A Field Experiment on Engaging Women Voters in India

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Abstract

Women constitute half of eligible voters in India, yet it is rare to see political parties mobilizing women as a concerted voting bloc, or grounding their electoral campaign on women-centric issues. In 2017, India's Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) chose to target women during local municipality elections by contesting a random set of constituencies on women-centric issues disseminated in private or public settings. Further, AAP cross-randomised this by using women canvassers to convey campaign messages in their door to door campaigns. In this paper, we study the effects of this new campaign in open and female-reserved constituencies on electoral outcomes and political participation by gender.

Note: This paper is a work in progress, with a lot of the data analysis remaining. Consequently, the current document contains preliminary results, and a copy of the pre-analysis plan (# 20180812AA) registered at http://egap.org/design-registrations. We plan to have a draft paper ready by the time of the conference.

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Outline

This paper

- ▶ Party-voter linkages in developing countries often thought to be based on identity and/or patronage and clientelistic exchanges (Chandra 2004)
- ▶ But candidates spend a lot of time and resources on election campaigns
- ▶ We study the efforts of a political party in India that randomised its electoral campaign to target women in select constituencies

Women and politics in India
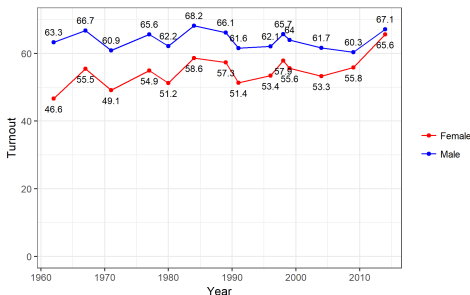
- ▶ Unprecedented increase in women's turnout, but few parties explicitly target women in campaigns
- ▶ Identity-based politics? Spillover effects of inequality in the private sphere (Khan 2018)?

About AAP

Municipal Corporation (MC) elections

- ▶ Bottom of India's 3 tier administrative structure
- ▶ Voters elect (a) ward councillors and (b) mayor
- ▶ Votes cast in polling booths within a ward
- ▶ Campaign duration:
  - ▶ UP: 5-25 November 2017
  - ▶ PB: 10-15 December 2017

Four Treatments

- T1: Reservations for women candidates vs no reservations (Ward)

- T2: Addition of a women-focused campaign to door-to-door canvassing vs status-quo message only (Ward)

- T3: Public announcement of women-focused message in T2 vs no public announcement (Ward, Punjab only)

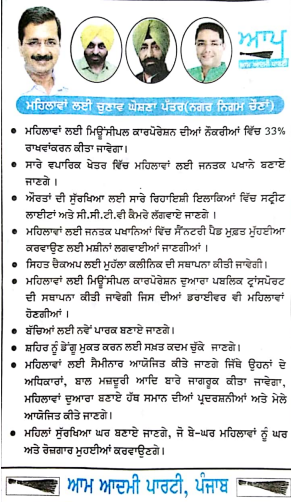- T4: Women canvassers vs mostly male canvassers (Booth)

Treatment 1: Reservation for Women

1. A fixed proportion of seats can only be contested by women
2. Randomized on a rotating basis by the Election Commission
3. Studied in Chattopadhyay & Duflo (2004)

Treatment 2: Women-specific policies

1. **Women's safety**: (a) Install street lights and CCTV cameras in residential areas; (b) public transport for women with female drivers

2. **Employment**: (a) Reserve 33% of MC jobs for women, (b) Promote women's handicrafts through fairs and exhibitions, (c) jobs for unemployed women and shelters to homeless women

3. **Health**: Public toilets, free sanitary pad vending machines

Scanned by CamScanner

Treatment 3: Public Messaging

- Auto-rickshaw drove through treatment areas

- Pre-recorded message played repeatedly

Treatment 4: Women Only Canvassing Teams

- Women-only teams randomized to canvass door to door
- In practice mostly mixed gender in treatment
- Mostly male in control

Randomization across wards and booths

Wards = 419
Polling Booths = 5101

Seat type
(randomized by Election Commission)

AAP campaign issues

Additional Public info/
Loudspeaker campaign

Canvasser gender
(randomized within wards
at polling booth level)
* SQ = Status quo

419 Wards

Open — Female reserved

Open: Status Quo — Status Quo + New
Female reserved: Status Quo — Status Quo + New

Status Quo + New (Open): No loudspeaker — Loudspeaker
Status Quo + New (Female reserved): No loudspeaker — Loudspeaker

SQ — Female (×6)
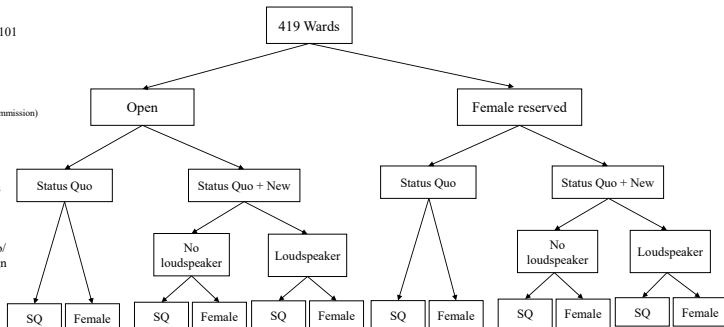
Compliance (1/2)

- Women's reservation

		Assigned to treatment	
		0	1
Actually treated?	0	100%	0%
	1	0%	100%

- Public Info

		Assigned to treatment	
		0	1
Actually treated?	0	100%	0%
	1	0%	100%

Compliance (2/2)

Table: First stage for New Campaign (T2)

	Overall		Uttar Pradesh		Punjab	
	*Dependent variable:*					
	Uptake of new campaign					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Treatment assignment	0.125*	0.137**	0.171*	0.181*	0.091	0.089
	(0.071)	(0.068)	(0.096)	(0.094)	(0.097)	(0.098)
Municipality FE	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	3,848	3,848	1,996	1,996	1,852	1,852
R^2	0.016	0.126	0.030	0.080	0.009	0.018

Note: $^*p<0.1$; $^{**}p<0.05$; $^{***}p<0.01$
SEs are clustered at the ward level.

Outcomes and analysis

- ▶ Main outcomes
    - ▶ Turnout
    - ▶ Vote choice for AAP
    - ▶ Switch vote to AAP
    - ▶ Political participation (index)
- ▶ Secondary outcomes
    - ▶ Impact on campaign (methods and platforms) of AAP and other parties
    - ▶ Time of voting decision, method of candidate choice
    - ▶ Attitudes towards women in public (perceptions of political participation) and private (potential backlash within the household)
- ▶ Treatments individually, and interacted
- ▶ ITT, LATE
- ▶ Heterogeneous effects: by state and sex of respondent
- ▶ Survey and administrative data analysis

Results summary

	Turnout (self-reported)	Vote choice for AAP	Switch vote to AAP
Women's reservation	✗	✗	✗
New Campaign	✓	✗	✗
Public Info	✗	✗	✗
Women canvassers	✗	✗	✗

Effect on turnout

Table: Impact on turnout

	Overall			Uttar Pradesh			Punjab		
	Pooled	Women	Men	Pooled	Women	Men	Pooled	Women	Men
New campaign	0.02**	0.038***	0.003	0.035***	0.058***	0.012	-0.005	0.003	-0.012
	(0.009)	(0.013)	(0.009)	(0.012)	(0.017)	(0.011)	(0.015)	(0.016)	(0.016)
Control mean	0.964	0.949	0.979	0.950	0.927	0.972	0.981	0.975	0.986
N	3337	1669	1668	2016	1008	1008	1321	661	660

Note: $^{*}p < 0.1$; $^{**}p < 0.05$; $^{***}p < 0.01$. Estimates are based on OLS regressions with municipality fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered at the ward level.

Conclusion

- ▶ Turnout effects are large!
- ▶ But party needs to differentiate between the extensive and intensive margin
- ▶ Even with the party message being effective at turning women out, do household dynamics still persist?
- ▶ Stay tuned!

Thank you!

Effect on turnout

Table: Impact on turnout

	Overall			Uttar Pradesh			Punjab		
	Pooled	Women	Men	Pooled	Women	Men	Pooled	Women	Men
Reserved seat	-0.009	-0.008	-0.01	0.002	0.009	-0.005	-0.02	-0.025*	-0.015
	(0.009)	(0.012)	(0.009)	(0.013)	(0.02)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.014)	(0.013)
N	3868	1935	1933	2016	1008	1008	1852	927	925
New campaign	0.02**	0.038***	0.003	0.035***	0.058***	0.012	-0.005	0.003	-0.012
	(0.009)	(0.013)	(0.009)	(0.012)	(0.017)	(0.011)	(0.015)	(0.016)	(0.016)
N	3337	1669	1668	2016	1008	1008	1321	661	660
Women canvasser	-0.006	-0.013	0.001	-0.009	-0.025*	0.006	-0.003	-0.001	-0.006
	(0.006)	(0.009)	(0.006)	(0.009)	(0.014)	(0.007)	(0.009)	(0.011)	(0.01)
N	3868	1935	1933	2016	1008	1008	1852	927	925

Note: $^{*}p < 0.1$; $^{**}p < 0.05$; $^{***}p < 0.01$. Estimates are based on OLS regressions with municipality fixed effects for reservation and new campaign treatments, and ward fixed effects for women canvassers treatment. Standard errors are clustered at the ward level for reservation and new campaign treatments, and the polling booth for women canvassers treatment.

