Electing Women in Ethnically Divided Societies: Candidates, Campaigns, and Intersectionality in Bihar, India Appendices

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Appendix 1: Regression Tables

Table 1: Basic Models

	Model 1 Full Sample	**Model 2 Strong Preference Sample**	**Model 3 Full Sample**	**Model 4 Strong Preference Sample**
Woman Candidate	.016* (.008)	.014* (.009)	-.0004 (.012)	-.002 (.012)
Forward Caste Candidate	-.035*** (.011)	-.037*** (.012)	-.036*** (.011)	-.037*** (.017)
Other Backward Caste Candidate	.010 (.011)	.011 (.011)	.009 (.011)	.010 (.011)
Muslim Candidate	-.132*** (.011)	-.130*** (.012)	-.132*** (.011)	-.131*** (.012)
Security Appeal	-.245*** (.009)	-.247*** (.009)	-.245*** (.009)	-.247*** (.009)
BJP Candidate	.077*** (.009)	.082*** (.010)	.077*** (.009)	.081*** (.010)
RJD Candidate	-.075*** (.009)	-.082 (.010)	-.075*** (.009)	-.082*** (.001)
Woman Respondent			-.020** (.009)	-.019** (.009)
Woman Candidate X Woman Respondent			.033** (.016)	.032* (.017)
N	15960	14258	15960	14258

OLS regression. Robust standard errors clustered on respondent in parentheses. Unit of analysis is candidate profile. All models include district fixed effects and controls for respondent gender, age, and education. All tests are 2-tailed. ***p<.01, **p<.05, *p<.10

Table 2: Intersectionality Models

	Model 1 Full Sample	**Model 2 Strong Preference Sample**	**Model 3 Full Sample**	**Model 4 Strong Preference Sample**	**Model 5 Full Sample**	**Model 6 Strong Preference Sample**
Woman Candidate	.023** (.009)	.024** (.010)	.016* (.008)	.014* (.009)	.016* (.008)	.014 (.009)
Forward Caste Candidate	-.035*** (.011)	-.037*** (.012)	-.035*** (.011)	-.037*** (.012)	.097*** (.012)	.094*** (.012)
Other Backward Caste Candidate	.010 (.011)	.011 (.011)	.011 (.011)	.012 (.011)	.142*** (.011)	.141*** (.012)
Scheduled Caste Candidate					.118*** (.012)	.116*** (.013)
Muslim Candidate	-.118*** (.014)	-.111*** (.015)	-.175*** (.012)	-.175*** (.012)		
Security Appeal	-.246*** (.009)	-.247*** (.009)	-.245*** (.009)	-.247*** (.009)	-.245*** (.009)	-.247*** (.009)
BJP Candidate	.077*** (.009)	.082*** (.010)	.077*** (.009)	.081*** (.010)	.077*** (.009)	.082*** (.010)
RJD Candidate	-.075*** (.009)	-.082*** (.010)	-.075*** (.009)	-.081*** (.010)	-.076*** (.009)	-.082*** (.010)
Woman Candidate X Muslim Candidate	-.028 (.018)	-.039** (.019)				
Muslim Respondent			-.073*** (.007)	-.074*** (.008)		
Muslim Candidate X Muslim Respondent			.291*** (.027)	.295*** (.028)		
Scheduled Caste Respondent					-.014** (.006)	-.017*** (.006)
Scheduled Caste Candidate X Scheduled Caste Respondent					.052** (.020)	.056*** (.022)
N	15960	14258	15960	14258	15960	14250

OLS regression. Robust standard errors clustered on respondent in parentheses. Unit of analysis is candidate profile. All models include district fixed effects and controls for respondent gender, age, and education. All tests are 2-tailed. ***p<.01, **p<.05, *p<.10

Table 3: Appeal Models

	Model 1 Full Sample	**Model 2 Strong Preference Sample**	**Model 3 Full Sample**	**Model 4 Strong Preference Sample**
Woman Candidate	.014 (.011)	.011 (.012)	.011 (.016)	.010 (.017)
Forward Caste Candidate	-.035*** (.011)	-.037*** (.012)	-.036*** (.011)	-.037*** (.012)
Other Backward Caste Candidate	.010 (.011)	.011 (.011)	.009 (.011)	.010 (.011)
Muslim Candidate	-.132*** (.011)	-.130*** (.012)	-.133*** (.011)	-.132*** (.012)
Security Appeal	-.248*** (.012)	-.250*** (.012)	-.277*** (.016)	-.285*** (.017)
BJP Candidate	.077*** (.009)	.082*** (.010)	.077*** (.009)	.082*** (.0.10)
RJD Candidate	-.075*** (.009)	-.082*** (.010)	-.076*** (.002)	-.083*** (.010)
Woman Respondent			-.050*** (.015)	-.053*** (.016)
Woman Candidate X Security Appeal	.004 (.015)	.006 (.016)	-.024 (.021)	-.024 (.022)
Woman Candidate X Woman Respondent			.004 (.023)	-.001 (.024)
Security Appeal X Woman Respondent			.058** (.023)	.069*** (.025)
Woman Candidate X Woman Respondent X Security Appeal			.059* (.031)	.063** (.032)
N	15960	14258	15960	14258

OLS regression. Robust standard errors clustered on respondent in parentheses. Unit of analysis is candidate profile. All models include district fixed effects and controls for respondent gender, age, and education. All tests are 2-tailed. ***p<.01, **p<.05, *p<.10

Table 4: Caste Discrimination Models

	Model 1 **Full Sample**	**Model 2** **Strong Preference Sample**	**Model 3** **Full Sample** **Women Candidates Only**	**Model 4** **Strong Preference Sample** **Women Candidates Only**	**Model 5** **Full Sample** **Men Candidates Only**	**Model 6** **Strong Preference Sample** **Men Candidates Only**
Woman Candidate	.009 (.008)	.007 (.009)				
Forward Caste Candidate	.097*** (.012)	.093*** (.012)	.106*** (.016)	.108*** (.017)	.087*** (.016)	.079*** (.017)
Other Backward Caste Candidate	.141*** (.011)	.141*** (.012)	.155*** (.016)	.159*** (.016)	.126*** (.016)	.121*** (.017)
Scheduled Caste Candidate	.132*** (.011)	.130*** (.012)	.147*** (.016)	.153*** (.017)	.116*** (.016)	.108*** (.017)
Security Appeal	-.245*** (.009)	-.247*** (.009)	-.250*** (.012)	-.250*** (.013)	-.248*** (.012)	-.250*** (.013)
BJP Candidate	.077*** (.009)	.082*** (.010)	.064*** (.013)	.066*** (.014)	.091*** (.013)	.098*** (.014)
RJD Candidate	-.075*** (.009)	-.082*** (.010)	-.087*** (.013)	-.098*** (.014)	-.062*** (.013)	-.066*** (.014)
Caste Discrimination	-.050*** (.017)	-.052*** (.018)	.005 (.029)	.012 (.031)	-.061** (.030)	-.057* (.031)
Woman Candidate X Caste Discrimination	.095*** (.034)	.099*** (.035)				
Security Appeal X Caste Discrimination			.090* (.048)	.078 (.051)	.014 (.046)	.001 (.047)
N	15960	14258	8035	7171	7925	7087

OLS regression. Robust standard errors clustered on respondent in parentheses. Unit of analysis is candidate profile. All models include district fixed effects and controls for respondent gender, age, and education. All tests are 2-tailed. ***p<.01, **p<.05, *p<.10

Appendix 2: Survey Experiment Instrument

Survey Experiment Instrument – IGC Project – 7/10/2020

Informed Consent Component

Thank you for considering taking part in our research survey. We will begin with some background information to ensure your willingness to participate.

Project Background
Title: She Wins - Electing Women in Ethnically Divided Societies: The Case of Bihar
Principal Investigators: Anonymized
Sponsor: International Growth Centre

Procedures
My name is _____ and I have come from PDAG, a New Delhi based organisation. We are conducting a study on politics in Bihar for which we will be interviewing voters across the state. Responses from the study will be used to write articles for journals and newspapers. This study is being conducted by (Anonymized). It is an independent study and is no way affiliated to any party or government. The information shared by you as part of the survey will be strictly confidential and your identity will be anonymized. If you decide to take part in the study, you will listen to four sets of two hypothetical candidates for the state legislative assembly and choose your preferred candidate in each set. You will also provide some background information about yourself. You will only interact with the surveyor reading this to you, and the survey will be done here and now. It should take 15-20 minutes to complete the study. We hope that you would help us in making this study successful by participating in it.

Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal
You do not have to be in this study. You may skip questions or stop participating at any time.

Contact Information
Anonymized

Consent
Are you ready to take part in the study?
1. Yes 2. No

Sampling

[We have selected 4 districts, two with high levels of violence and two with low levels of violence. These are located both in the northern and southern parts of Bihar. Within each of the the 4 districts, we will examine two MLA constituencies. One of these will be represented by a woman and the other will be randomly selected from among the male represented constituencies adjacent to

it.

Within each of these constituencies, we will survey approximately 250 respondents. This will be done by acquiring the voting rolls for each polling district within the constituency and randomly selecting about 30 individuals to poll. The randomization will be done by computer. If the enumerators are unable to find the person randomly selected, or if that person refuses to participate, they will ask to questions another adult in the same household. If that fails, they we seek another respondent with similar demographic characteristics living as close to the original respondent as possible.]

Background Survey Component – Part 1

I am going to begin by asking you a series of questions about your background and experiences.

Enumerator: Take note of the village name and location.

