

Appendix for *The Precolonial Origins of African Nationalism*

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1 Summary Statistics (Appendix A)

Table A1: Summary Statistics

Variable	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Median	Max
AB round	121,240	4.817	1.073	3	5	6
Absolute latitude	77,176	13.522	8.570	0.417	13.056	36.528
Administrative boundary distance	120,430	0.207	0.198	0.00000	0.148	1.520
Anticolonial war	121,240	0.310	0.462	0	0	1
Average precipitation	77,176	0.939	0.475	0.097	0.866	2.701
Average temperature	77,176	23.137	3.678	14.423	23.122	29.528
Age	120,121	36.950	14.532	18	34	130
Age ²	120,121	1,576.455	1,297.675	324	1,156	16,900
Cash crop production	114,541	0.391	0.983	0.000	0.000	7.441
Centralization	48,666	1.737	0.954	0	2	3
Coast	52,342	0.290	0.454	0	0	1
Colonial railroad	121,240	0.332	0.471	0	0	1
Conflict	77,176	0.026	0.038	0.000	0.000	0.167
Contact traditional ruler	82,290	0.282	0.450	0	0	1
Distance to capital city	77,176	0.399	0.297	0.073	0.320	1.438
Distance to international border	72,779	99.547	64.946	12.500	86.389	396.348
Education	121,184	3.222	2.079	0	3	9
Employed	120,958	0.288	0.453	0	0	1
Ethnic fractionalization	112,851	0.739	0.181	0.255	0.805	0.930
European descent	112,851	0.019	0.044	0.000	0.000	0.160
Female	121,239	0.501	0.500	0	1	1
Former British colony	119,831	0.699	0.459	0	1	1
Group size	118,818	0.211	0.200	0.0001	0.144	1.000
Indirect rule	112,851	0.560	0.189	0.000	0.527	0.934
Intensive agriculture	47,512	0.325	0.468	0	0	1
Land area	77,176	10.333	0.991	6.582	10.345	13.049
Malaria index	52,342	12.370	10.109	0.000	10.189	34.491
Mean relative humidity	52,342	57.284	13.987	20.893	59.386	83.959
Mountainous terrain	77,176	0.206	0.227	0.000	0.093	0.873
Nightlights (log)	77,176	0.212	0.344	0.000	0.066	2.734
PCS group	57,423	0.225	0.417	0	0	1
Population (log)	77,176	11.387	1.240	5.844	11.568	14.179
Polity	120,257	4.984	3.649	-4	6	10
Population density (log)	44,618	2.549	1.186	-2.740	2.586	4.706
President's ethnic group	121,240	0.147	0.354	0	0	1
Proportion tropics	52,342	0.863	0.336	0.000	1.000	1.000
Publications	111,783	0.416	0.994	0.000	0.094	8.798
River	52,342	0.777	0.416	0	1	1
National over ethnic (1-5)	119,361	3.668	1.187	1	3	5
National over ethnic (0/1)	119,361	0.472	0.499	0	0	1
Slave exports (log)	77,176	5.256	4.756	0.000	5.964	13.409
Soil quality	77,176	5.505	0.385	2.329	5.598	6.810
Stayer	121,240	0.244	0.429	0	0	1
TPI count	118,165	2.035	1.870	0	2	6
Urban	121,240	0.373	0.484	0	0	1
Water access	77,176	0.868	0.338	0	1	1

2 Description of Individual Variables (Appendix B)

Variable names from source datasets are included in parentheses where applicable. Variables from PRIO-GRID v.2.0 (Tollefsen *et al.*, 2012) were spatially overlapped with a digitized version of Murdock's (1967) Ethnographic map to produce mean (or, in case of dichotomous variables, mode) values for each ethnic homeland.

- **AB round:** Round of Afrobarometer survey.
- **Absolute latitude:** Absolute latitude taken from PRIO-GRID v.2.0.
- **Administrative boundary distance:** The inverse hyperbolic sine of the distance between Afrobarometer respondent location and the nearest regional (adm1) boundary.
- **Anticolonial war:** A binary indicator accounting for anticolonial liberation wars (Algeria, Angola, Kenya, Madagascar, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Zimbabwe).
- **Average precipitation:** Average precipitation annually taken from PRIO-GRID v.2.0 (avg-prec).
- **Average temperature:** Average temperature annually taken from PRIO-GRID v.2.0 (avgtemp).
- **Age:** Respondents' age (Q1 in AB rounds 3, 4, 5, and 6).
- **Age²:** Square of respondents' age.
- **Cash crop production:** Primary commodity production in 1957, data comes from Pengl *et al.* (2022).
- **Centralization:** This is a measure of jurisdictional hierarchy beyond local community provided by Murdock (1967) It is originally coded as ordinal (0-4), with 0 indicating autonomous villages, 1 indicating petty chiefdoms, 2 indicating larger chiefdoms, and 3 and 4 indicating large states.
- **Coast:** Binary variable measuring if the ethnic group in question has to coast. The variable originates in Murdock (1967).
- **Colonial railroad:** Binary variable indicating if an ethnic homeland from Murdock (1967) intersects with a colonial railroad (built before 1960). Railroad data are from Jedwab & Moradi (2016).
- **Conflict:** This variable measures the presence of armed conflict in PRIO-GRID cells. It comes from PRIO-GRID v.2.0 (conflict).
- **Contact traditional ruler:** 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).
- **Distance to capital:** This is a measure of the distance from each grid cell to the capital of the country to which the grid cell belongs. It comes from from PRIO-GRID v.2.0 (capdist).

