# Supplementary Information for "The Impact of Elections on Civic Attitudes: Causal Evidence from Kazakhstan's Staggered Local Elections"*

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# A Sampled Villages

| Village | Oblast | Raion | Elected | Date of Election | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Month | Day | Year |
| Enbek | Aktobe | Mugalzharskii (Mugalzhar) | 1 | September | 25 | 2022 |
| Sarzhansai | Aktobe | Martukskii (Martuk) | 1 | February | 20 | 2022 |
| Badamsha | Aktobe | Kargalinskii (Kargaly) | 0 | | | |
| Sarybie | Aktobe | Oiylskii (Oiyl) | 0 | | | |
| Taitobe | Akmola | Tselinogradskii (Tselinograd) | 1 | March | 27 | 2022 |
| Toktamys | Akmola | Bulandynskii (Bulandy) | 1 | September | 25 | 2022 |
| Novorybinka | Akmola | Akkolskii (Akkol) | 0 | | | |
| Zholymbet | Akmola | Shortandinskii (Shortandy) | 0 | | | |
| Shalkar | Almaty | Karasayskii (Karasai) | 1 | April | | 2022 |
| Erkin | Almaty | Talgarskii (Talgar) | 0 | | | |
| Opytnoe Pole | East Kazakhstan | Glubokovskii (Glubokov) | 1 | August | 28 | 2022 |
| Sredigornoe | East Kazakhstan | Altayskii (Altay) | 0 | | | |
| Zhuantobe | Turkestan | Suzakskii (Suzak) | 1 | April | 03 | 2022 |
| Kyzylkiya | Turkestan | Kazygurtskii (Kazygurt) | 1 | February | 13 | 2022 |
| Shayan | Turkestan | Baidybekskii (Baidybek) | 0 | | | |
| Akbai | Turkestan | Sayramskii (Sayram) | 0 | | | |
| Aidarly | Kostanay | Karasuskii (Karasu) | 1 | February | 13 | 2022 |
| Presnogorkovka | Kostanay | Uzunkolskii (Uzunkol) | 1 | February | 13 | 2022 |
| Fyodorovka | Kostanay | Fyodorovskii (Fedorovka) | 0 | | | |
| Beregovoe | Kostanay | Beimbet Maylin | 0 | | | |
| Tolep | Mangystau | Beyneuskii (Beyneu) | 1 | March | 06 | 2022 |
| Mangistau | Mangystau | Munaylinskii (Munaily) | 1 | August | 21 | 2022 |
| Umirzak | Mangystau | Mangystauskii (Mangystau) | 0 | | | |
| Kuryk | Mangystau | Karakiyanskii (Karakiyan) | 0 | | | |
| Togyztarau | Zhambyl | Zhualinskii (Zhualy) | 1 | April | 03 | 2022 |
| Sarymoldaev | Zhambyl | Merkenskii (Merken) | 1 | February | 20 | 2022 |
| Kulan | Zhambyl | Turar Ryskulova | 0 | | | |
| Tole Bi | Zhambyl | Shuskii (Shu) | 0 | | | |
| Sagiz | Atyrau | Kyzylkoginskii (Kyzylkoga) | 1 | March | 13 | 2022 |
| Saraychik | Atyrau | Makhambetskii (Makhambet) | 1 | October | 09 | 2022 |
| Turgyzba | Atyrau | Zhylyoyskii (Zhylyoi) | 0 | | | |
| Zineden | Atyrau | Isatayskii (Isatay) | 0 | | | |
| Chapaevo | West Kazakhstan | Akzhayikskii (Akzhayik) | 1 | February | 13 | 2022 |
| Razdolnoe | West Kazakhstan | Bayterek | 1 | February | 13 | 2022 |
| Fyodorovka (Terekty) | West Kazakhstan | Terektinskii (Terekty) | 0 | | | |
| Taskala | West Kazakhstan | Taskalinskii (Taskala) | 0 | | | |
| Petrovka | Karaganda | Bukhar-Zhyrauskii (Bukhar Zhyrau) | 0 | | | |
| Kurma | Karaganda | Abayskii | 1 | April | 10 | 2022 |
| Urkendeu | Kyzylorda | Kazalinskii | 1 | March | 27 | 2022 |
| Terenozek | Kyzylorda | Syrdarynskii (Syrdariya) | 1 | February | 20 | 2022 |
| Besaryk (Talap) | Kyzylorda | Zhanakorganskii (Zhanakorgan) | 0 | | | |
| Akkum | Kyzylorda | Zholagashkii (Zholagash) | 0 | | | |
| Pavlodarskoe | Pavlodar | Pavlodarskii (Pavlodar) | 1 | November | | 2022 |
| Mikhaylovka | Pavlodar | Zhelezinskii (Zhelezin) | 1 | January | 30 | 2022 |
| Yamyshevo | Pavlodar | Akkulinskii | 0 | | | |
| Uspenka | Pavlodar | Uspenskii | 0 | | | |
| Smirnovo | North Kazakhstan | Akkayinskii (Akkayin) | 1 | February | 27 | 2022 |
| Arkhangelskoe | North Kazakhstan | Kyzylzharskii (Kyzylzhar) | 1 | February | 27 | 2022 |
| Vozvyshenka | North Kazakhstan | Magzhan Zhumabayev | 0 | | | |
| Yavlenka | North Kazakhstan | Esilskii | 0 | | | |
| Kengir | Ulytau | Zhezkazgan city | 1 | April | 10 | 2022 |
| Zhanaarka | Ulytau | Zhanaarkinskii (Zhanaarka) | 0 | | | |
| Ozerki | Abai | Semey | 1 | September | 04 | 2022 |
| Borodulikha | Abai | Borodulikhinskii (Borodulin) | 0 | | | |
| Zylikhi Tamshybai | Zhetysu | Koksuskii (Koksu) | 1 | April | 03 | 2022 |
| Karabulak | Zhetysu | Karatalskii (Karatal) | 0 | | | |

Table A.1: Sampled Villages with Oblast and Raion Names, Treatment Status ("Elected"), and the Date of the Local Election Prior to the Survey. The exact election day in two villages could not be found (Shalkar and Pavlodarskoe).

# B Sampling Rule Details

For each selected village, the starting points were defined by regional supervisors. Starting points are one of the following: administrative building, post office, school, bus station in the center of a village, the first house at the entrance of the village, or the last house. One of these options is selected randomly for each village.

Starting from the given address/point, an interviewer follows strict rules to select a household and a respondent within the selected household.

For the selection of households in single-dwelling, the random route method using the right-hand rule is used with the predefined interval of three to select the household (counting each third household, excluding the starting point). For the selection of households in multiple dwelling units, interviewers start on the top floor and work their way down, selecting every 6th apartment on the right.

After selecting the first household, interviewers apply the same principle for the selection of subsequent households, i.e., continue walking in the same direction, choosing the nth dwelling, and turning to the right at the end of the block.

In each selected household up to three contacts are attempted at different times of the day, days of the week, and the weekend within the fieldwork period to conduct a successful interview. In areas where the interviewer is not able to return on a different day, the interviewer makes attempts with at least a two-hour gap between each attempt before substituting the household.

The ultimate stage unit is respondents. Only one respondent is interviewed in each household. The "Last Birthday Method" is used to select a respondent if more than 1 adult person resides in one household. If there is no household adult member or if a potential respondent refused to take part in the survey, the interviewer continues to the next eligible household. If there is no one at home during the first visits, the interviewer visits the households up to 3 times.

# C Principles of Research Ethics

It is important to adhere to the principles of research ethics in studies involving human subjects. Our survey addresses human subjects research ethics in the following manner.

Before each interview, the enumerator informed the respondent that the project was a research study. Interviews were conducted only after respondents understood the purpose of the project and agreed to participate. After the interview, respondents were debriefed about the survey's objectives to minimize any potential social or individual impact of the research process.

The project did not involve any deception. In the list experiment, all items were based on factual information relevant to the country and did not involve any deceptive content. In the conjoint experiment, respondents compared hypothetical profiles of village chiefs, with all attributes and levels grounded in factual information.

We fairly compensated survey participants for an approximately 25-minute interview. Each respondent received a small gift—such as a box of tea or a large pack of cookies—valued at 2 to 2.5 USD, as a token of appreciation for their time. Given that the country's minimum hourly wage in 2025 is approximately 1.04 USD, the honorarium represents a substantial amount.

# D Summary Statistics

| | Min | Median | Max | Mean | SD |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Treatment** | | | | | |
| Akim Election | 0.000 | 0.500 | 1.000 | 0.500 | 0.500 |
| Late Election | 0.000 | 0.000 | 1.000 | 0.125 | 0.331 |
| **Covariates** | | | | | |
| Kazakh Ethnicity | 0.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 | 0.674 | 0.469 |
| Paid Work | 0.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 | 0.742 | 0.438 |
| Higher Education | 0.000 | 0.000 | 1.000 | 0.259 | 0.438 |
| Kazakh Proportion in Raion | 21.193 | 73.608 | 99.848 | 70.022 | 25.670 |
| Income per Capita in Raion | 213646.000 | 285952.000 | 830617.000 | 317882.696 | 104230.933 |
| Proportion of Agricultural Population in Raion | 4.453 | 31.258 | 61.957 | 29.568 | 14.994 |
| Unemployment Rate in Raion | 3.200 | 4.850 | 6.700 | 4.832 | 0.567 |
| **Outcome Variables** | | | | | |
| Akims Care | 1.000 | 3.000 | 5.000 | 3.079 | 1.079 |
| How Much Say | 1.000 | 3.000 | 5.000 | 2.836 | 1.158 |
| Subjective Political Interest | 0.000 | 2.000 | 4.000 | 1.870 | 1.252 |
| Objective Knowledge of the Akim's Term | 0.000 | 0.000 | 1.000 | 0.268 | 0.443 |
| Objective Knowledge of the Akim's Selection | 0.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 | 0.691 | 0.462 |
| Expected Responsiveness | 0.000 | 1.750 | 3.000 | 1.697 | 0.739 |
| Corruption Tolerance (List 1) | 0.000 | 2.000 | 5.000 | 2.298 | 1.180 |
| Corruption Tolerance (List 2) | 0.000 | 2.000 | 5.000 | 2.476 | 1.091 |
| Corruption Experience (List 1) | 0.000 | 2.000 | 5.000 | 2.465 | 1.124 |
| Corruption Experience (List 2) | 0.000 | 2.000 | 5.000 | 1.976 | 1.135 |

Table D.1: Summary Statistics of the Treatment, Covariates, and Outcome Variables. Statistics of all village- or raion- level variables are calculated at the individual level.

