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A Border Regime in the Making? The Case of the Contact Line in Ukraine

Sabine von Löwis & Gwendolyn Sasse *

Abstract: »Ein Grenzregime im Entstehen? Die Kontaktlinie in der Ukraine«. The central aim of the paper is to analyze the ceasefire line in eastern Ukraine, widely referred to as the "Contact Line," as an evolving border and a potential social and political boundary. We conceptualize the ceasefire line both as a special type of border that divides conflicting parties and a formerly integrated population and as a border regime managing different forms of mobility. Our mixed method approach combines ethnographic and survey data. The analysis of the formal border regime regulating the access to the divided territories is broadened by a perspective that foregrounds the local residents' practices and perceptions. The article highlights different mobilities and the informal variations in the border practices along and across the ceasefire line as well as the social and political identities accompanying these practices.

Keywords: border, border regime, ceasefire line, Contact Line, Ukraine, Donbas, practices, perceptions, identities.

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Special Issue Borders as Places of Control. Fixing, Shifting, and Reinventing State Borders (ed. Fabian Gülzau, Steffen Mau & Kristina Korte)

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Coding Key

The crossing variable captures the frequency of crossings into either the NGCAs or the GCAs. The answer categories "daily," "once a week," and "once a month" were collapsed into the dummy "cross_often." The categories "once in six months" and "once in 12 months" were recoded as the dummy variable "cross_occasionally," and a dummy "cross_never" was coded for those who reported never crossing the Contact Line.

The status variables were derived from the survey question "In your view, what should the status of the DNR and LNR be?" Each answer option was recoded as a dummy: "like_before," "special_aut_Ukr," "part_of_russia," "special_aut_RU," and "DK_status."

The identity variables were derived from the survey question "As a result of the events of 2013-16, do you feel..." Each option was recoded as a dummy: "more_Ukrainian," "more_Russian," "more_both," or "no_change."

"Year_16_19" is a dummy variable with 0 referring to the respondents who took part in the cross-sectional survey in 2016, and 1 referring to those who took part in 2019.

Gender was measured as the dummy variable "male" (female=0).

The respondent's location was measured as the dummy variable "urban" (rural=0).

Age was measured with "age_cat" in equal age groups of 10 years each, ranging from 18 to 99 years of age.

"Income" is a continuous variable displaying absolute figures of monthly income.

"Higher_education" is a simplified variable reducing an eight-level scale to a dummy variable: "primary education" to "full secondary vocational education" were combined under the value "0," all higher levels under the value "1."

Table 1 Non-Government-Controlled Areas: Crossings and Preferences Regarding Future Status. Full Tables

| Crossing frequency "never" and status "don't know" | | |
|--|---------|--------------------|
| DK_status | (1) | (2) |
| year_16_19 | 1.243 | 1.102 |
| | (0.179) | (0.170) |
| cross_never | 1.057 | 1.106 |
| | (0.152) | (0.163) |
| male | | 0.888 |
| | | (0.132) |
| age_cat | | 1.109 [*] |
| | | (0.0574) |
| higher_education | | 0.827 |
| | | (0.142) |
| urban | | 1.366 [*] |
| | | (0.215) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.00000299) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.002 | 0.011 |
| Observations | 1610 | 1610 |

Crossing frequency "often" and status "don't know"

| DK_status | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|---------|--------------------|
| year_16_19 | 1.252 | 1.110 |
| | (0.181) | (0.173) |
| cross_often | 0.893 | 0.861 |
| | (0.192) | (0.188) |
| male | | 0.892 |
| | | (0.133) |
| age_cat | | 1.109 [*] |
| | | (0.0572) |
| higher_education | | 0.824 |
| | | (0.141) |
| urban | | 1.356 |
| | | (0.213) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.00000299) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.002 | 0.011 |
| Observations | 1610 | 1610 |

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses NOTE: Logistic Regression, dependent variable is dummy-coded p < 0.05, p < 0.01, p < 0.001

Crossing frequency "rarely" and status "don't know"

| DK_status | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|---------|-------------|
| year_16_19 | 1.239 | 1.093 |
| | (0.178) | (0.169) |
| cross_rarely | 0.997 | 0.968 |
| | (0.152) | (0.149) |
| male | | 0.887 |
| | | (0.132) |
| age_cat | | 1.105 |
| | | (0.0568) |
| higher_education | | 0.821 |
| | | (0.140) |
| urban | | 1.352 |
| | | (0.212) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.0000298) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.002 | 0.011 |
| Observations | 1610 | 1610 |

Crossing frequency "never" and status "like before"

| like_before | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|----------|-------------|
| year_16_19 | 1.087 | 1.291 |
| | (0.141) | (0.187) |
| cross_never | 0.509*** | 0.472*** |
| | (0.0665) | (0.0636) |
| male | | 1.190 |
| | | (0.159) |
| age_cat | | 0.914 |
| | | (0.0423) |
| higher_education | | 1.150 |
| | | (0.173) |
| urban | | 0.628*** |
| | | (0.0849) |
| income | | 1.000** |
| | | (0.0000518) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.019 | 0.037 |
| Observations | 1384 | 1384 |

