

**Annexes for “The ethnicity distraction: Political
credibility and partisan preferences in Africa”**

Annex 1: Country-by-country determinants of partisan disaffection

Dependent variable: Expresses a partisan preference (1, 0)	Benin	Botswana	Ghana
Approves incumbent performance, jobs (0-1)	0.021 (0.72)	-0.0058 (0.84)	0.070 (0.04)
Has an opinion about incumbent performance, jobs (0-1)	0.023 (0.78)	-0.13 (0.28)	0.070 (0.44)
Approves incumbent performance, economy (0-1)	0.051 (0.31)	-0.0052 (0.86)	-0.010 (0.77)
Has an opinion about incumbent performance, economy (0-1)	0.14 (0.10)	0.16 (0.03)	0.10 (0.24)
Was respondent offered a gift before last election? 0 - 1	0.067 (0.03)	0.072 (0.43)	0.15 (0.00)
How frequent is pre-electoral gift-giving by politicians? 0 (never) - 3 (always)	-0.11 (0.00)	0.0036 (0.76)	0.021 (0.13)
How frequently do politicians keep promises? 0 (never) - 3 (always)	0.042 (0.09)	0.031 (0.05)	0.042 (0.02)
Expresses ethnic grievance (0,1)	-0.060 (0.17)	0.020 (0.69)	0.0040 (0.93)
Mokalanga		-0.060 (0.11)	
Mongwato		-0.017 (0.65)	
Mokgatla		-0.023 (0.62)	
Mokwena		-0.076 (0.12)	
Fon	0.048 (0.17)		
Adja	0.010 (0.82)		
Akan			-0.077 (0.03)
Dagaati			-0.095 (0.03)
Observations	1143	1112	1096
Pseudo R-squared	0.079	0.020	0.049

Annex 1, con't: Country-by-country determinants of partisan disaffection

Dependent variable: Expresses a partisan preference (1, 0)	Kenya	Lesotho	Madagascar
Approves incumbent performance, jobs (0-1)	0.018 (0.65)	0.039 (0.33)	0.12 (0.00)
Has an opinion about incumbent performance, jobs (0-1)	0.20 (0.06)	0.19 (0.33)	0.047 (0.41)
Approves incumbent performance, economy (0-1)	0.089 (0.01)	0.021 (0.49)	0.078 (0.01)
Has an opinion about incumbent performance, economy (0-1)	-0.023 (0.81)	0.016 (0.80)	0.063 (0.25)
Was respondent offered a gift before last election? 0 – 1	0.0052 (0.86)	-0.075 (0.51)	0.032 (0.26)
How frequent is pre-electoral gift-giving by politicians? 0 (never) - 3 (always)	-0.0032 (0.89)	0.0037 (0.77)	0.0064 (0.71)
How frequently do politicians keep promises? 0 (never) - 3 (always)	0.0015 (0.94)	0.051 (0.01)	0.035 (0.08)
Expresses ethnic grievance (0,1)	0.040 (0.26)	0.076 (0.54)	0.014 (0.92)
Kikuyu	-0.023 (0.58)		
Luo	0.067 (0.15)		
Luhya	-0.11 (0.03)		
Kalenjin	-0.060 (0.23)		
Bakoena		-0.038 (0.30)	
Bafokeng		-0.078 (0.03)	
Batabele		-0.079 (0.06)	
Betsileo			-0.037 (0.32)
Betsimisaraka			-0.034 (0.46)
Merina			-0.077 (0.02)
Observations	1222	1006	1278
Pseudo R-squared	0.041	0.058	0.085

