

## **Supplementary Materials for:**

Robinson, Amanda Lea. 2014. “National versus Ethnic Identification in Africa: Modernization, Colonial Legacy, and the Origins of Territorial Nationalism.” *World Politics* 66, no. 4: 709-46.

## **List of Tables**

A.1 Alternative Measure of National Relative to Ethnic Identification . . . . .	2
A.2 Alternative Measure of Income Per Capita . . . . .	3
A.3 Alternative Coding of Anti-Colonial Wars . . . . .	4
A.4 Multi-Level Logistic Regression . . . . .	5
A.5 Individual Level Model . . . . .	6
A.6 Ethnic Group Level Model . . . . .	7
A.7 Country Level Model . . . . .	8
A.8 DfBeta Scores . . . . .	9
A.9 Country by Country Deletion . . . . .	12
A.10 Country by Country Deletion, continued . . . . .	13
A.11 Ethnic Group Level Modernization . . . . .	14
A.12 Non-Linear Effects of Ethnic Group Size . . . . .	15
A.13 Alternative Measure of Ethnic Group Political Mobilization . . . . .	16
A.14 Alternative Measures of Ethnic Group Partition, with Tanzania . . . . .	17
A.15 Alternative Measures of Ethnic Group Partition, excluding Tanzania . . . . .	18
A.16 Social Desirability I: Presence of Others . . . . .	19
A.17 Social Desirability II: Interviewer Coethnicity . . . . .	20
A.18 National Election Dates and Margins of Victory . . . . .	21
A.19 Impact of National Elections . . . . .	22
A.20 Coethnic Head of State . . . . .	23
A.21 Ethnic Group In Power . . . . .	24

## **List of Figures**

A.1 Residuals vs. Fitted Values . . . . .	10
A.2 Standardized Residuals vs. Quintiles of a Normal Distribution . . . . .	11

**Table A.1: Alternative Measure of National Relative to Ethnic Identification**

Multi-level linear models of an alternative measure of national relative to ethnic identification, with country and ethnic group random intercepts.

National Relative to Ethnic Identification (Five Point Scale)	(1) Full Sample	(2) Excluding Tanzania
Country-Level IVs	Ln of GDP/Capita, 2005	0.077 (0.106) 0.153** (0.066)
	Ethnic Fractionalization	0.426 (0.487) 0.093 (0.314)
	British Colony	-0.134 (0.221) -0.220 (0.136)
	Anti-Colonial War	0.250 (0.289) 0.328* (0.174)
Group-Level IVs	Ln of Ethnic Group Size	0.036* (0.021) 0.050** (0.021)
	Ethnic Group Partition	0.146*** (0.056) 0.166*** (0.057)
	Politically Relevant Ethnic Group	-0.080 (0.066) -0.112 (0.068)
Individual-Level IVs	Formal Employment	0.057*** (0.022) 0.057** (0.022)
	Level of Education	0.046*** (0.005) 0.047*** (0.005)
	Urban Residence	0.060*** (0.017) 0.062*** (0.018)
	Male	0.084*** (0.015) 0.084*** (0.016)
	Constant	1.625** (0.812) 1.337*** (0.499)
Country-Level RI ( $\sigma^2$ )	0.146 (0.054)	0.046 (0.020)
Ethnic Group-Level RI ( $\sigma^2$ )	0.070 (0.010)	0.070 (0.010)
Country-Level Observations	16	15
Ethnic Group-Level Observations	246	228
Individual-Level Observations	20,141	19,478

Multi-level linear models with individuals as the unit of analysis.

Country and ethnic group level random intercepts.

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

**Table A.2: Alternative Measure of Income Per Capita**

Multi-level linear models of national over ethnic identification, with an earlier measure of income per capita, and country and ethnic group random intercepts.

National Over Ethnic Identification	(1) Full Sample	(2) Excluding Tanzania
Country-Level IVs	Ln of GDP/Capita, 1999  (0.072)	0.049  0.124**  (0.037)
	Ethnic Fractionalization  (0.198)	0.220  0.042  (0.107)
	British Colony  (0.090)	-0.058  -0.084*  (0.046)
	Anti-Colonial War  (0.113)	0.105  0.126**  (0.055)
Group-Level IVs	Ln of Ethnic Group Size  (0.009)	0.015*  0.020**  (0.009)
	Ethnic Group Partition  (0.023)	0.052**  0.060**  (0.024)
	Politically Relevant Ethnic Group  (0.027)	-0.028  -0.041  (0.029)
Individual-Level IVs	Formal Employment  (0.009)	0.027***  0.027***  (0.009)
	Level of Education  (0.009)	0.013***  0.013***  (0.009)
	Urban Residence  (0.007)	0.025***  0.026***  (0.007)
	Male  (0.006)	0.032***  0.031***  (0.007)
Constant	0.253*  (0.150)	0.362***  (0.082)
Country-Level RI ( $\sigma^2$ )	0.024  (0.009)	0.005  (0.002)
Ethnic Group-Level RI ( $\sigma^2$ )	0.012  (0.002)	0.012  (0.002)
Country-Level Observations	16	15
Ethnic Group-Level Observations	246	228
Individual-Level Observations	20,141	19,478

Multi-level linear models with individuals as the unit of analysis.

Country and ethnic group level random intercepts.

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

**Table A.3: Alternative Coding of Anti-Colonial Wars**

Multi-level linear models of national over ethnic identification, with an alternative coding of anticolonial wars, and country and ethnic group random intercepts.

National Over Ethnic Identification	(1) Full Sample	(2) Excluding Tanzania
Country-Level IVs	Ln of GDP/Capita, 2005	0.001 (0.040)
	Ethnic Fractionalization	0.200 (0.180)
	British Colony	-0.034 (0.087)
	(Alt. Coding Anti-Colonial War)	0.157* (0.089)
Group-Level IVs	Ln of Ethnic Group Size	0.015* (0.009)
	Ethnic Group Partition	0.053** (0.023)
	Politically Relevant Ethnic Group	-0.027 (0.027)
Individual-Level IVs	Formal Employment	0.027*** (0.009)
	Level of Education	0.013*** (0.002)
	Urban Residence	0.025*** (0.007)
	Male	0.032*** (0.006)
	Constant	0.216 (0.272)
	Country-Level RI ( $\sigma^2$ )	0.021 (0.012)
	Ethnic Group-Level RI ( $\sigma^2$ )	0.012 (0.002)
Country-Level Observations	16	15
Ethnic Group-Level Observations	246	228
Individual-Level Observations	20,141	19,478

Multi-level linear models with individuals as the unit of analysis.

