1 Paper tables and figures

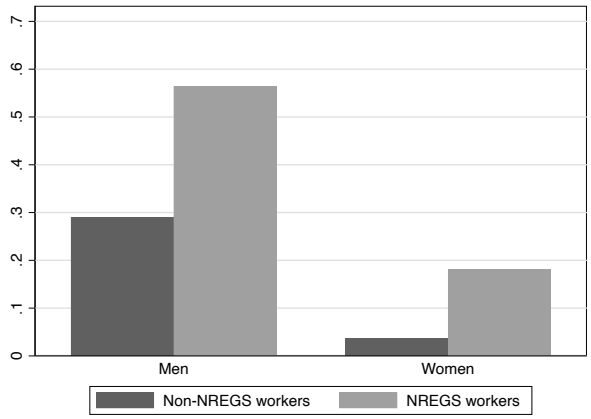
TABLE 1: NREGS employment and voter turnout

	Δ Female turnout					Δ Male turnout	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Δ IHS(*Female workdays*)	0.087**	0.081**	0.085***	0.077**	0.126**	0.024	
	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.043)	(0.025)	
Δ IHS(*Male workdays*)							0.035
							(0.027)
× female worker share (std)				-0.071**			
				(0.023)			
× female worker share, quartile=2					0.044		
					(0.066)		
× female worker share, quartile=3					-0.023		
					(0.066)		
× female worker share, quartile=4					-0.207**		
					(0.069)		
Observations	50,490	50,490	50,490	50,016	50,016	50,490	50,490
R-squared	0.167	0.174	0.493	0.494	0.495	0.484	0.484
Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Lagged turnout	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean dep. var	4.944	4.944	4.944	4.944	4.944	-1.668	-1.668

TABLE 2: Regressions based on Prillaman (2021) dataset

	Δ Female turnout	Worked last year (0-1)	#Friends in village	#Discuss politics with	Political knowledge (0-9)	Nonvoting participation (0-8)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Δ IHS(*Female workdays*)	1.069**					
	(0.494)					
Δ IHS(*Female workdays, per capita*)		0.044*	0.418***	0.104*	0.172*	0.134*
		(0.026)	(0.128)	(0.059)	(0.091)	(0.076)
Observations	152	2,645	2,645	2,645	2,645	2,645
R-squared	0.881	0.096	0.051	0.132	0.166	0.100
Mean dep. var	17.016	0.490	2.593	1.028	4.594	0.864

FIGURE 1: Employment shares outside NREGS



Note: The figure is based on data from the *NSS Employment-Unemployment survey* from 2011-12, and is restricted to respondents from Uttar Pradesh.

2 Appendix tables and figures

TABLE 1: Characteristics of missing observations

	Sample	Missing
Panel A	.	.
NREGS sample	2743.2	2462.2
N	44085.0	13965.0
Polling booth sample	3032.2	2367.8
N	26890.0	31160.0
Estimation sample	2998.1	2491.2
N	21116.0	36934.0
Panel B	.	.
Females 201314	781.0	671.0
Females 201617	975.6	841.1
Males 201314	2692.8	2454.8
Males 201617	1982.5	1723.1
N	21116.0	22969.0
Panel C	.	.
Female turnout 2014	59.9	59.6
Female turnout 2017	64.8	64.5
Male turnout 2014	63.5	62.9
Male turnout 2017	61.9	61.1
N	50490.0	12395.0

TABLE 2: Placebo regressions

	Δ Female turnout	
	(1)	(2)
ΔIHS(*Job card applications*)	0.033	
	(0.048)	
ΔIHS(*Future female workdays*)		-0.039
		(0.030)
Observations	50,490	50,490
R-squared	0.493	0.493

