

Online Appendix: In the Shadow of Conflict: How Emotions, Threat Perceptions, and Victimization Influence Foreign Policy Attitudes¹

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December 2018

¹ We would like to thank the Caucasus Research Resource Centers (CRRC) for their excellent research assistance and implementation of the survey. We would also like to thank seminar participants at Harvard University, Yale University,

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MAIN REGRESSION RESULTS FROM THE PAPER

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Russia is a Threat	Russia is a Threat	Russia is a Threat	Russia is a Threat	Russia is a Threat	Russia is a Threat	Russia is a Threat
Pure Information Treatment	0.06** (0.02)	0.06** (0.02)	0.06** (0.03)	0.08*** (0.03)	0.06** (0.03)	0.06** (0.03)	0.06** (0.03)
Anger Treatment	0.05* (0.03)	0.05* (0.03)	0.05* (0.03)	0.05 (0.03)	0.05* (0.03)	0.05* (0.03)	0.05* (0.03)
Fear Treatment	0.04 (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)	0.05* (0.03)	0.06* (0.03)	0.05* (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)	0.05 (0.03)
Kutaisi		-0.04 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.05 (0.04)	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.05 (0.04)
Conflict Affected Area		0.01 (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)	0.04 (0.05)	0.05 (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)
IDP		0.10*** (0.03)	0.12*** (0.03)	0.10** (0.04)			
Saakashvili Support			0.06** (0.02)	0.06** (0.02)	0.06** (0.02)	0.06** (0.02)	0.07*** (0.02)
Stress				0.11** (0.05)			
Honor				-0.02 (0.09)			
Knew Someone Murdered					0.10*** (0.04)		
Total War Exposure						0.23*** (0.08)	
South Ossetia Exposure							0.45*** (0.10)
Abkhazia Exposure							0.17 (0.10)
Observations	1129	1129	937	813	928	937	937
R ²	0.006	0.049	0.082	0.084	0.064	0.075	0.084
Controls	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Standard errors in parentheses

Controls include Age, Sex, Marital Status, Education, and Monthly Household Spending. Note standard errors clustered at the voting precinct-level (PSU).

* $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$

Table 1: Dependent Variable: How much of a threat is Russia (OLS)?

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Russia is a Threat	Russia is a Threat	Russia is a Threat	Russia is a Threat	Russia is a Threat	Russia is a Threat	Russia is a Threat
Any Treatment	0.05** (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)	0.06** (0.03)	0.05** (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)
Kutaisi		-0.04 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.05 (0.04)	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.05 (0.04)
Conflict Affected Area		0.01 (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)	0.04 (0.05)	0.05 (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)
IDP		0.10*** (0.03)	0.12*** (0.03)	0.10** (0.04)			
Saakashvili Support			0.06** (0.02)	0.06** (0.02)	0.06** (0.02)	0.06** (0.02)	0.07*** (0.02)
Stress				0.11** (0.05)			
Honor				-0.02 (0.09)			
Knew Someone Murdered					0.10*** (0.04)		
Total War Exposure						0.23*** (0.08)	
South Ossetia Exposure							0.45*** (0.10)
Abkhazia Exposure							0.17 (0.10)
Observations	1129	1129	937	813	928	937	937
R ²	0.005	0.049	0.082	0.082	0.064	0.075	0.084
Controls	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Standard errors in parentheses

Controls include Age, Sex, Marital Status, Education, and Monthly Household Spending. Note standard errors clustered at the voting precinct-level (PSU).

* $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$

Table 2: Dependent Variable: How much of a threat is Russia (OLS)? Note it collapses all three treatments into a single dummy variable (Any Treatment).

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Russia	Russia	Russia	Russia	Russia	Russia	Russia
	Angry	Angry	Angry	Angry	Angry	Angry	Angry
Pure Information Treatment	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
Anger Treatment	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
Fear Treatment	0.03 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.03 (0.03)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
Kutaisi		-0.08** (0.03)	-0.09** (0.03)	-0.08** (0.04)	-0.11*** (0.03)	-0.10*** (0.03)	-0.11*** (0.03)
Conflict Affected Area		-0.00 (0.03)	0.01 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)
IDP		0.14*** (0.03)	0.13*** (0.03)	0.13*** (0.03)			
Saakashvili Support			0.06*** (0.02)	0.06*** (0.02)	0.06*** (0.02)	0.06*** (0.02)	0.07*** (0.02)
Stress				0.04 (0.05)			•
Honor				0.11 (0.07)			
Knew Someone Murdered					0.11*** (0.03)		
Total War Exposure						0.29*** (0.07)	
South Ossetia Exposure							0.46*** (0.14)
Abkhazia Exposure							0.28*** (0.09)
Observations	1152	1152	950	823	941	950	950
R ²	0.002	0.108	0.135	0.144	0.101	0.137	0.141
Controls	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Standard errors in parentheses

Controls include Age, Sex, Marital Status, Education, and Monthly Household Spending. Note standard errors clustered at the voting precinct-level (PSU).

