

From the Maidan to the Military:
Mobilizing Civilians for Counter-Insurgency in Eastern Ukraine

Online Supplementary Appendix Material

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Figure 1. Map of Kharkiv and Donbas Regions of Ukraine



Self-Reported Reasons for Joining the Ukrainian Army

Table 1. Self-Reported Reasons for Joining the Ukrainian Army (Fighters Only)
Why did YOU join? (% reporting why they joined)

Reasons for Joining	%	Most important reason	%	Why this group?	%
To help restore law and order in Ukraine	61	To help restore law and order in Ukraine	38	There are no other options here. This is the only group I can join	62
To prevent enemies of Ukraine from taking control here	45	Enemies of Ukraine must be defeated	24	All my friends joined this group	14
Enemies of Ukraine must be defeated	39	To prevent enemies of Ukraine from taking control here	16	This group provides better training, support than other groups	9
I support the group's goals	27	To take revenge against enemies of Ukraine	9	I support the goals of this group more than other groups	7
To get combat training and experience	19	I support the group's goals	5	I am inspired by the leaders of this group	6
To take revenge against enemies of Ukraine	16	To defend/protect my community	4	I feel more close to people in this group than other groups	4
All my friends had joined	12	All my friends had joined	2	This group cares more about their members than other groups	0
I felt inspired by other people in the group	5	To get combat training and experience	2		
To defend/protect my community	5	I felt inspired by other people in the group	0		
I was forced to join	0	My family wanted me to join	0		
My family wanted me to join	0	I wanted people to respect me	0		
I wanted people to respect me	0				
For religious reasons	0				

Table 2. Reasons Why People are Joining the Ukrainian Army (Full Sample)
Why do you think OTHERS are joining?
(% reporting why they think others are joining)

Why do others join?	%	Main reason why others join	%
To take revenge against enemies of Ukraine	51	They joined to take revenge against enemies of Ukraine	38
They supported the group's goals	34	Fighting gives meaning/purpose to life	21
Fighting gives meaning/purpose to life	28	They supported the group's goals	14
For religious reasons	28	To defend/protect their community	8
All their friends had joined	21	Enemies of Ukraine must be defeated	6
They felt inspired by other people in the group	14	To get combat training and experience	5
Enemies of Ukraine must be defeated	13	They felt inspired by other people in the group	4
They wanted people to respect them	11	They joined because they wanted people to respect them	2
To defend/protect their community	10	All their friends had joined	1
To do something meaningful/purposeful with their lives	9	To do something meaningful/purposeful with their lives	1
To get combat training and experience	5	Their family wanted them to join	0
Their family wanted them to join	0	They joined to prevent enemies of Ukraine from taking control here	0
To help restore law and order in Ukraine	0	They were forced to by others	0
To restore law and order in Ukraine	0	Fighting gives meaning/purpose to life	0
They were forced to by others	0	To help restore law and order in Ukraine	0
To prevent enemies of Ukraine from taking control here	0		

Table 3. Variable Description and Coding (All models, All variables)

Variable	Description	Mean	SD	N
Military Recruit	1 = subject is volunteer for military service, 0 = subject is civilian	0.50	0.50	200
Age	Subject age in years (18-27)	22.47	2.24	200
Education	Education level: 1 = none, 2 = primary, 3 = secondary, 4 = higher	3.87	0.42	200
Village	1 = subject from rural location outside Kharkiv, 0 = subject from Kharkiv	0.43	0.50	200
Employment (professional)	Most recent employment as skilled professional, office manager or worker	0.56	0.50	200
Employment (laborer)	Most recent employment as skilled or unskilled laborer, farm worker	0.25	0.43	200
Student	1 = high school or college student	0.19	0.39	200
Unemployed	1 = currently unemployed, not student	0.01	0.10	200
<i>Maidan Activism Index Variables</i>				
At Maidan	Did you participate in the Maidan protests? 1 = Yes, 0 = No	0.65	0.48	200
Saw violence	Saw violent acts committed against others during Maidan. 1 = yes, 0 = no	0.36	0.48	200
injured	Personally injured during Maidan violence 1= yes, 0 = no	0.15	0.35	200
For Maidan	Do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose the actions of the Maidan protesters in removing Viktor Yanukovich from power in Ukraine? 1 = strongly oppose to 4 = strongly support	3.64	0.70	200
Close to Maidan	How close do you feel to Maidan supporters in Ukraine? 1 = not close at all, 4 = very close	3.18	1.00	200
Blame VY for Maidan violence	Agree or Disagree: Viktor Yanukovich is to blame for Maidan violence. 1 = strongly disagree, 4 = strongly agree	3.81	0.51	200
Blame Putin for Maidan violence	Agree or Disagree: Putin is to blame for Maidan violence. 1 = strongly disagree, 4 = strongly agree	2.87	0.35	200
Want EU	Do you support Ukraine joining the European Union– 1 = definitely not, 4 = definitely yes	3.56	0.71	200
Want NATO	Do you support Ukraine joining NATO – 1 = definitely not, 4 = definitely yes	1.67	0.90	200

