

# ONLINE APPENDIX: THE EFFECT OF EDUCATION ON CIVIC AND POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT IN NON-CONSOLIDATED DEMOCRACIES: EVIDENCE FROM NIGERIA

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## 1 Missionary schools

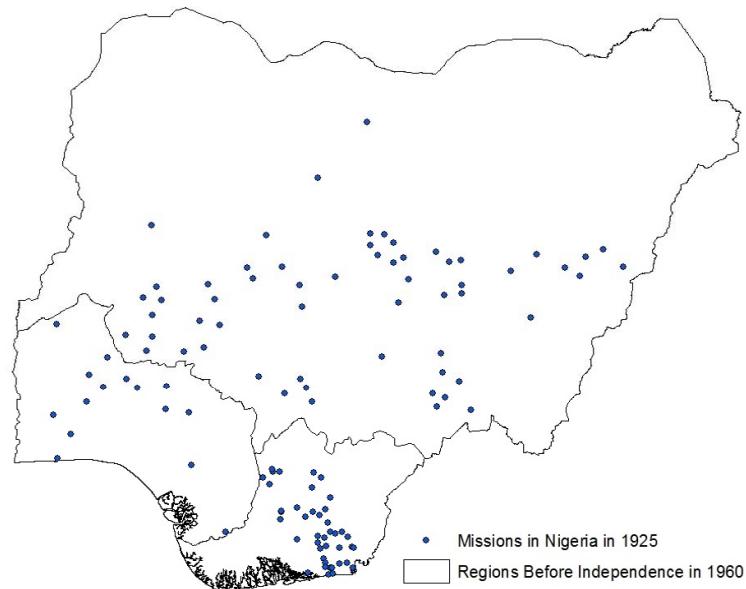


Figure A1: Christian missionary stations in Nigeria 1925 (source: Streit 1929)

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## 2 Detailed variable definitions

The following variables come from the 1999-2013 Afrobarometer rounds, unless noted otherwise (for the last four variables). Table A1 provides summary statistics. Table A2 shows the pairwise correlations between our main outcome variables; note that most variables are binary.

*Discuss politics often.* Indicator for respondents answering “frequently” when asked “When you get together with your friends or family, would you say you discuss political matters: Never, Occasionally, or Frequently.”

*Political knowledge scale.* Summative rating scale combining five correct-incorrect questions asking whether a respondent can identify the name of politicians in the following positions: vice-president, finance minister, own representative, state governor, local government chairman/woman. A summative rating scale averages observed responses across all scale items. All five were asked in 1999, and none were asked in 2001, 2003, 2007 or 2013; respondents were asked to name their representative in 2005 and 2009, their local government head and vice-president in 2005, and finance minister in 2009. Cronbach’s alpha inter-item scale reliability score of 0.52.

*News scale.* Summative rating scale combining five-point ordinal responses to the question “How often do you get news from the following sources: television/Radio/Newspapers?” A summative rating scale averages observed responses across all scale items. We pre-standardized all items to address biases creates by missing values. Cronbach’s alpha inter-item scale reliability score of 0.69.

*Registered voter.* Indicator coded 1 if respondent is a registered voter.

*Voted.* Indicator coded 1 if respondent voted in most recent federal election. This question was not asked in the 2001 or 2007 survey waves.

*Attend demonstration.* Indicator coded 1 if the respondent attended a demonstration or protest march during the last year.

*Contact local councilor/representative.* Indicator coded 1 if the respondent contacted a local government councilor/representative to the National Assembly at least once in the last year.

*Attend community meeting.* Indicator coded 1 if the respondent attended a community meeting once or twice, several times or often in the last year.

*Active association member.* Indicator coded 1 if the respondent is an active member or official leader in a voluntary association or community group.

*Female.* Indicator coded 1 if respondent is female.

*Religion.* Set of indicators coded 1 for respondents identifying as Christian, Muslim, no religion, other religion or traditional religion.

*Urban.* Indicator coded 1 if respondent lives in an urban area.

*Year of birth.* We calculate year of birth by subtracting a respondent’s stated age from the year of the survey. We use this to define our post-UPE reform variable and our cohort fixed effects. Month of birth was not available.

