Online Appendix for "Democratization and the State. Competence, Control, and Performance in Indonesia's Civil Service"

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Contents

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A   Cross-Country Analyses

Table A.1: Bureaucratic Capacity and Development

	log(GDP pc)	log(GDP pc)
	(1)	(2)
Fiscal Capacity	0.08*	
	(0.04)	
Merit		0.10**
		(0.05)
Control Variables	✓	✓
Country FE	Yes	Yes
Year FE	Yes	Yes
N	3,616	3,627
R^2	0.93	0.93
Adjusted R^2	0.92	0.92
Residual Std. Error	0.28 (df = 3428)	0.29 (df = 3439)

Notes:	***Significant at the 1 percent level.
	**Significant at the 5 percent level.
	*Significant at the 10 percent level.

Table A.2: Democratization and Bureaucratic Capacity

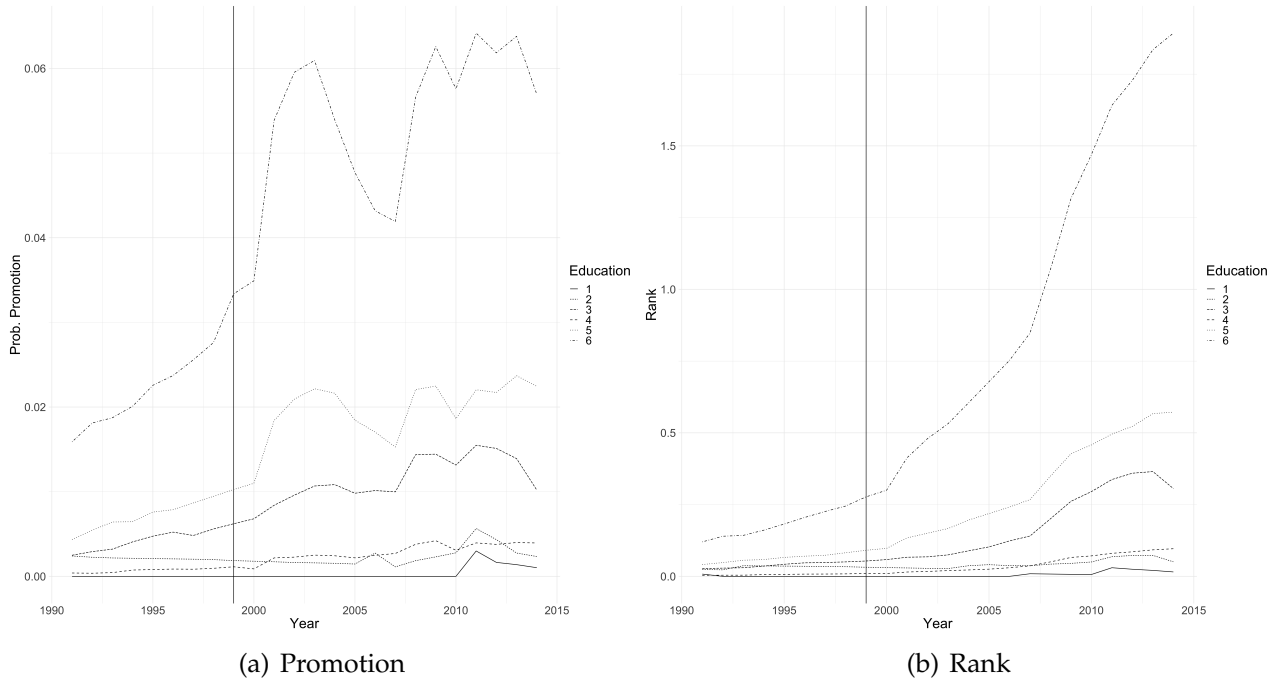|	Fiscal Capacity	Salary	Merit
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Polyarchy	1.31**	−0.04	1.26***
	(0.57)	(0.06)	(0.42)
Control Variables	✓	✓	✓
Country FE	✓	✓	✓
Year FE	✓	✓	✓
N	3,532	635	3,544
R^2	0.84	0.99	0.86
Adjusted R^2	0.83	0.98	0.85
Residual Std. Error	0.54 (df = 3344)	0.10 (df = 520)	0.51 (df = 3356)

Notes:	***Significant at the 1 percent level.
	**Significant at the 5 percent level.
	*Significant at the 10 percent level.

B   Parallel Trends

In this paper, I use a version of the differences-in-differences estimator to show that career premiums for education post-democratization have increased. This estimator requires one to assume, for example, that more educated civil servants would have the same average change in the probability of promotion (or rank) post-democratization

Figure B.1: The Relationship between State Capacity and Development

(a) Promotion

(b) Rank

Note: Parallel trends in promotion probabilities and rank for educational attainment categories.

had they been less educated. This is a version of the parallel trends assumption. This assumption is required because the difference-in-differences estimator uses the trajectory of control observations (low education) to estimate the counterfactual value of the dependent variable for highly educated civil servants post-democratization.

I argue the parallel trends assumption, or a version thereof, likely holds in this case. For one, the ruling regime did not know it was going to collapse, hence it is implausible that trends in promotion for differentially educated civil servants would be different due to the anticipation of democratization. To put it differently, for the parallel trends assumption to be violated, it would have to be the case that the regime anticipated its impending collapse and began treating civil servants with different levels of educational attainment differently than it had previously, on average.

There could be other reasons that lead to non-parallel trends across groups with different educational attainment. A common way to assess pre-trends is to plot the running variable (time) and the dependent variable (probability of promotion or rank) to visualize whether the parallel trends assumption seems to hold. If the assumption holds, we should see evidence that the pre-treatment trends for different educational categories are similar and that the treatment is affecting the change in trend. Figure B.1 display this information for the promotion dummy and the echelon rank variable.

Both figures indicate some deviation from the simple parallel trends expectation. While trends for educational attainment categories 1–3 are parallel, the highest categories enjoy a continuous increase pre-1999. Even for these categories, we observe a sudden shift in the slope after 1999. This differential in trends is much less pronounced for the

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rank dependent variable.

This suggests the difference-in-difference analysis requires extra care, e.g., by focusing on comparisons of lower educational categories to each other (with the strongest observed parallel trends) and by estimating model specifications that account for group-specific linear trends (see (Xu 2017) for a similar approach). In Section E I estimate models with linear trends by department and province, confirming the initial set of findings.

Another way to assess the validity of the parallel trends assumption is by estimating a specification that includes interactions of the year dummies with the education indicator (see (Angrist and Pischke 2009) and (Mora and Reggio 2019)).