* $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$

Table 3: Dependent Variable: How angry do Russia's actions in the region make you (OLS)?

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Russia Angry	Russia Angry	Russia Angry	Russia Angry	Russia Angry	Russia Angry	Russia Angry
Any Treatment	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
Kutaisi		-0.08** (0.03)	-0.09** (0.03)	-0.08** (0.04)	-0.11*** (0.03)	-0.10*** (0.03)	-0.11*** (0.03)
Conflict Affected Area		-0.00 (0.03)	0.01 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)
IDP		0.14*** (0.03)	0.13*** (0.03)	0.13*** (0.03)			
Saakashvili Support			0.06** (0.02)	0.06** (0.02)	0.06*** (0.02)	0.06*** (0.02)	0.07*** (0.02)
Stress				0.04 (0.05)			
Honor				0.11 (0.07)			
Knew Someone Murdered					0.11*** (0.03)		
Total War Exposure						0.29*** (0.07)	
South Ossetia Exposure							0.46*** (0.14)
Abkhazia Exposure							0.28*** (0.09)
Observations	1152	1152	950	823	941	950	950
R ²	0.001	0.107	0.135	0.144	0.101	0.137	0.141
Controls	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Standard errors in parentheses

Controls include Age, Sex, Marital Status, Education, and Monthly Household Spending. Note standard errors clustered at the voting precinct-level (PSU).

* $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$

Table 4: Dependent Variable: How angry do Russia's actions in the region make you (OLS)? Note it collapses all three treatments into a single dummy variable (Any Treatment).

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Georgia Join NATO	Georgia Join NATO	Georgia Join NATO	Georgia Join NATO	Georgia Join NATO	Georgia Join NATO	Georgia Join NATO
Pure Information Treatment	0.06** (0.03)	0.06** (0.03)	0.07** (0.03)	0.07** (0.03)	0.07** (0.03)	0.07** (0.03)	0.07** (0.03)
Anger Treatment	0.03 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)	0.05* (0.02)	0.04* (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)	0.04* (0.02)
Fear Treatment	0.06** (0.02)	0.06** (0.02)	0.05* (0.03)	0.07** (0.03)	0.05* (0.03)	0.05* (0.03)	0.05* (0.03)
Kutaisi		-0.11** (0.04)	-0.11** (0.05)	-0.12*** (0.04)	-0.12*** (0.04)	-0.12*** (0.04)	-0.12*** (0.04)
Conflict Affected Area		-0.06 (0.04)	-0.06 (0.04)	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.06 (0.04)	-0.05 (0.04)	-0.07 (0.04)
IDP		0.01 (0.04)	0.00 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)			
Saakashvili Support			0.05* (0.02)	0.05* (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)	0.05* (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)
Stress				-0.08 (0.06)			
Honor				-0.10 (0.08)			
Knew Someone Murdered					0.01 (0.04)		
Total War Exposure						-0.04 (0.08)	
South Ossetia Exposure							0.02 (0.14)
Abkhazia Exposure							-0.08 (0.10)
Observations	955	955	799	711	791	799	799
R ²	0.007	0.030	0.035	0.052	0.037	0.036	0.037
Controls	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Standard errors in parentheses

Controls include Age, Sex, Marital Status, Education, and Monthly Household Spending. Note standard errors clustered at the voting precinct-level (PSU).

* $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$

Table 5: Dependent Variable: Georgia should join NATO (Disagree-Agree) (OLS).

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Georgia Join NATO	Georgia Join NATO	Georgia Join NATO	Georgia Join NATO	Georgia Join NATO	Georgia Join NATO	Georgia Join NATO
Any Treatment	0.05** (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)	0.06*** (0.02)	0.06** (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)
Kutaisi		-0.11** (0.04)	-0.11** (0.05)	-0.12*** (0.04)	-0.12*** (0.04)	-0.12*** (0.04)	-0.12*** (0.04)
Conflict Affected Area		-0.06 (0.04)	-0.06 (0.04)	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.06 (0.04)	-0.05 (0.04)	-0.07 (0.04)
IDP		0.01 (0.04)	0.00 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)			
Saakashvili Support			0.05** (0.02)	0.05* (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)
Stress				-0.08 (0.06)			
Honor				-0.10 (0.08)			
Knew Someone Murdered					0.02 (0.04)		
Total War Exposure						-0.04 (0.08)	
South Ossetia Exposure							0.02 (0.13)
Abkhazia Exposure							-0.08 (0.10)
Observations	955	955	799	711	791	799	799
R ²	0.006	0.029	0.034	0.051	0.036	0.034	0.036
Controls	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Standard errors in parentheses

Controls include Age, Sex, Marital Status, Education, and Monthly Household Spending. Note standard errors clustered at the voting precinct-level (PSU).

