**Supplementary Material**

**Table 3. The Effect of the Exposure to Fire on Support for Authorities**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| VARIABLES | United Russia | Village Head | Governor | Prime Minister | President |
| **Fire** | **0.724\*\*\*** | **0.362** | **0.697\*\*\*** | **0.945\*\*\*** | **0.916\*\*\*** |
|  | **(0.276)** | **(0.236)** | **(0.204)** | **(0.211)** | **(0.201)** |
| Observations | 392[[1]](#endnote-1) | 636 | 575 | 700 | 693 |

Note: For modeling support for United Russia we use logistic regression, for all other outcomes ordered logistic regression; standard errors adjusted for clusters by village; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Table 3S. Simulations of the exposure to fires on support for authorities** | | | | | |
| VARIABLES | United Russia | Village Head | Governor | Prime Minister | President |
| Fire | 0.15 | 0.09 | 0.13 | 0.19 | 0.22 |
|  | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.05) | (0.04) | (0.05) |
| Observations | 392 | 636 | 575 | 700 | 693 |

Note: All outcomes are coded as binomial variables. Mean scores shows the first difference between expected values of support for authorities among people from burned and unburned villages; number of simulations = 1000

**Table 4. Treatment Effects with Covariate Adjustment**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| VARIABLES | United Russia | Village Head | Governor | Prime Minister | President |
| **Fire** | **0.888\*\*\*** | **0.431\*** | **0.647\*\*\*** | **1.032\*\*\*** | **0.893\*\*\*** |
|  | **(0.314)** | **(0.222)** | **(0.197)** | **(0.201)** | **(0.198)** |
| Population Size | 2.742 | -0.923 | -0.620 | 2.610 | 1.867 |
|  | (2.064) | (1.712) | (1.333) | (2.081) | (1.957) |
| Distance to regional capital | 54.12\* | 30.74 | 36.61 | 16.88 | 19.80 |
|  | (32.56) | (24.83) | (31.42) | (27.96) | (25.80) |
| Distance to municipal center | 208.6 | -18.76 | 252.3\* | 50.47 | 16.26 |
|  | (263.6) | (146.7) | (141.9) | (124.6) | (123.8) |
| Revenues | 5.079 | -2.540 | 2.132 | -2.586 | 1.407 |
|  | (8.378) | (8.327) | (6.472) | (5.770) | (5.342) |
| Expenditures | -10.84 | 4.864 | -3.757 | 2.278 | -1.977 |
|  | (9.331) | (8.984) | (6.977) | (6.408) | (6.037) |
| Gender (Male) | -1.069\*\*\* | -0.275\* | -0.284 | -0.447\*\*\* | -0.391\*\* |
|  | (0.263) | (0.151) | (0.202) | (0.136) | (0.156) |
| Age | -0.0267\*\* | 0.00131 | 0.000562 | -0.00576 | -0.00336 |
|  | (0.0119) | (0.00565) | (0.00648) | (0.00531) | (0.00565) |
| Education | -0.233\* | 0.0268 | -0.0983 | -0.378\*\*\* | -0.347\*\*\* |
|  | (0.139) | (0.0938) | (0.107) | (0.0864) | (0.0881) |
| Occupation | 0.215 | -0.0821 | -0.257 | 0.00865 | 0.0350 |
|  | (0.317) | (0.186) | (0.198) | (0.193) | (0.187) |
| Resident Status | -0.407 | -0.167 | -0.0422 | -0.545\*\* | -0.523\*\* |
|  | (0.348) | (0.230) | (0.172) | (0.233) | (0.223) |
| TV | -0.101 | -0.166 | -0.323 | 0.362 | 0.486 |
|  | (0.654) | (0.448) | (0.332) | (0.334) | (0.359) |
| Radio | -0.550\*\* | 0.113 | -0.164 | -0.209 | -0.451\*\*\* |
|  | (0.273) | (0.149) | (0.159) | (0.164) | (0.140) |
| Internet | -0.407 | -0.242 | -0.241 | -0.248 | -0.175 |
|  | (0.325) | (0.196) | (0.180) | (0.168) | (0.179) |
| Regional Fixed Effects | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Observations | 360 | 583 | 529 | 651 | 637 |

Note: For modeling support for United Russia we use logistic regression, for all other outcomes ordered logistic regression; standard errors adjusted for clusters by village; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

