Bonding, Bridging, & Bypassing

Supplementary Materials

Summary statistics, alternative models, and robustness checks for the analysis in chapters 6-8

CONTENTS

Supplementary materials for Table 6.1	2
Supplementary materials for Confounding Factors	9
Supplementary materials for Table 6.3	11
Supplementary materials for Figure 6.1	12
Supplementary materials for Figure 7.2	24
Supplementary materials for Figure 7.7	35
Supplementary materials for Figure 8.2	37
Supplementary materials for Figure 8.4	41

Note. In naming Tables and Figures:

SN refers to newspapers (i.e. Supplementary Newspaper)
SP refers to posters (i.e. Supplementary Poster)

Supplementary Materials for Table 6.1

TABLE SN6.1. SUMMARY STATISTICS FOR DEPENDENT VARIABLES

	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Events					
Party	367	0.47	0.50	0	1
Religious	367	0.08	0.27	0	1
Indigenous	367	0.04	0.20	0	1
Community	367	0.16	0.37	0	1
Occupational	367	0.02	0.14	0	1
Other	367	0.02	0.15	0	1
None	367	0.27	0.44	0	1
Endorsements					
Party	367	0.31	0.46	0	1
Religious	367	0.08	0.28	0	1
Indigenous	367	0.05	0.21	0	1
Community	367	0.08	0.28	0	1
Occupational	367	0.03	0.18	0	1
Other	367	0.08	0.27	0	1
None	367	0.50	0.50	0	1
Group Appeals					
Religious	367	0.32	0.47	0	1
Indigenous	367	0.07	0.26	0	1
Occupational	367	0.26	0.44	0	1
The poor	367	0.19	0.39	0	1
Other	367	0.22	0.41	0	1
None	367	0.30	0.46	0	1
Candidate Attributes					
Candidate identity/work					
Religious	367	0.05	0.23	0	1
Indigenous	367	0.04	0.20	0	1
Regional	367	0.11	0.32	0	1
Occupational	367	0.05	0.22	0	1
Political	367	0.12	0.33	0	1
Other	367	0.08	0.27	0	1
None	367	0.72	0.45	0	1
Candidate traits					
Strong leader	367	0.07	0.25	0	1
Compassionate	367	0.09	0.29	0	1
Honest	367	0.11	0.31	0	1
Intelligent	367	0.03	0.17	0	1
Moral	367	0.02	0.14	0	1
None	367	0.78	0.42	0	1

TABLE SN6.2. NUMBER OF REPORTS BY YEAR

	1997	1999	2004	2009	2014	Total
Events						
Party	46	38	51	15	23	173
Religious	4	5	1	7	11	28
Indigenous	2	0	0	8	6	16
Community	1	7	7	20	23	58
Occupational	1	2	0	1	3	7
Other	1	3	2	2	0	8
None	13	21	9	31	25	99
Endorsements						
Party	22	24	48	5	13	112
Religious	5	3	3	9	11	31
Indigenous	2	0	0	9	6	17
Community	3	3	3	12	10	31
Occupational	3	0	2	3	4	12
Other	8	3	5	9	4	29
None	31	44	17	47	44	183
Group Appeals						
Religious	26	23	11	29	28	117
Indigenous	4	3	1	9	9	26
Occupational	27	20	17	9	22	95
The poor	11	19	11	13	15	69
Other	21	14	6	18	21	80
None	13	17	34	24	23	111
Candidate Attributes						
Candidate identity/work						
Religious	1	0	3	9	7	20
Indigenous	1	0	2	6	6	15
Regional	5	0	4	16	17	42
Occupational	2	0	2	6	9	19
Political	1	0	0	20	24	45
Other	0	1	5	12	12	30
None	58	72	60	35	40	265
Candidate traits						
Strong leader	1	4	2	6	12	25
Compassionate	1	2	1	13	17	34
Honest	2	0	4	15	18	39
Intelligent	1	0	2	2	6	11
Moral	1	0	1	2	3	7
None	62	68	59	52	45	286

TABLE SN6.3. EVENTS - LOGIT

	Party	Religious	Indigenous	Community	Occupational	Other	None
Legislative elections 2009-2014 (semi-candidate-centric)	-1.84** (0.24)	0.89* (0.41)	2.26** (0.76)	1.52** (0.32)	0.53 (0.77)	-0.88 (0.82)	0.69** (0.24)
Constant	0.66** (0.15)	-2.97** (0.32)	-4.62** (0.71)	-2.54** (0.27)	-4.21** (0.58)	-3.50** (0.41)	-1.33** (0.17)
Log likelihood	-219.86	-96.47	-58.91	-147.41	-34.41	-37.88	-209.74
Pseudo-R^2	0.13	0.03	0.10	0.08	0.01	0.02	0.02
Observations	367	367	367	367	367	367	367

Note: Results of regression analyses for independent variables (rows) and dependent variables (columns). Entries are coefficients from the Logit regression model. Robust standard errors are below the coefficients. ^$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$.

TABLE SN6.4. EVENTS LOGIT - ODDS RATIO

	Party	Religious	Indigenous	Community	Occupational	Other	None
Legislative elections 2009-2014 (semi-candidate-centric)	0.16** (0.04)	2.44* (1.00)	9.60** (7.34)	4.58** (1.48)	1.70 (1.32)	0.41 (0.34)	1.99** (0.47)
Constant	1.93** (0.28)	0.05** (0.02)	0.01** (0.01)	0.08** (0.02)	0.01** (0.01)	0.03** (0.01)	0.27** (0.05)
Log likelihood	-219.86	-96.47	-58.91	-147.41	-34.41	-37.88	-209.74
Pseudo-R^2	0.13	0.03	0.10	0.08	0.01	0.02	0.02
Observations	367	367	367	367	367	367	367

Note: Results of regression analyses for independent variables (rows) and dependent variables (columns). Entries are coefficients from the Logit Odds Ratio regression model. Robust standard errors are below the coefficients. ^$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$.

TABLE SN6.5. ENDORSEMENTS - LOGIT

	Party	Religious	Indigenous	Community	Occupational	Other	None
Legislative elections 2009-2014	-1.91**	0.91*	2.34**	1.23**	0.59	0.03	0.45*
(semi-candidate-centric)	(0.29)	(0.39)	(0.76)	(0.41)	(0.60)	(0.39)	(0.21)
Constant	-0.17	-2.87**	-4.62**	-3.08**	-3.69**	-2.47**	-0.21
	(0.14)	(0.31)	(0.71)	(0.34)	(0.45)	(0.26)	(0.14)
Log likelihood	-197.90	-103.42	-61.23	-101.29	-52.34	-101.42	-252.07
Pseudo-R^2	0.12	0.03	0.11	0.05	0.01	0.00	0.01
Observations	367	367	367	367	367	367	367

Note: Results of regression analyses for independent variables (rows) and dependent variables (columns). Entries are coefficients from the Logit regression model. Robust standard errors are below the coefficients. ^$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$.

TABLE SN6.6. ENDORSEMENTS LOGIT - ODDS RATIO

	Party	Religious	Indigenous	Community	Occupational	Other	None
Legislative elections 2009-2014	0.15**	2.48*	10.36**	3.42**	1.81	1.03	1.57*
(semi-candidate-centric)	(0.04)	(0.97)	(7.89)	(1.41)	(1.08)	(0.40)	(0.33)
Constant	0.85	0.06**	0.01**	0.05**	0.03**	0.08**	0.81
	(0.12)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.11)
Log likelihood	-197.90	-103.42	-61.23	-101.29	-52.34	-101.42	-252.07
Pseudo-R^2	0.12	0.03	0.11	0.05	0.01	0.00	0.01
Observations	367	367	367	367	367	367	367

Note: Results of regression analyses for independent variables (rows) and dependent variables (columns). Entries are coefficients from the Logit Odds Ratio regression model. Robust standard errors are below the coefficients. ^$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$.

TABLE SN6.7. GROUP APPEALS - LOGIT

	Religious	Indigenous	Occupational	The Poor	Other	None
Legislative elections 2009-2014 (semi-candidate-centric)	0.27	1.12*	-0.65**	-0.18	0.24	-0.10
	(0.23)	(0.44)	(0.25)	(0.27)	(0.25)	(0.23)
Constant	-0.88**	-3.20**	-0.79**	-1.39**	-1.39**	-0.79**
	(0.15)	(0.36)	(0.15)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.15)
Log likelihood	-229.00	-90.30	-206.36	-177.16	-192.00	-224.84
Pseudo-R^2	0.00	0.04	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00
Observations	367	367	367	367	367	367

Note: Results of regression analyses for independent variables (rows) and dependent variables (columns). Entries are coefficients from the Logit regression model. Robust standard errors are below the coefficients. ^$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$.

TABLE SN6.8. GROUP APPEALS LOGIT - ODDS RATIO

	Religious	Indigenous	Occupational	The Poor	Other	None
Legislative elections 2009-2014 (semi-candidate-centric)	1.31	3.08*	0.52**	0.84	1.27	0.90
	(0.30)	(1.35)	(0.13)	(0.23)	(0.32)	(0.21)
Constant	0.41**	0.04**	0.45**	0.25**	0.25**	0.45**
	(0.06)	(0.01)	(0.07)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.07)
Log likelihood	-229.00	-90.30	-206.36	-177.16	-192.00	-224.84
Pseudo-R^2	0.00	0.04	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00
Observations	367	367	367	367	367	367

Note: Results of regression analyses for independent variables (rows) and dependent variables (columns). Entries are coefficients from the Logit Odds Ratio regression model. Robust standard errors are below the coefficients. ^$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$.

TABLE SN6.9. CANDIDATE ATTRIBUTES: IDENTITY AND WORK - LOGIT

	Religious	Indigenous	Regional	Occupational	Political	Other	None
Legislative elections 2009-2014 (semi-candidate-centric)	1.71** (0.57)	1.68* (0.66)	1.72** (0.39)	1.63** (0.57)	4.33** (1.02)	1.75** (0.47)	-2.69** (0.31)
Constant	-3.92** (0.51)	-4.21** (0.58)	-3.08** (0.34)	-3.92** (0.51)	-5.32** (1.00)	-3.50** (0.41)	2.54** (0.27)
Log likelihood	-71.93	-58.43	-118.82	-69.68	-101.07	-95.06	-165.51
Pseudo-R^2	0.07	0.07	0.09	0.07	0.26	0.08	0.24
Observations	367	367	367	367	367	367	367

Note: Results of regression analyses for independent variables (rows) and dependent variables (columns). Entries are coefficients from the Logit regression model. Robust standard errors are below the coefficients. ^$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$.

TABLE SN6.10. CANDIDATE ATTRIBUTES: IDENTITY AND WORK - LOGIT - ODDS RATIO

	Religious	Indigenous	Regional	Occupational	Political	Other	None
Legislative elections 2009-14 (semi-candidate-centric)	5.51** (3.14)	5.39* (3.53)	5.57** (2.19)	5.13** (2.94)	76.07** (77.53)	5.77** (2.71)	0.07** (0.02)
Constant	0.02** (0.01)	0.01** (0.01)	0.05** (0.02)	0.02** (0.01)	0.00** (0.00)	0.03** (0.01)	12.67** (3.40)
Log likelihood	-71.93	-58.43	-118.82	-69.68	-101.07	-95.06	-165.51
Pseudo-R^2	0.07	0.07	0.09	0.07	0.26	0.08	0.24
Observations	367	367	367	367	367	367	367

Note: Results of regression analyses for independent variables (rows) and dependent variables (columns). Entries are coefficients from the Logit Odds Ratio regression model. Robust standard errors are below the coefficients. ^$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$.

