

# Appendix for *African Traditional Institutions and Support for Democracy*

Vladimir Chlouba\*

December 18, 2023

## Contents

<b>1 Summary Statistics (Appendix A)</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>2 Description of Variables (Appendix B)</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>3 Measuring Democraticness (Appendix C)</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>4 Heterogeneous Treatment Effects - Full Results (Appendix D)</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>5 Support for Democracy and Specific Institutional Features of Traditional Political Systems - Full Results (Appendix E)</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>6 Traditional Monarchies and Support for Democracy - Full Results (Appendix F)</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>7 Alternative Independent Variables (Appendix G)</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>8 Alternative Dependent Variables (Appendix H)</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>9 Alternative Error Clustering (Appendix I)</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>10 Additional Control Variables (Appendix J)</b>	<b>21</b>

---

\*Assistant Professor, Jepson School of Leadership Studies, University of Richmond, 221 Richmond Way, Richmond, VA, USA, 23173.

# 1 Summary Statistics (Appendix A)

Table A1: Summary Statistics

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Median	Max
AB round	52,141	4.857	1.083	3	5	6
Age	51,762	36.645	14.429	18	33	130
Age <sup>2</sup>	51,762	1,551.066	1,280.132	324	1,089	16,900
Associational activity	51,674	0.618	0.728	0	0	2
Avoiding criticizing government	18,129	1.935	0.774	1	2	3
British colony	50,777	0.752	0.432	0	1	1
Complain about government services	18,261	2.546	0.611	1	3	3
Constitutional integration	51,019	2.033	1.866	0	2	6
Contacts traditional leader	35,501	0.267	0.443	0	0	1
Corruption	46,774	1.490	0.830	0	1	3
Council	50,256	0.499	0.500	0	0	1
Democraticness (experts' assessment)	43,287	3.236	0.924	1	3	5
Democraticness (index of 8)	49,039	-0.000	1.000	-2.123	0.172	2.599
Democraticness (sum of 11)	49,039	2.139	0.289	1.394	2.192	2.780
Economic conditions	51,421	2.543	1.286	1	2	5
Education	52,124	3.365	2.132	0	4	9
Elders	50,256	0.481	0.500	0	0	1
Employed	52,018	0.286	0.452	0	0	1
Female	52,141	0.503	0.500	0	1	1
French colony	50,777	0.269	0.443	0	0	1
Independence cohort	51,762	0.068	0.252	0	0	1
Interest in public affairs	51,727	1.711	1.090	0	2	3
King	50,256	0.413	0.492	0	0	1
Living conditions	50,449	2.860	1.033	1	3	5
News consumption	51,805	1.520	0.972	0	1	3
Performance (economy)	50,323	2.196	0.967	1	2	4
Performance (president)	49,696	2.692	1.002	1	3	4
Political goods	39,048	13.352	2.612	4	14	16
Polity score	52,121	5.527	3.317	-4	6	9
President's ethnic group	52,141	0.179	0.384	0	0	1
Request assistance	18,246	2.117	0.735	1	2	3
Should vote	18,449	2.809	0.425	1	3	3
Support for democracy	50,319	4.275	1.036	1	5	5
Trusts president	50,478	0.585	0.493	0	1	1
Understood democracy	27,278	0.654	0.476	0	1	1
Urban	52,141	0.431	0.495	0	0	1
Voted in last election	51,923	0.725	0.446	0	1	1

## 2 Description of Variables (Appendix B)

- **AB round:** Afrobarometer survey round.
- **Age:** Respondents' age (Q1 in AB rounds 3, 4, 5, and 6).
- **Age<sup>2</sup>:** Square of respondents' age.
- **Associational activity:** An additive index composed of two components: respondents' membership in a voluntary association or community group (AB round 6: Q19B, AB round 5: Q25B, AB round 4: Q22B, AB round 3: Q28D.) and respondents' membership in a religious community (AB round 6: Q19A, AB round 5: Q25A, AB round 4: Q22A, AB round 3: Q28A).
- **Avoiding criticizing government:** Respondents' attitude towards the notion that good citizens in a democracy should avoid criticizing the government (Q26B in AB round 6).
- **British colony:** Binary coding of countries with former British colonizer. Data are from [Becker et al. \(2016\)](#).
- **Complain about government services:** Respondents' attitude towards the notion that good citizens in a democracy should complain to government officials when public services are of poor quality (Q26C in AB round 6).
- **Constitutional integration:** This is variable *TPI\_count\_b* from [Holzinger et al. \(2019\)](#). [Holzinger et al. \(2019, p. 1791\)](#) describe it as follows: "This variable equals 0 if no traditional institutions are mentioned in the constitution, and it ranges between 1 and 10 if traditional political institutions are acknowledged and special rights are granted on one or more of the following categories: executive, legislative, and judicative political rights; social, economic, land, autonomy, and cultural rights; and the recognition of the intermediary function of traditional institutions."
- **Contacts traditional leader:** A dichotomized Afrobarometer metric of whether a respondent contacted a traditional ruler in the previous twelve months. It is originally coded as ordinal, here recoded as 1 for once, a few times, and often, 0 otherwise (AB round 6: Q34E, AB round 5: N/A, AB round 4: Q27B, AB round 3: Q32F).
- **Corruption:** Respondents' perception of level of corruption among government officials (AB round 6: Q53C, AB round 5: Q50C, AB round 4: Q50D, AB round 3: Q56D).
- **Council:** A given ethnic group has a council of elders, which is defined as body of power that consists of elder, "wise," and respected men or women. Data comes from [Kromrey \(2021\)](#).
- **Democraticness (experts' assessment):** Subjective assessment of the level of democracy within a given traditional political system as determined by the experts surveyed by [Kromrey \(2021\)](#).
- **Democraticness (index of 8):** Aggregated index of democraticness constructed based on eight features of traditional political systems. Data comes from [Neupert-Wentz et al. \(2022\)](#).

- **Democraticness (sum of 11):** Aggregated index of democraticness constructed based on eleven features of traditional political systems. Simple sum scores. Data comes from [Neupert-Wentz \*et al.\* \(2022\)](#).
- **Economic conditions:** Respondents' perception of their country's present economic conditions (AB round 6: Q4A, AB round 5: Q3A, AB round 4: Q4A, AB round 3: Q4A).
- **Education:** Highest level of education attained by respondent. Ordinal coding of education levels ranges from no formal education to post-graduate degree taken from Afrobarometer (AB round 6: Q97, AB round 5: Q97, AB round 4: Q89, AB round 3: Q90).
- **Elders:** A given ethnic group has elders, who are defined as men and women who perform political tasks because they are considered knowledgeable and respectable by the community. Data comes from [Kromrey \(2021\)](#).
- **Employed:** Employment status of respondent. Coded as binary with part-time and full-time coded as 1, and no formal employment as a 0 taken from Afrobarometer (AB round 6: Q95, AB round 5: Q96, AB round 4: Q94, AB round 3: Q94).
- **Female:** Interviewer-reported gender of respondent with 1 being female and 0 being male taken from Afro- barometer (AB round 6: Q101, AB round 5: Q101, AB round 4: Q101, AB round 3: Q101).
- **French colony:** Binary coding of countries with former French colonizer. Data are from [Becker \*et al.\* \(2016\)](#).
- **Independence cohort:** Binary coding indicating whether a respondent was between the ages of 18 and 29 when their country gained independence. This is determined based on self-reported age of respondent.
- **Interest in public affairs:** Self-reported level of interest in public affairs (AB round 6: Q13, AB round 5: Q14, AB round 4: Q13, AB round 3: Q16).
- **King:** A given ethnic group's traditional political system is a kingdom, i.e. it has a form of government that is dominated by a single person such as a king or a queen. Data comes from [Kromrey \(2021\)](#).
- **Living conditions:** Respondents' assessment of their living conditions compared to the rest of their countrymen (AB round 6: Q5, AB round 5: Q4, AB round 4: Q5, AB round 3: Q5).
- **News consumption:** An additive index composed of three components: respondents' self reported access to news from radio (AB round 6: Q12A, AB round 5: Q13A, AB round 4: Q12A, AB round 3: Q15A), television (AB round 6: Q12B, AB round 5: Q13B, AB round 4: Q12B, AB round 3: Q15B), and newspapers (AB round 6: Q12C, AB round 5: Q13C, AB round 4: Q12C, AB round 3: Q15C). Respondents are coded as receiving news from a given source when they report accessing it at least "a few times a month."
- **Performance (economy):** Respondents' view of how well their current government manages the economy (AB round 6: Q66A, AB round 5: Q65A, AB round 4: Q57A, AB round 3: Q65A).