* $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$

Table 6: Dependent Variable: Georgia should join NATO (Disagree-Agree) (OLS). Note it collapses all three treatments into a single dummy variable (Any Treatment).

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Recognize Abkhazia	Recognize Abkhazia	Recognize Abkhazia	Recognize Abkhazia	Recognize Abkhazia	Recognize Abkhazia	Recognize Abkhazia
Pure Information Treatment	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
Anger Treatment	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
Fear Treatment	-0.05** (0.02)	-0.05** (0.02)	-0.05** (0.02)	-0.06** (0.02)	-0.05** (0.02)	-0.05** (0.02)	-0.05** (0.02)
Kutaisi		0.11*** (0.04)	0.13*** (0.04)	0.11*** (0.03)	0.13*** (0.03)	0.13*** (0.03)	0.13*** (0.03)
Conflict Affected Area		0.02 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)
IDP		-0.02 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.03)			
Saakashvili Support			0.03* (0.02)	0.03* (0.02)	0.03* (0.02)	0.03* (0.02)	0.03** (0.02)
Stress				0.08* (0.04)			
Honor				-0.05 (0.06)			
Knew Someone Murdered					-0.03 (0.03)		
Total War Exposure						-0.02 (0.07)	
South Ossetia Exposure							0.02 (0.11)
Abkhazia Exposure							-0.04 (0.09)
Observations	1140	1139	943	816	934	943	943
R ²	0.005	0.054	0.090	0.095	0.093	0.090	0.091
Controls	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Standard errors in parentheses

Controls include Age, Sex, Marital Status, Education, and Monthly Household Spending. Note standard errors clustered at the voting precinct-level (PSU).

* $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$

Table 7: Dependent Variable: To reduce tensions with Russia, Georgia should recognize Abkhazia's independence (Disagree-Agree) (OLS).

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Recognize Abkhazia	Recognize Abkhazia	Recognize Abkhazia	Recognize Abkhazia	Recognize Abkhazia	Recognize Abkhazia	Recognize Abkhazia
Any Treatment	-0.03* (0.02)	-0.03* (0.02)	-0.03* (0.02)	-0.03* (0.02)	-0.03* (0.02)	-0.03* (0.02)	-0.03* (0.02)
Kutaisi		0.12*** (0.04)	0.13*** (0.04)	0.11*** (0.03)	0.13*** (0.03)	0.13*** (0.03)	0.13*** (0.03)
Conflict Affected Area		0.03 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)
IDP		-0.02 (0.04)	-0.00 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.03)			
Saakashvili Support			0.03* (0.02)	0.03* (0.02)	0.03* (0.02)	0.03* (0.02)	0.03** (0.02)
Stress				0.08* (0.04)			
Honor				-0.05 (0.06)			
Knew Someone Murdered					-0.03 (0.03)		
Total War Exposure						-0.02 (0.07)	
South Ossetia Exposure							0.02 (0.11)
Abkhazia Exposure							-0.05 (0.09)
Observations	1140	1139	943	816	934	943	943
R ²	0.003	0.053	0.087	0.091	0.091	0.087	0.088
Controls	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	

Standard errors in parentheses

Controls include Age, Sex, Marital Status, Education, and Monthly Household Spending. Note standard errors clustered at the voting precinct-level (PSU).

* $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$

Table 8: Dependent Variable: To reduce tensions with Russia, Georgia should recognize Abkhazia's independence (Disagree-Agree) (OLS). Note it collapses all three treatments into a single dummy variable (Any Treatment).

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Recognize South Ossetia	Recognize South Ossetia	Recognize South Ossetia	Recognize South Ossetia	Recognize South Ossetia	Recognize South Ossetia	Recognize South Ossetia
Pure Information Treatment	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)
Anger Treatment	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)
Fear Treatment	-0.04* (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.05* (0.03)	-0.07** (0.03)	-0.05* (0.03)	-0.05* (0.03)	-0.05* (0.03)
Kutaisi		0.09** (0.04)	0.11*** (0.03)	0.10*** (0.03)	0.12*** (0.03)	0.11*** (0.03)	0.11*** (0.03)
Conflict Affected Area		0.00 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)
IDP		-0.03 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)			
Saakashvili Support			0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)
Stress				0.02 (0.05)			
Honor				0.03 (0.09)			
Knew Someone Murdered					-0.02 (0.02)		
Total War Exposure						-0.02 (0.05)	
South Ossetia Exposure							0.02 (0.11)
Abkhazia Exposure							-0.04 (0.07)
Observations	1139	1139	943	816	934	943	943
R ²	0.004	0.032	0.064	0.074	0.065	0.063	0.064
Controls	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Standard errors in parentheses

Controls include Age, Sex, Marital Status, Education, and Monthly Household Spending. Note standard errors clustered at the voting precinct-level (PSU).

