

# Appendix

March 14, 2025

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## A The population and sample

Our sample is comprised of university students at Addis Ababa University. This section uses 2020 Afrobarometer data to highlight some of the ways students (and particularly our sample) differ in important ways from Ethiopia's general population. First [A1](#) shows that those with university educations (or similar post-secondary education) are far more likely to be employed by the government. [A3](#) shows that college students and graduates are also more likely than the general population to have participated in community organizing and protests (although young people in general are less likely to have done so). [A4](#) shows that when looking exclusively at participating in protests, both younger people and college educated people are more likely to have done so. [A2](#) shows that our sample was slightly less likely to have both participated in protests and attended community meetings than the general population. [A5](#) shows that young people are far less likely to vote, but that college educated people are not any more or less likely to vote than the general population.

[A6](#) compares our sample to the general population on their views regarding diversity, ethnic federalism, and compromise. Our sample held similar views to the general population on diversity versus homogeneity (though they were much more likely to express ambivalence between the two). Our sample tended to be much more adverse to ethnic federalism, preferring to eliminate it, while the general population preferred to keep it. Finally our sample held typical views regarding political compromise, generally viewing it favorably.

### Government employment by education level

Source: Afrobarometer, Ethiopia (2020).

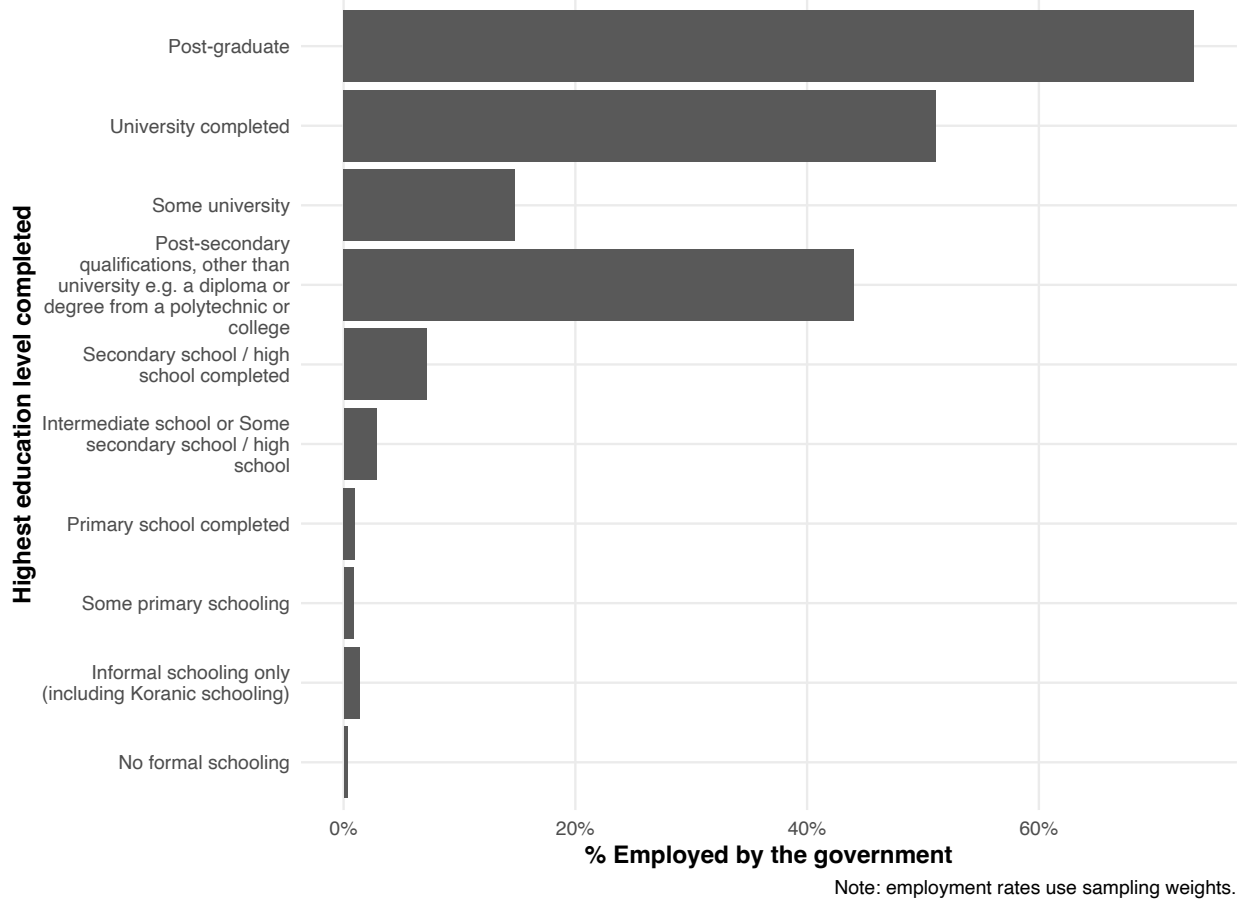


Figure A1: Percent employed in public sector across levels of education. Source: Afrobarometer (2020), Ethiopia Wave 8.