1. What is your gender?

    a. Male
    b. Female

2. Are you married?

    a. Married
    b. Never Married
    c. Divorced
    d. Widowed
    e. Separated

3. How many children do you have?

    a. None
    b. 1-2
    c. 3-5
    d. 6 or more

4. What is your jati?

    a. Chamar
b. Dusadh
c. Other SC/ST
d. Jadav
e. Koeri
f. Kurmi
g. Other OBC
h. Forward Caste

i. Other or None

5. What is your religion?

a. Hindu
b. Muslim
c. Sikh
d. Jain
e. Christian
f. Other or None

5. What kind of work do you do?

a. Agricultural wage laborer
b. Non-agricultural wage laborer
c. Cultivator / small landowner
d. Large landowner
e. Artisan / independent worker
f. Small business owner
g. Owner of business with more than 4 employees
h. Household worker
i. Professional
j. Salaried employee
k. Unemployed
l. Disabled

6. What is your age?

a. 18-20
b. 21-29
c. 30-39
d. 40-49
e. 50-59
f. 60-69
g. 70 and above

7. What is your education level?

a. Less than 3 years
b. 3-5 years
c. 6-8 years
d. 9-12 years
e. Some university or post-secondary
f. University degree or higher

Survey Experiment Component

Now we are going to ask you to imagine that the elections for Bihar's State Legislative Assembly are being held today. We are going to give you three pairs of possible candidates for MLA and ask you to choose your favorite candidate from each pair.

[Note: For the first two pairs, enumerators will use the app to randomize a pair of hypothetical candidates from among the 16 possibilities [2 X Gender, 4 X Jati, and 2 X Appeal] listed on the following pages. They will then present drawings to the respondent of each of these two candidates. They will allow the respondent to look while they also read the information out loud.

After the pair is presented, enumerators will now ask respondents to choose their preferred candidate of the two possible and to weigh the strength of their preference on a 5 point scale.]

1. If these two candidates were running against each other for MLA, and the election were held today, which would you vote for?

2. Please indicate how strongly you prefer this candidate over his or her competitor on a five point scale, with 5 meaning "strongly prefer" and 1 meaning "slightly prefer."

[Enumerators will now use the app to produce a second randomly selected pair of candidates and repeat the procedure above.]

[For the third pair, enumerators will use the app to randomly select a pair of candidates from the 16 below, as before. This time, however, the first candidate in this pair will be representing the BJP and the second candidate will be representing the RJD. The enumerator will then ask the same above questions of the respondent.]

[For the third pair, enumerators will use the app to randomly select a pair of candidates from the 16 below, as before. This time, however, the first candidate in this pair will be representing the RJD and the second candidate will be representing the BJP. The enumerator will then ask the same above questions of the respondent.]

Sixteen possible candidates to be randomized into pairs

Candidate 1: (Female, Muslim, Security)

Enumerator presents generic drawing of a female candidate.

Enumerator says the following:

This is Shrimati Ansari, who is a candidate for MLA. She makes the following appeal to voters:

People like you too often have to live in fear of persecution and even violence from other groups. If elected, I will ensure that you and people like you can feel safe in your communities again.

Candidate 2: (Female, Muslim, Public Goods)

Enumerator presents generic drawing of a female candidate.

Enumerator says the following:

This is Shrimati Ansari, who is a candidate for MLA. She makes the following appeal to voters:

People like you too often have to suffer from a lack of basic amenities within your communities. If elected, I will ensure that you and your community experience more development.

Candidate 3: (Female, Forward, Security)

Enumerator presents generic drawing of a female candidate.

Enumerator says the following:

This is Shrimati Pandey, who is a candidate for MLA. She makes the following appeal to voters:

People like you too often have to live in fear of persecution and even violence from other groups. If elected, I will ensure that you and people like you can feel safe in your communities again.

Candidate 4: (Female, Forward, Public Goods)

Enumerator presents generic drawing of a female candidate.

Enumerator says the following:

This is Shrimati Pandey, who is a candidate for MLA. She makes the following appeal to voters:

People like you too often have to suffer from a lack of basic amenities within your communities. If elected, I will ensure that you and your community experience more development.

Candidate 5: (Female, OBC, Security)

Enumerator presents generic drawing of a female candidate.

Enumerator says the following:

This is Shrimati Sahu, who is a candidate for MLA. She makes the following appeal to voters:

People like you too often have to live in fear of persecution and even violence from other groups. If elected, I will ensure that you and people like you can feel safe in your communities again.

Candidate 6: (Female, OBC, Public Goods)

Enumerator presents generic drawing of a female candidate.

Enumerator says the following:

This is Shrimati Sahu, who is a candidate for MLA. She makes the following appeal to voters:

People like you too often have to suffer from a lack of basic amenities within your communities. If elected, I will ensure that you and your community experience more development.

Candidate 7: (Female, SC, Security)

Enumerator presents generic drawing of a female candidate.

Enumerator says the following:

This is Shrimati Paswan, who is a candidate for MLA. She makes the following appeal to voters:

People like you too often have to live in fear of persecution and even violence from other groups. If elected, I will ensure that you and people like you can feel safe in your communities again.

Candidate 8: (Female, SC, Public Goods)

Enumerator presents generic drawing of a female candidate.

Enumerator says the following:

This is Shrimati Paswan, who is a candidate for MLA. She makes the following appeal to voters:

People like you too often have to suffer from a lack of basic amenities within your communities. If elected, I will ensure that you and your community experience more development.

Candidate 9: (Male, Muslim, Security)

Enumerator presents generic drawing of a male candidate.

Enumerator says the following:

This is Shri Ansari, who is a candidate for MLA. He makes the following appeal to voters:

People like you too often have to live in fear of persecution and even violence from other groups. If elected, I will ensure that you and people like you can feel safe in your communities again.

Candidate 10: (Male, Muslim, Public Goods)

Enumerator presents generic drawing of a male candidate.

Enumerator says the following:

This is Shri Ansari, who is a candidate for MLA. He makes the following appeal to voters:

People like you too often have to suffer from a lack of basic amenities within your communities. If elected, I will ensure that you and your community experience more development.

Candidate 11: (Male, Forward, Security)

Enumerator presents generic drawing of a male candidate.

Enumerator says the following:

This is Shri Pandey, who is a candidate for MLA. He makes the following appeal to voters:

People like you too often have to live in fear of persecution and even violence from other groups. If elected, I will ensure that you and people like you can feel safe in your communities again.

Candidate 12: (Male, Forward, Public Goods)

Enumerator presents generic drawing of a male candidate.

Enumerator says the following:

This is Shri Pandey, who is a candidate for MLA. He makes the following appeal to voters:

People like you too often have to suffer from a lack of basic amenities within your communities. If elected, I will ensure that you and your community experience more development.

Candidate 13: (Male, OBC, Security)

Enumerator presents generic drawing of a male candidate.

Enumerator says the following:

This is Shri Sahu, who is a candidate for MLA. He makes the following appeal to voters:

People like you too often have to live in fear of persecution and even violence from other groups. If elected, I will ensure that you and people like you can feel safe in your communities again.

Candidate 14: (Male, OBC, Public Goods)

Enumerator presents generic drawing of a male candidate.

Enumerator says the following:

This is Shri Sahu, who is a candidate for MLA. He makes the following appeal to voters:

People like you too often have to suffer from a lack of basic amenities within your communities. If elected, I will ensure that you and your community experience more development.

Candidate 15: (Male, SC, Security)

Enumerator presents generic drawing of a male candidate.

Enumerator says the following:

This is Shri Paswan, who is a candidate for MLA. He makes the following appeal to voters:

People like you too often have to live in fear of persecution and even violence from other groups. If elected, I will ensure that you and people like you can feel safe in your communities again.

Candidate 16: (Male, SC, Public Goods)

Enumerator presents generic drawing of a male candidate.

Enumerator says the following:

This is Shri Paswan, who is a candidate for MLA. He makes the following appeal to voters:

People like you too often have to suffer from a lack of basic amenities within your communities. If elected, I will ensure that you and your community experience more development.

Post-Survey Experiment Evaluation:

[After the survey is complete, the enumerator will ask the respondent the following questions about the last pair presented.]

Thinking about the last pair of candidates you were presented:

1. Please describe the reason for your choice?

2. What was Candidate 1's main promise?

3. What was Candidate 2's gender?

4. What was Candidate 1's jati?

Background Survey Component – Part 2

[Enumerators will next present the respondents with the following questions.]

Now I am going to ask you a few more questions about your background and experiences.

8. Which party did you vote for in the last MLA election?

a. Janata Dal (United)
b. BJP
c. Other Government Party
d. Rashtriya Janata Dal
e. INC
f. Communist Opposition
g. Other Opposition
h. Independent
i. I didn't vote
j. I don't recall

9. If the MLA election were held today, which party would you be most likely to vote for?

a. Janata Dal (United)
b. BJP
c. Other Government Party
d. Rashtriya Janata Dal
e. INC
f. Communist Opposition
g. Other Opposition
h. Independent
i. I wouldn't vote

10. How many times in the last year have you approached your current MLA for help?
    a. Never
    b. Once
    c. 2-4 times
    d. More than 4 times

11. In your opinion, how effective is your current MLA in dealing with the challenges faced by you and people like you in your constituency?
    a. Very Effective
    b. Somewhat Effective
    c. Somewhat Ineffective
    d. Very Ineffective
    e. Don't Know/Can't Say

12. How many times in the last year have you approached your current village Pradhan for help?

a. Never
b. Once
c. 2-4 times
d. More than 4 times

13. How often was your current village Pradhan able to deal effectively with your issues?
a. All the time
b. Most of the time
c. Some of the time
d. Never
e. I have never brought issues before the Pradhan

14. Overall, how effective is your current village Pradhan at dealing with the challenges faced in your village?
a. Very Effective
b. Somewhat Effective
c. Somewhat Ineffective
d. Very Ineffective
e. Don't Know/Can't Say

15. Does your village currently have a women Pradhan?
a. Yes
b. No

16. Has your village ever had a women Pradhan?
a. Yes
b. No

17. If yes, how often was the past or current woman Pradhan able to deal effectively with your issues?
a. All the time
b. Most of the time
c. Some of the time
d. Never
e. I have never brought issues before the Pradhan

