Missionary Activity, Education, and Long-run Political Development: Evidence Across Regime Types in Africa[*]

Soeren J. Henn[†]
Horacio Larreguy[‡]
Carlos Schmidt-Padilla[§]

May 1, 2024

Abstract

In Africa, missionaries used schooling to gain adherents. We study how historical missionary activity shaped long-run education and political development across regime types. We exploit plausibly exogenous variation in exposure to Catholic missionaries generated by their territorial administration system. Using a regression discontinuity design, we show that proximity to historical diocese headquarters generally led to an increased presence of Catholic missionaries, as well as long-term positive effects on Catholic identity and educational outcomes. The effects on political outcomes vary by regime type. Only individuals exposed to greater historical missionary activity in open anocracies—relative to those in democracies and closed anocracies—are more likely to participate in politics. Moreover, they are also the only ones who are more engaged, supportive of democratic institutions, and disenchanted with the state of democracy and incumbent in their countries.

Keywords: human capital; missions; political development

Word count: 9,723

[†]Newcastle Business School, soeren.henn@newcastle.ac.uk

[‡]Department of Economics and Political Science, Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México, horacio.larreguy@itam.mx

[§]Penn Development Research Initiative, University of Pennsylvania. Contact: cschmidtpadilla@gmail.com

1 Introduction

Education has long been considered "the great equalizer" among members of a society (Mann, 1848). It is considered not only a source of human capital, but also a catalyst and a prerequisite for democratic political participation and civic culture (*e.g.,* Almond and Verba, 2015; Brady, Verba and Schlozman, 1995; Deutsch, 1961). As countries develop and there are greater educational opportunities, citizens are expected to be better able to engage in politics both directly by casting an informed vote and indirectly by participating in their flourishing civil society (*e.g.,* Huntington, 2006; Glaeser, Ponzetto and Shleifer, 2007; Lipset, 1959).

Yet, despite some initial empirical support for the positive effect of education on political engagement (Apfeld et al., 2022; Dee, 2004; Kam and Palmer, 2008; Milligan, Moretti and Oreopoulos, 2004), recent work challenges the causal role that education, and its associated higher socioeconomic status levels, plays in political attitudes and participation in developed democracies (Berinsky and Lenz, 2011; Marshall, 2016).[1]

More importantly, recent literature underscores the importance of accounting for regime type in developing democracies to understand how education affects political engagement (Croke et al., 2016; Larreguy and Marshall, 2017; Larreguy and Liu, 2023). It highlights that education only translates into greater political participation when it both leads to greater interest in, and understanding of, politics and associated civic values, and the regimes that individuals live in provide incentives for political participation. Since participation legitimizes the leader in autocracies and in developing democracies there might be little political differentiation across parties, education mostly translates into greater political participation in opened anocracies.

We revisit this perennial question in political science in the context of Christian missionary activity in the African context. We assess not only whether historical education-

---

[1]Education is usually considered a bundle variable, as it is associated with other factors often thought to influence political participation, such as civic attitudes, higher income, etc. (Dee, 2004; Finkel, 2002; Verba, Schlozman and Brady, 1995).

granting institutions matter for long-run political engagement, but, crucially, how and why regime types matter to understand how education shapes political development. To understand whether countries that satisfy what is seen as a "prerequisite" for democracy effectively transition to it, we must understand how their educated citizens interact with the political sphere. Even with enhanced abilities for political participation, educated individuals might only participate more if schooling imparts them with civic values and they perceive a positive return from it (Isaksson, 2014).

As Europeans established settlements and colonies worldwide beginning in the fifteenth century, they sought to spread their Judeo-Christian faiths, particularly through missionary activity. Alongside and complementary to their drive to convert the local populations to Christianity, many European missionaries provided Western-style education to local populations and laid the foundations for future educational institutions. In Africa, the presence of missionaries has been found to have positive effects on long-run educational outcomes (*e.g.,* Cagé and Rueda, 2016; Nunn, 2010; Wantchekon, Klašnja and Novta, 2015). Alesina et al. (2021) further point to Christian missions as one of the strongest correlates behind inter-generational mobility in educational attainment in Africa.

The institutions that Christian missionaries established not only had long-run effects on education, but potentially also on political development. Whereas Tusalem (2009) and Woodberry (2012), for example, argue that Protestant missionaries contributed to democratic transition and consolidation around the world by establishing educational institutions and imparting civic-minded values, Dulay (2022) underscores the pivotal role of Catholic missions in nation-building in Southeast Asia by building local fiscal capacity and contributing to good governance. Within-country differences in elite's education—often a byproduct of differential exposure to missionary education—further led to divergent sociopolitical outcomes in the long-run (Ricart-Huguet, 2021).

Despite the recent proliferation of studies concerning the long-run consequences of missionary activity, causal identification has been challenging due to confounding

demographic and geographic conditions, and institutional choices. Across the African continent, missionaries settled in densely populated areas where there were fewer environmental and geographic obstacles (Jedwab, Meier zu Selhausen and Moradi, 2022; Johnson, 1967). In addition, the establishment of European settlements subsequently affected the local institutions' degree of inclusiveness and drove economic development (Acemoglu and Robinson, 2001; Glaeser, Ponzetto and Shleifer, 2007; Ricart-Huguet, 2022). Notably, despite the theoretical reasons to expect significant heterogeneity across regime types (Croke et al., 2016; Larreguy and Marshall, 2017; Larreguy and Liu, 2023), we are unaware of any work that addresses it.

To deal with endogeneity concerns, we exploit unique features of the allocation of Catholic missionaries across space. Protestant missionary activity was largely decentralized and endogenous to the local demographic and geographic characteristics, while, following the *1917 Code of Canon Law*, Catholic activity was coordinated at the diocese level (Peters, 2001). Consequently, the presence of Catholic missionaries depended highly on the proximity to the diocese's headquarters. We employ a regression-discontinuity design (RDD) that exploits that, within villages near a historical Catholic diocese border, the diocese on which a village landed is arguably exogenous to the village characteristics, and so is the proximity to the assigned diocese's headquarters.

Using respondents from the third to sixth rounds of the Afrobarometer, we restrict our sample to modern-day villages near the borders dividing Catholic dioceses *circa* 1910. We proxy for exposure to Catholic missionaries by using proximity to the diocese's headquarters. The closer a village is to its corresponding diocese's headquarters, the more likely the Catholic missionary activity was. Consequently, individuals living in such border villages closer to their diocese's headquarters should have experienced better educational opportunities, which we argue persist until today. Not only did European missionaries begin imparting education in the region, but they also laid the groundwork for the post-colonial educational institutions (Cappelli and Baten, 2021; Dupraz, 2019; Feldmann, 2016).

Initial spatial differences in education were further reinforced by subsequent investments in education and by civil service recruitment practices that focused on levels of literacy (Huillery, 2009; Ricart-Huguet, 2021).

We estimate the impact of historic educational institutions across various individual-level economic, social, and in particular, political engagement outcomes. More importantly, given the theoretical reasons that point to the importance of regime type in explaining education's impact on political engagement (Croke et al., 2016; Larreguy and Marshall, 2017; Larreguy and Liu, 2023), we further disaggregate our results on political outcomes across democracies, open anocracies (*i.e.,* competitive authoritarian regimes), and closed anocracies (*i.e., quasi* and full dictatorships), as measured by corresponding country Polity IV scores.

Results from our RDD corroborate that proximity to a diocese's headquarters in 1910 predicts Catholic missionary activity around 1920 only in the corresponding, but not in the neighboring, dioceses. Moreover, such proximity is also associated with modern Catholic identity and various measures of education independent of regime type, which confirms the importance of missionaries in establishing educational institutions. Estimates using data on the location of all modern schools for six African countries further support such importance.

Importantly for identification, we provide evidence that, within the sample of modern-day villages near the borders dividing Catholic dioceses *circa* 1910, the proximity to the diocese's headquarters is arguably exogenous to various factors known to have affected colonial and missionary settlement (Jedwab, Meier zu Selhausen and Moradi, 2022; Johnson, 1967). We also show that our results are robust to using country fixed effects, addressing the concern that some of the dioceses' borders coincide with country borders, which in turn are not exogenous (Paine, Qiu and Ricart-Huguet, 2024).

Turning to our core results, consistent with our theory, the effects on political outcomes differ largely based on the regime type. We show that the legacy of missionary education

in open anocracies—but not in democracies and closed anocracies—led to individuals being more likely to vote and participate in local politics, as measured by contacting their local councilor and participating in community meetings, and less likely to protest.

To unpack what drives these effects in differential political participation across different regime types, we focus on three types of outcomes thought to be affected by schooling—socio-political status, interest in politics, and civic values—and political attitudes capturing the perceived returns to political engagement. Only within open anocracies did the legacy of missionary education increase citizens' socio-political status—measured by their labor market outcomes—, political engagement—measured by their news consumption, and interest in public affairs—and their civic values—measured by increased support for democratic institutions, while also reducing satisfaction with democracy and support for the incumbent. Within closed anocracies, missionary exposure contributed to stronger civic values, as well as dissatisfaction with democracy and the incumbent, but it did not translate into greater socio-political status and interest in politics. In turn, in democracies, the legacy of missionary education led to greater relative socio-political status and interest in politics, and somewhat stronger civic values, but not greater dissatisfaction with democracy and the incumbent.

Our results are robust to multiple specifications and sample choices, including considering different bandwidths, adding country fixed effects, considering different samples to address multiple possible concerns, and controlling for two unbalanced covariates. Moreover, we show that our heterogenous results by regime type are not driven by the fact that democracies, open anocracies, and closed anocracies consistently differ on other observable country-level characteristics, and that differences in such characteristics cannot account for those results.

Ultimately, our results convey and advance two main ideas. First, complementing existing literature, historical Catholic missionary activity had causal, positive long-run effects on religious identity and educational outcomes. Second and more novel, consistent

with our theory, the effect of Catholic missionary activity on political participation varies across regime types. Contrary to early work on the positive association between education and political engagement (*e.g.,* Deutsch, 1961; Lipset, 1959), our findings are concentrated in open anocracies, which offer both opportunities and incentives for educated citizens to participate in politics. In line with more recent work (*e.g.,* Croke et al., 2016; Larreguy and Marshall, 2017; Larreguy and Liu, 2023), these findings reinforce that, to understand how education affects political engagement, close attention should be paid to the regime type where individuals operate.

2 The political economy of missions

As Europeans colonized a sizable share of the habitable world, Christian missionaries often preceded or followed them, aiming to convert the local populations. In doing so, they relied on a wide variety of tactics: from forced conversions across much of colonial Latin America to enticements through education in various parts of Africa and Asia. These diverse methods, differing from one colonial setting to another, produced profound and lasting cultural and socioeconomic effects.

Throughout modern-day Latin America and parts of Southeast Asia, Catholic missionaries had an advantage over Protestant ones. Being the state religion of Spain and Portugal, they enjoyed support from the Crown in spreading Catholicism and converting the local populations. In monopolistic settings, education provision by Catholic missionaries varied greatly by monastic orders (Waldinger, 2017). Nonetheless, when education was provided in their missions—such as the case of Jesuit missionaries in America's Southern Cone documented in Valencia Caicedo (2019)—they led to positive, lasting human capital gains.[2]

In contrast, Africa experienced a strong presence of both Catholic and Protestant missionaries. Although there is a strong correlation between the number of Catholic or

---

[2]Dulay (2022) further demonstrates how Catholic missions in the Philippines enhanced state capacity and development in the municipalities where they were originally established.

Protestant missions in a modern-day African country and the predominant religion of its colonizers (Becker, 2021), for the most part, the colonizing powers permitted rival missionaries in their territories, although often with some restrictions. For example, Gallego and Woodberry (2010) underscore how the Portuguese allowed Protestant missionaries to operate in their African domains as long as they restricted their operations to a set distance—usually 20 kilometers—from Catholic missions.

While Protestant missionaries were largely geographically unrestricted in their operation, historians and contemporaneous church officials document that Catholic missionaries were organized within the boundaries of their respective dioceses, which were initially set by the Vatican based on the areas of European colonies on the continent. The *1917 Code of Canon Law* exemplified this organization, stating that "the territory of every diocese is to be divided up into distinct territorial parts; to each part a specific church and determined population are assigned [*sic*]" and emphasized that "every cleric whatsoever must be ascribed to a given diocese or religious [institute], so that wandering clerics are in no way admitted" (Peters, 2001). According to Engel (1932, p.12), Catholic missionaries were further told to "[settle] at an important point [. . .] in the interest of health and consistent work, long distances should be avoided," confiding their activities within their respective diocese's borders. Although these boundaries changed after most countries in the region gained independence in the 1950s and the 1960s, we are concerned with the legacy of the initial, historical distribution of missions *circa* 1910.

It is important to note that there is some disagreement in the literature about the basis for the delimitation of colonial and diocese boundaries established by Europeans and the Vatican—whether these were relatively arbitrary (Englebert, Tarango and Carter, 2002; Hargreaves, 1985; McCauley and Posner, 2015; Michalopoulos and Papaioannou, 2013), grounded in existing geographic and population endowments at the time of settlement (Jedwab, Meier zu Selhausen and Moradi, 2022; Johnson, 1967), or historical political frontiers and waterways (Paine, Qiu and Ricart-Huguet, 2024). Insofar as country

borders might be endogenous, we show that our results are not driven by cases where diocese boundaries overlap with country borders by including country-fixed effects in the robustness section.

In Africa, the presence of both Catholic and Protestant missionaries spurred investments in educational institutions. Although Woodberry (2012) argues that the education returns of missionaries on long-run political and economic outcomes are concentrated among Protestant missionaries because of their stronger focus on literacy, in Africa, and in part due to not wanting to lose out on potential converts, Catholic missionaries also invested heavily in education to compete with Protestant ones (Gallego and Woodberry, 2010; Woodberry and Shah, 2004). Church historians Sundkler and Steed (2000) and Meier zu Selhausen (2019) further underscore how Catholic missionaries had to react tactically to local conditions and rulers in offering schools and health facilities to ensure the success of their missionary work. Importantly, the education imparted by missionaries was not necessarily aimed at the masses or particular nation (identity)-building initiatives (Taylor, 1984), as it was with other education-expansion initiatives in other moments in history (Paglayan, 2020, 2021).

Recent empirical evidence underscores the positive educational effects of historical missionary activity. Nunn (2010) shows that, in Africa, both Protestant and Catholic missions provided education to potential converts—though with varying degrees of engagement between genders—that endure to the present day. Cogneau and Moradi (2014) and Wantchekon, Klašnja and Novta (2015), furthermore, highlight the role of missions in Africa in providing venues to gain literacy and improve economic development. Berman (1974) highlights that, in some countries, such as Ghana and Nigeria, upwards of 90% of the student population was enrolled in missionary schools prior to the late 1950s. More recently, using census data to examine inter-generational mobility in educational attainment in over 20 countries in Africa, Alesina et al. (2021, 2023) show that Christian

missions are one the strongest correlates behind such mobility.[3]

Overall, missions had a positive impact on modern-day human capital accumulation, and to some extent, economic development.[4] Although there are recent studies highlighting the positive, macro effects of missions on democratic institutions (*e.g.,* Tusalem, 2009; Woodberry, 2012) and some evidence on their impact on voting behaviour (Cagé and Rueda, 2016), there is limited evidence on the effects of missionary activity on individual political engagement and attitudes. More importantly, and central to our contribution, we are unaware of work that addresses how these effects vary across regime types, which recent literature highlights is of relevance when assessing the effects of education on such political outcomes (Croke et al., 2016; Larreguy and Marshall, 2017; Larreguy and Liu, 2023), in a region with such variation in regime types as sub-Saharan Africa.

3 Human capital, regime type, and political engagement

A perennial debate in political science concerns how education, and its associated socioeconomic gains, affect individuals' degree of political engagement. Dating back to Mann (1848) and Lipset (1959), education has been deemed a "prerequisite" for democracy and for an active and engaged populace. In the developing world, in particular, early theories on modernization underscore the need for educated masses for meaningful transitions to democracy and political stability (Huntington, 2006; Lipset, 1959).

Education and its associated higher socioeconomic status are thought to be powerful drivers of civic attitudes and a concern for public life (Brady, Verba and Schlozman, 1995; Deutsch, 1961; Verba and Nie, 1972; Verba, Schlozman and Brady, 1995). The

---

[3]While beyond the scope of this paper, there are many reasons that the literature has explored what is behind the persistence in educational outcomes, including the availability of teachers (Andrabi, Das and Khwaja, 2013), which was one of the main constraints faced by many universal primary education programs implemented in Africa (Larreguy and Marshall, 2017); parental investments (Andrabi, Das and Khwaja, 2012); and occupational choices (Valencia Caicedo, 2019); among others.

[4]Even recent studies that are critical on the long-run consequences of missionary activity for economic growth still highlight their role in fostering literacy and other human capital accumulation (Jedwab, zu Selhausen and Moradi, 2021).

empirical literature, however, is inconclusive on the causal effects of education on political engagement and democratic attitudes. Although some findings underscore the positive role of education on political participation, broadly defined (Apfeld et al., 2022; Dee, 2004; Kam and Palmer, 2008; Milligan, Moretti and Oreopoulos, 2004), others question their causality (Marshall, 2016) and whether there is an association at all (Berinsky and Lenz, 2011).

More recent work further suggests that the effect of education on individuals' degree of political engagement in African developing democracies depends on their regime type. Under authoritarian regimes, while educated voters exhibit greater support for democracy, they may deliberately disengage since their participation might have a limited effect in the political sphere or even legitimize the leader by signaling support for the regime (Croke et al., 2016). On the other extreme, in relatively consolidated African democracies where policy differentiation across parties is limited, those who are more educated exhibit greater interest in politics and support for democratic institutions but might see no differential return to participating in politics since there is little margin for changes in policy (Larreguy and Liu, 2023).

Only when democratic institutions are sufficient but not too strong, education increases political participation because not only because they are more interested in politics and have greater civic values, but also they recognize that their political engagement can be conducive to a meaningful political change (Larreguy and Marshall, 2017; Larreguy and Liu, 2023). Altogether, this research then highlights that for the increased interest in, and understanding, of politics and civic values associated with education to map into greater political participation, individuals should be in a political context they recognize provides incentives for political participation.

