Appendix

War, Solidarity, and Welfare Attitudes: Survey Evidence from the War in Ukraine

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Section A: Survey details and variable descriptives

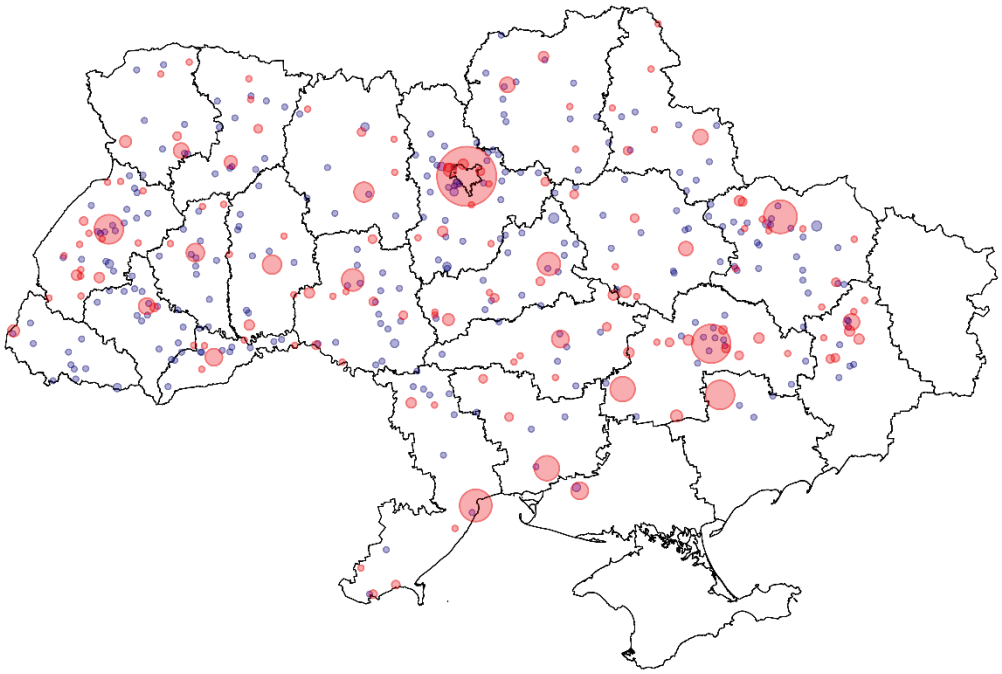
The national survey titled "Ukraine War and Welfare Survey – March 2023" was developed by the authors together with Ukrainian country experts, with attention given to local political, cultural and linguistic context, and not least the specific conditions of ongoing warfare. After developing the questionnaire, the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology (KIIS) was commissioned with conducting the survey by means of Computer-Assisted Telephone Interviews (CATI). KIIS translated the English survey items into Ukrainian and Russian, and proceeded with a pre-test of 24 interviews in early March 2023. After minor adjustments, the main fieldwork stage occurred from March 10 to March 21, 2023. During this fieldwork phase, a total of 1,001 respondents were interviewed in telephone interviews lasting approximately 30 minutes. The interviews were held either in Ukrainian or Russian, depending on the respondent's preference.

The survey's target population encompassed all adults aged 18 years and older who possessed mobile phones and resided in areas under government control. The sampling strategy employed a stratified random sample of mobile phone numbers. The strata were defined based on the three-digit main operator's prefixes, with the remaining digits generated randomly. The final response rate was 12%. Control measures were implemented to ensure a balanced distribution across regions and between urban and rural areas. The survey covers 456 settlements in all regions of Ukraine, excluding residents residing in territories not controlled by the Government of Ukraine, such as Crimea, Sevastopol, specific districts in Donetsk, Luhansk, Kherson, and Zaporizhzhia regions. Excluding the non-access to territories under occupation, the survey's design and methodology allowed for an estimated maximum sampling error of no more than 3.1%, based on pre-war parameters.

One challenge was to collect sufficiently precise location data for the respondents. The challenge stems not only from the lack of generally utilized precise location indicators (such as postal codes) but also the perceived sensitivity in providing such information in rapidly changing wartime conditions. In addition to pre-invasion and current Oblast (First-level administrative division) of residence, which each respondent had to provide, each respondent was asked for the name of their (closest) settlement. Due to an initial error, the precise location of non-urban respondents had to be collected in a second, supplementary interview round.

After excluding refusals and inconsistent answers, we nonetheless ended up with 936 respondents that could be linked to one of the 30,000 Ukrainian settlements listed as ADM4-localitites by UNOCHA, and thus assigned location coordinates. The geographical distribution is visualized in Fig. A1, distinguishing between cities (red circles) and smaller towns and villages (blue circles).

Figure A1: Ukraine, survey respondents by current place of residence



Note: Post-invasion geographical distribution of respondents for which location data is available (936/1,001).
Circle size corresponds to the number of respondents in each locality.
Red circles denote Cities (637 respondents across 140 localities);
Blue circles denote villages and towns (299 respondents across 276 localities).
Locations are centroids of ADM4 localities as given by UNOCHA.

Dependent variables

Social policy priority

To capture the relative priority assigned to social spending, respondents were asked to answer the following question:
Public resources are scarce. In the current situation of war, how important are each of the following spending priorities on a scale from 0 to 10? *(where 0 means not important and 10 means very important).*
UKR: Державні ресурси обмежені. Зараз, під час війни, наскільки важливим є кожен із цих пріоритетів витрат за шкалою від 0 до 10? (де 0 означає не важливо, а 10 означає дуже важливо).
RUS: Государственные ресурсы ограничены. Сейчас, во время войны, насколько важен каждый из этих приоритетов расходов по шкале от 0 до 10? (где 0 означает не важно, а 10 означает очень важно).
The respondent assigned a number for each of the following areas, with the summary results presented in table A1 below:

a) Public administration (Державне управління/ Государственное управление)

b) Defense (Оборона/Оборона)
c) Public order and safety (Громадський порядок і безпека/Общественный порядок и безопасность)
d) Infrastructure and energy (Інфраструктура та енергетика/Инфраструктура и энергетика)
e) Environmental protection (Охорона навколишнього середовища/Охрана окружающей среды)
f) Housing and community amenities (Житло та благоустрій/Жилье и благоустройство)
g) Social protection and Health (Соціальний захист та охорона здоров'я/ Социальная защита и здравоохранение)
h) Recreation, culture and religion (Відпочинок, культура і релігія/Отдых, культура и религия)
i) Education (Освіта/ Образование)

Table A1. Descriptive statistics: Spending Priorities

Item	Obs.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
a. Public Administration	944	6.36	3.43	0	10
b. Defense	994	9.74	.96	0	10
c. Public order and safety	995	8.53	2.13	0	10
d. Infrastructure and energy	995	9.02	1.69	0	10
e. Environmental protection	992	7.27	2.79	0	10
f. Housing and community amenities	991	7.52	2.7	0	10
g. Social protection and Health	**995**	**8.85**	**1.79**	**0**	**10**
h. Recreation, culture and religion	983	5.31	3.11	0	10
i. Education	993	8.67	2.03	0	10

Note: summary results for full sample (N=1,001) excluding non-answers.

The final variable *Social Expenditure Priority* is the difference between the response for item *g* (Social protection and Health) and the average for items *a* through *i,* for each respondent. For alternative logit regressions, the variable is dichotomized around the median in order to reduce the influence of extreme values and achieve equal-size groups (see Table A4 and A5 for statistics).

National solidarity

To capture the extent to which solidarity is directed towards the national collective, respondents were asked to answer the following question:
Imagine that local volunteers that you trust asked you for a contribution for people in need. On a scale from 0 to 10, how likely is it that you would contribute if the intended beneficiaries were:
UKR: Уявіть, що місцеві волонтери, яким Ви довіряєте, попросили Вас зробити внесок для допомоги людям, які цього потребують. Оцініть за шкалою від 0 до 10, де 0 означає «Зовсім неймовірно», а 10 означає «Дуже ймовірно», наскільки ймовірно, що Ви зробили б внесок, якщо очікувалось, що допомогу мають отримати:
RUS: Представьте, что местные волонтеры, которым Вы доверяете, попросили Вас внести вклад для помощи людям, которые в этом нуждаются. Оцените по шкале от 0 до 10, где 0 означает «Совершенно не вероятно», а 10 означает «Очень вероятно», насколько вероятно, что Вы бы внесли бы вклад, если ожидалось, что помощь должны

получить:

a) **Needy people in your city/village** (Нужденні люди з Вашого міста /села/ Нуждающиеся люди из Вашего города/села)
b) **Needy people from your own region [регіон] of Ukraine** (Нужденні люди з Вашої області [регіону] України/ Нуждающиеся люди из Вашей области [региона] Украины)
c) **Needy people from another region of Ukraine** (Нужденні з іншого регіону України/ Нуждающиеся из другого региона Украины)
d) **Needy people in very poor regions of the world** (Нужденні люди в дуже бідних регіонах світу/Нуждающиеся люди в очень бедных регионах мира)

Table A2. Descriptive statistics: Altruism

Item	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
a. Own city/village	985	8.7	2.2	0	10
b. Own region	980	8.47	2.34	0	10
c. Other region	979	8.31	2.45	0	10
d. Poor regions of the world	966	6.5	3.39	0	10

Note: summary results for full sample (N=1,001) excluding non-answers.