18. Prior to the current MLA, has your constituency ever had a female MLA in the past 10 years?
a. Yes
b. No
c. Don't Know/Can't Say

19. If yes, how often was the past women MLA able to deal effectively with challenges in your constituency?
a. All the time
b. Most of the time

c. Some of the time
d. Never
e. Don't Know/Can't Say

20. While speaking to people in the area, we have found that some of them have recently experienced discrimination while others say that they haven't. Thinking about the past one year, have you personally faced any kind of discrimination? If so, how often?

a. More than once a week
b. About once a week
c. About once a month
d. A few times during the year
e. A few times during my life
f. Never

21. What do you believe this discrimination was based on? (Check all that apply)
a. Jati
b. Gender
c. Religion
d. Occupation
e. Other
f. I don't know

22. While speaking to people in the area, we have found that some of their friends and family have recently experienced discrimination while others say that they haven't. Thinking about the past one year, has a friend of a member of your family faced any kind of discrimination? If so, how often?

a. More than once a week
b. About once a week
c. About once a month
d. A few times during the year
e. A few times during my life
f. Never

23. What do you believe this discrimination was based on? (Check all that apply)
a. Jati
b. Gender
c. Religion
d. Occupation
e. Other
f. I don't know

24. While speaking to people in the area, we have found that some of them have recently experienced violence while others say that they haven't. Thinking about the past one year, have you personally faced any violence or threats of violence? If so, how often?

a. More than once a week
b. About once a week
c. About once a month

d. A few times during the year
e. A few times during my life
f. Never

25. While speaking to people in the area, we have found that some of them have recently experienced threats of violence while others say that they haven't. Thinking about the past one year, have you personally faced any violence or threats of violence? If so, how often?

a. More than once a week
b. About once a week
c. About once a month
d. A few times during the year
e. A few times during my life
f. Never

26. What, in your opinion, were these acts of violence or threats of violence based on? (Check all that apply)

a. Jati
b. Gender
c. Religion
d. Occupation
e. Other
f. I don't know

27. While speaking to people in the area, we have found that some of their friends or family members have recently experienced violence while others say that they haven't. Thinking about the past one year, has a friend of a member of your family faced any violence or threats of violence? If so, how often?

a. More than once a week
b. About once a week
c. About once a month
d. A few times during the year
e. A few times during my life
f. Never

28. While speaking to people in the area, we have found that some of their friends or family members have recently experienced threats of violence while others say that they haven't. Thinking about the past one year, has a friend of a member of your family faced any violence or threats of violence? If so, how often?

a. More than once a week
b. About once a week
c. About once a month
d. A few times during the year

e. A few times during my life
f. Never

29. What, in your opinion, were these acts of violence or threats of violence based on? (Check all that apply)
a. Jati
b. Gender
c. Religion
d. Occupation
e. Other
f. I don't know

30. Have politicians or party workers ever assisted you in opposing discrimination or violence based on jati, religion, or gender?
a. Yes
b. No

31. If yes, please tell us who assisted you? (Check all that apply)
a. My current MP. Was this person a woman? Yes/No
b. My current MLA. Was this person a woman? Yes/No
c. My current village Pradhan. Was this person a woman? Yes/No
d. A previous MP. Was this person a woman? Yes/No
e. A previous MLA. Was this person a woman? Yes/No
f. A previous village Pradhan. Was this person a woman? Yes/No
g. Another politician (not MP, MLA, Pradhan). Was this person a woman? Yes/No
h. A party worker. Was this person a woman? Yes/No

Intra-Household Gender Dynamics Component

(Adapted from IHDS survey https://www.ihds.umd.edu/sites/ihds.umd.edu/files/ihds2ehq.pdf and Prillaman https://www.soledadprillaman.com/research)

[Following IHDS and other standard surveys, enumerator should administer this section to women respondents only. If the respondent happens to be male, enumerator should stop at the end of the previous section.]

32. How would you best describe your position in your household?

a. Head of household
b. Wife of head of household
c. Daughter of head of household
d. Mother of head of household
e. Sister of head of household
f. Other

33. Please tell me who in your family decides the following things?

I. How much money to spend on food or clothing in the household?
   a. Respondent (Yes/No)
   b. Husband (Yes/No)
   c. Senior Male (Yes/No)
   d. Senior Female (Yes/No)
   e. Others (Yes/No)
   f. Not Applicable/No one

II. Whether to buy an expensive item such as a refrigerator or TV?
   a. Respondent (Yes/No)
   b. Husband (Yes/No)
   c. Senior Male (Yes/No)
   d. Senior Female (Yes/No)
   e. Others (Yes/No)
   f. Not Applicable/No one

III. What to do if you fall sick?
   a. Respondent (Yes/No)
   b. Husband (Yes/No)
   c. Senior Male (Yes/No)
   d. Senior Female (Yes/No)
   e. Others (Yes/No)
   f. Not Applicable/No one

IV. Whether to buy land or property?

a. Respondent (Yes/No)
b. Husband (Yes/No)
c. Senior Male (Yes/No)
d. Senior Female (Yes/No)
e. Others (Yes/No)
f. Not Applicable/No one.

V. Until what level your children should be educated?
a. Respondent (Yes/No)
b. Husband (Yes/No)
c. Senior Male (Yes/No)
d. Senior Female (Yes/No)
e. Others (Yes/No)
f. Not Applicable/No one

VI. At what age your daughter(s) should be married?
g. Respondent (Yes/No)
h. Husband (Yes/No)
i. Senior Male (Yes/No)
j. Senior Female (Yes/No)
k. Others (Yes/No)
l. Not Applicable/No one

VII. Whom to vote for in an election?
a. Respondent (Yes/No)
b. Husband (Yes/No)
c. Senior Male (Yes/No)
d. Senior Female (Yes/No)
e. Others (Yes/No)
f. Not Applicable/No one

VIII. Whether to attend a village assembly meeting?
a. Respondent (Yes/No)
b. Husband (Yes/No)
c. Senior Male (Yes/No)
d. Senior Female (Yes/No)
e. Others (Yes/No)
f. Not Applicable/No one

THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATING

Appendix 3: Qualitative Interview Instrument – Party Workers

Informed Consent Component

Thank you for considering taking part in our research survey. We will begin with some background information to ensure your willingness to participate.

Project Background
Title: She Wins - Electing Women in Ethnically Divided Societies: The Case of Bihar
Principal Investigators: Anonymized
Sponsor: International Growth Centre

Procedures
You are being asked to take part in a research study. If you decide to take part, you will respond to a series of open-ended questions about state legislative elections in Bihar. You will also provide some background information about yourself. You will only interact with the interviewers reading this to you, and the interview will be done here and now. It should take only about one hour of your time. The results will be used to better understand voting for state elections in Bihar.

Before the conclusion of the interview, we will ask how you wish to be cited in any publications that result from this project. Our default approach is to cite you as an anonymous party official in Bihar.

If you allow us, we will record the interview. If not, we will only take notes. We will keep the recordings and interview notes in a locked box.

Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal
You do not have to be in this study. You may skip questions or stop participating at any time.

Contact Information
Anonymized

Consent
If you are willing to volunteer for this research please begin the interview.
1. Y 2. N

Interview Component

1. How old are you? Where are you from? What is your regular employment and your jati? Is there anything else about your background that can help us understand your career?

2. Please tell us about which political party you work for and how you came to work for it? What were your motivations?

3. Talk to us about the nature of your party work. Are you involved in selecting and grooming candidates for the Bihar Legislative Assembly and in what capacity?

4. What are the characteristics of MLA candidates that party leaders most value?

5. What are the characteristics of MLA candidates that you most value?

6. Roughly how many potential aspirants do you have for a given party nomination for a given MLA seat?

7. How does the gender of the prospective candidate enter into your calculations? Do you believe that voters in Bihar are open to electing women MLAs?

8. How do leaders within your party view prospective women candidates? Are women candidates seen as electable by the party?

9. What is the typical profile of women who approach you to become MLA candidates in terms of education, jati, occupation, previous political experience etc.?

10. What do you think are the main motivations for women approaching you to become MLA candidates? Are they often encouraged/supported by a male family member?

11. What characteristics do you value when selecting women to be candidates?

12. What characteristics do (other) leaders in your party value when selecting women to be candidates?

13. Do most women candidates you field come from political families?

14. In which types of constituencies do you tend to field women candidates?

15. Can you describe a few recent examples where the party has chosen a woman candidate over male candidate? What factors helped the woman be chosen over the man?

16. Are there cases where certain male party leaders are opposed to women candidates? How does the party overcome this opposition?

17. In your judgement, do jati and religion affect women candidates differently from men candidates in Bihar? If so, how? Does coming from a political family affect a female candidate's prospects?

18. How do a candidate's jati and religion affect your party's calculations in nominating MLA candidates? Do these calculations vary between men and women?

19. What strategies do women candidates typically use to mobilize voters? Are these typically different from the strategies used by male candidates?

20. In advising your party's MLA candidates, do you recommend different campaign strategies for male and women candidates? If so, what differences?

21. What are your thoughts as to the sorts of campaign appeals which are most effective for MLA candidates? Do these vary between men and women? Across jatis?

22. Do you believe that women are in a better or worse position than men to offer protection from caste and communal violence? Are they in a better or worse position than male politicians to promote the provisions of public goods and services?

23. Do you think that reservations for women at the gram panchayat level have made voters more receptive to having women candidates at the MLA level? Why or why not?

THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATING

Appendix 4: Qualitative Interview Instrument – Women Politicians

Informed Consent Component

Thank you for considering taking part in our research survey. We will begin with some background information to ensure your willingness to participate.