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses NOTE: Logistic Regression, dependent variable is dummy-coded p < 0.05, p < 0.01, p < 0.001

Crossing frequency "often" and status "like before"

| like_before | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|----------|-------------|
| year_16_19 | 1.054 | 1.254 |
| | (0.138) | (0.183) |
| cross_often | 2.006*** | 2.093*** |
| | (0.342) | (0.365) |
| male | | 1.157 |
| | | (0.154) |
| age_cat | | 0.923 |
| | | (0.0425) |
| higher_education | | 1.180 |
| | | (0.176) |
| urban | | 0.664** |
| | | (0.0888) |
| income | | 1.000** |
| | | (0.0000514) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.011 | 0.027 |
| Observations | 1384 | 1384 |

Crossing frequency "rarely" and status "like before"

| like_before | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| year_16_19 | 1.151 | 1.391 [*] |
| | (0.148) | (0.200) |
| cross_rarely | 1.395 [*] | 1.457** |
| | (0.185) | (0.197) |
| male | | 1.190 |
| | | (0.157) |
| age_cat | | 0.935 |
| | | (0.0427) |
| higher_education | | 1.213 |
| | | (0.180) |
| urban | | 0.668** |
| | | (0.0890) |
| income | | 1.000** |
| | | (0.0000520) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.005 | 0.021 |
| Observations | 1384 | 1384 |

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses NOTE: Logistic Regression, dependent variable is dummy-coded p < 0.05, p < 0.01, p < 0.001

Crossing frequency "never" and status "part of Russia"

| part_of_russia | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|----------|--------------------|
| year_16_19 | 1.614** | 1.554 [*] |
| | (0.257) | (0.269) |
| cross_never | 2.058*** | 2.074*** |
| | (0.343) | (0.352) |
| male | | 0.973 |
| | | (0.158) |
| age_cat | | 0.938 |
| | | (0.0534) |
| higher_education | | 1.047 |
| | | (0.195) |
| urban | | 1.260 |
| | | (0.215) |
| income | | 1.000 [*] |
| | | (0.0000347) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.024 | 0.033 |
| Observations | 1384 | 1384 |

Crossing frequency "often" and status "part of Russia"

| part_of_russia | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|---------|--------------------|
| year_16_19 | 1.638** | 1.560** |
| | (0.261) | (0.269) |
| cross_often | 0.422** | 0.432** |
| | (0.123) | (0.127) |
| male | | 0.995 |
| | | (0.161) |
| age_cat | | 0.927 |
| | | (0.0522) |
| higher_education | | 1.016 |
| | | (0.188) |
| urban | | 1.196 |
| | | (0.202) |
| income | | 1.000 [*] |
| | | (0.0000353) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.016 | 0.024 |
| Observations | 1384 | 1384 |

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses NOTE: Logistic Regression, dependent variable is dummy-coded p < 0.05, p < 0.01, p < 0.001

Crossing frequency "rarely" and status "part of Russia"

| part_of_russia | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|---------|-------------|
| year_16_19 | 1.510** | 1.446* |
| | (0.238) | (0.248) |
| cross_rarely | 0.652* | 0.648* |
| | (0.116) | (0.117) |
| male | | 0.966 |
| | | (0.156) |
| age_cat | | 0.917 |
| | | (0.0514) |
| higher_education | | 1.002 |
| | | (0.186) |
| urban | | 1.194 |
| | | (0.202) |
| income | | 1.000* |
| | | (0.0000345) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.012 | 0.021 |
| Observations | 1384 | 1384 |

Crossing frequency "never" and status "special autonomy in Russia"

| special_aut_RU | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|----------|--------------------|
| year_16_19 | 0.809 | 0.739 [*] |
| | (0.0987) | (0.0980) |
| cross_never | 2.229*** | 2.227*** |
| | (0.276) | (0.281) |
| male | | 0.797 |
| | | (0.0987) |
| age_cat | | 0.958 |
| | | (0.0411) |
| higher_education | | 0.745 [*] |
| | | (0.105) |
| urban | | 1.199 |
| | | (0.152) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.0000336) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.029 | 0.035 |
| Observations | 1384 | 1384 |

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses NOTE: Logistic Regression, dependent variable is dummy-coded p < 0.05, p < 0.01, p < 0.001

Crossing frequency "often" and status "special autonomy in Russia"

| special_aut_RU | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|----------|--------------------|
| year_16_19 | 0.823 | 0.746 [*] |
| | (0.100) | (0.0985) |
| cross_often | 0.450*** | 0.468*** |
| | (0.0935) | (0.0979) |
| male | | 0.821 |
| | | (0.101) |
| age_cat | | 0.944 |
| | | (0.0400) |
| higher_education | | 0.722 [*] |
| | | (0.100) |
| urban | | 1.120 |
| | | (0.140) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.0000329) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.013 | 0.018 |
| Observations | 1384 | 1384 |