- **Distance to international border:** This is a measure of the distance from the grid cell to the nearest international border via contiguous land, taken from PRIO-GRID v.2.0 (bdist1).
- **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).
- **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).
- **European descent:** The fraction of the population today that is of European descent. This measure comes from [Hariri \(2012\)](#).
- **Ethnic fractionalization:** The country-level ethnic fractionalization index. It comes from [Hariri \(2012\)](#).
- **Female:** Interviewer-reported gender of respondent with 1 being female and 0 being male taken from Afrobarometer (AB round 6: Q101, AB round 5: Q101, AB round 4: Q101, AB round 3: Q101).
- **Former British colony:** Binary coding of countries with former British colonizer. Data are from [Becker et al. \(2016\)](#).
- **Group size:** Own ethnic group share in the national population calculated from Afrobarometer data (using within-country weights) for each respondent.
- **Indirect rule:** A continuous measure of indirect rule. This measure comes from [Hariri \(2012\)](#) and captures colony-specific share of customary court cases recognized by colonial authorities in 1955 divided by the total number of court cases.
- **Intensive agriculture:** Presence of intensive agriculture in the precolonial era. This variable is a binary version of a categorical measure taken from [Murdock \(1967\)](#) (ea028) where 1 indicates intensive agriculture and 0 indicates the other categories.
- **Land area:** Land area of each ethnic homeland as depicted by ([Murdock, 1959](#)). The data come from [Alsan \(2015\)](#).
- **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-GRID v.2.0 (mnt2000).
- **National over ethnic (1-5):** A measure of the relative strength of national versus ethnic identity (Q82: round 3, Q83: round 4, Q85b: round 5, Q88b: round 6).
- **National over ethnic (0/1):** A dichotomized version of the measure of relative strength of national versus ethnic identity (Q82: round 3, Q83: round 4, Q85b: round 5, Q88b: round 6).

- **Nightlights (log):** Log of nightlights index taken from PRIO-GRID v.2.0 (loglightsavg).
- **PCS:** A binary indicator indicating precolonial statehood from [Paine \(2019\)](#).
- **Polity:** Polity score taken from [Coppedge et al. \(2020\)](#) (e_p_polity).
- **Population (log):** Natural log of population per PRIO-GRID v.2.0 cell.
- **Population density (log):** Log population of ethnic group taken from [Alsan \(2015\)](#).
- **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 value of 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 originate with [Alsan \(2015\)](#).
- **Publications:** The number of publications in indigenous languages in 1923 normalized by the number of language speakers ([Pengl et al., 2022](#)).
- **River:** Binary variable indicating if the group has a river within their boundary taken from [Murdock \(1967\)](#).
- **Slave exports:** Total number of slaves exported from a given ethnic homeland. Data are from [Nunn & Wantchekon \(2011\)](#).
- **Soil quality:** A soil quality measure that comes from [Alsan \(2015\)](#).
- **Stayer:** A binary variable indicating whether Afrobarometer respondent currently resides in the historical area associated with his or her ethnic group.
- **TPI count:** 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."
- **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").
- **Water access:** Access to water coded as a binary taken from PRIO-GRID v.2.0 (wateraccess).