The literature on missionary activity and on how education affects political engagement across regime types then allow us to make several predictions about the long-run effects of missionary activity on education and political participation across regime types. First,

following the extensive evidence on missionaries' attempts to convert the population via offering education, we hypothesize that missionary activity has lasting positive effects on contemporaneous religious identity and education outcomes.

Hypothesis 1 *Missionary activity led to a persistent increase in religious identity and education.*

Second, in line with the literature that points to regime type as a key moderating factor between education and political participation (Croke et al., 2016; Larreguy and Marshall, 2017; Larreguy and Liu, 2023), we hypothesize that the positive effects of missionary education on modern political participation concentrated among open anocracies.

Open anocracies are high-stakes settings in terms of the opportunity they provide for democratic consolidation and backsliding. Democracies and closed regimes, in contrast, might not incentivize political participation if there is little policy differentiation across political options or even push these individuals away from it as they might realize that there are no immediate returns to participation (*e.g.,* Berinsky and Lenz, 2011) or do not want to legitimize the regime (*e.g.,* Croke et al., 2016), respectively.

Hypothesis 2 *Relative to closed anocracies or democracies with limited policy differentiation across parties, the effect of missionary activity on political participation is greater in open anocracies.*

Lastly, we investigate what effectively drives greater political participation of more educated individuals in open anocracies relative to democracies and closed anocracies. We hypothesize that, particularly in open anocracies, educated individuals have more socio-political status and interest in politics (Almond and Verba, 2015; Brady, Verba and Schlozman, 1995; Deutsch, 1961; Huntington, 2006), which allow them to better perceive the mentioned larger returns to political participation and act on their also greater civic values. In contrast, while in democracies educated individuals also have greater socio-political status, interest in politics, and civic values, they lack differential incentives for political participation, especially when there is no policy differentiation across political parties. In turn, in autocracies, beyond political participation being quite inconsequential

or even signaling regime support (Croke et al., 2016), it is unclear that education maps into greater socio-political status and allows individuals to afford an increased interest in politics and act on their enhanced civic values.

Hypothesis 3 *Historical missionary activity increases contemporaneous socio-political status, interest in politics, and civic values, as well as perceived incentives for political participation, predominantly in open anocracies.*

4 Empirical strategy

This section describes the various data sources from which we draw to capture historic missionary presence, and modern individual-level religious identity, schooling, and economic and political outcomes across regime types, before outlining our empirical identification strategy. Summary statistics for the pooled sample are in Table A1, for democracies in Table A2, for open anocracies in Table A3, and for closed anocracies in A4.

Data

Our analysis predominantly relies on three data sources: (i) four rounds of Afrobarometer surveys, (ii) historical information reflecting missionary activity in Africa *circa* 1910 and 1920, (iii) data on the location of modern-day schools for six countries, and (iv) data on regime type.

Afrobarometer data

We draw our main dependent variables from the third to the sixth rounds of Afrobarometer data, for which we have the geographic coordinates for the sampled villages. These surveys sample demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, and measures of political attitudes and participation, of African adults. Next, we describe our main outcome variables (see more details in Appendix A1).

Our first set of outcome variables concerns religious and educational outcomes, which should capture long-run effects of historical missionary activity. Specifically, for religiosity, we consider an indicator for *Catholic* identity. For educational outcomes, we create an ordinal variable that captures the possible educational levels of a respondent's *Schooling*. Furthermore, we create indicator variables for having *Any Primary* schooling, and *Any Secondary* schooling.

Our study predominantly concerns the impact of historical missionary exposure on political engagement, both in national and local politics. For the former, we use an indicator of whether a respondent *Voted* in the last election and an ordinal variable capturing the extent to which she *Contacted Local Councilor*. For the latter, we consider ordinal variables capturing the extent to which the respondent *Attended Community Meeting* and *Raised an Issue* at the meeting. Recent work by Finkel (2002) shows that these two types of political participation complement each other strongly. In our robustness analysis, we also consider ordinal variables indicating the extent to which a respondent reported *Attending Protests* and offered *Vote Selling*.

Education might lead to greater political participation through increased individual socio-political status, interest in politics, and democratic values, particularly when educated individuals perceive a return from participation. To capture socio-political status and interest in politics in various ways, we first look at whether a respondent is employed (*Employed*), which reflects the market value of her skills. Second, we assess a respondent's interest in politics, as reflected by *Radio News Consumption*, an ordinal variable that captures how often she consumes news via the radio, the most widespread source of news in Africa, and *Discuss Politics*, an ordinal variable that indicates the extent to which a respondent reports discussing politics when with friends and family.

Then, to account for individuals' democratic values, we consider an index that reflects a respondent's support for democratic institutions (*Support for Democratic Institutions*), which includes ordinal variables capturing the extent to which the respondent rejects

one-man rule, rejects one-party rule, agrees that civil society organizations and political parties are needed, agrees that the parliament and not the president should write laws, agrees that the president has to obey laws, agrees that parliament should monitor the president, and supports term limits.

Lastly, to capture the return to political participation, first, we consider the extent to which a respondent is *Satisfied with Democracy* in her country. Second, we use an ordinal variable to measure how a respondent evaluates the national *Incumbent Performance* and indicator variables for whether she expresses that she feels *Close to the Incumbent Party* or *Close to an Opposition Party*. We see dissatisfaction with democracy (and the incumbent) as an incentive to participate politically.

Missionary activity

Our second set of data concerns historical information about the location of Catholic dioceses and their headquarters *circa* 1910, and missions across Africa around 1920. We obtained and geocoded the Catholic dioceses' boundaries and headquarters *circa* 1910 from Streit (1913). We use the data on geocoded Catholic and Protestant missions around 1920 from Nunn (2010). The geocoded dioceses' boundaries and headquarters, as well as the missions from Nunn (2010), are rendered in Figure 1.

Using their villages' geographic coordinates, we spatially mapped the Afrobarometer respondents to their corresponding diocese *circa* 1910. Table A6 shows how many different dioceses existed in each country in our data.[5] We then computed the proximity of each respondent's village to their corresponding diocese's headquarters *circa* 1910, the proximity to the closest diocese's border, and the number of both Catholic missions within 50 kilometers, distinguishing between those operating in the dioceses to which the respondent's village belongs from those operating in other neighboring dioceses.

---

[5]In Section 6, we conduct a robustness check where we remove countries with only one diocese.

Figure 1: Catholic dioceses' borders, their headquarters, and missions in Africa c. 1910
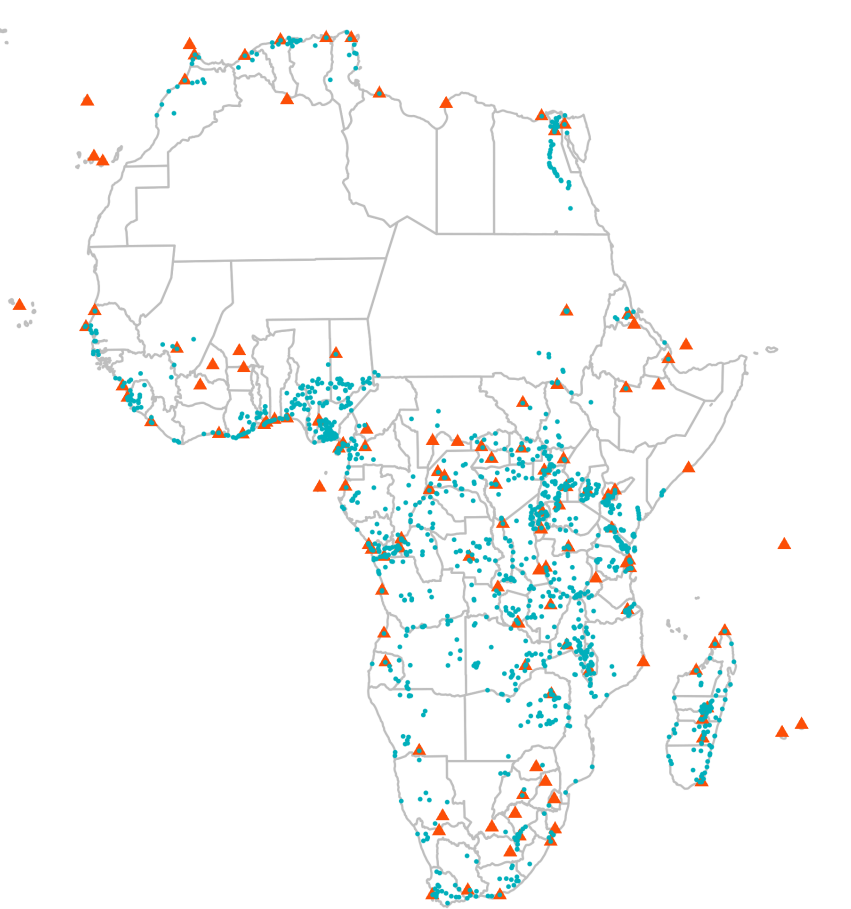
Notes: The gray boundaries delineate the Catholic dioceses' boundaries and the red triangles the approximate location of their headquarters *circa* 1910. The blue circles indicate the approximate location of Catholic and Protestant missions around 1920. **Source:** Streit (1913) and Nunn (2010).

School Locations

To investigate the effect of distance to diocese headquarters on long-term education provision, we collect data on the location of schools in six African countries: Kenya, Liberia, Malawi, Nigeria, Tanzania, and Uganda. We then create grid cells of 0.1 degrees by 0.1 degrees (at the equator, this is about 11km by 11km) and count the number of schools in each cell. We calculate each cell's distance to the closest diocese boundary, the distance to the corresponding diocese headquarters, and the population density in 1880

([Klein Goldewijk, Beusen and Janssen, 2010](#)). We drop grid cells where the centroid is within 5km of the boundary, which are likely to be split by the boundary and therefore not fully in one diocese, and those from the diocese of Zanzibar since the diocese headquarters is located on an island in a different country than the majority of the diocese.

Regime type

Lastly, to measure regime type, we use Polity IV data, which classifies countries as democracies if they score higher than 6, open anocracies from 1 to 5 and closed anocracies from 0 to 0−5.[6] To show how such data meaningfully captures the strength of democratic institutions in our sample, in Figure [2](#), we restrict to the Polity IV data that overlaps with the Afrobarometer data, and plot the main characteristics from which the Polity IV index draws from to create the regime type classifications.[7] On average, democracies—and to a lesser extent, open anocracies—have established rules of executive succession ("Regulation of Chief Executive Recruitment (ER)"), more competition and plurality of representation in executive recruitment ("Competitiveness of ER," "Openness of ER," "Regulation of Participation," and "Competitiveness of Participation"), and "Executive Constraints." Table [A5](#) shows for each country in our data whether in a given year it is classified as a democracy, open anocracy, or closed anocracy according to its polity score. Further, the Polity IV scores show a high correlation with other deomcracy scores such as those from the V-DEM project ([Lindberg et al., 2014](#)), whose four main democracy indicators have a correlation larger than 0.6 with the Polity IV score.[8]

---

[6]Section [A1.2](#) in the Appendix provides the conceptualization used by Polity IV.

[7]The only exception is São Tomé and Príncipee for which there is no Polity IV data, as it does not meet Polity IV's population requirements to be included.

[8]Unfortunately, given the V-DEM classification and the variation in our data, we do not have enough observations in the "Closed Autocracy" category to rerun our analysis with it.

Figure 2: Characteristics of Regime Type
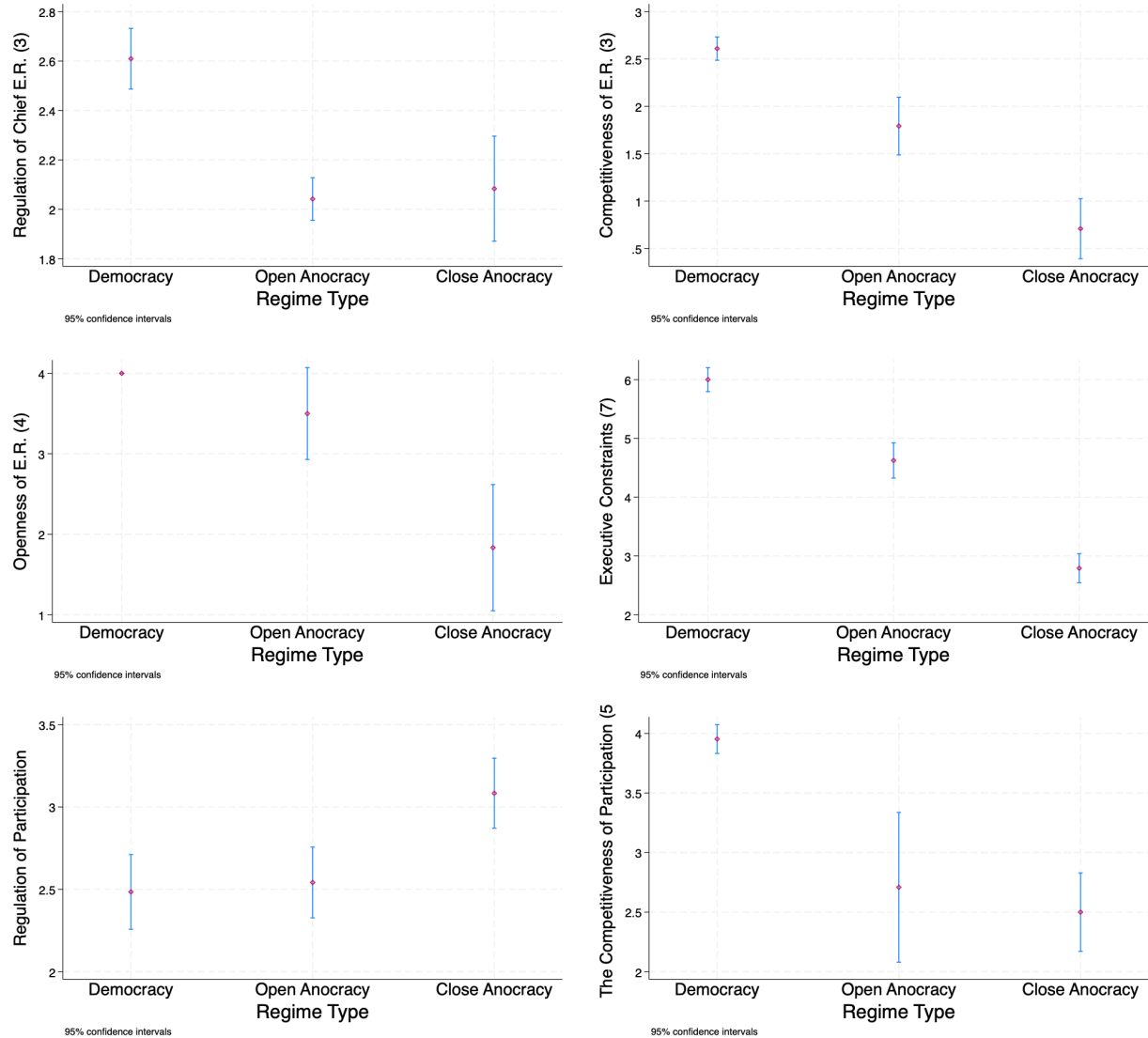
Notes: The Polity IV data is restricted to the observations that overlap with the third to sixth round of Afrobarometer, with the exception of São Tomé and Príncipe for which there is no polity IV data. We show the mean of the different variables that make up the Polity IV score by regime type. In parentheses after the variable names, we indicate the maximum score possible based on the Polity IV codebook ("Regulation of Participation" does not have a best score, but a value of three indicates strong sectarian influences and divisions in candidate selection, while a value of one indicates fluid political participation without overbearing favoritism to a particular group). Democracies always have the largest means, followed—for most characteristics—by open anocracies. We include 95% confidence intervals. "E.R." refers to executive recruitment.

Identification strategy

To estimate the causal impact of Catholic missionary activity, we cannot simply leverage the spatial distribution of such missions across Africa. Missionaries established missionary

settlements around densely populated areas and where settlement conditions were propitious (Jedwab, Meier zu Selhausen and Moradi, 2022; Johnson, 1967). To overcome this endogeneity, we first exploit that, while Protestant missionaries operated relatively freely, Catholic missionaries were circumscribed to their demarcated diocese and overseen from their respective headquarters (Peters, 2001). As a consequence, the closer to a diocese's headquarters, the more likely the presence of a Catholic mission.

Figure 3: The intuition behind our identification strategy
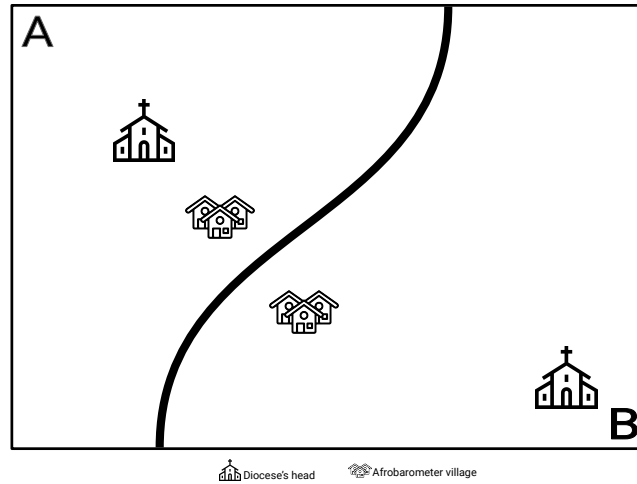
Notes: Two border villages are circumscribed within two different dioceses, A and B. The border village in diocese A is relatively closer to its corresponding diocese's headquarters than the border village in diocese B. As a consequence, the former is more likely to experience the presence of Catholic missionaries.

Second, since the distance to the corresponding diocese's headquarters might be confounded, we restrict our sample to modern-day villages near a Catholic diocese border *circa* 1910. Our identifying assumption is that the diocese on which any such border village landed is arguably exogenous to the village characteristics, and so is the distance to the corresponding diocese's headquarters. Figure 3 illustrates this considering the case of two villages located at the border of two dioceses, A and B. The border village in diocese A is relatively closer to its corresponding diocese's headquarters than the border village in diocese B. As a consequence, the former is more likely to experience the presence of Catholic missionaries.