Crossing frequency "rarely" and status "special autonomy in Russia"

| special_aut_RU | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|----------|-------------|
| year_16_19 | 0.756* | 0.682** |
| | (0.0913) | (0.0895) |
| cross_rarely | 0.583*** | 0.581*** |
| | (0.0772) | (0.0776) |
| male | | 0.793 |
| | | (0.0974) |
| age_cat | | 0.939 |
| | | (0.0397) |
| higher_education | | 0.711* |
| | | (0.0991) |
| urban | | 1.135 |
| | | (0.142) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.0000330) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.013 | 0.020 |
| Observations | 1384 | 1384 |

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses NOTE: Logistic Regression, dependent variable is dummy-coded p < 0.05, p < 0.01, p < 0.001

Crossing frequency "never" and status "special autonomy in Ukraine"

| _special_aut_Ukr | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|----------|-------------|
| year_16_19 | 0.881 | 0.882 |
| | (0.102) | (0.111) |
| cross_never | 0.578*** | 0.609*** |
| | (0.0662) | (0.0711) |
| male | | 1.099 |
| | | (0.129) |
| age_cat | | 1.146*** |
| | | (0.0466) |
| higher_education | | 1.141 |
| | | (0.150) |
| urban | | 1.095 |
| | | (0.133) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.0000305) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.013 | 0.021 |
| Observations | 1384 | 1384 |

Crossing frequency "often" and status "special autonomy in Ukraine"

| special_aut_Ukr | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|--------------------|-------------|
| year_16_19 | 0.883 | 0.894 |
| | (0.102) | (0.113) |
| cross_often | 1.445 [*] | 1.342 |
| | (0.234) | (0.220) |
| male | | 1.086 |
| | | (0.126) |
| age_cat | | 1.158*** |
| | | (0.0469) |
| higher_education | | 1.173 |
| | | (0.153) |
| urban | | 1.148 |
| | | (0.138) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.0000303) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.003 | 0.012 |
| Observations | 1384 | 1384 |

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses NOTE: Logistic Regression, dependent variable is dummy-coded p < 0.05, p < 0.01, p < 0.001

Crossing frequency "rarely" and status "special autonomy in Ukraine"

| special_aut_Ukr | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|----------|-------------|
| year_16_19 | 0.929 | 0.934 |
| | (0.106) | (0.117) |
| cross_rarely | 1.499*** | 1.457** |
| | (0.178) | (0.175) |
| male | | 1.108 |
| | | (0.129) |
| age_cat | | 1.160*** |
| | | (0.0469) |
| higher_education | | 1.176 |
| | | (0.153) |
| urban | | 1.127 |
| | | (0.136) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.0000304) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.007 | 0.016 |
| Observations | 1384 | 1384 |

Table 2 Non-Government-Controlled Areas: Crossings and Self-Reported Identity Change. Full Tables

Crossing frequency "never" and identity "more both"

| more_both | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|----------|-------------|
| year_16_19 | 1.692*** | 1.477** |
| | (0.201) | (0.190) |
| cross_never | 0.720** | 0.719** |
| | (0.0856) | (0.0874) |
| male | | 0.702** |
| | | (0.0866) |
| age_cat | | 1.012 |
| | | (0.0430) |
| higher_education | | 0.716* |
| | | (0.103) |
| urban | | 1.178 |
| | | (0.151) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.0000309) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.016 | 0.026 |
| Observations | 1547 | 1547 |

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses NOTE: Logistic Regression, dependent variable is dummy-coded 'p < 0.05, "p < 0.01, "p < 0.001

Crossing frequency "often" and identity "more both"

| more_both | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|----------|--------------------|
| year_16_19 | 1.731*** | 1.522** |
| | (0.207) | (0.197) |
| cross_often | 0.910 | 0.927 |
| | (0.160) | (0.166) |
| male | | 0.706** |
| | | (0.0871) |
| age_cat | | 1.025 |
| | | (0.0434) |
| higher_education | | 0.741 [*] |
| | | (0.106) |
| urban | | 1.233 |
| | | (0.157) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.0000307) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.012 | 0.022 |
| Observations | 1547 | 1547 |

Crossing frequency "rarely" and identity "more both"

| more_both | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|----------|--------------|
| year_16_19 | 1.748*** | 1.530*** |
| | (0.208) | (0.197) |
| cross_rarely | 1.501*** | 1.479** |
| | (0.184) | (0.184) |
| male | | 0.713** |
| | | (0.0880) |
| age_cat | | 1.017 |
| | | (0.0431) |
| higher_education | | 0.724* |
| | | (0.104) |
| urban | | 1.187 |
| | | (0.152) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.00000311) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.018 | 0.027 |
| Observations | 1547 | 1547 |

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses NOTE: Logistic Regression, dependent variable is dummy-coded p < 0.05, p < 0.01, p < 0.001

Crossing frequency "never" and identity "more Russian"

| more_russian | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|----------|-------------|
| year_16_19 | 1.273* | 1.247 |
| | (0.148) | (0.157) |
| cross_never | 3.031*** | 3.087*** |
| | (0.368) | (0.382) |
| male | | 0.937 |
| | | (0.111) |
| age_cat | | 0.964 |
| | | (0.0397) |
| higher_education | | 1.032 |
| | | (0.139) |
| urban | | 1.235 |
| | | (0.152) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.0000301) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.049 | 0.053 |
| Observations | 1547 | 1547 |

