Statistics/Data analysis

```
      name:  <unnamed>
       log:  C:\Users\conroyk6\Dropbox\Writing\Support for Media Restrictions Experime
> nt\JOP Final (December 2023)\Muzzling_Replication Files_JOP_23\Final Do Files\Long_J
> OP_23.smcl
  log type:  smcl
 opened on:  27 Dec 2023, 10:00:22

1 . do "C:\Users\conroyk6\AppData\Local\Temp\STD9e74_000000.tmp"

2 . set more off

3 . ssc install grstyle, replace
  checking grstyle consistency and verifying not already installed...
  all files already exist and are up to date.

4 . ssc install coefplot, replace
  checking coefplot consistency and verifying not already installed...
  all files already exist and are up to date.

5 . ssc install conjoint, replace
  checking conjoint consistency and verifying not already installed...
  all files already exist and are up to date.

6 .
7 . **Use Muzzling_Long_JOP_23
8 .
9 . *********************************
10. ****Figure 1
11. *********************************
12.
13. ***Prep DVs
14.
15. gen punish = Pref

16. recode punish (1=0) (2=1) (3=2) (4=3) (5=4) (98/99=.)
  (punish: 19900 changes made)

17.
18. ***Prep IVs
19.
20. gen female = V7

21.
22. gen poverty = V8

23. recode poverty (8/9=.)
  (poverty: 24 changes made)

24.
25. gen educ = V25

26. recode educ (98/99=.)
  (educ: 120 changes made)

27.
28. gen age = V6

29.
30. gen trustpres = V23
```

```
31. recode trustpres (8/9=.)
  (trustpres: 964 changes made)

32.
33. gen trustopp = V24

34. recode trustopp (8/9=.)
  (trustopp: 1392 changes made)

35.
36. gen ethnic_nonpres = V26

37. recode ethnic_nonpres (1=1) (2=0) (3/6=1) (7=0) (8/36=1) (37=0) (38/42=1) (43=0) (44
  > /47=1) (48=0) (49/997=1) (998=.)
  (ethnic_nonpres: 19220 changes made)

38.
39. ologit punish i.AttB i.AttC i.AttA female poverty educ age trustpres trustopp ethnic
  > _nonpres i.COU, cluster(subj)

  Iteration 0:   log pseudolikelihood = -24105.369
  Iteration 1:   log pseudolikelihood = -23433.143
  Iteration 2:   log pseudolikelihood = -23427.817
  Iteration 3:   log pseudolikelihood = -23427.815

  Ordered logistic regression                     Number of obs     =     17,781
                                                  Wald chi2(18)     =     887.55
                                                  Prob > chi2       =     0.0000
  Log pseudolikelihood = -23427.815               Pseudo R2         =     0.0281

                                                          (Std. Err. adjusted for 4,492
  > clusters in subj)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             punish |      Coef.   Robust Std. Err.      z    P>|z|     [95
  > % Con
  >      f. Interval]
-------------------+----------------------------------------------------------
               AttB |
  The Opposition |  -.0127447   .0336201    -0.38   0.705    -.07
  > 86389
  >          .0531495
  The President |   .0042838   .0327549     0.13   0.896    -.05
  > 99146
  >          .0684822
               AttC |
  Spreading lies about certain polit.. |  -.2253875   .0467929    -4.82   0.000    -.31
  > 70999
  >         -.1336751
  Being biased in favor of one polit.. |   -.636955   .0487127   -13.08   0.000    -.73
  > 24301
  >           -.54148
  Making arguments to build support .. |   .8660073   .0498721    17.36   0.000     .76
  > 82599
  >          .9637547
  Spreading misinformation about pub.. |  -.2427501   .0469385    -5.17   0.000    -.33
  > 47479
  >         -.1507523
  Using hate speech against members .. |   .0119547   .0478163     0.25   0.803    -.08
  > 17637
  >           .105673
               AttA |
  Foreign |   .0415082   .0279257     1.49   0.137    -.01
  > 32253
  >          .0962416
  female |  -.1983579   .0389537    -5.09   0.000    -.27
  > 47056
  >         -.1220101
```

```
                                poverty |   .0013771   .0210638     0.07   0.948    -.03
> 99072
>          .0426615
                                   educ |   .0202331   .0105961     1.91   0.056     -.0
> 00535
>          .0410011
                                    age |   -.003818    .001576    -2.42   0.015    -.00
> 69069
>         -.0007291
                              trustpres |   .0569815   .0192089     2.97   0.003     .01
> 93328
>          .0946302
                              trustopp |  -.0477334     .02072    -2.30   0.021    -.08
> 83438
>          -.007123
                          ethnic_nonpres |  -.1699561   .0482262    -3.52   0.000    -.26
> 44778
>         -.0754344
                                         |
                                     COU |
                                   Kenya |   .1440394   .0578267     2.49   0.013     .03
> 07011
>          .2573777
                                 Nigeria |  -.4270596   .0624121    -6.84   0.000    -.54
> 93851
>         -.3047341
                                  Uganda |  -.2081096   .0539064    -3.86   0.000    -.31
> 37641
>          -.102455
-------------------------------------------+----------------------------------------------
                                   /cut1 |  -3.567012   .1243065                    -3.8
> 10648
>         -3.323376
                                   /cut2 |   -.248886   .1096707                    -.46
> 38366
>         -.0339353
                                   /cut3 |   .5636266   .1090337                     .34
> 99245
>          .7773286
                                   /cut4 |   1.613266   .1105203                      1.
> 39665
>          1.829882
-------------------------------------------+----------------------------------------------
```

```
40. estimates store POOLED_A

41.
42. grstyle init

43. grstyle color background white

44. graph set window fontface "Century Gothic"

45.
46. label define country2 1 "Côte d'Ivoire" 2 "Kenya" 3 "Nigeria" 4 "Uganda"

47. label values COU country2
```

```
48.
49. label define Accusation 1 "Independent agency" 2 "The opposition" 3 "The president"

50. label values AttB Accusation

51.
52. coefplot POOLED_A, xline(0) level(95) omitted baselevels drop(_cons female poverty e
  > duc age trustpres trustopp ethnic_nonpres) coeflabels(1.AttC = "Not paying taxes" 2.
  > AttC = "Lies about candidates" 3.AttC = "Partisan bias" 4.AttC = "Supporting armed g
  > roups" 5.AttC = "COVID falsehoods" 6.AttC = "Hate speech") headings( 1.AttA = "{bf:F
  > unding source}" 1.AttB = "{bf:Accuser}" 1.AttC = "{bf:Infraction}" 1.COU = "{bf:Coun
  > try}")

53.
54. ******************************
55. ****Appendix E
56. ******************************
57.
58. **Note: age recoded from continous to ordinal due to empty cells for specific ages i
  > n certain countries (18-30) (31-45) (46-60) (61-99)
59. gen agegp = age

60. recode agegp (18/30=0) (31/45=1) (46/60=2) (61/99=3)
  (agegp: 19900 changes made)

61.
62. label variable AttB "Accuser"

63. label variable AttA "Funding Source"

64. label variable AttC "Infraction"

65.
66. conjoint punish AttB AttC AttA female poverty educ agegp ethnic_nonpres trustpres tr
  > ustopp, est(mm) id(subj)

  Estimated marginal means (MMs)
  Number of observations = 17781
  Number of respondents = 4492
  H0 = 0.5
```

Variable / Levels	Est.	SE	t	P>|t|	LCI	UCI
Accuser						
Independent agency	**1.8704**	**0.0166**	**82.5221**	**0.0000**	**1.8379**	**1.9030**
The opposition	**1.8390**	**0.0167**	**80.2443**	**0.0000**	**1.8063**	**1.8717**
The president	**1.8528**	**0.0163**	**82.8036**	**0.0000**	**1.8208**	**1.8848**
Infraction						
Not paying its taxes	**1.8081**	**0.0196**	**66.6964**	**0.0000**	**1.7697**	**1.8466**
Spreading lies about ce~l	**1.7223**	**0.0238**	**51.3736**	**0.0000**	**1.6756**	**1.7689**
Being biased in favor o~l	**1.5169**	**0.0210**	**48.4309**	**0.0000**	**1.4757**	**1.5580**
Making arguments to bui~r	**2.4147**	**0.0268**	**71.5258**	**0.0000**	**2.3622**	**2.4672**
Spreading misinformatio~p	**1.7198**	**0.0226**	**53.9223**	**0.0000**	**1.6755**	**1.7642**
Using hate speech again~r	**1.8846**	**0.0237**	**58.4048**	**0.0000**	**1.8381**	**1.9311**

Funding Source						
Domestic	**1.8515**	**0.0145**	**92.9643**	**0.0000**	**1.8230**	**1.8800**
Foreign	**1.8564**	**0.0145**	**93.6956**	**0.0000**	**1.8280**	**1.8848**
female						
0	**1.8982**	**0.0166**	**84.1537**	**0.0000**	**1.8656**	**1.9307**
1	**1.8036**	**0.0167**	**78.1002**	**0.0000**	**1.7709**	**1.8364**
poverty						
0	**1.8951**	**0.0202**	**68.9355**	**0.0000**	**1.8554**	**1.9348**
1	**1.8113**	**0.0211**	**62.2890**	**0.0000**	**1.7700**	**1.8525**
2	**1.8353**	**0.0222**	**60.0660**	**0.0000**	**1.7918**	**1.8789**
3	**1.8976**	**0.0448**	**31.2007**	**0.0000**	**1.8098**	**1.9854**
educ						
0	**1.8176**	**0.0585**	**22.5408**	**0.0000**	**1.7030**	**1.9322**
1	**1.8006**	**0.0891**	**14.6031**	**0.0000**	**1.6260**	**1.9752**
2	**1.9569**	**0.0350**	**41.6022**	**0.0000**	**1.8882**	**2.0255**
3	**1.8018**	**0.0381**	**34.1301**	**0.0000**	**1.7270**	**1.8766**
4	**1.8434**	**0.0269**	**49.8626**	**0.0000**	**1.7906**	**1.8962**
5	**1.8404**	**0.0266**	**50.4070**	**0.0000**	**1.7882**	**1.8925**
6	**1.9061**	**0.0308**	**45.7056**	**0.0000**	**1.8458**	**1.9664**
7	**1.9346**	**0.0424**	**33.8563**	**0.0000**	**1.8515**	**2.0176**
8	**1.7465**	**0.0364**	**34.2402**	**0.0000**	**1.6751**	**1.8178**
9	**1.7811**	**0.0811**	**15.8000**	**0.0000**	**1.6221**	**1.9400**
agegp						
0	**1.8894**	**0.0188**	**73.8955**	**0.0000**	**1.8526**	**1.9263**
1	**1.8269**	**0.0186**	**71.4856**	**0.0000**	**1.7906**	**1.8633**
2	**1.8568**	**0.0301**	**45.0791**	**0.0000**	**1.7978**	**1.9158**
3	**1.8151**	**0.0524**	**25.0768**	**0.0000**	**1.7123**	**1.9179**
ethnic nonpres						
0	**1.9242**	**0.0256**	**55.6991**	**0.0000**	**1.8741**	**1.9744**
1	**1.8331**	**0.0133**	**100.2812**	**0.0000**	**1.8070**	**1.8591**

trustpres						
0	**1.7462**	**0.0280**	**44.5525**	**0.0000**	**1.6913**	**1.8010**
1	**1.8545**	**0.0230**	**58.9546**	**0.0000**	**1.8095**	**1.8996**
2	**1.8637**	**0.0245**	**55.6966**	**0.0000**	**1.8157**	**1.9117**
3	**1.9039**	**0.0206**	**68.2646**	**0.0000**	**1.8636**	**1.9442**
trustopp						
0	**1.8686**	**0.0209**	**65.3589**	**0.0000**	**1.8276**	**1.9097**
1	**1.8448**	**0.0200**	**67.4033**	**0.0000**	**1.8057**	**1.8839**
2	**1.8331**	**0.0245**	**54.4754**	**0.0000**	**1.7851**	**1.8810**
3	**1.8748**	**0.0365**	**37.6826**	**0.0000**	**1.8033**	**1.9463**

67. conjoint punish AttB AttC AttA COU, est(mm) id(subj) h0(2) graph

Estimated marginal means (MMs)
Number of observations = 19396
Number of respondents = 4920
H0 = 2

Variable / Levels	Est.	SE	t	P>|t|	LCI	UCI
Accuser						
Independent agency	**1.8590**	**0.0158**	**-8.9398**	**0.0000**	**1.8281**	**1.8899**
The opposition	**1.8221**	**0.0160**	**-11.1476**	**0.0000**	**1.7908**	**1.8534**
The president	**1.8327**	**0.0156**	**-10.7521**	**0.0000**	**1.8021**	**1.8632**
Infraction						
Not paying its taxes	**1.7944**	**0.0185**	**-11.0974**	**0.0000**	**1.7580**	**1.8307**
Spreading lies about ce~l	**1.6976**	**0.0226**	**-13.3999**	**0.0000**	**1.6534**	**1.7419**
Being biased in favor o~l	**1.5050**	**0.0200**	**-24.7632**	**0.0000**	**1.4658**	**1.5442**
Making arguments to bui~r	**2.4113**	**0.0258**	**15.9420**	**0.0000**	**2.3607**	**2.4618**
Spreading misinformatio~p	**1.6986**	**0.0215**	**-14.0518**	**0.0000**	**1.6565**	**1.7406**
Using hate speech again~r	**1.8622**	**0.0225**	**-6.1163**	**0.0000**	**1.8180**	**1.9064**
Funding Source						
Domestic	**1.8376**	**0.0138**	**-11.7353**	**0.0000**	**1.8104**	**1.8647**
Foreign	**1.8380**	**0.0138**	**-11.7306**	**0.0000**	**1.8110**	**1.8651**

```
  _
Country                    |
>
           Côte d Ivoire   |   1.9074    0.0224   -4.1270    0.0000    1.8635    1.9514
>
                   Kenya   |   2.0017    0.0247    0.0678    0.9460    1.9532    2.0501
>
                 Nigeria   |   1.6624    0.0206  -16.3875    0.0000    1.6220    1.7028
>
                  Uganda   |   1.7916    0.0209   -9.9540    0.0000    1.7505    1.8326
>
_______________________________________________________________________________________
  _

68.
69. ************************
70. *****Figure 2
71. ************************
72.
73. ologit punish i.AttB i.AttC i.AttA female poverty educ age trustpres trustopp ethnic
> _nonpres if COU==1, cluster(subj)

Iteration 0:   log pseudolikelihood = -6634.6627
Iteration 1:   log pseudolikelihood = -6451.0526
Iteration 2:   log pseudolikelihood =  -6449.942
Iteration 3:   log pseudolikelihood = -6449.9414

Ordered logistic regression                     Number of obs     =      4,587
                                                Wald chi2(15)     =     223.34
                                                Prob > chi2       =     0.0000
Log pseudolikelihood = -6449.9414               Pseudo R2         =     0.0278

                                                        (Std. Err. adjusted for 1,154
> clusters in subj)
_______________________________________________________________________________________
  ________________
                                   |                Robust
                             punish |      Coef.   Std. Err.      z    P>|z|     [95
> % Con
>      f. Interval]
_______________________________________________________________________________________
  ________________
                                AttB |
                     The opposition |   .0815913   .0668889     1.22   0.223    -.04
> 95085
>          .2126912
                      The president |   .0772217   .0586621     1.32   0.188    -.03
> 77539
>          .1921973
                                    |
                                AttC |
Spreading lies about certain polit.. |  -.1886156   .0979201    -1.93   0.054    -.38
> 05354
>          .0033043
Being biased in favor of one polit.. |  -.7652179   .0921855    -8.30   0.000    -.94
> 58982
>         -.5845375
Making arguments to build support .. |   .7660383   .0982561     7.80   0.000       .
> 57346
>          .9586167
Spreading misinformation about pub.. |  -.1044761   .0871483    -1.20   0.231    -.27
> 52836
>          .0663314
Using hate speech against members .. |   .0577975   .0937733     0.62   0.538    -.12
> 59948
>          .2415898
                                    |
                                AttA |
                            Foreign |   .0980269   .0561356     1.75   0.081    -.01
> 19969
>          .2080507
                              female |  -.3428557   .0746458    -4.59   0.000    -.48
```

```
> 91588
>         -.1965527
                        poverty |   .0021691   .0407375     0.05   0.958    -.07
> 76749
>          .0820131
                           educ |   .0549695   .0184046     2.99   0.003     .01
> 88972
>          .0910418
                            age |  -.0007173   .0035414    -0.20   0.839    -.00
> 76584
>          .0062237
                       trustpres |  -.0581255   .0401598    -1.45   0.148    -.13
> 68373
>          .0205864
                        trustopp |  -.0398822   .0469511    -0.85   0.396    -.13
> 19046
>          .0521403
                  ethnic_nonpres |  -.1745528   .0884207    -1.97   0.048    -.34
> 78542
>         -.0012515
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------
                          /cut1 |  -2.996634   .2147352                     -3.4
> 17507
>          -2.57576
                          /cut2 |  -.3719288    .198656                     -.76
> 12874
>          .0174298
                          /cut3 |   .6399046   .1992335                      .24
> 94141
>          1.030395
                          /cut4 |   2.034814    .207208                     1.6
> 28694
>          2.440934
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

```
74. estimates store CDI_A, title("Côte d'Ivoire")

75.
76. ologit punish i.AttB i.AttC i.AttA female poverty educ age trustpres trustopp ethnic
  > _nonpres if COU==2, cluster(subj)

  Iteration 0:   log pseudolikelihood = -6200.5943
  Iteration 1:   log pseudolikelihood = -5990.2851
  Iteration 2:   log pseudolikelihood = -5988.7122
  Iteration 3:   log pseudolikelihood = -5988.7116
  Iteration 4:   log pseudolikelihood = -5988.7116

  Ordered logistic regression                     Number of obs     =      4,430
                                                  Wald chi2(15)     =     300.66
                                                  Prob > chi2       =     0.0000
  Log pseudolikelihood = -5988.7116               Pseudo R2         =     0.0342

                                                          (Std. Err. adjusted for 1,117
  > clusters in subj)
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------
                             |               Robust
                      punish |      Coef.   Std. Err.      z    P>|z|     [95
  > % Con
  >      f. Interval]
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------
                       AttB |
          The opposition    |   .0240749   .0656748     0.37   0.714    -.10
> 46453
>          .1527951
           The president    |    .048829   .0676874     0.72   0.471    -.08
> 38359
>          .1814938
                            |
```

