

Table A.1  
Evaluation of Actual Pradhan: Question-wise Analysis

|  | Pradhan is effective |                   | Pradhan did a good job      |                   |                          |                   |                   |                   |
|--|----------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|  |                      |                   | Looking after village needs |                   | Looking after your needs |                   | Making BPL lists  |                   |
|  | Male<br>(1)          | Female<br>(2)     | Male<br>(3)                 | Female<br>(4)     | Male<br>(5)              | Female<br>(6)     | Male<br>(7)       | Female<br>(8)     |
| Only reserved 2003                               | -0.206<br>(0.064)    | -0.097<br>(0.071) | -0.207<br>(0.063)           | -0.113<br>(0.066) | -0.207<br>(0.060)        | -0.051<br>(0.066) | -0.191<br>(0.067) | -0.077<br>(0.063) |
| Reserved 1998 and 2003                           | -0.023<br>(0.079)    | -0.025<br>(0.060) | -0.035<br>(0.080)           | -0.041<br>(0.061) | -0.001<br>(0.069)        | 0.015<br>(0.048)  | 0.135<br>(0.084)  | 0.037<br>(0.054)  |
| Only reserved 1998                               | 0.025<br>(0.064)     | 0.006<br>(0.065)  | 0.007<br>(0.065)            | -0.004<br>(0.062) | -0.002<br>(0.057)        | 0.075<br>(0.053)  | -0.056<br>(0.063) | 0.073<br>(0.054)  |
| Test: 2003 = both 1998 and 2003 = 1998 [p-value] | 0.011                | 0.409             | 0.018                       | 0.305             | 0.008                    | 0.177             | 0.004             | 0.062             |
| Test: 2003 = both 1998 and 2003 [p-value]        | 0.047                | 0.364             | 0.060                       | 0.351             | 0.012                    | 0.336             | 0.001             | 0.111             |
| N  | 6530                 | 6315              | 6590                        | 6363              | 6471                     | 6323              | 6246              | 5893              |

Notes:

- 1 Responses to each question are separately standardized by subtracting the mean for the never reserved sample and dividing by the standard deviation.
- 2 All regressions include the controls as defined in Table IV, and standard errors are clustered by GP.
- 3 We report the p-values from Wald Equality Test.