Figure 11 in the manuscript displays the interaction effects between the "treated" group and the specific-year effects, capturing any potential changes in slopes between the groups of interest. As Figure 11 shows, pre-1999 premiums for educations were fairly stable year-to-year, declining overall in the 1990s, although year-to-year differences are not statistically distinguishable from each other. Compare that to the dramatic changes post-1999. The flexible specification is also valuable because this model does not require the *traditional* parallel trends assumption, instead only relying on parallelism in higher-order differences (Mora and Reggio 2019). In line with the results from the basic difference-in-difference model, the flexible specification still shows a shift in promotion premiums for more educated civil servants post-1999, above and beyond time trends pre-1999.

Table C.3: Descriptive Statistics of Incoming Cohorts 1995–2004

Year	Avg. Age	Prop. Men	Prop. Muslim	Prop. Protestant	Prop. Catholic	Prop. Hindu	Prop. Confucian	Prop. Other	Avg. Ed.
1995	26.555	0.548	0.821	0.109	0.047	0.001	0.022	0.000	4.795
1996	26.177	0.556	0.803	0.131	0.044	0.000	0.022	0.000	4.622
1997	26.885	0.560	0.821	0.116	0.037	0.000	0.026	0.000	4.687
1998	27.648	0.552	0.862	0.084	0.031	0.000	0.023	0.000	4.731
1999	27.679	0.525	0.840	0.093	0.049	0.001	0.017	0.000	4.732
2000	28.624	0.541	0.751	0.152	0.071	0.003	0.024	0.000	4.665
2001	27.969	0.601	0.760	0.163	0.063	0.001	0.013	0.000	4.566
2002	27.991	0.545	0.821	0.115	0.047	0.001	0.017	0.000	4.682
2003	27.704	0.492	0.811	0.124	0.047	0.001	0.017	0.000	4.720
2004	22.164	0.726	0.734	0.204	0.050	0.000	0.012	0.000	4.682

Table C.4: Difference in Means 1994–1999 vs. 2000-2004

Variable	p-value	Difference
Avg. Age	0.940	0.098
Prop. Men	0.470	-0.032
Prop. Muslim	0.030	0.054
Prop. Protestant	0.040	-0.045
Prop. Catholic	0.050	-0.014
Prop. Hindu	0.220	-0.001
Prop. Confucian	0.072	0.006
Prop. Other	0.677	-0.000
Avg. Ed	0.230	0.050

C   Comparison of Incoming Cohorts

D Echelon-Level as Dependent Variable

Table D.5: Echelon Analysis: Education

	Echelon (1)	Echelon (2)	Echelon (3)	Echelon (4)	Echelon (5)	Echelon (6)
Post Democratization						
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Junior High	0.04***			0.02*		
	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Senior High	0.07***			0.04***		
	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Diploma I/II/III	0.09***			0.05***		
	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Diploma IV/S1	0.17***			0.10***		
	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Post-Graduate	0.48***			0.39***		
	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Female	−0.21***			−0.14***		
	(0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Age	0.03***			0.02***		
	(0.0001)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.0002)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Protestant	−0.05***			−0.04***		
	(0.002)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.003)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Catholic	−0.08***			−0.05***		
	(0.003)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.004)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Buddhist	−0.04*			−0.03		
	(0.02)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.03)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Hindu	−0.05***			−0.02**		
	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Confucian	−0.29			−0.38***		
	(0.18)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.13)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Other	−0.06			−0.06		
	(0.06)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.06)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Years in Civil Service	−0.02***			−0.02***		
	(0.0001)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.0002)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Junior High*Post Democratization	0.01*	0.02***	0.02***	0.02***	0.02***	0.02***
	(0.01)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.01)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Education: Senior High*Post Democratization	0.23***	0.12***	0.12***	0.14***	0.12***	0.12***
	(0.01)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Education: Diploma I/II/III*Post Democratization	0.20***	0.03***	0.03***	0.05***	0.03***	0.03***
	(0.005)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Education: Diploma IV/S1*Post Democratization	0.47***	0.20***	0.20***	0.24***	0.20***	0.20***
	(0.01)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Education: Post-Graduate*Post Democratization	1.11***	0.68***	0.68***	0.75***	0.68***	0.68***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Sample	Full	Full	Full	Pre-1999	Pre-1999	Pre-1999
Department FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Province of Birth FE	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No
Individual FE	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Golongan FE	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	51,674,835	51,674,835	51,674,835	30,130,880	30,130,880	30,130,880
R²	0.17	0.67	0.67	0.13	0.51	0.51
Adjusted R²	0.17	0.65	0.65	0.13	0.49	0.49
Residual Std. Error	1.04 (df = 51674126)	0.67 (df = 48153554)	0.67 (df = 48153538)	0.88 (df = 30130174)	0.68 (df = 29137554)	0.68 (df = 29137538)

Notes:

***Significant at the 1 percent level.
**Significant at the 5 percent level.
*Significant at the 10 percent level.
Standard errors are clustered at the individual level.

E Interacting a Linear Time Trend with Department Fixed Effects and Province Fixed Effects