Oppose Customs Union	Do you support Ukraine joining the Customs Union with Russia – 1 = definitely yes, 4 = definitely not	3.73	0.62	200
<i>Ethnocentrism Index Variables</i>				
Close to Ukrainian speakers	How close do you feel to Ukrainian speakers in Ukraine? 1 = not close at all, 4 = very close	2.45	0.66	200
Distance to Russian speakers	How close do you feel to Russian speakers in Ukraine? 1 = very close to 4 = not close at all	1.57	0.74	200
Russian speakers are enemies	Agree or Disagree: Russian Speakers in Ukraine are enemies of Ukraine. 1 = strongly disagree, 4 = strongly agree	1.15	0.36	200
Russian speakers are not loyal	Agree/Disagree: Most Russian speakers in Ukraine today are not loyal to the country. 1 = strongly disagree to 4 = strongly agree	1.47	0.62	200
Russian speakers support annexation	Agree/Disagree: Most Russian speakers in Ukraine today support Russia's annexation of Ukrainian territory. 1 = strongly disagree to 4 = strongly agree	1.44	0.54	200
Russian speakers oppose EU	Agree/Disagree: Most Russian speakers in Ukraine today do not want Ukraine to enter the EU. 1 = strongly disagree, 4 = strongly agree	1.80	0.80	200
Russian speakers support Putin	Agree/Disagree: Most Russian speakers in Ukraine today are supporters of Vladimir Putin. 1 = strongly disagree, 4 = strongly agree	1.23	0.54	200
In-group bias in Dictator Game	1 = allocates more money to an ethnic Ukrainian over an ethnic Russian in a "third party" dictator game	0.41	0.49	200
<i>Self-Efficacy Index Variables</i>				
Positive Affect	Please indicate to what extent you have felt this way very slightly or not at all, a little, moderately, quite a bit, extremely in the past few days [Happy, Alert, Confident] alpha index ranges from -.67 to 1.67	0.86	0.63	200
Negative Affect	Please indicate to what extent you have felt this way very slightly or not at all, a little, moderately, quite a bit, extremely in the past few days [Angry, Afraid, Sad] alpha index ranges from 1 to 3.33	1.72	0.53	200
Risk Tolerance (behavior)	Risk tolerance in a Risk Game with linear Expected Values. Subjects choose from 1 = low risk (sure payoff of 100 Hryvnia to 5 = high risk (50% chance of 500 Hryvnia, 50% chance of 50% Hryvnia).	3.51	1.28	200
Risk tolerance (attitudes 1)	Agree/Disagree: I am not afraid to take risks. 1 = strongly disagree to 4 = strongly agree	3.55	0.50	200
Risk tolerance (attitudes 2)	Agree/Disagree: I avoid risks whenever possible. 1 = strongly agree to 4 = strongly disagree	2.16	1.00	200
Future	Over the next 12 months, do you expect conditions here	3.31	1.21	200

Outlook 1	to: 1 = get a lot worse to 5 = get a lot better			
Future Outlook 2	Agree/Disagree: I am optimistic about my future. 1 = strongly disagree to 4 = strongly agree	2.38	0.66	200
Future Outlook 3	Agree/Disagree: I am worried about my future. 1 = strongly agree to 4 = strongly disagree	2.08	0.91	200

