

## **14. Politics as a Male Domain and Empowerment in India**

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### **Introduction**

India is the world's largest democracy, yet female presence in India's state and national legislatures has consistently remained under 10 percent. In contrast, female representation in local village councils has risen dramatically in the last twenty years. A constitutional amendment instituted in 1993 both devolved significant powers to village councils and instituted a quota system that required that one-third of village council leader positions be reserved for women. While the mandatory nature of the quota system implied that it led to an immediate increase in descriptive representation, our work with co-authors demonstrates that it also increased substantive representation (Chattopadhyay and Duflo 2004; Beaman et al. 2009; Beaman et al. 2010).

In this chapter we examine how quotas in Indian village councils have influenced symbolic representation for women. We consider a specific definition of symbolic representation: the extent to which the increased presence of women leaders, as a result of quotas, affects the perceptions and opinions of voters. We focus on whether exposure to more female politicians changes (negative) stereotypes held by voters about women's roles in politics specifically and in society generally. Our case study examines this by using survey and experimental data to measure voter attitudes towards female leaders.

To do so, we discuss findings from a large field survey conducted in the Indian state of West Bengal. Quotas, wherein 33 percent of village council leader positions are reserved for women, were introduced with the goal of both ensuring female participation and reducing voter bias against women as policymakers. The data from West Bengal has shown that exposure to female leaders caused villagers to update their implicit beliefs about women's ability to lead and made them more willing to vote for women (Beaman et al, 2009). In this chapter, we present new

evidence that these changes were accompanied by limited changes in sexist attitudes in the population and use a sexism index that captures various dimensions of such attitudes. We use the West Bengal data to analyze whether sexism (as captured by a psychological index) and women's mobility (as measured through survey questions addressed to women) were altered after villagers were exposed to female council heads (called Pradhans). Examples of our measures of women's mobility include a woman's ability to make decisions on household expenditures, the number of times women went outside the village in the last 30 days, and whether a woman can go unescorted to her parents' village. We find that negative stereotypes about women (as measured by Hostile Sexism measures) were reduced, but villagers' endorsement of traditional gender roles (captured by Benevolent Sexism measures) was not. Neither do we observe greater female empowerment in the domestic sphere.

We argue that the symbolic implications of quotas appear to be closely linked to substantive actions of female politicians. In the case of India, women leaders pursue different and sometimes more effective policies than men. Villagers respond by being more willing to elect women and reducing hostility towards women. However, this does not lead them to challenge social norms about women's roles or to give women more autonomy in the household (at least in the short-to-medium run). The evidence presented suggests that there may be little impact of quotas on women's symbolic representation in arenas that do not see direct substantive change; if correct, this may have significant implications for how we conceive of the relationship between quota policies and women's overall well-being.

This chapter is structured as follows. The next section provides an overview of the institutional background on India's political reservation system. We then describe the case study and methodology used, followed by the main findings.

## **Reservation in India**

India granted women the right to vote at Independence, and has been home to several impressive female leaders, including former Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, current leader of the Congress Party Sonia Gandhi and regional leaders such as Mayawati and Mamta Banerjee. However, the average share of women in national and state legislatures is low (below 10 percent), and gender gaps persist in the education, health and labor force (Hausmann et al. 2010). There are also historically strong norms against women's participation in the public sphere, which can hinder women in their pursuit of public office and in their attempts to influence the formation of national laws. Political reservation is one tool that can be used to give women access to power structures and increase their role in policy decisions. At the moment, though, reservation based on sex is only utilized at the local level in India.

India is a constitutional democracy that operates with a bicameral parliament, consisting of the directly elected Lok Sabha (lower house) and appointed Rajya Sabha (upper house). India uses the electoral system of first-past-the-post, with single-member districts; constituents vote for candidates rather than political parties. Yet there are few female parliamentarians: in 2009, only 59 of the 545 seats in the Lok Sabha were held by women (11 percent). India's constitution guarantees universal suffrage as well as equal treatment under the law regardless of caste, sex, religion, or race. In fact, the use of political reservation in India began in order to alleviate the stratified society created by the caste system, and in 1950 both scheduled castes and scheduled tribes were given reservation in the parliament and state legislatures, as well as in civil service jobs and university admittance (Pande 2005).

