

Appendix 1: Additional Results

Table A1.1: Ethnicity and National Identity, Additional Results
(Dependent Variable: National > Ethnic Identity)

Sample	Pres Group = Core Group	Pres Group ≠ Core Group	Pres Group = Core Group	Pres Group ≠ Core Group
Region	w/o Asian Settler Countries	w/o Asian Settler Countries	w/o White Settler Countries	w/o White Settler Countries
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Core Ethnic Group	0.096** (0.047)	-0.124** (0.054)	0.147* (0.086)	-0.149*** (0.052)
President's Ethnic Group		-0.064 (0.040)		-0.017 (0.037)
Constant	1.295*** (0.280)	2.245*** (0.320)	4.408*** (0.682)	2.324*** (0.304)
Country-level intercepts	0.006 (0.003)	0.002 (0.002)	0.000 (0.000)	0.002 (0.001)
Ethnic Group-level Intercepts	0.011 (0.002)	0.006 (0.002)	0.016 (0.004)	0.008 (0.002)
Individual, ethnic group and country controls	yes	yes	yes	yes
Country-level observations	11	7	6	9
Ethnic Group-level observations	229	121	125	175
Individual-level observations	13,558	9,924	6,582	14,214

* $p \leq 0.1$, ** $p \leq 0.05$, *** $p \leq 0.01$. Individual-level control variables include age, age squared, log of distance to capital city and dummies for education, gender, urban residence, Muslim, radio ownership, t.v. ownership, access to the internet and full-time employment. Ethnic-group level control variables include percentage of total population and dummies for partitioned and peripheral groups. State-level controls include log of GDP per capita, ELF and a dummy for former British colonies.

**Table A1.2: Ethnicity and National Identity,
Additional Results For Countries One at a Time**
(Dependent Variable: National > Ethnic Identity)

Sample	Pres Group = Core Group	Pres Group ≠ Core Group	
Botswana	0.074*** (0.009)	-0.067 (0.348)	Benin
Burkina Faso	-0.070 (0.535)	-0.049 (0.050)	Cote d'Ivoire
Cameroon	0.115*** (0.026)	-0.011 (0.105)	Malawi
Guinea	0.250*** (0.018)	-0.218 (0.145)	Mozambique
Kenya	-0.018 (0.030)	-0.065 (0.052)	Nigeria
Madagascar	0.130* (0.063)	0.007 (0.106)	Senegal
Mali	0.208* (0.115)	-0.095** (0.037)	Sierra Leone
Mauritius	-0.035 (0.039)	0.118 (0.144)	Togo
Namibia	-0.429 (0.252)	-0.226** (0.094)	Uganda
Niger	0.158 (0.091)		
South Africa	-0.018 (0.042)		
Zambia	0.750** (0.291)		
Zimbabwe	0.489 (0.371)		

* $p \leq 0.1$, ** $p \leq 0.05$, *** $p \leq 0.01$. Individual-level control variables include age, age squared, log of distance to capital city and dummies for education, gender, urban residence, Muslim, radio ownership, t.v. ownership, access to the internet and full-time employment. Ethnic-group level control variables include percentage of total population and dummies for partitioned and peripheral groups. These regressions are estimated using pooled OLS and robust standard errors clustered at the ethnic group level.

Table A1.3: Descriptive Statistics

	Obs.	Mean	St. Dev.	Minimum	Maximum
National>Ethnic	34,008	0.473	0.499	0	1
Core Ethnic Group Membership	34,794	0.344	0.475	0	1
Peripheral Ethnic Group Membership	34,794	0.078	0.268	0	1
Ethnic Group percentage	34,794	0.191	0.169	0.0004	0.625
Partitioned Ethnic Group	34,794	0.358	0.479	0	1
Urbanization	34,794	0.360	0.480	0	1
Age	34,794	36.738	14.355	18	105
Age squared	34,794	1555.739	1273.21	324	11,025
Gender (0=male, 1=female)	34,794	0.500	0.500	0	1
Muslim	34,794	0.273	0.446	0	1
Owns Radio	34,794	0.704	0.457	0	1
Owns TV	34,794	0.407	0.491	0	1
No Internet Access	33,947	0.817	0.387	0	1
Full Time Employment	34,665	0.206	0.404	0	1
Education	34,794	0.500	0.500	0	9
Log distance from Capital City (in km)	34,794	4.604	2.169	0	7.415
Former British Colony	34,794	0.621	0.485	0	1
Log GDP per capita	34,794	7.039	1.005	5.599	9.118
ELF (Fearon)	34,794	0.744	0.155	0.351	0.930