**Table 4A. Treatment Effects Adjusted for 2007 Parliamentary Elections Results**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  | | | | |
| VARIABLES | United Russia | Village Head | Governor | Prime Minister | President |
| Fire | 1.168\*\*\* | 0.419\* | 0.679\*\*\* | 0.923\*\*\* | 0.830\*\*\* |
|  | (0.360) | (0.230) | (0.204) | (0.240) | (0.226) |
| **Elections-2007: United Russia** | -0.00315 | 0.0168 | 0.000221 | 0.00682 | 0.0142 |
|  | (0.0171) | (0.0114) | (0.0121) | (0.0105) | (0.0114) |
| Population Size | 2.372 | -0.910 | -1.282 | 2.383 | 1.389 |
|  | (2.076) | (1.477) | (1.156) | (2.072) | (1.723) |
| Distance to regional capital | 11.35 | -17.74 | 5.175 | -13.43 | -9.335 |
|  | (50.81) | (24.88) | (35.02) | (39.04) | (33.03) |
| Distance to municipal center | -50.05 | 12.00 | 246.2 | 20.84 | -74.25 |
|  | (229.2) | (161.2) | (184.7) | (144.3) | (141.5) |
| Revenues | 26.44\*\* | 12.94\*\* | 18.18\*\*\* | 13.08 | 12.07 |
|  | (12.77) | (6.067) | (6.662) | (9.568) | (8.108) |
| Expenditures | -34.35\*\*\* | -9.872 | -20.68\*\*\* | -13.31 | -13.21 |
|  | (12.86) | (6.960) | (7.152) | (10.03) | (8.361) |
| Gender (Male) | -1.114\*\*\* | -0.326\* | -0.334 | -0.429\*\*\* | -0.377\*\* |
|  | (0.322) | (0.168) | (0.247) | (0.152) | (0.171) |
| Age | -0.0371\*\*\* | 0.00244 | -0.00237 | -0.00628 | -0.00518 |
|  | (0.0134) | (0.00653) | (0.00763) | (0.00540) | (0.00611) |
| Education | -0.222 | 0.0817 | -0.136 | -0.391\*\*\* | -0.363\*\*\* |
|  | (0.157) | (0.103) | (0.104) | (0.101) | (0.104) |
| Occupation: Yes | 0.281 | -0.0500 | -0.220 | 0.0112 | 0.0486 |
|  | (0.322) | (0.205) | (0.227) | (0.230) | (0.213) |
| Residence status: Town | -0.101 | 0.0493 | -0.0469 | -0.521\* | -0.433 |
|  | (0.458) | (0.282) | (0.204) | (0.296) | (0.273) |
| TV | 0.113 | -0.0192 | -0.0494 | 0.337 | 0.413 |
|  | (0.792) | (0.487) | (0.419) | (0.465) | (0.478) |
| Radio | -0.572\* | 0.122 | -0.0916 | -0.244 | -0.505\*\*\* |
|  | (0.321) | (0.168) | (0.180) | (0.199) | (0.165) |
| Internet | -0.585 | -0.375 | -0.305 | -0.0952 | -0.118 |
|  | (0.413) | (0.239) | (0.233) | (0.178) | (0.181) |
| Regional fixed effects | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Observations | 280 | 443 | 397 | 494 | 488 |
| Note: For modeling support for United Russia we use logistic regression, for all other outcomes ordered logistic regression; standard errors adjusted for clusters by village; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1 | | | | | |
|