*Contact over community issue.* Indicator coded 1 if the respondent contacted a formal

leader regarding a community problem during the last year. Not asked in 1999, 2001, 2005, 2008 and 2013 surveys.

*Contact over private issue.* Indicator coded 1 if the respondent contacted a formal leader regarding a personal problem during the last year. Not asked in 1999, 2001, 2005, 2008 and 2013 surveys.

*Ethnic over national group.* Indicator coded 1 for respondents strongly or weakly identifying themselves as part of their ethnic group as opposed to Nigeria.

*Support united Nigeria.* Indicator coded 1 for respondents agreeing or strongly agreeing that Nigeria should not split because there are problems. Not asked in 1999, 2005, 2008 and 2013 surveys.

*Political violence unjustified.* Indicator coded 1 if the respondent agrees or strongly agrees that “The use of violence is never justified in Nigerian politics.” Not asked in 2008 and 2013 surveys.

*Active religious association member.* Indicator coded 1 if the respondent is an active member or official leader in a religious association.

*Contact religious/traditional leader.* Indicator coded 1 if the respondent contacted a religious/traditional leader at least one during the last year. Not asked in 2013 survey.

*Government handling issues scale.* Summative scale combining seven indicators that the government handles economy/employment/inflation/health/education/inequality/water-related issues well or very well as opposed to badly or very badly.

*Government performance scale.* Summative scale combining three indicators that the respondent approves or strongly approves the performance of the president/National Assembly/local government.

*Trust in government scale.* Summative scale combining five indicators that the respondent trusts somewhat or a lot in the president/National Assembly/electoral commission/local government/ruling party.

*Government corruption scale.* Summative scale combining three indicators that the respondent considers the elected officials at the presidency/National Assembly/local government corrupt or very corrupt.

*Inequality has improved.* Indicator coded 1 if the respondent agrees that Nigeria is better or much better in terms of the gap between rich and poor.

*Feel close to PDP.* Indicator coded 1 if the respondent feels close or very close to PDP.

*Post-UPE.* Indicator coded 1 for respondents born in 1970 or later.

*Religious fragmentation index.* LGA religion Herfindahl index, using data from the HNLSS.

*Religious competition.* Variable defined by  $1 - |n_1 - n_2|$  where  $n_1$  and  $n_2$  are the LGA share of the population for the two largest religious groups, using data from the HNLSS.

*Religious majority.* Indicator coded 1 if the respondent adheres to the majority religion in their LGA of residence (defined by HNLSS data).

*Main ethnic group.* Indicator coded 1 if the respondent belongs to the main LGA ethnic group defined either using the main language spoken in the LGA (from the 1998 Local Government Yearbook) or the ethnic group of the majority surveyed in his or her LGA.

*Intensity.* Calculated as follows:

$$\text{Intensity}_{g,l} = 1 - \overline{\text{Primary schooling}}_{g,l} \quad (1)$$

where  $\overline{\text{Primary schooling}}_{g,l}$  is the proportion of the LGA ( $l$ ) population by gender ( $g$ ) that completed primary school among the cohorts born between 1960 and 1969, as measured by the HNLSS; see robustness checks for alternative definitions. This is then interacted with a dummy *Post-UPE* for cohorts affected by UPE—those born after 1969—to produce our excluded instrument.