Table A.2  
Effect of Female Leadership on Public Goods Quantity

|  | N   | Coefficients on:   |                    |                           | Mean of never reserved |
|--|-----|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|
|  |     | Only reserved 2003 | Only reserved 1998 | Reserved in 2003 and 1998 |                        |
| At least one new tubewell was built  | 495 | 0.152<br>(0.066)   | 0.073<br>(0.063)   | 0.160<br>(0.088)          | 0.365<br>(0.482)       |
| At least one new tubewell was repaired   | 482 | 0.208<br>(0.067)   | 0.130<br>(0.064)   | 0.080<br>(0.089)          | 0.628<br>(0.484)       |
| At least one drainage/sanitation facility was built                              | 495 | 0.053<br>(0.067)   | -0.113<br>(0.059)  | 0.052<br>(0.091)          | 0.428<br>(0.496)       |
| At least one drainage/sanitation facility was repaired                           | 396 | 0.150<br>(0.067)   | -0.017<br>(0.062)  | 0.032<br>(0.071)          | 0.178<br>(0.384)       |
| At least one irrigation pump was built   | 495 | 0.137<br>(0.053)   | 0.005<br>(0.051)   | -0.013<br>(0.050)         | 0.180<br>(0.385)       |
| At least one irrigation pump was repaired  | 319 | 0.110<br>(0.092)   | -0.078<br>(0.086)  | -0.005<br>(0.123)         | 0.417<br>(0.495)       |
| Number of metal roads built or repaired since 2003                               | 495 | 0.274<br>(0.117)   | 0.046<br>(0.070)   | 0.079<br>(0.065)          | 0.118<br>(0.448)       |
| Number of transportation related infrastructure<br>(bus stop, bus service, taxi) | 495 | 0.074<br>(0.175)   | 0.250<br>(0.160)   | 0.303<br>(0.225)          | 1.302<br>(1.201)       |
| At least one educational facility was built                                      | 495 | 0.053<br>(0.042)   | -0.030<br>(0.036)  | 0.026<br>(0.055)          | 0.117<br>(0.322)       |
| At least one educational facility was repaired                                   | 465 | 0.165<br>(0.072)   | 0.039<br>(0.069)   | 0.001<br>(0.097)          | 0.296<br>(0.458)       |
| At least one community education center  | 495 | -0.007<br>(0.010)  | 0.030<br>(0.023)   | -0.001<br>(0.009)         | 0.009<br>(0.095)       |
| There is a NGO child center/creche   | 495 | -0.045<br>(0.016)  | -0.039<br>(0.021)  | -0.027<br>(0.023)         | 0.045<br>(0.208)       |
| Number of health facilities (PHC, Health sub center)                             | 495 | -0.025<br>(0.049)  | 0.027<br>(0.052)   | -0.005<br>(0.084)         | 0.257<br>(0.468)       |
| At least one health facility was built   | 495 | 0.011<br>(0.015)   | -0.004<br>(0.014)  | -0.018<br>(0.009)         | 0.014<br>(0.116)       |
| At least one health facility was repaired (0 if no fac)                          | 495 | 0.061<br>(0.023)   | 0.016<br>(0.016)   | 0.047<br>(0.024)          | 0.009<br>(0.095)       |
| Number of trained Dais, untrained Dais and private doctors                       | 495 | -0.069<br>(0.232)  | -0.158<br>(0.226)  | 0.384<br>(0.423)          | 1.014<br>(2.012)       |

Notes:

- 1 All regressions include block fixed effects, and standard errors are clustered by GP.
- 2 Reservation status defined in Table I.

Table A.3  
Perceptions of Effectiveness of Female Leaders -- Speech and Vignette Results