```
                                 AttC |
Spreading lies about certain polit.. |  -.3642872   .0869296    -4.19   0.000    -.53
> 46661
>         -.1939082
Being biased in favor of one polit.. |  -.6054458   .0961484    -6.30   0.000    -.79
> 38932
>         -.4169983
Making arguments to build support .. |   1.176608   .0980472    12.00   0.000     .98
> 44387
>          1.368777
Spreading misinformation about pub.. |  -.2369076   .0939862    -2.52   0.012    -.42
> 11172
>         -.0526979
Using hate speech against members .. |   .3532128   .0933365     3.78   0.000     .17
> 02766
>           .536149
                                     |
                                 AttA |
                             Foreign |  -.0095279   .0537756    -0.18   0.859    -.11
> 49261
>          .0958703
                               female |  -.0946072   .0805421    -1.17   0.240    -.25
> 24668
>          .0632524
                              poverty |    -.00392   .0424105    -0.09   0.926    -.08
> 70431
>           .079203
                                 educ |   -.000023   .0239462    -0.00   0.999    -.04
> 69567
>          .0469106
                                  age |   .0044075     .00268     1.64   0.100    -.00
> 08453
>          .0096602
                            trustpres |   .0725121   .0396714     1.83   0.068    -.00
> 52425
>          .1502667
                             trustopp |   -.080679   .0413796    -1.95   0.051    -.16
> 17814
>          .0004234
                       ethnic_nonpres |  -.0529017   .0975854    -0.54   0.588    -.24
> 41657
>          .1383622
------------------------------------+-------------------------------------------------
  ------------------
                                /cut1 |  -3.018077   .2564012                     -3.5
> 20614
>          -2.51554
                                /cut2 |   .1235177   .2406833                      -.3
> 48213
>          .5952484
                                /cut3 |   .8627694   .2411592                       .3
> 90106
>          1.335433
                                /cut4 |   1.720681   .2447487                      1.2
> 40983
>           2.20038
------------------------------------+-------------------------------------------------
  ------------------
```

77. estimates store KEN_A, title("Kenya")

```
78.
79. ologit punish i.AttB i.AttC i.AttA female poverty educ age trustpres trustopp ethnic
  > _nonpres if COU==3, cluster(subj)

  Iteration 0:   log pseudolikelihood = -5232.3512
  Iteration 1:   log pseudolikelihood = -5042.8316
  Iteration 2:   log pseudolikelihood = -5039.8724
  Iteration 3:   log pseudolikelihood = -5039.8704
  Iteration 4:   log pseudolikelihood = -5039.8704

  Ordered logistic regression                     Number of obs     =      4,255
                                                  Wald chi2(15)     =     238.06
                                                  Prob > chi2       =     0.0000
  Log pseudolikelihood = -5039.8704               Pseudo R2         =     0.0368

                                                          (Std. Err. adjusted for 1,090
  > clusters in subj)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
      punish |      Coef.   Std. Err.      z    P>|z|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
       AttB |
  The opposition |  -.0899448   .0686828    -1.31   0.190    -.2245607
  >          .0446711
  The president |  -.0435725   .0719669    -0.61   0.545    -.1846625
  >            .09748
               |
       AttC |
Spreading lies about certain polit.. |  -.3573381   .0966423    -3.70   0.000    -.5467535
  >         -.1679227
Being biased in favor of one polit.. |  -.6742423    .108589    -6.21   0.000    -.8870728
  >         -.4614119
Making arguments to build support .. |   .8344961   .1129452     7.39   0.000     .6131275
  >          1.055865
Spreading misinformation about pub.. |  -.3951166   .0987134    -4.00   0.000    -.5885912
  >         -.201642
Using hate speech against members .. |  -.2794657   .1085323    -2.57   0.010    -.4921852
  >         -.0667462
               |
       AttA |
    Foreign |   .0339343   .0594665     0.57   0.568    -.0825618
  >          .1504866
     female |  -.2319571   .0834431    -2.78   0.005    -.3955025
  >         -.0684116
    poverty |   .0020696   .0415156     0.05   0.960    -.0792995
  >          .0834388
       educ |    .072377   .0224024     3.23   0.001     .0284692
  >          .1162849
        age |  -.0098236   .0033722    -2.91   0.004    -.0164331
  >         -.0032142
  trustpres |   .1153056   .0405701     2.84   0.004     .0357896
  >          .1948215
   trustopp |  -.0217304   .0454419    -0.48   0.633    -.1107948
  >           .067334
```

```
                    ethnic_nonpres |  -.4979008   .1000351    -4.98   0.000    -.69
> 39659
>         -.3018356
-------------------------------------+----------------------------------------------
                             /cut1 |  -3.801864   .2721379                     -4.3
> 35245
>         -3.268484
                             /cut2 |   .0476718   .2550845                     -.45
> 22847
>          .5476283
                             /cut3 |   .8888996   .2536992                      .39
> 16583
>          1.386141
                             /cut4 |   1.692181   .2548307                      1.1
> 92722
>           2.19164
-------------------------------------+----------------------------------------------
```

80. estimates store NIG_A, title("Nigeria")

81.
82. ologit punish i.AttB i.AttC i.AttA female poverty educ age trustpres trustopp ethnic
> _nonpres if COU==4, cluster(subj)

```
Iteration 0:   log pseudolikelihood = -5712.4211
Iteration 1:   log pseudolikelihood = -5574.6497
Iteration 2:   log pseudolikelihood = -5573.5781
Iteration 3:   log pseudolikelihood = -5573.5778

Ordered logistic regression                     Number of obs     =      4,509
                                                Wald chi2(15)     =     212.42
                                                Prob > chi2       =     0.0000
Log pseudolikelihood = -5573.5778               Pseudo R2         =     0.0243

                                                        (Std. Err. adjusted for 1,131
> clusters in subj)
-------------------------------------+----------------------------------------------
                             punish |      Coef.   Robust Std. Err.      z    P>|z|     [95
> % Con
>      f. Interval]
-------------------------------------+----------------------------------------------
                               AttB |
                 The opposition |  -.0737132   .0727895    -1.01   0.311     -.2
> 16378
>          .0689515
                  The president |  -.1418774   .0687046    -2.07   0.039     -.2
> 76536
>         -.0072189
                                    |
                               AttC |
Spreading lies about certain polit.. |   .0821147   .0994079     0.83   0.409    -.11
> 27213
>          .2769506
Being biased in favor of one polit.. |  -.5306162   .1010927    -5.25   0.000    -.72
> 87543
>          -.332478
Making arguments to build support .. |   .7676009   .0972244     7.90   0.000     .57
> 70446
>          .9581572
Spreading misinformation about pub.. |  -.3415989   .1041233    -3.28   0.001    -.54
> 56769
>         -.1375209
Using hate speech against members .. |  -.1890775    .098725    -1.92   0.055    -.38
> 25749
>          .0044198
                                    |
                               AttA |
```

```
                                Foreign |  -.0135763   .0580943    -0.23   0.815    -.12
> 74389
>          .1002864
                                 female |  -.1393354   .0771406    -1.81   0.071    -.29
> 05282
>          .0118575
                                poverty |  -.0619996   .0477482    -1.30   0.194    -.15
> 55845
>          .0315852
                                   educ |   -.059711   .0227438    -2.63   0.009    -.10
> 42881
>         -.0151339
                                    age |  -.0128187   .0033097    -3.87   0.000    -.01
> 93056
>         -.0063318
                              trustpres |   .0099264   .0393239     0.25   0.801    -.06
> 71471
>          .0869999
                               trustopp |  -.0911173   .0395813    -2.30   0.021    -.16
> 86951
>         -.0135394
                          ethnic_nonpres |   .1828049   .1313199     1.39   0.164    -.07
> 45773
>          .4401871
-------------------------------------------+----------------------------------------------------
                                   /cut1 |  -4.511349   .2893881                     -5.
> 07854
>         -3.944159
                                   /cut2 |  -.6077409   .2527663                    -1.1
> 03154
>         -.1123281
                                   /cut3 |   .0851778   .2513987                     -.40
> 75547
>          .5779102
                                   /cut4 |    1.27727   .2552803                      .77
> 69298
>           1.77761
-------------------------------------------+----------------------------------------------------
```

```
83. estimates store UGA_A, title("Uganda")

84.
85. coefplot CDI_A, bylabel(Côte d'Ivoire)|| KEN_A, bylabel(Kenya) || NIG_A, bylabel(Nig
  > eria) || UGA_A, bylabel(Uganda)||, xline(0) level(95) omitted baselevels drop(_cons
  > female poverty educ age trustpres trustopp ethnic_nonpres) coeflabels(1.AttC = "Not
  > paying taxes" 2.AttC = "Lies about candidates" 3.AttC = "Partisan bias" 4.AttC = "Su
  > pporting armed groups" 5.AttC = "COVID falsehoods" 6.AttC = "Hate speech") headings(
  >  1.AttA = "{bf:Funding source}" 1.AttB = "{bf:Accuser}" 1.AttC = "{bf:Infraction}")
  > ysize(10) xsize(8)