* $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$

Table 9: Dependent Variable: To reduce tensions with Russia, Georgia should recognize South Ossetia's independence (Disagree-Agree) (OLS).

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Recognize South Ossetia	Recognize South Ossetia	Recognize South Ossetia	Recognize South Ossetia	Recognize South Ossetia	Recognize South Ossetia	Recognize South Ossetia
Any Treatment	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.03* (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)
Kutaisi		0.11*** (0.04)	0.12*** (0.03)	0.11*** (0.03)	0.13*** (0.03)	0.13*** (0.03)	0.13*** (0.03)
Conflict Affected Area		0.02 (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)
IDP		-0.03 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)			
Saakashvili Support			0.03* (0.02)	0.03* (0.02)	0.03* (0.02)	0.03* (0.02)	0.03* (0.01)
Stress				0.04 (0.04)			
Honor				-0.04 (0.06)			
Knew Someone Murdered					-0.03 (0.02)		
Total War Exposure						-0.03 (0.06)	
South Ossetia Exposure							-0.00 (0.11)
Abkhazia Exposure							-0.04 (0.08)
Observations	1139	1138	942	815	933	942	942
R ²	0.002	0.060	0.098	0.107	0.102	0.098	0.098
Controls	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	

Standard errors in parentheses

Controls include Age, Sex, Marital Status, Education, and Monthly Household Spending. Note standard errors clustered at the voting precinct-level (PSU).

* $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$

Table 10: Dependent Variable: To reduce tensions with Russia, Georgia should recognize South Ossetia's independence (Disagree-Agree) (OLS). Note it collapses all three treatments into a single dummy variable (Any Treatment).

Panel A

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
	Russia is a Threat	Russia is a Threat	Russia Angry	Russia Angry	Georgia Join NATO	Georgia Join NATO	Recognize South Ossetia	Recognize South Ossetia	Recognize Abkhazia	Recognize Abkhazia
Pure Information Treatment	0.07** (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)	0.05 (0.04)	0.00 (0.02)	0.11** (0.05)	0.03 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.02)
Anger Treatment	0.06 (0.04)	0.04 (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)	0.03 (0.04)	0.03 (0.03)	0.01 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.02)
Fear Treatment	0.09** (0.04)	0.02 (0.03)	0.07* (0.04)	0.01 (0.03)	0.07 (0.04)	0.05* (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.06** (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.06** (0.03)
Observations	415	714	423	729	347	608	418	720	421	718
R ²	0.015	0.004	0.008	0.001	0.019	0.004	0.003	0.012	0.002	0.012

Standard errors in parentheses

Note standard errors clustered at the voting precinct-level (PSU).

* $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$

Panel B

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
	Russia is a Threat	Russia is a Threat	Russia Angry	Russia Angry	Georgia Join NATO	Georgia Join NATO	Recognize South Ossetia	Recognize South Ossetia	Recognize Abkhazia	Recognize Abkhazia
Any Treatment	0.07** (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	0.05* (0.03)	0.01 (0.02)	0.07* (0.04)	0.04 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.04* (0.02)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.04* (0.02)
Observations	415	714	423	729	347	608	418	720	421	718
R ²	0.014	0.003	0.007	0.000	0.010	0.003	0.000	0.005	0.001	0.005

Standard errors in parentheses

Note standard errors clustered at the voting precinct-level (PSU).

* $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$

Table 11: Comparing treatment effects for IDPs (columns 1, 3, 5, 7, 9) versus non-IDPs. In Panel A the treatments are disaggregated, while Panel B collapses all three treatments into a single dummy variable.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION AND REGRESSION RESULTS

A.1 Sampling Design

The target population was broken down into three separate geographic strata, with an aim to sample approximately an equal number of respondents across the following three regions: Tbilisi, Kutaisi, and conflict-affected areas (those affected by the 2008 Russo-Georgian War). Conflict-affected areas include the Kaspi municipality, Gori municipality, Kareli municipality, Senaki municipality, Khobi municipality, Zugdidi municipality, Poti municipality and Tserovani IDP settlement. In each of the three geographic areas (Tbilisi, Kutaisi and conflict-affected), we also sub-divided each stratum into those that had compact IDP settlements (i.e., areas exclusively reserved for IDPs), and non-IDP specific areas. This yields six strata: 1) Tbilisi non-IDP; 2) Tbilisi IDP; 3) Kutaisi non-IDP; 4) Kutaisi IDP; 5) conflict-affected non-IDP; and 6) conflict-affected IDP. We oversampled IDPs 15 times higher than their share of the respective target population within each geographic stratum. In each of the three geographic strata we targeted 500 complete interviews and the sample size was based on expected response rate⁴ Each strata was further sub-stratified by settlement type (urban or rural), and the sample was divided proportionally to the urban/rural population within each strata. See Figure 1 for a geographic distribution of our sample.

