Online Appendix

State Capacity and Political Participation: The Long Shadow of Ottoman Legacy

Figures and Tables

A.1 Figures

Figure A.1: Parallel trends between trust in party system and voter turnout.

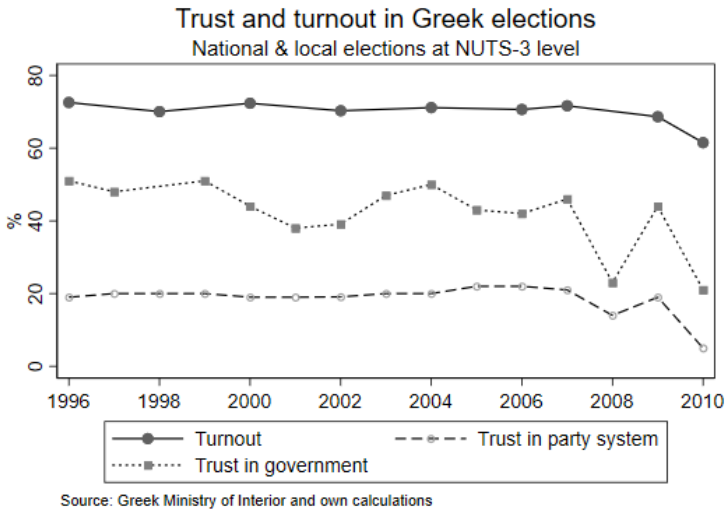


Figure A.2: Larger decline of turnout in large public sector regions.

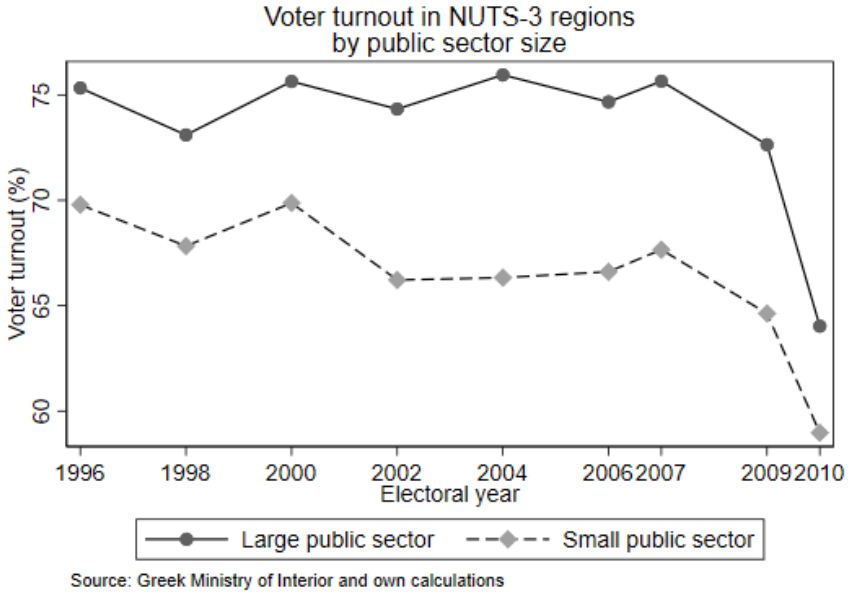


Figure A.3: Parallel movement of trust in party-system across large vs. small public sector regions (NUTS-2) prior and post to the information shock (09/2010).