Our baseline specification is a geographic local linear regression discontinuity design

([Keele and Titiunik, 2015](#)) that, inspired by [Henn](#) ([2023](#)), estimates the causal effect of proximity to the dioceses' headquarters by running the following ordinary least squares (OLS) regression within a 10 kilometer bandwidth from the diocese's border:[9,10]

$$
\begin{aligned}
Y_{i,b,r} \quad = \quad & \beta_1 \text{Proximity to Diocese Headquarter}_{i,b,r} + \beta_2 \text{Distance to Border}_{i,b,r} \\
& + \beta_3 \text{Closer to Diocese Headquarter}_{i,b,r} \times \text{Distance to Border}_{i,b,r} \\
& + \mathbf{X}_{i,b,r} + \eta_b + \epsilon_{i,b,r}
\end{aligned}
\tag{1}
$$

where $Y_{i,b,r}$ is an outcome of interest for respondent i who is close to a diocese's border b during round r, Proximity to Diocese Headquarter$_{i,b,r}$ is the minus logarithmic distance (in kilometers) of a respondent's village to the corresponding diocese's headquarters, Distance to Border$_{i,b,r}$ is the distance of the village to the closest border, Closer to Diocese Headquarter$_{i,b,r}$ is an indicator that the village is closer to its dioceses headquarters relative to the villages in the neighboring dioceses at the other side of the border, $\mathbf{X}_{i,b,r}$ is a vector of respondent-level controls including Afrobarometer-round fixed effects, and η_b are border fixed effects. Importantly, the border fixed effects ensure that we only compare observations of bordering dioceses. We cluster our standard errors at the border level.

To ease concerns that our results are driven by a particular selection or operationalization of variables or point estimates, we draw inferences based on indexes of (if possible) ordinal variables of interest. In particular, we compute the index using the α command in Stata, which calculates the standardized index for every observation for which there is a response to at least one variable in the index, as well as the Cronbach's alpha for variables in the index.

More importantly, to test our core hypotheses, we distinguish effects on political variables across regime types by estimating Equation [1](#) for three separate samples based

---

[9]This specification is analytically the same as using a continuous treatment variable—with a 0 on the side far away from the diocese headquarters and the average difference between the distances on both sides for the side closest to the headquarters—instead of the minus log distance

[10]We show that results are robust to the choice of bandwidth.

on the Polity IV index of respondents' corresponding countries at the time they were surveyed, which divides them into three broad categories: democracies, open anocracies, and closed anocracies. In Section 6, we show that our results are robust to removing countries that are within one point of another regime-type classification.

5 Results

We now present our main findings. We first show that the proximity to the diocese's headquarters is well balanced across determinants of missionary settlements within the set of villages near a Catholic diocese border *circa* 1910. We then show that proximity significantly predicts Catholic missionary presence around 1920. We next show that proximity had long-run effects on individuals' religious identity and schooling.

We then look at the effect that these missionary-induced increases in educational attainment had on political behavior. Although the positive results on socioeconomic outcomes are consistently estimated across regime types, as predicted by our theoretical argument, the effects on political engagement differ largely depending on the strength of democratic institutions. While the individuals who experienced greater exposure to historical missionary presence tend to be more politically engaged in open anocracies, they are less engaged in democracies and closed anocracies.

To explain this differential effect across regime types, we first show that historical missionary activity significantly predicts higher levels of socio-political status and interest in politics only in democracies and open anocracies. More educated citizens do not exhibit greater consumption and discussion of political news in closed anocracies. We then show that missionary activity led to higher support for democratic institutions but greater dissatisfaction with their democracy and their incumbent in open and closed anocracies, but not in democracies. Together, these results highlight how only open anocracies in Africa have both the political resources as well as the incentives for more educated citizens

to become more politically active.

Balance

First, we investigate balance on climatic and geographical covariates. In Table 1, we present the results of OLS regressions using Equation 1 for the pooled sample on various predetermined geographic covariates. We show that the historical proximity to the diocese's headquarters is balanced across climatic and geographic factors known to have affected colonial and missionary settlement (Johnson, 1967). In Panel A, we show balance on climatic and geographic variables known to affect settler mortality. Consistent with chance, only one outcome is significantly associated with proximity at the 10% level.

In Panel B, we show balance on variables capturing privileged locations that facilitated access to missionaries (Jedwab, Meier zu Selhausen and Moradi, 2022; Johnson, 1967): distance to historical explorer routes, distance to colonial railways, distance to the closest waterway, distance to the coast, distance to the modern-day capital, and distance to the national border. Also consistent with chance, only one outcome is significantly associated with proximity. In Panel C, we show balance on access to natural resources within 50 kilometers: number of diamond mines, number of oil fields, number of gas fields, and an index of cash crop suitability. Lastly, also in Panel C, we show balance on the gender and age of the Afrobarometer respondents in our sample. Overall, these results lend support to the plausibly exogeneity of the proximity to the diocese's headquarters within the set of villages near a Catholic diocese border.

Table 1: Balance

Panel A: Climate and Geography

	(1) Precipitation	(2) Temperature Elevation	(3) Log Elevation	(4) Ruggedness	(5) Malaria Index	(6) TseTse Index
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.0223 (0.0384)	0.0441 (0.0482)	-0.203 (0.131)	-0.132 (0.0814)	-0.145* (0.0838)	-0.0288 (0.0777)
Observations	9524	9524	9914	9988	10070	8926
R^2	0.937	0.911	0.855	0.580	0.882	0.758

Dependent variable: (header spanning columns)

Panel B: Location

	(1) Distance to Explorer Routes	(2) Distance to Colonial Railway	(3) Distance to a Waterway	(4) Distance to Coast	(5) Distance to Capital	(6) Distance to National Border
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.0361 (0.0880)	-0.00228 (0.0483)	-0.0717 (0.0950)	-0.288 (0.175)	-0.529*** (0.152)	-0.105 (0.128)
Observations	10070	10070	10070	10070	10070	10070
R^2	0.907	0.874	0.819	0.805	0.796	0.824

Panel C: Natural Resources & Individual Controls

	(1) Diamonds within 50 km	(2) Oil within 50 km	(3) Gas within 50 km	(4) Cash Crop Suitability	(5) Gender	(6) Age
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.00328 (0.0169)	0.0798 (0.0535)	0.0212 (0.0473)	-0.00171 (0.0925)	0.00326 (0.00310)	-0.0355 (0.0366)
Observations	10070	10070	10070	9402	10070	9964
R^2	0.922	0.712	0.855	0.570	0.000	0.061

Notes: This table presents results using the specification in equation 1, which include controls for the distance to the diocese border and its interaction with the proximity treatment, Afrobarometer-round and border fixed effects. The sample includes all observations within 10 km. of dioceses' border *circa* 1910. *Proximity to Diocese Headquarters* is minus the logged distance of an individual's village from the dioceses' headquarters in kilometers. Standard errors, clustered at the border level, in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table 2: Missionary presence, religious identity and schooling

Panel A: Missionary Presence	*Dependent variable:*		
& Religious identity	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Catholic Missions in corresponding diocese (< 50 kms.)	Catholic Missions in neighboring diocese (< 50 kms.)	Catholic today
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.465*** (0.164)	0.0880 (0.0582)	0.0525*** (0.0186)
Observations	10070	10070	9746
R^2	0.755	0.319	0.120
Panel B: Education	*Dependent variable:*		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Schooling Ordinal	Any Primary	Any Secondary
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.272*** (0.0820)	0.0326** (0.0131)	0.0591*** (0.0202)
Observations	9945	9945	9945
R^2	0.232	0.191	0.236

Notes: This table presents results using the specification in equation 1, which include controls for the distance to the diocese border and its interaction with the proximity treatment, Afrobarometer-round and border fixed effects. The sample includes all observations within 10 km. of dioceses' border *circa* 1910. *Proximity to Diocese Headquarters* is minus the logged distance of an individual's village from the dioceses' head in kilometers. Standard errors, clustered at the border level, in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Missionary exposure, religious identity, and education

We turn to whether historical proximity to the diocese's headquarters significantly predicts Catholic missionary activity. In Table 2, Panel A, we present the results for the pooled sample on exposure to Catholic missionary presence. In Column (1), we show that proximity to the diocese's headquarters *circa* 1910 significantly predicts more Catholic missionary activity within 50 kilometers in the corresponding diocese around 1920. In turn, Column (2) shows that, consistent with the rules of operation of Catholic missions that we exploit for identification, this significantly greater activity is solely driven by missionaries operating in the corresponding diocese. In terms of religious adherence,

Column (3) of Panel A shows a significant positive effect of historical proximity to a diocese's headquarters on modern Catholic identity. Overall, these results corroborate that the historical proximity to the diocese's headquarters significantly predicts greater Catholic missionary presence and long-term Catholic conversion.

With regard to educational attainment, Column (1) in Panel B shows that proximity to a diocese's headquarters significantly predicts more schooling, as captured by an ordinal scale of levels of school completion. Columns (2) and (3) of Panel B show that this effect on schooling is consistently estimated when we use binary indicators of any primary or secondary education. Overall, these results are consistent with Nunn (2010), Gallego and Woodberry (2010) and Valencia Caicedo (2019)'s findings on the long-run effects of missionary activity on religious identity and education.

One potential channel through which missionary activity could have a persistent effect on education outcomes today is school construction. Figure 4 shows the strong negative correlation between log distance to diocese headquarters and the number of schools in a 0.1×0.1 degree grid cell. Grid cells close to their respective diocese headquarters have substantially more schools. Appendix Table A7 shows the RDD results while varying the bandwidth of grid cells included from within 10km of a diocese boundary to 50km. Proximity to a diocese's headquarters is clearly associated with more schools indicating that missionary activity had a lasting effect on the provision of education.

Political participation

Turning to our main results, Table 3 shows the effects of historical proximity to a diocese's headquarters on political participation across regime types. Specifically, to measure their participation in national politics, we focus on an indicator of whether individuals voted in the previous general elections and an ordinal variable capturing the extent to which individuals contacted a local councilor. Then, for participation in local politics, we look at ordinal variables measuring the extent to which respondents attended a community

Figure 4: Effect of Proximity to Diocese Headquarters of Modern-Day Schools
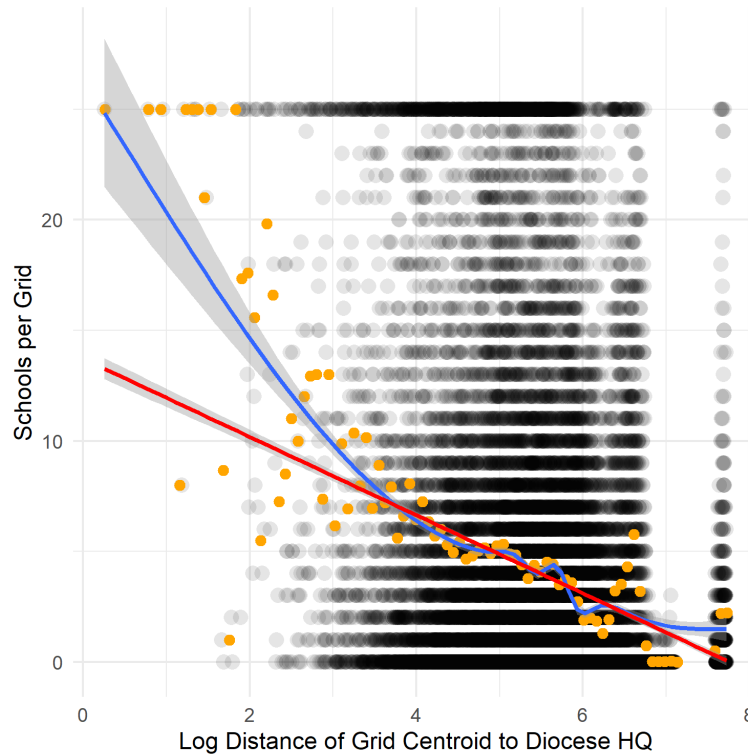
Notes: This figure shows the relationship between log distance to diocese headquarters (x-axis) and the number of schools (y-axis) for all 0.1 × 0.1 degree grid cells in the countries in our sample. Black dots show a scatter plot and orange dots a binscatter. The linear trend is shown in red and the polynomial in blue.

meeting and raised an issue in such a meeting. Results in Panel A, first, indicate that there is a significant positive effect of proximity on the combined index of political participation, but only in open anocracies. In democracies and closed anocracies, the effect is negative.[11]

Consistently, the results in Panel B indicate that proximity leads to an increased likelihood of voting and contacting a local councilor in open anocracies, whereas the effect reverses in democracies.[12] Similarly, in Panel C, the findings show a positive effect of proximity on attending community meetings and raising issues at them in open anocracies. However, this effect is negative in democracies and closed anocracies, albeit only statistically significant in the latter. Altogether, these results indicate that more educated individuals, as a result of increased historical missionary presence, are more

---

[11]Importantly, results in Panel B of Table A11 indicate that the results on political participation are not driven by vote buying, as measured by whether the respondent reported engaging in vote selling.

[12]Separate results for each of the component variables in Table 3 are reported in Table A8.

likely to participate in national and local politics, but only in open anocracies, as predicted by our theoretical argument. Moreover, these effects are only present for less contentious political participation since the results in Panel A of Table A11 indicate that the effects are the opposite when considering whether respondents reported attending protests as an outcome.

Socio-political status, interest in politics, civic values, and political attitudes

The literature on political behavior, particularly in developing contexts, points to two main channels through which education might affect political participation: increased socio-political status and interest in politics, and greater civic values and incentives to participate. Table 4 shows the effect of historical proximity to a diocese's headquarters on outcomes capturing socio-political status and interest in politics. We first measure socio-political status by focusing on individuals' labor market outcomes. We build on the fact that individuals are more likely to be employed when the market values their skills to perform the job they are hired for, which is likely associated with their overall, including political, skills. We also assess whether individuals are more interested in politics, which we measure with their news consumption and whether they discuss politics.

Results in Panel A of Table 4 indicate that proximity leads to significantly higher values of a combined index of socio-political status and interest in politics in all settings except closed anocracies. Panels B and C show, separately, that proximity significantly predicts higher levels of employment, radio news consumption, and discussion of politics in democracies and open anocracies.[13] Altogether, these results show that proximity led to greater socio-political status and interest in politics in democracies and open anocracies, while closed anocracies do not offer an opportunity for more educated citizens to gain

---

[13]The effects on the combined index for news consumption and discussion of politics are sizable, but are only significant when pooling all observations. Separate results for each of the component variables in Panel C or Table 4 are reported in Table A9.

Table 3: The effect on political participation by regime type

Panel A:	Dependent variable:			
	Index of Political Participation			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Pooled	Democracies	Open Anocracies	Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.0252	-0.0858*	0.0810***	-0.0484**
	(0.0248)	(0.0445)	(0.0188)	(0.0196)
Observations	9961	4652	1418	3891
R^2	0.203	0.193	0.173	0.249
Panel B:	Dependent variable:			
	Index of Voted and Contacted Councilor			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Pooled	Democracies	Open Anocracies	Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.0144	-0.0627**	0.0713***	-0.00244
	(0.0251)	(0.0282)	(0.0204)	(0.0253)
Observations	9958	4651	1416	3891
R^2	0.116	0.110	0.111	0.162
Panel C:	Dependent variable:			
	Index of Community Participation			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Pooled	Democracies	Open Anocracies	Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.0369	-0.104	0.0909**	-0.0881**
	(0.0336)	(0.0666)	(0.0410)	(0.0323)
Observations	9912	4635	1403	3874
R^2	0.204	0.192	0.182	0.264

Notes: This table presents results using the specification in Equation 1, which include controls for the distance to the diocese border and its interaction with the proximity treatment, Afrobarometer-round and border fixed effects. The sample includes all observations within 10 km. of dioceses' border *circa* 1910. *Proximity to Diocese Headquarters* is minus the logged distance of an individual's village from the dioceses' head in kilometers. The index in Panel A combines whether the respondent Voted, Contacted Local Councilor, Attended a Community Meeting and Raised an Issue. Panel B combines whether the respondent Voted and Contacted Local Councilor. Panel C combines whether the respondent Attended a Community Meeting and Raised an Issue. Results for each of the component variables are reported in Table A8. Standard errors, clustered at the border level, in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

employment and afford increased consumption and discussion of political news.

In turn, results in Table 5 test whether the differential effect of proximity to the diocese's headquarters on political participation is explained by greater civic values

Table 4: The effect on socio-political status and interest in politics by regime type

Panel A:		*Dependent variable:*		
		Index on Socio-Political Status and Interest in Politics		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Pooled	Democracies	Open Anocracies	Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.0457**	0.0845***	0.0739**	0.0301
	(0.0193)	(0.0308)	(0.0350)	(0.0450)
Observations	9964	4652	1421	3891
R^2	0.130	0.132	0.145	0.159
Panel B:		*Dependent variable:*		
		Employed		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Pooled	Democracies	Open Anocracies	Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.0186	0.0665***	0.0320**	0.00985
	(0.0184)	(0.0168)	(0.0136)	(0.0211)
Observations	9919	4638	1394	3887
R^2	0.098	0.123	0.122	0.109
Panel C:		*Dependent variable:*		
		Radio News Consumption and Discuss Politics		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Pooled	Democracies	Open Anocracies	Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.0483**	0.0567	0.0765	0.0326
	(0.0235)	(0.0397)	(0.0570)	(0.0571)
Observations	9963	4651	1421	3891
R^2	0.101	0.095	0.114	0.123

This table presents results using the specification in Equation 1, which include controls for the distance to the diocese border and its interaction with the proximity treatment, Afrobarometer-round and border fixed effects. The sample includes all observations within 10 km. of dioceses' border *circa* 1910. *Proximity to Diocese Headquarters* is minus the logged distance of an individual's village from the dioceses' head in kilometers. The index in Panel A combines whether the respondent is *Employed*, *Radio News Consumption*, and the extent to which the respondent *Discuss Politics*. Panel C combines respondent's *Radio News Consumption* and the extent to which the respondent *Discuss Politics*. Results for each of the component variables are reported in Table A9. Standard errors, clustered at the border level, in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

originating from increased schooling, and increased perceived returns from participation.