- **Performance (president):** Respondents' view of their country's president's performance in office (AB round 6: Q68A, AB round 5: Q71A, AB round 4: Q70A, AB round 3: Q68A).
- **Political goods:** An additive index composed of four components: respondents' assessment of freedom of speech in their country (AB round 6: Q15A, AB round 5: Q17A, AB round 4: Q15A), respondents' assessment of freedom to join any political organizations in their country (AB round 6: Q15B, AB round 5: Q17B, AB round 4: Q15B), respondents' assessment of freedom to choose who to vote for in their country (AB round 6: Q15C, AB round 5: Q17C, AB round 4: Q15C), respondents' assessment of the freeness and fairness of the last national election in their country (AB round 6: Q22, AB round 5: Q28, AB round 4: Q71, AB round 3: Q45).
- **Polity score:** Polity score taken from [Coppedge \*et al.\* \(2020\)](#) (e\_p\_polity).
- **President's ethnic group:** A binary measure of whether the respondent shares ethnicity with their leader. The data are taken from PLAD ([Dreher & Unfried, 2020](#)) and Afrobarometer. The variable takes a 1 if the respondent at the time of the interview shares their self-reported ethnicity with the PLAD reported ethnicity of the ruler at the time.
- **Request assistance:** Respondent's attitude towards the notion that good citizens in a democracy should request personal assistance from elected leaders (AB round 6: Q26D).
- **Should vote:** Respondent's attitude towards the notion that good citizens in a democracy should vote in elections (AB round 6: Q26A).
- **Support for democracy:** Respondents' attitude towards the hypothetical scenario that parliament and elections are abolished so that the president can decide everything (AB round 6: Q28C, AB round 5: Q31C, AB round 4: Q29C, AB round 3: Q36C).
- **Trusts president:** Respondents' trust in their president. Coded as a binary variable with respondents reporting that they trust the president somewhat or a lot coded as 1 and respondents who trust the president just a little or not at all as 0 (AB round 6: Q52A, AB round 5: Q59A, AB round 4: Q49A, AB round 3: Q55A).
- **Understood democracy:** An enumerator-reported metric of whether respondents understood the term "democracy" when prompted to explain what democracy means to them (AB round 6: Q29A, AB round 3: Q34).
- **Urban:** A binary variable indicating urban enumeration area in Afrobarometer (AB round 6: "urbrur," AB round 5: "urbrur," AB round 4: "urbrur," AB round 3: "urbrur").
- **Voted in last election:** Self-reported measure of whether respondents voted in the most recent national election (AB round 6: Q21, AB round 5: Q27, AB round 4: Q23D, AB round 3: Q30).

### 3 Measuring Democraticness (Appendix C)

The various measures of democraticness that I use in the main analyses or this appendix are based on data collected by Daniela Kromrey (2021) during her dissertation work. The specific measures themselves are then developed and explained in a co-authored article titled “The democraticness of traditional political systems in Africa” (Neupert-Wentz *et al.*, 2022).

Almost 300 academic experts from fields such as political science, law, anthropology, history, and cultural studies participated in a web-based survey that took place in 2014. Experts were asked to provide information on the prevailing traditional political systems and their attributes. The unit of analysis were ethnic groups as defined by the Ethnic Power Relations dataset (version 2.0) for the year 2009.

Neupert-Wentz *et al.* (2022) convincingly argue that democraticness as a concept consists of three observable manifestations that can themselves be subdivided into multiple parts. The three manifestations are equal empowerment, preference input, and process control. The inclusion of equal empowerment is based on the idea that equality requires absence of discrimination and equal treatment of community members. Equal empowerment consists of equality, political rights, and access to office. The second component (preference input) is based on the idea that democratic contexts should create opportunities for community members to get together and voice their opinions with respect to their community’s governance. Preference input consists of leader selection, agenda-setting, participation, and decision-making. Process control consists of separation of powers, rule of law, transparency, and accountability. It touches on the idea that democratic traditional institutions should be more likely to allow community members to affect leadership selection and hold their leaders accountable once they are selected.

For each of the eleven components, experts were asked a number of questions that were designed to determine whether a given component is present in a given group. For instance, the get a sense of equality within a given traditional political system, experts were asked whether every member of the group is entitled to political participation, political ownership, and so on. To assess a given traditional political system’s accountability, the experts were asked whether leaders are responsible for their actions towards community members (no/partly/yes) and whether criticism of traditional leaders typically leads to a sanction (no/partly/yes). Scores derived from different experts were averaged to derive individual scores for each group. Using this data, Neupert-Wentz *et al.* (2022) then use confirmatory factor analysis to assess which components correspond to the latent variable of democraticness. This process leads them to create an index of democraticness that is based on eight of the eleven components. While Neupert-Wentz *et al.* (2022) judge this index to be the most accurate metric of traditional political systems’ democraticness, I show elsewhere in the appendix that my findings are robust to using other versions of the democraticness measure. For more detailed information on the expert survey and construction of the different democraticness measures, see Neupert-Wentz *et al.* (2022).

## 4 Heterogeneous Treatment Effects - Full Results (Appendix D)

Table D1: Heterogeneous Treatment Effects (OLS Estimates)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	Support for Democracy			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Democraticness	0.010 (0.008)	0.020 (0.016)	0.043*** (0.008)	0.025*** (0.008)
Age	0.009*** (0.002)	0.007*** (0.002)	0.008*** (0.002)	0.008*** (0.002)
Age <sup>2</sup>	-0.0001*** (0.00002)	-0.0001*** (0.00002)	-0.0001*** (0.00002)	-0.0001*** (0.00002)
Employed	0.038*** (0.014)	0.052*** (0.012)	0.051*** (0.012)	0.050*** (0.012)
Education	0.013*** (0.003)	0.013*** (0.003)	0.022*** (0.003)	0.017*** (0.003)
Female	-0.071*** (0.011)	-0.065*** (0.009)	-0.058*** (0.009)	-0.062*** (0.009)
Urban	0.061*** (0.016)	0.039*** (0.014)	0.038*** (0.013)	0.026** (0.013)
Contacts traditional leader (0,1)	0.037** (0.015)			
British colony		0.106*** (0.017)		
Constitutional integration			-0.014*** (0.003)	
Trusts president (0,1)				-0.119*** (0.011)
Democraticness × contacts traditional leader	0.047*** (0.013)			
Democraticness × British colony		0.001 (0.017)		
Democraticness × constitutional integration			-0.006** (0.003)	
Democraticness × trusts president				-0.007 (0.010)
Survey round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
N	32,690	45,543	45,827	45,567
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.013	0.013	0.014	0.015

Notes: Standard errors are clustered by survey enumeration area. FE = fixed effects. OLS = ordinary least squares. Statistical significance: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01.