TABLE SN6.11. CANDIDATE ATTRIBUTES: TRAITS - LOGIT

	Strong Leader	Compassionate	Honest	Intelligent	Moral	None
Legislative elections 2009-2014 (semi-candidate-centric)	1.26**	2.44**	2.14**	1.25^	1.17	-2.07**
	(0.46)	(0.54)	(0.46)	(0.69)	(0.84)	(0.31)
Constant	-3.34**	-3.92**	-3.50**	-4.21**	-4.62**	2.47**
	(0.39)	(0.51)	(0.41)	(0.58)	(0.71)	(0.26)
Log likelihood	-87.03	-97.33	-108.99	-47.52	-33.56	-165.27
Pseudo-R^2	0.05	0.14	0.12	0.04	0.03	0.15
Observations	367	367	367	367	367	367

Note: Results of regression analyses for independent variables (rows) and dependent variables (columns). Entries are coefficients from the Logit regression model. Robust standard errors are below the coefficients. ^$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$.

TABLE SN6.12. CANDIDATE ATTRIBUTES: TRAITS - LOGIT - ODDS RATIO

	Strong Leader	Compassionate	Honest	Intelligent	Moral	None
Legislative elections 2009-2014 (semi-candidate-centric)	3.54**	11.42**	8.48**	3.50^	3.23	0.13**
	(1.62)	(6.22)	(3.89)	(2.40)	(2.73)	(0.04)
Constant	0.04**	0.02**	0.03**	0.01**	0.01**	11.81**
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(3.08)
Log likelihood	-87.03	-97.33	-108.99	-47.52	-33.56	-165.27
Pseudo-R^2	0.05	0.14	0.12	0.04	0.03	0.15
Observations	367	367	367	367	367	367

Note: Results of regression analyses for independent variables (rows) and dependent variables (columns). Entries are coefficients from the Logit Odds Ratio regression model. Robust standard errors are below the coefficients. ^$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$.

Supplementary Materials for Confounding Factors

TABLE SN6.13. SUMMARY STATISTICS FOR DEPENDENT VARIABLES

	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Events					
Religious	367	0.08	0.27	0	1
Indigenous	367	0.04	0.20	0	1
Religious and Indigenous	367	0.12	0.32	0	1
Endorsements					
Religious	367	0.08	0.28	0	1
Indigenous	367	0.05	0.21	0	1
Religious and Indigenous	367	0.11	0.32	0	1
Group Appeals					
Religious	367	0.32	0.47	0	1
Indigenous	367	0.07	0.26	0	1
Religious and Indigenous	367	0.36	0.48	0	1
Candidate Attributes					
Religious	367	0.05	0.23	0	1
Indigenous	367	0.04	0.20	0	1
Religious and Indigenous	367	0.09	0.29	0	1

Note. Rel. = religion; Ind. = Indigenous; Reg. = Regional; Comb. = Combined. Candidate attributes refers to the data on candidate identity and work experience.

TABLE SN6.14. SUMMARY STATISTICS FOR INDEPENDENT AND CONTROL VARIABLES

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Candidate-Centric Rules	367	0.44	0.50	0	1
Decentralization	367	0.63	0.48	0	1
Number of Parties	367	25.48	16.28	3	48
Islamist Party	367	0.20	0.40	0	1

TABLE SN6.15. SUMMARY DATA FOR INDEPENDENT AND CONTROL VARIABLES

	1997	1999	2004	2009	2014
Candidate-Centric Rules	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Decentralization	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Number of Parties	3	48	24	38	12
% Reports from Islamist Parties Coded	25%	18%	24%	18%	16%

TABLE SN6.16. OLS: IMPACT OF SEMI-CANDIDATE-CENTRIC RULES ON CAMPAIGNS

	Events			Endorsements			Group Appeals			Candidate Attributes		
	Rel.	**Ind.**	**Comb.**	**Rel.**	**Ind.**	**Comb.**	**Rel.**	**Ind.**	**Comb.**	**Rel.**	**Ind.**	**Comb.**
Legislative elections 2009-2014 (semi-candidate-centric)	0.09**	0.08**	0.17**	0.08*	0.09**	0.13**	0.22**	0.09**	0.26**	0.06^	0.05	0.11**
	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.03)	(0.05)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)
Decentralization	-0.05^	-0.01	-0.07*	-0.02	-0.01	-0.03	-0.21**	-0.04	-0.22**	0.04	0.02	0.04
	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.05)	(0.02)	(0.06)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Number of parties	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Islamic party	-0.06*	-0.03^	-0.08**	-0.01	-0.02	-0.03	0.37**	-0.07**	0.34**	0.09*	0.01	0.09*
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.04)	(0.06)	(0.02)	(0.06)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.04)
Constant	0.09**	0.03	0.11**	0.08*	0.02	0.10*	0.30**	0.07*	0.31**	-0.02	0.01	0.00
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.06)	(0.03)	(0.06)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)
R^2	0.03	0.04	0.06	0.02	0.04	0.04	0.13	0.03	0.11	0.06	0.02	0.08
Observations	367	367	367	367	367	367	367	367	367	367	367	367

Note. Rel. = religion; Ind. = Indigenous; Reg. = Regional; Comb. = Combined. Candidate attributes refers to the data on candidate identity and work experience. Values are OLS coefficients with standard errors are below the coefficients. ^$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$.

Supplementary Materials for Table 6.3

TABLE SN6.17. DEMOCRATIZATION AND THE CHANGE IN RELIGIOUS AND INDIGENOUS ASPECTS OF CAMPAIGNS (FULL RESULTS)

	% of Reports		Percentage point change
	Authoritarian Election 1997	Transitional Election 1999	
Events			
Party	72	52	-20
Religious	6	7	1
Indigenous	3	0	-3
Community	2	10	8
Occupational	2	3	1
Other	2	4	2
None	20	29	9
Endorsements			
Party	34	33	-1
Religious	8	4	-4
Indigenous	3	0	-3
Community	5	4	-1
Occupational	5	0	-5
Other	13	4	-9
None	48	60	12
Group Appeals			
Religious	41	32	-9
Indigenous	6	4	-2
Occupational	42	27	-15
The poor	17	26	9
Other	33	19	-14
None	20	23	3
Candidate Attributes			
Candidate identity/work			0
Religious	2	0	-2
Indigenous	2	0	-2
Regional	8	0	-8
Occupational	3	0	-3
Political	2	0	-2
Other	0	1	1
None	91	99	8
Candidate traits			0
Strong leader	2	5	3
Compassionate	2	3	1
Honest	3	0	-3
Intelligent	2	0	-2
Moral	2	0	-2
None	97	93	-4

Note. The first column indicates the percentage of reports from the 1997 election that mentioned a type of event, endorsement, appeal, or candidate attribute. The second column indicates the percentage of the 1999 reports. “Percentage point change” denotes the percentage increase or decrease in the 1999 election. I coded 64 reports for the 1997 election and 73 for the 1999 election.

Supplementary Materials for Figure 6.1

TABLE SP6.1. SUMMARY STATISTICS FOR DEPENDENT VARIABLES (UOA = CANDIDATE)

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Indigenous bonding	2152	13.31	32.71	0	100
Indigenous bridging	2152	4.32	19.38	0	100
Indigenous bypassing	2152	82.36	36.55	0	100
Religious bonding	2152	25.13	42.37	0	100
Religious bridging	2152	4.27	19.23	0	100
Religious bypassing	2152	70.59	44.26	0	100
Nationalist bridging	2152	43.19	47.23	0	100
Partisan	2152	66.77	45.61	0	100

TABLE SP6.2. SUMMARY STATISTICS FOR INDEPENDENT VARIABLES (UOA = CANDIDATE)

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Regional head election	2152	0.11	0.32	0	1
Largest indigenous group	2152	0.68	0.28	0.19	1
Muslim population	2152	0.76	0.31	0.02	1
Indigenous law	2152	0.27	0.25	0	1
Mosques	2152	1.31	0.94	0.11	13.63
Poverty	2152	0.15	0.09	0.02	0.39
Fishing/farming GRDP	2152	0.17	0.16	0	0.64
Female candidate	2152	0.22	0.41	0	1
Population (log)	2152	13.73	1.01	11.42	15.39

TABLE SP6.3. CORRELATION MATRIX FOR INDEPENDENT VARIABLES (UOA = CANDIDATE)

	Regional head election	Largest indigenous grp	Muslim population	Indigenous law	Mosques	Poverty	Fishing/ farming GRDP	Female candidate	Population (log)
Regional head election	1								
Largest indigenous grp	-0.018	1.00							
Muslim population	-0.206	0.48	1.00						
Indigenous law	0.227	-0.19	-0.53	1					
Mosques	0.167	0.13	-0.29	0.107	1				
Poverty	-0.058	-0.02	-0.26	0.101	0.374	1			
Fishing/farming GRDP	0.281	0.25	-0.16	0.222	0.457	0.534	1		
Female candidate	-0.134	0.01	0.04	-0.075	-0.023	0.053	0.007	1	
Population (log)	-0.306	0.22	0.49	-0.408	-0.217	-0.264	-0.154	0.064	1

TABLE SP6.4. OLS: EXCLUDES IVS AND CONTROLS

	Indigenous appeals			**Religious appeals**			**Nat. appeals**	**Partisan appeals**
	Bond 1	Bridge 2	Bypass 3	Bond 4	Bridge 5	Bypass 6	Bridge 7	8
Regional head election (candidate-centric)	11.51** (2.29)	3.82* (1.58)	-15.33** (2.62)	5.09* (2.56)	1.26 (1.37)	-6.35* (2.78)	0.21 (2.89)	-68.59** (1.60)
Largest indigenous group	33.26** (2.87)	-4.89** (1.77)	-28.37** (3.23)	1.25 (3.43)	2.38 (1.83)	-3.62 (3.72)	-17.99** (4.21)	-6.16^ (3.37)
Muslim population	-10.73** (2.66)	0.24 (1.72)	10.49** (3.02)	35.14** (2.35)	-7.08** (1.88)	-28.06** (2.92)	-0.97 (3.86)	-4.66 (3.05)
Constant	-2.33 (1.66)	7.02** (1.51)	95.31** (2.17)	-3.14 (2.07)	7.93** (1.64)	95.21** (2.54)	56.09** (3.29)	82.34** (2.62)
Observations	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152
R-squared	0.08	0.01	0.06	0.06	0.01	0.04	0.01	0.23

Note: Results of regression analyses for independent variables (rows) and dependent variables (columns). Entries are coefficients from the OLS regression model. Robust standard errors are below the coefficients. ^$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$.