Table A1: Summary statistics

	Obs.	Mean	Std. dev.	Min.	Max.	Waves not asked
<b>Dependent variables</b>						
Discuss politics often	16,190	0.20	0.40	0	1	
News scale	16,273	0.00	1.00	-2.42	1.66	
Political knowledge scale	7,547	0.00	1.00	-1.24	2.07	2001, 2003, 2007, 2013
Registered voter	7,510	0.78	0.42	0	1	2001, 2007, 2008, 2013
Voted	11,974	0.64	0.48	0	1	2001, 2007
Attend demonstration	16,072	0.14	0.35	0	1	
Contact local councilor	16,240	0.16	0.37	0	1	
Contact representative	16,212	0.06	0.24	0	1	
Attend community meeting	16,191	0.48	0.50	0	1	
Active association member	16,206	0.29	0.46	0	1	
Political violence unjustified	11,539	0.72	0.45	0	1	2008, 2013
Active religious association member	16,271	0.55	0.50	0	1	
Ethnic over national group	15,959	0.26	0.44	0	1	
Support united Nigeria	6,410	0.80	0.40	0	1	1999, 2005, 2008, 2013
Contact about community issue	4,436	0.22	0.42	0	1	1999, 2001, 2003, 2007, 2013
Contact about private issue	4,436	0.37	0.48	0	1	1999, 2001, 2003, 2007, 2013
Contact religious leader	13,963	0.46	0.50	0	1	2013
Contact traditional leader	13,956	0.23	0.42	0	1	2013
Government handling issues scale	16,213	0.36	0.33	0	1	
Government performance scale	12,961	0.43	0.40	0	1	1999
Trust in government scale	16,159	0.33	0.37	0	1	
Government corruption scale	12,766	0.52	0.44	0	1	1999
Inequality has improved	8,532	0.13	0.34	0	1	1999, 2008, 2013
Feel close to PDP	7,211	0.26	0.44	0	1	2005, 2007, 2008, 2013
<b>Education variables</b>						
Education	16,289	2.89	1.58	0	5	
Incomplete primary schooling	16,289	0.83	0.37	0	1	
Complete primary schooling	16,289	0.78	0.41	0	1	
Incomplete secondary schooling	16,289	0.68	0.47	0	1	
Complete secondary schooling	16,289	0.53	0.50	0	1	
<b>UPE reform variables</b>						
Post-UPE	16,289	0.73	0.44	0	1	
Intensity	16,289	0.39	0.31	0	1	
Post-UPE × Intensity	16,289	0.28	0.32	0	1	
<b>Control variables</b>						
Female	16,289	0.49	0.50	0	1	
Christian	16,289	0.56	0.50	0	1	
Muslim	16,289	0.41	0.49	0	1	
No religion	16,289	0.00	0.07	0	1	
Other religion	16,289	0.01	0.09	0	1	
Traditional religion	16,289	0.02	0.14	0	1	
Urban	16,289	0.53	0.50	0	1	
Year of birth	16,289	1975.21	10.10	1950	1995	
Survey year	16,289	2004.90	4.49	1999	2013	
Religious fragmentation index	16,289	0.20	0.18	0	0.64	
Religious competition	16,289	0.26	0.30	0	1.00	
Religious majority	16,289	0.82	0.39	0	1.00	
Main ethnic group	8,952	0.66	0.47	0	1	1999, 2001, 2003

Table A2: Outcome pairwise correlation matrix

	Discuss politics often	News scale	Political knowledge scale	Registered voter	Voted	Attend demonstration	Contact local councilor	Contact representative	Contact community meeting	Attend community meeting	Active association member
Discuss politics often	1										
News scale	0.1715	1									
Political knowledge scale	0.1584	0.1225	1								
Registered voter	0.1232	0.1154	0.1515	1							
Voted	0.1213	0.0549	0.1263	0.0856	1						
Attend demonstration	0.1089	0.1291	0.0775	0.0506	0.0359	1					
Contact local councilor	0.1555	0.089	0.1325	0.0861	0.0859	0.2079	1				
Contact representative	0.119	0.0661	0.0492	0.0135	0.0313	0.1775	0.4674	1			
Attend community meeting	0.1445	0.0544	0.1357	0.1552	0.147	0.2625	0.248	0.1369	1		
Active association member	0.1504	0.0952	0.1312	0.1405	0.1154	0.2	0.2241	0.147	0.3666	1	

Note: All correlations are statistically significant.