|  | Speech               |                                      |                                |                              |                                    |  |  | Irrigation vignette  |                                |                    |                        | Water vignette       |                                |                    |                        |
|--|----------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------------|--|--|----------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|
|  | Pradhan is effective | Address-ed villager satisfact- orily | Cares about villagers' welfare | Will allocate BPL cards well | Villager approves Pradhan's budget | Pradhan will get resources by lobbying | Pradhan will collect villagers' share well | Pradhan is effective | Cares about villagers' welfare | Agree with Pradhan | Would vote for Pradhan | Pradhan is effective | Cares about villagers' welfare | Agree with Pradhan | Would vote for Pradhan |
|  | (1)                  | (2)                                  | (3)                            | (4)                          | (5)                                | (6)                                    | (7)  | (8)                  | (9)                            | (10)               | (11)                   | (12)                 | (13)                           | (14)               | (15)                   |
| <b>I. Males</b>                                      |                      |                                      |                                |                              |                                    |  |  |                      |                                |                    |                        |                      |                                |                    |                        |
| <b>Panel A</b>                                       |                      |                                      |                                |                              |                                    |  |  |                      |                                |                    |                        |                      |                                |                    |                        |
| Female Pradhan                                       | -0.064<br>(0.040)    | -0.107<br>(0.040)                    | -0.080<br>(0.041)              | -0.038<br>(0.042)            | -0.034<br>(0.040)                  | -0.071<br>(0.037)                      | -0.082<br>(0.042)                          | -0.065<br>(0.053)    | -0.066<br>(0.054)              | -0.149<br>(0.055)  | -0.082<br>(0.059)      | 0.043<br>(0.064)     | 0.033<br>(0.065)               | 0.048<br>(0.052)   | 0.063<br>(0.052)       |
| Female Pradhan * ever reserved                       | 0.095<br>(0.052)     | 0.107<br>(0.053)                     | 0.125<br>(0.054)               | 0.094<br>(0.056)             | 0.053<br>(0.055)                   | 0.140<br>(0.051)                       | 0.125<br>(0.053)                           | 0.145<br>(0.070)     | 0.163<br>(0.074)               | 0.115<br>(0.073)   | 0.089<br>(0.076)       | -0.014<br>(0.080)    | -0.015<br>(0.081)              | 0.019<br>(0.070)   | 0.038<br>(0.076)       |
| <b>Panel B</b>                                       |                      |                                      |                                |                              |                                    |  |  |                      |                                |                    |                        |                      |                                |                    |                        |
| Female Pradhan * only reserved 2003                  | 0.151<br>(0.067)     | 0.135<br>(0.065)                     | 0.198<br>(0.067)               | 0.185<br>(0.071)             | 0.050<br>(0.065)                   | 0.175<br>(0.070)                       | 0.174<br>(0.070)                           | 0.126<br>(0.093)     | 0.158<br>(0.095)               | 0.061<br>(0.085)   | 0.018<br>(0.090)       | -0.027<br>(0.099)    | -0.031<br>(0.108)              | 0.032<br>(0.098)   | 0.042<br>(0.108)       |
| Female Pradhan * reserved 1998 & 2003                | 0.091<br>(0.083)     | 0.048<br>(0.092)                     | 0.080<br>(0.088)               | 0.058<br>(0.096)             | 0.050<br>(0.102)                   | 0.109<br>(0.092)                       | 0.124<br>(0.086)                           | 0.184<br>(0.096)     | 0.231<br>(0.114)               | 0.173<br>(0.110)   | 0.167<br>(0.107)       | 0.062<br>(0.118)     | 0.038<br>(0.120)               | -0.031<br>(0.115)  | 0.028<br>(0.122)       |
| Female Pradhan * only reserved 1998                  | 0.043<br>(0.066)     | 0.114<br>(0.069)                     | 0.081<br>(0.068)               | 0.031<br>(0.072)             | 0.059<br>(0.073)                   | 0.128<br>(0.063)                       | 0.087<br>(0.062)                           | 0.147<br>(0.100)     | 0.137<br>(0.104)               | 0.137<br>(0.104)   | 0.111<br>(0.108)       | -0.047<br>(0.097)    | -0.031<br>(0.092)              | 0.026<br>(0.081)   | 0.033<br>(0.096)       |
| Test: FP* 2003 = FP* (both 1998 and 2003) = FP* 1998 | 0.357                | 0.668                                | 0.240                          | 0.160                        | 0.994                              | 0.762                                  | 0.487                                      | 0.875                | 0.778                          | 0.579              | 0.379                  | 0.655                | 0.831                          | 0.879              | 0.995                  |