TABLE SP6.5. OLS: USES ETHNOFRACTIONAL INDEXES INSTEAD OF POPULATION SIZES

	Indigenous appeals			**Religious appeals**			**Nat. appeals**	**Partisan appeals**
	Bond 1	Bridge 2	Bypass 3	Bond 4	Bridge 5	Bypass 6	Bridge 7	8
Regional head election (candidate-centric)	12.21**	3.65*	-15.87**	10.68**	1.82	-12.50**	9.40**	-68.10**
	(2.63)	(1.69)	(2.97)	(2.98)	(1.58)	(3.21)	(3.39)	(2.21)
Indigenous fractionalization index	-32.98**	5.83**	27.16**	0.67	-3.06^	2.39	13.41**	2.26
	(2.91)	(2.09)	(3.44)	(3.63)	(1.74)	(3.90)	(4.57)	(3.78)
Religious fractionalization index	18.92**	-1.95	-16.97**	-47.54**	11.01**	36.53**	17.19*	13.33^
	(5.55)	(3.53)	(6.28)	(6.52)	(3.24)	(7.08)	(8.16)	(6.84)
Indigenous law	8.88*	-3.39*	-5.49	-3.52	-2.54	6.05	-13.60**	-9.63*
	(3.63)	(1.66)	(3.88)	(4.03)	(1.56)	(4.23)	(4.46)	(4.16)
Mosques	-2.29^	0.68	1.61	-1.40^	0.76	0.64	2.22^	-0.63
	(1.23)	(0.47)	(1.20)	(0.74)	(0.85)	(1.09)	(1.33)	(0.79)
Poverty	3.98	5.22	-9.20	-12.99	12.69^	0.30	53.27**	6.43
	(9.10)	(6.87)	(10.97)	(10.21)	(7.25)	(11.92)	(14.70)	(11.92)
Fishing/farming GRDP	1.77	1.35	-3.12	-8.26	-2.57	10.83	-13.36	3.93
	(6.76)	(4.32)	(7.57)	(7.21)	(4.14)	(7.95)	(8.96)	(7.29)
Female candidate	1.30	-2.03*	0.73	35.31**	-2.71**	-32.60**	3.01	4.87*
	(1.69)	(0.87)	(1.85)	(2.33)	(0.82)	(2.39)	(2.50)	(2.13)
Population (log)	0.81	-0.11	-0.70	-0.31	0.02	0.29	6.14**	-1.74^
	(0.79)	(0.46)	(0.89)	(1.02)	(0.45)	(1.08)	(1.20)	(1.05)
Constant	10.55	2.78	86.67**	36.33*	1.62	62.05**	-57.30**	95.45**
	(11.87)	(6.76)	(13.21)	(15.24)	(6.46)	(16.07)	(17.79)	(15.61)
Observations	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152
R-squared	0.08	0.01	0.06	0.17	0.02	0.12	0.04	0.23

Note: Results of regression analyses for independent variables (rows) and dependent variables (columns). Entries are coefficients from the OLS regression model. Robust standard errors are below the coefficients. ^$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$.

TABLE SP6.6. OLS: USES POLARIZATION INDEXES INSTEAD OF POPULATION SIZES

	Indigenous appeals			**Religious appeals**			**Nat. appeals**	**Partisan appeals**
	Bond 1	Bridge 2	Bypass 3	Bond 4	Bridge 5	Bypass 6	Bridge 7	8
Regional head election (candidate-centric)	13.20**	3.48*	-16.68**	10.44**	1.98	-12.41**	9.10**	-68.10**
	(2.74)	(1.69)	(3.00)	(2.97)	(1.59)	(3.19)	(3.39)	(2.21)
Indigenous polarization index	-32.18**	5.44*	26.74**	0.56	-3.49^	2.92	5.29	-0.23
	(3.43)	(2.32)	(3.96)	(4.48)	(2.02)	(4.73)	(5.43)	(4.54)
Religious polarization index	-3.76	1.64	2.12	-28.71**	5.28**	23.43**	19.41**	10.00**
	(2.81)	(1.55)	(3.09)	(3.35)	(1.53)	(3.58)	(4.01)	(3.43)
Indigenous law	14.37**	-4.33**	-10.05*	-3.66	-1.84	5.50	-14.20**	-9.48*
	(3.72)	(1.67)	(3.98)	(4.22)	(1.56)	(4.39)	(4.62)	(4.23)
Mosques	-0.88	0.41	0.47	-1.16	0.84	0.32	1.27	-0.89
	(1.11)	(0.44)	(1.13)	(0.74)	(0.84)	(1.07)	(1.30)	(0.79)
Poverty	-34.81**	11.82	22.99^	-13.18	8.83	4.34	61.30**	6.81
	(9.80)	(7.42)	(11.75)	(10.54)	(7.61)	(12.41)	(15.84)	(12.66)
Fishing/farming GRDP	8.00	0.28	-8.28	-9.22	-2.03	11.25	-16.29^	3.47
	(6.88)	(4.27)	(7.62)	(7.11)	(4.23)	(7.88)	(8.86)	(7.14)
Female candidate	1.26	-2.03*	0.77	35.31**	-2.72**	-32.60**	2.97	4.86*
	(1.69)	(0.86)	(1.86)	(2.33)	(0.82)	(2.39)	(2.50)	(2.13)
Population (log)	1.78*	-0.27	-1.51^	-0.46	0.14	0.32	6.08**	-1.69
	(0.80)	(0.47)	(0.90)	(1.04)	(0.46)	(1.10)	(1.22)	(1.07)
Constant	3.27	3.95	92.77**	38.93*	0.64	60.43**	-55.79**	95.17**
	(11.89)	(6.84)	(13.20)	(15.25)	(6.56)	(16.11)	(17.86)	(15.65)
Observations	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152
R-squared	0.07	0.01	0.05	0.17	0.02	0.12	0.03	0.23

Note: Results of regression analyses for independent variables (rows) and dependent variables (columns). Entries are coefficients from the OLS regression model. Robust standard errors are below the coefficients. ^$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$.

TABLE SP6.7. OLS: CLUSTERING ON ELECTORAL DISTRICT

	Indigenous appeals			**Religious appeals**			**Nat. appeals**	**Partisan appeals**
	Bond 1	Bridge 2	Bypass 3	Bond 4	Bridge 5	Bypass 6	Bridge 7	8
Regional head election (candidate-centric)	13.13**	3.51^	-16.64**	9.65**	2.11	-11.76**	9.53*	-67.79**
	(2.90)	(1.97)	(3.28)	(3.37)	(2.09)	(3.46)	(4.20)	(2.49)
Largest indigenous group	35.61**	-5.97**	-29.64**	2.19	2.24	-4.43	-18.63**	-5.71
	(3.89)	(2.13)	(3.69)	(4.94)	(1.96)	(5.11)	(5.99)	(4.00)
Muslim population	-13.58**	0.70	12.88**	37.86**	-8.03**	-29.83**	-12.04*	-7.10*
	(4.78)	(1.82)	(4.53)	(3.46)	(1.92)	(4.23)	(5.90)	(3.41)
Indigenous law	2.78	-2.79	0.01	5.38	-4.62**	-0.76	-15.15*	-10.59*
	(3.84)	(1.72)	(4.23)	(4.24)	(1.53)	(4.49)	(6.92)	(4.44)
Mosques	-2.56^	0.66	1.90	-0.61	0.64	-0.03	2.11	-0.58
	(1.46)	(0.57)	(1.18)	(0.86)	(0.55)	(0.91)	(1.43)	(0.91)
Poverty	7.94	4.24	-12.18	-5.28	11.54^	-6.26	47.08**	4.19
	(11.76)	(7.30)	(12.96)	(11.90)	(6.50)	(11.74)	(16.13)	(12.04)
Fishing/farming GRDP	-0.08	1.40	-1.32	-2.77	-3.64	6.42	-14.28	2.96
	(8.15)	(4.36)	(8.26)	(7.70)	(4.10)	(7.76)	(12.32)	(7.89)
Female candidate	1.40	-2.05**	0.65	35.27**	-2.69**	-32.58**	2.99	4.89*
	(1.63)	(0.70)	(1.64)	(3.81)	(0.64)	(3.57)	(2.26)	(1.90)
Population (log)	1.02	-0.08	-0.94	-1.85^	0.31	1.54	6.79**	-1.46
	(1.03)	(0.50)	(1.10)	(1.07)	(0.43)	(1.12)	(1.68)	(1.06)
Constant	-14.87	7.96	106.92**	11.86	4.24	83.90**	-33.42	105.27**
	(14.75)	(7.31)	(15.80)	(14.76)	(6.28)	(15.72)	(23.74)	(14.32)
Observations	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152
R-squared	0.08	0.01	0.06	0.18	0.02	0.13	0.04	0.23

Note: Results of regression analyses for independent variables (rows) and dependent variables (columns). Entries are coefficients from the OLS regression model. Robust standard errors are below the coefficients. ^$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$.

TABLE SP6.8. OLS: INCLUDES DUMMY VARIABLES FOR INDIGENOUS GROUPS

	Indigenous appeals			**Religious appeals**			**Nat. appeals**	**Partisan appeals**
	Bond	Bridge	Bypass	Bond	Bridge	Bypass	Bridge	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Regional head election (candidate-centric)	13.21**	4.78*	-17.99**	11.60**	2.80	-14.40**	3.38	-70.35**
	(3.36)	(2.37)	(3.82)	(3.94)	(2.06)	(4.20)	(4.38)	(2.89)
Largest indigenous group	37.17**	-2.25	-34.92**	-6.28	3.06	3.22	-13.22*	-2.67
	(4.12)	(2.82)	(4.83)	(5.37)	(2.66)	(5.70)	(6.59)	(5.05)
Muslim population	-27.69**	-6.54	34.23**	30.16**	-10.29*	-19.87*	12.90	5.81
	(7.12)	(4.62)	(8.01)	(9.71)	(4.93)	(10.10)	(11.50)	(8.28)
Indigenous law	-8.72	4.26	4.46	-5.00	-1.38	6.38	16.11	1.66
	(7.32)	(4.93)	(8.48)	(9.63)	(4.83)	(10.38)	(11.35)	(9.40)
Mosques	-3.48*	0.69	2.79	-1.44	-1.27	2.71	4.02^	-0.47
	(1.41)	(1.13)	(1.76)	(1.91)	(1.10)	(2.06)	(2.25)	(1.46)
Poverty	7.46	-7.91	0.45	-22.90	16.90	6.00	49.55*	6.23
	(15.72)	(8.81)	(17.10)	(18.10)	(10.73)	(19.69)	(22.38)	(17.33)
Fishing/farming GRDP	-2.60	5.17	-2.56	23.63*	-1.63	-22.01^	-34.93**	-10.76
	(9.99)	(6.01)	(10.82)	(11.11)	(6.35)	(11.80)	(12.86)	(10.43)
Female candidate	1.40	-2.06*	0.66	35.68**	-2.79**	-32.90**	2.42	4.64*
	(1.69)	(0.88)	(1.86)	(2.31)	(0.84)	(2.37)	(2.50)	(2.15)
Population (log)	2.22	0.07	-2.29	-2.46	0.95	1.51	5.09**	-3.31*
	(1.40)	(0.75)	(1.53)	(1.62)	(0.70)	(1.71)	(1.82)	(1.59)
Indigenous dummy vars.	Variables included in regression but not shown							
Constant	-7.36	6.58	100.78**	45.33*	-3.53	58.21**	-70.98**	99.61**
	(17.82)	(10.11)	(19.54)	(18.61)	(10.65)	(20.55)	(23.34)	(19.77)
Observations	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152
R-squared	0.11	0.03	0.08	0.20	0.03	0.15	0.07	0.24

Note: Results of regression analyses for independent variables (rows) and dependent variables (columns). Entries are coefficients from the OLS regression model. Robust standard errors are below the coefficients. ^$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$.