## 5 Support for Democracy and Specific Institutional Features of Traditional Political Systems - Full Results (Appendix E)

Table E1: King (OLS Estimates)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Support for Democracy					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
King	-0.043*** (0.013)	-0.049*** (0.013)	-0.063*** (0.014)	-0.063*** (0.014)	-0.063*** (0.014)	-0.044*** (0.017)
Age	0.009*** (0.002)	0.007*** (0.002)	0.005** (0.002)	0.005** (0.002)	0.005** (0.002)	0.004* (0.002)
Age <sup>2</sup>	-0.0001*** (0.00002)	-0.0001*** (0.00002)	-0.00004* (0.00002)	-0.00004* (0.00002)	-0.00004 (0.00002)	-0.00004 (0.00002)
Employed	0.004 (0.011)	-0.0004 (0.011)	0.002 (0.012)	0.002 (0.012)	0.002 (0.012)	0.008 (0.013)
Education	0.045*** (0.003)	0.042*** (0.003)	0.039*** (0.003)	0.039*** (0.003)	0.042*** (0.003)	0.044*** (0.003)
Female	-0.049*** (0.008)	-0.045*** (0.009)	-0.043*** (0.009)	-0.043*** (0.009)	-0.044*** (0.009)	-0.042*** (0.011)
Urban	0.046*** (0.012)	0.037*** (0.012)	0.033*** (0.013)	0.033*** (0.013)	0.033** (0.013)	0.027* (0.014)
News consumption		0.017*** (0.006)	0.015** (0.007)	0.015** (0.007)	0.016** (0.007)	0.013* (0.008)
Associational activity		-0.007 (0.007)	-0.005 (0.007)	-0.005 (0.007)	-0.007 (0.007)	-0.009 (0.008)
Interest in public affairs		-0.002 (0.005)	0.005 (0.005)	0.005 (0.005)	0.006 (0.005)	0.002 (0.006)
Voted in last election		0.043*** (0.012)	0.051*** (0.013)	0.051*** (0.013)	0.050*** (0.013)	0.043*** (0.014)
Performance (economy)			-0.035*** (0.007)	-0.035*** (0.007)	-0.026*** (0.007)	-0.026*** (0.008)
Performance (president)			-0.065*** (0.007)	-0.065*** (0.007)	-0.060*** (0.007)	-0.072*** (0.008)
Corruption			0.022*** (0.007)	0.022*** (0.007)	0.019*** (0.007)	0.013 (0.008)
Independence cohort				-0.022 (0.024)	-0.025 (0.024)	-0.009 (0.029)
Living conditions					-0.018*** (0.006)	-0.020*** (0.006)
Economic conditions					-0.015*** (0.005)	-0.022*** (0.006)
Political goods						0.022*** (0.003)
President's ethnic group						-0.054** (0.023)
Survey round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Country FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
N	48,039	47,035	40,890	40,890	39,609	31,393
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.081	0.080	0.084	0.084	0.084	0.074

Notes: Standard errors are clustered by survey enumeration area. FE = fixed effects. OLS = ordinary least squares. Statistical significance: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01.



Table E2: Council (OLS Estimates)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Support for Democracy					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Council	-0.010 (0.014)	-0.014 (0.014)	-0.019 (0.015)	-0.019 (0.015)	-0.018 (0.015)	-0.018 (0.016)
Age	0.009*** (0.002)	0.007*** (0.002)	0.005** (0.002)	0.005** (0.002)	0.005** (0.002)	0.004* (0.002)
Age <sup>2</sup>	-0.0001*** (0.00002)	-0.0001*** (0.00002)	-0.00004* (0.00002)	-0.00004* (0.00002)	-0.00004 (0.00002)	-0.00003 (0.00002)
Employed	0.003 (0.011)	-0.002 (0.011)	-0.00005 (0.012)	0.0001 (0.012)	-0.0004 (0.012)	0.007 (0.013)
Education	0.045*** (0.003)	0.042*** (0.003)	0.040*** (0.003)	0.040*** (0.003)	0.042*** (0.003)	0.044*** (0.003)
Female	-0.048*** (0.008)	-0.045*** (0.009)	-0.043*** (0.009)	-0.043*** (0.009)	-0.044*** (0.009)	-0.042*** (0.011)
Urban	0.046*** (0.012)	0.037*** (0.012)	0.033*** (0.013)	0.033*** (0.013)	0.033** (0.013)	0.027* (0.014)
News consumption		0.018*** (0.006)	0.016** (0.007)	0.016** (0.007)	0.017** (0.007)	0.013* (0.008)
Associational activity		-0.006 (0.007)	-0.004 (0.007)	-0.004 (0.007)	-0.006 (0.007)	-0.008 (0.008)
Interest in public affairs		-0.002 (0.005)	0.005 (0.005)	0.005 (0.005)	0.005 (0.005)	0.002 (0.006)
Voted in last election		0.042*** (0.012)	0.050*** (0.013)	0.051*** (0.013)	0.050*** (0.013)	0.043*** (0.014)
Performance (economy)			-0.034*** (0.007)	-0.034*** (0.007)	-0.026*** (0.007)	-0.026*** (0.008)
Performance (president)			-0.065*** (0.007)	-0.065*** (0.007)	-0.061*** (0.007)	-0.071*** (0.008)
Corruption			0.022*** (0.007)	0.022*** (0.007)	0.020*** (0.007)	0.013 (0.008)
Independence cohort				-0.021 (0.024)	-0.025 (0.024)	-0.008 (0.029)
Living conditions					-0.018*** (0.006)	-0.020*** (0.006)
Economic conditions					-0.014*** (0.005)	-0.021*** (0.006)
Political goods						0.022*** (0.003)
President's ethnic group						-0.068*** (0.021)
Survey round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Country FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
N	48,039	47,035	40,890	40,890	39,609	31,393
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.080	0.079	0.083	0.083	0.083	0.074

Notes: Standard errors are clustered by survey enumeration area. FE = fixed effects. OLS = ordinary least squares. Statistical significance: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01.

Table E3: Elders (OLS Estimates)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Support for Democracy					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Elders	0.023*	0.027**	0.029**	0.029**	0.029**	0.015
	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.016)
Age	0.009***	0.007***	0.005**	0.005**	0.005**	0.004*
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Age <sup>2</sup>	-0.0001***	-0.0001***	-0.00004*	-0.00004*	-0.00004	-0.00004
	(0.00002)	(0.00002)	(0.00002)	(0.00002)	(0.00002)	(0.00002)
Employed	0.003	-0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.008
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.013)
Education	0.045***	0.042***	0.039***	0.039***	0.042***	0.044***
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Female	-0.048***	-0.045***	-0.042***	-0.042***	-0.044***	-0.042***
	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.011)
Urban	0.046***	0.036***	0.032**	0.032**	0.032**	0.026*
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.014)
News consumption		0.018***	0.016**	0.016**	0.017**	0.014*
		(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.008)
Associational activity		-0.007	-0.005	-0.005	-0.006	-0.009
		(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.008)
Interest in public affairs		-0.002	0.005	0.005	0.006	0.002
		(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.006)
Voted in last election		0.042***	0.051***	0.051***	0.050***	0.043***
		(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.014)
Performance (economy)			-0.035***	-0.035***	-0.026***	-0.026***
			(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.008)
Performance (president)			-0.065***	-0.065***	-0.061***	-0.071***
			(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.008)
Corruption			0.022***	0.022***	0.020***	0.013
			(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.008)
Independence cohort				-0.021	-0.025	-0.009
				(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.029)
Living conditions					-0.018***	-0.020***
					(0.006)	(0.006)
Economic conditions					-0.014***	-0.021***
					(0.005)	(0.006)
Political goods						0.022***
						(0.003)
President's ethnic group						-0.065***
						(0.022)
Survey round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Country FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
N	48,039	47,035	40,890	40,890	39,609	31,393
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.080	0.080	0.083	0.083	0.083	0.074

Notes: Standard errors are clustered by survey enumeration area. FE = fixed effects. OLS = ordinary least squares. Statistical significance: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01.

