Online Appendix for "Trickle-Down Ethnic Politics: Drunk and Absent in the Kenya Police Force (1957-1970)"

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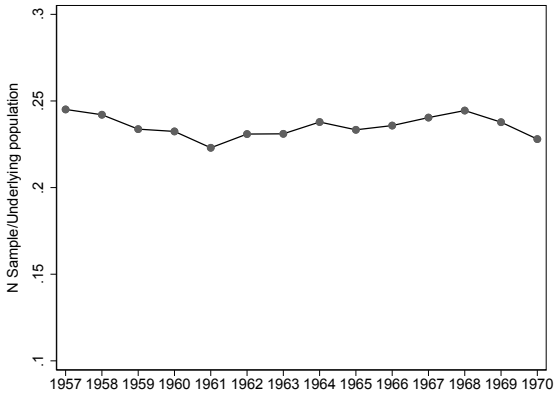
Contents

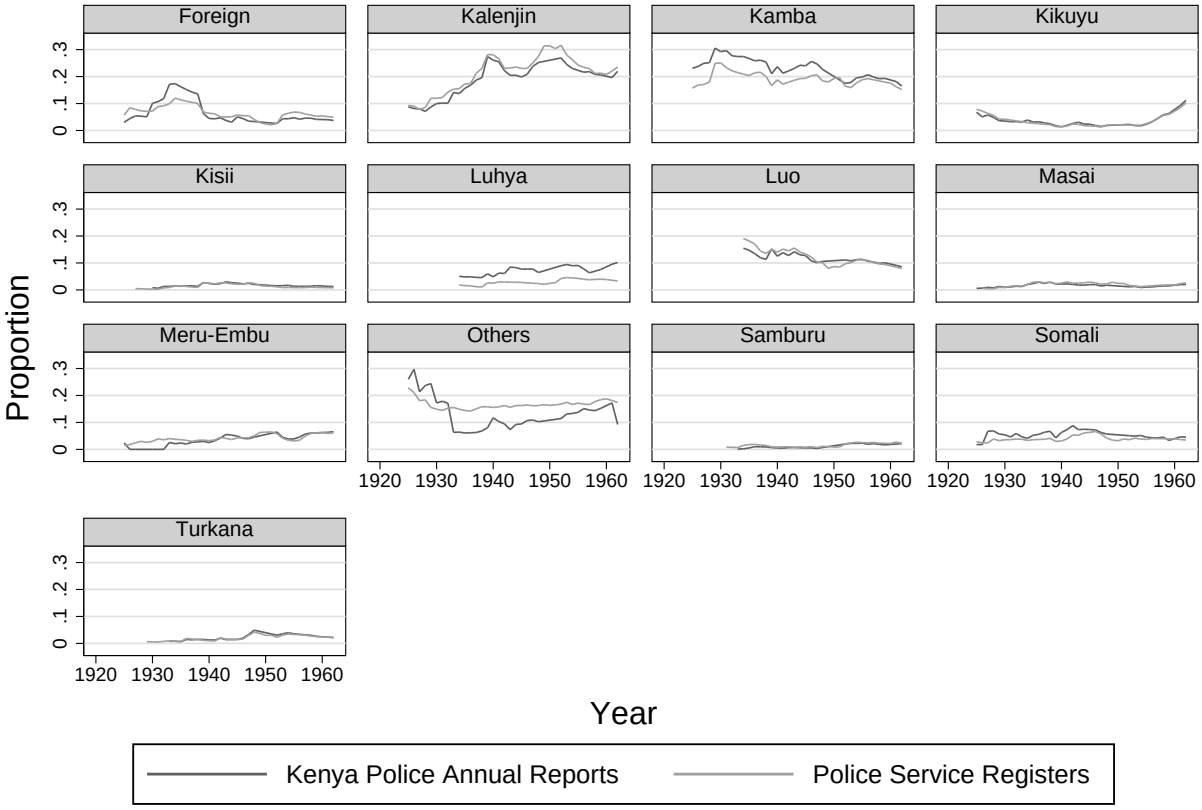
A Additional Figures

Figure A.1: Effective Sampling Rate



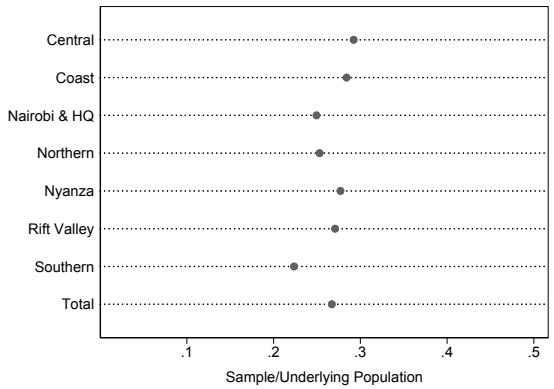
Notes: The figure plots the effective sampling rate between 1957 and 1970. It is calculated as the ratio of the total strength of the police force at the 31st December of each year in our sample over the same in the underlying population. The latter was derived from Kenya's Statistical Abstract and includes Europeans and Asians, whereas our sample includes Africans only. The numbers of Europeans and Asians decreased from 10 percent to 7 percent 1957-1961. Hence, the slight decrease during this period. The sample rate is roughly 1:4. Note how stable the sampling rate is across years of service despite of an expansion in the police force 1960-1970 of about 20 percent.

Figure A.2: Ethnic Group Proportions in Police Service Registers and Kenya Police Annual Reports 1925-1962



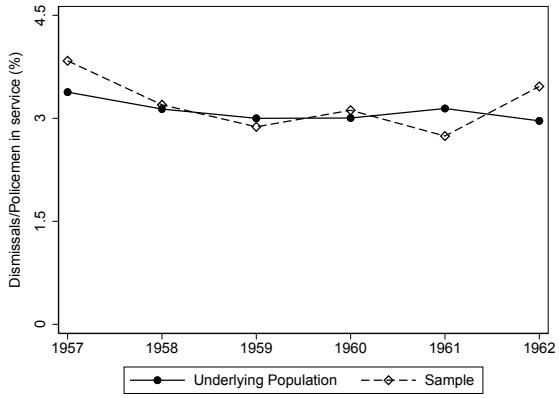
Notes: The figure plots the proportion of ethnic groups in our Police Service Registers and the underlying population drawn from the Kenya Police Annual Reports annually between 1920 and 1962. "Foreign" includes non-Kenyan Africans, mainly from Uganda, Tanzania, Sudan and Somalia. "Others" includes Kenyan Africans of the many non-major ethnic groups. The Kenya Police Annual Reports publication was discontinued after 1963.

Figure A.3: Personnel Strength at the Provincial Level in the Sample and Underlying Population



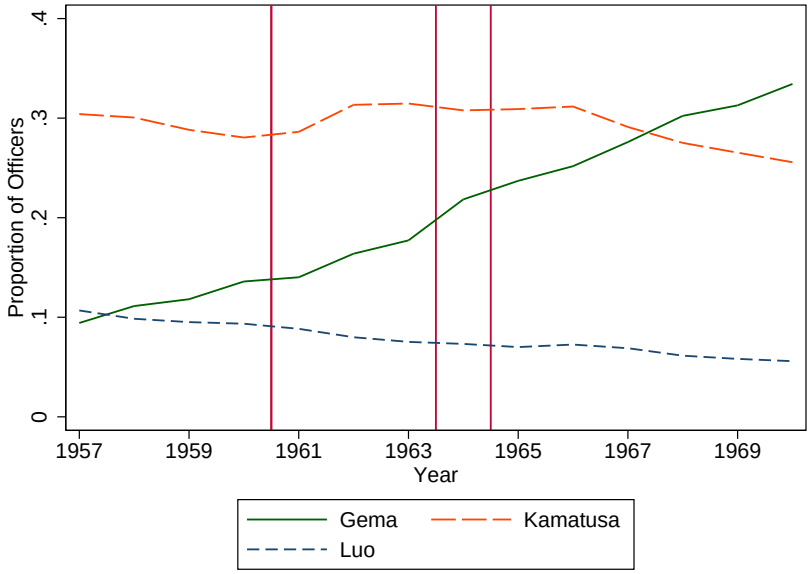
Notes: The figure plots the ratio of personnel across seven police provinces in our sample over the same in the underlying population. The latter was derived from the Kenya Police Annual Reports (1957-1962). Figures from this source refer to police officers ranked sergeants, corporals and constables which are overwhelmingly African ranks, hence the sampling rate is slightly higher than what is shown in Figure A.1. The sampling rate here averages 1:3.7 (or 26 percent).