3 Indirectness of Colonial Rule (Appendix C)

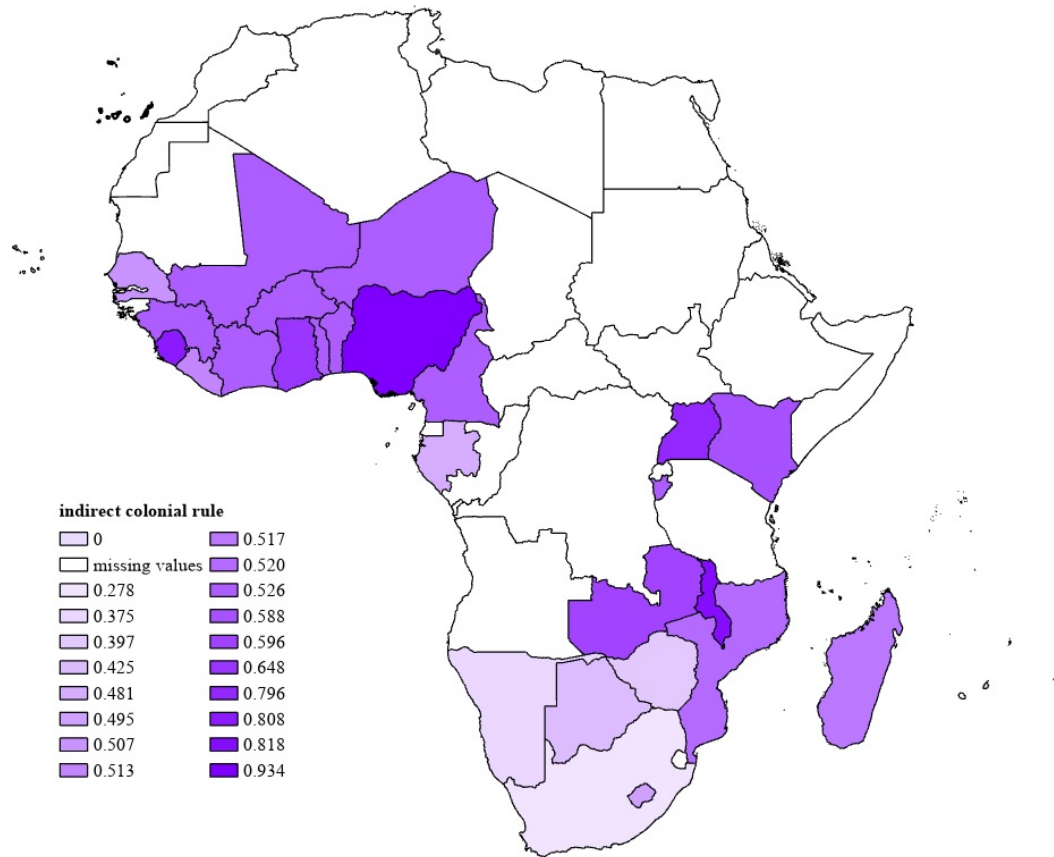


Figure 1: **Indirect Colonial Rule.** The figure displays the continuous measure of indirect colonial rule that is used as one of the main independent variables. The metric comes from [Hariri \(2012\)](#) who follows [Lange \(2009\)](#) in measuring indirect rule as the number of colonially recognized customary court cases divided by the total number of court cases recorded in each colony in 1955.

4 Main Results - Complete Regression Table (Appendix D)

Table D1: Main Results

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>							
	National over ethnic (1-5)				National over ethnic (0/1)			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Centralization	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.05)	0.21 (0.16)	0.28** (0.14)	-0.002 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.16** (0.07)	0.14** (0.07)
Indirect rule	-1.00** (0.40)	-0.36 (0.45)	-0.39 (0.62)	0.37 (0.47)	-0.34** (0.17)	-0.06 (0.20)	0.10 (0.28)	0.32 (0.22)
Water access	0.04 (0.09)	0.15*** (0.06)	0.06 (0.10)	0.19*** (0.06)	-0.003 (0.04)	0.03 (0.03)	0.02 (0.04)	0.05* (0.03)
Soil quality	-0.21* (0.12)	-0.18 (0.13)	-0.21* (0.12)	-0.20* (0.12)	-0.09** (0.04)	-0.07 (0.05)	-0.10** (0.04)	-0.08* (0.04)
Absolute latitude	0.02 (0.01)	0.002 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.005 (0.01)	0.01* (0.01)	0.004 (0.004)	0.01 (0.01)	0.001 (0.004)
Mountainous terrain	0.98*** (0.27)	1.06*** (0.18)	0.91*** (0.26)	1.01*** (0.16)	0.48*** (0.12)	0.50*** (0.08)	0.43*** (0.10)	0.48*** (0.07)
Average temperature	0.01 (0.02)	0.04** (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.04** (0.02)	0.01 (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.02*** (0.01)
Average precipitation	0.10 (0.15)	-0.03 (0.15)	0.11 (0.15)	-0.01 (0.14)	0.01 (0.08)	-0.02 (0.08)	0.02 (0.07)	-0.01 (0.07)
Mean relative humidity	-0.003 (0.005)	-0.002 (0.005)	-0.003 (0.005)	-0.003 (0.005)	-0.0004 (0.002)	-0.0004 (0.002)	-0.0004 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.002)
Malaria index	0.01 (0.01)	-0.002 (0.01)	0.005 (0.01)	-0.002 (0.01)	0.003 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.002)	0.003 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.002)
Proportion tropics	0.48 (0.41)	-0.09 (0.25)	0.45 (0.43)	-0.16 (0.24)	0.33* (0.18)	0.04 (0.12)	0.31* (0.18)	0.002 (0.11)
Population density (log)	0.03 (0.03)	0.06 (0.05)	0.01 (0.03)	0.04 (0.05)	0.02* (0.01)	0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.02)
Coast	0.28** (0.12)	0.23** (0.10)	0.30*** (0.10)	0.27*** (0.09)	0.14*** (0.05)	0.11*** (0.04)	0.16*** (0.04)	0.13*** (0.03)
River	-0.002 (0.11)	-0.11 (0.08)	-0.02 (0.10)	-0.12 (0.08)	0.01 (0.04)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.05* (0.03)
Female	-0.07*** (0.03)	-0.06** (0.02)	-0.07*** (0.03)	-0.06** (0.02)	-0.02*** (0.01)	-0.02*** (0.01)	-0.02*** (0.01)	-0.02*** (0.01)
Age	0.01* (0.003)	0.01** (0.003)	0.01* (0.004)	0.01** (0.003)	0.002 (0.001)	0.002 (0.001)	0.002 (0.001)	0.002 (0.001)
Age ²	-0.0001** (0.0000)	-0.0001** (0.0000)	-0.0001** (0.0000)	-0.0001** (0.0000)	-0.0000 (0.0000)	-0.0000* (0.0000)	-0.0000 (0.0000)	-0.0000* (0.0000)
British colony	0.05 (0.10)	-0.08 (0.09)	0.03 (0.10)	-0.10 (0.09)	0.001 (0.05)	-0.06 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.05)	-0.07* (0.04)
Intensive agriculture	0.21** (0.08)	0.12* (0.06)	0.26*** (0.09)	0.17*** (0.05)	0.10** (0.04)	0.06** (0.03)	0.13*** (0.04)	0.09*** (0.02)
Capital city distance		-0.15 (0.14)		-0.12 (0.14)		-0.07 (0.06)		-0.05 (0.06)
Border distance		-0.0001 (0.001)		0.0002 (0.001)		-0.0001 (0.0004)		0.0001 (0.0004)
Conflict		0.32 (1.07)		0.08 (1.05)		0.20 (0.54)		0.08 (0.51)
Population (log)		-0.07 (0.06)		-0.08 (0.06)		-0.002 (0.02)		-0.01 (0.02)
Nightlights (log)		-0.17** (0.09)		-0.21** (0.08)		-0.06 (0.04)		-0.08** (0.04)
Polity		0.01 (0.01)		0.01 (0.01)		0.003 (0.005)		0.002 (0.004)
Land area		0.04 (0.05)		0.003 (0.06)		0.04 (0.02)		0.02 (0.02)
Slave exports (log)		0.02* (0.01)		0.02** (0.01)		0.01 (0.004)		0.01** (0.005)
Education		0.03*** (0.01)		0.03*** (0.01)		0.01** (0.003)		0.01** (0.003)

