

# Online Supplementary Materials

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# 1 Conducting the Survey

## 1.1 Initial Preparations

I demarcated the research site using the traditional boundaries of “Old Alexandra:” Wynberg Road in the south, Vasco Da Gama Street in the north, 1st Street in the west, and the Jukskei river in the east. These boundaries are marked on the map in Figure 1. Interviewers were recruited from a local survey firm (Social Surveys Africa), who were happy to provide work for some of their freelance fieldworkers. Four interviewers were hired; all were all black South Africans who lived in Johannesburg (none resided in Alexandra); three were male and one female; and each had at least three years’ experience.

**Figure 1.** Satellite Photograph of Alexandra



The boundaries of Alexandra are outlined in black. The two hostels are the hexagonal structures outlined in grey; areas of apartment buildings are outlined in white. The remainder of Alexandra consists of houses and shacks, as well as sports fields, schools, and administrative buildings that are excluded from the sampling frame.

## 1.2 Translation

Alexandra is a linguistically diverse township.<sup>1</sup> Fortunately, the African languages spoken in South Africa fall into four internally homogenous groups, where the speakers of a language within one group are typically able to understand speakers of another language within the same group (Lewis 2009). Moreover, two of the language groups—the Nguni group featuring Zulu, Xhosa, Ndebele, and Swazi, and the Sotho group featuring Sotho, Pedi, and Tswana—are very large.<sup>2</sup>

The survey instrument was thus translated into two languages: one from the Nguni group (Zulu) and one from the Sotho group (Tswana). Existing survey data<sup>3</sup> show that Zulu is the most popular language in Alexandra. More importantly, it is the lingua franca in Johannesburg townships. Tswana was chosen because it was the language from the Sotho group that the interviewers were most comfortable with.<sup>4</sup>

I began the process of translation during the pre-fieldwork training period. I used the method of decentering (Werner and Campbell 1970), where changes are made between the original and target languages until all versions are satisfactory. The questions were read aloud in Zulu and Tswana. Translations were recorded. Ambiguities and disagreements were discussed, and if necessary, the original English wording was adjusted. Working off the notes made during this training period, the instrument was translated into Zulu and Tswana by teams of two interviewers chosen according to their fluency with the target language.

## 1.3 Sampling Respondents

Drawing a representative sample in a South African township such as Alexandra is challenging. There is no official list of residents, households, or dwellings, few people have fixed-line telephones, and even fewer have access to the internet. This challenge was overcome using a two-step strategy. First, the sample was stratified by housing type. Within each housing type, population density does not vary much across space. Second, randomly selected starting points were chosen within each housing type using satellite photographs.<sup>5</sup> This method ensures that, within each housing type, all dwellings have an equal chance of being selected into the sample. The Alexandra Benchmark Survey<sup>6</sup> also provides estimates of the proportion of Alexandra residents living in each of these three housing types. Weights were then constructed to ensure that residents of one housing type are not overrepresented when analyzing the data.

Three housing types were used as strata. The first is the fairly regular mixture of small single-story houses, shacks, and backyard rooms that constitutes the vast majority

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<sup>1</sup>Indeed, respondents reported ten different first languages.

<sup>2</sup>A large majority of Alexandra residents (89%) reported speaking a language from one of these groups as a first language.

<sup>3</sup>See Table 1 for further details.

<sup>4</sup>Two of the interviewers were native Tswana speakers and thus adept with Sotho and Pedi. They also had a good command of Zulu. The other two were Zulu-speakers who were comfortable with using the Tswana instrument.

<sup>5</sup>These photographs were obtained using Google Earth software. The photograph in Figure 1 is an example.

<sup>6</sup>The Alexandra Benchmark Survey is a large ( $N = 2,496$ ) 2005 survey of Alexandra households, commissioned by The Alexandra Renewal Project, an agency in the Gauteng Province Department of Housing. It was designed to provide estimates of development and quality of life indicators for policymakers (Alexandra Renewal Project ND). See Table 1 for a comparison with my results.

of Alexandra’s housing stock. There are also two other smaller, but distinct housing types: government apartments, and the hostels.<sup>7</sup> The sample was also stratified by gender at the point of respondent selection to guard against undersampling men. Population data for gender was obtained from the Alexandra Benchmark Survey.

