	.2804021	1.77	0.089	-.0818788 1.075564
	odesa	.6228282	.2539212	2.45	0.022	.0987605 1.146896
	donbas	1.488046	.2850662	5.22	0.000	.8996981 2.076393
	galicia	-1.196956	.5523678	-2.17	0.040	-2.336987 -.056925
	age05u	-.1821095	.4169246	-0.44	0.666	-1.0426 .6783806
	educ05u	.1910335	.3861831	0.49	0.625	-.6060093 .9880763
	female	-.2934493	.2502598	-1.17	0.252	-.8099602 .2230616



```
1
2
3      commsizeu | .8372757 .2305015 3.63 0.001 .3615439 1.313007
4      _cons | -1.594616 .6394544 -2.49 0.020 -2.914385 -.2748466
5 -----+-----
6      3 | (base outcome)
7 -----+-----
8
9      .
10     . eststo: margins, dydx(*) predict(outcome(1)) post vce(unconditional)
11
12     Average marginal effects      Number of obs      =      2,015
13
14     Expression : Pr(odwhodiditx3==1), predict(outcome(1))
15     dy/dx w.r.t. : rftv05 uktv05 notv05 itv05 facebook05 vk05 odnoklas05 tpbat05 tppr05
16     maidan05 antimaiban05 appyatspm05u ato05u proeu05u reglangaut05u rulangsvy05
17     runats05 orthmos05 orthkyiv05 odesa donbas galicia age05u educ05u
18     female commsizeu
19
20 -----+-----
21      |      Linearized
22      |      dy/dx      Std. Err.      t      P>|t|      [95% Conf. Interval]
23 -----+-----
24      rftv05 | -.0365229 .0203443 -1.80 0.085 -.0785116 .0054658
25      uktv05 | .1418953 .0506048 2.80 0.010 .0374521 .2463384
26      notv05 | .1025396 .0705443 1.45 0.159 -.0430567 .2481359
27      itv05 | .0626372 .0345165 1.81 0.082 -.0086014 .1338759
28      facebook05 | .0723145 .0365566 1.98 0.060 -.0031346 .1477636
29      vk05 | -.0153683 .0293995 -0.52 0.606 -.0760459 .0453093
30      odnoklas05 | -.0169418 .0272884 -0.62 0.541 -.0732623 .0393787
31      tpbat05 | .0671616 .0601358 1.12 0.275 -.0569526 .1912757
32      tppr05 | -.0635274 .1059683 -0.60 0.554 -.2822353 .1551804
33      maidan05 | .1089408 .0364224 2.99 0.006 .0337687 .184113
34      antimaiban05 | -.1367918 .0749146 -1.83 0.080 -.291408 .0178243
35      appyatspm05u | .2182516 .044585 4.90 0.000 .1262327 .3102706
36      ato05u | .2658111 .0654401 4.06 0.000 .1307494 .4008727
37      proeu05u | .123134 .0430179 2.86 0.009 .0343494 .2119187
38      reglangaut05u | -.1415863 .04851 -2.92 0.008 -.241706 -.0414667
39      rulangsvy05 | -.066296 .0336741 -1.97 0.061 -.135796 .0032039
40      runats05 | -.0549947 .0442587 -1.24 0.226 -.1463402 .0363509
41      orthmos05 | -.0486074 .0424167 -1.15 0.263 -.1361511 .0389363
42      orthkyiv05 | .0330821 .0276129 1.20 0.243 -.0239081 .0900723
43      odesa | -.0523014 .0425456 -1.23 0.231 -.1401112 .0355084
44      donbas | -.0550354 .0752373 -0.73 0.472 -.2103176 .1002467
45      galicia | .0305458 .0667494 0.46 0.651 -.1072182 .1683098
46      age05u | -.0661688 .0358256 -1.85 0.077 -.1401093 .0077716
47      educ05u | .055689 .0406699 1.37 0.184 -.0282495 .1396274
48      female | -.0674529 .0177658 -3.80 0.001 -.1041197 -.030786
49      commsizeu | -.0362928 .0359908 -1.01 0.323 -.1105741 .0379885
50 -----+-----
51     (est1 stored)
52
53     .
54     .
55     . svy: mlogit odwhodiditx3 rftv05 uktv05 notv05 itv05 facebook05 vk05 odnoklas05
56     tpbat05 tppr05 maidan05 antimaiban05 appyatspm05u ato05u proeu05u reglangaut05u
57     rulangsvy05 runats05 orthmos05 orthkyiv05 odesa donbas galicia age05u educ05u female
58     commsizeu, base(3)
59     (running mlogit on estimation sample)
60
61     Survey: Multinomial logistic regression
62
63     Number of strata = 1      Number of obs = 2,015
64     Number of PSUs = 25      Population size = 2,015
65                                Design df = 24
66                                F( 24, 1) = .
67                                Prob > F = .
68
69 -----+-----
70      |      Linearized
71      |      Coef.      Std. Err.      t      P>|t|      [95% Conf. Interval]
72 -----+-----
73      1 |
74      rftv05 | -.2689366 .156074 -1.72 0.098 -.5910574 .0531843
75      uktv05 | 1.174505 .3575628 3.28 0.003 .4365321 1.912479
76      notv05 | .8931432 .5275282 1.69 0.103 -.1956214 1.981908
77      itv05 | .4440645 .2586735 1.72 0.099 -.0898115 .9779404
78      facebook05 | .5499232 .3078007 1.79 0.087 -.0853461 1.185193
79      vk05 | -.1110408 .2050306 -0.54 0.593 -.5342031 .3121215
```



odnoklas05		-.0734406	.1880854	-0.39	0.700	-.4616298	.3147486
tpbat05		.3699411	.4855694	0.76	0.454	-.6322249	1.372107
tppr05		-.2728614	.7249118	-0.38	0.710	-1.769006	1.223283
maidan05		.6718031	.2676131	2.51	0.019	.1194767	1.224129
antimaidan05		-.6955404	.5459834	-1.27	0.215	-1.822395	.4313141
appyatspm05u		1.01107	.3266133	3.10	0.005	.3369733	1.685167
ato05u		1.647509	.4373261	3.77	0.001	.7449123	2.550106
proeu05u		.6548147	.2884817	2.27	0.032	.0594178	1.250212
reglangaut05u		-.8141146	.298765	-2.72	0.012	-1.430735	-.197494
rulangsvy05		-.4182367	.2455736	-1.70	0.101	-.9250758	.0886023
runats05		-.2073697	.2893215	-0.72	0.480	-.8044999	.3897604
orthmos05		-.3364098	.3549261	-0.95	0.353	-1.068941	.3961216
orthkyiv05		.3230165	.1913842	1.69	0.104	-.071981	.718014
odesa		-.2313213	.2985892	-0.77	0.446	-.8475791	.3849365
donbas		-.0782468	.5624211	-0.14	0.891	-1.239027	1.082533
galicia		-.0301752	.3963491	-0.08	0.940	-.8481995	.7878491
age05u		-.4850801	.2525169	-1.92	0.067	-1.006249	.0360892
educ05u		.4157441	.2804157	1.48	0.151	-.1630054	.9944936
female		-.5158775	.1293334	-3.99	0.001	-.7828085	-.2489465
commsizeu		-.0801649	.2717788	-0.29	0.771	-.6410887	.4807589
_cons		-1.612637	.5903978	-2.73	0.012	-2.831158	-.394116

2							
rftv05		-.1065135	.1578973	-0.67	0.506	-.4323974	.2193704
uktv05		1.067469	.302087	3.53	0.002	.443992	1.690946
notv05		.9952108	.4807474	2.07	0.049	.0029969	1.987425
itv05		.096138	.4340272	0.22	0.827	-.7996502	.9919262
facebook05		.2987887	.5061394	0.59	0.560	-.7458316	1.343409
vk05		-.0341132	.238194	-0.14	0.887	-.5257214	.457495
odnoklas05		.2092657	.1344021	1.56	0.133	-.0681266	.4866579
tpbat05		-.4323002	.7585808	-0.57	0.574	-1.997934	1.133334
tppr05		.7974029	.3164985	2.52	0.019	.1441821	1.450624
maidan05		-.3395951	.5219834	-0.65	0.521	-1.416916	.7377256
antimaidan05		1.172584	.6409542	1.83	0.080	-.1502801	2.495449
appyatspm05u		-2.368268	.5525777	-4.29	0.000	-3.508732	-1.227804
ato05u		-.786565	.3198063	-2.46	0.022	-1.446613	-.1265173
proeu05u		-.9107239	.4146917	-2.20	0.038	-1.766605	-.0548423
reglangaut05u		.7388116	.4360884	1.69	0.103	-.1612305	1.638854
rulangsvy05		.1592202	.2435316	0.65	0.519	-.3434044	.6618448
runats05		.8357002	.3121001	2.68	0.013	.1915573	1.479843
orthmos05		-.0333131	.3740109	-0.09	0.930	-.8052336	.7386074
orthkyiv05		.4968427	.2804021	1.77	0.089	-.0818788	1.075564
odesa		.6228282	.2539212	2.45	0.022	.0987605	1.146896
donbas		1.488046	.2850662	5.22	0.000	.8996981	2.076393
galicia		-1.196956	.5523678	-2.17	0.040	-2.336987	-.056925
age05u		-.1821095	.4169246	-0.44	0.666	-.10426	.6783806
educ05u		.1910335	.3861831	0.49	0.625	-.6060093	.9880763
female		-.2934493	.2502598	-1.17	0.252	-.8099602	.2230616
commsizeu		.8372757	.2305015	3.63	0.001	.3615439	1.313007
_cons		-1.594616	.6394544	-2.49	0.020	-2.914385	-.2748466

3 | (base outcome)

. eststo: margins, dydx(\*) predict(outcome(2)) post vce(unconditional)

Average marginal effects Number of obs = 2,015

Expression : Pr(odwhodiditx3==2), predict(outcome(2))  
 dy/dx w.r.t. : rftv05 uktv05 notv05 itv05 facebook05 vk05 odnoklas05 tpbat05 tppr05  
 maidan05 antimaidan05 appyatspm05u ato05u proeu05u reglangaut05u rulangsvy05  
 runats05 orthmos05 orthkyiv05 odesa donbas galicia age05u educ05u  
 female commsizeu

		Linearized				
		dy/dx	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]
rftv05		-.0001936	.0090332	-0.02	0.983	-.0188372 .01845
uktv05		.0463999	.0218814	2.12	0.044	.001239 .0915609
notv05		.0491604	.0296885	1.66	0.111	-.0121136 .1104345
itv05		-.005711	.0299358	-0.19	0.850	-.0674954 .0560735
facebook05		.0065215	.0331907	0.20	0.846	-.0619807 .0750237
vk05		.0006662	.0178556	0.04	0.971	-.036186 .0375184
odnoklas05		.0179746	.0111457	1.61	0.120	-.0050289 .0409781
tpbat05		-.0435118	.0510534	-0.85	0.402	-.1488808 .0618573



```
1
2
3         tppr05 | .0682877 .025572 2.67 0.013 .0155098 .1210657
4         maidan05 | -.0453251 .0366617 -1.24 0.228 -.1209911 .0303409
5         antimaidan05 | .1090212 .0536689 2.03 0.053 -.0017459 .2197882
6         appyatspm05u | -.2086798 .0450475 -4.63 0.000 -.3016532 -.1157063
7         ato05u | -.1076559 .0348837 -3.09 0.005 -.1796523 -.0356596
8         proeu05u | -.088025 .0338728 -2.60 0.016 -.1579351 -.018115
9         reglangaut05u | .0796798 .031178 2.56 0.017 .0153316 .1440281
10        rulangsvy05 | .0242696 .0169325 1.43 0.165 -.0106773 .0592165
11        runats05 | .0692696 .0297328 2.33 0.029 .0079041 .1306352
12        orthmos05 | .0073154 .0214002 0.34 0.735 -.0368524 .0514831
13        orthkyiv05 | .0281347 .0214224 1.31 0.201 -.016079 .0723484
14        odesa | .0538695 .018986 2.84 0.009 .0146843 .0930547
15        donbas | .1148341 .0259284 4.43 0.000 .0613205 .1683477
16        galicia | -.0896481 .0569327 -1.57 0.128 -.2071515 .0278552
17        age05u | .0004077 .0309487 0.01 0.990 -.0634672 .0642827
18        educ05u | .0022943 .0279992 0.08 0.935 -.0554933 .0600819
19        female | -.007113 .0159155 -0.45 0.659 -.0399608 .0257349
20        commsizeu | .0656699 .0203807 3.22 0.004 .0236062 .1077337
21
22 -----
23 (est2 stored)
24
25 .
26
27 . svy: mlogit odwhodiditx3 rftv05 uktv05 notv05 itv05 facebook05 vk05 odnoklas05
28 tpbat05 tppr05 maidan05 antimaidan05 appyatspm05u ato05u proeu05u reglangaut05u
29 rulangsvy05 runats05 orthmos05 orthkyiv05 odesa donbas galicia age05u educ05u female
30 commsizeu, base(3)
31 (running mlogit on estimation sample)
32
33 Survey: Multinomial logistic regression
34
35 Number of strata = 1 Number of obs = 2,015
36 Number of PSUs = 25 Population size = 2,015
37 Design df = 24
38 F( 24, 1) = .
39 Prob > F = .
40
41 -----
42
43 odwhodiditx3 | Coef. Linearized Std. Err. t P>|t| [95% Conf. Interval]
44 -----+-----
45 1
46   rftv05 | -.2689366 .156074 -1.72 0.098 -.5910574 .0531843
47   uktv05 | 1.174505 .3575628 3.28 0.003 .4365321 1.912479
48   notv05 | .8931432 .5275282 1.69 0.103 -.1956214 1.981908
49   itv05 | .4440645 .2586735 1.72 0.099 -.0898115 .9779404
50   facebook05 | .5499232 .3078007 1.79 0.087 -.0853461 1.185193
51   vk05 | -.1110408 .2050306 -0.54 0.593 -.5342031 .3121215
52   odnoklas05 | -.0734406 .1880854 -0.39 0.700 -.4616298 .3147486
53   tpbat05 | .3699411 .4855694 0.76 0.454 -.6322249 1.372107
54   tppr05 | -.2728614 .7249118 -0.38 0.710 -1.769006 1.223283
55   maidan05 | .6718031 .2676131 2.51 0.019 .1194767 1.224129
56   antimaidan05 | -.6955404 .5459834 -1.27 0.215 -1.822395 .4313141
57   appyatspm05u | 1.01107 .3266133 3.10 0.005 .3369733 1.685167
58   ato05u | 1.647509 .4373261 3.77 0.001 .7449123 2.550106
59   proeu05u | .6548147 .2884817 2.27 0.032 .0594178 1.250212
60   reglangaut05u | -.8141146 .298765 -2.72 0.012 -1.430735 -.197494
61   rulangsvy05 | -.4182367 .2455736 -1.70 0.101 -.9250758 .0886023
62   runats05 | -.2073697 .2893215 -0.72 0.480 -.8044999 .3897604
63   orthmos05 | -.3364098 .3549261 -0.95 0.353 -1.068941 .3961216
64   orthkyiv05 | .3230165 .1913842 1.69 0.104 -.071981 .718014
65   odesa | -.2313213 .2985892 -0.77 0.446 -.8475791 .3849365
66   donbas | -.0782468 .5624211 -0.14 0.891 -1.239027 1.082533
67   galicia | -.0301752 .3963491 -0.08 0.940 -.8481995 .7878491
68   age05u | -.4850801 .2525169 -1.92 0.067 -1.006249 .0360892
69   educ05u | .4157441 .2804157 1.48 0.151 -.1630054 .9944936
70   female | -.5158775 .1293334 -3.99 0.001 -.7828085 -.2489465
71   commsizeu | -.0801649 .2717788 -0.29 0.771 -.6410887 .4807589
72   _cons | -1.612637 .5903978 -2.73 0.012 -2.831158 -.394116
73
74 -----
75 2
76   rftv05 | -.1065135 .1578973 -0.67 0.506 -.4323974 .2193704
77   uktv05 | 1.067469 .302087 3.53 0.002 .443992 1.690946
78   notv05 | .9952108 .4807474 2.07 0.049 .0029969 1.987425
79   itv05 | .096138 .4340272 0.22 0.827 -.7996502 .9919262
80   facebook05 | .2987887 .5061394 0.59 0.560 -.7458316 1.343409
81   vk05 | -.0341132 .238194 -0.14 0.887 -.5257214 .457495
```



```

odnoklas05 | .2092657 .1344021 1.56 0.133 -.0681266 .4866579
tpbat05 | -.4323002 .7585808 -0.57 0.574 -1.997934 1.133334
tppr05 | .7974029 .3164985 2.52 0.019 .1441821 1.450624
maidan05 | -.3395951 .5219834 -0.65 0.521 -1.416916 .7377256
antimaidan05 | 1.172584 .6409542 1.83 0.080 -.1502801 2.495449
appyatspm05u | -2.368268 .5525777 -4.29 0.000 -3.508732 -1.227804
ato05u | -.786565 .3198063 -2.46 0.022 -1.446613 -.1265173
proeu05u | -.9107239 .4146917 -2.20 0.038 -1.766605 -.0548423
reglangaut05u | .7388116 .4360884 1.69 0.103 -.1612305 1.638854
rulangsvy05 | .1592202 .2435316 0.65 0.519 -.3434044 .6618448
runats05 | .8357002 .3121001 2.68 0.013 .1915573 1.479843
orthmos05 | -.0333131 .3740109 -0.09 0.930 -.8052336 .7386074
orthkyiv05 | .4968427 .2804021 1.77 0.089 -.0818788 1.075564
odesa | .6228282 .2539212 2.45 0.022 .0987605 1.146896
donbas | 1.488046 .2850662 5.22 0.000 .8996981 2.076393
galicia | -1.196956 .5523678 -2.17 0.040 -2.336987 -.056925
age05u | -.1821095 .4169246 -0.44 0.666 -.10426 .6783806
educ05u | .1910335 .3861831 0.49 0.625 -.6060093 .9880763
female | -.2934493 .2502598 -1.17 0.252 -.8099602 .2230616
commsizeu | .8372757 .2305015 3.63 0.001 .3615439 1.313007
_cons | -1.594616 .6394544 -2.49 0.020 -2.914385 -.2748466
-----+-----
3 | (base outcome)
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.
. eststo: margins, dydx(*) predict(outcome(3)) post vce(unconditional)

Average marginal effects                               Number of obs      =      2,015

Expression      : Pr(odwhodiditx3==3), predict(outcome(3))
dy/dx w.r.t.    : rftv05 uktv05 notv05 itv05 facebook05 vk05 odnoklas05 tpbat05 tppr05
maidan05 antimaidan05 appyatspm05u ato05u proeu05u reglangaut05u rulangsvy05
runats05 orthmos05 orthkyiv05 odesa donbas galicia age05u educ05u
female commsizeu

-----+-----
|               | Linearized |
|               | dy/dx     | Std. Err. | t    | P>|t| | [95% Conf. Interval] |
-----+-----
rftv05 | .0367165 | .023986 | 1.53 | 0.139 | -.0127882 | .0862213
uktv05 | -.1882952 | .044278 | -4.25 | 0.000 | -.2796804 | -.09691
notv05 | -.1517 | .0731536 | -2.07 | 0.049 | -.3026816 | -.0007184
itv05 | -.0569262 | .0430473 | -1.32 | 0.198 | -.1457715 | .031919
facebook05 | -.078836 | .053088 | -1.49 | 0.151 | -.1884043 | .0307323
vk05 | .0147021 | .0286988 | 0.51 | 0.613 | -.0445293 | .0739335
odnoklas05 | -.0010328 | .0240135 | -0.04 | 0.966 | -.0505942 | .0485287
tpbat05 | -.0236498 | .0812785 | -0.29 | 0.774 | -.1914005 | .1441008
tppr05 | -.0047603 | .0946753 | -0.05 | 0.960 | -.2001606 | .19064
maidan05 | -.0636158 | .0481943 | -1.32 | 0.199 | -.163084 | .0358525
antimaidan05 | .0277707 | .0888913 | 0.31 | 0.757 | -.1556919 | .2112333
appyatspm05u | -.0095719 | .0598991 | -0.16 | 0.874 | -.1331976 | .1140538
ato05u | -.1581551 | .0530206 | -2.98 | 0.006 | -.2675842 | -.048726
proeu05u | -.035109 | .046439 | -0.76 | 0.457 | -.1309544 | .0607365
reglangaut05u | .0619065 | .0431159 | 1.44 | 0.164 | -.0270802 | .1508933
rulangsvy05 | .0420264 | .0343657 | 1.22 | 0.233 | -.028901 | .1129538
runats05 | -.014275 | .0395925 | -0.36 | 0.722 | -.0959899 | .0674399
orthmos05 | .041292 | .0554456 | 0.74 | 0.464 | -.073142 | .155726
orthkyiv05 | -.0612168 | .0294852 | -2.08 | 0.049 | -.1220713 | -.0003622
odesa | -.0015681 | .0411366 | -0.04 | 0.970 | -.0864698 | .0833335
donbas | -.0597986 | .0737646 | -0.81 | 0.426 | -.2120413 | .092444
galicia | .0591023 | .048281 | 1.22 | 0.233 | -.0405448 | .1587495
age05u | .0657611 | .0412211 | 1.60 | 0.124 | -.0193151 | .1508373
educ05u | -.0579832 | .0426252 | -1.36 | 0.186 | -.1459573 | .0299908
female | .0745658 | .0249356 | 2.99 | 0.006 | .0231014 | .1260303
commsizeu | -.0293771 | .0420751 | -0.70 | 0.492 | -.1162159 | .0574617
-----+-----
(est3 stored)