In Panel A, we show that proximity leads to significantly greater support for democratic

institutions in open and closed anocracies, although the magnitude and sign of the effect

is comparable in democracies. In turn, results in Panel B show that proximity leads to significantly lower levels of satisfaction with democracy in open and closed anocracies, but not in democracies. Similarly, results in Panel C show that proximity negatively predicts an index capturing views on incumbent performance and incumbent support again only in open and closed anocracies.[14]

Taken together, these results underscore the importance of understanding the drivers of political participation by more educated individuals across regime types, as to better understand the role that education might play in political transitions. More educated individuals might not necessarily participate more in politics unless they have both greater socio-political status, interest in politics, and civic values, and perceive a positive return from participation. Voters in open anocracies are informed of the benefits of democracy and have been instilled with pro-democracy values, but do not feel like the democracies in their countries are democratic enough, and hence they participate in politics to make their societies more democratic. Voters in democracies are well-informed and have civic values but see no differential returns to participating compared to less educated voters. Voters in closed anocracies do not see the returns to participation, and might not be able to afford to act on their civic values.

6   Robustness

This section presents the results from several robustness checks. First, we decompose the indexes used in Section 5 and show the results for each component separately. Second, we implement standard checks to test the validity of regression discontinuity design, by showing the results using 5, 10, 15, 20, 25, and 50 kilometers as bandwidth, checking balance on geographic and historical covariates, and providing density plots. Third, we vary the specifications by including country fixed effects, dropping extreme outliers, and controlling for the few unbalanced covariates. Fourth, we rerun the analysis restricting

---

[14]Separate results for each of the component variables in Panel C or Table 5 are reported in Table A10.

Table 5: The effect on civil values and political attitudes by regime type

Panel A:	*Dependent variable:*			
	Index of Support for Democratic Institutions			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Pooled	Democracies	Open Anocracies	Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.0707***	0.0453	0.0638*	0.0499*
	(0.0203)	(0.0388)	(0.0357)	(0.0250)
Observations	9899	4625	1407	3867
R^2	0.070	0.065	0.118	0.066
Panel B:	*Dependent variable:* Satisfied with Democracy			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Pooled	Democracies	Open Anocracies	Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.110**	-0.0226	-0.0928***	-0.0907**
	(0.0530)	(0.0325)	(0.0237)	(0.0405)
Observations	8991	4245	1248	3498
R^2	0.114	0.088	0.097	0.198
Panel C:	*Dependent variable:*			
	Incumbent Performance and Support			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Pooled	Democracies	Open Anocracies	Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.0940**	-0.0178	-0.109**	-0.110***
	(0.0369)	(0.0523)	(0.0529)	(0.0290)
Observations	9703	4552	1376	3775
R^2	0.091	0.086	0.220	0.156

Notes: This table presents results using the specification in Equation 1, which include controls for the distance to the diocese border and its interaction with the proximity treatment, Afrobarometer-round and border fixed effects. The sample includes all observations within 10 km. of dioceses' border *circa* 1910. *Proximity to Diocese Headquarters* is minus the logged distance of an individual's village from the dioceses' head in kilometers. The index of *Support for Democratic Institutions* in Panel A combines whether the respondent rejects one-man rule, rejects one-party rule, agrees that civil society organizations and political parties are needed, the individual agrees that the parliament and not the president should write laws, agrees that the president has to obey laws, agrees that parliament should monitor the president, and supports term limits. Panel C combines how the respondent evaluates the *Incumbent Performance* and whether she expresses she feels *Close to the Incumbent Party* or *Close to an Opposition Party*. Results for each of the component variables are reported in Table A10. Standard errors, clustered at the border level, in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

the sample of countries to exclude North African countries (Algeria, Egypt, Morocco, and Tunisia), kingdoms (Lesotho and Swaziland), and island nations (Madagascar and Cape Verde) separately. Fifth, we run the specification separately for former British colonies and other countries. Lastly, we test whether democracies, open anocracies, and closed anocracies are consistently different on other observable country-level characteristics and show that those characteristics cannot explain our results. Throughout the robustness checks, the results remain qualitatively the same.

Our main specification restricts the sample to Afrobarometer villages within 10 kilometers of the closest diocese boundary. Figure A2 in the Appendix shows the coefficients on proximity to diocese headquarters when varying the bandwidth. 5, 10, 15, 20, 25, and 50-kilometer bandwidths are shown. The results remain consistent across specifications, albeit some precision is lost when extending the bandwidth to 50 kilometers.

We show in Section 5 that proximity to diocese headquarters is balanced on a range of geographic covariates. Nevertheless, to make sure that our results are not driven by the combination of these geographic factors that might explain missionary location, we also control for indexes for the three sets of geographic covariates in the second set of coefficients in Figure A3, while the first set of coefficients in the figure show the results of our main specification. The third set of coefficients comes from a specification that only includes the two covariates that are unbalanced: malaria suitability and distance to the national capital. Since many diocese boundaries coincide with country borders, we also include country fixed effects in the fourth set of coefficients in Figure A3. The country-fixed effects specification has the additional advantage that it drops cases where the boundaries of Catholic diocese coincide with administrative borders. To ensure that our results are not driven by extreme outliers, we remove the 5% of observations with the largest distance to their diocese headquarters in the fifth set of coefficients in Figure A3. Figure A1 provides a density plot showing no discrete change around the cutoff.

Furthermore, we consider different restrictions to the sample. North Africa differs

from the rest of the continent in two important ways. First, its proximity to Europe meant that it had a different colonial experience, most notably being exposed for longer. Second, North African countries represented a different religious environment in which missionaries had to operate, namely competition with Islam and the pre-existing presence of Christian communities. Due to these differences, we rerun the analysis after removing North African countries from the sample in the sixth set of coefficients shown in Figure A3. Island nations—Madagascar and Cape Verde—similarly had different geographic constraints that influenced missionary activity. The results after removing these countries from the sample are in the seventh set of coefficients in Figure A3. Third, political participation operates very differently in monarchies. We therefore exclude the kingdoms of Lesotho and Swaziland in the eighth set of coefficients. Fourth, Muslim countries might be affected differently by missionary activity. We rerun the analysis excluding countries with Muslim majority population (Algeria, Egypt, Guinea, Mali, Morocco, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Tunisia).

Colonial administrations often differed depending on the colonizing country. Specifically, British colonial policy regarding the regulation of missionary activities was often different than that of other, mostly Catholic, colonizers. The next two sets of coefficients in Figure A3 thus show the results separately for former British colonies and other countries. The effects on political participation are bigger in former British colonies, which is consistent with increased competition between Catholic and Protestant missionaries. Next, we remove countries whose polity score was within one of falling under a different classification and the last set of coefficients shows the results when removing countries with only one diocese in them. Distance to the diocese headquarters might matter differently for dioceses with different sizes. We therefore add a specification where we control for a diocese area. To address the potential endogenous nature of the diocese boundaries we add a "donut RD" specification where we remove observations within 1 km of the diocese boundary. If boundaries were drawn to include certain localities,

by removing those close to the boundary we can eliminate this concern. We also drop localities close to diocese headquarters (within 5km). Across all specifications in Figure A3, the results remain virtually unchanged.

Next, we test whether the heterogeneous findings across regime types are driven by other country-level characteristics that correlate with regime type. We collect 22 country-level variables covering geographical, institutional, and historical characteristics. We conduct t-tests comparing the mean of these variables in democracies to open anocracies, as well as democracies to closed anocracies, and open to closed anocracies. Out of the 66 t-tests reported in Table A22 only 2 are significant at the 10% level and 4 at the 5% level, roughly in line with what we expect to occur by chance. Further, the results are not surprising. Democracies score higher on country-level institutional variables, namely the rule of law index, taxes collected as a percentage of GDP, and failed state index. We then take the unbalanced country-level variables (Gemstones, Rule of Law Index, Failed State Index, and Taxes as % of GDP) and split the countries in our sample in terciles of each variable. Figure A4 shows the results when splitting our sample into these terciles instead of democracy, open anocracy, and closed anocracy. None of the other country-level variables show the same pattern as our main results. This makes us confident that our results are not driven by confounding country-level characteristics.

Finally, we consider the relationship between education or missionary activity and political participation outside of the RDD framework. In Table A30 we show the results of simply regressing political participation on respondents education levels (Panel A) and their distance to colonial missions (Panel B). When separating these results by regime type, we see the same patterns as in our RDD analysis: we see strong correlations between education or missionary activity and political participation in open anocracies, but these correlations are significantly smaller or disappear altogether in democracies and closed anocracies.

7 Conclusion

Despite the positive legacy of missionary activity on socioeconomic wellbeing in Africa, consistent with our theoretical argument, our results suggest that its long-run effects on political development largely depend on a country's regime type. More educated individuals, as a result of the proximity of their villages to the diocese's headquarters *circa* 1910, are more likely to engage in national and local politics, but only in open anocracies. These results are consistent with recent findings on political disengagement depending on the nature of the regime type in Africa (Croke et al., 2016; Larreguy and Marshall, 2017; Larreguy and Liu, 2023).

Concerning for those scholars who emphasize the importance of education for democratic consolidation, such an increase in political participation is not only driven by increased civic values, but also by the combination of increased socio-political status and interest in politics and incentives to participate resulting from greater discontent with their democracy and incumbent. Only open anocracies offer educated citizens the opportunities and incentives to increase their political participation.

Our results underscore the need to pay close attention to regime types as well as to citizens' motives when trying to understand how education affects political participation and, ultimately, democratic consolidation. Future research should also investigate how the education provided by missionaries compares to other policies aimed at increasing education, especially those aimed at the masses and nation-building (Paglayan, 2021). If education is to be deemed a *sine qua non* for democracy (Almond and Verba, 2015; Brady, Verba and Schlozman, 1995; Deutsch, 1961), its origins and institutional interactions cannot be overlooked.

Since our analysis focuses on the effects of Catholic missionary activities, the question of whether our results could also be applied to Protestant missions arises. While Protestantism has theological differences with Catholicism and Church-State relations are different between Protestant missions and colonial governments, Protestant missions

share a crucial similarity with their Catholic counterparts, namely the widespread use of education to attract converts. Indeed, we find stronger effects in former British colonies where educational effects between Catholics and Protestants was more similar. This suggests that our findings are likely to apply in other context where there were incentives to educate individuals, such as for most Protestant missions.

Lastly, there is a need for more causal work on the macro relationship between historical education institutions on political participation and democratic attitudes. To provide causality, we focus on individual-level estimates, and thus some of our findings should be cautiously extrapolated to draw macro conclusions. For example, the lack of an effect of proximity on satisfaction with democracy in democracies does not imply that, at a macro level, education has not led to democratization or that citizens in democratic countries exhibit greater satisfaction with democracy. In turn, it simply indicates that, in such a context, more educated individuals do not exhibit differential satisfaction. While this is useful for explaining how historical missionary exposure and educational opportunities shape contemporaneous individual political participation, it does not speak to the macro relationship between education and satisfaction with democracy.

References

Acemoglu, Daron and James Robinson. 2001. "The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation." *The American Economic Review* 91(5):1369–1401.

Alesina, Alberto, Sebastian Hohmann, Stelios Michalopoulos and Elias Papaioannou. 2021. "Intergenerational Mobility in Africa." *Econometrica* 89(1):1–35.

Alesina, Alberto, Sebastian Hohmann, Stelios Michalopoulos and Elias Papaioannou. 2023. "Religion and educational mobility in africa." *Nature* 618:134–143.

Almond, Gabriel and Sidney Verba. 2015. *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Andrabi, Tahir, Jishnu Das and Asim Ijaz Khwaja. 2012. "What did you do all day? Maternal education and child outcomes." *Journal of Human Resources* 47(4):1873–912.

Andrabi, Tahir, Jishnu Das and Asim Ijaz Khwaja. 2013. "Students today, teachers tomorrow: Identifying constraints on the provision of education." *Journal of Public Economics* 100(1):1–14.

Apfeld, Brendan, Emanuel Coman, John Gerring and Stephen Jessee. 2022. "Education and social capital." *Journal of Experimental Political Science* 9(2):162–188.

Becker, Bastian. 2021. "State-church synergies in colonial empires: Longitudinal evidence on missionary expansion in Africa." *African Economic History Newtwok Working Paper Series.* *https://www.aehnetwork.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/AEHN-WP-64.pdf* .

Berinsky, Adam and Gabriel Lenz. 2011. "Education and Political Participation: Exploring the Causal Link." *Political Behavior* 33(3):357–373.

Berman, Edward H. 1974. "African responses to Christian mission education." *African Studies Review* 17(3):527–540.

Brady, Henry E, Sidney Verba and Kay Lehman Schlozman. 1995. "Beyond SES: A resource model of political participation." *American Political Science Review* 89(2):271–294.

Cagé, Julia and Valeria Rueda. 2016. "The Long-Term Effects of the Printing Press in sub-Saharan Africa." *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 8(3):69–99.

Cappelli, Gabriele and Joerg Baten. 2021. "Numeracy development in Africa: new evidence from a long-term perspective (1730–1970)." *Journal of Development Economics* 150:102630.

Cogneau, Denis and Alexander Moradi. 2014. "Borders That Divide: Education and Religion in Ghana and Togo Since Colonial Times." *The Journal of Economic History* 74(03):694–729.

Croke, Kevin, Guy Grossman, Horacio Larreguy and John Marshall. 2016. "Deliberate Disengagement: How Education Can Decrease Political Participation in Electoral Authoritarian Regimes." *American Political Science Review* 110(3):579.

Dee, Thomas. 2004. "Are There Civic Returns to Education?" *Journal of Public Economics* 88(9):1697–1720.

Deutsch, Karl W. 1961. "Social Mobilization and Political Development." *American Political Science Review* 55(03):493–514.

Dulay, Dean. 2022. "The Search for Spices and Souls: Catholic Missions as Colonial State in the Philippines." *Comparative Political Studies* 55(12):2050–2085.

Dupraz, Yannick. 2019. "French and British Colonial Legacies in Education: Evidence from the Partition of Cameroon." *The Journal of Economic History* 79(3):628–668.

Engel, Alois. 1932. *Die Missionsmethode der Missionare vom Hl. Geist auf dem afrikanischen Festland*. Neuss: Missionsdruckerei Knechtsteden.

Englebert, Pierre, Stacy Tarango and Matthew Carter. 2002. "Dismemberment and Suffocation: A Contribution to the Debate on African Boundaries." *Comparative Political Studies* 35(10):1093–1118.

Feldmann, Horst. 2016. "The Long Shadows of Spanish and French Colonial Education." *Kyklos* 69(1):32–64.

Finkel, Steven E. 2002. "Civic Education and the Mobilization of Political Participation in Developing Democracies." *The Journal of Politics* 64(4):994–1020.

Gallego, Francisco and Robert Woodberry. 2010. "Christian Missionaries and Education in Former African Colonies: How Competition Mattered." *Journal of African Economies* 19(3):294–329.

Glaeser, Edward, Giacomo Ponzetto and Andrei Shleifer. 2007. "Why Does Democracy Need Education?" *Journal of Economic Growth* 12:77–99.

Hargreaves, John. 1985. The Making of the Boundaries: Focus on West Africa. In *Partitioned Africans: Ethnic Relations Across Africa's International Boundaries, 1884–1984*, ed. Anthony I Asiwaju. Lagos: University of Lagos Press pp. 19–27.

Henn, Soeren J. 2023. "Complements or substitutes? How institutional arrangements bind traditional authorities and the state in Africa." *American Political Science Review* 117(3):871–890.

Huillery, Elise. 2009. "History matters: The long-term impact of colonial public investments in French West Africa." *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 1(2):176–215.

Huntington, Samuel. 2006. *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Isaksson, Ann-Sofie. 2014. "Political participation in Africa: The role of individual resources." *Electoral Studies* 34:244–260.

Jedwab, Remi, Felix Meier zu Selhausen and Alexander Moradi. 2021. "Christianization without economic development: Evidence from missions in Ghana." *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization* 190:573–596.

Jedwab, Remi, Felix Meier zu Selhausen and Alexander Moradi. 2022. "The economics of missionary expansion: Evidence from Africa and implications for development." *Journal of Economic Growth* 27(2):149–192.

Johnson, Hildegard Binder. 1967. "The Location of Christian Missions in Africa." *Geographical Review* pp. 168–202.

Kam, Cindy and Carl Palmer. 2008. "Reconsidering the Effects of Education on Political Participation." *The Journal of Politics* 70(3):612–631.

Keele, Luke J and Rocio Titiunik. 2015. "Geographic boundaries as regression discontinuities." *Political Analysis* 23(1):127–155.

Klein Goldewijk, Kees, Arthur Beusen and Peter Janssen. 2010. "Long term dynamic modeling of global population and built-up area in a spatially explicit way: HYDE 3.1." *The Holocene* 20:565–573.

Larreguy, Horacio and John Marshall. 2017. "The Effect of Education on Civic and Political Engagement in Nonconsolidated Democracies: Evidence from Nigeria." *Review of Economics and Statistics* 99(3):387–401.

Larreguy, Horacio and Shelley Liu. 2023. "When Does Education Increase Political Participation? Evidence from Senegal." Working Paper https://www.shelleyxliu.com/senegal-education.

Lindberg, Staffan I, Michael Coppedge, John Gerring and Jan Teorell. 2014. "V-Dem: A new way to measure democracy." *Journal of Democracy* 25(3):159–169.

Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1959. "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy." *American Political Science Review* 53(01):69–105.

Mann, Horace. 1848. "Twelfth Annual Report of Horace Mann as Secretary of Massachusetts State Board of Education." Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Board of Education.

Marshall, John. 2016. "Coarsening bias: How instrumenting for coarsened treatments upwardly biases instrumental variable estimates." *Political Analysis* 24(2):157–171.

Marshall, Monty G and Gabrielle Elzinga-Marshall. 2011. Global report 2011: Conflict, governance and state fragility. Technical report CSP: Center for Systemic Peace.

McCauley, John and Daniel Posner. 2015. "African Borders as Sources of Natural Experiments Promise and Pitfalls." *Political Science Research and Methods* 3(2):409–418.

Meier zu Selhausen, Felix. 2019. Missions, Education and Conversion in Colonial Africa. In *Globalization and the Rise of Mass Education*, ed. David Mitch and Gabriele Cappelli. Cham: Springer International Publishing pp. 25–59.

Michalopoulos, Stelios and Elias Papaioannou. 2013. "Pre-Colonial Ethnic Institutions and Contemporary African Development." *Econometrica* 81(1):113–152.

Milligan, Kevin, Enrico Moretti and Philip Oreopoulos. 2004. "Does education improve citizenship? Evidence from the United States and the United Kingdom." *Journal of Public Economics* 88(9–10):1667–1695.

Nunn, Nathan. 2010. "Religious Conversion in Colonial Africa." *American Economic Review* 100(2):147–152.