# E Tables of All Estimates for Figures

Table E.1: Estimates, standard errors, and p-values for Figure 1.

| Covariate name | Estimate | Clustered SE | p-value |
|---|---|---|---|
| Female | 0.001 | 0.001 | 0.322 |
| Age (18-29) | 0.011 | 0.019 | 0.568 |
| Age (30-39) | -0.012 | 0.014 | 0.406 |
| Age (40-49) | 0.005 | 0.016 | 0.762 |
| Age (50-59) | 0.001 | 0.017 | 0.946 |
| Age 60+ | -0.005 | 0.016 | 0.772 |
| Ethnicity: Kazakh | 0.063 | 0.083 | 0.452 |
| Speak Kazakh at home | 0.078 | 0.090 | 0.388 |
| Education: Bachelor's or above | 0.015 | 0.037 | 0.679 |
| Not without paid jobs | -0.013 | 0.029 | 0.658 |

| Variable | Diff | CI (lower) | CI (upper) | Equiv. CI (lower) | Equiv. CI (upper) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Unemployment Rate | 0.200 | −0.338 | 0.738 | −0.637 | 0.637 |
| Logged Income PC | 0.005 | −0.536 | 0.546 | −0.005 | 0.005 |
| Agricultural Prop. | −0.252 | −0.789 | 0.284 | −0.692 | 0.692 |
| Logged Population | 0.441 | −0.087 | 0.968 | −0.891 | 0.891 |
| Kazakh Prop. | 0.059 | −0.481 | 0.600 | −0.425 | 0.425 |
| Russian Prop. | 0.032 | −0.509 | 0.572 | −0.299 | 0.299 |
| Male Prop. | −0.288 | −0.823 | 0.247 | −0.729 | 0.729 |
| Working Prop. | 0.143 | −0.396 | 0.683 | −0.572 | 0.572 |

Table E.2: Estimates and Confidence Intervals for Figure 2.

| | Estimate | Standard Error |
|---|---|---|
| H1: Efficacy (akim care) | 0.122 | 0.137 |
| H1: Efficacy (how much say) | 0.105 | 0.137 |
| H2: Awareness (interest) | 0.020 | 0.136 |
| H2: Awareness (know term length) | 0.066 | 0.055 |
| H2: Awareness (know elected) | 0.021 | 0.052 |
| H4: Expected responsiveness | 0.058 | 0.141 |

Table E.3: Point Estimates and Standard Errors for Figures 3, 4, and 6.

| | Estimate | Standard Error |
|---|---|---|
| Tolerance (Elected) | 0.164 | 0.036 |
| Tolerance (Appointed) | 0.181 | 0.049 |
| Tolerance (Difference) | −0.017 | 0.061 |
| Experience (Elected) | 0.111 | 0.039 |
| Experience (Appointed) | −0.056 | 0.050 |
| Experience (Difference) | 0.167 | 0.063 |

Table E.4: Estimates and Standard Errors for Figure 5.

Table E.5: Estimates table behind main text conjoint figure (Figure 7).

| | | Elected | | Appointed | | Elected - Appointed | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Attribute | Level | Estimate | SE | Estimate | SE | Estimate | SE |
| Age | 25 | 0.465 | 0.012 | 0.474 | 0.014 | -0.009 | 0.019 |
| | 35 | 0.560 | 0.009 | 0.579 | 0.010 | -0.018 | 0.013 |
| | 45 | 0.569 | 0.013 | 0.572 | 0.012 | -0.003 | 0.017 |
| | 55 | 0.510 | 0.011 | 0.512 | 0.009 | -0.002 | 0.014 |
| | 65 | 0.393 | 0.010 | 0.366 | 0.011 | 0.027 | 0.015 |
| Ethnicity | Kazakh | 0.564 | 0.012 | 0.553 | 0.011 | 0.012 | 0.016 |
| | Russian | 0.439 | 0.011 | 0.448 | 0.010 | -0.010 | 0.015 |
| Gender | Female | 0.462 | 0.006 | 0.462 | 0.005 | 0.000 | 0.008 |
| | Male | 0.537 | 0.006 | 0.538 | 0.005 | -0.001 | 0.008 |
| Party | AMANAT (previously Nur Otan) | 0.507 | 0.009 | 0.507 | 0.009 | 0.000 | 0.013 |
| affiliation | Ak Zhol | 0.498 | 0.008 | 0.496 | 0.007 | 0.002 | 0.011 |
| | People's Party of Kazakhstan | 0.506 | 0.008 | 0.493 | 0.009 | 0.014 | 0.012 |
| | Auyl Party | 0.493 | 0.009 | 0.510 | 0.006 | -0.017 | 0.011 |
| | No party affiliation | 0.497 | 0.009 | 0.492 | 0.007 | 0.005 | 0.011 |
| Birthplace | Local village/county | 0.552 | 0.009 | 0.528 | 0.008 | 0.024 | 0.012 |
| | Local oblast | 0.517 | 0.009 | 0.508 | 0.007 | 0.009 | 0.011 |
| | Not local but Kazakhstan | 0.488 | 0.008 | 0.506 | 0.008 | -0.018 | 0.011 |
| | Out of Kazakhstan | 0.445 | 0.011 | 0.457 | 0.009 | -0.013 | 0.014 |
| Attitude towards | Always follow center | 0.467 | 0.010 | 0.468 | 0.014 | -0.001 | 0.017 |
| the central power | Follow center, but incorporate local interests | 0.514 | 0.011 | 0.521 | 0.010 | -0.007 | 0.015 |
| | Find local problems | 0.500 | 0.007 | 0.501 | 0.005 | -0.001 | 0.009 |
| | Find and prioritize local problems | 0.520 | 0.007 | 0.509 | 0.006 | 0.011 | 0.009 |
| Attitude towards | Not to listen petition/appeals | 0.456 | 0.008 | 0.461 | 0.008 | -0.004 | 0.012 |
| local petition | Listen petition/appeals | 0.517 | 0.005 | 0.519 | 0.006 | -0.002 | 0.008 |
| | Listen and respond to petition/appeals | 0.527 | 0.008 | 0.519 | 0.006 | 0.008 | 0.010 |
| Promise on | Infrastructure | 0.527 | 0.011 | 0.540 | 0.016 | -0.013 | 0.020 |
| public policies | Local security | 0.474 | 0.010 | 0.453 | 0.009 | 0.021 | 0.014 |
| | Local business | 0.480 | 0.009 | 0.496 | 0.011 | -0.016 | 0.014 |
| | Local farms | 0.513 | 0.011 | 0.507 | 0.010 | 0.006 | 0.015 |
| | Support poors | 0.548 | 0.012 | 0.546 | 0.010 | 0.002 | 0.016 |
| | Support minorities | 0.462 | 0.013 | 0.464 | 0.013 | -0.002 | 0.018 |
| | Support women | 0.494 | 0.008 | 0.499 | 0.010 | -0.005 | 0.013 |

# F Exploratory Analysis for Heterogeneous Treatment Effects

## F.1 Political Efficacy

| | Estimate | Standard Error | $p$-value |
|---|---|---|---|
| Intercept | 3.017 | 0.094 | 0.000 |
| Early Election | 0.225 | 0.123 | 0.078 |
| Late Election | 0.252 | 0.185 | 0.328 |
| Kazakh Ethnicity | 0.049 | 0.119 | 0.686 |
| Paid Work | −0.032 | 0.096 | 0.740 |
| Higher Education | 0.216 | 0.089 | 0.023 |
| Kazakh Proportion in Raion | −0.006 | 0.005 | 0.234 |
| Income per Capita in Raion | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.276 |
| Proportion of Agricultural Population in Raion | −0.005 | 0.007 | 0.497 |
| Unemployment Rate in Raion | −0.010 | 0.153 | 0.951 |
| Early Election×Kazakh Ethnicity | 0.065 | 0.239 | 0.788 |
| Late Election×Kazakh Ethnicity | 0.280 | 0.312 | 0.417 |
| Early Election×Paid Work | 0.029 | 0.133 | 0.825 |
| Late Election×Paid Work | −0.243 | 0.155 | 0.156 |
| Early Election×Higher Education | −0.113 | 0.136 | 0.414 |
| Late Election×Higher Education | −0.161 | 0.145 | 0.296 |
| Early Election×Kazakh Proportion in Raion | −0.004 | 0.008 | 0.627 |
| Late Election×Kazakh Proportion in Raion | 0.006 | 0.016 | 0.734 |
| Early Election×Income per Capita in Raion | −0.000 | 0.000 | 0.617 |
| Late Election×Income per Capita in Raion | −0.000 | 0.000 | 0.218 |
| Early Election×Proportion of Agricultural Population in Raion | 0.015 | 0.011 | 0.186 |
| Late Election×Proportion of Agricultural Population in Raion | 0.004 | 0.014 | 0.815 |
| Early Election×Unemployment Rate in Raion | 0.118 | 0.250 | 0.647 |
| Late Election×Unemployment Rate in Raion | 0.028 | 0.381 | 0.947 |
| Residual Variance | | 1.089 | |
| Clusters | | 56 | |
| Observations | | 1606 | |

Table F.1: Regression Estimates: the **Akims Care** Outcome Variable. As suggested by Lin (2013), demeaned covariates are included in the regression specification and interacted with the treatment. CR2 standard errors (Bell and McCaffrey, 2002; Pustejovsky and Tipton, 2018) clustered at the village level are used. The treatment villages are grouped into two categories: those that had early elections (January-April 2022) and those that had late elections (August-November 2022). Neither treatment nor interaction terms are statistically significant at the .05 level.

| | Estimate | Standard Error | $p$-value |
|---|---|---|---|
| Intercept | 2.819 | 0.090 | 0.000 |
| Early Election | 0.176 | 0.128 | 0.182 |
| Late Election | 0.087 | 0.142 | 0.614 |
| Kazakh Ethnicity | 0.204 | 0.154 | 0.201 |
| Paid Work | −0.013 | 0.065 | 0.844 |
| Higher Education | 0.238 | 0.122 | 0.063 |
| Kazakh Proportion in Raion | −0.001 | 0.005 | 0.849 |
| Income per Capita in Raion | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.245 |
| Proportion of Agricultural Population in Raion | −0.008 | 0.007 | 0.283 |
| Unemployment Rate in Raion | 0.235 | 0.159 | 0.205 |
| Early Election x Kazakh Ethnicity | 0.022 | 0.287 | 0.940 |
| Late Election x Kazakh Ethnicity | 0.268 | 0.215 | 0.276 |
| Early Election x Paid Work | −0.033 | 0.105 | 0.757 |
| Late Election x Paid Work | 0.024 | 0.189 | 0.901 |
| Early Election x Higher Education | −0.046 | 0.181 | 0.802 |
| Late Election x Higher Education | −0.219 | 0.148 | 0.171 |
| Early Election x Kazakh Proportion in Raion | −0.003 | 0.009 | 0.720 |
| Late Election x Kazakh Proportion in Raion | 0.008 | 0.008 | 0.390 |
| Early Election x Income per Capita in Raion | −0.000 | 0.000 | 0.670 |
| Late Election x Income per Capita in Raion | −0.000 | 0.000 | 0.112 |
| Early Election x Proportion of Agricultural Population in Raion | 0.023 | 0.011 | 0.061 |
| Late Election x Proportion of Agricultural Population in Raion | 0.003 | 0.011 | 0.801 |
| Early Election x Unemployment Rate in Raion | −0.055 | 0.262 | 0.838 |
| Late Election x Unemployment Rate in Raion | 0.050 | 0.258 | 0.862 |
| Residual Variance | | 1.252 | |
| Clusters | | 56 | |
| Observations | | 1615 | |

Table F.2: Regression Estimates: the **How Much Say** Outcome Variable. Estimation is done identically to Table F.1. Neither treatment nor interaction terms are statistically significant at the .05 level.