Project Background
Title: She Wins - Electing Women in Ethnically Divided Societies: The Case of Bihar
Principal Investigators: Anonymized
Sponsor: International Growth Centre

Procedures
You are being asked to take part in a research study. If you decide to take part, you will respond to a series of open-ended questions about state legislative elections in Bihar. You will also provide some background information about yourself. You will only interact with the interviewers reading this to you, and the interview will be done here and now. It should take only about one hour of your time. The results will be used to better understand voting for state elections in Bihar.

Before the conclusion of the interview, we will ask how you wish to be cited in any publications that result from this project. Our default approach is to cite you as an anonymous party official in Bihar.

If you allow us, we will record the interview. If not, we will only take notes. We will keep the recordings and interview notes in a locked box.

Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal
You do not have to be in this study. You may skip questions or stop participating at any time.

Contact Information
Anonymized

Consent
If you are willing to volunteer for this research please begin the interview.
1. Y 2. N

Interview Component

1. How old are you? Where are you from? What is your regular employment and your jati? Is there anything else about your background that can help us understand your career?

2. Please tell us about which political party you represent and how you came to join it? What were your motivations?

3. Please tell us about your past political career and your current position. If you are currently a leader at the panchayat level, have you ever considered running for the legislative assembly?

4. Tell us about your experiences seeking nomination from your party. What was the process? Did you feel that it was fair?

5. Tell us about your last election. How close was it and who was your primary opponent? What sorts of political appeals did you and your opponent make? Which did you find to be more effective?

6. In your experience, how has being a woman affected your political career? Has it been easier or more difficult to be nominated for office? Has it been easier or more difficult to win elections?

7. Do you believe that your gender has affected the sorts of political appeals that you make to voters? How do you generally appeal to voters? Do you find that appeals to safety and security are more effective or appeals to public goods, or something else?

8. How does your jati background and your religion affect your political career? Does being a woman impact how your jati and religion influence your political appeals? Would you have been as successful if you had come from a different jati or religion? Why?

9. What are the characteristics of MLA candidates that your party leaders most value? How do leaders within your party view prospective women candidates? Are women candidates seen as electable by the party?

10. What are the characteristics of MLA candidates that you most value?

11. What is the typical profile of the women you know who are elected to political office in terms of education, jati, occupation, previous political experience etc.?

12. What do you think are the main motivations for women seeking elected office? Are they often encouraged or discouraged by a male family member? Do they often come from political families?

13. In which types of constituencies do you think women are most successful?

14. Can you describe a few recent examples where your party has chosen a woman candidate over male candidate? What factors helped the woman be chosen over the man?

15. Are there cases where certain male party leaders are opposed to women candidates? How does the party overcome this opposition?

16. How do a candidate's jati and religion affect your party's calculations in nominating MLA candidates? Do these calculations vary between men and women?

17. Do you think that reservations for women at the gram panchayat level have made voters more receptive to having women candidates at the MLA level? Why or why not?

THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATING

Appendix 5: Qualitative Interview Instrument – NGOs

Informed Consent Component

Thank you for considering taking part in our research survey. We will begin with some background information to ensure your willingness to participate.

Project Background
Title: She Wins - Electing Women in Ethnically Divided Societies: The Case of Bihar
Principal Investigators: Anonymized
Sponsor: International Growth Centre

Procedures
You are being asked to take part in a research study. If you decide to take part, you will respond to a series of open-ended questions about state legislative elections in Bihar. You will also provide some background information about yourself. You will only interact with the interviewers reading this to you, and the interview will be done here and now. It should take only about one hour of your time. The results will be used to better understand voting for state elections in Bihar.

Before the conclusion of the interview, we will ask how you wish to be cited in any publications that result from this project. Our default approach is to cite you as an anonymous party official in Bihar.

If you allow us, we will record the interview. If not, we will only take notes. We will keep the recordings and interview notes in a locked box.

Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal
You do not have to be in this study. You may skip questions or stop participating at any time.

Contact Information
Anonymized

Consent
If you are willing to volunteer for this research please begin the interview.
1. Y 2. N

Interview Component

1. How old are you? Where are you from? What is your regular employment and your jati? Is there anything else about your background that can help us understand your career?

2. Talk to us about the nature of your rural development work. What do you do on a day-to-day basis?

3. What are the primary challenges facing the people you work with? Do they suffer from a lack of access to public goods and services? Do they suffer from caste or communal discrimination and violence?

4. How much impact does the local MLA have on your work? What about local panchayat leaders? How do these elected officials affect your work and rural development more generally?

5. In your experience, are women elected officials more or less effective than men in offering protection from caste and communal violence? Are they more or less effective than men in promoting the provision of public goods and services? Can you give us some examples?

6. Do women elected leaders from disadvantaged backgrounds and jatis behave differently than their male counterparts? Are women leaders from such backgrounds more or less attuned to issues of rural development? To issues of caste and communal violence? Can you give us some examples?

7. Do you think that reservations for women at the gram panchayat level have made voters more receptive to women's leadership? Have these reservations had an impact on women's role in society more generally? Why or why not?

THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATING

Appendix 6: COVID Protocols

POLICY AND DEVELOPMENT ADVISORY GROUP
COVID-19 Data Collection Protocol

General Guidelines

Inform everyone involved in data collection team of the following protocol and clarify that this applies both during and outside of data collection activities:

- Everyone in the data collection team would undergo a mandatory temperature check every morning. In case of a high temperature (above 37.5 Celsius), or any other mild symptoms such as tiredness, dry cough (common symptoms), shortness of breath, aches and pains, sore throat, or running nose (other symptoms) the Project Manager would be informed. Any person with these symptoms should not engage in data collection and self-quarantine for 14 days.
- Project Manager to ask if enumerators and others on the data collection team have been in contact with anyone with confirmed or suspected case of COVID-19. If yes, the person should not be participating in the activity and self-quarantine for a minimum of 14 days.
- **Wash hands thoroughly and regularly** (ideally every 1 to 2 hours conducted) with soap and water or alcohol-based hand rub.
- Sanitise your hands in between each interview
- Follow the recommended cough etiquette at all times
- Wear masks at all times
- Do not touch your (or anyone else's) face – particularly eyes, nose and mouth.
- Do not shake hands amongst the team as well as with those outside the team
- Keep at least **6 feet distance** from other people at all times. Close-up contact should be limited to less than 15 minutes.
- Keep distance also in cars, i.e. use enough cars so there are maximum 3 people per car. If enough cars aren't available, see if fewer enumerators could be used and extend data collection time.
- Don't have any physical contact with other people.
- Sanitize all data collection items prior to each interview (pens, phone, tablets, notebooks, ID cards, etc.)
- Ensure items are not shared among team members
- Provide pens for each individual staff member
- Provide zip-locked bags to place enumerator phones/devices
- Don't spit in public
- Inform your Project Manager immediately if feeling unwell

- [*For Project Manager*] Ensure you know the protocol to follow and referral mechanisms to use to inform the right people about any observations of symptoms or sickness among field staff during data collection
- Procure relevant supplies for staff screening and sanitation (for individuals as well as of common and personal objects): Thermometers, Hand hygiene items (hand sanitisers and soaps, ideally liquid soap instead of soap blocks) and masks
- Each staff travelling to the field should have their own hand sanitiser with them
- Enough soap should be available at all times for all field staff
- Soap, sanitisers and masks should also be brought along with the data collection teams
- Sanitisers or disinfectant sprays should be used by enumerators and others involved in data collection (e.g. drivers) to sanitize common spaces including cars and data collection equipment
- All personnel associated with the data collection exercise would be insured for COVID-19

Measures to be taken before Data Collection

- Obtain required clearance from relevant authorities, especially if movement restrictions are in place
- Make sure everyone in the team (Project Manager, Research Associates, Field Coordinators, enumerators, drivers etc.) are up to date on the most recent information from the WHO and the Ministry of Health and adhere to their guidelines
- Prior to data collection and training of enumerators, collect information about specific referrals system for suspected COVID-19 cases and ensure that all enumerators have updated information (e.g. leaflets from the government or other relevant organisations) to share with respondents if asked
- Make sure that the relevant IEC materials on COVID-19 (factsheets, brochures, etc.) are available and shared with all staff
- Develop and train staff on appropriate reporting and communication channels to ensure safety and early response (if needed).
- Field Coordinators/Research Associates/Project Manager must be informed in case any enumerator develops COVID-19 symptoms, or visits a household or respondent who may have shown symptoms or respondent has/ develops any COVID-19 symptoms

Measures to be taken for data collection training workshop

- Training of enumerators should be conducted in a manner which ensures the recommended, at least 6 feet distance between everyone involved.
- All trainings should be conducted in a large enough room with good ventilation, spreading participants out, or split the group up into smaller units and conduct several rounds of trainings if needed
- Mandatory temperature checks for everyone arriving for the training workshop. In case of anyone displaying a high temperature (above 37.5 Celsius), or any other mild symptoms

such as tiredness, dry cough (common symptoms), shortness of breath, aches and pains, sore throat, or running nose (other symptoms) the Project Manager would be informed. Any person with these symptoms would not engage in data collection and self-quarantine for 14 days.