Employed		-0.03 (0.02)		-0.03 (0.02)		-0.02* (0.01)		-0.01 (0.01)
Urban		0.06* (0.04)		0.06 (0.04)		0.02** (0.01)		0.02* (0.01)
Ethnic fractionalization		-0.31 (0.32)		-0.29 (0.28)		-0.20 (0.15)		-0.19 (0.13)
Anticolonial war		0.13 (0.13)		0.11 (0.13)		0.11* (0.06)		0.10* (0.06)
Centralization × Indirect rule			-0.36* (0.22)	-0.45** (0.18)			-0.26*** (0.10)	-0.24*** (0.09)
Round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
N	36,338	35,594	36,338	35,594	36,338	35,594	36,338	35,594
Adjusted R ²	0.06	0.08	0.07	0.08	0.06	0.08	0.07	0.08

Notes: "Round" refers to Abrobarometer survey round. Standard errors are clustered by countries. FE = fixed effects. Statistical significance: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

5 Divided Groups in West Africa - Complete Regression Table (Appendix E)

Table E1: Divided Groups in West Africa

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	National over ethnic (1-5)			National over ethnic (0/1)		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Centralization	0.26*** (0.08)	0.30*** (0.09)		0.14** (0.05)	0.21*** (0.05)	
Indirect rule	-0.16*** (0.06)	-0.13 (0.11)		-0.09** (0.04)	0.01 (0.06)	
Water access	-0.07 (0.12)	-0.73*** (0.09)		-0.09* (0.05)	-0.43*** (0.06)	
Soil quality	0.88 (0.67)			0.28 (0.31)		
Absolute latitude	-0.09 (0.08)	0.35*** (0.05)		-0.01 (0.04)	0.19*** (0.02)	
Mountainous terrain	-2.07* (1.15)			-0.67 (0.57)		
Average temperature	0.01 (0.07)	-0.40*** (0.09)		-0.05 (0.04)	-0.22*** (0.05)	
Average precipitation	0.69*** (0.12)	0.35*** (0.10)		0.37*** (0.07)	0.29*** (0.06)	
Mean relative humidity	-0.01 (0.02)	0.01*** (0.005)		-0.004 (0.01)	0.005** (0.002)	
Malaria index	-0.03 (0.03)	0.08*** (0.02)		0.003 (0.02)	0.05*** (0.004)	
Population density (log)	-0.18* (0.11)	0.05* (0.03)		-0.03 (0.04)	0.04* (0.02)	
Coast	0.17 (0.11)	-0.07 (0.14)		0.14*** (0.05)	0.07 (0.07)	
River	-0.12 (0.16)	0.43*** (0.02)		0.07 (0.08)	0.32*** (0.02)	
Female	-0.15*** (0.03)	-0.13*** (0.02)	-0.13*** (0.02)	-0.07*** (0.01)	-0.06*** (0.01)	-0.06*** (0.01)
Age	0.01 (0.005)	0.01** (0.003)	0.01* (0.003)	0.001 (0.002)	0.002 (0.002)	0.002 (0.002)
Age ²	-0.0001** (0.0000)	-0.0001*** (0.0000)	-0.0001*** (0.0000)	-0.0000 (0.0000)	-0.0000** (0.0000)	-0.0000* (0.0000)
Intensive agriculture	0.21*** (0.03)	0.24 (0.21)		0.09*** (0.03)	0.03 (0.13)	
Border distance		0.01 (0.01)			0.004 (0.004)	
Population (log)		1.25*** (0.13)			0.70*** (0.08)	
Polity		0.003 (0.01)			-0.003 (0.01)	
Land area		0.40** (0.18)			0.11 (0.12)	
Slave exports (log)		0.04*** (0.001)			0.02*** (0.001)	
Education		0.02 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)		0.01** (0.004)	0.01* (0.004)

Employed		-0.07	-0.07		-0.03	-0.03
		(0.07)	(0.07)		(0.03)	(0.03)
Urban		0.08	0.08		0.04	0.04
		(0.09)	(0.09)		(0.03)	(0.03)
Ethnic fractionalization		-1.13***			-0.95***	
		(0.34)			(0.13)	
Centralization × Indirect rule	-0.22***	-0.28***	-0.28***	-0.13***	-0.18***	-0.18***
	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Country FE			✓			✓
Ethnic group FE			✓			✓
N	3,431	3,416	3,416	3,431	3,416	3,416
Adjusted R ²	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.16	0.17	0.16

Notes: "Round" refers to Abrobarometer survey round. Standard errors are clustered by countries. FE = fixed effects. Statistical significance: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

6 Divided Groups in West Africa - Continuous Measure of Indirect Rule (Appendix F)

Table F1: Divided Groups in West Africa

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	National over ethnic (1-5)			National over ethnic (0/1)		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Centralization	0.85** (0.42)	1.20*** (0.33)		0.54** (0.23)	0.81*** (0.19)	
Indirect rule	0.87*** (0.21)	2.28*** (0.79)		0.53** (0.22)	1.38*** (0.45)	
Centralization × Indirect rule	-1.28** (0.65)	-1.89*** (0.50)	-1.89*** (0.50)	-0.83** (0.34)	-1.24*** (0.29)	-1.24*** (0.29)
Pre-trt controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Post-trt controls		✓	✓		✓	✓
Country FE			✓			✓
Ethnic group FE			✓			✓
N	3,431	3,416	3,416	3,431	3,416	3,416
Adjusted R ²	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.16	0.16	0.16

Notes: "Round" refers to Abrobarometer survey round. Standard errors are clustered by countries. FE = fixed effects. Statistical significance: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

7 Alternative Standard Error Clustering (Appendix G)

Table L1 below clusters standard errors by precolonial ethnic groups as identified by Murdock's (1967) Ethnographic Map.