Crossing frequency "often" and identity "more Russian"

| more_russian | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|----------|--------------|
| year_16_19 | 1.285* | 1.239 |
| | (0.147) | (0.153) |
| cross_often | 0.348*** | 0.353*** |
| | (0.0733) | (0.0747) |
| male | | 0.972 |
| | | (0.113) |
| age_cat | | 0.946 |
| | | (0.0380) |
| higher_education | | 0.974 |
| | | (0.128) |
| urban | | 1.108 |
| | | (0.132) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.00000298) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.018 | 0.020 |
| Observations | 1547 | 1547 |

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses NOTE: Logistic Regression, dependent variable is dummy-coded p < 0.05, p < 0.01, p < 0.001

Crossing frequency "rarely" and identity "more Russian"

| more_russian | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|----------|--------------|
| year_16_19 | 1.164 | 1.125 |
| | (0.133) | (0.139) |
| cross_rarely | 0.455*** | 0.452*** |
| | (0.0592) | (0.0593) |
| male | | 0.913 |
| | | (0.106) |
| age_cat | | 0.939 |
| | | (0.0379) |
| higher_education | | 0.966 |
| | | (0.128) |
| urban | | 1.144 |
| | | (0.138) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.00000294) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.022 | 0.026 |
| Observations | 1547 | 1547 |

Crossing frequency "never" and identity "more Ukrainian"

| more_ukrainian | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| year_16_19 | 1.406 [*] | 1.515 [*] |
| | (0.238) | (0.284) |
| cross_never | 0.306*** | 0.304*** |
| | (0.0563) | (0.0570) |
| male | | 1.474 [*] |
| | | (0.254) |
| age_cat | | 1.005 |
| | | (0.0605) |
| higher_education | | 0.949 |
| | | (0.190) |
| urban | | 0.942 |
| | | (0.170) |
| income | | 1.000* |
| | | (0.0000680) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.050 | 0.059 |
| Observations | 1547 | 1547 |

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses NOTE: Logistic Regression, dependent variable is dummy-coded p < 0.05, p < 0.01, p < 0.001

Crossing frequency "often" and identity "more Ukrainian"

| more_ukrainian | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|----------|--------------------|
| year_16_19 | 1.315 | 1.429 |
| | (0.224) | (0.270) |
| cross_often | 2.963*** | 2.857*** |
| | (0.581) | (0.570) |
| male | | 1.402 [*] |
| | | (0.242) |
| age_cat | | 1.021 |
| | | (0.0614) |
| higher_education | | 0.988 |
| | | (0.197) |
| urban | | 1.033 |
| | | (0.185) |
| income | | 1.000 [*] |
| | | (0.0000674) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.032 | 0.040 |
| Observations | 1547 | 1547 |

Crossing frequency "rarely" and identity "more Ukrainian"

| more_ukrainian | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| year_16_19 | 1.505 [*] | 1.662** |
| | (0.252) | (0.308) |
| cross_rarely | 1.639** | 1.640** |
| | (0.278) | (0.282) |
| male | | 1.491 [*] |
| | | (0.254) |
| age_cat | | 1.041 |
| | | (0.0618) |
| higher_education | | 1.030 |
| | | (0.203) |
| urban | | 1.035 |
| | | (0.184) |
| income | | 1.000* |
| | | (0.0000686) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.013 | 0.024 |
| Observations | 1547 | 1547 |

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses NOTE: Logistic Regression, dependent variable is dummy-coded p < 0.05, p < 0.01, p < 0.001

Crossing frequency "never" and identity "no change"

| no_change_ident | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|----------|--------------------|
| year_16_19 | 0.453*** | 0.506*** |
| | (0.0504) | (0.0608) |
| cross_never | 0.797* | 0.785* |
| | (0.0863) | (0.0870) |
| male | | 1.209 |
| | | (0.134) |
| age_cat | | 1.015 |
| | | (0.0390) |
| higher_education | | 1.279 [*] |
| | | (0.157) |
| urban | | 0.748* |
| | | (0.0850) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.00000325) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.027 | 0.034 |
| Observations | 1547 | 1547 |

Crossing frequency "often" and identity "no change"

| no_change_ident | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|----------|--------------------|
| year_16_19 | 0.448*** | 0.503*** |
| | (0.0502) | (0.0608) |
| cross_often | 1.323 | 1.302 |
| | (0.211) | (0.210) |
| male | | 1.197 |
| | | (0.133) |
| age_cat | | 1.018 |
| | | (0.0391) |
| higher_education | | 1.290 [*] |
| | | (0.158) |
| urban | | 0.764* |
| | | (0.0862) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.0000326) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.027 | 0.033 |
| Observations | 1547 | 1547 |

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses NOTE: Logistic Regression, dependent variable is dummy-coded p < 0.05, p < 0.01, p < 0.001

