

A Data Appendix

A.1 Vignette and Speech

The gender of the leader was varied at the respondent level. We further randomized the investment decision in the vignette.

- I.1 Vignette: Respondents received one of four vignettes, which varied in the gender of the Pradhan (Male (Tapan Das) or Female (Sandhya Das)) and the investment decision (Irrigation or Water).

READ OUT: We will read a short description of the Pradhan of village CHANDI in district South 24 Parganas. We will ask you some questions about what you think the Pradhan should have done. There are no right or wrong answers. Please answer each in terms of your own reactions. Pradhan Tapan Das [Pradhan Sandhya Das] has been serving his [her] Panchayat for ten months. As the end of the year approaches, there is only a limited amount of money remaining in the budget. Yet, villagers have been pressing him [her] to make improvements in two major areas: irrigation and drinking water. There was enough money to make investments in only one area. Prior to making a decision, Pradhan Tapan Das [Pradhan Sandhya Das] consulted with villagers at the Gram Sabha. Many people expressed frustration that there was still no safe drinking water available in the village. Many people, especially children, were getting sick. Others were upset about the quality of the irrigation system. Poor irrigation system meant that, in dry years, many people lost their crops. Shri Tapan Das [Shrimati Sandhya Das] considered the demands carefully, and wondered what to do. On the one hand, Shri Tapan Das [Shrimati Sandhya Das] knew the health cost of bad water quality. Yet, wouldn't everyone be better off with better irrigation? After careful reflection Pradhan Tapan Das [Pradhan Sandhya Das] decided to invest in irrigation improvement [drinking water].

- I.2 Speech: Respondents received one of six speech versions - three male voice recordings and three female voice recordings.

READ OUT: You will hear a tape-recorded speech from the village meeting of Gram Panchayat Labhpur in district West Dinajpur. We will ask you some questions on the effectiveness of the leader. There are no right or wrong answers. Please answer each in terms of your own reactions.

VILLAGER: The tubewell of our Kumarpara is not functioning. The repairing job of the tubewell in your locality has been done partially, but the same work at Nutangram has been completed.

PRADHAN: For repairing of tubewells maximum amount of funds of the Panchayat is being drained out. As a result of which, other works can't be done. From the next stage you, the people, should take mental preparations that the minor repairing jobs of the tubewells won't be done by the Panchayat. I mean that if the work involves a large amount of money, e.g. if a pipe is needed then it involves the money above Rs.250, Rs.300, this type of work will be done by the Panchayat. But for the minor repairing jobs the people have to take initiative to collect subscriptions to do this. In the future, the plan of the Panchayat will be "plans with equal sharings" ("Samobhagi Parikalpana"). The Government won't provide all the money. The Government will provide some amount of money and the rest will have to be borne by the people either by giving labor or helping financially. In this way the work of the Panchayat has to be done. Suppose a village road has to be constructed, then the people of the village will do the earthen work and the Panchayat will supply the morram. Therefore the people will now share the jobs, which the Panchayat did mostly. Then the total work can be made with success. So in the next stage, preparation has to be taken. I would now like all villagers to approve the village budget.

A.2 Table V Variables

Our regressions in Table V consider as dependent variables an average public good quantity index (column (1)), an average public good quality index (column (2)), an average satisfaction index (columns (3) and (4)), average bribes (column (6)) and alignment with female preference

(column (7)). We describe the construction of these variables.

Public Good Quantity: The index is the averaged sum of normalized investments in the goods listed below. We average over the number of types of public goods invested in, and normalize investments in each type of good by subtracting the mean for the never reserved villages and dividing by their standard deviation. For ease of exposition, each public good can be put into the following category:

1. Water and sanitation: a dummy for whether a tubewell was built, a tubewell was repaired, a sanitation pit was built, a sanitation pit repaired.
2. Irrigation: a dummy for whether an irrigation pump was built or repaired.
3. Roads: a dummy for whether a metal road was built or repaired since 2003.
4. Transport: number of transportation-related infrastructure components (bus stop, bus service, and private taxi / auto).
5. Schools and other education facilities: a dummy for whether any educational facility was built, a dummy for whether such facility was repaired, a dummy for whether there is a creche and an indicator for a CE Center/ Library. Educational facilities considered for the built and repaired indicators include: SSK, Anganwadi, government primary schools, middle schools, libraries, secondary schools and CE Center / Library.
6. Health: the number of health facilities, including Public Health Centers and Health Sub-Centers / Subsidiary Centers, a dummy for whether a health facility was built, a dummy for whether a health facility was repaired (0 if no health facility existed), and number of doctors.

Public Good Quality: The index is defined analogous to the quantity variable.

1. Water: handpumps are perennial, provide clean water, no stagnant water, and drainage facility.
2. Road: condition of road (1-5) and number of potholes in 100m.

3. Transport: dummy for presence of a bus stand and if bus stand has shelter.
4. Schools and other education facilities: whether all primary schools have drinking water, toilets, and blackboards.
5. Health: facility having tap or hand-pump water and an indicator for having a labor room.
6. Fair Price Shop Quality: whether prices displayed, no bad behavior of shopkeeper, and no complaint against shop.

Satisfaction Variables: The satisfaction index is defined analogous to the quantity variable. All of the variables below are either 0 (not satisfied) or 1 (satisfied):

1. Satisfaction with water provision: satisfied with the quantity of the water supply and the quality of the water supply.
2. Satisfaction with public transport: satisfied with the frequency, reliability, cost, quality of the buses, and the behavior of the driver/conductor in the public bus system.
3. Satisfaction with schools: satisfied with (if available) the school's building, playground, recreational facilities, classrooms, toilets, drinking water, meals, quality of the teaching, quality of study material, and behavior of teacher.
4. Satisfaction with fair price shops: satisfied with the quality of items, the quantity of items, the fairness of shopkeeper, and the availability of items in the shop.
5. Satisfaction with health care: satisfied with treatment, behavior of doctors, behavior of paramedical staff, quality of medicine, cleanliness inside the facility in outpatient health facilities; and satisfied with treatment, behavior of doctors, behavior or paramedical staff quality of medicine, quality of food, cleanliness inside the wards, cleanliness inside the bathrooms in inpatient health facilities.

Bribes: The bribe index is the average over two variables, each of which is 1 if either adult respondent within a household reported:

1. Paying speed money / bribe for renewal or issuance of a BPL card.
2. Paying speed money / bribe to rectify a problem with the water supply, either because it was requested or the individual offered the money voluntarily.

Alignment with Female Preference: The alignment with female preference specification tests whether there is more investment in reserved GPs in goods mentioned more frequently by women, as measured by formal complaints to the GP during 6 months in 2000. The data and specification are the same as in Chattopadhyay and Duflo (2004). Complaints were categorized into the following areas: drinking water, road improvement, education, irrigation, and other. The specification is:

$$Y_{ij} = \beta_0 + \beta_2 R_{g2} + \beta_{2and1} R_{g2and1} + \beta_1 R_{g1} + \beta_3 D_i * R_{g2} + \beta_4 D_i * R_{g2and1} + \beta_5 D_i * R_{g1} + \sum_{l=1}^N \beta_l d_{il} + \epsilon_{ij} \quad (1)$$

where D_i is the average difference between the fraction of requests about good i from women and from men and d_{il} are good-specific dummies. R_g are the reservation indicators as defined in the paper. In Table 5, column (6), we report the coefficients from the interaction of reservation status and the average difference between the fraction of requests for goods in category i from women and from men (i.e. β_3 , β_4 and β_5).