Team and Nation? How Sports Affect National and Pan-African Identification in Kenya and Tanzania
Pre-Analysis Plan[*]

Leah Rosenzweig[‡] and Yang-Yang Zhou[§]

June 27, 2019

1 Overview

How do major national events, such as a national sports team's win, affect citizens' national identification and attitudes and behaviors towards out-groups, foreign and domestic? Recent research reveals that national sports team victories lead to greater national identification and increased trust between ethnic groups. While an enhanced affinity for the nation may be a beneficial way to reduce out-group animosity, it is likely limited to nationally-bounded out-groups. It is an open question what type of nationalism (inclusive or exclusionary) is activated and how this increased identification might influence attitudes towards non-nationals. We test this idea with a natural experiment coupled with a survey experiment conducted using an online panel around the 2019 Africa Cup football (soccer) team match between two neighbors and rivals in East Africa, Kenya and Tanzania. We examine how a national sports victory changes types of identification (national, pan-African, East African, ethnic) and how this affects attitudes toward different out-groups that extend beyond national borders including, citizens from the country of the rival team, immigrants, and refugees. We similarly analyze the effects of a national sports team loss on these same outcomes.

2 Research Questions and Motivation

Can a national sports team victory increase citizens' national and pan-African identification? What types of identification do national sports team victories stimulate and can these engender co-

operation among citizens and compliance with the state? Are there costs associated with increased national identification with respect to attitudes and behaviors towards foreign outgroups, such as refugees?

Nationalism is generally defined as the practice of identifying with one's nation-state and viewing other nations and their citizens as fundamentally different, often inferior. Strong national identification is important for mobilizing citizens to take costly actions for the nation-state, such as paying taxes and participating in warfare (Anderson, 1982).

Recent research reveals that national sports team victories lead to greater national identification, increased trust between ethnic groups, and lower intrastate ethnic conflict in Africa (Depetris-Chauvin et al., 2018). Yet, sports fueled nationalism can also lead to a more hawkish citizenry and more aggresive foreign policy (Bertoli, 2017). Thus, while an enhanced affinity for the nation can be seen as a beneficial way to reduce out-group animosity, it is likely limited to nationally-bounded out-groups. It is an open question as to how greater national identification might influence attitudes towards non-nationals.

To test this idea, we take advantage of a natural experiment, the 2019 Africa Cup football match between two neighbors and rivals in East Africa, Kenya and Tanzania. We conduct an online panel survey experiment around this match to assess how greater feelings of nationalism, by way of a national sports victory, affects attitudes toward different out-groups that extend beyond national borders including, citizens from the country of the rival team, immigrants, and refugees. We similarly analyze the effects of a national sports team loss on these same outcomes.

The literature on nationalism in African nation-states has largely focused on the trade-off between ethnic and national identities, recognizing that national identification is generally low (e.g. Asiwaju, 1985; Herbst, 2000; Young, 2001; Englebert, 2009). Scholars have investigated how these two identities influence public goods provision (Miguel, 2004), inter-ethnic trust (Robinson, 2016) and social sanctioning (Jeon et al., 2017). They find that strengthening national affinities and identity can help to overcome out-group animosity between ethnic groups.

An important but understudied consequence of this type of nation-building strategy in Africa is that it may provoke sentiments of exclusionary nationalism that could lead to animosity with nationals of neighboring countries and towards foreigners who find themselves seeking refuge in these nations. In international relalations research, scholars link surges of nationalism to more hawkish citizens and leaders, and increased state aggression against foreign adversaries (Van Evera, 1994; Woodwell, 2007; Herrmann et al., 2009; Schrock-Jacobson, 2012; Bertoli, 2017). A number of immigration studies in OECD countries have found a positive relationship between national identification and anti-immigration attitudes, arguing that individuals with a greater sense of national identification will espouse more anti-immigrant attitudes. For example, Citrin et al. (1990) and Sniderman

et al. (2004) find that in the US and Europe, national identity considerations strongly predict opposition to immigrants. Wimmer (1997) argues that xenophobia and racism emerge alongside appeals to national solidarity during times of societal crisis such as downward mobility of native citizens. On the other hand, Jackson et al. (2001) find throughout Western Europe that higher levels of national pride are associated with decreased willingness to deport immigrants, countering the positive relationship between nationalism and xenophobia.