```

**Table A6. Raw output from regressions generating Table 2b**

```

. svy: mlogit odwhodiditx3 tpbat05 tppr05 rulangsvy05 runats05 orthmos05 orthkyiv05
odesa donbas galicia age05u educ05u female commsizeu, base(3)

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(running mlogit on estimation sample)

Survey: Multinomial logistic regression

Number of strata	=	1	Number of obs	=	2,015
Number of PSUs	=	25	Population size	=	2,015
			Design df	=	24
			F( 24, 1)	=	.
			Prob > F	=	.

		Linearized				
odwhodiditx3		Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]
-----						
1						
	tpbat05	.7149028	.4222959	1.69	0.103	-.156673 1.586479
	tppr05	-.6780919	.7099688	-0.96	0.349	-2.143395 .7872116
	rulangsvy05	-.6871475	.2425962	-2.83	0.009	-1.187841 -.1864536
	runats05	-.5240497	.2437439	-2.15	0.042	-1.027112 -.020987
	orthmos05	-.2335251	.3389908	-0.69	0.498	-.9331677 .4661175
	orthkyiv05	-.4949091	.2023894	2.45	0.022	.0771979 .9126204
	odesa	-.2402067	.2243343	-1.07	0.295	-.7032099 .2227966
	donbas	-.8747298	.4940657	-1.77	0.089	-1.894431 .1449717
	galicia	.7832213	.4194823	1.87	0.074	-.0825475 1.64899
	age05u	-.3888765	.2298169	-1.69	0.104	-.8631952 .0854422
	educ05u	.6967684	.2885366	2.41	0.024	.1012582 1.292279
	female	-.5939974	.1215598	-4.89	0.000	-.8448844 -.3431104
	commsizeu	.0184002	.2725144	0.07	0.947	-.5440419 .5808422
	_cons	.9213473	.2655264	3.47	0.002	.3733277 1.469367
-----						
2						
	tpbat05	-1.294847	.6916209	-1.87	0.073	-2.722282 .1325886
	tppr05	1.205663	.3704287	3.25	0.003	.441136 1.970191
	rulangsvy05	.3698815	.2633093	1.40	0.173	-.1735621 .9133251
	runats05	1.128196	.3146175	3.59	0.001	.478857 1.777534
	orthmos05	.1831371	.3195605	0.57	0.572	-.4764034 .8426777
	orthkyiv05	.4656725	.2515226	1.85	0.076	-.0534446 .9847896
	odesa	.8476057	.236696	3.58	0.002	.3590891 1.336122
	donbas	2.00807	.3529744	5.69	0.000	1.279567 2.736573
	galicia	-1.698823	.4132912	-4.11	0.000	-2.551814 -.8458315
	age05u	-.3116295	.3571825	-0.87	0.392	-1.048818 .4255591
	educ05u	.171311	.3939198	0.43	0.668	-.6416994 .9843215
	female	-.3712395	.2531614	-1.47	0.156	-.8937388 .1512599
	commsizeu	.7133109	.2117582	3.37	0.003	.2762634 1.150358
	_cons	-1.816488	.4693336	-3.87	0.001	-2.785144 -.8478306
-----						
3	(base outcome)					
-----						

. eststo: margins, dydx(\*) predict(outcome(1)) post vce(unconditional)

Average marginal effects

Number of obs = 2,015

Expression : Pr(odwhodiditx3=1), predict(outcome(1))  
dy/dx w.r.t. : tpbat05 tppr05 rulangsvy05 runats05 orthmos05 orthkyiv05 odesa donbas  
galicia age05u educ05u female commsizeu

		Linearized				
	dy/dx	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]	
tpbat05	.1893939	.0612803	3.09	0.005	.0629176	.3158703
tppr05	-.1785818	.1366837	-1.31	0.204	-.4606832	.1035195
rulangsvy05	-.1408517	.0355993	-3.96	0.001	-.2143251	-.0673783
runats05	-.1472629	.0415677	-3.54	0.002	-.2330544	-.0614714
orthmos05	-.0505726	.0471282	-1.07	0.294	-.1478404	.0466952
orthkyiv05	.0669734	.0380246	1.76	0.091	-.0115056	.1454524
odesa	-.0830625	.0363354	-2.29	0.031	-.1580552	-.0080699
donbas	-.2516896	.0719681	-3.50	0.002	-.4002244	-.1031547
galicia	.2206893	.0931517	2.37	0.026	.0284337	.4129448
age05u	-.0551803	.036301	-1.52	0.142	-.1301018	.0197412
educ05u	.1170953	.0500409	2.34	0.028	.013816	.2203746
female	-.0892197	.0190061	-4.69	0.000	-.1284463	-.0499931
commsizeu	-.0302844	.0430256	-0.70	0.488	-.1190849	.0585161

(est1 stored)



```
.
. svy: mlogit odwhodiditx3 tpbat05 tppr05 rulangsvey05 runats05 orthmos05 orthkyiv05
odesa donbas galicia age05u educ05u female commsizeu, base(3)
(running mlogit on estimation sample)
```

Survey: Multinomial logistic regression

```
Number of strata = 1          Number of obs = 2,015
Number of PSUs   = 25        Population size = 2,015
                                Design df      = 24
                                F( 24, 1)       = .
                                Prob > F       = .
```

		Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]	
1	odwhodiditx3						
	tpbat05	.7149028	.4222959	1.69	0.103	-.156673	1.586479
	tppr05	-.6780919	.7099688	-0.96	0.349	-2.143395	.7872116
	rulangsvey05	-.6871475	.2425962	-2.83	0.009	-1.187841	-.1864536
	runats05	-.5240497	.2437439	-2.15	0.042	-1.027112	-.020987
	orthmos05	-.2335251	.3389908	-0.69	0.498	-.9331677	.4661175
	orthkyiv05	.4949091	.2023894	2.45	0.022	.0771979	.9126204
	odesa	-.2402067	.2243343	-1.07	0.295	-.7032099	.2227966
	donbas	-.8747298	.4940657	-1.77	0.089	-1.894431	.1449717
	galicia	.7832213	.4194823	1.87	0.074	-.0825475	1.64899
	age05u	-.3888765	.2298169	-1.69	0.104	-.8631952	.0854422
	educ05u	.6967684	.2885366	2.41	0.024	.1012582	1.292279
	female	-.5939974	.1215598	-4.89	0.000	-.8448844	-.3431104
	commsizeu	.0184002	.2725144	0.07	0.947	-.5440419	.5808422
	_cons	.9213473	.2655264	3.47	0.002	.3733277	1.469367
2							
	tpbat05	-1.294847	.6916209	-1.87	0.073	-2.722282	.1325886
	tppr05	1.205663	.3704287	3.25	0.003	.441136	1.970191
	rulangsvey05	.3698815	.2633093	1.40	0.173	-.1735621	.9133251
	runats05	1.128196	.3146175	3.59	0.001	.478857	1.777534
	orthmos05	.1831371	.3195605	0.57	0.572	-.4764034	.8426777
	orthkyiv05	.4656725	.2515226	1.85	0.076	-.0534446	.9847896
	odesa	.8476057	.236696	3.58	0.002	.3590891	1.336122
	donbas	2.00807	.3529744	5.69	0.000	1.279567	2.736573
	galicia	-1.698823	.4132912	-4.11	0.000	-2.551814	-.8458315
	age05u	-.3116295	.3571825	-0.87	0.392	-1.048818	.4255591
	educ05u	.171311	.3939198	0.43	0.668	-.6416994	.9843215
	female	-.3712395	.2531614	-1.47	0.156	-.8937388	.1512599
	commsizeu	.7133109	.2117582	3.37	0.003	.2762634	1.150358
	_cons	-1.816488	.4693336	-3.87	0.001	-2.785144	-.8478306
3							
	(base outcome)						

```
. eststo: margins, dydx(*) predict(outcome(2)) post vce(unconditional)
```

Average marginal effects Number of obs = 2,015

```
Expression : Pr(odwhodiditx3==2), predict(outcome(2))
dy/dx w.r.t. : tpbat05 tppr05 rulangsvey05 runats05 orthmos05 orthkyiv05 odesa donbas
galicia age05u educ05u female commsizeu
```

		dy/dx	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]	
	tpbat05	-.1536582	.0570531	-2.69	0.013	-.2714099	-.0359064
	tppr05	.1436601	.0450611	3.19	0.004	.0506585	.2366617
	rulangsvey05	.0666346	.0174461	3.82	0.001	.0306277	.1026415
	runats05	.1292273	.0380178	3.40	0.002	.0507626	.2076921
	orthmos05	.027968	.019029	1.47	0.155	-.0113059	.0672419
	orthkyiv05	.0198487	.0256843	0.77	0.447	-.033161	.0728585
	odesa	.089859	.0157525	5.70	0.000	.0573473	.1223706
	donbas	.2272788	.0392032	5.80	0.000	.1463674	.3081902
	galicia	-.1943117	.0746884	-2.60	0.016	-.3484609	-.0401626
	age05u	-.0105666	.0302351	-0.35	0.730	-.0729687	.0518355



```
1
2
3      educ05u | -.0169353 .0342374 -0.49 0.625 -.0875978 .0537272
4      female | -.0064316 .0181554 -0.35 0.726 -.0439025 .0310394
5      commsizeu | .0652361 .020526 3.18 0.004 .0228726 .1075996
6      -----
7      (est2 stored)
8
9      .
10     .
11     . svy: mlogit odwhodiditx3 tpbat05 tppr05 rulangsvy05 runats05 orthmos05 orthkyiv05
12     odesa donbas galicia age05u educ05u female commsizeu, base(3)
13     (running mlogit on estimation sample)
14
15     Survey: Multinomial logistic regression
16
17     Number of strata = 1      Number of obs = 2,015
18     Number of PSUs = 25     Population size = 2,015
19                               Design df = 24
20                               F( 24, 1) = .
21                               Prob > F = .
22
23     -----
24     odwhodiditx3 |      Linearized
25                  |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
26     -----+-----
27     1
28     tpbat05 | .7149028 .4222959   1.69  0.103   -1.156673   1.586479
29     tppr05 | -.6780919 .7099688   -0.96  0.349   -2.143395   .7872116
30     rulangsvy05 | -.6871475 .2425962   -2.83  0.009   -1.187841   -.1864536
31     runats05 | -.5240497 .2437439   -2.15  0.042   -1.027112   -.020987
32     orthmos05 | -.2335251 .3389908   -0.69  0.498   -.9331677   .4661175
33     orthkyiv05 | .4949091 .2023894    2.45  0.022   .0771979   .9126204
34     odesa | -.2402067 .2243343   -1.07  0.295   -.7032099   .2227966
35     donbas | -.8747298 .4940657   -1.77  0.089   -1.894431   .1449717
36     galicia | .7832213 .4194823    1.87  0.074   -.0825475   1.64899
37     age05u | -.3888765 .2298169   -1.69  0.104   -.8631952   .0854422
38     educ05u | .6967684 .2885366    2.41  0.024   .1012582   1.292279
39     female | -.5939974 .1215598   -4.89  0.000   -.8448844   -.3431104
40     commsizeu | .0184002 .2725144    0.07  0.947   -.5440419   .5808422
41     _cons | .9213473 .2655264    3.47  0.002   .3733277   1.469367
42     -----
43     2
44     tpbat05 | -1.294847 .6916209   -1.87  0.073   -2.722282   .1325886
45     tppr05 | 1.205663 .3704287    3.25  0.003   .441136   1.970191
46     rulangsvy05 | .3698815 .2633093    1.40  0.173   -.1735621   .9133251
47     runats05 | 1.128196 .3146175    3.59  0.001   .478857   1.777534
48     orthmos05 | .1831371 .3195605    0.57  0.572   -.4764034   .8426777
49     orthkyiv05 | .4656725 .2515226    1.85  0.076   -.0534446   .9847896
50     odesa | .8476057 .236696    3.58  0.002   .3590891   1.336122
51     donbas | 2.00807 .3529744    5.69  0.000   1.279567   2.736573
52     galicia | -1.698823 .4132912   -4.11  0.000   -2.551814   -.8458315
53     age05u | -.3116295 .3571825   -0.87  0.392   -1.048818   .4255591
54     educ05u | .171311 .3939198    0.43  0.668   -.6416994   .9843215
55     female | -.3712395 .2531614   -1.47  0.156   -.8937388   .1512599
56     commsizeu | .7133109 .2117582    3.37  0.003   .2762634   1.150358
57     _cons | -1.816488 .4693336   -3.87  0.001   -2.785144   -.8478306
58     -----
59     3      (base outcome)
60     -----
61
62     . eststo: margins, dydx(*) predict(outcome(3)) post vce(unconditional)
63
64     Average marginal effects      Number of obs = 2,015
65
66     Expression : Pr(odwhodiditx3==3), predict(outcome(3))
67     dy/dx w.r.t. : tpbat05 tppr05 rulangsvy05 runats05 orthmos05 orthkyiv05 odesa donbas
68     galicia age05u educ05u female commsizeu
69
70     -----
71                  |      Linearized
72                  |      dy/dx   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
73     -----+-----
74     tpbat05 | -.0357358 .0792061   -0.45  0.656   -1.199209   .1277375
75     tppr05 | .0349217 .1027477    0.34  0.737   -1.177139   .2469825
76     rulangsvy05 | .0742171 .0404749    1.83  0.079   -.009319   .1577533
77     runats05 | .0180356 .0454528    0.40  0.695   -.0757744   .1118455
78     orthmos05 | .0226046 .0558229    0.40  0.689   -.0926082   .1378174
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orthkyiv05		-.0868221	.0329823	-2.63	0.015	-.1548942	-.01875
odesa		-.0067964	.040192	-0.17	0.867	-.0897487	.0761558
donbas		.0244108	.0781945	0.31	0.758	-.1369748	.1857963
galicia		-.0263775	.0620092	-0.43	0.674	-.1543582	.1016031
age05u		.0657469	.0424482	1.55	0.134	-.0218619	.1533557
educ05u		-.10016	.0491922	-2.04	0.053	-.2016876	.0013676
female		.0956512	.0265144	3.61	0.001	.0409282	.1503743
commsizeu		-.0349517	.0437089	-0.80	0.432	-.1251625	.0552591

-----  
(est3 stored)

\*\*\*\*



Table A7. Full effect of demographics on probability of consuming different media May 2014

	RuTV	UkTV	NoTV	ITV	FB	VK	Odn
Russian-speaker	0.07 (0.04)	-0.03* (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	0.01 (0.04)
Russian ethnicity	0.07* (0.03)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.01)	0.00 (0.03)	0.02 (0.02)	0.07** (0.02)	0.08** (0.03)
Orthodox (Moscow)	0.13** (0.03)	0.07** (0.02)	-0.04 (0.02)	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)
Orthodox (Kyiv)	0.05 (0.03)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.03)
Odesa	0.03 (0.02)	0.07** (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.03)	0.06** (0.01)	-0.05* (0.02)	-0.05 (0.03)
Donbas	0.27** (0.03)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.16* (0.06)	0.03 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.03)	0.06 (0.03)
Galicia	-0.10* (0.04)	0.02 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.04)	0.18** (0.06)	-0.00 (0.02)	0.04 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)
Age	-0.08 (0.04)	0.11** (0.04)	-0.08* (0.03)	-0.07* (0.03)	-0.36** (0.05)	-1.04** (0.04)	-0.66** (0.06)
Education	0.01 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.09* (0.04)	0.12** (0.03)	0.19** (0.04)	0.21** (0.04)
Female	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.01)	0.03* (0.02)	0.08** (0.02)
Larger community	0.02 (0.05)	-0.06* (0.02)	0.04* (0.02)	0.06 (0.04)	0.09** (0.03)	0.07* (0.03)	0.07* (0.03)
N	2015	2015	2015	2015	2015	2015	2015

Standard errors in parentheses

Note: logit.

\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$



**Table A8. Raw output for regressions generating Figure 1 (TV by ethnicity)**

```
. svy: logit odamdi rftv05##runats05 uktv05 notv05 itv05 facebook05 vk05 odnoklas05
tpbat05 tppr05 maidan05 antimaidean05 appyatspm05 ato05 proeu05 reglangaut05
rulangsvy05 orthmos05 orthkyiv05 odesa donbas galicia age05 educ05 female commsize
(running logit on estimation sample)
```

Survey: Logistic regression

Number of strata	=	1	Number of obs	=	2,015
Number of PSUs	=	25	Population size	=	2,015
			Design df	=	24
			F( 24, 1)	=	.
			Prob > F	=	.

	odamdi	Coef.	Linearized Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]	
1.rftv05		-.1823265	.1537298	-1.19	0.247	-.4996092	.1349563
1.runats05		-.2321372	.4353599	-0.53	0.599	-1.130676	.6664015
rftv05##runats05							
1 1		-1.128521	.7844271	-1.44	0.163	-2.747499	.4904567
uktv05		.9893524	.380341	2.60	0.016	.2043671	1.774338
notv05		.7359124	.507331	1.45	0.160	-.3111674	1.782992
itv05		.4565442	.2284035	2.00	0.057	-.0148574	.9279458
facebook05		.4489204	.2386365	1.88	0.072	-.0436012	.9414419
vk05		-.099055	.1987678	-0.50	0.623	-.5092916	.3111816
odnoklas05		-.1516783	.1884224	-0.80	0.429	-.5405631	.2372064
tpbat05		.3916044	.48455	0.81	0.427	-.6084577	1.391667
tppr05		-.6842833	.5719642	-1.20	0.243	-1.86476	.4961928
maidan05		.7339734	.2581222	2.84	0.009	.2012353	1.266712
antimaidean05		-.9714704	.4710023	-2.06	0.050	-1.943571	.0006306
appyatspm05		.2963372	.0581173	5.10	0.000	.1763889	.4162855
ato05		.6094287	.1618421	3.77	0.001	.275403	.9434543
proeu05		.2907301	.0986163	2.95	0.007	.0871962	.494264
reglangaut05		-.315161	.1019193	-3.09	0.005	-.525512	-.1048099
rulangsvy05		-.4481754	.2280066	-1.97	0.061	-.9187579	.0224071
orthmos05		-.3377134	.3049446	-1.11	0.279	-.9670882	.2916614
orthkyiv05		.2244585	.1751312	1.28	0.212	-.1369944	.5859115
odesa		-.4355419	.2788981	-1.56	0.131	-1.011159	.1400754
donbas		-.7433534	.4292388	-1.73	0.096	-1.629259	.1425519
galicia		-.0549927	.3958214	-0.14	0.891	-.871928	.7619426
age05		-.0065721	.0031371	-2.10	0.047	-.0130467	-.0000976
educ05		.0743353	.0519578	1.43	0.165	-.0329002	.1815708
female		-.4470204	.1183113	-3.78	0.001	-.691203	-.2028378
commsize		-.0385493	.0403241	-0.96	0.349	-.1217742	.0446755
_cons		-2.451546	.7270649	-3.37	0.003	-3.952134	-.9509578

```
. margins, dydx(rftv05) at(runats05=0 runats05=1) vce(unconditional)
```

Average marginal effects

Number of obs = 2,015

Expression : Pr(odamdi), predict()  
dy/dx w.r.t. : 1.rftv05

1._at	:	runats05	=	0
2._at	:	runats05	=	1

		dy/dx	Linearized Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0.rftv05	(base outcome)						
1.rftv05							
1		-.0278975	.0242797	-1.15	0.262	-.0780085	.0222134
2		-.204483	.1074885	-1.90	0.069	-.4263284	.0173624