Starting points, or more formally, clusters, were selected by dividing each housing type into equal-sized chunks using a satellite photograph of Alexandra—a task that was made substantially easier by the grid street pattern of the area (clearly seen in Figure 1). There were two hostel clusters, three apartment clusters and 80 house-and-shack clusters. The Alexandra Benchmark Survey estimated that 92% of residents live in the area of houses and shacks. Eighteen out of the 20 clusters were therefore selected from this area, with only one each from the hostels and apartments. Selection was done by numbering the clusters and using a random number generator.

This stratified, clustered design permits the random selection of dwelling units—individual houses, shacks, apartments, and hostel rooms. Households and respondents are then selected within these dwelling units.<sup>8</sup> The following method was used. Every day in the field corresponded with a particular cluster. Each interviewer attempted to contact nine respondents per day / cluster, producing a targeted sample of 720. A typical procedure was for each cluster to be divided in four, with one interviewer assigned to each segment. Interviewers first sampled dwelling units (house, shack, apartment, or hostel room) by walking in a given direction and using a sampling interval that varied between three and seven. Upon making contact with someone in a selected dwelling, interviewers asked for the number of households sharing that house (and its yard), shack, apartment, or hostel room. The household was selected using the same sampling interval used to choose dwellings. Within each household, interviewers selected a South African<sup>9</sup> aged eighteen years old to serve as a respondent. A random number table was used.<sup>10</sup> The sample was also stratified by gender at this stage, with interviewers alternatively seeking men and women to interview. The survey instrument was administered by interviewers using a face-to-face method. Respondents’ answers were recorded by interviewers on paper questionnaires.

One call-back was required for non-contact at the level of dwelling units, household, or respondent, and no substitutions were permitted. Interviews were completed for 497 respondents. There were 83 instances of non-cooperation at the level of dwelling unit and household and a further 23 at the respondent level, 90 cases of non-contact at the level of dwelling or household and another four at the respondent level, 16 cases where non-contact occurred for other reasons, and six cases of non-contact due to safety concerns in one cluster.<sup>11</sup> The response rate (AAPOR #3) for this survey is thus 69.2%.

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<sup>7</sup>Government apartments are outlined in white in Figure 1; hostels are the hexagonal structures outlined in grey. The remainder of Alexandra—aside from public facilities, the police station, schools, and the like—is the mix of houses and shacks used as the first strata.

<sup>8</sup>A household was defined for respondents as all the individuals who regularly eat from the same pot. This technique is used in the Afrobarometer survey project (Afrobarometer Network 2007). One house was found to be occupied by 20 households, both inside, and outside in backyard shacks and rooms.

<sup>9</sup>If the household consisted only of foreign nationals, the interviewer apologized and counted this household as not eligible for the sample.

<sup>10</sup>This table featured rows for the date of interview and columns for the number of people of the appropriate gender living in the household. The number,  $n$ , in the relevant cell of the table gave the  $n$ -th oldest man/woman to be selected as a respondent.

<sup>11</sup>A group of men began aggressively questioning the intentions of one interviewer in the “Beirut” area (the lower left corner of Alexandra in Figure 1), previously the site of partisan violence between the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the African National Congress (ANC). The team left the area

**Table 1.** Coverage of the Sample

	2005 Survey	2011 Survey	
	Estimates	Estimates	(S.E.)
	(%)	(%)	
Gender			
Male	52.8	52.9	(3.0)
Female	47.2	47.1	(3.0)
Housing type			
Flats	2.5	2.5	(1.7)
Hostels	5.4	5.3	(3.9)
Houses and shacks	92.2	92.1	(4.1)
Employment Status			
Employed	50.0	43.4	(3.2)
Not in the labor force	19.5	11.4	(1.5)
Unemployed	30.5	45.2	(2.6)
Age			
18-24	20.0	19.2	(1.6)
25-34	32.3	33.2	(2.0)
35-49	27.7	30.9	(2.4)
50+	20.0	16.7	(2.1)
Language			
Zulu	32.0	36.7	(4.0)
Pedi	25.0	21.1	(2.5)
Sotho	9.0	11.1	(1.5)
Tswana	13.0	10.8	(1.7)
Xhosa	7.0	9.4	(1.6)
Tsonga	7.0	5.6	(1.2)
Venda	5.0	4.0	(0.9)
Other	2.0	1.3	(0.4)

2005 survey estimates are from the 2005 Alexandra Benchmark Survey (Alexandra Renewal Project ND). Both the 2005 and 2011 estimates are weighted. Standard errors (in parentheses) are design-based.