While there are quotas in place at the national level that reserve seats for scheduled castes and tribes, there are no legislative quotas based on gender. However, India has made gender equality in politics a high priority by passing a historic bill in March 2010 that will reserve a third of all seats in both the national parliament and the state legislatures for women. This would triple the number of women in the Lok Sabha. However, this vote is an early step in the process to amend the Constitution, and the bill must still be passed by the lower house and state legislatures.

Regional caste-based parties oppose the bill, arguing potential unfairness to other underrepresented groups (Polgreen 2010). Yet Beaman et al. (2010) provide evidence suggesting the effect on such groups is largely absent in data from West Bengal.

So, how does the idea of mandated reservation based on sex fit into Indian politics? The institution of a reservation system is motivated by the expectation that such policy measures will have a positive effect on symbolic representation. This expectation is fairly recent, for reservation based on sex did not exist until 1993 and was instituted at the local level of village councils (Gram Panchayats or GPs). Mandated reservation coincided with the rise of political emphasis on local, self-governance. The idea of self-governance has been an important motivation behind politics in India for the last half century. Mahatma Gandhi advocated a system of “Panchayati Raj,” a decentralized form of self-governance in which each village was given responsibility for local affairs. The 73<sup>rd</sup> constitutional amendment codified this concept – as well as the reservations system – in 1993. With the intention of “deepening democracy,” the reform devolved administrative and development power responsibilities to the level of the Gram Panchayats. The GP, each encompassing roughly 10,000 villagers, forms the foundation of a three-tiered system of rural councils and serves as India’s vehicle for the decentralized provision of public goods (including welfare programs and public works). GPs are also responsible for administering the large National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) that guarantees 100 days of employment for poor Indian households.

In addition to the reserved seats for women for the village council president seat, the Pradhan, there are also reserved seats for council members. Specifically, 33 percent of such seats are reserved for women (including 33 percent of the seats also reserved for scheduled caste or scheduled tribe). Notably, these seats are still obtained using direct election. As a result, quotas increased the fraction of female village leaders from under 5 percent in 1992 to roughly 40 percent by 2000. Today, there are over two million elected female village leaders (Hunger Project 2009). In addition, research has shown that repeated exposure to women leaders increases the

chances of women being elected in districts that experienced multiple cycles of reservation (Beaman et al. 2009).

The Indian quota system allocates reserved seats using random assignment, with each seat, on average, reserved for women once every three elections. This system creates a natural experiment, and allows for the comparison of villages with female leaders due to quotas to villages without reservation. It has given several scholars the ability to empirically study the effect of mandated reservation on a variety of outcomes, including policy preferences of women leaders, re-election patterns, and voter attitudes.

This information has painted a much clearer picture of women politicians in India after reservation. Women leaders have been shown to have different policy preferences than their male counterparts – among village councilors in India, women were more likely to invest in goods preferred by women (Chattopadhyay and Duflo 2004). Duflo and Topalova (2004) find that women make better leaders in certain dimensions that are easy to observe, providing more public goods for their villages than men, and goods of higher quality. Furthermore, Beaman et al. (2009) find that households reported giving fewer bribes and the number of measured public goods was greater in GPs reserved for a woman.

The body of evidence therefore shows that the reservation system led to an increase in substantive representation for women. A natural question follows: how do gender quotas in India affect the symbolic representation of women, and the resulting public attitudes?

### **Case Study and Methodology**

The case study in this chapter takes a particular approach to looking at the concept of symbolic representation. We ask, how does the increased presence of women leaders as a result of quotas affect the perceptions and opinions of voters?

Increasing the presence of women in politics using quotas can affect a number of outcomes, including constituents' attitudes towards both democratic institutions and minimum

thresholds of representation. More significantly, reservations are a policy tool that also has the potential to erode any prior conceptions of politics as a male domain, essentially reframing the gendered nature of politics and weakening negative stereotypes concerning the performance of women leaders. Voters may be biased and view women as less experienced and less effective in the political arena, or hold preexisting attitudes that associate leadership with men. Such stereotypes can be a major hurdle for women seeking political involvement. The question of symbolic representation is especially salient in India, which is a society characterized by social stratification and strong norms against women's participation across the public sphere.

Many argue that quotas, by exposing voters to female leaders, can positively change public opinions about the presence and effectiveness of female politicians and thereby open a door for increased female participation. However, the symbolic effects associated with gender quotas are the most difficult to measure. Are voter attitudes shaped by a bias against the idea of a women leader, or in response to the behavior of previous and ineffective women leaders? Once the mandated reservation is removed, are women not elected because they are less effective than male leaders, or do voters historically have more information on male leaders and therefore assume that male leaders are better? The specific choice of gender quotas as a policy option anticipates potential positive changes in symbolic representation. Therefore, it is more important than ever to disentangle the effects that affirmative action policies may have on women's participation in politics and on voters' attitudes.