TABLE SP6.9. OLS: DISTRICT LEGISLATIVE CANDIDATES & REGIONAL HEAD CANDIDATES ONLY

	Indigenous appeals			**Religious appeals**			**Nat. appeals**	**Partisan appeals**
	Bond 1	Bridge 2	Bypass 3	Bond 4	Bridge 5	Bypass 6	Bridge 7	8
Regional head election (candidate-centric)	12.53**	3.54*	-16.07**	10.92**	2.06	-12.98**	11.67**	-66.05**
	(2.74)	(1.74)	(3.12)	(3.13)	(1.53)	(3.33)	(3.58)	(2.55)
Largest indigenous group	40.87**	-8.61**	-32.26**	3.41	0.75	-4.17	-12.92*	0.14
	(4.22)	(2.59)	(4.76)	(4.73)	(2.49)	(5.20)	(6.05)	(4.57)
Muslim population	-19.78**	2.66	17.12**	40.44**	-8.73**	-31.71**	-9.10	-9.49*
	(4.25)	(2.46)	(4.76)	(4.34)	(2.68)	(5.03)	(5.84)	(4.45)
Indigenous law	12.39*	-3.39	-9.00^	3.02	-1.48	-1.54	-23.92**	-6.47
	(4.92)	(2.36)	(5.35)	(6.16)	(1.77)	(6.32)	(6.19)	(5.62)
Mosques	-2.78*	0.09	2.69*	0.69	0.29	-0.97	1.65	-0.82
	(1.35)	(0.43)	(1.37)	(0.74)	(0.96)	(1.15)	(1.44)	(0.75)
Poverty	19.65	-11.52	-8.14	1.28	14.76	-16.04	26.97	24.36
	(12.36)	(8.28)	(14.41)	(14.04)	(9.10)	(16.09)	(20.52)	(16.32)
Fishing/farming GRDP	0.83	7.40	-8.24	-12.11	-2.50	14.61	-18.91^	-10.18
	(8.11)	(5.31)	(9.15)	(8.39)	(4.87)	(9.25)	(10.89)	(8.54)
Female candidate	0.98	-1.63	0.65	38.24**	-3.03*	-35.21**	1.18	3.68
	(2.40)	(1.15)	(2.60)	(3.19)	(1.18)	(3.27)	(3.47)	(2.97)
Population (log)	3.59**	-0.29	-3.30*	-2.75	2.13**	0.62	2.00	0.41
	(1.28)	(0.71)	(1.43)	(1.84)	(0.67)	(1.91)	(1.91)	(1.58)
Constant	-52.87**	12.97	139.90**	20.30	-19.27*	98.97**	29.57	76.82**
	(17.44)	(9.70)	(19.47)	(24.93)	(9.25)	(25.92)	(26.87)	(21.57)
Observations	1,244	1,244	1,244	1,244	1,244	1,244	1,244	1,244
R-squared	0.12	0.02	0.09	0.20	0.02	0.14	0.03	0.34

Note: Results of regression analyses for independent variables (rows) and dependent variables (columns). Entries are coefficients from the OLS regression model. Robust standard errors are below the coefficients. ^$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$.

TABLE SP6.10. LOGIT 1: DV = 1 IF ETHNIC APPEAL IS 50% OR MORE POSTERS

	Indigenous appeals			**Religious appeals**			**Nat. appeals**	**Partisan appeals**
	Bond 1	Bridge 2	Bypass 3	Bond 4	Bridge 5	Bypass 6	Bridge 7	8
Regional head election (candidate-centric)	0.90**	0.54^	-0.73**	0.72**	0.55	-0.57**	0.55**	-4.14**
	(0.20)	(0.32)	(0.19)	(0.20)	(0.34)	(0.20)	(0.17)	(0.31)
Largest indigenous group	3.78**	-1.37**	-2.23**	-0.18	0.27	-0.09	-0.80**	-0.16
	(0.37)	(0.45)	(0.30)	(0.27)	(0.46)	(0.24)	(0.20)	(0.26)
Muslim population	-0.88**	-0.12	0.88**	3.37**	-1.91**	-2.05**	-0.55*	-0.58*
	(0.28)	(0.54)	(0.27)	(0.37)	(0.47)	(0.30)	(0.22)	(0.29)
Indigenous law	0.33	-1.01^	0.02	0.21	-1.79**	-0.12	-0.80**	-0.68*
	(0.31)	(0.59)	(0.28)	(0.27)	(0.59)	(0.25)	(0.23)	(0.27)
Mosques	-0.20^	0.13*	0.09	-0.03	0.07	-0.02	0.08	-0.08
	(0.12)	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.10)	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.06)	(0.08)
Poverty	-1.68	0.70	-0.32	-0.37	2.44^	-0.55	1.85**	0.24
	(1.17)	(1.30)	(0.97)	(1.00)	(1.26)	(0.85)	(0.64)	(0.85)
Fishing/farming GRDP	0.78	1.00	0.00	-0.28	0.14	0.70	-0.40	0.28
	(0.64)	(0.98)	(0.56)	(0.54)	(1.00)	(0.49)	(0.41)	(0.53)
Female candidate	0.13	-0.69*	0.02	1.85**	-0.95**	-1.58**	0.11	0.27*
	(0.16)	(0.31)	(0.15)	(0.12)	(0.34)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.13)
Population (log)	0.10	0.04	-0.04	-0.11	0.16	0.10	0.32**	-0.10
	(0.07)	(0.14)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.13)	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.07)
Constant	-5.27**	-2.73	3.15**	-2.67**	-4.05*	1.83^	-3.83**	3.26**
	(1.13)	(1.85)	(1.00)	(1.02)	(1.67)	(0.94)	(0.80)	(0.95)
Observations	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152
Pseudo R-squared	0.11	0.03	0.05	0.17	0.05	0.11	0.03	0.19
Log Likelihood	-781.68	-385.17	-906.67	-1025.22	-383.54	-1135.63	-1440.83	-1088.10

Note: Results of regression analyses for independent variables (rows) and dependent variables (columns). Entries are coefficients from the Logit regression model. Robust standard errors are below the coefficients. ^$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$.

TABLE SP6.11. LOGIT 2: DV = 0 IF ETHNIC APPEAL IS NOT PRESENT IN ANY POSTERS

	Indigenous appeals			**Religious appeals**			**Nat. appeals**	**Partisan appeals**
	Bond 1	Bridge 2	Bypass 3	Bond 4	Bridge 5	Bypass 6	Bridge 7	8
Regional head election (candidate-centric)	1.41**	1.68**	-0.28	1.29**	1.30**	-0.12	1.21**	-2.49**
	(0.20)	(0.29)	(0.20)	(0.19)	(0.29)	(0.21)	(0.17)	(0.20)
Largest indigenous group	3.74**	-1.81**	-2.29**	-0.02	0.21	-0.12	-0.82**	-0.30
	(0.35)	(0.41)	(0.31)	(0.26)	(0.39)	(0.25)	(0.20)	(0.23)
Muslim population	-0.88**	0.03	0.83**	2.99**	-2.07**	-2.05**	-0.57*	-0.19
	(0.27)	(0.44)	(0.28)	(0.34)	(0.46)	(0.32)	(0.22)	(0.25)
Indigenous law	0.33	-0.77	-0.26	0.22	-2.04**	-0.08	-0.98**	-0.54*
	(0.30)	(0.52)	(0.28)	(0.27)	(0.61)	(0.26)	(0.23)	(0.26)
Mosques	-0.22*	0.07	0.08	-0.07	0.03	-0.03	0.07	-0.07
	(0.11)	(0.06)	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.07)	(0.10)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Poverty	-1.84	1.28	-0.88	-0.46	1.55	-0.64	1.76**	0.68
	(1.14)	(1.24)	(1.00)	(0.96)	(1.20)	(0.87)	(0.65)	(0.76)
Fishing/farming GRDP	0.62	0.25	0.20	-0.22	0.53	0.61	-0.35	-0.04
	(0.61)	(0.89)	(0.60)	(0.52)	(0.92)	(0.50)	(0.41)	(0.47)
Female candidate	0.11	-0.58^	0.02	1.78**	-0.76*	-1.58**	0.05	0.22^
	(0.16)	(0.30)	(0.15)	(0.12)	(0.30)	(0.12)	(0.11)	(0.13)
Population (log)	0.16*	0.15	-0.04	-0.05	0.21^	0.11	0.36**	-0.03
	(0.07)	(0.13)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.13)	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Constant	-5.87**	-4.13*	3.36**	-3.21**	-4.38**	1.73^	-4.22**	2.08*
	(1.10)	(1.73)	(1.02)	(1.00)	(1.62)	(0.97)	(0.81)	(0.92)
Observations	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152
Pseudo R-squared	0.13	0.08	0.04	0.16	0.08	0.11	0.04	0.12
Log Likelihood	-808.28	-424.78	-868.89	-1064.09	-433.05	-1108.58	-1428.83	-1143.63

Note: Results of regression analyses for independent variables (rows) and dependent variables (columns). Entries are coefficients from the Logit regression model. Robust standard errors are below the coefficients. ^$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$.

TABLE SP6.12. ORDERED LOGIT: DV = 1 NONE 2 ANY 3 ALL

	Indigenous appeals			**Religious appeals**			**Nat. appeals**	**Partisan appeals**
	Bond 1	Bridge 2	Bypass 3	Bond 4	Bridge 5	Bypass 6	Bridge 7	8
Regional head election (candidate-centric)	1.15** (0.17)	1.52** (0.26)	-1.31** (0.15)	0.97** (0.17)	1.21** (0.28)	-0.96** (0.15)	0.47** (0.12)	-2.78** (0.17)
Largest indigenous group	3.61** (0.33)	-1.70** (0.39)	-1.97** (0.25)	0.02 (0.25)	0.23 (0.37)	-0.25 (0.22)	-0.81** (0.19)	-0.36 (0.22)
Muslim population	-0.87** (0.26)	0.03 (0.44)	0.61* (0.24)	2.97** (0.33)	-2.04** (0.45)	-1.70** (0.25)	-0.62** (0.21)	-0.33 (0.24)
Indigenous law	0.38 (0.29)	-0.78 (0.50)	-0.12 (0.25)	0.19 (0.26)	-1.97** (0.59)	0.10 (0.24)	-0.84** (0.22)	-0.53* (0.25)
Mosques	-0.23^ (0.13)	0.08 (0.06)	0.12 (0.08)	-0.09 (0.09)	0.05 (0.08)	0.03 (0.08)	0.10 (0.06)	-0.04 (0.06)
Poverty	-1.35 (1.08)	1.25 (1.21)	-0.64 (0.89)	-0.60 (0.95)	1.71 (1.17)	-0.01 (0.78)	2.00** (0.64)	0.54 (0.74)
Fishing/farming GRDP	0.53 (0.58)	0.23 (0.79)	-0.08 (0.46)	-0.03 (0.50)	0.35 (0.84)	0.08 (0.42)	-0.46 (0.36)	-0.09 (0.44)
Female candidate	0.10 (0.16)	-0.58^ (0.30)	0.09 (0.14)	1.86** (0.12)	-0.77* (0.30)	-1.55** (0.11)	0.12 (0.11)	0.30* (0.12)
Population (log)	0.15* (0.07)	0.12 (0.12)	-0.11^ (0.06)	-0.07 (0.07)	0.21^ (0.12)	0.06 (0.06)	0.31** (0.05)	-0.07 (0.06)
/cut1	5.72** (1.04)	3.71* (1.63)	-4.36** (0.89)	2.91** (0.95)	4.33** (1.61)	-2.18* (0.86)	3.53** (0.76)	-2.84** (0.87)
/cut2	6.11** (1.04)	4.21* (1.64)	-3.93** (0.89)	3.19** (0.95)	4.87** (1.61)	-1.86* (0.85)	3.97** (0.76)	-2.48** (0.87)
Observations	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152
Pseudo R-squared	0.10	0.06	0.06	0.14	0.06	0.09	0.02	0.12
Log Likelihood	-1008.14	-507.28	-1284.50	-1310.83	-516.59	-1540.83	-1982.22	-1560.05

Note: Results of regression analyses for independent variables (rows) and dependent variables (columns). Entries are coefficients from an Ordered Logit regression model. Robust standard errors are below the coefficients. ^$p <$ 0.10 ; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$.