This is a similar response rate to high-quality face-to-face surveys conducted these days in the United States such as the American National Election Study and the General Social Survey (Dixon and Tucker 2010). The achievement of such a response rate despite the small number of callbacks and the lack of respondent incentives can be attributed to two factors. First, a marked willingness to be interviewed among residents of the area.<sup>12</sup> Second, 14 of the 21 days of fieldwork took place on public holidays or weekends. This reduced the level of non-contact due to people being at work.

Table 1 compares the marginals of my survey to those from the Alexandra Benchmark Survey (ABS).<sup>13</sup> A comparison of the two sets of marginals permits a check of the

immediately.

<sup>12</sup>This willingness to participate in the survey produced an unforeseen problem: one interviewer reported that several individuals who were not selected into the sample nevertheless demanded to be interviewed. He conducted brief interviews to assuage their curiosity, and then moved on.

<sup>13</sup>The latter results were not released with uncertainty estimates. Formal tests of difference of proportions are thus not possible. These results are useful however, because, firstly they are more up-to-date than the most recently available census data, which was gathered in 2001; secondly, the ABS results offer survey marginals for gender, housing type, employment status, age, and language within the area of Old

adequacy of my sampling frame and sampling procedure.<sup>14</sup> The 2011 response distributions for age and language group correspond quite closely to those from the ABS. The marginals for employment status are not as concordant. My estimates of the proportion of people who are unemployed and not in the labor force are larger than those obtained by the ABS. There are a number of possible reasons for these differences. First, the ABS may have produced a more accurate sample than mine, especially when it came to tracking down students and people with outside employment, who would leave Alexandra during the day. However, given that two-thirds of my fieldwork days were weekends or public holidays, and that the two surveys used a similar number of call-backs this cannot be assumed. Second, these differences may also reflect the effects of different question wording. People who work in the informal economy, or who hold part-time employment, may be looking for work despite being employed. Finally, levels of employment and unemployment are fairly fluid. Unemployment may have increased from 2005 to 2011. In sum, although it is possible that students and the employed were under-sampled, my sample appears quite representative of adult South African residents of Alexandra.

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Alexandra—the same population I sampled.

<sup>14</sup>Both sets of results are weighted. The results from my survey are weighted to adjust for the differential probabilities of respondent selection due to household size and the stratification by housing type and gender. No post-stratification is used.