Appendix 2: Coding Ethnic Cores and the President's Ethnic Group by Country

Part A: Afrobarometer Round 5

Below I detail coding decisions for all countries in the dataset for both the core ethnic group and the President's ethnic group. For the former I use various sources, including data on ethnic demography from the Afrobarometer as well as the Soviet 1985 ethnographic atlas by Bruk (1986) and two more recent datasets on ethnic diversity by country by Alesina, Devleeshauer, Easterly, Kurlat, and Wacziarg (2003) and Fearon (2003).

Benin

Core Ethnic Group

The core ethnic group in Benin is the Fon, which is the largest ethnic group in the country according to the Afrobarometer (41.9%), Alesina et al. (39.7%), Bruk (65.6%) and Fearon (55.5%). The Fon were the core ethnic group of the Dahomey Empire, which was conquered by the French in 1894 and which gave its name to the colony of French Dahomey and the Republic of Dahomey until the country was renamed Benin in 1975 in order to make its name more ethnically neutral. (Ironically, the coastline of the Bight of Benin from which the country's second name comes is also located within the Fon traditional homeland.) The Beninese army corps was historically dominated by Fon, including Major Jean-Baptiste Hachème (President 18-19 December 1967); other notable Fon politicians include Justin Ahomadégbé-Tométin (Prime Minister 1964-1965 and President May-October 1972), Nicéphore Soglo (President 1991-1996) and Patrice Talon (President April 2016 – present).

President's Ethnic Group

Thomas Boni Yayi was President of Benin between 6 April 2006 and 6 April 2016, and is a member of the Yoruba ethnic group.

Botswana

Core Ethnic Group

The core ethnic group in Botswana is the Bangwato, who comprise 12.3% of the population and are thus the largest sub-group of the Tswana people and the second largest ethnic group in Botswana after the Kalanga (15.2%). (Alesina et al., Bruk and Fearon all list the Tswana as a single group.) Prominent Bangwato politicians include Seretse Khama (President 1966-1980), Ian Khama (Vice-President 1998-2008 and President 2008-present) and Lenyeletse Seretse (Vice-President 1980-1983). The Bangwato have long been the dominant sub-group of the Tswana people, indicated by the name given to their home province, Central District, which is the largest district in Botswana by both area and population. Seretse Khama's grandfather, Khama III, was one of three chiefs who travelled to the UK in 1895 in order to convince Queen Victoria to not allow what would become Botswana to be absorbed into Cecil Rhodes' Cape Colony. The ruling Botswana Democratic Party has long been seen as dominated by the Bangwato.

President's Ethnic Group

Ian Khama has been President of Botswana since 1 April 2008; he is from the Bangwato ethnic group.

Burkina Faso

Core Ethnic Group

The core ethnic group in Burkina Faso is the Mossi, who comprise the largest ethnic group in Burkina Faso according to the Afrobarometer (52.8%), Alesina et al. (47.9%), Bruk (48.0%) and Fearon (50%). The capital of the Mossi Empire from the 15th century was Ouagadougou, which the French created as the capital of their new colony of Upper Volta in 1919. For a majority of years since independence Burkina Faso has been led by Mossi Presidents, including the first independent leader of Upper Volta, Maurice Yaméogo (1960-1966); Thomas Sankara (of both Mossi and Fulani descent; 1983-1987), who changed the name of the country to Burkina Faso, which means “the land of upright people” in the Mossi language; and Blaise Compaoré (1987-2014). Despite Sankara’s Mossi heritage, his attempts to confine the activities of the Moro Naba, the Mossi chief, led in part to his downfall and execution (Wilkins, 1989).

President’s Ethnic Group

Blaise Compaoré was President between 1987 and 2014, and is a member of the Mossi ethnic group.