Paglayan, Agustina. 2020. "Civil Conflict, State Consolidation, and the Spread of Mass Education." Working paper https://e50c00f1-c826-48c4-98ce-bef51415dedc.filesusr.com/ugd/a763a0_3c0969e92a88497199045762a0e14df1.pdf.

Paglayan, Agustina S. 2021. "The Non-Democratic Roots of Mass Education: Evidence from 200 Years." *American Political Science Review* 115(1):179–198.

Paine, Jack, Xiaoyan Qiu and Joan Ricart-Huguet. 2024. "Endogenous Colonial Borders: Precolonial States and Geography in the Partition of Africa." *American Political Science Review* Early view.

Peters, Edward. 2001. *The 1917 or Pio-Benedictine code of canon law: In English translation with extensive scholarly apparatus*. San Francisco: Ignatius Press.

Ricart-Huguet, Joan. 2021. "Colonial education, political elites, and regional political inequality in Africa." *Comparative Political Studies* 54(14):2546–2580.

Ricart-Huguet, Joan. 2022. "The origins of colonial investments in former British and French Africa." *British Journal of Political Science* 52(2):736–757.

Streit, Karl. 1913. *Atlas Hierarchicus*. Paderbornae: B. Herder.

Sundkler, Bengt and Christopher Steed. 2000. *A History of the Church in Africa*. Vol. 74 Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Taylor, William H. 1984. "Missionary education in Africa reconsidered: the presbyterian educational impact in Eastern Nigeria 1846-1974." *African Affairs* 83(331):189–205.

Tusalem, Rollin. 2009. "The Role of Protestantism in Democratic Consolidation Among Transitional States." *Comparative Political Studies* 42(7):882–915.

Valencia Caicedo, Felipe. 2019. "The Mission: Economic Persistence, Human Capital Transmission and Culture in South America." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 134(1):507–556.

Verba, Sidney, Kay Lehman Schlozman and Henry Brady. 1995. *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Verba, Sidney and Norman Nie. 1972. *Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality.* New York: Harper & Row.

Waldinger, Maria. 2017. "The long-run effects of missionary orders in Mexico." *Journal of Development Economics* 127:355–378.

Wantchekon, Leonard, Marko Klašnja and Natalija Novta. 2015. "Education and human capital externalities: evidence from colonial Benin." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 130(2):703–757.

Woodberry, Robert Dudley. 2012. "The Missionary Roots of Liberal Democracy." *American Political Science Review* 106(2):244–274.

Woodberry, Robert Dudley and Timothy Shah. 2004. "The Pioneering Protestants." *Journal of Democracy* 15(2):47–61.

Online Appendix:

Missionary Activity, Education, and Long-run Political Development: Evidence Across Regime Types in Africa

A1 Description of variables

A1.1 Outcome Variables

Our variables for analyses are coded as follows:

- **Catholic:** Coded 1 if respondent reported she is a Catholic; 0 otherwise.

- **Schooling:** Ordinal variable of the level of schooling attained by the respondent ranging from 0 if she has no formal schooling to 8 if she has post-graduate studies.

- **Any Primary:** Coded 1 if respondent reported having some primary education; 0 otherwise.

- **Secondary:** Coded 1 if respondent reported having some secondary education; 0 otherwise.

- **Voted:** Coded 1 if respondent reported voting in the past election; 0 otherwise.

- **Contacted Local Councilor:** Ordinal variable capturing the extent to which the respondent contacted a local government councilor in the past year ranging from 0 if never to 3 if often.

- **Attended Community Meeting:** Ordinal variable capturing the extent to which the respondent attended a community meeting in the past year ranging from 0 if not and she would never do it to 4 if often.

- **Raised an Issue:** Ordinal variable capturing the extent to which the respondent has joined others to raise an issue in the past year ranging from 0 if not and she would never do it to 4 if often.

- **Employed:** Coded 1 if respondent reported being employed at least part-time; 0 otherwise.

- **Radio News Consumption:** Ordinal variables describing how often the respondents consumes news via the radio. The variable ranges from 0 if never to 4 if every day.

- **Discuss Politics:** Ordinal variable describing the extent to which the respondent discusses politics with friends or family ranging from 0 if never to 2 if frequently.

- **Support of Democracy:** Coded 1 if the respondent agrees that democracy is preferable to any other kind of government; 0 otherwise.

- **Support for Democratic Institutions:** Index of variables including whether the respondent rejects one-man rule, whether the individual rejects one-party rule, whether the respondent agrees that civil society organizations and political parties are needed, whether the respondent agrees that the parliament and not the president should write laws, whether the respondent agrees that the president has to obey laws, whether the respondent agrees that parliament should monitor the president, and whether the respondent supports term limits.

- **Satisfied with Democracy:** Ordinal variable describing the extent to which the respondent reports being satisfied with the way democracy works in her country ranging from if the respondent does not consider it a a democracy to 4 if very satisfied.

- **Incumbent Performance:** An index of how the respondent evaluates the performance of the president or prime minister, their MP, and their local government councilor. Each variable ranges from 1 if strongly disapprove to 4 if strongly approve.

- **Close to Incumbent Party:** Coded 1 if the respondent reports supporting the party in power; 0 otherwise.

- **Close to Opposition Party:** Coded 1 if the respondent reports supporting an opposition party; 0 otherwise.

- **Attending Protests:** Ordinal variable capturing how often the respondent has attended a protest march in the past year ranging from 0 if not and she would never do it to 4 if often.

- **Vote Selling:** Ordinal variable capturing how often the respondent was offered some something in return for their vote in the last election ranging from 0 if never to 3 if often.

A1.2 Polity IV Conceptualization of Regime Types

The Polity IV score stems form a combination of a democracy rating and a autocracy rating for each country. Countries with a polity IV score of +10 to +6 are considered democracies. +5 to 1 are open anocracies and countries with scores from 0 to −5 are closed anocracies. Below are the conceptualizations polity provides for the democracies and anocracies.

Democracy: "has institutionalized procedures for open, competitive, and deliberative political participation; chooses and replaces chief executives in open, competitive elections; and imposes substantial checks and balances on the discretionary powers of the chief executive" (Marshall and Elzinga-Marshall, 2011, p.9).

Anocracy: "is characterized by institutions and political elites that are far less capable of performing fundamental tasks and ensuring their own continuity. Anocratic regimes very often reflect inherent qualities of instability or ineffectiveness and are especially vulnerable to the onset of new political instability events, such as outbreaks of armed conflict, unexpected changes in leadership, or adverse regime changes (e.g., a seizure of power by a personalistic or military leader)" (Marshall and Elzinga-Marshall, 2011, p.9). In Closed Anocracies leaders are only drawn from the elite, while in Open Anocracies others compete as well.

A1.3 Geographical and Historical Variables

- **Precipitation**: Average rainfall from 1900–1960. *Source: NOAA Physical Science Laboratory*

- **Temperature**: Average temperature from 1900–1960. *Source: NOAA Physical Science Laboratory*

- **Elevation**: Average value of elevation for grid cells of 30 Arc-Seconds (equivalent to 250 meters), measured in meters above sea level. *Source: SRTM version 4.1 (NASA)*

- **Ruggedness**: Averaging the Terrain Ruggedness Index of 30 by 30 arc-second cell. It is measured by dividing the millimeters of elevation difference by the area of the 30 by 30 arc-second cell. *Source: Nunn and Puga (2012)*

- **Malaria Ecology Index**: The index takes into account the prevalence and type of mosquitoes indigenous to a region, their human biting rate, their daily survival rate, and their incubation period. The index has been constructed for 0.5 degree by 0.5 degree grid-cells. *Source: Kiszewski et al. (2004)*

- **TseTee Index**: The tsetse suitability index calculates the viability of the tsetse fly based on the non-monotonic temperature and humidity requirements for its viability. The index has been constructed for 0.5 degree by 0.5 degree grid-cells. *Source: Alsan (2015)*

- **Distance to Explorer Routes**: The distance of a village from the nearest pre-colonial explorer route, measured in kilometers. *Source: Jedwab and Moradi (2016)*

- **Distance to Colonial Railway**: The distance of a village from the nearest railroad built before 1960, measured in kilometers. *Source: Jedwab and Moradi (2016)*

- **Distance to Waterway**: The distance of a village from the nearest river or lake, measured in kilometers. *Source: Digital Chart of the World*

- **Distance to the Coast**: The distance of a village from the nearest coastline, measured in kilometers. *Source: Digital Chart of the World*

- **Distance to the Capital**: The distance of a village from the capital city, measured in kilometers. *Source: OpenStreetMap*

- **Distance to the National Border**: The distance of a village from the national border, measured in kilometers. *Source: Digital Chart of the World*

- **Diamonds within 50km**: Whether the observation is within 50km from a diamond mine. *Source: PRIO*

- **Oil within 50km**: Whether the observation is within 50km of an onshore oil field. *Source: PRIO*

- **Gas within 50km**: Whether the observation is within 50km of an onshore gas field *Source: PRIO*

- **Land Suitability for Cash Crops**: The fraction of each grid cell that is suitable to be used for growing a cash crop (cocoa, coffee, cotton, groundnut, palm oil, sugarcane, tea, tobacco). It is based on the temperature and soil conditions of each grid cell. *Source: Atlas of the Biosphere*

- **Gender**: Coded 1 if the respondent is female; 0 otherwise. *Source: Afrobarometer*

- **Age**: Age of the respondent in years.*Source: Afrobarometer*

- **Diocese Area**: Surface area of each diocese unit measured in square kilometers. *Source: GIS calculations by the authors.*

- **Population Density 1880**: Estimated population living in a 5 arc min ($85km^2$ at equator) grid cell in 1880. *Source: Klein Goldewijk et al. (2010).*

A2   Additional figures

Figure A1: Density Plot
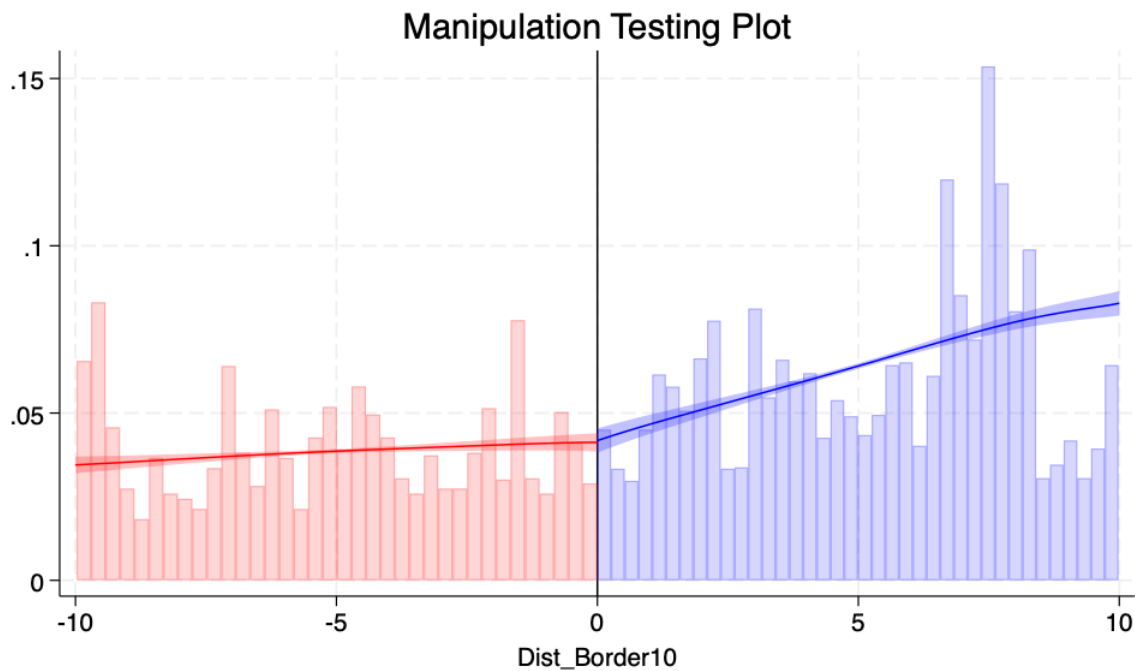
Notes: This figure shows result of manipulation testing using local polynomial density estimation from the rddensity command in Stata. Observations with distance to border equal to 0 are removed because for those observations we don't know what side they are on. Our results are robust to removing these observations from the main analysis.

Figure A2: Changing the Bandwidth
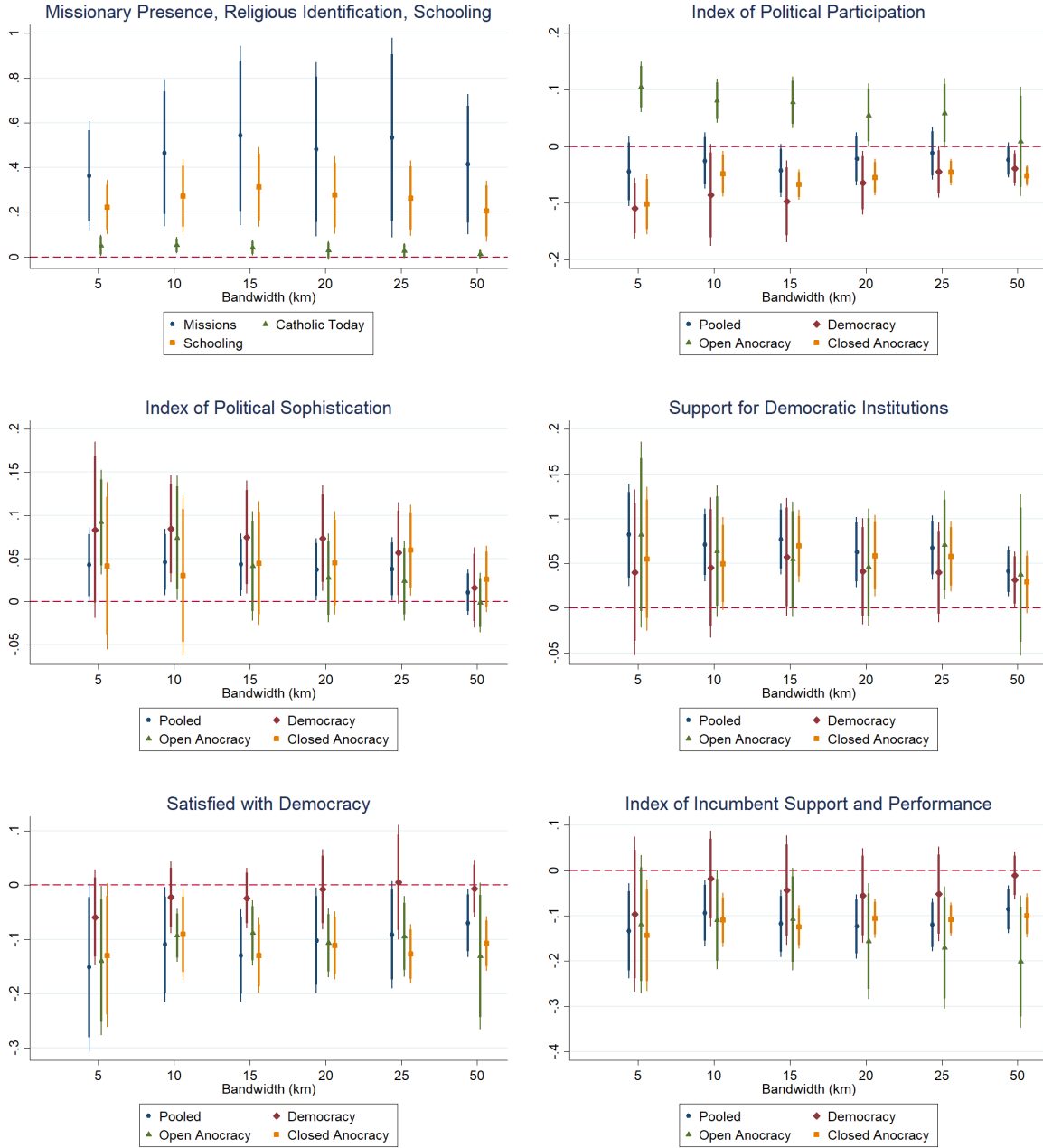
Notes: This figure shows the coefficient on Proximity to Dioceses Headquarters on various outcomes of interest. The bandwidth is varied between 5 and 50 kilometers with 10 kilometers being the main specification. The 95% and 90% confidence intervals are plotted for each bandwidth.