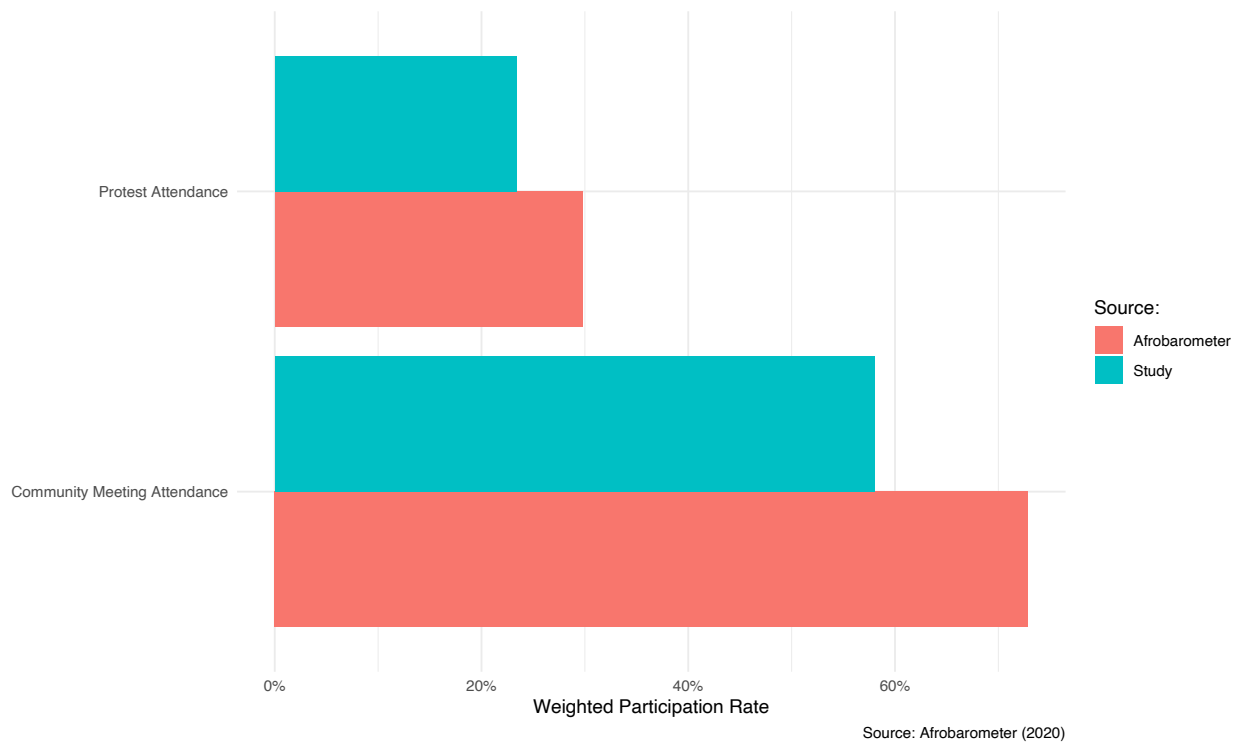


Figure A2: Comparison of participation rates in both protests and community meetings between our sample and the 2020 Afrobarometer survey (Ethiopia Wave 8).

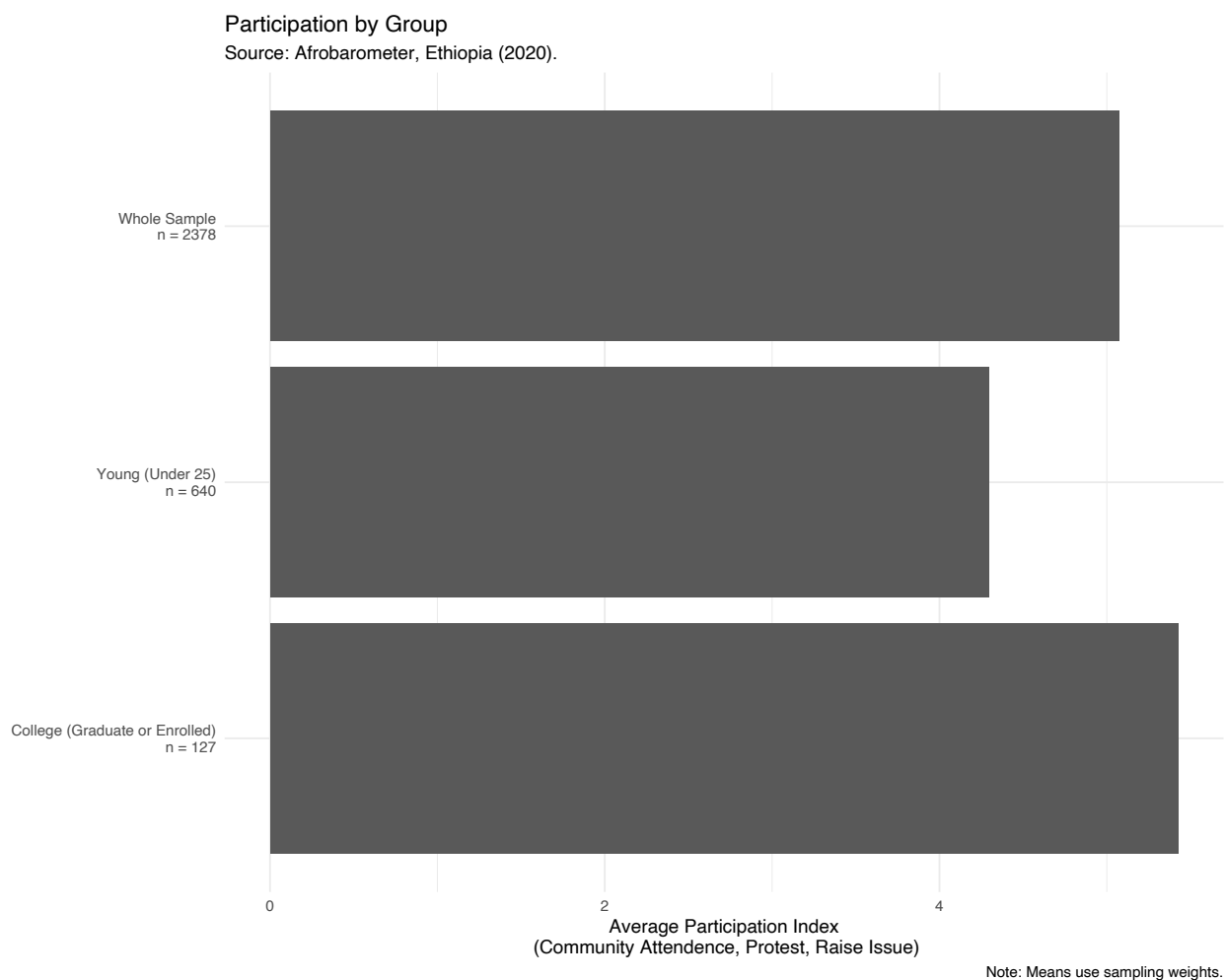


Figure A3: Comparison of average participation index between whole sample, young people and students. Participation index takes into account, community meeting attendance, raising an issue, and attending a protest. Source: Afrobarometer (2020), Ethiopia Wave 8.

Percent Participated in Protest by Group  
Source: Afrobarometer, Ethiopia (2020).