3 Project Goals and Hypotheses

First, we seek to replicate previous research that national sports wins increase citizens' national identification. Similarly, we will examine the effect of a loss.

> **H1.** Match win and priming with information on the match outcome (*Match Info*) increase national identification (Match loss has no effect). Priming with information on regional/ethnic diversity (*Diversity Prime*) of the team players also boosts this effect.

Second, we will empirically test the idea that increased national identification improves co-national non-coethnic cooperation and trust, but may strain relations with non-nationals, particularly citizens from neighboring countries and refugees.

> **H2.** Match win/Match info increases co-national non-coethnic trust and cooperation. The diversity prime boosts this effect.

> **H3.** Match win/Match info increases willingness to take nationalist actions as measured by willingness to contribute to community development even for non-coethnic co-nationals. In Tanzania, this may also manifest as increased willingness to vote. The diversity prime boosts this effect.

> **H4.** Match win/Match info increases negative (superior) attitudes against (i) sport rival, (ii) refugees, (iii) other foreigners. Since the diversity prime is intended to increase identification with conationals from other regions and ethnic groups, it may also boost this anti-foreign effect.

Third, this project will go deeper into investigating exactly what type of nationalism is primed by shared experiences of national sports games and the mechanism through which national identification increases post a national sports team win. We will use the typology of identification proposed by Robinson (2016), reproduced below:

1. *Affective identification* emphasizes emotional attachment to the group and its other members. For national identification, this is associated with national pride and patriotism. We also believe this aligns with generic euphoria and optimism about the nation.

2. *Behavioral identification* is central to the linked fate literature and focuses on the interdependence of members as a source of group identification. This type of identification increases the more an individual perceives her fate to be dependent on the nation's fate as a whole.

3. *Cognitive identification* comes from social identity theory and stipulates that individuals categorize themselves as a member of a group based on shared attributes and perceived homogeneity of characteristics. Thus, the more homogeneous an individual perceives the national group to be, and the more he sees himself as a typical member of that group, the stronger he should identify with the nation.

In terms of the mechanism, Depetris-Chauvin et al. (2018) argue that national sports team matches serve as shared experiences (*behavioral*). They do not find support for the alternative mechanism of changed emotional states (*affective*), specifically generic euphoria or optimism (although these measures in the Afrobarometer are imprecise). Robinson (2016) finds that *cognitive* identification with the state is most strongly related to trusting non-coethnics in Malawi; the more strongly one identifies as Malawian, especially in terms of cognitive identification, the more strongly one trusts Malawians from other ethnic groups, ultimately eliminating ethnic trust discrepancies among the strongest nationalists. Nevertheless, Gangl et al. (2016) find that priming pride in the nation (*affective*) leads to greater trust in state institutions and an increase in voluntary tax compliance. For them, priming the national flag and national achievements both trigger "patriotism", but only the latter does so in an inclusive way, without simultaneously priming exclusive nationalism.

We will measure levels of all three proposed types of nationalism (affective, behavioral, and cognitive), as well as ask more specifically about emotional states right after our survey primes. We also want to examine which of these types of nationalism is most strongly connected to more positive attitudes towards non-nationals.

H5. (If H1 holds) The mechanism for a match win increasing national identification is cognitive national identification, i.e. that citizens through a powerful shared experience feel more homogeneous with each other.

Fourth, we will examine the effects of participating in a continent-wide competition on supranational identities, namely a pan-African identity. The recent literature on identity politics in Africa largely ignores this aspect of identity. We believe it is possible through this type of experience, for citizens to both identify with their nation and feel greater pride in their African identity, and that these are not mutually exclusive. By including a pan-African survey experimental prime that aims to increase pan-African identification, we want to know if this will also increase respondents' feelings of inclusion towards non-nationals, countering the exclusionary effects of nationalism.

H6. The *Pan-African Prime* decreases negative (superior) attitudes against (i) sport rival, (ii) refugees, (iii) other foreigners.

Lastly, we are also interested in subgoup effects on age, urban/rural, and whether the respondent is from a majority (high-status) ethnic group, living in a refugee-hosting region, and a football fan.