This case study begins to answer this question with findings from a large field survey conducted in the Indian state of West Bengal, which uses experimental and survey data to measure voter attitudes towards female leaders. We take advantage of the fact that GPs were randomly assigned a reservation policy: in both 1998 and 2003, one-third of leader positions in village councils have been reserved for women. This randomization created a natural experiment, which means that the difference in average outcomes between reserved and unreserved GPs reflects the causal impact of female leadership. We exploit this random variation to directly

measure bias against female leaders, and observe how exposure to female leaders affects this bias. In this chapter we summarize findings from completed research (Beaman et al. 2009) and also provide new results on how exposure to female leaders influenced sexism.

Our data comes from villages in West Bengal affected by the reservation policy during the elections of 1998 and 2003. We conducted household surveys in 2006-2007 among villagers in 165 districts in Birbhum, with a total of 6,642 male and 6,568 female respondents. The survey asked respondents to evaluate their Pradhan along several dimensions, including detailed questions on public good provision and villagers' satisfaction with the level of public good provision, and collected experimental data on villagers' evaluation of hypothetical leaders. This data documents variation in voters' explicit opinion of their Pradhans and looks at whether these differences in voter opinion are paralleled by differences in implicit gender-biased voter beliefs.

### *Implicit Association Tests in the Case of West Bengal*

How does one accurately measure voter beliefs? Especially in the case of gender politics, a voter could explicitly respond to survey questions involving women leaders in one way, while holding alternative beliefs that are acted upon during voting. Voters may also have implicit beliefs that they are not fully aware of, unconscious attitudes which may also influence their voting behavior. In order to look at symbolic representation, one must analyze the implicit as well as explicit attitudes towards women leaders. An important contribution of Beaman et al. (2009) was the use of an instrument widely used in social psychology but seldom in politics: Implicit Association Tests (IATs). The study also incorporated experiments using speeches and vignettes about hypothetical leaders. These specific tools can help us clarify the attitudes and beliefs of voters who have been exposed to female leadership. As a result, this methodology can uniquely clarify the intangible effects of symbolic representation.

In a standard speech experiment, the subjects listen to previously recorded speeches that are identical except that the sex of the speaker is randomly varied for each participant. After listening, each subject is asked to evaluate the speech. In our study, villagers evaluated the effectiveness of hypothetical leaders by listening to one of six tape-recorded speeches (three per sex). The speech, while hypothetical, was adapted from an actual village meeting. In the speech, the village leader is responding to a villager complaint about a broken tubewell by asking villagers to contribute money and support for local public goods. Respondents were randomly assigned one of the six recordings, and were told that it was recorded during a village meeting in another district. After listening, the subject was asked his/her opinions on the politician's perceived performance and effectiveness along a number of dimensions, including whether the leader addressed villagers' concerns and whether he/she would succeed at mobilizing resources from villagers.

A vignette experiment gives the subject a scenario with multiple and competing options for a resolution, and asks the subject to either make a choice or evaluate a choice made at the conclusion of the scenario. In our study, each villager listened to a vignette describing a situation of resource scarcity in which the hypothetical Pradhan chose to invest in either a drinking water or irrigation project. These two options were chosen because women (relative to men) invest more in drinking water and are more likely to cite drinking water (relative to irrigation) as an issue of concern. We randomized the leader's choice for each villager to ensure that the leader's decision was not systematically correlated with the leader's sex. In addition, we varied the sex of the leader. After listening to the vignette, the villager was asked to evaluate the leader's choice using similar questions as in the speech experiment.

Finally, the Implicit Association Test (IAT) is based on the idea that subjects who strongly associate two concepts can more easily pair the same concepts in a computer-based rapid categorization task. In cases where the subject population is illiterate, pictures or sounds can be used to represent the concepts being tested. When viewing the screen, the subject sees a sequence

of stimuli (words or pictures) and uses a computer button to assign each stimulus to either side of the screen (each side representing one category). The time it takes to assign the stimuli to a category is recorded.