Figure A3: Changing the Specification
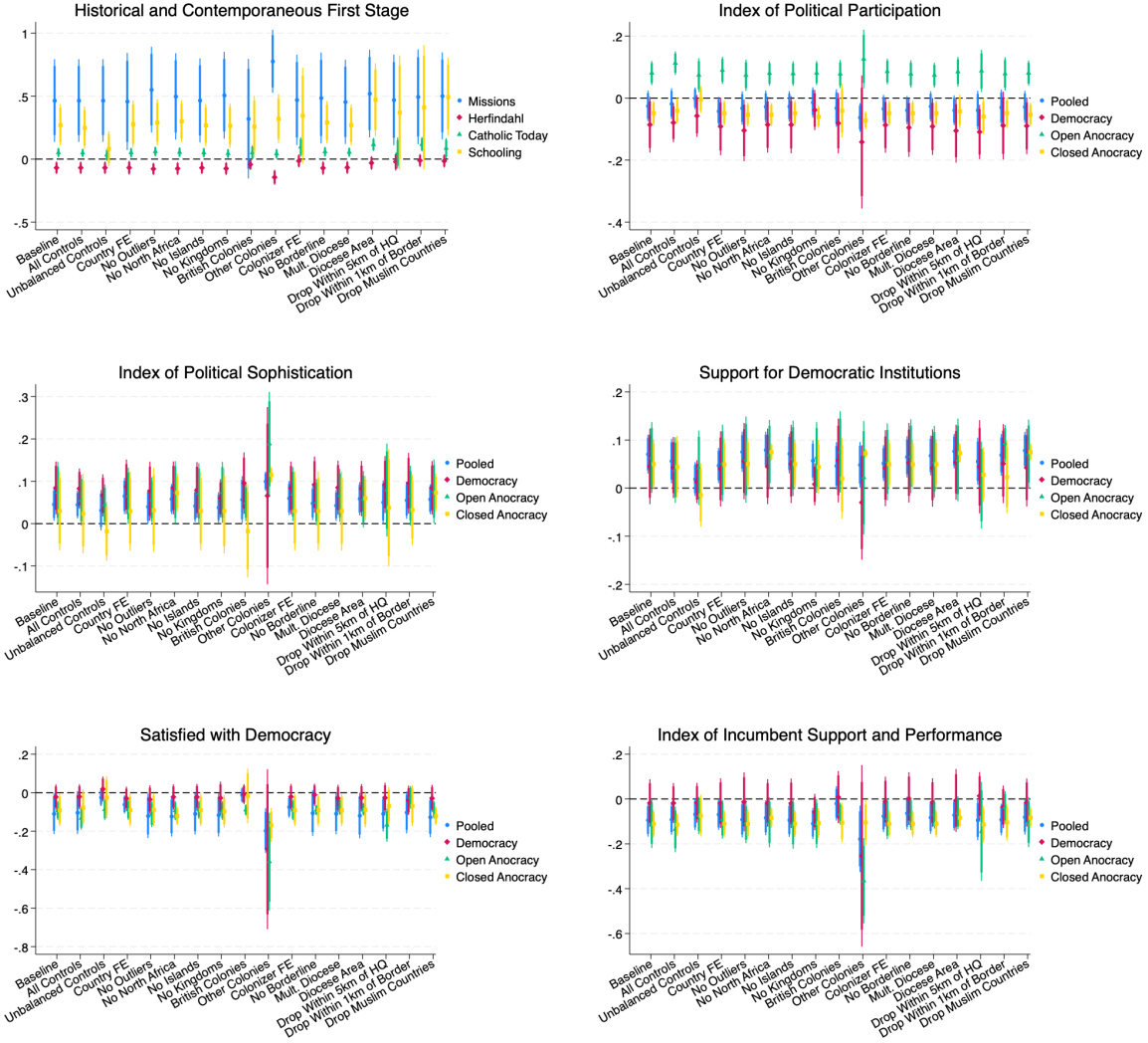
Notes: This figure shows the coefficient on Proximity to Dioceses Headquarters on various outcomes of interest. Each panel shows the coefficients for different model specification. "No North Africa" drops Algeria, Egypt, Morocco, and Tunisia. "No Islands" drops Madagascar and Cape Verde. "No Kingdoms" drops Lesotho and Swaziland. "Drop Muslim Countries" drops Algeria, Egypt, Guinea, Mali, Morocco, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Tunisia. "Diocese Area" controls for the surface area of a diocese measured in km^2. The 95% and 90% confidence intervals are plotted for each specification.

Figure A4: Country-Level Variables
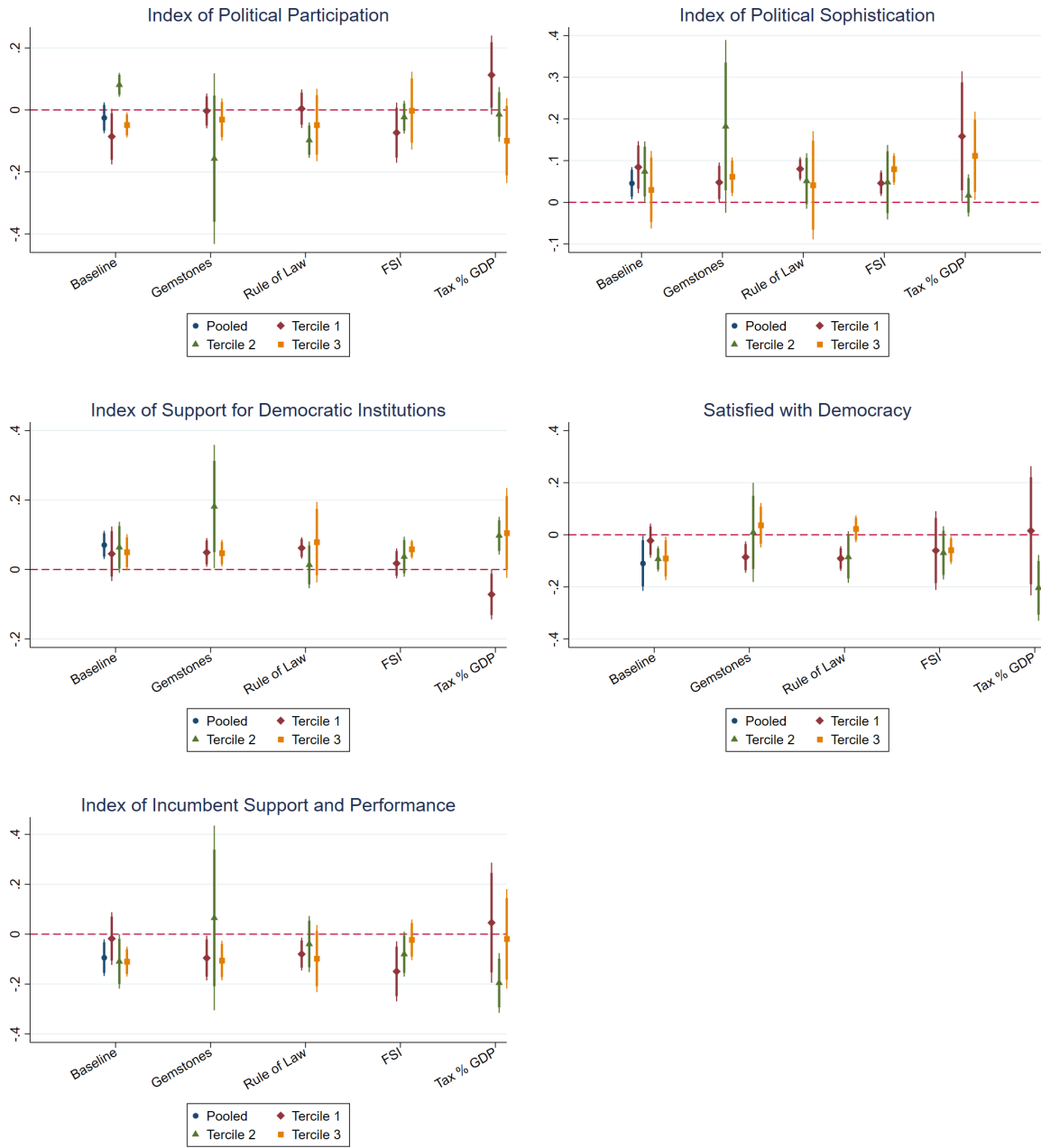
Notes: This figure shows the coefficient on Proximity to Dioceses Headquarters on various outcomes of interest. In the Baseline specification the results are shown for the pooled sample, and democracies, open anocracies, and closed anocracies separately. In the other specification, the sample is instead divided using terciles of various country level variables. The 95% and 90% confidence intervals are plotted for each specification.

A3 Additional tables

A3.1 Summary Statistics

Table A1: Summary Statistic of full sample

	Mean	Standard Deviation	Min	Max
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	2.60	1.01	0.00	5.38
Distance Afrobarometer to Diocese Border (in km)	4.90	3.00	0.00	9.98
Cath. Mission within 50 km	0.68	1.28	0.00	5.00
Cath. Mission within 50 km in Neighboring Diocese	0.26	0.73	0.00	5.00
Catholic today	0.26	0.44	0.00	1.00
Schooling Ordinal	2.54	1.84	0.00	8.00
Any Primary	0.85	0.36	0.00	1.00
Any Secondary	0.50	0.50	0.00	1.00
Skilled Labor	0.25	0.43	0.00	1.00
Index of political participation	-0.02	0.69	-1.70	1.61
Voted	0.73	0.45	0.00	1.00
Contacted local gov. councilor	0.49	0.90	0.00	3.00
Index of community engagement	-0.09	0.91	-1.70	1.45
Attend a community meeting	2.13	1.32	0.00	4.00
Join others to raise an issue	1.86	1.31	0.00	4.00
Index of socio-political status and interest in politics	0.01	0.65	-2.07	1.41
Employed	0.39	0.49	0.00	1.00
News consumption on radio	2.96	1.44	0.00	4.00
Discuss politics with others	0.90	0.72	0.00	2.00
Satisfaction with democracy	2.34	1.06	0.00	4.00
Support for democratic institutions	2.81	0.73	0.00	4.00
Index of incumbent evaluation and support	-0.07	0.81	-2.29	1.73
Performance of incumbent	2.10	1.20	0.00	4.00
Corruption of incumbent	1.35	0.75	0.00	3.00
Close to incumbent party	0.58	0.49	0.00	1.00
Close to opposition party	0.28	0.45	0.00	1.00
Observations	10,070			

Table A2: Summary Statistic of democracies

	Mean	Standard Deviation	Min	Max
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	2.62	0.81	0.88	5.38
Distance Afrobarometer to Diocese Border (in km)	4.90	2.91	0.00	9.98
Cath. Mission within 50 km	0.33	0.59	0.00	3.00
Cath. Mission within 50 km in Neighboring Diocese	0.12	0.43	0.00	3.00
Catholic today	0.26	0.44	0.00	1.00
Schooling Ordinal	2.31	1.72	0.00	8.00
Any Primary	0.83	0.38	0.00	1.00
Any Secondary	0.47	0.50	0.00	1.00
Skilled Labor	0.23	0.42	0.00	1.00
Index of political participation	0.05	0.68	-1.66	1.61
Voted	0.75	0.43	0.00	1.00
Contacted local gov. councilor	0.53	0.93	0.00	3.00
Index of community engagement	-0.02	0.91	-1.70	1.45
Attend a community meeting	2.26	1.32	0.00	4.00
Join others to raise an issue	1.89	1.32	0.00	4.00
Index of socio-political status and interest in politics	0.02	0.65	-2.07	1.41
Employed	0.36	0.48	0.00	1.00
News consumption on radio	3.04	1.39	0.00	4.00
Discuss politics with others	0.92	0.73	0.00	2.00
Satisfaction with democracy	2.49	1.06	0.00	4.00
Support for democratic institutions	2.77	0.74	0.00	4.00
Index of incumbent evaluation and support	-0.02	0.78	-2.29	1.73
Performance of incumbent	2.15	1.18	0.00	4.00
Corruption of incumbent	1.27	0.75	0.00	3.00
Close to incumbent party	0.55	0.50	0.00	1.00
Close to opposition party	0.29	0.45	0.00	1.00
Observations	4,711			

Table A3: Summary Statistic of open anocracies

	Mean	Standard Deviation	Min	Max
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	1.71	0.89	0.00	5.24
Distance Afrobarometer to Diocese Border (in km)	4.32	3.12	0.00	9.93
Cath. Mission within 50 km	0.11	0.38	0.00	2.00
Cath. Mission within 50 km in Neighboring Diocese	0.13	0.37	0.00	2.00
Catholic today	0.19	0.39	0.00	1.00
Schooling Ordinal	2.76	1.89	0.00	8.00
Any Primary	0.85	0.36	0.00	1.00
Any Secondary	0.56	0.50	0.00	1.00
Skilled Labor	0.24	0.43	0.00	1.00
Index of political participation	-0.14	0.65	-1.70	1.61
Voted	0.68	0.47	0.00	1.00
Contacted local gov. councilor	0.34	0.76	0.00	3.00
Index of community engagement	-0.17	0.91	-1.70	1.45
Attend a community meeting	2.00	1.31	0.00	4.00
Join others to raise an issue	1.77	1.27	0.00	4.00
Index of socio-political status and interest in politics	0.02	0.64	-2.07	1.19
Employed	0.41	0.49	0.00	1.00
News consumption on radio	2.99	1.37	0.00	4.00
Discuss politics with others	0.88	0.69	0.00	2.00
Satisfaction with democracy	2.08	0.99	0.00	4.00
Support for democratic institutions	2.65	0.71	0.00	4.00
Index of incumbent evaluation and support	-0.15	0.87	-2.29	1.73
Performance of incumbent	1.96	1.26	0.00	4.00
Corruption of incumbent	1.44	0.80	0.00	3.00
Close to incumbent party	0.57	0.50	0.00	1.00
Close to opposition party	0.25	0.43	0.00	1.00
Observations	1,445			

Table A4: Summary Statistic of closed anocracies

	Mean	Standard Deviation	Min	Max
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	2.91	1.08	0.04	5.27
Distance Afrobarometer to Diocese Border (in km)	5.12	3.03	0.00	9.97
Cath. Mission within 50 km	1.31	1.75	0.00	5.00
Cath. Mission within 50 km in Neighboring Diocese	0.47	1.01	0.00	5.00
Catholic today	0.28	0.45	0.00	1.00
Schooling Ordinal	2.74	1.93	0.00	8.00
Any Primary	0.86	0.34	0.00	1.00
Any Secondary	0.53	0.50	0.00	1.00
Skilled Labor	0.27	0.44	0.00	1.00
Index of political participation	-0.07	0.69	-1.66	1.61
Voted	0.72	0.45	0.00	1.00
Contacted local gov. councilor	0.50	0.91	0.00	3.00
Index of community engagement	-0.13	0.91	-1.70	1.45
Attend a community meeting	2.01	1.32	0.00	4.00
Join others to raise an issue	1.85	1.31	0.00	4.00
Index of socio-political status and interest in politics	-0.00	0.65	-1.67	1.19
Employed	0.41	0.49	0.00	1.00
News consumption on radio	2.86	1.52	0.00	4.00
Discuss politics with others	0.89	0.72	0.00	2.00
Satisfaction with democracy	2.26	1.05	0.00	4.00
Support for democratic institutions	2.91	0.72	0.00	4.00
Index of incumbent evaluation and support	-0.10	0.83	-2.29	1.73
Performance of incumbent	2.10	1.21	0.00	4.00
Corruption of incumbent	1.41	0.73	0.00	3.00
Close to incumbent party	0.63	0.48	0.00	1.00
Close to opposition party	0.27	0.44	0.00	1.00
Observations	3,914			

Table A5: Classification of Countries in Sample

Classification	Country
Democracy Polity2 >5	Benin (2005, 2008, 2011, 2014) Botswana (2005, 2008, 2012, 2014) Burkina Faso∗ (2015) Burundi (2012, 2014) Cape Verde (2005, 2008, 2011, 2014) Ghana (2005, 2008, 2012, 2014) Kenya (2005, 2008, 2011, 2014) Lesotho (2005, 2008, 2012, 2014) Liberia (2008, 2012, 2015) Madagascar∗ (2005, 2008, 2014, 2015) Malawi (2005, 2008, 2012, 2014) Mali∗ (2005, 2008) Mauritius (2012, 2014) Namibia (2006, 2008, 2012, 2014) Niger (2013, 2015) Senegal (2005, 2008, 2013, 2014) Sierra Leone (2012, 2015) South Africa (2006, 2008, 2011, 2015) Tunisia (2013, 2015) Zambia∗ (2009, 2012, 2013, 2014)
Open Anocracy 6 >Polity2 >0	Algeria (2013,2015) Cote d'Ivoire (2013, 2014) Gabon (2015) Guinea (2013, 2015) Madagascar∗ (2013) Mali∗ (2013, 2014) Mozambique (2005, 2008, 2012, 2015) Nigeria (2005, 2008, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015) Zambia∗ (2005) Zimbabwe∗ (2009, 2012, 2014)
Closed Anocracy Polity2 <1	Burkina Faso∗ (2008, 2012) Cameroon (2013, 2015) Egypt (2013, 2014) Mali∗ (2012) Morocco (2013, 2015) Sudan (2013, 2015) Swaziland (2013, 2015) Tanzania (2005, 2008, 2012, 2014) Togo (2012, 2014) Uganda (2005, 2008, 2011, 2012, 2015) Zimbabwe∗ (2005)

Notes: This table shows whether a country falls under Democracy, Open Anocracy or Closed Anocracy according to its Politiy2 score. Countries marked with an ∗ belong to multiple categories depending on the year.

