

Appendix for *Early Statehood and Support for Autocratic Rule in Africa*

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1 Summary Statistics (Appendix A)

Variable	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Median	Max
AB round	121,241	4.817	1.073	3.000	5.000	6.000
Absolute latitude	76,302	13.557	8.690	0.417	13.536	36.604
Average precipitation	76,302	0.937	0.480	0.097	0.866	2.701
Average temperature	76,302	23.124	3.693	14.423	23.077	29.528
Age	120,122	36.950	14.532	18.000	34.000	130.000
Centralization	48,696	1.767	1.001	0.000	2.000	4.000
Centralization dummy	48,696	0.577	0.494	0.000	1.000	1.000
Coast	50,563	0.309	0.462	0.000	0.000	1.000
Conflict	76,302	0.024	0.036	0.000	0.000	0.167
Contact traditional ruler	82,290	0.282	0.450	0.000	0.000	1.000
Distance to capital city	76,302	0.384	0.286	0.073	0.315	1.438
Distance to international border	71,905	96.829	61.672	12.500	86.389	396.348
Education	121,185	3.222	2.079	0.000	3.000	9.000
Employed	120,959	0.288	0.453	0.000	0.000	1.000
Excluded	74,334	0.165	0.371	0.000	0.000	1.000
Exclusion status	73,934	1.990	1.155	1.000	2.000	5.000
Female	121,240	0.501	0.500	0.000	1.000	1.000
Former British colony	119,832	0.699	0.459	0.000	1.000	1.000
Former French colony	119,832	0.274	0.446	0.000	0.000	1.000
Independence cohort	120,122	0.056	0.231	0.000	0.000	1.000
Index of autocratic attitudes	68,540	2.355	0.630	1.200	2.400	5.000
Index of autocratic rule	113,827	2.211	0.904	1.333	2.000	5.333
Intensive agriculture	46,514	0.329	0.470	0.000	0.000	1.000
Land area	76,302	10.282	0.978	6.582	10.284	13.049
Urban unit	121,241	0.373	0.484	0.000	0.000	1.000
Malaria index	50,563	12.370	10.164	0.000	9.759	34.491
Mean relative humidity	50,563	57.560	14.164	20.893	59.664	83.959
Mountainous terrain	76,302	0.207	0.227	0.000	0.093	0.873
Nightlights (log)	76,302	0.218	0.350	0.000	0.066	2.734
People should avoid government criticism	39,441	2.044	0.782	1.000	2.000	3.000
People should not complain to government officials	39,830	1.467	0.615	1.000	1.000	3.000
People should not request assistance from elected officials	39,676	1.844	0.724	1.000	2.000	3.000
People should not vote	40,282	1.190	0.424	1.000	1.000	3.000
Population (log)	76,302	11.377	1.235	5.844	11.582	14.179
Polity	120,258	4.984	3.649	-4.000	6.000	10.000
Polity lag	121,182	4.951	3.656	-4.000	6.000	10.000
Population log	42,422	2.536	1.204	-2.740	2.611	4.706
Precipitation squared	76,302	1.138	1.272	0.010	0.754	7.403
President's ethnic group	121,241	0.147	0.354	0.000	0.000	1.000
Proportion tropics	50,563	0.853	0.346	0.000	1.000	1.000
Resident of ethnic homeland	121,241	0.244	0.429	0.000	0.000	1.000
River	50,563	0.769	0.421	0.000	1.000	1.000
Share	74,334	0.205	0.290	0.000	0.000	1.000
Slave exports	76,302	5.125	4.750	0.000	5.964	13.409
Soil quality	76,302	5.505	0.387	2.329	5.598	6.810
Support for autocratic rule	116,003	1.745	1.051	1.000	1.000	5.000
TSI	50,563	-0.176	1.171	-3.119	0.098	1.495
Water access	76,302	0.867	0.340	0.000	1.000	1.000
Years of consecutive democracy	120,258	10.848	11.205	0.000	11.000	48.000
Headman Appointed	98	0.245	0.432	0.000	0.000	1.000

2 Description of Variables (Appendix B)

Variable names from original data sets are in parentheses where applicable. All PRIO-GRID data are merged with Murdock ethnic group level data. We spatially merged the PRIO-GRID cells onto the Murdock geospatial data and retained the mean or modal value for each PRIO-GRID variable included. This means we are left with PRIO-GRID mean or modal values at the Murdock ethnic group level for when they are included in our models.