Annex 1, con't: Country-by-country determinants of partisan disaffection

Dependent variable: Expresses a partisan preference (1, 0)	Malawi	Mali	Mozambique	Namibia
Approves incumbent performance, jobs (0-1)	-0.068 (0.09)	0.013 (0.71)	0.096 (0.00)	0.060 (0.01)
Has an opinion about incumbent performance, jobs (0-1)	0.070 (0.26)	0.065 (0.38)	0.040 (0.47)	-0.090 (0.44)
Approves incumbent performance, economy (0-1)	-0.0096 (0.78)	-0.058 (0.10)	-0.0045 (0.87)	0.028 (0.35)
Has an opinion about incumbent performance, economy (0-1)	0.15 (0.01)	0.25 (0.00)	0.030 (0.52)	0.000051 (1.00)
Was respondent offered a gift before last election? 0 - 1	-0.031 (0.54)	0.12 (0.00)	0.085 (0.02)	-0.017 (0.67)
How frequent is pre-electoral gift-giving by politicians? 0 (never) - 3 (always)	-0.012 (0.40)	-0.0020 (0.91)	0.016 (0.12)	-0.020 (0.09)
How frequently do politicians keep promises? 0 (never) - 3 (always)	0.020 (0.33)	-0.0022 (0.91)	-0.0057 (0.60)	0.00029 (0.98)
Expresses ethnic grievance (0,1)	-0.014 (0.68)	0.0048 (0.95)	0.076 (0.08)	0.053 (0.22)
Chewa	-0.071 (0.07)			
Yao	0.039 (0.44)			
Ngoni	-0.027 (0.62)			
Lomwe	-0.15 (0.00)			
Bambara		-0.057 (0.12)		
Peuhl		-0.052 (0.27)		
Sonink		-0.054 (0.32)		
Sonrha		0.11 (0.05)		
Makua			0.12 (0.00)	
Changana			0.066 (0.01)	
Oshiwambo				0.14 (0.00)
Damara				-0.0062 (0.87)
Observations	1167	1190	987	1073
Pseudo R-squared	0.036	0.078	0.093	.064

Annex 1, con't: Country-by-country determinants of partisan disaffection

Dependent variable: Expresses a partisan preference (1, 0)	Nigeria	Senegal	South Africa
Approves incumbent performance, jobs (0-1)	0.073 (0.04)	0.12 (0.00)	0.042 (0.13)
Has an opinion about incumbent performance, jobs (0-1)	-0.31 (0.05)	0.060 (0.51)	-0.088 (0.55)
Approves incumbent performance, economy (0-1)	0.035 (0.27)	0.072 (0.07)	0.097 (0.00)
Has an opinion about incumbent performance, economy (0-1)	0.14 (0.46)	0.15 (0.08)	-0.0016 (0.98)
Was respondent offered a gift before last election? 0 - 1	0.17 (0.00)	0.12 (0.06)	0.077 (0.10)
How frequent is pre-electoral gift-giving by politicians? 0 (never) - 3 (always)	-0.036 (0.00)	-0.023 (0.25)	-0.023 (0.02)
How frequently do politicians keep promises? 0 (never) - 3 (always)	0.035 (0.00)	0.064 (0.00)	0.036 (0.29)
Expresses ethnic grievance (0,1)	-0.033 (0.24)		-0.033 (0.42)
Hausa	0.11 (0.00)		
Igbo	-0.10 (0.00)		
Yoruba	-0.13 (0.00)		
Wolof		0.16 (0.10)	
Pular		-0.054 (0.16)	
Sesotho			0.13 (0.00)
Xhosa			0.18 (0.00)
Setswana			0.16 (0.00)
Zulu			-0.018 (0.57)
Observations	2272	1079	2030
Pseudo R-squared	0.074	0.10	0.060

Annex 1, con't: Country-by-country determinants of partisan disaffection

Dependent variable: Expresses a partisan preference (1, 0)	Tanzania	Uganda	Zambia
Approves incumbent performance, jobs (0-1)	0.0014 (0.96)	0.096 (0.00)	-0.042 (0.51)
Has an opinion about incumbent performance, jobs (0-1)	0.027 (0.65)	-0.0037 (0.96)	0.14 (0.22)
Approves incumbent performance, economy (0-1)	0.017 (0.62)	0.011 (0.64)	0.0025 (0.95)
Has an opinion about incumbent performance, economy (0-1)	0.15 (0.02)	0.32 (0.00)	0.039 (0.67)
Was respondent offered a gift before last election? 0 - 1	0.015 (0.77)	-0.020 (0.36)	0.24 (0.00)
How frequent is pre-electoral gift-giving by politicians? 0 (never) - 3 (always)	-0.017 (0.20)	-0.012 (0.33)	-0.016 (0.49)
How frequently do politicians keep promises? 0 (never) - 3 (always)	0.0016 (0.93)	-0.032 (0.02)	0.047 (0.04)
Expresses ethnic grievance (0,1)	-0.054 (0.24)	0.035 (0.21)	0.060 (0.29)
Respondents who list Other, Tanzania	-0.027 (0.33)		
Msukuma	-0.10 (0.02)		
Luo		0.028 (0.41)	
Muganda		-0.028 (0.35)	
Munyankole		-0.032 (0.34)	
Musoga		0.059 (0.10)	
Bemba			-0.086 (0.02)
Tonga			0.13 (0.00)
Chewa			0.095 (0.09)
Observations	1131	2367	1175
Pseudo R-squared	0.041	0.027	0.084