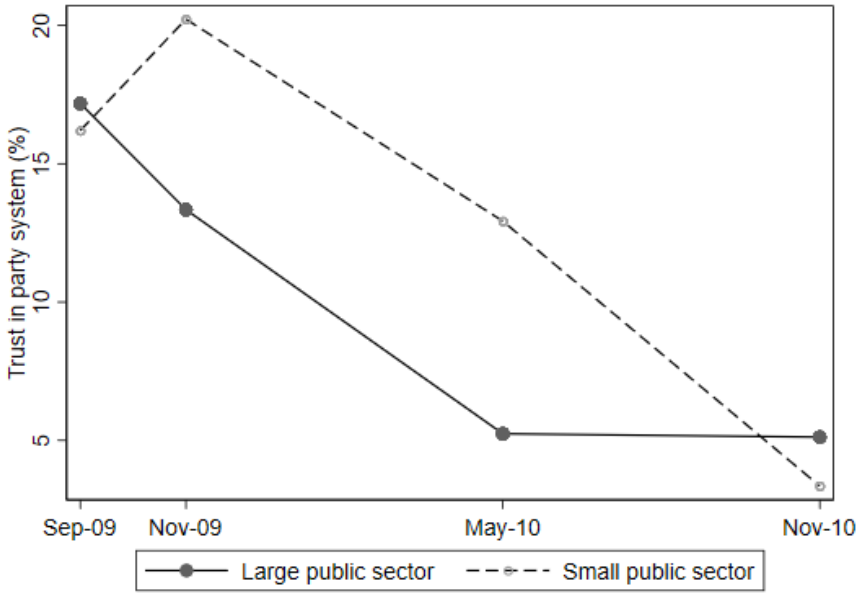


Figure A.4: Differential impact of the information shock on large public sector regions.

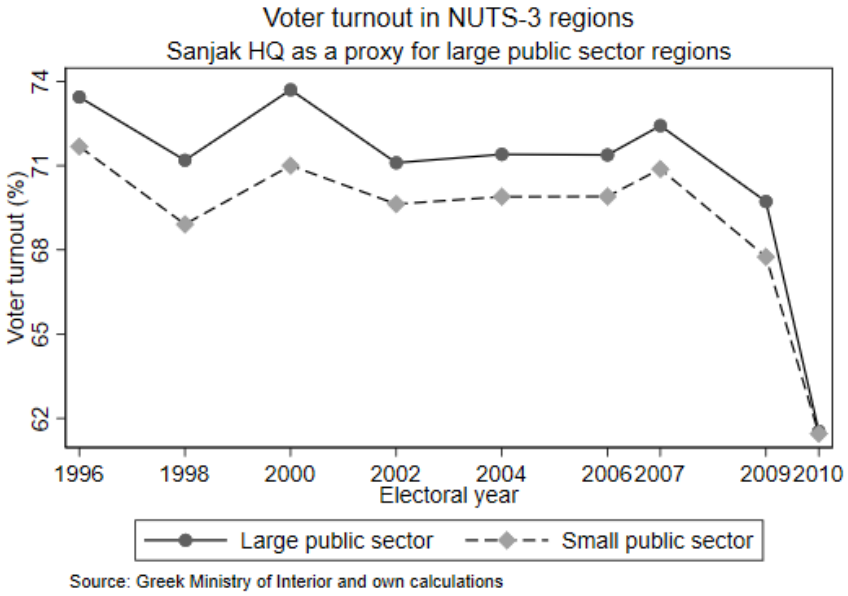


Figure A.5: Correlation between trust in party system and voter turnout.

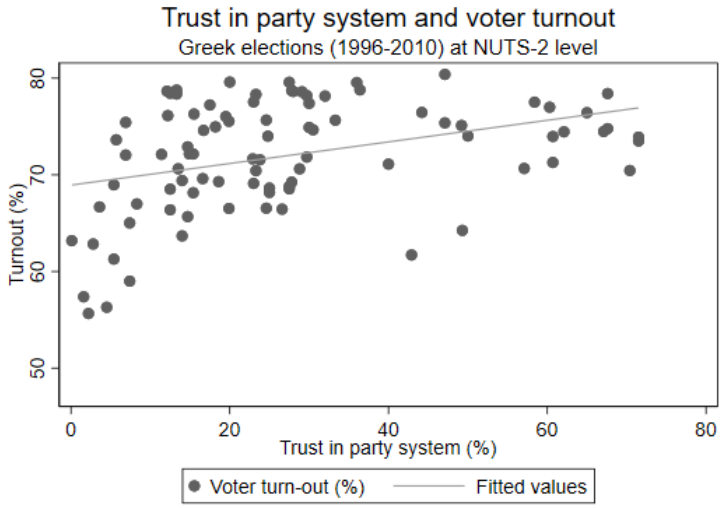


Figure A.6: Parallel trends between national and local elections.