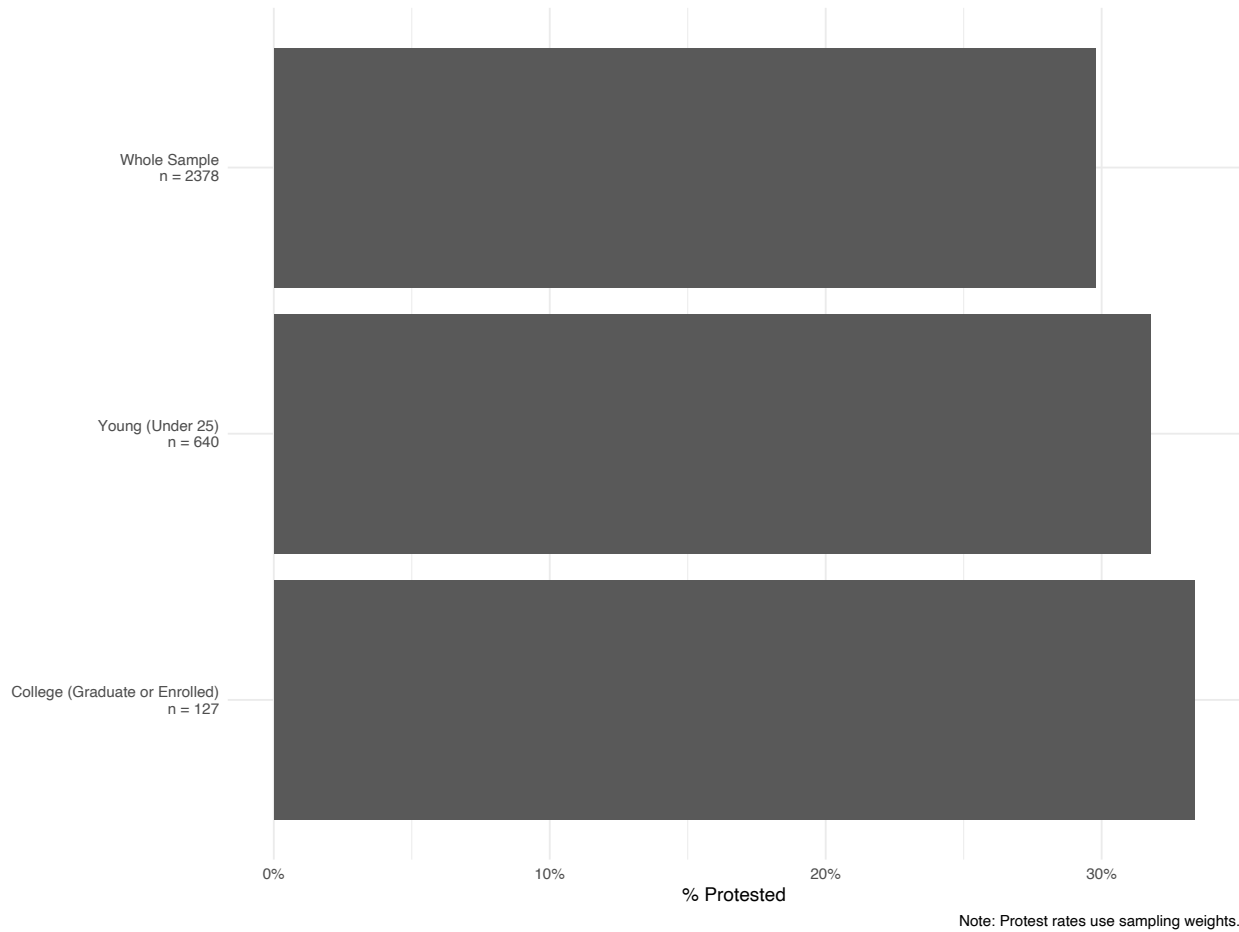


Figure A4: Comparison of percent participated in a protest between whole sample, young people and students. Source: Afrobarometer (2020), Ethiopia Wave 8.

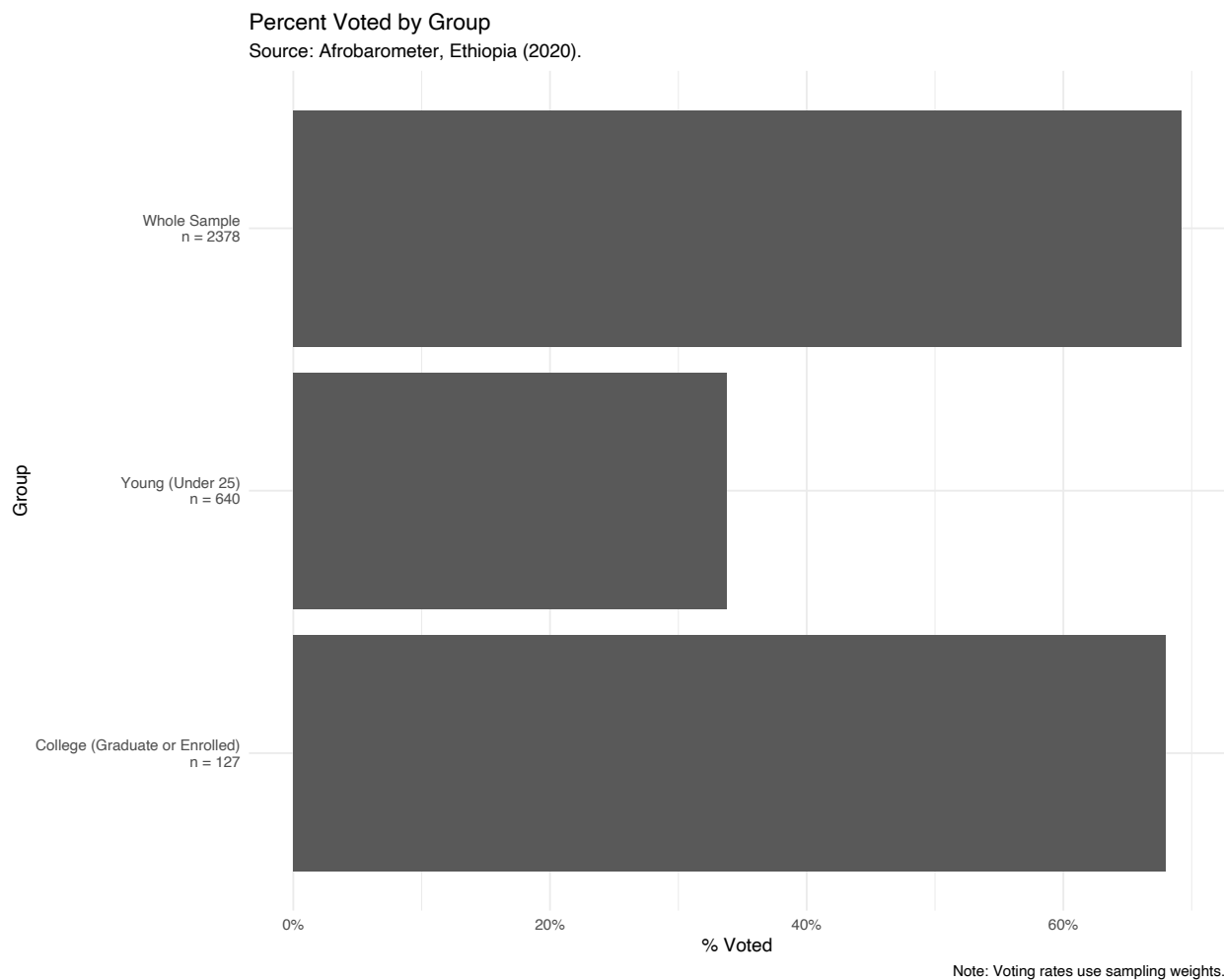


Figure A5: Comparison of percent voted between whole sample, young people and students.  
 Source: Afrobarometer (2020), Ethiopia Wave 8.