## 6 Traditional Monarchies and Support for Democracy - Full Results (Appendix F)

Table F1: Democraticness Interacted With King (OLS Estimates)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Support for Democracy					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Democraticness	0.050*** (0.008)	0.050*** (0.008)	0.043*** (0.008)	0.044*** (0.008)	0.043*** (0.008)	0.031*** (0.009)
King	-0.028* (0.014)	-0.033** (0.014)	-0.043*** (0.015)	-0.043*** (0.015)	-0.045*** (0.015)	-0.030 (0.018)
Age	0.009*** (0.002)	0.007*** (0.002)	0.005** (0.002)	0.005** (0.002)	0.005** (0.002)	0.004* (0.002)
Age <sup>2</sup>	-0.0001*** (0.00002)	-0.0001*** (0.00002)	-0.00004* (0.00002)	-0.00004* (0.00002)	-0.00004* (0.00002)	-0.00004 (0.00003)
Employed	0.009 (0.011)	0.004 (0.011)	0.006 (0.012)	0.006 (0.012)	0.006 (0.012)	0.013 (0.013)
Education	0.044*** (0.003)	0.041*** (0.003)	0.039*** (0.003)	0.039*** (0.003)	0.041*** (0.003)	0.043*** (0.003)
Female	-0.048*** (0.008)	-0.045*** (0.009)	-0.043*** (0.009)	-0.043*** (0.009)	-0.045*** (0.010)	-0.043*** (0.011)
Urban	0.046*** (0.012)	0.036*** (0.012)	0.034*** (0.013)	0.034*** (0.013)	0.034*** (0.013)	0.029** (0.014)
News consumption		0.018*** (0.006)	0.016** (0.007)	0.016** (0.007)	0.017** (0.007)	0.013* (0.008)
Associational activity		-0.009 (0.007)	-0.008 (0.007)	-0.008 (0.007)	-0.010 (0.008)	-0.012 (0.008)
Interest in public affairs		-0.001 (0.005)	0.006 (0.005)	0.006 (0.005)	0.007 (0.005)	0.003 (0.006)
Voted in last election		0.043*** (0.012)	0.050*** (0.013)	0.050*** (0.013)	0.049*** (0.013)	0.042*** (0.015)
Performance (economy)			-0.035*** (0.007)	-0.035*** (0.007)	-0.026*** (0.007)	-0.026*** (0.008)
Performance (president)			-0.062*** (0.007)	-0.062*** (0.007)	-0.057*** (0.007)	-0.068*** (0.008)
Corruption			0.017** (0.007)	0.017** (0.007)	0.014** (0.007)	0.007 (0.008)
Independence cohort				-0.021 (0.024)	-0.025 (0.024)	-0.007 (0.029)
Living conditions					-0.019*** (0.006)	-0.021*** (0.006)
Economic conditions					-0.015*** (0.005)	-0.023*** (0.006)
Political goods						0.021*** (0.003)
President's ethnic group						-0.058** (0.023)
Democraticness × king	-0.042*** (0.014)	-0.040*** (0.014)	-0.024 (0.015)	-0.024 (0.015)	-0.025* (0.015)	-0.013 (0.017)
Survey round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Country FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
N	46,874	45,894	39,908	39,908	38,632	30,461
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.083	0.082	0.085	0.085	0.086	0.076

Notes: Standard errors are clustered by survey enumeration area. FE = fixed effects. OLS = ordinary least squares. Statistical significance: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01.

Table F2: King Interacted With Elders (OLS Estimates)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Support for Democracy					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
King	-0.100*** (0.020)	-0.104*** (0.020)	-0.109*** (0.021)	-0.109*** (0.021)	-0.105*** (0.021)	-0.059** (0.026)
Elders	-0.036* (0.019)	-0.032* (0.019)	-0.024 (0.020)	-0.024 (0.020)	-0.019 (0.020)	-0.001 (0.022)
Age	0.009*** (0.002)	0.007*** (0.002)	0.005** (0.002)	0.005** (0.002)	0.005** (0.002)	0.004* (0.002)
Age <sup>2</sup>	-0.0001*** (0.00002)	-0.0001*** (0.00002)	-0.00004* (0.00002)	-0.00004* (0.00002)	-0.00004 (0.00002)	-0.00004 (0.00002)
Employed	0.004 (0.011)	0.0001 (0.011)	0.003 (0.012)	0.003 (0.012)	0.002 (0.012)	0.009 (0.013)
Education	0.045*** (0.003)	0.042*** (0.003)	0.039*** (0.003)	0.039*** (0.003)	0.042*** (0.003)	0.044*** (0.003)
Female	-0.048*** (0.008)	-0.044*** (0.009)	-0.043*** (0.009)	-0.043*** (0.009)	-0.044*** (0.009)	-0.042*** (0.011)
Urban	0.045*** (0.012)	0.036*** (0.012)	0.032** (0.013)	0.032** (0.013)	0.032** (0.013)	0.026* (0.014)
News consumption		0.018*** (0.006)	0.015** (0.007)	0.015** (0.007)	0.017** (0.007)	0.013* (0.008)
Associational activity		-0.007 (0.007)	-0.005 (0.007)	-0.006 (0.007)	-0.007 (0.007)	-0.010 (0.008)
Interest in public affairs		-0.001 (0.005)	0.006 (0.005)	0.006 (0.005)	0.006 (0.005)	0.002 (0.006)
Voted in last election		0.042*** (0.012)	0.051*** (0.013)	0.051*** (0.013)	0.050*** (0.013)	0.043*** (0.014)
Performance (economy)			-0.035*** (0.007)	-0.035*** (0.007)	-0.026*** (0.007)	-0.026*** (0.008)
Performance (president)			-0.064*** (0.007)	-0.064*** (0.007)	-0.060*** (0.007)	-0.072*** (0.008)
Corruption			0.022*** (0.007)	0.022*** (0.007)	0.019*** (0.007)	0.012 (0.008)
Independence cohort				-0.022 (0.024)	-0.025 (0.024)	-0.009 (0.029)
Living conditions					-0.018*** (0.006)	-0.021*** (0.006)
Economic conditions					-0.014*** (0.005)	-0.022*** (0.006)
Political goods						0.022*** (0.003)
President's ethnic group						-0.046* (0.024)
King × Elders	0.112*** (0.027)	0.109*** (0.027)	0.094*** (0.029)	0.094*** (0.029)	0.085*** (0.029)	0.029 (0.033)
N	48,039	47,035	40,890	40,890	39,609	31,393
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.081	0.080	0.084	0.084	0.084	0.074

Notes: Standard errors are clustered by survey enumeration area. FE = fixed effects. OLS = ordinary least squares. Statistical significance: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01.

## 7 Alternative Independent Variables (Appendix G)

Table G1: Democraticness (Sum of 11) As the Independent Variable (OLS Estimates)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Support for Democracy					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Democraticness (sum of 11)	0.028*** (0.006)	0.029*** (0.006)	0.033*** (0.006)	0.033*** (0.006)	0.031*** (0.006)	0.027*** (0.007)
Age	0.009*** (0.002)	0.007*** (0.002)	0.005** (0.002)	0.005** (0.002)	0.005** (0.002)	0.004* (0.002)
Age <sup>2</sup>	-0.0001*** (0.00002)	-0.0001*** (0.00002)	-0.00004* (0.00002)	-0.00004* (0.00002)	-0.00004 (0.00002)	-0.00003 (0.00003)
Employed	0.007 (0.011)	0.003 (0.011)	0.005 (0.012)	0.005 (0.012)	0.004 (0.012)	0.012 (0.013)
Education	0.045*** (0.003)	0.041*** (0.003)	0.039*** (0.003)	0.039*** (0.003)	0.042*** (0.003)	0.043*** (0.003)
Female	-0.048*** (0.008)	-0.044*** (0.009)	-0.043*** (0.009)	-0.043*** (0.009)	-0.044*** (0.010)	-0.043*** (0.011)
Urban	0.046*** (0.012)	0.037*** (0.012)	0.034*** (0.013)	0.035*** (0.013)	0.035*** (0.013)	0.029** (0.014)
News consumption		0.018*** (0.006)	0.016** (0.007)	0.016** (0.007)	0.017** (0.007)	0.013* (0.008)
Associational activity		-0.008 (0.007)	-0.006 (0.007)	-0.006 (0.007)	-0.008 (0.008)	-0.011 (0.008)
Interest in public affairs		-0.001 (0.005)	0.006 (0.005)	0.006 (0.005)	0.007 (0.005)	0.003 (0.006)
Voted in last election		0.044*** (0.012)	0.050*** (0.013)	0.050*** (0.013)	0.049*** (0.013)	0.042*** (0.015)
Performance (economy)			-0.035*** (0.007)	-0.035*** (0.007)	-0.026*** (0.007)	-0.026*** (0.008)
Performance (president)			-0.063*** (0.007)	-0.063*** (0.007)	-0.059*** (0.007)	-0.068*** (0.008)
Corruption			0.018** (0.007)	0.018** (0.007)	0.015** (0.007)	0.007 (0.008)
Independence cohort				-0.021 (0.024)	-0.024 (0.024)	-0.007 (0.029)
Living conditions					-0.019*** (0.006)	-0.021*** (0.006)
Economic conditions					-0.015*** (0.005)	-0.022*** (0.006)
Political goods						0.021*** (0.003)
President's ethnic group						-0.074*** (0.022)
Survey round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Country FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
N	46,874	45,894	39,908	39,908	38,632	30,461
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.082	0.082	0.085	0.085	0.085	0.075

Notes: "Democraticness (sum of 11)" is an aggregated index (simple sum scores) of all eleven components of democraticness collected by Kromrey (2021). Standard errors are clustered by survey enumeration area. FE = fixed effects. OLS = ordinary least squares. Statistical significance: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01.