- As much as possible, enumerators who are familiar with mobile data collection would be a part of the team (enumerators with more experience will require less support from facilitators meaning less close interactions are required)
- Alternatively, trainings can be conducted remotely over Zoom or similar communication platforms. In such a case, it would be ensured that all participants have access to a computer or phone and that the training material is shared with the participants prior to training.
- If trainings are conducted remotely, it is important that the participants have prior experience in mobile data collection

Measures to be taken DURING data collection

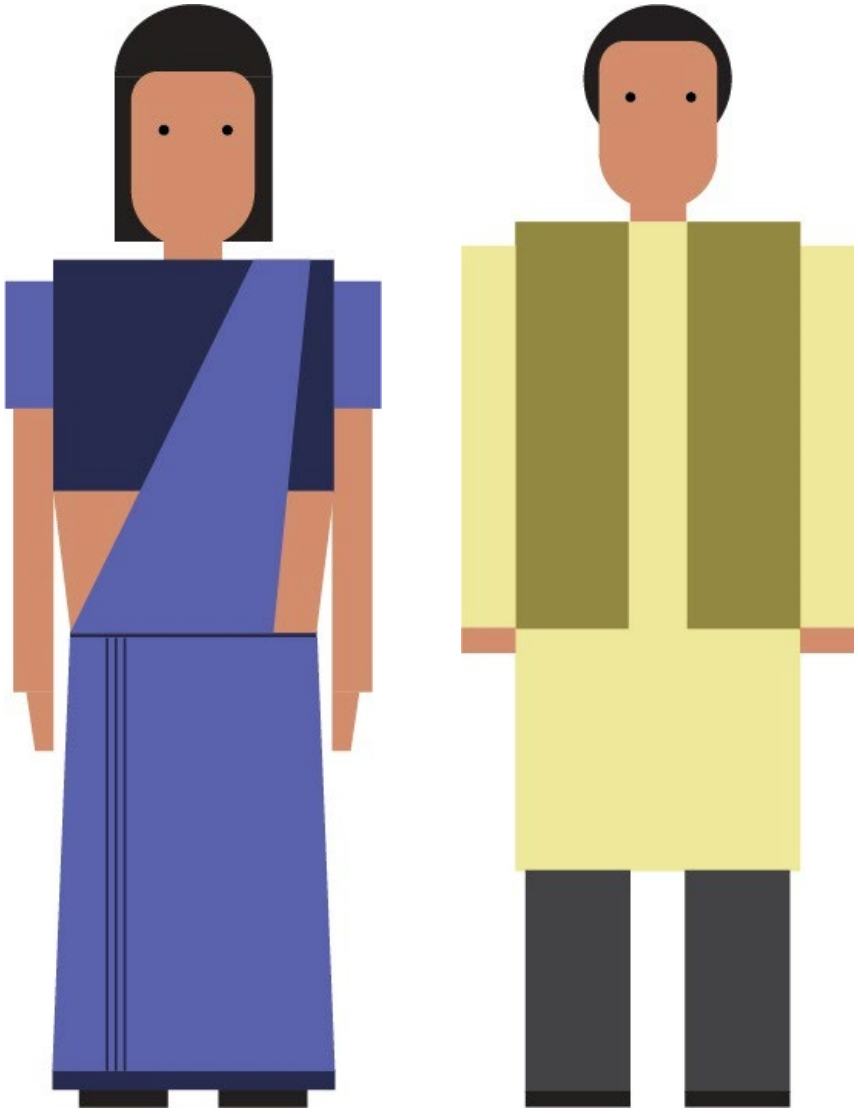
- Every morning remind the teams of the general guidance and protocols
- Approach respondent(s) for interviews/ discussions in line with the required measures
- Inform the respondent(s) of the COVID-19 measures (based on existing guidelines and messaging in the country) in a clear manner, prior to starting the interview or discussion
- Maintain the recommended distance (at least 6 feet) when approaching respondents
- Conduct the interview/ discussion outside in an open space
- Maintain at least 6 feet distance from other people throughout, specifically the respondents.
- In case a respondent wishes to enter the responses herself/himself on the tablets, in such a case wipe the device with a sanitiser both before and after giving it to the respondent
- Don't touch anything in or around the households/ interview sites that you are visiting
- Avoid contact with elderly or people with chronic diseases, if possible
- Maintain distance from other household members as well. If you are asked to go inside and it is not possible to maintain the safe distance, then take the respondent outside or terminate the interview.
- Ensure measures are being followed within the team throughout as well (i.e. not just between enumerators and respondents during the interview or discussion process)
- Don't pass on things to other people, e.g. bottles, pens, phones, leaflets, visibility material etc. If you do so, wash your hands and wipe off the item carefully with sanitiser
- Don't drink or eat from the same containers and don't use utilities from another person.
- Wash hands with soap/ sanitizer following advisories by the Ministry of Health

Measures to be taken AFTER data collection

- Ensure all staff returning from data collection (enumerators, drivers, etc.) thoroughly wash their hands with soap (at least 20 seconds)
- Ensure enumerators are reporting back to field coordinators as established in the protocols

- Enumerators should report any health symptoms such as a high temperature (above 37.5), or any other mild symptoms such as tiredness, dry cough (common symptoms), shortness of breath, aches and pains, sore throat, or runny nose (other symptoms).
- If any staff is experiencing symptoms they should self-quarantine for at least 14 days/ until recovered.
- Enumerators should confirm location and report of any interaction with an respondent that exhibited symptoms of fever, cough or shortness of breath
- Field coordinators to prepare a daily report on any interaction with a respondent who exhibited symptoms of fever, cough or shortness of breath to be sent to Project Manager
- Relevant concerns should be reported through the appropriate referral mechanisms as established/ identified during the planning stage (i.e. prior to data collection)
- Ensure enumerators submit the data collected and clean data collection devices on a daily basis
- Enumerators to wipe off all devices with disinfectant or soap and water before handing them back and place all phones in a zip-locked plastic bag with their name written on it. This is to ensure that devices change hands as little as possible.

Appendix 7: Example Candidate Drawings



Appendix 8: Image from Fieldwork

Appendix 9: EGAP Pre-analysis Plan Registration

EGAP Registry Form Schema

Note from EGAP: while the standard workflow is down, this form replaces the registration form on egap.org. For this alternate workflow, the time/date that your email is *sent* will become the timestamp for your registration. It may still take up to five business days to review, upload, and post your submission, but the timestamp will be locked in as described.

Title of Study – *Electing Women in Ethnically Divided Societies*

Authors – *If an author already has a profile on OSF, please provide their name. If not, please provide the name and email address for each new account. (**required**)*

Anonymized

Brief description of study – 2-3 sentences *(**required**—If left blank, study title will be entered here. This can be edited after the registration is submitted)*

In this study, we use a conjoint survey experiment to examine how the ethnic identities and campaign platforms of women candidates influence their electability in India's state-level elections, with a focus on the state of Bihar. We also examine how exposure to ethnic violence and experiences with gender discrimination and empowerment shape the attitudes of voters to women candidates.

License – *(**required**—The license controls the degree to which others can make use of information related to your project, particularly analysis coding and data files. If left blank, default value is the MIT License, which allows for broad access while maintaining established authorship of the study's intellectual property. (SELECT ONE)*

MIT License – NOTE: THIS WILL BE THE DEFAULT UNLESS YOU SPECIFY OTHERWISE
No License
GNU Lesser General Public License (LGPL) 3.0
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Artistic License 2.0
CC0 1.0 Universal
BSD 3-Clause "New"/"Revised" License
BSD 2-Clause "Simplified" License
Apache License 2.0
CC-By Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International
CC-By Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International
Academic Free License (AFL) 3.0
Eclipse Public License 1.0
Mozilla Public License 2.0
GNU General Public License (GPL) 3.0
GNU General Public License (GPL) 2.0

Acknowledgements – *short text*

This project is financed by the International Growth Centre at the London School of Economics, which is partnered with the University of Oxford and primarily funded by the UK Department for International Development. The authors express their sincere appreciation for this support. The order of authors is alphabetical.

Is one of the study authors a university faculty member? – *multiple choice (SELECT ONE)*

X Yes
No

Is this Registration Prospective or Retrospective? – *multiple choice (SELECT ONE)*

N/A
Registration prior to any research activities
Registration prior to assignment of treatment
Registration prior to realization of outcomes
Registration prior to researcher access to outcome data
X Registration prior to researcher analysis of outcome data
Registration after researcher analysis of outcome data
Other (if selected, short text field appears)

Is this an experimental study? – *multiple choice (SELECT ONE)*

N/A
No
X Yes

Date of start of study – *date (MM/DD/YYYY format; understood as first date of treatment assignment; please only list **ONE DATE**)*

12/15/2020

Gate date – *date (MM/DD/YYYY format); gating is discouraged, but if necessary, EGAP policy limits the gate range to 18 months maximum (**18 months from the DATE OF SUBMISSION, not from the study start date)**. If you foresee any issues with this, please contact paps@egap.org. If you do not want to gate your study, please leave this field blank.*

Was this design presented at an EGAP meeting? – *multiple choice (SELECT ONE)*

N/A
X No
Yes

Is there a pre-analysis plan associated with this registration? – *multiple choice (SELECT ONE)*

N/A
No
X Yes

*For the next three fields, the response box is a long answer plain text box. Please try to limit your response to ~300 words at most, and use your pre-analysis plan to elaborate further if necessary. **Also, the plain text***

field limits formatting, so please do not include bullet point lists with multiple indentations, footnotes, tables, images, or other complicated formatting.
Background and explanation of rationale – *long answer (**required**)*

What are the hypotheses to be tested/quantities of interest to be estimated? – *long answer (**required**)*

The hypotheses we estimate are shaped by five distinct but related substantive questions about the factors that shape the electability of women candidates in ethnically divided societies.

Question 1: ***Does gender impact the effectiveness of campaigning on security from ethnic violence versus campaigning on improved provision of public goods?***

H1a: Women candidates who promise caste or communal security will be at greater disadvantage in MLA elections than those who promise improved public goods.

H1b: Candidates who are men who promise caste or communal security will be at greater advantage in MLA elections than those who promise improved public goods.

Question 2: How does local caste and communal violence affect the electoral prospects of women candidates? Does this interact with the campaign appeals that candidates use? How do voters' experiences of gender discrimination shape their attitudes to women candidates?

H2a: Women candidates will be at a disadvantage in MLA elections relative to male candidates among voters who have experienced caste or communal violence or threats of such violence or caste or communal discrimination.