Figure A.4: Dismissals in the Sample and Underlying Population Over Time



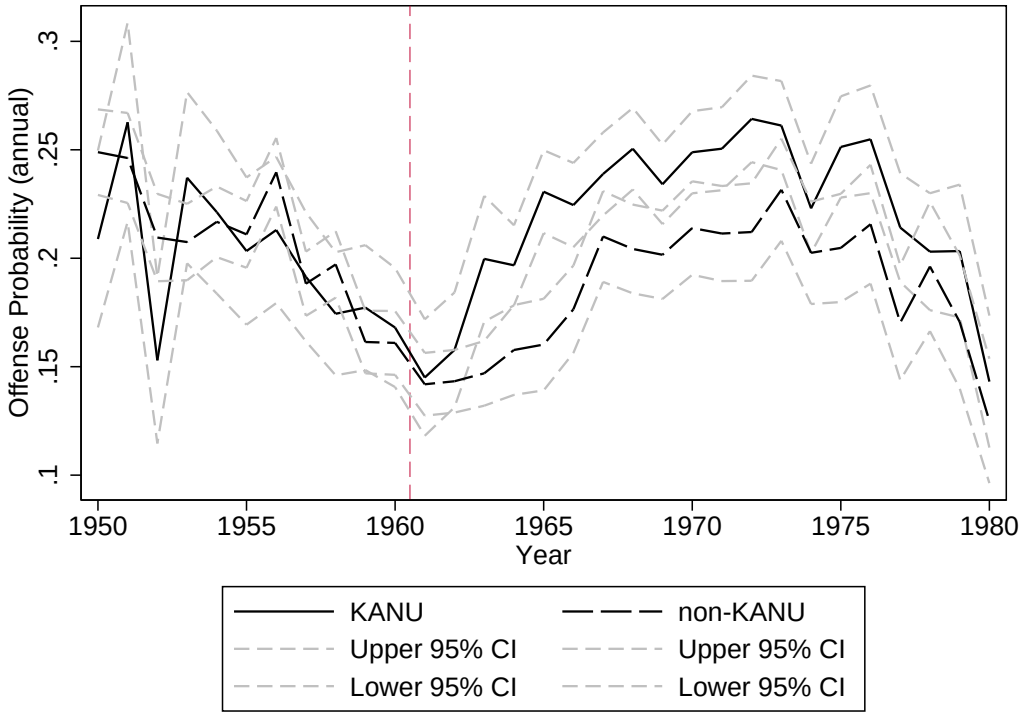
Notes: The figure plots the prevalence of dismissals in our sample of policemen and the underlying population for each year. The prevalence was calculated as the ratio of the number of dismissals (for misconduct, inefficient, and medically unfit) within a calendar year over the total strength at the 31 December of each year. The data on the total police force was derived from the Kenya Police Annual Reports (1957-1962). The Kenya Police Annual Reports publication was discontinued after 1963.

Figure A.5: Proportions of Different Ethnic Groups Over Time



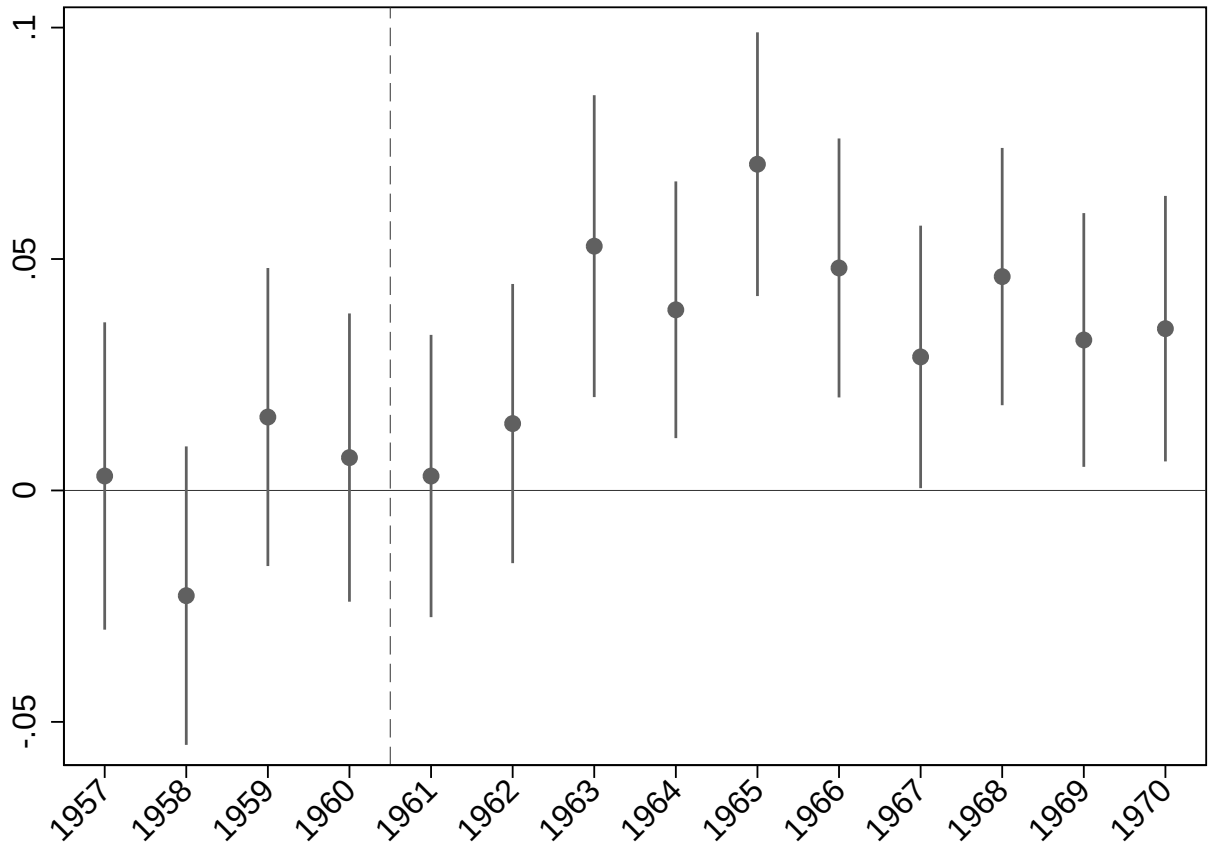
Notes: The figure plots the proportion of Gema, Kamatusa and Luo officers in the sample for each year between 1957 and 1970. The vertical lines indicate the three political changes exploited in our difference-in-difference regressions.