- AB round: Round of Afrobarometer survey.
- Absolute latitude: Absolute latitude taken from PRIO.
- Average precipitation: Average precipitation annually taken from PRIO (avgprec).
- Average temperature: Average temperature annually taken from PRIO (avgtemp).
- Age: Self-reported age taken from Afrobarometer, (Q1:R3,R4,R5,R6).
- Centralization: This is a measure of jurisdictional hierarchy beyond local community provided by [Murdock \(1967\)](#) It is originally coded as ordinal (1-5), with 1 indicating autonomous villages, 2 indicating petty chiefdoms, 3 indicating larger chiefdoms, and 4 and 5 for large states.
- Centralization dummy: We code large states (4,5) as a 1 and the remaining as a 0 to create a binary variable of precolonial centralization.
- Coast: Binary variable if the ethnic group is has a coast as a border taken from Murdock.
- Conflict: Continuous coding from zero to one taken from PRIO, (conflict).
- Contact traditional ruler: A measure of whether a respondent contacted a traditional ruler in the previous 12 months taken from Afrobarometer. It is originally coded as ordinal, we create a binary with responses of once, a few times, and often as a 1 and never as a 0. (Q32f:R3, Q27b:R4, Q34e:R6, not asked in R5).
- Distance to capital: This is a measure from each grid cell to the capital of that country, taken from PRIO (capdist)
- Distance to international border: This is a measure from the grid cell to the nearest international border via contiguous land, taken from PRIO (bdist1).
- Education: Ordinal coding of education levels ranging from no formal education to post-graduate degree taken from Afrobarometer, (Q90:R3, Q89:R4, Q97:R5,R6).
- Employed: Coded as binary with part-time and full-time coded as 1, and no formal employment as a 0 taken from Afrobarometer, (Q94:R3,R4, Q96:R5, Q95:R6).
- Excluded: A binary variable indicating whether the respondent's ethnic group was excluded from power at the time of a given Afrobarometer interview. .
- Exclusion status: The exact exclusion status at the time of Afrobarometer interview as coded by EPR (senior partner, junior partner, powerless, discriminated, irrelevant).
- Female: Interviewer-reported gender of respondent with 1 being female and 0 being male taken from Afrobarometer, (Q101:R3,R4,R5,R6).
- Former British colony: Binary coding of countries with former British colonizer. Data are from [Becker et al. \(2016\)](#).
- Former French colony: Binary coding of countries with former French colonizer. Data are from [Becker et al. \(2016\)](#).
- Independence cohort: Binary coding if a respondent was between the ages of 18 and 29 when their country gained independence, based off of their self-reported age in Afrobarometer.
- Index of autocratic attitudes: an averaged additive index attitudes associated with autocracy taken from Afrobarometer: preference for elections as a way to choose leaders (Afrobarometer Q32:R6, Q34:R5, Q31:R4, Q38:R3), a willingness to accept that the president is above the law (Q38:R6, Q40:R5, Q37:R4, Q41:R6), a preference for a government that can get things done (Q31:R6, Q33:R5), preference for one-party rule (Q36a:R3, Q29a:R4, Q31a:R5, Q28a:R6), and preference for one-man rule (Q36c:R3, Q29c:R4, Q31c:R5, Q28c:R6).
- Index of autocratic rule: an averaged additive index of support for one-man rule (Afrobarometer Q36c:R3, Q29c:R4, Q31c:R5, Q28c:R6), one-party rule (Q36a:R3, Q29a:R4, Q31a:R5, Q28a:R6), and military rule (Q36b:R3, Q29b:R4, Q31b:R5, Q28b:R6) taken from Afrobarometer.