Table A6: Number of 1910 Diocese in Afrobarometer Sample by Country

Country	Number of Diocese
South Africa	14
Tanzania	10
Nigeria	6
Madagascar	6
Kenya	5
Uganda	5
Zambia	5
Cameroon	4
Lesotho	3
Guinea	3
Namibia	3
Egypt	3
Algeria	3
Togo	2
Swaziland	2
Malawi	2
Botswana	2
Gabon	2
Morocco	2
Benin	2
Ghana	2
Mozambique	2
Mali	1
Liberia	1
Sierra Leone	1
Zimbabwe	1
Senegal	1
Cote d'Ivoire	1
Burundi	1
Tunisia	1

Table A7: Effect of Proximity to Diocese Headquarters on Modern-Day Schools per Grid Controlling for Population Density 1880

	Dependent variable:				
	Schools per Grid Cell				
	10km	15km	20km	25km	50km
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.354	2.695**	2.321*	3.557**	2.816**
	(0.361)	(1.249)	(1.193)	(1.597)	(1.392)
Fixed effects?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Cluster	BS	BS	BS	BS	BS
Observations	679	1,373	2,066	2,746	5,851
Adjusted R^2	0.755	0.572	0.513	0.412	0.479

Notes: This table presents results using the specification in Equation 1, which include controls for the distance to the diocese border and its interaction with the proximity treatment, indices for geographic controls, and border fixed effects. An observation is a 0.1 × 0.1 degree grid cell. The outcome variable is the number of schools per grid cell while controlling for 1880 population density (Klein Goldewijk, Beusen and Janssen, 2010). The sample excludes grid-cells within 5 km of dioceses' border circa 1910 and the diocese of Zanzibar. *Proximity to Diocese Headquarters* is minus the logged distance of an individual's village from the dioceses' head in kilometers. Standard errors, clustered at the border level, in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

14

A3.2 Effects for Index components

Table A8: Effect on voted, contacted local councilor, attended community meeting and raised issue

Panel A:	Dependent variable: Voted			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Pooled	Democracies	Open Anocracies	Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.00103	-0.0164	0.0348**	-0.00256
	(0.00957)	(0.0111)	(0.0162)	(0.0160)
Observations	9921	4643	1402	3876
R^2	0.109	0.108	0.106	0.126
Panel B:	Dependent variable: Contacted Local Councilor			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Pooled	Democracies	Open Anocracies	Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.0371	-0.0867**	0.0717*	-0.00814
	(0.0376)	(0.0346)	(0.0377)	(0.0380)
Observations	9280	4403	1391	3486
R^2	0.091	0.078	0.084	0.186
Panel C:	Dependent variable: Attended Community Meeting			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Pooled	Democracies	Open Anocracies	Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.0657	-0.122	0.131**	-0.112**
	(0.0462)	(0.0906)	(0.0615)	(0.0477)
Observations	9893	4629	1398	3866
R^2	0.199	0.165	0.193	0.274
Panel D:	Dependent variable: Raised Issue			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Pooled	Democracies	Open Anocracies	Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.0342	-0.152	0.105	-0.124***
	(0.0472)	(0.0924)	(0.0688)	(0.0397)
Observations	9862	4614	1392	3856
R^2	0.157	0.172	0.138	0.189

Notes: This table presents results using the specification in equation 1, which include controls for the distance to the diocese border and its interaction with the proximity treatment, Afrobarometer-round and border fixed effects. The sample includes all observations within 10 km. of dioceses' border *circa* 1910. *Proximity to Diocese Headquarters* is minus the logged distance of an individual's village from the dioceses' head in kilometers. Standard errors, clustered at the border level, in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table A9: Effect on radio news consumption and discuss politics

Panel A:	Dependent variable: Radio News Consumption			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Pooled	Democracies	Open Anocracies	Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.0762*	0.153**	0.0613	0.0280
	(0.0410)	(0.0672)	(0.0982)	(0.0827)
Observations	9950	4646	1417	3887
R^2	0.118	0.094	0.101	0.161

Panel B:	Dependent variable: Discuss Politics			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Pooled	Democracies	Open Anocracies	Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.0289	0.00355	0.0717**	0.0320
	(0.0182)	(0.0267)	(0.0315)	(0.0481)
Observations	9852	4621	1383	3848
R^2	0.063	0.057	0.097	0.098

Notes: This table presents results using the specification in equation 1, which include controls for the distance to the diocese border and its interaction with the proximity treatment, Afrobarometer-round and border fixed effects. The sample includes all observations within 10 km. of dioceses' border *circa* 1910. *Proximity to Diocese Headquarters* is minus the logged distance of an individual's village from the dioceses' head in kilometers. Standard errors, clustered at the border level, in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table A10: Effect on incumbent performance and support

Panel A:	*Dependent variable:* Incumbent Performance			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Pooled	Democracies	Open Anocracies	Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.0835	0.0111	-0.110	-0.109**
	(0.0562)	(0.0640)	(0.0809)	(0.0441)
Observations	9595	4478	1351	3766
R^2	0.097	0.076	0.285	0.164
Panel B:	*Dependent variable:* Close to Incumbent Party			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Pooled	Democracies	Open Anocracies	Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.0721***	-0.00570	-0.123***	-0.0935***
	(0.0223)	(0.0303)	(0.0156)	(0.0187)
Observations	4983	2608	708	1664
R^2	0.147	0.185	0.221	0.175
Panel C:	*Dependent variable:* Close to Opposition Party			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Pooled	Democracies	Open Anocracies	Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.0331*	0.0168	0.0639**	0.0611***
	(0.0168)	(0.0233)	(0.0302)	(0.0190)
Observations	4983	2608	708	1664
R^2	0.129	0.179	0.203	0.156

Notes: This table presents results using the specification in equation 1, which include controls for the distance to the diocese border and its interaction with the proximity treatment, Afrobarometer-round and border fixed effects. The sample includes all observations within 10 km. of dioceses' border *circa* 1910. *Proximity to Diocese Headquarters* is minus the logged distance of an individual's village from the dioceses' head in kilometers. Standard errors, clustered at the border level, in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

A3.3 Additional Outcomes

Table A11: Effect on Attending Protests

Panel A:	Dependent variable: Attending Protests			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Pooled	Democracies	Open Anocarcies	Closed Anocarcies
Proximity to Diocese Head	-0.0117	-0.0321	-0.0298*	0.0230
	(0.0203)	(0.0317)	(0.0161)	(0.0312)
Observations	9726	4555	1367	3804
R^2	0.033	0.038	0.040	0.037
Panel B:	Dependent variable: Vote Selling			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Pooled	Democracies	Open Anocarcies	Closed Anocarcies
Proximity to Diocese Head	-0.0636*	-0.0538	-0.0859	-0.0425
	(0.0372)	(0.0445)	(0.0715)	(0.0468)
Observations	5027	2270	741	2016
R^2	0.122	0.155	0.111	0.149

Notes: This table presents results using the specification in equation 1, which include controls for the distance to the diocese border and its interaction with the proximity treatment, Afrobarometer-round and border fixed effects. The sample includes all observations within 10 km. of dioceses' border *circa* 1910. *Proximity to Diocese Headquarters* is minus the logged distance of an individual's village from the dioceses' head in kilometers. Standard errors, clustered at the border level, in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

A3.4 Robustness

Table A12: Robustness: No North African Countries

Panel A: Missionary Presence, Religious identity, and Schooling	(1) Catholic Missions Within 50 km	(2) Catholic Today	(3) Schooling Ordinal	
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.498***	0.0547***	0.302***	
	(0.171)	(0.0193)	(0.0830)	
Observations	9402	9239	9280	
R^2	0.755	0.102	0.244	

Panel B: Index of Political Participation	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.0278	-0.0863*	0.0804***	-0.0534***
	(0.0260)	(0.0448)	(0.0195)	(0.0184)
Observations	9294	4652	1336	3306
R^2	0.181	0.193	0.170	0.209

Panel C: Index of socio-political status and interest in politics	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.0587***	0.0852***	0.0743**	0.0738***
	(0.0180)	(0.0311)	(0.0359)	(0.0215)
Observations	9297	4652	1339	3306
R^2	0.126	0.132	0.148	0.159

Panel D: Index of Support for Democratic Institutions	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.0792***	0.0451	0.0697*	0.0748***
	(0.0189)	(0.0387)	(0.0347)	(0.00871)
Observations	9243	4625	1326	3292
R^2	0.074	0.065	0.121	0.069

Panel E: Satisfied with Democracy	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.123**	-0.0226	-0.0933***	-0.121***
	(0.0522)	(0.0325)	(0.0244)	(0.0229)
Observations	8380	4245	1174	2961
R^2	0.121	0.088	0.085	0.226

Panel F: Index of Incumbent Performance and Support	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.0840**	-0.0180	-0.104*	-0.0831***
	(0.0393)	(0.0525)	(0.0543)	(0.0225)
Observations	9052	4552	1296	3204
R^2	0.085	0.086	0.209	0.131

Table A13: Robustness: No Kingdoms

Panel A: Missionary Presence, Religious identity, and Schooling	(1) Catholic Missions Within 50 km	(2) Catholic Today	(3) Schooling Ordinal	
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.507*** (0.172)	0.0445** (0.0185)	0.265*** (0.0883)	
Observations	8615	8305	8499	
R^2	0.747	0.122	0.242	

Panel B: Index of Political Participation	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.0140 (0.0247)	-0.0387 (0.0323)	0.0814*** (0.0189)	-0.0599*** (0.0172)
Observations	8515	3558	1418	3539
R^2	0.201	0.191	0.173	0.256

Panel C: Index of socio-political status and interest in politics	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.0384** (0.0181)	0.0597** (0.0223)	0.0741** (0.0353)	0.0301 (0.0483)
Observations	8518	3558	1421	3539
R^2	0.139	0.150	0.145	0.161

Panel D: Index of Support for Democratic Institutions	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.0584*** (0.0212)	0.00861 (0.0218)	0.0646* (0.0363)	0.0453 (0.0272)
Observations	8454	3532	1407	3515
R^2	0.084	0.089	0.118	0.072

Panel E: Satisfied with Democracy	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.116** (0.0559)	-0.0276 (0.0421)	-0.0928*** (0.0237)	-0.0969** (0.0402)
Observations	7685	3240	1248	3197
R^2	0.132	0.085	0.097	0.222

Panel F: Index of Incumbent Performance and Support	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.110*** (0.0352)	-0.0588 (0.0406)	-0.110** (0.0534)	-0.108*** (0.0316)
Observations	8309	3505	1376	3428
R^2	0.100	0.090	0.220	0.169

Table A14: Robustness: No Islands

Panel A: Missionary Presence, Religious identity, and Schooling	(1) Catholic Missions Within 50 km	(2) Catholic Today	(3) Schooling Ordinal	
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.466*** (0.167)	0.0512*** (0.0190)	0.269*** (0.0830)	
Observations	9770	9450	9648	
R^2	0.757	0.118	0.231	
Panel B: Index of Political Participation	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.0268 (0.0246)	-0.0860* (0.0454)	0.0792*** (0.0191)	-0.0486** (0.0196)
Observations	9663	4432	1340	3891
R^2	0.206	0.198	0.170	0.250
Panel C: Index of socio-political status and interest in politics	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.0421** (0.0192)	0.0799** (0.0324)	0.0712* (0.0343)	0.0302 (0.0451)
Observations	9666	4432	1343	3891
R^2	0.131	0.132	0.136	0.159
Panel D: Index of Support for Democratic Institutions	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.0717*** (0.0205)	0.0501 (0.0399)	0.0617 (0.0374)	0.0496* (0.0250)
Observations	9613	4411	1335	3867
R^2	0.066	0.062	0.119	0.066
Panel E: Satisfied with Democracy	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.109** (0.0538)	-0.0228 (0.0334)	-0.0891*** (0.0225)	-0.0907** (0.0405)
Observations	8786	4081	1207	3498
R^2	0.111	0.073	0.093	0.198
Panel F: Index of Incumbent Performance and Support	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.0931** (0.0372)	-0.0185 (0.0542)	-0.109* (0.0539)	-0.109*** (0.0287)
Observations	9420	4338	1307	3775
R^2	0.090	0.084	0.212	0.155

Table A15: Robustness: Controlling for Distance to Capital and Malaria Index

Panel A: Missionary Presence, Religious identity, and Schooling	(1) Catholic Missions Within 50 km	(2) Catholic Today	(3) Schooling Ordinal	
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.465*** (0.164)	0.0329 (0.0235)	0.0822 (0.0696)	
Observations	10070	9730	9929	
R^2	0.755	0.121	0.240	
Panel B: Index of Political Participation	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.000603 (0.0175)	-0.0574* (0.0334)	0.0741*** (0.0266)	-0.00448 (0.0210)
Observations	9945	4636	1418	3891
R^2	0.204	0.195	0.174	0.251
Panel C: Index of socio-political status and interest in politics	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.0316 (0.0238)	0.0667** (0.0247)	0.0447* (0.0234)	-0.0178 (0.0334)
Observations	9948	4636	1421	3891
R^2	0.130	0.132	0.153	0.166
Panel D: Index of Support for Democratic Institutions	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.0189 (0.0176)	0.0133 (0.0221)	0.0421 (0.0376)	-0.0141 (0.0320)
Observations	9883	4609	1407	3867
R^2	0.076	0.068	0.123	0.073
Panel E: Satisfied with Democracy	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.0250 (0.0224)	0.0186 (0.0322)	-0.0874*** (0.0269)	-0.0247 (0.0533)
Observations	8975	4229	1248	3498
R^2	0.119	0.091	0.099	0.200
Panel F: Index of Incumbent Performance and Support	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.0677* (0.0356)	-0.0169 (0.0440)	-0.0734* (0.0406)	-0.0737 (0.0449)
Observations	9687	4536	1376	3775
R^2	0.092	0.088	0.230	0.156

Table A16: Robustness: Drop 95 percentile in distance to DH (581 km)

Panel A: Missionary Presence, Religious identity, and Schooling	(1) Catholic Missions Within 50 km	(2) Catholic Today	(3) Schooling Ordinal	
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.552*** (0.170)	0.0606*** (0.0195)	0.291*** (0.0920)	
Observations	9582	9267	9461	
R^2	0.770	0.121	0.235	
Panel B: Index of Political Participation	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.0319 (0.0269)	-0.104** (0.0491)	0.0738*** (0.0243)	-0.0528*** (0.0186)
Observations	9478	4436	1190	3852
R^2	0.206	0.194	0.171	0.249
Panel C: Index of socio-political status and interest in politics	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.0403** (0.0201)	0.0766** (0.0344)	0.0568** (0.0255)	0.0322 (0.0479)
Observations	9478	4436	1190	3852
R^2	0.133	0.136	0.164	0.158
Panel D: Index of Support for Democratic Institutions	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.0757*** (0.0209)	0.0563 (0.0394)	0.0594 (0.0435)	0.0505* (0.0265)
Observations	9414	4409	1177	3828
R^2	0.068	0.068	0.119	0.066
Panel E: Satisfied with Democracy	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.121** (0.0578)	-0.0357 (0.0366)	-0.112*** (0.0323)	-0.0878** (0.0417)
Observations	8556	4038	1051	3467
R^2	0.116	0.091	0.108	0.199
Panel F: Index of Incumbent Performance and Support	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.0908** (0.0404)	-0.0125 (0.0649)	-0.107** (0.0432)	-0.110*** (0.0319)
Observations	9224	4336	1150	3738
R^2	0.090	0.084	0.236	0.157

Table A17: Robustness: 5 km Bandwidth

Panel A: Missionary Presence, Religious identity, and Schooling	(1) Catholic Missions Within 50 km	(2) Catholic Today	(3) Schooling Ordinal	
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.363*** (0.122)	0.0514** (0.0236)	0.222*** (0.0596)	
Observations	4619	4464	4571	
R^2	0.710	0.127	0.251	
Panel B: Index of Political Participation	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.0441 (0.0306)	-0.109*** (0.0258)	0.105*** (0.0209)	-0.102*** (0.0253)
Observations	4580	2207	748	1625
R^2	0.223	0.226	0.192	0.292
Panel C: Index of socio-political status and interest in politics	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.0421* (0.0214)	0.0832 (0.0497)	0.0919*** (0.0284)	0.0413 (0.0458)
Observations	4580	2207	748	1625
R^2	0.106	0.104	0.139	0.157
Panel D: Index of Support for Democratic Institutions	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.0821*** (0.0284)	0.0402 (0.0449)	0.0822 (0.0487)	0.0551 (0.0379)
Observations	4553	2194	738	1621
R^2	0.081	0.052	0.131	0.089
Panel E: Satisfied with Democracy	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.152* (0.0769)	-0.0591 (0.0426)	-0.139** (0.0644)	-0.129* (0.0626)
Observations	4140	1988	682	1470
R^2	0.116	0.116	0.125	0.218
Panel F: Index of Incumbent Performance and Support	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.134** (0.0520)	-0.0964 (0.0831)	-0.119 (0.0716)	-0.143** (0.0579)
Observations	4451	2158	720	1573
R^2	0.102	0.100	0.226	0.160

Table A18: Robustness: 15 km Bandwidth

Panel A: Missionary Presence, Religious identity, and Schooling	(1) Catholic Missions Within 50 km	(2) Catholic Today	(3) Schooling Ordinal	
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.542*** (0.201)	0.0419** (0.0176)	0.313*** (0.0893)	
Observations	13764	13359	13602	
R^2	0.758	0.113	0.243	
Panel B: Index of Political Participation	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.0425* (0.0233)	-0.0970*** (0.0359)	0.0778*** (0.0222)	-0.0672*** (0.0130)
Observations	13626	6528	1755	5343
R^2	0.197	0.193	0.180	0.230
Panel C: Index of socio-political status and interest in politics	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.0428** (0.0180)	0.0747** (0.0324)	0.0411 (0.0309)	0.0444 (0.0349)
Observations	13629	6528	1758	5343
R^2	0.135	0.140	0.131	0.160
Panel D: Index of Support for Democratic Institutions	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.0771*** (0.0198)	0.0573* (0.0327)	0.0547* (0.0313)	0.0695*** (0.0197)
Observations	13533	6485	1739	5309
R^2	0.064	0.060	0.122	0.068
Panel E: Satisfied with Democracy	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.129*** (0.0426)	-0.0239 (0.0276)	-0.0884*** (0.0292)	-0.129*** (0.0334)
Observations	12274	5948	1556	4770
R^2	0.113	0.093	0.105	0.201
Panel F: Index of Incumbent Performance and Support	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.118*** (0.0369)	-0.0442 (0.0599)	-0.108* (0.0551)	-0.125*** (0.0231)
Observations	13308	6403	1711	5194
R^2	0.087	0.082	0.225	0.145

Table A19: Robustness: 20 km Bandwidth

Panel A: Missionary Presence, Religious identity, and Schooling	(1) Catholic Missions Within 50 km	(2) Catholic Today	(3) Schooling Ordinal	
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.482** (0.195)	0.0295 (0.0209)	0.277*** (0.0873)	
Observations	19313	18733	19067	
R^2	0.730	0.111	0.269	
Panel B: Index of Political Participation	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.0222 (0.0235)	-0.0643** (0.0279)	0.0551* (0.0274)	-0.0545*** (0.0160)
Observations	19102	9844	2441	6817
R^2	0.195	0.187	0.179	0.220
Panel C: Index of socio-political status and interest in politics	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.0371** (0.0182)	0.0734** (0.0304)	0.0272 (0.0251)	0.0448 (0.0293)
Observations	19107	9844	2446	6817
R^2	0.137	0.150	0.125	0.153
Panel D: Index of Support for Democratic Institutions	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.0628*** (0.0197)	0.0411 (0.0295)	0.0459 (0.0321)	0.0588** (0.0224)
Observations	18966	9786	2411	6769
R^2	0.059	0.053	0.109	0.073
Panel E: Satisfied with Democracy	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.102** (0.0488)	-0.00796 (0.0369)	-0.106*** (0.0310)	-0.112*** (0.0307)
Observations	17195	8963	2177	6054
R^2	0.105	0.083	0.107	0.199
Panel F: Index of Incumbent Performance and Support	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.124*** (0.0357)	-0.0555 (0.0521)	-0.156** (0.0623)	-0.106*** (0.0211)
Observations	18649	9655	2387	6607
R^2	0.088	0.100	0.201	0.132

Table A20: Robustness: 25 km Bandwidth

Panel A: Missionary Presence, Religious identity, and Schooling	(1) Catholic Missions Within 50 km	(2) Catholic Today	(3) Schooling Ordinal	
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.533** (0.224)	0.0275 (0.0169)	0.264*** (0.0846)	
Observations	22968	22313	22677	
R^2	0.692	0.109	0.272	

Panel B: Index of Political Participation	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.0119 (0.0232)	-0.0448* (0.0227)	0.0589* (0.0300)	-0.0452*** (0.0116)
Observations	22718	11814	3102	7802
R^2	0.188	0.175	0.178	0.212