Table G2: Democraticness (Experts' Subjective Assessment) As the Independent Variable (OLS Estimates)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Support for Democracy					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Democraticness (experts' assessment)	0.052*** (0.007)	0.054*** (0.007)	0.055*** (0.008)	0.055*** (0.008)	0.054*** (0.008)	0.056*** (0.009)
Age	0.009*** (0.002)	0.006*** (0.002)	0.004* (0.002)	0.004* (0.002)	0.004* (0.002)	0.003 (0.002)
Age <sup>2</sup>	-0.0001*** (0.00002)	-0.0001*** (0.00002)	-0.00003 (0.00002)	-0.00003 (0.00002)	-0.00003 (0.00002)	-0.00003 (0.00003)
Employed	-0.0002 (0.012)	-0.005 (0.012)	-0.001 (0.013)	-0.001 (0.013)	-0.001 (0.013)	0.009 (0.014)
Education	0.045*** (0.003)	0.041*** (0.003)	0.038*** (0.003)	0.038*** (0.003)	0.042*** (0.003)	0.042*** (0.004)
Female	-0.053*** (0.009)	-0.049*** (0.009)	-0.045*** (0.010)	-0.045*** (0.010)	-0.046*** (0.010)	-0.045*** (0.012)
Urban	0.060*** (0.012)	0.050*** (0.013)	0.047*** (0.013)	0.047*** (0.013)	0.048*** (0.014)	0.043*** (0.015)
News consumption		0.019*** (0.007)	0.017** (0.007)	0.017** (0.007)	0.018** (0.007)	0.013 (0.008)
Associational activity		-0.003 (0.008)	-0.001 (0.008)	-0.001 (0.008)	-0.002 (0.008)	-0.007 (0.009)
Interest in public affairs		-0.001 (0.005)	0.006 (0.006)	0.006 (0.006)	0.007 (0.006)	0.007 (0.006)
Voted in last election		0.047*** (0.013)	0.056*** (0.013)	0.056*** (0.013)	0.055*** (0.013)	0.053*** (0.015)
Performance (economy)			-0.034*** (0.007)	-0.034*** (0.007)	-0.025*** (0.008)	-0.024*** (0.008)
Performance (president)			-0.063*** (0.007)	-0.063*** (0.007)	-0.058*** (0.007)	-0.066*** (0.008)
Corruption			0.019** (0.008)	0.019** (0.008)	0.016** (0.008)	0.010 (0.009)
Independence cohort				-0.028 (0.026)	-0.031 (0.027)	-0.004 (0.031)
Living conditions					-0.023*** (0.006)	-0.023*** (0.007)
Economic conditions					-0.012** (0.005)	-0.020*** (0.006)
Political goods						0.018*** (0.003)
President's ethnic group						-0.068*** (0.022)
Survey round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Country FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
N	41,404	40,529	35,503	35,503	34,394	27,353
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.084	0.083	0.086	0.086	0.086	0.075

Notes: "Democraticness (experts' assessment)" is the subjective assessment of the level of democracy within a given traditional political system as determined by the experts surveyed by Kromrey (2021). It ranges between 1 and 5. Standard errors are clustered by survey enumeration area. FE = fixed effects. OLS = ordinary least squares. Statistical significance: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01.

## 8 Alternative Dependent Variables (Appendix H)

Table H1: People Should Vote (OLS Estimates)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Should Vote					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Democraticness	0.009** (0.004)	0.008** (0.004)	0.008** (0.004)	0.008** (0.004)	0.008** (0.004)	0.002 (0.004)
Age	0.006*** (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.0003 (0.001)
Age <sup>2</sup>	-0.00004*** (0.00001)	0.00002* (0.00001)	0.00002 (0.00001)	0.00002 (0.00001)	0.00002 (0.00001)	0.00001 (0.00001)
Employed	0.009 (0.007)	0.004 (0.007)	0.003 (0.007)	0.003 (0.007)	0.002 (0.007)	0.0001 (0.007)
Education	0.008*** (0.002)	0.006*** (0.002)	0.007*** (0.002)	0.007*** (0.002)	0.008*** (0.002)	0.008*** (0.002)
Female	-0.013** (0.006)	-0.004 (0.006)	-0.004 (0.006)	-0.004 (0.006)	-0.005 (0.006)	-0.006 (0.006)
Urban	-0.023*** (0.007)	-0.013* (0.008)	-0.017** (0.008)	-0.017** (0.008)	-0.017** (0.008)	-0.019** (0.008)
News consumption		-0.004 (0.004)	-0.004 (0.005)	-0.004 (0.005)	-0.004 (0.005)	-0.004 (0.005)
Associational activity		0.019*** (0.004)	0.021*** (0.004)	0.021*** (0.004)	0.021*** (0.005)	0.017*** (0.005)
Interest in public affairs		0.027*** (0.003)	0.022*** (0.003)	0.022*** (0.003)	0.023*** (0.003)	0.018*** (0.003)
Voted in last election		0.144*** (0.009)	0.137*** (0.009)	0.137*** (0.009)	0.136*** (0.009)	0.118*** (0.010)
Performance (economy)			0.007 (0.004)	0.007 (0.004)	0.008* (0.005)	0.003 (0.005)
Performance (president)			0.020*** (0.004)	0.020*** (0.004)	0.022*** (0.004)	0.017*** (0.004)
Corruption			-0.011** (0.005)	-0.011** (0.005)	-0.011** (0.005)	-0.004 (0.005)
Independence cohort				0.026 (0.016)	0.023 (0.016)	0.021 (0.016)
Living conditions					0.001 (0.003)	0.00000 (0.003)
Economic conditions					-0.006* (0.003)	-0.009*** (0.003)
Political goods						0.019*** (0.002)
President's ethnic group						-0.010 (0.014)
Survey round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Country FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
N	17,624	17,335	15,528	15,528	15,139	13,873
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.090	0.115	0.118	0.118	0.119	0.115

Notes: Standard errors are clustered by survey enumeration area. FE = fixed effects. OLS = ordinary least squares. Statistical significance: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01.