Figure A.6: Main Result 1950-1980



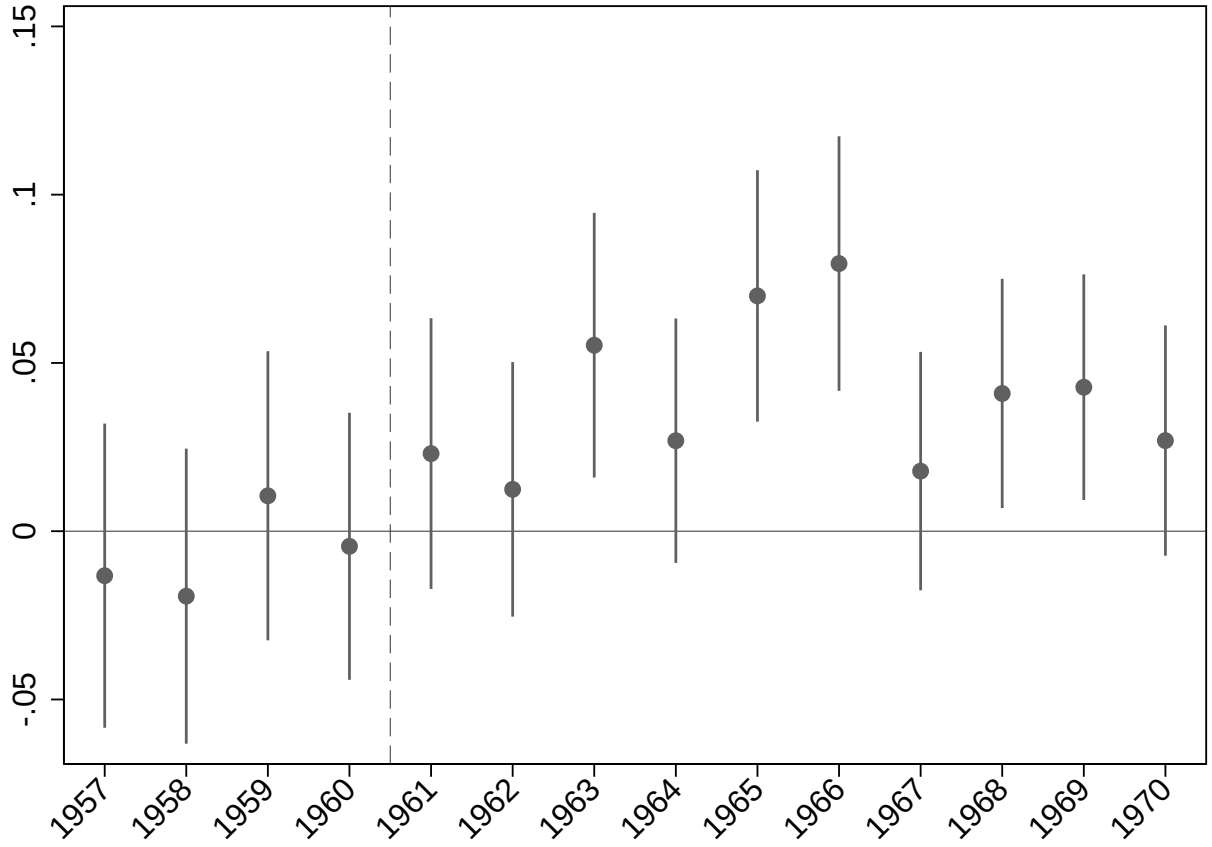
Notes: The figure presents the offense probability for officers affiliated ethnically with the Kenya African National Union (KANU) and officers not ethnically affiliated with KANU between 1950 and 1980 together with their 95 percent confidence intervals. The vertical dashed line indicates the first multiparty election in 1961, which KANU won. The ethnic groups affiliated with KANU varies over time: those are the Gema (Kikuyu, Embu, Meru) alliance throughout, the Luo until 1965, and the Kamatusa (Kalenjin, Maasai, Turkana and Samburu) after 1964.

Figure A.7: Difference in Offense Probabilities Between KANU and Non-KANU Officers



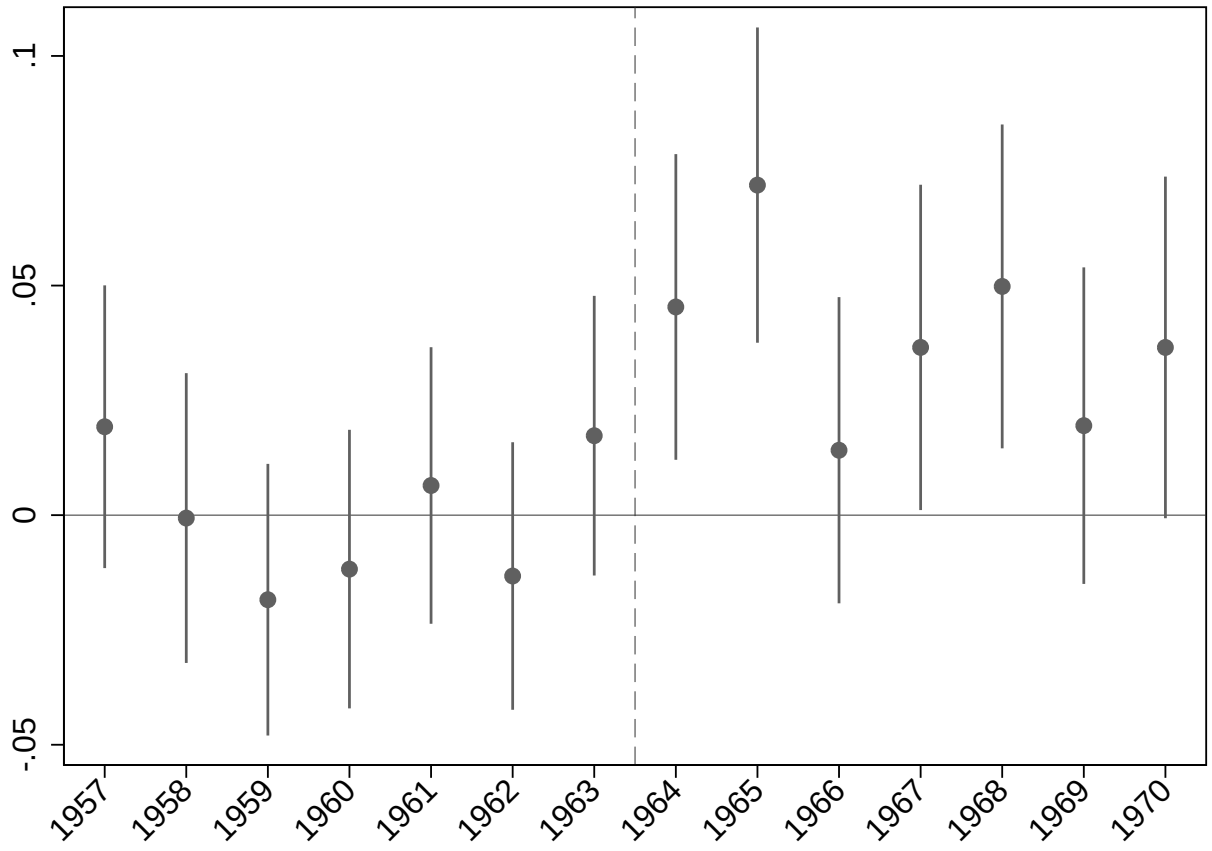
Notes: The figure plots the difference in offense probability between officers affiliated ethnically with the Kenya African National Union (KANU) and officers not ethnically affiliated with KANU between 1957 and 1970 together with the 95 percent confidence interval. The vertical dashed line indicates the first multiparty election in 1961, which KANU won. The ethnic groups affiliated with KANU varies over time: those are the Gema (Kikuyu, Embu, Meru) alliance throughout, the Luo until 1965, and the Kamatusa (Kalenjin, Maasai, Turkana and Samburu) after 1964.

Figure A.8: Difference in Offense Probabilities Between Gema and Non-KANU Officers