Table G1: Alternative Error Clustering - By Precolonial Ethnic Groups

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>							
	National over ethnic (1-5)				National over ethnic (0/1)			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Centralization	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.21 (0.16)	0.28* (0.15)	-0.002 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.16** (0.07)	0.14** (0.07)
Indirect rule	-1.00*** (0.23)	-0.36 (0.34)	-0.39 (0.45)	0.37 (0.47)	-0.34*** (0.11)	-0.06 (0.16)	0.10 (0.21)	0.32 (0.21)
Centralization × Indirect rule			-0.36 (0.23)	-0.45** (0.21)			-0.26** (0.11)	-0.24** (0.10)
Round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Pre-trt controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Post-trt controls		✓		✓		✓		✓
N	36,338	35,594	36,338	35,594	36,338	35,594	36,338	35,594
Adjusted R ²	0.06	0.08	0.07	0.08	0.06	0.08	0.07	0.08

Notes: "Round" refers to Abrobarometer survey round. Standard errors are clustered by precolonial ethnic groups. FE = fixed effects. Statistical significance: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

8 Alternative Measure of Precolonial Statehood (Appendix H)

Table H1 below employs an alternative measure of early statehood by borrowing a binary metric from Paine (2019). This variable is called “PCS group.” This author consulted over one hundred sources to code precolonial statehood status for each group represented in the Ethnic Power Relations (EPR) dataset. See Paine (2019) for a detailed discussion of how this measure differs from Murdock’s jurisdictional hierarchy. I used the LEDA R package Müller-Crepon *et al.* (2022) to merge Paine’s EPR-based measure to Afrobarometer.

Table H1: Alternative Measure of Precolonial Statehood From Paine (2019)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>							
	National over ethnic (1-5)				National over ethnic (0/1)			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
PCS group	0.10 (0.07)	0.20*** (0.06)	0.68*** (0.22)	0.41*** (0.13)	0.06** (0.03)	0.07*** (0.03)	0.39*** (0.10)	0.25*** (0.09)
Indirect rule	-2.37*** (0.61)	-1.04*** (0.32)	-2.02*** (0.58)	-0.93*** (0.36)	-0.95*** (0.26)	-0.53*** (0.19)	-0.75*** (0.24)	-0.44** (0.21)
PCS group × Indirect rule			-1.18*** (0.39)	-0.45** (0.19)			-0.68*** (0.17)	-0.37*** (0.14)
Round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Pre-trt controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Post-trt controls		✓		✓		✓		✓
N	19,686	19,640	19,686	19,640	19,686	19,640	19,686	19,640
Adjusted R ²	0.11	0.13	0.11	0.13	0.11	0.13	0.11	0.13

Notes: “Round” refers to Afrobarometer survey round. Standard errors are clustered by countries. FE = fixed effects. Statistical significance: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

9 Alternative Measures of Indirect Rule (Appendix I)

Table I1 below employs an alternative measure of indirect rule by operationalizing the variable as a dichotomous distinction between British (1) and non-British (0) colonial rule.

Table I1: Alternative Measure of Indirect Rule: British vs. Non-British

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>							
	National over ethnic (1-5)				National over ethnic (0/1)			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Centralization	0.01 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.05)	0.14* (0.08)	0.18** (0.07)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.08** (0.04)	0.08** (0.03)
Indirect rule	-0.08 (0.11)	-0.14 (0.10)	0.19 (0.18)	0.29* (0.15)	-0.04 (0.06)	-0.07 (0.05)	0.11 (0.08)	0.15** (0.07)
Centralization × Indirect rule			-0.17 (0.11)	-0.25*** (0.07)			-0.09* (0.05)	-0.13*** (0.04)
Round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Pre-trt controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Post-trt controls		✓		✓		✓		✓
N	39,925	35,594	39,925	35,594	39,925	35,594	39,925	35,594
Adjusted R ²	0.06	0.08	0.06	0.08	0.05	0.08	0.06	0.09

Notes: "Round" refers to Abrobarometer survey round. Standard errors are clustered by countries. FE = fixed effects. Statistical significance: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Table I2 below employs an alternative measure of indirect rule by operationalizing the variable as the proportion of contemporary population that is of European descent. Because a higher proportion indicates a higher likelihood of direct rule, we observe a *positive* interaction effect between centralization and indirect rule.