Note: dy/dx for factor levels is the discrete change from the base level.



```
1
2
3 .
4 . marginsplot, yline(0) ylabel(.2 "20%" .1 "10%" 0 "0" -.1 "-10%" -.2 "-20%" -.3 "-
5 30%" -.4 "-40%" -.5 "-50%",angle(horizontal)) xlabel(0 "Non-Russian" 1 "Russian")
6 title("e. Russian TV on AMDI", size(large)) ytitle("Full effect", size(large))
7 xtitle("Self-stated ethnicity", size(large)) recast(scatter) xscale(range(-.25 1.25))
8 graphr(color(white)) saving(ODtvxidruruamdi20171021, replace)
9
10
11 Variables that uniquely identify margins: runats05
12 (file ODtvxidruruamdi20171021.gph saved)
13
14 .
15 .
16 . svy: logit odpmdi rftv05##runats05 ukvtv05 notv05 itv05 facebook05 vk05 odnoklas05
17 tpbat05 tppr05 maidan05 antimaidan05 appyatspm05 ato05 proeu05 reglangaut05
18 rulangsvy05 orthmos05 orthkyiv05 odesa donbas galicia age05 educ05 female commsize
19 (running logit on estimation sample)
20
21 Survey: Logistic regression
22
23 Number of strata = 1 Number of obs = 2,015
24 Number of PSUs = 25 Population size = 2,015
25 Design df = 24
26 F( 24, 1) = .
27 Prob > F = .
28
29 -----
30 | Linearized
31 | Coef. Std. Err. t P>|t| [95% Conf. Interval]
32 -----+-----
33 | odpmdi |
34 | 1.rftv05 | -.0171867 .1186437 -0.14 0.886 -.2620554 .227682
35 | 1.runats05 | .8459492 .4415217 1.92 0.067 -.0653067 1.757205
36 | rftv05##runats05 |
37 | 1 1 | .1200457 .3107766 0.39 0.703 -.5213657 .761457
38 | ukvtv05 | .7472524 .3173904 2.35 0.027 .0921908 1.402314
39 | notv05 | .807976 .4483436 1.80 0.084 -.1173596 1.733312
40 | itv05 | -.189364 .368805 -0.51 0.612 -.9505401 .5718122
41 | facebook05 | .0022923 .3903986 0.01 0.995 -.8034508 .8080353
42 | vk05 | .0015141 .2413197 0.01 0.995 -.4965452 .4995735
43 | odnoklas05 | .2594886 .1417453 1.83 0.080 -.0330594 .5520365
44 | tpbat05 | -.6729804 .673555 -1.00 0.328 -2.06313 .7171688
45 | tppr05 | .9069586 .3071803 2.95 0.007 .2729696 1.540948
46 | maidan05 | -.8165161 .401165 -2.04 0.053 -1.64448 .0114478
47 | antimaidan05 | 1.577164 .568605 2.77 0.011 .4036211 2.750707
48 | appyatspm05 | -.5600689 .1057477 -5.30 0.000 -.7783215 -.3418163
49 | ato05 | -.4733663 .1179697 -4.01 0.001 -.7168438 -.2298888
50 | proeu05 | -.3994276 .1343517 -2.97 0.007 -.6767158 -.1221394
51 | reglangaut05 | .3630929 .1475602 2.46 0.021 .0585436 .6676422
52 | rulangsvy05 | .3715649 .2427812 1.53 0.139 -.1295109 .8726408
53 | orthmos05 | .0475846 .328726 0.14 0.886 -.6308726 .7260418
54 | orthkyiv05 | .3102625 .2636385 1.18 0.251 -.2338607 .8543857
55 | odesa | .7363445 .2373022 3.10 0.005 .2465768 1.226112
56 | donbas | 1.46034 .2130903 6.85 0.000 1.020543 1.900137
57 | galicia | -1.225582 .672872 -1.82 0.081 -2.614322 .1631572
58 | age05 | .0000117 .0055302 0.00 0.998 -.0114021 .0114255
59 | educ05 | .0012507 .0725781 0.02 0.986 -.1485432 .1510446
60 | female | -.0820561 .2126048 -0.39 0.703 -.5208509 .3567387
61 | commsize | .1465188 .0335624 4.37 0.000 .0772495 .2157882
62 | _cons | -1.514542 .9681334 -1.56 0.131 -3.512671 .4835876
63 -----
64
65 .
66 . margins, dydx(rftv05) at(runats05=0 runats05=1) vce(unconditional)
67
68 Average marginal effects Number of obs = 2,015
69
70 Expression : Pr(odpmdi), predict()
71 dy/dx w.r.t. : 1.rftv05
72
73 1._at : runats05 = 0
74
75 2._at : runats05 = 1
76
77 -----
78 | Linearized
79 | dy/dx Std. Err. t P>|t| [95% Conf. Interval]
```



```

-----+-----
0.rftv05 | (base outcome)
-----+-----
1.rftv05 |
   _at |
      1 | -.0013288 .0091927 -.014 0.886 -.0203015 .017644
      2 | .0099007 .0290072 0.34 0.736 -.0499672 .0697687
-----+-----

```

Note: dy/dx for factor levels is the discrete change from the base level.

```

. marginsplot, yline(0) ylabel(.2 "20%" .1 "10%" 0 "0" -.1 "-10%" -.2 "-20%" -.3 "-
30%" -.4 "-40%" -.5 "-50%",angle(horizontal)) xlabel(0 "Non-Russian" 1 "Russian")
title("f. Russian TV on PMDI", size(large)) ylabel("Full effect", size(large))
xtitle("Self-stated ethnicity", size(large)) recast(scatter) xscale(range(-.25 1.25))
graphr(color(white)) saving(ODtvxidrupmdi20171021, replace)

```

```

Variables that uniquely identify margins: runats05
(file ODtvxidrupmdi20171021.gph saved)

```

```

.
.
. svy: logit odamdi rftv05##uknats05 uktv05 notv05 itv05 facebook05 vk05 odnoklas05
tpbat05 tppr05 maidan05 antimaidean05 appyatspm05 ato05 proeu05 reglangaut05
uklangsvy05 orthmos05 orthkyiv05 odesa donbas galicia age05 educ05 female commsize
(running logit on estimation sample)

```

Survey: Logistic regression

Number of strata	=	1	Number of obs	=	2,015
Number of PSUs	=	25	Population size	=	2,015
			Design df	=	24
			F( 24, 1)	=	.
			Prob > F	=	.

```

-----+-----
odamdi | Linearized
      Coef. Std. Err. t P>|t| [95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----
1.rftv05 | -.9133513 .3546259 -2.58 0.017 -1.645263 -.1814394
1.uknats05 | .0572265 .305643 0.19 0.853 -.5735895 .6880426
rftv05##uknats05
  1 1 | .7686858 .4450014 1.73 0.097 -.1497519 1.687124
      uktv05 | .9754937 .3688521 2.64 0.014 .2142204 1.736767
      notv05 | .7029727 .4967978 1.42 0.170 -.3223676 1.728313
      itv05 | .5075376 .23119 2.20 0.038 .0303848 .9846904
      facebook05 | .4906198 .2381328 2.06 0.050 -.000862 .9821017
      vk05 | -.1222464 .1962134 -0.62 0.539 -.527211 .2827182
      odnoklas05 | -.1645159 .1837307 -0.90 0.379 -.5437174 .2146856
      tpbat05 | .3889553 .4729226 0.82 0.419 -.587109 1.36502
      tppr05 | -.7350265 .5829689 -1.26 0.219 -1.938215 .4681621
      maidan05 | .7498858 .267358 2.80 0.010 .1980861 1.301686
      antimaidean05 | -1.033577 .4663469 -2.22 0.036 -1.99607 -.0710842
      appyatspm05 | .290932 .0597715 4.87 0.000 .1675698 .4142942
      ato05 | .6156514 .1614173 3.81 0.001 .2825024 .9488004
      proeu05 | .2998061 .1011299 2.96 0.007 .0910843 .508528
      reglangaut05 | -.3202887 .1048148 -3.06 0.005 -.5366159 -.1039615
      uklangsvy05 | .3443359 .318283 1.08 0.290 -.312568 1.00124
      orthmos05 | -.4218226 .3200188 -1.32 0.200 -1.082309 .2386637
      orthkyiv05 | .1992088 .1917302 1.04 0.309 -.1965028 .5949205
      odesa | -.5293041 .2687624 -1.97 0.061 -1.084003 .0253942
      donbas | -.9133889 .4025954 -2.27 0.033 -1.744305 -.0824728
      galicia | -.1406874 .4318505 -0.33 0.747 -1.031983 .7506082
      age05 | -.006553 .0033675 -1.95 0.063 -.0135032 .0003972
      educ05 | .0762051 .0513769 1.48 0.151 -.0298317 .1822418
      female | -.4344781 .1138063 -3.82 0.001 -.6693627 -.1995935
      commsize | -.0471317 .0449191 -1.05 0.305 -.1398403 .0455768
      _cons | -2.757771 .6582165 -4.19 0.000 -4.116263 -1.399279
-----+-----

```

```

. margins, dydx(rftv05) at(uknats05=0 uknats05=1) vce(unconditional)

```

Average marginal effects		Number of obs	=	2,015
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```
Expression      : Pr(odamdi), predict()
dy/dx w.r.t.    : 1.rftv05

1._at           : uknats05           =           0
2._at           : uknats05           =           1

-----
|               | Linearized
|               | dy/dx   Std. Err.   t   P>|t|   [95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----
0.rftv05        | (base outcome)
-----+-----
1.rftv05        |
|_at            |
| 1             | -.1429016 .0543318   -2.63  0.015   -.2550369   -.0307663
| 2             | -.0220433 .0266194   -0.83  0.416   -.076983    .0328963
-----

Note: dy/dx for factor levels is the discrete change from the base level.

.
. marginsplot, yline(0) ylabel(.2 "20%" .1 "10%" 0 "0" -.1 "-10%" -.2 "-20%" -.3 "-
30%" -.4 "-40%" -.5 "-50%",angle(horizontal)) xlabel(0 "Non-Ukrainian" 1 "Ukrainian")
title("g. Russian TV on AMDI", size(large)) ylabel("Full effect", size(large))
xtitle("Self-stated ethnicity", size(large)) recast(scatter) xscale(range(-.25 1.25))
graphhr(color(white)) saving(ODtvxidruukamdi20171021, replace)

Variables that uniquely identify margins: uknats05
(file ODtvxidruukamdi20171021.gph saved)

.
.
. svy: logit odpmdi rftv05##uknats05 uktv05 notv05 itv05 facebook05 vk05 odnoklas05
tpbat05 tppr05 maidan05 antimaidan05 appyatspm05 ato05 proeu05 reglangaut05
uklangsvy05 orthmos05 orthkyiv05 odesa donbas galicia age05 educ05 female commsize
(running logit on estimation sample)

Survey: Logistic regression

Number of strata   =           1           Number of obs       =       2,015
Number of PSUs     =           25           Population size      =       2,015
                                           Design df           =           24
                                           F(   24,              1) =           .
                                           Prob > F              =           .

-----
|               | Linearized
|               | Coef.   Std. Err.   t   P>|t|   [95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----
1.rftv05        | -.1426177 .2816458   -0.51  0.617   -.7239061   .4386707
1.uknats05      | -.5477678 .3387202   -1.62  0.119   -1.246852   .1513163
rftv05#uknats05 |
| 1 1          | .2653189 .3460047    0.77  0.451   -.4487998   .9794376
| uktv05       | .7252195 .2953516    2.46  0.022   .1156439   1.334795
| notv05       | .8433969 .4370593    1.93  0.066   -.0586491   1.745443
| itv05        | -.2011798 .3746209   -0.54  0.596   -.9743593   .5719996
| facebook05   | .0070875 .3846274    0.02  0.985   -.7867443   .8009194
| vk05         | .0211269 .2450113    0.09  0.932   -.4845516   .5268054
| odnoklas05   | .277769 .1186875    2.34  0.028   .0328101   .522728
| tpbat05      | -.6918146 .6749631   -1.02  0.316   -2.08487    .7012409
| tppr05       | .9116909 .3060681    2.98  0.007   .2799974   1.543384
| maidan05     | -.8194383 .4377639   -1.87  0.073   -1.722939   .0840621
| antimaidan05 | 1.547251 .5632871    2.75  0.011   .3846837   2.709819
| appyatspm05  | -.5606272 .1040601   -5.39  0.000   -.7753966   -.3458577
| ato05        | -.5028782 .1186789   -4.24  0.000   -.7478195   -.2579369
| proeu05      | -.4072961 .1431402   -2.85  0.009   -.7027229   -.1118692
| reglangaut05 | .3628947 .1578754    2.30  0.031   .0370558   .6887335
| uklangsvy05  | -.2905664 .2640409   -1.10  0.282   -.8355199   .2543871
| orthmos05    | .096004 .3074976    0.31  0.758   -.5386398   .7306479
| orthkyiv05   | .300624 .2638008    1.14  0.266   -.2438342   .8450821
| odesa        | .8309547 .2054858    4.04  0.000   .4068528   1.255057
| donbas       | 1.601354 .2221045    7.21  0.000   1.142953   2.059755
| galicia      | -1.175862 .7279013   -1.62  0.119   -2.678176   .3264525
| age05        | .0011945 .0049089    0.24  0.810   -.008937    .011326
| educ05       | -.0043008 .0676371   -0.06  0.950   -.1438969   .1352952
```



```

female | -.0940685 .2081768 -0.45 0.655 -.5237242 .3355873
commsize | .1531239 .0369876 4.14 0.000 .0767853 .2294626
_cons | -.6832172 .8521781 -0.80 0.431 -2.442026 1.075592
-----

```

```

. margins, dydx(rftv05) at(uknats05=0 uknats05=1) vce(unconditional)

```

```

Average marginal effects          Number of obs      =      2,015

```

```

Expression   : Pr(odpmdi), predict()
dy/dx w.r.t. : 1.rftv05

```

```

1._at      : uknats05      =      0
2._at      : uknats05      =      1

```

```

-----
|               | Linearized
|               | dy/dx      Std. Err.      t      P>|t|      [95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----
0.rftv05 | (base outcome)
-----+-----
1.rftv05 |
   _at |
      1 | -.0122757 .0248481   -0.49   0.626   -.0635597 .0390083
      2 | .0095409 .0114732    0.83   0.414   -.0141386 .0332204
-----

```

Note: dy/dx for factor levels is the discrete change from the base level.

```

. marginsplot, yline(0) ylabel(.2 "20%" .1 "10%" 0 "0" -.1 "-10%" -.2 "-20%" -.3 "-
30%" -.4 "-40%" -.5 "-50%",angle(horizontal)) xlabel(0 "Non-Ukrainian" 1 "Ukrainian")
title("h. Russian TV on PMDI", size(large)) ytitle("Full effect", size(large))
xtitle("Self-stated ethnicity", size(large)) recast(scatter) xscale(range(-.25 1.25))
graphr(color(white)) saving(ODtvxidruukpmdi20171021, replace)

```

```

Variables that uniquely identify margins: uknats05
(file ODtvxidruukpmdi20171021.gph saved)

```

```

. svy: logit odamdi rftv05 ukv05##runats05 notv05 itv05 facebook05 vk05 odnoklas05
tpbat05 tppr05 maidan05 antimaiban05 appyatspm05 ato05 proeu05 reglangaut05
rulangsvy05 orthmos05 orthkyiv05 odesa donbas galicia age05 educ05 female commsize
(running logit on estimation sample)

```

Survey: Logistic regression

```

Number of strata   =      1          Number of obs   =      2,015
Number of PSUs     =      25         Population size =      2,015
                                   Design df         =      24
                                   F( 24,          1)    =      .
                                   Prob > F           =      .

```

```

-----
|               | Linearized
|               | Coef.      Std. Err.      t      P>|t|      [95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----
rftv05 | -.2582088 .1281607   -2.01   0.055   -.5227195 .0063019
1.uktv05 | 1.099119 .3977165    2.76   0.011   .2782726 1.919966
1.runats05 | .8017822 .6042888    1.33   0.197   -.4454086 2.048973
uktv05##runats05 |
   1 1 | -1.488911 .5684229   -2.62   0.015   -2.662078 -.315744
notv05 | .7410791 .4887218    1.52   0.142   -.2675932 1.749751
itv05 | .4497254 .2287461    1.97   0.061   -.0223833 .9218342
facebook05 | .4448537 .2377717    1.87   0.074   -.045883 .9355903
vk05 | -.1054147 .1973952   -0.53   0.598   -.5128185 .301989
odnoklas05 | -.1368154 .1836335   -0.75   0.463   -.5158162 .2421855
tpbat05 | .3928128 .49114    0.80   0.432   -.6208502 1.406476
tppr05 | -.6776908 .5817155   -1.16   0.255   -1.878293 .5229109
maidan05 | .7275541 .2647667    2.75   0.011   .1811025 1.274006
antimaiban05 | -.9964676 .4615555   -2.16   0.041   -1.949071 -.0438639
appyatspm05 | .2996648 .0595175    5.03   0.000   .1768266 .4225029
ato05 | .6073461 .1600346    3.80   0.001   .2770509 .9376412
-----

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proeu05		.2951917	.1003169	2.94	0.007	.0881479	.5022355
reglangaut05		-.3112863	.1016729	-3.06	0.005	-.5211287	-.1014438
rulangsvy05		-.4519164	.2269654	-1.99	0.058	-.9203499	.0165172
orthmos05		-.332592	.3033139	-1.10	0.284	-.9586011	.293417
orthkyiv05		.2243111	.1776659	1.26	0.219	-.1423733	.5909956
odesa		-.4170774	.2716787	-1.54	0.138	-.9777947	.1436399
donbas		-.7847865	.4299481	-1.83	0.080	-1.672156	.1025827
galicia		-.0658886	.3929456	-0.17	0.868	-.8768885	.7451113
age05		-.0069729	.003084	-2.26	0.033	-.013338	-.0006079
educ05		.0728384	.0530752	1.37	0.183	-.0367033	.1823802
female		-.4532914	.1186585	-3.82	0.001	-.6981904	-.2083924
commsize		-.0349363	.0411311	-0.85	0.404	-.1198268	.0499541
_cons		-2.543569	.7504273	-3.39	0.002	-4.092375	-.994763

```
.
. margins, dydx(uktv05) at(runats05=0 runats05=1) vce(unconditional)

Average marginal effects                                Number of obs      =      2,015

Expression      : Pr(odamdi), predict()
dy/dx w.r.t.    : 1.uktv05

1._at           : runats05      =           0
2._at           : runats05      =           1
```

		Linearized				
	dy/dx	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0.uktv05	(base outcome)					
1.uktv05						
_at						
1	.1717478	.0614091	2.80	0.010	.0450057	.29849
2	-.0611918	.0805284	-0.76	0.455	-.2273942	.1050106

Note: dy/dx for factor levels is the discrete change from the base level.

```
.
. marginsplot, yline(0) ylabel(.3 "30%" .2 "20%" .1 "10%" 0 "0" -.1 "-10%" -.2 "-
20%",angle(horizontal)) xlabel(0 "Non-Russian" 1 "Russian") title("a. Ukrainian TV on
AMD I", size(large)) ytitle("Full effect", size(large)) xtitle("Self-stated ethnicity",
size(large)) recast(scatter) xscale(range(-.25 1.25)) graphr(color(white))
saving(ODtvxidukruamdi20171021, replace)
```

Variables that uniquely identify margins: runats05  
(file ODtvxidukruamdi20171021.gph saved)

```
.
.
. svy: logit odpmdi rftv05 uktv05##runats05 notv05 itv05 facebook05 vk05 odnoklas05
tpbat05 tppr05 maidan05 antimaiban05 appyatspm05 ato05 proeu05 reglangaut05
rulangsvy05 orthmos05 orthkyiv05 odesa donbas galicia age05 educ05 female commsize
(running logit on estimation sample)
```

Survey: Logistic regression

Number of strata	=	1	Number of obs	=	2,015
Number of PSUs	=	25	Population size	=	2,015
			Design df	=	24
			F( 24, 1)	=	.
			Prob > F	=	.