In our study, villagers were given two types of computer-based IATs: the first measured the strength of association between images of anonymous men/women and normative categories of good and bad, and the second measured how villagers associate gender with leadership and domestic tasks. For example, in the second IAT we conducted, the villager viewed two pictures (a setting and a person) on either side of the computer screen. In the “stereotypical” block, the male picture and the leadership setting (e.g., public speaking) are grouped together on one side of the screen, and the female picture and domestic setting (e.g., taking rest) on the other side of the screen. The “non-stereotypical” block is the reverse (pairing male pictures with domestic settings and female pictures with leadership settings).

Here, we summarize the findings from the speech and vignette experiments and the IATs, and also provide two new pieces of evidence. The first piece of evidence comes from a survey-based measure of sexism, the Ambivalent Sexism Index (ASI) (Glick and Fiske 1996). This index consists of a series of survey questions that seek to separately measure Hostile Sexism and Benevolent Sexism. Hostile Sexism captures typical notions of prejudice. For example, question used in West Bengal involved reading the sentence, “A wife shouldn’t contradict her husband in public,” to respondents and then asking them to respond using a Likert scale from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Benevolent Sexism, on the other hand, captures attitudes that are sexist in that they stereotype women and view women as systematically different from men but are subjectively positive in feeling and tone. An example is the statement, “Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.” Second, we examine respondent reports on female household members’ decision-making powers within the household and mobility outside the household.

The evidence, when taken together, allows us to directly examine one key facet of symbolic representation. We explore whether exposure to more female politicians changes (negative) stereotypes held by voters about women's roles in politics specifically and society generally. In this way, we can look at the true impact of quotas on public opinion.

## **Main Findings**

We start by summarizing our main findings from Beaman et al. (2009). Survey measures of villagers' stated (explicit) preferences demonstrate that even after reservation, villagers continue to have a stated preference for male leaders. However, when we probe their implicit attitudes we observe significant changes. In villages that were never required to have a woman leader, we observe that respondents exhibit bias against women leaders in both the IAT that examines the association between leadership activities and sex, and in how they rank the same speech delivered by a woman versus a man. In contrast, quota-induced exposure to women reduces both these biases.

Villages which were never reserved for a female Pradhan demonstrate that voters have implicit biases against female leaders when they have had limited to no exposure to female leaders. In the vignette and speech experiments, there is a significant bias among men in never-reserved villages; men rate the effectiveness of a hypothetical female Pradhan far below that of a male Pradhan (0.05 of a standard deviation below). This finding is echoed in the IAT measuring the association between domestic activities with women and leadership with men. Both men and women associate leadership activities with men in never-reserved GPs and are faster at linking women with domestic activities. However, we find that male villagers show no bias against women leaders in villages previously exposed to a female leader, as measured by the speech and vignette experiments. Moreover, the results are strongly significant: the coefficient on the interaction between female Pradhan and ever-reserved is 0.09. The association between men and leadership is also weaker in villages which experienced a reserved Pradhan seat.

These results are striking and suggest that reservation erases the bias against female leaders, and more significantly, holds true across all reservation categories. When measured statistically, exposure to at least one female leader erases discrimination by male villagers. Stereotyping and bias against women leaders disappears relatively quickly, within two years after reservation is introduced. Further, after being required to elect a woman, when presented with the same information on a leader's action, villagers judge male and a female leaders as equally able. While the first women to be elected suffer from discrimination, we find that exposure leads to favorable updating among male villagers, meaning the evaluation of female leaders improves between the first and second reservation cycles.

Interestingly enough, there is little evidence that female villagers changed their opinions of female leaders. The speech and vignette experiments found a smaller initial bias among women, but we cannot statistically reject the hypothesis of a similar bias across the sexes. This may be because women are less involved in local politics generally (which reduces their chances of interactions with or knowledge of the female leader, thereby making women less likely to react negatively to a women in a position that challenges traditional roles). Given that men started with a worse opinion of women's leadership, it is intuitive that men are more likely than women to update their beliefs about women's ability to lead. In the domestic activities IAT, the effect of reservation actually works the other way: women exposed to a female Pradhan for the first time in 2003 actually strengthen their association between women and domestic activities. This result is relatively weak, however, in a statistical sense.

### *Changes in Sexist Attitudes*

In Table 1 we examine whether changes in implicit preferences towards female leaders are paralleled by changes in sexism. The outcome variable of interest is the Ambivalent Sexism Index (ASI) and its two subcomponents: The Benevolent Sexism Index and Hostile Sexism Index. The Hostile Sexism Index is the average of normalized responses to the following

statements: (1) A man is never justified in hitting his wife; (2) Parents should maintain stricter control over their daughters than their sons; (3) For the most part, it is better to be a man than to be a woman; (4) It would be a good idea to elect a woman as the President of India; (5) A wife shouldn't contradict her husband in public; (6) Preschool children suffer if their mother works. The Benevolent Sexism Index includes the following: (1) In a disaster, women ought to be rescued before men; (2) Women should be cherished and protected by men; (3) Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility; (4) Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well-being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives. The ASI includes all 10 questions.