## F.2 Political Awareness

| | Estimate | Standard Error | $p$-value |
|---|---|---|---|
| Intercept | 1.862 | 0.113 | 0.000 |
| Early Election | −0.023 | 0.139 | 0.868 |
| Late Election | 0.367 | 0.270 | 0.331 |
| Kazakh Ethnicity | −0.066 | 0.154 | 0.671 |
| Paid Work | 0.203 | 0.144 | 0.171 |
| Higher Education | 0.282 | 0.111 | 0.019 |
| Kazakh Proportion in Raion | −0.005 | 0.005 | 0.370 |
| Income per Capita in Raion | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.983 |
| Proportion of Agricultural Population in Raion | 0.001 | 0.007 | 0.887 |
| Unemployment Rate in Raion | 0.149 | 0.153 | 0.379 |
| Early Election×Kazakh Ethnicity | −0.208 | 0.264 | 0.440 |
| Late Election×Kazakh Ethnicity | 0.489 | 0.356 | 0.237 |
| Early Election×Paid Work | −0.040 | 0.186 | 0.832 |
| Late Election×Paid Work | −0.213 | 0.262 | 0.438 |
| Early Election×Higher Education | 0.154 | 0.164 | 0.355 |
| Late Election×Higher Education | 0.293 | 0.225 | 0.225 |
| Early Election×Kazakh Proportion in Raion | 0.003 | 0.008 | 0.710 |
| Late Election×Kazakh Proportion in Raion | 0.010 | 0.013 | 0.497 |
| Early Election×Income per Capita in Raion | −0.000 | 0.000 | 0.636 |
| Late Election×Income per Capita in Raion | −0.000 | 0.000 | 0.390 |
| Early Election×Proportion of Agricultural Population in Raion | 0.000 | 0.009 | 0.960 |
| Late Election×Proportion of Agricultural Population in Raion | −0.017 | 0.015 | 0.318 |
| Early Election×Unemployment Rate in Raion | −0.134 | 0.217 | 0.553 |
| Late Election×Unemployment Rate in Raion | −0.978 | 0.464 | 0.150 |
| Residual Variance | | 1.508 | |
| Clusters | | 56 | |
| Observations | | 1651 | |

Table F.3: Regression Estimates: the **Subjective Political Interest** Outcome Variable. Estimation is done identically to Table F.1. Neither treatment nor interaction terms are statistically significant at the .05 level.

| | Estimate | Standard Error | $p$-value |
|---|---|---|---|
| Intercept | 0.230 | 0.037 | 0.000 |
| Early Election | 0.084 | 0.067 | 0.225 |
| Late Election | 0.204 | 0.120 | 0.257 |
| Kazakh Ethnicity | −0.025 | 0.049 | 0.608 |
| Paid Work | −0.024 | 0.040 | 0.563 |
| Higher Education | 0.045 | 0.035 | 0.208 |
| Kazakh Proportion in Raion | −0.001 | 0.002 | 0.756 |
| Income per Capita in Raion | −0.000 | 0.000 | 0.765 |
| Proportion of Agricultural Population in Raion | 0.001 | 0.003 | 0.663 |
| Unemployment Rate in Raion | −0.026 | 0.085 | 0.775 |
| Early Election×Kazakh Ethnicity | 0.042 | 0.108 | 0.701 |
| Late Election×Kazakh Ethnicity | 0.157 | 0.120 | 0.255 |
| Early Election×Paid Work | 0.018 | 0.053 | 0.738 |
| Late Election×Paid Work | −0.024 | 0.064 | 0.714 |
| Early Election×Higher Education | 0.022 | 0.070 | 0.751 |
| Late Election×Higher Education | 0.053 | 0.055 | 0.357 |
| Early Election×Kazakh Proportion in Raion | −0.001 | 0.003 | 0.802 |
| Late Election×Kazakh Proportion in Raion | 0.002 | 0.006 | 0.781 |
| Early Election×Income per Capita in Raion | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.581 |
| Late Election×Income per Capita in Raion | −0.000 | 0.000 | 0.378 |
| Early Election×Proportion of Agricultural Population in Raion | −0.001 | 0.006 | 0.820 |
| Late Election×Proportion of Agricultural Population in Raion | −0.007 | 0.008 | 0.461 |
| Early Election×Unemployment Rate in Raion | 0.107 | 0.175 | 0.555 |
| Late Election×Unemployment Rate in Raion | −0.178 | 0.198 | 0.451 |
| Residual Variance | | 0.190 | |
| Clusters | | 56 | |
| Observations | | 1665 | |

Table F.4: Regression Estimates: the **Objective Knowledge of the Akim's Term Length** Outcome Variable. Estimation is done identically to Table F.1. Neither treatment nor interaction terms are statistically significant at the .05 level.

| | Estimate | Standard Error | $p$-value |
|---|---|---|---|
| Intercept | 0.676 | 0.032 | 0.000 |
| Early Election | 0.052 | 0.052 | 0.321 |
| Late Election | 0.096 | 0.146 | 0.591 |
| Kazakh Ethnicity | 0.022 | 0.052 | 0.671 |
| Paid Work | 0.057 | 0.048 | 0.246 |
| Higher Education | −0.118 | 0.043 | 0.011 |
| Kazakh Proportion in Raion | −0.003 | 0.001 | 0.053 |
| Income per Capita in Raion | −0.000 | 0.000 | 0.387 |
| Proportion of Agricultural Population in Raion | −0.001 | 0.003 | 0.794 |
| Unemployment Rate in Raion | −0.072 | 0.061 | 0.299 |
| Early Election×Kazakh Ethnicity | 0.003 | 0.119 | 0.982 |
| Late Election×Kazakh Ethnicity | −0.048 | 0.087 | 0.611 |
| Early Election×Paid Work | −0.031 | 0.058 | 0.594 |
| Late Election×Paid Work | −0.128 | 0.073 | 0.118 |
| Early Election×Higher Education | 0.255 | 0.060 | 0.000 |
| Late Election×Higher Education | 0.222 | 0.090 | 0.036 |
| Early Election×Kazakh Proportion in Raion | −0.002 | 0.004 | 0.643 |
| Late Election×Kazakh Proportion in Raion | 0.008 | 0.008 | 0.384 |
| Early Election×Income per Capita in Raion | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.044 |
| Late Election×Income per Capita in Raion | −0.000 | 0.000 | 0.459 |
| Early Election×Proportion of Agricultural Population in Raion | 0.005 | 0.004 | 0.284 |
| Late Election×Proportion of Agricultural Population in Raion | −0.006 | 0.008 | 0.547 |
| Early Election×Unemployment Rate in Raion | 0.251 | 0.119 | 0.062 |
| Late Election×Unemployment Rate in Raion | −0.150 | 0.274 | 0.633 |
| Residual Variance | | 0.203 | |
| Clusters | | 56 | |
| Observations | | 1665 | |

Table F.5: Regression Estimates: the **Objective Knowledge of the Akim's Selection** Outcome Variable. Estimation is done identically to Table F.1. An election in the early period (January-April 2022) is estimated to have a positive effect on the knowledge of the fact that the akim is publicly elected among those with higher education and the estimate is statistically significant at the .05 level.

## F.3 Corruption

| | Estimate | Standard Error | $p$-value |
|---|---|---|---|
| Intercept | 0.191 | 0.056 | 0.001 |
| Early Election | 0.015 | 0.070 | 0.830 |
| Late Election | −0.160 | 0.071 | 0.029 |
| Kazakh Proportion in Raion | 0.002 | 0.002 | 0.273 |
| Income per Capita in Raion | −0.000 | 0.000 | 0.272 |
| Proportion of Agricultural Population in Raion | −0.003 | 0.004 | 0.491 |
| Unemployment Rate in Raion | 0.026 | 0.080 | 0.748 |
| Early Election×Kazakh Proportion in Raion | −0.008 | 0.004 | 0.030 |
| Late Election×Kazakh Proportion in Raion | −0.001 | 0.003 | 0.834 |
| Early Election×Income per Capita in Raion | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.050 |
| Late Election×Income per Capita in Raion | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.014 |
| Early Election×Proportion of Agricultural Population in Raion | 0.004 | 0.005 | 0.442 |
| Late Election×Proportion of Agricultural Population in Raion | 0.005 | 0.005 | 0.276 |
| Early Election×Unemployment Rate in Raion | 0.022 | 0.106 | 0.840 |
| Late Election×Unemployment Rate in Raion | 0.008 | 0.105 | 0.939 |
| Residual Variance | | 0.053 | |
| Observations | | 56 | |

Table F.6: Regression Estimates: the **Corruption Tolerance** Outcome Variable. Regression is run at the village level where the outcome variable is the estimated prevalence for each village and the covariates are demeaned. HC2 standard errors are used. The treatment villages are grouped into two categories: those that had early elections (January-April 2022) and those that had late elections (August-November 2022). All $p$-values below .05 do not pass the Benjamini-Hochberg procedure with the FDR at .05.

| | Estimate | Standard Error | $p$-value |
|---|---|---|---|
| Intercept | −0.057 | 0.050 | 0.265 |
| Early Election | 0.187 | 0.063 | 0.005 |
| Late Election | 0.136 | 0.097 | 0.169 |
| Kazakh Proportion in Raion | 0.001 | 0.002 | 0.635 |
| Income per Capita in Raion | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.217 |
| Proportion of Agricultural Population in Raion | 0.003 | 0.006 | 0.666 |
| Unemployment Rate in Raion | 0.096 | 0.105 | 0.363 |
| Early Election×Kazakh Proportion in Raion | −0.000 | 0.003 | 0.985 |
| Late Election×Kazakh Proportion in Raion | −0.006 | 0.007 | 0.425 |
| Early Election×Income per Capita in Raion | −0.000 | 0.000 | 0.683 |
| Late Election×Income per Capita in Raion | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.976 |
| Early Election×Proportion of Agricultural Population in Raion | 0.003 | 0.007 | 0.652 |
| Late Election×Proportion of Agricultural Population in Raion | −0.002 | 0.008 | 0.790 |
| Early Election×Unemployment Rate in Raion | 0.066 | 0.146 | 0.656 |
| Late Election×Unemployment Rate in Raion | −0.361 | 0.205 | 0.087 |
| Residual Variance | | 0.053 | |
| Observations | | 56 | |

Table F.7: Regression Estimates: the **Corruption Experience** Outcome Variable. Estimation is conducted identically to Table F.6. The statistical significance of the coefficient on the Early Election treatment is sustained by the BH procedure, which suggests that the effect of experiencing an akim election takes time to materialize.

