Table 1: Placebo results on learning after one election

	(1) OLS	(2) OLS (logged)	(3) Δ Access	(4) Poisson
Mixed support	0.003	0.001	-0.007	-0.031
	(0.012)	(0.007)	(0.009)	(0.058)
non-PDS support	-0.004	-0.003	-0.004	-0.010
	(0.016)	(0.010)	(0.012)	(0.072)
PDS support	-0.089*	-0.054*	-0.086***	-0.601***
	(0.035)	(0.022)	(0.026)	(0.170)
Access to placebos in 2000	0.633***	0.612***	-0.059***	1.065***
(Logged in Model 2)	(0.027)	(0.024)	(0.015)	(0.049)
Observations	10744	10744	10744	10744
R^2	0.538	0.524	0.175	

One-sided Wald test (p-value)

Null hypothesis:

Mixed support $\geq$ PDS support	0.995	0.993	0.998	1.000
non-PDS support $\geq$ PDS support	0.987	0.984	0.998	1.000

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses, clustered at the commune level. Electorate type base level is a non-polling station village. Included controls are logged population (flexible), logged ethnic and religious group size (linear, quadratic, cubic), availability of private goods in 2000, and logged assets (linear, quadratic, cubic). Fixed effects are entered at the commune level.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 2: Results of instrument variable strategy

Outcome: (estimation method)	(1) Polling Station (First stage)	(2) Public Goods (OLS)	(3) Public Goods (IV)
Polling Station		0.260*** (0.023)	0.910** (0.282)
Access to school	0.253*** (0.022)		-0.173*** (0.052)
Population rank	-0.001* (0.001)		0.003 (0.001)
School × Population rank	-0.007*** (0.001)		
Public goods index (2000)	0.047*** (0.008)	0.333*** (0.016)	0.323*** (0.026)
Observations	10,762	10,762	10,762
R^2	0.343	0.551	0.332
F-Statistic	28.467		28.470

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses, clustered at the commune level. Electorate type base level is a non-polling station village. Included controls are logged population (flexible), logged ethnic and religious group size (linear, quadratic, cubic), availability of private goods in 2000, and logged assets (linear, quadratic, cubic). Fixed effects are entered at the commune level. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Panel A									
Other:		Health	Water	Rural road	Phone	Electric post	Market1	Market2	Market3
Schools=1 × Population Rank	-0.007***	-0.007***	-0.006***	-0.007***	-0.007***	-0.007***	-0.007***	-0.007***	-0.007***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Other=1 × Population Rank		0.003	-0.001	0.000	-0.002	-0.002	0.001	0.005*	0.002
		(0.003)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.002)
Observations	10762	10762	10762	10762	10762	10762	10762	10762	10762
R^2	0.343	0.343	0.343	0.343	0.343	0.343	0.343	0.343	0.343
First stage F-statistic									
F-Statistic (School × rank)	28.467	26.797	24.617	29.187	27.935	27.818	27.436	31.710	26.940
F-Statistic (Placebo × rank)		0.934	3.711	0.101	1.761	0.218	0.082	4.036	1.071
Panel B									
Other:	Market4	Market5	Market6	Market7	Market8	Cattle feed	Artisan guild	Paved road	Electric line
Schools=1 × Population Rank	-0.007***	-0.007***	-0.007***	-0.007***	-0.007***	-0.007***	-0.007***	-0.007***	-0.007***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Other=1 × Population Rank	0.000	-0.002	-0.000	-0.001	-0.000	0.000	-0.000	-0.000	0.000
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)
Observations	10762	10762	10762	10762	10762	10762	10762	10762	10762
R^2	0.343	0.343	0.343	0.343	0.343	0.343	0.343	0.342	0.342
First stage F-statistic									
F-Statistic (School × rank)	28.161	28.450	28.672	28.102	28.490	28.370	27.580	27.726	27.011
F-Statistic (Placebo × rank)	0.237	2.701	0.009	0.292	0.205	0.157	0.010	0.060	0.047

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses, clustered at the commune level. *Population rank* ranks each village by population size in relation to other villages within a 5km radius. *Market 1* is an indicator for the existence of a weekly market in the village; *Market 2* is market for agricultural inputs; *Market 3* is warehouse for storing dried food; *Market 4* is grocery store; *Market 5* is access to fruit; *Market 6* is access to animal products (milk, leather/tannery); *Market 7* is access to materials from the sea (dried fish, salt, shells); and *Market 8* is access to natural materials (honey, coal, firewood). Included controls are logged population (flexible), logged ethnic and religious group size (linear, quadratic, cubic), availability of private goods in 2000, and logged assets (linear, quadratic, cubic). Fixed effects are entered at the commune level.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 4: Predicting Polling Stations

	(1) Polling Station (2007)	(2) Δ Polling Stations
Mixed support	-0.005	0.013
	(0.015)	(0.014)
Non-PDS support	0.000	0.011
	(0.016)	(0.015)
PDS support	0.000	0.000
	(.)	(.)
Polling station (2000)	0.844***	-0.149***
	(0.018)	(0.017)
Observations	10744	10744
R^2	0.802	0.125

One-sided Wald test (p-value)

Null hypothesis:		
Mixed support ≥ Non-PDS support	0.182	0.696
Mixed support ≥ PDS support	0.370	0.829
Non-PDS support ≥ PDS support	0.509	0.775