Crossing frequency "rarely" and identity "no change"

| no_change_ident | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|----------|--------------------|
| year_16_19 | 0.461*** | 0.518*** |
| | (0.0511) | (0.0619) |
| cross_rarely | 1.118 | 1.140 |
| | (0.127) | (0.131) |
| male | | 1.215 |
| | | (0.134) |
| age_cat | | 1.021 |
| | | (0.0391) |
| higher_education | | 1.299 [*] |
| | | (0.159) |
| urban | | 0.762 [*] |
| | | (0.0862) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.0000326) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.026 | 0.033 |
| Observations | 1547 | 1547 |

Table 3 Government-Controlled Areas: Crossings and Preferences Regarding Future Status. Full Tables

Crossing frequency "never" and status "like before"

| like_before | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|----------|-------------|
| year_16_19 | 1.170 | 1.103 |
| | (0.140) | (0.144) |
| cross_never | 2.121*** | 2.228*** |
| | (0.442) | (0.470) |
| male | | 0.948 |
| | | (0.116) |
| age_cat | | 0.975 |
| | | (0.0437) |
| higher_education | | 1.107 |
| | | (0.169) |
| urban | | 0.851 |
| | | (0.110) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.0000163) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.009 | 0.012 |
| Observations | 1214 | 1214 |

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses NOTE: Logistic Regression, dependent variable is dummy-coded 'p < 0.05, "p < 0.01, "p < 0.001

Crossing frequency "often" and status "like before"

| like_before | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| year_16_19 | 1.196 | 1.124 |
| | (0.143) | (0.147) |
| cross_often | 0.250 [*] | 0.232 [*] |
| | (0.151) | (0.141) |
| male | | 0.955 |
| | | (0.117) |
| age_cat | | 0.985 |
| | | (0.0439) |
| higher_education | | 1.069 |
| | | (0.162) |
| urban | | 0.880 |
| | | (0.113) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.0000165) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.005 | 0.007 |
| Observations | 1214 | 1214 |

Crossing frequency "rarely" and status "like before"

| like_before | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|---------|-------------|
| year_16_19 | 1.168 | 1.105 |
| | (0.140) | (0.144) |
| cross_rarely | 0.527** | 0.506** |
| | (0.117) | (0.113) |
| male | | 0.957 |
| | | (0.117) |
| age_cat | | 0.978 |
| | | (0.0437) |
| higher_education | | 1.096 |
| | | (0.167) |
| urban | | 0.855 |
| | | (0.111) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.0000161) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.006 | 0.009 |
| Observations | 1214 | 1214 |

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses NOTE: Logistic Regression, dependent variable is dummy-coded p < 0.05, p < 0.01, p < 0.001

Crossing frequency "never" and status "part of Russia"

| part_of_russia | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|----------|-------------|
| year_16_19 | 0.309*** | 0.395** |
| | (0.0973) | (0.134) |
| cross_never | 2.759 | 2.315 |
| | (2.013) | (1.700) |
| male | | 1.056 |
| | | (0.301) |
| age_cat | | 1.081 |
| | | (0.118) |
| higher_education | | 0.630 |
| | | (0.252) |
| urban | | 1.988* |
| | | (0.693) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.0000653) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.040 | 0.063 |
| Observations | 1214 | 1214 |

Crossing frequency "often" and status "part of Russia"

| part_of_russia | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|----------|------------|
| year_16_19 | 0.313*** | 0.401** |
| | (0.0983) | (0.136) |
| cross_often | 1.999 | 2.960 |
| | (2.126) | (3.206) |
| male | | 1.072 |
| | | (0.306) |
| age_cat | | 1.092 |
| | | (0.120) |
| higher_education | | 0.596 |
| | | (0.239) |
| urban | | 2.036* |
| | | (0.710) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.000655) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.035 | 0.061 |
| Observations | 1214 | 1214 |

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses NOTE: Logistic Regression, dependent variable is dummy-coded p < 0.05, p < 0.01, p < 0.001

Crossing frequency "rarely" and status "part of Russia"

| part_of_russia | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|----------|-------------|
| year_16_19 | 0.307*** | 0.392** |
| | (0.0964) | (0.133) |
| cross_rarely | 0.199 | 0.230 |
| | (0.202) | (0.235) |
| male | | 1.053 |
| | | (0.300) |
| age_cat | | 1.078 |
| | | (0.117) |
| higher_education | | 0.632 |
| | | (0.252) |
| urban | | 1.974 |
| | | (0.688) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.0000654) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.044 | 0.066 |
| Observations | 1214 | 1214 |

Crossing frequency "never" and status "special autonomy in Russia"

| special_aut_RU | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|----------|--------------------|
| year_16_19 | 0.775 | 0.841 |
| | (0.271) | (0.330) |
| cross_never | 0.215*** | 0.192*** |
| | (0.0839) | (0.0775) |
| male | | 2.496 [*] |
| | | (0.926) |
| age_cat | | 0.857 |
| | | (0.108) |
| higher_education | | 0.575 |
| | | (0.272) |
| urban | | 1.640 |
| | | (0.668) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.0000484) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.041 | 0.078 |
| Observations | 1214 | 1214 |