TABLE 3: Sample balance

	ΔIHS($Female\ workdays$) (1)
Panel A: Polling both variables 2014	
Turnout rate males	-.0018
	(.0145)
Turnout rate females	-.0017
	(.0134)
Eligible voters	.0102
	(.0113)
Hindus	.0042
	(.0142)
Muslims	.0104
	(.0178)
Number of observations	50490
Panel B: Census demographics 2011	
Total population	-.0016
	(.0245)
Schedule caste	-.0266
	(.0229)
Schedule tribes	-.0084
	(.0199)
Male literates	-.0073
	(.0257)
Female literates	-.0114
	(.0250)
Number of observations	50490
Panel C: Census amenities 2011	
School (grade 1 to 8)	-.0210
	(.0210)
Primary health center	-.0003
	(.0224)
Electricity	-.0201
	(.0259)
Tap water	.0223
	(.0260)
Paved road	.0360*
	(.0213)
Bus, train or ferry	-.0147
	(.0234)
Number of observations	50490
Panel D: Other variables	
Turnout rate 2012 (booth)	.0120
	(.0175)
Number of observations	48972
Average per capita consumption 2013 (GP)	-.0527*
	(.0288)
Number of observations	49668
Female employment share (GP)	-.0073
	(.0202)
Number of observations	48461

Each row represent a separate regression according to (A.1). All regressions include Assembly constituency times block fixed effects. Robust standard errors clustered at the level of the fixed effects are shown in the parentheses.
*** significant at 1 percent, ** significant at 5 percent, * significant at 10 percent.

TABLE 4: Time dynamics

	Δ Female turnout 2014 to 2017
	(1)
Δ2018-19	-0.012
	(0.044)
Δ2017-18	0.005
	(0.043)
Δ2016-17	0.066*
	(0.039)
Δ2015-16	0.131***
	(0.040)
Δ2014-15	0.089***
	(0.034)
Δ2013-14	-0.014
	(0.045)
Δ2012-13	0.022
	(0.035)
Observations	50,490
R-squared	0.494

TABLE 5: Alternative functional forms

	Δ Female turnout		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
ΔLog($Female\ workdays + 1$)	0.09591***		
	(0.02750)		
Δ$Female\ workdays$		0.00012***	0.00015***
		(0.00004)	(0.00006)
Observations	50,490	50,490	50,257
R-squared	0.494	0.493	0.493
Removing outliers	No	No	Yes

TABLE 6: Alternative measures: female and male workdays

	Δ Female turnout		Δ Male turnout
	(1)	(2)	(3)
ΔIHS($Female\ workdays$)		0.078*	0.004
		(0.043)	(0.042)
ΔIHS($Male\ workdays$)	0.074***	0.012	0.032
	(0.027)	(0.047)	(0.046)
Observations	50,490	50,490	50,490
R-squared	0.493	0.493	0.484

TABLE 7: Alternative measures: workers, pay and workdays (both genders)

	Δ Female turnout		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
ΔIHS($Workers$)	0.116***		
	(0.043)		
ΔIHS(Pay)		0.085***	
		(0.024)	
ΔIHS($Workdays$)			0.077***
			(0.026)
Observations	50,490	50,490	50,490
R-squared	0.493	0.493	0.493

TABLE 8: Alternative coding choices

	Δ Female turnout				
	(1) Min match score>.60	(2) Min match score>.75	(3) Full match	(4) Alternative turnout rate	(5) Collapsed to GPs
ΔIHS($Female\ workdays$)	0.105***	0.094***	0.081*	0.121***	0.089***
	(0.027)	(0.033)	(0.049)	(0.028)	(0.024)
Observations	46,579	35,432	20,693	40,204	21,116
R-squared	0.492	0.498	0.512	0.407	0.569

TABLE 9: Total turnout and voting patterns

	Δ Total turnout	Δ Vote shares for political parties				
	(1)	(2) Current MLAs	(3) Current MPs	(4) SP	(5) BJP	(6) INC
ΔIHS($Female\ workdays$)	0.057**	-0.027	0.036	0.003	0.037	-0.034
	(0.023)	(0.037)	(0.035)	(0.036)	(0.036)	(0.026)
Observations	44,874	44,874	44,874	44,874	44,874	44,874
R-squared	0.527	0.718	0.755	0.724	0.737	0.707

TABLE 10: Party vote share concentration

	Δ ENOP	Δ (100-HH)
	(1)	(2)
ihs_NREGAdiff_female1613	-0.001	-0.041
	(0.002)	(0.033)
Observations	50,453	50,453
R-squared	0.590	0.338
Mean dep. var	-0.011	-0.168