- Intensive agriculture: A binary version of a categorical variable taken from Murdock (ea028) where 1 indicates intensive agriculture and 0 indicates the other categories.
- Land area: Land area of each ethnic group taken from [Alsan \(2015\)](#).
- Latitude: Latitude of the enumeration taken from geo-referenced Afrobarometer data. (latitude). Data are from [BenYishay et al. \(2017\)](#).
- Longitude: Longitude of the enumeration taken from geo-referenced Afrobarometer data. (longitude). Data are from [BenYishay et al. \(2017\)](#).
- Urban unit: Urban enumeration area taken from Afrobarometer.
- Malaria index: Malaria ecology index measuring stability in transmission rates globally taken from [Alsan \(2015\)](#) (malaria_index).
- Mean relative humidity: Mean humidity by each ethnic group taken from [Alsan \(2015\)](#).
- Mountainous terrain: Mountainous terrain percentage as of 2000, taken from PRIO (mnt2000).
- Nightlights log: Log of nightlights index taken from PRIO (loglightsavg).
- People should avoid government criticism: A question asking whether good citizens should avoid criticizing the government taken from Afrobarometer. The question is coded so that higher values indicate more autocratic attitude (i.e. people should not criticise the government); (Q26b:R6).
- People should not complain to government officials: A question asking whether good citizens should complain to government officials taken from Afrobarometer. The question is coded so that higher values indicate more autocratic attitude (i.e. people should not complain);(Q26c:R6).
- People should not request assistance from elected officials: A question asking whether good citizens request assistance from elected officials taken from Afrobarometer. The question is coded so that higher values indicate more autocratic attitude (i.e. people should not request assistance); (Q26d:R6).
- People should not vote: A question asking whether good citizens should vote taken from Afrobarometer. The question is coded so that higher values indicate more autocratic attitude (i.e. people should not vote);(Q26a:R6).
- Population (log): Log population of ethnic group taken from [Alsan \(2015\)](#).
- Polity: Polity score taken from [Coppedge et al. \(2020\)](#) (e_p_polity).
- Polity lag: Polity score lagged by one year.
- Precipitation squared: The squared term of the precipitation average from above, taken from PRIO (prec2).
- 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.
- Proportion tropics: Proportion of land area in the tropics for each ethnic group taken from [Alsan \(2015\)](#).
- Resident of ethnic homeland: Binary coding where we used the geo-referenced Afrobarometer data to determine if respondents were interviewed within the ethnic boundaries produced by Murdock.
- River: Binary variable indicating if the group has a river within their boundary taken from Murdock.
- Share: Share of the years since independence and when the Afrobarometer surveys were fielded that a group was excluded versus included in power. Based off of EPR (v72).
- Slave exports: Total number of slaves exported from a given ethnic homeland. Data are from [Nunn & Wantchekon \(2011\)](#).
- Soil quality: Soil quality taken from [Alsan \(2015\)](#).
- Support for autocratic rule: A question asking respondents to agree or disagree with statement of president abolishing parliament and parties and ruling everything (Q36c:R3, Q29c:R4, Q31c:R5, Q28c:R6). Ordinal coding, scale 1-5 from strongly disagree to strongly agree taken from Afrobarometer.
- TSI: The TseTse suitability index is a measure of the potential steady-rate population of the TseTse fly across the African continent taken from [Alsan \(2015\)](#). Alsan computes the Z-score of the potential population in order to eliminate the estimation bias of stronger state institutions that would arise if she used observed data.
- Water access: Access to water coded as a binary taken from PRIO (wateraccess).

- Years of consecutive democracy: The number of consecutive years with a polity score above five in [Coppedge *et al.* \(2020\)](#), until the current year of the Afrobarometer round.
- Headman appointed: The manner in which headman were selected or appointed in precolonial African polities taken from [Murdock \(1967\)](#).