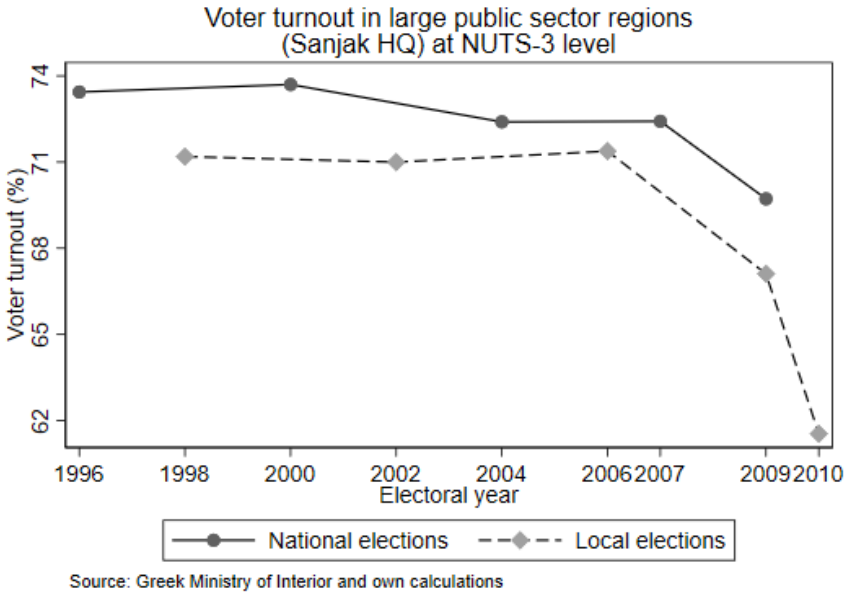


Figure A.7: Parallel trends between large vs. small public sector regions.

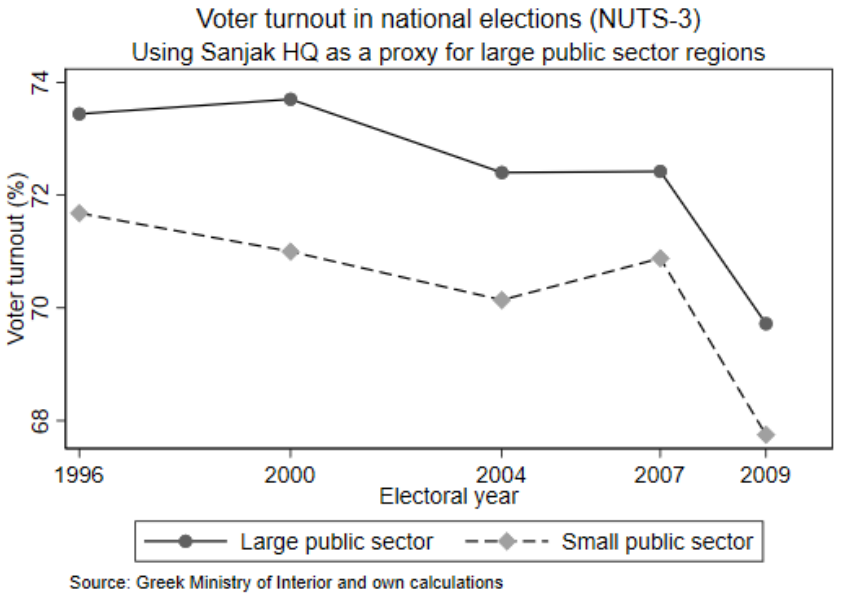
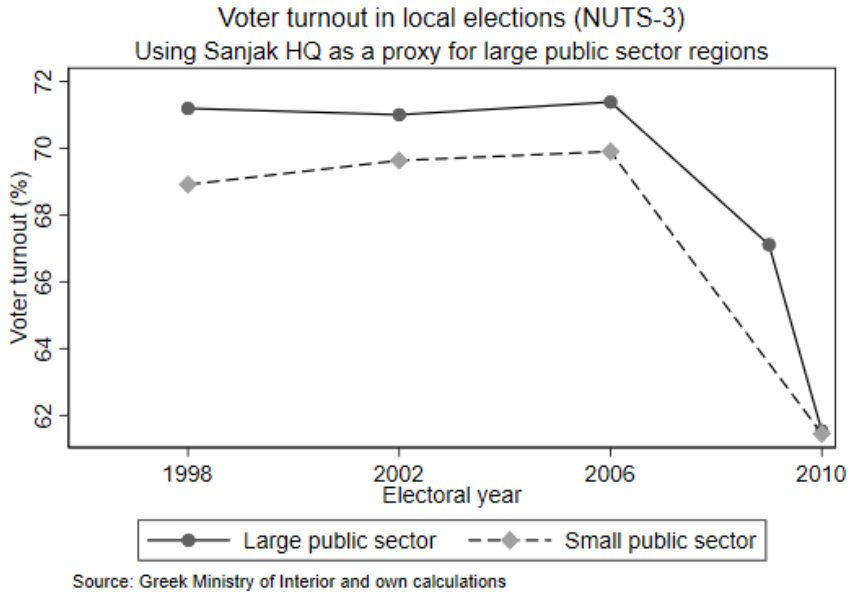