		Linearized				
odpmdi	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]	
rftv05	-.0017863	.1219277	-0.01	0.988	-.2534327	.2498602
1.uktv05	.4848735	.3311613	1.46	0.156	-.1986097	1.168357
1.runats05	-.1641433	.8091158	-0.20	0.841	-1.834076	1.50579
uktv05##runats05						
1 1	1.191102	.6569851	1.81	0.082	-.1648488	2.547052
notv05	.7048486	.4531057	1.56	0.133	-.2303157	1.640013



itv05		-.1779511	.3659163	-0.49	0.631	-.9331652	.5772629
facebook05		.0133593	.4039629	0.03	0.974	-.8203792	.8470978
vk05		-.0028147	.2359948	-0.01	0.991	-.4898839	.4842546
odnoklas05		.2608335	.1406612	1.85	0.076	-.029477	.551144
tpbat05		-.5663238	.6148189	-0.92	0.366	-1.835248	.7025999
tppr05		.8772402	.3026614	2.90	0.008	.2525777	1.501903
maidan05		-.8032022	.4005115	-2.01	0.056	-1.629817	.0234128
antimaidan05		1.536171	.5954084	2.58	0.016	.3073087	2.765034
appyatspm05		-.5605449	.1080241	-5.19	0.000	-.7834957	-.3375941
ato05		-.4603295	.117781	-3.91	0.001	-.7034175	-.2172414
proeu05		-.4122412	.1354458	-3.04	0.006	-.6917877	-.1326948
reglangaut05		.3629641	.144909	2.50	0.019	.0638867	.6620415
rulangsvy05		.3589388	.2402005	1.49	0.148	-.1368108	.8546884
orthmos05		.0263216	.3264624	0.08	0.936	-.6474637	.7001069
orthkyiv05		.3126869	.2606166	1.20	0.242	-.2251994	.8505731
odesa		.7394189	.2374936	3.11	0.005	.2492563	1.229582
donbas		1.483368	.2117592	7.00	0.000	1.046318	1.920417
galicia		-1.224825	.6560909	-1.87	0.074	-2.578931	.1292797
age05		.0002062	.0055611	0.04	0.971	-.0112713	.0116838
educ05		.0033002	.0757615	0.04	0.966	-.1530638	.1596643
female		-.0682825	.2185815	-0.31	0.757	-.5194125	.3828474
commsize		.1443803	.0328773	4.39	0.000	.0765249	.2122358
_cons		-1.295502	.9569819	-1.35	0.188	-3.270616	.6796114

```

.
. margins, dydx(uktv05) at(runats05=0 runats05=1) vce(unconditional)

Average marginal effects                                Number of obs      =      2,015

Expression      : Pr(odpmdi), predict()
dy/dx w.r.t.    : 1.uktv05

1._at           : runats05          =          0
2._at           : runats05          =          1

```

		Linearized				
		dy/dx	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]
0.uktv05		(base outcome)				
1.uktv05						
	_at					
	1	.035924	.0225941	1.59	0.125	-.010708 .082556
	2	.1382885	.0463485	2.98	0.006	.0426299 .233947

Note: dy/dx for factor levels is the discrete change from the base level.

```

.
. marginsplot, yline(0) ylabel(.3 "30%" .2 "20%" .1 "10%" 0 "0" -.1 "-10%" -.2 "-20%",angle(horizontal)) xlabel(0 "Non-Russian" 1 "Russian") title("b. Ukrainian TV on PMDI", size(large)) ylabel("Full effect", size(large)) xtitle("Self-stated ethnicity", size(large)) recast(scatter) xscale(range(-.25 1.25)) graphr(color(white))
saving(ODtvxidukrupmdi20171021, replace)

```

```

Variables that uniquely identify margins: runats05
(file ODtvxidukrupmdi20171021.gph saved)

```

```

.
.
. svy: logit odamdi rftv05 uktv05##uknats05 notv05 itv05 facebook05 vk05 odnoklas05
tpbat05 tppr05 maidan05 antimaidan05 appyatspm05 ato05 proeu05 reglangaut05
uklangsvy05 orthmos05 orthkyiv05 odesa donbas galicia age05 educ05 female commsize
(running logit on estimation sample)

```

Survey: Logistic regression

Number of strata	=	1	Number of obs	=	2,015
Number of PSUs	=	25	Population size	=	2,015
			Design df	=	24
			F( 24, 1)	=	.
			Prob > F	=	.

Linearized



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odamdi	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]	
rftv05	-.2544091	.1342002	-1.90	0.070	-.5313848	.0225666
1.uktv05	-.1078436	.4495032	-0.24	0.812	-1.035573	.8198854
1.uknats05	-.8487805	.5035746	-1.69	0.105	-1.888107	.1905463
uktv05#uknats05						
1 1	1.231264	.522433	2.36	0.027	.1530152	2.309513
notv05	.7311432	.471327	1.55	0.134	-.241628	1.703914
itv05	.4995323	.2345013	2.13	0.044	.0155454	.9835191
facebook05	.4897226	.2341241	2.09	0.047	.0065143	.9729309
vk05	-.1319007	.1955688	-0.67	0.506	-.5355348	.2717334
odnoklas05	-.1418474	.1781117	-0.80	0.434	-.5094518	.225757
tpbat05	.4121074	.4787308	0.86	0.398	-.5759444	1.400159
tppr05	-.73037	.5903982	-1.24	0.228	-1.948892	.4881521
maidan05	.761848	.2716828	2.80	0.010	.2011222	1.322574
antimaidan05	-1.045362	.4625705	-2.26	0.033	-2.000061	-.0906639
appyatspm05	.2953027	.0604681	4.88	0.000	.1705027	.4201026
ato05	.614706	.1598968	3.84	0.001	.2846953	.9447168
proeu05	.2996387	.1034298	2.90	0.008	.0861701	.5131074
reglangaut05	-.3129399	.1038468	-3.01	0.006	-.5272691	-.0986106
uklangsvy05	.3290579	.3182285	1.03	0.311	-.3277334	.9858492
orthmos05	-.4296396	.3193235	-1.35	0.191	-1.088691	.2294117
orthkyiv05	.2002718	.1935943	1.03	0.311	-.1992872	.5998308
odesa	-.5261112	.2694455	-1.95	0.063	-1.082219	.029997
donbas	-.9556553	.3966369	-2.41	0.024	-1.774274	-.1370369
galicia	-.1714945	.4329344	-0.40	0.696	-1.065027	.7220382
age05	-.0067932	.0032895	-2.07	0.050	-.0135825	-3.98e-06
educ05	.0741906	.0521702	1.42	0.168	-.0334834	.1818646
female	-.4360009	.1154945	-3.78	0.001	-.6743698	-.197632
commsize	-.0456696	.04495	-1.02	0.320	-.1384419	.0471026
_cons	-1.968588	.5920549	-3.33	0.003	-3.19053	-.7466471

```
. margins, dydx(uktv05) at(uknats05=0 uknats05=1) vce(unconditional)

Average marginal effects      Number of obs      =      2,015

Expression   : Pr(odamdi), predict()
dy/dx w.r.t. : 1.uktv05

1._at      : uknats05      =      0
2._at      : uknats05      =      1
```

	dy/dx	Linearized Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0.uktv05	(base outcome)					
1.uktv05						
1.at						
1 1	-.0167134	.0694398	-0.24	0.812	-.16003	.1266033
2	.175315	.0589248	2.98	0.007	.0537002	.2969298

Note: dy/dx for factor levels is the discrete change from the base level.

```
.
. marginsplot, yline(0) ylabel(.3 "30%" .2 "20%" .1 "10%" 0 "0" -.1 "-10%" -.2 "-20%",angle(horizontal)) xlabel(0 "Non-Ukrainian" 1 "Ukrainian") title("c. Ukrainian TV on AMDI", size(large)) ytitle("Full effect", size(large)) xtitle("Self-stated ethnicity", size(large)) recast(scatter) xscale(range(-.25 1.25)) graphr(color(white)) saving(ODtvxidukukamdi20171021, replace)

Variables that uniquely identify margins: uknats05
(file ODtvxidukukamdi20171021.gph saved)

.
.
. svy: logit odpmdi rftv05 uktv05#uknats05 notv05 itv05 facebook05 vk05 odnoklas05 tpbat05 tppr05 maidan05 antimaidan05 appyatspm05 ato05 proeu05 reglangaut05 uklangsvy05 orthmos05 orthkyiv05 odesa donbas galicia age05 educ05 female commsize (running logit on estimation sample)
```



Survey: Logistic regression

Number of strata	=	1	Number of obs	=	2,015
Number of PSUs	=	25	Population size	=	2,015
			Design df	=	24
			F( 24, 1)	=	.
			Prob > F	=	.

		Linearized				
	odpmdi	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]
	rftv05	.0245471	.1152567	0.21	0.833	-.2133312 .2624253
	1.uktv05	1.440214	.604332	2.38	0.025	.192934 2.687494
	1.uknats05	.4939896	.6093914	0.81	0.426	-.7637325 1.751712
uktv05#uknats05						
	1 1	-1.014587	.6415278	-1.58	0.127	-2.338635 .3094612
	notv05	.6657663	.4770608	1.40	0.176	-.3188389 1.650371
	itv05	-.1881101	.3719983	-0.51	0.618	-.9558769 .5796566
	facebook05	.0156823	.3912872	0.04	0.968	-.7918949 .8232594
	vk05	.020238	.2460353	0.08	0.935	-.4875539 .5280299
	odnoklas05	.2962053	.1165802	2.54	0.018	.0555956 .536815
	tpbat05	-.5890273	.6319734	-0.93	0.361	-1.893356 .7153018
	tppr05	.8848649	.2999216	2.95	0.007	.2658572 1.503873
	maidan05	-.8133278	.4410927	-1.84	0.078	-1.723698 .0970428
	antimaidan05	1.528492	.5962375	2.56	0.017	.2979181 2.759065
	appyatspm05	-.5616781	.1051962	-5.34	0.000	-.7787923 -.3445638
	ato05	-.4860021	.1179936	-4.12	0.000	-.7295289 -.2424753
	proeu05	-.4172311	.1415921	-2.95	0.007	-.7094628 -.1249994
	reglangaut05	.3579693	.1559352	2.30	0.031	.0361349 .6798036
	uklangsvy05	-.3002644	.270728	-1.11	0.278	-.8590196 .2584907
	orthmos05	.0851375	.3115953	0.27	0.787	-.5579636 .7282386
	orthkyiv05	.2979316	.2582366	1.15	0.260	-.2350425 .8309058
	odesa	.834866	.2060189	4.05	0.000	.4096639 1.260068
	donbas	1.609841	.2237803	7.19	0.000	1.147981 2.071701
	galicia	-1.16021	.7316168	-1.59	0.126	-2.670193 .3497725
	age05	.0013139	.0049327	0.27	0.792	-.0088666 .0114945
	educ05	-.0043769	.069187	-0.06	0.950	-.1471718 .138418
	female	-.0785749	.2148934	-0.37	0.718	-.5220931 .3649433
	commsize	.1516184	.0368928	4.11	0.000	.0754754 .2277613
	_cons	-1.430368	.9604601	-1.49	0.149	-3.41266 .5519241

. margins, dydx(uktv05) at(uknats05=0 uknats05=1) vce(unconditional)

Average marginal effects Number of obs = 2,015

Expression : Pr(odpmdi), predict()  
dy/dx w.r.t. : 1.uktv05

1._at	:	uknats05	=	0
2._at	:	uknats05	=	1

		Linearized				
		dy/dx	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]
0.uktv05		(base outcome)				
1.uktv05						
	_at					
	1	.1077826	.0403841	2.67	0.013	.0244338 .1911313
	2	.0316589	.0242603	1.30	0.204	-.0184118 .0817297

Note: dy/dx for factor levels is the discrete change from the base level.

. marginsplot, yline(0) ylabel(.3 "30%" .2 "20%" .1 "10%" 0 "0" -.1 "-10%" -.2 "-20%",angle(horizontal)) xlabel(0 "Non-Ukrainian" 1 "Ukrainian") title("d. Ukrainian TV on PMDI", size(large)) ylabel("Full effect", size(large)) xtitle("Self-stated ethnicity", size(large)) recast(scatter) xscale(range(-.25 1.25)) graphr(color(white)) saving(ODtvxidukukpmdi20171021, replace)







Note: dy/dx for factor levels is the discrete change from the base level.

```
.
. marginsplot, yline(0) ylabel(.2 "20%" .1 "10%" 0 "0" -.1 "-10%" -.2 "-20%" -.3 "-30%" -.4 "-40%" -.5 "-50%",angle(horizontal)) xlabel(0 "Not Russian" 1 "Russian")
title("e. Russian TV on AMDI", size(large)) ytitle("Full effect", size(large))
xtitle("Language", size(large)) recast(scatter) xscale(range(-.25 1.25))
graphr(color(white)) saving(ODtvxlangrurumdi20171021, replace)

Variables that uniquely identify margins: rulangsvy05
(file ODtvxlangrurumdi20171021.gph saved)

.
.
. svy: logit odpmdi rftv05##rulangsvy05 uktv05 notv05 itv05 facebook05 vk05 odnoklas05
tpbat05 tppr05 maidan05 antimaidean05 appyatspm05 ato05 proeu05 reglangaut05 runats05
orthmos05 orthkyiv05 odesa donbas galicia age05 educ05 female commsize
(running logit on estimation sample)
```

Survey: Logistic regression

Number of strata	=	1	Number of obs	=	2,015
Number of PSUs	=	25	Population size	=	2,015
			Design df	=	24
			F( 24, 1)	=	.
			Prob > F	=	.

		Linearized				
	odpmdi	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]
1.rftv05		.1885878	.2641765	0.71	0.482	-.3566457 .7338212
1.rulangsvy05		.4349182	.2463868	1.77	0.090	-.0735991 .9434356
rftv05#rulangsvy05						
1 1		-.2485034	.3452938	-0.72	0.479	-.9611547 .4641479
uktv05		.7675957	.3131186	2.45	0.022	.1213507 1.413841
notv05		.8219085	.4450655	1.85	0.077	-.0966615 1.740479
itv05		-.19325	.3628816	-0.53	0.599	-.9422009 .5557008
facebook05		.0137875	.3925971	0.04	0.972	-.7964931 .8240682
vk05		-.000883	.2413882	-0.00	0.997	-.4990837 .4973177
odnoklas05		.2575286	.13704	1.88	0.072	-.025308 .5403652
tpbat05		-.6714732	.6705144	-1.00	0.327	-2.055347 .7124005
tppr05		.9132984	.3099768	2.95	0.007	.2735378 1.553059
maidan05		-.8232915	.3973235	-2.07	0.049	-1.643327 -.0032561
antimaidean05		1.591408	.5698301	2.79	0.010	.4153365 2.767479
appyatspm05		-.5588504	.1045153	-5.35	0.000	-.7745594 -.3431414
ato05		-.4740578	.1190101	-3.98	0.001	-.7196826 -.228433
proeu05		-.3965548	.1353844	-2.93	0.007	-.6759744 -.1171352
reglangaut05		.3664839	.149254	2.46	0.022	.0584388 .6745289
runats05		.9062245	.3256713	2.78	0.010	.2340719 1.578377
orthmos05		.0558465	.3216259	0.17	0.864	-.6079568 .7196498
orthkyiv05		.3171923	.2622799	1.21	0.238	-.2241268 .8585115
odesa		.7316034	.2342053	3.12	0.005	.2482274 1.214979
donbas		1.484185	.2249956	6.60	0.000	1.019817 1.948553
galicia		-1.206138	.6808538	-1.77	0.089	-2.611351 .1990756
age05		4.14e-06	.0055109	0.00	0.999	-.0113698 .0113781
educ05		-.0022232	.0729563	-0.03	0.976	-.1527976 .1483511
female		-.0825041	.2137479	-0.39	0.703	-.5236581 .3586498
commsize		.1467693	.0331218	4.43	0.000	.0784093 .2151292
_cons		-1.594671	.9976451	-1.60	0.123	-3.65371 .464367

```
.
. margins, dydx(rftv05) at(rulangsvy05=0 rulangsvy05=1) vce(unconditional)
```

Average marginal effects	Number of obs	=	2,015
--------------------------	---------------	---	-------

```
Expression : Pr(odpmdi), predict()
dy/dx w.r.t. : 1.rftv05
```

1._at	: rulangsvy05	=	0
2._at	: rulangsvy05	=	1



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		Linearized				
	dy/dx	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0.rftv05	(base outcome)					
1.rftv05						
_at						
1	.0140675	.0204415	0.69	0.498	-.0281216	.0562567
2	-.0048471	.013153	-0.37	0.716	-.0319937	.0222994

Note: dy/dx for factor levels is the discrete change from the base level.

```
. marginsplot, yline(0) ylabel(.2 "20%" .1 "10%" 0 "0" -.1 "-10%" -.2 "-20%" -.3 "-30%" -.4 "-40%" -.5 "-50%",angle(horizontal)) xlabel(0 "Not Russian" 1 "Russian")
title("F. Russian TV on PMDI", size(large)) ytitle("Full effect", size(large))
xtitle("Language", size(large)) recast(scatter) xscale(range(-.25 1.25))
graphr(color(white)) saving(ODtvxlangrurupmdi20171021, replace)

Variables that uniquely identify margins: rulangsvy05
(file ODtvxlangrurupmdi20171021.gph saved)

.
.
. svy: logit odamdi rftv05##uklangsvy05 uktrv05 notv05 itv05 facebook05 vk05 odnoklas05
tpbat05 tppr05 maidan05 antimaiddan05 appyatspm05 ato05 proeu05 reglangaut05 uknats05
orthmos05 orthkyiv05 odesa donbas galicia age05 educ05 female commsize
(running logit on estimation sample)
```

Survey: Logistic regression

Number of strata	=	1	Number of obs	=	2,015
Number of PSUs	=	25	Population size	=	2,015
			Design df	=	24
			F( 24, 1)	=	.
			Prob > F	=	.

		Linearized				
	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]	
1.rftv05	-.4847326	.1608275	-3.01	0.006	-.8166642	-.1528009
1.uklangsvy05	.1926318	.3127642	0.62	0.544	-.4528819	.8381454
rftv05#uklangsvy05						
1 1	.8383244	.2291803	3.66	0.001	.3653196	1.311329
uktrv05	.9805176	.3796193	2.58	0.016	.1970218	1.764013
notv05	.6709845	.5108564	1.31	0.201	-.3833713	1.72534
itv05	.5077109	.2449361	2.07	0.049	.0021877	1.013234
facebook05	.5062413	.2422588	2.09	0.047	.0062438	1.006239
vk05	-.1091427	.1933699	-0.56	0.578	-.5082385	.2899531
odnoklas05	-.1287754	.1825738	-0.71	0.487	-.5055891	.2480383
tpbat05	.4144906	.4834911	0.86	0.400	-.5833859	1.412367
tppr05	-.7441589	.6016451	-1.24	0.228	-1.985893	.4975756
maidan05	.7245826	.2711317	2.67	0.013	.1649943	1.284171
antimaiddan05	-1.040213	.4793833	-2.17	0.040	-2.029611	-.0508142
appyatspm05	.2928689	.0609421	4.81	0.000	.1670907	.4186471
ato05	.615915	.1604554	3.84	0.001	.2847513	.9470787
proeu05	.2963066	.1029765	2.88	0.008	.0837735	.5088397
reglangaut05	-.3125559	.1047555	-2.98	0.006	-.5287606	-.0963512
uknats05	.29742	.2480707	1.20	0.242	-.2145728	.8094128
orthmos05	-.3998572	.3070621	-1.30	0.205	-1.033602	.2338878
orthkyiv05	.1952993	.193785	1.01	0.324	-.2046533	.5952519
odesa	-.5160812	.2754369	-1.87	0.073	-1.084555	.0523926
donbas	-.8887997	.4035396	-2.20	0.037	-1.721664	-.0559349
galicia	-.0873679	.4215814	-0.21	0.838	-.9574691	.7827334
age05	-.0059565	.0033364	-1.79	0.087	-.0128424	.0009295
educ05	.0686161	.0512739	1.34	0.193	-.0372079	.1744402
female	-.4426884	.1121039	-3.95	0.001	-.6740594	-.2113173
commsize	-.0454898	.0454648	-1.00	0.327	-.1393245	.0483449
_cons	-2.943065	.6777635	-4.34	0.000	-4.3419	-1.54423

```
. margins, dydx(rftv05) at(uklangsvy05=0 uklangsvy05=1) vce(unconditional)
```



```
1._at      : uklangsvy05      =      0
2. at      : uklangsvy05      =      1
```

		Linearized				
		dy/dx	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]
0.rftv05	(base outcome)					
1.rftv05						
	_at					
	1	-.0769827	.0276234	-2.79	0.010	-.1339947 -.0199708
	2	.0521259	.0277116	1.88	0.072	-.0050679 .1093198

```
. marginsplot, yline(0) ylabel(.2 "20%" .1 "10%" 0 "0" -.1 "-10%" -.2 "-20%" -.3 "-30%" -.4 "-40%" -.5 "-50%",angle(horizontal)) xlabel(0 "Not Ukrainian" 1 "Ukrainian")
title("g. Russian TV on AMDT", size(large)) ytitle("Full effect", size(large))
xtitle("Language", size(large)) recast(scatter) xscale(range(-.25 1.25))
graphr(color(white)) saving(ODTVxlangruukamdi20171021, replace)
```

```
. svy: logit odpmdi rftv05##uklangsvy05 ukvtv05 notv05 itv05 facebook05 vk05 odnoklas05  
tpbat05 tppr05 maidan05 antimaidan05 appyatspm05 ato05 proeu05 reglangaut05 uknats05  
orthmos05 orthkyiv05 odesa donbas galicia age05 educ05 female commsize  
(running logit on estimation sample)
```