Table E.6: Promotion Analysis: Education, Department Time Trends

	Promotion (1)	Promotion (2)	Promotion (3)	Promotion (4)	Promotion (5)	Promotion (6)
Post Democratization	−0.01*** (0.001)	−0.01*** (0.001)	−0.01*** (0.001)	−0.01*** (0.001)	−0.01*** (0.001)	−0.01*** (0.001)
Education: Junior High	0.002 (0.002)	(0.00)	(0.00)	0.002 (0.002)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Senior High	0.01*** (0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)	0.005*** (0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Diploma I/II/III	0.01*** (0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)	0.004*** (0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Diploma IV/S1	0.01*** (0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)	0.01*** (0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Post-Graduate	0.03*** (0.002)	(0.00)	(0.00)	0.03*** (0.002)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Female	−0.01*** (0.0003)	(0.00)	(0.00)	−0.01*** (0.0003)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Age	0.001*** (0.0000)	(0.00)	(0.00)	0.001*** (0.0001)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Protestant	−0.003*** (0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)	−0.003*** (0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Catholic	−0.004*** (0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)	−0.004*** (0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Buddhist	−0.004 (0.003)	(0.00)	(0.00)	−0.003 (0.004)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Hindu	−0.003 (0.002)	(0.00)	(0.00)	−0.0002 (0.003)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Confucian	−0.05*** (0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)	−0.05*** (0.003)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Other	0.01 (0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)	−0.01*** (0.004)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Years in Civil Service	−0.001*** (0.0000)	(0.00)	(0.00)	−0.001*** (0.0001)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Junior High*Post Democratization	0.001 (0.002)	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)
Education: Senior High*Post Democratization	0.01*** (0.001)	0.01*** (0.001)	0.01*** (0.001)	0.01*** (0.001)	0.01*** (0.001)	0.01*** (0.001)
Education: Diploma I/II/III*Post Democratization	0.01*** (0.001)	0.003*** (0.001)	0.003*** (0.001)	0.003*** (0.001)	0.003*** (0.001)	0.003*** (0.001)
Education: Diploma IV/S1*Post Democratization	0.02*** (0.001)	0.01*** (0.001)	0.01*** (0.001)	0.01*** (0.001)	0.01*** (0.001)	0.01*** (0.001)
Education: Post-Graduate*Post Democratization	0.04*** (0.002)	0.03*** (0.002)	0.03*** (0.002)	0.04*** (0.002)	0.03*** (0.002)	0.03*** (0.002)
Sample	Full	Full	Full	Pre-1999	Pre-1999	Pre-1999
Department FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Province of Birth FE	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No
Individual FE	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Golongan FE	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	4,142,300	4,142,300	4,142,300	2,419,217	2,419,217	2,419,217
R^2	0.03	0.20	0.20	0.03	0.18	0.18
Adjusted R^2	0.03	0.14	0.14	0.03	0.16	0.16
Residual Std. Error	0.12 (df = 4141008)	0.11 (df = 3859718)	0.11 (df = 3859718)	0.10 (df = 2417963)	0.10 (df = 2338867)	0.10 (df = 2338867)

Notes:

***Significant at the 1 percent level.
**Significant at the 5 percent level.
*Significant at the 10 percent level.
Standard errors are clustered at the individual level.

Table E.7: Promotion Analysis: Education, Province Time Trends

	Promotion (1)	Promotion (2)	Promotion (3)	Promotion (4)	Promotion (5)	Promotion (6)
Post Democratization	−0.01*** (0.0002)	−0.003*** (0.0001)	−0.003*** (0.0001)	−0.002*** (0.0002)	−0.001*** (0.0001)	−0.001*** (0.0001)
Education: Junior High	0.002*** (0.0004)	(0.00)	(0.00)	0.002*** (0.0004)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Senior High	0.01*** (0.0002)	(0.00)	(0.00)	0.01*** (0.0002)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Diploma I/II/III	0.01*** (0.0002)	(0.00)	(0.00)	0.01*** (0.0002)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Diploma IV/S1	0.01*** (0.0002)	(0.00)	(0.00)	0.01*** (0.0002)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Post-Graduate	0.04*** (0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)	0.03*** (0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Female	−0.01*** (0.0001)	(0.00)	(0.00)	−0.01*** (0.0001)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Age	0.001*** (0.0000)	(0.00)	(0.00)	0.002*** (0.0000)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Protestant	−0.003*** (0.0002)	(0.00)	(0.00)	−0.003*** (0.0002)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Catholic	−0.004*** (0.0003)	(0.00)	(0.00)	−0.003*** (0.0003)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Buddhist	−0.0000 (0.002)	(0.00)	(0.00)	0.001 (0.003)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Hindu	−0.003*** (0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)	−0.002*** (0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Confucian	−0.02*** (0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)	−0.02*** (0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Other	−0.004 (0.004)	(0.00)	(0.00)	−0.01 (0.004)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Years in Civil Service	−0.001*** (0.0000)	0.0004*** (0.0000)	0.0004*** (0.0000)	−0.002*** (0.0000)	0.0002*** (0.0000)	0.0002*** (0.0000)
Education: Junior High*Post Democratization	0.0002 (0.0003)	0.001*** (0.0003)	0.001*** (0.0003)	0.002*** (0.0003)	0.001*** (0.0002)	0.001*** (0.0002)
Education: Senior High*Post Democratization	0.01*** (0.0002)	0.004*** (0.0001)	0.004*** (0.0001)	0.01*** (0.0002)	0.005*** (0.0001)	0.005*** (0.0001)
Education: Diploma I/II/III*Post Democratization	0.005*** (0.0002)	0.001*** (0.0001)	0.001*** (0.0001)	0.002*** (0.0002)	0.001*** (0.0001)	0.001*** (0.0001)
Education: Diploma IV/S1*Post Democratization	0.02*** (0.0002)	0.01*** (0.0001)	0.01*** (0.0001)	0.01*** (0.0002)	0.01*** (0.0001)	0.01*** (0.0001)
Education: Post-Graduate*Post Democratization	0.03*** (0.001)	0.03*** (0.0005)	0.03*** (0.0005)	0.03*** (0.001)	0.03*** (0.0005)	0.03*** (0.0005)
Sample	Full	Full	Full	Pre-1999	Pre-1999	Pre-1999
Department FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Province of Birth FE	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No
Individual FE	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Golongan FE	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Province Time Trend	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	39,421,668	39,421,668	39,421,668	25,037,634	25,037,634	25,037,634
R²	0.03	0.28	0.28	0.03	0.25	0.25
Adjusted R²	0.03	0.22	0.22	0.03	0.22	0.22
Residual Std. Error	0.12 (df = 39420960)	0.11 (df = 36299440)	0.11 (df = 36299424)	0.10 (df = 25036929)	0.09 (df = 24055683)	0.09 (df = 24055667)

Notes:

***Significant at the 1 percent level.
**Significant at the 5 percent level.
*Significant at the 10 percent level.
Standard errors are clustered at the individual level.