## F.4 Expected Responsiveness

| | Estimate | Standard Error | $p$-value |
|---|---|---|---|
| Intercept | 1.712 | 0.107 | 0.000 |
| Early Election | 0.041 | 0.149 | 0.787 |
| Late Election | 0.426 | 0.305 | 0.332 |
| Kazakh Ethnicity | 0.261 | 0.106 | 0.031 |
| Paid Work | −0.028 | 0.079 | 0.726 |
| Higher Education | 0.103 | 0.066 | 0.142 |
| Kazakh Proportion in Raion | −0.005 | 0.006 | 0.459 |
| Income per Capita in Raion | −0.000 | 0.000 | 0.721 |
| Proportion of Agricultural Population in Raion | −0.001 | 0.007 | 0.847 |
| Unemployment Rate in Raion | −0.072 | 0.124 | 0.588 |
| Early Election×Kazakh Ethnicity | −0.367 | 0.175 | 0.053 |
| Late Election×Kazakh Ethnicity | −0.035 | 0.201 | 0.880 |
| Early Election×Paid Work | −0.131 | 0.114 | 0.266 |
| Late Election×Paid Work | 0.193 | 0.132 | 0.286 |
| Early Election×Higher Education | −0.049 | 0.120 | 0.689 |
| Late Election×Higher Education | −0.106 | 0.192 | 0.643 |
| Early Election×Kazakh Proportion in Raion | 0.005 | 0.010 | 0.602 |
| Late Election×Kazakh Proportion in Raion | 0.011 | 0.010 | 0.368 |
| Early Election×Income per Capita in Raion | −0.000 | 0.000 | 0.710 |
| Late Election×Income per Capita in Raion | −0.000 | 0.000 | 0.226 |
| Early Election×Proportion of Agricultural Population in Raion | −0.004 | 0.013 | 0.785 |
| Late Election×Proportion of Agricultural Population in Raion | −0.010 | 0.016 | 0.583 |
| Early Election×Unemployment Rate in Raion | −0.064 | 0.275 | 0.821 |
| Late Election×Unemployment Rate in Raion | 0.600 | 0.349 | 0.223 |
| Residual Variance | | 1.430 | |
| Clusters | | 56 | |
| Observations | | 1411 | |

Table F.8: Regression Estimates: the **Expected Responsiveness** Outcome Variable. Estimation is done identically to Table F.1, except that each observation is weighted in the same manner as in the main analysis where the weight of each observation is the reciprocal of Equation (9). Neither treatment nor interaction terms are statistically significant at the .05 level.

## F.5 Conjoint Analysis of Preferred Akims

### F.5.1 Raion-level Covariates

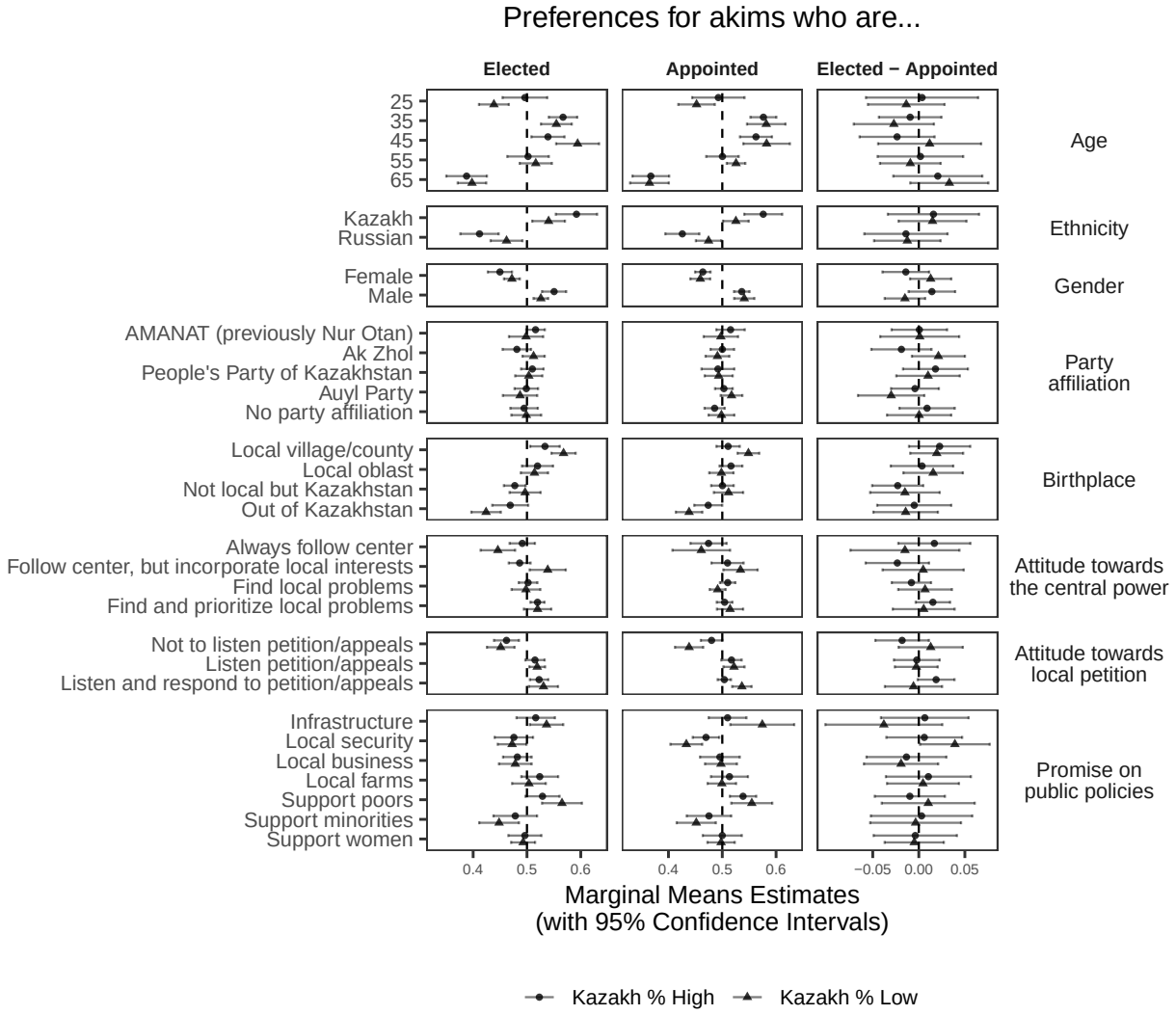


Figure F.1: The effect of introducing election on preferred features of akims in raions with high and low proportion of Kazakhs.

Table F.9: Estimates table behind Figure F.1 (high)

| | | Elected | | Appointed | | Elected - Appointed | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Attribute | Level | Estimate | SE | Estimate | SE | Estimate | SE |
| Age | 25 | 0.496 | 0.019 | 0.493 | 0.023 | 0.004 | 0.030 |
| | 35 | 0.567 | 0.012 | 0.576 | 0.011 | -0.009 | 0.017 |
| | 45 | 0.539 | 0.014 | 0.563 | 0.014 | -0.024 | 0.020 |
| | 55 | 0.502 | 0.018 | 0.500 | 0.014 | 0.002 | 0.023 |
| | 65 | 0.388 | 0.017 | 0.367 | 0.016 | 0.021 | 0.024 |
| Ethnicity | Kazakh | 0.592 | 0.018 | 0.576 | 0.016 | 0.016 | 0.024 |
| | Russian | 0.412 | 0.016 | 0.426 | 0.015 | -0.014 | 0.022 |
| Gender | Female | 0.450 | 0.010 | 0.464 | 0.007 | -0.014 | 0.012 |
| | Male | 0.550 | 0.010 | 0.536 | 0.007 | 0.014 | 0.012 |
| Party affiliation | AMANAT (previously Nur Otan) | 0.516 | 0.008 | 0.515 | 0.012 | 0.001 | 0.015 |
| | Ak Zhol | 0.481 | 0.012 | 0.500 | 0.010 | -0.019 | 0.016 |
| | People's Party of Kazakhstan | 0.510 | 0.010 | 0.492 | 0.014 | 0.018 | 0.017 |
| | Auyl Party | 0.499 | 0.010 | 0.503 | 0.008 | -0.004 | 0.013 |
| | No party affiliation | 0.495 | 0.012 | 0.486 | 0.009 | 0.009 | 0.015 |
| Birthplace | Local village/county | 0.533 | 0.013 | 0.511 | 0.010 | 0.023 | 0.016 |
| | Local oblast | 0.520 | 0.013 | 0.516 | 0.010 | 0.003 | 0.017 |
| | Not local but Kazakhstan | 0.477 | 0.009 | 0.500 | 0.010 | -0.023 | 0.013 |
| | Out of Kazakhstan | 0.469 | 0.015 | 0.474 | 0.012 | -0.005 | 0.020 |
| Attitude towards the central power | Always follow center | 0.491 | 0.011 | 0.474 | 0.016 | 0.017 | 0.019 |
| | Follow center, but incorporate local interests | 0.486 | 0.009 | 0.510 | 0.014 | -0.023 | 0.017 |
| | Find local problems | 0.502 | 0.008 | 0.510 | 0.007 | -0.008 | 0.010 |
| | Find and prioritize local problems | 0.520 | 0.006 | 0.504 | 0.007 | 0.015 | 0.009 |
| Attitude towards local petition | Not to listen petition/appeals | 0.462 | 0.011 | 0.480 | 0.009 | -0.018 | 0.014 |
| | Listen petition/appeals | 0.515 | 0.008 | 0.517 | 0.009 | -0.002 | 0.012 |
| | Listen and respond to petition/appeals | 0.523 | 0.008 | 0.504 | 0.006 | 0.019 | 0.010 |
| Promise on public policies | Infrastructure | 0.516 | 0.016 | 0.510 | 0.016 | 0.006 | 0.023 |
| | Local security | 0.476 | 0.016 | 0.470 | 0.011 | 0.006 | 0.020 |
| | Local business | 0.482 | 0.012 | 0.496 | 0.017 | -0.013 | 0.021 |
| | Local farms | 0.524 | 0.016 | 0.513 | 0.016 | 0.010 | 0.022 |
| | Support poors | 0.529 | 0.015 | 0.539 | 0.011 | -0.010 | 0.019 |
| | Support minorities | 0.478 | 0.019 | 0.475 | 0.019 | 0.003 | 0.027 |
| | Support women | 0.496 | 0.014 | 0.500 | 0.017 | -0.004 | 0.022 |