Country and ethnic group level random intercepts.

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

**Table A.4: Multi-Level Logistic Regression**

Multi-level logistic models of national over ethnic identification, with country and ethnic group random intercepts.

<b>National Over Ethnic Identification</b>		(1)	(2)
		Full Sample	Excluding Tanzania
<b>Odds Ratios</b>			
Country-Level IVs	Ln of GDP/Capita, 2005	1.147 (0.251)	1.349** (0.160)
	Ethnic Fractionalization	2.803 (2.818)	1.245 (0.714)
	British Colony	0.791 (0.361)	0.666* (0.164)
	Anti-Colonial War	1.775 (1.055)	2.051** (0.639)
Group-Level IVs	Ln of Ethnic Group Size	1.079* (0.049)	1.104** (0.051)
	Ethnic Group Partition	1.307** (0.154)	1.356** (0.161)
	Politically Relevant Ethnic Group	0.890 (0.124)	0.824 (0.117)
	Formal Employment	1.134*** (0.050)	1.134*** (0.051)
Individual-Level IVs	Level of Education	1.063*** (0.010)	1.063*** (0.010)
	Urban Residence	1.125*** (0.040)	1.129*** (0.040)
	Male	1.170*** (0.037)	1.164*** (0.037)
	Constant	0.216 (0.272)	0.157 (0.119)
Country-Level RI ( $\sigma^2$ )		0.616 (0.231)	0.140 (0.067)
Ethnic Group-Level RI ( $\sigma^2$ )		0.309 (0.047)	0.302 (0.047)
Country-Level Observations		16	15
Ethnic Group-Level Observations		246	228
Individual-Level Observations		20,141	19,478

Multi-level logistic models with individuals as the unit of analysis.

Country and ethnic group level random intercepts.

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

**Table A.5: Individual Level**

Linear probability models of national over ethnic identification and individual level variables with country or ethnic group fixed effects.

National Over Ethnic Identification	(1) Full Sample	(2) Excluding Tanzania	(3) Full Sample	(4) Excluding Tanzania
Formal Employment	0.035*** (0.009)	0.034*** (0.009)	0.024*** (0.009)	0.026*** (0.009)
Level of Education	0.012*** (0.002)	0.012*** (0.002)	0.011*** (0.002)	0.012*** (0.002)
Urban Residence	0.030*** (0.007)	0.032*** (0.007)	0.021*** (0.007)	0.024*** (0.007)
Male	0.029*** (0.006)	0.029*** (0.007)	0.030*** (0.006)	0.029*** (0.007)
Constant	0.347*** (0.007)	0.317*** (0.007)	0.353*** (0.007)	0.322*** (0.007)
Country Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	No	No
Ethnic Group Fixed Effects	No	No	Yes	Yes
Individual-Level Observations	21,966	20,750	21,880	20,664

OLS linear models with individuals as the unit of analysis.

Country and ethnic group level random intercepts.

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

**Table A.6: Ethnic Group Level**

Linear model of average national over ethnic identification and ethnic group level variables, with country fixed-effects and ethnic group as the unit of analysis.

<b>National Over Ethnic Identification</b>	(1) Full Sample	(2) Excluding Tanzania
Ln of Ethnic Group Size	0.025** (0.010)	0.028** (0.011)
Ethnic Group Partition	0.052** (0.025)	0.056** (0.026)
Politically Relevant Ethnic Group	-0.037 (0.031)	-0.051 (0.033)
Constant	0.472*** (0.041)	0.447*** (0.043)
Country Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes
Ethnic Group-Level Observations	178	165

OLS linear models with ethnic groups as the unit of analysis.

Country and ethnic group level random intercepts.

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

**Table A.7: Country Level**

Linear model of average national over ethnic identification and country level variables, with country as the unit of analysis.

<b>National Over Ethnic Identification</b>	(1) Full Sample	(2) Excluding Tanzania
Ln of GDP/Capita, 2005	0.049 (0.050)	0.082** (0.030)
Ethnic Fractionalization	0.192 (0.216)	0.050 (0.090)
British Colony	-0.073 (0.103)	-0.111** (0.043)
Anti-Colonial War	0.098 (0.135)	0.130*** (0.042)
Constant	0.002 (0.376)	-0.137 (0.222)
Country-Level Observations	16	15

OLS linear models with countries as the unit of analysis.

Country and ethnic group level random intercepts.