86.
87. ************************
88. *****Appendix F
89. ************************
90.
91. conjoint punish AttB AttC AttA female poverty educ agegp ethnic_nonpres trustpres tr
  > ustopp, est(mm) id(subj) sub(COU)
```

Estimated marginal means (MMs)
COU = Côte_d_Ivoire
Number of observations = 4587
Number of respondents = 1154
H0 = 0.5

Variable / Levels	Est.	SE	t	P>|t|	LCI	UCI
Accuser						
Independent agency	**1.8981**	**0.0316**	**44.3039**	**0.0000**	**1.8361**	**1.9600**
The opposition	**1.9231**	**0.0324**	**43.9288**	**0.0000**	**1.8595**	**1.9866**
The president	**1.9160**	**0.0297**	**47.6613**	**0.0000**	**1.8577**	**1.9743**
Infraction						
Not paying its taxes	**1.8940**	**0.0389**	**35.8268**	**0.0000**	**1.8177**	**1.9704**
Spreading lies about ce~l	**1.8068**	**0.0500**	**26.1129**	**0.0000**	**1.7086**	**1.9050**
Being biased in favor o~l	**1.4879**	**0.0401**	**24.6422**	**0.0000**	**1.4092**	**1.5665**
Making arguments to bui~r	**2.3924**	**0.0494**	**38.3192**	**0.0000**	**2.2955**	**2.4893**
Spreading misinformatio~p	**1.8764**	**0.0414**	**33.2648**	**0.0000**	**1.7953**	**1.9576**
Using hate speech again~r	**1.9759**	**0.0456**	**32.3766**	**0.0000**	**1.8864**	**2.0653**
Funding Source						
Domestic	**1.9014**	**0.0282**	**49.7820**	**0.0000**	**1.8462**	**1.9566**
Foreign	**1.9223**	**0.0279**	**50.9932**	**0.0000**	**1.8675**	**1.9770**
female						
0	**2.0238**	**0.0319**	**47.7898**	**0.0000**	**1.9612**	**2.0863**
1	**1.7953**	**0.0319**	**40.6271**	**0.0000**	**1.7327**	**1.8578**
poverty						
0	**1.9439**	**0.0333**	**43.3148**	**0.0000**	**1.8785**	**2.0093**
1	**1.9096**	**0.0428**	**32.9427**	**0.0000**	**1.8257**	**1.9936**
2	**1.7691**	**0.0495**	**25.6483**	**0.0000**	**1.6720**	**1.8661**
3	**2.2092**	**0.0999**	**17.1156**	**0.0000**	**2.0133**	**2.4051**
educ						
0	**1.7022**	**0.0725**	**16.5776**	**0.0000**	**1.5599**	**1.8445**
1	**1.8289**	**0.1273**	**10.4394**	**0.0000**	**1.5791**	**2.0786**
2	**1.9104**	**0.0727**	**19.4027**	**0.0000**	**1.7678**	**2.0530**
3	**1.8387**	**0.1050**	**12.7493**	**0.0000**	**1.6327**	**2.0447**
4	**1.8956**	**0.0427**	**32.6732**	**0.0000**	**1.8118**	**1.9794**

5	1.9843	0.0597	24.8692	0.0000	1.8672	2.1014
6	2.1005	0.0681	23.4936	0.0000	1.9668	2.2341
7	1.9616	0.0526	27.7666	0.0000	1.8583	2.0649
8	2.0926	0.1395	11.4176	0.0000	1.8189	2.3663
9	1.7500	0.3191	3.9168	0.0001	1.1238	2.3762
agegp						
0	1.9083	0.0294	47.9247	0.0000	1.8506	1.9659
1	1.9086	0.0403	34.9919	0.0000	1.8296	1.9876
2	1.9229	0.0817	17.4190	0.0000	1.7626	2.0832
3	2.1029	0.2213	7.2432	0.0000	1.6687	2.5371
ethnic nonpres						
0	1.9484	0.0456	31.7506	0.0000	1.8589	2.0379
1	1.8979	0.0261	53.4974	0.0000	1.8466	1.9491
trustpres						
0	2.0223	0.0750	20.2844	0.0000	1.8750	2.1695
1	1.9220	0.0357	39.8721	0.0000	1.8521	1.9920
2	1.9540	0.0493	29.5062	0.0000	1.8573	2.0507
3	1.8418	0.0422	31.8175	0.0000	1.7591	1.9246
trustopp						
0	1.9483	0.0498	29.0704	0.0000	1.8506	2.0461
1	1.8965	0.0312	44.8244	0.0000	1.8354	1.9577
2	2.0015	0.0531	28.2915	0.0000	1.8974	2.1057
3	1.8048	0.0764	17.0688	0.0000	1.6548	1.9548

Estimated marginal means (MMs)
COU = Kenya
Number of observations = 4430
Number of respondents = 1117
H0 = 0.5

Variable / Levels	Est.	SE	t	P>|t|	LCI	UCI
Accuser						
Independent agency	**1.9973**	**0.0360**	**41.6297**	**0.0000**	**1.9267**	**2.0679**
The opposition	**1.9855**	**0.0369**	**40.2888**	**0.0000**	**1.9131**	**2.0578**
The president	**2.0153**	**0.0365**	**41.5527**	**0.0000**	**1.9437**	**2.0868**
Infraction						
Not paying its taxes	**1.8876**	**0.0398**	**34.8835**	**0.0000**	**1.8095**	**1.9656**
Spreading lies about ce~l	**1.7435**	**0.0459**	**27.0705**	**0.0000**	**1.6534**	**1.8337**
Being biased in favor o~l	**1.6152**	**0.0471**	**23.6896**	**0.0000**	**1.5228**	**1.7075**
Making arguments to bui~r	**2.7374**	**0.0557**	**40.1753**	**0.0000**	**2.6281**	**2.8466**
Spreading misinformatio~p	**1.8179**	**0.0514**	**25.6609**	**0.0000**	**1.7172**	**1.9187**
Using hate speech again~r	**2.2146**	**0.0532**	**32.2206**	**0.0000**	**2.1102**	**2.3190**
Funding Source						
Domestic	**2.0014**	**0.0316**	**47.4909**	**0.0000**	**1.9393**	**2.0634**
Foreign	**1.9978**	**0.0317**	**47.2167**	**0.0000**	**1.9355**	**2.0600**
female						
0	**2.0387**	**0.0379**	**40.6119**	**0.0000**	**1.9644**	**2.1131**
1	**1.9602**	**0.0353**	**41.3864**	**0.0000**	**1.8909**	**2.0294**
poverty						
0	**2.0226**	**0.0432**	**35.2460**	**0.0000**	**1.9378**	**2.1074**
1	**1.9151**	**0.0494**	**28.6459**	**0.0000**	**1.8181**	**2.0120**
2	**2.0370**	**0.0477**	**32.2011**	**0.0000**	**1.9433**	**2.1306**
3	**1.9888**	**0.0888**	**16.7594**	**0.0000**	**1.8145**	**2.1631**
educ						
0	**2.3372**	**0.1373**	**13.3846**	**0.0000**	**2.0679**	**2.6065**
1	**0.8750**	**0.0885**	**4.2364**	**0.0000**	**0.7013**	**1.0487**
2	**2.0984**	**0.0739**	**21.6303**	**0.0000**	**1.9534**	**2.2434**
3	**1.9058**	**0.0638**	**22.0345**	**0.0000**	**1.7807**	**2.0310**
4	**1.9496**	**0.0735**	**19.7307**	**0.0000**	**1.8054**	**2.0937**

5	1.9271	0.0458	31.1795	0.0000	1.8373	2.0169
6	2.0892	0.0665	23.9043	0.0000	1.9587	2.2196
7	2.0809	0.1490	10.6098	0.0000	1.7885	2.3732
8	2.1659	0.0997	16.7066	0.0000	1.9703	2.3616
9	1.3500	0.3981	2.1353	0.0330	0.5689	2.1311
agegp						
0	1.9318	0.0432	33.1148	0.0000	1.8470	2.0166
1	2.0065	0.0432	34.8904	0.0000	1.9218	2.0912
2	2.0801	0.0591	26.7473	0.0000	1.9642	2.1960
3	2.0197	0.0820	18.5326	0.0000	1.8588	2.1806
ethnic nonpres						
0	2.0205	0.0546	27.8227	0.0000	1.9133	2.1277
1	1.9944	0.0294	50.8930	0.0000	1.9368	2.0520
trustpres						
0	1.9299	0.0764	18.7200	0.0000	1.7800	2.0797
1	1.9891	0.0500	29.7840	0.0000	1.8910	2.0872
2	1.9772	0.0503	29.3621	0.0000	1.8785	2.0759
3	2.0503	0.0433	35.8365	0.0000	1.9654	2.1352
trustopp						
0	2.0946	0.0480	33.2514	0.0000	2.0005	2.1887
1	1.9629	0.0438	33.3649	0.0000	1.8768	2.0489
2	1.9061	0.0503	27.9719	0.0000	1.8075	2.0048
3	2.0052	0.0742	20.2911	0.0000	1.8597	2.1508

Estimated marginal means (MMs)
COU = Nigeria
Number of observations = 4255
Number of respondents = 1090
H0 = 0.5

Variable / Levels	Est.	SE	t	P>|t|	LCI	UCI
Accuser						
Independent agency	**1.7255**	**0.0325**	**37.6721**	**0.0000**	**1.6617**	**1.7894**
The opposition	**1.6519**	**0.0310**	**37.1313**	**0.0000**	**1.5911**	**1.7128**
The president	**1.7088**	**0.0334**	**36.1955**	**0.0000**	**1.6433**	**1.7743**
Infraction						
Not paying its taxes	**1.6736**	**0.0376**	**31.1973**	**0.0000**	**1.5998**	**1.7474**
Spreading lies about ce~l	**1.5335**	**0.0440**	**23.4768**	**0.0000**	**1.4472**	**1.6199**
Being biased in favor o~l	**1.4280**	**0.0419**	**22.1224**	**0.0000**	**1.3457**	**1.5103**
Making arguments to bui~r	**2.2942**	**0.0597**	**30.0600**	**0.0000**	**2.1771**	**2.4113**
Spreading misinformatio~p	**1.5459**	**0.0415**	**25.1865**	**0.0000**	**1.4644**	**1.6273**
Using hate speech again~r	**1.6448**	**0.0462**	**24.7670**	**0.0000**	**1.5541**	**1.7354**
Funding Source						
Domestic	**1.6932**	**0.0273**	**43.7407**	**0.0000**	**1.6396**	**1.7467**
Foreign	**1.6982**	**0.0288**	**41.6477**	**0.0000**	**1.6417**	**1.7546**
female						
0	**1.7407**	**0.0308**	**40.2828**	**0.0000**	**1.6803**	**1.8011**
1	**1.6201**	**0.0335**	**33.4413**	**0.0000**	**1.5544**	**1.6858**
poverty						
0	**1.7047**	**0.0413**	**29.1353**	**0.0000**	**1.6236**	**1.7858**
1	**1.6264**	**0.0469**	**24.0184**	**0.0000**	**1.5344**	**1.7184**
2	**1.7269**	**0.0401**	**30.6189**	**0.0000**	**1.6483**	**1.8055**
3	**1.6886**	**0.0636**	**18.6948**	**0.0000**	**1.5639**	**1.8134**
educ						
0	**1.1636**	**0.0892**	**7.4376**	**0.0000**	**0.9886**	**1.3387**
1	**1.8036**	**0.1322**	**9.8572**	**0.0000**	**1.5441**	**2.0631**
2	**2.0370**	**0.2579**	**5.9592**	**0.0000**	**1.5309**	**2.5431**
3	**1.5545**	**0.1084**	**9.7231**	**0.0000**	**1.3417**	**1.7672**
4	**1.5517**	**0.1106**	**9.5078**	**0.0000**	**1.3347**	**1.7688**

	5	1.6996	0.0477	25.1325	0.0000	1.6060	1.7933
	6	1.7624	0.0504	25.0623	0.0000	1.6636	1.8612
	7	1.7981	0.0966	13.4344	0.0000	1.6085	1.9877
	8	1.6456	0.0424	27.0050	0.0000	1.5624	1.7289
	9	1.8000	0.0838	15.5057	0.0000	1.6355	1.9645
agegp							
	0	1.7679	0.0524	24.1740	0.0000	1.6649	1.8708
	1	1.7003	0.0309	38.9003	0.0000	1.6397	1.7608
	2	1.6705	0.0542	21.6135	0.0000	1.5642	1.7767
	3	1.5310	0.0862	11.9561	0.0000	1.3618	1.7002
ethnic nonpres							
	0	1.9139	0.0437	32.3895	0.0000	1.8282	1.9995
	1	1.5894	0.0260	41.8772	0.0000	1.5384	1.6405
trustpres							
	0	1.6042	0.0351	31.4947	0.0000	1.5354	1.6730
	1	1.6012	0.0454	24.2447	0.0000	1.5121	1.6904
	2	1.7701	0.0635	20.0133	0.0000	1.6456	1.8946
	3	1.8946	0.0497	28.0560	0.0000	1.7971	1.9922
trustopp							
	0	1.6609	0.0315	36.8446	0.0000	1.5991	1.7227
	1	1.6590	0.0450	25.7646	0.0000	1.5708	1.7473
	2	1.7308	0.0608	20.2280	0.0000	1.6114	1.8502
	3	1.8702	0.0791	17.3325	0.0000	1.7151	2.0253

Estimated marginal means (MMs)
COU = Uganda
Number of observations = 4509
Number of respondents = 1131
H0 = 0.5

Variable / Levels	Est.	SE	t	P>|t|	LCI	UCI
Accuser						
Independent agency	**1.8550**	**0.0317**	**42.6971**	**0.0000**	**1.7927**	**1.9173**
The opposition	**1.7888**	**0.0313**	**41.1619**	**0.0000**	**1.7274**	**1.8503**
The president	**1.7671**	**0.0308**	**41.0729**	**0.0000**	**1.7065**	**1.8276**
Infraction						
Not paying its taxes	**1.7725**	**0.0396**	**32.1390**	**0.0000**	**1.6949**	**1.8502**
Spreading lies about ce~l	**1.8284**	**0.0495**	**26.8254**	**0.0000**	**1.7313**	**1.9256**
Being biased in favor o~l	**1.5384**	**0.0390**	**26.6262**	**0.0000**	**1.4618**	**1.6149**
Making arguments to bui~r	**2.2802**	**0.0476**	**37.4386**	**0.0000**	**2.1869**	**2.3735**
Spreading misinformatio~p	**1.6255**	**0.0428**	**26.2791**	**0.0000**	**1.5415**	**1.7096**
Using hate speech again~r	**1.6979**	**0.0400**	**29.9519**	**0.0000**	**1.6195**	**1.7764**
Funding Source						
Domestic	**1.8061**	**0.0276**	**47.3086**	**0.0000**	**1.7519**	**1.8603**
Foreign	**1.7967**	**0.0264**	**49.0611**	**0.0000**	**1.7448**	**1.8485**
female						
0	**1.8142**	**0.0307**	**42.7980**	**0.0000**	**1.7539**	**1.8744**
1	**1.7881**	**0.0306**	**42.1506**	**0.0000**	**1.7281**	**1.8480**
poverty						
0	**1.8582**	**0.0450**	**30.1621**	**0.0000**	**1.7698**	**1.9465**
1	**1.7680**	**0.0329**	**38.4945**	**0.0000**	**1.7034**	**1.8327**
2	**1.7837**	**0.0387**	**33.2007**	**0.0000**	**1.7079**	**1.8596**
3	**1.9714**	**0.1298**	**11.3390**	**0.0000**	**1.7168**	**2.2260**
educ						
0	**1.8849**	**0.1407**	**9.8442**	**0.0000**	**1.6089**	**2.1609**
1	**1.8750**	**0.3109**	**4.4232**	**0.0000**	**1.2651**	**2.4849**
2	**1.8943**	**0.0468**	**29.7828**	**0.0000**	**1.8024**	**1.9861**
3	**1.7387**	**0.0572**	**21.6387**	**0.0000**	**1.6264**	**1.8510**
4	**1.7770**	**0.0402**	**31.7373**	**0.0000**	**1.6981**	**1.8560**

	5	1.7700	0.0602	21.0952	0.0000	1.6519	1.8881
	6	1.7746	0.0588	21.6781	0.0000	1.6592	1.8900
	7	1.8241	0.1304	10.1574	0.0000	1.5683	2.0798
	8	1.7150	0.1029	11.8117	0.0000	1.5132	1.9168
	9	2.0833	0.6056	2.6143	0.0091	0.8950	3.2716
agegp							
	0	1.8838	0.0355	38.9787	0.0000	1.8141	1.9534
	1	1.7457	0.0339	36.7757	0.0000	1.6792	1.8121
	2	1.7652	0.0503	25.1647	0.0000	1.6666	1.8639
	3	1.6563	0.0949	12.1882	0.0000	1.4701	1.8424
ethnic nonpres							
	0	1.7134	0.0689	17.6151	0.0000	1.5782	1.8486
	1	1.8116	0.0228	57.5588	0.0000	1.7669	1.8563
trustpres							
	0	1.7823	0.0658	19.4773	0.0000	1.6532	1.9115
	1	1.8226	0.0568	23.3025	0.0000	1.7112	1.9339
	2	1.7284	0.0372	33.0090	0.0000	1.6554	1.8015
	3	1.8414	0.0332	40.4491	0.0000	1.7763	1.9064
trustopp							
	0	1.8844	0.0400	34.6353	0.0000	1.8060	1.9628
	1	1.7613	0.0435	29.0065	0.0000	1.6760	1.8466
	2	1.7431	0.0367	33.8789	0.0000	1.6711	1.8150
	3	1.8048	0.0605	21.5833	0.0000	1.6862	1.9234

92. conjoint punish AttB AttC AttA, est(mm) id(subj) sub(COU) h0(2) graph

Estimated marginal means (MMs)
COU = Côte_d_Ivoire
Number of observations = 4753
Number of respondents = 1198
H0 = 2

Variable / Levels	Est.	SE	t	P>|t|	LCI	UCI
Accuser						
Independent agency	**1.8963**	**0.0309**	**-3.3581**	**0.0008**	**1.8357**	**1.9569**
The opposition	**1.9132**	**0.0321**	**-2.7020**	**0.0070**	**1.8501**	**1.9762**
The president	**1.9120**	**0.0291**	**-3.0229**	**0.0026**	**1.8549**	**1.9691**
Infraction						
Not paying its taxes	**1.8844**	**0.0383**	**-3.0148**	**0.0026**	**1.8092**	**1.9596**
Spreading lies about ce~l	**1.8102**	**0.0491**	**-3.8660**	**0.0001**	**1.7139**	**1.9065**
Being biased in favor o~l	**1.4811**	**0.0393**	**-13.2147**	**0.0000**	**1.4041**	**1.5581**
Making arguments to bui~r	**2.3822**	**0.0484**	**7.8931**	**0.0000**	**2.2872**	**2.4771**
Spreading misinformatio~p	**1.8697**	**0.0410**	**-3.1806**	**0.0015**	**1.7894**	**1.9501**
Using hate speech again~r	**1.9731**	**0.0446**	**-0.6030**	**0.5466**	**1.8856**	**2.0606**
Funding Source						
Domestic	**1.8982**	**0.0278**	**-3.6650**	**0.0003**	**1.8438**	**1.9527**
Foreign	**1.9154**	**0.0274**	**-3.0924**	**0.0020**	**1.8618**	**1.9691**

Estimated marginal means (MMs)
COU = Kenya
Number of observations = 4775
Number of respondents = 1208
H0 = 2

Variable / Levels	Est.	SE	t	P>|t|	LCI	UCI
Accuser						
Independent agency	**1.9988**	**0.0343**	**-0.0363**	**0.9711**	**1.9314**	**2.0661**
The opposition	**1.9852**	**0.0354**	**-0.4184**	**0.6757**	**1.9158**	**2.0546**
The president	**2.0204**	**0.0351**	**0.5822**	**0.5605**	**1.9515**	**2.0893**
Infraction						
Not paying its taxes	**1.8847**	**0.0379**	**-3.0413**	**0.0024**	**1.8103**	**1.9591**
Spreading lies about ce~l	**1.7560**	**0.0438**	**-5.5697**	**0.0000**	**1.6701**	**1.8420**
Being biased in favor o~l	**1.6121**	**0.0451**	**-8.6000**	**0.0000**	**1.5236**	**1.7006**

Making arguments to bui~r	**2.7637**	**0.0534**	**14.2886**	**0.0000**	**2.6588**	**2.8686**
Spreading misinformatio~p	**1.8024**	**0.0489**	**-4.0389**	**0.0001**	**1.7065**	**1.8984**
Using hate speech again~r	**2.2100**	**0.0505**	**4.1547**	**0.0000**	**2.1108**	**2.3092**
Funding Source						
Domestic	**2.0064**	**0.0303**	**0.2103**	**0.8335**	**1.9469**	**2.0659**
Foreign	**1.9971**	**0.0303**	**-0.0954**	**0.9240**	**1.9377**	**2.0565**

Estimated marginal means (MMs)
COU = Nigeria
Number of observations = 5089
Number of respondents = 1315
H0 = 2

Variable / Levels	Est.	SE	t	P>|t|	LCI	UCI
Accuser						
Independent agency	**1.7045**	**0.0290**	**-10.1859**	**0.0000**	**1.6476**	**1.7614**
The opposition	**1.6227**	**0.0280**	**-13.4767**	**0.0000**	**1.5678**	**1.6776**
The president	**1.6594**	**0.0299**	**-11.4062**	**0.0000**	**1.6008**	**1.7180**
Infraction						
Not paying its taxes	**1.6540**	**0.0331**	**-10.4517**	**0.0000**	**1.5891**	**1.7190**
Spreading lies about ce~l	**1.4803**	**0.0393**	**-13.2230**	**0.0000**	**1.4032**	**1.5574**
Being biased in favor o~l	**1.4111**	**0.0376**	**-15.6472**	**0.0000**	**1.3372**	**1.4849**
Making arguments to bui~r	**2.2911**	**0.0551**	**5.2839**	**0.0000**	**2.1830**	**2.3992**
Spreading misinformatio~p	**1.5097**	**0.0366**	**-13.3884**	**0.0000**	**1.4378**	**1.5815**
Using hate speech again~r	**1.5972**	**0.0413**	**-9.7514**	**0.0000**	**1.5162**	**1.6782**
Funding Source						
Domestic	**1.6636**	**0.0244**	**-13.7655**	**0.0000**	**1.6156**	**1.7115**
Foreign	**1.6612**	**0.0260**	**-13.0504**	**0.0000**	**1.6103**	**1.7121**

Estimated marginal means (MMs)
COU = Uganda
Number of observations = 4779
Number of respondents = 1199
H0 = 2

Variable / Levels	Est.	SE	t	P>|t|	LCI	UCI
Accuser						
Independent agency	**1.8480**	**0.0310**	**-4.9090**	**0.0000**	**1.7873**	**1.9088**
The opposition	**1.7859**	**0.0305**	**-7.0285**	**0.0000**	**1.7261**	**1.8456**
The president	**1.7503**	**0.0297**	**-8.4221**	**0.0000**	**1.6921**	**1.8085**
Infraction						
Not paying its taxes	**1.7690**	**0.0384**	**-6.0201**	**0.0000**	**1.6938**	**1.8443**
Spreading lies about ce~l	**1.8017**	**0.0483**	**-4.1055**	**0.0000**	**1.7069**	**1.8964**
Being biased in favor o~l	**1.5264**	**0.0379**	**-12.4804**	**0.0000**	**1.4519**	**1.6008**
Making arguments to bui~r	**2.2655**	**0.0463**	**5.7401**	**0.0000**	**2.1748**	**2.3563**
Spreading misinformatio~p	**1.6284**	**0.0417**	**-8.9130**	**0.0000**	**1.5466**	**1.7102**
Using hate speech again~r	**1.6869**	**0.0386**	**-8.1096**	**0.0000**	**1.6111**	**1.7626**
Funding Source						
Domestic	**1.8006**	**0.0267**	**-7.4695**	**0.0000**	**1.7483**	**1.8530**
Foreign	**1.7837**	**0.0256**	**-8.4528**	**0.0000**	**1.7335**	**1.8339**

```
93.
94. ************************
95. ****Figure 3
96. ************************
97.
98. ologit punish i.AttB i.AttC i.AttA female poverty educ age ethnic_nonpres i.COU if t
  > rustpres>1, cluster(subj)

  Iteration 0:   log pseudolikelihood = -15234.888
  Iteration 1:   log pseudolikelihood = -14806.232
  Iteration 2:   log pseudolikelihood = -14802.649
  Iteration 3:   log pseudolikelihood = -14802.648

  Ordered logistic regression                     Number of obs     =     11,245
                                                  Wald chi2(16)     =     581.14
                                                  Prob > chi2       =     0.0000
  Log pseudolikelihood = -14802.648               Pseudo R2         =     0.0284
```

(Std. Err. adjusted for **2,850** clusters in subj)

punish	Coef.	Robust Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf. Interval]
AttB					
The opposition	-.0873586	.0422694	-2.07	0.039	-.170205 -.0045121
The president	-.0615507	.0414492	-1.48	0.138	-.1427896 .0196881
AttC					
Spreading lies about certain polit..	-.2303058	.0594688	-3.87	0.000	-.3468626 -.113749
Being biased in favor of one polit..	-.7006335	.0621457	-11.27	0.000	-.8224368 -.5788301
Making arguments to build support ..	.8883907	.063591	13.97	0.000	.763746 1.013027
Spreading misinformation about pub..	-.2838904	.0608537	-4.67	0.000	-.4031615 -.1646193
Using hate speech against members ..	-.0136176	.0591693	-0.23	0.818	-.1295873 .1023522
AttA					
Foreign	.0309577	.0352911	0.88	0.380	-.0382117 .100127
female	-.1744006	.0485577	-3.59	0.000	-.269572 -.0792292
poverty	.0434986	.026944	1.61	0.106	-.0093106 .0963078
educ	.0122084	.0135785	0.90	0.369	-.0144051 .0388218
age	-.0017019	.00197	-0.86	0.388	-.005563 .0021591
ethnic_nonpres	-.1574542	.0597448	-2.64	0.008	-.2745518 -.0403566
COU					
Kenya	.2373728	.0741293	3.20	0.001	.092082 .3826636
Nigeria	-.2636681	.084479	-3.12	0.002	-.4292439 -.0980922
Uganda	-.1705648	.0679908	-2.51	0.012	-.3038243 -.0373053
/cut1	-3.554299	.1465803			-3.841591 -3.267007
/cut2	-.2003583	.1246964			-.447589

```
>          .0440422
                              /cut3 |   .6055161   .1238614                      .36
> 27522
>            .84828
                              /cut4 |   1.669158   .1262425                     1.4
> 21727
>          1.916589
------------------------------------+----------------------------------------------
  ------------------

99. estimates store POOLED_TrustPres, title("Trust president")

100
101 ologit punish i.AttB i.AttC i.AttA female poverty educ age ethnic_nonpres i.COU if t
  > rustopp>1, cluster(subj)

  Iteration 0:   log pseudolikelihood = -9492.7151
  Iteration 1:   log pseudolikelihood = -9230.8819
  Iteration 2:   log pseudolikelihood = -9228.6656
  Iteration 3:   log pseudolikelihood = -9228.6648