Panel C: Index of socio-political status and interest in politics	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.0377** (0.0183)	0.0563* (0.0293)	0.0237 (0.0227)	0.0594** (0.0258)
Observations	22723	11814	3107	7802
R^2	0.138	0.152	0.129	0.149

Panel D: Index of Support for Democratic Institutions	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.0677*** (0.0181)	0.0400 (0.0277)	0.0707** (0.0298)	0.0580*** (0.0193)
Observations	22544	11742	3052	7750
R^2	0.059	0.053	0.106	0.065

Panel E: Satisfied with Democracy	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.0913* (0.0496)	0.00497 (0.0525)	-0.0947** (0.0363)	-0.127*** (0.0269)
Observations	20436	10740	2775	6921
R^2	0.101	0.080	0.086	0.200

Panel F: Index of Incumbent Performance and Support	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.120*** (0.0294)	-0.0521 (0.0521)	-0.171** (0.0660)	-0.108*** (0.0184)
Observations	22203	11587	3039	7577
R^2	0.081	0.100	0.168	0.125

Table A21: Robustness: 50 km Bandwidth

Panel A: Missionary Presence, Religious identity, and Schooling	(1) Catholic Missions Within 50 km	(2) Catholic Today	(3) Schooling Ordinal	
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.415*** (0.158)	0.0122 (0.0105)	0.205*** (0.0686)	
Observations	46657	45507	46152	
R^2	0.604	0.108	0.254	
Panel B: Index of Political Participation	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.0241 (0.0155)	-0.0384** (0.0156)	0.00896 (0.0475)	-0.0516*** (0.00898)
Observations	46222	25625	6541	14056
R^2	0.185	0.181	0.177	0.206
Panel C: Index of socio-political status and interest in politics	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.0104 (0.0132)	0.0161 (0.0233)	-0.00138 (0.0169)	0.0259 (0.0190)
Observations	46232	25628	6546	14058
R^2	0.128	0.132	0.149	0.141
Panel D: Index of Support for Democratic Institutions	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.0411*** (0.0140)	0.0317** (0.0158)	0.0374 (0.0445)	0.0293* (0.0171)
Observations	45939	25505	6451	13983
R^2	0.058	0.061	0.089	0.061
Panel E: Satisfied with Democracy	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.0697** (0.0317)	-0.00647 (0.0263)	-0.131* (0.0665)	-0.108*** (0.0250)
Observations	41694	23549	5907	12238
R^2	0.100	0.072	0.087	0.187
Panel F: Index of Incumbent Performance and Support	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.0862*** (0.0268)	-0.0110 (0.0262)	-0.202*** (0.0720)	-0.0996*** (0.0241)
Observations	45301	25200	6397	13704
R^2	0.072	0.082	0.182	0.116

Table A22: Covariate Balance—Country-Level Variables

| Covariates (country level) | Democracies | | Open Anocracies | | Closed Anocracies | | P-value | | |
	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	D. vs. O-A.	D. vs. C-A.	O-A. vs. C-A.
Historical Centralization	17	0.21	10	0.15	11	0.23	0.59	0.86	0.49
Year of Independence	20	1955	10	1964	11	1959	0.24	0.66	0.32
Violent Independence?	20	0.25	10	0.3	11	0.27	0.79	0.90	0.90
Slave Exports	20	195,801	10	413,393	11	251,987	0.34	0.68	0.49
Population in 1400	20	448,714	10	1,144,463	11	1,441,215	0.24	0.04	0.67
Log Settler Mortality	14	5.45	7	6.36	9	5.57	0.14	0.84	0.21
British Colony	20	0.5	10	0.3	11	0.55	0.31	0.82	0.28
British Legal Origins	20	0.5	10	0.3	11	0.45	0.31	0.82	0.49
Settler Colony	20	0.2	10	0.4	11	0.09	0.30	0.41	0.12
Colonial Railroads (km)	20	579	10	1,147	11	1,088	0.17	0.28	0.91
Gemstones	20	22,475	10	1,420	11	942	0.11	0.10*	0.66
Soil Quality	20	34.53	10	32.45	11	35.07	0.79	0.94	0.77
Average Distance to Coast	20	26.21	10	16.46	11	12.30	0.32	0.11	0.58
Land area (1000 Ha)	20	41,346	10	78,323	11	66,530	0.13	0.29	0.69
Ruggedness	20	1.01	10	0.57	11	0.96	0.19	0.91	0.22
Oil Production in 2000	20	220	10	17,046	11	4,561	0.18	0.21	0.32
Malaria Suitability	18	11.47	10	12.28	11	10.70	0.80	0.84	0.68
Rule of Law	20	-0.38	10	-0.86	11	-0.62	0.02**	0.31	0.19
GDP 1950	20	956	10	1,047	11	718	0.76	0.19	0.24
Failed State Index 2006	17	76.45	9	87.99	10	90.1	0.09*	0.02**	0.75
Taxes as % of GDP 2010	14	17.39	6	12.78	8	13.61	0.04**	0.14	0.71
Political Decentralization	13	2.05	8	2.21	6	1.94	0.71	0.84	0.57

Table A23: Robustness: Only Former British Colonies

Panel A: Missionary Presence, Religious identity, and Schooling	(1) Catholic Missions Within 50 km	(2) Catholic Today	(3) Schooling Ordinal	
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.321 (0.236)	0.0507* (0.0286)	0.259** (0.122)	
Observations	7394	7119	7312	
R^2	0.772	0.129	0.207	

Panel B: Index of Political Participation	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.0319 (0.0302)	-0.0804 (0.0477)	0.0773*** (0.0211)	-0.0408 (0.0417)
Observations	7319	3505	844	2970
R^2	0.233	0.218	0.167	0.265

Panel C: Index of socio-political status and interest in politics	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.0569** (0.0277)	0.0954** (0.0355)	0.0496** (0.0202)	-0.0168 (0.0527)
Observations	7319	3505	844	2970
R^2	0.134	0.128	0.159	0.166

Panel D: Index of Support for Democratic Institutions	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.0457* (0.0241)	0.0563 (0.0419)	0.0747* (0.0382)	0.0193 (0.0388)
Observations	7293	3496	843	2954
R^2	0.046	0.046	0.047	0.071

Panel E: Satisfied with Democracy	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.0121 (0.0197)	-0.00787 (0.0256)	-0.0898*** (0.0134)	-0.0169 (0.0676)
Observations	6605	3198	787	2620
R^2	0.106	0.080	0.109	0.123

Panel F: Index of Incumbent Performance and Support	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.0192 (0.0378)	0.00873 (0.0565)	-0.0651** (0.0224)	-0.104** (0.0416)
Observations	7178	3418	830	2930
R^2	0.092	0.081	0.128	0.168

Table A24: Robustness: Dropping Former British Colonies

Panel A: Missionary Presence, Religious identity, and Schooling	(1) Catholic Missions Within 50 km	(2) Catholic Today	(3) Schooling Ordinal	
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.777*** (0.121)	0.0429** (0.0187)	0.321*** (0.0936)	
Observations	2676	2627	2633	
R^2	0.784	0.097	0.263	

Panel B: Index of Political Participation	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.0633*** (0.0220)	-0.143 (0.0967)	0.124** (0.0444)	-0.0725*** (0.0100)
Observations	2642	1147	574	921
R^2	0.150	0.140	0.167	0.182

Panel C: Index of socio-political status and interest in politics	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.101*** (0.0109)	0.0690 (0.0952)	0.188*** (0.0570)	0.117*** (0.00677)
Observations	2645	1147	577	921
R^2	0.131	0.185	0.144	0.138

Panel D: Index of Support for Democratic Institutions	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0 0.0542** (0.0241)	-0.0300 (0.0567)	0.0268 (0.0551)	0.0791*** (0.00367)
Observations	2606	1129	564	913
R^2	0.180	0.139	0.119	0.070

Panel E: Satisfied with Democracy	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.197*** (0.0559)	-0.294 (0.187)	-0.359*** (0.118)	-0.168*** (0.0321)
Observations	2386	1047	461	878
R^2	0.228	0.186	0.221	0.106

Panel F: Index of Incumbent Performance and Support	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.186** (0.0745)	-0.264 (0.188)	-0.379*** (0.0913)	-0.109** (0.0380)
Observations	2525	1134	546	845
R^2	0.147	0.150	0.248	0.048

Table A25: Robustness: Dropping Muslim Countries

Panel A: Missionary Presence, Religious identity, and Schooling	(1) Catholic Missions Within 50 km	(2) Catholic Today	(3) Schooling Ordinal	
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.500*** (0.172)	0.0551*** (0.0194)	0.304*** (0.0833)	
Observations	9274	9112	9153	
R^2	0.755	0.098	0.241	
Panel B: Index of Political Participation	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.0285 (0.0260)	-0.0905* (0.0455)	0.0814*** (0.0198)	-0.0535*** (0.0184)
Observations	9167	4549	1312	3306
R^2	0.181	0.195	0.161	0.209
Panel C: Index of socio-political status and interest in politics	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.0582*** (0.0178)	0.0851*** (0.0314)	0.0764** (0.0367)	0.0739*** (0.0215)
Observations	9170	4549	1315	3306
R^2	0.127	0.133	0.150	0.159
Panel D: Index of Support for Democratic Institutions	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.0781*** (0.0190)	0.0421 (0.0397)	0.0705* (0.0344)	0.0746*** (0.00869)
Observations	9116	4522	1302	3292
R^2	0.075	0.065	0.120	0.069
Panel E: Satisfied with Democracy	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.127** (0.0519)	-0.0293 (0.0345)	-0.0890*** (0.0222)	-0.121*** (0.0229)
Observations	8276	4165	1150	2961
R^2	0.124	0.092	0.088	0.226
Panel F: Index of Incumbent Performance and Support	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.0813** (0.0392)	-0.0161 (0.0531)	-0.103* (0.0543)	-0.0831*** (0.0226)
Observations	8925	4449	1272	3204
R^2	0.085	0.085	0.205	0.131

Table A26: Robustness: Control for Diocese Area (km^2)

Panel A: Missionary Presence, Religious identity, and Schooling	(1) Catholic Missions Within 50 km	(2) Catholic Today	(3) Schooling Ordinal	
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.465*** (0.164)	0.0577*** (0.0193)	0.340*** (0.0789)	
Observations	10070	9746	9945	
R^2	0.755	0.120	0.237	

Panel B: Index of Political Participation	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.0391 (0.0239)	-0.105** (0.0509)	0.0851*** (0.0232)	-0.0419 (0.0260)
Observations	9961	4652	1418	3891
R^2	0.205	0.194	0.173	0.250

Panel C: Index of socio-political status and interest in politics	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.0590*** (0.0196)	0.0827** (0.0322)	0.0576* (0.0323)	0.0604** (0.0254)
Observations	9964	4652	1421	3891
R^2	0.131	0.132	0.146	0.166

Panel D: Index of Support for Democratic Institutions	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.0770*** (0.0179)	0.0538 (0.0385)	0.0587 (0.0417)	0.0732*** (0.00975)
Observations	9899	4625	1407	3867
R^2	0.070	0.065	0.118	0.071

Panel E: Satisfied with Democracy	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.119** (0.0591)	-0.0267 (0.0354)	-0.0858*** (0.0160)	-0.0880* (0.0445)
Observations	8991	4245	1248	3498
R^2	0.114	0.088	0.097	0.198

Panel F: Index of Incumbent Performance and Support	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.0710** (0.0348)	-0.00649 (0.0693)	-0.0615* (0.0356)	-0.0828*** (0.0209)
Observations	9703	4552	1376	3775
R^2	0.093	0.087	0.226	0.158

Table A27: Robustness: Dropping Observations within 1km of Border

Panel A: Missionary Presence, Religious identity, and Schooling	(1) Catholic Missions Within 50 km	(2) Catholic Today	(3) Schooling Ordinal	
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.494** (0.188)	0.0569** (0.0215)	0.320*** (0.0958)	
Observations	8769	8479	8656	
R^2	0.760	0.118	0.234	
Panel B: Index of Political Participation	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.0297 (0.0287)	-0.0889 (0.0542)	0.0784*** (0.0258)	-0.0482* (0.0239)
Observations	8671	4138	1158	3375
R^2	0.199	0.187	0.164	0.245
Panel C: Index of socio-political status and interest in politics	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.0555** (0.0220)	0.0954** (0.0354)	0.0660* (0.0342)	0.0329 (0.0400)
Observations	8674	4138	1161	3375
R^2	0.138	0.140	0.161	0.162
Panel D: Index of Support for Democratic Institutions	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.0691*** (0.0216)	0.0509 (0.0405)	0.0927*** (0.0184)	0.0234 (0.0363)
Observations	8613	4113	1148	3352
R^2	0.070	0.068	0.137	0.059
Panel E: Satisfied with Democracy	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.102* (0.0546)	-0.0395 (0.0376)	-0.0247 (0.0283)	-0.0679 (0.0514)
Observations	7842	3788	1012	3042
R^2	0.114	0.089	0.089	0.183
Panel F: Index of Incumbent Performance and Support	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.0918** (0.0354)	-0.0351 (0.0470)	-0.0377 (0.0352)	-0.104** (0.0391)
Observations	8448	4047	1119	3282
R^2	0.091	0.092	0.226	0.149

Table A28: Robustness: Dropping Observations within 5km of the Diocese Headquarters

Panel A: Missionary Presence, Religious identity, and Schooling	(1) Catholic Missions Within 50 km	(2) Catholic Today	(3) Schooling Ordinal	
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.468** (0.179)	0.0518** (0.0197)	0.280** (0.107)	
Observations	9550	9230	9427	
R^2	0.675	0.124	0.224	

Panel B: Index of Political Participation	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.0388 (0.0312)	-0.109** (0.0434)	0.0877** (0.0332)	-0.0587** (0.0275)
Observations	9442	4548	1378	3516
R^2	0.203	0.190	0.174	0.253

Panel C: Index of socio-political status and interest in politics	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.0504* (0.0256)	0.0923*** (0.0332)	0.0793 (0.0531)	0.0377 (0.0666)
Observations	9445	4548	1381	3516
R^2	0.125	0.131	0.144	0.145

Panel D: Index of Support for Democratic Institutions	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.0557** (0.0245)	0.0444 (0.0478)	0.00638 (0.0439)	0.0280 (0.0276)
Observations	9383	4523	1367	3493
R^2	0.066	0.067	0.106	0.061

Panel E: Satisfied with Democracy	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.110** (0.0458)	-0.0269 (0.0387)	-0.168*** (0.0420)	-0.0684 (0.0476)
Observations	8495	4148	1208	3139
R^2	0.110	0.090	0.102	0.195

Panel F: Index of Incumbent Performance and Support	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.0938** (0.0449)	0.0138 (0.0524)	-0.144 (0.107)	-0.112*** (0.0392)
Observations	9207	4451	1337	3419
R^2	0.092	0.086	0.221	0.166

Table A29: Robustness: Including Colonizer Fixed Effects

Panel A: Missionary Presence, Religious identity, and Schooling	(1) Catholic Missions Within 50 km	(2) Catholic Today	(3) Schooling Ordinal	
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.465*** (0.164)	0.0533*** (0.0197)	0.274*** (0.0904)	
Observations	10070	9746	9945	
R^2	0.755	0.122	0.232	
Panel B: Index of Political Participation	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.0343 (0.0224)	-0.0869* (0.0442)	0.0857*** (0.0202)	-0.0484** (0.0196)
Observations	9961	4652	1418	3891
R^2	0.205	0.193	0.174	0.249
Panel C: Index of socio-political status and interest in politics	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.0603*** (0.0201)	0.0843*** (0.0309)	0.0698** (0.0309)	0.0301 (0.0450)
Observations	9964	4652	1421	3891
R^2	0.133	0.132	0.145	0.159
Panel D: Index of Support for Democratic Institutions	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	0.0519*** (0.0186)	0.0415 (0.0390)	0.0545 (0.0389)	0.0499* (0.0250)
Observations	9899	4625	1407	3867
R^2	0.075	0.068	0.120	0.066
Panel E: Satisfied with Democracy	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.0741** (0.0280)	-0.0212 (0.0329)	-0.0896*** (0.0263)	-0.0907** (0.0405)
Observations	8991	4245	1248	3498
R^2	0.124	0.089	0.097	0.198
Panel F: Index of Incumbent Performance and Support	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocracies
Proximity to Diocese Headquarters	-0.0765** (0.0356)	-0.0118 (0.0550)	-0.0879* (0.0444)	-0.110*** (0.0290)
Observations	9703	4552	1376	3775
R^2	0.096	0.089	0.225	0.156

Table A30: Correlation Between Education/Missionary Activity and Index of Political Participation

Panel A: Education	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocarcies
Secondary completed	0.0295***	-0.00935	0.0956***	0.0595***
	(0.00658)	(0.00902)	(0.0166)	(0.0117)
Observations	53065	30136	6819	16110
R^2	0.181	0.171	0.168	0.197
Country FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
AB Round FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean of Outcome	0.00576	0.0484	-0.182	0.00543
SD of Outcome	0.684	0.679	0.661	0.689
Min of Outcome	-1.705	-1.606	-1.705	-1.657
Max of Outcome	1.915	1.915	1.720	1.915
Panel B: Missionary Activity	(1) Pooled	(2) Democracies	(3) Open Anocracies	(4) Closed Anocarcies
Number of Catholic Missions	-0.0207***	-0.0210***	0.0262**	-0.0255***
	(0.00271)	(0.00464)	(0.0110)	(0.00349)
Observations	53161	30197	6845	16119
R^2	0.181	0.171	0.164	0.199
Country FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
AB Round FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean of Outcome	0.00548	0.0480	-0.182	0.00525
SD of Outcome	0.683	0.678	0.661	0.689
Min of Outcome	-1.705	-1.606	-1.705	-1.657
Max of Outcome	1.915	1.915	1.720	1.915

Notes: This table presents results using a simple OLS specification with the index of political participation as the outcome variable, a measure of education or missionary activity as the dependent variable, as well as controlling for the respondent's age and gender and including country and Afrobarometer Round fixed effects. Panel A uses whether the respondent has completed secondary school as the explanatory variable. Panel B uses the number of Catholic Missions within 50 km of the respondent as the explanatory variable. The sample includes all observations within 50 km of dioceses' border *circa* 1910. The dependent variable is an index which combines whether the respondent Voted, Contacted Local Councilor, Attended a Community Meeting and Raised an Issue. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$