| N  | 6715                 | 6716                                 | 6715                           | 6714                         | 6551                               | 6715                                   | 6716                                       | 3173                 | 3173                           | 3172               | 3116                   | 3544                 | 3544                           | 3543               | 3503                   |
| <b>II. Females</b>                                   |                      |                                      |                                |                              |                                    |  |  |                      |                                |                    |                        |                      |                                |                    |                        |
| <b>Panel A</b>                                       |                      |                                      |                                |                              |                                    |  |  |                      |                                |                    |                        |                      |                                |                    |                        |
| Female Pradhan                                       | -0.051<br>(0.045)    | -0.029<br>(0.046)                    | -0.056<br>(0.046)              | 0.003<br>(0.045)             | -0.086<br>(0.045)                  | -0.081<br>(0.045)                      | -0.072<br>(0.045)                          | -0.059<br>(0.058)    | -0.010<br>(0.056)              | -0.102<br>(0.055)  | -0.083<br>(0.056)      | 0.030<br>(0.046)     | 0.086<br>(0.046)               | 0.003<br>(0.042)   | 0.035<br>(0.048)       |
| Female Pradhan * ever reserved                       | 0.013<br>(0.054)     | 0.035<br>(0.057)                     | 0.025<br>(0.057)               | -0.017<br>(0.056)            | 0.077<br>(0.057)                   | 0.063<br>(0.057)                       | 0.045<br>(0.056)                           | 0.023<br>(0.073)     | -0.047<br>(0.071)              | -0.041<br>(0.075)  | -0.035<br>(0.075)      | 0.016<br>(0.060)     | 0.002<br>(0.061)               | 0.002<br>(0.061)   | 0.002<br>(0.063)       |
| <b>Panel B</b>                                       |                      |                                      |                                |                              |                                    |  |  |                      |                                |                    |                        |                      |                                |                    |                        |
| Female Pradhan * only reserved 2003                  | -0.034<br>(0.067)    | -0.024<br>(0.074)                    | -0.031<br>(0.069)              | -0.076<br>(0.067)            | 0.069<br>(0.076)                   | 0.008<br>(0.071)                       | -0.001<br>(0.074)                          | -0.002<br>(0.086)    | -0.072<br>(0.085)              | 0.002<br>(0.093)   | -0.020<br>(0.090)      | 0.013<br>(0.075)     | 0.015<br>(0.084)               | 0.061<br>(0.079)   | 0.084<br>(0.086)       |
| Female Pradhan * reserved 1998 & 2003                | 0.028<br>(0.076)     | 0.083<br>(0.079)                     | 0.069<br>(0.086)               | 0.012<br>(0.092)             | 0.070<br>(0.078)                   | 0.086<br>(0.094)                       | 0.061<br>(0.073)                           | 0.070<br>(0.097)     | 0.013<br>(0.101)               | -0.011<br>(0.094)  | 0.105<br>(0.102)       | 0.033<br>(0.094)     | 0.048<br>(0.090)               | 0.039<br>(0.115)   | -0.118<br>(0.105)      |
| Female Pradhan * only reserved 1998                  | 0.054<br>(0.066)     | 0.069<br>(0.066)                     | 0.057<br>(0.069)               | 0.027<br>(0.067)             | 0.092<br>(0.068)                   | 0.107<br>(0.067)                       | 0.083<br>(0.066)                           | -0.003<br>(0.105)    | -0.083<br>(0.098)              | -0.129<br>(0.108)  | -0.153<br>(0.108)      | 0.013<br>(0.078)     | -0.033<br>(0.074)              | -0.083<br>(0.084)  | -0.012<br>(0.071)      |
| Test: FP* 2003 = FP* (both 1998 and 2003) = FP* 1998 | 0.455                | 0.359                                | 0.382                          | 0.308                        | 0.949                              | 0.401                                  | 0.536                                      | 0.746                | 0.653                          | 0.484              | 0.131                  | 0.977                | 0.698                          | 0.328              | 0.214                  |
| N  | 6771                 | 6772                                 | 6771                           | 6770                         | 6372                               | 6770                                   | 6770                                       | 2869                 | 2869                           | 2869               | 2740                   | 3908                 | 3908                           | 3902               | 3797                   |