The final variable *Relative National Solidarity* is the difference between the response for item *c* (needy people in other regions of Ukraine) and the average for items *a* through *d,* for each respondent. For alternative logit regressions, the variable is dichotomized around the median in order to reduce the influence of extreme values and achieve equal-size groups (see Table A4 and A5 for statistics).

Fairness demand

To capture the priority accorded to government-ensured fair distribution of wartime burdens, respondents were asked to answer the following question:
To what extent do you agree with the following statements from 0 to 10? *(0 = completely disagree / 10 = completely agree)*

- The authorities must ensure a fair sharing of the burdens and costs of war among the people

UKR: До якої міри Ви погоджуєтесь з наступними твердженнями за шкалою від 0 до 10? (0= зовсім не погоджуєтесь / 10= цілком погоджуєтесь)

- Влада має забезпечити справедливий розподіл тягаря війни та воєнних витрат між людьми

RUS: В какой степени Вы согласны со следующими утверждениями по шкале от 0 до 10? (0= совсем не согласны / 10= полностью согласны)

- Власть должна обеспечить справедливое распределение бремени войны и военных расходов между людьми

Table A3. Descriptive statistics: Fairness

Item	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Gov. fairness	957	8.23	2.64	0	10

Note: summary results for full sample (N=1,001) excluding non-answers.

The final variable *Fairness demand* is the untransformed response to the above item. For alternative logit regressions, the variable is dichotomized around the median, in practice assigning 1 to the highest response (10) and 0 to the rest (see Table A4 and A5 for statistics).

Final variables

Table A4: Descriptive statistics: Continuous & ordinal variables

	Full sample					Reduced sample				
Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Soc. Exp. Prio	995	.9	1.36	-5.44	6.56	860	.92	1.39	-5.44	6.56
Rel. Nat. Solidarity	979	.32	1.2	-6.25	7.5	847	.31	1.21	-5	7.5
Fairness demand	957	8.23	2.64	0	10	827	8.2	2.67	0	10
War exp. (20km)	936	.45	.38	0	1	808	.44	.38	0	1
Financial impact	991	.67	.23	0	1	860	.66	.23	0	1
Income group	996	2.99	1	1	6	861	2.96	1	1	6
Household size	1001	2.66	1.41	1	6	866	2.64	1.41	1	6

Note: Full sample includes responses for the complete sample (max N=1,001), excluding non-responses. Reduced sample excludes anyone who moved abroad or within Ukraine for a substantial period between February 2022 and March 2023. The reduced sample is used in the main analysis.

Table A5. Descriptive statistics: categorical variables

	Full sample		Reduced sample	
Variable	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
Soc. Exp. Prio (dichotomized)	995	100.00	860	100.00
0. Low	483	48.54	416	48.37
1. High	512	51.46	444	51.63
Rel. Nat. Solidarity (dichotomized)	979	100.00	847	100.00
0. Low	574	58.63	504	59.50
1. High	405	41.37	343	40.50
Fairness demand (dichotomized)	957	100.00	827	100.00
0. Low	423	44.20	364	44.01
1. High	534	55.80	463	55.99
Age group	1001	100.00	866	100.00
18-24 years	72	7.19	58	6.70
25-34 years old	138	13.79	115	13.28
35-44 years old	158	15.78	136	15.70
45-54 years old	196	19.58	166	19.17
55-64 years old	206	20.58	188	21.71
65 years and older	231	23.08	203	23.44
Education group	1001	100.00	866	100.00
Primary	130	12.99	113	13.05
Secondary	372	37.16	325	37.53
University	499	49.85	428	49.42
Gender	1001	100.00	866	100.00
0. Male	476	47.55	419	48.38
1. Female	525	52.45	447	51.62
Retired	1001	100.00	866	100.00
0. No	615	61.44	528	60.97
1. Yes	386	38.56	338	39.03
Unemployed	1001	100.00	866	100.00
0. No	779	77.82	699	80.72
1. Yes	222	22.18	167	19.28
Military (active or previous)	1001	100.00	866	100.00
0. No	921	92.01	799	92.26
1. Yes	80	7.99	67	7.74
Disabled	1001	100.00	866	100.00
0. No	848	84.72	736	84.99
1. Yes	153	15.28	130	15.01
Property damage by war	1001	100.00	866	100.00
0. No	895	89.41	804	92.84
1. Yes	106	10.59	62	7.16
Internally displaced (IDP)	1001	100.00	866	100.00
0. No	853	85.21	836	96.54
1. Yes	148	14.79	30	3.46
Urban resident	1001	100.00	866	100.00
0. No	359	35.86	313	36.14
1. Yes	642	64.14	553	63.86
Preferred language	1001	100.00	866	100.00
0. Ukrainian	888	88.71	768	88.68
1. Russian	113	11.29	98	11.32

Note: Full sample includes responses for the complete sample (max N=1,001), excluding non-responses. Reduced sample excludes anyone who moved abroad or within Ukraine for a substantial period between February 2022 and March 2023. The reduced sample is used in the main analysis.

Section B: Alternative models & robustness checks

Table B1: Social Policy Expenditure Priority (OLS)

	(1) Soc. Pol. prio	(2) Soc. Pol. prio	(3) Soc. Pol. prio	(4) Soc. Pol. prio	(5) Soc. Pol. prio	(6) Soc. Pol. prio
War exposure (20km)	0.012	0.070	0.237			
	(0.121)	(0.122)	(0.200)			
Financial impact (B1)				0.761***	0.757***	0.763***
				(0.204)	(0.216)	(0.222)
Female (Y/N)		0.066	0.061		0.054	0.048
		(0.101)	(0.109)		(0.098)	(0.101)
Age group (ref:18-24)						
25-34		0.497*	0.521*		0.462*	0.454*
		(0.196)	(0.212)		(0.229)	(0.231)
35-44		0.449*	0.451*		0.399	0.399
		(0.191)	(0.195)		(0.220)	(0.223)
45-54		0.381*	0.379*		0.323	0.312
		(0.177)	(0.180)		(0.216)	(0.221)
55-64		0.460**	0.486*		0.461*	0.422
		(0.174)	(0.200)		(0.213)	(0.232)
65+		0.423*	0.474		0.410	0.350
		(0.189)	(0.258)		(0.215)	(0.262)
Education level (ref: Secondary)						
Post-Secondary		-0.356*	-0.235		-0.300	-0.201
		(0.151)	(0.161)		(0.156)	(0.161)
University degree		-0.430**	-0.333*		-0.322*	-0.225
		(0.147)	(0.151)		(0.156)	(0.163)
Income group		-0.006	-0.010		0.043	0.044
		(0.059)	(0.061)		(0.055)	(0.057)
Household size			-0.065			-0.066
			(0.040)			(0.037)
Retired (Y/N)			-0.187			-0.082
			(0.165)			(0.154)
Unemployed (Y/N)			-0.102			-0.150
			(0.106)			(0.129)
Military/Veteran (Y/N)			-0.030			0.014
			(0.164)			(0.190)
Disabled (Y/N)			0.168			0.038
			(0.181)			(0.145)
Property damage (Y/N)			-0.241			-0.316
			(0.196)			(0.204)
Internally displaced (Y/N)			0.444			0.447
			(0.371)			(0.278)
Urban resident (Y/N)			-0.315*			-0.274*
			(0.134)			(0.113)
Russian language (Y/N)			0.279			0.260
			(0.209)			(0.164)
constant	0.893***	0.794**	1.022**	0.418**	0.160	0.419
	(0.081)	(0.250)	(0.343)	(0.143)	(0.320)	(0.409)
N	804	801	801	855	851	851
R^2	0.000	0.015	0.050	0.016	0.027	0.060
Oblast FE	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES

Standard errors clustered on locality for models 1-3.
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table B2: National Solidarity (OLS)