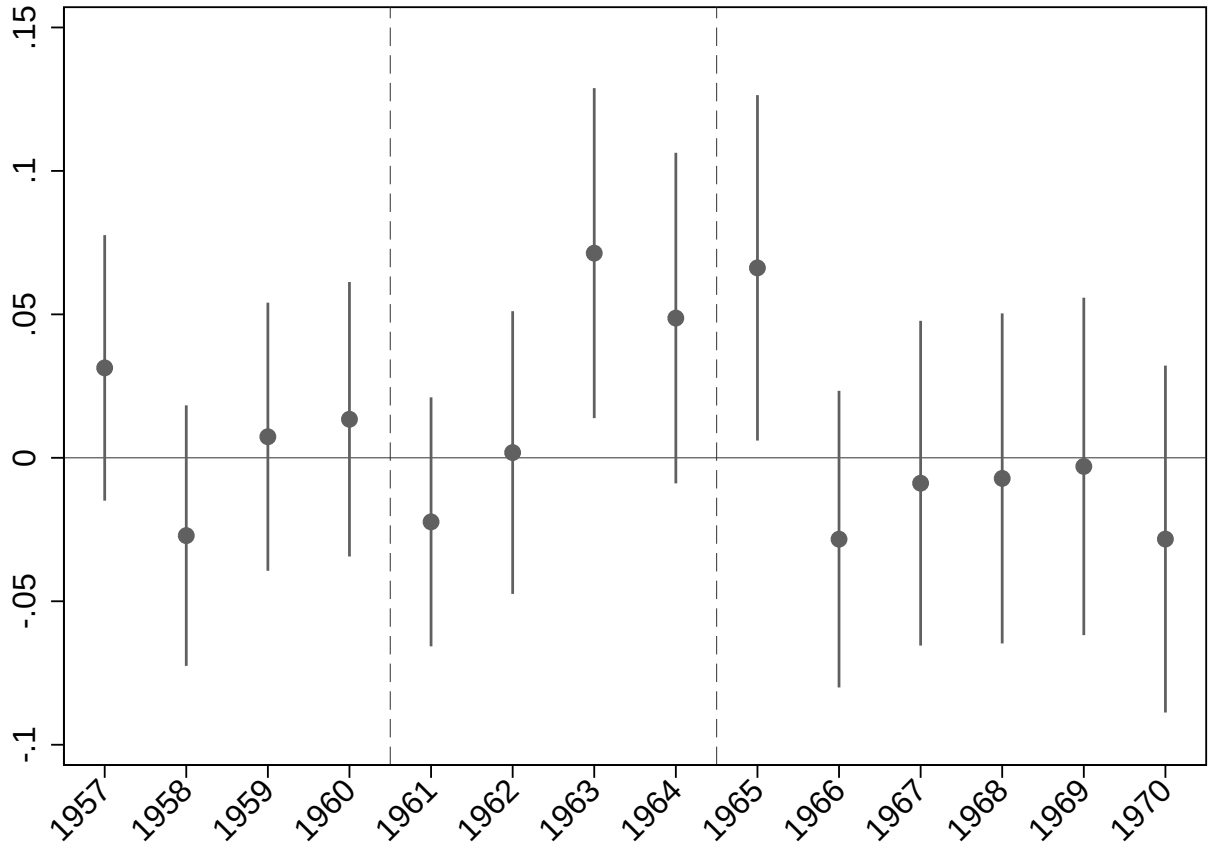
Notes: The figure plots the difference in offense probability between Gema officers and officers that were never ethnically affiliated with the Kenya African National Union (KANU) together with their 95 percent confidence interval. The vertical dashed line indicates the first multiparty election in 1961, which KANU won.

Figure A.9: Difference in Offense Probabilities Between Kamatusa and Non-KANU Officers



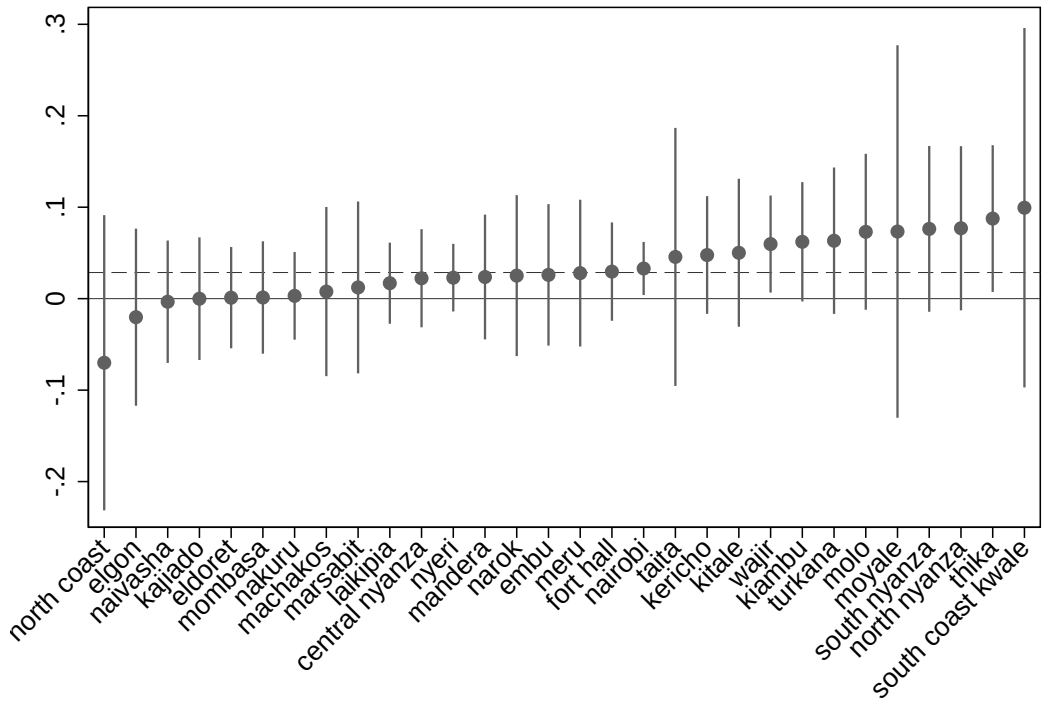
Notes: The figure plots the difference in offense probability between Kamatusa officers and officers that were never ethnically affiliated with the Kenya African National Union (KANU) together with their 95 percent confidence interval. The vertical line marks the Kamatusa gaining political power through the incorporation of the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) into KANU in 1964.

Figure A.10: Difference in Offense Probabilities Between Luo and Non-KANU Officers



Notes: The figure plots the difference in offense probability between Luo officers and officers that were never ethnically affiliated with the Kenya African National Union (KANU) together with their 95 percent confidence interval. The first vertical line indicates the first multiparty election in 1961, which KANU won, and the second vertical like marks the Luo's split from KANU and loss of political power in 1965.

Figure A.11: Division Heterogeneity



Notes: The figure plots division-specific effects together with their 95 percent confidence interval, as in Table 5 for the full sample. The dashed horizontal line indicates the average treatment effect.

B Additional Tables

B.1 Additional Tables to the Main Results

Table B.1: Pre-Independence Differences Between KANU and Other Groups

	(1) KANU ethnic	(2) Other groups	(3) T-stat (2)-(1)
Offense indicator	0.19	0.19	0.35
Maximum tenure	6.43	6.93	3.21
Maximum rank index (0-3)	0.18	0.22	2.12
Literacy (signed booklet)	0.23	0.24	0.44
Any schooling	0.18	0.12	-4.61
Observations	2075	1976	

Notes: The table presents pre-independence averages on key variables for police officers ethnically affiliated with the Kenya African National Union (KANU) at any time between 1957 and 1970 (i.e., Gema, Kamatusa, and Luo) and police officers from other ethnic groups never affiliated with KANU. Observations are at the police-year level (time-varying characteristics are averaged over this period). Literacy is approximated by whether the individual has signed his personnel booklet versus given a thumbprint. The number of observations reported do not reflect missing values for individual variables.

Table B.2: Difference in Offense Probabilities between KANU and Non-KANU Officers, 1950-1980

	Offense		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
KANU ethnic	-0.005		
	(0.005)		
KANU power	0.042	0.041	0.034
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.007)
Ethnic Group FE	No	Yes	Yes
Individual FE	No	No	Yes
Observations	85003	85003	85003

Notes: This table reports the effect of a policeman's ethnic affiliation with KANU on offense probabilities for the extended time period 1950-1980. The dependent variable is an indicator for any offense committed by a policeman in a given year. KANU ethnic is a time invariant dummy variable taking the value 1 for ethnic groups that were part of KANU (Luo, Kamatusa, and Gema). KANU power is a time varying variable that switches to 1 for the Gema in 1961, for the Luo between 1961-1965, and for the Kamatusa after 1964. The sample includes all policemen in the sample serving between 1950 and 1980. All regressions include year fixed effects, and control for the share of the year served. Standard errors are clustered at the individual level.