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses NOTE: Logistic Regression, dependent variable is dummy-coded p < 0.05, p < 0.01, p < 0.001

Crossing frequency "often" and status "special autonomy in Russia"

| crossing frequency often and status special autonomy in Russia | | |
|--|----------|--------------------|
| _special_aut_RU | (1) | (2) |
| year_16_19 | 0.706 | 0.805 |
| | (0.247) | (0.318) |
| cross_often | 11.48*** | 13.67*** |
| | (7.875) | (9.977) |
| male | | 2.472 [*] |
| | | (0.922) |
| age_cat | | 0.838 |
| | | (0.105) |
| higher_education | | 0.635 |
| | | (0.299) |
| urban | | 1.511 |
| | | (0.613) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.0000510) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.028 | 0.063 |
| Observations | 1214 | 1214 |

Crossing frequency "rarely" and status "special autonomy in Russia"

| and the Land | /*) | (2) |
|-----------------------|---------|---------------------|
| special_aut_RU | (1) | (2) |
| year_16_19 | 0.771 | 0.818 |
| | (0.268) | (0.316) |
| cross_rarely | 3.268** | 3.563 ^{**} |
| | (1.435) | (1.603) |
| male | | 2.401 [*] |
| | | (0.885) |
| age_cat | | 0.848 |
| | | (0.105) |
| higher_education | | 0.605 |
| | | (0.284) |
| urban | | 1.584 |
| | | (0.641) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.0000461) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.021 | 0.056 |
| Observations | 1214 | 1214 |

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses NOTE: Logistic Regression, dependent variable is dummy-coded p < 0.05, p < 0.01, p < 0.001

Crossing frequency "never" and status "special autonomy in Ukraine"

| special_aut_Ukr | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|---------|-------------|
| year_16_19 | 1.092 | 1.121 |
| | (0.138) | (0.154) |
| cross_never | 0.537** | 0.533** |
| | (0.114) | (0.114) |
| male | | 0.931 |
| | | (0.121) |
| age_cat | | 1.029 |
| | | (0.0487) |
| higher_education | | 1.054 |
| | | (0.168) |
| urban | | 0.998 |
| | | (0.135) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.0000164) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.006 | 0.007 |
| Observations | 1214 | 1214 |

Crossing frequency "often" and status "special autonomy in Ukraine"

| special_aut_Ukr | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|---------|-------------|
| year_16_19 | 1.074 | 1.102 |
| | (0.135) | (0.151) |
| cross_often | 1.495 | 1.521 |
| | (0.858) | (0.877) |
| male | | 0.920 |
| | | (0.119) |
| age_cat | | 1.019 |
| | | (0.0479) |
| higher_education | | 1.086 |
| | | (0.172) |
| urban | | 0.973 |
| | | (0.131) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.0000164) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.001 | 0.001 |
| Observations | 1214 | 1214 |

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses NOTE: Logistic Regression, dependent variable is dummy-coded p < 0.05, p < 0.01, p < 0.001

Crossing frequency "rarely" and status "special autonomy in Ukraine"

| special_aut_Ukr | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|---------|-------------|
| year_16_19 | 1.096 | 1.122 |
| | (0.139) | (0.154) |
| cross_rarely | 1.899** | 1.906** |
| | (0.427) | (0.432) |
| male | | 0.926 |
| | | (0.120) |
| age_cat | | 1.028 |
| | | (0.0486) |
| higher_education | | 1.056 |
| | | (0.169) |
| urban | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.136) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.0000163) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.006 | 0.006 |
| Observations | 1214 | 1214 |

 Table 4
 Government-Controlled Areas: Crossings and Self-Reported Identity Change. Full
 Tables

Crossing frequency "never" and identity "more both"

| more_both | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|---------|-------------|
| year_16_19 | 0.703* | 0.705 |
| | (0.117) | (0.127) |
| cross_never | 1.157 | 1.131 |
| | (0.371) | (0.366) |
| male | | 1.102 |
| | | (0.188) |
| age_cat | | 1.112 |
| | | (0.0701) |
| higher_education | | 1.287 |
| | | (0.261) |
| urban | | 1.006 |
| | | (0.180) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.0000203) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.005 | 0.009 |
| Observations | 1245 | 1245 |

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses NOTE: Logistic Regression, dependent variable is dummy-coded p < 0.05, p < 0.01, p < 0.001

Crossing frequency "often" and identity "more both"

| more_both | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|--------------------|-------------|
| year_16_19 | 0.706 [*] | 0.707 |
| | (0.118) | (0.127) |
| cross_often | 0.605 | 0.624 |
| | (0.635) | (0.657) |
| male | | 1.101 |
| | | (0.188) |
| age_cat | | 1.113 |
| | | (0.0700) |
| higher_education | | 1.282 |
| | | (0.259) |
| urban | | 1.012 |
| | | (0.181) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.0000202) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.005 | 0.009 |
| Observations | 1245 | 1245 |