3 Precolonial Centralization and Early Democracy (Appendix C)

To investigate how “democratic” the internal procedures governing precolonial polities were, and, furthermore, to understand how they changed as polities centralized, we tap Murdock’s data on succession to the office of local headmen (variable “v72”). We code a binary variable which we label *headman appointed* as 1 whenever the modal procedure for selecting local headmen was “appointment by higher authority” and as 0 when headmen were selected by an “election or other formal consensus”, “informal consensus”, “seniority or age”, or due to “influence, wealth or social status.” The idea is to distinguish between procedures that originated from largely local dynamics (in which individuals at the local level could play a role) and procedures in which centralizing rulers arrogated the right to pick local officials to themselves. We code two versions of *headman appointed*, one of which drops observations where the position of headman was inherited and one of which codes inheritance as 0. The former version can be supported by the argument that while locally inherited headmen positions are certainly not an instance of accrual of power by the administrative center, they are also not democratic in any sense of the word. The latter version can be sustained by instead emphasizing that when comparing how the locus of power (and the ability of local communities to affect how they were governed) shifted with increasing centralization, placing inheritance on the side of locally determined dynamics makes more sense. We are agnostic as to which of these arguments is stronger and include both versions of the variable in our models below.

Table 2: Precolonial Centralization and Early Democracy

Dependent Variables: Model:	headmen appointed (inheritance omitted)					headmen appointed (inheritance included)				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Centralization	1.2*** (0.40)	1.1*** (0.35)	1.7*** (0.30)	1.7*** (0.29)	1.7*** (0.33)	0.91*** (0.24)	0.86*** (0.24)	1.2*** (0.28)	1.2*** (0.30)	1.2*** (0.36)
Malaria	0.01 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.06)	-0.10 (0.09)	-0.09 (0.09)	-0.13* (0.07)	0.05 (0.04)	0.03 (0.05)	0.02 (0.06)	0.02 (0.06)	0.01 (0.06)
Tropics (proportion)	2.9** (1.2)	4.1* (2.4)	3.6 (2.6)	3.6 (2.6)	2.8 (3.2)	2* (1.1)	1.3 (1.5)	2.1 (1.9)	2.3 (2)	2.1 (2.5)
Temperature	-0.20 (0.21)	-0.10 (0.28)	0.004 (0.34)	0.0006 (0.35)	0.13 (0.41)	-0.29* (0.16)	-0.18 (0.21)	-0.22 (0.30)	-0.23 (0.30)	-0.22 (0.32)
Humidity	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.006 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.06)	-0.02 (0.07)	-0.009 (0.08)	-0.06*** (0.02)	-0.06* (0.03)	-0.09* (0.05)	-0.08 (0.05)	-0.09 (0.06)
Access to coast		-1.8 (1.2)	-1.4 (1.4)	-1.3 (1.3)	-1.7 (1.2)		-0.89 (1)	-0.50 (1.3)	-0.35 (1.2)	-0.38 (1.3)
Access to river		1.7* (0.90)	2.2** (0.94)	2.2** (0.93)	3*** (0.91)		0.86 (0.78)	0.87 (1.1)	0.88 (1.1)	1.2 (1.00)
Altitude		-0.34 (1.5)	0.42 (1.6)	0.51 (1.7)	1.1 (2.1)		0.20 (1)	0.72 (1.2)	0.63 (1.1)	0.84 (1.1)
Latitude		0.10 (0.09)	0.06 (0.09)	0.06 (0.09)	0.08 (0.10)		-0.002 (0.06)	0.010 (0.07)	0.01 (0.06)	0.03 (0.07)
Land area			-0.56 (0.35)	-0.55 (0.36)	-0.87*** (0.32)			-0.49* (0.29)	-0.44 (0.30)	-0.69** (0.33)
ln(Population density)			-0.05 (0.29)	-0.09 (0.24)	-0.28 (0.23)			-0.002 (0.23)	-0.03 (0.20)	-0.17 (0.25)
Intensive agriculture				0.33 (0.93)	0.86 (1)				0.43 (0.69)	0.75 (0.69)
ln(Slave exports)					0.20** (0.10)					0.14 (0.10)
Constant	0.90 (5.6)	-5.3 (6.8)	-1.5 (8.8)	-2.1 (9.4)	-3 (10.2)	4 (4)	1.5 (6.8)	7.4 (9.8)	6.3 (9.8)	8.3 (11.7)
Observations	90	90	77	77	77	281	281	225	225	225
Pseudo R ²	0.20	0.29	0.36	0.36	0.39	0.15	0.17	0.23	0.24	0.26
BIC	103.07	112.93	102.36	106.59	108.58	156.59	176.35	153.76	158.74	161.61