Table B.3: Difference in the Number of Offenses between KANU and Non-KANU Officers

	Number of Offenses				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
OLS Regression Results					
KANU ethnic	0.003				
	(0.009)				
KANU power	0.061	0.056	0.049	0.047	0.043***
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.014)	(0.015)
Ethnic Group Fixed Effects	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Individual Fixed Effects	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sample	Full	Full	Full	Stacked	Balanced
Observations	44689	44689	44689	18567	13266
Poisson Regression Results					
KANU ethnic	0.008				
	(0.039)				
KANU power	0.234	0.222	0.233	0.264	0.248***
	(0.043)	(0.046)	(0.047)	(0.069)	(0.076)
Ethnic Group FE	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Individual FE	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sample	Full	Full	Full	Stacked	Balanced
Observations	44689	44689	31655	12940	9251

Notes: This table reports the effect of a policeman's ethnic affiliation with KANU on the number of offenses using OLS and Poisson regression models. The dependent variable is a count of the number of offenses committed by a policeman in a given year. KANU ethnic is a time invariant dummy variable taking the value 1 for ethnic groups that were part of KANU (Luo, Kamatusa, and Gema). KANU power is a time varying variable that switches to 1 for the Gema in 1961, for the Luo between 1961-1965, and for the Kamatusa after 1964. The full panel (Columns 1-3) includes all policemen in the sample serving between 1957 and 1970. The stacked panel (Column 4) takes the union of four balanced panels around each transition: [1958,1968] for the Gema and Luo transition in 1961; [1962,1968] for the Kamatusa transition in 1964; and [1964,1968] for the Luo transition in 1965. The balanced panel (Column 5) takes all policemen serving continuously between 1958 and 1968. All regressions include year fixed effects, and control for the share of the year served. Standard errors are clustered at the individual level.

Table B.4: Placebo Regressions (Full Sample)

	Offense					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
KANU × Year 60	0.009					
	(0.018)					
KANU × Year 59-60		0.003				
		(0.014)				
KANU × Year 58-60			-0.009			
			(0.013)			
KANU power	0.029	0.029	0.026	0.028	0.028	0.030
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.011)
KANU power				0.000		
(1 year forward)				(0.012)		
KANU power					-0.001	
(2 year forward)					(0.010)	
KANU power						0.003
(3 year forward)						(0.010)
Wald Test						
KANU power - Placebo	0.020	0.026	0.035	0.028	0.028	0.027
	(0.018)	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.012)	(0.010)	(0.009)
Observations	44689	44689	44689	44689	44689	44689
Clusters	6784	6784	6784	6784	6784	6784

Notes: This table presents the results from placebo regression models for the full individual-year panel data of policemen serving between 1957 and 1970. The dependent variable is an indicator for any offense committed by a policeman in a given year. The models in Columns 1-3 use time-indicator placebos interacted with KANU membership, equal to one from 1957 onwards for Luo and Gema, thus testing for significant pre-treatment differences for the ethnic groups that compromise KANU in 1961 between 1 and 3 years before the dominant role of KANU takes effect in 1961. The models in Columns 4-6 shift the KANU power variable 1, 2 and 3 years forward. KANU power is a time varying variable that switches to 1 for the Gema in 1961, for the Luo between 1961-1965, and for the Kamatusa after 1964. All regressions include year and individual fixed effects, and control for share of the year served. Standard errors are clustered at the individual level.

Table B.5: Placebo Regressions (Stacked and Balanced Panels)

Offense	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Stacked Panels						
KANU × Placebo 60	0.006					
	(0.025)					
KANU × Placebo 59-60		-0.007				
		(0.019)				
KANU × Placebo 58-60			-0.011			
			(0.019)			
KANU power	0.033	0.032	0.031	0.033	0.036	0.043
	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.013)	(0.014)
KANU power				0.001		
(1 year forward)				(0.015)		
KANU power					0.007	
(2 year forward)					(0.013)	
KANU power						0.015
(3 year forward)						(0.013)
Wald Test	0.027	0.039	0.041	0.032	0.029	0.028
KANU power - Placebo	(0.025)	(0.019)	(0.017)	(0.015)	(0.012)	(0.011)
Observations	18567	18567	18567	18567	18567	18567
Balanced Panel						
KANU × Placebo 60	0.003					
	(0.025)					
KANU × Placebo 59-60		-0.011				
		(0.019)				
KANU × Placebo 58-60			-0.017			
			(0.019)			
KANU power	0.027	0.025	0.022	0.030	0.031	0.037
	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.014)
KANU power				0.014		
(1 year forward)				(0.017)		
KANU power					0.010	
(2 year forward)					(0.013)	
KANU power						0.016
(3 year forward)						(0.013)
Wald Test	0.024	0.036	0.039	0.015	0.021	0.021
KANU power - Placebo	(0.025)	(0.019)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.013)	(0.012)
Observations	13266	13266	13266	13266	13266	13266

Notes: The dependent variable is an indicator for any offense committed by a policeman in a given year. The models in Columns 1-3 use time-indicator placebos interacted with KANU membership, equal to one from 1957 onwards for Luo and Gema, thus testing for significant pre-treatment differences for the ethnic groups that compromise KANU in 1961 between 1 and 3 years before the dominant role of KANU takes effect in 1961. The models in Columns 4-6 shift the KANU power variable 1, 2 and 3 years forward. KANU power is a time varying variable that switches to 1 for the Gema in 1961, for the Luo between 1961-1965, and for the Kamatusa after 1964. The stacked panel takes the union of four balanced panels around each transition: [1958,1968] for the Gema and Luo transition in 1961; [1962,1968] for the Kamatusa transition in 1964; and [1964,1968] for the Luo transition in 1965. The balanced panel takes all policemen serving continuously between 1958 and 1968. All regressions include year and individual fixed effects, and control for share of the year served. Standard errors are clustered at the individual level.

Table B.6: Difference in Offense Probabilities between KANU and Non-KANU Officers - no control

	Offense				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
KANU ethnic	-0.001				
	(0.006)				
KANU power	0.039	0.038	0.036	0.038	0.027
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.010)	(0.011)
Ethnic Group FE	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Individual FE	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sample	Full	Full	Full	Stacked	Balanced
Observations	44689	44689	44689	18567	13266
Clusters	6784	6784	6784	2053	1206

Notes: This table reports the effect of a policeman's ethnic affiliation with KANU on offense probabilities without year fixed effects and the share of the year served. The dependent variable is an indicator for any offense committed by a policeman in a given year. KANU power is a time varying variable that switches to 1 for the Gema in 1961, for the Luo between 1961-1965, and for the Kamatusa after 1964. The full panel (Columns 1-3) includes all policemen in the sample serving between 1957 and 1970. The stacked panel (Column 4) takes the union of four balanced panels around each transition: [1958,1968] for the Gema and Luo transition in 1961; [1962,1968] for the Kamatusa transition in 1964; and [1964,1968] for the Luo transition in 1965. The balanced panel (Column 5) takes all policemen serving continuously between 1958 and 1968. Standard errors are clustered at the individual level.

Table B.7: Main Results with Reweighted Kamba

	Offense				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
KANU ethnic	0.001				
	(0.006)				
KANU power	0.038	0.035	0.028	0.033	0.027
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.010)	(0.011)
Ethnic Group FE	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Individual FE	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sample	Full	Full	Full	Stacked	Balanced
Observations	44689	44689	44689	18567	13266
Clusters	6784	6784	6784	2053	1206

Notes: This table reports the effect of a policeman's ethnic affiliation with KANU on offense probabilities re-weighted for the Kamba oversampling. The dependent variable is an indicator for any offense committed by a policeman in a given year. KANU power is a time varying variable that switches to 1 for the Gema in 1961, for the Luo between 1961-1965, and for the Kamatusa after 1964. The full panel (Columns 1-3) includes all policemen in the sample serving between 1957 and 1970. The stacked panel (Column 4) takes the union of four balanced panels around each transition: [1958,1968] for the Gema and Luo transition in 1961; [1962,1968] for the Kamatusa transition in 1964; and [1964,1968] for the Luo transition in 1965. The balanced panel (Column 5) takes all policemen serving continuously between 1958 and 1968. All regressions include year fixed effects, and control for the share of the year served. Standard errors are clustered at the individual level.