⁴ Expected response rates were taken from the latest CRRC surveys conducted in the relevant areas. However, the actual response rate was lower than expected (especially in Tbilisi) and we could not reach the target response 500 in any of the three geographic strata.

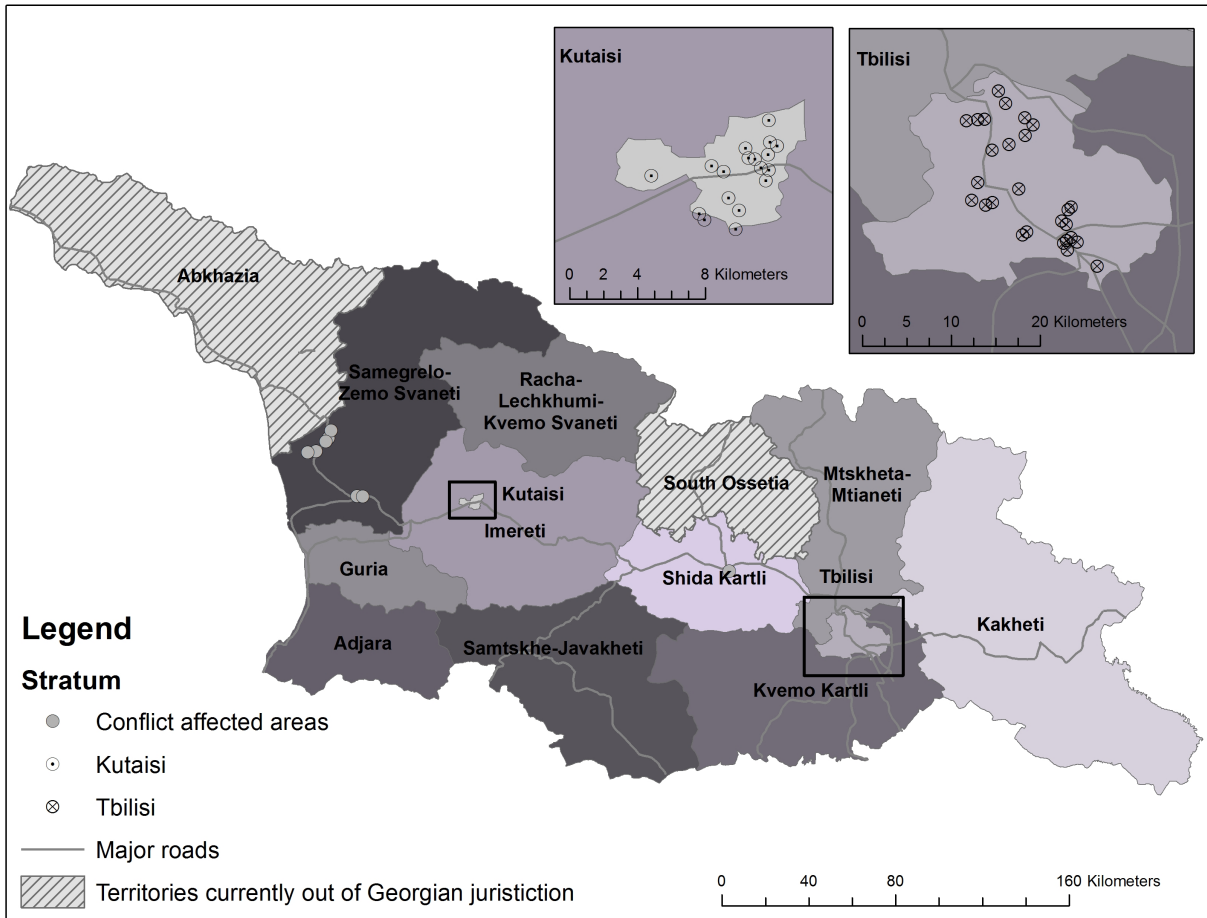


Figure A.1: Sampling Map

The primary sampling unit (PSU) was at the voting precinct-level. Voting precincts were randomly selected within each stratum, with equal probability of selection within each substratum. In each PSU 32 households were sampled by interviewers following a random walk. Interviews were instructions (see details in Annex 1). The respondents in each sampled household were selected using Kish Tables.⁵ In the event that the interviewers failed to make contact with the household, or made contact with the household but failed to make contact with the selected household member, they returned for a second, and then, if necessary, for a third contact attempt before classifying the interview attempt as a non-response. These repeated contact attempts were necessary in order to minimize selection bias for demographic groups that are more easily located at home (e.g., the elderly, the unemployed, etc.). Ninety-five percent of completed interviews were achieved at the first attempt. Overall distribution of the sample is summarized in table 1.