Results from logistic regressions. Standard errors (clustered at the level of Murdock’s cultural provinces) are in parentheses.

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

4 Main Results with a Binary Centralization Measure (Appendix D)

Table 3: Precolonial Centralization and Support for Autocratic Rule

Dependent Variable:	support for autocratic rule				
Model:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Centralization_dum	0.03 (0.03)	0.07*** (0.03)	0.07*** (0.02)	0.07*** (0.02)	0.07*** (0.02)
Country FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Pre-treat. controls (ethnic group)		✓	✓	✓	✓
Post-treat. controls (ethnic group)			✓	✓	✓
Pre-treat. controls (respondent)				✓	✓
Post-treat. controls (respondent)					✓
Observations	46,727	38,638	37,993	37,712	37,631
Adjusted R ²	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.08

Table shows results from OLS regressions. Standard errors (clustered at the pre-colonial ethnic group level) are in parentheses. "Round" refers to Afrobarometer survey round. FE = fixed effects. OLS = ordinary least squares.

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

Table 4: Precolonial Centralization and Support for Autocratic Rule (IV-2SLS)

Dependent Variable:	support for autocratic rule				
Model:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Second-stage IV					
Centralization	0.02** (0.01)	0.04*** (0.01)	0.04*** (0.01)	0.04*** (0.01)	0.04*** (0.01)
First-stage IV					
TSI	-0.03 (0.05)	-0.07 (0.07)	-0.07 (0.07)	-0.07 (0.07)	-0.08 (0.07)
Country FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Pre-treat. controls (ethnic group)		✓	✓	✓	✓
Post-treat. controls (ethnic group)			✓	✓	✓
Pre-treat. controls (individual)				✓	✓
Post-treat. controls (individual)					✓
Observations	46,506	39,889	39,227	38,898	38,810

Table shows results from OLS regressions. TSI is Alsan's TseTse suitability index. Standard errors (clustered at the precolonial ethnic group level) are in parentheses. "Round" refers to Afrobarometer survey round. FE = fixed effects. OLS = ordinary least squares.

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

Table 5: Generationally Transmitted Norms as a Mechanism

Dependent Variable: Model:	French colonies		British colonies		support for autocratic rule				non-residents		residents	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Centralization (binary)	-0.04 (0.05)	0.05 (0.08)	0.07** (0.03)	0.06*** (0.02)	0.03 (0.04)	0.06* (0.03)	0.02 (0.05)	0.02 (0.04)	0.01 (0.03)	0.04 (0.02)	0.05 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)
Country FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Controls		✓		✓		✓		✓		✓		✓
Observations	12,472	6,594	33,246	29,322	23,276	18,376	8,766	7,541	26,454	21,014	20,273	16,617
Adjusted R ²	0.04	0.06	0.07	0.08	0.08	0.09	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.09	0.05	0.06

Standard errors are clustered at the precolonial ethnic group level.