Figure A6: Comparison of views on diversity, ethnic federalism, and compromise between our sample and the 2020 Afrobarometer survey (Ethiopia Wave 8).



## B Other results

Table A1: Minimum detectable Cohen's d for pairwise comparisons.

Test	Power
Control vs. T1	0.245
Control vs. T2	0.246
Control vs. T3	0.247

Table A2: Conjoint Analysis Results (MMs)

Feature	Level	Coefficient	P-value
hiring	Central Gov Hires	0.505	0
hiring	States Hire	0.496	0
police	State Police	0.465	0
police	National Police	0.535	0
culture	State Language and Culture	0.479	0
culture	Central Gov Language and Culture	0.520	0
borders	Geography	0.611	0
borders	Ethnic Group	0.396	0

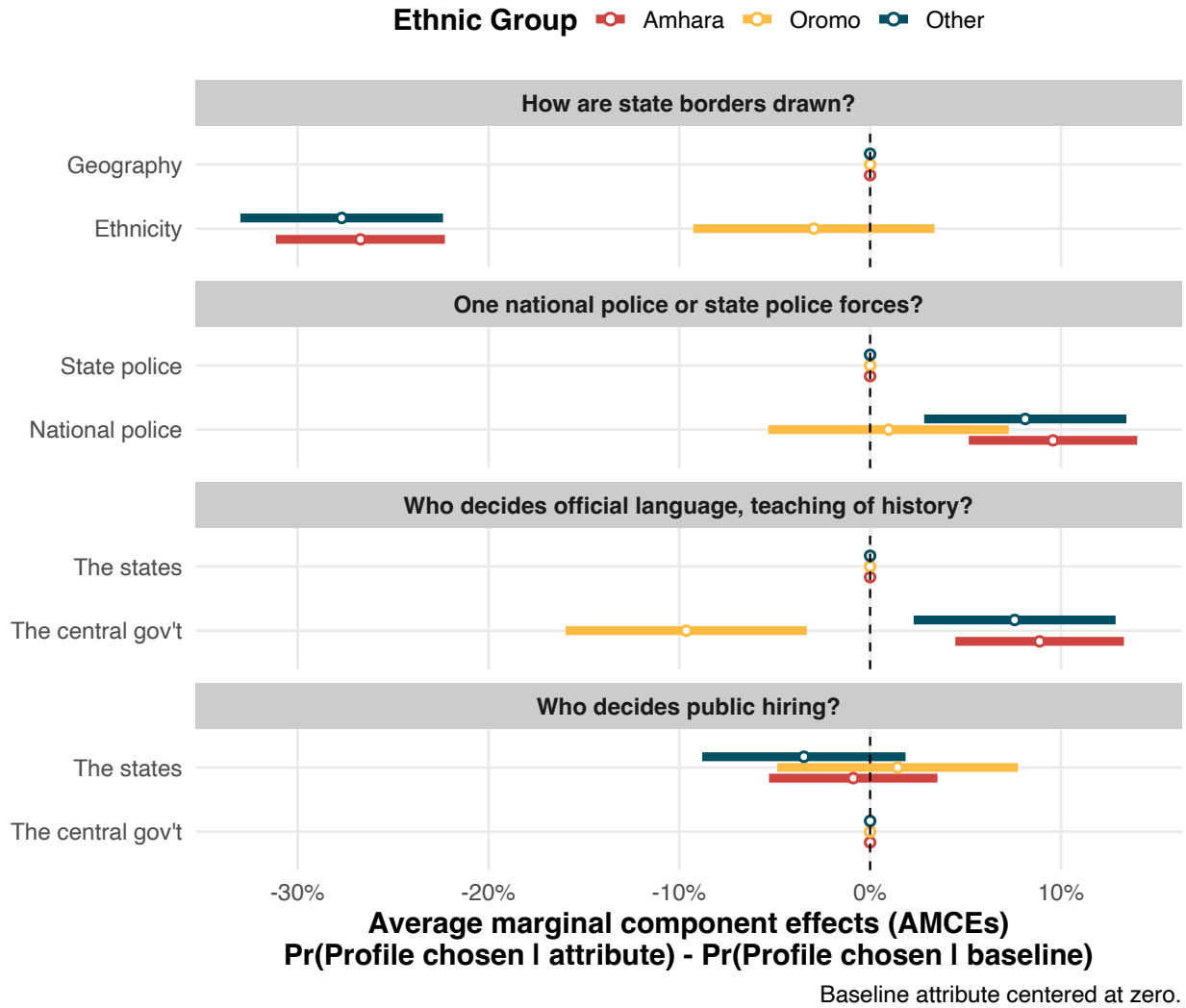


Figure A7: Respondents were categorized as belonging to each ethnic group if they listed that group as one of their ethnic identities. See Appendix Table A8 for marginal mean results.

Table A3: Federalism Vignettes Main Results

	Support for Federal Power
Majority	-0.252 (0.173)
Majority, Coethnics Minority	-0.161 (0.173)
Minority	-0.075 (0.174)
Constant	6.264*** (0.122)
N	1019
R-squared	0.002
Adj. R-squared	-0.001
Residual Std. Error	1.959 (df = 1015)
F Statistic	0.794 (df = 3; 1015)

\*\*\*p < .01; \*\*p < .05; \*p < .1

Table A4: Federalism Vignettes Co-Ethnic President Results

	Support for Federal Power
Majority	-0.266 (0.194)
Minority	-0.130 (0.195)
Majority, Coethnics Minority	-0.008 (0.194)
Oromo	-0.278 (0.288)
Majority*Oromo	0.008 (0.425)
Minority*Oromo	-0.189 (0.419)
Majority, Coethnics Minority*Oromo	-0.484 (0.436)
Constant	6.328*** (0.139)
N	1019
R-squared	0.012
Adj. R-squared	0.005
Residual Std. Error	1.954 (df = 1011)
F Statistic	1.693 (df = 7; 1011)

\*\*\*p < .01; \*\*p < .05; \*p < .1

Table A5: Federalism Vignettes One-Party Rule Results

	Support for Federal Power
Majority	0.413 (0.312)
Majority, Coethnics Minority	0.247 (0.314)
Minority	0.268 (0.306)
Supports 1-Party Rule	0.329*** (0.111)
Majority*1-Party	-0.409** (0.167)
Majority, Coethnics Minority*1-Party	-0.244 (0.167)
Minority*1-Party	-0.199 (0.161)
Constant	5.722*** (0.215)
N	1017
R-squared	0.013
Adj. R-squared	0.006
Residual Std. Error	1.951 (df = 1009)
F Statistic	1.876* (df = 7; 1009)