Support for Violence Index

Blame Putin for Donbas violence	Agree or Disagree: Putin is to blame for violence in Donbas. 1 = strongly disagree, 4 = strongly agree	2.80	0.47	200
Russia is an enemy	Agree or Disagree: Russia is an enemy of Ukraine. 1 = strongly disagree, 4 = strongly agree	2.78	0.44	200
Use force against Russia	Agree or Disagree: Ukraine should be willing to use force against Russia should it try to take more territory. 1 = strongly disagree, 4 = strongly agree	2.78	0.43	200
Retake territory	Agree or Disagree: Ukraine should fight to regain territory taken by Russia no matter the cost. 1 = strongly disagree, 4 = strongly agree	2.62	0.52	200
For NATO intervention	To what extent do you support NATO military intervention to bring an end to the crisis in Ukraine? 1 = strongly oppose, 4 = strongly support	1.86	0.92	200
For U.S. intervention	To what extent do you support U.S. military intervention to bring an end to the crisis in Ukraine? 1 = strongly oppose, 4 = strongly support	2.12	0.94	200
For one state	Agree or Disagree: It is essential for Ukraine to remain a unified state. 1 = strongly disagree, 4 = strongly agree	2.84	0.41	200
Oppose Negotiating with Russia	Agree or Disagree: Ukraine should negotiate with Russia in order to regain territory taken by Russia. 4 = strongly agree, 4 = strongly disagree	2.00	0.97	200
Doubt talks will succeed	How likely do you think that negotiations with Russia will resolve the crisis peacefully in the next year? 1 = 4 = very likely, 4 = not at all likely	2.47	1.04	200
Russia will take more	How likely do you think that Russia will attempt to take more territory in the next year? 1 = not at all likely, 4 = very likely	2.75	0.53	200

Factor Analysis and Extended Regression Models for Maidan Political Activism Index

Table 4. Index of Maidan Political Activism Factor Loadings

Factor analysis/correlation	Number of obs = 200			
Method: principal factors	Retained factors = 1			
Rotation: (unrotated)	Number of params = 10			
	Eigenvalue	Difference	Proportion	Cumulative
Factor1	3.91424	3.46843	0.8980	0.8980
Factor2	0.44580	0.09274	0.1023	1.0003
Factor3	0.35306	0.14313	0.0810	1.0813
Factor4	0.20993	0.04309	0.0482	1.1294
Factor5	0.16684	0.18996	0.0383	1.1677
Factor6	-0.02311	0.08896	-0.0053	1.1624
Factor7	-0.11208	0.02813	-0.0257	1.1367
Factor8	-0.14021	0.04850	-0.0322	1.1045
Factor9	-0.18870	0.07827	-0.0433	1.0612
Factor10	-0.26698	.	-0.0612	1.0000

LR test: independent vs. saturated: $\chi^2(45) = 809.64$ Prob> $\chi^2 = 0.0000$

Factor loadings (pattern matrix) and unique variances

	Factor 1	Uniqueness
Feel Close to Maidan protesters	0.6739	0.5458
Saw violence during Maidan	0.1310	0.9828
Injured during Maidan	-0.1168	0.9864
Support Maidan Protests	0.7343	0.4607
Feel Close to Maidan protesters	0.7570	0.4270
Blame Yanukovych for Maidan violence	0.7174	0.4854
Blame V. Putin for Maidan violence	0.6956	0.5162
support EU membership	0.7469	0.4422
support NATO membership	0.2164	0.9532
oppose Customs Union membership	0.8450	0.2860

Table 5. Maidan Political Activism and Military Mobilization (Logit Regression, Average Marginal Effects)

Maidan Participation		Blame Attribution for Maidan violence		For European Integration	
Took part in Maidan Protests	0.31*** (0.06)	Think Putin is to blame for Maidan violence	0.30*** (0.11)	Want EU membership	0.18*** (0.04)
Support Maidan goals	0.20*** (0.06)	Blame V. Yanukovych for Maidan violence	0.19*** (0.09)	Want NATO membership	0.12*** (0.04)
Feel close to Maidan protesters	0.22*** (0.03)			Oppose membership In Russian Customs Union	0.14** (0.06)
Saw violence During Maidan	0.15** (0.07)				
Injured during violence	0.20*** (0.07)				

Extended Controls, Robust standard errors in parentheses. See Appendix Table 1 for a description of variable coding. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 6. Maidan Victimization and Military Mobilization (Logit Regression)

VARIABLES	(1) fighter	(2) fighter	(3) fighter
Saw violence during Maidan	0.623** (0.306)		
Nearly injured during Maidan		0.861** (0.337)	
Injured during Maidan			0.848** (0.419)
age	0.129* (0.0690)	0.111 (0.0710)	0.107 (0.0700)
education	-0.0421 (0.364)	0.0146 (0.364)	-0.0539 (0.351)
village	0.329 (0.315)	0.169 (0.315)	0.329 (0.317)
professional	-0.953** (0.413)	-0.757* (0.419)	-0.980** (0.409)
laborer	-0.876* (0.465)	-0.774* (0.468)	-0.962** (0.469)
Constant	-2.346 (2.101)	-2.246 (2.160)	-1.680 (2.072)
Observations	200	200	200
ll	-133.5	-132.1	-133.5
adj. r2	0.0370	0.0468	0.0368