TABLE SP6.13. TOBIT: LOWER LIMIT (IE. LEFT-CENSORING) SET TO 0; UPPER LIMIT (IE. RIGHT-CENSORING) SET TO 100 FOR EACH DV.

	Indigenous appeals			**Religious appeals**			**Nat. appeals**	**Partisan appeals**
	Bond 1	Bridge 2	Bypass 3	Bond 4	Bridge 5	Bypass 6	Bridge 7	8
Regional head election (candidate-centric)	288.00**	274.33**	-299.06**	322.18**	201.60**	-275.88**	103.16**	-804.20**
	(49.43)	(49.31)	(39.63)	(65.85)	(46.43)	(49.68)	(29.29)	(85.53)
Largest indigenous group	904.06**	-306.26**	-473.44**	-0.91	78.39	-69.52	-182.94**	-90.17
	(121.49)	(88.31)	(71.52)	(88.47)	(72.91)	(67.56)	(44.88)	(59.53)
Muslim population	-236.39**	-3.53	156.62*	1,019.92**	-388.69**	-513.12**	-137.65**	-89.45
	(74.13)	(99.00)	(60.82)	(152.32)	(101.92)	(88.81)	(48.44)	(64.70)
Indigenous law	93.47	-172.75	-23.05	75.42	-352.25**	25.17	-183.17**	-143.90*
	(75.63)	(111.82)	(61.22)	(95.32)	(111.26)	(74.99)	(50.67)	(66.80)
Mosques	-56.83*	21.42	27.59	-25.23	11.41	4.25	21.47	-14.88
	(27.25)	(16.22)	(17.13)	(30.63)	(16.67)	(22.05)	(13.46)	(16.44)
Poverty	-321.56	240.13	-192.04	-149.25	372.91	-69.95	446.76**	137.91
	(282.39)	(261.52)	(204.43)	(328.09)	(240.51)	(234.11)	(144.77)	(196.30)
Fishing/farming GRDP	108.32	39.01	2.97	-41.12	4.25	66.62	-108.46	-11.45
	(149.71)	(168.26)	(112.54)	(176.64)	(150.05)	(130.93)	(83.29)	(118.06)
Female candidate	29.83	-118.41*	17.84	675.95**	-146.78**	-484.82**	26.47	77.95*
	(41.23)	(58.88)	(33.28)	(78.34)	(55.85)	(52.59)	(24.35)	(33.28)
Population log	36.13^	15.14	-21.08	-26.96	31.12	19.12	70.07**	-18.86
	(18.99)	(24.91)	(15.09)	(23.73)	(22.00)	(18.68)	(12.69)	(16.17)
Sigma	227426**	189545**	174975**	383124**	151427**	273134**	134908**	209017**
	(48063)	(57997)	(30739)	(78030)	(43613)	(47482)	(17334)	(34067)
Constant	-1438**	-758*	985**	-992**	-808**	660*	-796**	760**
	(307.15)	(349.32)	(224.37)	(356.02)	(305.80)	(271.26)	(178.38)	(236.93)
Observations	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152	2,152

Note: Results of regression analyses for independent variables (rows) and dependent variables (columns). Entries are coefficients from the Tobit regression model. Robust standard errors are below the coefficients. ^$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$.

TABLE SP6.14. OLS: UOA = POSTER

	Indigenous appeals			**Religious appeals**			**Nat. appeals**	**Partisan appeals**
	Bond 1	Bridge 2	Bypass 3	Bond 4	Bridge 5	Bypass 6	Bridge 7	8
Regional head election (candidate-centric)	11.26** (1.35)	8.22** (1.08)	-19.48** (1.63)	13.28** (1.68)	3.59** (0.88)	-16.87** (1.78)	8.94** (1.93)	-65.21** (1.39)
Largest indigenous group	41.77** (2.59)	-12.46** (1.70)	-29.31** (2.95)	-4.26 (2.80)	-1.24 (1.61)	5.50^ (3.10)	-12.58** (3.57)	-8.38** (2.62)
Muslim population	-29.27** (2.92)	2.34 (1.61)	26.93** (3.26)	35.97** (2.87)	-10.29** (1.77)	-25.68** (3.33)	-9.34* (3.90)	-0.62 (2.92)
Indigenous law	-10.55** (3.10)	-3.05* (1.38)	13.60** (3.27)	0.65 (3.43)	-2.93* (1.25)	2.28 (3.60)	-12.99** (3.81)	-7.20* (3.27)
Mosques	-3.21** (1.06)	0.66 (0.44)	2.55* (1.06)	-0.98 (0.76)	-0.16 (0.66)	1.14 (0.99)	2.35^ (1.21)	0.12 (0.68)
Poverty	-42.94** (8.00)	13.08* (5.93)	29.86** (9.48)	7.85 (9.06)	11.70^ (6.00)	-19.55^ (10.35)	44.49** (12.27)	9.28 (9.68)
Fishing/farming GRDP	27.57** (4.81)	-3.49 (3.51)	-24.08** (5.40)	-2.63 (4.98)	1.22 (3.41)	1.41 (5.58)	-23.64** (6.16)	3.69 (4.27)
Female candidate	6.10** (1.57)	-1.08 (0.85)	-5.02** (1.67)	32.79** (1.96)	-2.55** (0.72)	-30.23** (2.03)	2.32 (2.12)	2.80 (1.70)
Population (log)	-0.93 (0.63)	1.74** (0.44)	-0.80 (0.73)	0.29 (0.78)	1.25** (0.34)	-1.54^ (0.82)	2.98** (0.89)	-1.16^ (0.69)
Constant	27.16** (9.27)	-14.79* (6.04)	87.63** (10.59)	-11.76 (10.95)	-5.08 (5.09)	116.84** (11.67)	14.85 (13.05)	95.04** (9.84)
Observations	3,966	3,966	3,966	3,966	3,966	3,966	3,966	3,966
R-squared	0.14	0.04	0.10	0.13	0.03	0.09	0.02	0.40

Note: Results of regression analyses for independent variables (rows) and dependent variables (columns). Entries are coefficients from the OLS regression model. Robust standard errors are below the coefficients. ^$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$.

Supplementary Materials for Figure 7.2 and Table A7.1

TABLE SP7.1. SUMMARY STATISTICS FOR DEPENDENT VARIABLES

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Indigenous bonding	246	24.945	39.185	0	100
Indigenous bridging	246	7.732	22.155	0	100
Indigenous bypassing	246	67.324	41.008	0	100
Religious bonding	246	23.446	38.459	0	100
Religious bridging	246	6.602	20.942	0	100
Religious bypassing	246	69.952	40.484	0	100
Nationalist bridging	246	43.797	41.050	0	100

TABLE SP7.2. SUMMARY STATISTICS FOR INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Viable indigenous group	246	0.553	0.498	0.00	1.00
Viable religious group	246	0.561	0.497	0.00	1.00
Indigenous law	246	0.433	0.259	0.00	0.99
Places of worship	246	1.901	1.592	0.16	11.91
Poverty	246	0.139	0.074	0.02	0.35
Fishing/farming GRDP	246	0.294	0.198	0.00	0.64
Number of candidates	246	6.638	2.302	2.00	10.00
Competitive election	246	-11.334	10.508	-47.68	-0.36
Competitive candidate	246	-17.620	14.455	-63.80	0.00
Incumbent	246	0.150	0.358	0.00	1.00
Female candidate	246	0.065	0.247	0.00	1.00
Population (log)	246	12.870	0.930	11.61	15.39

Note: GRDP = gross regional domestic product.

TABLE SP7.3. CORRELATION MATRIX FOR INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

	Viable indigenous group	Viable religious group	Indigenous law	Places of worship	Poverty	Fishing/ farming GRDP	Number of candidates	Competitive election	Competitive candidate	Incumbent	Female candidate	Population (log)
Viable indigenous group	1.000											
Viable religious group	-0.038	1.000										
Indigenous law	0.123	-0.534	1.000									
Places of worship	0.109	-0.287	0.070	1.000								
Poverty	0.394	-0.252	0.145	0.067	1.000							
Fishing/farming GRDP	0.283	-0.269	0.280	0.274	0.472	1.000						
Number of candidates	-0.291	-0.232	0.114	-0.264	0.147	0.061	1.000					
Competitive election	0.070	-0.060	0.001	0.186	0.245	0.075	0.411	1.000				
Competitive candidate	0.041	0.015	0.043	0.144	0.141	0.054	0.099	0.407	1.000			
Incumbent	0.012	0.029	0.054	-0.014	-0.005	0.026	-0.166	-0.167	0.369	1.000		
Female candidate	-0.061	-0.066	-0.033	0.067	-0.053	-0.004	-0.016	0.020	0.049	-0.019	1.000	
Population (log)	0.007	0.396	-0.240	-0.134	-0.200	-0.137	-0.142	-0.098	0.037	0.085	-0.063	1.000

Note: GRDP = gross regional domestic product.

TABLE SP7.4. OLS: EXCLUDES INDEPENDENT AND CONTROL VARIABLES

	Indigenous appeals			**Religious appeals**			**Nationalist appeals**
	Bond	Bridge	Bypass	Bond	Bridge	Bypass	Bridge
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Viable indigenous group	35.36**	-13.96**	-21.40**	-4.41	-3.39	7.80	-17.66**
	(4.07)	(2.93)	(4.89)	(4.42)	(2.64)	(5.04)	(5.15)
Viable religious group	-16.20**	2.76	13.44**	35.15**	-12.64**	-22.51**	-6.54
	(4.42)	(2.62)	(5.04)	(4.00)	(2.90)	(4.81)	(5.16)
Intercept	14.48**	13.90**	71.61**	6.16*	15.57**	78.27**	57.23**
	(3.13)	(3.00)	(4.21)	(2.93)	(3.49)	(4.40)	(4.81)
N	246	246	246	246	246	246	246
R Squared	0.25	0.10	0.10	0.21	0.09	0.09	0.05

Note: Results of regression analyses for independent variables (rows) and dependent variables (columns). Entries are coefficients from the OLS regression model. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. ^$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$.