Cameroon

Core Ethnic Group

The core ethnic group in Cameroon is the Beti-Pahuin, who originate in the southern tropical region and who comprise the second-largest ethnic group in the country according to Afrobarometer (14.2%) after the Bamileke but the largest according to Fearon (18%) as well as Alesina et al. (19.6%) and Bruk (19.6%), where they are identified by one of their sub-groups, the Fang.¹ The capital city of Yaoundé was named after the local Yaunde people, who are a sub-group of the Beti-Pahuin, The Beti-Pahuin have held the presidency for a majority of years since independence through Paul Biya, who took power from Ahmadou Ahidjo in 1982 and who has consistently favoured the Beti-Pahuin group through his policies over the past three decades (Konings and Nyamnjoh, 1997, p. 213).

President’s Ethnic Group

Paul Biya has been President of Cameroon since 6 November 1982, and is a member of the Beti-Pahuin ethnic group.

Côte d'Ivoire

Core Ethnic Group

The core ethnic group in Côte d'Ivoire is the Akan, which is the largest group in the country according to the Afrobarometer (38.2%) as well as Alesina et al. (24%), Bruk (27.5%) and Fearon (35.0%) if one adds together the Baoulé, Agni and Ebrié/Lagoon Akan sub-groups. The former capital city of Abidjan as well as the current capital of Yamoussoukro both lie within the Akan-dominated south. Côte d'Ivoire has been ruled for a majority of years since independence by members of the Akan, specifically Felix Houphouët-Boigny (1960-1993) and Henri Konan Bédié (1993-1999), and as such the Akan dominated other groups both politically and economically in the late 20th century (Langer, 2005). Indeed, there is evidence that Houphouët-Boigny encouraged the Akan to believe in themselves as superior to other ethnic groups in the country, such that they were more “civilized” than other groups and were thus the “ideal political class of the Ivoirian nation” (Akindès, 2004, p. 14).

¹ The Afrobarometer lists 13.8% of Cameroonian respondents under “Other” for ethnic identity, many of whom could have given one of the Beti-Pahuin sub-groups as their identity.

President's Ethnic Group

Alassane Outtara has been President of Côte d'Ivoire since 4 December 2010, and is a member of the Mandinka/Malinke ethnic group, which is identified more commonly in Côte d'Ivoire as part of the Northern Mandé group (or *Mandé du Nord* in French).

Guinea

Core Ethnic Group

The core ethnic group in Guinea is the Mandinka/Malinke, who comprise the second-largest ethnic group in the country according to the Afrobarometer (27.7%), Alesina et al. (25.8%) and Bruk (23.2%) after the Fula/Peulh.² The Mandinka were the founders of the Mali/Mandeng Empire, which comprises much of modern-day Guinea, and thus see themselves as having particular "claims to Guinea by virtue of their participation in the building of the ancient Mandeng Kingdom" (Groelsema, 1998, p. 418). The country has been ruled for a majority of years since independence by Mandinka politicians, namely Ahmed Sékou Touré (President 1958-1984), Sékouba Konaté (President 2009-2010) and Alpha Condé (President 2010 – present). As such the country experienced a "Malinkaization" of the public sector after independence through the 1980s, at the expense of other ethnic groups such as the Peulh (Groelsema, 1998, p. 416).

President's Ethnic Group

Alpha Condé has been President since 21 December 2010 and is a member of the Mandinka/Malinke ethnic group.

Kenya

Core Ethnic Group

The core ethnic group in Kenya is the Kikuyu, who comprise the largest ethnic group in the country according to the Afrobarometer (20.0%), Alesina et al. (22%) and Bruk (21.1%).³ The country takes its name from Mt. Kenya, whose southern slopes are located in the Kikuyu homeland. Prominent Kikuyu include Jomo Kenyatta (President 1963-1978), Mwai Kibaki (President 2002-2013) and Uhuru Kenyatta (President 2013 – present), as well as Nobel Peace Prize Winner Wangari Maathai, former Vice-Presidents Josephat Karanja and George Saitoti (of both Masaai and Kikuyu ancestry) and various other notable politicians, musicians, writers, and athletes. After independence Jomo Kenyatta consolidated the state around the Kikuyu, in particular by excluding the Luo, the second-largest ethnic group, from power. This meant conceiving the Luo "as a cultural 'other' beyond the bounds of Kikuyu civil society, which in any case was coterminous with the Kenyatta state," particularly because they did not practice circumcision and were *Andu waruguru* ("foreigners from the West") and thus not "legitimate citizens" (Odhiambo, 2004, pp. 178-179).

President's Ethnic Group

Mwai Kibaki was President of Kenya between 30 December 2002 and 9 April 2013, and is a member of the Kikuyu ethnic group.