Table B.8: Offense Types and Commendable Behavior

	Offense	**Absent**	**Drunk**	**Serious Offense**	**Dirty**	**Disobedient**	**Commendable Behavior**
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Full Sample:							
KANU power	0.028	0.015	0.009	0.004	0.004	0.001	0.000
	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.002)
Mean DV	0.192	0.077	0.024	0.021	0.019	0.020	0.004
Observations	44689	44689	44689	44689	44689	44689	44689
Clusters	6784	6784	6784	6784	6784	6784	6784
Balanced Sample [1958,1968]:							
KANU power	0.027	0.014	0.008	0.007	-0.001	-0.001	0.000
	(0.011)	(0.007)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.002)
Mean DV	0.134	0.047	0.017	0.015	0.012	0.013	0.006
Observations	13266	13266	13266	13266	13266	13266	13266
Clusters	1206	1206	1206	1206	1206	1206	1206

Notes: This table reports the effect of a policeman's ethnic affiliation with KANU on offense probabilities of different types for the full and balanced panels of policemen as reported in Figure **??**. All coefficients are scaled by the sample mean of the corresponding offense type. The dependent variable is an indicator for a (specific) offense committed by a policeman in a given year (Columns 1-6) or whether their behavior was commended (Column 7). KANU power is a time varying variable that switches to 1 for the Gema in 1961, for the Luo between 1961-1965, and for the Kamatusa after 1964. The full panel includes all policemen in the sample serving between 1957 and 1970. The balanced panel takes all policemen serving continuously between 1958 and 1968. All regressions include year fixed effects, and control for the share of the year served. Standard errors are clustered at the individual level.

B.2 Additional Tables on Potential Mechanisms

Table B.9: Homelands

	Offense					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
KANU power	0.029	0.026	0.025	0.027	0.021	0.021
	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.013)
Homeland	0.001			-0.016		
	(0.012)			(0.018)		
KANU power			0.006			-0.001
× Homeland			(0.023)			(0.032)
Homeland - KANU Ethnic Effects	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Homeland - Year Effects	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Sample	Full Sample			Balanced Sample [1958,1968]		
Observations	41449	41449	41449	13056	13056	13056
Clusters	6146	6146	6146	1191	1191	1191

Notes: This table reports the effect of a policeman's ethnic affiliation with KANU on offense probabilities distinguishing between whether an officer serves in a division that is stationed in his ethnic homeland or not for the full and balanced sample. The dependent variable is an indicator for any offense committed by a policeman in a given year. KANU power is a time varying variable that switches to 1 for the Gema in 1961, for the Luo between 1961-1965, and for the Kamatusa after 1964. KANU power × Homeland is the multiplicative interaction between the homeland indicator and the KANU power dummy variable. The full panel (Columns 1-3) includes all policemen in the sample serving between 1957 and 1970. The balanced panel (Columns 4-6) takes all policemen serving continuously between 1958 and 1968. All regressions include year fixed effects, and control for the share of the year served. Standard errors are clustered at the individual level.

Table B.10: Serving in Home Division

	Offense					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Distance between village of birth and police division of service						
KANU power	0.029	0.027	0.028	0.037	0.035	0.036
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)
Log(distance)	0.008		0.000	0.011		
	(0.005)			(0.008)		
KANU power			-0.015			-0.024
× Log(distance)			(0.011)			(0.015)
Distance - KANU Ethnic Effects	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Distance - Year Fixed Effects	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Observations	25749	25749	25749	7644	7644	7644
Clusters	3899	3899	3899	697	697	697
Serving in 'home' police division based on district of birth						
KANU power	0.031	0.030	0.032	0.027	0.025	0.022
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Home division	-0.024			-0.012		
	(0.013)			(0.020)		
KANU power			-0.014			0.030
× Home division			(0.028)			(0.040)
Home division - KANU Effects	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Home division - Year Effects	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Observations	39653	39653	39653	12539	12539	12539
Clusters	5885	5885	5885	1144	1144	1144
Serving in 'home' police division based on district of registration						
KANU power	0.027	0.027	0.030	0.021	0.021	0.022
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.013)
Home division	-0.025			-0.032		
	(0.015)			(0.022)		
KANU power			-0.025			-0.001
× Home division			(0.028)			(0.035)
Home division - KANU Ethnic Effects	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Home division - Year Effects	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Observations	31827	31827	31827	10379	10379	10379
Clusters	4341	4341	4341	947	947	947
Sample	Full Sample			Balanced Sample [1958,1968]		

Notes: This table reports the effect of a policeman's ethnic affiliation with KANU on offense probabilities distinguishing between whether an officer served in his ethnic homeland or not using different measures for the full and balanced sample. The dependent variable is an indicator for any offense committed by a policeman in a given year. KANU power is a time varying variable that switches to 1 for the Gema in 1961, for the Luo between 1961-1965, and for the Kamatusa after 1964. The top panel interacts KANU power with Log(distance) a standardized measure of distance between the centroid of the division in which an officer served and the centroid of his ethnic homeland. KANU × Home division is a multiplicative interaction term between the 'home' police division indicator, defined by birth district (middle panel) or registration district (bottom panel), and the KANU power dummy variable. The full panel (Columns 1-3) includes all policemen in the sample serving between 1957 and 1970. The balanced panel (Columns 4-6) takes all policemen serving continuously between 1958 and 1968. All regressions include year fixed effects, and control for the share of the year served. Standard errors are clustered at the individual level.

Table B.11: Ethnic Dominance in Division

	Offense					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
KANU power	0.027	0.032	0.030	0.025	0.033	0.028
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.013)	(0.013)
Ethnic share in division	0.007			0.006		
	(0.005)			(0.007)		
KANU power			-0.010			-0.028
× Ethnic share in division			(0.011)			(0.015)
Ethnic share - KANU Ethnic Effects	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Ethnic share - Year Effects	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Sample		Full Sample			Balanced Sample [1958,1968]	
Observations	40439	40439	40439	12660	12660	12660
Clusters	5992	5992	5992	1155	1155	1155

Notes: This table reports the effect of a policeman's ethnic affiliation with KANU on offense probabilities distinguishing between whether an officer serves in a division dominated by his ethnic group or not for the full and balanced sample. The dependent variable is an indicator for any offense committed by a policeman in a given year. KANU power is a time varying variable that switches to 1 for the Gema in 1961, for the Luo between 1961-1965, and for the Kamatusa after 1964. KANU power × Ethnic share in division is the multiplicative interaction between the ethnic division share and the KANU power dummy variable. The ethnic share is standardized at its mean. The full panel (Columns 1-3) includes all policemen in the sample serving between 1957 and 1970. The balanced panel (Columns 4-6) takes all policemen serving continuously between 1958 and 1968. All regressions include year fixed effects, and control for the share of the year served. Standard errors are clustered at the individual level.

Table B.12: Ethnic Dominance in Division - by Quartile

	Offense			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
KANU power	0.037	0.036	0.044	0.020
× Ethnic share in division Q1	(0.019)	(0.018)	(0.029)	(0.024)
KANU power	0.038	0.040	0.058	0.028
× Ethnic share in division Q2	(0.016)	(0.018)	(0.024)	(0.024)
KANU power	0.024	0.030	0.019	0.035
× Ethnic share in division Q3	(0.016)	(0.015)	(0.023)	(0.023)
KANU power	0.003	0.019	-0.028	0.024
× Ethnic share in division Q4	(0.024)	(0.015)	(0.029)	(0.020)
Ethnicity-specific quartiles	No	Yes	No	Yes
Test Q1-Q4 (p-value)	0.26	0.45	0.08	0.89
Sample	Full Sample		Balanced Sample	
Observations	40439	40439	12660	12660
Clusters	5992	5992	1155	1155

Notes: This table reports the effect of a policeman's ethnic affiliation with KANU on offense probabilities distinguishing between whether an officer serves in a division dominated by his ethnic group (by quartiles) or not for the full and balanced sample. The dependent variable is an indicator for any offense committed by a policeman in a given year. KANU power is a time varying variable that switches to 1 for the Gema in 1961, for the Luo between 1961-1965, and for the Kamatusa after 1964. Unlike in Table B.11 ethnic share is not included as a continuous measure but in terms of quartile indicators to assess potential non-linearities in the effect multiplied by the KANU power indicator. The underlying ethnic share is standardized at its mean before ordered and divided into quartile indicators. The full panel (Columns 1-3) includes all policemen in the sample serving between 1957 and 1970. The balanced panel (Columns 4-6) takes all policemen serving continuously between 1958 and 1968. All regressions include year fixed effects, and control for the share of the year served. Standard errors are clustered at the individual level.