  Ordered logistic regression                     Number of obs     =      7,112
                                                  Wald chi2(16)     =     348.20
                                                  Prob > chi2       =     0.0000
  Log pseudolikelihood = -9228.6648               Pseudo R2         =     0.0278

                                                          (Std. Err. adjusted for 1,809
  > clusters in subj)
------------------------------------+----------------------------------------------
  ------------------
                                    |               Robust
                             punish |      Coef.   Std. Err.      z    P>|z|     [95
  > % Con
  >      f. Interval]
------------------------------------+----------------------------------------------
  ------------------
                              AttB  |
                The opposition      |  -.0372703   .0541471    -0.69   0.491    -.14
> 33968
>          .0688561
                 The president      |  -.0674206   .0536305    -1.26   0.209    -.17
> 25345
>          .0376934
                                    |
                              AttC  |
Spreading lies about certain polit..|  -.2007025   .0725961    -2.76   0.006    -.34
> 29883
>         -.0584167
Being biased in favor of one polit..|   -.651289   .0774511    -8.41   0.000    -.80
> 30904
>         -.4994876
Making arguments to build support ..|   .8553972   .0808794    10.58   0.000     .69
> 68764
>          1.013918
Spreading misinformation about pub..|   -.297344   .0766145    -3.88   0.000    -.44
> 75056
>         -.1471823
Using hate speech against members ..|  -.0307788   .0747022    -0.41   0.680    -.17
> 71923
>          .1156348
                                    |
                              AttA  |
                            Foreign |   -.017437   .0442248    -0.39   0.693     -.1
> 04116
>          .0692421
                             female |  -.1558328   .0611458    -2.55   0.011    -.27
> 56764
>         -.0359891
                            poverty |  -.0085991   .0326391    -0.26   0.792    -.07
> 25705
>          .0553723
                               educ |   .0205931   .0170579     1.21   0.227    -.01
```

```
> 28398
>          .0540259
                                  age |  -.0054711   .0024587    -2.23   0.026      -.
> 01029
>         -.0006522
                     ethnic_nonpres |  -.2412556   .0802567    -3.01   0.003    -.39
> 85558
>         -.0839553
                                     |
                                  COU |
                               Kenya |   .1493021   .0952339     1.57   0.117    -.03
> 73529
>          .3359572
                              Nigeria |  -.3993473   .1030035    -3.88   0.000    -.60
> 12304
>         -.1974643
                               Uganda |  -.2532937   .0880883    -2.88   0.004    -.42
> 59437
>         -.0806438
-------------------------------------+----------------------------------------------
                                /cut1 |  -3.834437   .1908787                     -4.2
> 08552
>         -3.460322
                                /cut2 |  -.4307149   .1663163                     -.75
> 66889
>         -.1047409
                                /cut3 |   .3860792   .1650374                      .06
> 26117
>          .7095466
                                /cut4 |    1.41213   .1682356                      1.0
> 82395
>          1.741866
-------------------------------------+----------------------------------------------

102 estimates store POOLED_TrustOpp, title("Trust opposition")

103
104 coefplot (POOLED_TrustPres, msymbol(T) msize(small) label(Trust president)) (POOLED_
  > TrustOpp, msize(small) label(Trust opposition)), xline(0) level(95) omitted baseleve
  > ls drop(_cons female poverty educ age trustpres trustopp ethnic_nonpres) coeflabels(
  > 1.AttC = "Not paying taxes" 2.AttC = "Lies about candidates" 3.AttC = "Partisan bias
  > " 4.AttC = "Supporting armed groups" 5.AttC = "COVID falsehoods" 6.AttC = "Hate spee
  > ch") headings( 1.AttA = "{bf:Funding source}" 1.AttB = "{bf:Accuser}" 1.AttC = "{bf:
  > Infraction}" 1.COU = "{bf:Country}")

105
106 ************************
107 *****Appendix G
108 ************************
109
110 gen hightrustpres = trustpres
  (964 missing values generated)

111 recode hightrustpres (0/1=0) (2/3=1)
  (hightrustpres: 15412 changes made)

112
113 gen lowtrustpres = trustpres
  (964 missing values generated)
```

```
114 recode lowtrustpres (0/1=1) (2/3=0)
  (lowtrustpres: 14164 changes made)

115
116 gen hightrustopp = trustopp
  (1,392 missing values generated)

117 recode hightrustopp (0/1=0) (2/3=1)
  (hightrustopp: 12040 changes made)

118
119 gen lowtrustopp = trustopp
  (1,392 missing values generated)

120 recode lowtrustopp (0/1=1) (2/3=0)
  (lowtrustopp: 12496 changes made)

121
122 label define trust_di 1 "High" 0 "Low"

123 label values hightrustopp trust_di

124 label values hightrustpres trust_di

125
126 conjoint punish AttB AttC AttA female poverty educ agegp ethnic_nonpres, est(mm) id(
  > subj) sub(hightrustpres)
```

Estimated marginal means (MMs)
hightrustpres = Low
Number of observations = 7931
Number of respondents = 2011
H0 = 0.5

Variable / Levels	Est.	SE	t	P>|t|	LCI	UCI
Accuser						
Independent agency	**1.7957**	**0.0245**	**52.8908**	**0.0000**	**1.7477**	**1.8438**
The opposition	**1.8150**	**0.0252**	**52.1145**	**0.0000**	**1.7656**	**1.8645**
The president	**1.8102**	**0.0241**	**54.3995**	**0.0000**	**1.7630**	**1.8575**
Infraction						
Not paying its taxes	**1.7458**	**0.0283**	**44.0477**	**0.0000**	**1.6903**	**1.8012**
Spreading lies about ce~l	**1.6558**	**0.0351**	**32.9598**	**0.0000**	**1.5870**	**1.7246**
Being biased in favor o~l	**1.5103**	**0.0309**	**32.6741**	**0.0000**	**1.4497**	**1.5710**
Making arguments to bui~r	**2.3588**	**0.0406**	**45.8067**	**0.0000**	**2.2792**	**2.4384**
Spreading misinformatio~p	**1.6804**	**0.0326**	**36.1640**	**0.0000**	**1.6164**	**1.7444**
Using hate speech again~r	**1.8363**	**0.0362**	**36.9375**	**0.0000**	**1.7653**	**1.9072**
Funding Source						
Domestic	**1.8089**	**0.0216**	**60.6575**	**0.0000**	**1.7666**	**1.8512**
Foreign	**1.8054**	**0.0216**	**60.3019**	**0.0000**	**1.7629**	**1.8478**

female						
	0	1.8526	0.0245	55.1416	0.0000	1.8045	1.9007
	1	1.7530	0.0251	49.9512	0.0000	1.7038	1.8022
poverty						
	0	1.8825	0.0289	47.9104	0.0000	1.8259	1.9390
	1	1.7669	0.0331	38.2555	0.0000	1.7020	1.8319
	2	1.7648	0.0339	37.2652	0.0000	1.6982	1.8313
	3	1.7268	0.0601	20.4301	0.0000	1.6091	1.8446
educ						
	0	1.6302	0.0848	13.3340	0.0000	1.4640	1.7965
	1	1.8571	0.2019	6.7220	0.0000	1.4612	2.2531
	2	1.9955	0.0637	23.4742	0.0000	1.8705	2.1204
	3	1.7255	0.0650	18.8548	0.0000	1.5980	1.8530
	4	1.8377	0.0432	30.9863	0.0000	1.7531	1.9224
	5	1.8305	0.0406	32.7671	0.0000	1.7509	1.9101
	6	1.8333	0.0461	28.9260	0.0000	1.7429	1.9237
	7	1.9929	0.0537	27.8224	0.0000	1.8877	2.0982
	8	1.6284	0.0399	28.2650	0.0000	1.5501	1.7067
	9	1.6010	0.0918	11.9909	0.0000	1.4209	1.7810
agegp						
	0	1.8641	0.0283	48.2589	0.0000	1.8087	1.9196
	1	1.7958	0.0276	46.9341	0.0000	1.7417	1.8500
	2	1.7595	0.0436	28.8972	0.0000	1.6740	1.8450
	3	1.6574	0.0780	14.8301	0.0000	1.5044	1.8105
ethnic nonpres						
	0	1.9086	0.0428	32.9346	0.0000	1.8247	1.9924
	1	1.7855	0.0193	66.6878	0.0000	1.7477	1.8233

Estimated marginal means (MMs)
hightrustpres = High
Number of observations = 10422
Number of respondents = 2629
H0 = 0.5

Variable / Levels	Est.	SE	t	P>|t|	LCI	UCI
Accuser						
Independent agency	**1.9306**	**0.0218**	**65.7702**	**0.0000**	**1.8879**	**1.9732**
The opposition	**1.8484**	**0.0215**	**62.6172**	**0.0000**	**1.8062**	**1.8906**
The president	**1.8783**	**0.0215**	**63.9965**	**0.0000**	**1.8361**	**1.9205**
Infraction						
Not paying its taxes	**1.8523**	**0.0260**	**52.1116**	**0.0000**	**1.8014**	**1.9032**
Spreading lies about ce~l	**1.7645**	**0.0308**	**41.0014**	**0.0000**	**1.7041**	**1.8250**
Being biased in favor o~l	**1.5190**	**0.0276**	**36.9267**	**0.0000**	**1.4649**	**1.5731**
Making arguments to bui~r	**2.4691**	**0.0348**	**56.6137**	**0.0000**	**2.4009**	**2.5373**
Spreading misinformatio~p	**1.7419**	**0.0303**	**41.0114**	**0.0000**	**1.6825**	**1.8012**
Using hate speech again~r	**1.9117**	**0.0304**	**46.4485**	**0.0000**	**1.8521**	**1.9713**
Funding Source						
Domestic	**1.8851**	**0.0190**	**72.8801**	**0.0000**	**1.8478**	**1.9223**
Foreign	**1.8863**	**0.0189**	**73.4823**	**0.0000**	**1.8493**	**1.9233**
female						
0	**1.9330**	**0.0218**	**65.7211**	**0.0000**	**1.8903**	**1.9758**
1	**1.8330**	**0.0216**	**61.7678**	**0.0000**	**1.7907**	**1.8753**
poverty						
0	**1.9022**	**0.0275**	**51.0018**	**0.0000**	**1.8483**	**1.9561**
1	**1.8386**	**0.0263**	**50.9125**	**0.0000**	**1.7870**	**1.8901**
2	**1.8803**	**0.0284**	**48.5534**	**0.0000**	**1.8246**	**1.9360**
3	**2.0385**	**0.0616**	**24.9712**	**0.0000**	**1.9177**	**2.1593**
educ						
0	**1.9066**	**0.0726**	**19.3795**	**0.0000**	**1.7643**	**2.0490**
1	**1.7769**	**0.0961**	**13.2859**	**0.0000**	**1.5884**	**1.9653**

	2	**1.9499**	**0.0411**	**35.2366**	**0.0000**	**1.8692**	**2.0306**
	3	**1.8239**	**0.0452**	**29.3143**	**0.0000**	**1.7354**	**1.9125**
	4	**1.8543**	**0.0339**	**39.9055**	**0.0000**	**1.7878**	**1.9209**
	5	**1.8410**	**0.0340**	**39.4120**	**0.0000**	**1.7743**	**1.9078**
	6	**1.9534**	**0.0396**	**36.6806**	**0.0000**	**1.8757**	**2.0311**
	7	**1.8628**	**0.0661**	**20.6066**	**0.0000**	**1.7331**	**1.9925**
	8	**1.9637**	**0.0647**	**22.6215**	**0.0000**	**1.8368**	**2.0906**
	9	**1.9795**	**0.1354**	**10.9249**	**0.0000**	**1.7139**	**2.2450**
agegp							
	0	**1.9128**	**0.0246**	**57.5008**	**0.0000**	**1.8647**	**1.9610**
	1	**1.8489**	**0.0242**	**55.7667**	**0.0000**	**1.8015**	**1.8964**
	2	**1.9036**	**0.0392**	**35.8193**	**0.0000**	**1.8267**	**1.9804**
	3	**1.9051**	**0.0660**	**21.2905**	**0.0000**	**1.7757**	**2.0345**
ethnic nonpres							
	0	**1.9225**	**0.0310**	**45.9517**	**0.0000**	**1.8618**	**1.9832**
	1	**1.8720**	**0.0177**	**77.4838**	**0.0000**	**1.8373**	**1.9068**

127 conjoint punish AttB AttC AttA, est(mm) id(subj) sub(hightrustpres) graph

Estimated marginal means (MMs)
hightrustpres = Low
Number of observations = 8081
Number of respondents = 2050
H0 = 0.5

Variable / Levels	Est.	SE	t	P>|t|	LCI	UCI
Accuser						
Independent agency	**1.7895**	**0.0242**	**53.3664**	**0.0000**	**1.7421**	**1.8369**
The opposition	**1.8091**	**0.0251**	**52.1837**	**0.0000**	**1.7599**	**1.8583**
The president	**1.7996**	**0.0238**	**54.6142**	**0.0000**	**1.7529**	**1.8462**
Infraction						
Not paying its taxes	**1.7385**	**0.0280**	**44.1602**	**0.0000**	**1.6835**	**1.7935**
Spreading lies about ce~l	**1.6437**	**0.0347**	**32.9392**	**0.0000**	**1.5756**	**1.7118**
Being biased in favor o~l	**1.5056**	**0.0305**	**32.9863**	**0.0000**	**1.4458**	**1.5654**

Making arguments to bui~r	**2.3546**	**0.0402**	**46.1355**	**0.0000**	**2.2757**	**2.4334**
Spreading misinformatio~p	**1.6703**	**0.0321**	**36.4081**	**0.0000**	**1.6072**	**1.7333**
Using hate speech again~r	**1.8301**	**0.0358**	**37.1527**	**0.0000**	**1.7599**	**1.9003**
Funding Source						
Domestic	**1.7987**	**0.0213**	**60.9467**	**0.0000**	**1.7569**	**1.8405**
Foreign	**1.8001**	**0.0214**	**60.6123**	**0.0000**	**1.7580**	**1.8422**

Estimated marginal means (MMs)
hightrustpres = High
Number of observations = 10473
Number of respondents = 2642
H0 = 0.5

Variable / Levels	Est.	SE	t	P>|t|	LCI	UCI
Accuser						
Independent agency	**1.9297**	**0.0217**	**65.9025**	**0.0000**	**1.8872**	**1.9723**
The opposition	**1.8498**	**0.0215**	**62.7383**	**0.0000**	**1.8076**	**1.8920**
The president	**1.8770**	**0.0215**	**64.1043**	**0.0000**	**1.8348**	**1.9191**
Infraction						
Not paying its taxes	**1.8505**	**0.0259**	**52.1891**	**0.0000**	**1.7998**	**1.9013**
Spreading lies about ce~l	**1.7650**	**0.0308**	**41.0781**	**0.0000**	**1.7046**	**1.8254**
Being biased in favor o~l	**1.5181**	**0.0275**	**37.0544**	**0.0000**	**1.4642**	**1.5719**
Making arguments to bui~r	**2.4722**	**0.0348**	**56.7370**	**0.0000**	**2.4040**	**2.5403**
Spreading misinformatio~p	**1.7412**	**0.0302**	**41.0854**	**0.0000**	**1.6819**	**1.8004**
Using hate speech again~r	**1.9099**	**0.0303**	**46.5143**	**0.0000**	**1.8505**	**1.9694**
Funding Source						
Domestic	**1.8846**	**0.0190**	**73.0361**	**0.0000**	**1.8474**	**1.9218**
Foreign	**1.8862**	**0.0188**	**73.5923**	**0.0000**	**1.8492**	**1.9231**