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

Table 6: Precolonial Centralization and Support for Autocratic Rule in West Africa

Dependent Variable: Model:	support for autocratic rule				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Centralization (binary)*British colony	0.25* (0.12)	0.25* (0.12)	0.25* (0.12)	0.25** (0.11)	0.30*** (0.10)
Country FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ethnic group FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Pre-treat. controls (ethnic group)		✓	✓	✓	✓
Post-treat. controls (ethnic group)			✓	✓	✓
Pre-treat. controls (individual)				✓	✓
Post-treat. controls (individual)					✓
Observations	3,392	3,392	3,392	3,360	3,345
Adjusted R ²	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.06

Table shows results from OLS regressions. Standard errors (clustered at the precolonial ethnic group level) are in parentheses. "Round" refers to Afrobarometer survey round. FE = fixed effects. OLS = ordinary least squares.

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

5 Alternative Dependent Variables (Appendix E)

Note that all variables are coded so that a *positive* coefficient on centralization indicates more autocratic attitudes.

Table 7: Precolonial Centralization and Index of Autocratic Rule

Dependent Variable:	index of autocratic rule				
Model:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
centralization	-0.002 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)
Country FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Pre-treat. controls (ethnic group)		✓	✓	✓	✓
Post-treat. controls (ethnic group)			✓	✓	✓
Pre-treat. controls (respondent)				✓	✓
Post-treat. controls (respondent)					✓
Observations	45,858	38,013	37,380	37,111	37,033
Adjusted R ²	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.08	0.09

Table shows results from OLS regressions. Standard errors (clustered at the pre-colonial ethnic group level) are in parentheses. "Round" refers to Afrobarometer survey round. FE = fixed effects. OLS = ordinary least squares.

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

Table 8: Precolonial Centralization and Index of Autocratic Attitudes

Dependent Variable:	index of autocratic attitudes				
Model:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
centralization	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)
Country FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Pre-treat. controls (ethnic group)		✓	✓	✓	✓
Post-treat. controls (ethnic group)			✓	✓	✓
Pre-treat. controls (respondent)				✓	✓
Post-treat. controls (respondent)					✓
Observations	26,080	22,318	21,743	21,601	21,558
Adjusted R ²	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.06	0.07

Table shows results from OLS regressions. Standard errors (clustered at the pre-colonial ethnic group level) are in parentheses. "Round" refers to Afrobarometer survey round. FE = fixed effects. OLS = ordinary least squares.

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

Table 9: Precolonial Centralization and Selected Perceptions of Appropriate Behavior

Dependent Variable: Model:	people should not vote				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
centralization	0.01* (0.01)	0.01* (0.01)	0.01* (0.01)	0.01* (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)
Country FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Pre-treat. controls (ethnic group)		✓	✓	✓	✓
Post-treat. controls (ethnic group)			✓	✓	✓
Pre-treat. controls (respondent)				✓	✓
Post-treat. controls (respondent)					✓
Observations	15,156	12,017	12,017	11,936	11,926
Adjusted R ²	0.10	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.07

Table shows results from OLS regressions. Standard errors (clustered at the pre-colonial ethnic group level) are in parentheses. "Round" refers to Afrobarometer survey round. FE = fixed effects. OLS = ordinary least squares.

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

Table 10: Precolonial Centralization and Selected Perceptions of Appropriate Behavior

Dependent Variable: Model:	people should not complain to government officials				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
centralization	0.01 (0.01)	0.004 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Country FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Pre-treat. controls (ethnic group)		✓	✓	✓	✓
Post-treat. controls (ethnic group)			✓	✓	✓
Pre-treat. controls (respondent)				✓	✓
Post-treat. controls (respondent)					✓
Observations	14,988	11,884	11,884	11,806	11,796
Adjusted R ²	0.07	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.05

Table shows results from OLS regressions. Standard errors (clustered at the pre-colonial ethnic group level) are in parentheses. "Round" refers to Afrobarometer survey round. FE = fixed effects. OLS = ordinary least squares.