F Alternative Clustering of Standard Errors

Table F.8: Promotion Analysis: Education

	Promotion (1)	Promotion (2)	Promotion (3)	Promotion (4)	Promotion (5)	Promotion (6)
Post Democratization	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Junior High	0.003*** (0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)	0.002*** (0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Senior High	0.01*** (0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)	0.004*** (0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Diploma I/II/III	0.01*** (0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)	0.005*** (0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Diploma IV/S1	0.01*** (0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)	0.01*** (0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Post-Graduate	0.04*** (0.002)	(0.00)	(0.00)	0.03*** (0.002)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Female	−0.01*** (0.0004)	(0.00)	(0.00)	−0.01*** (0.0004)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Age	0.001*** (0.0001)	(0.00)	(0.00)	0.001*** (0.0001)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Protestant	−0.003*** (0.0004)	(0.00)	(0.00)	−0.003*** (0.0004)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Catholic	−0.004*** (0.0004)	(0.00)	(0.00)	−0.003*** (0.0005)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Buddhist	−0.001 (0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)	0.0001 (0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Hindu	−0.003*** (0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)	−0.001 (0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Confucian	−0.02*** (0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)	−0.02*** (0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Other	−0.002 (0.004)	(0.00)	(0.00)	−0.003 (0.004)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Years in Civil Service	−0.001*** (0.0001)	(0.00)	(0.00)	−0.001*** (0.0001)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Junior High*Post Democratization	0.0003 (0.0004)	0.001*** (0.0003)	0.001*** (0.0003)	0.002*** (0.0003)	0.001*** (0.0003)	0.001*** (0.0003)
Education: Senior High*Post Democratization	0.01*** (0.0005)	0.01*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0004)	0.01*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)
Education: Diploma I/II/III*Post Democratization	0.01*** (0.0004)	0.002*** (0.0002)	0.002*** (0.0002)	0.002*** (0.0002)	0.002*** (0.0002)	0.002*** (0.0002)
Education: Diploma IV/S1*Post Democratization	0.02*** (0.001)	0.01*** (0.001)	0.01*** (0.001)	0.01*** (0.001)	0.01*** (0.001)	0.01*** (0.001)
Education: Post-Graduate*Post Democratization	0.03*** (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)
Sample	Full	Full	Full	Pre-1999	Pre-1999	Pre-1999
Department FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Province of Birth FE	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No
Individual FE	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Golongan FE	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	51,674,834	51,674,834	51,674,834	30,130,880	30,130,880	30,130,880
R²	0.03	0.20	0.20	0.03	0.18	0.18
Adjusted R²	0.03	0.14	0.14	0.03	0.15	0.15
Residual Std. Error	0.12 (df = 51674125)	0.11 (df = 48153553)	0.11 (df = 48153537)	0.11 (df = 30130174)	0.10 (df = 29137554)	0.10 (df = 29137538)

Notes:

***Significant at the 1 percent level.
**Significant at the 5 percent level.
*Significant at the 10 percent level.
Standard errors are clustered at the department-level.

G   Varying Effect by Year

Table G.9: Promotion Analysis: Education, Varying Effects by Year

	Promotion (1)	Promotion (2)	Promotion (3)	Promotion (4)	Promotion (5)	Promotion (6)
Higher Education	0.001*** (0.0002)	(0.00)	(0.00)	0.001*** (0.0002)	(0.00)	(0.00)
1981*Higher Education	0.001*** (0.0002)	0.0002 (0.0002)	0.0002 (0.0002)	0.001*** (0.0002)	0.0002 (0.0002)	0.0002 (0.0002)
1982*Higher Education	0.001*** (0.0002)	−0.0000 (0.0002)	−0.0000 (0.0002)	0.001*** (0.0002)	−0.0000 (0.0002)	−0.0000 (0.0002)
1983*Higher Education	0.001*** (0.0002)	0.0001 (0.0002)	0.0001 (0.0002)	0.001*** (0.0002)	0.0001 (0.0002)	0.0001 (0.0002)
1984*Higher Education	0.001*** (0.0002)	0.0002 (0.0002)	0.0002 (0.0002)	0.001*** (0.0002)	0.0002 (0.0002)	0.0002 (0.0002)
1985*Higher Education	0.002*** (0.0002)	−0.0001 (0.0002)	−0.0001 (0.0002)	0.001*** (0.0002)	−0.0001 (0.0002)	−0.0001 (0.0002)
1986*Higher Education	0.002*** (0.0002)	−0.001*** (0.0002)	−0.001*** (0.0002)	0.001*** (0.0002)	−0.001*** (0.0002)	−0.001*** (0.0002)
1987*Higher Education	0.002*** (0.0002)	−0.001*** (0.0002)	−0.001*** (0.0002)	0.002*** (0.0002)	−0.001*** (0.0002)	−0.001*** (0.0002)
1988*Higher Education	0.003*** (0.0002)	−0.001*** (0.0002)	−0.001*** (0.0002)	0.002*** (0.0002)	−0.001*** (0.0002)	−0.001*** (0.0002)
1989*Higher Education	0.004*** (0.0002)	−0.001*** (0.0002)	−0.001*** (0.0002)	0.003*** (0.0002)	−0.001*** (0.0002)	−0.001*** (0.0002)
1990*Higher Education	0.004*** (0.0002)	−0.002*** (0.0002)	−0.002*** (0.0002)	0.003*** (0.0002)	−0.002*** (0.0002)	−0.002*** (0.0002)
1991*Higher Education	0.005*** (0.0002)	−0.002*** (0.0002)	−0.002*** (0.0002)	0.004*** (0.0002)	−0.002*** (0.0002)	−0.002*** (0.0002)
1992*Higher Education	0.01*** (0.0002)	−0.002*** (0.0002)	−0.002*** (0.0002)	0.004*** (0.0002)	−0.002*** (0.0002)	−0.002*** (0.0002)
1993*Higher Education	0.01*** (0.0002)	−0.002*** (0.0002)	−0.002*** (0.0002)	0.004*** (0.0002)	−0.002*** (0.0002)	−0.002*** (0.0002)
1994*Higher Education	0.01*** (0.0002)	−0.003*** (0.0003)	−0.003*** (0.0003)	0.005*** (0.0002)	−0.003*** (0.0002)	−0.003*** (0.0002)
1995*Higher Education	0.01*** (0.0002)	−0.002*** (0.0003)	−0.002*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0002)	−0.002*** (0.0002)	−0.002*** (0.0002)
1996*Higher Education	0.01*** (0.0002)	−0.003*** (0.0003)	−0.003*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0002)	−0.003*** (0.0002)	−0.003*** (0.0002)
1997*Higher Education	0.01*** (0.0002)	−0.002*** (0.0003)	−0.002*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0002)	−0.002*** (0.0002)	−0.002*** (0.0002)
1998*Higher Education	0.01*** (0.0002)	−0.002*** (0.0003)	−0.002*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0002)	−0.002*** (0.0003)	−0.002*** (0.0003)
1999*Higher Education	0.01*** (0.0003)	−0.001*** (0.0003)	−0.001*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0002)	−0.001*** (0.0003)	−0.001*** (0.0003)
2000*Higher Education	0.01*** (0.0003)	−0.001*** (0.0003)	−0.001*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)	−0.0003 (0.0003)	−0.0003 (0.0003)
2001*Higher Education	0.02*** (0.0003)	0.005*** (0.0003)	0.005*** (0.0003)	0.02*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)
2002*Higher Education	0.02*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)	0.02*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)
2003*Higher Education	0.02*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)	0.02*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)
2004*Higher Education	0.02*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)	0.02*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)
2005*Higher Education	0.02*** (0.0003)	0.004*** (0.0003)	0.004*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)
2006*Higher Education	0.02*** (0.0003)	0.003*** (0.0003)	0.003*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)
2007*Higher Education	0.02*** (0.0002)	0.003*** (0.0003)	0.003*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)
2008*Higher Education	0.02*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)	0.02*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)
2009*Higher Education	0.02*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)	0.02*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)
2010*Higher Education	0.02*** (0.0002)	0.01*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)	0.02*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)
2011*Higher Education	0.02*** (0.0002)	0.01*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)	0.02*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)
2012*Higher Education	0.02*** (0.0002)	0.01*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)
2013*Higher Education	0.02*** (0.0002)	0.01*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)
2014*Higher Education	0.02*** (0.0002)	0.01*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)	0.003*** (0.0003)	0.003*** (0.0003)
2015*Higher Education	0.02*** (0.0002)	0.01*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)	0.01*** (0.0003)	0.0004 (0.0003)	0.0004 (0.0003)
Sample	Full	Full	Full	Pre-1999	Pre-1999	Pre-1999
Department FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Province of Birth FE	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No
Individual FE	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Golongan FE	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	51,674,834	51,674,834	51,674,834	30,130,880	30,130,880	30,130,880
R²	0.02	0.20	0.20	0.02	0.18	0.18
Adjusted R²	0.02	0.14	0.14	0.02	0.15	0.15
Residual Std. Error	0.12 (df = 51674099)	0.11 (df = 48153523)	0.11 (df = 48153507)	0.11 (df = 30130148)	0.10 (df = 29137524)	0.10 (df = 29137508)