Table H2: People Should Complain About Government Services (OLS Estimates)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Complain About Government Services					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Democracticness	0.013** (0.006)	0.011* (0.006)	0.009 (0.006)	0.009 (0.006)	0.008 (0.007)	0.004 (0.007)
Age	0.001 (0.002)	-0.0005 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.0004 (0.002)
Age <sup>2</sup>	-0.00001 (0.00002)	0.00000 (0.00002)	0.00001 (0.00002)	0.00001 (0.00002)	0.00000 (0.00002)	0.00000 (0.00002)
Employed	0.002 (0.010)	0.002 (0.010)	-0.004 (0.011)	-0.004 (0.011)	-0.008 (0.011)	-0.010 (0.011)
Education	0.020*** (0.003)	0.019*** (0.003)	0.018*** (0.003)	0.018*** (0.003)	0.019*** (0.003)	0.017*** (0.003)
Female	-0.037*** (0.008)	-0.034*** (0.008)	-0.032*** (0.009)	-0.032*** (0.009)	-0.033*** (0.009)	-0.031*** (0.009)
Urban	0.005 (0.011)	0.011 (0.012)	0.014 (0.012)	0.014 (0.012)	0.016 (0.012)	0.023* (0.013)
News consumption		-0.007 (0.006)	-0.005 (0.006)	-0.005 (0.006)	-0.003 (0.006)	-0.004 (0.007)
Associational activity		0.019*** (0.007)	0.020*** (0.008)	0.020*** (0.008)	0.021*** (0.008)	0.021*** (0.008)
Interest in public affairs		0.020*** (0.005)	0.022*** (0.005)	0.022*** (0.005)	0.021*** (0.005)	0.020*** (0.005)
Voted in last election		0.027** (0.012)	0.028** (0.012)	0.028** (0.012)	0.029** (0.013)	0.016 (0.014)
Performance (economy)			-0.008 (0.007)	-0.008 (0.007)	-0.002 (0.007)	-0.007 (0.007)
Performance (president)			-0.018*** (0.006)	-0.018*** (0.006)	-0.013** (0.006)	-0.020*** (0.007)
Corruption			0.006 (0.007)	0.006 (0.007)	0.003 (0.007)	0.005 (0.007)
Independence cohort				-0.020 (0.025)	-0.023 (0.026)	-0.023 (0.026)
Living conditions					0.003 (0.005)	0.001 (0.005)
Economic conditions					-0.021*** (0.005)	-0.025*** (0.005)
Political goods						0.015*** (0.003)
President's ethnic group						0.027 (0.021)
Survey round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Country FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
N	17,442	17,177	15,451	15,451	15,069	13,822
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.066	0.068	0.071	0.071	0.073	0.076

Notes: Standard errors are clustered by survey enumeration area. FE = fixed effects. OLS = ordinary least squares. Statistical significance: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01.



Table H3: People Should Request Assistance from Elected Representatives (OLS Estimates)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Request Assistance from Elected Representatives					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Democracticness	0.017** (0.008)	0.014* (0.008)	0.018** (0.008)	0.018** (0.008)	0.019** (0.008)	0.017** (0.008)
Age	-0.007*** (0.002)	-0.007*** (0.002)	-0.005** (0.002)	-0.005** (0.002)	-0.006** (0.002)	-0.006** (0.002)
Age <sup>2</sup>	0.0001** (0.00002)	0.0001** (0.00002)	0.00003 (0.00003)	0.00003 (0.00003)	0.00004 (0.00003)	0.00004 (0.00003)
Employed	-0.043*** (0.013)	-0.039*** (0.013)	-0.051*** (0.013)	-0.051*** (0.013)	-0.050*** (0.013)	-0.054*** (0.014)
Education	-0.024*** (0.003)	-0.021*** (0.003)	-0.021*** (0.003)	-0.021*** (0.003)	-0.018*** (0.004)	-0.018*** (0.004)
Female	0.010 (0.009)	0.009 (0.010)	0.006 (0.010)	0.006 (0.010)	0.007 (0.010)	0.004 (0.011)
Urban	-0.063*** (0.014)	-0.047*** (0.015)	-0.038** (0.015)	-0.038** (0.015)	-0.036** (0.015)	-0.038** (0.016)
News consumption		-0.038*** (0.007)	-0.032*** (0.008)	-0.032*** (0.008)	-0.029*** (0.008)	-0.032*** (0.008)
Associational activity		-0.002 (0.008)	-0.004 (0.009)	-0.004 (0.009)	-0.004 (0.009)	-0.006 (0.009)
Interest in public affairs		0.021*** (0.006)	0.024*** (0.006)	0.024*** (0.006)	0.025*** (0.006)	0.023*** (0.006)
Voted in last election		0.010 (0.014)	0.001 (0.014)	0.001 (0.014)	0.003 (0.014)	0.009 (0.015)
Performance (economy)			-0.020** (0.008)	-0.020** (0.008)	-0.012 (0.008)	-0.014 (0.009)
Performance (president)			0.009 (0.007)	0.009 (0.007)	0.013* (0.007)	0.011 (0.008)
Corruption			0.007 (0.008)	0.007 (0.008)	0.003 (0.008)	0.004 (0.008)
Independence cohort				-0.015 (0.029)	-0.025 (0.029)	-0.028 (0.030)
Living conditions					-0.034*** (0.006)	-0.035*** (0.007)
Economic conditions					-0.003 (0.006)	-0.006 (0.006)
Political goods						0.002 (0.003)
President's ethnic group						0.061*** (0.023)
Survey round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Country FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
N	17,426	17,160	15,400	15,400	15,014	13,777
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.110	0.113	0.113	0.113	0.114	0.117

Notes: Standard errors are clustered by survey enumeration area. FE = fixed effects. OLS = ordinary least squares. Statistical significance: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01.

Table H4: People Should Avoid Government Criticism (OLS Estimates)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Avoiding Criticizing Government					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Democraticness	-0.008 (0.008)	-0.007 (0.008)	-0.008 (0.009)	-0.008 (0.009)	-0.008 (0.009)	-0.007 (0.009)
Age	-0.003 (0.002)	-0.003 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.003)	-0.002 (0.003)	-0.003 (0.003)	-0.003 (0.003)
Age <sup>2</sup>	0.00003 (0.00002)	0.00002 (0.00003)	0.00002 (0.00003)	0.00002 (0.00003)	0.00002 (0.00003)	0.00003 (0.00003)
Employed	0.003 (0.014)	-0.001 (0.014)	-0.007 (0.015)	-0.007 (0.015)	-0.002 (0.015)	-0.004 (0.015)
Education	0.004 (0.003)	0.003 (0.003)	0.002 (0.004)	0.002 (0.004)	0.002 (0.004)	0.002 (0.004)
Female	-0.005 (0.010)	-0.004 (0.011)	-0.005 (0.011)	-0.005 (0.011)	-0.003 (0.011)	-0.001 (0.012)
Urban	0.049*** (0.014)	0.045*** (0.015)	0.047*** (0.015)	0.047*** (0.015)	0.045*** (0.016)	0.047*** (0.016)
News consumption		0.009 (0.008)	0.010 (0.008)	0.010 (0.008)	0.010 (0.008)	0.016* (0.009)
Associational activity		0.001 (0.009)	0.002 (0.010)	0.002 (0.010)	-0.002 (0.010)	-0.003 (0.010)
Interest in public affairs		0.001 (0.006)	0.0002 (0.007)	0.0002 (0.007)	0.001 (0.007)	-0.0002 (0.007)
Voted in last election		-0.017 (0.015)	-0.022 (0.016)	-0.022 (0.016)	-0.020 (0.016)	-0.016 (0.017)
Performance (economy)			0.015* (0.009)	0.015* (0.009)	0.014 (0.009)	0.016* (0.010)
Performance (president)			-0.002 (0.008)	-0.002 (0.008)	0.0001 (0.008)	-0.001 (0.009)
Corruption			0.005 (0.008)	0.005 (0.008)	0.007 (0.009)	0.009 (0.009)
Independence cohort				-0.021 (0.031)	-0.021 (0.031)	-0.018 (0.032)
Living conditions					0.005 (0.007)	0.010 (0.007)
Economic conditions					0.001 (0.006)	0.003 (0.007)
Political goods						-0.0004 (0.003)
President's ethnic group						-0.00003 (0.025)
Survey round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Country FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
N	17,317	17,058	15,359	15,359	14,982	13,759
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.027	0.026	0.027	0.027	0.027	0.028

Notes: Standard errors are clustered by survey enumeration area. FE = fixed effects. OLS = ordinary least squares. Statistical significance: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01.