### 3 Graphical representation of first stage by education level

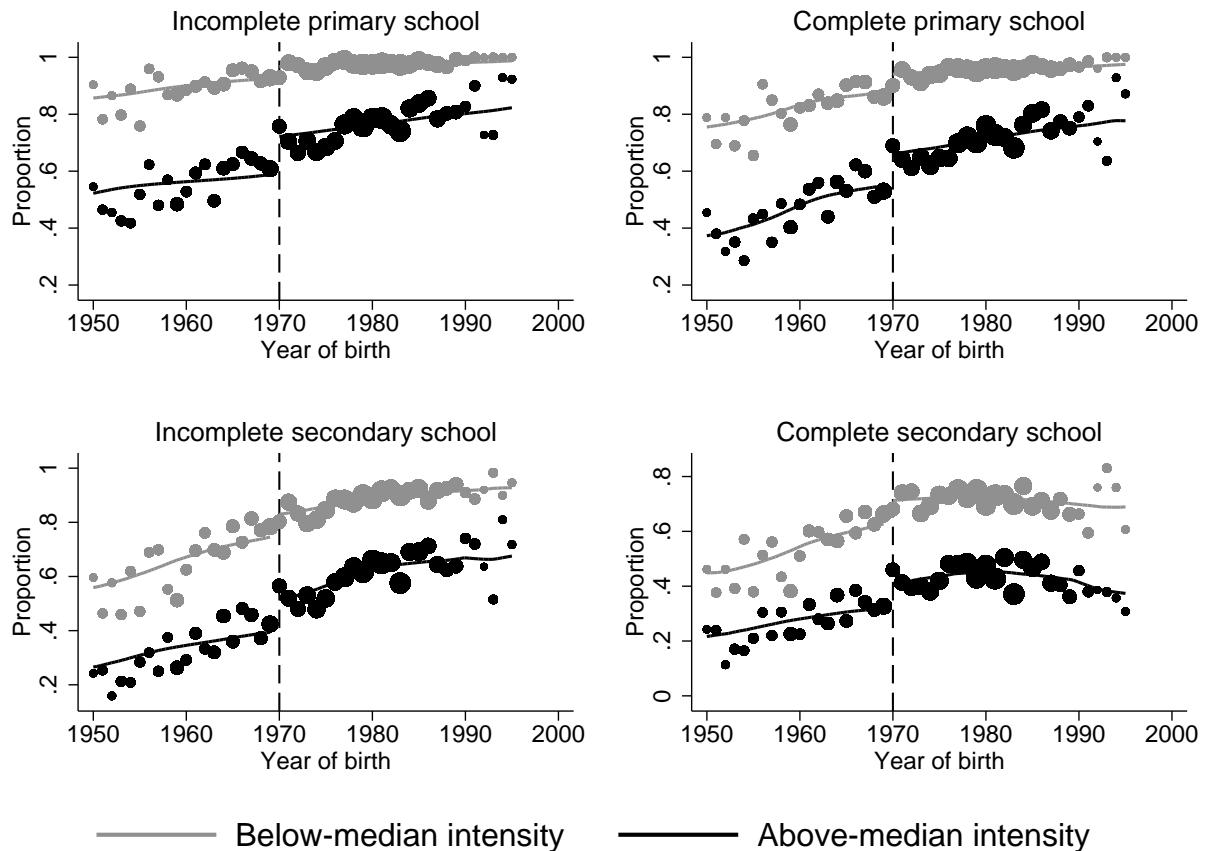


Figure A2: Trends in education level by UPE intensity (sources: Afrobarometer and HNLSS)

*Notes:* Each dot represents the average education score by cohort in above- and below-median UPE intensity cases. The size of the dot reflects the quantity of data in our sample. We overlay local polynomial curves (bandwidth of 2) to show trends in education across treatment intensity. Above-median and below-median intensity denote respondents above and below the sample median LGA-gender UPE intensity score. The graphs show similar pre-trends across above- and below-median intensity groups.

### 4 Additional results cited in the main paper

Table A3 provides the robustness tests for the outcomes not included in the main paper. With the exception of the migration check in panel A, which removes a large proportion of

treated units, the results strongly support our main findings through a mix of placebo tests, correlations in specific subsamples and controls. In the case of panel A, the reduced form effects for discussing politics and active association membership are similar in magnitude but experience increased standard errors. Only in the case of our news scale is our estimate somewhat smaller; although this result is robust to most of our checks, it is the more sensitive of our findings.

Table A4 shows that the results are highly robust to two alternative definitions of UPE intensity. These results suggest that our measure of intensity is accurately capturing variation in the impact of the reform. Table A5 shows similar reduced form estimates when partially treated cohorts are removed from the sample, although we unsurprisingly lose precision from dropping a significant fraction of the sample (as the weak first stage shows).