	(1) National solidarity	(2) National solidarity	(3) National solidarity	(4) National solidarity	(5) National solidarity	(6) National solidarity
War exposure (20km)	0.452***	0.390***	0.514***			
	(0.099)	(0.100)	(0.150)			
Financial impact (B1)				0.173	0.432*	0.504**
				(0.180)	(0.188)	(0.192)
Female (Y/N)		-0.055	-0.050		-0.056	-0.058
		(0.074)	(0.076)		(0.085)	(0.087)
Age group (ref:18-24)						
25-34		-0.000	-0.052		-0.055	-0.111
		(0.147)	(0.144)		(0.197)	(0.199)
35-44		0.074	0.014		0.044	-0.011
		(0.166)	(0.177)		(0.190)	(0.193)
45-54		0.051	0.009		-0.056	-0.105
		(0.138)	(0.136)		(0.186)	(0.190)
55-64		0.228	0.118		0.157	0.044
		(0.136)	(0.154)		(0.184)	(0.199)
65+		-0.128	-0.348		-0.196	-0.415
		(0.156)	(0.215)		(0.186)	(0.226)
Education level (ref: Secondary)						
Post-Secondary		-0.146	-0.147		-0.075	-0.104
		(0.143)	(0.145)		(0.134)	(0.138)
University degree		0.063	0.047		0.189	0.135
		(0.135)	(0.140)		(0.134)	(0.139)
Income group		0.083	0.071		0.109*	0.084
		(0.047)	(0.046)		(0.048)	(0.050)
Household size			-0.048			-0.047
			(0.032)			(0.032)
Retired (Y/N)			0.082			0.094
			(0.130)			(0.132)
Unemployed (Y/N)			-0.120			-0.135
			(0.110)			(0.110)
Military/Veteran (Y/N)			0.143			0.053
			(0.208)			(0.164)
Disabled (Y/N)			0.034			0.036
			(0.149)			(0.126)
Property damage (Y/N)			-0.255			-0.231
			(0.148)			(0.175)
Internally displaced (Y/N)			0.020			-0.065
			(0.167)			(0.238)
Urban resident (Y/N)			0.001			0.172
			(0.098)			(0.098)
Russian language (Y/N)			0.062			0.044
			(0.175)			(0.141)
constant	0.127*	-0.084	-0.100	0.193	-0.314	-0.438
	(0.055)	(0.237)	(0.272)	(0.125)	(0.278)	(0.351)
N	791	789	789	841	838	838
R^2	0.021	0.049	0.080	0.001	0.039	0.079
Oblast FE	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES

Standard errors clustered on locality for models 1-3.
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table B3: Ensuring fairness of burdens (OLS)

	(1) Fairness demand	(2) Fairness demand	(3) Fairness demand	(4) Fairness demand	(5) Fairness demand	(6) Fairness demand
War exposure (20km)	-0.397	-0.296	-0.176			
	(0.217)	(0.226)	(0.390)			
Financial impact (B1)				0.960*	0.771	0.667
				(0.399)	(0.418)	(0.423)
Female (Y/N)		-0.022	-0.083		-0.076	-0.116
		(0.189)	(0.189)		(0.188)	(0.192)
Age group (ref:18-24)						
25-34		0.030	0.007		0.183	0.162
		(0.548)	(0.579)		(0.439)	(0.439)
35-44		-0.452	-0.523		-0.429	-0.486
		(0.604)	(0.647)		(0.425)	(0.426)
45-54		0.329	0.333		0.376	0.393
		(0.466)	(0.511)		(0.417)	(0.423)
55-64		0.663	0.795		0.691	0.806
		(0.423)	(0.527)		(0.410)	(0.441)
65+		1.082*	1.246		1.071*	1.212*
		(0.470)	(0.647)		(0.416)	(0.500)
Education level (ref: Secondary)						
Post-Secondary		0.165	0.132		0.194	0.156
		(0.329)	(0.311)		(0.303)	(0.309)
University degree		0.171	0.215		0.083	0.138
		(0.346)	(0.337)		(0.303)	(0.313)
Income group		-0.053	-0.007		0.018	0.071
		(0.117)	(0.124)		(0.107)	(0.110)
Household size			0.160			0.133
			(0.091)			(0.070)
Retired (Y/N)			-0.001			-0.019
			(0.309)			(0.293)
Unemployed (Y/N)			0.021			-0.001
			(0.235)			(0.246)
Military/Veteran (Y/N)			-0.074			0.145
			(0.409)			(0.362)
Disabled (Y/N)			0.325			0.250
			(0.294)			(0.282)
Property damage (Y/N)			0.699			0.700
			(0.398)			(0.386)
Internally displaced (Y/N)			-0.292			-0.163
			(0.578)			(0.526)
Urban resident (Y/N)			-0.199			-0.233
			(0.240)			(0.215)
Russian language (Y/N)			-0.703**			-0.661*
			(0.251)			(0.314)
constant	8.342***	7.936***	7.506***	7.584***	7.153***	6.746***
	(0.138)	(0.520)	(0.633)	(0.278)	(0.614)	(0.774)
N	771	768	768	822	818	818
R^2	0.003	0.044	0.098	0.007	0.043	0.097
Oblast FE	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES

Standard errors clustered on locality for models 1-3.
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Sensitivity of OLS models to omitted variable bias

Following the framework developed by Cinelli and Hazlett (2020),[1] below we seek to gain an appreciation of the sensitivity of the OLS estimates (table B1-3) to omission of unobserved confounding variables. The calculations are based on the full models, including Oblast fixed effects. To this end, Table B4 presents a series of statistics showing (1-3) the actual estimated associations; (4-6) the residual variance that would have to be explained by an omitted confounding variable for it to overturn the estimated associations of interest; and (7-11) the strength and substantive impact of any confounders having equal explanatory power as the four basic controls taken together. Focusing on the sensitivity of the statistically significant estimates, all calculations are based on the assumption that the inclusion of omitted confounders would suppress the association.

Table B4: OVB Sensitivity of OLS estimates

	Social Exp. Priority		**National Solidarity**		**Fairness demand**	
Independent variable	War exp.	Fin. imp.	War exp.	Fin. imp.	War exp.	Fin. imp.
Model	B1(3)	B1(6)	B2(3)	B2(6)	B3(3)	B3(6)
Original estimates						
(1) Coefficient	0.237	0.763	0.514	0.504	-0.176	0.667
(2) Standard Error	0.227	0.222	0.191	0.192	0.436	0.423
(3) t-value	1.041	3.439	2.689	2.620	-0.404	1.578
Threshold values for omitted confounder (% of residual variance explained)						
(4) RV_X (RV_Y 100% explained)	0.14%	1.44%	0.96%	0.86%	0.02%	0.32%
(5) RV_{XY} (coef = 0)	3.71%	11.39%	9.37%	8.87%	1.49%	5.51%
(6) RV_{XY} (p > 0.05)	.	5.06%	2.62%	2.30%	.	.
Scenario of unobserved confounder equally strong as baseline controls						
(7) RV of X explained	2.19%	7.59%	2.34%	7.55%	1.83%	7.52%
(8) RV of Y explained	1.22%	0.94%	2.99%	3.89%	2.75%	2.91%
(9) Coefficient	0.133	0.588	0.374	0.198	0.090	0.094
(10) Standard Error	0.229	0.230	0.191	0.196	0.434	0.434
(11) t-value	0.584	2.558	1.963	1.011	0.208	0.217