TABLE SP7.5. OLS: WITH CLUSTERING ON THE ELECTORAL DISTRICT

	Indigenous appeals			**Religious appeals**			**Nationalist appeals**
	Bond 1	Bridge 2	Bypass 3	Bond 4	Bridge 5	Bypass 6	Bridge 7
Viable indigenous group	34.17**	-13.21**	-20.96**	-5.32	-3.69	9.01	-13.97*
	(4.98)	(2.86)	(5.86)	(6.56)	(2.49)	(6.45)	(5.85)
Viable religious group	-13.33*	0.46	12.86*	38.52**	-15.86**	-22.66**	-4.09
	(5.14)	(3.86)	(6.28)	(7.70)	(4.50)	(8.12)	(7.36)
Indigenous law	6.75	-2.70	-4.05	1.18	-3.40	2.22	1.93
	(10.48)	(5.02)	(11.89)	(14.07)	(5.37)	(14.71)	(13.98)
Places of worship	1.69	-0.98	-0.70	0.03	0.34	-0.37	3.31*
	(1.24)	(0.65)	(1.45)	(0.87)	(0.98)	(1.35)	(1.63)
Poverty	-7.20	-32.60^	39.80	38.66	7.96	-46.62	-53.18
	(39.68)	(16.89)	(48.19)	(40.74)	(22.51)	(50.44)	(34.03)
Fishing/farming GRDP	8.27	12.09	-20.37	-7.46	-2.66	10.12	-14.85
	(14.40)	(8.13)	(17.24)	(15.99)	(8.84)	(16.68)	(13.62)
Female candidate	8.24	-7.09*	-1.15	14.53	-2.04	-12.49	0.95
	(7.36)	(3.30)	(8.91)	(8.87)	(4.21)	(8.75)	(10.84)
Population (log)	1.89	0.68	-2.57	-2.58	3.41**	-0.83	-3.08
	(2.64)	(1.73)	(3.46)	(2.68)	(1.19)	(2.76)	(2.97)
Intercept	-18.84	10.51	108.33*	33.30	-25.67^	92.37*	98.04*
	(37.09)	(21.00)	(45.64)	(38.27)	(14.73)	(39.60)	(42.40)
N	246	246	246	246	246	246	246
R Squared	0.26	0.12	0.11	0.23	0.12	0.10	0.08

Note: There were a total of 49 electoral districts. Results of regression analyses for independent variables (rows) and dependent variables (columns). Entries are coefficients from the OLS regression model. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. ^$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$.

TABLE SP7.6. OLS: INCLUDES DUMMY VARIABLES FOR INDIGENOUS GROUPS

	Indigenous appeals			**Religious appeals**			**Nationalist appeals**
	Bond 1	Bridge 2	Bypass 3	Bond 4	Bridge 5	Bypass 6	Bridge 7
Viable indigenous group	30.95**	-14.23**	-16.72*	-12.87	-7.24**	20.12*	-6.97
	(6.00)	(4.20)	(7.18)	(8.04)	(2.68)	(8.43)	(8.01)
Viable religious group	-0.07	-17.85	17.92	58.21**	-41.49**	-16.73	-13.08
	(6.50)	(11.15)	(12.81)	(12.31)	(12.56)	(18.96)	(16.10)
Indigenous law	4.07	-0.79	-3.27	13.16	-7.85	-5.31	13.70
	(17.40)	(12.57)	(22.20)	(26.39)	(8.54)	(26.99)	(27.62)
Places of worship	0.81	-2.58	1.78	-0.75	-2.49*	3.24	3.72
	(1.55)	(1.83)	(2.50)	(2.29)	(1.11)	(2.42)	(2.52)
Poverty	-100.93	-129.07*	230.00^	47.54	69.58*	-117.11	127.59
	(108.32)	(63.77)	(124.96)	(116.20)	(34.74)	(117.20)	(136.85)
Fishing/farming GRDP	24.86	19.99	-44.85^	20.21	-5.60	-14.61	-38.70^
	(21.23)	(12.88)	(24.92)	(21.00)	(11.16)	(23.08)	(23.02)
Female candidate	1.56	-2.20	0.63	12.11	1.27	-13.39	0.35
	(8.34)	(3.01)	(9.05)	(8.14)	(4.05)	(8.21)	(11.13)
Population (log)	1.93	0.56	-2.49	-6.78^	2.02	4.76	-4.19
	(2.94)	(1.47)	(3.17)	(4.07)	(1.40)	(4.25)	(3.65)
Indigenous dummy vars.	Variables included in regression but not shown						
Intercept	0.12	22.67	77.21^	80.31	-1.89	21.58	92.38^
	(39.37)	(18.47)	(42.23)	(52.19)	(19.93)	(54.09)	(51.43)
N	246	246	246	246	246	246	246
R Squared	0.33	0.23	0.20	0.33	0.28	0.24	0.12

Note: Coefficients and SEs for indigenous groups are not shown. There were 34 different indigenous groups in the dataset. Results of regression analyses for independent variables (rows) and dependent variables (columns). Entries are coefficients from the OLS regression model. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. ^$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$.

TABLE SP7.7. LOGIT 1: 50% THRESHOLD FOR APPEALS

	Indigenous appeals			**Religious appeals**			**Nationalist appeals**
	Bond 1	Bridge 2	Bypass 3	Bond 4	Bridge 5	Bypass 6	Bridge 7
Viable indigenous group	2.85** (0.58)	-2.31** (0.78)	-1.19** (0.37)	-0.37 (0.36)	-1.74* (0.82)	0.69* (0.34)	-0.64* (0.30)
Viable religious group	-0.68 (0.54)	0.09 (0.68)	0.69^ (0.40)	3.77** (0.83)	-3.28** (0.96)	-1.19** (0.44)	-0.39 (0.35)
Indigenous law	0.25 (0.74)	-1.05 (1.19)	-0.05 (0.65)	0.25 (0.79)	-0.47 (1.65)	-0.15 (0.74)	0.04 (0.65)
Places of worship	0.10 (0.11)	-0.29 (0.25)	-0.07 (0.09)	0.05 (0.15)	0.02 (0.17)	-0.00 (0.11)	0.12 (0.10)
Poverty	-1.27 (2.36)	-20.06** (7.19)	1.41 (2.33)	3.99 (3.71)	7.97** (3.02)	-2.84 (2.21)	-3.43 (2.23)
Fishing/farming GRDP	1.09 (1.15)	4.57* (1.78)	-0.63 (0.94)	-0.58 (1.26)	0.80 (1.65)	1.27 (0.93)	-0.57 (0.80)
Female candidate	0.59 (0.66)		-0.23 (0.54)	1.43^ (0.82)	-0.31 (1.06)	-0.73 (0.53)	0.08 (0.60)
Population (log)	0.03 (0.19)	0.08 (0.30)	-0.04 (0.18)	-0.24 (0.18)	0.81* (0.35)	-0.05 (0.18)	-0.10 (0.16)
Intercept	-3.54 (2.50)	-0.82 (3.87)	2.05 (2.32)	-1.32 (2.42)	-12.28** (4.36)	2.26 (2.28)	2.24 (2.13)
N	246	230	246	246	246	246	246
Pseudo R2	0.25	0.21	0.08	0.25	0.22	0.08	0.06
Log Likelihood	-108.01	-51.73	-133.23	-103.16	-51.94	-130.87	-161.03

Note: The dependent variable = 1 if 50% or more of a candidate's posters have the appeal, else the dependent variable = 0. In model 2, no female candidate reached the threshold, so Female candidate and the 16 female candidates are dropped (N = 230). Results of regression analyses for independent variables (rows) and dependent variables (columns). Entries are coefficients from the Logit regression model. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. ^$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$.

TABLE SP7.8. LOGIT 2: THRESHOLD OF HAVING ANY POSTER WITH THE APPEAL

	Indigenous appeals			**Religious appeals**			**Nationalist appeals**
	Bond 1	Bridge 2	Bypass 3	Bond 4	Bridge 5	Bypass 6	Bridge 7
Viable indigenous group	2.76** (0.47)	-2.78** (0.65)	-1.27** (0.44)	-0.18 (0.33)	0.05 (0.51)	0.48 (0.37)	-0.39 (0.31)
Viable religious group	-1.23* (0.49)	0.16 (0.49)	0.60 (0.45)	2.48** (0.49)	-2.53** (0.68)	-1.93** (0.54)	-0.36 (0.38)
Indigenous law	-0.01 (0.68)	-0.43 (0.94)	-1.19 (0.76)	0.28 (0.67)	-1.46 (1.02)	-0.35 (0.79)	-1.05 (0.66)
Places of worship	0.01 (0.11)	-0.33* (0.16)	-0.11 (0.10)	-0.04 (0.11)	-0.09 (0.12)	-0.07 (0.14)	0.10 (0.11)
Poverty	-3.62 (2.32)	-10.03^ (5.42)	-0.71 (2.53)	1.45 (2.53)	-1.83 (2.86)	-6.34** (2.42)	-5.30* (2.23)
Fishing/farming GRDP	0.03 (1.06)	2.08 (1.46)	-1.00 (1.03)	-0.48 (0.97)	0.37 (1.25)	1.30 (0.97)	-0.13 (0.82)
Female candidate	0.39 (0.65)	-0.47 (1.01)	0.59 (0.72)	0.95 (0.65)	0.10 (0.65)	-0.64 (0.64)	-0.03 (0.59)
Population (log)	0.29^ (0.17)	0.45* (0.21)	-0.08 (0.19)	-0.05 (0.16)	0.58* (0.28)	-0.03 (0.19)	-0.04 (0.16)
Intercept	-5.00* (2.23)	-5.24^ (2.89)	4.15 (2.55)	-1.65 (2.18)	-7.20^ (3.72)	3.77 (2.49)	2.54 (2.10)
N	246	246	246	246	246	246	246
Pseudo R2	0.23	0.26	0.14	0.18	0.12	0.10	0.06
Log Likelihood	-123.19	-81.73	-105.60	-129.25	-91.55	-107.95	-151.88

Note: The dependent variable = 1 if the appeal is present in any of the candidate's posters, else the dependent variable = 0. Results of regression analyses for independent variables (rows) and dependent variables (columns). Entries are coefficients from the Logit regression model. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. ^$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$.

TABLE SP7.9. ORDERED LOGIT: NONE, ANY, OR ALL POSTERS HAVE THE APPEAL

	Indigenous appeals			**Religious appeals**			**Nationalist appeals**
	Bond 1	Bridge 2	Bypass 3	Bond 4	Bridge 5	Bypass 6	Bridge 7
Viable indigenous group	2.70**	-2.69**	-0.89**	-0.25	0.04	0.22	-0.63*
	(0.45)	(0.62)	(0.26)	(0.32)	(0.49)	(0.28)	(0.27)
Viable religious group	-1.23**	0.20	0.70*	2.51**	-2.49**	-0.90**	0.07
	(0.47)	(0.46)	(0.32)	(0.48)	(0.65)	(0.35)	(0.36)
Indigenous law	0.53	-0.47	-0.58	0.07	-1.27	0.56	-0.04
	(0.61)	(0.94)	(0.59)	(0.69)	(0.98)	(0.65)	(0.70)
Places of worship	0.04	-0.33^	0.00	-0.07	-0.06	0.04	0.23^
	(0.12)	(0.18)	(0.10)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.10)	(0.12)
Poverty	-1.32	-12.02*	1.88	2.34	-1.34	-0.23	-3.32
	(2.52)	(5.80)	(2.62)	(2.56)	(2.73)	(1.98)	(2.37)
Fishing/farming GRDP	-0.17	2.26^	-0.59	-0.39	0.18	-0.08	-0.36
	(1.02)	(1.36)	(0.78)	(0.86)	(1.19)	(0.73)	(0.70)
Female candidate	0.25	-0.50	0.28	0.94	0.03	-0.76^	0.19
	(0.54)	(0.98)	(0.47)	(0.60)	(0.61)	(0.45)	(0.53)
Population (log)	0.28*	0.33^	-0.29*	-0.09	0.60*	-0.10	-0.14
	(0.14)	(0.20)	(0.13)	(0.15)	(0.29)	(0.14)	(0.13)
Constant cut 1	5.47**	3.61	-5.41**	1.21	7.56*	-3.03	-2.88
	(1.80)	(2.71)	(1.75)	(2.05)	(3.81)	(1.93)	(1.80)
Constant cut 2	6.79**	5.67*	-3.92*	2.45	9.65*	-1.61	-1.02
	(1.81)	(2.86)	(1.72)	(2.04)	(3.82)	(1.93)	(1.79)
N	246	246	246	246	246	246	246
Pseudo R2	0.18	0.22	0.05	0.14	0.10	0.05	0.04
Log Likelihood	-178.28	-102.33	-240.44	-185.78	-107.91	-235.70	-254.09

Note: The dependent variables = 1 if there is no poster with the ethnic appeal; the dependent variables = 2 if any but not all posters have the ethnic appeal; the dependent variable = 3 if all posters have the ethnic appeal. Results of regression analyses for independent variables (rows) and dependent variables (columns). Entries are coefficients from the Ordered Logit regression model. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. ^$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$.