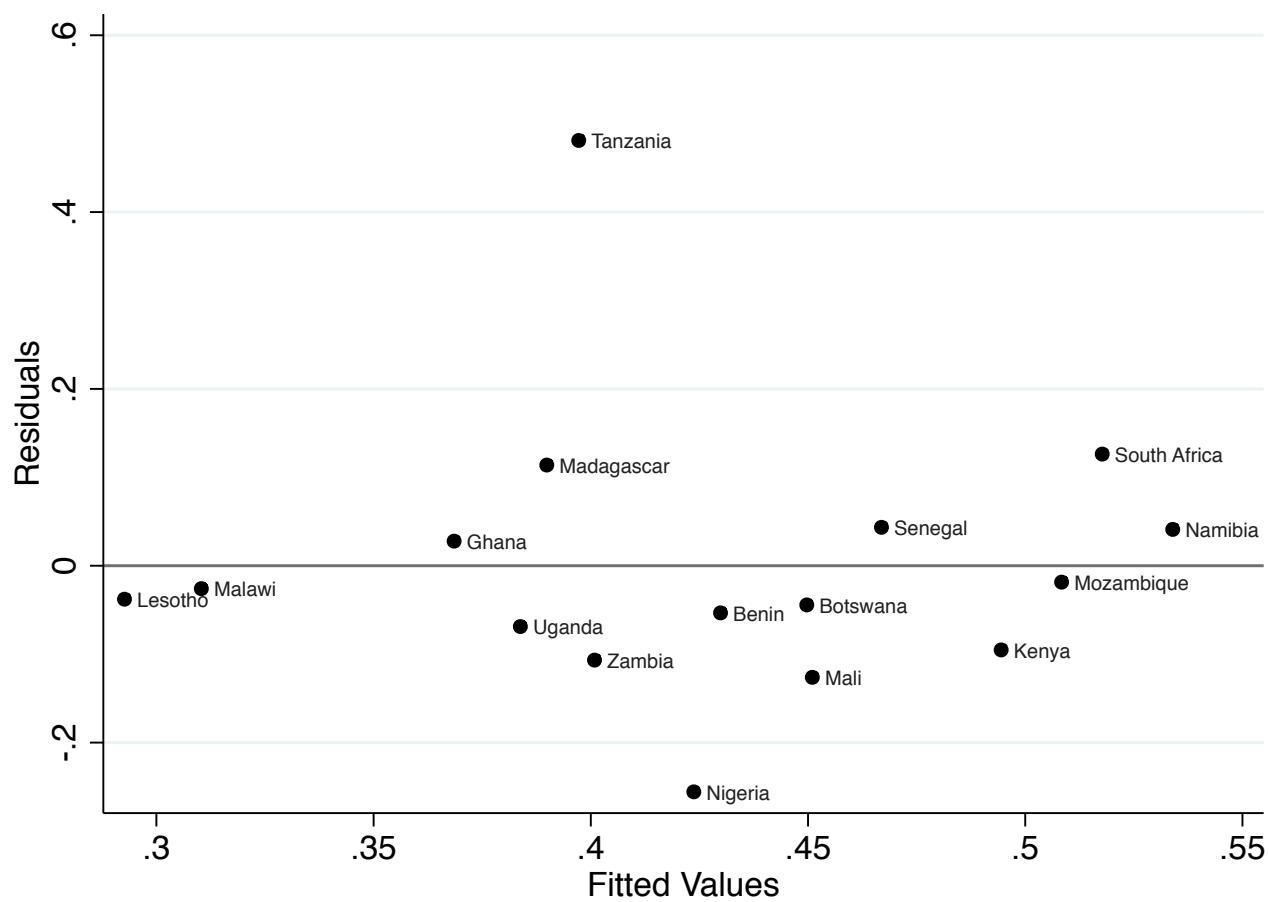
\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

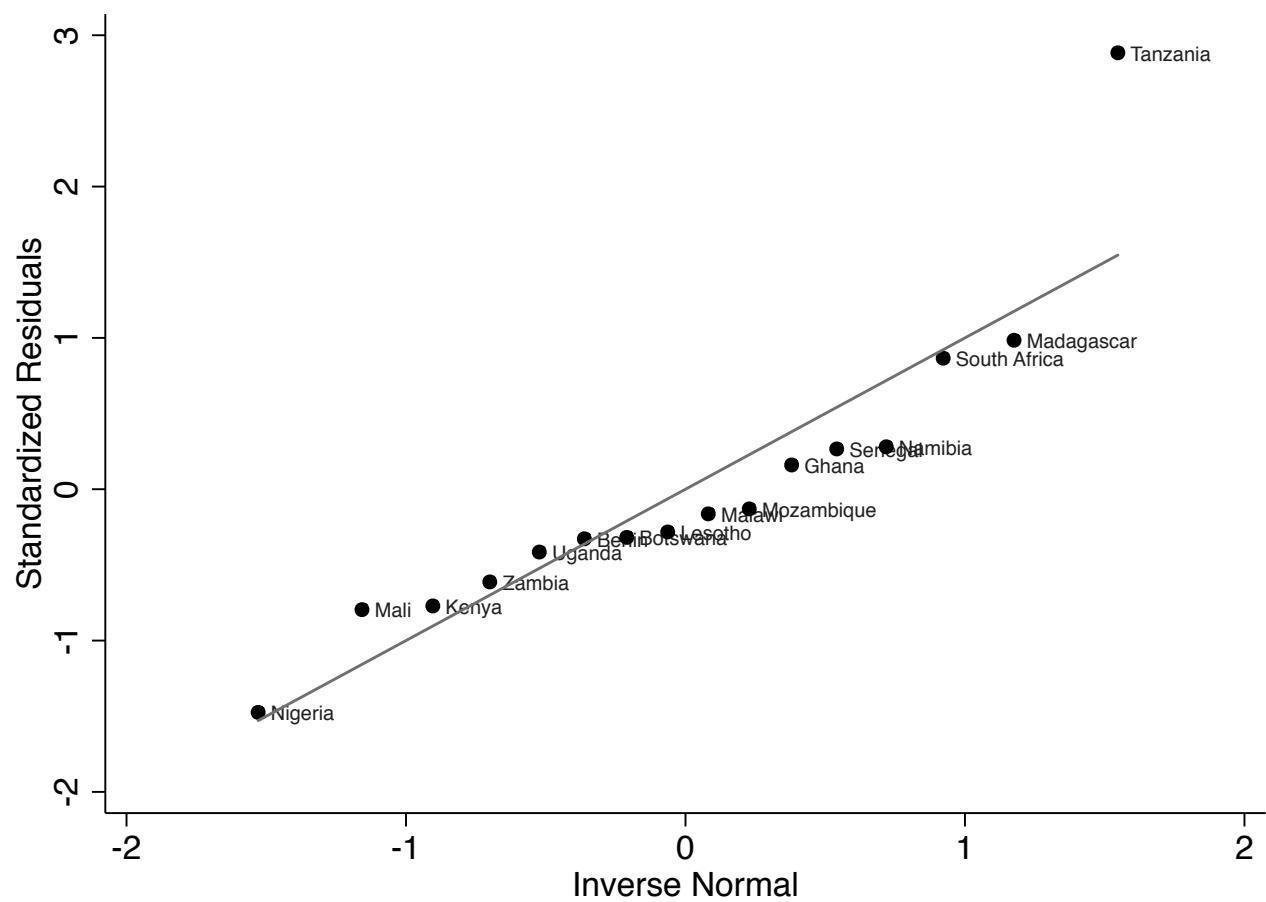
**Table A.8:** Differences in Beta (DfBeta) if Observation is Excluded

	Ln of GDP Per Capita	Ethnic Fractionalization	British Colonialism	Anti-Colonial War
Benin	0.04	0.01	0.13	0.09
Botswana	0.21	0.11	0.09	0.01
Ghana	0.02	0.01	0.03	0.02
Kenya	0.13	0.33	0.33	0.75 <sup>†</sup>
Lesotho	0.03	0.23	0.11	0.09
Madagascar	0.13	0.77	0.10	0.41
Malawi	0.07	0.03	0.04	0.04
Mali	0.15	0.15	0.37	0.20
Mozambique	0.00	0.03	0.04	0.07
Namibia	0.14	0.02	0.13	0.02
Nigeria	0.01	0.25	0.22	0.04
Senegal	0.00	0.03	0.11	0.05
South Africa	0.55	0.19	0.14	0.15
Tanzania	1.27 <sup>†</sup>	1.27 <sup>†</sup>	0.71 <sup>†</sup>	0.45
Uganda	0.11	0.08	0.05	0.04
Zambia	0.05	0.05	0.09	0.04

DfBetas were calculated using the regression results presented in Model 1 of Table A.7.