Effect on vote choice for AAP

Table: Impact on vote choice for AAP

	Overall			Uttar Pradesh			Punjab		
	Pooled	Women	Men	Pooled	Women	Men	Pooled	Women	Men
Reserved seat	-0.009	-0.014	-0.003	0	0	-0.001	-0.017	-0.029	-0.005
	(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.012)	(0.015)	(0.012)	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.027)
N	3802	1891	1911	1950	964	986	1852	927	925
New campaign	-0.008	-0.003	-0.014	-0.01	-0.016	-0.005	-0.005	0.019	-0.029
	(0.014)	(0.016)	(0.014)	(0.012)	(0.015)	(0.012)	(0.032)	(0.034)	(0.033)
N	3271	1625	1646	1950	964	986	1321	661	660
Women canvasser	0	0.002	-0.002	-0.006	-0.004	-0.008	0.006	0.007	0.006
	(0.007)	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.011)	(0.008)	(0.012)	(0.015)	(0.014)
N	3802	1891	1911	1950	964	986	1852	927	925

Note: $^*p < 0.1$; $^{**}p < 0.05$; $^{***}p < 0.01$. Estimates are based on OLS regressions with municipality fixed effects for reservation and new campaign treatments, and ward fixed effects for women canvassers treatment. Standard errors are clustered at the ward level for reservation and new campaign treatments, and the polling booth for women canvassers treatment.

Effect on switching vote to AAP

Table: Impact on switching vote to AAP

	Overall			Uttar Pradesh			Punjab		
	Pooled	Women	Men	Pooled	Women	Men	Pooled	Women	Men
Reserved seat	-0.002	-0.005	0.002	0.002	0.003	0.001	-0.006	-0.014	0.002
	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.01)	(0.012)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.011)	(0.013)
N	3688	1844	1844	1994	1003	991	1694	841	853
New campaign	0	0.006	-0.005	-0.007	-0.009	-0.004	0.014	0.034	-0.007
	(0.009)	(0.011)	(0.009)	(0.01)	(0.012)	(0.01)	(0.019)	(0.022)	(0.018)
N	3191	1593	1598	1994	1003	991	1197	590	607
Women canvasser	0.001	-0.001	0.003	-0.002	-0.004	0.001	0.004	0.003	0.005
	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.008)	(0.009)
N	3688	1844	1844	1994	1003	991	1694	841	853

Note: $^*p < 0.1$; $^{**}p < 0.05$; $^{***}p < 0.01$. Estimates are based on OLS regressions with municipality fixed effects for reservation and new campaign treatments, and ward fixed effects for women canvassers treatment. Standard errors are clustered at the ward level for reservation and new campaign treatments, and the polling booth for women canvassers treatment.

Effect of public info

Table: Impact of public information

	Public Info treatment		
	Pooled	Women	Men
Turnout	-0.004	0.003	-0.012
	(0.015)	(0.016)	(0.016)
N	1852	927	925
Voted for AAP	-0.004	0.02	-0.028
	(0.032)	(0.034)	(0.033)
N	1852	927	925
Switched vote to AAP	0.014	0.035	-0.007
	(0.018)	(0.022)	(0.018)
N	1694	841	853

Note: $^{*}p < 0.1$; $^{**}p < 0.05$; $^{***}p < 0.01$. Estimates are based on OLS regressions with municipality fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered at the ward level.

Treatment 2: New campaign

Figure: Status Quo (left), New Campaign (Right)

Policy issues: status-quo campaign (T2 = 0) in Punjab

1. Reduce property tax.
2. Make <Patiala/Amritsar/Jalandhar>free of stray animals.
3. Introduce an online application facility for birth and death certificates.
4. Construct public toilets in commercial areas and maintain existing toilets well.
5. Develop an efficient rainwater management system to curb flooding.
6. Construct libraries, gymnasiums and community centres.
7. Help maintain public hospitals; and establish and maintain primary schools.
8. Take steps to promote welfare of municipal employees (and start a not-for-profit canteen for them).
9. Construct new roads and repair existing ones.
10. Mechanise the sewage cleaning process.
11. Establish parking facilities in congested commercial areas.
12. Provide environment-friendly public transport facilities.
13. Make <Patiala/Amritsar/Jalandhar>garbage free by establishing an efficient garbage collection and road cleaning system.
14. Ensure street lighting and CCTVs in all residential areas.
15. Make <Patiala/Amritsar/Jalandhar>dengue-free.
16. Develop parks for children and plant more trees.

Additional policy issues: new campaign (T2 = 1)

1. Reserve 33% of MC jobs for women.
2. Install street lights and CCTV cameras in residential areas for women's security.
3. MC will start public transport for women with female drivers.
4. Public toilets for women in all business centres.
5. Free sanitary pad vending machines at women's public toilets.
6. Establish *Mohalla* (neighborhood) clinics in residential areas.
7. Construct new parks for children.
8. Make the city dengue-free.
9. Inform and empower women by organising seminars on topics like women's rights and reducing child labour.
10. Promote women's handicrafts by organising exhibitions and trade fairs.
11. Establish an effective system of garbage disposal.
12. Make efforts to provide shelter to homeless women, and provide jobs for unemployed women.

Treatment 3: Public Messaging

Music

"The Aam Aadmi Party appeals to all residents of — to please cast your precious vote for the AAP candidate in your ward during the municipal corporation election on 17 December 2017. We are proud to announce that **AAP is the only political party with an exclusive manifesto for women that considers their needs**. If elected, we will give **top priority to women's safety** and install CCTV cameras in all residential areas. We will launch **exclusive public transport system for women that will be operated by female drivers**. We will also **install free sanitary pad vending machines** at public toilets, open *mohalla* clinics in residential areas, and build an effective garbage disposal system. Liquor shops will be shifted from residential areas to market vicinity. So we request all women to cast your votes in favor of AAP to make yourself more empowered."

A Field Experiment on Engaging Women Voters in India[*]

Anirvan Chowdhury[†]   Saad Gulzar[‡]   Durgesh Pathak[§]

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Abstract

Women constitute half of eligible voters in India, yet it is rare to see political parties mobilizing women as a concerted voting bloc, or grounding their electoral campaign on women-centric issues. In 2017, India's Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) chose to target women during local municipality elections by contesting a random set of constituencies on women-centric issues disseminated in private or public settings. Further, AAP cross-randomised this by using women canvassers to convey campaign messages in their door to door campaigns. In this paper, we study the effects of this new campaign in open and female-reserved constituencies on electoral outcomes and political participation by gender.

1 Introduction

Electioneering in the developing world is often mired by efforts at buying votes, suppressing turnout, and other forms of clientelism. Yet, a large fraction of political party effort before elections is spent on campaign activities that may not be easily characterized as nefarious. There remains limited evidence from relatively low information environments, such as developing countries, on how these activities affect voter behavior.

In this paper, we partner with a political party in India, the Aam Aadmi Party (AAP), to explicitly target female voters during its campaign process. Women constitute half of the eligible voters in India, yet many are not politically engaged. In addition to their turnout being lower than men, prior studies suggest that their decision to vote is often not independent of men who continue to dominate decisions regarding politics. In addition, political parties too have not sought to mobilize women as a concerted voting bloc, and no party has explicitly chosen to target their campaigns at women, and on female-centric issues. This disjuncture in political targeting is particularly puzzling given the shrinking gender gap in turnout (Kumar and Gupta 2015), divergent policy preferences among men and women (Chattopadhyay and Duflo 2004; Olken 2010)), and emerging evidence of partisan biases among Indian women[1].

We focus on Local Body elections held during November and December 2017 in Uttar Pradesh (UP) and Punjab, where the Aam Aadmi Party fielded candidates. We analyse an experiment conducted by AAP in seven large cities - four in UP and three in Punjab - that are divided into 419 single-member electoral districts, called wards. Together, these account for nearly six million voters. We study the effect of four sets of treatments:

First, how do women's reservations affect the kinds of campaigns parties carry out? Candidacy in about one-third of wards is reserved exclusively for women by the state election commisions. We can simply compare reserved constituencies with unreserved constituencies. Second, we test for the effects of a new political campaign designed and implemented by AAP that aims to explicitly address issues that are of primary importance to women in the area. These were identified through focus group discussions conducted by AAP before the election. Third, within a random subset of wards assigned to the new (women-centric issues) campaign, AAP delivered information in public settings through mobile loudspeakers. Finally, AAP randomized the gender of canvassers. This helps us study if having female canvassers—who often comprise a very small proportion of canvassing teams in India – affects the degree to which women are engaged in political campaigns.

As AAP carried out the experiment is carried out at scale, we will be able to study all cells of a fully-factorial design (see Figure 3 below).

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[1]http://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-news-india/jayalalithaa-aiadmk-dmk-tamil-nadu-assembly-elections-2016-results2815867/

2 Background

2.1 Uttar Pradesh

Uttar Pradesh (UP) is India's most populous state, and with over 200 million inhabitants, it is larger than Brazil. UP's demographic strength has led to a proportionate sway in determining India's political future. It has 80 of 543 federal parliamentary constituencies in India and 5 of the last 8 prime ministers have contested national elections from the state. At the same time, UP is one of India's poorest states with a per capita income of USD 280 (2011-12, constant prices) as compared to USD 585 for India as a whole.