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 7. Maidan Activism and Military Mobilization (Logit Regression)

VARIABLES	(1) fighter	(2) fighter	(3) fighter	(4) fighter	(5) fighter
Took part in Maidan protests	1.430*** (0.334)				
Support Maidan protests		0.862*** (0.288)			
Feel close to Maidan protesters			1.102*** (0.230)		
Blame Putin/Russia for Maidan violence				1.305** (0.514)	
Blame Yanukovych					0.801** (0.394)
age	0.126* (0.0728)	0.105 (0.0719)	0.161** (0.0808)	0.108 (0.0717)	0.0926 (0.0715)
education	-0.124 (0.420)	-0.0390 (0.341)	-0.328 (0.339)	-0.0172 (0.351)	-0.0505 (0.350)
village	0.317 (0.327)	0.265 (0.324)	0.446 (0.354)	0.211 (0.313)	0.283 (0.316)
professional	-0.915** (0.418)	-0.873** (0.402)	-0.720* (0.417)	-0.864** (0.415)	-0.771* (0.415)
laborer	-0.713 (0.475)	-0.671 (0.466)	-0.344 (0.470)	-0.572 (0.477)	-0.641 (0.472)
Constant	-4.175* (2.361)	-4.853** (2.233)	-5.646** (2.331)	-5.584** (2.551)	-4.509* (2.477)
Observations	200	200	200	200	200
ll	-125.4	-128.9	-116.5	-131.7	-132.7
adj. r2	0.0954	0.0701	0.160	0.0497	0.0429

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 8. Support for European Integration and Military Mobilization (Logit Regression)

VARIABLES	(1) fighter	(2) fighter	(3) fighter
For EU membership	0.801*** (0.268)		
For NATO membership		0.500*** (0.191)	
For Customs Union membership			-0.609** (0.275)
age	0.121* (0.0729)	0.0955 (0.0730)	0.104 (0.0707)
education	-0.0996 (0.335)	-0.0156 (0.375)	-0.0510 (0.337)
village	0.169 (0.319)	0.384 (0.310)	0.249 (0.316)
professional	-0.819** (0.406)	-0.783* (0.440)	-0.802* (0.411)
laborer	-0.424 (0.486)	-0.783 (0.480)	-0.562 (0.485)
Constant	-4.706** (2.248)	-2.447 (2.185)	-0.904 (2.084)
Observations	200	200	200
ll	-129.7	-131.2	-132.9
adj. r2	0.0645	0.0539	0.0417

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Factor Analysis and Extended Regression Models for Ethnocentrism Index

Table 9. Index of Ethnocentrism Factor Loadings

Factor analysis/correlation	Number of obs = 200
Method: principal factors	Retained factors = 1
Rotation: (unrotated)	Number of params = 8

Factor	Eigenvalue	Difference	Proportion	Cumulative
Factor1	1.59089	1.13029	0.922	0.922
Factor2	0.46060	0.21477	0.2669	1.1889
Factor3	0.24582	0.13864	0.1425	1.3313
Factor4	0.10718	0.10688	0.0621	1.3935
Factor5	0.00030	0.11988	0.0002	1.3936
Factor6	-0.11958	0.09767	-0.0693	1.3243
Factor7	-0.21725	0.12515	-0.1259	1.1984
Factor8	-0.34240	.	-0.1984	1.0000

LR test: independent vs. saturated: $\chi^2(28) = 211.39$ Prob> $\chi^2 = 0.0000$

Factor loadings (pattern matrix) and unique variances

	Factor 1	Uniqueness
Feel Close to Ukrainian speakers	0.0144	0.9998
Feel Distant to Russian Speakers	-0.3231	0.8956
Think Russian Speakers in Ukraine:...are enemies	0.2809	0.9211
... are not loyal to Ukraine	0.5894	0.6526
...support Russia's taking of territory	0.5252	0.7242
...oppose EU membership	0.5369	0.7117
...support Vladimir Putin	0.4757	0.7738
Bias against ethnic Russians (Dictator Game)	0.5193	0.7304

Table 10. Ethnocentrism and Military Mobilization (Logit Regression, Average Marginal Effects)

In-group Ties		Out-group Aversion		Out-group Aversion	
Feel close to Ukrainian speakers	0.00 (0.06)	Feel distant to Russian speakers in Ukraine	-0.07 (0.04)	Think Russian speakers Support Russia's taking of territory	-0.09 (0.07)
Show In-group bias in a dictator game	-0.01 (0.07)	Think Russian speakers in Ukraine are enemies	-0.23** (0.10)	Think Russian speakers oppose EU membership	-0.05 (0.05)
		Think Russian speakers are not loyal	-0.04 (0.06)	Think Russian speakers support V. Putin	-0.01 (0.07)