The dependent variable in columns (1)-(3) of the Table is the complete ASI with all 10 questions; columns (4)-(6) show the Hostile Sexism Index, and the Benevolent Sexism Index is displayed in columns (7)-(9). Each column has two panels. Panel A examines the impact of having lived in a village that was reserved in at least one of the elections, 1998 or 2003 (Ever Reserved). The regression specification examines the difference between ever- and never-reserved GPs, where we introduce several controls. These controls include respondent demographics such as age; 1991 village variables; indicator variables for block (an administrative unit larger than a GP); and indicators for investigator sex and survey year. In both panels, standard errors are adjusted to reflect the fact that all villagers in the same GP are exposed to the same "treatment": either a reserved or unreserved Pradhan seat.

Columns (1)-(3) show that there is no impact of exposure to female leaders due to reservation on the complete Ambivalent Sexism Index, the dependent variable. The complete ASI includes all ten questions, normalized by the never-reserved sample, meaning that the coefficients are expressed in terms of standard deviations. Column (1) includes both male and female respondents in a pooled regression while columns (2) and (3) show each sex separately. In Panel A, the coefficient is negative in all cases, indicating that exposure to a female Pradhan at least once reduces measures of explicit bias against women, but the standard errors are so large that we

cannot infer any statistical difference between ever-reserved and never-reserved GPs. Similarly, most of the point estimates for the disaggregated reservation variables (Only Reserved 2003, Reserved 1998 and 2003 and Only Reserved 1998) show no significant effect of reservation on sexism, as measured by the ASI.

Columns (4)-(6) focus on the components of the ASI that show Hostile Sexism. In Panel A we observe a significant decline in measured hostile sexism among villagers exposed to a female Pradhan through a quota compared to villagers who were not. Looking at regressions of each question individually, the largest downward effect is on the statement, “A wife shouldn’t contradict her husband in public,” where male villagers in ever-reserved GPs are less likely to respond that they agree or strongly agree. For female villagers, the strongest effect is for the statement, “Preschool children suffer if their mother works,” with female citizens in ever-reserved GPs less likely to agree or strongly agree. Panel B shows how these effects vary depending on whether the GP was reserved only once (either in 2003 or in 1998) or twice. For the pooled sample of men and women, both the once-reserved GPs show a lower level of Hostile Sexism than never-reserved GPs but, surprisingly, GPs reserved twice are not significantly different from never-reserved GPs. The point estimate is negative, however, so this may be due to noise in the data.

We look at how Benevolent Sexism is affected by the quota policy in columns (7)-(9). Similar to the full index in columns (1)-(3), reservation did not have a significant impact on measures of Benevolent Sexism. This is true for male and female villagers and is supported in both Panels A and B. Taken together, while there is some evidence that more hostile measures of sexism were affected by the reservation system, there is no evidence that explicit sexism towards women in general was reduced as a result of the reservation policy. A lower correlation between the two components of the Hostile Sexism Index has typically been observed among older respondents. Glick and Fiske (1997) have argued that these two components of the index move apart as respondents form opinions based on personal history. They argue that older men who

have more satisfying relationships with women reduce hostile sexism but become more benevolently paternalistic. Consistent with this, our results would support the idea that respondents exposed to female leaders improved their perceptions of women as leaders, reducing hostile—but not benevolent—attitudes toward women.

### *Changes in Women's Domestic Empowerment*

In Table 2 we turn to empowerment within the household. Many have suggested that changing roles for women outside the household may alter within-household dynamics (Jayal 2003). We therefore examine whether female respondents report changes in the role played by women within the household and their mobility outside the household. The regression structure is identical to those reported in Table 1.