## 2 Question Wording and Measurement

**Table 2.** Item Wording, Coding, and Percent Don't Know or Missing

Items and Coding	%	%
	Don't Know	Miss- ing
<i>Participation intentions</i>		
Now I would like to ask you some questions about what you would do if there was another group who wanted to chase the foreigners away, like in 2008. Imagine that a group of South Africans was marching through Alex, toyi-toying and demanding that the foreigners leave.		
(1) Would you join in the toyi-toying if people that you know asked you to join in? I would definitely do this = 3. Probably do this, Might do this, Don't know = 2. Would not do this = 1.	0.4	0.4
(2) Would you help any foreigners hide from the crowd? I would definitely do this = 1. Probably do this, Might do this, Don't know = 2. Would not do this = 3.	1.4	0.4
(3) If other people began hitting the foreigners, would you also hit them? I would definitely do this = 3. Probably do this, Might do this, Don't know = 2. Would not do this = 1.	0.6	0.6
(4) If other people began destroying the foreigners' shacks, would you also do this? I would definitely do this = 3. Probably do this, Might do this, Don't know = 2. Would not do this = 1.	0.8	0.8
<i>Intergroup anger</i>		
(1) Please tell me which of these feelings best describes how you feel, as a South African, about these foreigners having jobs in Joburg?	0.0	0.4
(2) Please tell me which of these feelings best describes how you feel, as a South African, about these foreigners living in RDP houses in Alex? Angry, irritated = 1. Happy, proud, jealous, worried, ashamed, disappointed, no feeling or neutral, don't know = 0.	0.0	0.2
(3) Please tell me which of these feelings best describes how you feel, as a South African, about the position in society of the foreigners and the position in society of South African people living in Alex?	2.2	1.2
(4) Please tell me which of these feelings next best describes how you feel, as a South African, about these foreigners having jobs in Joburg?	2.8	0.8
(5) Please tell me which of these feelings next best describes how you feel, as a South African, about these foreigners living in RDP houses in Alex?	0.4	0.8
(6) Please tell me which of these feelings next best describes how you feel, as a South African, about the position in society of the foreigners and the position in society of South African people living in Alex?	3.8	0.8
<i>Group endowments and entitlements</i>		
Imagine that society is a ladder like on this card. Some people have a high position in society and get lots of respect from others. We can say that these people are at the top of the ladder. Other people have a low position and get little or no respect from others. We can say that these people are at the bottom of the ladder.		
(1) Where do you think South Africans living in Alex are on the ladder these days?	0.8	0.8

1–7 Ladder scale. 1 = Bottom. 7 = Top. Don't know = missing.		
(2) Where do you think South Africans living in Alex should be on the ladder?	1.6	0.6
(3) And now what about the foreigners? Where do you think the foreigners living in Alex are on the ladder these days?	2.4	0.6
(4) Where do you think the foreigners living in Alex should be on the ladder?	9.1	1.2
<i>Blame by peers</i>		
Since the beginning of the year, how often have you heard other people . . .		
(1) blaming the foreigners for taking jobs from South Africans?	0.2	0.2
All of the time = 4. Quite often = 3. Rarely = 2. Never, don't know = 1.		
(2) blaming the foreigners for taking houses that are meant for South Africans?	0.2	0.4
(3) saying that foreigners act like they are better than South Africans?	4.8	0.6
<i>Blame by leaders</i>		
At these meetings, did you hear the CPF leaders or the izinduna . . .		
(1) blaming foreign people from other African countries for taking jobs from South Africans?	0.4	0.4
Yes a lot, quite a bit, a little = 1. No, don't know = 0)		
(2) blaming foreign people from other African countries for taking houses that are meant for South Africans?	0.2	0.2
(3) saying that foreigners act like they are better than South Africans?	2.0	0.2
<i>Meeting attendance</i>		
There are sometimes community meetings in Alex that are held by leaders such as the people from the community policing forum or the izinduna. So far this year, how many of these meetings in Alex have you attended?		
0, don't know = 0. 1 = 1. 2-3 = 2. 4-5 = 3. 6+ = 4.		
<i>Employment status</i>		
Which one of these statements best describes your working life?	0.0	0.4
Working full-time, part-time, for myself = Working. Not working–housewife, student, retired, Unemployed–not looking for work = Not in the labor force. Unemployed–looking for work = Unemployed.		
<i>Informal trader</i>		
What is the job that you have now or used to have?	0.0	0.0
“vendor”, “street vendor”, “tuck shop”, “spaza shop” = 1		
<i>Lives in low quality housing</i>		
What type of housing does the respondent live in?	0.0	0.0
Shack in shack area, hostel room, backyard shack, backyard room or garage = 1. Flat, formal house = 0.		
<i>Socio-economic status</i>		
Do you or anyone else in your household own a . . .		
(1) TV?	0.0	0.8
No = 1. Don't know = missing. Yes = 0.		
(2) cell-phone?	0.0	1.6
(3) fridge?	0.0	0.8
(4) microwave?	0.0	0.6
(5) computer?	0.0	2.6
(6) car?	0.0	0.6
<i>Strength of national identity</i>		
(1) How important is it to you that you are a South African?	0.6	2.4
Very important = 4. Quite important = 3. A little bit important, don't know = 2. not important at all = 1.		
(2) How different do you feel from most other South Africans living in Alex?	0.6	0.4



Very different = 1. Quite different = 2. A little bit different, don't know = 3. Not different at all = 4.  
 (3) Would you agree or disagree that if someone says bad things about South Africans, it feels like they are insulting you personally? 3.0 0.2  
 Strongly agree = 5. Agree = 4. Uncertain, Don't know = 3. Disagree = 2. Strongly disagree = 1.