Table F.10: Estimates table behind Figure F.1 (low)

| Attribute | Level | Elected | | Appointed | | Elected - Appointed | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Estimate | SE | Estimate | SE | Estimate | SE |
| Age | 25 | 0.439 | 0.013 | 0.452 | 0.016 | -0.014 | 0.020 |
| | 35 | 0.555 | 0.013 | 0.582 | 0.016 | -0.027 | 0.021 |
| | 45 | 0.594 | 0.019 | 0.582 | 0.020 | 0.012 | 0.027 |
| | 55 | 0.516 | 0.014 | 0.526 | 0.008 | -0.009 | 0.016 |
| | 65 | 0.398 | 0.012 | 0.365 | 0.017 | 0.033 | 0.021 |
| Ethnicity | Kazakh | 0.540 | 0.014 | 0.525 | 0.011 | 0.015 | 0.018 |
| | Russian | 0.462 | 0.014 | 0.475 | 0.011 | -0.012 | 0.018 |
| Gender | Female | 0.472 | 0.007 | 0.459 | 0.008 | 0.013 | 0.011 |
| | Male | 0.526 | 0.006 | 0.541 | 0.009 | -0.015 | 0.011 |
| Party affiliation | AMANAT (previously Nur Otan) | 0.498 | 0.015 | 0.497 | 0.015 | 0.001 | 0.021 |
| | Ak Zhol | 0.512 | 0.010 | 0.491 | 0.010 | 0.021 | 0.014 |
| | People's Party of Kazakhstan | 0.503 | 0.012 | 0.493 | 0.012 | 0.010 | 0.017 |
| | Auyl Party | 0.487 | 0.015 | 0.517 | 0.009 | -0.030 | 0.018 |
| | No party affiliation | 0.499 | 0.013 | 0.498 | 0.011 | 0.000 | 0.017 |
| Birthplace | Local village/county | 0.568 | 0.010 | 0.549 | 0.009 | 0.019 | 0.014 |
| | Local oblast | 0.514 | 0.012 | 0.498 | 0.010 | 0.016 | 0.016 |
| | Not local but Kazakhstan | 0.497 | 0.013 | 0.512 | 0.013 | -0.015 | 0.018 |
| | Out of Kazakhstan | 0.424 | 0.013 | 0.438 | 0.011 | -0.014 | 0.017 |
| Attitude towards the central power | Always follow center | 0.446 | 0.015 | 0.461 | 0.025 | -0.015 | 0.029 |
| | Follow center, but incorporate local interests | 0.539 | 0.016 | 0.534 | 0.015 | 0.005 | 0.021 |
| | Find local problems | 0.498 | 0.012 | 0.491 | 0.007 | 0.007 | 0.014 |
| | Find and prioritize local problems | 0.520 | 0.012 | 0.514 | 0.011 | 0.005 | 0.016 |
| Attitude towards local petition | Not to listen petition/appeals | 0.451 | 0.012 | 0.438 | 0.012 | 0.013 | 0.017 |
| | Listen petition/appeals | 0.519 | 0.007 | 0.522 | 0.009 | -0.003 | 0.011 |
| | Listen and respond to petition/appeals | 0.531 | 0.013 | 0.536 | 0.008 | -0.006 | 0.015 |
| Promise on public policies | Infrastructure | 0.536 | 0.014 | 0.574 | 0.027 | -0.038 | 0.031 |
| | Local security | 0.472 | 0.012 | 0.433 | 0.014 | 0.039 | 0.018 |
| | Local business | 0.478 | 0.014 | 0.498 | 0.014 | -0.019 | 0.020 |
| | Local farms | 0.504 | 0.015 | 0.499 | 0.012 | 0.005 | 0.019 |
| | Support poors | 0.565 | 0.017 | 0.555 | 0.017 | 0.010 | 0.025 |
| | Support minorities | 0.448 | 0.017 | 0.452 | 0.017 | -0.003 | 0.024 |
| | Support women | 0.493 | 0.010 | 0.498 | 0.012 | -0.005 | 0.016 |

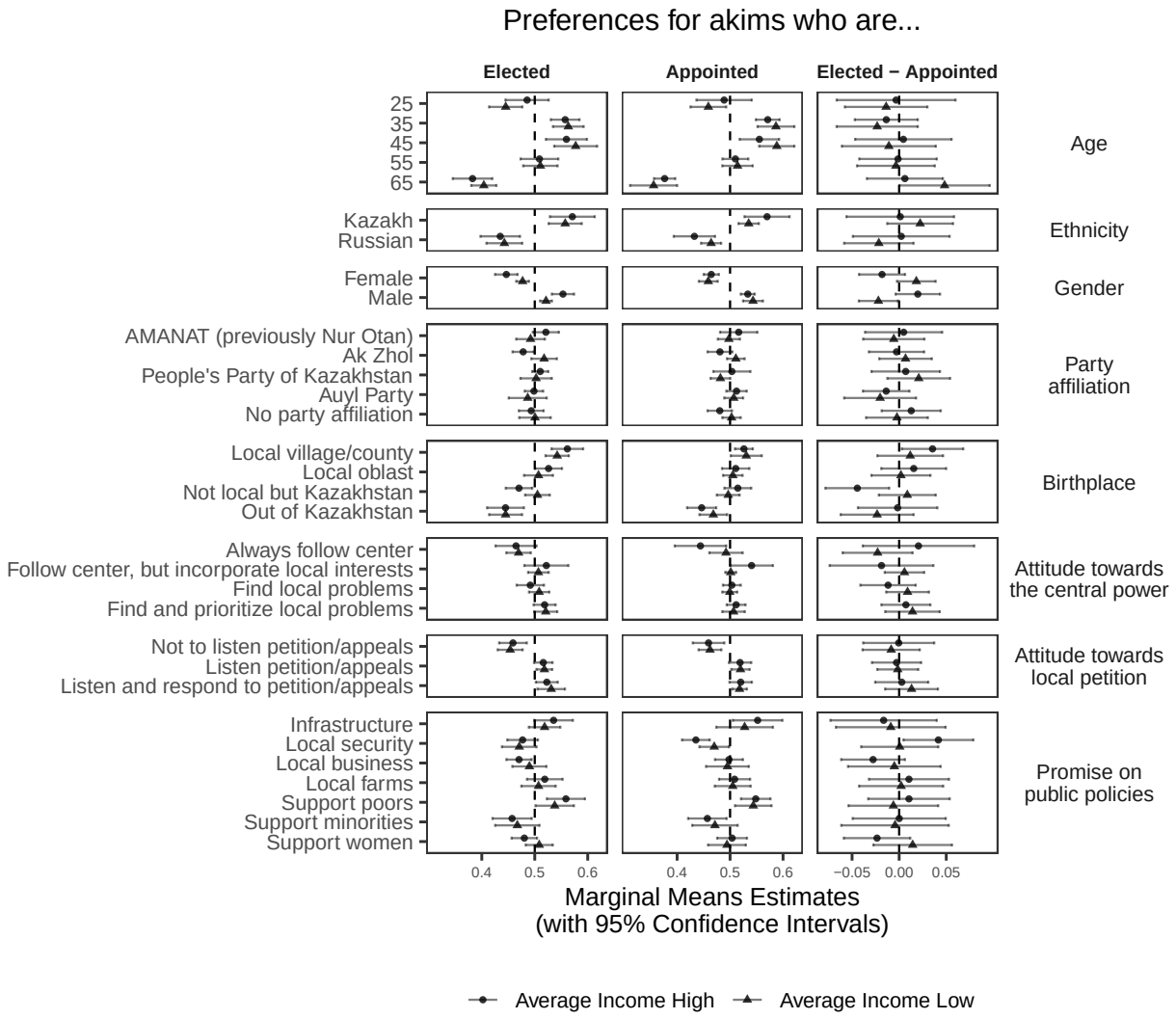


Figure F.2: The effect of introducing election on preferred features of akims in raions with high and low average income per capita.

Table F.11: Estimates table behind Figure F.2 (high)

| Attribute | Level | Elected | | Appointed | | Elected - Appointed | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Estimate | SE | Estimate | SE | Estimate | SE |
| Age | 25 | 0.486 | 0.019 | 0.489 | 0.024 | -0.003 | 0.031 |
| | 35 | 0.557 | 0.013 | 0.571 | 0.010 | -0.014 | 0.016 |
| | 45 | 0.560 | 0.018 | 0.555 | 0.017 | 0.004 | 0.025 |
| | 55 | 0.509 | 0.017 | 0.510 | 0.011 | -0.001 | 0.020 |
| | 65 | 0.383 | 0.017 | 0.376 | 0.009 | 0.006 | 0.020 |
| Ethnicity | Kazakh | 0.571 | 0.020 | 0.570 | 0.020 | 0.001 | 0.028 |
| | Russian | 0.435 | 0.017 | 0.433 | 0.018 | 0.002 | 0.025 |
| Gender | Female | 0.446 | 0.010 | 0.465 | 0.007 | -0.018 | 0.012 |
| | Male | 0.553 | 0.010 | 0.533 | 0.006 | 0.020 | 0.011 |
| Party affiliation | AMANAT (previously Nur Otan) | 0.521 | 0.011 | 0.516 | 0.016 | 0.005 | 0.020 |
| | Ak Zhol | 0.478 | 0.009 | 0.481 | 0.011 | -0.003 | 0.014 |
| | People's Party of Kazakhstan | 0.510 | 0.007 | 0.503 | 0.016 | 0.007 | 0.018 |
| | Auyl Party | 0.498 | 0.008 | 0.512 | 0.009 | -0.014 | 0.012 |
| | No party affiliation | 0.493 | 0.011 | 0.481 | 0.011 | 0.013 | 0.015 |
| Birthplace | Local village/county | 0.562 | 0.014 | 0.526 | 0.008 | 0.035 | 0.016 |
| | Local oblast | 0.526 | 0.012 | 0.511 | 0.012 | 0.015 | 0.017 |
| | Not local but Kazakhstan | 0.470 | 0.012 | 0.515 | 0.012 | -0.044 | 0.016 |
| | Out of Kazakhstan | 0.445 | 0.016 | 0.446 | 0.013 | -0.002 | 0.021 |
| Attitude towards the central power | Always follow center | 0.465 | 0.018 | 0.444 | 0.023 | 0.021 | 0.029 |
| | Follow center, but incorporate local interests | 0.522 | 0.019 | 0.541 | 0.019 | -0.019 | 0.027 |
| | Find local problems | 0.492 | 0.012 | 0.503 | 0.008 | -0.012 | 0.014 |
| | Find and prioritize local problems | 0.519 | 0.010 | 0.511 | 0.008 | 0.007 | 0.013 |
| Attitude towards local petition | Not to listen petition/appeals | 0.459 | 0.012 | 0.459 | 0.014 | 0.000 | 0.018 |
| | Listen petition/appeals | 0.516 | 0.008 | 0.519 | 0.010 | -0.003 | 0.013 |
| | Listen and respond to petition/appeals | 0.523 | 0.010 | 0.520 | 0.010 | 0.003 | 0.014 |
| Promise on public policies | Infrastructure | 0.536 | 0.017 | 0.552 | 0.022 | -0.016 | 0.027 |
| | Local security | 0.477 | 0.013 | 0.435 | 0.012 | 0.042 | 0.018 |
| | Local business | 0.470 | 0.011 | 0.498 | 0.012 | -0.028 | 0.016 |
| | Local farms | 0.519 | 0.016 | 0.509 | 0.014 | 0.010 | 0.021 |
| | Support poors | 0.559 | 0.017 | 0.548 | 0.013 | 0.010 | 0.021 |
| | Support minorities | 0.457 | 0.017 | 0.457 | 0.017 | 0.000 | 0.024 |
| | Support women | 0.480 | 0.011 | 0.504 | 0.013 | -0.023 | 0.017 |