Madagascar

² Fearon groups together all Mande peoples such as the Mandinka, Susu and Guerze/Kpelle.

³ Fearon combines the Kikuyu with the Meru and the Embu.

Core Ethnic Group

The core ethnic group in Madagascar is the Merina, who comprise the largest ethnic group in the country according to the Afrobarometer (26.8%), Alesina et al. (25.0%), and Fearon (27.0%).⁴ The Merina kingdom grew in power over the 17th and 18th century and reached its peak in the 19th century when it established dominance over the entire island. The French colonized the country in the late 19th century and re-established the capital in Antananarivo, which had been the capital of the Merina kingdom since the early 17th century. The Merina dialect of Malagasy is used as the national language in schools and more broadly. Prominent Merina politicians include Gabriel Ramanantsoa (President 1972-1975), Richard Ratsimandrava (President in February 1975), Gilles Andriamahazo (President February – June 1975), Marc Ravalomanana (President 2002-2009) and Andry Rajoelina (President 2009-2014).

President's Ethnic Group

Andry Rajoelina was President of Madagascar between 17 March 2009 and 25 January 2014, and is a member of the Merina ethnic group.

Malawi

Core Ethnic Group

The core ethnic group in Malawi is the Chewa, who comprise the largest ethnic group in the country according to the Afrobarometer (33.6%), Alesina et al. (who list them as the Maravi; 50.0%), Bruk (58.3%) and Fearon (28.0%). For a majority of years since independence Malawi has had a Chewa President, specifically due to Hastings Banda (President 1966-1994). In 1964 upon independence Banda renamed the country from Nyasaland ("lake-land" in Yao) to Malawi in honour of the pre-colonial Maravi kingdom, which was centred in what is now the Chewa ethnic homeland. Similarly, in 1968 Banda declared Chewa the sole national language of Malawi (to which five other languages were added in 1996), and in 1975 he moved the capital from the southern city of Blantyre, in a region dominated demographically by the Yao, to Lilongwe in the Central Region, historically home to the Chewa.

President's Ethnic Group

Joyce Banda, née Mtila, was President of Malawi from 7 April 2012 until 31 May 2014, and is from the Yao ethnic group. The Round 5 Afrobarometer survey was conducted between June and July 2012.

Mali

Core Ethnic Group

The core ethnic group in Mali is the Bambara ethnic group, which are part of the larger Mande group but which have a distinct identity from the other Mande groups such as the Malinke/Mandinke and Dioula/Dyula. The Bambara comprise the largest ethnic group in the country according to the Afrobarometer (32.6%) and Bruk (31.9%), as well as Alesina et al. (50.0%) and Fearon (43.0%) which list them under the larger Mande group. Some 80% of the Malian population speaks Bambara as a lingua franca. For the majority of years since independence Mali has been ruled by Bambara Presidents, namely Moussa Traoré (President 1968-1991) and Alpha Oumar Konaré (born to a Bambara father; President 1992-2002). Due to

⁴ Bruk lists all Malagasy groups together, including the Merina but also the Antaisaka, Betsileo and Betsimisaraha, among others.

their prominence historically and today there has been a lot of assimilation into the Bambara from similar groups such as the Soninke (MacDonald, 2015, p. 120).

President's Ethnic Group

The President of Mali during the Afrobarometer Round 5 survey (conducted December 2012 – January 2013) was Dioncounda Traoré, who was interim President of the country between 12 April 2012 and 4 September 2013. For this paper I assume that Traoré, like his clansman Moussa Traoré, is a member of the Bambara ethnic group, although it is possible that he is actually from the Malinke ethnic group considering his birthplace in the city of Kati is on the border of the Bambara and Malinke home ethnic territories according to Murdock (1967).

Mauritius

Core Ethnic Group

The core ethnic group in Mauritius is the Hindus, who comprise the largest ethnic group in the country according to the Afrobarometer (39.8%, or 46.8% if one includes the separately listed Marathi, Tamil and Telegu), Alesina et al. (listed under Indo-Pakistanis; 68.0%), Bruk (listed as Indo-Mauritians; 67.5%) and Fearon (51.8%). Hindus have historically dominated both the civil service and the police and have been head of government for the vast majority of years since self-rule began in the early 1960s, under Seewoosagur Ramgoolam (Chief Minister 1961-1968 and Prime Minister after independence 1968-1982), Anerood Jugnauth (Prime Minister 1982-1995, 2000-2003 and 2014-present) and Navin Ramgoolam (Prime Minister 1995-2000 and 2005-2014). Hindus have also served as President (head of state) for all but two years since the country became a republic in 1992.