TABLE 11: Turnout and NREGS

	Δ Female turnout			Δ Male turnout
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
ΔIHS(*Female workdays*)	1.069***			
	(0.403)			
ΔIHS(*Job cards applications*)		1.135		
		(2.748)		
ΔIHS(*Future workdays*)			-0.656	
			(0.921)	
ΔIHS(*Male workdays*)				-0.180
				(0.226)
Observations	152	152	152	149
R-squared	0.881	0.871	0.873	0.811

TABLE 12: Political participation (Table 2 in Prillaman, 2021)

	Coefficient	Mean dep var
Voted in local election	0.019	0.942
.	0.011	.
Voted in state election	-0.013	0.782
.	0.024	.
Nonvoting participation index	0.134	0.864
.	0.076	.
Attend village assembly meeting	0.021	0.273
.	0.023	.
Contact Panchayat for	0.024	0.152
govt benefit	0.017	.
Submit application to Panchayat	-0.004	0.125
for services	0.016	.
Contact block for govt benefit	0.010	0.046
.	0.008	.
Submit application to block	0.010	0.044
for services	0.010	.
Attend campaign event	0.022	0.079
.	0.013	.
Motivate for campaign	0.031	0.116
.	0.015	.
Attend party meeting	0.019	0.029
.	0.006	.

TABLE 13: Resources and Intra-household Bargaining (Table 5 in Prillaman, 2021)

	Coefficient	Mean dep var
c.#c. Friends in village	0.418	2.593
.	0.128	.
c.#c. Female friends in village	0.398	2.530
.	0.116	.
Would go to friends for support	-0.016	0.592
.	0.020	.
c.#c. Discuss important matters with	0.038	1.213
.	0.060	.
c.#c. People visit in free time	0.078	1.169
.	0.058	.
c.#c. Discuss politics with	0.104	1.028
.	0.059	.
Discusses politics with family	0.009	0.268
.	0.018	.
Discusses politics with friends	0.008	0.248
.	0.020	.
Mobility index	0.123	3.496
.	0.078	.
Information index	0.172	4.594
.	0.091	.
Political efficacy index	-0.035	1.547
.	0.047	.
Confidence index	-0.002	1.543
.	0.045	.

TABLE 14: Resources and Intra-household Bargaining (Table 5 in Prillaman, 2021)

	Coefficient	Mean dep var
Assets index	0.038	1.650
.	0.066	.
Consumption index	-0.001	4.102
.	0.069	.
Monthly household expenditure	-238.627	3510.974
.	117.865	.
Income sufficiency	0.001	0.616
.	0.019	.
Food Security	-0.027	0.249
.	0.017	.
Time to save Rs 400	0.035	3.411
.	0.091	.
Decision-making index	0.131	8.165
.	0.123	.
Whom to vote for	0.003	0.860
.	0.013	.
Gram Sabha attendance	0.011	0.814
.	0.018	.
Permission index	0.003	4.221
.	0.063	.
Bargaining power index	0.059	2.078
.	0.053	.
Personally holds cash	-0.003	0.511
.	0.021	.
Personally has bank account	0.016	0.686
.	0.024	.
Personally owns assets	-0.002	0.296
.	0.019	.
Personally owns land	0.004	0.093
.	0.010	.
Employed in past year	0.044	0.490
.	0.026	.
Domestic violence index	0.002	0.408
.	0.029	.
Verbal abuse index	-0.003	0.317
.	0.029	.

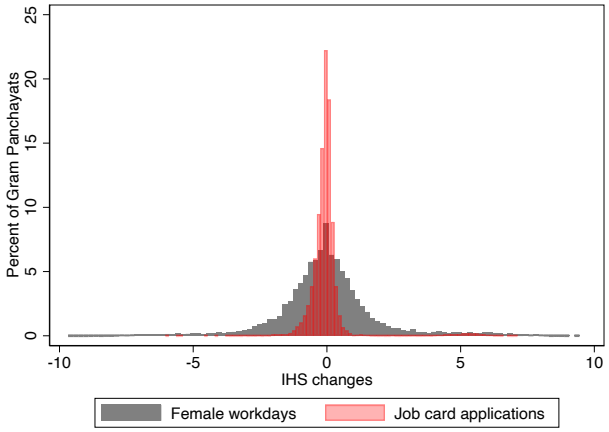



FIGURE A1: Distribution of changes in female workdays and job cards applications