⁵ Kish, Leslie (September 1949), "A Procedure for Objective Respondent Selection within the Household", *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 44 (247): 380–387. For more accessible description of this method please see:

Using the AAPOR⁶ standard for determining response rate, i.e. an interview in which at least 50% of the questions had valid answers was counted as a full response. Table 1 summarizes response rates per stratum. It shows that the overall response rate was 52%, and provides the distribution of responses across the three interview attempts in each stratum.

Stratum	Interview attempts	Completed interviews				Response rate
		Total	Attempt 1	Attempt 2	Attempt 3	
Tbilisi Non-IDP	768	192	165	22	5	25%
Tbilisi IDP	253	101	81	16	4	40%
Kutaisi Non-IDP	559	406	246	142	18	73%
Kutaisi IDP	106	78	57	17	4	74%
Conflict-affected areas Non-IDP	256	185	151	32	2	72%
Conflict affected area- IDP	391	258	215	35	8	66%
Total	2,333	1,220	915	264	41	52%

Table A.1: Response Rates

⁶ AAPOR response definitions are available at [Please see also:](#)

A.2 Measurement and Pre-registered Hypotheses

A.2.1 Treatments and Measurement of Variables/ Survey Questions

Treatments

1. [No Information/Control Condition]
2. Pure Information Treatment

“Georgia faces many important foreign policy choices going forward including its relationship with the European Union, United States, and perhaps most importantly Russia. Russia and Georgia have had disagreements over Abkhazia and South Ossetia, and recent Russian actions in Ukraine--Donbas and Crimea further highlight tensions.”

3. Anger Treatment

“Georgia faces many important foreign policy choices going forward including its relationship with the European Union, United States, and perhaps most importantly Russia. Russia and Georgia have had disagreements over Abkhazia and South Ossetia, and recent Russian actions in Ukraine--Donbas and Crimea further highlight tensions. We are interested in your feelings about Russia’s past and current actions. Specifically, we are interested in what makes you most ANGRY about Russia’s foreign policy actions. Please describe and tell us what most makes you ANGRY about Russia’s actions. Please be as detailed and specific as possible.”

4. Fear Treatment

“Georgia faces many important foreign policy choices going forward including its relationship with the European Union, United States, and perhaps most importantly Russia. Russia and Georgia have had disagreements over Abkhazia and South Ossetia, and recent Russian actions in Ukraine--Donbas and Crimea further highlight tensions. . We are interested in your feelings about Russia’s past and current actions. Specifically, we are interested in what makes you most AFRAID about Russia’s foreign policy actions. Please describe and tell us what most makes you AFRAID about Russia’s actions. Please be as detailed and specific as possible.”

Measurement of Variables

- **IDP**- 1 if an individual has official status as an IDP, 0 if not
- **Kutaisi**- 1 if a respondent lives in the Kutaisi, 0 if not
- **Conflict Affected Area**- 1 if a respondent lives in a conflict affected area, 0 if otherwise
- **Total War Exposure**- Sum of personal exposure of all instances below from conflicts in South Ossetia and Abkhazia rescaled to lie between 0 and 1
 - Witnessed violence