Table H5: Respondent Understood Democracy (OLS Estimates)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Understood Democracy					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Democraticness	0.008** (0.004)	0.008** (0.003)	0.010*** (0.004)	0.010*** (0.004)	0.010*** (0.004)	0.007 (0.005)
Age	0.004*** (0.001)	0.004*** (0.001)	0.003*** (0.001)	0.003*** (0.001)	0.004*** (0.001)	0.005*** (0.001)
Age <sup>2</sup>	-0.00005*** (0.00001)	-0.00004*** (0.00001)	-0.00004*** (0.00001)	-0.00004*** (0.00001)	-0.00005*** (0.00001)	-0.0001*** (0.00002)
Employed	0.018*** (0.006)	0.009 (0.006)	0.004 (0.007)	0.004 (0.007)	0.003 (0.007)	-0.002 (0.008)
Education	0.080*** (0.001)	0.069*** (0.002)	0.067*** (0.002)	0.067*** (0.002)	0.066*** (0.002)	0.064*** (0.002)
Female	-0.142*** (0.005)	-0.128*** (0.005)	-0.122*** (0.006)	-0.122*** (0.006)	-0.122*** (0.006)	-0.129*** (0.007)
Urban	0.085*** (0.007)	0.061*** (0.007)	0.055*** (0.007)	0.055*** (0.007)	0.055*** (0.007)	0.058*** (0.009)
News consumption		0.060*** (0.003)	0.059*** (0.004)	0.059*** (0.004)	0.057*** (0.004)	0.056*** (0.005)
Associational activity		0.018*** (0.004)	0.017*** (0.004)	0.017*** (0.004)	0.016*** (0.004)	0.012** (0.005)
Interest in public affairs		0.016*** (0.003)	0.013*** (0.003)	0.013*** (0.003)	0.012*** (0.003)	0.008** (0.004)
Voted in last election		-0.010 (0.007)	-0.012* (0.007)	-0.012* (0.007)	-0.015** (0.007)	-0.020** (0.009)
Performance (economy)			0.012*** (0.004)	0.012*** (0.004)	0.011*** (0.004)	0.007 (0.005)
Performance (president)			-0.020*** (0.003)	-0.020*** (0.003)	-0.021*** (0.003)	-0.017*** (0.004)
Corruption			0.009*** (0.004)	0.009*** (0.004)	0.010*** (0.004)	0.007 (0.005)
Independence cohort				-0.019 (0.012)	-0.026** (0.013)	-0.0003 (0.018)
Living conditions					0.012*** (0.003)	0.013*** (0.004)
Economic conditions					-0.0002 (0.003)	0.0002 (0.004)
Political goods						-0.003* (0.002)
President's ethnic group						-0.014 (0.015)
Survey round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Country FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
N	26,064	25,414	21,925	21,925	21,213	13,862
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.236	0.249	0.237	0.237	0.236	0.240

Notes: Standard errors are clustered by survey enumeration area. FE = fixed effects. OLS = ordinary least squares. Statistical significance: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01.

## 9 Alternative Error Clustering (Appendix I)

Table I1: Standard Errors Clustered by Ethnic Group (OLS Estimates)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Support for Democracy					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Democraticness	0.037*** (0.012)	0.039*** (0.012)	0.041*** (0.012)	0.041*** (0.012)	0.040*** (0.012)	0.031*** (0.010)
Age	0.009*** (0.002)	0.007*** (0.002)	0.005* (0.003)	0.005* (0.003)	0.005* (0.003)	0.004 (0.003)
Age <sup>2</sup>	-0.0001*** (0.00002)	-0.0001** (0.00002)	-0.00004 (0.00003)	-0.00004 (0.00003)	-0.00004 (0.00003)	-0.00004 (0.00003)
Employed	0.008 (0.018)	0.004 (0.017)	0.006 (0.018)	0.006 (0.018)	0.005 (0.018)	0.013 (0.018)
Education	0.045*** (0.004)	0.041*** (0.004)	0.039*** (0.004)	0.039*** (0.004)	0.042*** (0.004)	0.043*** (0.005)
Female	-0.048*** (0.012)	-0.044*** (0.012)	-0.043*** (0.012)	-0.043*** (0.012)	-0.044*** (0.012)	-0.043*** (0.014)
Urban	0.046*** (0.017)	0.037** (0.015)	0.035** (0.014)	0.035** (0.014)	0.035** (0.015)	0.029* (0.016)
News consumption		0.018** (0.009)	0.016* (0.009)	0.016* (0.009)	0.017* (0.010)	0.014 (0.011)
Associational activity		-0.009 (0.010)	-0.007 (0.011)	-0.007 (0.011)	-0.009 (0.011)	-0.012 (0.012)
Interest in public affairs		-0.001 (0.008)	0.006 (0.008)	0.006 (0.008)	0.007 (0.008)	0.003 (0.009)
Voted in last election		0.043*** (0.012)	0.049*** (0.012)	0.049*** (0.012)	0.048*** (0.012)	0.042** (0.016)
Performance (economy)			-0.035*** (0.009)	-0.035*** (0.009)	-0.026*** (0.009)	-0.026*** (0.010)
Performance (president)			-0.062*** (0.011)	-0.062*** (0.011)	-0.058*** (0.011)	-0.068*** (0.013)
Corruption			0.017 (0.012)	0.017 (0.012)	0.014 (0.012)	0.007 (0.013)
Independence cohort				-0.021 (0.021)	-0.024 (0.022)	-0.007 (0.027)
Living conditions					-0.019* (0.010)	-0.021*** (0.008)
Economic conditions					-0.015 (0.010)	-0.022*** (0.008)
Political goods						0.021*** (0.008)
President's ethnic group						-0.069*** (0.027)
Survey round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Country FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
N	46,874	45,894	39,908	39,908	38,632	30,461
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.083	0.082	0.085	0.085	0.086	0.076

Notes: Standard errors are clustered by ethnic group. FE = fixed effects. OLS = ordinary least squares. Statistical significance: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01.

## 10 Additional Control Variables (Appendix J)

Table J1: Controlling for Polity Scores (OLS Estimates)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Support for Democracy					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Democraticness	0.024*** (0.006)	0.025*** (0.006)	0.029*** (0.006)	0.030*** (0.006)	0.027*** (0.006)	0.032*** (0.007)
Age	0.008*** (0.002)	0.005*** (0.002)	0.003 (0.002)	0.004** (0.002)	0.004* (0.002)	0.003 (0.002)
Age <sup>2</sup>	-0.0001*** (0.00002)	-0.0001*** (0.00002)	-0.00003 (0.00002)	-0.00003 (0.00002)	-0.00003 (0.00002)	-0.00003 (0.00003)
Employed	0.051*** (0.012)	0.049*** (0.012)	0.041*** (0.012)	0.041*** (0.012)	0.036*** (0.012)	0.035*** (0.013)
Education	0.019*** (0.003)	0.018*** (0.003)	0.017*** (0.003)	0.019*** (0.003)	0.023*** (0.003)	0.033*** (0.003)
Female	-0.061*** (0.009)	-0.060*** (0.009)	-0.060*** (0.010)	-0.058*** (0.010)	-0.059*** (0.010)	-0.054*** (0.011)
Urban	0.037*** (0.013)	0.047*** (0.014)	0.035** (0.014)	0.034** (0.014)	0.029** (0.014)	0.018 (0.015)
Polity score	-0.012*** (0.002)	-0.012*** (0.002)	-0.012*** (0.002)	-0.010*** (0.002)	-0.012*** (0.002)	-0.019*** (0.002)
News consumption		-0.008 (0.007)	-0.006 (0.007)	-0.004 (0.007)	0.001 (0.007)	-0.003 (0.008)
Associational activity		0.045*** (0.007)	0.041*** (0.008)	0.037*** (0.008)	0.032*** (0.008)	0.020** (0.008)
Interest in public affairs		0.005 (0.005)	0.016*** (0.005)	0.015*** (0.005)	0.018*** (0.005)	0.009 (0.006)
Voted in last election		0.035*** (0.012)	0.042*** (0.013)	0.042*** (0.013)	0.036*** (0.013)	0.014 (0.015)
Performance (economy)			-0.061*** (0.007)	-0.059*** (0.007)	-0.030*** (0.008)	-0.026*** (0.008)
Performance (president)			-0.079*** (0.007)	-0.078*** (0.007)	-0.065*** (0.007)	-0.070*** (0.008)
Corruption			0.019*** (0.007)	0.020*** (0.007)	0.013* (0.007)	0.004 (0.008)
Independence cohort				-0.219*** (0.024)	-0.210*** (0.024)	-0.156*** (0.029)
Living conditions					-0.017*** (0.006)	-0.023*** (0.006)
Economic conditions					-0.054*** (0.005)	-0.052*** (0.006)
Political goods						0.027*** (0.003)
President's ethnic group						-0.166*** (0.019)
Survey round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
N	46,868	45,889	39,903	39,903	38,627	30,457
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.013	0.014	0.028	0.031	0.035	0.036

Notes: Standard errors are clustered by survey enumeration area. FE = fixed effects. OLS = ordinary least squares. Statistical significance: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01.