In recent times, state politics in UP has been dominated by national parties like the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), and regional parties like the Samajwadi Party (SP) and the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP). In the 2017 state elections, the BJP received a single majority and displaced SP to form the government. The 2017 municipal election marked the entry of the AAP into UP politics, where it is only contesting elections in urban areas – that also happens to be the focus of this experiment.

2.2 Punjab

Punjab is the 15th most populous state in the country, accounting for more than 27.7 million citizens. One of the historical beneficiaries of the agricultural Green Revolution in the 1970s, its economy continues to be primarily driven by agriculture. It is also one of the richer states in India, with a per capita income of USD 720 (2011-12, constant prices).

Since the creation of Punjab as an independent state in 1966, its politics has been dominated by the Indian National Congress (INC) and the Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD), a regional party. In the recent state legislative assembly polls held in 2017, the INC displaced the incumbent SAD, winning 77 of the 177 total seats. The AAP was a first-time contestant at these polls and came in second with 22 seats.

2.3 Decentralized governance and role of Municipal Corporations

The Indian state has a federal structure with three distinct levels of government: the national (federal), state, and the local. Elected governments at the local level were introduced in 1991 as part of the 72nd and 73rd amendments to the Indian constitutions, taking the form of municipalities in urban areas and panchayats in rural areas. Municipal governance can be further classified as areas governed by municipal corporations[2], municipal councils[3] and urban panchayats[4].

Municipal corporations in UP and Punjab govern urban areas with a population of about a million, and are responsible for issuing birth and death certificates, public health care, urban planning, roads, water and sewage, solid waste management and air pollution control.

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[2] Also called "Nagar Nigam" or "Mahanagar Nigam"

[3] Also called "Nagar Palika" or "Nagar Parishad", municipal councils administer areas with a population of 100,000 or more.

[4] Also called Nagar Panchayats, these administer populations of 15,000 to 25,000. Elections are not contested on party lines at this level.

These operations are financed by a combination of tax and non-tax revenue, including property tax, advertisement fees, parking fees, and grants-in-aid from the state government.

A municipal corporation is administered through territorial constituencies called wards. Each ward elects one representative to the municipality's ward committee.

While candidates are selected on the basis of universal adult franchise, there exist reservations for groups that have been traditionally under-represented in the political sphere. A third of all wards are reserved for women, 15% for backward groups like the scheduled castes (SCs) and 27% for Other Backward Classes (OBCs).

Studying municipal elections matters for several reasons. For one, positions taken by individual candidates matters more in municipal elections as compared to state and national elections, when people are more likely to keep in mind macro-level issues like the state of the economy, including inflation, unemployment and overall development. Unlike these large elections, individual candidates' positions are as—if not more—important than the overall position of the political party. Second, municipal elections are usually more competitive due to the smaller size of the electorate at the ward level. Consequently, campaign strategies to target individual voters based on their identity, as well as issues of their concern are more relevant at the local than the state or national levels. Third, candidates are less likely to rely on hired support to mobilize voters but more on their social networks. Consequently, door to door campaigning and local public rallies are more likely to be effective in campaigns run along this style of election.

3 AAP and municipal elections

3.1 About AAP

The Aam Aadmi Party, literally the Common Persons' Party, started as an offshoot of a social movement, India Against Corruption (IAC). IAC began as a group of social activists campaigning for the implementation of the *Jan Lokpal* bill that would create an independent and autonomous organization to investigate corruption charges, including those against the government. Despite extended demonstrations, IAC was unable to persuade the Indian Parliament to pass the bill. At this point, a section of IAC activists, led by a former bureaucrat, Arvind Kejriwal, decided to float an independent political party, the AAP, with the aim of fighting corruption from within the political system. Since then, AAP has contested the 2014 national election, state elections in Delhi (2013, 2015), Punjab (2017), Goa (2017), and municipal elections in Delhi (2017). It currently forms the state government in Delhi. The municipal election in UP was its first foray into the state. In the case of Punjab, the party had finished as the first runner-up in the 2017 state election.

3.2 Organizational structure at the municipal corporation

Figure 1 provides an illustration of how AAP's campaigns for local elections are structured. We worked directly with the Nagar Nigam Campaign Committee and a selection of ward level teams. These teams were then responsible for training members of the ward and booth campaign committees.

State Campaign Committee

- Oversees execution of municipal election campaign in the state
- Consists of the top leadership of the party (state convener and her/his team)
- Formulates campaign strategy, candidate selection, monitors election and political activities, fundraising, media and social media outreach and grievance redressal

Nagar Nigam Campaign Committee

- AAP has one committee for each Nagar Nigam
- Headed by a senior local leader, supported by secretary, treasurer and volunteers
- Carries out the political strategy formulated by the State Campaign Cammittee in her/his Nagar Nigam (consists of election campaign, fundraising, booth management, door-to-door camapigning and canvassing and reporting unscrupulous activities to the State Campaign Committee).

Assembly Constituency Campaign Committee

- Each Nagar Nigam has 4-9 Assembly Constituencies (AC) under its purview; AAP has a local Campaign Committee for each AC.
- Headed by a senior local volunteer
- Responsible for executing the election camapign at the AC level, reports to the Nigar Nigam Campaign Committee.

Ward Campaign Committee

- Each AC has 15-20 wards; AAP has a local Campaign Committee for each ward
- Headed by the campaign manager of the local candidate, supported by a team of volunteers and party workers.
- Responsible for local canvassing, citizen outreach, roadside corner meetings (*Nukkad Sabhas*) .

Booth Campaign Committee

- Each ward is made up of 10-15 booths, AAP has a local Campaign Committee for each booth.
- Comprises of Booth In-Charge and her/his team
- Responsible for running get-out-the-vote campaign at the micro level and for booth management on election day.

Figure 1:   AAP's electoral organizational structure for municipal elections.

3.3 Campaigning in municipal elections

Like national and state level elections, political parties in municipal elections disseminate campaign messages through a combination of (a) pamphlets, (b) door to door canvassing, (c) posters, and (d) public meetings and rallies. In addition, wealthier parties and candidates have used radio jingles, and television advertisements to transmit their message to voters. For the municipal elections in which the experiment was implemented, AAP focused on personal messaging via pamphlets and door to door canvassing. In addition, the party disseminated information in public settings through loudspeakers fitted to vehicles for the duration of the campaign. Below we describe each of these.

3.3.1 Pamphlets and door to door canvassing

Party canvassers distributed pamphlets to voters through door-to-door campaigns, and at public places. While candidates could customise design to a limited extent, most pamphlets consisted of one printed side of paper with the party's symbol, photographs of the party leaders at the national and state level, the local candidate, and the party's key campaign messages and policy issues. The main issues in the status quo campaign included the reduction of the rate of property tax, provision of safe drinking water in all households, and the party's flagship issue—the eradication of corruption.[5]

3.3.2 Door-to-Door Campaigning

Political parties organize door to door campaigns through two channels: (a) the candidate, and (b) party workers.

When conducting door to door campaigning, candidates are usually accompanied by a team of volunteers or party workers. They travel from household to household within selected parts of a constituency, engaging with citizens through meet and greet sessions. Often, this takes the form of a procession with loudspeakers playing party messages and music.

On the other hand, party workers conduct door to door campaigns in small teams of about two persons each.[6] In the case of AAP, workers/volunteers are equipped with electoral rolls, pamphlets, party cap, and stationery with the party ID. During conversations with respondents, workers explained the party's election manifesto, special issues that the party and/or candidate are contesting on, as well as the background, character and qualifications of the candidate, and correct any misconceptions.

3.3.3 Public information

Candidates also use public dissemination procedures like loudspeakers and posters to inform voters about their policy platforms and upcoming campaign events. The AAP uses loudspeakers with pre-recorded audio messages in the local language fitted on an auto-rickshaw to spread such information. See Appendix A for a transcript of the message.

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[5]See Appendix A for examples of issues that were part of the status quo and new campaigns in the municipal elections.

[6]Parties other than AAP may use more members when they have informal teams

3.4 Timeline

The experiment was implemented in November and December 2017. We have finished collecting individual level data through a household survey but have not commenced any analysis except checking for data quality using univariate descriptive statistics. With regard to administrative data, we have so far been able to collect polling booth level information on turnout (gender disaggregated) and vote choice (not disaggregated by gender) from the state election commission for UP, but not Punjab. We are in the process of collecting turnout and vote choice data from the Punjab state election commission.

3.4.1 UP Elections

- Election notification date - 27 October

- Last date for filing nomination - 5 November

- Campaigning until - 5-25 November

- Voting - 27 November

- Counting - 1 December

3.4.2 Punjab Elections

- Election notification date - 7 December

- Last date for nomination - 10 December

- Campaigning until - 15 December

- Voting - 17 December

- Counting- 17 December

4 Research Design

Municipal elections are held in constituencies called wards situated within municipalities. Figure 2 shows these municipalities in Punjab and UP where AAP conducted the experiment. The selection of these seven cities was based on their importance for AAP's campaign as well as ease of managing the overall experiment. Business as usual campaigns were conducted in the other parts of the two states. The experiment was conducted in only those constituencies where the AAP fielded a candidate.

Voters in each ward are assigned to polling stations (also called booths). There are 5,101 booths across 419 wards, an average of about 12.2 booths per ward.