Table I2: Alternative Measure of Indirect Rule: European Descent

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>							
	National over ethnic (1-5)				National over ethnic (0/1)			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Centralization	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.05 (0.04)	-0.0002 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.005 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)
Indirect rule	2.15*** (0.48)	3.68*** (1.31)	-1.79 (2.50)	-1.67 (1.38)	0.90*** (0.19)	1.48** (0.64)	-1.27 (0.90)	-1.18* (0.67)
Centralization × Indirect rule			1.62* (0.89)	2.40*** (0.69)			0.89*** (0.33)	1.19*** (0.34)
Round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Pre-trt controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Post-trt controls		✓		✓		✓		✓
N	36,338	35,594	36,338	35,594	36,338	35,594	36,338	35,594
Adjusted R ²	0.06	0.08	0.06	0.08	0.06	0.08	0.06	0.08

Notes: "Round" refers to Abrobarometer survey round. Standard errors are clustered by countries. FE = fixed effects. Statistical significance: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

10 Accounting for Shared Ethnicity with President (Appendix J)

Table J1: Accounting for Shared Ethnicity with President

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>							
	National over ethnic (1-5)				National over ethnic (0/1)			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Centralization	-0.002 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)	0.22 (0.15)	0.28** (0.13)	0.002 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.16** (0.07)	0.14** (0.07)
Indirect rule	-0.91** (0.40)	-0.24 (0.43)	-0.32 (0.61)	0.47 (0.44)	-0.30* (0.18)	-0.01 (0.19)	0.13 (0.28)	0.37* (0.20)
Shared ethnicity	0.10 (0.09)	0.12 (0.08)	0.10 (0.09)	0.12 (0.08)	0.05 (0.04)	0.05 (0.04)	0.05 (0.03)	0.05 (0.03)
Centralization × Indirect rule			-0.36 (0.22)	-0.44*** (0.17)			-0.26*** (0.10)	-0.23*** (0.09)
Round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Pre-trt controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Post-trt controls		✓		✓		✓		✓
N	36,338	35,594	36,338	35,594	36,338	35,594	36,338	35,594
Adjusted R ²	0.06	0.08	0.07	0.08	0.06	0.08	0.07	0.08

Notes: "Round" refers to Abrobarometer survey round. Standard errors are clustered by countries. FE = fixed effects. Statistical significance: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

11 Accounting for Group Size (Appendix K)

Table K1: Accounting for Group Size

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>							
	National over ethnic (1-5)				National over ethnic (0/1)			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Centralization	-0.02 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.04)	0.14 (0.16)	0.23 (0.15)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.13* (0.07)	0.13* (0.07)
Indirect rule	-0.90** (0.39)	-0.23 (0.45)	-0.47 (0.58)	0.37 (0.47)	-0.30* (0.17)	-0.01 (0.20)	0.06 (0.27)	0.32 (0.22)
Group size	0.37** (0.10)	0.27** (0.11)	0.33*** (0.11)	0.22** (0.11)	0.18*** (0.04)	0.10** (0.04)	0.15*** (0.04)	0.07* (0.04)
Centralization × Indirect rule			-0.26 (0.23)	-0.39** (0.19)			-0.21** (0.10)	-0.21** (0.09)
Round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Pre-trt controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Post-trt controls		✓		✓		✓		✓
N	36,084	35,343	36,084	35,343	36,084	35,343	36,084	35,343
Adjusted R ²	0.07	0.08	0.07	0.08	0.06	0.08	0.07	0.08

Notes: "Round" refers to Abrobarometer survey round. Standard errors are clustered by countries. FE = fixed effects. Statistical significance: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

12 Alternative Modeling Techniques (Appendix L)

Table L1: Alternative Modeling Techniques - Ordered Logit (1-4) and Logit (5-8)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>							
	National over ethnic (1-5)				National over ethnic (0/1)			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Centralization	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.03** (0.01)	0.40*** (0.01)	0.51*** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.08)	-0.05 (0.09)	0.69** (0.30)	0.61* (0.32)
Indirect rule	-1.00*** (0.01)	-0.36 (0.01)	-0.39 (0.01)	0.37 (0.01)	-1.51** (0.75)	-0.25 (0.86)	0.40 (1.24)	1.39 (0.94)
Centralization × Indirect rule			-0.67*** (0.01)	-0.83*** (0.01)			-1.13*** (0.43)	-1.03** (0.41)
Round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Pre-trt controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Post-trt controls		✓		✓		✓		✓
N	36,338	35,594	36,338	35,594	36,338	35,594	36,338	35,594
AIC	93,735.57	91,247.65	93,681.89	91,185.55				
Pseudo-R ²					0.05	0.06	0.05	0.06

Notes: "Round" refers to Abrobarometer survey round. Standard errors are clustered by precolonial ethnic groups. FE = fixed effects. Statistical significance: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

13 Accounting for Export Agriculture and Print Technologies (Appendix M)

Table M 1: Accounting for Export Agriculture

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>							
	National over ethnic (1-5)				National over ethnic (0/1)			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Centralization	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.05)	0.21 (0.15)	0.27* (0.14)	-0.002 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.16** (0.07)	0.14** (0.07)
Indirect rule	-0.99** (0.40)	-0.38 (0.44)	-0.39 (0.62)	0.34 (0.47)	-0.34** (0.17)	-0.06 (0.20)	0.10 (0.28)	0.32 (0.22)
Export agriculture	-0.02* (0.01)	-0.02* (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.002 (0.005)	-0.004 (0.01)	-0.0002 (0.01)	-0.001 (0.01)
Centralization × Indirect rule			-0.36 (0.22)	-0.44** (0.18)			-0.26*** (0.10)	-0.24*** (0.09)
Round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Pre-trt controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Post-trt controls		✓		✓		✓		✓
N	36,337	35,593	36,337	35,593	36,337	35,593	36,337	35,593
Adjusted R ²	0.06	0.08	0.07	0.08	0.06	0.08	0.07	0.08