DfBetas greater than  $\frac{2}{\sqrt{n}}$  are designed by a <sup>†</sup> symbol.

**Figure A.1:** Residuals vs. Fitted Values for Model 1 of Table A.7

**Figure A.2:** Standardized Residuals vs. Quintiles of a Normal Distribution for Model 1 of Table A.7

**Table A.9: Country by Country Deletion**

Multi-level linear models of national over ethnic identification, with country and ethnic group random intercepts, for samples excluding one country each.

National Over Ethnic Identification	(1) Excluding Benin	(2) Excluding Botswana	(3) Excluding Ghana	(4) Excluding Kenya	(5) Excluding Lesotho	(6) Excluding Madagascar	(7) Excluding Malawi	(8) Excluding Mali
Ln of GDP/Capita, 2005	0.030 (0.043)	0.046 (0.053)	0.035 (0.045)	0.042 (0.043)	0.032 (0.044)	0.041 (0.043)	0.036 (0.048)	0.030 (0.044)
Ethnic Fractionalization	0.213 (0.196)	0.191 (0.218)	0.228 (0.203)	0.324 (0.216)	0.161 (0.246)	0.414 (0.261)	0.236 (0.208)	0.257 (0.203)
British Colony	-0.096 (0.096)	-0.052 (0.096)	-0.069 (0.094)	-0.022 (0.096)	-0.048 (0.097)	-0.055 (0.089)	-0.066 (0.095)	-0.095 (0.100)
Anti-Colonial War	0.083 (0.121)	0.119 (0.120)	0.123 (0.121)	0.251 (0.165)	0.104 (0.123)	0.068 (0.124)	0.128 (0.125)	0.093 (0.121)
Country-Level IVs								
Ln of Ethnic Group Size	0.016* (0.008)	0.015 (0.009)	0.015* (0.009)	0.015* (0.009)	0.015* (0.009)	0.014 (0.009)	0.015 (0.009)	0.022** (0.009)
Ethnic Group Partition	0.050* (0.023)	0.054** (0.025)	0.054** (0.024)	0.060** (0.024)	0.053** (0.023)	0.054** (0.023)	0.062** (0.024)	0.037 (0.024)
Politically Relevant Ethnic Group	-0.049* (0.026)	-0.027 (0.028)	-0.028 (0.028)	-0.029 (0.029)	-0.027 (0.027)	-0.024 (0.028)	-0.014 (0.028)	-0.051* (0.028)
Group-Level IVs								
Formal Employment	0.027*** (0.009)	0.026*** (0.010)	0.029*** (0.009)	0.029*** (0.010)	0.030*** (0.009)	0.021** (0.009)	0.027*** (0.009)	0.029*** (0.009)
Level of Education	0.011*** (0.002)	0.013*** (0.002)	0.014*** (0.002)	0.012*** (0.002)	0.013*** (0.002)	0.012*** (0.002)	0.012*** (0.002)	0.011*** (0.002)
Urban Residence	0.018* (0.008)	0.025*** (0.007)	0.026*** (0.007)	0.024*** (0.007)	0.027*** (0.007)	0.029*** (0.007)	0.024*** (0.007)	0.020*** (0.007)
Male	0.035*** (0.007)	0.033*** (0.007)	0.027*** (0.007)	0.032*** (0.007)	0.033*** (0.007)	0.034*** (0.007)	0.034*** (0.007)	0.028*** (0.007)
Constant	0.117 (0.337)	-0.030 (0.367)	0.018 (0.342)	-0.124 (0.355)	0.083 (0.355)	-0.167 (0.367)	-0.004 (0.376)	0.112 (0.339)
Country-Level RI ( $\sigma^2$ )								
Ethnic Group-Level RI ( $\sigma^2$ )	0.024 (0.009)	0.025 (0.010)	0.025 (0.010)	0.023 (0.009)	0.025 (0.009)	0.023 (0.009)	0.025 (0.010)	0.024 (0.009)
Country-Level Observations	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
Ethnic Group-Level Observations	236	235	241	245	230	236	227	
Individual-Level Observations	18,970	18,991	19,034	18,911	19,303	18,944	18,995	18,995

Multi-level linear models with individuals as the unit of analysis.

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

**Table A.10: Country by Country Deletion, (Continued)**

Multi-level linear models of national over ethnic identification, with country and ethnic group random intercepts, for samples excluding one country each.