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*Support for violence*

(1) Do you agree or disagree that sometimes it is acceptable for the community to use violence to achieve its goals? 0.2 0.0  
 Strongly agree = 5. Agree = 4. Uncertain, don't know = 3. Disagree = 2. Strongly disagree = 1.

(2) Do you agree or disagree that talking is usually the best way to resolve conflicts between groups of people? 0.2 0.0  
 Strongly agree = 1. Agree = 2. Uncertain, don't know = 3. Disagree = 4. Strongly disagree = 5.

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*Party support*

Which of these political parties do you like the most? 1.2 9.5  
 DA, IFP, COPE, UDM, PAC, other = Other. I don't like any party, don't know = None. ANC = ANC.

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*Education*

What is the highest level of education you have personally achieved? 1.2 0.8  
 Primary school = 1. Some high school but no matric (high school diploma) = 2. Finished matric, artisan's certificate = 3. University degree, Teacher's college diploma, Technikon diploma, Some other post-matric diploma = 4.

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*Previous participation*

For the next few questions, you will be filling in your own answers on a separate card to ensure your privacy. When I read out each question, you must mark your answers yourself on your card. For each question, you must make a cross. So if the 1st answer I read is the right one for you, then make a cross on 'A'. If the 2nd answer is the right one for you, make a cross on 'B'. If the 3rd answer is the right one, make a cross on 'C'. Many people from Alex were involved in the attacks on foreigners in 2008. Can you tell me if any of the following things happened during those attacks?

(1) Did you join in the toyi-toyi-ing and singing? 0.0 0.6

I did this and feel that it was the right thing to do, I did this and regret it now = 1.  
 I did not do this, not living in Alexandra at the time = 0.

(2) Did you threaten or intimidate anyone into joining in? 0.0 0.6

(3) Did you steal any things from a foreigner's shack? 0.0 0.6

(4) Did you physically harm any foreigners? 0.0 0.6

(5) Did you destroy anyone's shack? 0.0 0.6

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**Table 3.** Measurement Model of Participation Intentions

Items	Location Parameters		Discrimination Parameters
	1st	2nd	
Intend to hit	.69	.74	.94
Intend to destroy	.65	.70	.94
Intend to toyi-toyi	.43	.50	.82
Intend to help	.13	.30	.43

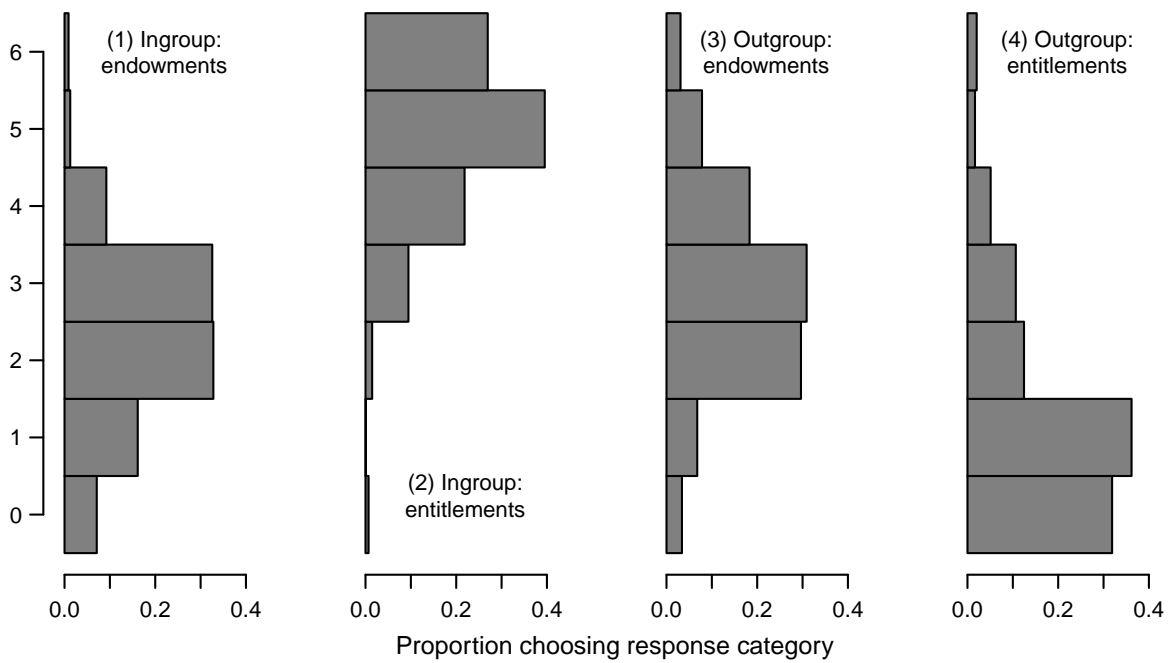
Parameter estimates from a 2-parameter IRT model for ordinal data obtained using a design-based robust weighted least squares estimator. Discrimination parameters are standardized. Location parameters are on the [0,1] scale of the underlying latent variable.