Number of strata	=	1	Number of obs	=	2,015
Number of PSUs	=	25	Population size	=	2,015
			Design df	=	24
			F( 24, 1)	=	.
			Prob > F	=	

	odpmdi	Coef.	Linearized Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]
	1.rfvtv05	.0045621	.1201024	0.04	0.970	-.2433171 .2524412
	1.uklangsvy05	-.3730275	.2735471	-1.36	0.185	-.937601 .191546
rftv05#uklangsvy05						
	1 1	.3201119	.4488793	0.71	0.483	-.6063294 1.246553
	uktv05	.7215124	.29661	2.43	0.023	.1093393 1.333685
	notv05	.8173286	.4351981	1.88	0.073	-.0808762 1.715533
	itv05	-.2034314	.3715399	-0.55	0.589	-.9702521 .5633893
	facebook05	.0185037	.3827048	0.05	0.962	-.7713602 .8083676
	vk05	.0201057	.2473609	0.08	0.936	-.4904222 .5306336
	odnoklas05	.294978	.1180991	2.50	0.020	.0512334 .5387226
	tpbat05	-.6665755	.6799568	-0.98	0.337	-2.069937 .7367864
	tppr05	.9074271	.3024538	3.00	0.006	.2831931 1.531661
	maidan05	-.8277102	.4438205	-1.86	0.074	-1.743711 .0882904
	antimaidan05	1.561479	.5742285	2.72	0.012	.3763301 2.746629
	appyatspm05	-.5601909	.1031979	-5.43	0.000	-.7731808 -.3472009
	ato05	-.4976369	.1194723	-4.17	0.000	-.7442156 -.2510581
	proeu05	-.4091127	.140689	-2.91	0.008	-.6994804 -.118745
	reglangaut05	.3646221	.1594144	2.29	0.031	.0356069 .6936374
	uknats05	-.4283575	.260669	-1.64	0.113	-.9663518 .1096368
	orthmos05	.0938623	.3095825	0.30	0.764	-.5450846 .7328093
	orthkyiv05	.297644	.2583788	1.15	0.261	-.2356235 .8309115
	odesa	.8315994	.2052301	4.05	0.000	.4080253 1.255173
	donbas	1.604404	.2214674	7.24	0.000	1.147318 2.06149
	galicia	-1.163985	.760279	-1.53	0.139	-2.733123 .4051533







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3      appyatspm05 | .297155 .0596836 4.98 0.000 .1739741 .4203358
4      ato05 | .6106988 .1618774 3.77 0.001 .2766003 .9447974
5      proeu05 | .2884842 .1002559 2.88 0.008 .0815661 .4954023
6      reglangaut05 | -.3123391 .1020466 -3.06 0.005 -.5229529 -.1017253
7      runats05 | -.529214 .2845405 -1.86 0.075 -1.116477 .0580487
8      orthmos05 | -.3438266 .3045766 -1.13 0.270 -.9724418 .2847885
9      orthkyiv05 | .2189571 .1777418 1.23 0.230 -.1478839 .5857981
10     odesa | -.4124791 .2703682 -1.53 0.140 -.9704917 .1455334
11     donbas | -.7869686 .431612 -1.82 0.081 -1.677772 .1038348
12     galicia | -.0484853 .4060379 -0.12 0.906 -.8865062 .7895357
13     age05 | -.0067498 .0031332 -2.15 0.041 -.0132165 -.0002831
14     educ05 | .0739239 .0519193 1.42 0.167 -.0332323 .18108
15     female | -.4496461 .1178101 -3.82 0.001 -.6927942 -.2064979
16     commsize | -.0353726 .0411573 -0.86 0.399 -.1203172 .0495719
17     _cons | -2.567118 .8000986 -3.21 0.004 -4.218441 -.915796
-----

```

```

18 . margins, dydx(uktv05) at(rulangsvy05=0 rulangsvy05=1) vce(unconditional)

```

```

19 Average marginal effects          Number of obs      =      2,015

```

```

20 Expression      : Pr(odamdi), predict()
21 dy/dx w.r.t.    : 1.uktv05

```

```

22 1._at           : rulangsvy05      =      0

```

```

23 2._at           : rulangsvy05      =      1

```

```

24 -----
25      |               Linearized
26      |      dy/dx   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
27 -----+-----
28 0.uktv05 | (base outcome)
29 -----+-----
30 1.uktv05 |
31   _at |
32   1 | .1803875   .071577   2.52   0.019   .0326598   .3281151
33   2 | .1250819   .0611608   2.05   0.052  -.0011477   .2513116
34 -----

```

```

35 Note: dy/dx for factor levels is the discrete change from the base level.

```

```

36 . marginsplot, yline(0) ylabel(.3 "30%" .2 "20%" .1 "10%" 0 "0" -.1 "-10%" -.2 "-
37 20%",angle(horizontal)) xlabel(0 "Not Russian" 1 "Russian") title("a. Ukrainian TV on
38 AMDI", size(large)) ylabel("Full effect", size(large)) xtitle("Language", size(large))
39 recast(scatter) xscale(range(-.25 1.25)) graphr(color(white))
40 saving(ODtvxlangukruamdi20171021, replace)

```

```

41 Variables that uniquely identify margins: rulangsvy05
42 (file ODtvxlangukruamdi20171021.gph saved)

```

```

43 . svy: logit odpmdi rftv05 uktv05##rulangsvy05 notv05 itv05 facebook05 vk05 odnoklas05
44 tpbat05 tppr05 maidan05 antimaian05 appyatspm05 ato05 proeu05 reglangaut05 runats05
45 orthmos05 orthkyiv05 odesa donbas galicia age05 educ05 female commsize
46 (running logit on estimation sample)

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47 Survey: Logistic regression

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```

48 Number of strata   =      1          Number of obs      =      2,015
49 Number of PSUs     =      25        Population size     =      2,015
50                                     Design df          =      24
51                                     F( 24,          1)   =      .
52                                     Prob > F            =      .

```

```

53 -----
54      |               Linearized
55      |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
56 -----+-----
57   rftv05 | .0122356   .1221764   0.10   0.921   -.239924   .2643953
58   1.uktv05 | .894573   .5867478   1.52   0.140   -.3164149   2.105561
59   1.rulangsvy05 | .5256922   .5133497   1.02   0.316   -.5338095   1.585194
60 -----
61   uktv05##rulangsvy05 |
62   1 1 | -.1719032   .5071415  -0.34   0.738   -1.218592   .8747854

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notv05 | .8340539 .4524666 1.84 0.078 -.0997913 1.767899
itv05 | -.1903556 .3693084 -0.52 0.611 -.9525706 .5718594
facebook05 | .0018864 .391535 0.00 0.996 -.8062021 .809975
vk05 | -.005807 .2472275 -0.02 0.981 -.5160595 .5044454
odnoklas05 | .2595973 .1442676 1.80 0.085 -.0381564 .557351
tpbat05 | -.680381 .6806206 -1.00 0.327 -2.085113 .7243509
tppr05 | .9131259 .3095693 2.95 0.007 .2742062 1.552045
maidan05 | -.809056 .4031406 -2.01 0.056 -1.641097 .0229854
antimaidan05 | 1.565438 .5689546 2.75 0.011 .3911736 2.739703
appyatspm05 | -.5591371 .1062992 -5.26 0.000 -.7785279 -.3397462
ato05 | -.4739545 .118499 -4.00 0.001 -.7185243 -.2293847
proeu05 | -.3996504 .134864 -2.96 0.007 -.677996 -.1213047
reglangaut05 | .3657458 .148472 2.46 0.021 .0593147 .6721769
runats05 | .9011982 .3233732 2.79 0.010 .2337888 1.568608
orthmos05 | .0475427 .329015 0.14 0.886 -.6315108 .7265962
orthkyiv05 | .3096129 .260229 1.19 0.246 -.2274735 .8466992
odesa | .7359177 .2341791 3.14 0.004 .2525959 1.21924
donbas | 1.462133 .2136448 6.84 0.000 1.021192 1.903074
galicia | -1.224682 .6762285 -1.81 0.083 -2.620349 .1709849
age05 | .0000246 .0055551 0.00 0.996 -.0114404 .0114897
educ05 | .0012803 .0730525 0.02 0.986 -.1494926 .1520532
female | -.0805791 .2133782 -0.38 0.709 -.52097 .3598118
commsize | .1458533 .0331068 4.41 0.000 .0775242 .2141824
_cons | -1.66595 1.092099 -1.53 0.140 -3.919931 .5880307
-----

.
. margins, dydx(uktv05) at(rulangsvy05=0 rulangsvy05=1) vce(unconditional)

Average marginal effects          Number of obs      =      2,015

Expression   : Pr(odpmdi), predict()
dy/dx w.r.t. : 1.uktv05

1._at      : rulangsvy05      =      0
2._at      : rulangsvy05      =      1

-----
               |               Linearized
               |               dy/dx   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----
0.uktv05      |   (base outcome)
-----+-----
1.uktv05      |
   _at |
      1 |   .0605171   .0358795     1.69   0.105   -.0135345   .1345687
      2 |   .0547246   .0202976     2.70   0.013   -.0128324   .0966168
-----

Note: dy/dx for factor levels is the discrete change from the base level.

.
. marginsplot, yline(0) ylabel(.3 "30%" .2 "20%" .1 "10%" 0 "0" -.1 "-10%" -.2 "-
20%",angle(horizontal)) xlabel(0 "Not Russian" 1 "Russian") title("b. Ukrainian TV on
PMDI", size(large)) ylabel("Full effect", size(large)) xtitle("Language", size(large))
recast(scatter) xscale(range(-.25 1.25)) graphr(color(white))
saving(ODtvxlangukrupmdi20171021, replace)

Variables that uniquely identify margins: rulangsvy05
(file ODtvxlangukrupmdi20171021.gph saved)

.
.
. svy: logit odamdi rftv05 uktv05##uklangsvy05 notv05 itv05 facebook05 vk05 odnoklas05
tpbat05 tppr05 maidan05 antimaidan05 appyatspm05 ato05 proeu05 reglangaut05 uknats05
orthmos05 orthkyiv05 odesa donbas galicia age05 educ05 female commsize
(running logit on estimation sample)

Survey: Logistic regression

Number of strata   =      1          Number of obs      =      2,015
Number of PSUs     =      25          Population size   =      2,015
                                   Design df             =      24
                                   F( 24,          1)       =      .
                                   Prob > F              =      .
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(running logit on estimation sample)

Survey: Logistic regression

Number of strata	=	1	Number of obs	=	2,015
Number of PSUs	=	25	Population size	=	2,015
			Design df	=	24
			F( 24, 1)	=	.
			Prob > F	=	.

	odpmdi	Coef.	Linearized Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]	
	rftv05	.0476984	.1127624	0.42	0.676	-.1850317	.2804285
	1.uktv05	.6543973	.2878456	2.27	0.032	.0603131	1.248481
	1.uklangsvy05	-1.412845	.9312553	-1.52	0.142	-3.334861	.5091716
uktv05#uklangsvy05							
	1 1	1.169227	.9032183	1.29	0.208	-.6949236	3.033378
	notv05	.8438532	.4374181	1.93	0.066	-.0589334	1.74664
	itv05	-.2018015	.3717023	-0.54	0.592	-.9689573	.5653542
	facebook05	.0081992	.3812067	0.02	0.983	-.7785727	.7949712
	vk05	.0130207	.250678	0.05	0.959	-.5043532	.5303946
	odnoklas05	.2962858	.1169876	2.53	0.018	.0548351	.5377364
	tpbat05	-.692094	.6836559	-1.01	0.321	-2.10309	.7189025
	tppr05	.9063221	.3005504	3.02	0.006	.2860164	1.526628
	maidan05	-.8186899	.4435362	-1.85	0.077	-1.734104	.0967238
	antimaidan05	1.549406	.5763194	2.69	0.013	.359941	2.738871
	appyatspm05	-.5582394	.1033687	-5.40	0.000	-.7715818	-.3448969
	ato05	-.4972457	.119054	-4.18	0.000	-.7429612	-.2515302
	proeu05	-.4123728	.1409922	-2.92	0.007	-.7033663	-.1213793
	reglangaut05	.3605323	.157403	2.29	0.031	.0356683	.6853962
	uknats05	-.4335868	.2629175	-1.65	0.112	-.9762219	.1090483
	orthmos05	.0912538	.3133018	0.29	0.773	-.5553693	.7378769
	orthkyiv05	.2969172	.2583887	1.15	0.262	-.2363709	.8302053
	odesa	.8327025	.2066856	4.03	0.000	.4061245	1.259281
	donbas	1.589959	.2244801	7.08	0.000	1.126655	2.053263
	galicia	-1.162376	.7512896	-1.55	0.135	-2.712962	.3882095
	age05	.0013922	.0049611	0.28	0.781	-.0088469	.0116313
	educ05	-.0052915	.0672326	-0.08	0.938	-.1440529	.1334698
	female	-.0918653	.2068778	-0.44	0.661	-.5188401	.3351095
	commsize	.1535654	.0365804	4.20	0.000	.078067	.2290637
	_cons	-.7139768	.8641946	-0.83	0.417	-2.497587	1.069633

. margins, dydx(uktv05) at(uklangsvy05=0 uklangsvy05=1) vce(unconditional)

Average marginal effects Number of obs = 2,015

Expression : Pr(odpmdi), predict()  
dy/dx w.r.t. : 1.uktv05

1._at	:	uklangsvy05	=	0
2._at	:	uklangsvy05	=	1

		dy/dx	Linearized Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0.uktv05	(base outcome)						
1.uktv05							
	_at						
	1	.0488354	.0195554	2.50	0.020	.0084751	.0891957
	2	.1103306	.0519506	2.12	0.044	.0031098	.2175515

Note: dy/dx for factor levels is the discrete change from the base level.

. marginsplot, yline(0) ylabel(.3 "30%" .2 "20%" .1 "10%" 0 "0" -.1 "-10%" -.2 "-20%",angle(horizontal)) xlabel(0 "Not Ukrainian" 1 "Ukrainian") title("d. Ukrainian TV on PMDI", size(large)) ytitle("Full effect", size(large)) xtitle("Language",



```
size(large)) recast(scatter) xscale(range(-.25 1.25)) graphr(color(white))
saving(ODtvxlangukupmdi20171021, replace)
```

**Table A10. Raw output for regressions generating Figure 3 (TV by education)**

```
. svy: logit odamdi rftv05 ukvtv05##c.educ05 notv05 itv05 facebook05 vk05 odnoklas05
tpbat05 tppr05 maidan05 antimaiddan05 appyatspm05 ato05 proeu05 reglangaut05
rulangsvy05 runats05 orthmos05 orthkyiv05 odesa donbas galicia age05 female commsize
(running logit on estimation sample)
```

Survey: Logistic regression

Number of strata	=	1	Number of obs	=	2,015
Number of PSUs	=	25	Population size	=	2,015
			Design df	=	24
			F( 24, 1)	=	.
			Prob > F	=	.

		Linearized				
	odamdi	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]
	rftv05	-.2586076	.1262517	-2.05	0.052	-.5191784 .0019632
	1.uktv05	2.03385	.9722821	2.09	0.047	.0271588 4.040542
	educ05	.2807745	.1783867	1.57	0.129	-.0873976 .6489466
uktv05##c.educ05						
	1	-.2326911	.1789598	-1.30	0.206	-.602046 .1366638
	notv05	.7769102	.5220702	1.49	0.150	-.3005898 1.85441
	itv05	.4575594	.2271041	2.01	0.055	-.0111605 .9262793
	facebook05	.4313688	.2441843	1.77	0.090	-.0726029 .9353404
	vk05	-.1010189	.1947284	-0.52	0.609	-.5029186 .3008808
	odnoklas05	-.1164667	.1786007	-0.65	0.521	-.4850805 .2521471
	tpbat05	.3757797	.4898506	0.77	0.450	-.6352222 1.386782
	tppr05	-.6763414	.5767544	-1.17	0.252	-1.866704 .5140211
	maidan05	.7233241	.2578066	2.81	0.010	.1912375 1.255411
	antimaiddan05	-1.005037	.4587249	-2.19	0.038	-1.951799 -.0582755
	appyatspm05	.300507	.0583687	5.15	0.000	.1800399 .4209741
	ato05	.6090189	.1614262	3.77	0.001	.2758517 .9421862
	proeu05	.2849403	.1009269	2.82	0.009	.0766374 .4932432
	reglangaut05	-.311609	.1022465	-3.05	0.006	-.5226353 -.1005827
	rulangsvy05	-.4565574	.2259426	-2.02	0.055	-.92288 .0097653
	runats05	-.5401281	.2862376	-1.89	0.071	-1.130893 .0506373
	orthmos05	-.3405327	.3061502	-1.11	0.277	-.9723956 .2913302
	orthkyiv05	.2264598	.1775765	1.28	0.214	-.1400401 .5929596
	odesa	-.42025	.2725536	-1.54	0.136	-.9827729 .1422729
	donbas	-.7874056	.4286296	-1.84	0.079	-1.672054 .0972424
	galicia	-.0375271	.4039135	-0.09	0.927	-.8711635 .7961094
	age05	-.0066968	.0031821	-2.10	0.046	-.0132642 -.0001293
	female	-.447357	.1172255	-3.82	0.001	-.6892985 -.2054155
	commsize	-.0354802	.0405547	-0.87	0.390	-.1191809 .0482205
	_cons	-3.383729	1.171635	-2.89	0.008	-5.801866 -.9655927

```
. margins, dydx(ukvtv05) at(educ05=1 educ05=2 educ05=3 educ05=4 educ05=5 educ05=6)
vce(unconditional)
```

Average marginal effects

Number of obs = 2,015

```
Expression : Pr(odamdi), predict()
dy/dx w.r.t. : 1.uktv05
```

1._at	:	educ05	=	1
2._at	:	educ05	=	2
3._at	:	educ05	=	3
4._at	:	educ05	=	4
5._at	:	educ05	=	5



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```
6._at      : educ05      =      6
```

		Linearized				
		dy/dx	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]
0.uktv05	(base outcome)					
1.uktv05						
_at						
1		.2743064	.1162324	2.36	0.027	.0344146 .5141982
2		.2415694	.0993636	2.43	0.023	.036493 .4466459
3		.2067696	.0813958	2.54	0.018	.0387768 .3747624
4		.1705424	.0659226	2.59	0.016	.034485 .3065999
5		.1335787	.0587103	2.28	0.032	.0124066 .2547509
6		.0965772	.0639043	1.51	0.144	-.0353149 .2284693

Note: dy/dx for factor levels is the discrete change from the base level.

```
. marginsplot, yline(0) ylabel(.5 "50%" .4 "40%" .3 "30%" .2 "20%" .1 "10%" 0 "0" -.1  
-10%",angle(horizontal)) title("a. Ukrainian TV news on AMDI", size(large))  
ytitle("Full effect", size(large)) xtitle("Education level", size(large)) xlabel(1  
"Lowest" 6 "Highest") recast(scatter) xscale(range(.75 6.25)) graphr(color(white))  
saving(ODedxtvukamdi20171021, replace)  
  
Variables that uniquely identify margins: educ05  
(file ODedxtvukamdi20171021.gph saved)  
  
.   
.   
. svy: logit odpmdi rftv05 uktv05#c.educ05 notv05 itv05 facebook05 vk05 odnoklas05  
tpbat05 tppr05 maidan05 antimaidean05 appyatspm05 ato05 proeu05 reglangaut05  
rulangsvy05 runats05 orthmos05 orthkyiv05 odesa donbas galicia age05 female commsize  
(running logit on estimation sample)
```

Survey: Logistic regression

Number of strata	=	1	Number of obs	=	2,015
Number of PSUs	=	25	Population size	=	2,015
			Design df	=	24
			F( 24, 1)	=	.
			Prob > F	=	.

		Linearized				
	odpmdi	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]
rftv05		.0095149	.1279557	0.07	0.941	-.2545728 .2736025
1.uktv05		.5233099	.9442717	0.55	0.585	-1.425571 2.472191
educ05		-.0461674	.2034302	-0.23	0.822	-.4660266 .3736918
uktv05#c.educ05						
1		.0539855	.2007203	0.27	0.790	-.3602809 .4682518
notv05		.8185182	.4393795	1.86	0.075	-.0883165 1.725353
itv05		-.1934056	.3716576	-0.52	0.608	-.9604692 .5736579
facebook05		.0072464	.3956491	0.02	0.986	-.8093332 .8238261
vk05		.0029836	.2379862	0.01	0.990	-.4881957 .4941629
odnoklas05		.2486312	.1354576	1.84	0.079	-.0309396 .528202
tpbat05		-.6697378	.6776727	-0.99	0.333	-2.068385 .7289098
tppr05		.8996733	.3101741	2.90	0.008	.2595054 1.539841
maidan05		-.8259587	.4000334	-2.06	0.050	-1.651587 -.0003304
antimaidean05		1.586636	.5455903	2.91	0.008	.4605927 2.712679
appyatspm05		-.5603665	.1063015	-5.27	0.000	-.779762 -.3409709
ato05		-.474382	.1196135	-3.97	0.001	-.7212522 -.2275117
proeu05		-.3978694	.1342464	-2.96	0.007	-.6749405 -.1207984
reglangaut05		.3635285	.1485386	2.45	0.022	.05696 .6700971
rulangsvy05		.3728335	.238315	1.56	0.131	-.1190244 .8646914
runats05		.9001767	.3255152	2.77	0.011	.2283464 1.572007
orthmos05		.0457156	.327932	0.14	0.890	-.6311029 .722534
orthkyiv05		.3091417	.2641126	1.17	0.253	-.2359599 .8542434
odesa		.7331267	.2344161	3.13	0.005	.2493157 1.216938
donbas		1.461197	.212421	6.88	0.000	1.022782 1.899613
galicia		-1.22759	.6728985	-1.82	0.081	-2.616385 .1612037
age05		-8.19e-06	.0055683	-0.00	0.999	-.0115007 .0114843



```

female | -.0813663 .2133203 -0.38 0.706 -.5216377 .3589052
commsize | .1458575 .0331669 4.40 0.000 .0774043 .2143107
_cons | -1.321991 1.551072 -0.85 0.402 -4.523246 1.879264
-----

```

```

.
. margins, dydx(uktv05) at(educ05=1 educ05=2 educ05=3 educ05=4 educ05=5 educ05=6)
vce(unconditional)

```

```

Average marginal effects          Number of obs      =      2,015

```

```

Expression   : Pr(odpmdi), predict()
dy/dx w.r.t. : 1.uktv05

```

```

1._at      : educ05      =      1
2._at      : educ05      =      2
3._at      : educ05      =      3
4._at      : educ05      =      4
5._at      : educ05      =      5
6._at      : educ05      =      6

```

```

-----
|               Linearized
|               dy/dx   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|    [95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----
0.uktv05   | (base outcome)
-----+-----
1.uktv05   |
   _at      |
   1 | .0412187 .0514289   0.80  0.431   -.0649254 .1473628
   2 | .0448778 .0389782   1.15  0.261   -.0355691 .1253248
   3 | .0485046 .0280165   1.73  0.096   -.0093185 .1063278
   4 | .0520994 .0205068   2.54  0.018   .0097753 .0944234
   5 | .0556622 .0201402   2.76  0.011   .0140948 .0972295
   6 | .0591932 .0268414   2.21  0.037   .0037953 .114591
-----

```

Note: dy/dx for factor levels is the discrete change from the base level.