President's Ethnic Group

As noted above, both the President and Prime Minister of Mauritius at the time of the Afrobarometer survey were Hindus in January-February 2012.

Mozambique

Core Ethnic Group

The core ethnic group in Mozambique is the Makua, who comprise the largest ethnic group in the country according to the Afrobarometer (27.7%), as well as Alesina et al. (47.3%), Bruk (47.3%) and Fearon (38.4%) who all appear to group neighbouring northern groups like the Lomwe (4.7% in the Afrobarometer) and Ajaua (2.8%) together with the Makua. The island of Mozambique, which was the capital of Portuguese East Africa from the 16th century through 1898, lies just off the coast from the ethnic homeland of the Makua in northern Mozambique in what is now Nampula province. Indeed, Nampula province and its surrounding areas held the name of Mozambique province in the early twentieth century, such that southern Mozambique was known as Lourenço Marques (the colonial name for Maputo), and only had its name changed after independence in the late 1970s. As such one Makua organization from northern Mozambique claimed in the run up to independence that they were “the only ethnic group profoundly rooted in Mozambique” and thus deserved to have the capital relocated to Nampula (Alpers, 1974, p. 40).

President's Ethnic Group

Armando Guebuza was President of Mozambique from 2 February 2005 until 15 January 2015. He was born to a Ronga father and a mother who was either of Sena or Makua descent depending on the source. In any case he grew up in the Ronga region around Maputo and came to power within the southern-dominated FRELIMO party. I thus code his ethnicity as Ronga.

Namibia

Core Ethnic Group

The core ethnic group in Namibia is the Ovambo, which comprise the largest ethnic group in the country according to the Afrobarometer (52.4%), Alesina et al. (58.6%), Bruk (49.2%) and Fearon (49.8%). Prominent Ovambo politicians include Sam Nujoma (President 1990-2005), Hifikepunye Pohamba (President 2005-2015) and founding member of the South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO) Simon Hafeni Kaukungwa. Indeed, SWAPO was originally founded as the Ovambo People's Organization in 1959 before its name was changed in 1960 to SWAPO, reflecting its goal to liberate all of what was then South-West Africa (Düsing, 2002, p. 123). Due to their demographic prominence Ovambos have dominated government and the civil service more broadly, leading "many Namibians of other ethnic background... to conclude that Namibian nationalism represents little more than Ovambo ethnicity writ large" (Fosse, 1997, p. 444).

President's Ethnic Group

Hifikepunye Pohamba was President of Namibia from 21 March 2005 until 21 March 2015, and is from the Ovambo ethnic group.

Niger

Core Ethnic Group

The core ethnic group in Niger is the Haoussa/Hausa, which comprise a bare majority of the population according to the Afrobarometer (51.3%), Alesina et al. (53.0%), Bruk (51.2%) and Fearon (54.0%). Prominent Hausa politicians include Mahamane Ousamane (President 1993-1996), Ibrahim Baré Maïnassara (President 1996-1999), Daouda Malam Wanké (President April-December 1999) and Mahamadou Issoufou (President 2011 – present). The French created the first colonial capital in Zinder in 1911 in the Hausa region of south-central Niger before moving it to Niamey in 1927 due to their fears about empowering an ethnic group that had such strong ties across the border in British Nigeria (Ibrahim, 1994, p. 18). This shift led to the rise of a Zama/Songhai elite from western Niger, who dominated the country's politics from the 1950s through the early 1990s but who began to lose power to the Hausa once the country democratized after 1993.

President's Ethnic Group

Mahamadou Issoufou has been President of Niger since April 2011 and is a member of the Hausa ethnic group.

Nigeria

Core Ethnic Group

The core ethnic group of Nigeria is the Yoruba, which comprise the second-largest ethnic group in the country after the Hausa according to the Afrobarometer (21.4%) and Fearon (20.0%) and tied for the largest with the Hausa according to Alesina et al. (21.3%) and Bruk (21.3%). The Lagos Colony was the first British colony established in what would later become Nigeria in 1862 in the Yoruba homeland; it later became part of the Southern Nigeria Protectorate in 1900 and Lagos became its capital as well as the capital of Nigeria from 1914 until 1991. Prominent Yoruba politicians have included Olusegun Obasanjo (President 1976-1979 and 1999-2007) and Ernest

Shonekan (President August-November 1993) as well as other figures such as the Nobel-Prize winning author Wole Soyinka and the singer Fela Kuti.