Figure 2: Sample Nagar Nigams in Punjab and Uttar Pradesh with number of wards

4.1 Details of Treatments

We focus on four sets of treatments that are cross randomized either by us or through the constitution:

- **T1: Female Candidates**: The Indian Election Commission stipulates reservations for women across all local elections in India. The State Election Commissions assign 33% wards randomly as reserved for women. There are also reservations for SCs and OBCs. However, the SC and OBC reservation process is independent of the female reservation process. Previous work by Chattopadhyay and Duflo (2004) has used these reservations to study the effect of female representation on policy outcomes. We use these reservations to study if political campaigns that align descriptively with candidates differ from other campaigns.

- **T2: A new campaign**: AAP candidates contested on a common set of issues in each state, which were related to matters under the control of local representatives. We refer to this as the status quo campaign and it comprises the control group in the experiment. In addition, AAP conducted focus group discussions before the election to

develop a separate campaign to engage with women directly on issues most important for them. AAP randomly chose a set of wards to contest on the basis of this "new" campaign that was overlaid on its existing campaign. To clarify, we refer to the status quo + the new women's campaign as the "new" campaign in the rest of the PAP. This design enables us to filter out the effect of the existing campaign and estimate the effect of this additional campaign. The campaign was conducted by AAP canvassers who had pamphlets corresponding to the status quo or the new campaign and went from door to door, meeting ward residents and conveying the party's message. See Appendix A for samples of pamphlets, policy issues and instructions to party workers engaged in door to door campaigning.

- **T3: Information provision in public settings**: Within a random subset of wards assigned to T2, AAP supplemented the dissemination of private information (through door to door canvassing) by giving information in public settings. This was done through a message in the local language that was played through a loudspeaker fitted to a vehicle that traversed the entire ward once each day for the duration of the campaign which lasted 5 to 7 days. This allowed other candidates and parties to know of AAP's new message and gave them the opportunity to react, and at the same time collectively informed women about the new campaign. See Appendix A for a transcript of the message read aloud through the loudspeakers.

- **T4: Female canvassers**: Within wards, most booths received business as usual teams of two door to door canvassers which comprises the control group for this treatment. AAP randomly assigned some booths to women-only teams of canvassers. This enables us to study the effect of female canvassers on the efficacy of the campaign.

4.2 Experiment Design

Figure 3 illustrates the design of the experiment by splitting 419 wards across various treatment conditions.

Randomisation proceeded as follows: within municipalities, we blocked on female reservation status and assigned wards to the new campaign or the status quo campaign with a 50% probability. Then within each ward, polling booths were assigned to the status quo canvassing teams with 80% probability or to the female-only canvassing teams with a 20% probability. With regard to the public information treatment, we randomly selected 46 wards assigned to the new campaign to receive information through loudspeakers.

5 Data

We will rely on a combination of primary data collected through the following sources:

1. Election data
   The state election commission for UP compiles and publishes electoral results at the booth level within a few weeks of the election. This contains gender-disaggregated information on turnout and aggregate data on vote choice for each party/candidate

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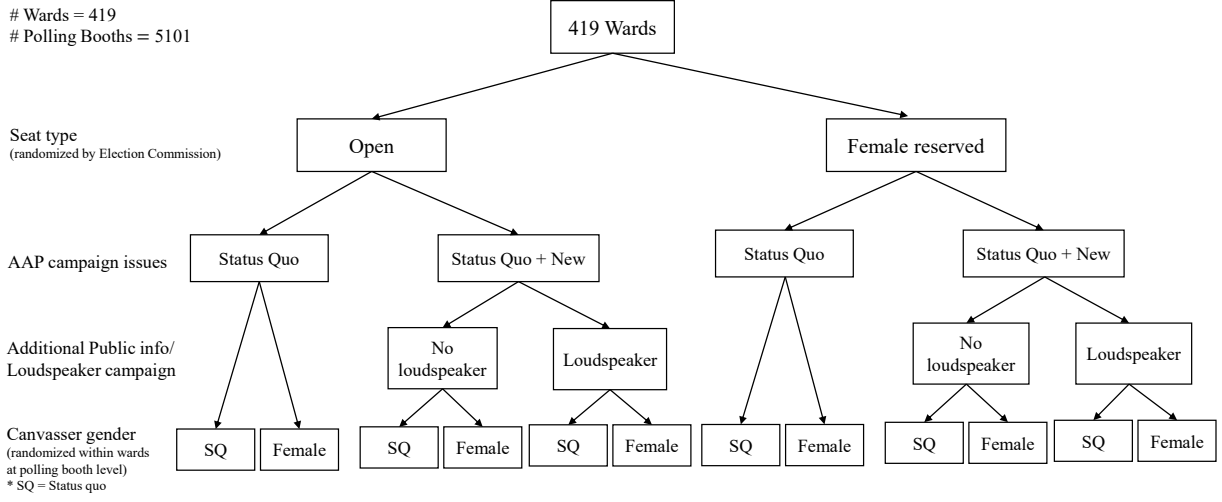
Figure 3: Design of experiment at candidate level

from a particular booth. The state election commission in Punjab compiles this data but does not release it publicly, but we are attempting to obtain it.

2. Household survey

Approximately 4,511 people were interviewed through a household survey carried out in 233 wards. Two members of a household— one woman and one man—were interviewed by a team of enumerators. The man was chosen based on whether the woman - the PSU - considered him to be her "political partner". A political partner for a woman was defined as the man with whom the female respondent had most frequent discussions about politics and/or the current election. Each team of enumerators comprised one woman and one man, such that respondents were interviewed by a person of the same sex as them. Further, both interviews happened simultaneously; this was done so as to keep responses private and preclude any influence—intentional or otherwise—of men on women's responses (and vice-versa). The survey asked men and women about their political participation, salience of policy issues, visits and interactions with political actors, and perceptions of political campaigns conducted by AAP and other parties. See Appendix B for a copy of the instrument.

6 Outcomes

Guided by Olken (2015), we divide our analysis into primary and secondary outcomes where the latter are used to understand how the changes, if any, to primary outcomes come about.

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6.1 Primary Outcomes

1. Voter turnout

   - Administrative data
     - RTI data on turnout at the booth and ward level (percentage)
   - Survey data
     - Self-reported and verified turnout data

2. Vote choice

   - Survey
     - Voted for AAP (dummy ballot (Q5))
     - Exploratory analysis: whether a voter switched to AAP (using Q19 and Q5), switch from AAP (reverse coded using Q19 and Q5), and voted for a socially liberal party (AAP, INC using Q5)
   - Administrative data
     - Vote share for AAP at the booth and ward level
     - Effective number of parties

3. Political participation

   - Survey data
     - Attended AAP rally (Q20H), Attended AAP Public meeting (Q20I): combined in an index

6.2 Secondary Outcomes

6.2.1 Domain 1: Impact on campaign

This relates to how the treatment shaped the campaigns of parties.

- Impact on AAP campaign

  - Impact on canvassing for AAP workers: Q20 C, E, F, G (index)
  - Exploratory: Impact on social media use: Q20 J, L (index)

- Spillover effects on other parties' campaigns

  - Canvassing performance Q20 C, E, F, G (index)
    * Analysis for most important competitor INC, BJP, SP, BSP in UP; INC, BJP, SAD in PB
  - Exploratory: Impact on social media usage: Q20 J, L (index)

6.2.2 Domain 2: Importance of difference in policy focus across party campaigns

This relates to how voters differentiated the campaigns with regard to their policy focus. $\frac{1}{n}\sum_{i=1}^{n}(P_i^{AAP} - P_i^{AAP^C}) * w_i$ where, P_i is the importance of a particular policy in a party's political campaign as judged by a respondent, and w_i is the importance of the policy to a candidate one month prior to the election. Here we concentrate on policies unique to the new campaign, viz., women's safety, livelihoods, and toilets.

6.2.3 Domain 3: decision-making process

This analyses the timing of the voting decision as well as how factors inside and outside the HH including party activities affected voters' decisions.

Decision time Voters more likely to base their voting decision on/during the campaign

- during the campaign (Q4a = 3) {1, 0}

- after the campaign started (Q4a = 1,2,3) {1, 0}

Mode of decision: Party factors index

- Candidate gender (Q12i) [1,7]

- Approachability of candidate (Q12l) [1,7]

- Importance to policy issues in campaign (Q12j) [1,7]

- Candidate came to my house (Q15C)

- Party workers came to my house (Q15D)

- Remaining Q12 categories are included as exploratory analyses

Mode of decision: Household factors

- Who did you speak to the most?
  This is an intensity-weighted measure of whom the respondent talked to the most within the HH (= Q13 * Q13a), and is disaggregated by the gender (defined using options in Q13)

- What did you talk about?

  - did you talk more about politics overall within HH? (Sum Q13b A-H)

  - Exploratory: did you talk more about candidates and policy platforms (Sum Q13b A-D)

Mode of decision: Outside factors

- Who did you speak to the most?
  This is an intensity-weighted measure of whom the respondent talked to the most outside the HH (= Q14a * Q14b), and is disaggregated by the gender of this person, and whether the person was part of economic network (Q14 options 2-5) or social network (Q14 options 1 and 6) 1,0

- We also plan to conduct an exploratory analysis on whether people made voting decisions based on social or economic networks, as measured through indices comprising of Q15 A,B,G,H and Q15 E,F,I,J respectively.