Notes:

***Significant at the 1 percent level.
**Significant at the 5 percent level.
*Significant at the 10 percent level.
Standard errors are clustered at the individual level.

H National Employees

Table H.10: Promotion Analysis: Education, National Employees

	Promotion (1)	Promotion (2)	Promotion (3)	Promotion (4)	Promotion (5)	Promotion (6)
Post Democratization	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Junior High	−0.01*** (0.002)	(0.00)	(0.00)	−0.01*** (0.002)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Senior High	0.01*** (0.002)	(0.00)	(0.00)	−0.0001 (0.002)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Diploma I/II/III	0.01*** (0.002)	(0.00)	(0.00)	0.01*** (0.002)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Diploma IV/S1	0.02*** (0.002)	(0.00)	(0.00)	0.02*** (0.002)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Post-Graduate	0.02*** (0.002)	(0.00)	(0.00)	0.02*** (0.002)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Female	−0.01*** (0.0002)	(0.00)	(0.00)	−0.01*** (0.0004)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Age	0.001*** (0.0000)	(0.00)	(0.00)	0.001*** (0.0000)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Protestant	−0.003*** (0.0004)	(0.00)	(0.00)	−0.002*** (0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Catholic	−0.004*** (0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)	−0.001 (0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Buddhist	0.01*** (0.003)	(0.00)	(0.00)	0.03*** (0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Hindu	−0.003** (0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)	−0.001 (0.002)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Confucian	−0.03*** (0.005)	(0.00)	(0.00)	−0.03*** (0.002)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Other	−0.002 (0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)	0.003 (0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Years in Civil Service	0.0003*** (0.0000)	(0.00)	(0.00)	−0.0003*** (0.0001)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Junior High*Post Democratization	0.01*** (0.002)	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)
Education: Senior High*Post Democratization	0.005*** (0.001)	0.01*** (0.001)	0.01*** (0.001)	0.01*** (0.001)	0.01*** (0.001)	0.01*** (0.001)
Education: Diploma I/II/III*Post Democratization	0.01*** (0.001)	0.01*** (0.001)	0.01*** (0.001)	0.005*** (0.001)	0.01*** (0.001)	0.01*** (0.001)
Education: Diploma IV/S1*Post Democratization	0.01*** (0.001)	0.02*** (0.001)	0.02*** (0.001)	0.02*** (0.001)	0.02*** (0.001)	0.02*** (0.001)
Education: Post-Graduate*Post Democratization	0.02*** (0.001)	0.02*** (0.001)	0.02*** (0.001)	0.02*** (0.001)	0.02*** (0.001)	0.02*** (0.001)
Sample	Full	Full	Full	Pre-1999	Pre-1999	Pre-1999
Department FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Province of Birth FE	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No
Individual FE	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Golongan FE	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	8,064,868	8,064,868	8,064,868	3,532,868	3,532,868	3,532,868
R^2	0.03	0.19	0.19	0.04	0.18	0.18
Adjusted R^2	0.03	0.12	0.12	0.04	0.15	0.15
Residual Std. Error	0.14 (df = 8064702)	0.13 (df = 7423345)	0.13 (df = 7423329)	0.14 (df = 3532705)	0.13 (df = 3414818)	0.13 (df = 3414802)

Notes:

***Significant at the 1 percent level.
**Significant at the 5 percent level.
*Significant at the 10 percent level.
Standard errors are clustered at the individual level.

I Returns to Javanese Origin

Table I.11: Promotion Analysis: From Java

	Promotion (1)	Promotion (2)	Promotion (3)	Promotion (4)	Promotion (5)	Promotion (6)
From Java						
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Post Democratization						
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Junior High	−0.01***			−0.01***		
	(0.0001)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.0001)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Senior High	0.001***			0.001***		
	(0.0000)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.0000)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Diploma I/II/III	0.002***			0.002***		
	(0.0002)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.0004)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Diploma IV/S1	0.01***			0.01***		
	(0.0002)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.0002)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Post-Graduate	0.01***			0.01***		
	(0.0002)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.0002)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Female	0.03***			0.02***		
	(0.0002)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.0002)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Age	0.06***			0.05***		
	(0.0003)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.0005)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Protestant	−0.003***			−0.003***		
	(0.0002)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.0002)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Catholic	−0.004***			−0.003***		
	(0.0002)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.0003)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Buddhist	−0.001			−0.0000		
	(0.002)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.003)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Hindu	−0.003***			−0.001*		
	(0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Confucian	−0.03***			−0.02***		
	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Other	−0.002			−0.003		
	(0.004)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.004)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Years in Civil Service	−0.001***			−0.001***		
	(0.0000)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.0000)	(0.00)	(0.00)
From Java*Post Democratization	−0.01***	−0.004***	−0.004***	−0.01***	−0.004***	−0.004***
	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)
Sample	Full	Full	Full	Pre-1999	Pre-1999	Pre-1999
Department FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Province of Birth FE	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No
Individual FE	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Golongan FE	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	51,674,834	51,674,834	51,674,834	30,130,880	30,130,880	30,130,880
R^2	0.03	0.20	0.20	0.03	0.18	0.18
Adjusted R^2	0.03	0.14	0.14	0.03	0.15	0.15
Residual Std. Error	0.12 (df = 51674129)	0.11 (df = 48153557)	0.11 (df = 48153541)	0.11 (df = 30130178)	0.10 (df = 29137558)	0.10 (df = 29137542)

Notes:

***Significant at the 1 percent level.
**Significant at the 5 percent level.
*Significant at the 10 percent level.
Standard errors are clustered at the individual level.