President's Ethnic Group

Goodluck Jonathan was the President of Nigeria between 5 May 2010 and 29 May 2015; he is from the Ijaw ethnic group.

Senegal

Core Ethnic Group

The core ethnic group in Senegal is the Wolof, who comprise the largest ethnic group in the country according to the Afrobarometer (42.6%), Alesina et al. (48.1%), Bruk (36.2%) and Fearon (43.0%). The French colony of Senegal initially began with the island of Gorée and the neighbouring area of what became the capital city of Dakar, which is located within the Wolof homeland in western Senegal. The country takes its name from the Senegal river, which flows through the Wolof homeland out past the city of Saint-Louis, which was the colonial capital of Senegal until 1902. Prominent Wolof politicians include Abdou Diouf (President 1980-2000) and Abdoulaye Wade (President 2000-2012). Wolof is the most important lingua franca in Senegal and is spoken by up to 90% of the population as either a first or second language, especially in Dakar where some 96% of inhabitants speak Wolof. Indeed, there is evidence for ongoing assimilation into the Wolof ethnic group in Dakar among rural-urban migrants from non-Wolof parts of Senegal (McLaughlin, 2008).

President's Ethnic Group

The President of Senegal at the time of the Afrobarometer Round 5 survey in early 2013 was Macky Sall, who assumed office on 2 April 2012. He is of Fula descent.

Sierra Leone

Core Ethnic Group

The core ethnic group in Sierra Leone is the Creoles, which comprise one of the smallest ethnic groups in the country according to the Afrobarometer (2.9%), Alesina et al. (2.0%), Bruk (1.4%) and Fearon (6.0%), or far smaller than the Mende, Temne or Limba, among others. The Creole people originated as freed slaves that immigrated to the country over the course of the late 18th and 19th centuries. They settled the capital city of Freetown and have dominated the economy and government much the same way as the Americo-Liberians did next door in Liberia, and their Krio language is spoken by up to 95% of the population. Prominent Creole politicians include a number of Governors-General (Henry Boston, 1962-1967; Andrew Juxon-Smith, 1967-1968; Christopher Cole, 1971) as well as Valentine Strasser (President 1992-1996) and the last two speakers of the Parliament (Edmund Cowan, 2000-2007; Abel Stronge, 2007 – present).

President's Ethnic Group

Ernest Bai Koroma has been President of Sierra Leone since 17 September 2007 and is a member of the Temne ethnic group.

South Africa

Core Ethnic Group

I code the core ethnic group of South Africa as Blacks, who comprise the largest racial group in the country (65.6% according to the Afrobarometer, 72.7% according to Bruk and 76% according to Alesina et al. and Fearon). While it is clear that, prior to the enfranchisement of Blacks in the 1990s, white South Africans (and especially Afrikaners) viewed themselves as the country's *Staatsvolk*, the dismantling of apartheid saw a shift towards Blacks as the new ethnic core in South Africa. I code the ethnic core along racial rather than ethnic lines since, due to the country's history of racial oppression and racial categorization under apartheid, race is arguably today a more salient identity marker in South Africa than ethnicity. Indeed, while there was some discussion of Xhosa dominance of the ANC under Presidents Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki (with reference to the "Xhosa nostra"), race remains the most important social division politically, socially and economically. All four Presidents since the end of apartheid in 1994 have been Black (Nelson Mandela, Thabo Mbeki, Kgalema Motlanthe and Jacob Zuma).

President's Ethnic Group

Jacob Zuma has been President of South Africa since 9 May 2009 and is Black.