4   Implications

Understanding the types of national affinities and identities citizens in Kenya and Tanzania have and how these relate to attitudes toward and willingness to cooperate with certain out-groups, such as migrants and refugees, will lend important insights into how policy makers can engender trust, compliance, and cooperation among citizens in the presence of a growing need to welcome foreign nationals into their borders.

5   Choosing Kenya and Tanzania

These two East African neighbors are generally compared for the stark difference in the salience of ethnic divisions in one (Kenya) and strong national identity in the other (Tanzania). This difference has consequences for interethnic trust and participation in public goods provision (Miguel, 2004; Jeon et al., 2017). From Afrobarometer data, we know that on average, citizens in Kenya are more likely to identify with their ethnic group rather than their national identity. Kenyans are also much more likely to feel that their ethnic group is treated unfairly by the government. We use the opportunity of the match between the two countries to see whether a win for Kenya (which we expect to be the outcome of the game) can raise nationalism levels and whether the loss has any effect in Tanzania. This research also digs deeper into the canonical case of Tanzania to observe what type of nationalism is most prevalent and among which types of people and its influence on attitudes and behaviors toward refugees.

6   Research Design: Africa Cup as Natural Experiment, Online Panel Survey

We take advantage of a natural experiment of the timing and outcome of the 2019 Africa Cup of Nations, a biennial international men's football championship organized by the Confederation of African Football (CAF). This year, the tournament will be hosted by Egypt, and it will be held from June 21 to July 19.[1] This year will also see the number of teams expanded from 16 to 24 teams. Neighboring rivals, Kenya and Tanzania are a part of Group C, which also consists of Algeria and Senegal shown in Figure 1. On June 27, Kenya and Tanzania will play each other.

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[1]Typically the Africa Cup takes place in January/February, this is the first time it will be in June/July.

Draw position	Team	Zone	Method of qualification	Date of qualification	Finals appearance	Last appearance	Previous best performance	FIFA Rankings	
								April 2019[nb 1]	June 2019
C1	Senegal	WAFU	Group A winners	16 October 2018	15th	2017	Runners-up (2002)	23	
C2	Algeria	UNAF	Group D winners	18 November 2018	18th	2017	**Winners** (1990)	70	
C3	Kenya	CECAFA	Group F runners-up	30 November 2018	6th	2004	Group stage (1972, 1988, 1990, 1992, 2004)	108	
C4	Tanzania	CECAFA	Group L runners-up	24 March 2019	2nd	1980	Group stage (1980)	131	

Figure 1: Africa Cup Group C background.

Figure 2 shows the timeline for our panel survey, starting on June 12. We will conduct analyses on two pre/post windows: the 28 day "full window" and an 6 day "clean window."
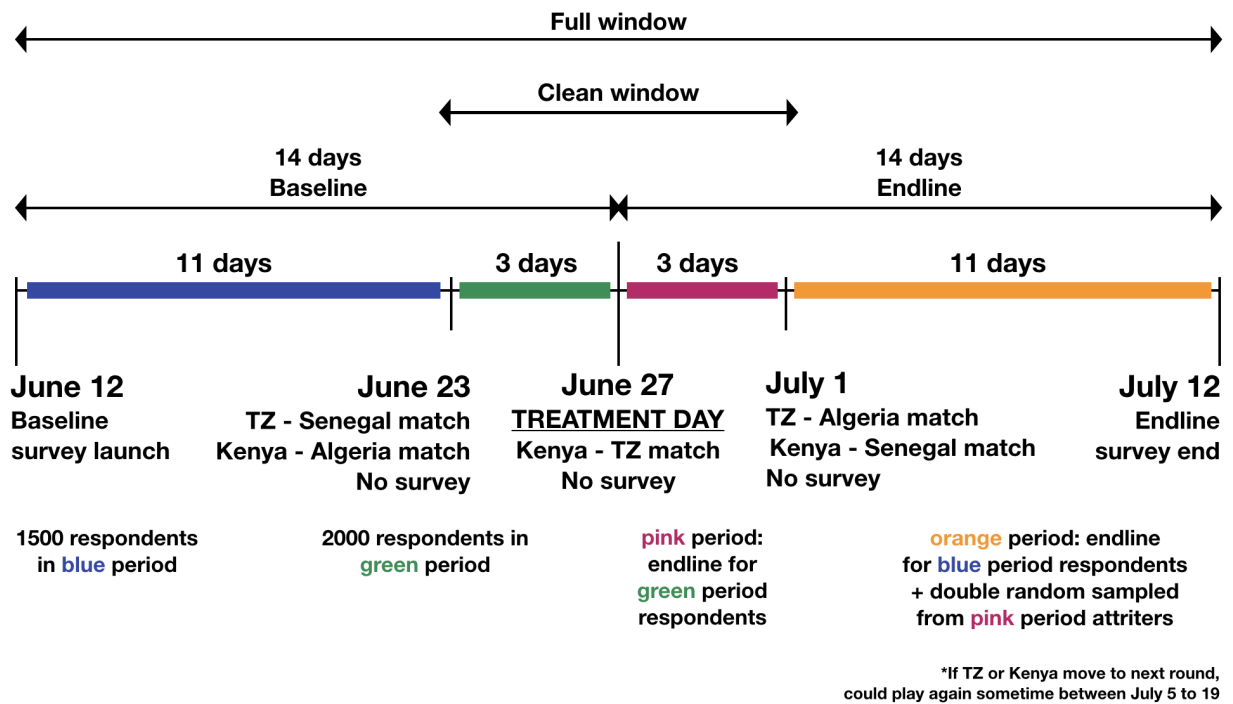