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

Table 11: Precolonial Centralization and Selected Perceptions of Appropriate Behavior

Dependent Variable: Model:	people should not request help from officials				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
centralization	0.04** (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
Country FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Pre-treat. controls (ethnic group)		✓	✓	✓	✓
Post-treat. controls (ethnic group)			✓	✓	✓
Pre-treat. controls (respondent)				✓	✓
Post-treat. controls (respondent)					✓
Observations	14,952	11,851	11,851	11,772	11,762
Adjusted R ²	0.08	0.09	0.09	0.09	0.10

Table shows results from OLS regressions. Standard errors (clustered at the pre-colonial ethnic group level) are in parentheses. "Round" refers to Afrobarometer survey round. FE = fixed effects. OLS = ordinary least squares.

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

Table 12: Precolonial Centralization and Selected Perceptions of Appropriate Behavior

Dependent Variable: Model:	people should avoid government criticism				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
centralization	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.003 (0.01)	-0.001 (0.01)	0.0001 (0.01)
Country FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Pre-treat. controls (ethnic group)		✓	✓	✓	✓
Post-treat. controls (ethnic group)			✓	✓	✓
Pre-treat. controls (respondent)				✓	✓
Post-treat. controls (respondent)					✓
Observations	14,808	11,739	11,739	11,662	11,652
Adjusted R ²	0.04	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02

Table shows results from OLS regressions. Standard errors (clustered at the pre-colonial ethnic group level) are in parentheses. "Round" refers to Afrobarometer survey round. FE = fixed effects. OLS = ordinary least squares.

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

6 The Effect of Shared Ethnicity with President (Appendix F)

Table 13: Precolonial Centralization and Support for Autocratic Rule: Accounting for Shared Ethnicity with President

Dependent Variable: Model:	support for autocratic rule				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Centralization	0.01 (0.01)	0.04*** (0.01)	0.04*** (0.01)	0.04*** (0.01)	0.04*** (0.01)
Shared ethnicity with president		0.07 (0.05)	0.06 (0.06)	0.06 (0.06)	0.05 (0.06)
Country FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Pre-treat. controls (ethnic groups)		✓	✓	✓	✓
Post-treat. controls (ethnic groups)			✓	✓	✓
Pre-treat. controls (individual)				✓	✓
Post-treat. controls (individual)					✓
Observations	46,727	38,638	37,993	37,712	37,631
Adjusted R ²	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.08

Standard errors are clustered at the precolonial ethnic group level.

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

7 The Effect of Ethnic Exclusion (Appendix G)

Table 14: Precolonial Centralization and Support for Autocratic Rule with Ethnic Exclusion from Power

Dependent Variable: Model:	support for autocratic rule				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Centralization	0.01 (0.01)	0.03** (0.01)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
Ethnic exclusion (share)		0.01 (0.06)	-0.02 (0.07)	-0.02 (0.07)	-0.02 (0.07)
Country FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Pre-treat. controls (ethnic groups)		✓	✓	✓	✓
Post-treat. controls (ethnic groups)			✓	✓	✓
Pre-treat. controls (individual)				✓	✓
Post-treat. controls (individual)					✓
Observations	46,727	25,112	24,467	24,297	24,244
Adjusted R ²	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.08

Standard errors are clustered at the precolonial ethnic group level.

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

Table 15: Precolonial Centralization and Support for Autocratic Rule with Ethnic Exclusion from Power (binary exclusion)

Dependent Variable: Model:	support for autocratic rule				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Centralization	0.01 (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)	0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)
Excluded		-0.05 (0.04)	-0.10** (0.05)	-0.10** (0.05)	-0.10** (0.05)
Country FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Pre-treat. controls (ethnic groups)		✓	✓	✓	✓
Post-treat. controls (ethnic groups)			✓	✓	✓
Pre-treat. controls (individual)				✓	✓
Post-treat. controls (individual)					✓
Observations	46,727	25,112	24,467	24,297	24,244
Adjusted R ²	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.08	0.08

Standard errors are clustered at the precolonial ethnic group level.