**Table 4B. Treatment Effects Adjusted for 2008 Presidential Elections Results**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Election-2008 control: Vote for Dmitry Medvedev | | | | |
| VARIABLES | United Russia | Village Head | Governor | Prime Minister | President |
| Fire | 1.155\*\*\* | 0.461\*\* | 0.673\*\*\* | 0.930\*\*\* | 0.862\*\*\* |
|  | (0.358) | (0.232) | (0.197) | (0.236) | (0.223) |
| **Elections-2008: Medvedev** | -0.0106 | -0.000447 | -0.0102 | -0.00979 | -0.00589 |
|  | (0.0177) | (0.0105) | (0.0109) | (0.0109) | (0.0102) |
| Population Size | 2.538 | -1.719 | -1.256 | 2.063 | 0.807 |
|  | (1.908) | (1.538) | (1.017) | (2.076) | (1.806) |
| Distance to regional capital | 9.229 | -3.839 | 6.393 | -6.809 | 2.761 |
|  | (53.23) | (24.33) | (39.10) | (41.38) | (34.92) |
| Distance to municipal center | -74.34 | -26.58 | 198.2 | -23.86 | -123.7 |
|  | (223.7) | (156.6) | (189.5) | (149.6) | (140.3) |
| Revenues | 27.20\*\* | 12.10\*\* | 18.50\*\*\* | 13.02 | 11.41 |
|  | (12.94) | (6.029) | (7.117) | (9.925) | (8.250) |
| Expenditures | -34.90\*\*\* | -8.867 | -20.62\*\*\* | -13.00 | -12.36 |
|  | (13.16) | (7.230) | (7.447) | (10.34) | (8.524) |
| Gender (Male) | -1.106\*\*\* | -0.329\*\* | -0.336 | -0.427\*\*\* | -0.381\*\* |
|  | (0.321) | (0.167) | (0.247) | (0.158) | (0.175) |
| Age | -0.0355\*\* | 0.00280 | -0.00173 | -0.00553 | -0.00450 |
|  | (0.0138) | (0.00645) | (0.00755) | (0.00532) | (0.00609) |
| Education | -0.226 | 0.0684 | -0.137 | -0.397\*\*\* | -0.374\*\*\* |
|  | (0.155) | (0.100) | (0.105) | (0.0977) | (0.103) |
| Occupation: Yes | 0.295 | -0.0780 | -0.202 | 0.0184 | 0.0447 |
|  | (0.327) | (0.205) | (0.230) | (0.234) | (0.214) |
| Residence status: Town | -0.111 | 0.0907 | -0.0318 | -0.478\* | -0.361 |
|  | (0.451) | (0.294) | (0.201) | (0.284) | (0.260) |
| TV | 0.133 | 0.0198 | -0.0376 | 0.344 | 0.417 |
|  | (0.776) | (0.513) | (0.416) | (0.467) | (0.481) |
| Radio | -0.564\* | 0.134 | -0.0820 | -0.241 | -0.498\*\*\* |
|  | (0.321) | (0.166) | (0.180) | (0.199) | (0.166) |
| Internet | -0.541 | -0.376 | -0.303 | -0.0700 | -0.0932 |
|  | (0.418) | (0.238) | (0.235) | (0.175) | (0.176) |
| Regional fixed effects | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Observations | 280 | 443 | 397 | 494 | 488 |
| Note: For modeling support for United Russia we use logistic regression, for all other outcomes ordered logistic regression; standard errors adjusted for clusters by village; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1 | | | | | |
|

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Table 5. The Effects of the magnitude of the disaster and aid provision** | | | | | |
| VARIABLES | United Russia | Village Head | Governor | Prime Minister | President |
| **Fire** | **1.108\*\*\*** | **0.326** | **0.601\*\*\*** | **0.833\*\*\*** | **0.692\*\*\*** |
|  | **(0.380)** | **(0.239)** | **(0.219)** | **(0.215)** | **(0.208)** |
| Number of reconstructed houses per ca | -0.892 | 0.547 | 0.239 | 1.280\*\* | 1.424\*\* |
|  | (0.942) | (0.659) | (0.870) | (0.613) | (0.596) |
| Population Size | 2.341 | -0.579 | -0.469 | 3.227 | 2.524 |
|  | (2.083) | (1.644) | (1.340) | (2.014) | (1.882) |
| Distance to regional capital | 52.06 | 31.91 | 37.98 | 12.42 | 13.10 |
|  | (34.93) | (24.47) | (32.05) | (28.95) | (26.62) |
| Distance to municipal center | 155.6 | -2.250 | 264.8 | 28.91 | -31.87 |
|  | (266.8) | (159.5) | (161.5) | (137.2) | (134.9) |
| Revenues | 3.655 | -2.083 | 2.323 | -2.148 | 1.466 |
|  | (8.774) | (7.901) | (6.419) | (5.229) | (4.661) |
| Expenditures | -9.899 | 4.362 | -3.956 | 1.575 | -2.433 |
|  | (9.746) | (8.576) | (6.888) | (5.945) | (5.488) |
| Gender (Male) | -1.112\*\*\* | -0.298\*\* | -0.306 | -0.426\*\*\* | -0.348\*\* |
|  | (0.272) | (0.151) | (0.203) | (0.139) | (0.156) |
| Age | -0.0318\*\*\* | 0.000563 | -0.00164 | -0.00808 | -0.00522 |
|  | (0.0118) | (0.00573) | (0.00646) | (0.00509) | (0.00564) |
| Education | -0.263\* | 0.0255 | -0.109 | -0.372\*\*\* | -0.345\*\*\* |
|  | (0.139) | (0.0932) | (0.106) | (0.0849) | (0.0866) |
| Occupation | 0.196 | -0.105 | -0.287 | -0.0249 | 0.00867 |
|  | (0.326) | (0.189) | (0.203) | (0.191) | (0.184) |
| Resident Status | -0.498 | -0.133 | -0.0342 | -0.517\*\* | -0.503\*\* |
|  | (0.344) | (0.229) | (0.176) | (0.235) | (0.226) |
| TV | -0.0999 | -0.00587 | -0.203 | 0.365 | 0.400 |
|  | (0.670) | (0.442) | (0.323) | (0.346) | (0.357) |
| Radio | -0.655\*\* | 0.136 | -0.137 | -0.214 | -0.456\*\*\* |
|  | (0.274) | (0.151) | (0.157) | (0.164) | (0.140) |
| Internet | -0.329 | -0.232 | -0.217 | -0.270 | -0.188 |
|  | (0.329) | (0.200) | (0.184) | (0.171) | (0.186) |
| Regional Fixed Effects | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Observations | 357 | 573 | 520 | 641 | 628 |