Figure 2: Study timeline.

While the match treatment (Kenya versus Tanzania) is on June 27, there are two other matches in Group C that will occur during the full window, on June 23 and July 1 in which Kenya and Tanzania play the other Group C members, Algeria and Senegal. Thus, the clean window shown as the green baseline period and the pink endline period occurs after the June 23 match and before the July 1 match. About 2000 respondents will be in this period.

Nevertheless, since we are still interested in a longer time frame, in order to replicate Depetris-Chauvin et al. (2018) and to see how long effects last, we include the full window, for which about 1000 respondents will be in the blue baseline (orange endline) periods. When we conduct the

analyses with the full 28 day window, we will need to control for respondents who took the baseline survey on June 24 – 26 (green period). Due to post-treatment bias (e.g. given the outcome on June 27, the teams play differently and/or respondents change their likelihood of watching subsequent matches) we cannot control for respondents taking the endline after July 1 (orange period). To try to account for this, we will plot trends over time across all treatment groups to see whether there are changes around June 23 and July 1. We will also use the methods described in Acharya et al. (2016) to calculate the controlled direct effect, which is the causal effect of the June 27 match when the July 1 match outcome is fixed at a particular level.

6.1   Sample and Attrition

We will recruit survey respondents from both countries through Facebook ads, directing them to take the baseline survey online on Qualtrics. Facebook users in Kenya and Tanzania who are 18 years or older will be targeted with ads offering airtime reimbursement for their participation in an academic survey. We will target ads to the entire country but, given previous experience with Facebook ads, anticipate that most of our respondents will come from urban centers. These citizens are likely more politically informed and engaged. They may also present a hard test because urban citizens tend to be more nationally oriented than their rural counterparts.[2]

Because we are particularly interested in attitudes toward refugees, we will also devote some resources towards ads that specifically target regions in both countries that are home to large refugee camps (Kigoma region in Tanzania and Garissa county in Kenya).

In the baseline survey, we will collect respondents' mobile phone numbers and use Telerivet, an SMS and voice platform to send them their first participation token, and a randomly generated date within the respective endline windows (blue to orange period, green to pink period) to take the endline survey. On that date, we will send them a link to the endline survey through a Telerivet SMS. They have 24 hours to complete this survey, and upon completion, we will send them their second participation token.

Anticipating that we will experience some attrition, we will use double random sampling to ensure that the attrited are not substantively different from those who take the endline survey (Gerber and Green, 2012). We randomly sample 50 respondents from each country among the attrited from June 28 – June 30 (pink period), offering them a greater endline completion token amount, to complete the endline on a randomly generated date between July 2 – July 12 (orange period). We will also use the technique proposed in Coppock et al. (2017) to calculate a worst-case bounds estimator under double sampling.