Table 11. Ethnocentrism and Military Mobilization (Logit Regression)

VARIABLES	(1) fighter	(2) fighter	(3) fighter	(4) fighter
Feel close to Uk. speakers	0.0114 (0.230)			
Feel distant to Russian speakers		-0.300 (0.191)		
Think Russian speakers are enemies			-0.979** (0.443)	
Think Russian speakers are not loyal				-0.177 (0.243)
age	0.111 (0.0694)	0.0924 (0.0715)	0.120* (0.0696)	0.110 (0.0695)
education	0.00488 (0.355)	-0.0630 (0.348)	-0.00924 (0.353)	-0.00909 (0.359)
village	0.242 (0.312)	0.255 (0.314)	0.181 (0.323)	0.222 (0.312)
professional	-0.907** (0.411)	-0.868** (0.413)	-0.861** (0.412)	-0.881** (0.407)
laborer	-0.879* (0.475)	-0.842* (0.465)	-0.805* (0.466)	-0.852* (0.465)
Constant	-1.916 (2.156)	-0.782 (2.178)	-0.938 (2.122)	-1.569 (2.121)
Observations	200	200	200	200
ll	0.0223	0.0302	0.0420	0.0243
adj. r2	-135.5	-134.4	-132.8	-135.3

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 12. Ethnocentrism and Military Mobilization Continued (Logit Regression)

VARIABLES	(5) fighter	(6) fighter	(7) fighter	(8) fighter
Think Russian speakers support Russia taking territory	-0.372 (0.283)			
Think Russian speakers oppose EU membership		-0.189 (0.194)		
Think Russian speakers Support V. Putin			-0.0207 (0.271)	
In-group bias (Dictator game)				-0.0225 (0.294)
age	0.119* (0.0700)	0.128* (0.0726)	0.110 (0.0693)	0.111 (0.0694)
education	-0.0832 (0.358)	0.0103 (0.353)	0.00522 (0.355)	0.00614 (0.355)
village	0.237 (0.312)	0.237 (0.311)	0.238 (0.317)	0.242 (0.312)
professional	-0.863** (0.406)	-0.923** (0.410)	-0.901** (0.410)	-0.906** (0.408)
laborer	-0.845* (0.464)	-0.917* (0.469)	-0.870* (0.469)	-0.876* (0.467)
Constant	-1.222 (2.135)	-1.941 (2.072)	-1.862 (2.088)	-1.896 (2.066)
Observations	200	200	200	200
adj. r2	0.0286	0.0259	0.0223	0.0223
ll	-134.7	-135.0	-135.5	-135.5

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Factor Analysis and Extended Regression Models for Self-Efficacy Index

Table 13. Risk Game Instructions

Circle one of the following Options

Option		
1	50% chance of receiving 500	50% chance of receiving 60
2	50% chance of receiving 400	50% chance of receiving 70
3	50% chance of receiving 300	50% chance of receiving 80
4	50% change of receiving 200	50% chance of receiving 90
5	50% chance of receiving 100	50% chance of receiving 100

Table 14. Index of Self-Efficacy Factor Loadings

Factor analysis/correlation Number of obs = 200
 Method: principal factors Retained factors = 1
 Rotation: (unrotated) Number of params = 8

Factor	Eigenvalue	Difference	Proportion	Cumulative
Factor1	1.69234	1.26848	0.9100	0.9100
Factor2	0.42386	0.10369	0.2279	1.1379
Factor3	0.32017	0.32724	0.1722	1.3100
Factor4	-0.00708	0.02201	-0.0038	1.3062
Factor5	-0.02909	0.04003	-0.0156	1.2906
Factor6	-0.06911	0.05804	-0.0372	1.2534
Factor7	-0.12715	0.21701	-0.0684	1.1851
Factor8	-0.34416	.	-0.1851	1.0000

LR test: independent vs. saturated: $\chi^2(28) = 234.31$ Prob> $\chi^2 = 0.0000$

Factor loadings (pattern matrix) and unique variances

	Factor 1	Uniqueness
Positive Affect emotions	0.4782	0.7713
Negative Affect emotions	-0.3503	0.8773
Risk Game Behavior	0.3951	0.8439
Agree: Not afraid to take risks	0.2291	0.9475
Disagree: Avoid risks when possible	0.7724	0.4035
Expect conditions to improve in future	0.3803	0.8554
Agree: Optimistic about my future	0.3968	0.8426
Disagree: worried about my future	0.4835	0.7662