Notes:

1 Dependent variables in Columns (1)-(4) and (6)-(7) are originally on a scale of 1 to 10, and in Column (5) is an indicator variable; all normalized by the mean and standard deviation of the never reserved sample. In the vignette experiments, "Effectiveness of leader" and "Cares about villager welfare" are originally on a scale of 1 to 10, while "Agree with Pradhan" and "Would vote for Pradhan" are indicator variables which equal one if the respondent answers in the affirmative; all normalized by the mean and standard deviation of the never reserved sample.

2 All regressions include controls as defined in Table IV, and standard errors are clustered by GP. The regressions also include: in Panel A, Ever reserved and in Panel B, Only reserved 2003, reserved 1998 and 2003, and Only reserved 1998.

3 Female Pradhan is an indicator for when the leader delivering the speech was female or the Pradhan depicted in the vignettes was female.

Table A.4  
Knowledge and Participation in Village Politics

|  | Knows the name of |                   |                   |                   | Has approached    |                   | Has heard of      |                   | Attended village meeting last |                   |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------|
|  | current Pradhan   |                   | previous Pradhan  |                   | current Pradhan   |                   | village meeting   |                   | year                          |                   |
|  | Male              | Female            | Male              | Female            | Male              | Female            | Male              | Female            | Male                          | Female            |
|  | (1)               | (2)               | (3)               | (4)               | (5)               | (6)               | (7)               | (8)               | (9)                           | (10)              |
| <b>Panel A</b>                         |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                               |                   |
| Ever reserved                          | -0.088<br>(0.025) | -0.054<br>(0.024) | -0.075<br>(0.024) | -0.043<br>(0.020) | -0.022<br>(0.020) | -0.008<br>(0.022) | -0.029<br>(0.018) | -0.002<br>(0.009) | 0.000<br>(0.018)              | -0.009<br>(0.008) |
| <b>Panel B</b>                         |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                               |                   |
| Only reserved 2003                     | -0.134<br>(0.033) | -0.075<br>(0.033) | -0.012<br>(0.027) | -0.032<br>(0.027) | -0.036<br>(0.024) | -0.032<br>(0.026) | -0.038<br>(0.022) | -0.011<br>(0.012) | 0.000<br>(0.024)              | -0.015<br>(0.011) |
| Reserved 1998 and 2003                 | -0.117<br>(0.042) | -0.024<br>(0.036) | -0.137<br>(0.048) | -0.020<br>(0.032) | 0.047<br>(0.030)  | 0.052<br>(0.033)  | -0.062<br>(0.026) | 0.007<br>(0.014)  | -0.003<br>(0.028)             | -0.004<br>(0.011) |
| Only reserved 1998                     | -0.024<br>(0.033) | -0.051<br>(0.031) | -0.098<br>(0.033) | -0.069<br>(0.023) | -0.054<br>(0.028) | -0.023<br>(0.029) | 0.001<br>(0.024)  | 0.002<br>(0.012)  | 0.002<br>(0.024)              | -0.005<br>(0.010) |
| Test: 2003 = both 1998 and 2003 = 1998 | 0.012             | 0.538             | 0.012             | 0.206             | 0.012             | 0.051             | 0.102             | 0.495             | 0.987                         | 0.589             |
| Mean of never reserved sample          | 0.669<br>(0.009)  | 0.332<br>(0.009)  | 0.591<br>(0.009)  | 0.234<br>(0.008)  | 0.534<br>(0.009)  | 0.134<br>(0.006)  | 0.759<br>(0.008)  | 0.560<br>(0.009)  | 0.341<br>(0.009)              | 0.066<br>(0.004)  |
| N                                      | 6717              | 6780              | 6717              | 6780              | 6716              | 6779              | 6717              | 6780              | 6717                          | 6780              |

Notes:

1 Each dependent variable is an indicator variable which equals one if the respondent answers in the affirmative. "Ever Reserved" is an indicator for whether a GP was reserved for a female Pradhan in either 1998, 2003 or in both elections. All other reservation variables are as defined in Table I.

2 All regressions include controls listed in Table IV. Standard errors are clustered by GP.

Table A.5  
Female Leadership: Experimental Evidence by Exposure Level

|   | Average effect (speech and vignette) |                   |                   |
|---|--------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|   | All                                  | Male              | Female            |
|   | (1)                                  | (2)               | (3)               |
| Female Pradhan  | -0.042<br>(0.031)                    | -0.028<br>(0.051) | -0.045<br>(0.037) |
| Female Pradhan * ever reserved                        | 0.042<br>(0.039)                     | 0.054<br>(0.067)  | 0.037<br>(0.047)  |
| Female Pradhan * ever reserved * knows Pradhan's name | 0.038<br>(0.044)                     | 0.050<br>(0.077)  | -0.031<br>(0.072) |
| Ever reserved   | 0.017<br>(0.039)                     | -0.049<br>(0.056) | 0.044<br>(0.042)  |
| Ever reserved * knows Pradhan's name                  | -0.016<br>(0.041)                    | 0.013<br>(0.056)  | 0.039<br>(0.058)  |
| Female Pradhan * knows pradhan's name                 | -0.004<br>(0.035)                    | -0.033<br>(0.058) | 0.026<br>(0.055)  |
| Knows Pradhan's name                                  | 0.074<br>(0.031)                     | 0.050<br>(0.042)  | 0.064<br>(0.044)  |