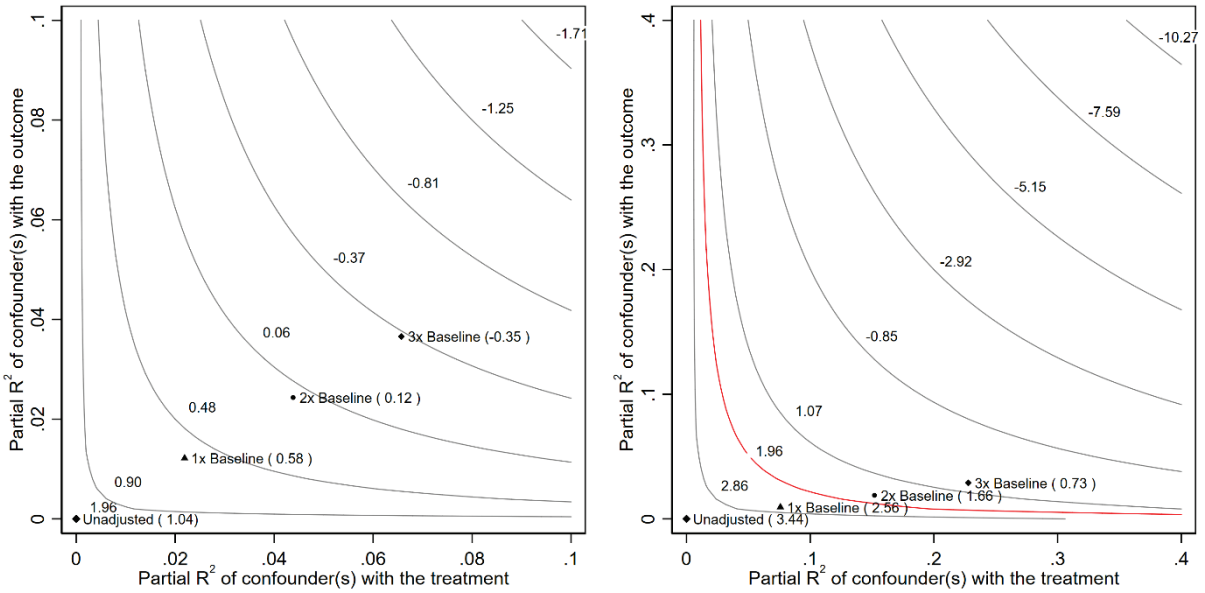
Rows 1-3 ("Original estimates") are basic statistics for main association in full OLS models (B1-3), including Oblast-FE. Rows 4-6 indicate minimum strength of hypothetical confounders not adjusted for, necessary to overturn the substantive result. RV = Residual Variance. (4) is an extreme scenario, expressing the residual variance of X explained by Z (confounder) necessary to bring the estimate to zero, if Z simultaneously explained 100% of Y. (5) and (6) adopts the less extreme assumption of equal variance explained, expressing the percent of residual variance in both X and Y that would have to be explained by unaccounted for Z in order to bring the coefficient to zero (5) or below conventional levels of statistical significance (6). Rows 7-11 provide a substantively meaningful benchmark, showing the residual variance of X (7) and Y (8) that would be explained by an omitted confounder of a strength equal to the four basic controls (gender, age, education, income) together, as well as the resulting statistics (9-11) of the main association of interest. All calculations based on the assumption that inclusion of Z would suppress the estimate. Calculated using sensemakr package for Stata (Carlos Cinelli, Jeremy Ferwerda, Chad Hazlet, 2024. "Sensemakr: Sensitivity Analysis Tool for OLS in R and Stata", Observational Studies 10.2).

[1] Cinelli, Carlos, and Chad Hazlett. 2020. "Making sense of sensitivity: extending omitted variable bias", Journal of the Royal Statistical Society (B) 82 (1):39–67. doi: https://doi.org/10.1111/rssb.12348.

Starting with the estimated association between financial impact and Social Expenditure priority, RV_{XY} (6) indicates that an omitted confounder would have to explain at least 5% of the residual variance of both X and Y in order to bring the association below statistical significance ($p > 0.05$). Logically feasible, the existence of such a strong confounder appears unlikely. Rows 7-11 show that even with an omitted confounder with a strength equal to all four basic controls together, the positive estimate would remain well within conventional statistical significance levels. Panel B in Figure B1 below provides a more general picture of the sensitivity, indicating the impact of confounders at alternative strengths (at up to 3 x that of basic controls, or "Baseline"), and allowing for assessing the impact when varying the strength of the association between Z and X on the one hand, and Z and Y on the other. The conclusion is that even in the presence of a strong confounder (relative to included controls), the results would remain substantively valid.

The two associations for National Solidarity are both positive and statistically significant in the full models. The statistic given in row 6 in Table B4 (RV_{XY} ($p > 0.05$)) would however, indicate that, compared to the association between Financial Impact and Social Policy Priority, both are considerably more sensitive to the omission of confounders. Here it would suffice with a confounder explaining 2.6% (war exposure) and 2.3% (financial impact) of the residual variance of X and Y to bring the association below statistical significance. In a purely statistical sense, both are thus equally sensitive. However, the data as such tells us only so much. Our knowledge about the data generation process (treatment assignment and data collection) tells us that whereas Financial Impact is theoretically liable to vary systematically with factors that may at the same time predict the outcome (National Solidarity) this is much less the case for the quasi-exogenous War Exposure variable, based on third-party data. Thus, in practice, the risk of a omitted confounder being strong enough to overturn the results is much less in the case of the War Exposure model. The conjecture is supported by the much lower Residual variance (both X and Y) explained by our four basic controls in the case of the War Exposure – National Solidarity model (B2(3)), compared to the Financial Impact – National Solidarity model (B2(6). Indeed, if our included controls say anything about the nature of associations between potential unobserved confounders with X and Y, even in the presence of an omitted confounder of equal strength, the results would hold in the case of the former. Conversely, in the case of the Financial Impact – National Solidarity model, the inclusion of such a confounder would bring the estimated association well below statistical significance at the 95% level. The relative sensitivity of the two models is further illustrated in Figure B2, showing the hypothetical implication of inclusion of potential confounders of 1, 2, and 3 times the strength of the basic controls, for the statistical robustness, with the 95% significance level indicated in red.

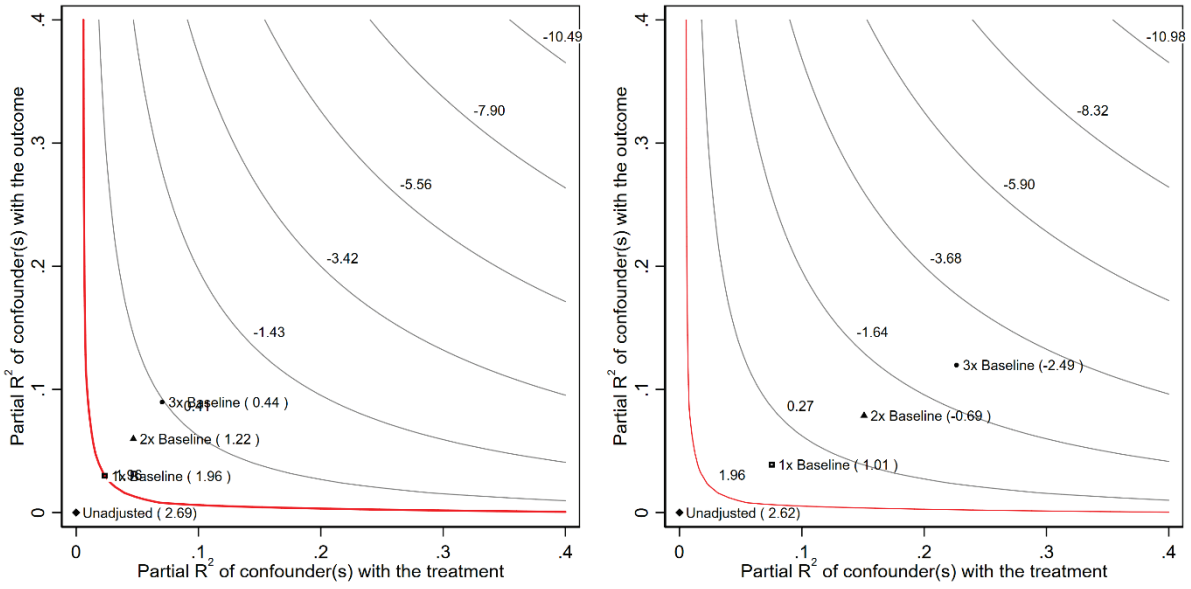
Figure B1: Sensitivity to OVB, Social Expenditure Priority models



(A) War exposure (B) Financial impact

Note: Based on full models 3 and 6 in Table B1. Contour lines show t-value of main estimate on the assumption of inclusion of omitted confounders of varying association with treatment (X axis) and outcome (Y) axis. t-value corresponding to 95% confidence level marked in red when original estimate is statistically significant. Markers show the impact of potential confounders based on 1, 2, and 3 times the strength of the four baseline controls (gender, age, income, education).