Table 15. Indications of Emotional Positive-Negative Affect
(Logit regression, Average Marginal Effects)

Positive Affect		Negative Affect	
Happy, joyful, cheerful, delighted, excited, enthusiastic, lively, energetic	0.11*** (0.03)	Afraid, scared, frightened, nervous, jittery, shaky	-0.11*** (0.03)
Alert, attentive, concentrating, determined	0.09** (0.04)	Angry, hostile, irritable, disgusted, loathing/hatred	-0.04 (0.04)
Proud, strong, confident, bold, daring, fearless	0.11*** (0.04)	Sad, blue, downhearted, alone, lonely	-0.09* (0.05)

Risk Tolerance		Optimism Bias	
Risk Game Behavior (Risk Tolerance)	0.15*** (0.02)	Expect conditions to improve in future	0.09*** (0.03)
Agree: I am not afraid to take risks	0.11* (0.09)	Agree: Optimistic about my future	0.30*** (0.03)
Disagree: Avoid risks when possible	0.20*** (0.02)	Disagree: worried about my future	0.17*** (0.03)

Extended Controls, Robust standard errors in parentheses.

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Figure 2. Emotional Positive and Negative Affect (Average Marginal Effects)

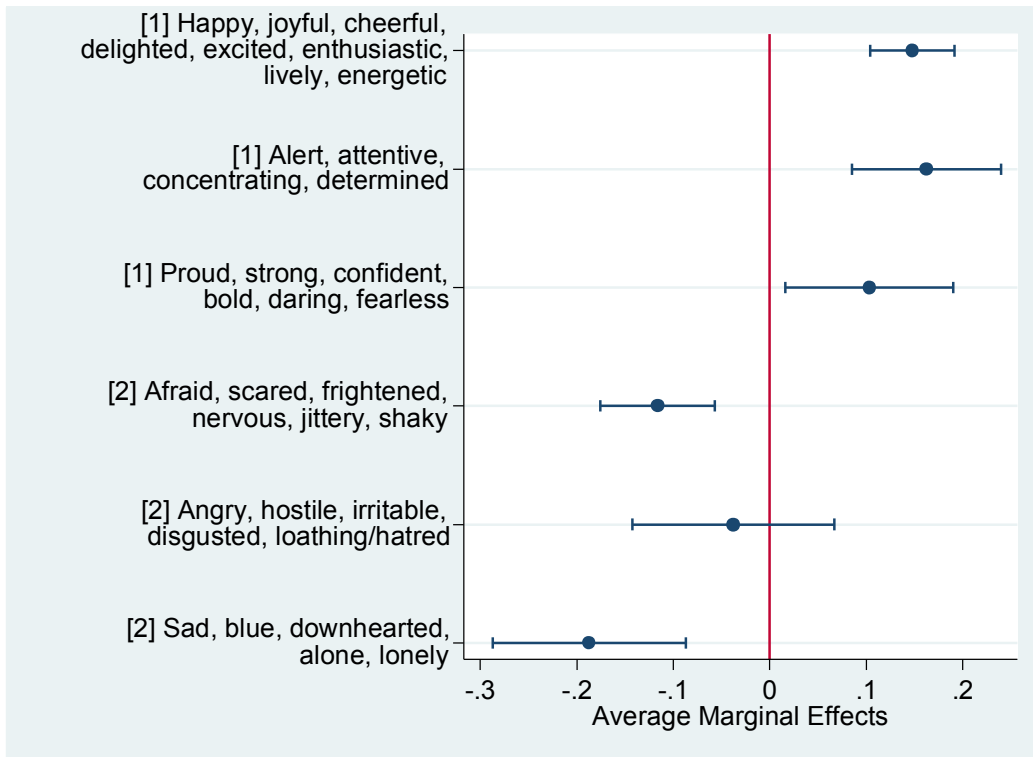


Table 16. Self-Efficacy and Military Mobilization (Logit Regression)

