

APPENDIX

Bratton, M. and R. Bhavnani, and T. Chen. 2012. "Voting Intentions in Africa" *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics* 50:1 (February): 27-52.

Table A1: Missing Values by Country and Question

Country	BEN	BOT	GHA	KEN	LES	MAD	MLW	MAL	MOZ	NAM	NIG	SEN	SAF	TAN	UGA	ZAM	AVG
N (individual cases)	1198	1200	1197	1278	1161	1350	1200	1244	1198	1200	2363	1200	2400	1304	2400	1200	
Intended Vote	605	147	269	298	211	662	265	323	145	165	870	355	731	143	552	389	383
<i>Ethnic Identity</i>																	
MemLargestEthGroup	0	40	0	6	0	21	5	36	31	91	2	5	166	45	3	0	28.
Member of EGIP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ethnic Salience	8	45	11	15	3	29	38	38	74	96	17	33	166	83	10	3	42
Ethnic Distrust	13	22	27	27	3	31	16	23	44	25	36	51	76	12	18	7	27
Ethnic Discrimination	111	132	121	108	76	119	86	108	128	167	99	85	339	260	86	116	134
<i>Economic Interests</i>																	
Retrospective Sociotropic	6	48	16	15	29	24	34	5	65	30	24	30	105	64	50	24	36
Retrospective Egocentric	6	10	15	8	3	6	15	2	34	10	19	11	16	12	8	11	12
Prospective Sociotropic	328	179	239	192	323	164	263	146	235	30	180	185	207	508	340	138	229
Prospective Egocentric	312	166	204	176	271	131	256	138	261	85	134	177	145	467	291	114	208
Econ Policy Performance	34	71	53	38	27	70	160	106	142	43	53	83	97	31	30	33	67
<i>Political Considerations</i>																	
Partisan Identification	39	83	53	45	35	161	170	109	151	54	53	96	191	41	77	44	88
Expectation of Patronage	14	76	64	12	145	30	19	23	81	95	19	84	333	121	18	8	71
Expectation of Compulsion	247	167	141	140	152	183	325	165	318	152	369	208	240	461	312	98	230
<i>Demographic Controls</i>																	
Female	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Age	3	13	28	7	6	11	61	19	53	0	14	19	8	29	7	5	18
Education	12	4	2	1	1	3	0	1	27	8	6	11	6	1	0	3	5
Poverty	22	21	22	13	8	11	14	5	79	7	28	39	69	8	10	21	24
Rural	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SUM (total missing cells)	1760	1224	1265	1101	1293	1656	1727	1247	1868	1058	1923	1472	2895	2286	1812	1014	
SUM (total cells)	22762	22800	22743	24282	22059	25650	22800	23636	22762	22800	44878	22800	45600	24776	45600	22800	
AVG (percent missing)	7.7	5.4	5.6	4.5	5.9	6.5	7.6	5.3	8.2	4.6	4.3	6.5	6.3	9.2	4.0	4.4	6.0

Table A2: Descriptive Statistics

Intended Vote		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	0 Intend to Vote for Opposition OR intend to abstain from Voting	5698	24.7	33.6
	1 Intend to Vote for the Ruling Party	11265	48.8	66.4
	Total	16963	73.5	100.0
Missing	System	6130	26.5	
Total		23093	100.0	
Member Largest Ethnic Group		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	0 Other ethnic group (secondary, minor)	16083	69.6	71.0
	1 Major ethnic group (largest)	6559	28.4	29.0
	Total	22642	98.0	100.0
Missing	System	451	2.0	
Total		23093	23093	100.0
Ethnic Group in Power (EGIP)		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	0 Not a member of the EGIP	16659	72.1	72.1
	1 Member of the EGIP	6434	27.9	27.9
Total		23093	100.0	100.0
Partisan Identification		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	0 Do not Feel Close to Ruling Party OR Approve President's Performance	20497	88.8	94.5
	1 Feel Close to Ruling Party AND Disapprove of President's Performance	1194	5.2	5.5
	Total	21691	93.9	100.0
Missing	System	1402	6.1	
Total		23093	23093	100.0
Expectation of Compulsion		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	0 Think survey was sponsored by an independent agency	5868	25.4	30.5
	1 Think survey was sponsored by a government agency	13377	57.9	69.5
	Total	19245	83.3	100.0
Missing	System	3848	16.7	
Total		23093	23093	100.0

Gender		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	1 Male	11553	50.0	50.0
	2 Female	11540	50.0	50.0
	Total	23093	100.0	100.0
Urban or rural Sampling Unit		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	1 Urban	8764	38.0	38.0
	2 Rural	14329	62.0	62.0
	Total	23093	100.0	100.0

Table A2: Descriptive Statistics (cont.)