Annex 2: Country-by-country determinants of partisan preferences

	Benin			Botswana		
	RB	PRD	UBF	BCP	BDP	BNF
Favors democracy (0-1)	2.77 (0.16)	1.43 (0.64)	1.60 (0.31)	0.49 (0.06)	1.59 (0.10)	1.31 (0.39)
Believes individual is more responsible for own welfare than government (0-1)	0.52 (0.02)	1.20 (0.55)	1.05 (0.81)	1.15 (0.61)	0.84 (0.33)	0.63 (0.03)
Approves incumbent performance, jobs (0-1)	0.81 (0.73)	0.44 (0.35)	2.14 (0.05)	1.34 (0.30)	1.12 (0.55)	0.55 (0.01)
Approves incumbent performance, economy (0-1)	2.42 (0.07)	1.13 (0.83)	1.09 (0.80)	0.61 (0.08)	1.27 (0.23)	0.75 (0.18)
Was respondent offered a gift before last election? 0 - 1	0.86 (0.60)	1.66 (0.10)	1.44 (0.10)	1.50 (0.65)	1.97 (0.31)	1.15 (0.86)
How frequent is pre-electoral gift-giving by politicians? 0 (never) - 3 (always)	0.77 (0.08)	0.44 (0.00)	0.53 (0.00)	1.12 (0.34)	0.97 (0.66)	1.08 (0.41)
How frequently do politicians keep promises? 0 (never) - 3 (always)	1.15 (0.51)	1.01 (0.98)	1.29 (0.17)	1.00 (0.99)	1.26 (0.02)	1.16 (0.23)
Expresses ethnic grievance (0,1)	0.71 (0.40)	0.62 (0.33)	0.70 (0.37)	1.26 (0.63)	0.85 (0.67)	1.78 (0.11)
Fraction of seven services they receive(0-1)	0.97 (0.94)	1.17 (0.75)	0.96 (0.91)	0.96 (0.95)	1.39 (0.39)	0.80 (0.62)
Fraction of five assets they possess(0-1)	3.58 (0.02)	5.02 (0.01)	1.17 (0.71)	1.42 (0.57)	0.82 (0.61)	1.20 (0.69)
Highest level of education completed? (0, none - 9, post-graduate)	1.04 (0.56)	1.07 (0.43)	1.13 (0.04)	1.16 (0.03)	0.87 (0.00)	0.91 (0.08)
Mongwato				0.76 (0.48)	0.98 (0.94)	0.99 (0.98)
Mokalanga				0.93 (0.84)	0.75 (0.21)	0.52 (0.04)
Mokgatla				0.40 (0.12)	0.87 (0.64)	1.42 (0.29)
Mokwena				0.53 (0.21)	0.71 (0.25)	0.82 (0.58)
Mongwaketse				0.44 (0.18)	0.72 (0.36)	3.70 (0.00)
Fon	17.0 (0.00)	4.21 (0.00)	0.69 (0.17)			
Adja	3.06 (0.08)	1.28 (0.68)	0.72 (0.33)			
Observations	1013	1013	1013	1093	1093	1093
Pseudo R-squared	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.073	0.073	0.073