Finally, Tables A6 and A7 show heterogeneous effects by religion and ethnic group for the variables not included in the main paper. Table A8 shows the results for the additional indicators of ethno-religious division and possible conflict cited in the paper. The variables used in Table A8 and in the heterogeneous effects section of the main paper are defined above, while summary statistics are provided in Table A1. Note that ethnic group variables are only available for 2005-2013, so the sample is substantially reduced. Furthermore, given that most surveys did not ask about contacting local leaders about community and private problems, the first stage for those specifications is very weak ( $F = 0.9$ ) and cause the 2SLS estimates to be unreliable. For this regressions, the reader should rely on the reduced form estimates.

Table A9 interacts the effect of education with the share of their six primary school years that occurred under democracy. The results show that, with the exception of attending community meetings, attending primary school under democracy has no differential effect on civic and political engagement. Finally, A10 provides little evidence that the UPE reform has affected evaluations of and attitudes toward the government.

All other checks cited in the main text can be replicated using our replication materials.

Table A3: Robustness checks—all other outcomes

	Discuss politics often	News scale	Registered voter	Attend demo.	Contact local councilor	Contact rep.	Active association member
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
<b>Panel A: Born before 1976 only (reduced form)</b>							
Post-UPE × Intensity	0.094*	0.221	0.101	0.044	0.096*	-0.030	0.080
	(0.055)	(0.143)	(0.068)	(0.038)	(0.051)	(0.028)	(0.082)
Observations	7,222	7,253	4,075	7,185	7,242	7,224	7,237
<b>Panel B: Without LGAs with a 2006 population exceeding 500,000 (2SLS)</b>							
Intensity	0.143**	0.624***	0.301**	0.068	0.156**	0.028	0.187**
	(0.060)	(0.123)	(0.145)	(0.059)	(0.062)	(0.031)	(0.093)
Observations	14,682	14,759	6,750	14,572	14,730	14,705	14,696
<b>Panel C: Correlation with intensity, born after 1969 only</b>							
Intensity	-0.023	-0.266**	-0.016	0.018	0.006	-0.018	-0.020
	(0.031)	(0.128)	(0.053)	(0.023)	(0.021)	(0.017)	(0.037)
Observations	11,813	11,877	5,085	11,719	11,853	11,840	11,816
<b>Panel D: LGA fixed effects and LGA-specific cohort trends (2SLS)</b>							
Education	0.142**	0.478***	0.205**	-0.008	0.183***	0.061*	0.152**
	(0.067)	(0.152)	(0.102)	(0.046)	(0.057)	(0.034)	(0.076)
Observations	16,190	16,273	7,510	16,072	16,240	16,212	16,206
<b>Panel E: State fixed effects and no cohort trends (2SLS)</b>							
Education	0.128***	0.278***	0.285*	-0.021	0.153**	0.029	0.263***
	(0.048)	(0.101)	(0.166)	(0.045)	(0.068)	(0.033)	(0.083)
Observations	16,190	16,273	7,510	16,072	16,240	16,212	16,206
<b>Panel F: 1965 placebo reform, born before 1970 only (reduced form)</b>							
1965 Placebo × Intensity	0.056	0.248**	-0.089	-0.100***	-0.075	0.008	-0.088
	(0.053)	(0.118)	(0.062)	(0.032)	(0.045)	(0.037)	(0.070)
Observations	4,377	4,396	2,425	4,353	4,387	4,372	4,390
<b>Panel G: 1960 placebo reform, born before 1965 only (reduced form)</b>							
1960 placebo × Intensity	0.023	0.082	-0.017	-0.117*	-0.105	-0.047	-0.063
	(0.081)	(0.224)	(0.099)	(0.068)	(0.090)	(0.041)	(0.096)
Observations	2,771	2,787	1,544	2,759	2,786	2,777	2,787
<b>Panel H: State-post reform fixed effects (2SLS)</b>							
Education	0.156**	0.639***	0.288**	0.060	0.154**	0.025	0.189**
	(0.062)	(0.133)	(0.146)	(0.063)	(0.060)	(0.030)	(0.094)
Observations	16,190	16,273	7,510	16,072	16,240	16,212	16,206
<b>Panel I: Controlling for pre-treatment covariates by UPE eligibility (2SLS)</b>							
Education	0.160***	0.597***	0.288**	0.073	0.160***	0.038	0.166*
	(0.057)	(0.137)	(0.142)	(0.062)	(0.053)	(0.030)	(0.088)
Observations	16,190	16,273	7,510	16,072	16,240	16,212	16,206
<b>Panel J: Allowing students to be partially affected by UPE (2SLS)</b>							
Education	0.152***	0.258**	0.319	-0.045	0.149*	0.038	0.341***
	(0.059)	(0.128)	(0.213)	(0.052)	(0.084)	(0.038)	(0.120)
Observations	16,190	16,273	7,510	16,072	16,240	16,212	16,206