\*\*\*p < .01; \*\*p < .05; \*p < .1

Table A6: Federalism Vignettes Tolerance Results

	Support for Federal Power
Majority	-1.451** (0.718)
Majority, Coethnics Minority	-0.701 (0.747)
Minority	-1.125 (0.741)
Ethnic Tolerance	-0.273** (0.122)
Majority*Tolerance	0.302* (0.174)
Majority, Coethnics Minority*Tolerance	0.138 (0.180)
Minority*Tolerance	0.264 (0.177)
Constant	7.349*** (0.505)
N	1016
R-squared	0.008
Adj. R-squared	0.001
Residual Std. Error	1.956 (df = 1008)
F Statistic	1.184 (df = 7; 1008)

\*\*\*p < .01; \*\*p < .05; \*p < .1



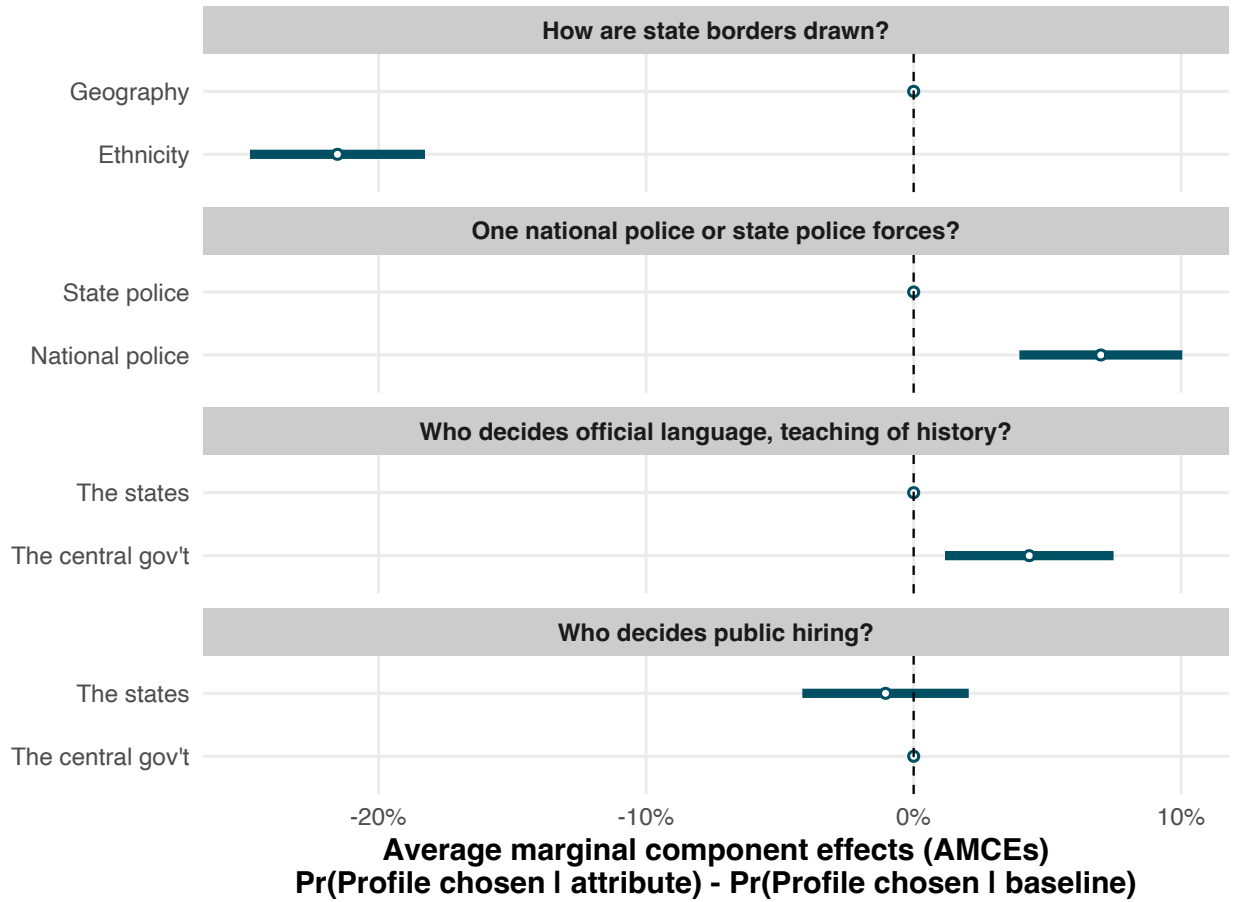


Figure A8: Average marginal component effects, describing the change in probability of a profile being chosen relative to the probability under the baseline category. Standard errors clustered at respondent level.