```
128
129 conjoint punish AttB AttC AttA female poverty educ agegp ethnic_nonpres, est(mm) id(
  > subj) sub(hightrustopp)
```

Estimated marginal means (MMs)
hightrustopp = Low
Number of observations = 12064
Number of respondents = 3052
H0 = 0.5

Variable / Levels	Est.	SE	t	P>|t|	LCI	UCI
Accuser						
Independent agency	**1.8682**	**0.0199**	**68.8289**	**0.0000**	**1.8292**	**1.9072**
The opposition	**1.8348**	**0.0203**	**65.7594**	**0.0000**	**1.7950**	**1.8746**
The president	**1.8588**	**0.0198**	**68.6111**	**0.0000**	**1.8199**	**1.8976**
Infraction						
Not paying its taxes	**1.8102**	**0.0236**	**55.5010**	**0.0000**	**1.7640**	**1.8565**
Spreading lies about ce~l	**1.7028**	**0.0288**	**41.7724**	**0.0000**	**1.6464**	**1.7593**
Being biased in favor o~l	**1.5118**	**0.0255**	**39.6574**	**0.0000**	**1.4618**	**1.5619**
Making arguments to bui~r	**2.4306**	**0.0327**	**59.0283**	**0.0000**	**2.3665**	**2.4947**
Spreading misinformatio~p	**1.7238**	**0.0270**	**45.2486**	**0.0000**	**1.6708**	**1.7769**
Using hate speech again~r	**1.8900**	**0.0288**	**48.2979**	**0.0000**	**1.8336**	**1.9464**
Funding Source						
Domestic	**1.8504**	**0.0177**	**76.4856**	**0.0000**	**1.8158**	**1.8850**
Foreign	**1.8577**	**0.0177**	**76.8269**	**0.0000**	**1.8231**	**1.8924**
female						
0	**1.9097**	**0.0206**	**68.5223**	**0.0000**	**1.8693**	**1.9500**
1	**1.7960**	**0.0200**	**64.8552**	**0.0000**	**1.7568**	**1.8352**
poverty						
0	**1.8961**	**0.0238**	**58.5627**	**0.0000**	**1.8494**	**1.9428**
1	**1.7917**	**0.0256**	**50.5170**	**0.0000**	**1.7415**	**1.8418**
2	**1.8536**	**0.0277**	**48.8548**	**0.0000**	**1.7993**	**1.9079**
3	**1.8835**	**0.0583**	**23.7139**	**0.0000**	**1.7691**	**1.9978**
educ						

0	**1.7971**	**0.0682**	**19.0075**	**0.0000**	**1.6633**	**1.9309**
1	**1.8798**	**0.1210**	**11.4013**	**0.0000**	**1.6425**	**2.1171**
2	**1.9921**	**0.0424**	**35.1943**	**0.0000**	**1.9090**	**2.0752**
3	**1.8107**	**0.0501**	**26.1463**	**0.0000**	**1.7124**	**1.9090**
4	**1.8138**	**0.0342**	**38.4508**	**0.0000**	**1.7468**	**1.8808**
5	**1.8709**	**0.0331**	**41.4238**	**0.0000**	**1.8060**	**1.9358**
6	**1.8851**	**0.0362**	**38.2709**	**0.0000**	**1.8142**	**1.9561**
7	**1.9444**	**0.0488**	**29.6200**	**0.0000**	**1.8488**	**2.0400**
8	**1.7187**	**0.0411**	**29.6745**	**0.0000**	**1.6382**	**1.7992**
9	**1.7891**	**0.0859**	**15.0053**	**0.0000**	**1.6206**	**1.9575**
agegp						
0	**1.8914**	**0.0233**	**59.8236**	**0.0000**	**1.8458**	**1.9370**
1	**1.8203**	**0.0223**	**59.3239**	**0.0000**	**1.7766**	**1.8639**
2	**1.8644**	**0.0370**	**36.8566**	**0.0000**	**1.7918**	**1.9370**
3	**1.8423**	**0.0629**	**21.3467**	**0.0000**	**1.7190**	**1.9656**
ethnic nonpres						
0	**1.9148**	**0.0309**	**45.7946**	**0.0000**	**1.8542**	**1.9753**
1	**1.8366**	**0.0162**	**82.3075**	**0.0000**	**1.8048**	**1.8685**

Estimated marginal means (MMs)
hightrustopp = High
Number of observations = 5889
Number of respondents = 1485
H0 = 0.5

Variable / Levels	Est.	SE	t	P>|t|	LCI	UCI
Accuser						
Independent agency	**1.8753**	**0.0295**	**46.5648**	**0.0000**	**1.8173**	**1.9332**
The opposition	**1.8470**	**0.0288**	**46.6968**	**0.0000**	**1.7904**	**1.9035**
The president	**1.8303**	**0.0285**	**46.7504**	**0.0000**	**1.7745**	**1.8861**
Infraction						
Not paying its taxes	**1.8083**	**0.0347**	**37.7279**	**0.0000**	**1.7403**	**1.8764**

Spreading lies about ce~l	1.7603	0.0416	30.3063	0.0000	1.6788	1.8419
Being biased in favor o~l	1.5312	0.0364	28.2918	0.0000	1.4597	1.6027
Making arguments to bui~r	2.3639	0.0460	40.4865	0.0000	2.2736	2.4542
Spreading misinformatio~p	1.7057	0.0403	29.8843	0.0000	1.6266	1.7848
Using hate speech again~r	1.8656	0.0411	33.2296	0.0000	1.7850	1.9462
Funding Source						
Domestic	1.8548	0.0252	53.7205	0.0000	1.8053	1.9043
Foreign	1.8454	0.0247	54.3944	0.0000	1.7969	1.8939
female						
0	1.8753	0.0279	49.3421	0.0000	1.8206	1.9300
1	1.8158	0.0295	44.6139	0.0000	1.7579	1.8736
poverty						
0	1.8865	0.0376	36.8960	0.0000	1.8128	1.9603
1	1.8482	0.0366	36.8388	0.0000	1.7764	1.9200
2	1.7960	0.0363	35.7456	0.0000	1.7249	1.8671
3	1.9188	0.0685	20.7018	0.0000	1.7843	2.0532
educ						
0	1.8624	0.1094	12.4505	0.0000	1.6478	2.0771
1	1.6691	0.1172	9.9757	0.0000	1.4392	1.8989
2	1.8790	0.0607	22.7174	0.0000	1.7600	1.9981
3	1.7817	0.0556	23.0544	0.0000	1.6727	1.8908
4	1.9024	0.0432	32.4699	0.0000	1.8177	1.9872
5	1.7802	0.0436	29.3612	0.0000	1.6947	1.8658
6	1.9228	0.0561	25.3560	0.0000	1.8127	2.0329
7	1.9088	0.0844	16.6921	0.0000	1.7433	2.0744
8	1.8271	0.0751	17.6671	0.0000	1.6798	1.9745
9	1.8209	0.2199	6.0068	0.0000	1.3895	2.2522
agegp						
0	1.8838	0.0315	43.9944	0.0000	1.8221	1.9455
1	1.8324	0.0330	40.3389	0.0000	1.7676	1.8972
2	1.8467	0.0506	26.6285	0.0000	1.7475	1.9459

3	**1.7538**	**0.0923**	**13.5839**	**0.0000**	**1.5727**	**1.9349**

ethnic nonpres

0	**1.9446**	**0.0450**	**32.0794**	**0.0000**	**1.8563**	**2.0329**
1	**1.8201**	**0.0226**	**58.3281**	**0.0000**	**1.7757**	**1.8645**

130 conjoint punish AttB AttC AttA, est(mm) id(subj) sub(hightrustopp) graph

Estimated marginal means (MMs)
hightrustopp = Low
Number of observations = 12215
Number of respondents = 3091
H0 = 0.5

Variable / Levels	Est.	SE	t	P>|t|	LCI	UCI
Accuser						
Independent agency	**1.8640**	**0.0197**	**69.1913**	**0.0000**	**1.8253**	**1.9026**
The opposition	**1.8312**	**0.0202**	**65.8179**	**0.0000**	**1.7916**	**1.8709**
The president	**1.8530**	**0.0197**	**68.8102**	**0.0000**	**1.8144**	**1.8915**
Infraction						
Not paying its taxes	**1.8054**	**0.0235**	**55.6344**	**0.0000**	**1.7594**	**1.8514**
Spreading lies about ce~l	**1.6942**	**0.0286**	**41.7585**	**0.0000**	**1.6382**	**1.7503**
Being biased in favor o~l	**1.5098**	**0.0253**	**39.9570**	**0.0000**	**1.4603**	**1.5594**
Making arguments to bui~r	**2.4304**	**0.0325**	**59.3585**	**0.0000**	**2.3666**	**2.4942**
Spreading misinformatio~p	**1.7170**	**0.0268**	**45.3837**	**0.0000**	**1.6644**	**1.7696**
Using hate speech again~r	**1.8838**	**0.0286**	**48.3736**	**0.0000**	**1.8277**	**1.9399**
Funding Source						
Domestic	**1.8443**	**0.0175**	**76.7293**	**0.0000**	**1.8100**	**1.8787**
Foreign	**1.8545**	**0.0176**	**77.0335**	**0.0000**	**1.8201**	**1.8890**

Estimated marginal means (MMs)
hightrustopp = High
Number of observations = 5935
Number of respondents = 1497
H0 = 0.5

Variable / Levels	Est.	SE	t	P>|t|	LCI	UCI
Accuser						
Independent agency	**1.8725**	**0.0294**	**46.7293**	**0.0000**	**1.8149**	**1.9301**
The opposition	**1.8463**	**0.0288**	**46.7717**	**0.0000**	**1.7898**	**1.9027**
The president	**1.8253**	**0.0283**	**46.8270**	**0.0000**	**1.7698**	**1.8808**
Infraction						
Not paying its taxes	**1.8041**	**0.0345**	**37.7537**	**0.0000**	**1.7364**	**1.8719**
Spreading lies about ce~l	**1.7594**	**0.0415**	**30.3132**	**0.0000**	**1.6779**	**1.8409**
Being biased in favor o~l	**1.5269**	**0.0362**	**28.3932**	**0.0000**	**1.4560**	**1.5979**
Making arguments to bui~r	**2.3631**	**0.0460**	**40.5381**	**0.0000**	**2.2730**	**2.4533**
Spreading misinformatio~p	**1.7026**	**0.0401**	**30.0023**	**0.0000**	**1.6240**	**1.7813**
Using hate speech again~r	**1.8655**	**0.0409**	**33.3598**	**0.0000**	**1.7852**	**1.9458**
Funding Source						
Domestic	**1.8516**	**0.0251**	**53.8699**	**0.0000**	**1.8024**	**1.9009**
Foreign	**1.8428**	**0.0246**	**54.4976**	**0.0000**	**1.7945**	**1.8911**

```
131
132 ******************************
133 *****Appendix H
134 ******************************
135
136 ologit punish i.AttB i.AttC i.AttA female poverty educ age ethnic_nonpres i.COU if t
  > rustpres>1 & trustopp<2, cluster(subj)

  Iteration 0:   log pseudolikelihood = -8079.8953
  Iteration 1:   log pseudolikelihood = -7846.7104
  Iteration 2:   log pseudolikelihood = -7844.8441
  Iteration 3:   log pseudolikelihood = -7844.8434

  Ordered logistic regression                     Number of obs     =      5,889
                                                  Wald chi2(16)     =     325.02
                                                  Prob > chi2       =     0.0000
  Log pseudolikelihood = -7844.8434               Pseudo R2         =     0.0291

                                                          (Std. Err. adjusted for 1,485
  > clusters in subj)
```

punish	Coef.	Robust Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf. Interval]
AttB					
The opposition	**-.1106633**	**.058578**	**-1.89**	**0.059**	**-.22**

```
> 54741
>          .0041476
                      The president  |  -.0459954   .0563963    -0.82   0.415    -.15
> 65302
>          .0645394
                                     |
                                AttC |
Spreading lies about certain polit..  |  -.2725274   .0857917    -3.18   0.001    -.44
> 06761
>         -.1043787
Being biased in favor of one polit..  |  -.7139622   .0860201    -8.30   0.000    -.88
> 25585
>         -.5453659
Making arguments to build support ..  |   .8539359   .0871444     9.80   0.000     .68
> 31359
>          1.024736
Spreading misinformation about pub..  |  -.3114615    .085012    -3.66   0.000     -.4
> 78082
>          -.144841
Using hate speech against members ..  |  -.0480391   .0828184    -0.58   0.562    -.21
> 03601
>          .1142819
                                     |
                                AttA |
                            Foreign  |   .0393728   .0493352     0.80   0.425    -.05
> 73223
>           .136068
                              female |  -.2117366    .066891    -3.17   0.002    -.34
> 28405
>         -.0806327
                             poverty |   .0712337   .0391374     1.82   0.069    -.00
> 54742
>          .1479415
                                educ |   .0028553   .0188531     0.15   0.880    -.03
> 40961
>          .0398067
                                 age |  -.0002723   .0027422    -0.10   0.921     -.0
> 05647
>          .0051024
                      ethnic_nonpres |   -.054456    .079007    -0.69   0.491    -.20
> 93069
>          .1003949
                                     |
                                 COU |
                              Kenya  |   .3660089   .1017858     3.60   0.000     .16
> 65125
>          .5655053
                            Nigeria  |  -.1139415   .1257069    -0.91   0.365    -.36
> 03225
>          .1324396
                             Uganda  |  -.1248109   .0919046    -1.36   0.174    -.30
> 49405
>          .0553188
------------------------------------+-----------------------------------------------------
  ------------------
                              /cut1 |  -3.388039   .1974085                      -3.7
> 74953
>         -3.001126
                              /cut2 |  -.1114761   .1677142                        -.
> 44019
>          .2172378
                              /cut3 |    .689396   .1668359                       .36
> 24037
>          1.016388
                              /cut4 |   1.764608   .1706135                       1.4
> 30212
>          2.099005
------------------------------------+-----------------------------------------------------
  ------------------
```

```
137 estimates store POOLED_TrustPresOpp, title("Trust president & distrust opposition")

138
139 ologit punish i.AttB i.AttC i.AttA female poverty educ age ethnic_nonpres i.COU if t
  > rustopp>1 & trustpres<2, cluster(subj)

  Iteration 0:   log pseudolikelihood = -2340.1775
  Iteration 1:   log pseudolikelihood = -2277.2063
  Iteration 2:   log pseudolikelihood = -2276.6835
  Iteration 3:   log pseudolikelihood = -2276.6833

  Ordered logistic regression                     Number of obs     =      1,756
                                                  Wald chi2(16)     =      83.01
                                                  Prob > chi2       =     0.0000
  Log pseudolikelihood = -2276.6833               Pseudo R2         =     0.0271

                                                               (Std. Err. adjusted for 444
  > clusters in subj)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
               |               Robust
        punish |      Coef.   Std. Err.      z    P>|z|     [95
  > % Con
  >      f. Interval]
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
               |
         AttB |
  The opposition |    .062932   .1142229     0.55   0.582    -.16
  > 09408
  >          .2868047
   The president |  -.0274903   .1143264    -0.24   0.810     -.2
  > 51566
  >          .1965854
               |
         AttC |
  Spreading lies about certain polit.. |  -.2412238   .1500624    -1.61   0.108    -.53
  > 53407
  >          .0528931
  Being biased in favor of one polit.. |  -.5371467   .1573265    -3.41   0.001     -.8
  > 45501
  >         -.2287924
  Making arguments to build support .. |   .6498827   .1641122     3.96   0.000     .32
  > 82288
  >          .9715366
  Spreading misinformation about pub.. |  -.3909109   .1588577    -2.46   0.014    -.70
  > 22662
  >         -.0795555
  Using hate speech against members .. |  -.1574589   .1575924    -1.00   0.318    -.46
  > 63343
  >          .1514166
               |
         AttA |
      Foreign |  -.1261982   .0900127    -1.40   0.161    -.30
  > 26198
  >          .0502234
       female |  -.2699195   .1239035    -2.18   0.029     -.5
  > 12766
  >         -.0270731
      poverty |  -.0796664   .0664021    -1.20   0.230    -.20
  > 98122
  >          .0504794
         educ |   .0127377   .0351178     0.36   0.717     -.0
  > 56092
  >          .0815674
          age |   -.012573   .0047781    -2.63   0.009    -.02
  > 19379
  >         -.0032081
ethnic_nonpres |  -.1150114    .164427    -0.70   0.484    -.43
  > 72823
  >          .2072596
               |
          COU |
```

```
                                Kenya |   .3307362   .2015443     1.64   0.101    -.06
> 42833
>          .7257558
                              Nigeria |  -.4013373   .2204841    -1.82   0.069    -.83
> 34781
>          .0308036
                               Uganda |  -.1906487   .1740303    -1.10   0.273    -.53
> 17418
>          .1504444
-------------------------------------+----------------------------------------------
                              /cut1 |  -4.028821   .3857147                     -4.7
> 84808
>         -3.272834
                              /cut2 |  -.7216592   .3512887                     -1.4
> 10172
>          -.033146
                              /cut3 |   .1052452   .3505945                     -.58
> 19075
>          .7923979
                              /cut4 |   1.053474   .3621989                      .34
> 35775
>          1.763371
-------------------------------------+----------------------------------------------
```

```
140 estimates store POOLED_TrustOppPres, title("Trust opposition & distrust president")

141
142 coefplot (POOLED_TrustPresOpp, msymbol(T) msize(small) label(Trust pres/dis opp)) (P
  > OOLED_TrustOppPres, msize(small) label(Trust opp/dis pres)), xline(0) level(95) omit
  > ted baselevels drop(_cons female poverty educ age trustpres trustopp ethnic_nonpres)
  >  coeflabels(1.AttC = "Not paying taxes" 2.AttC = "Lies about candidates" 3.AttC = "P
  > artisan bias" 4.AttC = "Supporting armed groups" 5.AttC = "COVID falsehoods" 6.AttC
  > = "Hate speech") headings( 1.AttA = "{bf:Funding source}" 1.AttB = "{bf:Accuser}" 1.
  > AttC = "{bf:Infraction}" 1.COU = "{bf:Country}")

143
144 ******************************
145 *****Appendix I
146 ******************************
147
148 ologit punish i.AttB i.AttC i.AttA female poverty educ age ethnic_nonpres i.COU if t
  > rustpres==3 & trustopp==0, cluster(subj)

  Iteration 0:   log pseudolikelihood = -3212.7743
  Iteration 1:   log pseudolikelihood = -3107.1178
  Iteration 2:   log pseudolikelihood = -3106.3294
  Iteration 3:   log pseudolikelihood = -3106.3291

  Ordered logistic regression                     Number of obs     =      2,276
                                                  Wald chi2(16)     =     156.57
                                                  Prob > chi2       =     0.0000
  Log pseudolikelihood = -3106.3291               Pseudo R2         =     0.0331

                                                               (Std. Err. adjusted for 573
  > clusters in subj)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
      punish |      Coef.   Std. Err.      z    P>|z|     [95
  > % Con
  >      f. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
             |
       AttB |
  The opposition |  -.1494809   .0937251    -1.59   0.111    -.33
> 31788
>          .034217
   The president |    -.09171   .0896205    -1.02   0.306     -.2
> 67363
>          .083943
```

```
                                        |
                                   AttC |
Spreading lies about certain polit..    |  -.2526651   .1539174    -1.64   0.101    -.55
> 43377
>          .0490075
Being biased in favor of one polit..    |  -.6281977   .1424572    -4.41   0.000    -.90
> 74087
>         -.3489867
Making arguments to build support ..    |   .9484697   .1456673     6.51   0.000      .6
> 62967
>          1.233972
Spreading misinformation about pub..    |  -.4588425    .134593    -3.41   0.001      -.
> 72264
>          -.195045
Using hate speech against members ..    |  -.2081522   .1328798    -1.57   0.117    -.46
> 85918
>          .0522875
                                        |
                                   AttA |
                              Foreign   |   .0828668   .0791976     1.05   0.295    -.07
> 23577
>          .2380913
                                 female |  -.2392095    .110063    -2.17   0.030    -.45
> 49289
>           -.02349
                                poverty |   .1148121   .0642789     1.79   0.074    -.01
> 11723
>          .2407964
                                   educ |  -.0238359   .0321109    -0.74   0.458    -.08
> 67722
>          .0391003
                                    age |   .0004827   .0041698     0.12   0.908      -.
> 00769
>          .0086555
                         ethnic_nonpres |   .0876952   .1267999     0.69   0.489    -.16
> 08281
>          .3362184
                                        |
                                    COU |
                                 Kenya  |   .3387922   .2013161     1.68   0.092    -.05
> 57802
>          .7333646
                              Nigeria   |  -.1255769    .226331    -0.55   0.579    -.56
> 91775
>          .3180238
                               Uganda   |   -.076076   .1746166    -0.44   0.663    -.41
> 83182
>          .2661663
------------------------------------------+------------------------------------------------------
  ------------------
                                 /cut1 |  -3.181251   .3241006                     -3.8
> 16477
>         -2.546026
                                 /cut2 |  -.1580919   .2763959                     -.69
> 98179
>          .3836341
                                 /cut3 |    .593818   .2734736                      .05
> 78195
>          1.129816
                                 /cut4 |   1.526821   .2783545                      .98
> 12558
>          2.072386
------------------------------------------+------------------------------------------------------
  ------------------
```