Table B.13: KANU Dominance in Division

	Offense					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
KANU power	0.030	0.030	0.034	0.026	0.022	0.029
	(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.013)	(0.013)
KANU share in division	-0.009			0.002		
	(0.007)			(0.010)		
KANU power			0.016			0.039
× KANU share in division			(0.012)			(0.017)
Ethnic share - KANU Ethnic Effects	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Ethnic share - Year Effects	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Sample	Full Sample			Balanced Sample [1958,1968]		
Observations	40439	40439	40439	12660	12660	12660
Clusters	5992	5992	5992	1155	1155	1155

Notes: This table reports the effect of a policeman's ethnic affiliation with KANU on offense probabilities distinguishing between whether an officer serves in a division dominated by KANU affiliated ethnic groups or not for the full and balanced sample. The dependent variable is an indicator for any offense committed by a policeman in a given year. KANU power is a time varying variable that switches to 1 for the Gema in 1961, for the Luo between 1961-1965, and for the Kamatusa after 1964. KANU power × KANU share in division is the multiplicative interaction between the KANU affiliated ethnic division share and the KANU power dummy variable. The ethnic share is standardized at its mean. The full panel (Columns 1-3) includes all policemen in the sample serving between 1957 and 1970. The balanced panel (Columns 4-6) takes all policemen serving continuously between 1958 and 1968. All regressions include year fixed effects, and control for the share of the year served. Standard errors are clustered at the individual level.

Table B.14: KANU Dominance in Division - by Quartile

	Offense			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
KANU power	0.034	0.017	0.017	-0.006
× KANU share in division Q1	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.027)	(0.026)
KANU power	0.019	0.027	0.013	0.009
× KANU share in division Q2	(0.018)	(0.017)	(0.023)	(0.022)
KANU power	0.023	0.021	0.025	0.045
× KANU share in division Q3	(0.015)	(0.016)	(0.022)	(0.021)
KANU power	0.038	0.038	0.049	0.044
× KANU share in division Q4	(0.016)	(0.015)	(0.023)	(0.022)
KANU-specific quartiles	No	Yes	No	Yes
Test Q1-Q4 (p-value)	0.87	0.38	0.38	0.15
Sample	Full Sample		Balanced Sample	
Observations	40439	40439	12660	12660
Clusters	5992	5992	1155	1155

Notes: This table reports the effect of a policeman's ethnic affiliation with KANU on offense probabilities distinguishing between whether an officer serves in a division dominated by KANU affiliated ethnic groups (by quartiles) or not for the full and balanced sample. The dependent variable is an indicator for any offense committed by a policeman in a given year. KANU power is a time varying variable that switches to 1 for the Gema in 1961, for the Luo between 1961-1965, and for the Kamatusa after 1964. Unlike in Table B.13 KANU share in division is not included as a continuous measure but in terms of quartile indicators to assess potential non-linearities in the effect multiplied by the KANU power indicator. The underlying ethnic share is standardized at its mean before ordered and divided into quartile indicators. The full panel (Columns 1-3) includes all policemen in the sample serving between 1957 and 1970. The balanced panel (Columns 4-6) takes all policemen serving continuously between 1958 and 1968. All regressions include year fixed effects, and control for the share of the year served. Standard errors are clustered at the individual level.

Table B.15: Ethnic Dominance in Higher Ranks

	Offense					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Senior: Corporal or higher						
KANU power	0.028	0.029	0.040	0.027	0.028	0.044
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.017)
Ethnic senior share	0.002			-0.001		
	(0.003)			(0.004)		
KANU power			-0.011			-0.014
× Ethnic senior share			(0.008)			(0.011)
Observations	41415	41415	41415	13042	13042	13042
Clusters	6146	6146	6146	1191	1191	1191
Senior: Sergeant or higher						
KANU power	0.024	0.024	0.028	0.021	0.022	0.016
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.015)
Ethnic senior share	0.001			-0.002		
	(0.003)			(0.004)		
KANU power			-0.004			0.007
× Ethnic senior share			(0.008)			(0.010)
Observations	40138	40138	40138	12528	12528	12528
Clusters	6124	6124	6124	1191	1191	1191
Senior Share - KANU Ethnic Effects	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Senior Share - Year Effects	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Sample	Full Sample			Balanced Sample [1958,1968]		

Notes: This table reports the effect of a policeman's ethnic affiliation with KANU on offense probabilities distinguishing between whether an officer serves in a division dominated by senior officers of KANU affiliated ethnic groups or not using two different operationalizations of 'senior' (top panel: corporal or higher; bottom panel: sergeant or higher) for the full and balanced sample. The dependent variable is an indicator for any offense committed by a policeman in a given year. KANU power is a time varying variable that switches to 1 for the Gema in 1961, for the Luo between 1961-1965, and for the Kamatusa after 1964. KANU power × Ethnic senior share is the multiplicative interaction between the proportion of senior officers of KANU affiliated ethnic groups and the KANU power dummy variable. The ethnic share is standardized at its mean. The full panel (Columns 1-3) includes all policemen in the sample serving between 1957 and 1970. The balanced panel (Columns 4-6) takes all policemen serving continuously between 1958 and 1968. All regressions include year fixed effects, and control for the share of the year served. Standard errors are clustered at the individual level.

Table B.16: Rank

	Offense					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
KANU power	0.028	0.027	0.029	0.027	0.025	0.024
	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.013)
Rank	-0.016			-0.009		
	(0.009)			(0.012)		
KANU power			-0.010			0.004
× Rank			(0.012)			(0.015)
Rank - KANU Ethnic Effects	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Rank - Year Effects	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Sample		Full Sample			Balanced Sample [1958,1968]	
Observations	44689	44689	44689	13266	13266	13266
Clusters	6784	6784	6784	1206	1206	1206

Notes: This table reports the effect of a policeman's ethnic affiliation with KANU on offense probabilities distinguishing by rank for the full and balanced sample. The dependent variable is an indicator for any offense committed by a policeman in a given year. KANU power is a time varying variable that switches to 1 for the Gema in 1961, for the Luo between 1961-1965, and for the Kamatusa after 1964. KANU power × Rank is the multiplicative interaction between the rank index and the KANU power dummy variable. The full panel (Columns 1-3) includes all policemen in the sample serving between 1957 and 1970. The balanced panel (Columns 4-6) takes all policemen serving continuously between 1958 and 1968. All regressions include year fixed effects, and control for the share of the year served. Standard errors are clustered at the individual level.

Table B.17: Signed Booklet (Versus Thumbprint) and Years of Schooling

	Offense							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
KANU power	0.026	0.015	0.021	0.015	0.019	0.010	0.023	0.006
	(0.009)	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.014)	(0.012)	(0.014)
KANU power		0.046				0.054		
× Literate		(0.020)				(0.031)		
KANU power			0.030				0.025	
× Schooling			(0.021)				(0.036)	
KANU power				0.028				0.053
× Schooling/Literate				(0.017)				(0.023)
Education - KANU Ethnic Effects	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Education - Year Effects	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sample		Full Sample			Balanced Sample [1958,1968]			
Observations	38917	38917	44689	44689	11176	11176	13266	13266
Clusters	5943	5943	6784	6784	1016	1016	1206	1206

Notes: This table reports the effect of a policeman's ethnic affiliation with KANU on offense probabilities distinguishing by two different operationalizations of education for the full and balanced sample. The dependent variable is an indicator for any offense committed by a policeman in a given year. KANU power is a time varying variable that switches to 1 for the Gema in 1961, for the Luo between 1961-1965, and for the Kamatusa after 1964. KANU power × Schooling is the multiplicative interaction between the schooling indicator, capturing whether an officer had completed any formal schooling (primary, secondary, vocational), and the KANU power dummy variable. KANU power × Literate is the multiplicative interaction between an literacy indicator (whether an officer signed or thumb printed his booklet) and the KANU power dummy variable. The full panel (Columns 1-4) includes all policemen in the sample serving between 1957 and 1970. The balanced panel (Columns 5-8) takes all policemen serving continuously between 1958 and 1968. All regressions include year fixed effects, and control for the share of the year served. Standard errors are clustered at the individual level.