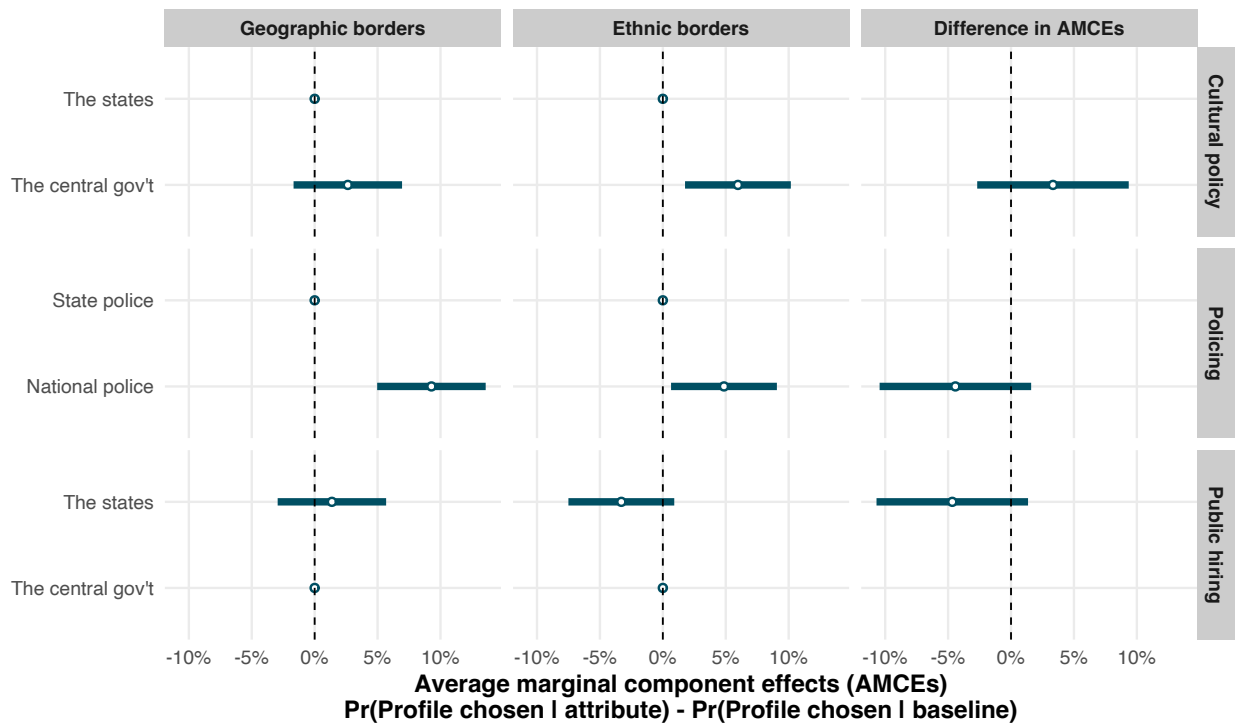


Figure A9: Difference in marginal means, describing the difference in probability that a profile was chosen with a given attribute and where the borders are fixed as ethnically defined, and the probability that a similar profile is chosen where borders are fixed as geographically defined.

Table A7: Difference in Marginal Means (comparing supporters of ethnic violence against opponents)

Feature	Level	DMM	p
Hiring	Central Gov Hires	0.003	0.907
Hiring	States Hire	-0.003	0.908
Police	State Police	0.028	0.264
Police	National Police	-0.030	0.212
Culture	State Language and Culture	0.070	0.005
Culture	Central Gov Language and Culture	-0.067	0.006
Borders	Geography	-0.051	0.039
Borders	Ethnic Group	0.056	0.017

Table A8: Marginal Means for each condition based on Ethnic Group

Feature	condition	Ethnic Group	Marginal Mean	Lower	Upper
hiring	Central Gov	Amhara	0.511	0.478	0.544
hiring	State	Amhara	0.489	0.456	0.522
hiring	Central Gov	Oromo	0.493	0.447	0.538
hiring	State	Oromo	0.507	0.463	0.551
hiring	Central Gov	Other	0.504	0.464	0.544
hiring	State	Other	0.496	0.458	0.535
police	State	Amhara	0.449	0.416	0.482
police	Central Gov	Amhara	0.548	0.516	0.580
police	State	Oromo	0.496	0.451	0.541
police	Central Gov	Oromo	0.504	0.459	0.549
police	State	Other	0.463	0.425	0.502
police	Central Gov	Other	0.538	0.499	0.578
culture	State	Amhara	0.449	0.416	0.482
culture	Central Gov	Amhara	0.548	0.516	0.580
culture	State	Oromo	0.551	0.505	0.596
culture	Central Gov	Oromo	0.452	0.408	0.496
culture	State	Other	0.466	0.427	0.506
culture	Central Gov	Other	0.533	0.494	0.572
borders	Geography	Amhara	0.635	0.604	0.666
borders	Ethnicity	Amhara	0.363	0.331	0.394
borders	Geography	Oromo	0.519	0.473	0.564
borders	Ethnicity	Oromo	0.483	0.439	0.527
borders	Geography	Other	0.644	0.606	0.683
borders	Ethnicity	Other	0.374	0.337	0.410

## C Questionnaire wording

### C.1 Vignette experiment

Now, we would like you to take part in a small “thought experiment”. Imagine that, hypothetically speaking, the borders of the states within Ethiopia were to be redrawn and the balance of power between the states and the federal government were to change. Again, this is purely a hypothetical.

According to the new state borders, the majority of citizens in the state where you live are members of your ethnic group.

According to the new state borders, the majority of citizens in the state where you live are members of a different ethnic group than you.

According to the new state borders, the majority of citizens in the state where you live are members of your ethnic group. However, most people from your ethnic group will live in other states where they are a minority.

[Control–No Vignette]

Under the new system, how do you think that power should be divided between the states and the central government? On a scale from 0 to 10, how much power do you think should go to the federal government?

0 means that all power is given to the states — 10 means that all power is given to the federal government

How much power should go to the federal government?

### C.2 Federalism discrete choice conjoint

#### Task 1:

Now, we would like you to take part in a small “thought experiment”. Imagine that, hypothetically speaking, the federal system of Ethiopia were to be redesigned from scratch, and public responsibilities had to be assigned either to the central government or to the states. Again, this is purely a hypothetical.

Consider two hypothetical proposals for how the federal government should be designed, below. If you had to live in one of these two hypothetical governments, which would you choose? Even if you are not sure, please make your best guess.

Respondents were shown a table with two Government (Government A and Government B) arrangements with each of the issue areas assigned to the either the central government or the states. The four categories were:

- Public Jobs
- Security Forces
- Cultural Policy

- Borders

Which Government do you prefer?

- Government A
- Government B

Task 2:

Now here is a new pair of hypothetical governments. If you had to live in one of these two, which would you choose? Even if you are not sure, please make your best guess.

Respondents were shown a table with two Government (Government A and Government B) arrangements with each of the issue areas assigned to the either the central government or the states. The four categories were:

- Public Jobs
- Security Forces
- Cultural Policy
- Borders

Which Government do you prefer?

- Government A
- Government B

### C.3 Other variables

Here the wording of the questions for the interactions where we have results we want to showcase.

Baseline Wording:

1-Party Rule:

There are many ways to govern a country. Would you disagree or agree with the following statement: Only one political party should be allowed to stand for election and hold office.

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

### Ethnic Federalism:

Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Statement A: In Ethiopia, federal states should continue to be defined based on ethnic homelands. Statement B: In Ethiopia, federal states should change so that they are defined based on geographical features, not ethnic homelands.

- I agree strongly with A
- I agree with A
- I agree with neither
- I agree with B
- I agree strongly with B

### Ethnic Tolerance:

For each of the following types of people, please tell me whether you would like having people from this group as neighbours, dislike it, or not care: People from other ethnic groups

- Strongly dislike
- Somewhat dislike
- Neither like nor dislike
- Somewhat like
- Strongly like

### Ethiopian Identity

Most people have different identities or groups that they identify with. Some Ethiopians identify most strongly with their region, others with their ethnic community, while others identify most strongly with the country as a whole. Looking at the three identities below, please rank them from "1" to "3", where "1" is your most important identity and "3" is your least important identity.

- Ethiopian
- My home region
- My ethnic group

### Expand/Endline Wording:

#### Ethiopian Identity

Most people have different identities or groups that they identify with. Some Ethiopians identify most strongly with their region, others with their ethnic community, while others identify most strongly with the country as a whole. Looking at the three identities below, please rank them from "1" to "3", where "1" is your most important identity and "3" is your least important identity.