National Over Ethnic Identification	(9) Excluding Mozambique	(10) Excluding Namibia	(11) Excluding Nigeria	(12) Excluding Senegal	(13) Excluding South Africa	(14) Excluding Tanzania	(15) Excluding Uganda	(16) Excluding Zambia
Ln of GDP/Capita, 2005	0.034 (0.044)	0.013 (0.048)	0.034 (0.040)	0.034 (0.044)	0.014 (0.052)	0.066*** (0.023)	0.026 (0.046)	0.031 (0.044)
Ethnic Fractionalization	0.221 (0.211)	0.208 (0.198)	0.264 (0.189)	0.217 (0.204)	0.187 (0.204)	0.061 (0.114)	0.245 (0.203)	0.235 (0.202)
British Colony	-0.061 (0.096)	-0.024 (0.099)	-0.040 (0.085)	-0.062 (0.101)	-0.072 (0.092)	-0.096** (0.049)	-0.058 (0.092)	-0.055 (0.093)
Anti-Colonial War	0.117 (0.140)	0.127 (0.117)	0.112 (0.110)	0.119 (0.123)	0.102 (0.120)	0.147** (0.062)	0.110 (0.120)	0.116 (0.120)
Country-Level IVs								
Ln of Ethnic Group Size	0.013 (0.009)	0.015* (0.009)	0.014 (0.010)	0.012 (0.009)	0.014 (0.009)	0.020** (0.009)	0.016* (0.009)	0.015* (0.009)
Ethnic Group Partition	0.054* (0.024)	0.044* (0.023)	0.050** (0.024)	0.050** (0.023)	0.046* (0.024)	0.059** (0.024)	0.056** (0.023)	0.055** (0.025)
Politically Relevant Ethnic Group	-0.015 (0.028)	-0.015 (0.027)	-0.022 (0.029)	-0.018 (0.027)	-0.029 (0.028)	-0.040 (0.029)	-0.039 (0.027)	-0.017 (0.029)
Group-Level IVs								
Formal Employment	0.032*** (0.009)	0.028*** (0.010)	0.028*** (0.010)	0.028*** (0.009)	0.026*** (0.010)	0.027*** (0.009)	0.023** (0.010)	0.030*** (0.010)
Level of Education	0.012*** (0.002)	0.014*** (0.002)	0.012*** (0.002)	0.012*** (0.002)	0.012*** (0.002)	0.013*** (0.002)	0.015*** (0.002)	0.013*** (0.002)
Urban Residence	0.022*** (0.007)	0.024*** (0.007)	0.024*** (0.008)	0.029*** (0.008)	0.029*** (0.008)	0.027*** (0.008)	0.026*** (0.008)	0.024*** (0.008)
Male	0.030*** (0.007)	0.031*** (0.007)	0.029*** (0.007)	0.029*** (0.007)	0.034*** (0.007)	0.031*** (0.007)	0.034*** (0.007)	0.033*** (0.007)
Constant	0.022 (0.338)	0.137 (0.346)	0.007 (0.309)	0.021 (0.339)	0.181 (0.394)	-0.076 (0.179)	0.073 (0.340)	0.035 (0.336)
Country-Level RI ( $\sigma^2$ )								
Country-Level Observations	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
Ethnic Group-Level Observations	236	237	215	237	237	228	221	218
Individual-Level Observations	19,049	19,202	18,029	18,988	18,423	19,478	17,847	18,956

Multi-level linear models with individuals as the unit of analysis.

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

**Table A.11: Ethnic Group Level Modernization**

Multi-level linear models of national over ethnic identification, with country and ethnic group random intercepts, and ethnic group level measures of modernization.

National Over Ethnic Identification	(1) Full Sample	(2) Excluding Tanzania	(3) Full Sample	(4) Excluding Tanzania	
Country-Level IVs	Ln of GDP/Capita, 2005	0.026 (0.049)	0.056** (0.027)	0.035 (0.052)	0.066** (0.030)
	Ethnic Fractionalization	0.217 (0.224)	0.060 (0.129)	0.211 (0.236)	0.050 (0.140)
	British Colony	-0.047 (0.103)	-0.078 (0.056)	-0.036 (0.109)	-0.072 (0.063)
	Anti-Colonial War	0.118 (0.134)	0.146** (0.071)	0.124 (0.142)	0.151* (0.078)
Group-Level IVs	Ln of Ethnic Group Size	0.010 (0.009)	0.012 (0.009)	0.014 (0.009)	0.017* (0.009)
	Ethnic Group Partition	0.047** (0.023)	0.053** (0.024)	0.049** (0.023)	0.055** (0.024)
	Politically Relevant Ethnic Group	-0.025 (0.027)	-0.033 (0.028)	-0.025 (0.027)	-0.036 (0.029)
	Prop. with Formal Employment	0.160 (0.122)	0.169 (0.126)		
Individual-Level IVs	Avg. Level of Education	-0.026 (0.018)	-0.024 (0.018)		
	Prop. with Urban Residence	0.048 (0.056)	0.046 (0.059)		
	Avg. Perception of Ethnic Group Status			0.071*** (0.025)	0.075*** (0.025)
	Formal Employment	0.027*** (0.009)	0.027*** (0.009)	0.026*** (0.009)	0.026*** (0.009)
	Level of Education	0.012*** (0.002)	0.013*** (0.002)	0.013*** (0.002)	0.013*** (0.002)
	Urban Residence	0.025*** (0.007)	0.026*** (0.007)	0.024*** (0.007)	0.025*** (0.008)
	Male	0.032*** (0.006)	0.032*** (0.007)	0.032*** (0.006)	0.031*** (0.007)
	Constant	0.043 (0.397)	-0.068 (0.223)	-0.134 (0.381)	-0.257 (0.213)
	Country-Level RI ( $\sigma^2$ )	0.036 (0.007)	0.009 (0.016)	0.032 (0.014)	0.008 (0.004)
	Ethnic Group-Level RI ( $\sigma^2$ )	0.012 (0.002)	0.012 (0.002)	0.011 (0.002)	0.012 (0.002)
	Country-Level Observations	16	15	16	15
	Ethnic Group-Level Observations	246	228	246	228
	Individual-Level Observations	20,141	19,478	20,141	19,478

Multi-level linear models with individuals as the unit of analysis.

Country and ethnic group level random intercepts.

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

**Table A.12: Non-Linear Effects of Ethnic Group Size**

Multi-level linear models of national over ethnic identification, with country and ethnic group random intercepts, and a non-linear measure of the impact of ethnic group size.

National Over Ethnic Identification	(1) Full Sample	(2) Excluding Tanzania
Country-Level IVs	Ln of GDP/Capita, 2005	0.032 (0.043)
	Ethnic Fractionalization	0.146 (0.214)
	British Colony	-0.042 (0.092)
	Anti-Colonial War	0.103 (0.119)
Group-Level IVs	Ethnic Group Size	0.578** (0.286)
	Ethnic Group Size <sup>2</sup>	-0.804* (0.470)
	Ethnic Group Partition	0.057** (0.023)
	Politically Relevant Ethnic Group	-0.039 (0.030)
Individual-Level IVs	Formal Employment	0.027*** (0.009)
	Level of Education	0.013*** (0.002)
	Urban Residence	0.025*** (0.007)
	Male	0.032*** (0.006)
Constant	0.015 (0.333)	-0.130 (0.179)
Country-Level RI ( $\sigma^2$ )	0.024 (0.009)	0.005 (0.003)
Ethnic Group-Level RI ( $\sigma^2$ )	0.012 (0.002)	0.012 (0.002)
Country-Level Observations	16	15
Ethnic Group-Level Observations	246	228
Individual-Level Observations	20,141	19478

Multi-level linear models with individuals as the unit of analysis.

