

TABLE 4. Descriptive statistics for left- and right-wing governments.

Variables	Left-wing governments Means (1)	Right-wing governments Means (2)	Difference in Means (1)-(2) (3)
Economic outcomes			
Total expenditures per capita	29,562	26,787	2,775***
Total expenditures as a share of income (%)	41.11	37.58	3.52***
Current spending per capita	28,162	25,083	3,086***
Current spending as a share of income (%)	38.92	34.89	4.00***
Total revenues per capita	29,493	26,807	2,686***
Total revenues as a share of income (%)	41.06	37.67	3.39***
Proportional income tax rate (%)	16.71	16.14	0.57***
Unemployment rate (%)	3.52	2.93	0.59***
Local government employees per capita (%)	5.89	5.65	0.24***
Assignment variable			
Left vote share	58.11	37.06	21.05***
Control variables			
Income	72,454	72,657	-203
Population size	29,925	26,327	3,598
Proportion of young, 0-15 (%)	20.55	21.95	-1.40***
Proportion of old, 65+ (%)	17.69	17.38	0.31

Note: Total expenditures per capita, current expenditures per capita, total revenues per capita, and income per capita are expressed in 1991 prices (SEK).

*Significant at 10%; **significant at 5%; ***significant at 1%.

TABLE 7. Party effect: Fiscal policies.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Log (Total spending per capita)	0.024** (0.009)	0.027*** (0.009)	0.023** (0.010)	0.021** (0.010)	0.024* (0.013)	0.020** (0.0009)	0.022** (0.010)
Log (Total spending as a share of income)	0.021** (0.010)	0.025** (0.010)	0.024** (0.010)	0.025** (0.011)	0.034* (0.018)	0.021** (0.009)	0.024*** (0.009)
Log (Current spending per capita)	0.024** (0.010)	0.027*** (0.010)	0.027** (0.011)	0.026** (0.011)	0.019 (0.013)	0.025** (0.010)	0.027** (0.011)
Log (Current spending as a share of income)	0.022* (0.011)	0.025** (0.011)	0.028** (0.012)	0.030*** (0.012)	0.029 (0.018)	0.026*** (0.009)	0.029*** (0.010)
Log (Total revenues per capita)	0.024*** (0.009)	0.027*** (0.009)	0.019** (0.009)	0.017* (0.009)	0.015 (0.013)	0.017* (0.009)	0.014 (0.010)
Log (Total revenues as a share of income)	0.021** (0.010)	0.025** (0.010)	0.020** (0.010)	0.021** (0.010)	0.025 (0.018)	0.018** (0.009)	0.017* (0.009)
Log (Proportional income tax rate)	0.012*** (0.004)	0.013*** (0.004)	0.012*** (0.004)	0.013*** (0.004)	0.011 (0.008)	0.013*** (0.004)	0.014*** (0.004)
Sample	Full	Full	Full	Full	± 2	Full	Full
Left vote share polynomial	First	Second	Third	Fourth	None	Fourth	Fourth \times time
Controls	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes

Note: Standard errors clustered at the local government's term in office level are within parentheses. Each entry is a separate regression. All regressions also include, but do not report, municipality specific effects, time effects, and an indicator for undefined majority governments. The full sample includes 5,913 observations and the ± 2 sample include all observations that are in the range of [48, 52] of the left vote share and there are 828 such observations.

*Significant at 10%; **significant at 5%; ***significant at 1%.

TABLE 8. Party effect: Economic policies.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Log (Unemployment rate)	-0.017 (0.033)	-0.032 (0.031)	-0.056* (0.032)	-0.056* (0.032)	-0.121 (0.089)	-0.048 (0.031)	-0.070** (0.033)
Log (Government employees per capita)	0.030** (0.012)	0.033*** (0.012)	0.035*** (0.012)	0.036*** (0.012)	0.039*** (0.016)	0.032*** (0.011)	0.036*** (0.012)
Sample	Full	Full	Full	Full	± 2	Full	Full
Left vote share polynomial	First	Second	Third	Fourth	None	Fourth	Fourth \times time
Controls	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes

Note: Standard errors clustered at the local government's term in office level are within parentheses. Each entry is a separate regression. All regressions also include, but do not report, municipality specific effects, time effects, and an indicator for undefined majority governments. The full sample includes 5,913 observations for government employment and 4520 for unemployment. The ± 2 sample include all observations that are in the range of [48, 52] of the left vote share and there are 828 such observations for government employment and 603 for unemployment.