Table F.12: Estimates table behind Figure F.2 (low)

| Attribute | Level | Elected | | Appointed | | Elected - Appointed | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Estimate | SE | Estimate | SE | Estimate | SE |
| Age | 25 | 0.445 | 0.015 | 0.459 | 0.016 | -0.014 | 0.021 |
| | 35 | 0.563 | 0.013 | 0.587 | 0.016 | -0.023 | 0.021 |
| | 45 | 0.577 | 0.019 | 0.588 | 0.015 | -0.011 | 0.024 |
| | 55 | 0.511 | 0.015 | 0.514 | 0.013 | -0.003 | 0.020 |
| | 65 | 0.404 | 0.011 | 0.356 | 0.021 | 0.048 | 0.023 |
| Ethnicity | Kazakh | 0.557 | 0.014 | 0.535 | 0.009 | 0.022 | 0.017 |
| | Russian | 0.443 | 0.016 | 0.464 | 0.009 | -0.022 | 0.018 |
| Gender | Female | 0.477 | 0.006 | 0.459 | 0.008 | 0.018 | 0.010 |
| | Male | 0.521 | 0.005 | 0.543 | 0.009 | -0.022 | 0.010 |
| Party affiliation | AMANAT (previously Nur Otan) | 0.492 | 0.013 | 0.498 | 0.010 | -0.006 | 0.016 |
| | Ak Zhol | 0.518 | 0.011 | 0.511 | 0.008 | 0.007 | 0.014 |
| | People's Party of Kazakhstan | 0.503 | 0.014 | 0.482 | 0.009 | 0.021 | 0.016 |
| | Auyl Party | 0.487 | 0.017 | 0.507 | 0.008 | -0.020 | 0.019 |
| | No party affiliation | 0.500 | 0.014 | 0.503 | 0.008 | -0.002 | 0.016 |
| Birthplace | Local village/county | 0.542 | 0.010 | 0.531 | 0.014 | 0.012 | 0.017 |
| | Local oblast | 0.507 | 0.013 | 0.505 | 0.009 | 0.002 | 0.015 |
| | Not local but Kazakhstan | 0.505 | 0.011 | 0.496 | 0.010 | 0.009 | 0.015 |
| | Out of Kazakhstan | 0.445 | 0.014 | 0.468 | 0.012 | -0.023 | 0.019 |
| Attitude towards the central power | Always follow center | 0.469 | 0.011 | 0.492 | 0.015 | -0.023 | 0.018 |
| | Follow center, but incorporate local interests | 0.507 | 0.009 | 0.501 | 0.005 | 0.006 | 0.010 |
| | Find local problems | 0.508 | 0.009 | 0.499 | 0.007 | 0.009 | 0.011 |
| | Find and prioritize local problems | 0.521 | 0.010 | 0.507 | 0.010 | 0.014 | 0.014 |
| Attitude towards local petition | Not to listen petition/appeals | 0.454 | 0.011 | 0.462 | 0.010 | -0.008 | 0.015 |
| | Listen petition/appeals | 0.518 | 0.007 | 0.520 | 0.008 | -0.002 | 0.011 |
| | Listen and respond to petition/appeals | 0.531 | 0.012 | 0.518 | 0.006 | 0.013 | 0.014 |
| Promise on public policies | Infrastructure | 0.519 | 0.014 | 0.527 | 0.025 | -0.009 | 0.028 |
| | Local security | 0.471 | 0.015 | 0.470 | 0.013 | 0.001 | 0.020 |
| | Local business | 0.490 | 0.015 | 0.495 | 0.019 | -0.005 | 0.024 |
| | Local farms | 0.507 | 0.015 | 0.505 | 0.016 | 0.002 | 0.022 |
| | Support poors | 0.538 | 0.017 | 0.544 | 0.016 | -0.006 | 0.023 |
| | Support minorities | 0.467 | 0.019 | 0.471 | 0.020 | -0.004 | 0.028 |
| | Support women | 0.508 | 0.012 | 0.494 | 0.017 | 0.014 | 0.020 |

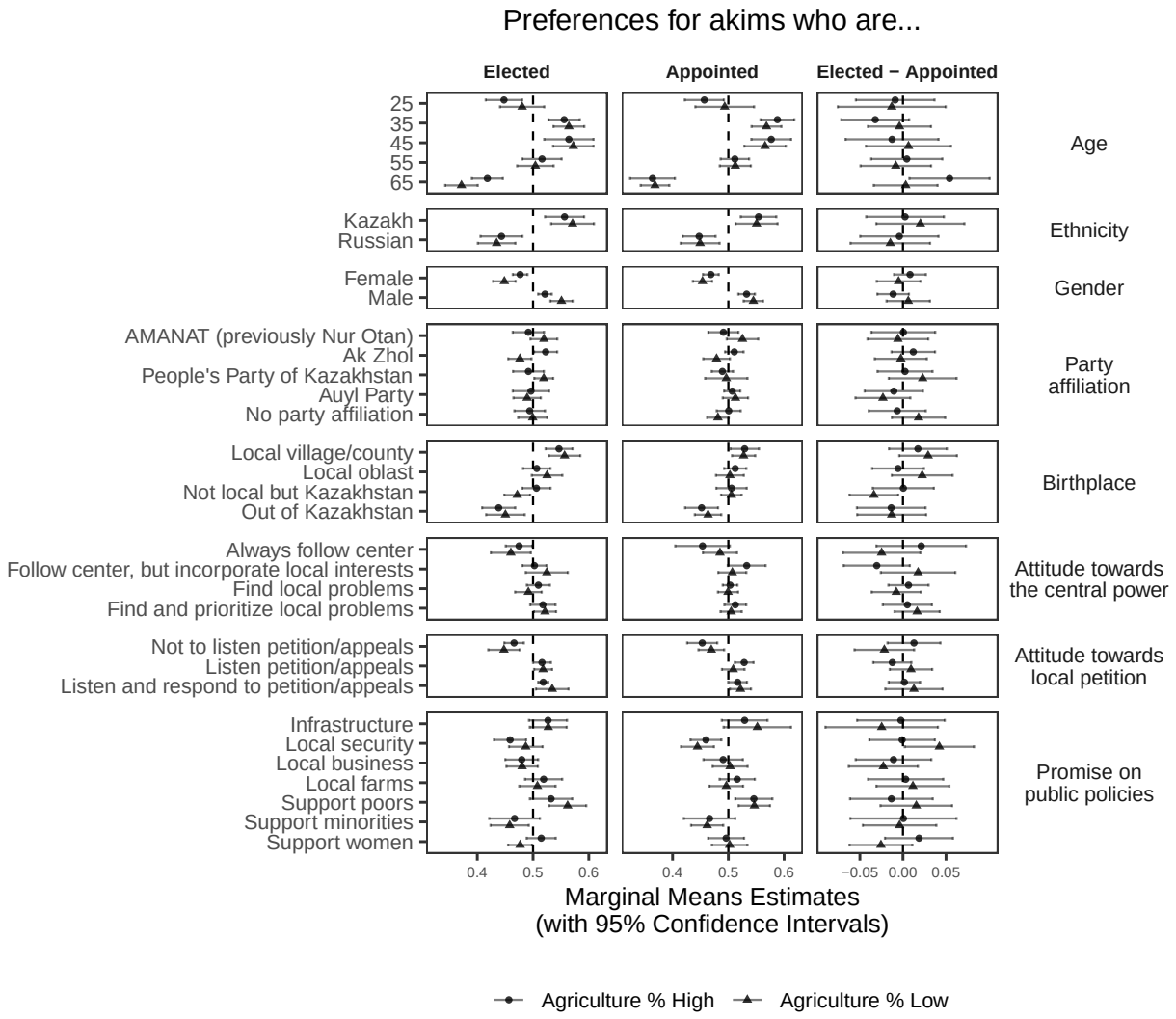


Figure F.3: The effect of introducing election on preferred features of akims in raions with large and small size of the agricultural sector.