In column (1) the dependent variable is whether the female reports that no woman in the household has any say in household matters. This is the case in 25 percent of the households in the non-reserved (control) villages. We fail to observe any change in this variable in villages that were subject to a reservation quota. In columns (2)-(6) we consider measures of female mobility. First, we consider three measures of actual mobility. We examine the number of times the woman went outside the village in the last 30 days (column 2), the number of times she took a bus in the last 30 days (column 3) and the number of times she visited her parents in the last 12 months (column 4). The averages for women in the non-reserved villages is low, and almost always below one. Again, we observe no significant impact of reservation. In columns (5) and (6) we examine whether women report that they can travel unescorted, either to the parent's village or the next village. Less than 20 percent of the women report that they can do so. Furthermore, exposure to female leaders (due to reservation) leaves women's mobility unchanged.

Taken together, the evidence in Table 2 suggests that changes in beliefs about women in office do not extend to beliefs about women in the household. These findings are consistent with

the fact that political reservation did not directly transform the opportunities available to women in the village.

However, there is reason to believe that such changes may occur in the long run. In ongoing work, we find that parents change their aspirations for teenage children and that teenage children also change their own aspirations, including their preferred age of marriage and whether they would like to work after marriage (Beaman et al 2011). Thus, it may be the case that changes in individual behavior among the younger cohorts in the village will challenge social norms that restrict a woman's role within a household.

## **Conclusion**

Gender quotas in politics have been implemented in over a hundred countries, yet rigorous empirical evidence remains surprisingly limited on how increased female leadership has influenced policy outcomes and voter attitudes. Political reservation in India was, in effect, randomized across village councils. Hence, it is possible to test the causal impact of gender quotas by comparing villages with and without reserved seats.

In India, quotas through the Panchayat system have had a significant effect in shaping local politics, and have resulted in over two million women assuming leadership positions. In addition, a bill extending the quota policy to Parliament is currently being debated. A significant body of literature has shown that the introduction of gender quotas in India increased descriptive representation for women and also increased their substantive representation. In this chapter, we focused on whether exposure to more female politicians changes stereotypes held by voters about women's roles in politics and society more generally. Our case study used survey and experimental data to evaluate the role of quotas in influencing symbolic representation, defined as the opinions and attitudes of voters. As such concepts are often difficult to measure empirically, we utilized tools of social psychology to understand the causal impact of quota policies toward perceptions of women leaders.

The evidence we present strongly suggests that symbolic representation is closely related to substantive representation. Individuals change their attitudes about the effectiveness of female leaders when they are exposed to female leaders who deliver public goods. Interestingly, while voters change their willingness to vote for women and alter their implicit biases reasonably fast, their explicit attitudes (and therefore social norms) are much slower to change.

We also find that arenas where quotas have not led to substantive representation are those where there is only small or no change in attitudes. Here, we focus on the household. Ten years after quotas were implemented, we still observe muted changes in the decision-making powers women enjoy at home. Likewise, we see limited changes in the discrimination they face in terms of their ability to choose when to go where.

It is possible that changes in parents' aspirations for their girls, and teenage girls' own aspirations will translate into labor market gains for women, and that these, in turn, will influence social norms about the role of women. However, in the short- to medium-run, we would argue that it is unlikely that quotas will yield symbolic representation in areas where they are unable to ensure substantive representation. Our results also suggest that gender quotas in other arenas – such as labor markets and educational institutions – may be a more appropriate tool for achieving symbolic representation outside of politics.

## Appendix

### Regression Specification

The regression specification for the main results is:

$$y_{igj} = \beta_1 R_{g1} + \alpha_j + \varepsilon_{ig}$$

where  $y_{igj}$  is a dummy for whether the elected representative  $i$  in GP  $g$  and block  $j$  is a woman,  $R_{g1}$  is an indicator for whether the GP was reserved in 1998, and  $\alpha_j$  denotes district dummies.

The Panel B regression examines whether this effect varies across reservation categories, and utilizes the same controls as listed above. The regression specification is:

$$y_{igj} = \beta_2 R_{g2} + \beta_{2and1} R_{g2and1} + \beta_1 R_{g1} + \alpha_j + \varepsilon_{ig}$$

$R_{g1}$  and  $R_{g2}$  are indicator variables for the GP being reserved only in the first and second electoral cycle respectively (i.e., only in 1998 and only in 2003).  $R_{g2and1}$  is an indicator for the GP being reserved twice (in 1998 and 2003). Otherwise, the specification is identical to the previous regression. In both panels, standard errors are clustered at the GP level.