VARIABLES	(1) fighter	(2) fighter	(3) fighter	(4) fighter	(5) fighter
Positive affect	1.049*** (0.269)				
Negative affect		-1.185*** (0.326)			
Risk Game Tolerance			0.746*** (0.129)		
Agree: not afraid To take risks				0.466 (0.294)	
Disagree: avoid risk when can age					0.986*** (0.171)
	0.0931 (0.0734)	0.0821 (0.0736)	0.163** (0.0804)	0.117* (0.0698)	0.0733 (0.0787)
education	-0.152 (0.336)	0.0235 (0.352)	-0.0913 (0.450)	0.0567 (0.353)	-0.162 (0.361)
village	0.323 (0.330)	0.00889 (0.325)	0.351 (0.335)	0.233 (0.316)	0.0805 (0.347)
professional	-0.653 (0.419)	-0.476 (0.447)	-0.981** (0.463)	-0.963** (0.407)	-0.550 (0.439)
laborer	-1.076** (0.471)	-0.711 (0.478)	-0.925* (0.515)	-0.912** (0.462)	-0.933* (0.506)
Constant	-1.925 (2.089)	0.525 (2.182)	-5.335** (2.629)	-2.908 (2.155)	-2.631 (2.248)
Observations	200	200	200	200	200
adj. r2	0.0837	0.0765	0.154	0.0314	0.152
ll	-127.0	-128.0	-117.3	-134.3	-117.6

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 17. Self-Efficacy and Military Mobilization Continued (Logit Regression)

VARIABLES	(1) fighter	(2) fighter	(3) fighter
Expect conditions to improve in future	0.411*** (0.128)		
Agree: Optimistic About my future		1.492*** (0.243)	
Disagree: worried About my future			0.774*** (0.175)
age	0.0641 (0.0731)	0.0757 (0.0760)	0.126* (0.0709)
education	0.0133 (0.433)	0.0315 (0.437)	0.00847 (0.373)
village	0.212 (0.315)	0.333 (0.341)	-0.182 (0.346)
whitecollar	-0.590 (0.440)	-0.966** (0.479)	-0.694* (0.414)
laborer	-0.726 (0.482)	-1.121** (0.522)	-0.788 (0.480)
Constant	-2.434 (2.347)	-4.725* (2.412)	-3.794* (2.238)
Observations	200	200	200
adj. r2	0.0599	0.156	0.0889
ll	-130.3	-117.1	-126.3

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Factor Analysis and Extended Regression Models for Support for Violent Collective Action Index

Table 18. Support for Violent Collective Action Factor Loadings

Factor analysis/correlation	Number of obs = 200
Method: principal factors	Retained factors = 1
Rotation: (unrotated)	Number of params = 10

Factor	Eigenvalue	Difference	Proportion	Cumulative
Factor1	2.39927	1.48781	0.7004	0.7004
Factor2	0.91146	0.42414	0.2661	0.9665
Factor3	0.48733	0.18741	0.1423	1.1087
Factor4	0.29991	0.11532	0.0876	1.1963
Factor5	0.18459	0.21494	0.0539	1.2502
Factor6	-0.03035	0.06463	-0.0089	1.2413
Factor7	-0.09497	0.07331	-0.0277	1.2136
Factor8	-0.16828	0.07744	-0.0491	1.1645
Factor9	-0.24572	0.07193	-0.0717	1.0927
Factor10	-0.31765	.	-0.0927	1.0000

LR test: independent vs. saturated: $\chi^2(45) = 488.24$ Prob> $\chi^2 = 0.0000$

Factor loadings (pattern matrix) and unique variances

	Factor 1	Uniqueness
Blame Putin for Donbas violence	0.3217	0.8965
See Russia as an enemy	0.3532	0.8752
Support using force against Russia	0.2443	0.9403
Support retaking territory no matter costs	0.4676	0.7813
For NATO military intervention	0.6817	0.5353
For US military intervention	0.6996	0.5105
Believe it essential that Ukraine remain unified	0.3578	0.8720
Oppose negotiations with Russia	0.5635	0.6824
Doubt talks with Russia will resolve conflict peacefully	0.5390	0.7095
Believe Russia will take more territory	0.4499	0.7976

Table 19. Support for Violent Collective Action and Military Mobilization (Logit Regression, Average Marginal Effects)

Support for Violence		Support for Intervention		Willingness to Bargain	
Think Putin is to blame for Donbas violence	0.25*** (0.08)	Support NATO Military intervention	0.14*** (0.03)	Believe it essential that Ukraine remain unified	0.18** (0.08)
Think Russia is an enemy of Ukraine	0.29*** (0.10)	Support US Military intervention	0.11*** (0.03)	Oppose negotiating with Russia	0.11*** (0.04)
Support using force against Russia	0.25*** (0.08)			Doubt talks with Russia will resolve conflict peacefully	0.17*** (0.02)
Support retaking territory no matter the costs	0.25*** (0.06)			Believe that Russia will attempt to take more territory	0.23*** (0.06)