```
149 estimates store POOLED_TrustPresOppPol, title("Max polarization/pro-pres")

150
151 ologit punish i.AttB i.AttC i.AttA female poverty educ age ethnic_nonpres i.COU if t
  > rustpres==0 & trustopp==3, cluster(subj)

  Iteration 0:   log pseudolikelihood =  -467.1801
  Iteration 1:   log pseudolikelihood = -453.83337
  Iteration 2:   log pseudolikelihood = -453.73358
  Iteration 3:   log pseudolikelihood = -453.73352
  Iteration 4:   log pseudolikelihood = -453.73352

  Ordered logistic regression                     Number of obs     =        351
                                                  Wald chi2(16)     =      22.12
                                                  Prob > chi2       =     0.1395
  Log pseudolikelihood = -453.73352               Pseudo R2         =     0.0288

                                                               (Std. Err. adjusted for 89
  > clusters in subj)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
               |               Robust
        punish |      Coef.   Std. Err.      z    P>|z|     [95
  > % Con
  >      f. Interval]
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
               |
         AttB |
  The opposition |   .2467277   .2813465     0.88   0.381    -.30
  > 47013
  >          .7981568
   The president |  -.1266458   .2612109    -0.48   0.628    -.63
  > 86098
  >          .3853181
               |
         AttC |
  Spreading lies about certain polit.. |   .3629074   .3523429     1.03   0.303     -.3
  > 27672
  >          1.053487
  Being biased in favor of one polit.. |  -.5612527   .3993297    -1.41   0.160    -1.3
  > 43924
  >          .2214191
  Making arguments to build support .. |   .4268574   .3771222     1.13   0.258    -.31
  > 22885
  >          1.166003
  Spreading misinformation about pub.. |  -.1691747   .4141144    -0.41   0.683     -.9
  > 80824
  >          .6424745
  Using hate speech against members .. |   .1264755   .3630523     0.35   0.728     -.5
  > 85094
  >          .8380449
               |
         AttA |
      Foreign |  -.3121271   .2193133    -1.42   0.155    -.74
  > 19732
  >          .1177189
       female |  -.3062621   .2676149    -1.14   0.252    -.83
  > 07777
  >          .2182536
      poverty |  -.1226172   .1569716    -0.78   0.435    -.43
  > 02759
  >          .1850414
         educ |   .0559545   .0758442     0.74   0.461    -.09
  > 26974
  >          .2046064
          age |  -.0088554   .0106356    -0.83   0.405    -.02
  > 97008
  >            .01199
  ethnic_nonpres |  -.0895281   .4220381    -0.21   0.832    -.91
  > 67076
  >          .7376514
               |
```

```
                                  COU |
                               Kenya  |   .8426643   .6711907     1.26   0.209    -.47
> 28454
>          2.158174
                              Nigeria  |  -.1923176   .6358533    -0.30   0.762    -1.4
> 38567
>          1.053932
                               Uganda  |   .1240675   .5807236     0.21   0.831     -1.
> 01413
>          1.262265
------------------------------------------+------------------------------------------------
  ------------------
                                /cut1  |  -3.691012   .8238079                     -5.3
> 05646
>         -2.076379
                                /cut2  |  -.1930791   .7696759                     -1.7
> 01616
>          1.315458
                                /cut3  |    .561541   .7625977                     -.93
> 31231
>          2.056205
                                /cut4  |   1.602118   .8118959                      .01
> 08311
>          3.193404
------------------------------------------+------------------------------------------------
  ------------------
```

```
152 estimates store POOLED_TrustOppPresPol, title("Max polarization/pro-opp")

153
154 coefplot (POOLED_TrustPresOppPol, msymbol(T) msize(small) label(Max (pro-pres))) (PO
  > OLED_TrustOppPresPol, msize(small) label(Max (pro-opp))), xline(0) level(95) omitted
  >  baselevels drop(_cons female poverty educ age trustpres trustopp ethnic_nonpres) co
  > eflabels(1.AttC = "Not paying taxes" 2.AttC = "Lies about candidates" 3.AttC = "Part
  > isan bias" 4.AttC = "Supporting armed groups" 5.AttC = "COVID falsehoods" 6.AttC = "
  > Hate speech") headings( 1.AttA = "{bf:Funding source}" 1.AttB = "{bf:Accuser}" 1.Att
  > C = "{bf:Infraction}" 1.COU = "{bf:Country}")

155
156 **50% of vignettes with this infraction yielded calls for shutdowns, with 31% perman
  > ent.
157
158 tab punish if AttC==4
```

punish	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
0	88	2.52	2.52
1	1,226	35.04	37.55
2	425	12.15	49.70
3	679	19.41	69.11
4	1,081	30.89	100.00
Total	3,499	100.00	

```
159 disp 19.41+30.89
  50.3

160
161 ***only 8% of all vignettes referencing bias yielded responses that supported no pun
  > ishment--but they do see it as a lower-order concern (58% yielded calls for warnings
  > )
```

```
162
163 tab punish if AttC==3
```

punish	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
0	286	8.47	8.47
1	1,963	58.11	66.58
2	495	14.65	81.23
3	405	11.99	93.22
4	229	6.78	100.00
Total	3,378	100.00	

```
164
165 ***The majority response for vignettes with both types of MDM (53% for COVID, 52% fo
  > r candidates) was a warning, but very few (4% and 5%, respectively) yielded calls fo
  > r no response
166
167 tab punish if AttC==2
```

punish	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
0	133	4.73	4.73
1	1,501	53.40	58.13
2	505	17.97	76.09
3	427	15.19	91.28
4	245	8.72	100.00
Total	2,811	100.00	

```
168 tab punish if AttC==5
```

punish	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
0	127	4.09	4.09
1	1,694	54.56	58.65
2	522	16.81	75.46
3	512	16.49	91.95
4	250	8.05	100.00
Total	3,105	100.00	

```
169
170 ***only 4% of respondes called for no punishment at all
171
172 gen punish_di = punish
  (504 missing values generated)

173 recode punish_di (0=0) (1/4=1)
  (punish_di: 9028 changes made)

174 tab punish_di
```

punish_di	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
0	850	4.38	4.38
1	18,546	95.62	100.00
Total	19,396	100.00	

```
175
176 ***Across vignettes, the most-common recommendation was for a written fine; 49% of a
  > ll vignettes yielded such a response...18% of vignettes produced calls for a fine, 1
  > 6% for a temporary shutdown, and 13% for a permanent shutdown
177
178 tab punish
```

punish	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
0	850	4.38	4.38
1	9,518	49.07	53.45
2	3,469	17.89	71.34
3	3,046	15.70	87.04
4	2,513	12.96	100.00
Total	19,396	100.00	

```
179
180 ****************************
181 ***Appendix J
182 ****************************
183
184 reg punish i.AttB i.AttC i.AttA female poverty educ age trustpres trustopp i.COU if
  > ethnic_nonpres==1, cluster(subj)

  Linear regression                               Number of obs     =     13,689
                                                  F(17, 3456)       =      49.32
                                                  Prob > F          =     0.0000
                                                  R-squared         =     0.0819
                                                  Root MSE          =     1.0964

                                                        (Std. Err. adjusted for 3,457
  > clusters in subj)
```

punish	Coef.	Robust Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf. Interval]
AttB					
The opposition	-.0141753	.0223593	-0.63	0.526	-.058014 .0296634
The president	.0087857	.022009	0.40	0.690	-.043662 .0519377
AttC					
Spreading lies about certain polit..	-.0604155	.0315388	-1.92	0.055	-.122521 .0014211
Being biased in favor of one polit..	-.2818791	.03049	-9.24	0.000	-.3416593 -.2220989
Making arguments to build support ..	.6057385	.0344258	17.60	0.000	.582415 .6732356
Spreading misinformation about pub..	-.0873985	.0317882	-2.75	0.006	-.1497241 -.0250728
Using hate speech against members ..	.1070812	.0327846	3.27	0.001	.0428021 .1713603
AttA					
Foreign	.0074702	.0184919	0.40	0.686	-.0287859 .0437262
female	-.0972794	.026081	-3.73	0.000	-.1484152

```
>         -.0461437
                              poverty |  -.0040991   .0139759    -0.29   0.769     -.0
> 31501
>          .0233028
                                educ |    .010453   .0071885     1.45   0.146    -.00
> 36412
>          .0245472
                                 age |  -.0023341   .0010323    -2.26   0.024    -.00
> 43581
>         -.0003101
                            trustpres |   .0242438   .0128462     1.89   0.059    -.00
> 09431
>          .0494307
                            trustopp |  -.0502148   .0138603    -3.62   0.000     -.
> 07739
>         -.0230396
                                     |
                                 COU |
                               Kenya |   .1325304   .0393814     3.37   0.001     .05
> 53172
>          .2097436
                             Nigeria |  -.3136411   .0421985    -7.43   0.000    -.39
> 63775
>         -.2309047
                              Uganda |  -.0832893   .0352099    -2.37   0.018    -.15
> 23237
>          -.014255
                                     |
                               _cons |   1.933164   .0711599    27.17   0.000     1.7
> 93644
>          2.072684
------------------------------------+------------------------------------------------
  ------------------

185 estimates store noncoeth, title ("Non-coethnic of Pres")

186
187 reg punish i.AttB i.AttC i.AttA female poverty educ age trustpres trustopp i.COU if
  > ethnic_nonpres==0, cluster(subj)

Linear regression                               Number of obs     =      4,092
                                                F(17, 1034)       =      14.32
                                                Prob > F          =     0.0000
                                                R-squared         =     0.0814
                                                Root MSE          =     1.1352

                                                       (Std. Err. adjusted for 1,035
> clusters in subj)
------------------------------------+------------------------------------------------
  ------------------
                                    |               Robust
                             punish |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95
> % Con
>      f. Interval]
------------------------------------+------------------------------------------------
  ------------------
                                AttB |
                  The opposition |  -.0286881   .0420917    -0.68   0.496    -.11
> 12831
>          .0539068
                   The president |  -.0413037    .040561    -1.02   0.309    -.12
> 08949
>          .0382876
                                     |
                                AttC |
Spreading lies about certain polit.. |  -.1958306   .0630659    -3.11   0.002    -.31
> 95824
>         -.0720789
Being biased in favor of one polit.. |   -.337817   .0593108    -5.70   0.000    -.45
> 42003
>         -.2214338
Making arguments to build support .. |   .6146808   .0685401     8.97   0.000     .48
```

```
> 01873
>          .7491744
Spreading misinformation about pub.. |  -.1349617    .063777    -2.12   0.035    -.26
> 01088
>         -.0098147
Using hate speech against members .. |  -.0512923   .0679422    -0.75   0.450    -.18
> 46126
>           .082028
                                     |
                               AttA  |
                           Foreign   |   .0564184   .0346521     1.63   0.104     -.0
> 11578
>          .1244148
                            female   |   -.155235   .0499417    -3.11   0.002    -.25
> 32337
>         -.0572362
                           poverty   |   .0074616    .027935     0.27   0.789    -.04
> 73542
>          .0622773
                              educ   |   .0211833   .0129898     1.63   0.103    -.00
> 43061
>          .0466727
                               age   |   .0013234   .0021621     0.61   0.541    -.00
> 29192
>          .0055659
                          trustpres  |   .0255116    .024512     1.04   0.298    -.02
> 25873
>          .0736105
                          trustopp   |    .007936   .0251788     0.32   0.753    -.04
> 14713
>          .0573433
                                     |
                               COU   |
                             Kenya   |   .0570423   .0785545     0.73   0.468    -.09
> 71022
>          .2111867
                           Nigeria   |  -.1078678   .0743304    -1.45   0.147    -.25
> 37235
>          .0379879
                            Uganda   |  -.2320901   .0824826    -2.81   0.005    -.39
> 39425
>         -.0702376
                                     |
                             _cons   |   1.839823   .1312666    14.02   0.000     1.5
> 82243
>          2.097402
-------------------------------------+----------------------------------------------
  ------------------

188 estimates store coeth, title ("Coethnic of Pres")

189
190 coefplot (noncoeth, msymbol(T) msize(small) label(Non-coethnic of pres)) (coeth, msi
  > ze(small) label(Coethnic of pres)), xline(0) level(95) omitted baselevels drop(_cons
  >  female poverty educ age trustpres trustopp) coeflabels(1.AttC = "Not paying taxes"
  > 2.AttC = "Lies about candidates" 3.AttC = "Partisan bias" 4.AttC = "Supporting armed
  >  groups" 5.AttC = "COVID falsehoods" 6.AttC = "Hate speech") headings( 1.AttA = "{bf
  > :Funding source}" 1.AttB = "{bf:Accuser}" 1.AttC = "{bf:Infraction}" 1.COU = "{bf:Co
  > untry}")
```

```
191
192 label define coethnic 1 "Noncoethnic of Pres" 0 "Coethnic"