Note: For modeling support for United Russia we use logistic regression, for all other outcomes ordered logistic regression; standard errors adjusted for clusters by village; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

**Table 6. The Effects of observing the disaster and relief**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| VARIABLES | VoteForER2 | Head | Governor | Putin | Medvedev |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Observe | 0.417 | 0.448\* | 0.764\*\*\* | 0.823\*\*\* | 0.791\*\*\* |
|  | (0.381) | (0.245) | (0.244) | (0.213) | (0.200) |
| KolvoJiteley | 2.809 | -0.141 | 0.816 | 4.218\*\*\* | 2.903\* |
|  | (2.982) | (1.806) | (1.699) | (1.464) | (1.612) |
| Distance1 | 9.765 | 3.031 | 11.89 | -17.23 | -17.71 |
|  | (35.45) | (25.86) | (30.17) | (24.05) | (23.38) |
| Distance2 | 110.6 | 11.50 | 248.7 | 70.34 | -6.738 |
|  | (273.8) | (152.9) | (164.9) | (122.3) | (120.2) |
| Revenues | 10.53 | 4.676 | 4.777 | 1.843 | 8.501\*\* |
|  | (8.832) | (5.354) | (4.994) | (4.567) | (3.836) |
| expenditures | -15.78\* | -5.110 | -4.423 | -3.933 | -11.39\*\* |
|  | (9.495) | (6.271) | (6.609) | (5.152) | (4.817) |
| Edu | -0.333\* | -0.0231 | -0.0713 | -0.326\*\*\* | -0.372\*\*\* |
|  | (0.182) | (0.111) | (0.136) | (0.0934) | (0.0947) |
| Live | -0.407\*\*\* | -0.0527 | -0.0321 | -0.315\*\*\* | -0.299\*\*\* |
|  | (0.150) | (0.0929) | (0.0903) | (0.0989) | (0.0958) |
| TV | -0.675 | 0.154 | -0.640 | 0.109 | 0.254 |
|  | (0.905) | (0.584) | (0.418) | (0.457) | (0.410) |
| Radio | -0.465 | 0.249 | -0.0585 | -0.201 | -0.333\*\* |
|  | (0.338) | (0.191) | (0.202) | (0.173) | (0.156) |
| Internet | -0.301 | -0.291 | -0.200 | -0.242 | -0.151 |
|  | (0.406) | (0.218) | (0.228) | (0.220) | (0.236) |
| Reg\_Lip | 0.688 | 0.594 | -0.745\*\* | 0.354 | -0.0826 |
|  | (0.739) | (0.377) | (0.351) | (0.373) | (0.306) |
| Reg\_Nij | 0.969 | -0.729\*\* | -0.545 | 0.606\* | 0.389 |
|  | (0.652) | (0.350) | (0.402) | (0.318) | (0.318) |
| Reg\_Ryaz | 0.834 | -0.348 | -1.194\*\*\* | 0.325 | 0.103 |
|  | (0.702) | (0.446) | (0.390) | (0.313) | (0.326) |
| Age | -0.0372\*\*\* | 0.00382 | -0.00679 | -0.00729 | -0.00599 |
|  | (0.0131) | (0.00689) | (0.00884) | (0.00553) | (0.00650) |
| Sex | -1.105\*\*\* | -0.336\* | -0.358 | -0.517\*\*\* | -0.547\*\*\* |
|  | (0.310) | (0.185) | (0.250) | (0.160) | (0.179) |
| Occp | 0.0764 | -0.0612 | -0.472\*\* | 0.0820 | 0.0291 |
|  | (0.374) | (0.229) | (0.236) | (0.219) | (0.223) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Observations | 253 | 419 | 374 | 467 | 463 |

Note: For modeling support for United Russia we use logistic regression, for all other outcomes ordered logistic regression; standard errors adjusted for clusters by village; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Table 6S. Simulations of observation effect** | | | | | |
| VARIABLES | United Russia | Village Head | Governor | Prime Minister | President |
| Observation | .09 | 0.11 | 0.17 | 0.22 | 0.21 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.05) | (0.05) |
| Observations | 253 | 419 | 374 | 467 | 463 |