Extended Controls, Robust standard errors in parentheses. $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

Table 20. Support for Violent Collective Action and Military Mobilization (Logit Regression)

VARIABLES	(1) fighter	(2) fighter	(3) fighter	(4) fighter
Blame Putin/Russia for Donbas violence	1.060*** (0.355)			
See Russia as enemy		1.290*** (0.495)		
Use force against Russia			1.086*** (0.371)	
Must retake lost territory no matter the cost				1.101*** (0.310)
age	0.0638 (0.0733)	0.0586 (0.0717)	0.0751 (0.0726)	0.117 (0.0739)
education	0.0717 (0.362)	-0.0767 (0.434)	0.0434 (0.351)	-0.258 (0.357)
village	0.188 (0.316)	0.157 (0.318)	0.166 (0.313)	0.186 (0.318)
professional	-0.902** (0.417)	-0.823** (0.414)	-0.646 (0.422)	-0.680 (0.418)
laborer	-0.721 (0.472)	-0.846* (0.459)	-0.616 (0.474)	-0.781* (0.465)
Constant	-4.096* (2.278)	-4.025 (2.623)	-4.444* (2.289)	-4.044* (2.200)
Observations	200	200	200	200
ll	-131.0	-129.3	-131.0	-128.9
adj. r2	0.0552	0.0675	0.0548	0.0702

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 21. Support for Violent Collective Action and Military Mobilization Continued (Logit Regression)

VARIABLES	(5) fighter	(6) fighter	(7) fighter	(8) fighter	(9) fighter	(10) fighter
For NATO military intervention	0.608*** (0.162)					
For US military intervention		0.482*** (0.159)				
Essential that Ukraine remain unified			0.774** (0.363)			
Oppose Negotiations With Russia				0.442*** (0.167)		
Doubt talk with Russia will succeed					0.800*** (0.155)	
Think Russia will try to take more territory						1.022*** (0.306)
age	0.0747 (0.0738)	0.0971 (0.0729)	0.109 (0.0710)	0.111 (0.0724)	0.0817 (0.0752)	0.115 (0.0747)
education	-0.0159 (0.359)	-0.0247 (0.363)	-0.0193 (0.348)	-0.133 (0.360)	-0.152 (0.406)	-0.146 (0.323)
village	0.293 (0.321)	0.267 (0.318)	0.256 (0.314)	0.295 (0.317)	0.214 (0.327)	0.195 (0.317)
professional	-0.752* (0.435)	-0.741* (0.415)	-0.818** (0.413)	-0.668 (0.412)	-0.442 (0.452)	-0.836** (0.419)
laborer	-0.829* (0.491)	-0.651 (0.480)	-0.657 (0.485)	-0.700 (0.467)	-0.664 (0.482)	-0.642 (0.469)
Constant	-2.233 (2.131)	-2.645 (2.145)	-4.071* (2.317)	-2.895 (2.152)	1.106 (2.374)	-4.301** (2.172)
Observations	200	200	200	200	200	200
ll	-129.0	-131.0	-133.5	-131.6	-121.9	-130.0
adj. r2	0.0695	0.0551	0.0373	0.0510	0.120	0.0620

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 22. Regression Models for Causal Mediation Analysis

VARIABLES	(1) fighter	(2) fighter	(3) fighter
Maidan Activism	0.887*** (0.249)	0.442* (0.259)	0.403* (0.223)
Support for violence		0.887*** (0.208)	
Self-Efficacy			1.900*** (0.259)
age	0.114 (0.0742)	0.0631 (0.0786)	0.0510 (0.0860)
education	-0.146 (0.361)	-0.307 (0.362)	-0.289 (0.344)
village	0.300 (0.325)	0.272 (0.336)	-0.0916 (0.396)
professional	-0.755* (0.404)	-0.374 (0.438)	-0.0216 (0.548)
laborer	-0.287 (0.480)	-0.130 (0.500)	-0.828 (0.594)
Constant	-1.702 (2.096)	-0.128 (2.091)	0.345 (2.357)
Observations	200	200	200
adj. r2	0.101	0.159	0.303
ll	-124.6	-116.6	-96.66

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Predictor Variable	Maidan Activism	
Outcome Variable	Military Mobilization	
Proposed Mediators	Self-Efficacy	Support for Violence
Average Causal Mediating Effect (AMCE)	0.096	0.093
Direct Effect	.065	0.090
Total Effect	0.162	0.183
% ACME mediated	.61	0.50
Rho for AMCE=0	0.6	0.4
R2M*R2Y for AMCE = 0	0.36	0.16