```

.
. marginsplot, yline(0) ylabel(.5 "50%" .4 "40%" .3 "30%" .2 "20%" .1 "10%" 0 "0" -.1
"-10%",angle(horizontal)) title("b. Ukrainian TV news on PMDI", size(large))
yttitle("Full effect", size(large)) xtitle("Education level", size(large)) xlabel(1
"Lowest" 6 "Highest") recast(scatter) xscale(range(.75 6.25)) graphr(color(white))
saving(ODedxtvukpmdi20171021, replace)

```

```

Variables that uniquely identify margins: educ05
(file ODedxtvukpmdi20171021.gph saved)

```

```

.
.
. svy: logit odamdi rftv05##c.educ05 uktv05 notv05 itv05 facebook05 vk05 odnoklas05
tpbat05 tppr05 maids05 antimaids05 appyatspm05 ato05 proeu05 reglangaut05
rulangsvy05 runats05 orthmos05 orthkyiv05 odesa donbas galicia age05 female commsize
(running logit on estimation sample)

```

Survey: Logistic regression

```

Number of strata   =      1          Number of obs      =      2,015
Number of PSUs     =      25        Population size    =      2,015
                                   Design df           =      24
                                   F( 24,          1)      =      .
                                   Prob > F             =      .

```

```

-----
|               Linearized
|               Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|    [95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----
1.rftv05   | -.0080464 .4882767   -0.02  0.987   -1.0158   .9997071
educ05     | .0874177 .0615615    1.42  0.168   -.0396391 .2144744
rftv05#c.educ05 |
   1 | -.0612074 .1224305   -0.50  0.622   -.3138916 .1914768
-----

```



```
1
2
3      uktv05 | .9923465 .3861403 2.57 0.017 .1953921 1.789301
4      notv05 | .7294525 .513829 1.42 0.169 -.3310385 1.789943
5      itv05 | .4536262 .2290525 1.98 0.059 -.019115 .9263673
6      facebook05 | .4464227 .2428085 1.84 0.078 -.0547093 .9475547
7      vk05 | -.0954811 .1980798 -0.48 0.634 -.5042977 .3133354
8      odnoklas05 | -.1372346 .1847669 -0.74 0.465 -.5185747 .2441054
9      tpbat05 | .3920984 .4888771 0.80 0.430 -.6168943 1.401091
10     tppr05 | -.6951921 .5877098 -1.18 0.248 -1.908166 .5177813
11     maidan05 | .7088154 .2579601 2.75 0.011 .1764119 1.241219
12     antimaidan05 | -.9860845 .4576684 -2.15 0.041 -1.930666 -.0415034
13     appyatspm05 | .2979198 .0590902 5.04 0.000 .1759636 .4198761
14     ato05 | .6096219 .1620218 3.76 0.001 .2752255 .9440184
15     proeu05 | .2907399 .1000195 2.91 0.008 .0843099 .4971699
16     reglangaut05 | -.3140406 .1023274 -3.07 0.005 -.5252339 -.1028472
17     rulangsvy05 | -.4521229 .2292417 -1.97 0.060 -.9252546 .0210088
18     runats05 | -.5376934 .2843309 -1.89 0.071 -1.124523 .0491367
19     orthmos05 | -.344946 .3053163 -1.13 0.270 -.9750878 .2851958
20     orthkyiv05 | .2203134 .1775851 1.24 0.227 -.1462042 .5868311
21     odesa | -.4174211 .2742366 -1.52 0.141 -.9834175 .1485753
22     donbas | -.7869534 .4290198 -1.83 0.079 -1.672407 .0984998
23     galicia | -.0541719 .3984223 -0.14 0.893 -.876475 .7681313
24     age05 | -.0065354 .0031749 -2.06 0.051 -.0130881 .0000173
25     female | -.445987 .1178473 -3.78 0.001 -.6892119 -.202762
26     commsize | -.0368219 .0406254 -0.91 0.374 -.1206687 .0470249
27     _cons | -2.501772 .7640646 -3.27 0.003 -4.078723 -.9248198
28 -----
29
30 .
31 . margins, dydx(rftv05) at(educ05=1 educ05=2 educ05=3 educ05=4 educ05=5 educ05=6)
32 vce(unconditional)
33
34 Average marginal effects                                Number of obs      =      2,015
35
36 Expression      : Pr(odamdi), predict()
37 dy/dx w.r.t.    : 1.rftv05
38
39 1._at           : educ05                                =              1
40 2._at           : educ05                                =              2
41 3._at           : educ05                                =              3
42 4._at           : educ05                                =              4
43 5._at           : educ05                                =              5
44 6._at           : educ05                                =              6
45 -----
46
47      |               Linearized
48      |               dy/dx   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
49 -----+-----
50 0.rftv05 | (base outcome)
51 -----+-----
52 1.rftv05 |
53   _at |
54   1 | -.0106249 .0570404   -0.19   0.854   -.1283506 .1071008
55   2 | -.0199124 .0397166   -0.50   0.621   -.1018835 .0620587
56   3 | -.0290875 .0249645   -1.17   0.255   -.0806117 .0224367
57   4 | -.0381361 .0193495   -1.97   0.060   -.0780715 .0017993
58   5 | -.047045 .0284847   -1.65   0.112   -.1058346 .0117446
59   6 | -.0558023 .0437283   -1.28   0.214   -.1460529 .0344484
60 -----
61
62 Note: dy/dx for factor levels is the discrete change from the base level.
63
64 .
65 . marginsplot, yline(0) ylabel(.2 "20%" .1 "10%" 0 "0" -.1 "-10%" -.2 "-
66 20%",angle(horizontal)) title("c. Russian TV news on AMDI", size(large)) ytitle("Full
67 effect", size(large)) xtitle("Education level", size(large)) xlabel(1 "Lowest" 6
68 "Highest") recast(scatter) xscale(range(.75 6.25)) graphr(color(white))
69 saving(ODedxtvruamdi20171021, replace)
70
71 Variables that uniquely identify margins: educ05
72 (file ODedxtvruamdi20171021.gph saved)
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. svy: logit odpmdi rftv05##c.educ05 uktv05 notv05 itv05 facebook05 vk05 odnoklas05
tpbat05 tppr05 maidan05 antimaidean05 appyatspm05 ato05 proeu05 reglangaut05
rulangsvy05 runats05 orthmos05 orthkyiv05 odesa donbas galicia age05 female commsize
(running logit on estimation sample)
```

Survey: Logistic regression

Number of strata	=	1	Number of obs	=	2,015
Number of PSUs	=	25	Population size	=	2,015
			Design df	=	24
			F( 24, 1)	=	.
			Prob > F	=	.

	odpmdi	Coef.	Linearized Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]
1.rftv05		-.0967773	.7664053	-0.13	0.901	-1.67856 1.485005
educ05		-.0071298	.1052965	-0.07	0.947	-.2244511 .2101914
rftv05#c.educ05						
1		.0259148	.2039233	0.13	0.900	-.3949622 .4467919
uktv05		.7528582	.3114495	2.42	0.024	.1100581 1.395658
notv05		.8180928	.4383082	1.87	0.074	-.0865308 1.722716
itv05		-.190542	.3709788	-0.51	0.612	-.9562047 .5751206
facebook05		.0024716	.3882781	0.01	0.995	-.798895 .8038383
vk05		-.0009452	.2473474	-0.00	0.997	-.5114452 .5095548
odnoklas05		.2532073	.1357468	1.87	0.074	-.0269603 .5333749
tpbat05		-.6772568	.6775894	-1.00	0.328	-2.075733 .721219
tppr05		.9061492	.3120898	2.90	0.008	.2620275 1.550271
maidan05		-.8046265	.4104676	-1.96	0.062	-1.65179 .0425371
antimaidean05		1.55907	.6098106	2.56	0.017	.3004828 2.817657
appyatspm05		-.5598138	.1061188	-5.28	0.000	-.7788322 -.3407954
ato05		-.4737073	.1173827	-4.04	0.000	-.7159732 -.2314413
proeu05		-.398558	.1337846	-2.98	0.007	-.6746758 -.1224401
reglangaut05		.3642847	.1477344	2.47	0.021	.059376 .6691935
rulangsvy05		.3755305	.2361979	1.59	0.125	-.111958 .8630189
runats05		.9017103	.3172445	2.84	0.009	.2469498 1.556471
orthmos05		.0464787	.3301519	0.14	0.889	-.6349213 .7278786
orthkyiv05		.3110059	.2627454	1.18	0.248	-.231274 .8532859
odesa		.7298218	.2303307	3.17	0.004	.2544425 1.205201
donbas		1.461286	.213053	6.86	0.000	1.021566 1.901006
galicia		-1.221708	.680725	-1.79	0.085	-2.626655 .1832395
age05		-.0000414	.0057277	-0.01	0.994	-.0118629 .0117801
female		-.0796321	.2170224	-0.37	0.717	-.5275443 .36828
commsize		.1459934	.0330483	4.42	0.000	.077785 .2142018
_cons		-1.496816	1.167466	-1.28	0.212	-3.906348 .9127152

```
. margins, dydx(rftv05) at(educ05=1 educ05=2 educ05=3 educ05=4 educ05=5 educ05=6)
vce(unconditional)
```

Average marginal effects

Number of obs = 2,015

Expression : Pr(odpmdi), predict()  
dy/dx w.r.t. : 1.rftv05

1._at	:	educ05	=	1
2._at	:	educ05	=	2
3._at	:	educ05	=	3
4._at	:	educ05	=	4
5._at	:	educ05	=	5
6._at	:	educ05	=	6

	dy/dx	Linearized Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]
0.rftv05	(base outcome)				



```
-----+-----
1.rftv05 |
      _at |
      1 | -.005311 .0422379 -0.13 0.901 -.0924858 .0818638
      2 | -.0033735 .0274805 -0.12 0.903 -.0600903 .0533434
      3 | -.0014305 .0136317 -0.10 0.917 -.029565 .026704
      4 | .000518 .0090486 0.06 0.955 -.0181573 .0191933
      5 | .0024719 .0211977 0.12 0.908 -.0412781 .0462219
      6 | .0044314 .0359774 0.12 0.903 -.0698222 .078685
-----+-----
Note: dy/dx for factor levels is the discrete change from the base level.

. marginsplot, yline(0) ylabel(.2 "20%" .1 "10%" 0 "0" -.1 "-10%" -.2 "-
20%",angle(horizontal)) title("d. Russian TV news on PMDI", size(large)) ytitle("Full
effect", size(large)) xtitle("Education level", size(large)) xlabel(1 "Lowest" 6
"Highest") recast(scatter) xscale(range(.75 6.25)) graphr(color(white))
saving(ODedxtvrupmdi20171021, replace)
```

**Table A11. Raw output for regressions generating Figure 4 (TV by education by ethnicity)**

```
. svy: logit odamdi rftv05 uktv05#c.educ05 notv05 itv05 facebook05 vk05 odnoklas05
tpbat05 tppr05 maidan05 antimaidan05 appyatspm05 ato05 proeu05 reglangaut05
rulangsvy05 runats05 orthmos05 orthkyiv05 odesa donbas galicia age05 female commsize
(running logit on estimation sample)
```

Survey: Logistic regression

Number of strata	=	1	Number of obs	=	2,015
Number of PSUs	=	25	Population size	=	2,015
			Design df	=	24
			F( 24, 1)	=	.
			Prob > F	=	.

	odamdi	Coef.	Linearized Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]	
rftv05		-.2586076	.1262517	-2.05	0.052	-.5191784	.0019632
1.uktv05		2.03385	.9722821	2.09	0.047	.0271588	4.040542
educ05		.2807745	.1783867	1.57	0.129	-.0873976	.6489466
uktv05#c.educ05							
1		-.2326911	.1789598	-1.30	0.206	-.602046	.1366638
notv05		.7769102	.5220702	1.49	0.150	-.3005898	1.85441
itv05		.4575594	.2271041	2.01	0.055	-.0111605	.9262793
facebook05		.4313688	.2441843	1.77	0.090	-.0726029	.9353404
vk05		-.1010189	.1947284	-0.52	0.609	-.5029186	.3008808
odnoklas05		-.1164667	.1786007	-0.65	0.521	-.4850805	.2521471
tpbat05		.3757797	.4898506	0.77	0.450	-.6352222	1.386782
tppr05		-.6763414	.5767544	-1.17	0.252	-1.866704	.5140211
maidan05		.7233241	.2578066	2.81	0.010	.1912375	1.255411
antimaidan05		-1.005037	.4587249	-2.19	0.038	-1.951799	-.0582755
appyatspm05		.300507	.0583687	5.15	0.000	.1800399	.4209741
ato05		.6090189	.1614262	3.77	0.001	.2758517	.9421862
proeu05		.2849403	.1009269	2.82	0.009	.0766374	.4932432
reglangaut05		-.311609	.1022465	-3.05	0.006	-.5226353	-.1005827
rulangsvy05		-.4565574	.2259426	-2.02	0.055	-.92288	.0097653
runats05		-.5401281	.2862376	-1.89	0.071	-1.130893	.0506373
orthmos05		-.3405327	.3061502	-1.11	0.277	-.9723956	.2913302
orthkyiv05		.2264598	.1775765	1.28	0.214	-.1400401	.5929596
odesa		-.42025	.2725536	-1.54	0.136	-.9827729	.1422729
donbas		-.7874056	.4286296	-1.84	0.079	-1.672054	.0972424
galicia		-.0375271	.4039135	-0.09	0.927	-.8711635	.7961094
age05		-.0066968	.0031821	-2.10	0.046	-.0132642	-.0001293
female		-.447357	.1172255	-3.82	0.001	-.6892985	-.2054155
commsize		-.0354802	.0405547	-0.87	0.390	-.1191809	.0482205
_cons		-3.383729	1.171635	-2.89	0.008	-5.801866	-.9655927



URL: <http://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/fgeo> Email: [geopolitics@uva.nl](mailto:geopolitics@uva.nl) and [geopolitics@usu.edu](mailto:geopolitics@usu.edu)







```

Multiple at() options specified:
  _atoption=1: educ05=1 educ05=2 educ05=3 educ05=4 educ05=5 educ05=6
  _atoption=2: runats05=1
(file ODedxtvukxrupmdi20171021.gph saved)

.
.
. svy: logit odamdi rftv05 uktv05#c.educ05 notv05 itv05 facebook05 vk05 odnoklas05
tpbat05 tppr05 maids05 antimaids05 appyatspm05 ato05 proeu05 reglangaut05
rulangsvy05 runats05 orthmos05 orthkyiv05 odesa donbas galicia age05 female commsize
(running logit on estimation sample)

```

Survey: Logistic regression

```

Number of strata = 1          Number of obs = 2,015
Number of PSUs  = 25        Population size = 2,015
                                Design df = 24
                                F( 24, 1) = .
                                Prob > F = .

```

	odamdi	Coef.	Linearized Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]
rftv05		-.2586076	.1262517	-2.05	0.052	-.5191784 .0019632
1.uktv05		2.03385	.9722821	2.09	0.047	.0271588 4.040542
educ05		.2807745	.1783867	1.57	0.129	-.0873976 .6489466
uktv05#c.educ05						
1		-.2326911	.1789598	-1.30	0.206	-.602046 .1366638
notv05		.7769102	.5220702	1.49	0.150	-.3005898 1.85441
itv05		.4575594	.2271041	2.01	0.055	-.0111605 .9262793
facebook05		.4313688	.2441843	1.77	0.090	-.0726029 .9353404
vk05		-.1010189	.1947284	-0.52	0.609	-.5029186 .3008808
odnoklas05		-.1164667	.1786007	-0.65	0.521	-.4850805 .2521471
tpbat05		.3757797	.4898506	0.77	0.450	-.6352222 1.386782
tppr05		-.6763414	.5767544	-1.17	0.252	-1.866704 .5140211
maids05		.7233241	.2578066	2.81	0.010	.1912375 1.255411
antimaids05		-1.005037	.4587249	-2.19	0.038	-1.951799 -.0582755
appyatspm05		.300507	.0583687	5.15	0.000	.1800399 .4209741
ato05		.6090189	.1614262	3.77	0.001	.2758517 .9421862
proeu05		.2849403	.1009269	2.82	0.009	.0766374 .4932432
reglangaut05		-.311609	.1022465	-3.05	0.006	-.5226353 -.1005827
rulangsvy05		-.4565574	.2259426	-2.02	0.055	-.92288 .0097653
runats05		-.5401281	.2862376	-1.89	0.071	-1.130893 .0506373
orthmos05		-.3405327	.3061502	-1.11	0.277	-.9723956 .2913302
orthkyiv05		.2264598	.1775765	1.28	0.214	-.1400401 .5929596
odesa		-.42025	.2725536	-1.54	0.136	-.9827729 .1422729
donbas		-.7874056	.4286296	-1.84	0.079	-1.672054 .0972424
galicia		-.0375271	.4039135	-0.09	0.927	-.8711635 .7961094
age05		-.0066968	.0031821	-2.10	0.046	-.0132642 -.0001293
female		-.447357	.1172255	-3.82	0.001	-.6892985 -.2054155
commsize		-.0354802	.0405547	-0.87	0.390	-.1191809 .0482205
_cons		-3.383729	1.171635	-2.89	0.008	-5.801866 -.9655927

```

.
. margins, dydx(uktv05) at(educ05=1 educ05=2 educ05=3 educ05=4 educ05=5 educ05=6)
vce(unconditional) at(runats05=0)

```

```

Average marginal effects          Number of obs = 2,015

```

```

Expression : Pr(odamdi), predict()
dy/dx w.r.t. : 1.uktv05

```

```

1._at      : educ05      = 1
2._at      : educ05      = 2
3._at      : educ05      = 3
4._at      : educ05      = 4
5._at      : educ05      = 5
6._at      : educ05      = 6

```



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```
7._at      : runats05      =      0
```

		Linearized					
		dy/dx	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0.uktv05	(base outcome)						
1.uktv05							
_at							
1		.2743064	.1162324	2.36	0.027	.0344146	.5141982
2		.2415694	.0993636	2.43	0.023	.036493	.4466459
3		.2067696	.0813958	2.54	0.018	.0387768	.3747624
4		.1705424	.0659226	2.59	0.016	.034485	.3065999
5		.1335787	.0587103	2.28	0.032	.0124066	.2547509
6		.0965772	.0639043	1.51	0.144	-.0353149	.2284693
7		.1682984	.0640218	2.63	0.015	.036164	.3004328

Note: dy/dx for factor levels is the discrete change from the base level.

```
. marginsplot, yline(0) ylabel(.5 "50%" .4 "40%" .3 "30%" .2 "20%" .1 "10%" 0 "0" -.1  
"-10%",angle(horizontal)) title("c. Effect on AMDI among non-Russians", size(large))  
ytitle("Full effect", size(large)) xtitle("Education level", size(large)) xlabel(1  
"Lowest" 6 "Highest") recast(scatter) xscale(range(.75 6.25)) graphr(color(white))  
saving(ODedxtvukxukamdi20171021, replace)
```

```
Variables that uniquely identify margins: educ05  
Multiple at() options specified:  
  _atoption=1: educ05=1 educ05=2 educ05=3 educ05=4 educ05=5 educ05=6  
  _atoption=2: runats05=0  
(file ODedxtvukxukamdi20171021.gph saved)
```

```
.  
. svy: logit odpmdi rftv05 uktv05#c.educ05 notv05 itv05 facebook05 vk05 odnoklas05  
tpbat05 tppr05 maidan05 antimaidan05 appyatspm05 ato05 proeu05 reglangaut05  
rulangsvy05 runats05 orthmos05 orthkyiv05 odesa donbas galicia age05 female commsize  
(running logit on estimation sample)
```

Survey: Logistic regression

Number of strata	=	1	Number of obs	=	2,015
Number of PSUs	=	25	Population size	=	2,015
			Design df	=	24
			F( 24, 1)	=	.
			Prob > F	=	.