Table B.18: Ethno-Linguistic Fractionalization

	Offense					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
KANU power	0.028	0.028	0.029	0.027	0.026	0.027
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)
Ethnic Fractionalization (ELF)	-0.067			0.073		
	(0.086)			(0.117)		
KANU power × ELF			0.073			0.262
			(0.226)			(0.317)
ELF - KANU Ethnic Effects	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
ELF - Year Effects	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Sample		Full Sample		Balanced Sample [1958,1968]		
Observations	41449	41449	41449	13056	13056	13056
Clusters	6146	6146	6146	1191	1191	1191

Notes: This table reports the effect of a policeman's ethnic affiliation with KANU on offense probabilities by different levels of ethnic linguistic fractionalization (ELF) for the full and balanced sample. The dependent variable is an indicator for any offense committed by a policeman in a given year. KANU power is a time varying variable that switches to 1 for the Gema in 1961, for the Luo between 1961-1965, and for the Kamatusa after 1964. KANU power × ELF is the multiplicative interaction between the ELF of the police division and officer is stationed and the KANU power dummy variable. The full panel (Columns 1-3) includes all policemen in the sample serving between 1957 and 1970. The balanced panel (Columns 4-6) takes all policemen serving continuously between 1958 and 1968. All regressions include year fixed effects, and control for the share of the year served. Standard errors are clustered at the individual level.

Table B.19: Regional Commander Match

	Offense			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
KANU power	0.027	0.026	0.027	0.026
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.011)	(0.011)
Regional Commander match	-0.034	-0.048	-0.001	-0.010
	(0.014)	(0.016)	(0.022)	(0.023)
KANU power		0.036		0.058
× Regional Commander match		(0.030)		(0.068)
Sample	Full Sample		Balanced Sample [1958,1968]	
Observations	44689	44689	13266	13266
Clusters	6784	6784	1206	1206

Notes: This table reports the effect of a policeman's ethnic affiliation with KANU on offense probabilities distinguishing by whether there is an ethnic match between the officer and his regional commander or not in the full and balanced sample. The dependent variable is an indicator for any offense committed by a policeman in a given year. KANU power is a time varying variable that switches to 1 for the Gema in 1961, for the Luo between 1961-1965, and for the Kamatusa after 1964. KANU power × Regional Commander match is the multiplicative interaction between the indicator capturing whether the ethnicity of the officer and his regional commander matches (there are 8 regions, above the division level) or not and the KANU power dummy variable. The full panel (Columns 1-2) includes all policemen in the sample serving between 1957 and 1970. The balanced panel (Columns 3-4) takes all policemen serving continuously between 1958 and 1968. All regressions include year fixed effects, and control for the share of the year served. Standard errors are clustered at the individual level.

Table B.20: General Service Unit

	Offense					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
KANU power	0.029	0.029	0.028	0.027	0.028	0.029
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)
GSU	0.011			0.001		
	(0.015)			(0.025)		
KANU power × GSU			0.023			-0.035
			(0.039)			(0.062)
GSU - KANU Ethnic Effects	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
GSU - Year Effects	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Sample	Full Sample			Balanced Sample [1958,1968]		
Observations	41449	41449	41449	13056	13056	13056
Clusters	6146	6146	6146	1191	1191	1191

Notes: This table reports the effect of a policeman's ethnic affiliation with KANU on offense probabilities distinguishing by membership in the General Service Unit (GSU), the paramilitary wing of the National Police Serice of Kenya, for the full and balanced sample. The dependent variable is an indicator for any offense committed by a policeman in a given year. KANU power is a time varying variable that switches to 1 for the Gema in 1961, for the Luo between 1961-1965, and for the Kamatusa after 1964. KANU power × GSU is the multiplicative interaction between the GSU indicator and the KANU power dummy variable. The full panel (Columns 1-3) includes all policemen in the sample serving between 1957 and 1970. The balanced panel (Columns 4-6) takes all policemen serving continuously between 1958 and 1968. All regressions include year fixed effects, and control for the share of the year served. Standard errors are clustered at the individual level.

Table B.21: Personal Characteristics: height and children

	Offense									
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
KANU power	0.027	0.027	0.028	0.029	0.035	0.024	0.024	0.027	0.026	0.024
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.014)
KANU power		-0.001					0.002			
× Height		(0.002)					(0.003)			
Any children			-0.020					0.000		
			(0.013)					(0.022)		
KANU power					-0.021					0.006
× Any children					(0.018)					(0.023)
Height - Year Effects	Yes	Yes				Yes	Yes			
Any children -			No	Yes	Yes			No	Yes	Yes
KANU Ethnic Effects										
Any Children - Year Effects			No	Yes	Yes			No	Yes	Yes
Sample	Full Sample					Balanced Sample [1958,1968]				
Observations	42392	42392	44689	44689	44689	12584	12584	13266	13266	13266
Clusters	6398	6398	6784	6784	6784	1144	1144	1206	1206	1206

Notes: This table reports the effect of a policeman's ethnic affiliation with KANU on offense probabilities distinguishing by personal characteristics (i.e., height and children) for the full and balanced sample. The dependent variable is an indicator for any offense committed by a policeman in a given year. KANU power is a time varying variable that switches to 1 for the Gema in 1961, for the Luo between 1961-1965, and for the Kamatusa after 1964. KANU power × Any Children is the multiplicative interaction between the indicator of whether a policeman had any children and the KANU power dummy variable. KANU power × Height is the multiplicative interaction term between a policeman's hight (in centimetres) and the KANU power dummy variable. The full panel (Columns 1-5) includes all policemen in the sample serving between 1957 and 1970. The balanced panel (Columns 6-10) takes all policemen serving continuously between 1958 and 1968. All regressions include year fixed effects, and control for the share of the year served. Standard errors are clustered at the individual level.

Table B.22: Results by Type of Offender

	Offense	
	(1)	(2)
KANU power	- 0.010	-0.009
	(0.015)	(0.019)
KANU power	0.045	0.050
× No offenses 1957-1960	(0.018)	(0.022)
Sample	Full Sample	Balanced Sample [1958,1968]
Observations	44689	13266
Clusters	6784	1206

Notes: This table reports the effect of a policeman's ethnic affiliation with KANU on offense probabilities distinguishing by offender type for the full and balanced sample. The dependent variable is an indicator for any offense committed by a policeman in a given year. KANU power is a time varying variable that switches to 1 for the Gema in 1961, for the Luo between 1961-1965, and for the Kamatusa after 1964. KANU power × No offenses 1957-1970 is the multiplicative interaction between the dummy variable indicating whether a policeman has committed at least one previous offense between 1957 and 1970 and the KANU power dummy variable. The full panel (Column 1) includes all policemen in the sample serving between 1957 and 1970. The balanced panel (Column 2) takes all policemen serving continuously between 1958 and 1968. All regressions include year fixed effects, and control for the share of the year served. Standard errors are clustered at the individual level.

Table B.23: Decay

	Offense		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
KANU power	0.030	0.037	0.024
	(0.009)	(0.011)	(0.012)
KANU power	-0.006	-0.015	0.009
× Post 1967	(0.012)	(0.016)	(0.020)
Sample	Full	Stacked	Balanced
Observations	44689	18567	13266
Clusters	6784	2053	1206

Notes: This table reports the effect of a policeman's ethnic affiliation with KANU on offense probabilities and whether the effect decreases over time for the full, stacked and balanced panel samples. The dependent variable is an indicator for any offense committed by a policeman in a given year. KANU power is a time varying variable that switches to 1 for the Gema in 1961, for the Luo between 1961-1965, and for the Kamatusa after 1964. KANU power × Post 1967 is the multiplicative interaction between the post 1967 indicator and the KANU power dummy variable. The full panel (Column 1) includes all policemen in the sample serving between 1957 and 1970. The stacked panel (Column 4) takes the union of four balanced panels around each transition: [1958,1968] for the Gema and Luo transition in 1961; [1962,1968] for the Kamatusa transition in 1964; and [1964,1968] for the Luo transition in 1965. The balanced panel (Column 3) takes all policemen serving continuously between 1958 and 1968. All regressions include year fixed effects, and control for the share of the year served. Standard errors are clustered at the individual level.