Notes: "Round" refers to Abrobarometer survey round. Standard errors are clustered by countries. FE = fixed effects. Statistical significance: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Table M 2: Accounting for Print Technologies

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>							
	National over ethnic (1-5)				National over ethnic (0/1)			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Centralization	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.05)	0.22 (0.15)	0.29** (0.14)	-0.0001 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.16** (0.07)	0.14** (0.07)
Indirect rule	-1.01** (0.40)	-0.35 (0.45)	-0.35 (0.62)	0.44 (0.45)	-0.36** (0.17)	-0.07 (0.20)	0.07 (0.28)	0.33 (0.21)
Publications (1923)	-0.004 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.001 (0.01)	0.004 (0.01)	-0.003 (0.01)
Centralization × Indirect rule			-0.38* (0.22)	-0.48*** (0.17)			-0.25*** (0.10)	-0.24*** (0.09)
Round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Pre-trt controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Post-trt controls		✓		✓		✓		✓
N	35,758	35,030	35,758	35,030	35,758	35,030	35,758	35,030
Adjusted R ²	0.06	0.08	0.07	0.08	0.06	0.08	0.07	0.08

Notes: "Round" refers to Abrobarometer survey round. Standard errors are clustered by countries. FE = fixed effects. OLS = ordinary least squares. Statistical significance: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

14 Accounting for Colonial State Presence (Appendix N)



Figure 2: **Colonial Railroads (Built Before 1960)**. In this robustness check, I control for the possibility that colonial state presence in areas ruled by precolonially centralized polities could have been stronger under direct rule. To proxy the extent of the colonial state, I control for whether a given ethnic homeland intersects with a colonial railroad that was built before 1960. The data comes from [Jedwab & Moradi \(2016\)](#).

Table N1: Accounting for Colonial State Presence

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>							
	National over ethnic (1-5)				National over ethnic (0/1)			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Centralization	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)	0.21 (0.16)	0.26* (0.13)	-0.005 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.16** (0.07)	0.13** (0.07)
Indirect rule	-1.01** (0.40)	-0.31 (0.42)	-0.41 (0.62)	0.35 (0.45)	-0.36** (0.17)	-0.04 (0.18)	0.07 (0.28)	0.31 (0.21)
Colonial railroad (0,1)	0.03 (0.06)	-0.10 (0.07)	0.03 (0.06)	-0.07 (0.06)	0.04 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)
Centralization × Indirect rule			-0.36 (0.22)	-0.41** (0.17)			-0.26*** (0.10)	-0.22** (0.09)
Round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Pre-trt controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Post-trt controls		✓		✓		✓		✓
N	36,338	35,594	36,338	35,594	36,338	35,594	36,338	35,594
Adjusted R ²	0.06	0.08	0.07	0.08	0.06	0.08	0.07	0.08

Notes: "Round" refers to Abrobarometer survey round. Standard errors are clustered by countries. FE = fixed effects. Statistical significance: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

15 Interacting Covariates With Indirect Rule (Appendix O)

Table O 1: Accounting for Backdoor Interaction Bias

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>							
	National over ethnic (1-5)				National over ethnic (0/1)			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Centralization	0.03 (0.03)	0.03 (0.04)	0.21*** (0.07)	0.31* (0.16)	0.02 (0.01)	0.01 (0.02)	0.14*** (0.03)	0.13* (0.08)
Indirect rule	37.46*** (12.41)	48.16*** (15.13)	38.96*** (12.27)	53.27*** (15.06)	20.41*** (6.46)	23.91*** (7.58)	21.41*** (6.11)	26.15*** (7.44)
Centralization × Indirect rule			-0.30** (0.12)	-0.42* (0.23)			-0.20*** (0.05)	-0.19* (0.11)
Round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Pre-trt controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Post-trt controls		✓		✓		✓		✓
N	36,338	35,594	36,338	35,594	36,338	35,594	36,338	35,594
Adjusted R ²	0.09	0.10	0.09	0.10	0.09	0.10	0.09	0.10

Notes: "Round" refers to Abrobarometer survey round. Standard errors are clustered by countries. FE = fixed effects. Statistical significance: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

16 Accounting for Distance to Administrative Boundaries (Appendix P)

Müller-Crepon (2023) finds that administrative borders to have shaped ethnic identities. In particular, he finds discontinuous jumps in ethnic identification close to administrative boundaries. In order to verify that this mechanism does not undermine the finding presented in this article, I calculate and subsequently control for the inverse hyperbolic sine of the distance from each Afrobarometer respondent to regional (adm1) boundaries.

Table P 1: Accounting for Distance to Administrative Boundaries (Appendix X)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>							
	National over ethnic (1-5)				National over ethnic (0/1)			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Centralization	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)	0.23 (0.15)	0.28* (0.14)	-0.001 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.16** (0.07)	0.14** (0.07)
Indirect rule	-0.99** (0.38)	-0.35 (0.45)	-0.36 (0.60)	0.38 (0.48)	-0.34** (0.17)	-0.06 (0.20)	0.11 (0.28)	0.33 (0.23)
Regional boundary distance	-0.14 (0.12)	-0.04 (0.11)	-0.14 (0.11)	-0.03 (0.11)	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.04)	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.04)
Centralization × Indirect rule			-0.38* (0.22)	-0.45** (0.18)			-0.27*** (0.10)	-0.24*** (0.09)
Round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Pre-trt controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Post-trt controls		✓		✓		✓		✓
N	36,203	35,459	36,203	35,459	36,203	35,459	36,203	35,459
Adjusted R ²	0.07	0.08	0.07	0.08	0.06	0.08	0.07	0.08

