

Appendix (supplementary material)

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1 Sampling procedure

Our survey participants were recruited as follows. A random sample of 125 electoral precincts was taken from the full list of the city's electoral precincts. For each precinct, a complete register of residential addresses was created in the field by the interviewers, under the assumption that each address corresponded with one household. These registers were then turned in to the CSI, which extracted random samples for each precinct. The full sampling frame thus consisted of the sum of the random samples from each precinct. The interviewers then visited these addresses in pre-assigned order, collecting interviews up to a target of 10 data points per precinct. Each address had to be visited at least thrice before being moved over to the nonresponse statistics, and not more than twice during the same day. The within-household sampling technique consisted of a modified version of the Kish table,¹ and an uninterested or unavailable respondent was *not* replaced by a different household member. All in all this time-consuming procedure produces a "quasi-random" sample, but in the absence of any better *accessible* sampling frame (e.g., voter lists, which the Central Electoral Commission is not willing to release), this is as random as it can get in Ukraine. Nevertheless, women and elderly respondents are over-represented because they are relatively more numerous among single-person households. For this reason, we report our results in two versions - unweighted and weighted by age and sex – emphasizing results that are significant in both. Unfortunately, complicated sampling procedures also tend to bring down response rates², but the survey nevertheless achieved a total response rate of approximately 31 percent, which is similar to the levels obtained by other studies in urban areas across Ukraine. Among nonresponses, 72.4 percent were individuals who declined to participate, and 27.6 percent relate to other causes (e.g. address is an office, inaccessible address, respondent's evident intoxication, etc.).

¹ Leslie Kish, 'A procedure for objective respondent selection within the household', *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 44: 247, 1949, pp. 380-387.

² Diane Binson, Jesse A. Canchola and Joseph A. Catania, 'Random selection in a national telephone survey: a comparison of the Kish, next-birthday, and last-birthday methods', *Journal of Official Statistics* 16: 1, January 2000, pp. 53-59.

2 Statistical weights

The statistical weights used in this study correct for age-sex composition distortions in the sample after initially adjusting for the unevenness in the respondent's probability of being selected. The latter adjust produces the base weight, which is then calibrated to better reflect the age-sex composition of the city based on known demographic statistics from the State Statistics Service of Ukraine. The weights were applied by the Centre for Statistical Indicators in accordance with the method used by the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology (KIIS, a leading polling agency in Ukraine), of which it is a non-profit spin-off.

As detailed in KIIS's methodological documentation (available from the author upon request), the base weight applied to each sampled respondent is calculated as the inverse of the probability that the respondent was randomly selected, with the selection probability being determined by the product of three probabilities: (1) the sampling probability of the respondent's electoral precinct, (2) the sampling probability of the respondent's household, and (3) the sampling probability of the respondent within the household.

Once the base weights have been calculated, they are multiplied by a factor that calibrates the sample to reflect the age-sex composition of the population of Mariupol at large. This way, under-represented groups will be "weighed up" and over-represented groups down, respectively. In practice, one could obtain a weighting factor of, e.g., 1.4 for a hypothetical observation, which would mean that this observation would be counted 1.4 times. To exemplify the impact of the weights, at the aggregate level, the mean weight placed on male respondents aged 50-59 in our study is 1.15, whereas female respondents aged 70+ are weighted 0.65.

3 Correlations between dichotomized conspiracy theory belief variables

Table A1: Matrix of correlations between dichotomized conspiracy theory variables (1=disagree, 0=other)

| | Gates/Soros conspiracy | Shelling of Vostochnyi | American medical experiments | Ulana Suprun |
|------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------------|--------------|
| Gates/Soros conspiracy | 1 | 0.317 | 0.474 | 0.159 |
| Shelling of Vostochnyi | 0.317 | 1 | 0.197 | 0.138 |
| American medical experiments | 0.474 | 0.197 | 1 | 0.171 |
| Ulana Suprun | 0.159 | 0.138 | 0.171 | 1 |

Pearson's r. All correlations significant at 0.1% level.