Annex 2, con't: Country-by-country determinants of partisan preferences

	Kenya		
	NARC	LDP	KANU
Favors democracy (0-1)	1.13 (0.74)	1.93 (0.18)	1.12 (0.79)
Believes individual is more responsible for own welfare than government (0-1)	0.92 (0.56)	1.01 (0.97)	1.23 (0.35)
Approves incumbent performance, jobs (0-1)	1.13 (0.53)	0.78 (0.50)	0.92 (0.81)
Approves incumbent performance, economy (0-1)	2.39 (0.00)	0.81 (0.43)	0.54 (0.02)
Was respondent offered a gift before last election? 0 – 1	0.92 (0.60)	1.47 (0.09)	0.79 (0.27)
How frequent is pre-electoral gift-giving by politicians? 0 (never) - 3 (always)	0.97 (0.80)	1.04 (0.86)	0.93 (0.60)
How frequently do politicians keep promises? 0 (never) - 3 (always)	0.96 (0.73)	1.17 (0.35)	1.11 (0.47)
Expresses ethnic grievance (0,1)	0.85 (0.42)	2.08 (0.00)	1.12 (0.66)
Fraction of seven services they receive(0-1)	0.34 (0.00)	0.76 (0.57)	1.59 (0.28)
Fraction of five assets they possess(0-1)	2.71 (0.02)	6.19 (0.00)	0.87 (0.80)
Highest level of education completed? (0, none - 9, post-graduate)	0.98 (0.68)	1.20 (0.01)	1.06 (0.38)
Kikuyu	1.02 (0.92)	0.12 (0.00)	0.46 (0.03)
Luo	0.59 (0.08)	6.24 (0.00)	0.100 (0.00)
Luhya	0.58 (0.03)	0.91 (0.80)	0.25 (0.00)
Kalenjin	0.36 (0.00)	0.91 (0.80)	2.35 (0.00)
Observations	1157	1157	1157
Pseudo R-squared	0.17	0.17	0.17

Annex 2, con't: Country-by-country determinants of partisan preferences

	Lesotho		Madagascar
	BNP	LCP	TIM
Favors democracy (0-1)	0.80 (0.47)	1.80 (0.01)	0.82 (0.47)
Believes individual is more responsible for own welfare than government (0-1)	0.78 (0.35)	0.77 (0.13)	1.12 (0.47)
Approves incumbent performance, jobs (0-1)	1.45 (0.33)	1.31 (0.31)	1.73 (0.00)
Approves incumbent performance, economy (0-1)	0.70 (0.22)	1.27 (0.21)	2.17 (0.00)
Was respondent offered a gift before last election? 0 - 1	0.40 (0.42)	0.67 (0.52)	1.06 (0.71)
How frequent is pre-electoral gift-giving by politicians? 0 (never) - 3 (always)	0.98 (0.89)	1.03 (0.68)	1.04 (0.65)
How frequently do politicians keep promises? 0 (never) - 3 (always)	0.84 (0.39)	1.52 (0.00)	1.25 (0.04)
Expresses ethnic grievance (0,1)	2.35 (0.38)	1.23 (0.82)	1.08 (0.92)
Fraction of seven services they receive(0-1)	1.13 (0.80)	0.22 (0.00)	0.92 (0.77)
Fraction of five assets they possess(0-1)	7.32 (0.01)	1.89 (0.27)	1.80 (0.15)
Highest level of education completed? (0, none - 9, post-graduate)	1.00 (0.98)	0.74 (0.00)	1.07 (0.18)
Bakoena	1.51 (0.19)	0.72 (0.16)	
Bafokeng	0.71 (0.30)	0.64 (0.03)	
Batabele	0.84 (0.63)	0.65 (0.07)	
Betsileo			0.71 (0.11)
Betsimisaraka			0.71 (0.20)
Merina			0.66 (0.02)
Observations	953	953	1156
Pseudo R-squared	0.088	0.088	0.094