Country and ethnic group level random intercepts.

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

**Table A.13: Alternative Measure of Ethnic Group Political Mobilization**

Multi-level linear models of national over ethnic identification, with an alternative measure of ethnic group political mobilization, and country and ethnic group random intercepts.

<b>National Over Ethnic Identification</b>		(1)	(2)
		Full Sample	Excluding Tanzania
Country-Level IVs	Ln of GDP/Capita, 2005	0.033 (0.043)	0.066*** (0.024)
	Ethnic Fractionalization	0.267 (0.193)	0.090 (0.115)
	British Colony	-0.075 (0.089)	-0.104** (0.050)
	Anti-Colonial War	0.129 (0.116)	0.159** (0.063)
Group-Level IVs	Ln of Ethnic Group Size	0.013 (0.008)	0.013 (0.008)
	Ethnic Group Partition	0.053** (0.023)	0.061** (0.024)
	Ethnic Group Political Mobilization	-0.012 (0.026)	-0.001 (0.026)
	Formal Employment	0.027*** (0.009)	0.027*** (0.009)
Individual-Level IVs	Level of Education	0.013*** (0.002)	0.013*** (0.002)
	Urban Residence	0.025*** (0.007)	0.026*** (0.007)
	Male	0.032*** (0.006)	0.031*** (0.007)
	Constant	-0.003 (0.327)	-0.130 (0.185)
		Country-Level RI ( $\sigma^2$ )	0.024 (0.009)
		Ethnic Group-Level RI ( $\sigma^2$ )	0.012 (0.002)
		Country-Level Observations	16
		Ethnic Group-Level Observations	247
		Individual-Level Observations	20,157
			19,494

Multi-level linear models with individuals as the unit of analysis.

Country and ethnic group level random intercepts.

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

**Table A.14: Alternative Measures of Ethnic Group Partition, with Tanzania**  
 Multi-level linear models of national over ethnic identification, with alternative indicators of ethnic group partition, and country and ethnic group random intercepts.

National Over Ethnic Identification	% Partitioned	(1) 1% Out	(2) 10% Out	(3) 20% Out	(4) 30% Out	(5) 40% Out	(6) 50% Out	(7) 50% Out
<b>Country-Level IVs</b>								
Ln of GDP/Capita, 2005	0.033 (0.043)	0.035 (0.043)	0.038 (0.043)	0.036 (0.043)	0.034 (0.043)	0.034 (0.043)	0.034 (0.043)	0.034 (0.043)
Ethnic Fractionalization	0.219 (0.198)	0.180 (0.199)	0.192 (0.197)	0.199 (0.198)	0.222 (0.197)	0.228 (0.198)	0.228 (0.198)	0.228 (0.198)
British Colony	-0.056 (0.090)	-0.058 (0.091)	-0.066 (0.090)	-0.062 (0.090)	-0.063 (0.089)	-0.063 (0.090)	-0.058 (0.090)	-0.058 (0.090)
Anti-Colonial War	0.121 (0.117)	0.109 (0.118)	0.100 (0.117)	0.107 (0.117)	0.119 (0.117)	0.119 (0.117)	0.117 (0.117)	0.117 (0.117)
Ln of Ethnic Group Size	0.016* (0.009)	0.010 (0.009)	0.011 (0.009)	0.012 (0.009)	0.015* (0.009)	0.016* (0.009)	0.016* (0.009)	0.016* (0.009)
Partitioned (see column heading)	0.083** (0.035)	0.030 (0.024)	-0.007 (0.022)	0.017 (0.022)	0.052** (0.023)	0.056** (0.024)	0.063** (0.024)	0.063** (0.026)
Politically Relevant Ethnic Group	-0.031 (0.027)	-0.032 (0.028)	-0.027 (0.027)	-0.029 (0.028)	-0.028 (0.027)	-0.030 (0.027)	-0.030 (0.027)	-0.030 (0.027)
<b>Group-Level IVs</b>								
Formal Employment	0.027*** (0.009)							
Level of Education	0.013*** (0.002)							
Urban Residence	0.025*** (0.007)							
Male	0.032*** (0.006)							
Constant	0.036 (0.329)	0.032 (0.332)	0.041 (0.329)	0.040 (0.329)	0.031 (0.328)	0.033 (0.329)	0.032 (0.330)	0.032 (0.330)
<b>Country-Level RI (<math>\sigma^2</math>)</b>								
Country-Level Observations	0.024 (0.009)							
Ethnic Group-Level Observations	0.012 (0.002)							
Individual-Level Observations	16 246 20,141							

Multi-level linear models with individuals as the unit of analysis.  
 Country and ethnic group level random intercepts.

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

**Table A.15: Alternative Measures of Ethnic Group Partition, excluding Tanzania**  
 Multi-level linear models of national over ethnic identification, with alternative indicators of ethnic group partition, and country and ethnic group random intercepts.

National Over Ethnic Identification	% Partitioned	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
		1% Out	10% Out	20% Out	30% Out	40% Out	50% Out	50% Out
Ln of GDP/Capita, 2005		0.065*** (0.024)	0.068*** (0.025)	0.070*** (0.025)	0.067*** (0.024)	0.066*** (0.023)	0.066*** (0.024)	0.066*** (0.025)
Ethnic Fractionalization		0.055 (0.116)	0.022 (0.120)	0.042 (0.119)	0.045 (0.116)	0.061 (0.114)	0.066 (0.115)	0.065 (0.119)
British Colony		-0.088* (0.050)	-0.093* (0.051)	-0.102** (0.052)	-0.096* (0.050)	-0.096* (0.049)	-0.095* (0.049)	-0.091* (0.051)
Anti-Colonial War		0.149*** (0.063)	0.138*** (0.065)	0.129** (0.065)	0.138** (0.063)	0.147** (0.062)	0.147** (0.062)	0.143** (0.065)
Ln of Ethnic Group Size		0.020 ** (0.009)	0.013 (0.009)	0.016* (0.009)	0.017* (0.009)	0.020 ** (0.009)	0.021 ** (0.009)	0.020 ** (0.009)
Partitioned (see column heading)		0.093** (0.037)	0.032 (0.026)	-0.007 (0.023)	0.025 (0.023)	0.059* (0.024)	0.063*** (0.024)	0.065** (0.027)
Politically Relevant Ethnic Group		-0.044 (0.029)	-0.043 (0.029)	-0.037 (0.029)	-0.041 (0.029)	-0.040 (0.029)	-0.042 (0.029)	-0.043 (0.029)
Formal Employment		0.027*** (0.009)						
Level of Education		0.013*** (0.002)						
Urban Residence		0.026*** (0.007)						
Male		0.031*** (0.007)						
Constant		-0.071 (0.183)	-0.083 (0.188)	-0.074 (0.189)	-0.072 (0.184)	-0.076 (0.179)	-0.074 (0.181)	-0.074 (0.188)
Country-Level RI ( $\sigma^2$ )		0.006 (0.003)	0.006 (0.003)	0.006 (0.003)	0.006 (0.003)	0.005 (0.003)	0.006 (0.003)	0.006 (0.003)
Ethnic Group-Level RI ( $\sigma^2$ )		0.012 (0.002)	0.013 (0.002)	0.013 (0.002)	0.013 (0.002)	0.012 (0.002)	0.012 (0.002)	0.012 (0.002)
Country-Level Observations	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
Ethnic Group-Level Observations	228	228	228	228	228	228	228	228
Individual-Level Observations	19,478	19,478	19,478	19,478	19,478	19,478	19,478	19,478