- Assaulted
- Know Someone Murdered
- Extorted
- House confiscated
- Suffered property damage
- Displaced
- **South Ossetia Exposure-** Degree of Total War Exposure stemming from South Ossetia)
- **Abkhazia Exposure-** Degree of Total War Exposure stemming from Abkhazia
- **Know Someone Murdered** -1 if the respondent Know Someone Murdered in conflicts in South Ossetia or Abkhazia, 0 otherwise
- **Stress-** Drawn from the State-Trait Anxiety Inventor (Marteau and Bekker 1992) (*CITE), rescaled to lie between 0 and 1 ($\alpha=0.77$)
 - *A number of statements which have used to describe themselves are given below. Listen to each statement and tell us how you feel right now, at this moment. There are no right or wrong answers. (Not at All to Very Much)*
 1. I feel calm*
 2. I am tense
 3. I am upset
 4. I am relaxed*
 5. I feel content*
 6. I am worried
 - *Revers Scored
- **Honor-** Summative scale of the 7 following statements, rescaled to lie between 0 to 1 ($\alpha=0.86$). Adapted from (Mosquera et al. 2002)
 - *Please rate the extent behaving or having a reputation as described in each item would damage how you felt about yourself (Not at All to Very Much)*
 1. Your family having a bad reputation
 2. Not keeping your “word”
 3. You don’t show a guest proper hospitality
 4. Not defending yourself when others insult you
 5. Having female relatives who are known to be “loose” or ”easy”
 6. Letting others insult your family
 7. Not being loyal to one’s head of household /family
- **Saakashvili Support-** 1 if the respondent chose statement A), 0 if they chose Statement B.
 - Statement A) Saakashvili was not perfect, but overall he was a good leader
 - Statement B) Saakashvili had some success, but overall he was a bad leader
- **Education-**Highest achieved level of education (1-8)
 1. No primary education.
 2. Primary education (either complete or incomplete)
 3. Incomplete secondary education
 4. Completed secondary education
 5. Secondary technical education.
 6. Incomplete higher education.
 7. Completed higher education (BA, MA, or *Specialist* degree)
 8. Post-graduate degree

- **Household Spending-** Monthly household spending in Georgian Lari (1-8)
 - Up to 150 GEL
 - 151-260GEL
 - 261-400GEL
 - 401-800GEL
 - 801-1200GEL
 - 1201-1600GEL
 - More than 1600GEL

Dependent Variables

- **Russia is a Threat (1-5)**
 - How much of a threat, if at all, is Russia to Georgia?
 1. Minor Threat
 2. Moderate Threat
 3. Serious Threat
 4. Very Serious Threat
 5. Extremely Serious threat
- **Russia Angry (1-5)**
 - How angry do Russia's actions in the region make you?
 1. Not Angry at All
 2. A Little Angry
 3. Angry
 4. Very Angry
 5. Extremely Angry
- **Georgia Should Join NATO (1-5)**
 - Georgia should join NATO even if Russia threatens it militarily
 1. Disagree Strongly
 2. Disagree a Little
 3. Neither Agree Nor Disagree
 4. Agree a Little
 5. Agree Strongly
- **Recognize South Ossetia (1-5)**
 - To reduce tensions with Russia, Georgia should recognize South Ossetia's independence from Georgia
 1. Disagree Strongly
 2. Disagree a Little
 3. Neither Agree Nor Disagree
 4. Agree a Little
 5. Agree Strongly
- **Recognize Abkhazia (1-5)**
 - To reduce tensions with Russia, Georgia should recognize Abkhazia's independence from Georgia
 - Disagree Strongly
 - Disagree a Little
 - Neither Agree Nor Disagree

- Agree a Little
- Agree Strongly

A.2.2 Pre-Registered Hypotheses

These stem from EGAP # 20151107AA⁷

- H1 Anger and Fear will have distinct effects from each other and from the Control on foreign policy attitudes towards Russia
 1. Anger will lead to favoring a harder-line policy with Russia--support for joining more pro-Western groups, and helping Ukraine relative to Control and Informational treatment.
 2. Fear will have the opposite effect, leading respondents to be less willing to challenge Russian foreign policy, and seek more accommodation.
- H2 Anger and Fear will have distinct effects from each other and distinct from the Control and Informational treatment on foreign policy attitudes towards Abkhazia and South Ossetia
 1. Anger will lead to favoring a harder-line policy Abkhazia and South Ossetia, and less in favor of reconciliation or normalization of relations
 2. Fear will have the opposite effect, leading those to be more in favor of reconciliation or normalization of relations
- a. Observational/non Experimental Hypotheses**
 - OH1 Respondents who have been victims/IDPs will favor a more muscular policy towards Abkhazia and South Ossetia relative to those that are not
 - OH2 Controlling for IDP status, respondents living closer to Abkhazia/South Ossetia will be more cautious in their dealings with South Abkhazia/South Ossetia, since they have to bear the costs of any future conflict (i.e. O3 and O4 are not mutually exclusive)
 - OH3 Those who score higher on the Honor Scale will support a tougher foreign policy towards Russia
 - OH4 Those who score higher on the Honor Scale will support a tougher policy towards Abkhazia and South Ossetia
 - OH5 Pro-Western/Saakashvili-supporters will support a tougher foreign policy towards Russia

⁷ These numbers on the hypotheses differ slightly from the EGAP since we have omitted the pre-registered hypotheses from a separate survey experiment that was run as part of the full survey.