TABLE SP7.10. TOBIT: LOWER LIMIT SET TO 0; UPPER LIMIT SET TO 100 FOR EACH DEPENDENT VARIABLE

	Indigenous appeals			**Religious appeals**			**Nationalist appeals**
	Bond 1	Bridge 2	Bypass 3	Bond 4	Bridge 5	Bypass 6	Bridge 7
Viable indigenous group	189.62** (33.58)	-108.22** (24.90)	-62.61** (17.62)	-15.54 (23.31)	-3.97 (21.98)	20.40 (19.05)	-33.20* (13.43)
Viable religious group	-79.53* (32.63)	6.24 (20.96)	43.99* (20.80)	192.26** (39.15)	-113.39** (31.60)	-69.70** (24.60)	-3.21 (17.68)
Indigenous law	40.57 (47.32)	-44.24 (39.94)	-30.97 (37.96)	-1.92 (50.84)	-37.89 (44.66)	28.55 (42.17)	0.52 (32.64)
Places of worship	3.57 (8.12)	-14.13 (8.62)	-0.58 (6.55)	-4.45 (8.21)	-0.78 (6.39)	0.74 (6.77)	9.96^ (5.48)
Poverty	-87.84 (177.12)	-646.83* (279.63)	128.22 (152.96)	140.83 (185.96)	-30.26 (119.73)	-63.58 (135.33)	-148.20 (115.29)
Fishing/farming GRDP	19.40 (73.65)	118.12* (57.44)	-50.06 (48.66)	-17.46 (64.23)	-9.20 (55.54)	7.58 (49.44)	-26.95 (36.02)
Female candidate	24.68 (38.31)	-19.99 (39.44)	11.29 (31.37)	73.20 (44.57)	-7.75 (28.02)	-48.75 (30.77)	5.42 (26.29)
Population (log)	20.35^ (11.18)	10.02 (8.39)	-15.92^ (8.48)	-8.86 (11.33)	25.90* (12.12)	-5.77 (9.92)	-7.46 (6.76)
Intercept	-408.24** (153.16)	-88.53 (114.74)	326.45** (115.31)	-62.23 (156.20)	-342.17* (162.72)	209.43 (133.66)	159.51^ (90.21)
N	246	246	246	246	246	246	246

Note: Results of regression analyses for independent variables (rows) and dependent variables (columns). Entries are coefficients from the Tobit regression model. ^$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$.

TABLE SP7.11. OLS: USES AN ELECTION POSTER AS THE UNIT OF ANALYSIS (N = 1,501)

	Indigenous appeals			**Religious appeals**			**Nationalist appeals**
	Bond	Bridge	Bypass	Bond	Bridge	Bypass	Bridge
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Viable indigenous group	26.42**	-11.89**	-14.53**	-11.63**	-2.20^	13.83**	-8.22**
	(2.49)	(1.63)	(2.81)	(2.68)	(1.23)	(2.83)	(3.04)
Viable religious group	-15.99**	-7.73**	23.72**	39.86**	-29.57**	-10.29**	-11.54**
	(2.91)	(2.84)	(3.62)	(2.84)	(2.69)	(3.76)	(3.73)
Indigenous law	-9.87	-16.39**	26.26**	1.94	-18.60**	16.67*	-4.22
	(6.08)	(3.28)	(6.63)	(6.12)	(3.54)	(6.96)	(7.16)
Places of worship	0.00	-1.47*	1.47	0.26	-0.52	0.26	2.95*
	(1.16)	(0.71)	(1.37)	(0.95)	(0.84)	(1.27)	(1.41)
Poverty	-150.44**	-28.67**	179.11**	93.17**	6.49	-99.66**	-44.36
	(30.26)	(9.89)	(31.97)	(21.96)	(16.22)	(27.40)	(29.82)
Fishing/farming GRDP	44.45**	1.79	-46.23**	-0.70	-7.47	8.16	-33.40**
	(7.50)	(5.09)	(8.41)	(6.37)	(4.66)	(7.70)	(8.42)
Female candidate	21.48**	5.02^	-26.51**	21.16**	-2.62	-18.54**	-5.91
	(4.67)	(2.85)	(4.84)	(4.39)	(2.10)	(4.79)	(5.17)
Population (log)	-0.74	3.61**	-2.87*	-1.17	4.64**	-3.48*	-2.11
	(1.04)	(0.84)	(1.27)	(1.21)	(0.71)	(1.37)	(1.41)
Intercept	43.82**	-15.55	71.73**	8.50	-23.92**	115.42**	97.45**
	(14.96)	(9.46)	(17.02)	(16.13)	(7.96)	(17.72)	(19.05)
N	1,501	1,501	1,501	1,501	1,501	1,501	1,501
R Squared	0.20	0.09	0.11	0.16	0.18	0.06	0.04

Note: Results of regression analyses for independent variables (rows) and dependent variables (columns). Entries are coefficients from the OLS regression model. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. ^$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$.

TABLE SP7.12. MULTILEVEL MIXED-EFFECTS LOGISTIC MODELS: EACH MODEL USES AN ELECTION POSTER AS THE UNIT OF ANALYSIS (N=1,501) WITH RANDOM INTERCEPTS FOR CANDIDATES (CANDIDATE ID).

	Indigenous appeals			**Religious appeals**			**Nationalist appeals**
	Bond 1	Bridge 2	Bypass 3	Bond 4	Bridge 5	Bypass 6	Bridge 7
Viable indigenous group	5.49** (0.92)	-3.59** (0.76)	-1.68** (0.47)	-0.81 (0.63)	-0.58 (0.70)	0.98^ (0.51)	-0.77* (0.34)
Viable religious group	-2.60** (0.91)	0.20 (0.68)	1.38* (0.55)	5.76** (1.05)	-4.37** (0.89)	-1.99** (0.64)	-0.29 (0.41)
Indigenous law	0.82 (1.29)	-1.81 (1.60)	-0.35 (0.98)	0.43 (1.37)	-1.23 (1.63)	0.40 (1.11)	0.10 (0.74)
Places of worship	0.11 (0.23)	-0.34 (0.26)	-0.04 (0.16)	-0.07 (0.30)	-0.02 (0.20)	0.00 (0.18)	0.22^ (0.12)
Poverty	-5.97 (4.59)	-18.23* (9.07)	6.16^ (3.56)	8.83 (6.05)	4.01 (4.57)	-5.78 (4.13)	-3.16 (2.80)
Fishing/farming GRDP	1.63 (1.76)	3.96* (1.78)	-2.18^ (1.23)	-0.43 (2.01)	-0.37 (1.59)	0.34 (1.41)	-1.24 (0.93)
Female candidate	1.24 (1.10)	-0.06 (1.05)	-0.32 (0.83)	2.10^ (1.15)	-0.30 (1.04)	-1.26 (0.93)	-0.11 (0.61)
Population (log)	0.38 (0.32)	0.31 (0.30)	-0.35 (0.23)	-0.29 (0.31)	0.85* (0.36)	-0.18 (0.25)	-0.17 (0.17)
Candidate ID	11.94** (3.51)	4.47** (1.56)	6.31** (1.48)	13.76** (4.35)	4.67** (1.74)	9.51** (2.32)	3.14** (0.67)
Intercept	-10.23* (4.44)	-4.64 (4.22)	6.03^ (3.15)	-3.90 (4.10)	-13.02** (4.91)	5.40 (3.40)	2.70 (2.28)
N	1,501	1,501	1,501	1,501	1,501	1,501	1,501
Number of groups	246	246	246	246	246	246	246
Log Likelihood	-462.97	-357.67	-685.15	-489.88	-221.61	-635.29	-870.03

Note: Results of regression analyses for independent variables (rows) and dependent variables (columns). Entries are coefficients from the Logit regression model. Standard errors are in parentheses. ^$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$.

Supplementary Materials for Figure 7.7

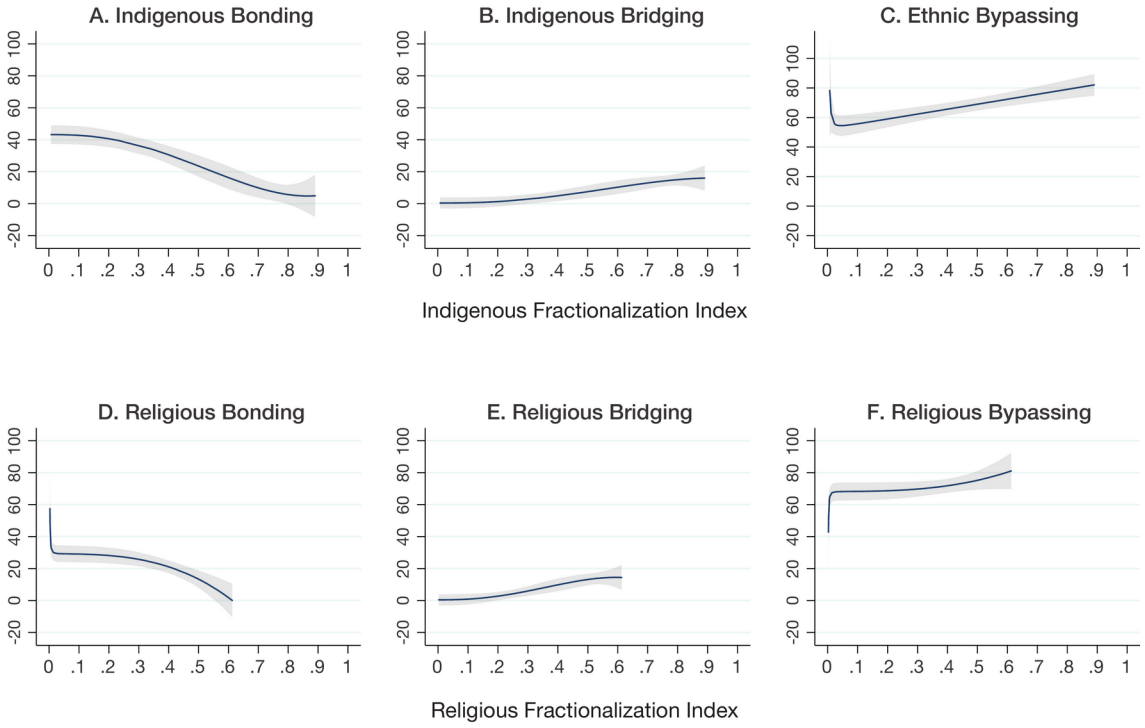


FIGURE SP7.1. FRACTIONAL POLYNOMIAL PLOTS OF ETHNIC APPEALS BASED ON THE ETHNIC FRACTIONALIZATION INDEX FOR REGIONAL HEAD CANDIDATES. The data were transformed into fractional polynomial plots using Stata 16. The light gray shading around the lines represents 90% confidence intervals. The patterns are consistent with the variation in appeals across the size of ethnic groups.