		Linearized					
	odpmdi	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]	
	rftv05	.0095149	.1279557	0.07	0.941	-.2545728	.2736025
	1.uktv05	.5233099	.9442717	0.55	0.585	-1.425571	2.472191
	educ05	-.0461674	.2034302	-0.23	0.822	-.4660266	.3736918
uktv05#c.educ05							
1		.0539855	.2007203	0.27	0.790	-.3602809	.4682518
	notv05	.8185182	.4393795	1.86	0.075	-.0883165	1.725353
	itv05	-.1934056	.3716576	-0.52	0.608	-.9604692	.5736579
	facebook05	.0072464	.3956491	0.02	0.986	-.8093332	.8238261
	vk05	.0029836	.2379862	0.01	0.990	-.4881957	.4941629
	odnoklas05	.2486312	.1354576	1.84	0.079	-.0309396	.528202
	tpbat05	-.6697378	.6776727	-0.99	0.333	-2.068385	.7289098
	tppr05	.8996733	.3101741	2.90	0.008	.2595054	1.539841
	maidan05	-.8259587	.4000334	-2.06	0.050	-1.651587	-.0003304
	antimaidan05	1.586636	.5455903	2.91	0.008	.4605927	2.712679
	appyatspm05	-.5603665	.1063015	-5.27	0.000	-.779762	-.3409709
	ato05	-.474382	.1196135	-3.97	0.001	-.7212522	-.2275117
	proeu05	-.3978694	.1342464	-2.96	0.007	-.6749405	-.1207984
	reglangaut05	.3635285	.1485386	2.45	0.022	.05696	.6700971
	rulangsvy05	.3728335	.238315	1.56	0.131	-.1190244	.8646914
	runats05	.9001767	.3255152	2.77	0.011	.2283464	1.572007
	orthmos05	.0457156	.327932	0.14	0.890	-.6311029	.722534
	orthkyiv05	.3091417	.2641126	1.17	0.253	-.2359599	.8542434











Variables that uniquely identify margins: agegrp05  
(file ODagextvukamdi20171021.gph saved)

```
.
.
. svy: logit odpmdi rftv05 uktev05##c.agegrp05 notv05 itv05 facebook05 vk05 odnoklas05
tpbat05 tppr05 maidan05 antimaidan05 appyatspm05 ato05 proeu05 reglangaut05
rulangsvy05 runats05 orthmos05 orthkyiv05 odesa donbas galicia educ05 female commsize
(running logit on estimation sample)
```

Survey: Logistic regression

Number of strata	=	1	Number of obs	=	2,015
Number of PSUs	=	25	Population size	=	2,015
			Design df	=	24
			F( 24, 1)	=	.
			Prob > F	=	.

	odpmdi	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]	
rftv05		.0057735	.1279081	0.05	0.964	-.2582158	.2697628
1.uktev05		1.145171	.4584166	2.50	0.020	.199046	2.091297
agegrp05		.1277457	.1351073	0.95	0.354	-.151102	.4065934
uktev05#c.agegrp05							
1		-.1278497	.1100801	-1.16	0.257	-.355044	.0993445
notv05		.8943679	.4654756	1.92	0.067	-.0663266	1.855062
itv05		-.1968163	.3699019	-0.53	0.600	-.9602563	.5666237
facebook05		-.0079924	.3870211	-0.02	0.984	-.8067647	.79078
vk05		.041263	.2264734	0.18	0.857	-.4261551	.5086811
odnoklas05		.253624	.1383434	1.83	0.079	-.0319027	.5391508
tpbat05		-.6975846	.6898326	-1.01	0.322	-2.121329	.72616
tppr05		.9185856	.3268533	2.81	0.010	.2439936	1.593178
maidan05		-.8118815	.3997457	-2.03	0.053	-1.636916	.0131531
antimaidan05		1.571379	.5771101	2.72	0.012	.3802821	2.762475
appyatspm05		-.5621015	.1065061	-5.28	0.000	-.7819193	-.3422837
ato05		-.474866	.1194898	-3.97	0.001	-.7214809	-.2282511
proeu05		-.3944087	.1326524	-2.97	0.007	-.6681899	-.1206275
reglangaut05		.3667725	.1478374	2.48	0.021	.0616512	.6718938
rulangsvy05		.3835618	.2384182	1.61	0.121	-.1085091	.8756327
runats05		.8899586	.3306907	2.69	0.013	.2074465	1.572471
orthmos05		.0435953	.3244791	0.13	0.894	-.6260966	.7132872
orthkyiv05		.3045897	.2614717	1.16	0.256	-.2350614	.8442409
odesa		.7216037	.2330227	3.10	0.005	.2406685	1.202539
donbas		1.451825	.2148418	6.76	0.000	1.008413	1.895236
galicia		-1.233956	.6813757	-1.81	0.083	-2.640246	.1723343
educ05		.0025231	.0714352	0.04	0.972	-.1449118	.149958
female		-.0867723	.2081895	-0.42	0.681	-.5164542	.3429096
commsize		.1467586	.0338458	4.34	0.000	.0769043	.2166129
_cons		-1.944132	.9105971	-2.14	0.043	-3.823512	-.0647524

```
. margins, dydx(uktev05) at(agegrp05=1 agegrp05=2 agegrp05=3 agegrp05=4 agegrp05=5
agegrp05=6) vce(unconditional)
```

Average marginal effects

Number of obs = 2,015

Expression : Pr(odpmdi), predict()  
dy/dx w.r.t. : 1.uktev05

1._at	:	agegrp05	=	1
2._at	:	agegrp05	=	2
3._at	:	agegrp05	=	3
4._at	:	agegrp05	=	4
5._at	:	agegrp05	=	5
6._at	:	agegrp05	=	6



		Linearized				
		dy/dx	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]
0.uktv05	(base outcome)					
1.uktv05						
	_at					
	1	.0696524	.0228374	3.05	0.006	.0225184 .1167864
	2	.0617949	.0203552	3.04	0.006	.0197839 .1038059
	3	.053688	.0197845	2.71	0.012	.0128548 .0945212
	4	.045329	.0216429	2.09	0.047	.0006602 .0899978
	5	.036714	.0257535	1.43	0.167	-.0164385 .0898665
	6	.0278381	.03157	0.88	0.387	-.0373191 .0929953

Note: dy/dx for factor levels is the discrete change from the base level.

```
. marginsplot, yline(0) ylabel(.4 "40%" .3 "30%" .2 "20%" .1 "10%" 0 "0" -.1 "-10%",angle(horizontal)) title("a. Ukrainian TV news on PMDI", size(large))
yttitle("Full effect", size(large)) xttitle("Age group", size(large)) xlabel(1 "<30" 6 "70+") recast(scatter) xscale(range(.75 6.25)) graphr(color(white))
saving(ODagextvukpmdi20171021, replace)
```

```
Variables that uniquely identify margins: agegrp05
(file ODagextvukpmdi20171021.gph saved)
```

```
.
. svy: logit odamdi rftv05##c.agegrp05 uktv05 notv05 itv05 facebook05 vk05 odnoklas05
tpbat05 tppr05 maidan05 antimaidean05 appyatspm05 ato05 proeu05 reglangaut05
rulangsvy05 runats05 orthmos05 orthkyiv05 odesa donbas galicia educ05 female commsize
(running logit on estimation sample)
```

Survey: Logistic regression

Number of strata	=	1	Number of obs	=	2,015
Number of PSUs	=	25	Population size	=	2,015
			Design df	=	24
			F( 24, 1)	=	.
			Prob > F	=	.

		Linearized				
	odamdi	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]
1.rftv05		-.3708268	.2006372	-1.85	0.077	-.7849216 .0432681
agegrp05		-.0688155	.0359665	-1.91	0.068	-.1430467 .0054157
rftv05#c.agegrp05						
	1	.0357844	.0605325	0.59	0.560	-.0891485 .1607173
uktv05		.9951062	.3851585	2.58	0.016	.2001782 1.790034
notv05		.7253664	.5152215	1.41	0.172	-.3379984 1.788731
itv05		.4500285	.2283221	1.97	0.060	-.0212051 .9212621
facebook05		.450614	.2443651	1.84	0.078	-.0537308 .9549589
vk05		-.0789878	.1886745	-0.42	0.679	-.4683928 .3104173
odnoklas05		-.1363669	.1835458	-0.74	0.465	-.5151868 .242453
tpbat05		.3954409	.4869899	0.81	0.425	-.6096569 1.400539
tppr05		-.6949543	.5832323	-1.19	0.245	-.1898687 .508778
maidan05		.7193321	.2582129	2.79	0.010	.186407 1.252257
antimaidean05		-.9854223	.4522725	-2.18	0.039	-1.918867 -.0519778
appyatspm05		.2957889	.0588589	5.03	0.000	.17431 .4172678
ato05		.6118643	.1620293	3.78	0.001	.2774523 .9462763
proeu05		.2927988	.1001696	2.92	0.007	.0860588 .4995387
reglangaut05		-.312661	.1017722	-3.07	0.005	-.5227086 -.1026135
rulangsvy05		-.4479204	.2265337	-1.98	0.060	-.915463 .0196223
runats05		-.5446264	.2842439	-1.92	0.067	-1.131277 .0420241
orthmos05		-.3455265	.3028403	-1.14	0.265	-.9705582 .2795051
orthkyiv05		.2192454	.1772515	1.24	0.228	-.1465838 .5850745
odesa		-.4228683	.270136	-1.57	0.131	-.9804015 .134665
donbas		-.7874268	.433707	-1.82	0.082	-1.682554 .1077003
galicia		-.0522193	.3998032	-0.13	0.897	-.8773726 .7729341
educ05		.0753841	.0514645	1.46	0.156	-.0308333 .1816015
female		-.4493968	.1187216	-3.79	0.001	-.6944261 -.2043674
commsize		-.0364979	.0408761	-0.89	0.381	-.120862 .0478663
_cons		-2.556113	.7152172	-3.57	0.002	-4.032249 -1.079978



```
.
. margins, dydx(rftv05) at(agegrp05=1 agegrp05=2 agegrp05=3 agegrp05=4 agegrp05=5
agegrp05=6) vce(unconditional)
```

Average marginal effects                      Number of obs       =       2,015

Expression    : Pr(odamdi), predict()  
dy/dx w.r.t. : 1.rftv05

```
1._at        : agegrp05       =       1
2._at        : agegrp05       =       2
3._at        : agegrp05       =       3
4._at        : agegrp05       =       4
5._at        : agegrp05       =       5
6._at        : agegrp05       =       6
```

		Linearized				
	dy/dx	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0.rftv05	(base outcome)					
1.rftv05						
_at						
1	-.0498477	.0237209	-2.10	0.046	-.0988053	-.0008901
2	-.0448147	.0197978	-2.26	0.033	-.0856754	-.003954
3	-.0396978	.019546	-2.03	0.053	-.0800387	.0006432
4	-.0345021	.0232055	-1.49	0.150	-.082396	.0133917
5	-.0292334	.0294317	-0.99	0.330	-.0899774	.0315105
6	-.0238976	.0370058	-0.65	0.525	-.1002738	.0524787

Note: dy/dx for factor levels is the discrete change from the base level.

```
.
. marginsplot, yline(0) ylabel(.2 "20%" .1 "10%" 0 "0" -.1 "-10%" -.2 "-
20%",angle(horizontal)) title("c. Russian TV news on AMDI", size(large)) ytitle("Full
effect", size(large)) xtitle("Age group", size(large)) xlabel(1 "<30" 6 "70+")
recast(scatter) xscale(range(.75 6.25)) graphr(color(white))
saving(ODagextvruamdi20171021, replace)
```

Variables that uniquely identify margins: agegrp05  
(file ODagextvruamdi20171021.gph saved)

```
.
.
. svy: logit odpmdi rftv05##c.agegrp05 uktv05 notv05 itv05 facebook05 vk05 odnoklas05
tpbat05 tppr05 maidan05 antimaidean05 appyatspm05 ato05 proeu05 reglangaut05
rulangsvy05 runats05 orthmos05 orthkyiv05 odesa donbas galicia educ05 female commsize
(running logit on estimation sample)
```

Survey: Logistic regression

Number of strata	=	1	Number of obs	=	2,015
Number of PSUs	=	25	Population size	=	2,015
			Design df	=	24
			F( 24, 1)	=	.
			Prob > F	=	.

	odpmdi	Coef.	Linearized Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]	
1.rftv05		.5137465	.1987808	2.58	0.016	.1034831	.9240099
agegrp05		.0627459	.0566389	1.11	0.279	-.054151	.1796428
rftv05#c.agegrp05							
1		-.1531562	.05694	-2.69	0.013	-.2706745	-.0356378
uktv05		.7280432	.3101069	2.35	0.027	.0880139	1.368072
notv05		.8559475	.4356702	1.96	0.061	-.0432316	1.755127



```
1
2
3         itv05 | -.195291 .3823433 -0.51 0.614 -.9844088 .5938268
4         facebook05 | .0159385 .4084091 0.04 0.969 -.8269763 .8588534
5         vk05 | .0050709 .2419424 0.02 0.983 -.4942738 .5044155
6         odnoklas05 | .2504291 .1516922 1.65 0.112 -.0626483 .5635065
7         tpbat05 | -.701859 .7034575 -1.00 0.328 -2.153724 .7500058
8         tppr05 | .888658 .3233766 2.75 0.011 .2212415 1.556075
9         maidan05 | -.8130288 .4017227 -2.02 0.054 -1.642144 .0160862
10        antimaidan05 | 1.494921 .5735668 2.61 0.015 .3111371 2.678705
11        appyatspm05 | -.5613225 .1065851 -5.27 0.000 -.7813033 -.3413416
12        ato05 | -.4755889 .1170754 -4.06 0.000 -.7172206 -.2339571
13        proeu05 | -.4019474 .1351938 -2.97 0.007 -.6809737 -.1229211
14        reglangaut05 | .3607018 .1459874 2.47 0.021 .0593987 .6620049
15        rulangsvy05 | .3865701 .2480693 1.56 0.132 -.1254198 .8985601
16        runats05 | .9198747 .3258765 2.82 0.009 .2472986 1.592451
17        orthmos05 | .0458588 .3247912 0.14 0.889 -.6244774 .716195
18        orthkyiv05 | .3203342 .2584194 1.24 0.227 -.2130173 .8536857
19        odesa | .7148857 .2446967 2.92 0.007 .2098565 1.219915
20        donbas | 1.459736 .220545 6.62 0.000 1.004553 1.914918
21        galicia | -1.194196 .6687557 -1.79 0.087 -.257444 .1860481
22        educ05 | .0076486 .0710447 0.11 0.915 -.1389804 .1542776
23        female | -.0912024 .212987 -0.43 0.672 -.530786 .3483812
24        commsize | .1413077 .0342282 4.13 0.000 .0706641 .2119512
25        _cons | -1.702643 .8408915 -2.02 0.054 -3.438157 .0328721
26
27 -----
28
29 .
30 . margins, dydx(rftv05) at(agegrp05=1 agegrp05=2 agegrp05=3 agegrp05=4 agegrp05=5
31 agegrp05=6) vce(unconditional)
32
33 Average marginal effects                                Number of obs      =      2,015
34
35 Expression      : Pr(odpmdi), predict()
36 dy/dx w.r.t.    : 1.rftv05
37
38 1._at           : agegrp05           =           1
39 2._at           : agegrp05           =           2
40 3._at           : agegrp05           =           3
41 4._at           : agegrp05           =           4
42 5._at           : agegrp05           =           5
43 6._at           : agegrp05           =           6
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**Table A13. Raw output for regressions generating Figure A3 (TV by gender)**

```
. *Sixth, Ukrainian/Russian TV channels interacted with gender on AMDI/PMDI.*
.
```



```
. svy: logit odamdi rftv05##female uktv05 notv05 itv05 facebook05 vk05 odnoklas05
tpbat05 tppr05 maidan05 antimaidean05 appyatspm05 ato05 proeu05 reglangaut05
rulangsvy05 runats05 orthmos05 orthkyiv05 odesa donbas galicia age05 educ05 commsize
(running logit on estimation sample)
```

Survey: Logistic regression

```
Number of strata = 1
Number of PSUs = 25
Number of obs = 2,015
Population size = 2,015
Design df = 24
F( 24, 1) = .
Prob > F = .
```

	odamdi	Coef.	Linearized Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]	
1.rftv05		-.0430514	.1643857	-0.26	0.796	-.3823268	.2962239
1.female		-.3460349	.1446233	-2.39	0.025	-.6445226	-.0475472
rftv05##female							
1 1		-.4175626	.2477878	-1.69	0.105	-.9289715	.0938463
uktv05		.9892755	.3832831	2.58	0.016	.1982181	1.780333
notv05		.7263479	.5125628	1.42	0.169	-.3315297	1.784226
itv05		.4580342	.2285248	2.00	0.056	-.0136179	.9296862
facebook05		.4419523	.2423531	1.82	0.081	-.0582399	.9421445
vk05		-.1056448	.1992595	-0.53	0.601	-.5168961	.3056065
odnoklas05		-.1351627	.1836302	-0.74	0.469	-.5141567	.2438313
tpbat05		.3979438	.4845864	0.82	0.420	-.6021935	1.398081
tppr05		-.6963014	.5672357	-1.23	0.232	-1.867018	.4744156
maidan05		.7178071	.2598343	2.76	0.011	.1815355	1.254079
antimaidean05		-1.065025	.4615209	-2.31	0.030	-2.017558	-.1124931
appyatspm05		.2967105	.0594132	4.99	0.000	.1740877	.4193333
ato05		.6129598	.1626697	3.77	0.001	.2772261	.9486935
proeu05		.2883758	.1007378	2.86	0.009	.0804632	.4962884
reglangaut05		-.3125623	.1027435	-3.04	0.006	-.5246145	-.1005101
rulangsvy05		-.4575828	.2275597	-2.01	0.056	-.927243	.0120774
runats05		-.5313117	.2826248	-1.88	0.072	-1.114621	.0519971
orthmos05		-.3514001	.3079291	-1.14	0.265	-.9869346	.2841344
orthkyiv05		.2107287	.1784781	1.18	0.249	-.157632	.5790894
odesa		-.4277027	.2730609	-1.57	0.130	-.9912728	.1358673
donbas		-.7937591	.4404565	-1.80	0.084	-1.702817	.1152984
galicia		-.0474083	.4016122	-0.12	0.907	-.8762951	.7814785
age05		-.0070293	.0030493	-2.31	0.030	-.0133227	-.0007359
educ05		.0767433	.0515784	1.49	0.150	-.0297092	.1831958
commsize		-.0367613	.0406871	-0.90	0.375	-.1207354	.0472128
_cons		-2.486686	.741966	-3.35	0.003	-4.018029	-.9553437

```
. margins, dydx(rftv05) at(female=0 female=1) vce(unconditional)
```

Average marginal effects Number of obs = 2,015

```
Expression : Pr(odamdi), predict()
dy/dx w.r.t. : 1.rftv05
```

```
1._at : female = 0
2._at : female = 1
```

		dy/dx	Linearized Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0.rftv05	(base outcome)						
1.rftv05							
1._at	1	-.0062718	.0242722	-0.26	0.798	-.0563672	.0438237
2._at	2	-.0714797	.02863	-2.50	0.020	-.1305691	-.0123903

Note: dy/dx for factor levels is the discrete change from the base level.