**Table 4.** Measurement Model of Anger

Items	Location Parameters	Discrimination Parameters
Anger: housing	.64	.56
Anger: jobs	.62	.66
Anger: entitlement	.77	.59
Irritation: housing	.66	.52
Irritation: jobs	.76	.78
Irritation: entitlement	.85	.54

Parameters from a 2-parameter IRT model, which is estimated using a design-based robust weighted least squares estimator. Discrimination parameters are standardized. Location parameters are on the [0,1] scale of the underlying latent variable.

**Figure 2.** Distributions of Responses For Group Endowment and Group Entitlement Items



Each plot displays the distribution of responses for each of the four seven-point indicators used to construct the group entitlement violation variable. The highest value, here “6,” is described to respondents as representing a high social position, with “0” being low.  $N = 497$ .

**Table 5.** Descriptive and Measurement Statistics for All Variables

Variables	No. of Items	Eigenvalues of Correl. Matrix		Cronbach's alpha	No. of Categories	Mean	Std. Dev.
		1st	2nd				
Participation intentions	4	2.93	.71	.87	Contin	.38	.31
Intergroup anger	6	2.75	.90	.76	Contin	.32	.27
Group entitlement violations	4				Contin	.60	.14
Meeting attendance	1				5	.16	.28
Blame from peers	3	2.62	.28	.93	Contin	.51	.32
Blame from leaders	3	2.87	.10	.98	4	.10	.27
Employment: Not in the labour force	1				2	.11	.31
Employment: Unemployed	1				2	.45	.50
Employment: Trader	1				2	.03	.16
Lives in low quality housing	1				2	.64	.49
Poverty	6	3.64	.82	.87	Contin	.58	.22
Support for violence	2			.82	Contin	.18	.21
Age	1				Contin	.30	.21
Party support: opposition party	1				2	.14	.35
Party support: no party	1				2	.34	.47
Education	1				4	.48	.26
Gender: Male	1				2	.53	.50
National identity	3	1.62	.80	.57	Contin	.79	.21
Participation in 2008 riots	5				2	.13	.44
Years lived in Alexandria	1				Contin	.24	.17

Eigenvalues and Cronbach's alpha are calculated using polychoric correlation matrices. All variables are rescaled to the [0,1] interval. "Contin" is a continuous variable, for which there are more than seven ordered categories. Means and standard deviations are weighted.

### 3 Missing Data

As is frequently the case in survey data, some respondents refused to provide answers for certain questions, or responded with “don’t know.” Wherever possible, “don’t know” answers were recoded as some appropriate level on the response scale.<sup>15</sup> Refusals resulted in missing values.

Missing values were handled using the method of multiple imputation. This procedure uses an algorithm to impute missing data based on the values of observed data (see Rubin 1987; King et al. 2001). A small number of complete datasets is created. Five is adequate for a sample of this size where most variables show less than 3% of their values missing (Rubin 1996). The algorithm is stochastic, such that each of the imputed datasets differs slightly from the others.