Note: All outcomes are coded as binomial variables. Mean scores shows the first difference between expected values of support for authorities among people from burned villages, who did not receive aid, and people from the unburned villages controlling for all other factors; number of simulations = 1000

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Table 7. The effects of Putin's visit** | | | | | |
| VARIABLES | United Russia | Village Head | Governor | Prime Minister | President |
| **Fire** | **0.886\*\*\*** | **0.340** | **0.556\*\*\*** | **0.945\*\*\*** | **0.824\*\*\*** |
|  | **(0.330)** | **(0.224)** | **(0.193)** | **(0.200)** | **(0.198)** |
| **Putin's visit** | **0.0341** | **1.147\*\*\*** | **1.683\*\*\*** | **1.319\*\*** | **1.169** |
|  | **(0.516)** | **(0.419)** | **(0.212)** | **(0.566)** | **(0.763)** |
| Population Size | 2.747 | -0.853 | -0.430 | 2.699 | 1.975 |
|  | (2.058) | (1.736) | (1.391) | (2.094) | (1.991) |
| Distance to regional capital | 53.95 | 27.12 | 34.56 | 13.34 | 17.92 |
|  | (32.86) | (23.38) | (31.25) | (27.87) | (25.55) |
| Distance to municipal center | 208.8 | -17.03 | 255.3\* | 45.01 | 13.35 |
|  | (263.5) | (145.8) | (139.6) | (123.5) | (124.6) |
| Revenues | 5.065 | -2.657 | 1.412 | -2.432 | 1.204 |
|  | (8.426) | (8.095) | (6.182) | (5.613) | (5.201) |
| Expenditures | -10.81 | 5.162 | -2.615 | 2.327 | -1.639 |
|  | (9.442) | (8.839) | (6.767) | (6.349) | (5.989) |
| Gender (Male) | -1.069\*\*\* | -0.274\* | -0.291 | -0.441\*\*\* | -0.383\*\* |
|  | (0.263) | (0.153) | (0.206) | (0.137) | (0.157) |
| Age | -0.0267\*\* | 0.00236 | 0.00148 | -0.00504 | -0.00321 |
|  | (0.0119) | (0.00565) | (0.00680) | (0.00537) | (0.00562) |
| Education | -0.234\* | 0.0148 | -0.121 | -0.388\*\*\* | -0.354\*\*\* |
|  | (0.140) | (0.0923) | (0.104) | (0.0855) | (0.0867) |
| Occupation | 0.214 | -0.0789 | -0.265 | -0.0142 | 0.00233 |
|  | (0.322) | (0.191) | (0.196) | (0.190) | (0.186) |
| Resident Status | -0.406 | -0.104 | 0.0415 | -0.487\*\* | -0.462\*\* |
|  | (0.349) | (0.229) | (0.160) | (0.236) | (0.225) |
| TV | -0.101 | -0.250 | -0.381 | 0.279 | 0.403 |
|  | (0.654) | (0.453) | (0.329) | (0.334) | (0.360) |
| Radio | -0.550\*\* | 0.0910 | -0.151 | -0.229 | -0.465\*\*\* |
|  | (0.273) | (0.155) | (0.159) | (0.164) | (0.140) |
| Internet | -0.407 | -0.246 | -0.222 | -0.248 | -0.175 |
|  | (0.326) | (0.195) | (0.183) | (0.171) | (0.180) |
| Regional Fixed Effects | -0.342 | 0.161 | 1.472\*\*\* | -0.121 | 0.166 |
| Observations | 360 | 581 | 528 | 649 | 636 |

Note: For modeling support for United Russia we use logistic regression, for all other outcomes ordered logistic regression; standard errors adjusted for clusters by village; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Table 7S. Simulations of Putin's visit** | | | | | |
| VARIABLES | United Russia | Village Head | Governor | Prime Minister | President |
| Putin's Visit | -0.01 | 0.23 | 0.29 | 0.15 | 0.16 |
|  | (0.09) | (0.08) | (0.03) | (0.05) | (0.06) |
| Observations | 360 | 581 | 528 | 649 | 636 |

Note: All outcomes are coded as binomial variables. Mean scores shows the first difference between expected values of support for authorities among people from villages which were visited by Vladimir Putin and the rest of the sample controlling for all other factors; number of simulations = 1000