Annex 2, con't: Country-by-country determinants of partisan preferences

	Malawi			Mali			
	DPP	MCP	UDF	adema	RPM_IBK	URD	ATT
Favors democracy (0-1)	1.39 (0.14)	0.58 (0.03)	1.76 (0.02)	1.79 (0.01)	0.95 (0.84)	1.33 (0.37)	1.79 (0.03)
Believes individual is more responsible for own welfare than government (0-1)	0.80 (0.20)	0.97 (0.89)	0.83 (0.30)	1.02 (0.92)	1.53 (0.08)	1.10 (0.72)	1.17 (0.42)
Approves incumbent performance, jobs (0-1)	1.16 (0.47)	0.57 (0.05)	0.46 (0.00)	1.08 (0.68)	0.96 (0.87)	0.88 (0.67)	0.84 (0.46)
Approves incumbent performance, economy (0-1)	1.44 (0.06)	0.93 (0.75)	0.55 (0.00)	0.82 (0.32)	0.75 (0.28)	0.83 (0.55)	1.07 (0.76)
Was respondent offered a gift before last election? 0 - 1	0.89 (0.69)	1.01 (0.99)	0.80 (0.43)	1.88 (0.00)	2.18 (0.00)	1.09 (0.79)	1.37 (0.16)
How frequent is pre-electoral gift-giving by politicians? 0 (never) - 3 (always)	0.84 (0.03)	0.99 (0.89)	1.12 (0.19)	1.08 (0.41)	0.96 (0.77)	0.91 (0.50)	0.90 (0.31)
How frequently do politicians keep promises? 0 (never) - 3 (always)	0.91 (0.44)	1.01 (0.97)	1.30 (0.03)	0.96 (0.68)	1.25 (0.09)	0.90 (0.53)	0.91 (0.47)
Expresses ethnic grievance (0,1)	1.00 (0.98)	1.02 (0.93)	0.91 (0.63)	0.95 (0.88)	0.40 (0.24)	0.65 (0.58)	1.44 (0.40)
Fraction of seven services they receive(0-1)	0.73 (0.47)	0.75 (0.56)	0.39 (0.06)	0.29 (0.00)	0.77 (0.61)	0.20 (0.03)	0.34 (0.04)
Fraction of five assets they possess(0-1)	1.90 (0.15)	3.23 (0.03)	1.43 (0.44)	2.32 (0.02)	5.01 (0.00)	3.54 (0.02)	3.35 (0.00)
Highest level of education completed? (0, none - 9, post-graduate)	0.95 (0.42)	0.95 (0.52)	0.97 (0.59)	1.16 (0.01)	1.20 (0.01)	1.11 (0.17)	0.86 (0.08)
Chewa	0.37 (0.00)	3.95 (0.00)	0.89 (0.66)				
Yao	0.44 (0.01)	0.61 (0.37)	4.00 (0.00)				
Ngoni	0.68 (0.19)	2.00 (0.09)	1.72 (0.08)				
Lomwe	0.60 (0.05)	0.21 (0.02)	1.02 (0.93)				
Bambara				0.67 (0.07)	0.42 (0.00)	1.01 (0.97)	0.91 (0.69)
Peuhl				0.69 (0.18)	0.66 (0.22)	1.25 (0.56)	1.31 (0.37)
Sonrha				1.47 (0.20)	0.95 (0.90)	1.82 (0.18)	2.60 (0.00)
Observations	1124	1124	1124	1036	1036	1036	1036
Pseudo R-squared	0.12	0.12	0.12	0.071	0.071	0.071	0.071

Annex 2, con't: Country-by-country determinants of partisan preferences

	Mozambique		Namibia		
	Frelimo	Renamo	SWAPO	DTA	COD
Favors democracy (0-1)	1.07 (0.82)	1.41 (0.50)	0.70 (0.23)	(0.55)	0.88 (0.82)
Believes individual is more responsible for own welfare than government (0-1)	0.56 (0.00)	0.15 (0.00)	1.02 (0.90)	0.71 (0.28)	0.56 (0.08)
Approves incumbent performance, jobs (0-1)	2.38 (0.00)	1.64 (0.23)	1.67 (0.01)	1.84 (0.07)	0.96 (0.91)
Approves incumbent performance, economy (0-1)	1.09 (0.71)	0.22 (0.00)	1.48 (0.07)	0.58 (0.14)	1.68 (0.19)
Was respondent offered a gift before last election? 0 - 1	2.40 (0.03)	2.49 (0.10)	0.87 (0.64)	0.97 (0.95)	1.05 (0.93)
How frequent is pre-electoral gift-giving by politicians? 0 (never) - 3 (always)	1.10 (0.24)	1.43 (0.01)	0.85 (0.06)	0.92 (0.56)	1.13 (0.44)
How frequently do politicians keep promises? 0 (never) - 3 (always)	0.98 (0.79)	0.89 (0.37)	1.05 (0.61)	0.94 (0.73)	0.87 (0.46)
Expresses ethnic grievance (0,1)	1.57 (0.35)	7.88 (0.00)	1.66 (0.17)	2.11 (0.15)	0.66 (0.55)
Fraction of seven services they receive(0-1)	1.77 (0.08)	2.04 (0.17)	0.50 (0.03)	0.51 (0.26)	1.75 (0.32)
Fraction of five assets they possess(0-1)	0.24 (0.00)	0.14 (0.01)	2.82 (0.01)	2.08 (0.28)	0.47 (0.29)
Highest level of education completed? (0, none - 9, post-graduate)	1.06 (0.38)	0.82 (0.12)	0.92 (0.16)	0.82 (0.07)	1.07 (0.53)
Makua	2.64 (0.00)	5.17 (0.00)			
Changana	1.90 (0.01)	0.19 (0.04)			
Oshiwambo			4.38 (0.00)	0.35 (0.01)	0.79 (0.53)
Damara			1.01 (0.96)	0.39 (0.06)	1.17 (0.70)
Observations	979	979	1005	1005	1005
Pseudo R-squared	0.15	0.15	0.12	0.12	0.12

