Supplemental Material for Ethnic Voting and Accountability in Africa: A Choice Experiment in Uganda

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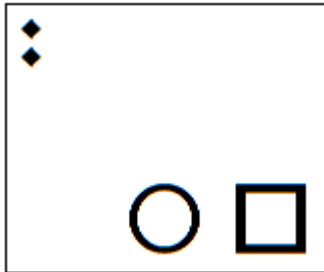
A   Voting Simulation Materials

A.1   Proctor Script

[Greeting]. My name is [name]. In this part of the study, I will read you some descriptions of candidates who might run for president. In each round, you will hear about two candidates. I will read each description twice so that you can be sure to hear everything. Then you will fill out a secret ballot to indicate which of the two candidates you would prefer. If you prefer the first candidate, you will mark the circle. If you prefer the second candidate you will mark the square. Once you are finished marking your ballot, you will drop it in the box up here. Then you will sit down and I will read you two more candidates. You will vote a total of three times.

Okay, does everyone have their ballots and a pen? Please find the ballot with one [*or* two *or* three *as appropriate*] small shape(s) in the corner here. [*Indicate where on ballot to look. Check to make sure that everyone is using the ballot that corresponds with the voting round.*] Now, I am about to read you the descriptions of two candidates - if you like the first one, tick the circle. If you prefer the second candidate, tick the square. Do not show anyone what you are marking. When you are finished, fold the ballot and put it in this box.

A.2 Sample Ballot

This ballot was used for the second round of voting (note two diamonds in the upper left corner.) Ballots for other rounds are identical, except for the number of diamonds in the corner. Each ballot was marked on the back with the respondent's 6- or 7-digit ID code, to be later matched with the respondent's survey data. The ballot was designed to allow illiterate and/or innumerate respondents to vote without assistance from the enumerator.

B Possible Candidate Characteristics

Table 1: Possible Candidate Characteristics

Attribute	Possible options
Ethnicity	One of 21 hometowns
Education	Bachelor's degree in Tourism, Horticulture, Forestry or Theater
	Master's degree in Business, Law, Economics, or African Development
Prior Office	None (businessman)
	Village chief, sub-county chief, or MP
Record	None (sentence omitted)
	Paved road, created jobs, built clinic
Platform	Improve schools, improve health care, create better jobs

C Hometown Cues

The hometowns of the candidates in the voting simulation were assigned randomly from the following table with weight on the hometowns representing the locally dominant ethnic groups (usually those hometowns closest to the survey site). The hometowns in the list were chosen in cooperation with local enumerators with the criteria that they a) clearly signal a particular ethnicity and b) be familiar to respondents from all parts of the country. Though the particular location chosen to signal an ethnicity was not always the location most heavily populated by members of that particular ethnicity – often because it was a city and therefore somewhat diverse – it was chosen because it was the most recognizable location within the ethnicity's traditional home area. When a survey site was populated with respondents from a group not on the list, as with the tiny Bwamba group in Bundibugyo, coethnicity was signaled using the location of the survey site.

The hometown that would signal that a candidate was a Muganda was the most difficult to select. The seat of Buganda Kingdom is in Kampala, but as Uganda's capital city, Kampala is far too diverse to clearly signal a particular ethnicity. On my enumerators' recommendation, I selected Mukono, which is the second-largest city in Buganda Kingdom. In addition, enumerators disagreed about how to signal that a candidate was a Musoga; as shown in the table, two towns were used and candidates from either town were coded as coethnic to Basoga respondents. Results are robust to either or both being coded as coethnic.

Table 2: Hometown Cue for each Ethnicity in Sample

Desired Ethnic Cue	Candidate Hometown	Region	Ethnic Pop. in Town	Ethnic Pop. in Country	Note
Acholi	Gulu	Northern	91%	5%	
Alur	Nebbi	Northern	73%	2%	
Itesot	Soroti	Eastern	82%	6%	
Japadhola	Tororo	Eastern	41%	1%	Parishes in Tororo up to 100% Japadhola
Kakwa	Koboko	Northern	71%	1%	
Karamajong	Moroto	Northern	86%	1%	
Kumam	Kaberamaido	Northern	75%	1%	
Lugbara	Arua	Northern	77%	4%	
Madi	Moyo	Northern	54%	1%	Parishes in Moyo up to 90% Madi
Mufumbira	Kisoro	Western	87%	2%	
Muganda	Mukono	Central	72%	17%	
Mugishu	Mbale	Eastern	99%	5%	
Muhororo	Rukungiri	Western	48%	1%	Parishes in Rukungiri up to 99% Bahororo
Mukiga	Kabale	Western	96%	7%	
Mukonzho	Kasese	Western	85%	2%	
Munyankole	Mbarara	Western	73%	10%	Mbarara is seat of Ankole Kingdom
Munyoro	Hoima	Western	55%	3%	Hoima is seat of Bunyoro Kingdom
Musoga	Iganga	Eastern	90%	8%	
Musoga	Jinja	Eastern	69%	8%	Jinja is seat of Busoga Kingdom
Mutooro	Fort Portal	Western	76%	2%	Fort Portal is seat of Tooro Kingdom
(Mu)Samia	Busia	Eastern	45%	1%	Parishes in Busia District up to 95% Samia

D Summary Statistics

Table 3: Sample Means, by Treatment

	Female	Years of Education	Urban	Age (18+)	Farmer
Candidate coethnic	0.54	6.2	0.18	37	0.81
Candidate not coethnic	0.53	6.4	0.22	37	0.82
Candidate has positive record	0.54	6.3	0.20	37	0.82
Candidate has no record	0.53	6.2	0.19	37	0.82
Candidate held prior office	0.53	6.4	0.21	37	0.82
Candidate is businessman	0.54	6.3	0.18	37	0.82
Candidate holds relevant degree	0.54	6.4	0.18	37	0.81
Candidate holds irrelevant degree	0.54	6.2	0.20	37	0.82
Candidate promising education	0.54	6.3	0.19	37	0.81
Candidate promising jobs/clinics	0.54	6.3	0.19	37	0.82
Full sample	0.54	6.3	0.19	37	0.82
Uganda	0.50	7.0	0.13	37	0.80

E   Experimental Results, Round One Only

Table 4: Determinants of Candidate Win Given Candidate Characteristics, Round One Only

Variable	Coefficient
	(Std. Err.)
Candidate is coethnic	1.057
	(0.984)
Candidate has positive record	0.066
	(0.198)
Coethnic*record	0.721*
	(0.305)
Cand. held prior office	0.362
	(0.238)
Cand. has relevant degree	0.282
	(0.177)
Cand. promising education	0.041
	(0.163)
N	1082
Log-likelihood	-354.58
$\chi^2_{(2)}$	2.78

Significance levels :   † : 10%   ∗ : 5%   ∗∗ : 1%

Mixed logit model. DV takes value one if respondent chose candidate; zero otherwise. Candidates are grouped by choice set (respondent-contest), with corrections for correlations across the multiple responses by same respondent. Standard errors are clustered by contest. Reported N represents number of candidates read; number of respondent-contests is half this number.