Notes:

- 1 The dependent variable is the average of speech and vignette variables listed in A.3. We estimate the effect on the average of all the dependent variables in the speech and vignettes.
- 2 "Knows Pradhan's name" is an indicator variable equal to one if the respondent knows the name of the current or previous Pradhan. Female Pradhan is an indicator for when the leader delivering the speech was female or the Pradhan depicted in the vignettes was female. All regressions include the controls defined in Table IV, and standard errors are clustered by GP.

Table A.6  
Robustness

|  | Average effect    |                   |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|
|  | Male              | Female            |
|  | (1)               | (2)               |
| <b>I. Evaluation of new Pradhans</b>   |                   |                   |
| First time as pradhan in 2003 term   | 0.001<br>(0.076)  | 0.015<br>(0.068)  |
| <b>II. Evaluation of SC Pradhans</b>   |                   |                   |
| Reserved for SC in 2003  | -0.114<br>(0.063) | -0.037<br>(0.062) |
| Reserved for SC in 1998  | -0.087<br>(0.057) | -0.061<br>(0.052) |
| Reserved for SC in 2003 * reserved for woman in 1998                         | 0.163<br>(0.120)  | 0.027<br>(0.119)  |
| <b>III. Evaluation of female Pradhans and SC reservation</b>                 |                   |                   |
| Only reserved 2003 (for wWoman)  | -0.204<br>(0.077) | -0.068<br>(0.078) |
| Reserved 1998 and 2003 (for woman)   | 0.050<br>(0.088)  | 0.009<br>(0.066)  |
| Only reserved 1998 (for woman)   | 0.029<br>(0.079)  | -0.012<br>(0.077) |
| Only reserved 2003 * previously reserved for SC                              | 0.035<br>(0.131)  | -0.006<br>(0.132) |
| <b>IV. SC reservation on female leadership: speech and vignettes results</b> |                   |                   |
| <b>Panel A</b>   |                   |                   |
| Female Pradhan   | -0.046<br>(0.034) | -0.042<br>(0.034) |
| Female Pradhan * ever reserved SC  | -0.013<br>(0.038) | 0.014<br>(0.038)  |
| <b>Panel B</b>   |                   |                   |
| Female Pradhan * reserved for SC in 2003                                     | 0.003<br>(0.041)  | 0.005<br>(0.044)  |
| Female Pradhan * reserved for SC in 1998                                     | -0.028<br>(0.047) | 0.025<br>(0.047)  |

Notes:

- 1 The regressions in Panel I-III use the average evaluation coefficient for Pradhan (explained in notes to Table IV) as the dependent variable.
- 2 In Panel I the explanatory variable of interest is whether the Pradhan was elected for the first time in 2003 and the sample is restricted to the set of never reserved Pradhans.
- 3 In Panel II the explanatory variables of interest are whether the GP was reserved for SC in the 2003 and 1998 elections and the interaction of being reserved for a woman Pradhan in 1998 and being reserved for an SC Pradhan in 2003.
- 4 In Panel III, the explanatory variables of interest are the women reservation status indicators and the interaction of "Previously Reserved for SC" indicator with the "Only Reserved 2003" indicator. The regressions also include the interaction of "Only Reserved 1998" and "Reserved 1998 and 2003" with "Previously Reserved for SC" indicator.
- 5 The regressions in Panel IV use the average perception of Pradhan effectiveness in the speech and vignettes (explained in notes to Table VI) as the dependent variable. The explanatory variables of interest are the indicators for female Pradhan in the speech/vignette and the interaction of this indicator with the reservation for SC status of the GP. In addition, the regressions include the indicator variables for ever reserved for SC in Panel A, and reserved for SC in 2003 and 1998 in Panel B.
- 6 All regressions include the controls defined in Table 4, and standard errors are clustered by GP. Reservation types are defined in the notes of Table 1.