- What did you talk about?

  – Did you talk more about politics overall outside HH? (Sum Q14c A-H)

  – Exploratory: did you talk about candidates and policy platforms? (Sum Q14c A-D)

6.2.4 Domain 4: Attitudes towards women index

- public attitudes index

  – Electoral reservations for women (Q17A)

  – Role of women as candidates (Q17D)

  – Role of women in campaigns (Q17G)

  – Parties should raise women's issues in campaigns (Q17H)

- Backlash: Think backlash is justified (Q23 2 for women, Q33b for men)

- Exploratory: Think woman's vote choice is known (Q23 1 for women, Q33a for men)

6.3 Heterogenous effects

- all results disaggregated by gender

  – therefore 4 sets of estimates: overall, women, men, women vs men

- disaggregated by state

6.4 Downstream Effects

If we observe treatment effects on electoral outcomes, we will also test to see if there are effects of campaign promises (in the new campaign) on actual politician behavior once they are elected.

7 Analysis

Since treatments are cross-randomised, we will look at both the marginal and interaction effects of the treatments. Where applicable, we will estimate ATE and LATE. The OLS regressions will include block fixed effects and standard errors will be clustered at the level of randomisation. We will present both covariate unadjusted and adjusted estimates. In case of the latter, we will select some variables from the list of possible controls listed below. These will be decided after data collection by picking variables that are predictive of outcomes in the control group only. This group comprises of observations assigned to the Open seat type and status quo campaign at the ward level and status quo canvasser gender treatment.[7] To do this, we regress the control group's outcomes on a specified list of variables, and only admit into the final model those that are significant at the 95 percent confidence level. We will include both covariates and their interactions with the treatment indicator as per Lin et al. (2013).

7.1 Control variables

1. Survey analysis

   - education (Q4) (converted to years of education by imputing the median number of years between each category)
   - age (Q2), [18, max(age)]
   - religion (dichotomous variables for Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and Others from Section 7 Q5)
   - caste (dichotomous variables for SC, ST, OBC and Others from Section 7 Q6)
   - political knowledge index
     - CM knowledge (Q9) {1, 0}
     - MP knowledge (Q10) {1, 0}
     - MLA knowledge (Q11) {1, 0}
   - voting history index
     - Municipal elections (Q6) {1, 0}
     - Lok sabha elections (Q7) {1, 0}
     - State election (Q8) {1, 0}

2. Ward and booth level analysis

   - Ward level analysis will include variables indicating SC, ST or OBC reservation status {0,1}
   - Booth level analysis will use fixed effects for each ward
   - We are examining the possibility of obtaining booth-level covariates for previous elections, and will follow a similar procedure if we can obtain and merge that data.

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[7]See Figure 3.

7.2 Index construction

Indices will be created as per Kling, Liebman and Katz (2007)

7.3 Attrition and non-response

We will report bounded treatment effects as per Lee (2009) if non-response is imbalanced across treatment and control groups.

7.4 Instrumental variable analysis

- Compliance will be based on Q20K: Heard AAP campaign message on loudspeaker

- Compliance with the new campaign and the canvasser treatment will be based on following up with the AAP cadre and candidates through phone conversations

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Appendices

A   Campaign materials

A.1   Campaign pamphlets

A.1.1   Status quo campaign (T2 = 0) in Punjab

ਨਵੀਂ ਸੋਚ, ਨਵੀਂ ਪਹਿਲ
ਲੋਕਾਂ ਦੀ ਸੱਤਾ, ਲੋਕਾਂ ਦੇ ਹੱਥ

ਆਪ
ਆਮ ਆਦਮੀ ਪਾਰਟੀ

ਪਟਿਆਲਾ ਚੋਣ ਮੈਨੀਫੈਸਟੋ

ਚੋਣ
ਨਿਸ਼ਾਨ
ਝਾੜੂ

- ਪ੍ਰਾਪਰਟੀ ਟੈਕਸ ਬਿਲਕੁਲ ਖ਼ਤਮ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ।
- ਸ਼ਹਿਰ ਦੇ ਵਿਕਾਸ ਲਈ ਗ੍ਰਾਂਟਾਂ ਦੀ ਵੰਡ ਮੁਹੱਲਾ ਕਮੇਟੀਆਂ ਰਾਹੀਂ ਕੀਤੀ ਜਾਵੇਗੀ।
- ਪਟਿਆਲਾ ਸ਼ਹਿਰ ਵਿੱਚ ਪੁਰਾਣਾ ਸੀਵਰੇਜ ਸਿਸਟਮ ਜੋ ਕੇ ਖਰਾਬ ਹੋ ਚੁੱਕਾ ਹੈ ਦੀ ਥਾਂ ਤੇ ਨਵਾਂ ਸੀਵਰੇਜ ਪਾ ਕੇ ਇਸ ਸਮੱਸਿਆ ਦਾ ਹੱਲ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ। ਸੀਵਰੇਜ ਦੀ ਬਲਾਕੇਜ ਖਤਮ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਨਵੀਆਂ ਅਤੇ ਵੱਡੀਆ ਪਾਇਪਾਂ ਪਾਈਆ ਜਾਣਗੀਆਂ।
- ਮੀਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਪਾਣੀ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧ ਲਈ ਸਮੁੱਚੇ ਸ਼ਹਿਰ ਵਿਚ ਪਾਣੀ ਦੀ ਨਿਕਾਸੀ ਦਾ ਨੈਟਵਰਕ ਬਣਾਇਆ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ ਅਤੇ ਤਕਨੀਕੀ ਪੱਖ ਤੋਂ ਉਭਾਰਿਆ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ ਹਰ ਮੁਹੱਲੇ ਅਤੇ ਇਲਾਕੇ ਵਿੱਚ ਰੇਨ ਵਾਟਰ ਹਰਵੈਸਟਿੰਗ ਸਿਸਟਮ ਲਗਾਏ ਜਾਣਗੇ ਤਾਂ ਜੋ ਮੀਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਪਾਣੀ ਦੀ ਸਾਂਭ ਸੰਭਾਲ ਕੀਤੀ ਜਾ ਸਕੇ।
- ਵੱਡੀ ਨਦੀ ਦੇ ਕੰਢਿਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਪੱਕਾ ਕਰਕੇ ਇਸ ਵਿੱਚ ਗੰਦ ਸੁੱਟਣਾ ਬੰਦ ਕਰਵਾਕੇ ਇਸ ਦਾ ਸੁੰਦਰੀਕਰਨ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ।
- ਛੋਟੀ ਨਦੀ ਨੂੰ ਸਕੀਮ ਦੇ ਤਹਿਤ ਅਤੇ ਤਕਨੀਕੀ ਤੌਰ ਤੇ ਯੋਜਨਾਬਧ ਤਰੀਕੇ ਨਾਲ ਭੂਮੀਗਤ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ। ਇਸ ਦੇ ਪੁਲਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਆਵਾਜਾਈ ਲਈ ਚੌੜਾ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ।
- ਨਵੀਆਂ ਤਕਨੀਕਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਪੱਛੜੀਆਂ ਕਾਲੋਨੀਆਂ ਜਿਵੇਂ ਕਿ ਰੋੜੀਕੁੱਟ ਮੁਹੱਲਾ, ਬਾਜੀਗਰ ਬਸਤੀ, ਭੀਮ ਨਗਰ, ਦਾਰੂ ਕੁੱਟ ਮੁਹੱਲਾ, ਧੀਰੂ ਨਗਰ, ਸੰਜੇ ਕਾਲੋਨੀ ਆਦਿ ਨੂੰ ਗੰਦਗੀ ਦੇ ਢੇਰਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਮੁਕਤ ਕਰਵਾਇਆ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ।
- ਸਮੁੱਚੇ ਸ਼ਹਿਰ ਦੀਆਂ ਸੜਕਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਸ਼ਹਿਰ ਦੀਆਂ ਪਹੁੰਚ ਸੜਕਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਤਕਨੀਕੀ ਪੱਖੋਂ ਵਧੀਆ ਬਣਾਇਆ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ।
- ਰਿਪੇਅਰ ਕੀਤੀ ਜਾਣ ਵਾਲੀ ਸੜਕ ਦਾ ਲੈਵਲ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਵਾਲਾ ਹੀ ਰੱਖਿਆ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ।
- ਹਰ ਮੁਹੱਲੇ ਵਿੱਚ ਮੁਹੱਲਾ ਕਲੀਨਿਕ ਬਣਾਏ ਜਾਣਗੇ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਮੁਫਤ ਟੈਸਟ, ਦਵਾਈਆਂ ਅਤੇ ਇਲਾਜ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ।
- ਸ਼ਹਿਰ ਦੀਆਂ ਸੜਕਾਂ ਦੇ ਫੁੱਟਪਾਥਾਂ ਤੇ ਖੜੀਆਂ ਰੇਹੜੀਆਂ/ਫੜੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਯੋਗ ਥਾਂ ਦੇ ਕੇ ਟਰੈਫਿਕ ਜਾਮ ਦੀ ਸਮੱਸਿਆ ਨੂੰ ਹੱਲ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਉਪਰਾਲਾ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ।
- ਸਮੁੱਚੇ ਸ਼ਹਿਰ ਲਈ ਪੀਣ ਵਾਲੇ ਸਾਫ ਪਾਣੀ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ ਨਹਿਰੀ ਪਾਣੀ ਨੂੰ ਸ਼ੁਧ ਕਰਨ ਉਪਰੰਤ ਸਪਲਾਈ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ।
- ਪਟਿਆਲਾ ਸ਼ਹਿਰ ਦਾ ਸੁੰਦਰੀਕਰਨ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ। ਮੌਜੂਦਾ ਪਾਰਕਾਂ ਦੀ ਸੰਭਾਲ ਕੀਤੀ ਜਾਵੇਗੀ ਨਵੇਂ ਪਾਰਕ ਬਣਾਏ ਜਾਣਗੇ। ਪਾਰਕਾਂ ਵਿਚ Medicinal ਮਹੱਤਤਾ ਵਾਲੇ ਵਿਲੱਖਣ ਦਰਖਤ ਲਗਾਏ ਜਾਣਗੇ।
- ਸਾਰੀਆਂ ਵਪਾਰਕ ਮਾਰਕੀਟਾਂ ਲਈ ਵਧੀਆ ਪਾਰਕਿੰਗ ਸਹੂਲਤ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ।
- ਸੁਵਿਧਾ ਕੇਂਦਰਾਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਆਮ ਨਾਗਰਿਕਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਬਹੁਤ ਮੁਸ਼ਕਿਲਾਂ ਦਾ ਸਾਹਮਣਾ ਕਰਨਾ ਪੈ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਨੂੰ ਆਸਾਨ ਅਤੇ ਸਸਤਾ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ। ਵੱਖ ਵੱਖ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਸਰਟੀਫਿਕੇਟ ਬਨਵਾਉਣ ਲਈ ਇਸ ਦੀ ਵਿਧੀ ਨੂੰ ਸਰਲ ਅਤੇ ਆਨ ਲਾਈਨ ਬਣਾਇਆ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ।
- ਅਵਾਰਾ ਪਸ਼ੂਆਂ ਦੀ ਸਮੱਸਿਆ ਨੂੰ ਮੱਖ ਰੱਖਦੇ ਹੋਏ ਸਭ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਪਸ਼ੂਆਂ ਦੀ ਸੰਭਾਲ ਲਈ ਯੋਗ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧ ਕਰਕੇ ਸ਼ਹਿਰ ਤੋਂ ਦੂਰ ਕੈਟਲ ਕੰਪਾਊਂਡ ਬਣਾਏ ਜਾਣਗੇ। ਅਵਾਰਾ ਕੁੱਤਿਆਂ ਦੀ ਸਮੱਸਿਆ ਦਾ ਯੋਗ ਹੱਲ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ

ਬੇਨਤੀ ਕਰਤਾ : ਆਮ ਆਦਮੀ ਪਾਰਟੀ, ਪੰਜਾਬ ਮੋਬ: 97794-44999, 98149-02040

Policy issues: status-quo campaign (T2 = 0) in Punjab

1. Reduce property tax.

2. Make <Patiala/Amritsar/Jalandhar>free of stray animals (cows and dogs).

3. Introduce and online facility to apply for birth and death certificates.

4. Construct public toilets in all commercial areas and maintain existing toilets well.

5. Develop efficient rainwater management system to curb flooding of roads during rains.

6. Construct libraries, gymnasiums and community centres.

7. Help maintain public hospitals; and establish and maintain of primary schools.

8. Promote welfare of municipal employees and start a not-for-profit canteen for employees.

9. Construction new roads and repair existing ones.

10. Clean sewage via machines.

11. Establish parking facilities in congested commercial areas.

12. Provide environment-friendly public transport facilities.

13. Make <Patiala/Amritsar/Jalandhar>garbage free by establishing an efficient garbage collection and road cleaning system.

14. Ensure street lighting and CCTVs in all residential areas for safety.

15. Make <Patiala/Amritsar/Jalandhar>dengue free by taking proper required measures.

16. Development of parks for children and initiate plantation of more trees.

A.1.2   New campaign (T2 = 1) in Punjab

ਮਹਿਲਾਵਾਂ ਲਈ ਚੁਨਾਵ ਘੋਸ਼ਨਾ ਪੱਤਰ (ਨਗਰ ਨਿਗਮ ਚੋਂਣਾਂ)

- ਮਹਿਲਾਵਾਂ ਲਈ ਮਿਉਂਸੀਪਲ ਕਾਰਪੋਰੇਸ਼ਨ ਦੀਆਂ ਨੌਕਰੀਆਂ ਵਿੱਚ 33% ਰਾਖਵਾਂਕਰਨ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ।

- ਸਾਰੇ ਵਪਾਰਿਕ ਖੇਤਰ ਵਿੱਚ ਮਹਿਲਾਵਾਂ ਲਈ ਜਨਤਕ ਪਖਾਨੇ ਬਣਾਏ ਜਾਣਗੇ।

- ਔਰਤਾਂ ਦੀ ਸੁੱਰਖਿਆ ਲਈ ਸਾਰੇ ਰਿਹਾਇਸ਼ੀ ਇਲਾਕਿਆਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਸਟ੍ਰੀਟ ਲਾਈਟਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਸੀ.ਸੀ.ਟੀ.ਵੀ ਕੈਮਰੇ ਲੱਗਵਾਏ ਜਾਣਗੇ।

- ਮਹਿਲਾਵਾਂ ਲਈ ਜਨਤਕ ਪਖਾਨਿਆਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਸੈਂਨਟਰੀ ਪੈਡ ਮੁਫ਼ਤ ਮੁਹੱਈਆ ਕਰਵਾਉਣ ਲਈ ਮਸ਼ੀਨਾਂ ਲਗਵਾਈਆਂ ਜਾਣਗੀਆਂ।

- ਸਿਹਤ ਚੈਕਅਪ ਲਈ ਮੁਹੱਲਾ ਕਲੀਨਿਕ ਦੀ ਸਥਾਪਨਾ ਕੀਤੀ ਜਾਵੇਗੀ।

- ਮਹਿਲਾਵਾਂ ਲਈ ਮਿਉਂਸੀਪਲ ਕਾਰਪੋਰੇਸ਼ਨ ਦੁਆਰਾ ਪਬਲਿਕ ਟ੍ਰਾਂਸਪੋਰਟ ਦੀ ਸਥਾਪਨਾ ਕੀਤੀ ਜਾਵੇਗੀ ਜਿਸ ਦੀਆਂ ਡਰਾਈਵਰ ਵੀ ਮਹਿਲਾਵਾਂ ਹੋਣਗੀਆਂ।

- ਬੱਚਿਆਂ ਲਈ ਨਵੇਂ ਪਾਰਕ ਬਣਾਏ ਜਾਣਗੇ।

- ਸ਼ਹਿਰ ਨੂੰ ਡੇਂਗੂ ਮੁਕਤ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਸਖ਼ਤ ਕਦਮ ਚੁੱਕੇ ਜਾਣਗੇ।

- ਮਹਿਲਾਵਾਂ ਲਈ ਸੈਮੀਨਾਰ ਆਯੋਜਿਤ ਕੀਤੇ ਜਾਣਗੇ ਜਿੱਥੇ ਉਹਨਾਂ ਦੇ ਅਧਿਕਾਰਾਂ, ਬਾਲ ਮਜ਼ਦੂਰੀ ਆਦਿ ਬਾਰੇ ਜਾਗਰੂਕ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ, ਮਹਿਲਾਵਾਂ ਦੁਆਰਾ ਬਣਾਏ ਹੱਥ ਸਮਾਨ ਦੀਆਂ ਪ੍ਰਦਰਸ਼ਨੀਆਂ ਅਤੇ ਮੇਲੇ ਆਯੋਜਿਤ ਕੀਤੇ ਜਾਣਗੇ।

- ਮਹਿਲਾਂ ਸੁੱਰਖਿਆ ਘਰ ਬਣਾਏ ਜਾਣਗੇ, ਜੋ ਬੇ-ਘਰ ਮਹਿਲਾਵਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਘਰ ਅਤੇ ਰੋਜ਼ਗਾਰ ਮੁਹਈਆਂ ਕਰਵਾਉਣਗੇ।

ਆਮ ਆਦਮੀ ਪਾਰਟੀ, ਪੰਜਾਬ

Additional policy issues: new campaign (T2 = 1)

1. 33% of jobs in Municipal Corporations to be reserved for women.

2. Street lights and CCTV cameras to be installed in residential areas for the security of women.

3. Public transport for women with female drivers to be started by Municipal Corporation.

4. Public toilets for women in all business centres.

5. Free sanitary pad vending machines at women's public toilets.

6. *Mohalla* (neighborhood) clinics in residential areas.

7. New parks will be constructed for kids.

8. Adequate steps will be taken to make the city free of dengue.

9. Seminars on issues like women's rights, child labour will be organised to create awareness and to empower women.

10. Exhibitions and trade fairs will be organised to promote handicrafts by women.

11. Establish an effective system of garbage disposal.

12. Efforts will be made to provide shelter to homeless women and to provide jobs for unemployed women.

A.2 Instructions to canvassers in Punjab

When conducting door to door campaigning, introduce yourself to voters as follows: "Namaste, my name is <your name>. I am a volunteer with Arvind Kejriwal's Aam Aadmi Party. Can I speak with you for a few minutes?"