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Table 1: Ambivalent Sexism Index (ASI)

	ASI			Hostile Sexism Index			Benevolent Sexism Index		
	All (1)	Male (2)	Female (3)	All (4)	Male (5)	Female (6)	All (7)	Male (8)	Female (9)
<b>Panel A</b>									
Ever reserved	-0.020 (0.018)	-0.016 (0.022)	-0.022 (0.019)	-0.035 (0.015)	-0.039 (0.019)	-0.031 (0.016)	0.004 (0.034)	0.019 (0.039)	-0.009 (0.035)
<b>Panel B</b>									
Only reserved 2003	-0.018 (0.021)	-0.019 (0.025)	-0.016 (0.022)	-0.030 (0.018)	-0.032 (0.023)	-0.028 (0.019)	0.000 (0.042)	0.001 (0.048)	0.001 (0.045)
Reserved 1998 and 2003	0.001 (0.029)	-0.008 (0.033)	0.009 (0.032)	-0.012 (0.025)	-0.019 (0.029)	-0.006 (0.028)	0.020 (0.051)	0.009 (0.057)	0.033 (0.053)
Only reserved 1998	-0.034 (0.025)	-0.018 (0.030)	-0.049 (0.026)	-0.056 (0.022)	-0.060 (0.028)	-0.050 (0.022)	-0.002 (0.045)	0.046 (0.053)	-0.047 (0.045)
Test: 2003 = both 1998 and 2003 = 1998 [p value]	0.526	0.949	0.216	0.284	0.489	0.338	0.920	0.700	0.339
N	13497	6717	6780	13497	6717	6780	13497	6717	6780

## Notes:

- The Hostile Sexism Index is the average of normalized responses to the following questions: (1) A man is never justified in hitting his wife; (2) Parents should maintain stricter control over their daughters than their sons; (3) For the most part, it is better to be a man than to be a woman; (4) It would be a good idea to elect a woman as the President of India; (5) A wife shouldn't contradict her husband in public; (6) Preschool children suffer if their mother works. The Benevolent Sexism Index include the following: (1) In a disaster, women ought to be rescued before men; (2) Women should be cherished and protected by men; (3) Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility; (4) Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well-being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives. The ASI includes all 10 questions. See Appendix Table 1 for more detail on the coding of the 10 questions.
- "Ever Reserved" is an indicator for whether a GP was reserved for a female Pradhan in either 1998, 2003 or in both elections.
- Additional control variables include (i) respondent-level variables: age, age squared, illiterate, <5 years of schooling, 5-10 years of schooling; (ii) household-level variables: household size, SC, ST, OBC, landless, Muslim, wealth (quartile1-4), interviewer female, interview round; (iii) village level variables: total population, SC/ST share, sex ratio under age 6, percent literate, female literacy, percent of irrigated land, bus or train stop, pucca road to village, tubewell, handpump, well, community tap, number of schools, and number of health facilities.
- Block fixed effects are included and standard errors are clustered at the GP level.

Table 2. Women's Mobility and Decision-making. Self Reports by Women Respondents

	No woman has decision-making power in any category of expenditure	No of times woman went outside village in last 30 days	No of times woman took bus in last 30 days	No of times woman visited parents in last 12 months	Can go unescorted to parents' village	Can go unescorted to next village	Average
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
<b>Panel A</b>							
Ever Reserved	0.016 (0.020)	-0.033 (0.062)	-0.039 (0.068)	-0.143 (0.124)	0.007 (0.016)	0.009 (0.016)	-0.007 (0.022)
<b>Panel B</b>							
First Reserved 2003	0.015 (0.024)	-0.066 (0.090)	-0.010 (0.094)	-0.015 (0.176)	0.004 (0.022)	-0.003 (0.021)	-0.011 (0.031)
Reserved in 1998 and 2003	-0.020 (0.033)	0.026 (0.094)	-0.085 (0.098)	-0.168 (0.144)	0.039 (0.023)	0.045 (0.025)	0.022 (0.033)
Only Reserved 1998	0.040 (0.025)	-0.039 (0.079)	-0.037 (0.095)	-0.257 (0.153)	-0.011 (0.021)	-0.002 (0.021)	-0.023 (0.030)
Mean of Unreserved	0.258 (0.438)	0.984 (2.198)	1.107 (2.476)	2.984 (3.805)	0.695 (0.461)	0.782 (0.413)	
Test: 2003 = both 1998 and 2003 = 1998 [p value]	0.176	0.745	0.829	0.376	0.194	0.173	0.518
N	6780	6759	6474	5298	5526	6780	6780

Notes:

- 1 Additional control variables include (i) respondent-level variables: age, age squared, illiterate, <5 years of schooling, 5-10 years of schooling; (ii) household-level variables: household size, SC, ST, OBC, landless, Muslim, wealth (quartile1-4), interviewer female, interview round; (iii) village level variables: total population, SC/ST share, sex ratio under age 6, percent literate, female literacy, percent of irrigated land, bus or train stop, pucca road to village, tubewell, handpump, well, community tap, number of schools, and number of health facilities.
- 2 Block fixed effects are included and standard errors are clustered at the GP level.
- 3 Respondents are all women, this table only considers female reports.