Annex 2, con't: Country-by-country determinants of partisan preferences

	Nigeria		Senegal	
	PDP	ANPP	PDS	PS
Favors democracy (0-1)	1.33 (0.05)	0.88 (0.50)	0.65 (0.19)	0.69 (0.47)
Believes individual is more responsible for own welfare than government (0-1)	0.93 (0.52)	0.96 (0.77)	1.01 (0.92)	0.69 (0.17)
Approves incumbent performance, jobs (0-1)	1.35 (0.06)	1.31 (0.20)	1.86 (0.00)	1.08 (0.81)
Approves incumbent performance, economy (0-1)	1.32 (0.05)	1.20 (0.35)	1.68 (0.00)	0.49 (0.02)
Was respondent offered a gift before last election? 0 - 1	1.90 (0.00)	2.23 (0.00)	1.55 (0.12)	2.53 (0.04)
How frequent is pre-electoral gift-giving by politicians? 0 (never) - 3 (always)	0.83 (0.00)	0.98 (0.80)	0.89 (0.18)	0.75 (0.08)
How frequently do politicians keep promises? 0 (never) - 3 (always)	1.16 (0.00)	1.12 (0.12)	1.38 (0.00)	1.48 (0.01)
Expresses ethnic grievance (0,1)	0.89 (0.39)	0.65 (0.04)	1.64 (0.31)	1.53 (0.64)
Fraction of seven services they receive(0-1)	0.91 (0.67)	1.24 (0.49)	0.34 (0.00)	0.31 (0.00)
Fraction of five assets they possess(0-1)	3.89 (0.00)	2.43 (0.00)	1.89 (0.10)	5.52 (0.01)
Highest level of education completed? (0, none - 9, post-graduate)	1.06 (0.04)	1.00 (0.94)	0.85 (0.00)	0.96 (0.54)
Hausa	0.96 (0.77)	3.11 (0.00)		
Igbo	0.53 (0.00)	0.23 (0.00)		
Yoruba	0.54 (0.00)	0.087 (0.00)		
Wolof			0.77 (0.14)	0.81 (0.48)
Pular			1.07 (0.76)	0.37 (0.02)
Observations	2127	2127	1001	1001
Pseudo R-squared	0.11	0.11	0.12	0.12

Annex 2, con't: Country-by-country determinants of partisan preferences

	South Africa	Tanzania
	ANC	CCM
Favors democracy (0-1)	1.90 (0.00)	1.63 (0.27)
Believes individual is more responsible for own welfare than government (0-1)	0.94 (0.53)	1.22 (0.21)
Approves incumbent performance, jobs (0-1)	1.25 (0.07)	0.99 (0.93)
Approves incumbent performance, economy (0-1)	1.77 (0.00)	1.24 (0.30)
Was respondent offered a gift before last election? 0 - 1	1.53 (0.06)	0.94 (0.84)
How frequent is pre-electoral gift-giving by politicians? 0 (never) - 3 (always)	0.89 (0.01)	0.88 (0.10)
How frequently do politicians keep promises? 0 (never) - 3 (always)	1.20 (0.00)	1.02 (0.89)
Expresses ethnic grievance (0,1)	0.59 (0.01)	0.74 (0.23)
Fraction of seven services they receive(0-1)	1.18 (0.34)	0.67 (0.28)
Fraction of five assets they possess(0-1)	0.86 (0.54)	2.97 (0.02)
Highest level of education completed? (0, none - 9, post-graduate)	0.97 (0.42)	0.74 (0.00)
Xhosa	2.71 (0.00)	
Setswana	2.62 (0.00)	
Sesotho	2.17 (0.00)	
Zulu	1.00 (0.97)	
Respondents who list Other, Tanzania		0.84 (0.30)
Msukuma		0.56 (0.01)
Observations	1860	1061
Pseudo R-squared	0.091	0.044