193 label values ethnic_nonpres coethnic

194
195 conjoint punish AttB AttC AttA female poverty educ agegp trustpres trustopp COU, est
  > (mm) id(subj) sub(ethnic_nonpres)
```

Estimated marginal means (MMs)
ethnic_nonpres = Coethnic
Number of observations = 4092
Number of respondents = 1035
H0 = 0.5

Variable / Levels	Est.	SE	t	P>|t|	LCI	UCI
Accuser						
Independent agency	**1.9541**	**0.0359**	**40.5199**	**0.0000**	**1.8836**	**2.0245**
The opposition	**1.9141**	**0.0357**	**39.5843**	**0.0000**	**1.8440**	**1.9842**
The president	**1.9068**	**0.0350**	**40.1861**	**0.0000**	**1.8381**	**1.9755**
Infraction						
Not paying its taxes	**1.9237**	**0.0445**	**32.0081**	**0.0000**	**1.8364**	**2.0109**
Spreading lies about ce~l	**1.7457**	**0.0509**	**24.4624**	**0.0000**	**1.6458**	**1.8456**
Being biased in favor o~l	**1.5972**	**0.0445**	**24.6542**	**0.0000**	**1.5099**	**1.6846**
Making arguments to bui~r	**2.5513**	**0.0580**	**35.3420**	**0.0000**	**2.4374**	**2.6652**
Spreading misinformatio~p	**1.7991**	**0.0471**	**27.5882**	**0.0000**	**1.7067**	**1.8915**
Using hate speech again~r	**1.8782**	**0.0525**	**26.2742**	**0.0000**	**1.7753**	**1.9812**
Funding Source						
Domestic	**1.9027**	**0.0308**	**45.5525**	**0.0000**	**1.8423**	**1.9631**
Foreign	**1.9443**	**0.0317**	**45.6101**	**0.0000**	**1.8822**	**2.0065**
female						
0	**2.0018**	**0.0359**	**41.8156**	**0.0000**	**1.9313**	**2.0722**
1	**1.8286**	**0.0356**	**37.3306**	**0.0000**	**1.7588**	**1.8984**
poverty						
0	**1.9870**	**0.0420**	**35.3656**	**0.0000**	**1.9045**	**2.0695**
1	**1.7633**	**0.0468**	**26.9712**	**0.0000**	**1.6714**	**1.8552**
2	**1.9771**	**0.0483**	**30.5746**	**0.0000**	**1.8823**	**2.0719**

3	1.9150	0.0931	15.2014	0.0000	1.7324	2.0977

educ

0	1.7508	0.1016	12.3082	0.0000	1.5514	1.9502
1	1.8589	0.0995	13.6540	0.0000	1.6636	2.0542
2	2.1138	0.0911	17.7053	0.0000	1.9349	2.2926
3	1.8489	0.0816	16.5263	0.0000	1.6887	2.0091
4	1.8623	0.0641	21.2651	0.0000	1.7366	1.9880
5	1.9587	0.0546	26.7094	0.0000	1.8515	2.0659
6	1.9595	0.0613	23.8233	0.0000	1.8393	2.0797
7	1.8650	0.0912	14.9718	0.0000	1.6861	2.0439
8	2.0764	0.0981	16.0726	0.0000	1.8840	2.2689
9	1.7333	0.1642	7.5110	0.0000	1.4111	2.0555

agegp

0	1.9030	0.0403	34.7936	0.0000	1.8239	1.9821
1	1.8987	0.0393	35.5467	0.0000	1.8215	1.9759
2	2.0381	0.0692	22.2324	0.0000	1.9023	2.1738
3	1.9602	0.1178	12.3921	0.0000	1.7290	2.1914

trustpres

0	1.9192	0.0796	17.8382	0.0000	1.7631	2.0753
1	1.9002	0.0512	27.3603	0.0000	1.7998	2.0006
2	1.9562	0.0540	26.9559	0.0000	1.8502	2.0622
3	1.9241	0.0388	36.6749	0.0000	1.8479	2.0003

trustopp

0	1.9180	0.0436	32.5256	0.0000	1.8324	2.0035
1	1.9142	0.0442	32.0262	0.0000	1.8275	2.0008
2	1.9141	0.0542	26.1005	0.0000	1.8078	2.0204
3	1.9759	0.0769	19.1842	0.0000	1.8249	2.1269

Country

Côte d Ivoire	1.9484	0.0456	31.7409	0.0000	1.8588	2.0379
Kenya	2.0205	0.0547	27.8146	0.0000	1.9132	2.1278
Nigeria	1.9139	0.0437	32.3806	0.0000	1.8282	1.9995

Uganda	**1.7134**	**0.0689**	**17.6099**	**0.0000**	**1.5782**	**1.8486**

Estimated marginal means (MMs)
ethnic_nonpres = Noncoethnic_of_Pres
Number of observations = 13689
Number of respondents = 3457
H0 = 0.5

Variable / Levels	Est.	SE	t	P>|t|	LCI	UCI
Accuser						
Independent agency	**1.8458**	**0.0187**	**71.9933**	**0.0000**	**1.8091**	**1.8824**
The opposition	**1.8165**	**0.0189**	**69.8154**	**0.0000**	**1.7795**	**1.8535**
The president	**1.8365**	**0.0184**	**72.4408**	**0.0000**	**1.8003**	**1.8727**
Infraction						
Not paying its taxes	**1.7748**	**0.0217**	**58.6683**	**0.0000**	**1.7322**	**1.8174**
Spreading lies about ce~l	**1.7155**	**0.0269**	**45.1689**	**0.0000**	**1.6627**	**1.7683**
Being biased in favor o~l	**1.4925**	**0.0238**	**41.7607**	**0.0000**	**1.4459**	**1.5391**
Making arguments to bui~r	**2.3746**	**0.0301**	**62.3052**	**0.0000**	**2.3157**	**2.4336**
Spreading misinformatio~p	**1.6951**	**0.0257**	**46.4349**	**0.0000**	**1.6447**	**1.7456**
Using hate speech again~r	**1.8866**	**0.0265**	**52.3512**	**0.0000**	**1.8346**	**1.9385**
Funding Source						
Domestic	**1.8362**	**0.0165**	**81.0592**	**0.0000**	**1.8039**	**1.8685**
Foreign	**1.8302**	**0.0162**	**81.9622**	**0.0000**	**1.7984**	**1.8620**
female						
0	**1.8657**	**0.0186**	**73.2880**	**0.0000**	**1.8292**	**1.9023**
1	**1.7966**	**0.0189**	**68.6055**	**0.0000**	**1.7595**	**1.8336**
poverty						
0	**1.8628**	**0.0229**	**59.3914**	**0.0000**	**1.8178**	**1.9078**
1	**1.8235**	**0.0236**	**56.1890**	**0.0000**	**1.7773**	**1.8697**
2	**1.7956**	**0.0249**	**52.0274**	**0.0000**	**1.7467**	**1.8444**
3	**1.8922**	**0.0511**	**27.2421**	**0.0000**	**1.7920**	**1.9924**

educ						
0	**1.8512**	**0.0713**	**18.9406**	**0.0000**	**1.7114**	**1.9911**
1	**1.6265**	**0.1900**	**5.9284**	**0.0000**	**1.2539**	**1.9991**
2	**1.9221**	**0.0375**	**37.9249**	**0.0000**	**1.8486**	**1.9957**
3	**1.7898**	**0.0431**	**29.9299**	**0.0000**	**1.7053**	**1.8743**
4	**1.8384**	**0.0296**	**45.2495**	**0.0000**	**1.7804**	**1.8964**
5	**1.8055**	**0.0303**	**43.0570**	**0.0000**	**1.7460**	**1.8649**
6	**1.8865**	**0.0355**	**39.0388**	**0.0000**	**1.8169**	**1.9561**
7	**1.9510**	**0.0477**	**30.4109**	**0.0000**	**1.8575**	**2.0446**
8	**1.6752**	**0.0379**	**31.0427**	**0.0000**	**1.6009**	**1.7494**
9	**1.7984**	**0.0929**	**13.9687**	**0.0000**	**1.6161**	**1.9806**
agegp						
0	**1.8854**	**0.0212**	**65.2109**	**0.0000**	**1.8437**	**1.9270**
1	**1.8041**	**0.0210**	**62.1246**	**0.0000**	**1.7629**	**1.8452**
2	**1.8109**	**0.0332**	**39.5444**	**0.0000**	**1.7459**	**1.8759**
3	**1.7731**	**0.0581**	**21.9227**	**0.0000**	**1.6592**	**1.8869**
trustpres						
0	**1.7192**	**0.0297**	**41.0048**	**0.0000**	**1.6609**	**1.7775**
1	**1.8427**	**0.0257**	**52.2403**	**0.0000**	**1.7923**	**1.8931**
2	**1.8407**	**0.0274**	**48.9161**	**0.0000**	**1.7870**	**1.8944**
3	**1.8944**	**0.0241**	**57.8070**	**0.0000**	**1.8472**	**1.9417**
trustopp						
0	**1.8535**	**0.0239**	**56.7234**	**0.0000**	**1.8067**	**1.9003**
1	**1.8256**	**0.0223**	**59.3853**	**0.0000**	**1.7818**	**1.8693**
2	**1.8103**	**0.0274**	**47.9074**	**0.0000**	**1.7567**	**1.8640**
3	**1.8364**	**0.0408**	**32.7168**	**0.0000**	**1.7563**	**1.9165**
Country						
Côte d Ivoire	**1.8979**	**0.0261**	**53.5128**	**0.0000**	**1.8467**	**1.9491**
Kenya	**1.9944**	**0.0294**	**50.9086**	**0.0000**	**1.9368**	**2.0519**
Nigeria	**1.5894**	**0.0260**	**41.8907**	**0.0000**	**1.5385**	**1.6404**
Uganda	**1.8116**	**0.0228**	**57.5760**	**0.0000**	**1.7670**	**1.8563**

196 conjoint punish AttB AttC AttA COU, est(mm) id(subj) sub(ethnic_nonpres) graph

Estimated marginal means (MMs)
ethnic_nonpres = Coethnic
Number of observations = 4290
Number of respondents = 1087
H0 = 0.5

Variable / Levels	Est.	SE	t	P>|t|	LCI	UCI
Accuser						
Independent agency	**1.9522**	**0.0348**	**41.7171**	**0.0000**	**1.8839**	**2.0205**
The opposition	**1.8899**	**0.0349**	**39.8088**	**0.0000**	**1.8214**	**1.9584**
The president	**1.8991**	**0.0344**	**40.7127**	**0.0000**	**1.8317**	**1.9666**
Infraction						
Not paying its taxes	**1.9125**	**0.0431**	**32.7575**	**0.0000**	**1.8279**	**1.9971**
Spreading lies about ce~l	**1.7261**	**0.0492**	**24.9293**	**0.0000**	**1.6296**	**1.8226**
Being biased in favor o~l	**1.5947**	**0.0434**	**25.2437**	**0.0000**	**1.5096**	**1.6798**
Making arguments to bui~r	**2.5475**	**0.0571**	**35.8710**	**0.0000**	**2.4355**	**2.6595**
Spreading misinformatio~p	**1.7860**	**0.0463**	**27.7889**	**0.0000**	**1.6952**	**1.8768**
Using hate speech again~r	**1.8672**	**0.0507**	**26.9692**	**0.0000**	**1.7677**	**1.9667**
Funding Source						
Domestic	**1.8989**	**0.0299**	**46.7475**	**0.0000**	**1.8402**	**1.9576**
Foreign	**1.9268**	**0.0310**	**46.0307**	**0.0000**	**1.8660**	**1.9876**
Country						
Côte d Ivoire	**1.9402**	**0.0452**	**31.8619**	**0.0000**	**1.8515**	**2.0289**
Kenya	**2.0108**	**0.0529**	**28.5531**	**0.0000**	**1.9070**	**2.1146**
Nigeria	**1.8963**	**0.0420**	**33.2509**	**0.0000**	**1.8139**	**1.9787**
Uganda	**1.7109**	**0.0674**	**17.9676**	**0.0000**	**1.5787**	**1.8431**

Estimated marginal means (MMs)
ethnic_nonpres = Noncoethnic_of_Pres
Number of observations = 14987
Number of respondents = 3801
H0 = 0.5

Variable / Levels	Est.	SE	t	P>|t|	LCI	UCI
Accuser						
Independent agency	**1.8355**	**0.0177**	**75.3170**	**0.0000**	**1.8008**	**1.8703**
The opposition	**1.8043**	**0.0179**	**72.6637**	**0.0000**	**1.7691**	**1.8395**
The president	**1.8190**	**0.0175**	**75.2760**	**0.0000**	**1.7847**	**1.8534**
Infraction						
Not paying its taxes	**1.7653**	**0.0205**	**61.8153**	**0.0000**	**1.7251**	**1.8054**
Spreading lies about ce~l	**1.6979**	**0.0255**	**46.9869**	**0.0000**	**1.6480**	**1.7479**
Being biased in favor o~l	**1.4823**	**0.0227**	**43.3502**	**0.0000**	**1.4378**	**1.5267**
Making arguments to bui~r	**2.3718**	**0.0290**	**64.6041**	**0.0000**	**2.3150**	**2.4286**
Spreading misinformatio~p	**1.6774**	**0.0243**	**48.4806**	**0.0000**	**1.6298**	**1.7250**
Using hate speech again~r	**1.8629**	**0.0251**	**54.2171**	**0.0000**	**1.8136**	**1.9122**
Funding Source						
Domestic	**1.8242**	**0.0157**	**84.4050**	**0.0000**	**1.7934**	**1.8549**
Foreign	**1.8154**	**0.0154**	**85.2666**	**0.0000**	**1.7852**	**1.8457**
Country						
Côte d Ivoire	**1.8941**	**0.0256**	**54.3624**	**0.0000**	**1.8438**	**1.9444**
Kenya	**1.9995**	**0.0279**	**53.7277**	**0.0000**	**1.9448**	**2.0542**
Nigeria	**1.5725**	**0.0230**	**46.6162**	**0.0000**	**1.5274**	**1.6176**
Uganda	**1.8010**	**0.0221**	**58.9759**	**0.0000**	**1.7578**	**1.8443**

```
197
198 ****************
199 ***Appendix K
200 ****************
201
202 ologit punish i.AttB i.AttC i.AttA if COU==1, cluster(subj)

Iteration 0:   log pseudolikelihood = -6886.6838
Iteration 1:   log pseudolikelihood = -6738.6436
Iteration 2:   log pseudolikelihood = -6737.9323
Iteration 3:   log pseudolikelihood = -6737.9321

Ordered logistic regression                     Number of obs     =      4,753
                                                Wald chi2(8)      =     198.14
                                                Prob > chi2       =     0.0000
Log pseudolikelihood = -6737.9321               Pseudo R2         =     0.0216

                                                        (Std. Err. adjusted for 1,198
> clusters in subj)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
      punish |      Coef.   Std. Err.      z    P>|z|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
       AttB |
The opposition |   .0730428   .0650241     1.12   0.261    -.054402    .2004877
The president |   .0823264   .0575851     1.43   0.153    -.030538    .1951912
             |
       AttC |
Spreading lies about certain polit.. |  -.1961364   .0946517    -2.07   0.038    -.381653   -.0106225
Being biased in favor of one polit.. |  -.7522584   .0901937    -8.34   0.000    -.929048   -.5754819
Making arguments to build support .. |    .766202   .0961822     7.97   0.000     .576883    .9547156
Spreading misinformation about pub.. |  -.0598177   .0852579    -0.70   0.483    -.226917    .1072847
Using hate speech against members .. |   .0814079    .090888     0.90   0.370    -.096769    .2595451
             |
       AttA |
Foreign |   .0995889   .0550337     1.81   0.070    -.008252    .207453
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
       /cut1 |  -2.689471   .1044401                      -2.89417   -2.484772
       /cut2 |  -.1186119   .0771844                     -.270598    .0326666
       /cut3 |   .8866338   .0786909                      .732402    1.040865
       /cut4 |   2.259918   .0923431                     2.078929    2.440907
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

```
203 estimates store CDI_B, title("Côte d'Ivoire")

204
205 ologit punish i.AttB i.AttC i.AttA if COU==2, cluster(subj)

  Iteration 0:   log pseudolikelihood = -6687.4658
  Iteration 1:   log pseudolikelihood = -6461.0244
  Iteration 2:   log pseudolikelihood = -6459.2543
  Iteration 3:   log pseudolikelihood = -6459.2536
  Iteration 4:   log pseudolikelihood = -6459.2536

  Ordered logistic regression                     Number of obs     =      4,775
                                                  Wald chi2(8)      =     319.60
                                                  Prob > chi2       =     0.0000
  Log pseudolikelihood = -6459.2536               Pseudo R2         =     0.0341

                                                          (Std. Err. adjusted for 1,208
  > clusters in subj)
  ------------------------------------------------------------------------------
                               |               Robust
                        punish |      Coef.   Std. Err.      z    P>|z|     [95
  > % Con
  >      f. Interval]
  -------------------------------+----------------------------------------------
                         AttB  |
                The opposition |   .0100469   .0629936     0.16   0.873    -.11
  > 34184
  >          .1335122
                   The president |     .04257   .0654881     0.65   0.516    -.08
  > 57844
  >          .1709244
                                 |
                         AttC  |
  Spreading lies about certain polit.. |  -.3416685   .0822584    -4.15   0.000     -.5
  > 02892
  >         -.1804449
  Being biased in favor of one polit.. |  -.6233345   .0920244    -6.77   0.000     -.8
  > 03699
  >           -.44297
  Making arguments to build support .. |   1.224756   .0950433    12.89   0.000     1.0
  > 38475
  >          1.411038
  Spreading misinformation about pub.. |  -.2626303   .0907896    -2.89   0.004    -.44
  > 05747
  >         -.0846859
  Using hate speech against members .. |   .3572026   .0880637     4.06   0.000     .18
  > 46009
  >          .5298042
                                 |
                         AttA  |
                      Foreign |  -.0163045   .0516486    -0.32   0.752    -.11
  > 75339
  >           .084925
  -------------------------------+----------------------------------------------
                        /cut1 |  -3.174584   .1111426                      -3.3
  > 92419
  >         -2.956749
                        /cut2 |   -.021792   .0704043                      -.15
  > 97819
  >          .1161978
                        /cut3 |   .7358608   .0710206                       .59
  > 66631
  >          .8750585
                        /cut4 |   1.610134   .0763357                       1.4
  > 60519
  >           1.75975
  ------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

```
206 estimates store KEN_B, title("Kenya")

207
208 ologit punish i.AttB i.AttC i.AttA if COU==3, cluster(subj)

  Iteration 0:   log pseudolikelihood = -6175.3065
  Iteration 1:   log pseudolikelihood = -6022.5168
  Iteration 2:   log pseudolikelihood = -6020.2798
  Iteration 3:   log pseudolikelihood = -6020.2793

  Ordered logistic regression                     Number of obs     =      5,089
                                                  Wald chi2(8)      =     195.09
                                                  Prob > chi2       =     0.0000
  Log pseudolikelihood = -6020.2793               Pseudo R2         =     0.0251