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[2]Bhandari and Mueller (2018) find that urban citizens are differently nationalist compared to rural citizens, while overall levels do not differ.

6.2 Compensating Respondents

We are planning to give 850 TSH/50 KSH (about .60 USD) in airtime credits for the Tanzanian and Kenyan respondents, respectively, after completion of the baseline survey. Respondents will receive 2550 TSH/200 KSH (about 1.20/1.90 USD) after completing the endline survey. Respondents are informed about both surveys and the levels of compensation in the introduction of the baseline survey.
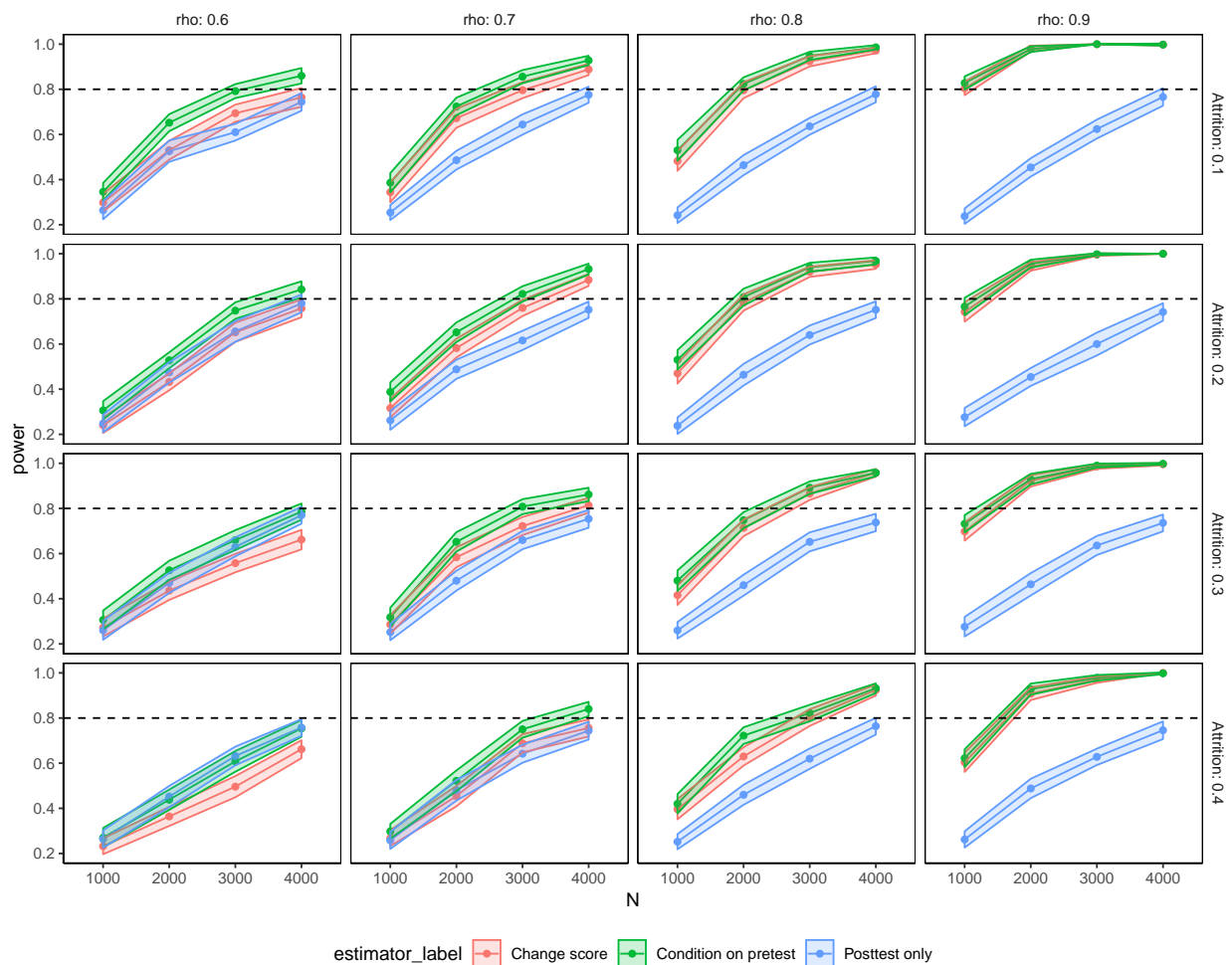
6.3 Power Analysis

Figure 3: Power analysis based on one treatment (match win).