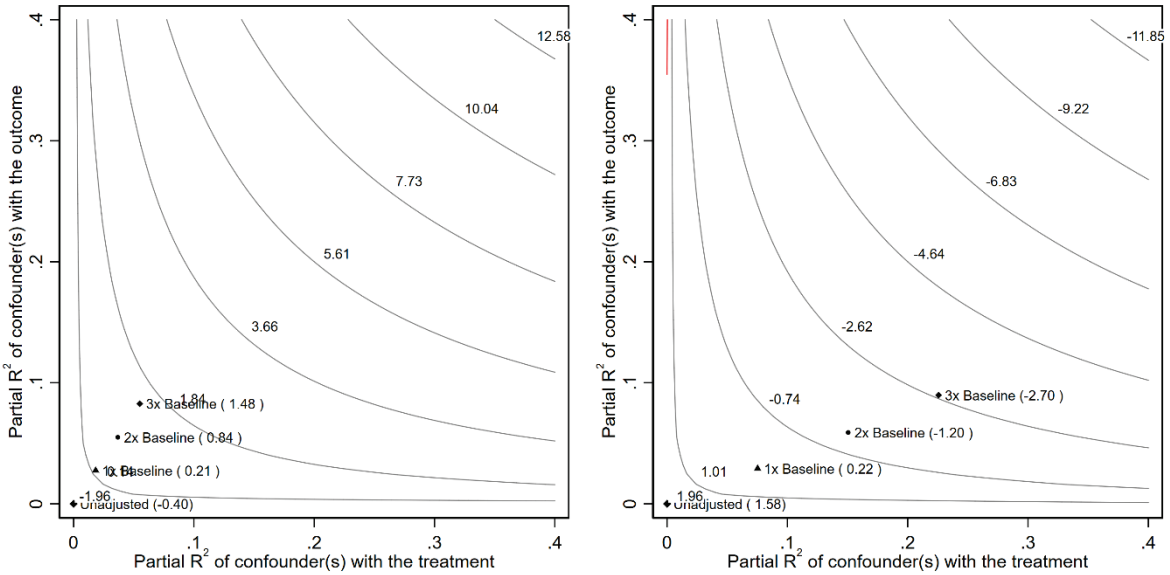
Figure B2: Sensitivity to OVB, Relative National Solidarity models



(A) War exposure (B) Financial impact

Note: Based on full models 3 and 6 in Table B2. Contour lines show t-value of main estimate on the assumption of inclusion of omitted confounders of varying association with treatment (X axis) and outcome (Y) axis. t-value corresponding to 95% confidence level marked in red when original estimate is statistically significant. Markers show the impact of potential confounders based on 1, 2, and 3 times the strength of the four baseline controls (gender, age, income, education).

Figure B3: Sensitivity to OVB, Fairness Demand models



(A) War exposure (B) Financial impact

Note: Based on full models 3 and 6 in Table B3. Contour lines show t-value of main estimate on the assumption of inclusion of omitted confounders of varying association with treatment (X axis) and outcome (Y) axis. t-value corresponding to 95% confidence level marked in red when original estimate is statistically significant. Markers show the impact of potential confounders based on 1, 2, and 3 times the strength of the four baseline controls (gender, age, income, education).

Table B5: Dichotomous DVs (logit regressions)

	(1) Soc. Pol. prio	(2) Soc. Pol. prio	(3) National solidarity	(4) National solidarity	(5) Fairness demand	(6) Fairness demand
War exposure (20km)	0.158		0.731***		-0.166	
	(0.207)		(0.191)		(0.185)	
Financial impact (B1)		1.131***		0.259		1.199***
		(0.320)		(0.334)		(0.336)
Female (Y/N)	0.059	0.049	-0.064	-0.029	-0.122	-0.153
	(0.144)	(0.143)	(0.143)	(0.149)	(0.154)	(0.149)
Age group (ref:18-24)						
25-34	0.239	0.186	0.284	0.199	0.325	0.431
	(0.332)	(0.337)	(0.297)	(0.345)	(0.376)	(0.348)
35-44	0.411	0.411	0.436	0.449	0.271	0.242
	(0.344)	(0.325)	(0.289)	(0.334)	(0.379)	(0.337)
45-54	0.479	0.432	0.171	0.107	0.884*	0.832*
	(0.294)	(0.318)	(0.326)	(0.329)	(0.364)	(0.332)
55-64	0.236	0.311	0.570	0.500	0.948**	0.916**
	(0.281)	(0.314)	(0.363)	(0.324)	(0.332)	(0.327)
65+	0.417	0.395	-0.057	-0.130	1.337**	1.341***
	(0.315)	(0.317)	(0.355)	(0.334)	(0.409)	(0.336)
Educ. level (ref: Secondary)						
Post-Secondary	-0.500*	-0.423	-0.348	-0.275	-0.234	-0.254
	(0.228)	(0.233)	(0.266)	(0.241)	(0.239)	(0.245)
University degree	-0.715**	-0.566*	0.144	0.282	-0.145	-0.246
	(0.228)	(0.233)	(0.264)	(0.236)	(0.258)	(0.244)
Income group	0.055	0.134	0.317***	0.345***	-0.068	0.026
	(0.080)	(0.082)	(0.092)	(0.085)	(0.069)	(0.085)
Constant	-0.000	-0.990*	-1.805***	-1.823***	-0.056	-1.073*
	(0.386)	(0.474)	(0.492)	(0.495)	(0.441)	(0.491)
N	801	851	789	838	768	818
pseudo R^2	0.011	0.020	0.063	0.052	0.037	0.046

Logit regressions. Standard errors clustered on locality for models 1, 3, 5. Coefficients reported as log odds.
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table B6: Relative Social Policy Expenditure Priority (OLS) – Alternative DVs

	Baseline		Excl. Defense		Post-war prio	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Soc. Pol. Prio	Soc. Pol. Prio	Soc. Pol. Prio	Soc. Pol. Prio	Soc. Pol. Prio	Soc. Pol. Prio
War exposure (20km)	0.070		0.078		0.097	
	(0.122)		(0.126)		(0.109)	
Financial impact (B1)		0.757***		0.828***		0.758***
		(0.216)		(0.224)		(0.181)
Female (Y/N)	0.066	0.054	0.037	0.023	0.085	0.080
	(0.101)	(0.098)	(0.106)	(0.101)	(0.083)	(0.082)
Age group (ref:18-24)						
25-34	0.497*	0.462*	0.476*	0.444	0.110	0.096
	(0.196)	(0.229)	(0.204)	(0.237)	(0.183)	(0.192)
35-44	0.449*	0.399	0.410*	0.370	0.014	-0.028
	(0.191)	(0.220)	(0.196)	(0.228)	(0.176)	(0.185)
45-54	0.381*	0.323	0.378*	0.314	0.051	-0.014
	(0.177)	(0.216)	(0.185)	(0.223)	(0.175)	(0.181)
55-64	0.460**	0.461*	0.442*	0.448*	0.077	0.032
	(0.174)	(0.213)	(0.177)	(0.220)	(0.183)	(0.178)
65+	0.423*	0.410	0.408*	0.399	0.071	0.096
	(0.189)	(0.215)	(0.197)	(0.223)	(0.182)	(0.180)
Educ. level (ref: Secondary)						
Post-Secondary	-0.356*	-0.300	-0.373*	-0.322*	-0.106	-0.101
	(0.151)	(0.156)	(0.158)	(0.162)	(0.139)	(0.131)
University degree	-0.430**	-0.322*	-0.401**	-0.293	-0.044	0.021
	(0.147)	(0.156)	(0.152)	(0.162)	(0.140)	(0.131)
Income group	-0.006	0.043	0.019	0.071	-0.025	0.035
	(0.059)	(0.055)	(0.061)	(0.057)	(0.048)	(0.046)
Constant	0.794**	0.160	0.969***	0.285	0.631*	-0.003
	(0.250)	(0.320)	(0.261)	(0.331)	(0.246)	(0.268)
N	801	851	801	851	798	850
R^2	0.015	0.027	0.012	0.026	0.004	0.024

Standard errors clustered on locality for models 1, 3, 5.
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table B7(a): Expenditure Priority (OLS) – Original Components

	(1) Publ. Admin.	(2) Publ. Admin.	(3) Defence	(4) Defence	(5) Publ. order	(6) Publ. order
War exposure (20km)	0.056		0.055		0.209	
	(0.304)		(0.091)		(0.173)	
Financial impact (B1)		-0.816		0.060		-0.494
		(0.558)		(0.148)		(0.335)
Female (Y/N)	-0.140	-0.196	0.079	0.065	0.286	0.306*
	(0.265)	(0.250)	(0.064)	(0.067)	(0.146)	(0.151)
Age group (ref:18-24)						
25-34	-0.602	-0.549	0.043	0.047	-0.218	-0.223
	(0.468)	(0.583)	(0.174)	(0.158)	(0.294)	(0.355)
35-44	-0.262	-0.461	0.092	0.088	0.017	-0.051
	(0.506)	(0.564)	(0.152)	(0.152)	(0.291)	(0.343)
45-54	-0.319	-0.323	0.078	0.070	-0.237	-0.155
	(0.512)	(0.551)	(0.139)	(0.149)	(0.274)	(0.336)
55-64	-0.037	-0.217	0.064	0.045	-0.342	-0.402
	(0.494)	(0.545)	(0.160)	(0.147)	(0.285)	(0.331)
65+	-0.566	-0.653	0.269*	0.229	-0.125	-0.187
	(0.464)	(0.551)	(0.134)	(0.149)	(0.296)	(0.335)
Educ. level (ref: Secondary)						
Post-Secondary	-0.058	0.030	-0.021	-0.006	0.382	0.461
	(0.478)	(0.400)	(0.112)	(0.107)	(0.301)	(0.240)
University degree	-0.114	-0.072	-0.056	-0.063	0.174	0.157
	(0.431)	(0.401)	(0.104)	(0.107)	(0.298)	(0.240)
Income group	0.056	-0.028	0.085	0.080*	-0.012	-0.029
	(0.162)	(0.142)	(0.048)	(0.038)	(0.103)	(0.085)
Constant	6.540***	7.419***	9.336***	9.364***	8.248***	8.707***
	(0.716)	(0.819)	(0.221)	(0.220)	(0.436)	(0.494)
N	761	809	798	849	799	850
R^2	0.005	0.007	0.013	0.010	0.013	0.017