H2b: Candidates who are men who promise caste or communal security will enjoy an advantage in MLA elections (over comparable candidates who promise improved public goods) with voters who have experienced caste or communal violence or threats of such violence or caste or communal discrimination.

H2c: Women candidates who promise caste or communal security will experience a disadvantage with voters who have experienced caste or communal violence or discrimination over women candidates who promise improved public goods.

H2d. Women who have witnessed relative gender parity in decision-making within their own households will be more supportive of women candidates than women who have experienced gender inequality within their households.

H2e. Women who have experienced or witnessed gender-based discrimination will be less supportive of women candidates than women who have not experienced or witnessed gender-based discrimination.

Question 3: Does exposure to women incumbents at different levels of government affect the willingness of voters to elect a woman at the higher, state level? How does the performance of these women incumbents modify voter attitudes to woman candidates in state-level elections?

H3a: Voters are more likely to support women candidates in MLA elections if they live in a village which is or has been led by a women pradhan.

H3a.1: Voters are more likely to support women candidates in MLA elections if they live – or have previously lived - in a village led by a woman Pradhan who they perceive as having successfully helped them or people like them.

H3a.2: Voters are more likely to support women candidates in MLA elections if they live – or have previously lived – in a village led by a woman Pradhan who they perceive as having helped them oppose violence or discrimination on the basis of jati, religion or gender.

H3b: Voters are more likely to support women candidates in MLA elections if they live in a constituency represented by a woman MLA.

H3b.1: Voters are more likely to support women candidates in MLA elections if they live or have lived in a constituency represented by a woman MLA who they perceive as having successfully helped them or people like them.

H3b.2: Voters are more likely to support women candidates in MLA elections if they live or have lived in a constituency represented by a woman MLA who they perceive as having helped them oppose violence or discrimination on the basis of jati, religion or gender.

H3c: Voters are more likely to support women candidates in MLA elections if a woman politician (MLA, MP, Pradhan, another politician, or party worker) has helped them oppose discrimination based on *jati*, religion or gender.

H4a: Women candidates from scheduled caste and Muslim backgrounds will be at a greater disadvantage than comparable male candidates in MLA elections.

H4a.1: Women candidates from scheduled caste and Muslim backgrounds will be at a greater disadvantage than comparable male candidates in MLA elections amongst voters who are not co-ethnics.

H4a.2: Women candidates from scheduled caste and Muslim backgrounds will be at a lesser disadvantage (or a greater advantage) amongst voters who are co-ethnics than amongst voters who are not co-ethnics.

Question 4: ***How do the caste and religious backgrounds of women candidates impact their success in seeking state office? Are OBC, Dalit, or Muslim women more or less likely than their male counterparts to win state office?***

H4b: Women candidates from scheduled caste and Muslim backgrounds will be at a greater disadvantage than women candidates of non-scheduled caste or Muslim backgrounds in MLA elections.

H4b.1: Women candidates from scheduled caste and Muslim backgrounds will be at a greater disadvantage than women candidates of non-scheduled caste or Muslim backgrounds in MLA elections amongst voters who are not co-ethnics.

Question 5: Are voters more accepting of women candidates from some political parties than others? Is there a significant difference in support for women candidates between left and right wing parties, and between caste-based and communal or religious-based parties? Does the presence of political party on the ballot reduce the impact of gender in voting decisions?

H5a: When candidates are associated with a political party, the impact of gender on voting decisions will be reduced.

H5b. When candidates and voters are co-partisans, the impact of gender on voting decisions will be reduced.

H5c: Women candidates representing the RJD will find more support than those representing the BJP, other things equal.

How will these hypotheses be tested? – *long answer (**required**)*

To test our hypotheses, we accumulate original, primary data from a large survey of voters in the Indian state of Bihar.[1] The survey experiments are conducted in eight state legislative (Vidhan Sabha) constituencies through a random sample of 2000 respondents.

To test our hypotheses, we conduct a conjoint survey experiment with approximately 2000 respondents in the Indian state of Bihar. Enumerators present respondents with hypothetical candidate profiles distinguished by caste, gender, campaign appeal, and political party in order to isolate the additive and interactive effects of each characteristic on voter preferences. Such an approach is the most effective way of isolating various independents and estimating their potential causal relationships with vote choice and has been used extensively to answer similar questions (see Mutz 2011, Auerbach and Thachil, 2018, Hainmueller, Hangartner, and Yamamoto 2015, Häusermann, Kurer, and Traber 2019).

As our sampling frame, we select four districts, two with high levels of violence and two with low levels of violence. These are located both in the northern and southern parts of Bihar. Within each of the four districts, we examine two MLA constituencies. One of these is represented by a woman MLA and the other has been randomly selected from among the men represented constituencies adjacent to it. This approach provides better identification for testing the hypotheses pertaining to the effect of the gender of the MLA.

Within each of these constituencies, we survey approximately 250 respondents. Sampling is done by acquiring the voting rolls for each polling district within the constituency and randomly selecting about 15 individuals to poll. The randomization is done by computer. If the enumerators are unable to find the person randomly selected, or if that person refuses to participate, they ask to question another adult in the same household. If that strategy fails, they seek another respondent with similar demographic characteristics living as close to the original respondent as possible. As some respondents have limited access to telephones or computers and others will be illiterate, the enumerators proceed door-to-door.

The enumerators ask the respondents to choose their preference in each of four pairs of hypothetical MLA candidates. These candidates are randomized according to the following traits: gender (male or female), caste (forward, backward, scheduled caste, and muslim), and appeal (public goods v. security). Gender and caste are indicated by the name of the candidate rather than explicitly mentioned. The enumerators present drawings to the respondent of each of these two candidates, allowing the respondent to look while hearing the information read out loud. The drawings identify the gender of the candidate, but every additional identifier other than clothing color is standardized. For a fourth pair of candidates, enumerators again randomly select a pair of candidates from the 16 possibilities mentioned above. This time, however, the first candidate in this pair represents the BJP and the second candidate represent the RJD.

[1] Please note that the data were to be collected and analyzed in May, but the coronavirus pandemic has delayed the process.

Before presenting the candidate pairs, the enumerators ask whether the respondent or a close relative or friend has experienced caste or communal violence or threat of such violence or discrimination. They also ask for demographic characteristics, including age, gender, religion, jati or sub-caste, political party, education level, and literacy. In addition, after the candidate pairs, the enumerators undertake a brief household survey. The full survey instrument can be found in Appendix A of the attached pre-analyis plan. The attached pre-analysis plan describes how the variables for each hypothesis will be constructed and the estimation procedure.

Country – *short answer*
India

Sample Size (# of Units) – *short answer*
2000

Was a power analysis conducted prior to data collection? – *multiple choice (SELECT ONE)*

Yes
X No
N/A
Other (fill in the blank)

Has this research received Institutional Review Board (IRB) or ethics committee approval? – *multiple choice (SELECT ONE)*

X Yes
No
N/A
Other (fill in the blank)

IRB Number – *short answer*
H20323
Date of IRB Approval – *short answer*
December 20, 2019
Will the intervention be implemented by the researcher or a third party? If a third party, please provide the name. – *multiple choice (SELECT AS MANY AS APPLICABLE)*

Researchers
X Other (fill in the blank)

The Policy and Development Advisory Group based in New Delhi, India conducts the survey and presents the hypothetical candidate profiles to respondents.

Did any of the research team receive remuneration from the implementing agency for taking part in this research? – *multiple choice (SELECT ONE)*

X Yes
No
N/A
Other (fill in the blank)

If relevant, is there an advance agreement with the implementation group that all results can be published? – *multiple choice (SELECT ONE)*

X Yes
No
N/A
Other (fill in the blank)

JEL classification(s) – *short answer; please provide alphanumeric code(s)*

D72 Political Processes: Rent-Seeking, Lobbying, Elections, Legislatures, and Voting Behavior

Methodology – *select all that apply*

X Experimental Design
Field Experiments
Lab Experiments
X Mixed Method
Statistics
X Survey Methodology

Policy – *select all that apply*

Conflict and Violence
Corruption
Development
X Elections
Ethnic Politics
X Gender
Governance

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Appendix 10: EGAP Pre-analysis Plan

Pre-Analysis Plan:

"Electing Women in Ethnically Divided Societies: The Case of Bihar, India"

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I. Overview

We know from previous research that women's political participation is a fundamental contributor to gender equality (Childs and Luvendusky 2013, O'Connell 2018, Iyer and Mani 2019). The increased presence of elected women is critical to improving government responsiveness on gender issues and to ensuring the robust design and implementation of welfare measures pertaining to women and children. Moreover, women's political engagement is associated with a wide variety of positive developmental outcomes, including reduced corruption, better health outcomes, and improved educational opportunities (Chattopadhyay and Duflo 2004, Clots-Figueres 2012, Esarey Schwindt-Bayer 2019). It is understandable, then, that the bulk of prior research on gender and politics in the developing world focuses on how to increase the numbers of women in office. Few researchers, however, have addressed why, in ethnically diverse democracies like those found in many lower and middle income countries, some women candidates are successful while others are not. Indeed, most of the existing research does little to differentiate women candidates by constituency characteristics, much less by campaign strategies. Without understanding how voters react to women candidates and when and how women ultimately win electoral offices, evidence on gender and political representation will remain limited. In this article, we address these questions by exploring the interaction of gender, caste, and campaign strategy in India's state-level elections, focusing on the state of Bihar. We are concerned specifically with elections for the position of MLA, member of the state legislative assembly, the Vidhan Sabha. Our goal is to identify the key factors that impact women's political success.

I. A. ***Geographic Context***

We test our arguments using original data from the Indian state of Bihar. Bihar is among India's largest and poorest states, and it also has a history of caste prejudice and violence (Kumar 2018). In recent years, however, the state has made significant progress in its economic development, even as backward and scheduled caste mobilization has roiled it politics (Chakrabarti 2015).