This power analysis, conducted using `DeclareDesign` is only based on one treatment: the match win (loss), not on possible survey experimental treatments. The columns of Figure 3 show the baseline-endline correlation and the rows are percent attrition. We plan to condition on baseline in our analysis, and given our current budget, we believe we can get a sample of about 3800

respondents.

6.4   Treatments

The main treatment is the natural experiment outcome of the June 27 match between Kenya and Tanzania. The background statistics of the teams show that they are similarly matched, so the expectations for the match outcome are not obvious.[3]

Based on previous work, we expect the outcome of the game to have a modest effect on national identification, and likely on attitudes (trust) and behaviors as well.[4] Without a large sample size (around 3800 respondents) we will be unable to detect any effect. For this reason, we will treat respondents in the endline survey with information about the match outcome (*Match Info*).

The Match Prime will include a photo from the match between Kenya and Tanzania and a sentence with information about who won:

> (Photo of the winning goal.) `On June 27th Kenya and Tanzania played each other`
> `in the Africa Cup of Nations.  XX won by YY number of goals.`

This information will likely enhance the natural experiment effect (mostly among those who were not aware of the results), priming nationalism based on competition between two national (rival) teams. By giving this information, we would also address a possible alternative explanation that winning the match simply increases the *salience* of national identity (for losers, there is likely less media coverage about the game), since we make salient the match for respondents who receive this information in both countries.

We have two additional survey experimental treatments that attempt to frame the match in ways that promote inclusion, specifically inclusion of other conationals (*Diversity Prime*), and inclusion of non-nationals (*Pan-African Prime*).

First, the *Diversity Prime*, shown in Figures 4 and 5, emphasizes the ethnic and regional diversity of the teams. Specifically, by including photos of some of the players, their names and regional variation in where they come from and the clubs they play for, we attempt to highlight how these national teams involve cooperation among diverse players.[5] This allows us to test whether these primes can move respondents towards a more inclusive form of nationalism.

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[3]We also have an Expert Forecasting Survey, see section 7.1, to confirm this.

[4]Depetris-Chauvin et al. (2018) find an effect size of .03 on the Afrobarometer question about national identification.

[5]In Kenya and Tanzania, respondents will be able to guess the players' ethnicity and religion from this information. Even if they cannot accurately guess their exact ethnicity, they will be able to glean variation across tribes in those players highlighted.

Figure 4: Diversity Prime - Tanzania: (text) This photo shows the Tanzanian national football team, Taifa Stars. The national team players are diverse. They come from and play in many different regions of Tanzania.

Figure 5: Diversity Prime - Kenya: (text) This photo shows the Kenyan national football team, Harambee Stars. The national team players are diverse. They come from and play in many different regions of Kenya.

The *Diversity Prime* emphasizes the regional variation in the national team players. By displaying the map of the country, the location of the players, their name and faces we hope to convey the ethnic, religious, and regional diversity of the teams.

Figure 6: Pan-African Prime: (text) There are 24 countries participating in the Africa Cup of Nations this year. Many players on these national teams play for teams abroad, in Europe, UK, and the US, where they represent African talent. The Africa Cup of Nations is an opportunity for them to come home and showcase this talent.

Second, since these games are occurring in the context of the *Africa* Cup of Nations, we will include a treatment that seeks to prime a pan-African identity. The question here is whether highlighting a superordinate ("African") identity shared by Kenyans, Tanzanians and the foreigners (including refugees) in these countries increase national pride *and* a more inclusive kind of pan-Africa pride. Figure 6 shows the *Pan-African Prime*, which consists of a photo of the captains across the participating teams, and a map of Africa with the participating countries highlighted.