Supplementary Materials for Figure 7.7 continued…

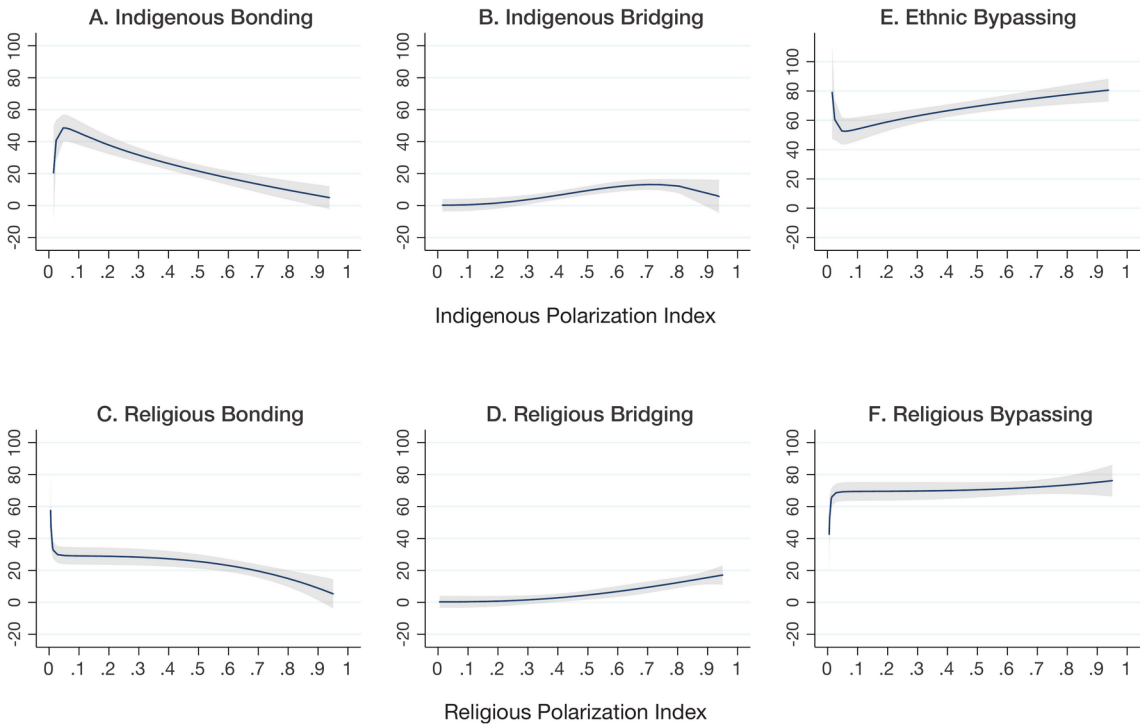


FIGURE SP7.2. FRACTIONAL POLYNOMIAL PLOTS OF ETHNIC APPEALS BASED ON THE ETHNIC POLARIZATION INDEX FOR REGIONAL HEAD CANDIDATES. The ethnic polarization index is from Reynol-Querol (2002). The data were transformed into fractional polynomial plots using Stata 16. The light gray shading around the lines represents 90% confidence intervals.

Supplementary Materials for Figure 8.2.

TABLE SP8.1. SUMMARY STATISTICS FOR DEPENDENT VARIABLES (UOA = CANDIDATE)

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Indigenous bonding	2098	12.442	31.692	0	100
Indigenous bridging	2098	4.299	19.356	0	100
Indigenous bypassing	2098	83.259	35.735	0	100
Religious bonding	2098	25.111	42.367	0	100
Religious bridging	2098	4.336	19.350	0	100
Religious bypassing	2098	70.553	44.281	0	100
Nationalist bridging	2098	43.982	47.340	0	100
Partisan	2098	67.405	45.389	0	100

TABLE SP8.2. SUMMARY STATISTICS FOR INDEPENDENT VARIABLES (UOA = CANDIDATE)

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Islamist party	2098	0.164	0.371	0.00	1.00
Muslim democratic party	2098	0.168	0.374	0.00	1.00
Nationalist party	2098	0.692	0.462	0.00	1.00
Largest indigenous grp.	2098	0.674	0.277	0.19	1.00
Muslim pop.	2098	0.764	0.305	0.02	1.00
Indigenous law	2098	0.265	0.245	0.00	1.00
Mosques	2098	1.323	0.949	0.11	13.63
Poverty	2098	0.154	0.092	0.02	0.39
Fishing/farming GRDP	2098	0.172	0.156	0.00	0.64
Female candidate	2098	0.221	0.415	0.00	1.00
Population (log)	2098	13.756	0.995	11.42	15.39

TABLE SP8.3. CORRELATION MATRIX FOR INDEPENDENT VARIABLES (UOA = CANDIDATE)

	Islamist party	Muslim democratic party	Nationalist party	Largest indigenous grp.	Muslim pop.	Indigenous law	Mosques	Poverty	Fishing/ farming GRDP	Female candidate	Population (log)
Islamist party	1.000										
Muslim democratic party	-0.093	1.000									
Nationalist party	-0.522	-0.519	1.000								
Largest indigenous group	0.033	0.079	-0.094	1.000							
Muslim population	0.117	0.105	-0.158	0.491	1.000						
Indigenous law	0.035	-0.056	0.038	-0.218	-0.557	1.000					
Mosques	-0.057	0.004	0.053	0.138	-0.288	0.138	1.000				
Poverty	-0.053	-0.029	0.043	-0.030	-0.241	0.112	0.378	1.000			
Fishing/farming GRDP	0.016	0.026	-0.002	0.257	-0.145	0.238	0.457	0.531	1.000		
Female candidate	-0.041	-0.034	0.035	0.013	0.039	-0.075	-0.023	0.054	0.011	1.000	
Population (log)	-0.037	0.011	-0.014	0.244	0.506	-0.387	-0.242	-0.270	-0.158	0.061	1.000

TABLE SP8.4. OLS: EXCLUDES IVS AND CONTROLS

	Legislative Elections				**Regional Head Elections**			
	Religious appeals			**Nat. appeals**	**Religious appeals**			**Nat. appeals**
	Bond 1	Bridge 2	Bypass 3	Bridge 4	Bond 5	Bridge 6	Bypass 7	Bridge 8
Islamist party	33.81**	-1.56	-32.25**	-19.99**	-1.09	0.60	0.49	-4.14
	(3.12)	(1.07)	(3.13)	(2.94)	(6.66)	(3.70)	(7.26)	(6.79)
Muslim democratic party	22.95**	-1.44	-21.51**	-11.79**	6.37	1.73	-8.09	2.86
	(2.99)	(1.14)	(3.07)	(3.07)	(6.28)	(3.07)	(6.58)	(6.46)
Nationalist party					-14.72	3.02^	11.70	7.85
					(12.21)	(1.80)	(11.90)	(11.14)
Largest indigenous group	3.24	2.96	-6.20	-14.76**	-4.75	-5.71	10.46	-30.55*
	(3.73)	(1.94)	(4.05)	(4.86)	(10.70)	(6.28)	(11.89)	(12.19)
Muslim population	24.42**	-5.90**	-18.52**	3.18	41.71**	-8.95^	-32.77**	8.34
	(2.71)	(2.21)	(3.37)	(4.79)	(7.45)	(4.63)	(8.58)	(9.36)
Constant	-4.74*	7.11**	97.63**	56.07**	14.87	11.62*	73.50**	57.26**
	(1.94)	(1.77)	(2.54)	(3.49)	(15.90)	(5.17)	(16.15)	(16.25)
Observations	1,876	1,876	1,876	1,876	164	164	164	164
R-squared	0.15	0.01	0.12	0.03	0.20	0.04	0.13	0.05

Note: Results of regression analyses for independent variables (rows) and dependent variables (columns). Entries are coefficients from the OLS regression model. Robust standard errors are below the coefficients. ^$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$.

TABLE SP8.5. OLS: USES ALTERNATIVE PARTY VARIABLES FOR REGIONAL HEAD ELECTIONS. WHEN A CANDIDATES IS ONLY SUPPORTED BY ONE TYPE OF PARTY (ISLAMIST, MUSLIM DEMOCRAT, NATIONALIST, OR A COALITION OF PARTY TYPES). THE NATIONALIST CATEGORY IS THE ONE WHICH IS EXCLUDED.

	Regional Head Elections			
	Religious appeals			**Nat. appeals**
	Bond 1	Bridge 2	Bypass 3	Bridge 4
Islamist party(s) only	20.13 (21.48)	0.12 (2.90)	-20.25 (22.12)	-17.09 (19.92)
Muslim democratic party(s) only	22.22 (20.90)	2.33 (4.50)	-24.55 (19.85)	-2.69 (22.72)
Coalition of party types	8.85 (6.20)	2.14 (4.04)	-10.98 (6.96)	2.68 (7.10)
Largest indigenous group	-10.12 (12.24)	-8.14 (5.61)	18.26 (12.80)	-31.72* (12.53)
Muslim population	41.83** (10.56)	-10.55* (4.81)	-31.28** (11.76)	17.22 (11.93)
Indigenous law	2.68 (14.33)	0.90 (5.33)	-3.58 (14.39)	13.68 (14.12)
Mosques	0.30 (1.18)	-0.90** (0.28)	0.59 (1.18)	5.92** (1.18)
Poverty	79.08^ (40.30)	25.97 (25.90)	-105.05* (45.19)	-0.49 (62.83)
Fishing/farming GRDP	-13.24 (15.80)	4.30 (11.14)	8.94 (17.41)	-31.88 (19.64)
Female candidate	20.69^ (11.34)	-2.31 (3.33)	-18.38^ (10.95)	-1.93 (13.10)
Population log	0.60 (3.83)	1.64 (1.68)	-2.24 (3.94)	-4.84 (3.38)
Constant	-16.05 (48.47)	-7.75 (17.88)	123.80* (49.15)	113.89* (44.06)
Observations	164	164	164	164
R-squared	0.22	0.06	0.17	0.12

Note: Independent candidates were not included in the models. Of the four mutually exclusive types of political party support, nationalist party support is excluded. As a result, the Islamist party(s) only coefficient is interpred as the impact of being supported by one or more Islamist parties compared to being supported by one or more nationalist parties. Entries are coefficients from the OLS regression model. Robust standard errors are below the coefficients. ^p < 0.10 ; *p < 0.05 ; **p < 0.01.

Supplementary Materials for Figure 8.4

TABLE SP8.6. SUMMARY STATISTICS FOR DEPENDENT VARIABLES (UOA = CANDIDATE) ACEH

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Indigenous bonding	128	19.141	38.741	0	100
Religious bonding	128	38.411	48.447	0	100
Nationalist bridging	128	12.500	32.604	0	100

TABLE SP8.7. SUMMARY STATISTICS FOR INDEPENDENT VARIABLES (UOA = CANDIDATE) ACEH

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
National nationalist party	128	0.391	0.490	0	1
National Muslim democrat party	128	0.117	0.323	0	1
National Islamist party	128	0.203	0.404	0	1
Regional Islamist party	128	0.125	0.332	0	1
Regional Indigenous party	128	0.164	0.372	0	1
Female candidate	128	0.180	0.385	0	1

TABLE SP8.8. CORRELATION MATRIX FOR INDEPENDENT VARIABLES (UOA = CANDIDATE) ACEH

	National nationalist	National Muslim democrat	National Islamist	Regional Islamist	Regional Indigenous	Female candidate
National nationalist party	1.000					
National Muslim democrat party	-0.292	1.000				
National Islamist party	-0.404	-0.184	1.000			
Regional Islamist party	-0.303	-0.138	-0.191	1.000		
Regional Indigenous party	-0.355	-0.161	-0.224	-0.167	1.000	
Female candidate	0.001	-0.107	0.017	0.069	0.012	1.000