```
1
2
3 . marginsplot, yline(0) ylabel(.2 "20%" .1 "10%" 0 "0" -.1 "-10%" -.2 "-
4 20%",angle(horizontal)) xlabel(0 "Man" 1 "Woman") title("c. Russian TV on AMDI",
5 size(large)) ylabel("Full effect", size(large)) xtitle("") recast(scatter)
6 xscale(range(-.25 1.25)) graphr(color(white)) saving(ODtvxsexruamdi20180110, replace)
7
8 Variables that uniquely identify margins: female
9 (file ODtvxsexruamdi20180110.gph saved)
10
11 .
12 .
13 . svy: logit odpmdi rftv05##female uktv05 notv05 itv05 facebook05 vk05 odnoklas05
14 tpbat05 tppr05 maidan05 antimaidean05 appyatspm05 ato05 proeu05 reglangaut05
15 rulangsvy05 runats05 orthmos05 orthkyiv05 odesa donbas galicia age05 educ05 commsize
16 (running logit on estimation sample)
17
18 Survey: Logistic regression
19
20 Number of strata = 1 Number of obs = 2,015
21 Number of PSUs = 25 Population size = 2,015
22 Design df = 24
23 F( 24, 1) = .
24 Prob > F = .
25
26 -----
27 | Linearized
28 | Coef. Std. Err. t P>|t| [95% Conf. Interval]
29 -----+-----
30 1.rftv05 | -.2479659 .2892035 -0.86 0.400 -.8448525 .3489207
31 1.female | -.2579101 .2097637 -1.23 0.231 -.690841 .1750208
32 rftv05##female |
33 1 1 | .4620703 .4538403 1.02 0.319 -.4746101 1.398751
34 uktv05 | .7168738 .3338751 2.15 0.042 .0277894 1.405958
35 notv05 | .7917187 .4614522 1.72 0.099 -.1606719 1.744109
36 itv05 | -.1792954 .3656064 -0.49 0.628 -.93387 .5752792
37 facebook05 | .0211576 .400209 0.05 0.958 -.8048331 .8471483
38 vk05 | -.0060947 .2476534 -0.02 0.981 -.5172262 .5050369
39 odnoklas05 | .2596506 .1411782 1.84 0.078 -.0317268 .551028
40 tpbat05 | -.6383197 .6626203 -0.96 0.345 -2.005901 .7292613
41 tppr05 | .9019999 .3050571 2.96 0.007 .2723929 1.531607
42 maidan05 | -.8514999 .3938475 -2.16 0.041 -1.664361 -.0386387
43 antimaidean05 | 1.657559 .5890468 2.81 0.010 .4418266 2.873292
44 appyatspm05 | -.5645842 .1032377 -5.47 0.000 -.7776563 -.3515121
45 ato05 | -.4743911 .1190289 -3.99 0.001 -.7200546 -.2287276
46 proeu05 | -.3900099 .134419 -2.90 0.008 -.6674371 -.1125827
47 reglangaut05 | .3620403 .1497866 2.42 0.024 .052896 .6711846
48 rulangsvy05 | .3740882 .2404893 1.56 0.133 -.1222574 .8704338
49 runats05 | .8935919 .3203128 2.79 0.010 .2324989 1.554685
50 orthmos05 | .0641224 .3227626 0.20 0.844 -.6020269 .7302716
51 orthkyiv05 | .3340383 .2675738 1.25 0.224 -.2182069 .8862835
52 odesa | .7424072 .2331609 3.18 0.004 .2611868 1.223628
53 donbas | 1.453833 .2117216 6.87 0.000 1.016861 1.890805
54 galicia | -1.246536 .6753843 -1.85 0.077 -2.64046 .1473892
55 age05 | .0003201 .005436 0.06 0.954 -.0108992 .0115395
56 educ05 | .0002604 .0737712 0.00 0.997 -.1519959 .1525167
57 commsize | .1481202 .0325403 4.55 0.000 .0809603 .2152801
58 _cons | -1.434263 .9876436 -1.45 0.159 -3.472659 .604133
59 -----
60
61 .
62 . margins, dydx(rftv05) at(female=0 female=1) vce(unconditional)
63
64 Average marginal effects Number of obs = 2,015
65
66 Expression : Pr(odpmdi), predict()
67 dy/dx w.r.t. : 1.rftv05
68
69 1._at : female = 0
70 2._at : female = 1
71
72 -----
73 | Linearized
74 | dy/dx Std. Err. t P>|t| [95% Conf. Interval]
75 -----+-----
76 0.rftv05 | (base outcome)
```



```

-----+-----
1.rftv05 |
      _at |
      1 | -.0187487 .0228744 -0.82 0.420 -.0659592 .0284617
      2 | .0160828 .0186663 0.86 0.397 -.0224426 .0546081
-----+-----
Note: dy/dx for factor levels is the discrete change from the base level.

.
. marginsplot, yline(0) ylabel(.2 "20%" .1 "10%" 0 "0" -.1 "-10%" -.2 "-
20%",angle(horizontal)) xlabel(0 "Man" 1 "Woman") title("d. Russian TV on PMDI",
size(large)) ylabel("Full effect", size(large)) xtitle("") recast(scatter)
xscale(range(-.25 1.25)) graphr(color(white)) saving(ODtvxsexrupmdi20180110, replace)

Variables that uniquely identify margins: female
(file ODtvxsexrupmdi20180110.gph saved)

.
.
. svy: logit odamdi rftv05 uktv05##female notv05 itv05 facebook05 vk05 odnoklas05
tpbat05 tppr05 maidan05 antimaidan05 appyatspm05 ato05 proeu05 reglangaut05
rulangsvy05 runats05 orthmos05 orthkyiv05 odesa donbas galicia age05 educ05 commsize
(running logit on estimation sample)

Survey: Logistic regression

Number of strata = 1 Number of obs = 2,015
Number of PSUs = 25 Population size = 2,015
Design df = 24
F( 24, 1) = .
Prob > F = .

-----+-----
odamdi | Coef. Std. Err. t P>|t| [95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----
rftv05 | -.262558 .1269186 -2.07 0.050 -.5245052 -.0006108
1.uktv05 | 1.084815 .486401 2.23 0.035 .0809323 2.088697
1.female | -.2795391 .4200529 -0.67 0.512 -1.146486 .5874074
uktv05##female |
1 1 | -.1843358 .478126 -0.39 0.703 -1.171139 .8024677
notv05 | .7109875 .5141275 1.38 0.179 -.3501196 1.772095
itv05 | .4477542 .2277887 1.97 0.061 -.0223785 .917887
facebook05 | .4497245 .242248 1.86 0.076 -.0502507 .9496998
vk05 | -.0930757 .1967408 -0.47 0.640 -.4991287 .3129774
odnoklas05 | -.1487059 .1833974 -0.81 0.425 -.5272196 .2298077
tpbat05 | .3985721 .4884026 0.82 0.422 -.6094413 1.406586
tppr05 | -.6942123 .5819978 -1.19 0.245 -.1895397 .5069721
maidan05 | .7162171 .2580971 2.77 0.011 .1835308 1.248903
antimaidan05 | -.9961861 .4573873 -2.18 0.039 -1.940187 -.0521852
appyatspm05 | .2973182 .0598238 4.97 0.000 .173848 .4207884
ato05 | .6114342 .1612912 3.79 0.001 .2785455 .9443228
proeu05 | .2905054 .1005174 2.89 0.008 .0830477 .4979631
reglangaut05 | -.3142969 .1020525 -3.08 0.005 -.524923 -.1036709
rulangsvy05 | -.4497735 .2272373 -1.98 0.059 -.9187682 .0192212
runats05 | -.5339496 .284883 -1.87 0.073 -1.121919 .05402
orthmos05 | -.3445313 .3040386 -1.13 0.268 -.9720361 .2829735
orthkyiv05 | .2189092 .1774794 1.23 0.229 -.1473902 .5852087
odesa | -.4232629 .2737353 -1.55 0.135 -.9882247 .1416989
donbas | -.785204 .4335866 -1.81 0.083 -1.680083 .1096748
galicia | -.0506273 .4002435 -0.13 0.900 -.8766893 .7754347
age05 | -.0067431 .0031142 -2.17 0.041 -.0131706 -.0003156
educ05 | .0757115 .0519612 1.46 0.158 -.0315311 .182954
commsize | -.0367364 .0404632 -0.91 0.373 -.1202484 .0467755
_cons | -2.528767 .8274552 -3.06 0.005 -4.23655 -.8209831
-----+-----

.
. margins, dydx(uktv05) at(female=0 female=1) vce(unconditional)

Average marginal effects Number of obs = 2,015

Expression : Pr(odamdi), predict()
dy/dx w.r.t. : 1.uktv05

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1._at	:	female	=	0			
2._at	:	female	=	1			
-----							
			Linearized				
			dy/dx	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]
-----							
0.uktv05		(base outcome)					
-----							
1.uktv05							
	_at						
	1	.1653924	.0720698	2.29	0.031	.0166477	.3141372
	2	.1411029	.0677496	2.08	0.048	.0012745	.2809313
-----							

Note: dy/dx for factor levels is the discrete change from the base level.

```
. marginsplot, yline(0) ylabel(.3 "30%" .2 "20%" .1 "10%" 0 "0" -.1 "-10%" -.2 "-20%",angle(horizontal)) xlabel(0 "Male" 1 "Female") title("a. Ukrainian TV on AMDI",size(large)) ytitle("Full effect", size(large)) xtitle("") recast(scatter) xscale(range(-.25 1.25)) graphr(color(white)) saving(ODtvxsexukamdi20180110, replace)
```

Variables that uniquely identify margins: female  
(file ODtvxsexukamdi20180110.gph saved)

```
.  
.   
. svy: logit odpmdi rftv05 uktv05##female notv05 itv05 facebook05 vk05 odnoklas05  
tpbat05 tppr05 maidan05 antimaidean05 appyatspm05 ato05 proeu05 reglangaut05  
rulangsvy05 runats05 orthmos05 orthkyiv05 odesa donbas galicia age05 educ05 commsize  
(running logit on estimation sample)
```

Survey: Logistic regression

Number of strata	=	1	Number of obs	=	2,015
Number of PSUs	=	25	Population size	=	2,015
			Design df	=	24
			F( 24, 1)	=	.
			Prob > F	=	.

-----							
	odpmdi	Coef.	Linearized Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]	
-----							
	rftv05	.0073745	.1278683	0.06	0.954	-.2565328	.2712817
	1.uktv05	.6963714	.5768284	1.21	0.239	-.4941439	1.886887
	1.female	-.1559546	.5133761	-0.30	0.764	-1.215511	.9036015
-----							
uktv05#female							
	1 1	.0843263	.5944676	0.14	0.888	-1.142595	1.311247
-----							
	notv05	.8103751	.4649469	1.74	0.094	-.1492282	1.769978
	itv05	-.1862537	.3649261	-0.51	0.614	-.9394242	.5669169
	facebook05	.006124	.4026347	0.02	0.988	-.8248732	.8371211
	vk05	-.0052959	.2598773	-0.02	0.984	-.5416563	.5310645
	odnoklas05	.2594051	.1399291	1.85	0.076	-.0293944	.5482045
	tpbat05	-.6760353	.6742079	-1.00	0.326	-2.067532	.7154615
	tppr05	.9072766	.3078136	2.95	0.007	.2719806	1.542573
	maidan05	-.8106367	.4015843	-2.02	0.055	-1.639466	.0181926
	antimaidean05	1.563538	.5623504	2.78	0.010	.4029042	2.724172
	appyatspm05	-.5595391	.1070761	-5.23	0.000	-.7805334	-.3385449
	ato05	-.4739346	.1183526	-4.00	0.001	-.7182025	-.2296668
	proeu05	-.3990998	.1364535	-2.92	0.007	-.6807259	-.1174737
	reglangaut05	.3640249	.1490341	2.44	0.022	.0564337	.671616
	rulangsvy05	.3704112	.2404123	1.54	0.136	-.1257753	.8665977
	runats05	.9016831	.323577	2.79	0.010	.2338531	1.569513
	orthmos05	.0490958	.327558	0.15	0.882	-.6269506	.7251423
	orthkyiv05	.3133585	.2646556	1.18	0.248	-.2328638	.8595808
	odesa	.7347637	.2312002	3.18	0.004	.25759	1.211937
	donbas	1.463845	.2087515	7.01	0.000	1.033003	1.894687
	galicia	-1.230723	.6724264	-1.83	0.080	-2.618543	.1570968
	age05	-.0000115	.0055242	-0.00	0.998	-.0114128	.0113898
	educ05	.0010208	.0727897	0.01	0.989	-.1492097	.1512513
	commsize	.145988	.0332765	4.39	0.000	.0773087	.2146674
	_cons	-1.477047	1.148751	-1.29	0.211	-3.847953	.8938588
-----							



```

.
. margins, dydx(uktv05) at(female=0 female=1) vce(unconditional)

Average marginal effects                                Number of obs      =      2,015

Expression      : Pr(odpmdi), predict()
dy/dx w.r.t.    : 1.uktv05

1._at           : female              =              0
2._at           : female              =              1

-----
               |               Linearized
               |               dy/dx      Std. Err.      t      P>|t|      [95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----
0.uktv05       | (base outcome)
-----+-----
1.uktv05       |
   _at         |
   1           | .0497422   .0374382    1.33   0.196   -.0275265   .1270108
   2           | .0543123   .0212077    2.56   0.017   .0105417   .098083
-----+-----

Note: dy/dx for factor levels is the discrete change from the base level.

.
. marginsplot, yline(0) ylabel(.3 "30%" .2 "20%" .1 "10%" 0 "0" -.1 "-10%" -.2 "-
20%",angle(horizontal)) xlabel(0 "Male" 1 "Female") title("b. Ukrainian TV on PMDI",
size(large)) ylabel("Full effect", size(large)) xtitle("") recast(scatter)
xscale(range(-.25 1.25)) graphr(color(white)) saving(ODtvxsexukpmdi20180110, replace)

Variables that uniquely identify margins: female
(file ODtvxsexukpmdi20180110.gph saved)

```



2. FIGURES

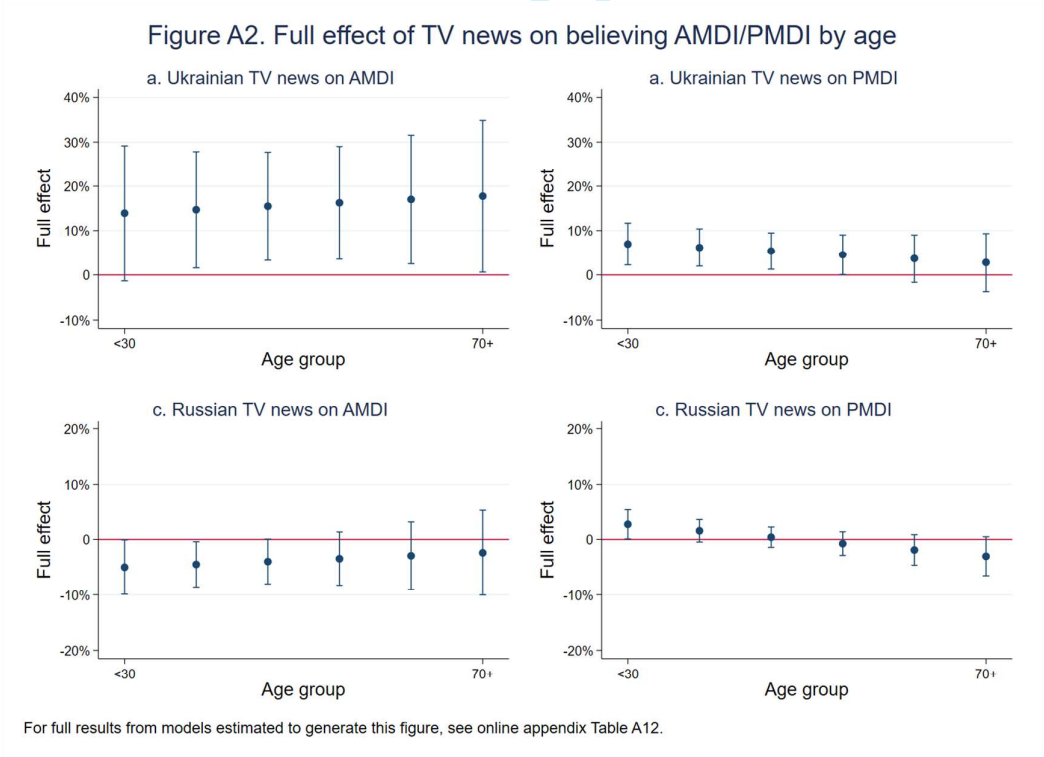
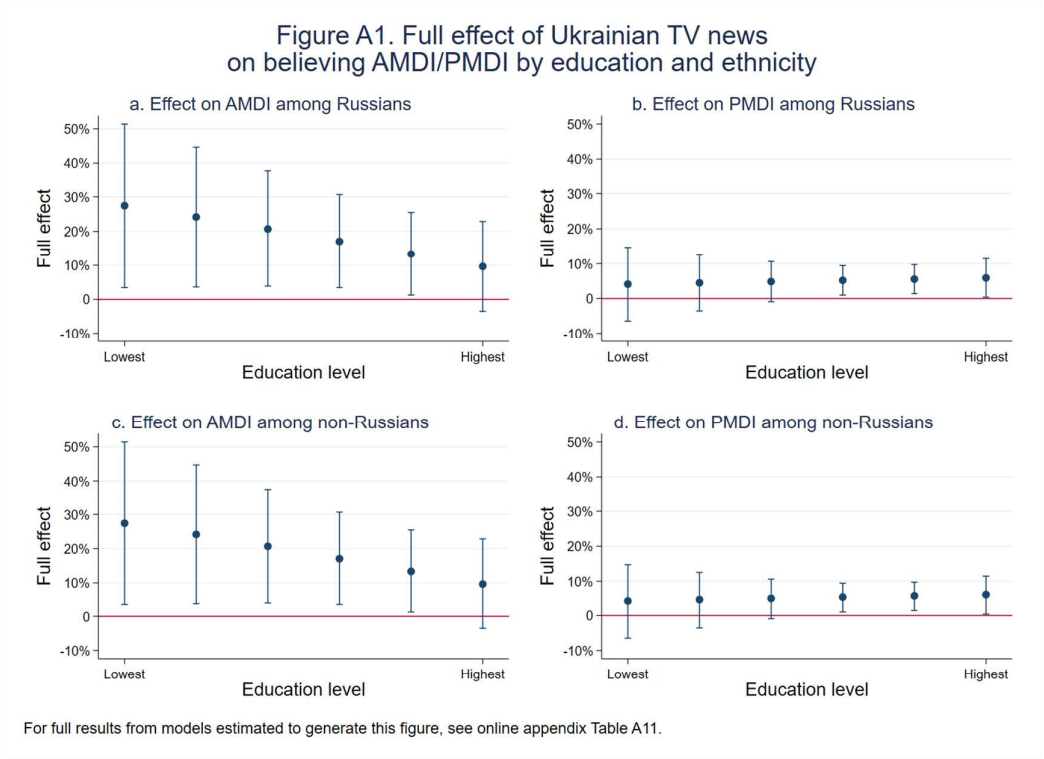
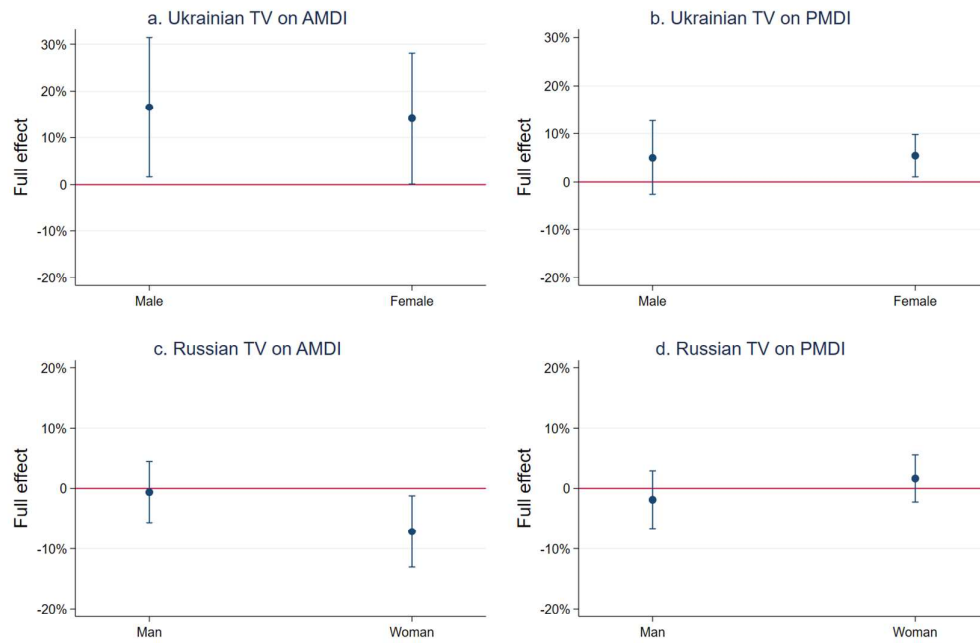




Figure A3. Full effect of TV news on believing AMDI/PMDI by gender



For full results from models estimated to generate this figure, see online appendix Table A13.



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**3. SUPPLEMENTAL DISCUSSIONS**

**Supplemental Discussion 1. Analysis of “Non-Responses” (hard to say, refusal to answer)**

We explored whether the nonresponses on the questions forming our independent variables might themselves reflect something other than an inability to form an opinion. Here we focus on only those variables where at least 2 percent of respondents gave such a nonresponse: EU support, approval of Yatseniuk, support for regional language autonomy, and support for the ATO. We find primarily that in their relationship to our dependent variable, the nonresponses on these questions behave similarly to low values on the particular independent variables in question. If we coded these nonresponses accordingly as low values on our independent variables, our results on these variables (all robustly significant in any case) would likely be strengthened.

In addition, the nonresponses on each of the four questions where they constitute at least 2 percent of respondents do not appear to reflect a single underlying omitted factor, as we would expect if they were all reflecting a trait like susceptibility to social desirability considerations. With a Cronbach’s alpha of just 0.45, they fall well below the 0.7 standard conventionally used to justify treating a series of variables as sufficiently mutually correlated to be treated as a single variable.