Crossing frequency "rarely" and identity "more both"

| more_both | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|---------|-------------|
| year_16_19 | 0.703* | 0.706 |
| | (0.117) | (0.127) |
| cross_rarely | 0.904 | 0.924 |
| | (0.303) | (0.313) |
| male | | 1.103 |
| | | (0.188) |
| age_cat | | 1.113 |
| | | (0.0702) |
| higher_education | | 1.285 |
| | | (0.260) |
| urban | | 1.008 |
| | | (0.181) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.0000203) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.005 | 0.009 |
| Observations | 1245 | 1245 |

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses NOTE: Logistic Regression, dependent variable is dummy-coded p < 0.05, p < 0.01, p < 0.001

Crossing frequency "never" and identity "more Russian"

| more_russian | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|---------|-------------|
| year_16_19 | 1.351 | 1.594 |
| | (0.366) | (0.466) |
| cross_never | 0.366** | 0.301*** |
| | (0.129) | (0.109) |
| male | | 1.169 |
| | | (0.314) |
| age_cat | | 1.073 |
| | | (0.108) |
| higher_education | | 0.847 |
| | | (0.295) |
| urban | | 2.347** |
| | | (0.749) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.0000367) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.016 | 0.035 |
| Observations | 1245 | 1245 |

Crossing frequency "often" and identity "more Russian"

| more_russian | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|----------|--------------------|
| year_16_19 | 1.285 | 1.563 |
| | (0.351) | (0.462) |
| cross_often | 14.45*** | 18.15*** |
| | (8.701) | (11.48) |
| male | | 1.209 |
| | | (0.328) |
| age_cat | | 1.045 |
| | | (0.106) |
| higher_education | | 0.872 |
| | | (0.307) |
| urban | | 2.169 [*] |
| | | (0.691) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.0000412) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.032 | 0.049 |
| Observations | 1245 | 1245 |

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses NOTE: Logistic Regression, dependent variable is dummy-coded p < 0.05, p < 0.01, p < 0.001

Crossing frequency "rarely" and identity "more Russian"

| more_russian | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|---------|--------------------|
| year_16_19 | 1.329 | 1.535 |
| | (0.359) | (0.444) |
| cross_rarely | 1.490 | 1.774 |
| | (0.664) | (0.805) |
| male | | 1.142 |
| | | (0.305) |
| age_cat | | 1.053 |
| | | (0.105) |
| higher_education | | 0.866 |
| | | (0.300) |
| urban | | 2.197 [*] |
| | | (0.695) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.0000357) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.004 | 0.019 |
| Observations | 1245 | 1245 |

Crossing frequency "never" and identity "more Ukrainian"

| more_ukrainian | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|---------|-------------|
| year_16_19 | 1.165 | 1.196 |
| | (0.161) | (0.179) |
| cross_never | 1.132 | 1.192 |
| | (0.295) | (0.314) |
| male | | 0.959 |
| | | (0.134) |
| age_cat | | 0.954 |
| | | (0.0477) |
| higher_education | | 1.553** |
| | | (0.255) |
| urban | | 1.072 |
| | | (0.158) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.0000152) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.001 | 0.009 |
| Observations | 1245 | 1245 |

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses NOTE: Logistic Regression, dependent variable is dummy-coded p < 0.05, p < 0.01, p < 0.001

Crossing frequency "often" and identity "more Ukrainian"

| more_ukrainian | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|---------|-------------|
| year_16_19 | 1.169 | 1.200 |
| | (0.162) | (0.179) |
| cross_often | 0.686 | 0.628 |
| | (0.533) | (0.491) |
| male | | 0.958 |
| | | (0.134) |
| age_cat | | 0.957 |
| | | (0.0476) |
| higher_education | | 1.545** |
| | | (0.253) |
| urban | | 1.082 |
| | | (0.158) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.0000153) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.001 | 0.009 |
| Observations | 1245 | 1245 |

Crossing frequency "rarely" and identity "more Ukrainian"

| more_ukrainian | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|---------|-------------|
| year_16_19 | 1.166 | 1.197 |
| | (0.162) | (0.179) |
| cross_rarely | 0.916 | 0.877 |
| | (0.251) | (0.244) |
| male | | 0.960 |
| | | (0.135) |
| age_cat | | 0.955 |
| | | (0.0477) |
| higher_education | | 1.551** |
| | | (0.254) |
| urban | | 1.075 |
| | | (0.158) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.0000152) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.001 | 0.009 |
| Observations | 1245 | 1245 |

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses NOTE: Logistic Regression, dependent variable is dummy-coded p < 0.05, p < 0.01, p < 0.001

Crossing frequency "never" and identity "no change"

| no_change_ident | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|---------|-------------|
| year_16_19 | 1.005 | 0.960 |
| | (0.117) | (0.121) |
| cross_never | 1.132 | 1.142 |
| | (0.240) | (0.245) |
| male | | 0.957 |
| | | (0.114) |
| age_cat | | 0.970 |
| | | (0.0416) |
| higher_education | | 0.656** |
| | | (0.0953) |
| urban | | 0.817 |
| | | (0.102) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.0000141) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.000 | 0.008 |
| Observations | 1245 | 1245 |