Bihar is located in eastern India and has a 2011 population of 105 million, higher than Germany or Turkey.[1] Its per capita GDP was about US$450 last year, making Bihar one of the poorest states on the subcontinent. A recent economic boom, driven at least in part by the success of its much hailed chief minister Nitish Kumar, has also made Bihar one of the fastest growing Indian states, at 10.5%.[2] But tremendous poverty remains, and caste prejudice and violence is a regular feature of life in Bihar (Witsoe 2013).

Demographically, the state has among the largest percentage population of scheduled caste people in the country, at about 16%.[3] Forward, or high caste, individuals make up an estimated 15%, especially Bhumihars, Rajputs, and Brahmans.[4] Backward caste groups, especially the numerous Yadavs and Kurmis, make up the plurality of the population, at about 50%,[5] and Muslims round out the numbers at about 17%.[6] Bihar's politics are deeply rooted in caste antagonisms, and also, of course, in caste alliances. These sometimes play out beyond the bounds of regular politics, as when militias such as the forward caste Ranvir Sena perpetrate violence. But more often their effects are visible in the structure of electoral competition in the state.

[1] https://www.census2011.co.in/census/state/bihar.html
[2] https://www.prsindia.org/parliamenttrack/budgets/bihar-budget-analysis-2020-21
[3] https://censusindia.gov.in/Tables_Published/A-Series/A-Series_links/t_00_005.aspx
[4] http://gad.bih.nic.in/Circulars/CN-01-07-05-2015.pdf
[5] https://caravanmagazine.in/politics/bjp-grapples-for-obc-votes-bihar
[6] https://www.census2011.co.in/census/state/bihar.html

Today politics in Bihar revolves primarily around competition between three political parties. The long-term (now former) chief minister (CM), Lalu Prasad Yadav, is leader of the Rashtriya Janata Dal (RJD, or National People's Party). This party grew from the Janata Movement which had opposed Congress Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and had captured power in the wake of her relinquishment of dictatorial power after the 1975-77 Emergency. Lalu Yadav's party was left-of-center ideologically, but was built mostly around his enormous Yadav caste and its co-ethnic allies (Jaffrelot and Kumar 2009). During his time as CM, Lalu Yadav was praised for advancing the fortunes of the poor and backward castes, but was also seen as deeply corrupt and unconcerned with development (Witsoe 2013). Lalu Yadav's wife Rabri Devi became Bihar's first, and to date only, female Chief Minister in 1997 after Lalu Yadav's involvement in a corruption scandal forced him to resign as Chief Minister, though she was widely perceived to be a figurehead[i].

In the Indian political system, a state's chief executive is called the chief minister and is chosen by a majority vote of the state legislative assembly. The current chief minister, Nitish Kumar, is the leader of the Janata Dal-United Party (JDU. Kumar is a member of the second most numerous backward caste grouping (jati) in Bihar, the Kurmis, and his party reflects these alliances. At the same time Kumar has tried to move beyond caste politics to some extent by focusing on good governance and development issues (Kumar 2018). Kumar has also sought to champion women's interests through public provisioning and through the introduction of the 50% gender quotas in local government, though not necessarily in the realm of providing opportunities to women candidates at higher levels of government (Spary 2020).

The power of the Congress Party, one of India's two truly national political entities, has been almost completely eroded in Bihar, and support for the communists has also dwindled. But

the other national party – the rightist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) – with its ethnic base from forward caste Brahmins and Bhumihar *jatis*, has become a very significant player in the state. The rise of Narendra Modi, India's current prime minister, was felt strongly in the state and led the BJP – commonly perceived as a communal or Hindu nationalist party, to win a significant number of seats in the state using, in part, caste appeals. The party's alliance with the JDU, however, has meant that Nitish Kumar has stayed on as CM.

With respect to gender issues, Bihar is among nine Indian states which have provisions mandating a more robust 50% reservation for women in local government. The state has a history of gender discrimination, but its leaders are increasingly aware of the problem and taking action. Part of our goal is to understand how support for women politicians can best be provided.

Understanding gender and voting in Bihar, then, is important in its own right. But Bihar is also an extremely useful case for understanding these dynamics in other highly divided democracies. As noted above, caste violence is endemic in many parts of Bihar, but not to the same degree in every district. There are gender quotas at the local but not the state level. There is strong partisan competition combined with free elections. All of these factors make Bihar a perfect place to test our arguments.

Study Design

To test our hypotheses, we accumulate primary data from a large survey of voters in the Indian state of Bihar.[2] The survey experiments are conducted in eight state legislative (Vidhan Sabha) constituencies through a random sample of 2000 respondents.

To test our hypotheses, we conduct a conjoint survey experiment with approximately 2000

[2] Please note that the data were to be collected and analyzed in May, but the coronavirus pandemic has delayed the process.

respondents in the Indian state of Bihar. Enumerators present respondents with hypothetical candidate profiles distinguished by caste, gender, campaign appeal, and political party in order to isolate the additive and interactive effects of each characteristic on voter preferences. Such an approach is the most effective way of isolating various independent variables and estimating their potential causal relationships with vote choice and has been usedextensively to answer similar questions (see Mutz 2011, Auerbach and Thachil, 2018, Hainmueller, Hangartner, and Yamamoto 2015, Häusermann, Kurer, and Traber 2019).

As our sampling frame, we select four administrative districts, two with high levels of caste violence and two with low levels of caste violence. These are located both in the northern and southern parts of Bihar. Within each of the four districts, we examine two MLA constituencies – one represented by a woman and the other randomly selected from among the male represented constituencies adjacent to it. This approach provides better identification for testing the hypotheses pertaining to the effect of the gender of the MLA.

Within each of these constituencies, we survey approximately 250 respondents. Sampling is done by acquiring the voting rolls for each polling district within the constituency and randomly selecting about 15 individuals to poll. The randomization is done by computer. If the enumerators are unable to find the person randomly selected, or if that person refuses to participate, they ask to question another adult in the same household. If that strategy fails, they seek another respondent with similar demographic characteristics living as close to theoriginal respondent as possible. As some respondents have limited access to telephones or computers and others are illiterate, the enumerators proceed door-to-door.

The enumerators ask the respondents to choose their preference in each of three pairs of hypothetical MLA candidates. These candidates are randomized according to the following traits: gender (male or female), caste (forward, backward, scheduled caste, and muslim), and appeal (public goods v. ethnic security). Gender and caste is indicated by the surname of the candidate rather than explicitly mentioned. The surnames are readily identifiable caste surnames. The enumerators then present drawings to the respondent of each of these two candidates, allowing the respondent to look while hearing the information read out loud. The drawings identify the gender of the candidate, but every additional identifier other than clothing color is standardized. For a fourth pair of candidates, enumerators again randomly select a pair of candidates from the 16 possibilities mentioned above. This time, however, the first candidate in this pair represents the BJP and the second candidate represents the RJD.

Before presenting the candidate pairs, the enumerators ask whether the respondent or a close relative or friend has experienced caste or communal violence or threats of such violence or discrimination. They also ask for demographic characteristics, including age, gender, religion, *jati* or sub-caste, political party, education level, and literacy. In addition, after the candidate pairs, the enumerators undertake a brief household survey. The full survey instrument can be found in Appendix A.

To answer our final question, we conduct qualitative semi-structured interviews of party leaders and activists. We include our interview instruments for party workers in Appendix 2, women politicians in Appendix 3, and NGOs in Appendix 4.

Hypotheses

In the diverse and complex electoral environment of a state such as Bihar, previous research points to the impact of local caste and communal violence on the efficacy of security versus public goods appeals. Banerjee (2018) demonstrates that individuals who have experienced violence are much more open to promises of security from candidates rather than promises of providing public goods. This dynamic is reversed for those with less exposure to violence.

All of this stands to reason, but we still do not know whether the presence of violence in a particular locale impacts the competitiveness of women candidates for office. Nor do we understand what specific types of electoral appeals resonate with voters and how they are impacted by the gender of the candidate. In addition, we are still largely ignorant about how the intersectionality of various identities may play out in Indian politics. And we know little about how exposure to women at various levels of government shapes voters' perceptions of new women candidates running for office. With these issues in mind, we test hypotheses around six critical questions.

Does gender impact the effectiveness of campaigning on security from ethnic violence versuscampaigning on improved provision of public goods?

Past research has indicated that women political candidates may have more traction presenting themselves in traditionally "feminine" ways, for example as compassionate or as mother-figures (Ono and Yamada 2020, Spary 2007). They may be at a disadvantage when it comes to more stereotypically masculine policy appeals around, for example, law and order, and defense. We test here to see if similar dynamics are present in the Indian context.

H1a: Women candidates who promise caste or communal security will be at greater disadvantage in MLA elections than those who promise improved public goods.

H1b: Candidates who are men who promise caste or communal security will be at greater advantage in MLA elections than those who promise improved public goods.

How does local caste and communal violence affect the electoral prospects of women candidates? Does this interact with the campaign appeals that candidates use? How do voters' experiences of gender discrimination shape their attitudes to women candidates?

We are interested in exploring how voting functions in divided societies, where civil violence and discrimination is endemic. Past research has shown that the experience of political violence reduces the motivation of women to participate in politics while increasing the motivation of men (Hadzic and Tavits 2019). There is also significant evidence that women are generally stereotyped as more peaceful than men (Hansen 2013). With these findings in mind, we suspect that higher levels of such violence, by putting at a premium the stereotypically masculine trait of providing physical protection, may redound to the benefit of male candidates. To our knowledge, we are the first to answer this important question with systematic data. We also conjecture that female voters who have experienced gender discrimination or a lack of gender equality within their households may be less supportive of women candidates than female voters who have experienced gender parity within their households.