Dependent variables are the untransformed importance assigned to three different expenditure areas (during war): Public administration; Defence; and Public order and safety.
Standard errors clustered on locality for models 1, 3, 5.
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table B7(b): Expenditure Priority (OLS) – Original Components

	(1) Infr-str. & Energy	(2) Infr-str. & Energy	(3) Environm.	(4) Environm.	(5) Housing	(6) Housing
War exposure (20km)	0.122		-0.311		-0.122	
	(0.158)		(0.250)		(0.299)	
Financial impact (B1)		-0.362		-1.301**		-0.195
		(0.268)		(0.428)		(0.420)
Female (Y/N)	0.137	0.162	0.523*	0.542**	0.620**	0.606**
	(0.124)	(0.121)	(0.215)	(0.193)	(0.228)	(0.190)
Age group (ref:18-24)						
25-34	0.001	-0.019	0.931*	0.973*	1.101**	1.022*
	(0.251)	(0.285)	(0.411)	(0.454)	(0.377)	(0.446)
35-44	0.194	0.119	0.844*	0.838	1.294***	1.259**
	(0.220)	(0.275)	(0.351)	(0.437)	(0.346)	(0.431)
45-54	0.125	0.145	0.510	0.562	0.924*	0.922*
	(0.263)	(0.269)	(0.374)	(0.428)	(0.376)	(0.422)
55-64	0.137	0.121	0.473	0.468	0.924*	0.945*
	(0.244)	(0.266)	(0.385)	(0.423)	(0.388)	(0.416)
65+	0.134	0.098	1.114**	1.045*	1.023**	0.941*
	(0.241)	(0.268)	(0.381)	(0.427)	(0.361)	(0.420)
Educ. level (ref: Secondary)						
Post-Secondary	0.211	0.320	0.243	0.316	0.165	0.183
	(0.211)	(0.193)	(0.369)	(0.307)	(0.347)	(0.303)
University degree	-0.024	0.052	-0.499	-0.626*	-0.717*	-0.744*
	(0.194)	(0.193)	(0.357)	(0.307)	(0.341)	(0.304)
Income group	-0.185*	-0.193**	-0.216	-0.310**	-0.140	-0.159
	(0.074)	(0.069)	(0.113)	(0.109)	(0.110)	(0.108)
Constant	9.228***	9.483***	7.140***	8.163***	6.900***	7.115***
	(0.320)	(0.397)	(0.547)	(0.632)	(0.546)	(0.622)
N	800	851	798	849	796	847
R^2	0.025	0.028	0.058	0.071	0.057	0.057

Dependent variables are the untransformed importance assigned to three different expenditure areas (during war): Infrastructure and energy; Environmental protection; and Housing and community amenities.
Standard errors clustered on locality for models 1, 3, 5.
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table B7(c): Expenditure Priority (OLS) – Original Components

	(1) Soc. Pol.	(2) Soc. Pol.	(3) Culture	(4) Culture	(5) Educ.	(6) Educ.
War exposure (20km)	0.071		-0.280		-0.003	
	(0.174)		(0.267)		(0.208)	
Financial impact (B1)		0.281		-1.464**		-0.489
		(0.274)		(0.481)		(0.309)
Female (Y/N)	0.382***	0.369**	0.463*	0.434*	0.376**	0.366**
	(0.114)	(0.124)	(0.215)	(0.216)	(0.129)	(0.140)
Age group (ref:18-24)						
25-34	0.698**	0.654*	-0.016	-0.007	0.207	0.203
	(0.267)	(0.290)	(0.478)	(0.508)	(0.335)	(0.327)
35-44	0.844***	0.714*	0.244	0.117	0.523	0.498
	(0.241)	(0.280)	(0.403)	(0.490)	(0.268)	(0.315)
45-54	0.483	0.456	-0.553	-0.400	0.159	0.223
	(0.248)	(0.273)	(0.462)	(0.480)	(0.287)	(0.308)
55-64	0.687**	0.632*	0.103	0.025	0.188	0.190
	(0.265)	(0.270)	(0.481)	(0.473)	(0.297)	(0.304)
65+	0.808**	0.720**	0.344	0.173	0.496	0.452
	(0.271)	(0.273)	(0.483)	(0.479)	(0.279)	(0.307)
Educ. level (ref: Secondary)						
Post-Secondary	-0.237	-0.125	0.471	0.497	-0.159	-0.120
	(0.212)	(0.198)	(0.397)	(0.344)	(0.256)	(0.222)
University degree	-0.720**	-0.621**	-0.284	-0.392	-0.433	-0.463*
	(0.220)	(0.198)	(0.369)	(0.344)	(0.272)	(0.223)
Income group	-0.126	-0.102	-0.281**	-0.355**	-0.162	-0.183*
	(0.067)	(0.070)	(0.108)	(0.123)	(0.084)	(0.079)
Constant	8.732***	8.518***	5.914***	7.079***	8.929***	9.342***
	(0.335)	(0.407)	(0.606)	(0.710)	(0.388)	(0.459)
N	801	851	790	841	799	850
R^2	0.062	0.059	0.050	0.053	0.038	0.040

Dependent variables are the untransformed importance assigned to three different expenditure areas (during war): Social protection and Health; Recreation, culture and religion; and Education.
Standard errors clustered on locality for models 1, 3, 5.
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table B8: National Solidarity, alternative models

	Baseline			Non-Ukr. Item Excluded		Local item excluded	
	(1) National solid.	(2) National solid	(3) National solid	(4) National solid	(5) National solid	(6) National solid	(7) National solid
War exposure (20km)	0.390***		0.373***	0.150		0.415***	
	(0.100)		(0.100)	(0.089)		(0.087)	
Financial impact (B1)		0.432*	0.354		0.230		0.512**
		(0.188)	(0.238)		(0.148)		(0.191)
Female (Y/N)	-0.055	-0.056	-0.056	-0.005	-0.003	-0.098	-0.106
	(0.074)	(0.085)	(0.074)	(0.059)	(0.067)	(0.078)	(0.086)
Age group (ref:18-24)							
25-34	-0.000	-0.055	-0.031	-0.110	-0.129	0.035	-0.023
	(0.147)	(0.197)	(0.142)	(0.121)	(0.155)	(0.155)	(0.198)
35-44	0.074	0.044	0.057	-0.061	-0.082	0.072	0.063
	(0.166)	(0.190)	(0.165)	(0.154)	(0.149)	(0.160)	(0.192)
45-54	0.051	-0.056	0.016	-0.167	-0.240	0.145	0.072
	(0.138)	(0.186)	(0.143)	(0.112)	(0.146)	(0.150)	(0.188)
55-64	0.228	0.157	0.212	-0.021	-0.091	0.373*	0.313
	(0.136)	(0.184)	(0.137)	(0.110)	(0.145)	(0.144)	(0.186)
65+	-0.128	-0.196	-0.140	-0.226	-0.266	-0.007	-0.081
	(0.156)	(0.186)	(0.156)	(0.131)	(0.146)	(0.159)	(0.188)
Educ. level (ref: Second.)							
Post-Secondary	-0.146	-0.075	-0.148	-0.146	-0.075	-0.148	-0.069
	(0.143)	(0.134)	(0.143)	(0.143)	(0.134)	(0.143)	(0.103)
University degr.	0.063	0.189	0.084	0.063	0.189	0.084	0.007
	(0.135)	(0.134)	(0.134)	(0.135)	(0.134)	(0.134)	(0.097)
Income group	0.083	0.109*	0.101*	0.083	0.109*	0.101*	0.001
	(0.047)	(0.048)	(0.045)	(0.047)	(0.048)	(0.045)	(0.038)
Constant	-0.084	-0.314	-0.354	-0.084	-0.314	-0.354	-0.114
	(0.237)	(0.278)	(0.247)	(0.237)	(0.278)	(0.247)	(0.176)
N	789	838	786	789	838	786	780
R^2	0.049	0.039	0.053	0.049	0.039	0.053	0.015

Model 3 enters both treatment variables in the same model; Model 4 and 5 excludes response for "poor regions of the world" from the calculation of the index; Model 6 and 7 instead excludes "own town/city" from the calculation.