Statistical analyses are then conducted on all data-sets before the results are combined. The additional uncertainty generated through the use of estimated data is reflected in the variance of the five imputed values for each missing datum, and ultimately in the variance of the parameter estimates in any model using multiply-imputed datasets.

An important distinction is whether missing values are ignorable or non-ignorable. They are ignorable when the missing values are uncorrelated with the observed values; otherwise, non-ignorable. If wealthier respondents are more likely to refuse to answer a question on income, for example, then such missing data would be non-ignorable. When missing data are non-ignorable, multiple imputation does not provide an unbiased solution—but neither does single imputation or listwise deletion (King et al. 2001). When data are ignorable however, multiple imputation generates unbiased estimates of the true values, and is more efficient than listwise deletion because no observations are lost.

In only two of my survey items were a significant percentage (greater than 5%) of the data missing: outgroup entitlement and party support. Missing data for the first item is largely due to “don’t know” answers. It thus appears to be attributable to unfamiliarity with the abstract ladder scale rather than respondents censoring their views of outgroup entitlement.<sup>16</sup> These missing data can thus be regarded as ignorable. The situation is not as clear for the question on party support. Given the history of partisan violence in Alexandra, it is not surprising that almost 10% of respondents refused to offer an answer to this question. Further analyses reveals that refusing to offer an answer to this question is driven more by where respondents live than by the demographic correlates of particular parties.<sup>17</sup> It thus seems likely that missing data on this question are also ignorable and amenable to multiple imputation.

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<sup>15</sup>The only exception was the group entitlement and endowment items, where there was no suitable point on the ladder scale for “don’t know’s”; these responses ( $N = 4 - 45$ ) were recoded as missing. Details on the extent of missingness by item and the treatment of “don’t know’s” are provided in Table 2.

<sup>16</sup>Indeed, the survey featured much more contentious questions about the outgroup such as intentions to participate in future violence against this group. Only around 1 – 2% of the responses for these questions were missing and/or “don’t know’s”.

<sup>17</sup>A dummy variable for refusals for the party support question is correlated (tetrachoric correlation) with both being Zulu (.24) and living in Sector 2 (.30). Being Zulu in Alexandra is associated with being a supporter of a particular party, the IFP, while Sector 2 is where partisan violence occurred in the early 1990s. A logistic regression of the refusals dummy, however, finds that being Zulu is no longer a significant independent variable when living in Sector 2 is included in the equation. It is thus location, rather than ethnicity, which determines hesitance to answer the party support question.

## 4 Additional Results

**Table 6.** Additional Models of Participation Intentions

	6.1	6.2	6.3	6.4
Intergroup anger		.41* (.06)	.37* (.06)	.27* (.06)
Jealousy		.06 (.06)		
Anxiety		.07 (.05)		
Sadness		-.01 (.04)		
Shame		.06 (.05)		
Violations of group entitlement	.67* (.10)	.44* (.11)	.44* (.10)	.48* (.10)
Support for violence	.37* (.06)	.28* (.06)	.28* (.06)	.08 (.06)
Anger × support for violence				.56* (.15)
Participation in 2008 attacks			.09* (.04)	
Blame from peers	.14* (.04)	.09* (.04)	.08* (.04)	.09* (.04)
Blame from leaders	.07 (.07)	.05 (.07)	.04 (.07)	.05 (.07)
Strength of national identity	.08 (.06)	.01 (.06)	.02 (.06)	.00 (.06)
Employment: not in the labour force	-.08 (.05)	-.09* (.04)	-.10* (.04)	-.09* (.04)
Employment: unemployed	-.02 (.03)	-.03 (.03)	-.03 (.03)	-.03 (.03)
Employment: street trader	-.00 (.08)	-.02 (.06)	-.02 (.06)	-.01 (.06)
Lives in informal dwelling	-.06* (.03)	-.04 (.03)	-.05 (.03)	-.04 (.02)
Meeting attendance	-.01 (.07)	-.01 (.06)	-.01 (.06)	-.01 (.06)
Socio-economic status	-.13 (.07)	-.11 (.08)	-.12 (.07)	-.12 (.07)
Party support: none	.01 (.03)	.02 (.03)	.02 (.03)	.02 (.03)
Party support: opposition	.06 (.05)	.05 (.05)	.05 (.05)	.05 (.05)
Age	.00 (.25)	-.10 (.22)	-.11 (.21)	-.07 (.20)
Age squared	-.33 (.33)	-.09 (.30)	-.07 (.28)	-.13 (.27)
Proportion of life spent in Alexandria	.29* (.11)	.22* (.11)	.23* (.11)	.22* (.10)
Gender: Male	.11* (.03)	.09* (.03)	.09* (.03)	.09* (.03)
Level of education	-.10 (.06)	-.08 (.06)	-.07 (.06)	-.07 (.06)