Figure A.8: Parallel trends between large vs. small public sector regions.



A.2 Tables

Table A.1: The Allocation of Ottoman Military District (*sanjak*) Headquarters during the 16^{th}-18^{th} Centuries across the Administrative Boundaries of Modern Greek Regions (*nomos*) at the NUTS-2 Level.

Region Name	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Nomos	Eyâlet-i or	Sanjak HQ		Modern Capital	Periphery
(NUTS-3)	Vilâyet-i	Ottoman	Greek	(NUTS-3 Region)	(NUTS-2)
Evros	V. Edirne	Dedeağaç	Alexandroupoli	Alexandroupoli	Thrace
Rodopi	”	Gümülcüne	Komotini	Komotini	”
Kavala	V. Sêlanık†	Taszos	Thasos	Kavala*	E. Macedonia
Kavala	”	Kavala	Kavala	Kavala	”
Drama	V. Sêlanık	Drama	Drama	Drama	”
Serres	”	Siriz	Serres	Serres	C. Macedonia
Thessalonica	”	Sêlanık	Thessalonica	Thessalonica	”
Kozani	E. Monastır	Serfiçe	Servia Kozanis	Kozani*	W. Macedonia
Kastoria	”	Kesriyé	Kastoria	Kastoria	”
Ioannina	V. Yanya	Yanya	Ioannina	Ioannina	Epirus
Arta	”	Narda	Arta	Arta	”
Larissa	E. Rumeli	Yenişehir	Larissa	Larissa	Thessalia
Trikala	”	Tırhala	Trikala	Trikala	”
Magnissia	”	Velestinye	Velestino	Volos*	”
Aitolia	V. Morea†	Nafpaktos	Nafpaktos	Agrinio*	W. Greece
Achaia	”	Balıbadra	Patra	Patra	”
Korinthos	V. Morea†	Gördes	Korinthos	Korinthos	Peloponnese
Arcadia	”	Triblıçe	Tripolis	Tripolis	”
Argolida	”	Anabolı	Nafplio	Nafplio	”
Chania	E. Girit	Canea	Chania	Chania	Crete
Heraklio	E. Girit	Candia	Chandakas‡	Heraklio	”
Lesvos	E. Archipelago	Mıdıllı	Mitilene	Mitilene	North Aegean
Lesvos	”	Limna	Limnos	Limnos*	”
Chios	”	Sakız	Chios	Chios	”
Dodekanese	”	Rodoz	Rhodos	Rhodes	South Agean
Kerkyra	V. Yanya†	Kerkira	Kerkyra	Corfu	Ionian