J Election Years and Echelon Level

Table J.12: Echelon Analysis: National Election Year

	Echelon (1)	Echelon (2)	Echelon (3)	Echelon (4)	Echelon (5)	Echelon (6)
Pre-Election Year	0.01***	−0.11***	−0.11***	−0.01***	−0.09***	−0.09***
	(0.0003)	(0.0004)	(0.0004)	(0.0004)	(0.0004)	(0.0004)
Election Year	0.01***	−0.08***	−0.08***	−0.01***	−0.07***	−0.07***
	(0.0003)	(0.0003)	(0.0003)	(0.0003)	(0.0003)	(0.0003)
Post-Election Year	0.01***	−0.06***	−0.06***	−0.01***	−0.05***	−0.05***
	(0.0002)	(0.0003)	(0.0003)	(0.0002)	(0.0003)	(0.0003)
Post-1999	0.33***	−0.32***	−0.32***	0.10***	−0.22***	−0.22***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Female	−0.22***			−0.16***		
	(0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Age	0.02***			0.003***		
	(0.0001)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.0002)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Junior High	0.04***			0.03***		
	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Senior High	0.21***			0.13***		
	(0.005)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Diploma I/II/III	0.17***			0.09***		
	(0.004)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Diploma IV/S1	0.49***			0.31***		
	(0.005)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Post-Graduate	1.35***			0.98***		
	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Protestant	−0.05***			−0.04***		
	(0.002)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.003)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Catholic	−0.08***			−0.05***		
	(0.003)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.004)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Buddhist	−0.05***			−0.03		
	(0.02)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.03)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Hindu	−0.06***			−0.02*		
	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Confucian	−0.29			−0.36**		
	(0.21)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.15)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Other	−0.06			−0.04		
	(0.05)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.06)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Years in Civil Service	−0.01***	0.03***	0.03***	0.01***	0.02***	0.02***
	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)
Pre-Election Year*Post-1999	0.04***	0.11***	0.11***	0.05***	0.10***	0.10***
	(0.0004)	(0.0004)	(0.0004)	(0.0004)	(0.0005)	(0.0005)
Election Year*Post-1999	0.04***	0.10***	0.10***	0.02***	0.08***	0.08***
	(0.0004)	(0.0004)	(0.0004)	(0.0004)	(0.0005)	(0.0005)
Post-Election Year*Post-1999	0.06***	0.07***	0.07***	0.03***	0.06***	0.06***
	(0.0003)	(0.0003)	(0.0003)	(0.0004)	(0.0004)	(0.0004)
Sample	Full	Full	Full	Pre-1999	Pre-1999	Pre-1999
Department FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Province of Birth FE	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No
Individual FE	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Golongan FE	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
N	51,674,835	51,674,835	51,674,835	30,130,880	30,130,880	30,130,880
R²	0.13	0.67	0.67	0.10	0.50	0.50
Adjusted R²	0.13	0.64	0.64	0.10	0.48	0.48
Residual Std. Error	1.06 (df = 51674159)	0.68 (df = 48153586)	0.68 (df = 48153570)	0.90 (df = 30130207)	0.68 (df = 29137586)	0.68 (df = 29137570)

Notes:

***Significant at the 1 percent level.
**Significant at the 5 percent level.
*Significant at the 10 percent level.
Standard errors are clustered at the individual level.

K Local Government Size

Table K.13: Promotion Analysis: Direct Elections and Education

	Promotion (1)	Promotion (2)	Promotion (3)	Promotion (4)	Promotion (5)	Promotion (6)
Education: Junior High	0.004*** (0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)	0.004*** (0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Senior High	0.02*** (0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)	0.01*** (0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Diploma I/II/III	0.01*** (0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)	0.01*** (0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Diploma IV/S1	0.02*** (0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)	0.01*** (0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Post-Graduate	0.09*** (0.002)	(0.00)	(0.00)	0.08*** (0.002)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Elected Leader	−0.01*** (0.001)	−0.01*** (0.0002)	−0.01*** (0.0002)	−0.01*** (0.001)	−0.004*** (0.0003)	−0.004*** (0.0003)
District Size	−0.02*** (0.001)	−0.003*** (0.001)	−0.003*** (0.001)	−0.01*** (0.002)	−0.002*** (0.001)	−0.002*** (0.001)
Education: Junior High*Elected Leader	−0.001 (0.001)	−0.0002 (0.001)	−0.0002 (0.001)	0.0002 (0.001)	−0.001 (0.001)	−0.001 (0.001)
Education: Senior High*Elected Leader	0.002** (0.001)	0.004*** (0.0003)	0.004*** (0.0003)	0.004*** (0.001)	0.003*** (0.0004)	0.003*** (0.0004)
Education: Diploma I/II/III*Elected Leader	0.002*** (0.001)	0.0003 (0.0002)	0.0003 (0.0002)	0.001* (0.001)	0.0003 (0.0003)	0.0003 (0.0003)
Education: Diploma IV/S1*Elected Leader	0.01*** (0.001)	0.003*** (0.0003)	0.003*** (0.0003)	0.005*** (0.001)	0.003*** (0.0004)	0.003*** (0.0004)
Education: Post-Graduate*Elected Leader	0.003* (0.002)	0.02*** (0.002)	0.02*** (0.002)	0.01** (0.003)	0.01** (0.003)	0.01** (0.003)
Education: Junior High*District Size	0.002 (0.002)	−0.01* (0.004)	−0.01* (0.004)	−0.0002 (0.003)	−0.01* (0.01)	−0.01* (0.01)
Education: Senior High*District Size	0.01*** (0.001)	0.003** (0.001)	0.003** (0.001)	0.01*** (0.002)	0.002* (0.001)	0.002* (0.001)
Education: Diploma I/II/III*District Size	0.01*** (0.001)	0.0003 (0.001)	0.0003 (0.001)	0.003** (0.002)	−0.001 (0.001)	−0.001 (0.001)
Education: Diploma IV/S1*District Size	0.03*** (0.001)	−0.01*** (0.001)	−0.01*** (0.001)	0.03*** (0.002)	0.01*** (0.002)	0.01*** (0.002)
Education: Post-Graduate*District Size	0.02*** (0.004)	−0.02*** (0.01)	−0.02*** (0.01)	0.04*** (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Elected Leader*District Size	0.01*** (0.001)	−0.001 (0.0003)	−0.001 (0.0003)	0.002* (0.001)	−0.002*** (0.0004)	−0.002*** (0.0004)
Education: Junior High*Elected Leader*District Size	0.002 (0.002)	0.01** (0.003)	0.01** (0.003)	0.01* (0.004)	0.01** (0.004)	0.01** (0.004)
Education: Senior High*Elected Leader*District Size	−0.002 (0.001)	0.002*** (0.001)	0.002*** (0.001)	0.0000 (0.002)	0.003*** (0.001)	0.003*** (0.001)
Education: Diploma I/II/III*Elected Leader*District Size	0.001 (0.001)	0.003*** (0.001)	0.003*** (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.003*** (0.001)	0.003*** (0.001)
Education: Diploma IV/S1*Elected Leader*District Size	−0.01*** (0.002)	0.01*** (0.001)	0.01*** (0.001)	0.0002 (0.002)	0.01*** (0.001)	0.01*** (0.001)
Education: Post-Graduate*Elected Leader*District Size	0.01*** (0.005)	0.03*** (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)	0.04*** (0.01)	0.04*** (0.01)
Sample	Full	Full	Full	Pre-1999	Pre-1999	Pre-1999
Individual Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
District Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Department FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Province of Birth FE	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No
Individual FE	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Golongan FE	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	9,729,863	9,729,863	9,729,863	5,543,564	5,543,564	5,543,564
R²	0.03	0.27	0.27	0.04	0.26	0.26
Adjusted R²	0.03	0.12	0.12	0.04	0.15	0.15
Residual Std. Error	0.13 (df = 9729366)	0.12 (df = 8043897)	0.12 (df = 8043881)	0.12 (df = 5543067)	0.11 (df = 4839652)	0.11 (df = 4839636)