Multi-level linear models with individuals as the unit of analysis.

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

**Table A.16: Social Desirability I: Presence of Others**

Multi-level linear models of national over ethnic identification, with country and ethnic group random intercepts, and an indicator for the presence of bystanders.

National Over Ethnic Identification	(1) Full Sample	(2) Excluding Tanzania
Country-Level IVs	Ln of GDP/Capita, 2005	0.035 (0.051)
	Ethnic Fractionalization	0.227 (0.232)
	British Colony	-0.064 (0.106)
	Anti-Colonial War	0.120 (0.139)
		0.066** (0.029)
Group-Level IVs	Ln of Ethnic Group Size	0.015* (0.009)
	Ethnic Group Partition	0.053** (0.023)
	Politically Relevant Ethnic Group	-0.027 (0.027)
		0.018** (0.009)
Individual-Level IVs	Presence of Others	-0.014** (0.007)
	Formal Employment	0.027*** (0.009)
	Level of Education	0.012*** (0.002)
	Urban Residence	0.024*** (0.007)
	Male	0.031*** (0.006)
		-0.013* (0.007)
	Constant	0.029 (0.390)
		-0.083 (0.218)
Country-Level RI ( $\sigma^2$ )	0.034	0.009
		(0.015) (0.005)
Ethnic Group-Level RI ( $\sigma^2$ )	0.012	0.013
		(0.002) (0.002)
Country-Level Observations	16	15
Ethnic Group-Level Observations	246	228
Individual-Level Observations	20,125	19,462

Multi-level linear models with individuals as the unit of analysis.

Country and ethnic group level random intercepts.

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

**Table A.17: Social Desirability II: Interviewer Coethnicity**

Multi-level linear models of national over ethnic identification, with country and ethnic group random intercepts, and an indicator of interviewer coethnicity.

National Over Ethnic Identification		Reduced Sample
Country-Level IVs	Ln of GDP/Capita, 2005	0.067** (0.026)
	Ethnic Fractionalization	0.153 (0.245)
	British Colony	-0.076 (0.060)
	Anti-Colonial War	0.090 (0.097)
Group-Level IVs	Ln of Ethnic Group Size	0.018* (0.010)
	Ethnic Group Partition	0.065** (0.025)
	Politically Relevant Ethnic Group	-0.023 (0.031)
Individual-Level IVs	Coethnic Interviewer	-0.009 (0.009)
	Formal Employment	0.030*** (0.010)
	Level of Education	0.012*** (0.002)
	Urban Residence	0.032*** (0.008)
	Male	0.032*** (0.007)
	Constant	-0.182 (0.131)
	Country-Level RI ( $\sigma^2$ )	0.134 (0.008)
	Ethnic Group-Level RI ( $\sigma^2$ )	0.013 (0.002)
Country-Level Observations		12
Ethnic Group-Level Observations		201
Individual-Level Observations		15,486

Multi-level linear model with individuals as the unit of analysis.

Country and ethnic group level random intercepts.

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

**Table A.18:** National Election Dates and Margins of Victory

Country	Election Date	Margin of Victory (Percentage Points)
Benin	March 19, 2006	49.20
Botswana	October 30, 2004	25.67
Ghana	December 7, 2004	7.81
Kenya	December 27, 2007	2.00
Lesotho	February 17, 2007	33.05
Madagascar	December 3, 2006	43.14
Malawi	May 20, 2004	8.80
Mali	April 29, 2007	52.05
Mozambique	December 1, 2004	32.00
Namibia	November 16, 2004	69.16
Nigeria	April 12, 2003	29.75
Senegal	February 25, 2007	40.98
South Africa	April 14, 2004	57.32
Tanzania	December 14, 2005	68.60
Uganda	February 23, 2006	21.87
Zambia	September 28, 2006	13.61

**Table A.19: Impact of National Elections**

Multi-level linear models of national over ethnic identification, with controls for the proximity to and competitiveness of national elections, and country and ethnic group random intercepts.

National Over Ethnic Identification	(1) Full Sample	(2) Excluding Tanzania
Country-Level IVs	Ln of GDP/Capita, 2005  (0.026)	-0.003  (0.030)
	Ethnic Fractionalization  (0.117)	0.155  (0.128)
	British Colony  (0.067)	0.147**  (0.103)
	Anti-Colonial War  (0.077)	0.253***  (0.067)
	Election Competitiveness  (0.002)	-0.008***  (0.005)
	Election Proximity  (0.006)	0.006  (0.014***)
	Competitiveness × Proximity  (0.000)	0.000  (0.000)
Group-Level IVs	Ln of Ethnic Group Size  (0.009)	0.017*  (0.020**)
	Ethnic Group Partition  (0.023)	0.059***  (0.063***)
	Politically Relevant Ethnic Group  (0.027)	-0.028  (0.038)
	Formal Employment  (0.009)	0.027***  (0.027***)
Individual-Level IVs	Level of Education  (0.002)	0.013***  (0.013***)
	Urban Residence  (0.007)	0.025***  (0.026***)
	Male  (0.006)	0.032***  (0.031***)
	Constant  (0.182)	-0.014  (0.040)
	Country-Level RI ( $\sigma^2$ )  (0.003)	0.005  (0.003)
	Ethnic Group-Level RI ( $\sigma^2$ )  (0.002)	0.012  (0.012)
	Country-Level Observations  Ethnic Group-Level Observations  Individual-Level Observations	16 246 20,141
		15 228 19,478

Multi-level linear models with individuals as the unit of analysis.