Togo

Core Ethnic Group

The core ethnic group of Togo is the Ewé, who comprise the largest ethnic group in the country according to the Afrobarometer (36.3% of the population), Bruk (45.4%) and the second-largest after the Ouatchi/Mina according to Fearon (20.0%).⁵ Lomé, in the heart of the Ewé homeland in south-west Togo, was established as the capital city of German Togoland in 1897 and has continued to be the capital of French Togoland and independent Togo to the present day. The country takes its name from the town of Togoville in the Ewé homeland, where the Ewé King Mlapa III signed a treaty with German colonialists in 1884. The first President of Togo, Sylvanus Olympio, was a member of the Ewé ethnic group and promoted Ewé as an official language alongside French until his fall from power in 1963. The Ewe benefitted from favoured access to education under both German and French rule, and were thus overrepresented in the civil service at the time of independence (Horowitz, 2000, p. 482).

President's Ethnic Group

Faure Gnassingbé has been President of Togo since 4 May 2005, and is a member of the Kabye ethnic group.

Uganda

Core Ethnic Group

The core ethnic group in Uganda is the Baganda, who are the largest ethnic group in the country according to the Afrobarometer (20.5%), Alesina et al. (17.8%), Bruk (17.8%) and Fearon (16%). Prominent Baganda politicians include various Presidents (Edward Mutesa, 1963-1966; Yusuf Lule, April-June 1979; Godfrey Binaisa, 1979-1980; and Paulo Muwanga, May 1980), Prime Ministers (Benedicto Kiwanuka, Chief Minister 1961-1962 and Prime Minister March-April 1962; Kintu Musoke, 1994-1999; Apolo Nsibambi, 1999-2011) and three Vice-Presidents (Samson Kisekka 1986-1991, Gilbert Bukenya 2003-2011 and Edward Ssekandi 2011-present). The Buganda kingdom was the first to be colonized by the British in the late 19th century, and the kingdom's capital city of Kampala has remained the capital of Uganda since independence. The nearby city of Entebbe, also within the Baganda homeland, was the colonial capital of the Uganda

⁵ Alesina et al. do not list ethnic groups by name for Togo. According to the Afrobarometer the Ouatchi and Mina together comprise only 5.4% of respondents.

Protectorate and currently houses the country's largest airport. The country's name is derived from the Swahili word for Buganda, which in the past has led some Ugandans to consider changing its name to make it more ethnically neutral (as has happened in other African states).

President's Ethnic Group

Yoweri Museveni has been President of Uganda since 29 January 1986 and is a member of the Banyankole ethnic group.

Zambia

Core Ethnic Group

The core ethnic group in Zambia is the Bemba, who comprise the largest ethnic group in the country according to the Afrobarometer (27.0%), Alesina et al. (37%), Bruk (35.2%) and Fearon (43.0%, who lists ethnicity by language and thus has higher percentages for both the Bemba and the Nyanja than the other sources). Prominent Bemba politicians in Zambia include Frederick Chiluba (President 1991-2002) and Michael Sata (President 2011-2014) as well as former Vice-President Simon Kapwepwe (1967-1970). The Bemba have long been the dominant group not only in their home region in northern Zambia but also as urban migrants to the capital city of Lusaka and the Copperbelt region in central Zambia. They have thus long been overly represented in both union and political activities dating back to the colonial period, such that one of the long-standing problems in post-colonial Zambian politics has been to balance Bemba dominance with non-Bemba interests (Horowitz, 2000, pp. 430-432).

President's Ethnic Group

Michael Sata was President of Zambia from 23 September 2011 until 28 October 2014, and was a member of the Bemba ethnic group.

Zimbabwe

Core Ethnic Group

The core ethnic group in Zimbabwe is the Shona, who comprise a majority of the population according to Alesina et al. (76.0%), Bruk (69.8%) and Fearon (77.0%), and who comprise 27.1% according to the Afrobarometer but 62.5% if one includes Shona sub-groups like the Zezuru/Central Shona (14.5%), Karanga/Southern Shona (12.8%) and the Korekore/Northern Shona (8.0%). The Shona descend from the inhabitants of the medieval Kingdom of Zimbabwe, from which the country took its name when it was renamed from Rhodesia upon independence in 1980. Prominent Shona politicians include Robert Mugabe (Prime Minister 1980-1987 and President 1987 – present) and Morgan Tsvangirai (Prime Minister 2009-2013) as well as Vice-Presidents Joseph Msika (1999-2009), Joice Mujuru (2004-2014) and Emmerson Mnangagwa (2014 – present). The capital city of Harare (formerly Salisbury) is squarely situated in the middle of the Shona homeland, as is the medieval ruins of the Great Zimbabwe from which the country takes its name.