Annex 2, con't: Country-by-country determinants of partisan preferences

	Uganda			Zambia		
	NRMO	FDC	UPC	MMD	PF	UPND
Favors democracy (0-1)	1.17 (0.41)	0.61 (0.10)	1.08 (0.85)	1.37 (0.25)	1.06 (0.88)	0.98 (0.95)
Believes individual is more responsible for own welfare than government (0-1)	0.94 (0.52)	1.00 (0.99)	1.05 (0.83)	0.91 (0.56)	1.41 (0.20)	1.37 (0.12)
Approves incumbent performance, jobs (0-1)	1.65 (0.00)	0.80 (0.43)	0.83 (0.46)	0.91 (0.75)	0.51 (0.32)	0.68 (0.36)
Approves incumbent performance, economy (0-1)	1.41 (0.00)	0.45 (0.00)	0.42 (0.00)	1.86 (0.00)	1.11 (0.72)	0.36 (0.00)
Was respondent offered a gift before last election? 0 - 1	0.80 (0.02)	1.55 (0.05)	1.38 (0.12)	1.65 (0.02)	2.34 (0.00)	5.76 (0.00)
How frequent is pre-electoral gift-giving by politicians? 0 (never) - 3 (always)	0.93 (0.17)	1.12 (0.40)	1.22 (0.17)	0.89 (0.35)	0.76 (0.14)	1.08 (0.59)
How frequently do politicians keep promises? 0 (never) - 3 (always)	0.87 (0.02)	0.86 (0.27)	1.04 (0.75)	1.19 (0.15)	0.97 (0.86)	1.62 (0.00)
Expresses ethnic grievance (0,1)	0.86 (0.27)	2.0 (0.00)5	1.58 (0.03)	0.60 (0.22)	1.12 (0.83)	2.41 (0.00)
Fraction of seven services they receive(0-1)	1.05 (0.80)	2.54 (0.03)	1.46 (0.47)	0.38 (0.00)	0.72 (0.44)	0.57 (0.10)
Fraction of five assets they possess(0-1)	2.19 (0.00)	3.51 (0.03)	4.16 (0.01)	2.53 (0.02)	3.32 (0.05)	1.79 (0.23)
Luo	0.56 (0.00)	1.1 (0.62)8	7.15 (0.00)			
Musoga	1.30 (0.10)	0.90 (0.79)	0.92 (0.84)			
Muganda	0.84 (0.18)	0.47 (0.02)	0.21 (0.00)			
Munyankole	0.95 (0.73)	0.91 (0.78)	0.082 (0.01)			
Highest level of education completed? (0, none - 9, post-graduate)				1.11 (0.10)	1.39 (0.00)	1.13 (0.15)
Bemba				0.71 (0.07)	2.55 (0.00)	0.26 (0.00)
Tonga				0.46 (0.03)	0 (0.00)	5.03 (0.00)

Chewa				1.65 (0.07)	2.86 (0.02)	0.14 (0.01)
Observations	2286	2286	2286	1098	1098	1098
Pseudo R-squared	0.11	0.11	0.11	0.19	0.19	0.19

Note: Results from multinomial logit estimations for the respective countries. Robust p-values in parentheses. Constants and coefficients indicating effect of respondents having an opinion on incumbents, democracy or role of government are not reported. The comparator category is “disaffected”. Coefficients are odds ratios: the probability that a respondent will prefer the particular party divided by the probability that the respondent will prefer to be disaffected. Odds ratios less than one imply a lower probability of preferring a party rather than expressing disaffection.