Crossing frequency "often" and identity "no change"

| no_change_ident | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|---------|-------------|
| year_16_19 | 1.012 | 0.963 |
| | (0.118) | (0.121) |
| cross_often | 0.338 | 0.344 |
| | (0.208) | (0.214) |
| male | | 0.952 |
| | | (0.113) |
| age_cat | | 0.971 |
| | | (0.0415) |
| higher_education | | 0.653** |
| | | (0.0948) |
| urban | | 0.822 |
| | | (0.102) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.0000141) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.002 | 0.009 |
| Observations | 1245 | 1245 |

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses NOTE: Logistic Regression, dependent variable is dummy-coded p < 0.05, p < 0.01, p < 0.001

Crossing frequency "rarely" and identity "no change"

| _no_change_ident | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|---------|-------------|
| year_16_19 | 1.008 | 0.963 |
| | (0.117) | (0.121) |
| cross_rarely | 1.019 | 1.009 |
| | (0.231) | (0.232) |
| male | | 0.959 |
| | | (0.114) |
| age_cat | | 0.972 |
| | | (0.0417) |
| higher_education | | 0.653** |
| | | (0.0949) |
| urban | | 0.823 |
| | | (0.102) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.0000141) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.000 | 0.007 |
| Observations | 1245 | 1245 |

 Table 5
 Non-Government-Controlled Areas: Crossings and Socio-Demographics. Full
 Tables

Socio-demographic effects for crossing frequency "never"

| cross_never | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| year_16_19 | 0.819 [*] | 0.735** |
| | (0.0817) | (0.0808) |
| male | | 1.002 |
| | | (0.104) |
| age_cat | | 0.866*** |
| | | (0.0311) |
| higher_education | | 0.680*** |
| | | (0.0794) |
| urban | | 0.623*** |
| | | (0.0664) |
| income | | 1.000 [*] |
| | | (0.00000275) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.002 | 0.025 |
| Observations | 1630 | 1630 |

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses NOTE: Logistic Regression, dependent variable is dummy-coded p < 0.05, p < 0.01, p < 0.001

Socio-demographic effects for crossing frequency "often"

| cross_often | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|----------|--------------------|
| year_16_19 | 2.119*** | 2.398*** |
| | (0.315) | (0.393) |
| male | | 1.281 |
| | | (0.192) |
| age_cat | | 1.208*** |
| | | (0.0641) |
| higher_education | | 1.497 [*] |
| | | (0.255) |
| urban | | 1.320 |
| | | (0.212) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.0000439) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.020 | 0.039 |
| Observations | 1630 | 1630 |

Socio-demographic effects for crossing frequency "occasionally"

| cross_occasionally | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|----------|--------------|
| year_16_19 | 0.844 | 0.891 |
| | (0.0894) | (0.103) |
| male | | 0.876 |
| | | (0.0951) |
| age_cat | | 1.062 |
| | | (0.0399) |
| higher_education | | 1.236 |
| | | (0.149) |
| urban | | 1.475*** |
| | | (0.167) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.00000296) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.001 | 0.012 |
| Observations | 1630 | 1630 |

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses NOTE: Logistic Regression, dependent variable is dummy-coded $^{\circ}p$ < 0.05, $^{\circ}p$ < 0.01, $^{\circ\circ}p$ < 0.001

 Table 6
 Government-Controlled Creas: Crossings and Socio-Demographics. Full Tables

Socio-demographic effects for crossing frequency "never"

| cross_never | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|---------|-------------|
| year_16_19 | 1.295 | 1.380 |
| | (0.259) | (0.303) |
| male | | 1.210 |
| | | (0.251) |
| age_cat | | 1.232** |
| | | (0.0878) |
| higher_education | | 0.611* |
| | | (0.140) |
| urban | | 1.863** |
| | | (0.388) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.0000239) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.002 | 0.034 |
| Observations | 1361 | 1361 |

Socio-demographic effects for crossing frequency "often"

| cross_often | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|---------|-------------|
| year_16_19 | 1.387 | 1.219 |
| | (0.794) | (0.750) |
| male | | 0.452 |
| | | (0.286) |
| age_cat | | 0.797 |
| | | (0.156) |
| higher_education | | 1.421 |
| | | (0.915) |
| urban | | 1.127 |
| | | (0.697) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.0000285) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.002 | 0.045 |
| Observations | 1361 | 1361 |

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses NOTE: Logistic Regression, dependent variable is dummy-coded p < 0.05, "p < 0.01, "p < 0.001

 ${\color{red}Socio-demographic effects for crossing frequency "occasionally"}\\$

| cross_occasionally | (1) | (2) |
|-----------------------|---------|--------------------|
| year_16_19 | 0.714 | 0.707 |
| | (0.152) | (0.165) |
| male | | 0.900 |
| | | (0.197) |
| age_cat | | 0.807** |
| | | (0.0613) |
| higher_education | | 1.672 [*] |
| | | (0.406) |
| urban | | 0.493** |
| | | (0.109) |
| income | | 1.000 |
| | | (0.0000322) |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.004 | 0.037 |
| Observations | 1361 | 1361 |