Notes: "Round" refers to Afrobarometer survey round. Standard errors are clustered by countries. FE = fixed effects. Statistical significance: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

17 Mechanisms - Complete Regression Table (Appendix Q)

Table Q1: Mechanisms in Table Form

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	National over ethnic (1-5)					
	(Stayers)	(Movers)	(Contact)	(No contact)	(Const.)	(No const.)
Centralization	0.56*** (0.12)	0.01 (0.15)	0.09 (0.14)	0.08 (0.17)	0.19 (0.14)	-0.06 (0.19)
Indirect rule	-0.34 (0.29)	0.02 (0.44)	-0.06 (0.34)	0.24 (0.39)	-1.54** (0.72)	1.10** (0.51)
Water access	0.33*** (0.07)	0.07 (0.06)	0.25*** (0.06)	0.18** (0.07)	0.04 (0.12)	0.02 (0.07)
Soil quality	-0.22* (0.12)	-0.20** (0.10)	-0.16 (0.12)	-0.09 (0.11)	-0.55*** (0.15)	0.09 (0.13)
Absolute latitude	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.003 (0.01)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.005 (0.02)
Mountainous terrain	1.30*** (0.29)	0.48** (0.20)	0.93*** (0.22)	0.74*** (0.19)	0.39 (0.30)	0.39 (0.53)
Average temperature	0.03* (0.02)	0.04** (0.02)	0.06*** (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.004 (0.03)
Average precipitation	-0.01 (0.14)	-0.03 (0.12)	0.01 (0.12)	0.03 (0.14)	0.25 (0.35)	-0.14 (0.20)
Mean relative humidity	0.004 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.003)	-0.002 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.005)	-0.01** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.004)
Malaria index	0.003 (0.01)	-0.005 (0.01)	-0.004 (0.01)	-0.001 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Proportion tropics	-0.17 (0.33)	-0.51*** (0.19)	-0.17 (0.38)	-0.30 (0.29)	-0.24 (0.35)	-0.41 (0.57)
Population density (log)	-0.01 (0.07)	0.04 (0.03)	0.02 (0.07)	-0.01 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.06)	0.02 (0.06)
Coast	0.07 (0.09)	0.27*** (0.06)	0.23** (0.10)	0.21* (0.11)	0.52*** (0.13)	0.17** (0.08)
River	-0.34*** (0.09)	0.02 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.07)	-0.13 (0.10)	0.12 (0.19)	-0.08 (0.09)
Female	-0.06** (0.03)	-0.06** (0.03)	-0.06* (0.04)	-0.09*** (0.03)	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.08*** (0.03)
Age	0.001 (0.005)	0.01*** (0.004)	0.01** (0.01)	0.01** (0.004)	-0.001 (0.003)	0.01** (0.005)
Age ²	-0.0000 (0.0001)	-0.0001** (0.0001)	-0.0001** (0.0001)	-0.0001** (0.0000)	0.0000 (0.0000)	-0.0001*** (0.0000)
British colony	-0.02 (0.10)	-0.03 (0.11)	-0.02 (0.07)	0.03 (0.08)	-0.41* (0.24)	-0.18 (0.15)
Intensive agriculture	0.14*** (0.05)	0.15*** (0.06)	0.09 (0.07)	0.02 (0.06)	0.12 (0.14)	0.01 (0.11)
Capital city distance	-0.05 (0.13)	-0.004 (0.16)	0.002 (0.13)	-0.27 (0.17)	-0.31* (0.18)	-0.40* (0.21)
Border distance	0.003** (0.001)	-0.0004 (0.001)	0.002*** (0.001)	-0.0002 (0.001)	0.0002 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)
Conflict	2.90*** (1.04)	-0.88 (1.08)	-1.37 (0.93)	-1.56 (1.04)	-2.81* (1.51)	1.17 (1.42)
Population (log)	-0.10 (0.08)	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.07)	-0.07 (0.06)	-0.11 (0.11)	-0.10 (0.07)
Nightlights (log)	-0.21** (0.10)	-0.24*** (0.08)	-0.39*** (0.10)	-0.22*** (0.09)	0.04 (0.16)	-0.16 (0.16)
Polity	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.002 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.03*** (0.01)
Land area	-0.10* (0.06)	0.06 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.05)	-0.001 (0.04)	-0.13 (0.09)	0.02 (0.04)
Slave exports (log)	0.06*** (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01* (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)	-0.02* (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Education	0.02** (0.01)	0.03** (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)

Employed	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.05)	0.01 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)
Urban	0.09** (0.04)	0.04 (0.05)	0.10** (0.04)	0.10** (0.05)	0.003 (0.06)	0.10** (0.04)
Ethnic fractionalization	-0.59* (0.35)	-0.11 (0.27)	0.03 (0.20)	-0.02 (0.25)	0.16 (0.34)	-1.56*** (0.47)
Anticolonial war	0.04 (0.14)	0.09 (0.11)	0.25** (0.10)	0.21 (0.15)	-0.21 (0.34)	0.23* (0.12)
Centralization × Indirect rule	-0.85*** (0.16)	-0.05 (0.19)	-0.11 (0.19)	-0.15 (0.24)	-0.28 (0.18)	-0.01 (0.24)
Round FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
N	15,855	19,739	7,610	17,410	14,713	20,881
Adjusted R ²	0.13	0.05	0.07	0.06	0.09	0.10

Notes: "Round" refers to Abrobarometer survey round. Standard errors are clustered by countries. FE = fixed effects. Statistical significance: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

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