H2a: Women candidates will be at a disadvantage in MLA elections relative to male candidates among voters who have experienced caste or communal violence or threats of such violence or caste or communal discrimination.

H2b: Candidates who are men who promise caste or communal security will enjoy an advantage in MLA elections (over comparable men who promise improved public goods) with voters who have experienced caste or communal violence or threats of such violence or caste or communal discrimination.

H2c: Women candidates who promise caste or communal security will experience a disadvantage with voters who have experienced caste or communal violence or discrimination over women candidates who promise improved public goods.

H2d. Women who have witnessed relative gender parity in decision-making within their own households will be more supportive of women candidates than women who have experienced gender inequality within their households.

H2e. Women who have experienced or witnessed gender-based discrimination will be less supportive of women candidates than women who have not experienced or witnessed gender-based discrimination.

The hypotheses H2a, H2b and H2c will be coded on the basis of responses to Questions 22, 24 and 25. A respondent will be coded as having experienced discrimination, threats of violence, or

actual violence for responses a, b, c or d. and if they reported "*jati*" or religion as being the reasons for the discrimination, threats or actual violence in Questions 21, 23 and 26 respectively.

For H2d and H2e, we will use an additive index capturing the extent of gender parity within the household based on the answers to each part of Question 33 where we will assign one point to each response where the decision-maker is a woman (i.e. respondent or Senior Female).

Does exposure to women incumbents at different levels of government – local and state- affect thewillingness of voters to elect a woman at the higher, state level? How does the performance of these women incumbents modify voter attitudes to woman candidates in state-level elections?

In answering the first question, we seek to contribute to the literature on the effects of local gender quotas on representation in India (Bhavnani 2009, Goyal 2020a, 2020b) and to the question of quota spillovers. Previous scholars have shown that caste quotas for university admission in India may spillover into high school performance (Bhattacharjee 2019) and that gender quotas for proportionally allocated legislative seats spillover into single-member-district seats in South Korea (Shin 2014).

In the Indian context, Goyal (2020) examines whether gender quotas in the Delhi Municipal Corporation have upstream effects on the prevalence of women candidates in state elections. She finds that each increase in local female representation significantly increases the prevalence of local female candidates who contest state elections and the likelihood that local and re-contesting state-level female candidates and incumbents secure party nominations. She also uses a conjoint experiment similar to the one we present here to examine whether voters in local

female constituencies prefer female candidates in state elections. Our study seeks to build on Goyal's finding to investigate a similar question in a different and more varied context – the state of Bihar – which has higher levels of caste violence. In addition, we explore the question as it pertains to the panchayat institutional structure, which is for rural areas and operates distinctly from municipal local governments. We ask here whether quotas at a lower tier of government (the village panchayat) spillover into voting decisions for women candidates at a higher tier (the state). Given that it is often politically easier to impose quotas at the local level, this question has significant policy implications.

In addressing the question as it pertain to exposure to women MLAs, and comparing it to the results of the analysis on the effects of exposure to women *pradhans*, we seek to shed light on how the level of government affects voter attitudes towards women candidates.

H3a: Voters are more likely to support women candidates in MLA elections if they live in a village which is or has been led by a woman *pradhan*.

H3a.1: Voters are more likely to support women candidates in MLA elections if they live – or have previously lived - in a village led by a woman *pradhan* who they perceive as having successfully helped them or people like them.

This variable will be coded on the basis of the responses to Question 17 where a response of a, b or c will be treated as a case of the respondent being successfully helped by a woman *pradhan*.

H3a.2: Voters are more likely to support women candidates in MLA elections if they live – or have previously lived – in a village led by a woman *pradhan* who they perceive as having helped them oppose violence or discrimination on the basis of jati, religion or gender.

The relevant interactive variable will be coded on the basis of responses to Questions 30 and 31 c and 31 f on the survey questionnaire.

H3b: Voters are more likely to support women candidates in MLA elections if they live in a constituency represented by a woman MLA.

H3b.1: Voters are more likely to support women candidates in MLA elections if they live or have lived in a constituency represented by a woman MLA who they perceive as having successfully helped them or people like them.

This variable will be coded on the basis of the responses to Question 19 where a response of a, b or c will be treated as a case of the respondent being successfully helped by a woman Pradhan.

H3b.2: Voters are more likely to support women candidates in MLA elections if they live or have lived in a constituency represented by a woman MLA who they perceive as having helped them oppose violence or discrimination on the basis of jati, religion or gender.

The relevant interactive variable will be coded on the basis of responses to Questions 30 and 31 b and 31 e on the survey questionnaire.

H3c: Voters are more likely to support women candidates in MLA elections if a woman politician (MLA, MP, Pradhan, another politician, or party worker) has helped them oppose discrimination based on *jati*, religion or gender.

The relevant interactive variable will be coded on the basis of responses to Questions 30 and all sub-parts of Question 31.

How do the caste and religious backgrounds of women candidates impact their success in seekingstate office? Are OBC, Scheduled Caste, or Muslim women more or less likely than their male counterparts to win state office?

There is a tremendous amount of new research in intersectionality showing convincingly that identities are not additive but rather interactive. Spary (2007, p263-264) notes for example the importance of caste, religious and class identities in India, which may produce as much difference among women as between women and men. How these intersectionalities play out among women political candidates is a less explored question. On the one hand, Jensenius (2016) notes that minority-group women may face an advantage when it comes to being selected by parties to run for public office since parties can "cash in the 'complementarity bonus' of being able to count someone as both a woman and a minority" (p440). Indeed, she finds both in the context of state and parliamentary level elections in India, that parties have in recent decades

nominated more women candidates in constituencies reserved for Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs) and that, in fact, much of the increase in the nomination of female candidates in India in recent years has occurred in reserved constituencies. She interprets these patterns as a result of "parties resisting changes to existing power hierarchies" (p441), meaning that parties have responded to pressure to nominate more women by doing so at the cost of their least powerful male politicians – SC and ST men. On the other hand, however, minority women may still face a double disadvantage when it comes to voters who may perceive both their caste and gender identity to be hindrances to their candidacy or their performance in office.

Previous scholars, then, have begun exploring how intersectionality affects parties' choices of candidates in India (Spary 2007, Jensenius 2016). We focus on a different question: how intersecting identities of gender and caste affect voter perceptions. Inspired by past research, we expect that the gender and caste identity of candidates will combine in the minds of voters, likely to the detriment of female candidates who are also from lower caste or Muslim backgrounds.

H4a: Women candidates from scheduled caste and Muslim backgrounds will be at a greater disadvantage than comparable men candidates in MLA elections.

H4a.1: Women candidates from scheduled caste and Muslim backgrounds will be at a greater disadvantage than comparable men candidates in MLA elections amongst voters who are not co-ethnics.

H4a.2: Women candidates from scheduled caste and Muslim backgrounds will be at a lesser disadvantage (or a greater advantage) amongst voters who are co-ethnics than amongst voters who are not co-ethnics.

H4b: Women candidates from scheduled caste and Muslim backgrounds will be at a greater disadvantage than women candidates of non-scheduled caste or Muslim backgrounds in MLA elections.

H4b.1: Women candidates from scheduled caste and Muslim backgrounds will be at a greater disadvantage than women candidates of non-scheduled caste or Muslim backgrounds in MLA elections amongst voters who are not co-ethnics.

For all of the above hypotheses, a voter will be coded as a co-ethnic if she or he shares the same caste category as the hypothetical candidate (based on the response to Question 4) or if she or he is a Muslim and the hypothetical candidate is also a Muslim.

Are voters more accepting of women candidates from some political parties than others? Is there a significant difference in support for women candidates between left and right wing parties, and between caste-based and communal or religious-based parties? Does the presence of political party on the ballot reduce the impact of gender in voting decisions?

Given the important role that parties play in shaping women's representation in the Indian context (Jensenius 2016, Bhavnani 2009), we also examine how partisan affiliation might mediate gender voting. As noted above, previous research has indicated that partisan loyalty can trump gender effects in voting (Dolan 2014). We expect to observe the same dynamic in India. There is perhaps less clarity in how the ideology of particular political parties might matter. Following Caul (1999), we expect that voters for a leftist, caste-oriented party such as the RJD may be more open to voting for a woman than a rightist, communal party such as the BJP.

H5a: When candidates are associated with a political party, the impact of gender on voting decisions will be reduced.

H5b. When candidates and voters are co-partisans, the impact of gender on voting decisions will be reduced.

H5c: Women candidates representing the RJD will find more support than those representing the BJP, other things equal.

Are women potential candidates treated differently by political party activists? Is there a "pipeline" problem in Indian state elections?

Finally, we are interested in exploring whether party gatekeepers channel potential women candidates towards specific appeals or constituencies based on their beliefs (whether true or not)

about electability. We will explore these questions qualitatively using insights from our interviews.

Variables and Analysis

The main dependent variable of interest is whether a given candidate profile with specific gender, identity and platform attributes is preferred by a given voter. This will be a binary variable "Preferred Candidate" coded on the basis of the question "If these two candidates were running against each other for MLA, and the election were held today, which would you vote for?".

We will also run an alternative specification with a variable which codes "Preferred Candidate" as missing if responds indicated only a slight preference for the candidate in response to the question "Please indicate how strongly you prefer this candidate over his or her competitor on a five point scale, with 5 meaning "strongly prefer" and 1 meaning "slightly prefer."

The main independent variables will be coded on the basis of the responses to the survey questions provided in Appendix 1. The previous section describes how each of the variable will be constructed in cases where the construction is not self-explanatory based on the survey responses.

We will analyze our data using the method laid out in Hainmueller, Hopkins, and Yamamoto (2014). Specifically, we will use a simple linear regression with robust standard errors clustered by respondent and with constituency fixed effects. We will conduct two-tailed tests and will utilize a threshold p-value of 5%.

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