*Notes:* All specifications are estimated using OLS, and include a linear intensity term, state-specific cohort trends for cohorts affected and not affected by UPE, and religion, rural-urban, gender, state, cohort, and survey dummies. Reduced form and 2SLS specifications include the linear intensity term. The number of observations across outcomes varies due to data availability (see Table 1 in the paper). State-clustered standard errors in parentheses. \* denotes  $p < 0.1$ , \*\* denotes  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* denotes  $p < 0.01$ .

Table A4: Alternative measures of intensity (2SLS estimates)

	Discuss politics often	News scale	Political knowledge scale	Voted	Attend demonstration	Contact local councilor	Contact rep.	Attend community meeting	Active association member
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(10)
<b>Panel A: Intensity defined by cohort born between 1960 and 1964</b>									
Education	0.175*** (0.061)	0.181 (0.119)	0.572** (0.232)	0.335 (0.213)	0.284* (0.150)	-0.053 (0.059)	0.164* (0.087)	0.029 (0.039)	0.256* (0.143)
Observations	16,190	16,273	7,547	7,510	11,974	16,072	16,240	16,212	16,191
First stage <i>F</i> statistic	10.5	10.6	5.8	6.0	7.1	11.1	10.5	10.7	11.7
<b>Panel B: Intensity defined by incomplete primary schooling</b>									
Education	0.126** (0.057)	0.251** (0.113)	0.436** (0.170)	0.300 (0.187)	0.237** (0.116)	-0.033 (0.052)	0.172** (0.077)	0.036 (0.036)	0.268** (0.128)
Observations	16,190	16,273	7,547	7,510	11,974	16,072	16,240	16,212	16,191
First stage <i>F</i> statistic	11.1	10.9	7.6	6.6	8.5	11.5	11.0	11.3	11.9

*Notes:* Panel A defines UPE intensity using cohorts born between 1960 and 1965, while panel B defines UPE intensity using the proportion with incomplete (rather than complete) primary schooling for the cohorts born between 1960 and 1969. Otherwise, specifications are identical to those in the main paper. \* denotes  $p < 0.1$ , \*\* denotes  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* denotes  $p < 0.01$ .

Table A5: Removing partially treated cohorts

	Discuss politics often	News scale	Political knowledge scale	Registered voter	Voted	Attend demonstration	Contact local councilor	Contact rep.	Contact community meeting	Attend community meeting	Active association member
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	
<b>Panel A: Reduced form (OLS)</b>											
Post-UPE $\times$ Intensity	0.118** (0.048)	0.365*** (0.118)	0.360** (0.173)	0.110* (0.062)	0.074 (0.062)	0.006 (0.041)	0.059 (0.047)	0.016 (0.026)	0.099 (0.070)	0.107* (0.061)	
Observations	14,584	14,664	6,727	6,629	10,795	14,478	14,639	14,617	14,589	14,603	
<b>Panel B: Instrumental variables (2SLS)</b>											
Education	0.251** (0.109)	0.768*** (0.211)	1.084 (0.690)	0.427 (0.356)	0.206 (0.173)	0.014 (0.086)	0.125 (0.093)	0.032 (0.051)	0.217 (0.153)	0.225 (0.144)	
Observations	14,584	14,664	6,727	6,629	10,795	14,478	14,639	14,617	14,589	14,603	
First stage <i>F</i> statistic	6.7	7.1	2.0	1.9	3.4	6.5	6.8	6.9	6.4	6.8	

*Notes:* Both panel drop cohorts born between 1965 and 1969. Otherwise, specifications are identical to those in the main paper. \* denotes  $p < 0.1$ , \*\* denotes  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* denotes  $p < 0.01$ .