Standard errors clustered on locality for models 1, 3, 5.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table B9: National Solidarity, original components (direct war exposure)

	Baseline	Original components (absolute values)			
	(1) National solidarity	(2) Neighbors	(3) Own reg.	(4) Other reg.	(5) Non-Ukr.
War exposure (20km)	0.390***	-0.260	0.081	0.129	-1.097***
	(0.100)	(0.241)	(0.240)	(0.251)	(0.295)
Female (Y/N)	-0.055	0.258	0.197	0.257	0.530*
	(0.074)	(0.150)	(0.178)	(0.153)	(0.242)
Age group (ref:18-24)					
25-34	-0.000	0.546	0.620	0.406	0.188
	(0.147)	(0.366)	(0.383)	(0.417)	(0.481)
35-44	0.074	0.511	0.583	0.457	0.092
	(0.166)	(0.425)	(0.373)	(0.363)	(0.477)
45-54	0.051	0.501	0.436	0.246	-0.302
	(0.138)	(0.359)	(0.381)	(0.412)	(0.426)
55-64	0.228	0.623	0.326	0.393	-0.615
	(0.136)	(0.339)	(0.381)	(0.385)	(0.443)
65+	-0.128	0.430	0.257	-0.040	-0.140
	(0.156)	(0.307)	(0.336)	(0.381)	(0.473)
Educ. level (ref: Secondary)					
Post-Secondary	-0.146	-0.071	-0.236	-0.201	0.173
	(0.143)	(0.252)	(0.270)	(0.285)	(0.392)
University degree	0.063	-0.392	-0.603*	-0.427	-0.735
	(0.135)	(0.251)	(0.285)	(0.277)	(0.408)
Income group	0.083	0.095	0.005	0.043	-0.281
	(0.047)	(0.097)	(0.115)	(0.116)	(0.143)
Constant	-0.084	8.131***	8.269***	8.004***	7.961***
	(0.237)	(0.453)	(0.475)	(0.509)	(0.707)
N	789	793	789	789	781
R^2	0.049	0.015	0.013	0.011	0.061

Standard errors clustered on locality in all models.
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table B10: National Solidarity, original components (financial impact)

	Baseline	Original components (absolute values)			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	National solidarity	Neighbor-hood	Own region	Other region	Non-Ukraine
Financial impact (B1)	0.432*	0.028	0.044	0.339	-0.720
	(0.188)	(0.349)	(0.375)	(0.389)	(0.528)
Female (Y/N)	-0.056	0.141	0.133	0.166	0.462
	(0.085)	(0.157)	(0.169)	(0.175)	(0.238)
Age group (ref:18-24)					
25-34	-0.055	0.560	0.591	0.377	0.330
	(0.197)	(0.369)	(0.396)	(0.409)	(0.556)
35-44	0.044	0.492	0.512	0.388	0.066
	(0.190)	(0.355)	(0.382)	(0.394)	(0.537)
45-54	-0.056	0.517	0.353	0.108	-0.249
	(0.186)	(0.348)	(0.374)	(0.386)	(0.526)
55-64	0.157	0.650	0.315	0.309	-0.609
	(0.184)	(0.344)	(0.370)	(0.382)	(0.521)
65+	-0.196	0.365	0.177	-0.158	-0.098
	(0.186)	(0.347)	(0.374)	(0.386)	(0.526)
Educ. level (ref: Secondary)					
Post-Secondary	-0.075	-0.118	-0.135	-0.083	0.156
	(0.134)	(0.252)	(0.271)	(0.278)	(0.380)
University degree	0.189	-0.428	-0.498	-0.278	-0.860*
	(0.134)	(0.251)	(0.270)	(0.278)	(0.381)
Income group	0.109*	0.121	0.033	0.063	-0.393**
	(0.048)	(0.089)	(0.096)	(0.099)	(0.135)
Constant	-0.314	8.015***	8.180***	7.784***	8.386***
	(0.278)	(0.517)	(0.556)	(0.576)	(0.780)
N	838	842	839	838	826
R^2	0.039	0.012	0.010	0.010	0.049

Standard errors in parenthesis.
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table B11: Relative national trust and original components (war exposure)

	Baseline	Original components (absolute values)		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Nat. Trust	Neighborhood	Own region	Other regions
War exposure (20km)	0.485***	-0.260	-0.177	0.507*
	(0.124)	(0.224)	(0.240)	(0.218)
Female (Y/N)	0.128	0.228	0.024	0.271
	(0.084)	(0.155)	(0.159)	(0.177)
Age group (ref:18-24)				
25-34	0.114	0.340	0.808*	0.786
	(0.181)	(0.381)	(0.389)	(0.456)
35-44	0.243	-0.311	0.196	0.360
	(0.160)	(0.364)	(0.366)	(0.424)
45-54	0.191	-0.278	0.364	0.352
	(0.177)	(0.399)	(0.372)	(0.443)
55-64	0.163	0.175	0.715	0.695
	(0.168)	(0.431)	(0.412)	(0.457)
65+	0.292	0.042	1.041**	0.972*
	(0.169)	(0.390)	(0.381)	(0.439)
Educ. level (ref: Secondary)				
Post-Secondary	-0.138	0.134	-0.172	-0.248
	(0.149)	(0.302)	(0.277)	(0.317)
University degree	-0.133	-0.215	-0.505	-0.618*
	(0.134)	(0.286)	(0.278)	(0.298)
Income group	0.013	0.008	0.123	0.092
	(0.047)	(0.122)	(0.121)	(0.132)
Constant	-0.890***	7.327***	6.252***	5.456***
	(0.222)	(0.533)	(0.508)	(0.539)
N	754	789	775	754
R^2	0.034	0.018	0.026	0.026

Standard errors clustered on locality in all models.
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table B12: Relative national trust and original components (financial impact)

	Baseline	Original components (absolute values)		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Nat. Trust	Neighborhood	Own region	Other regions
Financial impact (B1)	-0.094	-0.853*	-1.594***	-1.449***
	(0.182)	(0.376)	(0.374)	(0.399)
Female (Y/N)	0.101	0.250	0.002	0.231
	(0.082)	(0.171)	(0.169)	(0.181)
Age group (ref:18-24)				
25-34	0.041	0.465	0.900*	0.782
	(0.190)	(0.399)	(0.392)	(0.417)
35-44	0.195	-0.310	0.175	0.286
	(0.184)	(0.385)	(0.379)	(0.404)
45-54	0.108	-0.164	0.534	0.360
	(0.180)	(0.376)	(0.371)	(0.395)
55-64	0.080	0.241	0.739*	0.609
	(0.178)	(0.372)	(0.366)	(0.392)
65+	0.210	0.055	0.960**	0.801*
	(0.181)	(0.376)	(0.370)	(0.398)
Educ. level (ref: Secondary)				
Post-Secondary	-0.089	0.210	-0.008	-0.041
	(0.131)	(0.271)	(0.269)	(0.288)
University degree	-0.032	-0.241	-0.521	-0.475
	(0.131)	(0.271)	(0.269)	(0.288)
Income group	0.020	-0.032	0.042	0.033
	(0.047)	(0.097)	(0.095)	(0.102)
Constant	-0.639*	7.784***	7.350***	6.685***
	(0.269)	(0.560)	(0.552)	(0.591)
N	799	840	823	799
R^2	0.007	0.025	0.045	0.032

Standard errors in parenthesis.
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table B13(a): Ensuring fairness of burdens (Ordered beta regressions)

	(1) Fairness demand	(2) Fairness demand	(3) Fairness demand	(4) Fairness demand	(5) Fairness demand	(6) Fairness demand
War exposure (20km)	-0.190	-0.130	-0.104			
Financial impact (B1)				0.417	0.378	0.378
Female (Y/N)		-0.014	-0.040		-0.018	-0.043
Age group (ref:18-24)						
25-34		-0.118	-0.148		-0.090	-0.099
35-44		-0.198	-0.262		-0.188	-0.238
45-54		0.074	0.084		0.092	0.114
55-64		0.100	0.081		0.114	0.085
65+		0.267	0.246		0.302	0.265
Educ. level (ref: Secondary)						
Post-Secondary		0.089	0.044		0.086	0.046
University degree		0.077	0.053		0.026	0.004
Income group		-0.043	-0.015		-0.013	0.025
Household size			0.022			0.020
Retired (Y/N)			0.074			0.092
Unemployed (Y/N)			0.062			0.033
Military/Veteran (Y/N)			-0.090			0.042
Disabled (Y/N)			-0.023			-0.062
Property damage (Y/N)			0.288			0.305
Internally displaced (Y/N)			-0.206			-0.209
Urban resident (Y/N)			-0.115			-0.177
Russian language (Y/N)			-0.318			-0.300
constant	0.682	0.709	0.723	0.357	0.354	0.379
phi	5.712	5.659	6.152	5.680	5.665	6.135
N	771	768	768	822	818	818
R^2	0.003	0.029	0.094	0.005	0.032	0.093
ELPD	-535.4	-532.7	-543.2	-569.7	-566.3	-574.7
ELPD s.e.	18.0	18.5	18.5	19.3	19.8	19.5
LOOIC	1070.7	1065.4	1086.3	1139.4	1132.5	1149.4
LOOIC s.e.	36.0	36.9	37.1	38.5	39.6	39.0
WAIC	1070.7	1065.4	1085.3	1139.4	1132.5	1148.5
RMSE	0.27	0.26	0.26	0.26	0.26	0.26
Oblast FE	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES

Table B13(b): Ensuring fairness of burdens (marginal effects, ordered beta regressions)

	(1) Fairness demand	(2) Fairness demand	(3) Fairness demand	(4) Fairness demand	(5) Fairness demand	(6) Fairness demand
	War exp.	War exp.	War exp.	Fin. imp.	Fin. imp.	Fin. imp.
Upper confidence bound	0.001	0.013	0.053	0.147	0.140	0.139
Point estimate	-0.039	-0.026	-0.021	0.084	0.074	0.073
Lower confidence bound	-0.079	-0.065	-0.097	0.019	0.008	0.006

Table B14: Direct war exposure - simplified operationalizations

	(1) Soc. Pol. prio	(2) Soc. Pol. prio	(3) National altruism	(4) National altruism	(5) Fairness	(6) Fairness
War exp.	0.063		0.376**		-0.560*	
(20km, spatial weights only)	(0.135)		(0.143)		(0.261)	
War exposure		0.004		0.347**		-0.517*
(20km, no weights)		(0.131)		(0.128)		(0.252)
Female (Y/N)	0.067	0.068	-0.053	-0.054	-0.017	-0.015
	(0.101)	(0.101)	(0.075)	(0.075)	(0.189)	(0.189)
Age group (ref:18-24)						
25-34	0.494*	0.493*	-0.012	-0.017	0.033	0.039
	(0.198)	(0.198)	(0.152)	(0.152)	(0.544)	(0.545)
35-44	0.448*	0.446*	0.069	0.062	-0.456	-0.449
	(0.191)	(0.192)	(0.168)	(0.169)	(0.599)	(0.601)
45-54	0.381*	0.381*	0.050	0.047	0.331	0.334
	(0.177)	(0.177)	(0.139)	(0.140)	(0.462)	(0.464)
55-64	0.458**	0.458**	0.218	0.214	0.671	0.674
	(0.175)	(0.175)	(0.138)	(0.138)	(0.420)	(0.422)
65+	0.422*	0.419*	-0.133	-0.133	1.076*	1.076*
	(0.190)	(0.190)	(0.157)	(0.158)	(0.462)	(0.464)
Educ. level (ref: Secondary)						
Post-Secondary	-0.356*	-0.352*	-0.149	-0.142	0.182	0.172
	(0.151)	(0.151)	(0.144)	(0.144)	(0.327)	(0.328)
University degree	-0.429**	-0.421**	0.069	0.079	0.199	0.186
	(0.147)	(0.147)	(0.136)	(0.136)	(0.345)	(0.344)
Income group	-0.005	-0.003	0.085	0.085	-0.043	-0.044
	(0.059)	(0.059)	(0.048)	(0.048)	(0.117)	(0.118)
Constant	0.802**	0.809**	-0.037	-0.048	7.932***	7.950***
	(0.252)	(0.251)	(0.238)	(0.237)	(0.515)	(0.515)
N	801	801	789	789	768	768
pseudo R^2	0.014	0.014	0.044	0.043	0.047	0.046

Standard errors clustered on locality for all models.
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table B15: Direct war exposure – original (ACLED) and alternative data source (UCDP)

	(1) Soc. Pol. prio	(2) Soc. Pol. prio	(3) National altruism	(4) National altruism	(5) Fairness	(6) Fairness
War exposure (ACLED)	0.070		0.390***		-0.296	
	(0.122)		(0.100)		(0.226)	
War exposure (UCDP)		0.056		0.352***		-0.238
		(0.125)		(0.093)		(0.233)
Female (Y/N)	0.066	0.067	-0.055	-0.050	-0.022	-0.028
	(0.101)	(0.101)	(0.074)	(0.074)	(0.189)	(0.188)
Age group (ref:18-24)						
25-34	0.497*	0.496*	-0.000	0.001	0.030	0.031
	(0.196)	(0.195)	(0.147)	(0.144)	(0.548)	(0.548)
35-44	0.449*	0.448*	0.074	0.068	-0.452	-0.448
	(0.191)	(0.191)	(0.166)	(0.166)	(0.604)	(0.606)
45-54	0.381*	0.381*	0.051	0.047	0.329	0.330
	(0.177)	(0.177)	(0.138)	(0.136)	(0.466)	(0.467)
55-64	0.460**	0.460**	0.228	0.231	0.663	0.661
	(0.174)	(0.174)	(0.136)	(0.135)	(0.423)	(0.423)
65+	0.423*	0.422*	-0.128	-0.133	1.082*	1.086*
	(0.189)	(0.189)	(0.156)	(0.157)	(0.470)	(0.471)
Educ. level (ref: Secondary)						
Post-Secondary	-0.356*	-0.354*	-0.146	-0.136	0.165	0.157
	(0.151)	(0.150)	(0.143)	(0.142)	(0.329)	(0.328)
University degree	-0.430**	-0.429**	0.063	0.067	0.171	0.165
	(0.147)	(0.147)	(0.135)	(0.134)	(0.346)	(0.346)
Income group	-0.006	-0.006	0.083	0.083	-0.053	-0.055
	(0.059)	(0.059)	(0.047)	(0.047)	(0.117)	(0.118)
Constant	0.794**	0.796**	-0.084	-0.083	7.936***	7.929***
	(0.250)	(0.250)	(0.237)	(0.238)	(0.520)	(0.521)
N	801	801	789	789	768	768
pseudo R^2	0.015	0.014	0.049	0.046	0.044	0.043

Standard errors clustered on locality in all models.
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table B16: Extended sample (including permanent/temporarily displaced)

	(1) Soc. Pol. prio	(2) Soc. Pol. prio	(3) National solidarity	(4) National solidarity	(5) Fairness demand	(6) Fairness demand
War exposure (20km)	0.061		0.259**		-0.250	
	(0.120)		(0.090)		(0.206)	
Financial impact (B1)		0.585**		0.276		0.723
		(0.197)		(0.173)		(0.383)
Female (Y/N)	0.048	0.027	-0.086	-0.090	0.024	-0.022
	(0.088)	(0.089)	(0.066)	(0.078)	(0.180)	(0.173)
Age group (ref:18-24)						
25-34	0.412*	0.405*	-0.019	-0.062	-0.209	-0.063
	(0.180)	(0.205)	(0.136)	(0.179)	(0.462)	(0.395)
35-44	0.363	0.346	0.008	-0.018	-0.661	-0.636
	(0.188)	(0.198)	(0.125)	(0.173)	(0.524)	(0.384)
45-54	0.311	0.280	0.074	-0.018	0.139	0.198
	(0.171)	(0.193)	(0.121)	(0.168)	(0.394)	(0.374)
55-64	0.378*	0.386*	0.214	0.156	0.476	0.535
	(0.172)	(0.192)	(0.119)	(0.168)	(0.369)	(0.372)
65+	0.356*	0.349	-0.077	-0.136	0.910*	0.923*
	(0.181)	(0.194)	(0.138)	(0.169)	(0.398)	(0.375)
Educ. level (ref: Secondary)						
Post-Secondary	-0.251	-0.223	-0.179	-0.125	-0.050	-0.010
	(0.140)	(0.144)	(0.132)	(0.125)	(0.299)	(0.281)
University degree	-0.314*	-0.234	0.076	0.167	-0.025	-0.083
	(0.135)	(0.144)	(0.128)	(0.125)	(0.315)	(0.282)
Income group	-0.020	0.013	0.093*	0.104*	-0.038	0.029
	(0.050)	(0.050)	(0.041)	(0.044)	(0.103)	(0.098)
Constant	0.821***	0.339	-0.037	-0.159	8.242***	7.467***
	(0.228)	(0.289)	(0.201)	(0.253)	(0.449)	(0.558)
N	929	982	914	967	892	945
pseudo R^2	0.010	0.018	0.041	0.035	0.044	0.044

Standard errors clustered on locality in models 1, 3, 5.
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$