- Ethiopian
- My home region
- My ethnic group

#### Ethnic Violence

How much do you feel it is justified for members of your ETHNIC GROUP to use violence in advancing their political goals these days?

- Not at all
- A little
- A moderate amount
- A lot
- Always

#### Ethnic Federalism:

Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Statement A: In Ethiopia, federal states should continue to be defined based on ethnic homelands. Statement B: In Ethiopia, federal states should change so that they are defined based on geographical features, not ethnic homelands.

- I agree strongly with A
- I agree with A
- I agree with neither
- I agree with B
- I agree strongly with B

#### 1-Party Rule:

There are many ways to govern a country. Would you disagree or agree with the following statement: Only one political party should be allowed to stand for election and hold office.

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

#### Ethnic Tolerance:

For each of the following types of people, please tell me whether you would like having people from this group as neighbours, dislike it, or not care: People from other ethnic groups



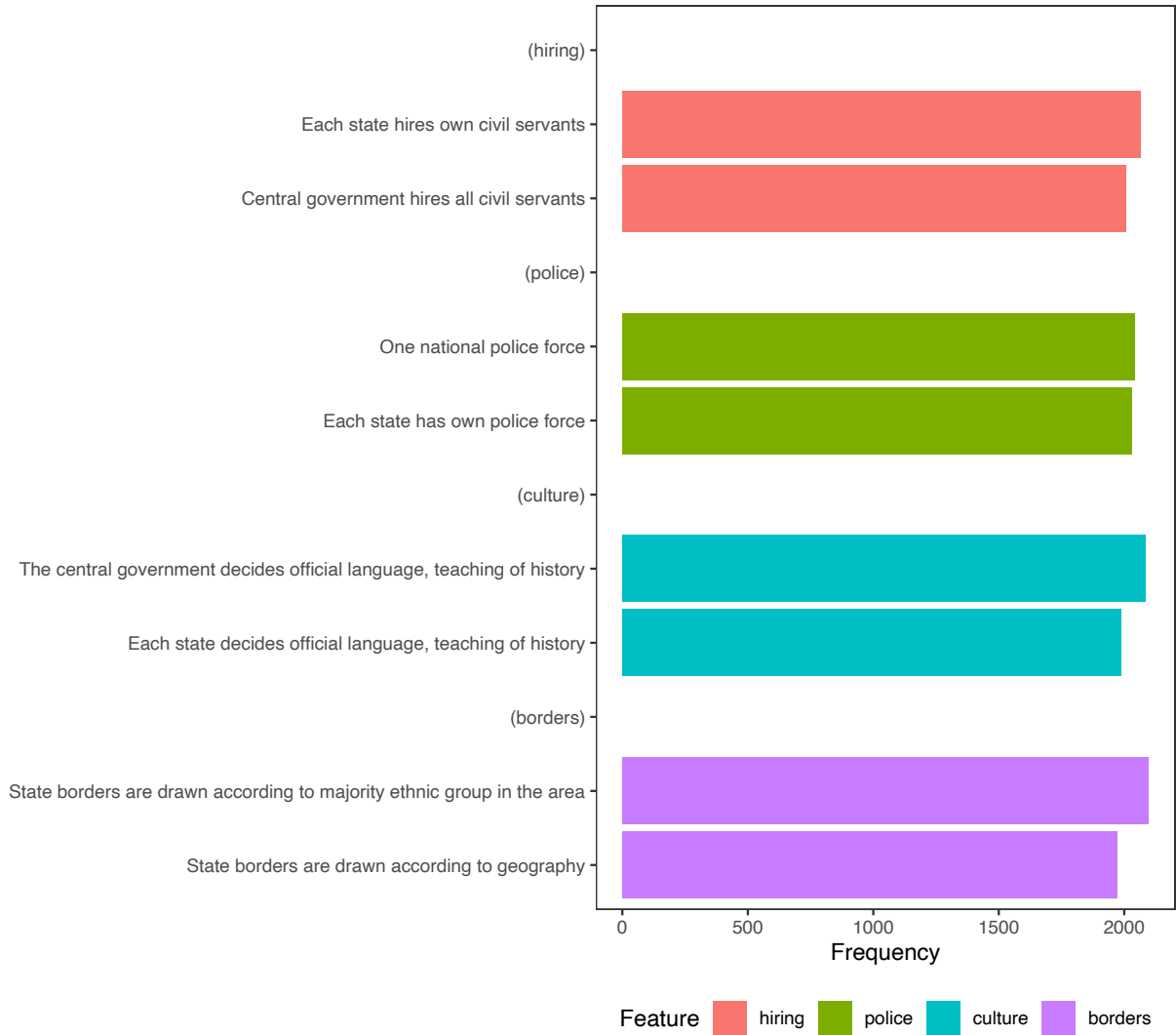


Figure A10: Frequency with which respondents were treated with each condition

- Strongly dislike
- Somewhat dislike
- Neither like nor dislike
- Somewhat like
- Strongly like

