Shenga – Appendix

Table A1. Binary logistic model of partisanship – being close to a political party

	1st model		2nd model		3rd model		4th model	
	B	**S.E.**	**B**	**S.E.**	**B**	**S.E.**	**B**	**S.E.**
The role of political parties								
Trust ruling party	.424***	.022					.115*	.056
Trust opposition	.193***	.021					.268***	.049
Parties needed	.072***	.02					.12**	.048
Opposition hold government to account	.04	.021					.076	.05
Party competition makes no violence	-.01	.028					-.095	.063
Opposition not silenced by government	.237***	.023					.159**	.052
Parties differ	.62**	.021					.558***	.051
The social structure								
Female			-.102**	.042			-.089*	.044
Youth			-.078	.044			-.15***	.047
Urban			-.097**	.046			-.362***	.05
Lived poverty index			.304***	.027			.071**	.03
Cognitive awareness								
Tertiary education			-.028	.107			-.253*	.113
Secondary education			-.096	.092			-.18	.096

Primary education	-.193**	.091			-.089	.095
Media exposure index	-.161***	.028			-.084**	.03
Interest in public affairs	.453***	.057			.45***	.06
Political discussion	.796***	.049			.761***	.052
Evaluation of economics						
Present economic condition	.006	.051			.085	.055
Past economic condition	.053	.052			.013	.056
Future economic condition	.212***	.047			.039	.051
Economic performance index	.042	.031			.041	.033
Evaluation of politics						
Satisfaction with democracy	.067	.055			.111	.059
Extent of democracy	-.07	.053			.1	.057
Freedom index	.22***	.024			.239***	.027
Fighting corruption	.14*	.056			.091	.061
Performance of institutions index	.174***	.027			.191***	.03
Country contexts						
Botswana			.68***	.067	.383***	.093
Lesotho			.49***	.064	.505***	.092
Zimbabwe			.56***	.048	.633***	.077
South Africa			.609***	.048	.731***	.076
Mozambique			.405***	.048		

Zambia			-.093	.061	-.257**	.085
Mauritius			-1.477***	.07	-1.847***	.098
Malawi			.782***	.049		
Negelkerke R Square	**.051**	**.128**	**0.036**		**0.246**	

Notes:

The dependent variable 'feel close to any political party' is coded 1 if one feels close to political party and 0 if does not. All independent variables are coded 1-0. Country and formal education are dummy variables. Indexes were created using factor analysis, which extracted one single unrotated factor using Maximum Likelihood method and reliability analysis, with Cronbach Alpha greater than .60. Items that incorporate indexes were coded 1-0 before factor and reliability analysis.

***p=.001, **p=.01, *p=.05

N=11,365

Table A2. Binary logistic model of partisanship – being close to the incumbent party

	1st model		2nd model		3rd model		4th model	
	B	**S.E.**	**B**	**S.E.**	**B**	**S.E.**	**B**	**S.E.**
The role of political parties								
Trust ruling party	.721***	.038					.536***	.074
Trust opposition	-.18***	.031					-.181**	.063
Parties needed	-.16***	.03					-.129**	.063
Opposition hold government to account	-.017	.033					-.237***	.065
Party competition makes no violence	-.07	.042					.115	.084
Opposition not silenced by government	.098**	.032					.152**	.067
Parties differ	.068*	.035					-.528***	.073
The social structure								
Female			.04	.051			.001	.057
Youth			-.105*	.054			-.069	.061
Urban			-.218***	.057			-.13*	.065
Lived poverty index			.111**	.033			.038	.038
Cognitive awareness								
Tertiary education			.095	.127			-.229	.141
Secondary education			.405***	.103			.072	.116

Primary education	.129	.102			.034	.114
Media exposure index	-.044	.035			-.057	.039
Interest in public affairs	-.392***	.084			-.328***	.093
Political discussion	-.002	.067			.022	.075
Evaluation of economy						
Present economic condition	.303***	.061			.337***	.069
Past economic condition	.193**	.063			.199**	.071
Future economic condition	.184**	.057			.253***	.065
Economic performance index	-.003	.036			-.03	.042
Evaluation of politics						
Satisfaction with democracy	0402***	.068			.369***	.076
Extent of democracy	.017	.066			.27***	.073
Freedom index	.068*	.033			.271***	.04
Fighting corruption	-.371***	.067			.022	.078
Performance of institutions index	.376***	.033			.33***	.039
Country contexts						
Botswana			.99***	.085	-1.611***	.117
Lesotho			1.464***	.082	-.725***	.114
Zimbabwe			2.894***	.061	1.348***	.103
South Africa			2.647***	.057	.781***	.091
Mozambique			3.3***	.069		

Zambia				2.27***	.086	.116	.113
Mauritius				-.828**	.31	-3.471***	.324
Malawi				1.507**	.056		
Ngelkerke R Square		**.025**		**.105**		**.312**	**.324**

Notes:

The dependent variable 'fell close to the incumbent party' is coded 1 if one feels close to the incumbent party and 0 if does not. All independent variables are coded 1-0. Country and formal education are dummy variables. Indexes were created using factor analysis which extracted one single unrotated factor using Maximum Likelihood method and reliability analysis with Cronbach Alpha greater than .60. Items that incorporate indexes were coded 1-0 before factor and reliability analysis.

***p=.001, **p=.01, *p=.05

N=6,7