Table F.13: Estimates table behind Figure F.3 (high)

| Attribute | Level | Elected | | Appointed | | Elected - Appointed | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Estimate | SE | Estimate | SE | Estimate | SE |
| Age | 25 | 0.448 | 0.015 | 0.457 | 0.016 | -0.009 | 0.022 |
| | 35 | 0.556 | 0.013 | 0.588 | 0.014 | -0.032 | 0.019 |
| | 45 | 0.564 | 0.020 | 0.577 | 0.017 | -0.013 | 0.026 |
| | 55 | 0.516 | 0.016 | 0.512 | 0.012 | 0.004 | 0.020 |
| | 65 | 0.418 | 0.013 | 0.364 | 0.019 | 0.054 | 0.023 |
| Ethnicity | Kazakh | 0.557 | 0.016 | 0.554 | 0.015 | 0.002 | 0.022 |
| | Russian | 0.443 | 0.017 | 0.448 | 0.014 | -0.004 | 0.022 |
| Gender | Female | 0.477 | 0.006 | 0.469 | 0.007 | 0.008 | 0.009 |
| | Male | 0.521 | 0.006 | 0.533 | 0.007 | -0.011 | 0.009 |
| Party affiliation | AMANAT (previously Nur Otan) | 0.492 | 0.013 | 0.491 | 0.013 | 0.000 | 0.018 |
| | Ak Zhol | 0.523 | 0.010 | 0.511 | 0.008 | 0.012 | 0.012 |
| | People's Party of Kazakhstan | 0.492 | 0.013 | 0.489 | 0.009 | 0.002 | 0.016 |
| | Auyl Party | 0.496 | 0.015 | 0.507 | 0.007 | -0.011 | 0.016 |
| | No party affiliation | 0.494 | 0.013 | 0.501 | 0.010 | -0.007 | 0.016 |
| Birthplace | Local village/county | 0.547 | 0.011 | 0.529 | 0.012 | 0.017 | 0.016 |
| | Local oblast | 0.507 | 0.011 | 0.512 | 0.009 | -0.006 | 0.015 |
| | Not local but Kazakhstan | 0.506 | 0.012 | 0.506 | 0.013 | 0.000 | 0.017 |
| | Out of Kazakhstan | 0.438 | 0.014 | 0.452 | 0.014 | -0.014 | 0.019 |
| Attitude towards the central power | Always follow center | 0.475 | 0.011 | 0.454 | 0.023 | 0.021 | 0.025 |
| | Follow center, but incorporate local interests | 0.503 | 0.010 | 0.533 | 0.016 | -0.030 | 0.019 |
| | Find local problems | 0.510 | 0.010 | 0.503 | 0.006 | 0.006 | 0.011 |
| | Find and prioritize local problems | 0.518 | 0.010 | 0.512 | 0.009 | 0.005 | 0.014 |
| Attitude towards local petition | Not to listen petition/appeals | 0.466 | 0.008 | 0.453 | 0.013 | 0.013 | 0.015 |
| | Listen petition/appeals | 0.516 | 0.007 | 0.528 | 0.008 | -0.012 | 0.011 |
| | Listen and respond to petition/appeals | 0.518 | 0.004 | 0.517 | 0.008 | 0.002 | 0.009 |
| Promise on public policies | Infrastructure | 0.527 | 0.016 | 0.529 | 0.019 | -0.002 | 0.025 |
| | Local security | 0.459 | 0.013 | 0.460 | 0.013 | -0.001 | 0.019 |
| | Local business | 0.480 | 0.014 | 0.491 | 0.017 | -0.011 | 0.021 |
| | Local farms | 0.519 | 0.015 | 0.516 | 0.015 | 0.003 | 0.021 |
| | Support poors | 0.532 | 0.017 | 0.546 | 0.016 | -0.013 | 0.023 |
| | Support minorities | 0.467 | 0.021 | 0.466 | 0.022 | 0.001 | 0.030 |
| | Support women | 0.515 | 0.012 | 0.496 | 0.015 | 0.019 | 0.019 |

Table F.14: Estimates table behind Figure F.3 (low)

| Attribute | Level | Elected | | Appointed | | Elected - Appointed | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Estimate | SE | Estimate | SE | Estimate | SE |
| Age | 25 | 0.480 | 0.019 | 0.493 | 0.024 | -0.013 | 0.030 |
| | 35 | 0.564 | 0.013 | 0.568 | 0.012 | -0.004 | 0.018 |
| | 45 | 0.572 | 0.017 | 0.566 | 0.017 | 0.006 | 0.024 |
| | 55 | 0.504 | 0.015 | 0.512 | 0.013 | -0.008 | 0.020 |
| | 65 | 0.372 | 0.014 | 0.368 | 0.012 | 0.003 | 0.018 |
| Ethnicity | Kazakh | 0.571 | 0.018 | 0.551 | 0.017 | 0.020 | 0.025 |
| | Russian | 0.435 | 0.016 | 0.449 | 0.016 | -0.015 | 0.022 |
| Gender | Female | 0.449 | 0.009 | 0.454 | 0.008 | -0.005 | 0.012 |
| | Male | 0.551 | 0.009 | 0.545 | 0.008 | 0.006 | 0.012 |
| Party affiliation | AMANAT (previously Nur Otan) | 0.519 | 0.011 | 0.525 | 0.013 | -0.006 | 0.017 |
| | Ak Zhol | 0.476 | 0.010 | 0.479 | 0.011 | -0.002 | 0.015 |
| | People's Party of Kazakhstan | 0.519 | 0.008 | 0.496 | 0.017 | 0.023 | 0.019 |
| | Auyl Party | 0.489 | 0.011 | 0.513 | 0.010 | -0.023 | 0.016 |
| | No party affiliation | 0.499 | 0.012 | 0.481 | 0.009 | 0.018 | 0.015 |
| Birthplace | Local village/county | 0.557 | 0.013 | 0.527 | 0.010 | 0.029 | 0.016 |
| | Local oblast | 0.525 | 0.013 | 0.503 | 0.011 | 0.022 | 0.017 |
| | Not local but Kazakhstan | 0.472 | 0.011 | 0.505 | 0.009 | -0.034 | 0.014 |
| | Out of Kazakhstan | 0.450 | 0.016 | 0.464 | 0.011 | -0.013 | 0.020 |
| Attitude towards the central power | Always follow center | 0.460 | 0.017 | 0.485 | 0.014 | -0.025 | 0.022 |
| | Follow center, but incorporate local interests | 0.525 | 0.018 | 0.507 | 0.012 | 0.018 | 0.021 |
| | Find local problems | 0.492 | 0.011 | 0.499 | 0.008 | -0.008 | 0.014 |
| | Find and prioritize local problems | 0.521 | 0.009 | 0.505 | 0.009 | 0.016 | 0.013 |
| Attitude towards local petition | Not to listen petition/appeals | 0.448 | 0.013 | 0.469 | 0.011 | -0.022 | 0.017 |
| | Listen petition/appeals | 0.518 | 0.008 | 0.509 | 0.009 | 0.009 | 0.012 |
| | Listen and respond to petition/appeals | 0.534 | 0.014 | 0.522 | 0.009 | 0.013 | 0.016 |
| Promise on public policies | Infrastructure | 0.527 | 0.015 | 0.552 | 0.028 | -0.025 | 0.032 |
| | Local security | 0.487 | 0.014 | 0.445 | 0.014 | 0.042 | 0.020 |
| | Local business | 0.480 | 0.013 | 0.503 | 0.014 | -0.023 | 0.020 |
| | Local farms | 0.508 | 0.015 | 0.496 | 0.014 | 0.012 | 0.021 |
| | Support poors | 0.562 | 0.016 | 0.547 | 0.013 | 0.015 | 0.020 |
| | Support minorities | 0.458 | 0.016 | 0.462 | 0.013 | -0.004 | 0.021 |
| | Support women | 0.477 | 0.010 | 0.502 | 0.015 | -0.026 | 0.018 |

### F.5.2 Village-level Covariates

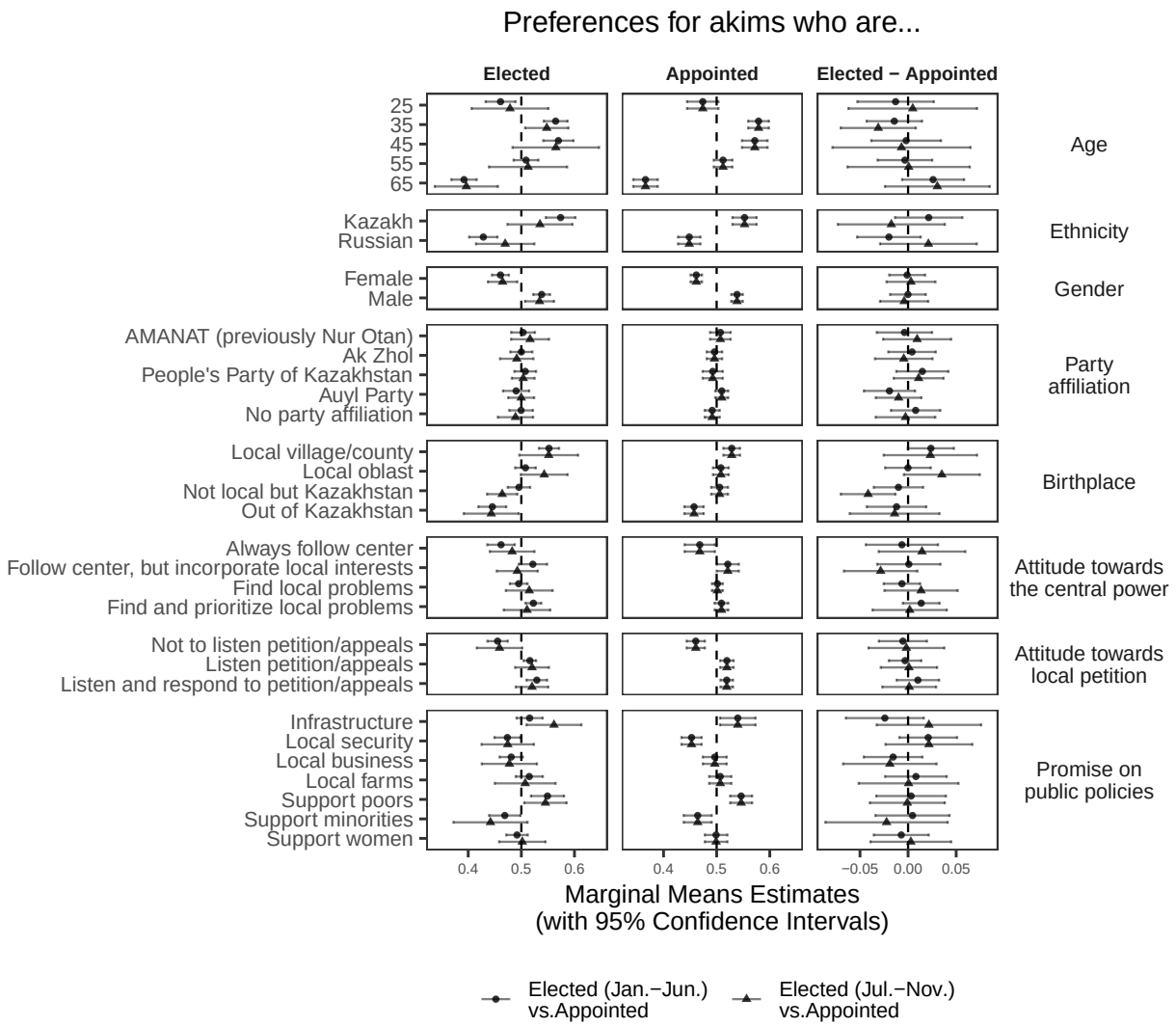


Figure F.4: The effect of introducing election on preferred features of akims by villages with different election timings (all elections are held between January and November 2022).