- If they say "No", please exit.

- If they say "Yes", then:

   1. Start your conversation: "AAP is fighting the Nagar Nigam election this time in <Municipality>. <Candidate name 1> is our candidate for Mayor and <Candidate name 2> is candidate for Ward Councilor from your ward."

   2. Hand the pamphlets to voters. Discuss the pamphlets and the issues that form AAP's election manifesto in that municipality.

   3. Ask whether s/he will vote for AAP or not.
      - If no, then ask for the reason, and try to respond if you think they are mistaken. But please be polite and don't get into an argument. Thank them for their time and leave.
      - If yes, thank them for their support and time, and then leave.

A.3 Loudspeaker message

- Music

- "The Aam Aadmi Party appeals to all residents of <Patiala/Amritsar/Jalandhar> to please cast your precious vote for the AAP candidate in your ward during the municipal corporation election on 17 December 2017. We are proud to announce that AAP is the only political party with an exclusive manifesto for women that considers their needs. If elected, we will give top priority to women's safety and install CCTV cameras in all residential areas. We will launch exclusive public transport system for women that will be operated by female drivers. We will also install free sanitary pad vending machines at public toilets, open *mohalla* clinics in residential areas, and build an effective garbage disposal system. Liquor shops will be shifted from residential areas to market vicinity. So we request all women to cast your votes in favour of AAP to make yourself more empowered."

B   Survey questionnaire

Survey of voters in Punjab municipal elections questionnaire

1. Interview number
2. Municipality name
3. Ward number
4. Booth number
5. Date of interview
6. Interviewer name
7. Interviewer id

Section 1 (Respondent Details)

SN	Question	Options/Instructions	Response
1	Name		
2	Age	Ask exact age, do not round off	
3	Sex	1=Male 2=Female	
3a.	(If ans is 1) Relation with the respondent	1=Husband 2=Father/Father in law 3=Brother/Brother in law 4=Son 5=Neighbor 7=Any Other	
4	Recently, while interacting with people in Punjab we got to know that some people voted while some could not. Please let us know if you were able to cast your vote?	1=Voted 2=Not voted	
4a.	(If ans=1)When did you decide who to vote for?	1=On the day of voting 2=A day or two before voting 3=Earlier, during the campaign 4=Even before the campaign started	
4b.	(If ans=1) Did the election officer put the mark on your finger	*(Please observe marking on the finger and record the answer accordingly)* 1=Checked and mark found	

1

		2=Checked, but mark not found 3=Could not check the mark	
4c.	What was the main reason you did not vote in this election?	1=Sick 2=Booth too far from house / did not know booth location / could not find booth 3=Not interested in politics / voting is inconsequential 4=Not interested in any party's campaign / policy issues 5=Do not have voter id 6=Name missing from voter list 7=Had to go for work / no time to vote 97=Other (specify) 99=Not applicable	
5.	(If voted) To whom did you vote for? I will give you a slip on which the names of the parties with their party symbols are mentioned, kindly mark the name of the party to whom you voted for and put the slip in the box. If you do not find name of the party then mark the option OTHER.	99= Not applicable	
6	Were you able to cast your vote in the Municipal Corporation elections held in 2012?	1= Yes 2=No	
7	Were you able to cast your vote in lok sabha elections held in 2014?	1= Yes 2=No	
8	Were you able to cast your vote in Municipal Corporation elections held in 2017?	1= Yes 2=No	

Section 2 (Political knowledge)

9. .Do you know who is the Chief Minister of Punjab?
    a. Correct
    b. Incorrect

10.Do you know who is the MP from your constituency?
    c. Correct
    d. Incorrect

11. Do you know who is the MLA from your constituency?
    a. Correct
    b. Incorrect

2

Section 3 (Political preferences)

12. Now I am going to read out a set of reasons why people vote for a certain candidate. Thinking about who you voted for in this election, please rate each of these reasons on a scale of 1-7 that you see in card I will hold up in front of you.

    a. 1 indicates that this reason was completely unimportant for you

    b. 7 indicates that this was extremely important for you while voting

Please do not reveal who you voted for in this election.

12	Reason	Rating (show Likert scale 1 card)	Response
A	Past work of the political party in the constituency	1=Completely unimportant 2= Moderately unimportant 3= Somewhat unimportant 4=Neither important nor unimportant 5=Somewhat important 6=Moderately important 7=Extremely important	
B	Past work of the candidate in the constituency		
C	Know the candidate personally		
D	Support the party that the candidate belongs to		
E	Support the main leader of the party that the candidate belongs to *(eg. Arvind Kejriwal for AAP, Narendra Modi for BJP, Rahul Gandhi for INC)*		
F	Same party should hold power in the state and my ward		
G	Caste of the candidate		
H	Religion of the candidate		
I	Sex of the candidate		
J	Issues raised and promises made by the candidate		
K	The candidate has a high chance of victory		
L	The candidate is approachable		
M	Other people in my family supported this candidate		

13	Thinking about these conversation topics in the household we just talked about, who was the person with whom you talked most about Municipal corporation elections or anything related to politics? (or who would be most likely to talk to you about these).	1=Spouse 2=Father/father-in-law 3=Mother/mother-in-law 4=Son 5=Daughter 6=Other male member

3

		7=Other female member	
13a.	How many times did you speak to this person?	Likert scale 2 card 1= never 2 3 4= sometimes 5 6 7=very often	

13b.	During the last one month, how often did you speak about the following topics with any family member?	*Likert scale 2 card* 1=never 2 3 4=sometimes 5 6 7=very often	
A	Candidates in your ward		
B	Parties contesting from your ward		
C	Sex of candidates contesting in your ward		
D	Policy issues raised by candidates and parties		
E	Benefits that can accrue to your <u>mohalla</u> from your voting decision		
F	Benefits that can accrue to your <u>family</u> from your voting decision		
G	Benefits that can accrue to you <u>individually</u> from your voting decision		
H	Benefits that can accrue to your <u>caste</u> from your voting decision		
14.	During the last month, who was the person (not from the family/outsider) with whom you speak about Municipal Corporation election or on the topics of politics?	1=Neighbor 2=Colleague 3=SHG/Mahila Samiti/Mahila Mandal member 4= Trade Union/Business group member 5=Saving group 6=Caste group 7=Any other	
14a.	What was the gender of the person with whom you discussed the above mentioned topics?	1=Female 2=Male	

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14b.	How many times did you speak to this person?	Likert scale 2 card 1= never 2 3 4= sometimes 5 6 7=very often	
14c.	During the last one month, how often did you speak about the following topics with any member outside your family?	*Likert scale 2 card* 1=never 2 3 4=sometimes 5 6 7=very often	
A	Candidates in your ward		
B	Parties contesting from your ward		
C	Sex of candidates contesting in your ward		
D	Policy issues raised by candidates and parties		
E	Benefits that can accrue to your <u>mohalla</u> from your voting decision		
F	Benefits that can accrue to your <u>family</u> from your voting decision		
G	Benefits that can accrue to you <u>individually</u> from your voting decision		
H	Benefits that can accrue to your <u>caste</u> from your voting decision		

15. Thinking about who you voted for in this election, please rate each of these reasons for voting for a candidate on a scale of 1-7.

     a. 1 indicates that this reason was completely unimportant for you

     b. 7 indicates that this was extremely important for you while voting

Please do not reveal who you voted for in this election.

A	People I know outside my family supported this candidate	Likert Scale 1 card	
B	People in the mohalla supported the candidate		
C	I voted for the candidate who came to my house		

5

D	Members of the party visited my place		
	How much did membership in the following organizations matter for your vote choice?	Hold up Likert scale 1 card. If people are not members of the organization please enter 99=NA	
E	Self-help group (SHG) / Mahila Samiti / Mahila Mandal	Likert scale 1 99=NA	
F	Trade union/business/professional group		
G	Religious/festival group		
H	Caste group		
I	NGO		
J	Informal group for pooled savings (eg. Kitty party)		
16.	If the candidate that you voted for in the councilor election wins, how likely is it that she/he would be able to deliver on their campaign promises?	*Likert scale 4 card* 1=Completely unlikely 2=Moderately unlikely 3=Somewhat unlikely 4=Neither likely nor unlikely 5=Somewhat likely 6= Moderately likely 7= Completely likely	

17. Now I will read out a set of statements. Please tell us how far you agree with them on a scale of 1-7
1 indicates that you completely disagree with the statement
7 indicates that completely agree with the statement

S N	Statement	Options *Likert scale 3 card* 1=completely disagree 2= disagree 3=somewhat disagree 4=neither agree nor	Response

6

				disagree 5=somewhat agree 6= agree 7=completely agree	
	A	The policy of reserving wards for women candidates is a good one.	Likert scale 3		
	B	The policy of reserving wards for SC candidates is a good one.			
	C	The policy of reserving wards for OBC candidates is a good one.			
	D	Regardless of reservations, it is important for me that political parties should field women as candidates.			
	E	Regardless of reservations, it is important for me that political parties should field SC people as candidates.			
	F	Regardless of reservations, it is important for me that political parties should field OBC people as candidates.			
	G	It is important to me that parties should use women for door to door campaigning.			
	H	Political parties should raise the concerns related to women during election campaigning.			