4 Association between time of data collection and support for Lukashenko regime

Table A2: Belief that “the Belarusian model of government is a desirable example for Ukraine” by date of interview (%).

| Date of interview | n | Completely disagree | Rather disagree | Rather agree | Completely agree | Don't know or refusal |
|--------------------------|------|---------------------|-----------------|--------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>Until 9 Aug. 2020</i> | 263 | 14.4 | 20.2 | 25.9 | 19 | 20.6 |
| <i>From 10 Aug. 2020</i> | 988 | 5.1 | 18.2 | 41 | 22.2 | 13.6 |
| Until 30 July | 200 | 15.5 | 19.0 | 26.0 | 20.0 | 19.5 |
| 31 July to 19 Aug. | 267 | 11.6 | 21.3 | 35.2 | 20.6 | 11.3 |
| 20 Aug. to 27 Sept. | 784 | 3.3 | 17.6 | 41.7 | 22.2 | 15.2 |
| Total | 1251 | 7.0 | 18.6 | 37.8 | 21.5 | 15.0 |

Unweighted, row percentages.

5 Association between support for the Lukashenko regime and Soros/Gates conspiracy belief

Table A3: The association between support for the Belarusian model of government and belief in Soros/Gates conspiracy theory.

| | “The Belarusian model of government is a desirable example for Ukraine” | | | | | |
|---|---|---------------------|-----------------|--------------|------------------|-------------------------|
| “Ukraine is ruled by external forces such as Soros' and Gates' organizations” | n | Completely disagree | Rather disagree | Rather agree | Completely agree | Don't know and refusals |
| Other | 1089 | 2.6 | 17.3 | 41.1 | 23.2 | 15.8 |
| Disagree | 162 | 37 | 27.8 | 15.4 | 9.9 | 9.9 |
| Total | 1251 | 7 | 18.6 | 37.8 | 21.5 | 15 |

Unweighted, row percentages.

5 Full multivariate regression models

Table A4: Models predicting disagreement with statements “Ukraine is in fact governed by external forces such as the organizations of George Soros and Bill Gates” and “The shelling of the Vostochnyi microdistrict was done by the Ukrainian armed forces”.

| Predictor | Gates/Soros conspiracy | | | | Shelling of Vostochnyi | | | |
|--|------------------------|----------|----------|----------|------------------------|----------|----------|----------|
| | Unweighted | | Weighted | | Unweighted | | Weighted | |
| | Wald | Exp (B) | Wald | Exp (B) | Wald | Exp (B) | Wald | Exp (B) |
| Male | 0.037 | 0.959 | 0.007 | 0.983 | 1.506 | 1.307 | 0.801 | 1.210 |
| 18-39 (ref) | 0.315 | | 1.296 | | 3.101 | | 3.496 | |
| 40-59 | 0.000 | 1.003 | 0.095 | 1.076 | 0.712 | 1.286 | 0.085 | 1.081 |
| 60+ | 0.199 | 0.873 | 0.651 | 0.781 | 3.016 | 1.767 | 3.020 | 1.783 |
| Education (ref: primary) | 0.736 | | 1.071 | | 0.847 | | 1.011 | |
| Education (secondary) | 0.736 | 1.479 | 0.783 | 1.526 | 0.143 | 1.195 | 0.008 | 1.046 |
| Education (tertiary) | 0.554 | 1.426 | 0.330 | 1.327 | 0.524 | 1.426 | 0.241 | 1.304 |
| Good economy | 7.474 | 2.086** | 14.759 | 2.472*** | 4.563 | 1.850* | 10.364 | 2.372*** |
| Feels Ukrainian | 0.383 | 1.204 | 0.027 | 0.953 | 2.448 | 1.673 | 5.876 | 2.488** |
| Feels Russian | 1.149 | 0.779 | 4.398 | 0.618* | 8.656 | 0.471** | 2.549 | 0.660 |
| Feels Soviet | 4.231 | 0.588* | 4.577 | 0.575* | 2.284 | 0.663 | 3.202 | 0.590 |
| Feels European | 2.238 | 1.456 | 0.848 | 1.243 | 0.007 | 1.023 | 0.058 | 1.066 |
| Sexual minorities should have equal rights | 30.385 | 3.257*** | 27.446 | 2.865*** | 1.447 | 0.757 | 4.560 | 0.605* |
| Until 30 July (ref) | 43.450 | | 43.653 | | 0.651 | | 0.994 | |
| 31 July to 19 Aug | 2.835 | 0.640 | 4.846 | 0.570* | 0.064 | 0.924 | 0.792 | 1.331 |
| 20 Aug to 27 Sept | 38.541 | 0.204*** | 40.285 | 0.219*** | 0.559 | 0.808 | 0.878 | 1.320 |
| Trusts the Ukrainian Orthodox Church | 0.133 | 1.084 | 0.361 | 1.135 | 7.958 | 1.894** | 12.169 | 2.190*** |
| Trusts the Moscow Patriarchate | 0.917 | 1.255 | 0.481 | 1.177 | 24.222 | 0.232*** | 25.028 | 0.200*** |
| Russians and Ukrainians are one people | 53.873 | 0.171*** | 47.912 | 0.214*** | 72.455 | 0.127*** | 99.743 | 0.092*** |
| Constant | 1.092 | 0.522 | 0.488 | 0.653 | 2.012 | 0.396 | 3.563 | 0.264 |
| Nagelkerke r2 | 0.380 | | 0.365 | | 0.335 | | 0.394 | |
| -2 Log likelihood | 658.48 | | 743.561 | | 624.174 | | 636.753 | |