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

Table 16: Precolonial Centralization and Support for Autocratic Rule with Ethnic Exclusion from Power (levels of exclusion)

Dependent Variable: Model:	support for autocratic rule				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Centralization	0.01 (0.01)	0.03 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)
Senior partner		-0.16** (0.08)	-0.17** (0.07)	-0.18** (0.07)	-0.16** (0.07)
Junior partner		-0.12 (0.08)	-0.13** (0.06)	-0.13** (0.06)	-0.09 (0.06)
Powerless		-0.17 (0.10)	-0.26** (0.12)	-0.26** (0.12)	-0.25** (0.11)
Discriminated		0.01 (0.20)	-0.06 (0.23)	-0.07 (0.24)	-0.06 (0.23)
Country FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Pre-treat. controls (ethnic groups)		✓	✓	✓	✓
Post-treat. controls (ethnic groups)			✓	✓	✓
Pre-treat. controls (individual)				✓	✓
Post-treat. controls (individual)					✓
Observations	46,727	25,112	24,467	24,297	24,244
Adjusted R ²	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.08	0.08

Standard errors are clustered at the precolonial ethnic group level. Irrelevant groups are the omitted category.

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

8 The Effect of Independence Cohorts (Appendix H)

Table 17: Precolonial Centralization and Support for Autocratic Rule with Independence Cohort

Dependent Variable: Model:	support for autocratic rule				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Centralization	0.01 (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)	0.04*** (0.01)	0.04*** (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)
Independence cohort		-0.004 (0.03)	-0.005 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)
Country FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Pre-treat. controls (ethnic groups)		✓	✓	✓	✓
Post-treat. controls (ethnic groups)			✓	✓	✓
Pre-treat. controls (individual)				✓	✓
Post-treat. controls (individual)					✓
Observations	46,727	38,357	37,712	37,712	37,631
Adjusted R ²	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.08

Standard errors are clustered at the precolonial ethnic group level.

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

9 The Effect of Consecutive Democratic Experience (Appendix I)

Table 18: Precolonial Centralization and Support for Autocratic Rule with Consecutive Democracy

Dependent Variable: Model:	support for autocratic rule				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Centralization	0.01 (0.01)	0.04*** (0.01)	0.04*** (0.01)	0.04*** (0.01)	0.04*** (0.01)
Consecutive democratic experience		-0.01 (0.01)	-0.004 (0.01)	-0.004 (0.01)	-0.003 (0.01)
Country FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Pre-treat. controls (ethnic groups)		✓	✓	✓	✓
Post-treat. controls (ethnic groups)			✓	✓	✓
Pre-treat. controls (individual)				✓	✓
Post-treat. controls (individual)					✓
Observations	46,727	37,993	37,993	37,712	37,631
Adjusted R ²	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.08

Standard errors are clustered at the precolonial ethnic group level.

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

10 Unpacking the Mechanisms - Models With Interactions (Appendix J)

Table 19: Investigating the Mechanism

Dependent Variable: Model:	support for autocratic rule							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Centralization	0.06 (0.04)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.10* (0.06)	0.01 (0.02)	0.03** (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.04*** (0.01)
French colony	0.13 (0.09)	0.09 (0.11)						
Centralization*French colony	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.07 (0.08)						
British Colony			-0.41*** (0.10)	-0.44*** (0.14)				
Centralization*British colony			0.10* (0.05)	0.12* (0.07)				
Contact trad. leader					0.04 (0.03)	0.04 (0.04)		
Centralization*contact trad. leader					-0.02 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)		
Resident							-0.01 (0.04)	0.003 (0.03)
Centralization*resident							0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)
Country FE					✓	✓	✓	✓
Round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Controls		✓		✓		✓		✓
Observations	46,727	37,631	46,727	37,631	32,042	25,917	46,727	37,631
Adjusted R ²	0.01	0.05	0.02	0.06	0.08	0.08	0.07	0.08

Standard errors are clustered at the precolonial ethnic group level.

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

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