Table J2: Controlling for French Colonialism (OLS Estimates)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Support for Democracy					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Democraticness	0.024*** (0.006)	0.024*** (0.006)	0.028*** (0.006)	0.029*** (0.006)	0.026*** (0.006)	0.031*** (0.007)
Age	0.006*** (0.002)	0.003 (0.002)	0.001 (0.002)	0.002 (0.002)	0.002 (0.002)	0.001 (0.002)
Age <sup>2</sup>	-0.0001*** (0.00002)	-0.00003* (0.00002)	-0.00001 (0.00002)	-0.00001 (0.00002)	-0.00001 (0.00002)	-0.00001 (0.00003)
Employed	0.070*** (0.012)	0.070*** (0.012)	0.059*** (0.012)	0.058*** (0.012)	0.052*** (0.012)	0.052*** (0.014)
Education	0.027*** (0.003)	0.028*** (0.003)	0.025*** (0.003)	0.026*** (0.003)	0.030*** (0.003)	0.039*** (0.004)
Female	-0.054*** (0.009)	-0.054*** (0.009)	-0.055*** (0.010)	-0.054*** (0.010)	-0.054*** (0.010)	-0.052*** (0.011)
Urban	0.018 (0.014)	0.033** (0.014)	0.023 (0.014)	0.024* (0.014)	0.019 (0.015)	0.008 (0.016)
French colony	0.138*** (0.015)	0.149*** (0.015)	0.119*** (0.015)	0.107*** (0.015)	0.108*** (0.015)	0.063*** (0.017)
News consumption		-0.017** (0.007)	-0.014** (0.007)	-0.011 (0.007)	-0.007 (0.007)	-0.015* (0.008)
Associational activity		0.057*** (0.007)	0.049*** (0.008)	0.045*** (0.008)	0.040*** (0.008)	0.022*** (0.009)
Interest in public affairs		0.004 (0.005)	0.016*** (0.005)	0.015*** (0.005)	0.018*** (0.005)	0.013** (0.006)
Voted in last election		0.043*** (0.013)	0.047*** (0.013)	0.048*** (0.013)	0.041*** (0.014)	0.019 (0.015)
Performance (economy)			-0.064*** (0.007)	-0.061*** (0.007)	-0.034*** (0.008)	-0.031*** (0.008)
Performance (president)			-0.077*** (0.007)	-0.076*** (0.007)	-0.063*** (0.007)	-0.066*** (0.008)
Corruption			0.023*** (0.007)	0.023*** (0.007)	0.016** (0.008)	0.009 (0.008)
Independence cohort				-0.207*** (0.024)	-0.200*** (0.024)	-0.154*** (0.029)
Living conditions					-0.018*** (0.006)	-0.023*** (0.006)
Economic conditions					-0.053*** (0.005)	-0.050*** (0.006)
Political goods						0.025*** (0.003)
President's ethnic group						-0.171*** (0.021)
Survey round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
N	45,543	44,574	38,743	38,743	37,514	29,416
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.014	0.016	0.029	0.031	0.035	0.035

Notes: Standard errors are clustered by survey enumeration area. FE = fixed effects. OLS = ordinary least squares. Statistical significance: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01.

Table J3: Controlling for Present Centralization of Traditional Polities (OLS Estimates)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Support for Democracy					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Democraticness	0.037*** (0.006)	0.038*** (0.006)	0.040*** (0.006)	0.040*** (0.006)	0.039*** (0.006)	0.030*** (0.007)
Age	0.008*** (0.002)	0.007*** (0.002)	0.005** (0.002)	0.005** (0.002)	0.005** (0.002)	0.004* (0.002)
Age <sup>2</sup>	-0.0001*** (0.00002)	-0.0001*** (0.00002)	-0.00004* (0.00002)	-0.00004* (0.00002)	-0.00003 (0.00002)	-0.00004 (0.00003)
Employed	0.009 (0.011)	0.005 (0.011)	0.007 (0.012)	0.007 (0.012)	0.007 (0.012)	0.013 (0.013)
Education	0.045*** (0.003)	0.042*** (0.003)	0.039*** (0.003)	0.039*** (0.003)	0.042*** (0.003)	0.043*** (0.003)
Female	-0.048*** (0.009)	-0.045*** (0.009)	-0.043*** (0.009)	-0.043*** (0.009)	-0.044*** (0.010)	-0.043*** (0.011)
Urban	0.047*** (0.012)	0.038*** (0.012)	0.036*** (0.013)	0.036*** (0.013)	0.036*** (0.013)	0.031** (0.014)
Centralization	-0.005 (0.007)	-0.007 (0.007)	-0.011 (0.008)	-0.011 (0.008)	-0.010 (0.008)	-0.006 (0.009)
News consumption		0.017*** (0.006)	0.015** (0.007)	0.015** (0.007)	0.016** (0.007)	0.013* (0.008)
Associational activity		-0.009 (0.007)	-0.008 (0.007)	-0.008 (0.007)	-0.009 (0.008)	-0.011 (0.008)
Interest in public affairs		-0.001 (0.005)	0.006 (0.005)	0.006 (0.005)	0.007 (0.005)	0.003 (0.006)
Voted in last election		0.043*** (0.012)	0.049*** (0.013)	0.049*** (0.013)	0.049*** (0.013)	0.041*** (0.015)
Performance (economy)			-0.035*** (0.007)	-0.035*** (0.007)	-0.026*** (0.007)	-0.027*** (0.008)
Performance (president)			-0.061*** (0.007)	-0.061*** (0.007)	-0.057*** (0.007)	-0.068*** (0.008)
Corruption			0.017** (0.007)	0.017** (0.007)	0.014* (0.007)	0.006 (0.008)
Independence cohort				-0.023 (0.024)	-0.026 (0.024)	-0.007 (0.029)
Living conditions					-0.019*** (0.006)	-0.021*** (0.006)
Economic conditions					-0.015*** (0.005)	-0.022*** (0.006)
Political goods						0.021*** (0.003)
President's ethnic group						-0.064*** (0.023)
Survey round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Country FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
N	46,637	45,663	39,707	39,707	38,438	30,335
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.082	0.081	0.084	0.084	0.085	0.075

Notes: Standard errors are clustered by survey enumeration area. FE = fixed effects. OLS = ordinary least squares. Statistical significance: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01.

## References

- Becker, Sascha O, Boeckh, Katrin, Hainz, Christa, & Woessmann, Ludger. 2016. The empire is dead, long live the empire! Long-run persistence of trust and corruption in the bureaucracy. *The Economic Journal*, **126**(590), 40–74.
- Coppedge, Michael, Gerring, John, Knutsen, Carl Henrik, Lindberg, Staffan I, Teorell, Jan, Altman, David, Bernhard, Michael, Fish, M Steven, Glynn, Adam, Hicken, Allen, *et al.* 2020. V-dem dataset v10.
- Dreher, Axel, Fuchs Andreas Kammerlander Andreas Kaplan Lennart Robert Charlotte, & Unfried, Kerstin. 2020. *The Political Leaders' Affiliation Database (PLAD)*.
- Holzinger, Katharina, Haer, Roos, Bayer, Axel, Behr, Daniela M, & Neupert-Wentz, Clara. 2019. The constitutionalization of indigenous group rights, traditional political institutions, and customary law. *Comparative Political Studies*, **52**(12), 1775–1809.
- Kromrey, Daniela. 2021. Traditional Political Systems & Index of Democraticness, Harvard Dataverse, V1, UNF:6:p/SHP8nl9S7UuWbI/EM8Jg== [fileUNF]. Available at <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/D15UZ0>.
- Neupert-Wentz, Clara, Kromrey, Daniela, & Bayer, Axel. 2022. The democraticness of traditional political systems in Africa. *Democratization*, **29**(2), 296–319.