Table A1. Ambivalent Sexism Index - Individual Questions

	A man is never justified in hitting his wife	Parents should maintain stricter control over their daughters than their sons	For the most part, it is better to be a man than to be a woman.	It would be a good idea to elect a woman as the President of India.	A wife shouldn't contradict her husband in public.	Preschool children suffer if their mother works.	In a disaster, women ought to be rescued before men.	Women should be cherished and protected by men.	Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.	Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well-being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives.
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
<b>I. Males</b>										
<b>Panel A</b>										
Ever reserved	-0.031 (0.055)	-0.024 (0.052)	0.010 (0.049)	-0.006 (0.051)	-0.117 (0.060)	-0.068 (0.053)	0.037 (0.041)	-0.006 (0.065)	0.031 (0.044)	0.016 (0.049)
<b>Panel B</b>										
Only reserved 2003	0.003 (0.069)	-0.033 (0.065)	0.034 (0.062)	0.041 (0.060)	-0.121 (0.067)	-0.118 (0.062)	0.032 (0.054)	-0.083 (0.076)	0.048 (0.056)	0.006 (0.060)
Reserved 1998 and 2003	0.050 (0.083)	-0.024 (0.088)	0.061 (0.088)	-0.028 (0.096)	-0.145 (0.098)	-0.028 (0.074)	0.041 (0.077)	0.001 (0.099)	-0.042 (0.069)	0.034 (0.072)
Only reserved 1998	-0.119 (0.073)	-0.015 (0.068)	-0.047 (0.066)	-0.039 (0.063)	-0.095 (0.088)	-0.046 (0.079)	0.039 (0.052)	0.067 (0.088)	0.063 (0.055)	0.013 (0.069)
Test: 2003 = both 1998 and 2003 = 1998 [p value]	0.135	0.972	0.404	0.422	0.907	0.458	0.991	0.262	0.392	0.942
N	6717	6717	6717	6717	6717	6717	6717	6717	6717	6717
<b>II. Females</b>										
<b>Panel A</b>										
Ever reserved	-0.007 (0.051)	-0.015 (0.047)	-0.051 (0.038)	-0.046 (0.041)	0.015 (0.044)	-0.082 (0.045)	0.020 (0.045)	-0.069 (0.051)	0.010 (0.046)	0.003 (0.055)
<b>Panel B</b>										
Only reserved 2003	0.034 (0.067)	-0.060 (0.054)	-0.054 (0.046)	-0.015 (0.054)	0.018 (0.054)	-0.091 (0.061)	0.038 (0.054)	-0.105 (0.073)	0.078 (0.058)	-0.006 (0.065)
Reserved 1998 and 2003	0.050 (0.082)	0.061 (0.087)	0.014 (0.055)	-0.067 (0.081)	-0.016 (0.076)	-0.081 (0.067)	0.086 (0.070)	-0.119 (0.073)	0.050 (0.073)	0.115 (0.075)
Only reserved 1998	-0.085 (0.062)	-0.020 (0.055)	-0.090 (0.054)	-0.064 (0.047)	0.031 (0.056)	-0.075 (0.060)	-0.042 (0.063)	0.000 (0.059)	-0.085 (0.059)	-0.063 (0.075)
Test: 2003 = both 1998 and 2003 = 1998 [p value]	0.121	0.412	0.276	0.666	0.854	0.976	0.246	0.196	0.040	0.104
N	6780	6780	6780	6780	6780	6780	6780	6780	6780	6780

## Notes:

1 Dependent variables in all columns are originally on a scale of 1 to 5 from Strongly Disagree (1) to Strongly Agree (5). Questions 1 and 4 are re-coded so that a value of (1) indicates Strongly Agree and (5) indicates Strongly Disagree. Therefore a higher value indicates a stronger bias against women. The variables are then normalized by the mean and standard deviation of the never reserved sample.

2 All regressions include individual controls as defined in Table 1, and standard errors are clustered by GP.