Note: Data compiled from Kiliç (1999), Malte-Brun and Huot (1834), and Skene (1851). Greek *nomoi* (NUTS-3) appearing twice imply that within their administrative boundaries multiple Ottoman military HQ existed. In 1998, Evros and Rodopi have been merged into one single NUTS-3 region. As a result, the actual number of NUTS-3 regions that housed a *sanjak* in their jurisdictions is 23. Eyâlet-i was the major Ottoman administrative district (equivalent to a periphery at the NUTS-2 level). *Vilâyet-i* is a more modern version of the previous structure adapted prior to the Reforms when redistricting took place. † Regions which prior to redistricting belonged to Rumeli *Eyâlet-i* (a large region covering most of the continental Greece and Peloponnese) before it was broken into smaller administrative units (*Vilâyet-i*). ‡ Chandakas is the Byzantine name for Heraklio.

Table A.2: Summary Statistics of Population and Public Sector Employment at the Periphery (NUTS-2) Level (2000-2008)

Region Name	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Periphery	Capital	Public Sector		Population	No of NUTS-3
(NUTS-2)		Share (%)	Growth (%)	(in 1,000s)	Regions
Thrace	Komitini	25.36	39.57	658	3
Macedonia	Thessaloniki	24.48	18.32	2,001	11
Thessaly	Larissa	26.54	31.29	719	4
Epirus	Ioannina	28.23	13.76	385	4
Ionian Islands	Kerkira	18.59	-2.29	237	3
W. Greece	Patras	25.06	27.71	700	3
Ctr. Greece	Lamia	20.53	29.56	551	5
Peloponnese	Tripoli	21.94	26.70	711	5
Attica	Athens	29.06	3.24	2,792	1
North Aegean	Mytelene	31.89	39.06	250	3
South Aegean	Rhodos	22.12	14.66	305	2
Crete	Heraklio	20.80	17.90	528	4
Greece (Total)	Athens	25.93	14.73	9,845	48

Note: Data collected from HELLSTAT 2011 Census, Greek Ministry of Interior and Public Administration, EUROSTAT 2010 Regional Yearbook and LFS survey (2009). Computation of growth rates in column 3 is from own calculations. We measure the size of the public sector as the share of public sector (central government, SOEs and local government) employment over total employment. Population statistics refer those eligible to vote ($>$ 18 y.o.). Athens Metropolitan region (Attica) is at the same time both a NUTS-2 and -3 region.

Table A.3: Summary Statistics of Treatment (*Sanjak* Headquarter) and Control Groups (NUTS-2 level)

	(1)	(2)
	Treatment	Control
Annual Income p.c. (HPPP)	19,263	18,637
Education		
Secondary (%)	36.2	35.9
Tertiary (%)	24.1	24.0
Employment shares:		
Agriculture (%)	18.7	20.5
Industry (%)	21.6	20.5
Public sector employees		
relative to all employed in 2000 (%)	21.0	20.1
relative to all employed in 2009 (%)	26.4	22.9
Growth rate of public sector employment (2000-08)	27.9	15.1
Public sector employees		
relative to all Greek public sector employees (%)	80.1	19.9
Unemployment rate (%)	7.8	8.6
Long-run unemployment rate (%)	3.9	4.0
Long-run unemployed	51.5	46.7
relative to all unemployed (%)		
Number of NUTS-2 regions	6	7
Number of corresponding NUTS-3 regions	23	25

Note: Data from HELSTAT Population Census (2011) and Eurostat Regional Yearbook (2010) and LFS Survey (2009). Income is measured in harmonized PPP.