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Table 8. Spillovers** | | | | | |
| VARIABLES | United Russia | Village Head | Governor | Prime Minister | President |
| Spillovers: Distance to Fire | -0.0290\* | -0.00331 | -0.00897 | -0.00659 | -0.00297 |
|  | (0.0158) | (0.00956) | (0.00688) | (0.00618) | (0.00506) |
| Population Size | 5.093 | 2.254 | -1.546 | 2.434 | 2.060 |
|  | (3.786) | (1.749) | (1.291) | (1.525) | (1.338) |
| Distance to regional capital | -7.201 | -15.05 | 29.28 | 49.29\*\* | 25.85 |
|  | (50.88) | (40.14) | (24.69) | (23.70) | (20.98) |
| Distance to municipal center | 55.31 | 32.12 | 95.48 | 61.19 | 1.487 |
|  | (353.2) | (220.4) | (237.7) | (128.5) | (139.1) |
| Revenues | -7.796 | 0.757 | 4.739 | -0.422 | 7.069 |
|  | (14.55) | (7.761) | (4.770) | (6.487) | (5.357) |
| Expenditures | 4.358 | 4.577 | -2.979 | 3.793 | -7.028 |
|  | (17.27) | (9.812) | (6.613) | (7.697) | (7.240) |
| Gender (Male) | -1.189\*\*\* | -0.359 | -0.211 | -0.616\*\*\* | -0.601\*\*\* |
|  | (0.419) | (0.233) | (0.317) | (0.186) | (0.184) |
| Age | -0.0475\*\*\* | -0.00107 | 0.000409 | -0.00489 | -0.00234 |
|  | (0.0143) | (0.00925) | (0.0105) | (0.00691) | (0.00772) |
| Education | -0.314 | -0.0803 | -0.0235 | -0.298\*\*\* | -0.373\*\*\* |
|  | (0.218) | (0.140) | (0.143) | (0.114) | (0.107) |
| Occupation | 0.487 | 0.128 | -0.256 | 0.352 | 0.311 |
|  | (0.375) | (0.245) | (0.248) | (0.229) | (0.218) |
| Resident Status | -1.027\*\* | -0.706\*\* | 0.170 | -0.679\* | -0.740\*\* |
|  | (0.490) | (0.352) | (0.322) | (0.354) | (0.349) |
| TV | -1.355 | -0.159 | -0.897 | 0.193 | 0.330 |
|  | (1.191) | (0.604) | (0.551) | (0.510) | (0.422) |
| Radio | -0.743\* | 0.101 | -0.107 | -0.0659 | -0.287 |
|  | (0.438) | (0.237) | (0.253) | (0.233) | (0.213) |
| Internet | -0.562 | -0.292 | -0.0468 | -0.363 | -0.227 |
|  | (0.474) | (0.261) | (0.264) | (0.296) | (0.341) |
| Regional Fixed Effects | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Observations | 180 | 293 | 254 | 322 | 317 |

Note: For modeling support for United Russia we use logistic regression, for all other outcomes ordered logistic regression; standard errors adjusted for clusters by village; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Table 8S. Simulations of spillovers** | | | | | |
| VARIABLES | United Russia | Village Head | Governor | Prime Minister | President |
| Distance to Fire | -0.15 | -0.02 | -0.14 | -0.09 | -0.06 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.08) | (0.05) | (0.04) | (0.04) |
| Observations | 180 | 293 | 254 | 322 | 317 |

Note: All outcomes are coded as binomial variables. Mean scores shows the first difference between expected values of support for authorities when independent variable changes from 5 km to 25 km for the distance to the fire controlling for all other factors; number of simulations = 1000