From Gangl et al. (2016) and others, we had considered primes that were not substantively related to the match (e.g. national achievements, showing the flag, a perspective-taking exercise related to refugees similar to (Adida et al., 2018)). In the end, we believe it is better to boost our main treatment rather than introduce too many distinct dynamics.

	Survey Control	Survey Treatment Groups			N=
Match Outcome Treatment	Win - No Info	Win - Match Info	Win -Match Info+ Diversity Prime	Win -Match Info+ Pan-African Prime	1900
	Loss - No Info	Loss - Match Info	Loss -Match Info+ Diversity Prime	Loss -Match Info+ Pan-African Prime	1900
N=	950	950	950	950	

Table 1: Table of treatment conditions

Table 1 shows our factorial design with corresponding number of respondents. Depending on whether we believe the *Match Info* will be new information or not for the majority of our respondents (based on the Expert Forecasting Survey) will determine whether *Match Info* is a control (N =

500) or an additional survey treatment prime, in which case, each of the four groups will have N = 750.

6.5   Contingency Plan in case of Draw

There is some chance that Kenya and Tanzania tie during the match/do not score any goals on June 27th. If this occurs we will update our research design. In the case of a draw, the pink period would be updated such that the Match Info prime will instead be split into two to frame the performance of the team in either a positive or negative light. Thus, the new design in the case of a draw would have five different treatments: 1. Control, 2. Match - positive, 3. Match - negative, 4. Diversity, 5. Pan-Africa. In this case, we do not have a natural experiment of the game outcome but instead will analyze the results by country and observe heterogeneous treatment effects by country.

The positive match info treatment will be specific to the match and say something along the lines of: "The Tanzanian/Kenyan team played very well." Whereas the negative information would be framed as: "The Tanzanian/Kenyan team did not perform as well as they could have..." These primes would only be applied to the pink period respondents.

In the case of a draw, the original treatments will be updated to be about the games that Tanzania and Kenya will play on July 1 against Algeria and Senegal. Most likely both Tanzania and Kenya will lose these matches, but this outcome is not certain, the neutral match information prime would operate here and instead of comparing countries, the research design would be applied to each country (Tanzania and Kenya) separately to investigate how the result of this game influenced outcomes measured in the baseline.

6.6   Main Outcomes of Interest

Below are our survey questions (Kenya version) measuring the main outcomes of interest.[6]

6.6.1   Levels of Identification

1. We all have many identities. It is normal for some of these identities to be more important to us than others when we think of ourselves. This question asks you about how close you feel to different identities. If you have 10 points and these 6 identities, how will you divide your 10 points across these 6 identities, putting down more points into the identities you feel closest to (must add up to 10)?

   My ethnic group, My community / neighborhood, Kenyan, East African, African, Just me. (order randomized)

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[6]The Tanzanian version just replaces "Kenya" with "Tanzania" and vice versa when asking about the rival.

2. Let us suppose that you had to choose between being a Kenyan and being a member of your ethnic group, which of the following statements best expresses your feelings?

3. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement: It makes me proud to be called an African. // It makes me proud to be called a Kenyan. // It makes me proud to be called a member of my ethnic group.

4. National Identification mechanism questions from Robinson (2016).

6.6.2 Attitudes towards groups

1. How much do you rely or depend on other people in your local community?

2. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement: I see myself as part of my local community.

3. For the next set of questions, "a neighbor" refers to someone who lives next to you and with whom you interact frequently. Please say whether you would like or dislike having XX as a neighbor.
A Kenyan from your ethnic group / a Kenyan who does not support the same political party as you / a Kenyan not in your ethnic group / a Tanzanian / an economic migrant / a refugee (order randomized).

4. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements:
Refugees increase local crime in Kenya. // Refugees positively contribute to diversity in Kenya. // Refugees bring disease in Kenya. // Refugees help improve the local economy in Kenya. // The government should give refugees the chance to become Kenyan citizens. // The government should invest more resources to close and secure the borders from foreign immigrants.

5. Which of the following statements is closest to your view?
People living in East Africa should be able to move freely across international borders in order to trade or work in other countries. // Because foreign migrants take away jobs, and foreign traders sell their goods at very cheap prices, governments should protect their own citizens and limit the cross-border movement of people and goods.