## D Balance Tests

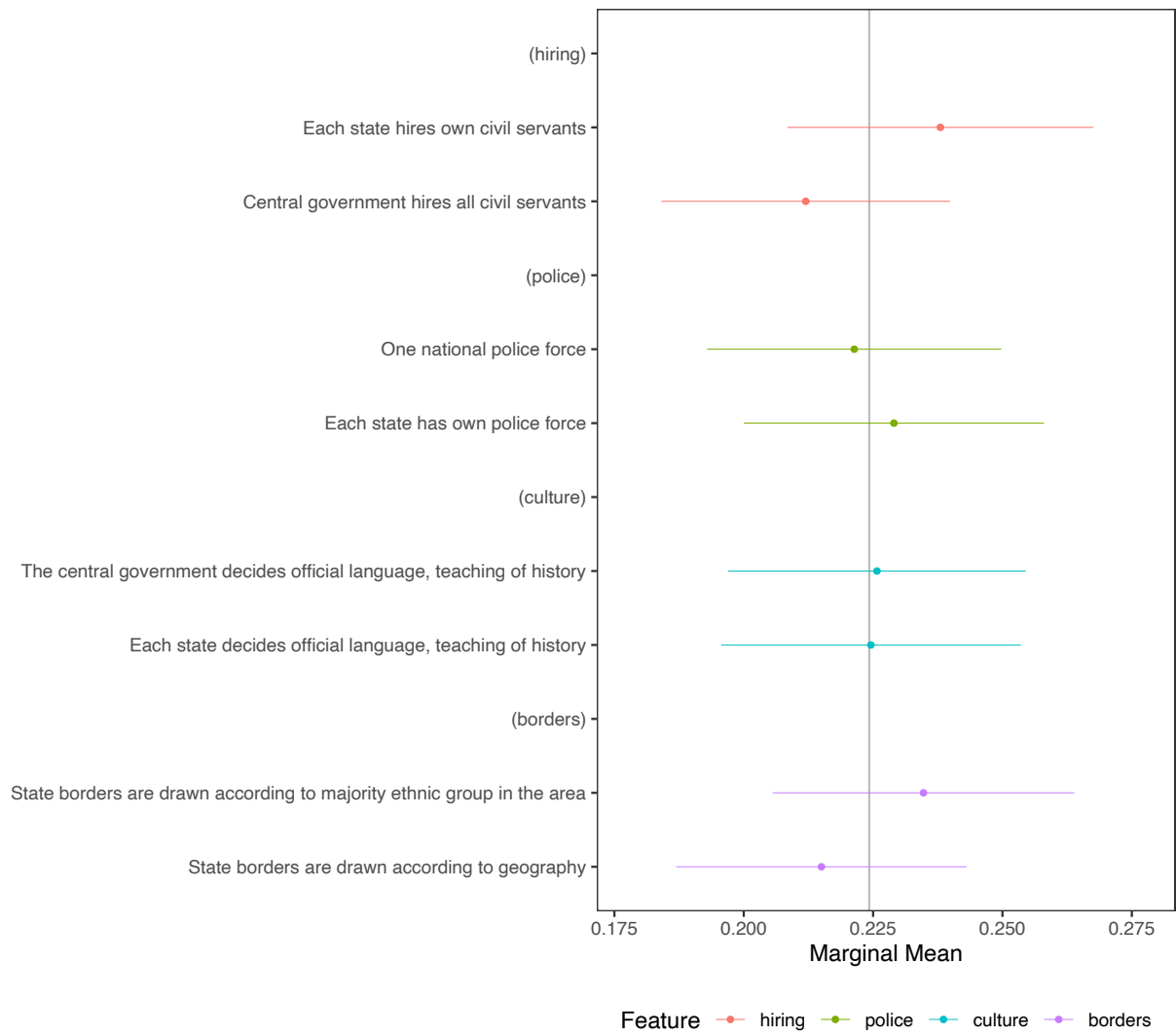


Figure A11

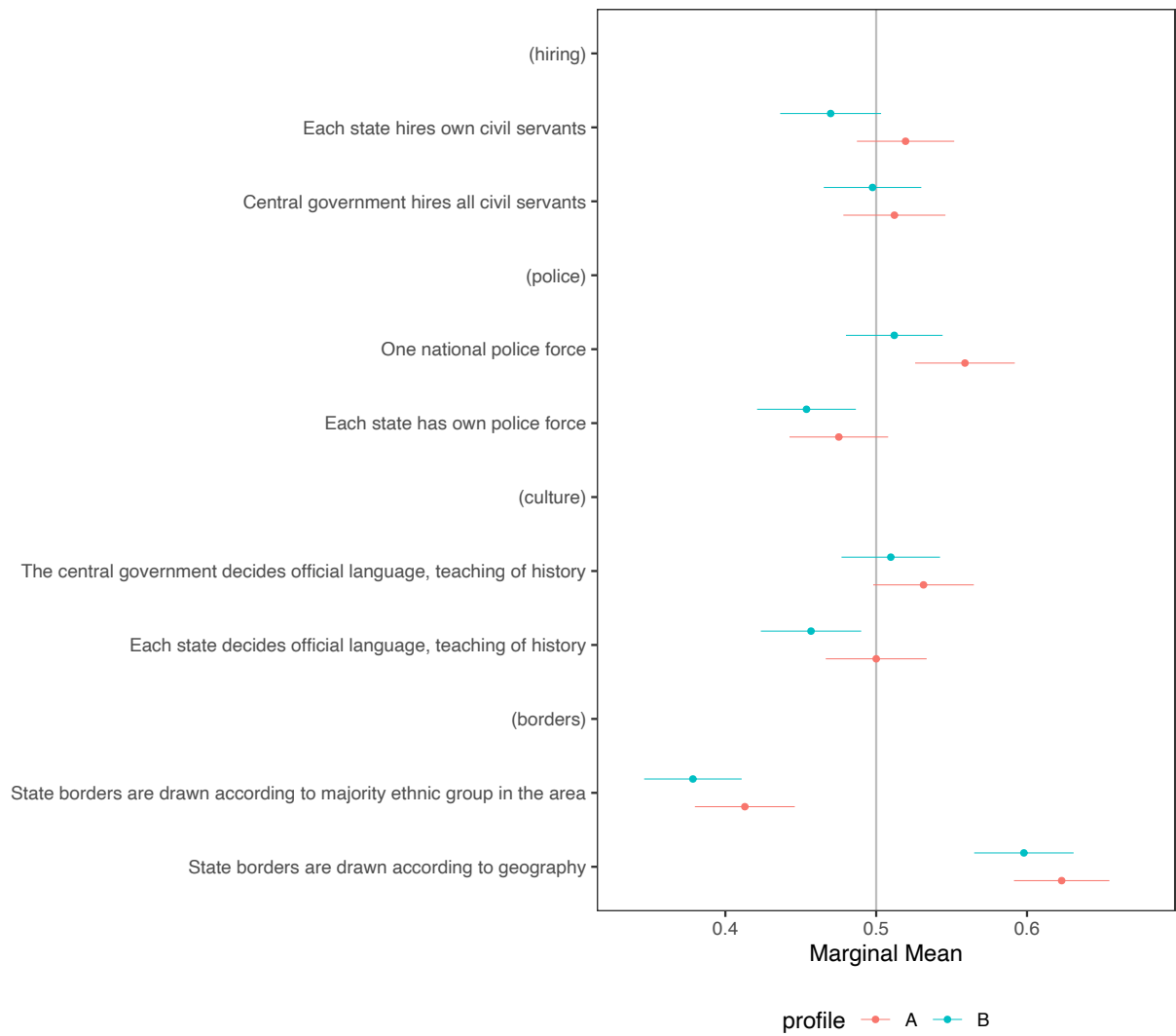


Figure A12

We conducted several balance tests to ensure that our random assignment of treatment conditions worked correctly. Figure [A10](#) shows that the frequency with which each condition was assigned to profiles was virtually identical. Figure [A11](#) tests whether any of our treatment conditions were statistically related to a respondent indicating they identified with more than one ethnic group. None of the marginal means are significantly different from zero, indicating that there was no relationship between multiethnic status and treatment with any of our conditions. Figure [A12](#) compares the marginal means for each condition based on whether they appeared in Profile A or Profile B and finds no statistical difference for any of them.