Table A.4: Difference-in-differences at NUTS-3 level

Dependent variable	Turnout			
Specification	Region fixed effects			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Large public sector region*2010	-2.419**	-2.419**	-2.608**	-3.298***
	(1.036)	(1.037)	(1.014)	(0.899)
R-squared	0.785	0.788	0.803	0.969
Observations	432	432	336	240
Specification	Athens & Salonica excluded			
	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Large public sector region*2010	-1.709*	-1.709*	-2.078**	-2.863***
	(0.883)	(0.884)	(0.881)	(0.775)
R-squared	0.189	0.191	0.219	0.259
Observations	414	414	322	230
Local elections dummy		X	X	X
Lagged Rae index (%)			X	X
Economic control variables				X

Note: All the specifications control for the year 2010 and being a large public sector region. Local elections took place in 1998, 2002, 2006, and 2010. The lagged Rae index measures electoral fractionalization and is the index value in the preceding elections. Economic control variables are the regional unemployment rate and the log of regional GDP per capital. Standard errors are clustered at the NUTS-3 region level. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A.5: Difference-in-differences at NUTS-3 level

Dependent variable	Turnout			
Specification	Region fixed effects			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Sanjak HQ region*2010	-1.552	-1.552	-1.594	-1.561
	(1.065)	(1.066)	(1.035)	(0.953)
R-squared	0.784	0.786	0.802	0.965
Observations	432	432	336	240
Specification	Athens & Salonica excluded			
	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Sanjak HQ region*2010	-1.838**	-1.838**	-1.967**	-1.806**
	(0.882)	(0.883)	(0.848)	(0.782)
R-squared	0.114	0.117	0.141	0.170
Observations	414	414	322	230
Local elections dummy		X	X	X
Lagged Rae index (%)			X	X
Economic control variables				X

Note: All the specifications control for the year 2010 and being a sanjak HQ region. Local elections took place in 1998, 2002, 2006, and 2010. The lagged Rae index measures electoral fractionalization and is the index value in the preceding elections. Economic control variables are the regional unemployment rate and the log of regional GDP per capital. Standard errors are clustered at the NUTS-3 region level. *** $p<0.01$, ** $p<0.05$, * $p<0.1$

Table A.6: Difference-in-differences at NUTS-3 level accounting for the past New Democracy support

Dependent variable	Turnout			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Large public sector region*2010	-2.514**	-2.514**	-2.788**	-3.453***
	(1.181)	(1.182)	(1.136)	(1.028)
R-squared	0.210	0.212	0.237	0.277
Observations	432	432	336	240
	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Sanjak HQ region	-1.860*	-1.860*	-1.974*	-1.783
	(1.079)	(1.080)	(1.058)	(1.083)
R-squared	0.125	0.127	0.149	0.176
Observations	432	432	336	240
Local elections dummy		X	X	X
Lagged Rae index (%)			X	X
Economic control variables				X

Note: All the specifications control for the year 2010 and being a large public sector resp. sanjak HQ region. All of them also control for an interaction term that equals the lagged support (in the elections 2009) of the New Democracy in 2010 and zero in all the other years. Local elections took place in 1998, 2002, 2006, and 2010. The lagged Rae index measures electoral fractionalization and is the index value in the preceding elections. Economic control variables are the regional unemployment rate and the log of regional GDP per capital. Standard errors are clustered at the NUTS-3 region level. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A.7: Difference-in-differences at NUTS-3 level accounting for the past New Democracy support II

Dependent variable	Turnout			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Large public sector region*2010	-2.431*	-2.431*	-2.712**	-3.407***
	(1.243)	(1.245)	(1.189)	(1.017)
R-squared	0.210	0.212	0.237	0.277
Observations	432	432	336	240
	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Sanjak HQ region	-1.822	-1.822	-1.939*	-1.760
	(1.125)	(1.127)	(1.104)	(1.104)
R-squared	0.124	0.127	0.148	0.176
Observations	432	432	336	240
Local elections dummy		X	X	X
Lagged Rae index (%)			X	X
Economic control variables				X

Note: All the specifications control for the year 2010 and being a large public sector resp. sanjak HQ region. All of them also control for an interaction term that equals the lagged support (averaged over the elections 2006, 2007, and 2009) of the New Democracy in 2010 and zero in all the other years. Local elections took place in 1998, 2002, 2006, and 2010. The lagged Rae index measures electoral fractionalization and is the index value in the preceding elections. Economic control variables are the regional unemployment rate and the log of regional GDP per capital. Standard errors are clustered at the NUTS-3 region level. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A.8: Difference-in-differences at NUTS-2 level