Notes:

***Significant at the 1 percent level.
**Significant at the 5 percent level.
*Significant at the 10 percent level.
Standard errors are clustered at the individual level.

Table K.14: Promotion Analysis: District Election Years and Government Size

	Promotion	Promotion	Promotion	Promotion	Promotion	Promotion
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Pre-Election Year	−0.001***	−0.001***	−0.001***	−0.0005*	−0.001***	−0.001***
	(0.0002)	(0.0002)	(0.0002)	(0.0002)	(0.0002)	(0.0002)
Election Year	−0.001***	−0.002***	−0.002***	−0.001***	−0.001***	−0.001***
	(0.0002)	(0.0002)	(0.0002)	(0.0003)	(0.0003)	(0.0003)
Post-Election Year	−0.001***	−0.001***	−0.001***	−0.0000	−0.0002	−0.0002
	(0.0002)	(0.0002)	(0.0002)	(0.0002)	(0.0003)	(0.0003)
Government Size	−0.0002	−0.002***	−0.002***	0.004***	0.004***	0.004***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Pre-Election Year* Gov Size	0.001***	0.002***	0.002***	−0.0003	0.0001	0.0001
	(0.0004)	(0.0005)	(0.0005)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Election Year* Gov Size	0.002***	0.003***	0.003***	0.001	0.002**	0.002**
	(0.0005)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Post-Election Year* Gov Size	0.004***	0.01***	0.01***	0.002***	0.003***	0.003***
	(0.0005)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Sample	Full	Full	Full	Pre-1999	Pre-1999	Pre-1999
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Department FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Province of Birth FE	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No
Individual FE	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Golongan FE	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	9,598,802	9,598,802	9,598,802	5,463,951	5,463,951	5,463,951
R^2	0.03	0.27	0.27	0.04	0.26	0.26
Adjusted R^2	0.03	0.12	0.12	0.04	0.15	0.15
Residual Std. Error	0.13 (df = 9598318)	0.12 (df = 7917099)	0.12 (df = 7917083)	0.12 (df = 5463467)	0.11 (df = 4761571)	0.11 (df = 4761555)

Notes:

***Significant at the 1 percent level.
**Significant at the 5 percent level.
*Significant at the 10 percent level.
Standard errors are clustered at the individual level.