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Table 9. The effect of blaming on support for authorities** | | | | | |
| VARIABLES | United Russia | Village Head | Governor | Prime Minister | President |
| **Blaming the Authorities** | **-0.937\*** | **-1.256\*\*\*** | **-0.332** | **-0.266** | **-0.400** |
|  | **(0.493)** | **(0.343)** | **(0.237)** | **(0.282)** | **(0.247)** |
| Population Size | -5.095\*\* | -5.000\*\* | -0.809 | -0.221 | -1.159 |
|  | (2.574) | (2.028) | (2.304) | (2.455) | (2.407) |
| Distance to regional capital | -37.20 | 13.57 | 66.41 | -23.68 | -10.10 |
|  | (58.72) | (48.01) | (41.80) | (43.79) | (35.83) |
| Distance to municipal center | 593.9\*\* | 41.99 | 320.3\* | 14.92 | 43.81 |
|  | (282.2) | (256.7) | (190.5) | (188.6) | (196.0) |
| Revenues | -153.8\*\*\* | -27.13\*\*\* | -11.41\*\* | -28.29\*\*\* | -28.19\*\*\* |
|  | (57.76) | (6.611) | (5.465) | (5.391) | (6.102) |
| Expenditures | 146.9\*\*\* | 31.05\*\*\* | 10.75 | 28.20\*\*\* | 28.37\*\*\* |
|  | (56.65) | (9.411) | (7.587) | (6.754) | (7.788) |
| Gender (Male) | -0.827\*\* | 0.00309 | -0.160 | -0.193 | -0.0594 |
|  | (0.375) | (0.226) | (0.288) | (0.230) | (0.283) |
| Age | -0.0217 | 0.00228 | -0.00558 | -0.0104 | -0.00824 |
|  | (0.0276) | (0.00920) | (0.00988) | (0.00941) | (0.00975) |
| Education | -0.336 | 0.276\*\* | -0.238 | -0.511\*\*\* | -0.324\*\* |
|  | (0.234) | (0.139) | (0.198) | (0.154) | (0.163) |
| Occupation | -0.0732 | -0.259 | -0.485 | -0.307 | -0.151 |
|  | (0.703) | (0.316) | (0.337) | (0.326) | (0.338) |
| Resident Status | -0.678 | 0.131 | -0.216 | -0.744\*\* | -0.766\*\* |
|  | (0.740) | (0.360) | (0.235) | (0.335) | (0.344) |
| TV | 0.573 | -0.398 | 0.336 | 0.727 | 0.936 |
|  | (0.739) | (0.751) | (0.526) | (0.532) | (0.641) |
| Radio | -0.416 | 0.104 | -0.0372 | -0.233 | -0.612\*\*\* |
|  | (0.495) | (0.188) | (0.266) | (0.265) | (0.217) |
| Internet | -0.671 | -0.196 | -0.527\* | -0.166 | -0.155 |
|  | (0.483) | (0.317) | (0.306) | (0.239) | (0.219) |
| Regional Fixed Effects | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Observations | 161 | 256 | 244 | 287 | 278 |

Note: For modeling support for United Russia we use logistic regression, for all other outcomes ordered logistic regression; standard errors adjusted for clusters by village; \*\*\*p<0.01, \*\*p<0.05, \*p<0.1

0.1

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Table 10. The effect of personal victimization on Support for Authorities** | | | | | |
| VARIABLES | United Russia | Village Head | Governor | Prime Minister | President |
| **Victimization** | **0.875\*\*** | **0.0853** | **0.0423** | **0.653\*\*** | **0.545\*** |
|  | **(0.349)** | **(0.260)** | **(0.258)** | **(0.278)** | **(0.282)** |
| Population Size | -0.947 | -5.182\*\*\* | -0.936 | -0.488 | -1.221 |
|  | (2.187) | (1.456) | (2.149) | (2.449) | (2.430) |
| Distance to regional capital | 55.58 | 24.07 | 58.37 | -2.572 | 10.85 |
|  | (52.61) | (43.86) | (44.44) | (39.86) | (34.89) |
| Distance to municipal center | 491.9\* | 35.05 | 328.6 | -73.03 | -34.44 |
|  | (258.5) | (278.2) | (204.2) | (187.3) | (189.8) |
| Revenues | -33.47\*\* | -26.52\*\*\* | -11.69\*\* | -18.58\*\*\* | -16.39\*\*\* |
|  | (14.02) | (6.069) | (5.104) | (4.441) | (5.523) |
| Expenditures | 29.70\*\* | 30.82\*\*\* | 9.751 | 20.22\*\*\* | 18.39\*\* |
|  | (14.55) | (8.733) | (7.284) | (5.965) | (7.201) |
| Gender (Male) | -0.965\*\*\* | -0.174 | -0.276 | -0.311 | -0.156 |
|  | (0.346) | (0.202) | (0.250) | (0.223) | (0.261) |
| Age | -0.0176 | 0.000305 | -0.000891 | -0.00787 | -0.00582 |
|  | (0.0213) | (0.00841) | (0.00812) | (0.00829) | (0.00905) |
| Education | -0.229 | 0.127 | -0.167 | -0.498\*\*\* | -0.316\*\* |
|  | (0.205) | (0.133) | (0.175) | (0.143) | (0.154) |
| Occupation | 0.0518 | -0.295 | -0.346 | -0.279 | -0.164 |
|  | (0.585) | (0.274) | (0.311) | (0.295) | (0.296) |
| Resident Status | 0.160 | 0.240 | -0.228 | -0.461 | -0.424 |
|  | (0.676) | (0.343) | (0.220) | (0.306) | (0.333) |
| TV | 0.625 | -0.326 | 0.225 | 0.554 | 0.624 |
|  | (0.761) | (0.801) | (0.492) | (0.574) | (0.699) |
| Radio | -0.521 | 0.0635 | -0.0671 | -0.200 | -0.591\*\*\* |
|  | (0.440) | (0.219) | (0.269) | (0.250) | (0.223) |
| Internet | -0.618 | -0.316 | -0.488 | -0.421\* | -0.449\* |
|  | (0.510) | (0.324) | (0.319) | (0.234) | (0.235) |
| Regional Fixed Effects | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Observations | 178 | 285 | 269 | 323 | 314 |