$N = 497$ . \*  $p < .05$ . Models are survey linear regressions with design-based standard errors in parentheses. All models include an intercept and indicators for community policing sectors. All variables range from 0 to 1.

**Table 7.** Additional Models of Participation Intentions

	7.1	7.2	7.3
Intergroup anger	.35*	(.06)	.37*
Violations of group entitlement			(.05)
Violations of group entitlement			(.10)
Ingroup endowments	.01	(.07)	.44*
Ingroup entitlements	.18*	(.07)	
Outgroup endowments	.05	(.06)	
Outgroup entitlements	-.27*	(.07)	
Support for violence	.32*	(.05)	.28*
Meeting attendance	.01	(.06)	-.01
Meeting attendance (dichot.)			(.06)
Anger × meeting attendance (dichot.)			(.05)
Participation in 2008 attacks			(.11)
Anger × participation in 2008			.12
			-.06
			(.07)
			(.15)
Blame from peers	.13*	(.04)	.08*
Blame from leaders	.04	(.06)	.04
Strength of national identity	-.01	(.06)	.01
Employment: not in the labour force	-.09*	(.04)	-.10*
Employment: unemployed	-.03	(.03)	-.03
Employment: street trader	-.03	(.06)	-.02
Lives in informal dwelling	-.03	(.02)	-.05
Socio-economic status	-.11	(.08)	-.12
Party support: none	.01	(.03)	.01
Party support: opposition	.06	(.05)	.05
Age	-.11	(.21)	-.12
Age squared	-.05	(.29)	-.06
Proportion of life spent in Alexandria	.19	(.10)	.23*
Gender: Male	.08*	(.03)	.09*
Level of education	-.06	(.06)	-.07
			(.06)

$N = 497$ . \*  $p < .05$ . Models are survey linear regressions with design-based standard errors in parentheses. All models include an intercept and indicators for community policing sectors. All variables range from 0 to 1.



**Table 8.** Additional Models of Intergroup Anger

	8.1		8.2	
Violations of group entitlement	.55*	(.09)		
Ingroup endowments			-.11	(.06)
Ingroup entitlements			.10	(.09)
Outgroup endowments			.06	(.07)
Outgroup entitlements			-.33*	(.05)
Support for violence	.20*	(.07)	.22*	(.06)
Blame from peers	.14*	(.04)	.15*	(.04)
Blame from leaders	.07	(.07)	.07	(.07)
Strength of national identity	.18*	(.05)	.16*	(.06)
Employment: not in the labour force	.04	(.05)	.06	(.05)
Employment: unemployed	.02	(.03)	.02	(.03)
Employment: street trader	.04	(.05)	.04	(.05)
Lives in informal dwelling	-.04	(.03)	-.04	(.03)
No. of community meetings attended	-.02	(.05)	.01	(.05)
Participation in 2008 attacks	.06	(.06)		
Socio-economic status	-.04	(.06)	-.04	(.06)
Party support: none	-.03	(.03)	-.03	(.03)
Party support: opposition	.01	(.03)	.01	(.03)
Age	.32	(.22)	.32	(.22)
Age squared	-.66*	(.28)	-.66*	(.28)
Proportion of life spent in Alexandria	.13	(.10)	.10	(.09)
Gender: Male	.04	(.02)	.04	(.03)
Level of education	-.07	(.06)	-.06	(.06)

$N = 497$ . \* $p < .05$ . Models are survey linear regressions with design-based standard errors in parentheses. All models include an intercept and indicators for community policing sectors. All variables range from 0 to 1.

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