$p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* denotes  $p < 0.01$ .

Table A6: Differences in UPE intensity's effect by religion and ethnic group 1—all other outcomes

	Discuss politics often	News scale (1)	Registered voter (2)	Attend demonstration (3)	Contact local councilor (4)	Contact rep. (5)	Contact association mem- (6)	Active associa- tion mem- (7)
<b>Panel A</b>								
<i>Above-median LGA religious fragmentation only</i>								
Post-UPE × Intensity	0.192*** (0.051)	0.430*** (0.113)	0.230*** (0.055)	0.045 (0.044)	0.128*** (0.053)	-0.005 (0.028)	0.186** (0.082)	
Observations	8,074	8,117	3,791	8,050	8,104	8,094	8,098	
<i>Below-median LGA religious fragmentation only</i>								
Post-UPE × Intensity	0.001 (0.063)	0.305* (0.160)	0.077 (0.098)	0.019 (0.058)	0.067 (0.041)	0.066** (0.031)	0.049 (0.067)	
Observations	8,116	8,156	3,719	8,022	8,136	8,118	8,108	
<b>Panel B</b>								
<i>Above-median religious competition LGAs only</i>								
Post-UPE × Intensity	0.197*** (0.057)	0.373*** (0.109)	0.150* (0.078)	0.021 (0.045)	0.125** (0.060)	0.002 (0.030)	0.123 (0.087)	
Observations	7,777	7,819	3,644	7,755	7,807	7,798	7,802	
<i>Below-median religious competition LGAs only</i>								
Post-UPE × Intensity	0.034 (0.052)	0.319** (0.138)	0.072 (0.098)	0.030 (0.053)	0.073* (0.043)	0.051* (0.030)	0.122* (0.072)	
Observations	8,413	8,454	3,866	8,317	8,433	8,414	8,404	

*Note:* See Table A3.

Table A7: Differences in UPE intensity's effect by religion and ethnic group 2—all other outcomes

	Discuss politics often	News scale (1)	Registered voter (2)	Attend demonstration (3)	Contact local councilor (4)	Contact rep. (5)	Contact association member (6)	Active association member (7)
<b>Panel C</b>								
<i>LGA religious minority members only</i>								
Post-UPE × Intensity	0.165* (0.085)	0.693*** (0.172)	0.206* (0.116)	0.013 (0.087)	0.134 (0.118)	0.020 (0.057)	0.196 (0.137)	
Observations	2,953	2,964	1,456	2,937	2,956	2,956	2,952	
<i>LGA religious majority members only</i>								
Post-UPE × Intensity	0.084** (0.041)	0.301*** (0.087)	0.135** (0.060)	0.046 (0.045)	0.090*** (0.031)	0.020 (0.022)	0.093* (0.053)	
Observations	13,237	13,309	6,054	13,135	13,284	13,256	13,254	
<b>Panel D</b>								
<i>LGA non-main ethnic group members only</i>								
Post-UPE × Intensity	0.129 (0.112)	-0.058 (0.213)	0.484*** (0.153)	0.148 (0.132)	0.399*** (0.099)	0.141* (0.081)	0.2222* (0.129)	
Observations	3,035	3,056	695	2,983	3,040	3,031	3,032	
<i>LGA main ethnic group members only</i>								
Post-UPE × Intensity	0.185** (0.070)	0.545*** (0.188)	0.113 (0.091)	0.056 (0.046)	0.219*** (0.064)	0.055 (0.049)	0.252*** (0.079)	
Observations	5,867	5,892	1,496	5,788	5,874	5,863	5,874	

Notes: See Table A6.