Note: For modeling support for United Russia we use logistic regression, for all other outcomes ordered logistic regression; standard errors adjusted for clusters by village; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

|  |
| --- |
|  |
| **Table 11. The effect of satisfaction with relief measures on support for authorities** | | | | | |
| VARIABLES | United Russia | Village Head | Governor | Prime Minister | President |
| **Satisfaction with the relief measures** | **0.546\*\*** | **0.356\*\*\*** | **0.564\*\*\*** | **0.612\*\*\*** | **0.498\*\*\*** |
|  | **(0.238)** | **(0.119)** | **(0.152)** | **(0.122)** | **(0.128)** |
| Population Size | -5.729 | -5.135\*\*\* | -1.446 | -3.175 | -2.200 |
|  | (3.597) | (1.394) | (2.070) | (2.007) | (1.932) |
| Distance to regional capital | -13.79 | 36.22 | 73.93 | 2.795 | 17.65 |
|  | (55.24) | (43.41) | (52.10) | (30.38) | (27.58) |
| Distance to municipal center | 916.9\*\*\* | 34.46 | 291.0 | 137.8 | 182.7 |
|  | (342.6) | (264.8) | (220.0) | (159.7) | (179.3) |
| Revenues | -236.5\*\*\* | -29.94\*\*\* | -13.91\*\*\* | -24.29\*\*\* | -21.31\*\*\* |
|  | (63.90) | (5.675) | (4.733) | (4.019) | (5.159) |
| Expenditures | 229.0\*\*\* | 34.22\*\*\* | 10.17 | 24.26\*\*\* | 21.60\*\*\* |
|  | (63.50) | (8.067) | (6.977) | (5.804) | (6.555) |
| Gender (Male) | -1.111\*\* | -0.137 | -0.172 | -0.0312 | 0.149 |
|  | (0.553) | (0.226) | (0.295) | (0.276) | (0.282) |
| Age | -0.0379 | 0.000750 | -0.00184 | -0.00820 | -0.00900 |
|  | (0.0277) | (0.00820) | (0.00775) | (0.00913) | (0.00903) |
| Education | -0.319 | 0.0657 | -0.159 | -0.648\*\*\* | -0.439\*\*\* |
|  | (0.213) | (0.123) | (0.177) | (0.153) | (0.167) |
| Occupation | -0.290 | -0.352 | -0.303 | -0.657\* | -0.452 |
|  | (0.760) | (0.304) | (0.318) | (0.353) | (0.334) |
| Resident Status | 0.205 | 0.288 | 0.0758 | -0.379 | -0.444 |
|  | (0.730) | (0.315) | (0.378) | (0.393) | (0.367) |
| TV | 0.654 | -0.492 | 0.255 | 0.244 | 0.372 |
|  | (0.793) | (0.764) | (0.584) | (0.589) | (0.861) |
| Radio | -1.176\*\* | -0.0970 | -0.388 | -0.108 | -0.594\*\* |
|  | (0.525) | (0.213) | (0.306) | (0.294) | (0.267) |
| Internet | -0.895 | -0.294 | -0.436 | -0.182 | -0.252 |
|  | (0.712) | (0.334) | (0.328) | (0.266) | (0.255) |
| Regional Fixed Effects | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Observations | 151 | 242 | 224 | 272 | 262 |

Note: For modeling support for United Russia we use logistic regression, for all other outcomes ordered logistic regression; standard errors adjusted for clusters by village; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

1. It should be noted that there is a considerable variation in the number of observations for measures of support for the different governmental bodies and United Russia party. Little’s MCAR test shows that the *missing completely at random*assumption does not hold in this respect. Unfortunately, there is no formal way to determine whether the structure of missing data is at least MAR (missing at random). Possibly, the variation in the number of missing values among our dependent variables is due to the different nature of the questions on the approval of a governmental body and country’s political leaders with the question on the willingness to vote for a particular party. The former question provoked much more “don’t know” answers because our survey was conducted at the very beginning of the Duma election campaign and many people had not clarified their electoral preference for themselves up to that moment. However, a relatively high number of undecided voters in an early stage of campaign is a common phenomenon; moreover, as of August 2011, support for UR in the control group pretty matches the general Russian trend. In turn lower number of observations in the models of support for village head and the governor can be attributed to the fact that some people don’t know anything about the performance of these governmental bodies. Therefore, we believe that the lack of observations for this variable should not affect our results significantly. [↑](#endnote-ref-1)