A.3 Randomization Checks

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Male	Respondent's Age	Household Spending	Married	Education	IDP	Total War Exposure	Know Someone Murdered
Pure Information Treatment	0.01 (0.04)	0.84 (1.45)	0.19 (0.12)	0.01 (0.04)	0.11 (0.11)	0.01 (0.04)	0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
Anger Treatment	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.77 (1.44)	0.15 (0.12)	-0.01 (0.04)	0.08 (0.11)	0.00 (0.04)	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
Fear Treatment	0.02 (0.04)	-1.48 (1.44)	0.05 (0.12)	-0.02 (0.04)	-0.09 (0.11)	-0.02 (0.04)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)
Observations	1222	1222	1116	1222	1222	1221	1220	1205
R^2	0.002	0.002	0.003	0.000	0.003	0.001	0.001	0.003
F-statistic	0.72	0.94	1.03	0.15	1.19	0.22	0.37	1.25
Prob>F	0.54	0.42	0.38	0.93	0.31	0.88	0.77	0.29

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$

Table A.3: Randomization Checks

A.4. Additional Results

	Conflict Affected Area	IDP	Know Someone Murdered	South Ossetia Exposure	Abkhazia Exposure	Total War Exposure
Conflict Affected Area	1.00					
IDP	0.35	1.00				
Know Someone Murdered	0.01	0.23	1.00			
South Ossetia Exposure	0.40	0.49	0.09	1.00		
Abkhazia Exposure	-0.01	0.59	0.48	-0.14	1.00	
Total War Exposure	0.25	0.76	0.47	0.53	0.76	1.00

Table A.4.1: Correlation between different measures of exposure to violence.

	Russia is a Threat	Russia Angry	Georgia Join NATO	Recognize Abkhazia	Recognize South Ossetia
Russia is a Threat	1.00				
Russia Angry	0.64	1.00			
Georgia Join NATO	0.27	0.25	1.00		
Recognize Abkhazia	-0.13	-0.25	-0.17	1.00	
Recognize South Ossetia	-0.14	-0.28	-0.17	0.942	1.00

Table A.4.2: Correlations between all of the dependent variables

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Russia is a Threat	Russia Angry	Georgia Join NATO	Recognize Abkhazia	Recognize South Ossetia
Any Treatment	0.21** (0.09)	0.12 (0.08)	0.23*** (0.08)	-0.12 (0.08)	-0.15* (0.08)
Kutaisi	-0.12 (0.18)	-0.34** (0.15)	-0.45*** (0.16)	0.64*** (0.19)	0.64*** (0.19)
Conflict Affected Area	0.16 (0.19)	0.05 (0.19)	-0.14 (0.17)	0.12 (0.23)	0.01 (0.24)
IDP	0.40** (0.16)	0.53*** (0.15)	-0.03 (0.15)	-0.30 (0.19)	-0.31 (0.20)
Saakashvili Support	0.24** (0.10)	0.26*** (0.10)	0.18** (0.09)	0.16 (0.10)	0.14 (0.10)
Stress	0.51** (0.22)	0.18 (0.21)	-0.25 (0.23)	0.50* (0.26)	0.34 (0.28)
Honor	-0.04 (0.35)	0.48 (0.30)	-0.39 (0.30)	-0.30 (0.33)	-0.19 (0.35)
Controls?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	813.00	823.00	711.00	816.00	815.00
Pseudo-R ²	0.03	0.05	0.02	0.06	0.07

Standard errors in parentheses

Controls include Age, Sex, Marital Status, Education, and Monthly Household Spending. Note standard errors clustered at the voting precinct-level (PSU).

* $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$

Table A.4.3: Ordered Probit results

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Negative Affect (Anger + Threat)	Negative Affect (Anger + Threat)	Recognizing Regions (South Oss. + Abk.)	Recognizing Regions (South Oss. + Abk.)
Pure Information Treatment	0.04* (0.02)		-0.02 (0.02)	
Anger Treatment	0.04* (0.02)		-0.02 (0.02)	
Fear Treatment	0.05** (0.02)		-0.04** (0.02)	
Any Treatment		0.04** (0.02)		-0.03* (0.02)
Kutaisi	-0.06* (0.03)	-0.06* (0.03)	0.11*** (0.04)	0.11*** (0.04)
Conflict Affected Area	0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)
IDP	0.12*** (0.03)	0.12*** (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)
Constant	0.58*** (0.03)	0.58*** (0.03)	0.15*** (0.03)	0.15*** (0.03)
Observations	1091	1091	1132	1132
R ²	0.096	0.096	0.059	0.058

Standard errors in parentheses

Note standard errors clustered at the voting precinct-level (PSU).

* $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$

Table A.4.4: Composite Indices of Negative Affect and Recognizing Breakaway Regions. This table looks at the effect of combining anger towards and threat from Russia into one variable (Negative Affect, $\alpha=0.78$) and recognizing South Ossetia and Abkhazia (Recognizing Regions, $\alpha=0.97$).