Table A8: Effect of education on contacting politicians and local leaders

	Contact about community issue				Contact about private issue				Contact religious leader				Contact traditional leader			
	(1) OLS	(2) OLS	(3) 2SLS	(4) OLS	(5) OLS	(6) 2SLS	(7) OLS	(8) OLS	(9) 2SLS	(10) OLS	(11) OLS	(12) 2SLS				
Education	0.029*** (0.008)		0.801 (0.867)	0.015** (0.007)		-0.538 (0.598)	0.033*** (0.005)		-0.083 (0.081)	0.015*** (0.005)		0.041 (0.074)				
Intensity × Post-UPE		0.194** (0.082)			-0.130 (0.095)			-0.055 (0.051)				0.026 (0.049)				
Observations	4,436	4,436	4,436	4,436	4,436	4,436	13,963	13,963	13,963	13,956	13,956	13,956				
Outcome mean	0.22	0.22	0.22	0.37	0.37	0.37	0.46	0.46	0.46	0.23	0.23	0.23				
Outcome std. dev.	0.42	0.42	0.42	0.48	0.48	0.48	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.42	0.42	0.42				
First stage <i>F</i> statistic			0.9		0.9		23.1			21.9						

Notes: See Table A3.

Table A9: Interaction of education with share of schooling under democracy (2SLS estimates)

	Discuss politics often	News scale	Political knowledge scale	Voted	Attend demonstration	Contact local councilor	Contact rep.	Attend community meeting	Active association member
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Education	0.164*** (0.063)	0.673*** (0.142)	0.876*** (0.296)	0.245* (0.144)	0.074 (0.062)	0.177*** (0.065)	0.033 (0.030)	0.180 (0.112)	0.177* (0.099)
Education $\times$ democracy at school	-0.014 (0.021)	-0.085 (0.060)	-0.064 (0.097)	-0.027 (0.034)	-0.009 (0.014)	-0.033 (0.020)	-0.001 (0.011)	0.058* (0.030)	0.026 (0.025)
Observations	16,190	16,273	7,547	11,974	16,072	16,240	16,212	16,191	16,206
First stage $F$ statistic	11.5	11.6	4.8	6.2	11.3	11.1	11.2	11.1	11.3

*Notes:* The share of education under democracy is the proportion of years in primary school under a democratically elected government. State-clustered standard errors in parentheses. \* denotes  $p < 0.1$ , \*\* denotes  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* denotes  $p < 0.01$ .

Table A10: Effect of UPE intensity and education on incumbent performance evaluations and closeness to ruling party

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Govt. handling issues scale	Govt. performance scale	Trust in govt. scale	Govt. corruption scale	Inequality has improved	Feel close to PDP	
<b>Panel A: Correlation (OLS)</b>						
Education	0.010*** (0.004)	0.010** (0.005)	0.002 (0.003)	-0.002 (0.003)	0.010*** (0.003)	0.019*** (0.005)
<b>Panel B: Reduced form (OLS)</b>						
Post-UPE × Intensity	-0.034 (0.033)	0.011 (0.046)	0.030 (0.035)	-0.047 (0.031)	-0.030 (0.047)	-0.023 (0.056)
<b>Panel C: Instrumental variables (2SLS)</b>						
Education	-0.056 (0.061)	0.022 (0.094)	0.051 (0.059)	-0.098 (0.067)	-0.051 (0.083)	-0.031 (0.074)
Observations	16,213	12,961	16,159	12,766	8,532	7,211
Outcome mean	0.36	0.43	0.33	0.52	0.13	0.26
Outcome standard deviation	0.33	0.40	0.37	0.44	0.34	0.44
First stage <i>F</i> statistic	23.1	15.0	20.6	12.4	17.0	17.3

*Notes:* Specifications in panels A and B are estimated using OLS, and include state-specific cohort trends for cohorts affected and not affected by UPE and religion, rural-urban, gender, state, cohort, and survey dummies. Specifications in panel C include the same covariates, but are estimated using 2SLS. The specifications in panels B and C also include a linear intensity term. The number of observations across outcomes varies due to data availability (see Online Appendix). State-clustered standard errors in parentheses. \* denotes  $p < 0.1$ , \*\* denotes  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* denotes  $p < 0.01$ .

## References

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