18.	Do you feel close to any particular party?	1=AAP 2=BJP 3=INC 4=BSP 5=SP 6=None 7=Other 8=SAD	
19.	Now, please think back to a time before any party had started campaigning for the councilor elections in your ward, let us say one month ago. Which party/candidate were you leaning towards?	1=AAP 2=BJP 3=INC 4=BSP 5=SP 6=Independent 7=No party/candidate 8=SAD	

7

			97=Other (specify)	

Section 4 (Political campaigns)

20. Parties adopted many forms of campaigning during this Nagar Nigam election. Thinking specifically about the ward election please answer the following questions for the main political parties/candidates contesting in your ward.

SN	Question	Response option	Party/candidate					
			AAP	BJP	BSP	INC	SP	Indep-endent
A	Did you meet the candidate from your ward?	1=Yes, 0=No						
B	Did you hear a speech from the candidate?	1=Yes, 0=No						
C	Did party workers come for door to door campaigning?	1=Yes, 0=No						
D	Did they speak with you directly?	1=Yes, 0=No						
E	Did you meet Party workers outside of door to door campaigning?	1=Yes, 0=No						
F	Did you see posters of the candidate?	1=Yes, 0=No						
G	Did you receive pamphlets?	1=Yes, 0=No						
H	Did you attend a rally*?	1=Yes, 0=No						
I	Did you attend a public meeting^ (nukkad sabha etc.)?	1=Yes, 0=No						
J	Did you see any messages from the candidate on Facebook or Twitter?	1=Yes, 0=No						
K	Did you hear any campaign message on loudspeakers?	1=Yes, 0=No						
L	Did you receive any sms / WhatsApp messages or calls on your cellphone?	1=Yes, 0=No						
	If the respondent said yes on any of these, do you remember the main message?	Code policy issues? 1= Corruption						

8

M		2=Sanitation/ Cleanliness 3=Parking 4=Opposition parties/candid ates 5=Illegal construction/e ncroachment 6=Water 7=Health 8=Education 9=Roads 10=Women's safety 11=Women's livelihood 12=House Property tax 13=Women issues-other (specify) 14=Non women issues- other (specify) 99. Message not remember						
M	On a scale of 1-7, how important was this message for you personally?	Likert Scale 1 card 1= Corruption 2=Sanitation/ Cleanliness 3=Parking 4=Opposition parties/candid ates 5=Illegal construction/e ncroachment 6=Water 7=Health 8=Education 9=Roads 10=Women's safety 11=Women's						

9

		livelihood 12=House Property tax 13=Women issues-other (specify) 14=Non women issues-other (specify) 99. Message not remember						
N	Did you tell other people in the family about the message of this candidate/party?	1=Yes, 0=No							
O	Did you tell other people outside your household about the message of this candidate/party?	1=Yes, 0=No							
* Rally has a star campaigner from the party ^ Public meeting is a meeting organized by the candidate without any star campaigners from the party									

21. Now I will read out a list of main issues raised by political parties and candidates in the ward councilor election. I want you to place yourself one month ago before campaigning started, and think how relevant these issues were for you then. Please rate each of them on a scale of 1-7 (hold up Likert scale 1 card). Now ask Column 1 (Importance for you)

21a. Now let us come back to the present. I will read out a list of issues raised by political parties and candidates in the ward councilor election. Please rate on a scale of 1-7 (hold up Likert scale 1) how important the issue was for the candidate in your ward. (Now cover Columns 2-7)

		1 Importance for you (1-7)	2 AAP (1-7)	3 BJP (1-7)	4 BSP (1-7)	5 INC (1-7)	6 SP (1-7)	7 Leading independent (1-7)
1	Women's safety (e.g. facilities like CCTVs and streetlights)							
2	Women's livelihood/skills training							
3	Women's toilets							
5	Reducing property/house tax							
6	Corruption							
7	Sanitation/cleanliness/garbage collection/drainage							
8	Water supply							
9	Health							
10	Education							

10

11	Roads								
12	Drugs								

<table>
<tr><td>21b. I will tell you about some methods used in campaigning one by one, please rank them on the scale from 1-7 where 1 indicates that this reason was completely unimportant for you and7 indicates that this was extremely important for you while voting
A Pamphlets
B Posters
C Social Media (facebook and twitter)
D Loudspeakers
E Door to Door</td><td>1=Completely unimportant
2= Moderately unimportant
3= Somewhat unimportant
4=Neither important nor unimportant
5=Somewhat important
6=Moderately important
7=Extremely important</td></tr>
<tr><td>22. What was the gender of the people from Aam Aadmi Party who came for campaigning at your house?</td><td>1= Male
2= Female
3=Both Male and Female
4=Nobody came
5= I was not at home/ don't know</td></tr>
</table>

Section 5 – Women's module

- Please ask these questions only to female respondents.
- If the respondent is male, please skip ahead to Section 6.

    23. I will read two sentences; you are required to tell about each of them

S N	Question	Options/Instruction	Response
1	How far (on a scale of 1-7) do you think the following statement is true in your case? "Although this is a secret ballot, my family members have a good idea who I voted for."	Likert scale 5 card	
2	Now I will read a vignette, please listen to it carefully and answer the question at the end of it. <Surjit kaur/Sunita> usually votes for the same party as her husband. This time during the municipal election campaign, she felt that another party raised some issues that she felt were very important for her and other women, and voted for that party. Her husband voted for the same party that he traditionally voted for. But later when he found out that <Sunita Devi/Fatima Bibi> had voted differently from him, he was angry with her. On a scale of 1-7, how far do you think his anger was justified?	Likert scale 6 card	

24 .	People face many problems in the neighborhood that they cannot solve	1=Yes 2=No	

11

	individually. Eg. Women often come together to demand grains from PDS shops, for women's safety etc., against alcohol shops in the locality etc. Over the last one year, have you tried to solve any problems in your neighborhood/ community as part of a group?		
25.	What was the most important issue?	1=PDS/ration shop grains 2=Women's safety 3=Water 4=Sanitation/ Drainage/ Garbage collection 5=Education 6=Health 7=Alcohol 8=Drugs 9=Other (specify)	
26.	How did you try to solve this problem?	1=Wrote a petition 2=Protested physically 3=Made a group complaint in person 4=Other (specify)	
27.	Who did you meet to solve this problem / who did you complain to?	1=Local politician 2=Middleman/dalal 3=Concerned government office/ bureaucrat 4=Owner of PDS shop/alcohol shop 5= Other (specify)	
28	How many people were part of the group?	Write down the exact number	
29	Who were the people who took part in the group action? Was it mostly men, mostly women, or a mixture of men and women?	1=Mostly men 2=Both men and women 3=Mostly women	
30 ..	Has the problem been resolved now?	1=Yes 0=No	
30 a.	Will you resolve the problem again as a group?	1=Yes 0=No	
30 b.	How will you try to resolve this?	1=Make individual complaint 2=Ask an influential person in the community to take up the matter 3=Ask an NGO 4=Other (specify) 7=Any other	

12

31.	Do the men in your family know about your participation in this group protest?	1=Yes 0=No	
31 a.	What was the reaction of the men in your family about your participation in this protest?	*Likert scale card 7* 1=Completely unsupportive 2= unsupportive 3=Somewhat unsupportive 4=Neither supportive nor unsupportive 5= Somewhat supportive 6= supportive 7=Completely supportive	

If you filled Section 5, please go to Section 7 now

Section 6: Men's module

- Please fill this section only for male respondents.
- If the respondent is female, you should fill Section 5.

SN	Question	Response	
32	Do you know to whom the member of your family casted her vote?	1=Yes 2=No 3=Don't know	
33 a.	How far (on a scale of 1-7) do you think the following statement is true in your case? "Although this is a secret ballot, I have a good idea about who <Y> voted for."	Likert scale 5 card	
33 b.	Now I will read a vignette, please listen to it carefully and answer the question at the end of it. <Surjit Kaur/Sunita> usually votes for the same party as her husband. This time during the municipal election campaign, she felt that another party raised some issues that she felt were very important for her and other women, and voted for that party. Her husband voted for the same party that he traditionally voted for. But later when he found out that <Surjit Kaur/Sunita> had voted differently from him, he was angry with her. On a scale of 1-7, how far do you think his anger was justified?	Likert scale 6 card	

Section 7 Demographics

SN	Question	Options/Instructions	Response
1	Address		
2	Contact number		
3	Whose contact number is this?	1=Respondent's	

13

33

		2=Respondent's spouse 3=Respondent's parent's/in-laws 4=Respondent's /respondent's spouse's siblings 5=Respondent's son/daughter 6=Friend/Neighbour 7=Other (specify)	
4	What is the highest level of education you have completed?	0=Non Literate 1=Below Primary 2=Primary pass/Middle fail 3=Middle pass/Matric Fail 4=Matric pass 5=Completed Class XII, went to college but did not complete graduation 6=Graduate 7=Post Graduate 8=Professional Degrees and Higher Research	
5	What is the religion you follow?	1=Hindu 2=Muslim 3=Sikh 4=Christian 5=Jain 6=Buddhist 7=Parsi 8=No religion 9=Other (specify)	
6	What is your caste?	1=Upper caste 2=Yadav 3=Kurmi-Koeri 4=Other Hindu OBC 5=Dalit/SC 6=ST 7=Muslim non-OBC 8=Muslim OBC 9=Other (specify)	

--- END OF SURVEY ---

14