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses, clustered at the commune level. Electorate type base level is a non-polling station village. Included controls are logged population (flexible), logged ethnic and religious group size (linear, quadratic, cubic), availability of private goods in 2000, and logged assets (linear, quadratic, cubic). Fixed effects are entered at the commune level. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 5: Results on learning after one election, using 20% and 80% cutoffs

	(1) OLS	(2) OLS (logged)	(3) Δ Access	(4) Poisson
Mixed support	0.257***	0.119***	0.109***	0.165***
	(0.023)	(0.011)	(0.014)	(0.016)
Non-Wade support	0.260***	0.118***	0.113***	0.170***
	(0.046)	(0.021)	(0.026)	(0.028)
Wade support	0.532*	0.269**	0.403***	0.339*
	(0.229)	(0.083)	(0.105)	(0.135)
Public goods index (2000)	0.333***	0.255***	-0.283***	0.208***
	(0.016)	(0.014)	(0.009)	(0.010)
Observations	10734	10734	10734	10734
R^2	0.551	0.495	0.321	

One-sided Wald test (p-value)

Null hypothesis:				
Mixed support ≥ Wade support	0.112	0.033	0.003	0.093
Non-Wade support ≥ Wade support	0.121	0.038	0.004	0.107

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses, clustered at the commune level. Electorate type base level is a non-polling station village. Included controls are logged population (flexible), logged ethnic and religious group size (linear, quadratic, cubic), availability of private goods in 2000, and logged assets (linear, quadratic, cubic). Fixed effects are entered at the commune level. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 6: Second round results on learning after one election (testing of hypotheses **??** and **??**)

	(1) OLS	(2) OLS (Logged)	(3) Δ Access	(4) Poisson
Mixed support	0.246***	0.114***	0.103***	0.157***
	(0.026)	(0.012)	(0.016)	(0.017)
Non-PDS support	0.241***	0.112***	0.106***	0.165***
	(0.032)	(0.015)	(0.020)	(0.021)
PDS support	0.307***	0.143***	0.139***	0.191***
	(0.036)	(0.016)	(0.021)	(0.022)
Public goods index (2000)	0.332***	0.255***	-0.283***	0.207***
(Logged in model 2)	(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.009)	(0.010)
Observations	10747	10747	10747	10747
R^2	0.551	0.495	0.321	

One-sided Wald test (p-value)

Null hypothesis:				
Mixed support $\geq$ PDS support	0.035	0.025	0.027	0.032
Non-PDS support $\geq$ PDS support	0.060	0.050	0.094	0.151

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses, clustered at the commune level. Electorate type base level is a non-polling station village. Included controls are logged population (flexible), logged ethnic and religious group size (linear, quadratic, cubic), availability of private goods in 2000, and logged assets (linear, quadratic, cubic). Fixed effects are entered at the commune level.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 7: Second round results on learning after two elections (testing of hypothesis **??**)

Data used for independent variables:	(1) 2000	(2) 2000 and 2007
Mixed support	0.246*** (0.026)	
PS support	0.241*** (0.032)	
PDS support	0.307*** (0.036)	
Always mixed (second round)		0.303*** (0.028)
Ever switched (second round)		0.294*** (0.025)
Always PS (second round)		-0.053 (0.076)
Public goods index (2000)	0.332*** (0.015)	0.329*** (0.015)
Observations	10747	10763
R^2	0.551	0.555

One-sided Wald test (p-value)

Null hypothesis:		
PS support $\geq$ Mixed support	0.438	
PS support $\geq$ PDS support	0.060	
Mixed support $\geq$ PDS support	0.035	
Always PS $\geq$ Always mixed		0.000
Always PS $\geq$ Ever switched		0.000
Always mixed $\geq$ Ever switched		0.620

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses, clustered at the commune level. Electorate type base level is a non-polling station village. Included controls are logged population (flexible), logged ethnic and religious group size (linear, quadratic, cubic), availability of private goods in 2000, and logged assets (linear, quadratic, cubic). Fixed effects are entered at the commune level.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 8: Recoding Type Using Turnout

	(1) OLS	(2) OLS (logged)	(3) Δ Access	(4) Poisson
Mixed support	0.270***	0.126***	0.120***	0.175***
	(0.025)	(0.011)	(0.015)	(0.016)
Non-PDS support	0.216***	0.101***	0.086***	0.140***
	(0.030)	(0.014)	(0.018)	(0.019)
PDS support	0.453***	0.197***	0.200**	0.241***
	(0.108)	(0.047)	(0.061)	(0.061)
Public goods index (2000)	0.332***	0.255***	-0.283***	0.207***
	(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.009)	(0.010)
Observations	10753	10753	10753	10753
R^2	0.551	0.495	0.321	

One-sided Wald test (p-value)

Null hypothesis:

Mixed support $\geq$ Non-PDS support	0.963	0.972	0.975	0.985
Mixed support $\geq$ PDS support	0.045	0.063	0.092	0.132
Non-PDS support $\geq$ PDS support	0.019	0.026	0.035	0.051

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses, clustered at the commune level. Electorate type base level is a non-polling station village. Included controls are logged population (flexible), logged ethnic and religious group size (linear, quadratic, cubic), availability of private goods in 2000, and logged assets (linear, quadratic, cubic). Fixed effects are entered at the commune level. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$