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Ethnic Salience Prefer ethnic identity (above national identity)	22424	1	5	2.52	1.187
Interethnic Distrust Distrust people from other ethnic groups	22662	0	3	1.63	.992
Ethnic Discrimination Think group treated unfairly by government	20952	0	3	.81	.984
Retrospective Sociotropic Country's economic condition 12 months ago	22524	1	5	2.91	1.093
Retrospective Egocentric Your living conditions 12 months ago	22907	1	5	2.95	1.051
Prospective Sociotropic Country's economic condition in 12 months	19436	1	5	3.39	1.145
Prospective Egocentric Your living conditions in 12 months	19765	1	5	3.46	1.105
Economic Policy Performance Index of 4 policy areas	20559	1	4	2.05	.721
Expectation of patronage Think politicians will deliver development	22286	0	3	0.81	.820
Poverty Index of lack of 5 basic needs	22706	.00	4.00	1.2722	.94600
Age	22810	18	102	36.49	14.667
Education	23007	0	9	3.10	2.008

Table A3: Full Specification of Predicted Probabilities and Marginal Effects

Model	2	
Variable	probability	marginal effect
Level-One Effects		
ETHNIC IDENTITIES		
Member of Largest Ethnic Group		
0 (not member largest)	0.598	-0.005
1 (member largest)	0.593	
Member of EGIP		
0 (not member of egip)	0.598	0.108
1 (member of egip)	0.706	
Saliency of Ethnicity		
1 (low)	0.622	-0.066
2	0.606	
3	0.590	
4	0.573	
5 (high)	0.557	
Interethnic Distrust		
0	0.608	-0.018
1	0.602	
2	0.595	
3	0.589	
Ethnic Discrimination		
0 (low)	0.638	-0.154
1	0.588	
2	0.536	
3 (high)	0.484	
ECONOMIC INTERESTS		
Retrospective Sociotropic		
1 (much worse than present)	0.575	0.047
2	0.587	
3	0.599	
4	0.611	
5 (much better)	0.622	
Retrospective Egocentric		
1 (much worse than present)	0.605	-0.015
2	0.601	
3	0.598	
4	0.594	
5 (much better)	0.590	
Prospective Sociotropic		
1 (expect much worse)	0.523	0.125
2	0.555	
3	0.587	
4	0.618	
5 (much better)	0.648	
Prospective Egocentric		
1 (expect much worse)	0.588	0.016
2	0.592	
3	0.596	
4	0.600	
5 (much better)	0.604	

Economic Policy Performance		
1 (very badly)	0.454	
2	0.598	
3	0.726	0.372
4 (very well)	0.826	
POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS		
Partisan Identification		
0 (not close to pres OR approve pres)	0.598	
1 (close to ruling party AND disapprove Pres)	0.914	0.317
Expectation of patronage		
0 (never)	0.586	
1	0.600	
2	0.615	0.043
3 (always)	0.629	
Expectation of compulsion		
0 (independent sponsorship)	0.538	
1 (government sponsorship)	0.598	0.060
DEMOGRAPHIC CONTROLS		
<i>Female</i>		
1 (male)	0.695	
2 (female)	0.715	0.022
<i>Age</i>		
18 years	0.605	
95 years	0.589	-0.016
<i>Education</i>		
1 (no formal schooling)	0.611	
9 (post-graduate)	0.560	-0.051
<i>Poverty</i>		
0 (never without)(least poor)	0.585	
1	0.595	
2	0.605	0.040
3	0.615	
4 (always without) (poorest)	0.625	
<i>Rural</i>		
1(Urban)	0.538	
2(Rural)	0.598	0.060

Table A3 (cont.)**Level-Two Effects**

Ethnic Fragmentation		
0.06 (minimum)	0.523	0.105
0.96 (maximum)	0.628	
Ethnic Polarization		
0.02 (minimum)	0.675	-0.123
0.74 (maximum)	0.552	
GDP growth rate		
2.6 (minimum)	0.579	0.045
7.5 (maximum)	0.623	
Inflation Rate		
5 (minimum)	0.575	0.078
89.8 (maximum)	0.654	
Presidential Consitution		
0 (parliamentary)	0.669	-0.096
1 (presidential)	0.573	
Effective number of parliamentary parties		
1.3 (minimum)	0.695	-0.311
4.9 (maximum)	0.384	
Level of Democracy		
5 (minimum)	0.661	-0.119
11 (maximum)	0.542	