Table F.15: Estimates table behind Figure F.4 (Jan.-Jun. election vs. appointed)

| | | Elected | | Appointed | | Elected - Appointed | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Attribute | Level | Estimate | SE | Estimate | SE | Estimate | SE |
| Age | 25 | 0.461 | 0.014 | 0.474 | 0.014 | -0.013 | 0.020 |
| | 35 | 0.565 | 0.011 | 0.579 | 0.010 | -0.014 | 0.014 |
| | 45 | 0.570 | 0.014 | 0.572 | 0.012 | -0.002 | 0.018 |
| | 55 | 0.509 | 0.011 | 0.512 | 0.009 | -0.003 | 0.014 |
| | 65 | 0.392 | 0.011 | 0.366 | 0.011 | 0.026 | 0.016 |
| Ethnicity | Kazakh | 0.574 | 0.013 | 0.553 | 0.011 | 0.021 | 0.017 |
| | Russian | 0.428 | 0.013 | 0.448 | 0.010 | -0.020 | 0.016 |
| Gender | Female | 0.461 | 0.008 | 0.462 | 0.005 | -0.001 | 0.009 |
| | Male | 0.538 | 0.008 | 0.538 | 0.005 | 0.000 | 0.009 |
| Party affiliation | AMANAT (previously Nur Otan) | 0.503 | 0.011 | 0.507 | 0.009 | -0.004 | 0.014 |
| | Ak Zhol | 0.500 | 0.010 | 0.496 | 0.007 | 0.004 | 0.012 |
| | People's Party of Kazakhstan | 0.507 | 0.010 | 0.493 | 0.009 | 0.015 | 0.013 |
| | Auyl Party | 0.490 | 0.012 | 0.510 | 0.006 | -0.019 | 0.013 |
| | No party affiliation | 0.500 | 0.011 | 0.492 | 0.007 | 0.008 | 0.013 |
| Birthplace | Local village/county | 0.552 | 0.009 | 0.528 | 0.008 | 0.024 | 0.012 |
| | Local oblast | 0.508 | 0.009 | 0.508 | 0.007 | 0.000 | 0.012 |
| | Not local but Kazakhstan | 0.496 | 0.010 | 0.506 | 0.008 | -0.010 | 0.013 |
| | Out of Kazakhstan | 0.445 | 0.013 | 0.457 | 0.009 | -0.012 | 0.015 |
| Attitude towards the central power | Always follow center | 0.462 | 0.012 | 0.468 | 0.014 | -0.006 | 0.019 |
| | Follow center, but incorporate local interests | 0.522 | 0.013 | 0.521 | 0.010 | 0.001 | 0.016 |
| | Find local problems | 0.495 | 0.008 | 0.501 | 0.005 | -0.006 | 0.009 |
| | Find and prioritize local problems | 0.523 | 0.007 | 0.509 | 0.006 | 0.014 | 0.009 |
| Attitude towards local petition | Not to listen petition/appeals | 0.455 | 0.009 | 0.461 | 0.008 | -0.005 | 0.012 |
| | Listen petition/appeals | 0.516 | 0.006 | 0.519 | 0.006 | -0.003 | 0.008 |
| | Listen and respond to petition/appeals | 0.529 | 0.009 | 0.519 | 0.006 | 0.010 | 0.011 |
| Promise on public policies | Infrastructure | 0.516 | 0.012 | 0.540 | 0.016 | -0.024 | 0.020 |
| | Local security | 0.474 | 0.012 | 0.453 | 0.009 | 0.021 | 0.015 |
| | Local business | 0.481 | 0.010 | 0.496 | 0.011 | -0.016 | 0.015 |
| | Local farms | 0.515 | 0.012 | 0.507 | 0.010 | 0.008 | 0.016 |
| | Support poors | 0.549 | 0.015 | 0.546 | 0.010 | 0.003 | 0.018 |
| | Support minorities | 0.469 | 0.014 | 0.464 | 0.013 | 0.005 | 0.019 |
| | Support women | 0.492 | 0.010 | 0.499 | 0.010 | -0.007 | 0.014 |

Table F.16: Estimates table behind Figure F.4 (Jul.-Nov. election vs. appointed)

| | | Elected | | Appointed | | Elected - Appointed | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Attribute | Level | Estimate | SE | Estimate | SE | Estimate | SE |
| Age | 25 | 0.479 | 0.030 | 0.474 | 0.014 | 0.005 | 0.033 |
| | 35 | 0.548 | 0.017 | 0.579 | 0.010 | -0.031 | 0.019 |
| | 45 | 0.565 | 0.033 | 0.572 | 0.012 | -0.007 | 0.035 |
| | 55 | 0.513 | 0.030 | 0.512 | 0.009 | 0.001 | 0.031 |
| | 65 | 0.396 | 0.024 | 0.366 | 0.011 | 0.030 | 0.027 |
| Ethnicity | Kazakh | 0.535 | 0.025 | 0.553 | 0.011 | -0.017 | 0.027 |
| | Russian | 0.470 | 0.022 | 0.448 | 0.010 | 0.021 | 0.025 |
| Gender | Female | 0.465 | 0.011 | 0.462 | 0.005 | 0.003 | 0.012 |
| | Male | 0.534 | 0.011 | 0.538 | 0.005 | -0.004 | 0.012 |
| Party | AMANAT (previously Nur Otan) | 0.516 | 0.015 | 0.507 | 0.009 | 0.009 | 0.017 |
| affiliation | Ak Zhol | 0.491 | 0.013 | 0.496 | 0.007 | -0.004 | 0.015 |
| | People's Party of Kazakhstan | 0.504 | 0.009 | 0.493 | 0.009 | 0.011 | 0.013 |
| | Auyl Party | 0.500 | 0.010 | 0.510 | 0.006 | -0.010 | 0.012 |
| | No party affiliation | 0.489 | 0.014 | 0.492 | 0.007 | -0.003 | 0.015 |
| Birthplace | Local village/county | 0.552 | 0.023 | 0.528 | 0.008 | 0.023 | 0.024 |
| | Local oblast | 0.543 | 0.018 | 0.508 | 0.007 | 0.035 | 0.019 |
| | Not local but Kazakhstan | 0.464 | 0.012 | 0.506 | 0.008 | -0.042 | 0.014 |
| | Out of Kazakhstan | 0.443 | 0.021 | 0.457 | 0.009 | -0.014 | 0.023 |
| Attitude towards | Always follow center | 0.483 | 0.017 | 0.468 | 0.014 | 0.014 | 0.022 |
| the central power | Follow center, but incorporate local interests | 0.492 | 0.016 | 0.521 | 0.010 | -0.029 | 0.019 |
| | Find local problems | 0.515 | 0.018 | 0.501 | 0.005 | 0.013 | 0.019 |
| | Find and prioritize local problems | 0.511 | 0.018 | 0.509 | 0.006 | 0.002 | 0.019 |
| Attitude towards | Not to listen petition/appeals | 0.459 | 0.018 | 0.461 | 0.008 | -0.002 | 0.019 |
| local petition | Listen petition/appeals | 0.520 | 0.013 | 0.519 | 0.006 | 0.001 | 0.014 |
| | Listen and respond to petition/appeals | 0.520 | 0.013 | 0.519 | 0.006 | 0.001 | 0.014 |
| Promise on | Infrastructure | 0.561 | 0.021 | 0.540 | 0.016 | 0.022 | 0.027 |
| public policies | Local security | 0.474 | 0.020 | 0.453 | 0.009 | 0.022 | 0.022 |
| | Local business | 0.478 | 0.021 | 0.496 | 0.011 | -0.019 | 0.024 |
| | Local farms | 0.507 | 0.023 | 0.507 | 0.010 | 0.001 | 0.026 |
| | Support poors | 0.545 | 0.016 | 0.546 | 0.010 | -0.001 | 0.019 |
| | Support minorities | 0.442 | 0.028 | 0.464 | 0.013 | -0.022 | 0.031 |
| | Support women | 0.502 | 0.018 | 0.499 | 0.010 | 0.003 | 0.021 |

# G Estimated Effects on Political Efficacy Using Anchoring Vignettes

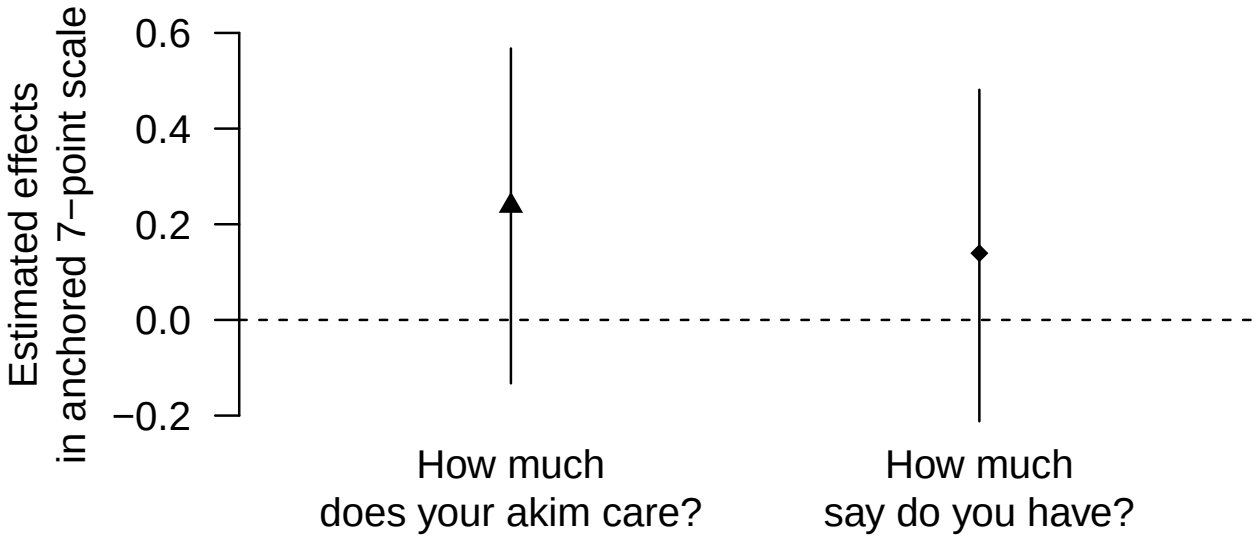


Figure G.1: Results for H1 (Political Efficacy) Estimated by the Censored Ordered Probit Model using Anchoring Vignettes. Estimated effects of experiencing an election on political efficacy measured by survey items, "how much does the rural akim in your village care about issues that you and your neighbours hope to address?" (left) and "how much say do you have in getting the rural akim to address issues that interest you and your neighbours?" (right). To address possible differential item functioning, we converted the raw responses to each item into an anchored scale and estimated the effects of experiencing an election using the censored ordered probit model developed by King and Wand (2007). Note that the outcome scale is 7-point instead of 5-point because we used 3 anchoring vignettes. The vertical bars represent the 95% confidence intervals based on bootstrapped percentiles. Although the point estimates are both positive, neither is statistically distinguishable from zero at the 5% level.

| | Estimate | 2.5 percentile | 97.5 percentile |
|---|---|---|---|
| Akim care | 0.239 | −0.133 | 0.568 |
| How much say | 0.140 | −0.212 | 0.481 |

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