                                                          (Std. Err. adjusted for 1,315
> clusters in subj)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
      punish |      Coef.   Std. Err.      z    P>|z|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
       AttB  |
 The opposition |  -.1177421   .0624433    -1.89   0.059    -.2401287    .0046445
 The president |  -.0892182   .0649691    -1.37   0.170    -.2165552    .0381188
             |
       AttC  |
Spreading lies about certain polit.. |  -.4451188    .088406    -5.03   0.000    -.6183913   -.2718463
Being biased in favor of one polit.. |  -.6495382     .09864    -6.58   0.000    -.8428669   -.4562073
Making arguments to build support .. |   .8353331   .1045528     7.99   0.000     .6304134    1.040253
Spreading misinformation about pub.. |  -.4026524   .0899563    -4.48   0.000    -.5789636   -.2263412
Using hate speech against members .. |  -.3195692   .0985928    -3.24   0.001    -.5128076   -.1263308
             |
       AttA  |
     Foreign |   .0028332   .0548725     0.05   0.959    -.1047149    .1103813
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
       /cut1 |  -3.527934   .1241087                     -3.771183   -3.284685
       /cut2 |   .2775617   .0825089                      .1158471    .4392762
       /cut3 |   1.111102    .082322                      .949742     1.27245
       /cut4 |   1.940015   .0902519                     1.763124    2.116906
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

```
209 estimates store NIG_B, title("Nigeria")

210
211 ologit punish i.AttB i.AttC i.AttA if COU==4, cluster(subj)

  Iteration 0:   log pseudolikelihood = -6062.9837
  Iteration 1:   log pseudolikelihood = -5944.2897
  Iteration 2:   log pseudolikelihood = -5943.4131
  Iteration 3:   log pseudolikelihood =  -5943.413

  Ordered logistic regression                     Number of obs     =      4,779
                                                  Wald chi2(8)      =     192.92
                                                  Prob > chi2       =     0.0000
  Log pseudolikelihood =  -5943.413               Pseudo R2         =     0.0197

                                                          (Std. Err. adjusted for 1,199
  > clusters in subj)
  ------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
  ------------------
                                          |               Robust
                                   punish |      Coef.   Std. Err.      z    P>|z|     [95
  > % Con
  >      f. Interval]
  ------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
  ------------------
                                     AttB |
                        The opposition    |   -.075738   .0699986    -1.08   0.279    -.21
  > 29327
  >          .0614566
                         The president    |   -.167687   .0668425    -2.51   0.012    -.29
  > 86958
  >         -.0366782
                                          |
                                     AttC |
  Spreading lies about certain polit..    |   .0423683   .0979944     0.43   0.665    -.14
  > 96973
  >          .2344339
  Being biased in favor of one polit..    |  -.5536297   .0979194    -5.65   0.000    -.74
  > 55483
  >         -.3617111
  Making arguments to build support ..    |    .718269   .0935547     7.68   0.000     .53
  > 49053
  >          .9016328
  Spreading misinformation about pub..    |  -.3278143   .0998467    -3.28   0.001    -.52
  > 35102
  >         -.1321184
  Using hate speech against members ..    |  -.2235062   .0952606    -2.35   0.019    -.41
  > 02135
  >         -.0367989
                                          |
                                     AttA |
                                 Foreign  |  -.0286057   .0563843    -0.51   0.612    -.13
  > 91169
  >          .0819056
  ------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
  ------------------
                                   /cut1 |  -3.689709   .1387419                     -3.9
  > 61639
  >          -3.41778
                                   /cut2 |   .1329882   .0834526                     -.03
  > 05759
  >          .2965524
                                   /cut3 |   .8241387   .0819419                      .66
  > 35355
  >          .9847419
                                   /cut4 |   2.005682   .0934416                       1.
  > 82254
  >          2.188824
  ------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
  ------------------
```

```
212 estimates store UGA_B, title("Uganda")

213
214 ologit punish i.AttB i.AttC i.AttA i.COU, cluster(subj)

  Iteration 0:   log pseudolikelihood = -26179.397
  Iteration 1:   log pseudolikelihood = -25466.625
  Iteration 2:   log pseudolikelihood = -25460.783
  Iteration 3:   log pseudolikelihood = -25460.781

  Ordered logistic regression                     Number of obs     =     19,396
                                                  Wald chi2(11)     =     945.84
                                                  Prob > chi2       =     0.0000
  Log pseudolikelihood = -25460.781               Pseudo R2         =     0.0274

                                                          (Std. Err. adjusted for 4,920
  > clusters in subj)
  ------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
    ------------------
                                          |               Robust
                                   punish |      Coef.   Std. Err.      z    P>|z|     [95
  > % Con
  >      f. Interval]
  ------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
    ------------------
                                     AttB |
                        The opposition    |  -.0266974   .0321296    -0.83   0.406    -.08
  > 96702
  >          .0362755
                         The president    |  -.0134744   .0314361    -0.43   0.668     -.0
  > 75088
  >          .0481391
                                          |
                                     AttC |
  Spreading lies about certain polit..    |  -.2511233   .0447105    -5.62   0.000    -.33
  > 87542
  >         -.1634923
  Being biased in favor of one polit..    |   -.639557    .046684   -13.70   0.000    -.73
  > 10559
  >          -.548058
  Making arguments to build support ..    |   .8740274   .0481028    18.17   0.000     .77
  > 97476
  >          .9683071
  Spreading misinformation about pub..    |  -.2519341   .0449663    -5.60   0.000    -.34
  > 00664
  >         -.1638018
  Using hate speech against members ..    |  -.0068528   .0455904    -0.15   0.881    -.09
  > 62084
  >          .0825027
                                          |
                                     AttA |
                                Foreign   |   .0276109    .026773     1.03   0.302    -.02
  > 48631
  >           .080085
                                          |
                                      COU |
                                  Kenya   |   .1199077   .0538395     2.23   0.026     .01
  > 43842
  >          .2254313
                                Nigeria   |  -.4504044   .0525022    -8.58   0.000    -.55
  > 33068
  >          -.347502
                                 Uganda   |  -.2594816   .0508747    -5.10   0.000    -.35
  > 91942
  >         -.1597689
  ------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
    ------------------
                                   /cut1  |  -3.382591    .072689                     -3.5
  > 25059
  >         -3.240124
                                   /cut2  |  -.0598698   .0507407                     -.15
  > 93197
```

```
>           .03958
                              /cut3 |   .7580622   .0498571                      .6
> 60344
>          .8557804
                              /cut4 |   1.808913   .0520825                     1.7
> 06833
>          1.910993
------------------------------------+----------------------------------------------
  ------------------

215 estimates store POOLED_B

216
217 coefplot POOLED_B, xline(0) level(95) omitted baselevels drop(_cons female poverty e
  > duc age trustpres trustopp ethnic_nonpres) coeflabels(1.AttC = "Not paying taxes" 2.
  > AttC = "Lies about candidates" 3.AttC = "Partisan bias" 4.AttC = "Supporting armed g
  > roups" 5.AttC = "COVID falsehoods" 6.AttC = "Hate speech") headings( 1.AttA = "{bf:F
  > unding source}" 1.AttB = "{bf:Accuser}" 1.AttC = "{bf:Infraction}" 1.COU = "{bf:Coun
  > try}")

218
219 coefplot CDI_B, bylabel(Côte d'Ivoire)|| KEN_B, bylabel(Kenya) || NIG_B, bylabel(Nig
  > eria) || UGA_B, bylabel(Uganda)||, xline(0) level(95) omitted baselevels drop(_cons
  > female poverty educ age trustpres trustopp ethnic_nonpres) coeflabels(1.AttC = "Not
  > paying taxes" 2.AttC = "Lies about candidates" 3.AttC = "Partisan bias" 4.AttC = "Su
  > pporting armed groups" 5.AttC = "COVID falsehoods" 6.AttC = "Hate speech") headings(
  >  1.AttA = "{bf:Funding source}" 1.AttB = "{bf:Accuser}" 1.AttC = "{bf:Infraction}")
  > ysize(10) xsize(8)

220
221 ************************************
222 *****Appendix L
223 ************************************
224
225 reg punish i.AttB i.AttC i.AttA female poverty educ age trustpres trustopp ethnic_no
  > npres if COU==1, cluster(subj)

Linear regression                               Number of obs     =      4,587
                                                F(15, 1153)       =      17.59
                                                Prob > F          =     0.0000
                                                R-squared         =     0.0787
                                                Root MSE          =     1.0864

                                                       (Std. Err. adjusted for 1,154
> clusters in subj)
------------------------------------+----------------------------------------------
  ------------------
                                    |               Robust
                             punish |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95
> % Con
>      f. Interval]
------------------------------------+----------------------------------------------
  ------------------
                              AttB  |
                    The opposition  |   .0428556   .0385846     1.11   0.267    -.03
> 28482
>          .1185595
                     The president  |   .0332509   .0350747     0.95   0.343    -.03
> 55665
>          .1020682
                                    |
                              AttC  |
Spreading lies about certain polit..|  -.1003642    .059543    -1.69   0.092    -.21
> 71891
>          .0164606
Being biased in favor of one polit..|  -.4210924   .0523804    -8.04   0.000    -.52
> 38639
>         -.3183209
Making arguments to build support ..|   .4754823   .0585772     8.12   0.000     .36
> 05525
>          .5904122
Spreading misinformation about pub..|  -.0629244    .055127    -1.14   0.254    -.17
```

```
> 10848
>          .0452361
Using hate speech against members ..  |   .0569261   .0583735     0.98   0.330    -.05
> 76041
>          .1714562
                                      |
                                 AttA |
                              Foreign |   .0532237   .0325364     1.64   0.102    -.01
> 06135
>          .1170609
                                female |  -.2014728   .0442444    -4.55   0.000    -.28
> 82813
>         -.1146643
                               poverty |  -.0007586   .0242035    -0.03   0.975    -.04
> 82464
>          .0467293
                                  educ |    .031029   .0106942     2.90   0.004     .01
> 00467
>          .0520113
                                   age |  -.0001468    .002145    -0.07   0.945    -.00
> 43553
>          .0040618
                             trustpres |  -.0343127   .0237562    -1.44   0.149     -.0
> 80923
>          .0122976
                              trustopp |  -.0225726   .0272898    -0.83   0.408    -.07
> 61159
>          .0309707
                        ethnic_nonpres |  -.1029962   .0525514    -1.96   0.050    -.20
> 61034
>          .0001109
                                 _cons |   1.995227   .1210597    16.48   0.000     1.7
> 57705
>          2.232749
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
  ------------------

226 estimates store CDI_Areg, title("Côte d'Ivoire")

227
228 reg punish i.AttB i.AttC i.AttA female poverty educ age trustpres trustopp ethnic_no
> npres if COU==2, cluster(subj)

Linear regression                               Number of obs     =      4,430
                                                F(15, 1116)       =      23.57
                                                Prob > F          =     0.0000
                                                R-squared         =     0.0943
                                                Root MSE          =     1.1825

                                                        (Std. Err. adjusted for 1,117
> clusters in subj)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
  ------------------
                                      |               Robust
                                punish |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95
> % Con
>      f. Interval]
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
  ------------------
                                 AttB |
                       The opposition |   .0015504    .042323     0.04   0.971    -.08
> 14912
>          .0845921
                        The president |   .0287367   .0428233     0.67   0.502    -.05
> 52866
>            .11276
                                      |
                                 AttC |
Spreading lies about certain polit..  |  -.1436024   .0554237    -2.59   0.010    -.25
> 23489
>         -.0348559
Being biased in favor of one polit..  |  -.2656784   .0572674    -4.64   0.000    -.37
```

```
> 80423
>         -.1533145
Making arguments to build support ..  |   .8497071   .0622506    13.65   0.000     .72
> 75657
>          .9718484
Spreading misinformation about pub..  |  -.0696016   .0614283    -1.13   0.257    -.19
> 01296
>          .0509264
Using hate speech against members ..  |   .3211139   .0637087     5.04   0.000     .19
> 61115
>          .4461163
                                      |
                                 AttA |
                             Foreign  |  -.0104642   .0342264    -0.31   0.760    -.07
> 76196
>          .0566911
                               female |  -.0602531   .0514709    -1.17   0.242    -.16
> 12436
>          .0407375
                              poverty |   .0049969   .0267486     0.19   0.852    -.04
> 74863
>          .0574802
                                 educ |   .0001819   .0155327     0.01   0.991    -.03
> 02948
>          .0306585
                                  age |    .002652   .0017562     1.51   0.131    -.00
> 07937
>          .0060978
                            trustpres |   .0376269   .0249448     1.51   0.132     -.0
> 11317
>          .0865709
                             trustopp |  -.0548376   .0259781    -2.11   0.035     -.1
> 05809
>         -.0038662
                       ethnic_nonpres |  -.0134954   .0632035    -0.21   0.831    -.13
> 75064
>          .1105156
                                _cons |   1.805442   .1553132    11.62   0.000     1.5
> 00704
>          2.110181
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
  ------------------

229 estimates store KEN_Areg, title("Kenya")

230
231 reg punish i.AttB i.AttC i.AttA female poverty educ age trustpres trustopp ethnic_no
> npres if COU==3, cluster(subj)

Linear regression                               Number of obs     =      4,255
                                                F(15, 1089)       =      17.79
                                                Prob > F          =     0.0000
                                                R-squared         =     0.0997
                                                Root MSE          =     1.0492

                                                        (Std. Err. adjusted for 1,090
> clusters in subj)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
  ------------------
                                      |               Robust
                               punish |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95
> % Con
>      f. Interval]
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
  ------------------
                                 AttB |
                      The opposition  |  -.0632337   .0356043    -1.78   0.076    -.13
> 30943
>           .006627
                       The president  |  -.0301991   .0378709    -0.80   0.425    -.10
> 45072
>           .044109
```

```
                                    |
                              AttC  |
Spreading lies about certain polit..|  -.1429591   .0520246    -2.75   0.006     -.2
> 45039
>         -.0408792
Being biased in favor of one polit..|  -.2582511   .0542805    -4.76   0.000    -.36
> 47573
>         -.1517449
Making arguments to build support ..|   .6174942      .0666     9.27   0.000     .48
> 68153
>          .7481731
Spreading misinformation about pub..|  -.1446966   .0533183    -2.71   0.007    -.24
> 93148
>         -.0400784
Using hate speech against members ..|   -.047059   .0589686    -0.80   0.425     -.1
> 62764
>           .068646
                                    |
                             AttA   |
                          Foreign   |   .0107745    .030972     0.35   0.728     -.0
> 49997
>           .071546
                            female  |   -.113548   .0437325    -2.60   0.010    -.19
> 93574
>         -.0277385
                           poverty  |   .0016479   .0221922     0.07   0.941    -.04
> 18964
>          .0451921
                              educ  |   .0341742    .011508     2.97   0.003     .01
> 15939
>          .0567545
                               age  |  -.0036397   .0016933    -2.15   0.032    -.00
> 69623
>         -.0003171
                         trustpres  |   .0607414   .0221174     2.75   0.006     .01
> 73438
>           .104139
                           trustopp |  -.0034654   .0249227    -0.14   0.889    -.05
> 23675
>          .0454366
                       ethnic_nonpres |  -.274446   .0566618    -4.84   0.000    -.38
> 56247
>         -.1632674
                              _cons |   1.801073    .132405    13.60   0.000     1.5
> 41275
>          2.060871
------------------------------------+----------------------------------------------
```

```
232 estimates store NIG_Areg, title("Nigeria")

233
234 reg punish i.AttB i.AttC i.AttA female poverty educ age trustpres trustopp ethnic_no
  > npres if COU==4, cluster(subj)

Linear regression                               Number of obs     =      4,509
                                                F(15, 1130)       =      15.38
                                                Prob > F          =     0.0000
                                                R-squared         =     0.0631
                                                Root MSE          =     1.0764
```

(Std. Err. adjusted for **1,131** clusters in subj)

punish	Coef.	Robust Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf. Interval]
AttB					
The opposition	**-.0495031**	**.0411184**	**-1.20**	**0.229**	**-.13801 .0311739**
The president	**-.070193**	**.0386348**	**-1.82**	**0.070**	**-.14596 .005611**
AttC					
Spreading lies about certain polit..	**.0684285**	**.0589419**	**1.16**	**0.246**	**-.04721 .1840764**
Being biased in favor of one polit..	**-.2304159**	**.0545004**	**-4.23**	**0.000**	**-.33734 -.1234825**
Making arguments to build support ..	**.5216745**	**.0588407**	**8.87**	**0.000**	**.40622 .6371238**
Spreading misinformation about pub..	**-.1346986**	**.0567835**	**-2.37**	**0.018**	**-.24611 -.0232856**
Using hate speech against members ..	**-.0594289**	**.0562823**	**-1.06**	**0.291**	**-.16985 .0510007**
AttA					
Foreign	**-.008135**	**.0324695**	**-0.25**	**0.802**	**-.07218 .0555723**
female	**-.0775022**	**.0436311**	**-1.78**	**0.076**	**-.16310 .0081048**
poverty	**-.0334118**	**.0270859**	**-1.23**	**0.218**	**-.08665 .0197325**
educ	**-.0331937**	**.0128731**	**-2.58**	**0.010**	**-.05845 -.0079359**
age	**-.0070842**	**.0018079**	**-3.92**	**0.000**	**-.01063 -.0035369**
trustpres	**.0043069**	**.0225984**	**0.19**	**0.849**	**-.04003 .0486464**
trustopp	**-.052399**	**.0222201**	**-2.36**	**0.019**	**-.09599 -.0088017**
ethnic_nonpres	**.0827099**	**.0718459**	**1.15**	**0.250**	**-.05982 .2236763**
_cons	**2.256162**	**.141766**	**15.91**	**0.000**	**1.978008 2.534316**

```
235 estimates store UGA_Areg, title("Uganda")

236
237 reg punish i.AttB i.AttC i.AttA female poverty educ age trustpres trustopp ethnic_no
  > npres i.COU, cluster(subj)

Linear regression                               Number of obs     =     17,781
                                                F(18, 4491)       =      56.70
                                                Prob > F          =     0.0000
                                                R-squared         =     0.0785
                                                Root MSE          =     1.1074

                                                        (Std. Err. adjusted for 4,492
  > clusters in subj)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
      punish |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95
  > % Con
  >      f. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
             |
       AttB |
The opposition |  -.0175203   .0197623    -0.89   0.375     -.0
  > 56264
  >          .0212235
 The president |  -.0019067   .0193695    -0.10   0.922    -.03
  > 98805
  >          .0360671
             |
       AttC |
Spreading lies about certain polit.. |  -.0895611   .0282644    -3.17   0.002    -.14
  > 49733
  >         -.0341489
Being biased in favor of one polit.. |  -.2925384   .0271683   -10.77   0.000    -.34
  > 58016
  >         -.2392751
Making arguments to build support .. |   .6105794   .0308677    19.78   0.000     .55
  > 00636
  >          .6710952
Spreading misinformation about pub.. |  -.0958736    .028504    -3.36   0.001    -.15
  > 17556
  >         -.0399917
Using hate speech against members .. |   .0742392   .0296598     2.50   0.012     .01
  > 60914
  >          .1323869
             |
       AttA |
   Foreign |   .0193842   .0163522     1.19   0.236    -.01
  > 26741
  >          .0514425
    female |  -.1128386   .0230728    -4.89   0.000    -.15
  > 80726
  >         -.0676046
   poverty |   .0035325    .012445     0.28   0.777    -.02
  > 08658
  >          .0279309
      educ |   .0101176   .0062442     1.62   0.105     -.0
  > 02124
  >          .0223592
       age |  -.0019664   .0009327    -2.11   0.035     -.0
  > 03795
  >         -.0001378
 trustpres |   .0321655   .0113096     2.84   0.004     .00
  > 99931
  >           .054338
  trustopp |  -.0278727   .0121046    -2.30   0.021    -.05
  > 16038
  >         -.0041417
ethnic_nonpres |  -.0996298   .0290783    -3.43   0.001    -.15
  > 66376
  >          -.042622
```

```
                                  |
                              COU |
                            Kenya |   .1254443   .0348135     3.60   0.000     .05
> 71928
>          .1936959
                          Nigeria |  -.2219633   .0363374    -6.11   0.000    -.29
> 32025
>          -.150724
                           Uganda |  -.0970896   .0320694    -3.03   0.002    -.15
> 99614
>         -.0342178
                                  |
                            _cons |   1.979756    .065555    30.20   0.000     1.8
> 51236
>          2.108276
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
  ------------------

238 estimates store POOLED_Areg

239
240 coefplot POOLED_Areg, xline(0) level(95) omitted baselevels drop(_cons female povert
  > y educ age trustpres trustopp ethnic_nonpres) coeflabels(1.AttC = "Not paying taxes"
  >  2.AttC = "Lies about candidates" 3.AttC = "Partisan bias" 4.AttC = "Supporting arme
  > d groups" 5.AttC = "COVID falsehoods" 6.AttC = "Hate speech") headings( 1.AttA = "{b
  > f:Funding source}" 1.AttB = "{bf:Accuser}" 1.AttC = "{bf:Infraction}" 1.COU = "{bf:C
  > ountry}")

241
242 coefplot CDI_Areg, bylabel(Côte d'Ivoire)|| KEN_Areg, bylabel(Kenya) || NIG_Areg, by
  > label(Nigeria) || UGA_Areg, bylabel(Uganda)||, xline(0) level(95) omitted baselevels
  >  drop(_cons female poverty educ age trustpres trustopp ethnic_nonpres) coeflabels(1.
  > AttC = "Not paying taxes" 2.AttC = "Lies about candidates" 3.AttC = "Partisan bias"
  > 4.AttC = "Supporting armed groups" 5.AttC = "COVID falsehoods" 6.AttC = "Hate speech
  > ") headings( 1.AttA = "{bf:Funding source}" 1.AttB = "{bf:Accuser}" 1.AttC = "{bf:In
  > fraction}") ysize(10) xsize(8)

243
  end of do-file

244 log close
       name:  <unnamed>
        log:  C:\Users\conroyk6\Dropbox\Writing\Support for Media Restrictions Experime
  > nt\JOP Final (December 2023)\Muzzling_Replication Files_JOP_23\Final Do Files\Long_J
  > OP_23.smcl
   log type:  smcl
  closed on:  27 Dec 2023, 10:01:05
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```