Dependent variable	Turnout			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Large public sector region*2010	-0.269	-0.269	-0.181	-0.586
	(1.829)	(1.838)	(1.801)	(1.660)
Local elections dummy		X	X	X
Lagged Rae index (%)			X	X
Regional unemployment rate				X
R-squared	0.236	0.243	0.297	0.342
Observations	117	117	91	78

Note: All the specifications control for the year 2010 and being a large public sector region. The lagged Rae index measures electoral fractionalization and is the index value in the preceding elections. Local elections took place in 1998, 2002, 2006, and 2010. Standard errors are clustered at the NUTS-2 region level. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

B Appendix: How *sanjak* regions are defined

In our sample, we have data on Greek elections (local and national) from 1996 until 2010. In total, we have 423 observations at the NUTS-3 level. There are 48 NUTS-3 regions in Greece. We assign 23 out of those 48 regions (accounting for the 60% of the population) to the treatment group, using the presence of an Ottoman military district headquarters (known as *sanjak*) within the current administrative boundaries of a NUTS-3 region, to identify the historical legacy of late Ottoman period reforms on those regions with respect to the size of the public sector and government employment. The remaining 25 regions are assigned to the control group. In those regions, the main sources or economic activity and employment are non-government related (e.g. tourism and agriculture).

Table A.1 shows a comprehensive list of all the locations that the headquarters of Ottoman military districts (*sanjak*) were stationed within the territorial boundaries of the area that constitutes today modern Greece during the 16^{th} and 17^{th} centuries. One of the first things to observe is the remarkable degree of institutional continuity and similarity, not only at the local level (NUTS-3) but also at the higher ranks of administration (NUTS-2). More than 80% of the headquarters of *sanjak*s were situated in the exact same location as the current prefectural administrative capitals of Greek NUTS-3 regions (*nomoi*), as a comparison between columns 3 and 4 illustrates. Furthermore, comparing columns 1 and 5, it becomes clear that, even at the higher administrative level (*periphery* or NUTS-2), the jurisdictions between Ottoman *eyâlet-i* and *vilâet-i* and Greek *peripheries* are very similar. Most of the Greek prefectures (*nomoi*) that used to belong to the same periphery (NUTS-2) were also Ottoman *sanjak*s that used to belong to the same *eyâlet-i* or *vilâet-i.* Hence, not only the structure and jurisdiction of an Ottoman *sanjak* was similar to that of a modern Greek prefecture but, even at the higher administrative level, there appears to be a major overlap.

Our dummy variable $(Sanjak\_HQ)_s$ takes the value of 1 if an Ottoman *sanjak* was stationed in the region (NUTS-3) s in the past. As a result, all the NUTS-3 regions included in Table A.1 belong to this category. In order to identify the that regions used to house an Ottoman military HQ, we relied on three different sources: Kiliç (1999), Malte-Brun and Huot (1834), and Skene (1851). For the reasons of consistency and historical accuracy, we included a region in the list of Table A.1 only if it appeared as having a *sanjak headquarter* within its boundaries in at least two out of the

three sources mentioned previously. As a result, the *sanjak headquarters* that we list in Table A.1 together with the actual locality that were stationed was cross-referenced across various sources. Furthermore, extra care was taken to identify the exact place where the headquarter was situated since it was very common for places to change names regularly, especially during their transition from the Ottoman Empire to the modern Greek state that was created in 1830 and kept expanding until the beginning of the 20^{th} century. Columns 2 and 3 (Table A.1) list both the original Turkish names of the *sanjak headquarters* and the subsequently adapted Greek names to make sure that we have identified them properly. In sum, we have identified 23 such NUTS-3 regions (prefectures) and we have assigned them to the treatment group. That is, the dummy $(Sanjak\_HQ)_s = 1$ if s is a NUTS-3 region that is listed in Table A.1. Summary statistics for these two groups are presented in Table A.3.