President's Ethnic Group

Robert Mugabe has been President of Zimbabwe since 22 December 1987; he is a member of the Shona ethnic group.

Part B: Afrobarometer Round 4

By definition there are no changes to the ethnic cores across the dataset between round four, which was conducted between 2008 and 2009, and round five, but in five cases there was a change in the President's ethnic group, which I discuss below.

Malawi

Bingu wa Mutharika was the President of Malawi between 24 May 2004 and 4 April 2012, when he passed away with a heart attack and was succeeded by Joyce Banda. He was a member of the Lhomwe ethnic group.

Mali

Amadou Toumani Touré was the President of Mali between 8 June 2002 and 22 March 2012, when he was deposed in a coup d'état by a group of army officers led by Amadou Sanogo. He is a member of the Peulh/Fula ethnic group.

Nigeria

Umaru Musa Yar'Adua was President of Nigeria between 29 May 2007 and 5 May 2010, when he died from natural causes and was succeeded by Goodluck Jonathan. Yar'Adua was a member of the Fula/Fulani ethnic group.

Senegal

Abdoulaye Wade was the President of Senegal between 1 April 2000 and 2 April 2012, when he lost in a national election to Macky Sall. Wade is a member of the Wolof ethnic group.

Zambia

Rupiah Banda was the President of Zambia from 29 June 2008 to 23 September 2011, when he lost to Michael Sata in a national election. He is a member of the Chewa ethnic group.

Bibliography

- Akindès, F. (2004). *The Roots of the Military-Political Crises in Côte d'Ivoire*. Research Report #128, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala.
- Alesina, A., Devleeshauer, A., Easterly, W., Kurlat, S., and Wacziarg, R. (2003). Fractionalization. *Journal of Economic Growth*, 8(2), 155-194.
- Alpers, E. A. (1974). Ethnicity, Politics and History in Mozambique. *Africa Today*, 21(4), 39-52.
- Bruk, S. I. (1986). *Naselenie Mira Etnodemograficheskii Spravochnik* Moscow: Izd-vo "Nauka".
- Düsing, S. (2002). *Traditional Leadership and Democratization in Southern Africa: A Comparative Study of Botswana, Namibia and South Africa*. Hamburg: Lit Verlag.
- Fearon, J. D. (2003). Ethnic and Cultural Diversity by Country. *Journal of Economic Growth*, 8(2), 195-222.
- Fosse, L. J. (1997). Negotiating the Nation: Ethnicity, Nationalism and Nation-Building in Independent Namibia. *Nations and Nationalism*, 3(3), 1997.
- Groelsema, R. J. (1998). The Dialectics of Citizenship and Ethnicity in Guinea. *Africa Today*, 45(3/4), 411-421.
- Horowitz, D. L. (2000). *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Ibrahim, J. (1994). Political Exclusion, Democratization and Dynamics of Ethnicity in Niger. *Africa Today*, 41(3), 15-39.
- Konings, P., and Nyamnjoh, F. B. (1997). The Anglophone Problem in Cameroon. *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 35(2), 207-229.
- Langer, A. (2005). Horizontal Inequalities and Violent Group Mobilization in Côte d'Ivoire *Oxford Development Studies*, 33(1), 25-45.
- MacDonald, K. C. (2015). 'A Chacun son Bambara', encore une fois: History, Archaeology and Bambara Origins. In F. G. Richard and K. C. MacDonald (Eds.), *Ethnic Ambiguity and the African Past: Materiality, History and the Shaping of Cultural Identities* (pp. 119-145). Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.
- McLaughlin, F. (2008). The Ascent of Wolof as an Urban Vernacular and National Lingua Franca in Senegal. In C. Vigouroux and S. S. Mufwene (Eds.), *Globalization and Language Vitality: Perspectives from Africa* (pp. 142-170). London: Continuum.
- Murdock, G. P. (1967). *Ethnographic Atlas*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Odhiambo, E. S. A. (2004). Hegemonic Enterprises and Instrumentalities of Survival: Ethnicity and Democracy in Kenya. In B. Berman, D. Eyoh, and W. Kymlicka (Eds.), *Ethnicity and Democracy in Africa* (pp. 167-182). Oxford: James Currey.
- Wilkins, M. (1989). The Death of Thomas Sankara and the Rectification of the People's Revolution in Burkina Faso. *African Affairs*, 88(352), 375-388.