Significances: ***0.1%, **1%, *5%.

Table A5: Models predicting disagreement with statements “American laboratories on Ukrainian soil conduct medical experiments on the Ukrainian population” and “The former acting minister of Healthcare Ulana Suprun was in the government because the Americans wanted so”.

| Predictor | American medical experiments | | | | Ulana Suprun | | | |
|--|------------------------------|----------|----------|----------|--------------|----------|----------|----------|
| | Unweighted | | Weighted | | Unweighted | | Weighted | |
| | Wald | Exp (B) | Wald | Exp (B) | Wald | Exp (B) | Wald | Exp(B) |
| Male | 0.192 | 0.933 | 0.267 | 0.925 | 2.632 | 1.396 | 1.456 | 1.276 |
| 18-39 (ref) | 1.151 | | 1.109 | | 1.110 | | 1.543 | |
| 40-59 | 0.138 | 0.922 | 0.019 | 1.027 | 0.827 | 1.317 | 1.357 | 1.363 |
| 60+ | 0.272 | 1.129 | 0.879 | 1.239 | 1.034 | 1.391 | 1.127 | 1.395 |
| Education (ref: primary) | 0.663 | | 2.164 | | 5.223 | | 4.782 | |
| Education (secondary) | 0.034 | 0.951 | 1.446 | 0.709 | 2.036 | 2.000 | 0.632 | 1.473 |
| Education (tertiary) | 0.360 | 0.838 | 2.156 | 0.641 | 4.194 | 2.781* | 2.463 | 2.183 |
| Good economy | 2.509 | 1.409 | 6.561 | 1.649** | 1.299 | 1.362 | 2.229 | 1.453 |
| Feels Ukrainian | 0.001 | 1.007 | 0.041 | 1.045 | 0.253 | 0.871 | 0.009 | 0.973 |
| Feels Russian | 5.700 | 0.675* | 6.156 | 0.661* | 0.143 | 1.089 | 0.176 | 1.101 |
| Feels Soviet | 10.481 | 0.538*** | 9.064 | 0.554** | 1.321 | 0.739 | 0.932 | 0.772 |
| Feels European | 10.334 | 1.875*** | 7.532 | 1.671** | 6.646 | 1.925** | 6.720 | 1.905** |
| Sexual minorities should have equal rights | 26.744 | 2.201*** | 31.664 | 2.326*** | 2.125 | 1.352 | 0.497 | 1.159 |
| Until 30 July (ref) | 1.009 | | 1.957 | | 2.668 | | 1.982 | |
| 31 July to 19 Aug | 0.170 | 1.103 | 0.049 | 1.052 | 0.747 | 0.746 | 1.692 | 0.657 |
| 20 Aug to 27 Sept | 0.163 | 0.919 | 0.762 | 0.837 | 0.276 | 1.161 | 0.148 | 0.901 |
| Trusts the Ukrainian Orthodox Church | 10.324 | 1.682*** | 9.522 | 1.642** | 20.087 | 2.657*** | 15.784 | 2.366*** |
| Trusts the Moscow Patriarchate | 2.556 | 1.316 | 1.336 | 1.225 | 3.405 | 1.519 | 5.638 | 1.733* |
| Russians and Ukrainians are one people | 17.910 | 0.422*** | 13.678 | 0.493*** | 4.917 | 0.539* | 4.744 | 0.557* |
| Constant | 2.636 | 0.492 | 1.918 | 0.550 | 28.225 | 0.028*** | 23.012 | 0.041*** |
| Nagelkerke r2 | 0.208 | | 0.202 | | 0.126 | | 0.114 | |
| -2 Log likelihood | 1128.657 | | 1171.331 | | 716.649 | | 727.318 | |

Significances: ***0.1%, **1%, *5%.