6. Would you be willing to write a message in support of refugees that we will post anonymously on social media?

7. How often, if ever, is your ethnic group treated unfairly by the government?

6.6.3   Contribute to Community Public Goods and Voting
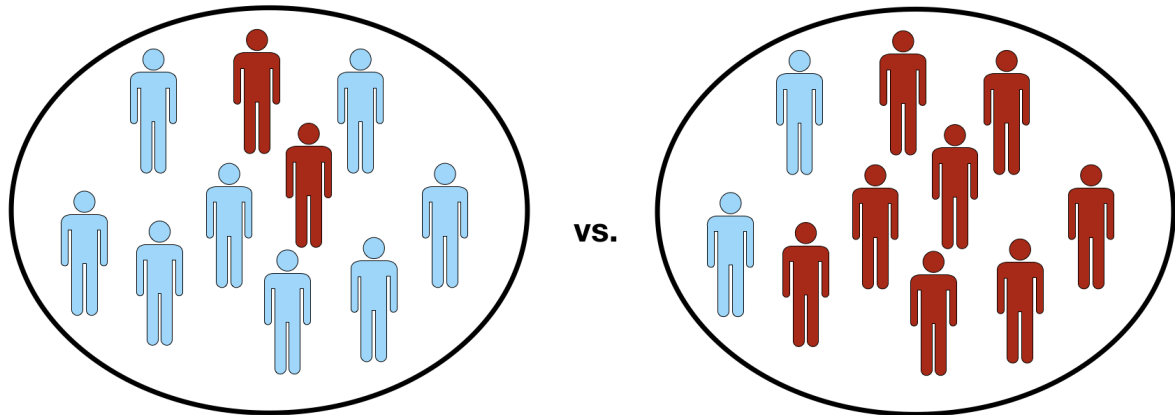
1. Imagine that this circle represents your local community/neighborhood. The different colored figures represent people in the community of different ethnic groups

   Blue is people of your ethnic group

   Red is a different ethnic group

   How willing or unwilling would you be to contribute money to the community development projects in your local community? (20% vs. 80%)

2. Imagine that this circle represents your local community/neighborhood. The different colored figures represent people in the community of different nationalities.

   Blue is Kenyans.

   Red is non-Kenyans.

   How willing or unwilling would you be to contribute money to the community development projects in your local community? (20% vs. 80%)

3. Suppose the Kenyan government has a limited budget to distribute across 6 types of children in need living in Kenya. How would you advise the government to distribute these funds? Please allocate 10 shares across these categories that determine where the money will be sent (must add up to 10).

   Kenyan children of my ethnic group, Kenyan children in my community / neighborhood, Refugee children, Any Kenyan children, Any Tanzanian children, Any African children (order randomized)

4. If the Presidential election was held tomorrow how likely or unlikely would you be to vote?

6.7 Estimation Strategy

Our estimation strategy will be a difference-in-differences estimator for the attitudinal and behavioral questions asked in the baseline and endline, for the clean and full windows separately (see 2). We will calculate nonparametric estimates and use covariate adjustment to improve precision. When conducting covariate adjustment, we will control for sex, age, education, location, foreign connections, wealth, football interest, survey language (English or Kiswahili). We will use the OLS estimator proposed by Lin (2013), which includes all treatment covariate interactions.

7 Notes on Surveys

There is no deception involved in our baseline or endline surveys. The only identifiable information that we are collecting from respondents is their phone number in order to send them airtime for their participation. These data will not be stored with the responses after the payments have been processed.

7.1 Expert Forecasting Survey

Prior to launching the baseline survey we are also conducting a survey of Tanzanian and Kenyan research experts, including both those that are local and live abroad. We asked these experts to forecast the levels of interest in watching the June 27th match. This will help us understand if the *Match Info* prime is giving new information, thus serving as a treatment prime, or not, in which case we would use a split control design and consider respondents who receive the match information only as a control group for the actual survey treatments: *Diversity Prime* and *Pan-African Prime.*

We also asked these experts to give their best guess of the average responses on our main outcomes of interest: national versus ethnic identification, national pride, pan-African identification, and how the average response might change given a match win or loss. By measuring experts' prior expectations of our findings, we can better judge/frame how surprising or expected our results are.

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