L Election Years and Education

Table L.15: Promotion Analysis: District Election Years and Education

	Promotion (1)	Promotion (2)	Promotion (3)	Promotion (4)	Promotion (5)	Promotion (6)
Pre-Election Year	−0.002*** (0.0003)	−0.002*** (0.0002)	−0.002*** (0.0002)	−0.002*** (0.0003)	−0.002*** (0.0002)	−0.002*** (0.0002)
Election Year	−0.001*** (0.0003)	−0.001*** (0.0002)	−0.001*** (0.0002)	−0.002*** (0.0003)	−0.001*** (0.0003)	−0.001*** (0.0003)
Post-Election Year	−0.001*** (0.0003)	−0.002*** (0.0001)	−0.002*** (0.0001)	−0.001*** (0.0003)	−0.001*** (0.0001)	−0.001*** (0.0001)
Education: Junior High	0.004*** (0.0004)	(0.00)	(0.00)	0.005*** (0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Senior High	0.02*** (0.0003)	(0.00)	(0.00)	0.02*** (0.0004)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Diploma I/II/III	0.01*** (0.0002)	(0.00)	(0.00)	0.01*** (0.0003)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Diploma IV/S1	0.03*** (0.0003)	(0.00)	(0.00)	0.02*** (0.0004)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Post-Graduate	0.10*** (0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)	0.10*** (0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Pre-Election Year*Education: Junior High	0.001** (0.001)	0.001** (0.0005)	0.001** (0.0005)	0.001* (0.001)	0.001** (0.001)	0.001** (0.001)
Pre-Election Year*Education: Senior High	0.001*** (0.0003)	0.001*** (0.0002)	0.001*** (0.0002)	0.002*** (0.0004)	0.002*** (0.0003)	0.002*** (0.0003)
Pre-Election Year*Education: Diploma I/II/III	0.001*** (0.0003)	0.0002 (0.0002)	0.0002 (0.0002)	0.001* (0.0003)	0.0003 (0.0002)	0.0003 (0.0002)
Pre-Election Year*Education: Diploma IV/S1	0.001*** (0.0003)	0.001*** (0.0002)	0.001*** (0.0002)	0.002*** (0.0004)	0.001*** (0.0003)	0.001*** (0.0003)
Pre-Election Year*Education: Post-Graduate	0.001 (0.001)	0.004*** (0.001)	0.004*** (0.001)	0.01*** (0.002)	0.01*** (0.002)	0.01*** (0.002)
Election Year*Education: Junior High	0.0004 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)
Election Year*Education: Senior High	−0.001*** (0.0003)	−0.0001 (0.0003)	−0.0001 (0.0003)	−0.0000 (0.0004)	0.001 (0.0004)	0.001 (0.0004)
Election Year*Education: Diploma I/II/III	0.001** (0.0003)	−0.0002 (0.0002)	−0.0002 (0.0002)	0.0000 (0.0003)	−0.0001 (0.0003)	−0.0001 (0.0003)
Election Year*Education: Diploma IV/S1	0.0000 (0.0003)	0.0000 (0.0003)	0.0000 (0.0003)	0.001*** (0.0003)	0.001* (0.0003)	0.001* (0.0003)
Election Year*Education: Post-Graduate	0.003*** (0.001)	0.01*** (0.001)	0.01*** (0.001)	0.01*** (0.002)	0.01*** (0.002)	0.01*** (0.002)
Post-Election Year*Education: Junior High	−0.0005 (0.0005)	0.0002 (0.0005)	0.0002 (0.0005)	0.0003 (0.001)	0.0002 (0.001)	0.0002 (0.001)
Post-Election Year*Education: Senior High	0.001*** (0.0003)	0.002*** (0.0002)	0.002*** (0.0002)	0.002*** (0.0004)	0.002*** (0.0003)	0.002*** (0.0003)
Post-Election Year*Education: Diploma I/II/III	0.001*** (0.0003)	0.001*** (0.0002)	0.001*** (0.0002)	0.001** (0.0003)	0.001*** (0.0001)	0.001*** (0.0001)
Post-Election Year*Education: Diploma IV/S1	0.001*** (0.0003)	0.002*** (0.0002)	0.002*** (0.0002)	0.002*** (0.0003)	0.002*** (0.0002)	0.002*** (0.0002)
Post-Election Year*Education: Post-Graduate	0.003** (0.001)	0.01*** (0.001)	0.01*** (0.001)	0.01*** (0.002)	0.01*** (0.002)	0.01*** (0.002)
Sample	Full	Full	Full	Pre-1999	Pre-1999	Pre-1999
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Department FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Province of Birth FE	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No
Individual FE	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Golongan FE	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	10,336,662	10,336,662	10,336,662	5,881,420	5,881,420	5,881,420
R²	0.03	0.26	0.26	0.04	0.25	0.25
Adjusted R²	0.03	0.12	0.12	0.04	0.15	0.15
Residual Std. Error	0.13 (df = 10336167)	0.12 (df = 8654443)	0.12 (df = 8654427)	0.12 (df = 5880925)	0.11 (df = 5179029)	0.11 (df = 5179013)

Notes:

*** Significant at the 1 percent level.
** Significant at the 5 percent level.
* Significant at the 10 percent level.
Standard errors are clustered at the individual level.

M Local Elections and Government Performance

Table M.16: Democracy and Expenditures.

	Total	Personnel	Goods	Capital
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Direct Elections	0.05***	−0.001	0.06**	0.09***
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Control Variables	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
District FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	4,597	4,622	4,603	4,601
R^2	0.93	0.84	0.91	0.87
Adjusted R^2	0.92	0.82	0.89	0.85
Residual Std. Error	0.21 (df = 3994)	0.26 (df = 4019)	0.29 (df = 4000)	0.43 (df = 3998)

Notes: ***Significant at the 1% level.
                                                                  **Significant at the 5% level.
                                                                  *Significant at the 10% level.

Table M.17: Democracy and Expenditures

	Agri	Econ	Edu	Env	Admin	Health
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Direct Elections	0.005	0.02	0.04	0.11	−0.01	0.09***
	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.08)	(0.04)	(0.03)
Control variables	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
District FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	2,599	2,604	2,629	2,291	2,721	2,621
R^2	0.91	0.80	0.76	0.77	0.89	0.91
Adjusted R^2	0.89	0.75	0.70	0.70	0.86	0.89
Residual Std. Error	0.40 (df = 2062)	0.51 (df = 2068)	0.43 (df = 2090)	0.78 (df = 1767)	0.37 (df = 2180)	0.32 (df = 2082)

	Hous	Infra	Law	Rel	Soc	Tour
	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
	0.10	0.05	−0.11		−0.11	0.01
	(0.23)	(0.07)	(0.09)	(0.00)	(0.08)	(0.07)
Control variables	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
District FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	1,302	2,619	1,434	325	2,170	2,134
R^2	0.66	0.80	0.88	0.95	0.76	0.81
Adjusted R^2	0.48	0.74	0.82	0.80	0.69	0.76
Residual Std. Error	1.34 (df = 853)	0.70 (df = 2080)	0.64 (df = 911)	0.60 (df = 78)	0.75 (df = 1647)	0.63 (df = 1616)

Notes:

***Significant at the 1% level.
**Significant at the 5% level.
*Significant at the 10% level.

Table M.18: Democracy and Service Delivery

	Services Provision	Poverty	Births	Morbidity	Immu	Enroll	Electricity	Roads	Water	Sanitation	Violence
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
CS Education	0.59	−0.01	−0.41	10.33**	6.16	−2.12	15.39***	−6.83	−0.53	−0.68	17.52
	(0.68)	(0.02)	(5.02)	(4.10)	(5.72)	(5.88)	(4.66)	(12.12)	(4.53)	(8.24)	(25.29)
Control Variables	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
District FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	1,427	1,599	1,590	1,591	1,304	702	1,440	602	1,591	1,592	332
R^2	0.95	0.94	0.92	0.72	0.77	0.89	0.95	0.95	0.87	0.91	0.88
Adjusted R^2	0.94	0.93	0.90	0.66	0.72	0.84	0.93	0.91	0.84	0.90	0.84
Residual Std. Error	0.77 (df = 1167)	0.02 (df = 1323)	6.34 (df = 1319)	4.87 (df = 1320)	4.42 (df = 1062)	2.39 (df = 478)	4.58 (df = 1170)	7.41 (df = 352)	6.60 (df = 1320)	4.90 (df = 1321)	26.99 (df = 236)

Notes:

***Significant at the 1% level.
**Significant at the 5% level.
*Significant at the 10% level.

Appendix References

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