Country and ethnic group level random intercepts.

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

**Table A.20: Coethnic Head of State**

Multi-level linear models of national over ethnic identification, with country and ethnic group random intercepts, and an indicator of whether one's coethnic is head of state.

National Over Ethnic Identification	(1) Full Sample	(2) Full Sample	(3) Excluding Tanzania	(4) Excluding Tanzania	
Country-Level IVs	Ln of GDP/Capita, 2005	0.034 (0.051)	0.066** (0.029)	0.033 (0.052)	0.066** (0.028)
	Ethnic Fractionalization	0.225 (0.234)	0.072 (0.139)	0.176 (0.243)	0.014 (0.140)
	British Colony	-0.063 (0.107)	-0.098 (0.060)	-0.052 (0.109)	-0.086 (0.058)
	Anti-Colonial War	0.119 (0.140)	0.149* (0.077)	0.112 (0.141)	0.142* (0.074)
Group-Level IVs	Ln of Ethnic Group Size	0.015* (0.009)	0.018* (0.009)	0.016* (0.009)	0.020** (0.010)
	Ethnic Group Partition	0.052** (0.023)	0.058** (0.024)	0.060** (0.025)	0.066*** (0.025)
	Politically Relevant Ethnic Group	-0.027 (0.028)	-0.041 (0.030)	-0.036 (0.030)	-0.050 (0.032)
	Coethnic Head of State (HOS)	-0.004 (0.036)	0.009 (0.039)	-0.094 (0.142)	-0.133 (0.147)
Individual-Level IVs	Coethnic HOS × Group Size			-0.016 (0.040)	-0.031 (0.046)
	Coethnic HOS × Partition			-0.091 (0.086)	-0.099 (0.092)
	Coethnic HOS × Pol. Rel.			0.109 (0.106)	0.135 (0.108)
	Formal Employment	0.027*** (0.009)	0.027*** (0.009)	0.027*** (0.009)	0.027*** (0.009)
	Level of Education	0.013*** (0.002)	0.013*** (0.002)	0.013*** (0.002)	0.013*** (0.002)
	Urban Residence	0.025*** (0.007)	0.026*** (0.007)	0.025*** (0.007)	0.026*** (0.007)
	Male	0.032*** (0.006)	0.031*** (0.007)	0.032*** (0.006)	0.031*** (0.007)
	Constant	0.029 (0.392)	-0.090 (0.221)	0.070 (0.397)	-0.043 (0.214)
	Country-Level RI ( $\sigma^2$ )	0.035 (0.015)	0.009 (0.005)	0.035 (0.016)	0.008 (0.005)
	Ethnic Group-Level RI ( $\sigma^2$ )	0.012 (0.002)	0.013 (0.002)	0.012 (0.002)	0.013 (0.002)
	Country-Level Observations	16	15	16	15
	Ethnic Group-Level Observations	246	228	246	228
	Individual-Level Observations	20,141	19,478	20,141	19,478

Multi-level linear models with individuals as the unit of analysis.

Country and ethnic group level random intercepts.

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

**Table A.21: Ethnic Group In Power**

Multi-level linear models of national over ethnic identification, with country and ethnic group random intercepts, and an indicator of whether one's ethnic group holds power.

National Over Ethnic Identification	(1) Full Sample	(2) Full Sample	(3) Excluding Tanzania	(4) Excluding Tanzania	
Country-Level IVs	Ln of GDP/Capita, 2005	0.032 (0.051)	0.065** (0.029)	0.032 (0.051)	0.063** (0.030)
	Ethnic Fractionalization	0.243 (0.231)	0.077 (0.140)	0.273 (0.234)	0.087 (0.142)
	British Colony	-0.071 (0.106)	-0.100* (0.061)	-0.076 (0.107)	-0.101* (0.061)
	Anti-Colonial War	0.114 (0.138)	0.146* (0.077)	0.120 (0.139)	0.144* (0.078)
Group-Level IVs	Ln of Ethnic Group Size	0.017* (0.009)	0.019** (0.009)	0.023** (0.011)	0.027** (0.012)
	Ethnic Group Partition	0.050** (0.024)	0.056** (0.024)	0.058* (0.030)	0.065** (0.032)
	Politically Relevant Ethnic Group	-0.021 (0.029)	-0.036 (0.031)	0.000 (0.050)	-0.053 (0.060)
	Ethnic Group In Power	-0.024 (0.028)	-0.009 (0.029)	-0.088 (0.078)	-0.092 (0.081)
Individual-Level IVs	In Power × Group Size			-0.022 (0.020)	-0.024 (0.020)
	In Power × Partition			-0.026 (0.046)	-0.027 (0.047)
	In Power × Pol. Rel.			-0.014 (0.064)	0.040 (0.073)
	Formal Employment	0.027*** (0.009)	0.027*** (0.009)	0.027*** (0.009)	0.027*** (0.009)
	Level of Education	0.013*** (0.002)	0.013*** (0.002)	0.013*** (0.002)	0.013*** (0.002)
	Urban Residence	0.025*** (0.007)	0.026*** (0.007)	0.025*** (0.007)	0.026*** (0.007)
	Male	0.032*** (0.006)	0.031*** (0.007)	0.032*** (0.006)	0.031*** (0.007)
	Constant	0.050 (0.388)	-0.076 (0.224)	0.046 (0.393)	-0.043 (0.228)
	Country-Level RI ( $\sigma^2$ )	0.034 (0.015)	0.009 (0.005)	0.034 (0.015)	0.009 (0.005)
	Ethnic Group-Level RI ( $\sigma^2$ )	0.012 (0.002)	0.013 (0.002)	0.012 (0.002)	0.013 (0.002)
	Country-Level Observations	16	15	16	15
	Ethnic Group-Level Observations	246	228	246	228
	Individual-Level Observations	20,141	19,478	20,141	19,478

Multi-level linear models with individuals as the unit of analysis.

Country and ethnic group level random intercepts.

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$