*Significant at 10%; **significant at 5%; ***significant at 1%.

TABLE 9. Specification test of whether party control is as good as randomly assigned.

Dependent variable: Party control	
Income	1.55e-06 (1.28e-06)
Population size	2.61e-06 (2.76e-06)
Proportion of young, 0–15	−0.0046 (0.0050)
Proportion of old, 65+	−0.0064 (0.0064)
<i>F</i> -test	1.22
<i>p</i> -value	(0.30)
Number of observations	5,913

Note: Standard errors clustered at the term in office are within parentheses. The regression also includes, but do not report, municipality specific effects, time effects, and an indicator for undefined majority governments and a linear control function.

TABLE 10. Specification test of whether covariates have an effect at the discontinuity.

	Income	Population size	Proportion of young, 0–15	Proportion of old, 65+
Party effect	506 (403)	402 (338)	−0.147 (0.158)	−0.112 (0.111)
Number of observations	5,913	5,913	5,913	5,913

Note: Standard errors clustered at the term in office are within parentheses. All regressions also include, but do not report, municipality specific effects, time effects, and an indicator for undefined majority governments and a polynomial in left vote share.

TABLE I

FRACTION OF WOMEN AMONG PRADHANS IN RESERVED
AND UNRESERVED GP

	Reserved GP (1)	Unreserved GP (2)
<i>West Bengal</i>		
Total Number	54	107
Proportion of Female Pradhans	100%	6.5%
<i>Rajasthan</i>		
Total Number	40	60
Proportion of Female Pradhans	100%	1.7%

TABLE II

VILLAGE CHARACTERISTICS IN RESERVED AND UNSERVED GP, 1991 CENSUS

Dependent Variables	West Bengal			Rajasthan		
	Mean, Reserved GP (1)	Mean, Unreserved GP (2)	Difference (3)	Mean, Reserved GP (4)	Mean, Unreserved GP (5)	Difference (6)
Total Population	974 (60)	1022 (46)	-49 (75)	1249 (123)	1564 (157)	-315 (212)
Female Literacy Rate	.35 (.01)	.34 (.01)	.01 (.01)	.05 (.01)	.05 (.01)	.00 (.01)
Male Literacy Rate	.57 (.01)	.58 (.01)	-.01 (.01)	.28 (.02)	.26 (.02)	.03 (.03)
% Cultivated Land that Is Irrigated	.45 (.03)	.43 (.02)	.02 (.04)	.05 (.01)	.07 (.01)	-.02 (.02)
Dirt Road	.92 (.02)	.91 (.01)	.01 (.02)	.40 (.08)	.52 (.07)	-.11 (.10)
Metal Road	.18 (.03)	.15 (.02)	.03 (.03)	.31 (.07)	.34 (.06)	-.04 (.10)
Bus Stop or Train Station	.31 (.04)	.26 (.02)	.05 (.04)	.40 (.08)	.43 (.07)	-.03 (.10)
Number of Public Health Facilities	.06 (.01)	.08 (.01)	-.02 (.02)	.29 (.08)	.19 (.06)	.10 (.10)
Tube Well Is Available	.05 (.03)	.07 (.02)	-.02 (.07)	.02 (.02)	.03 (.02)	-.01 (.03)
Handpump Is Available	.84 (.04)	.88 (.03)	-.04 (.05)	.90 (.05)	.97 (.02)	-.06 (.05)
Wells	.44 (.07)	.47 (.04)	-.02 (.08)	.93 (.04)	.91 (.04)	.01 (.06)
Tap Water	.05 (.03)	.03 (.02)	.01 (.03)	.12 (.05)	.09 (.04)	.03 (.06)
Number of Primary Schools	.95 (.07)	.91 (.03)	.04 (.08)	.93 (.09)	1.16 (.10)	-.23 (.15)
Number of Middle Schools	.05 (.01)	.05 (.01)	.00 (.01)	.43 (.08)	.33 (.07)	.10 (.10)
Number of High Schools	.09 (.01)	.10 (.01)	-.01 (.02)	.14 (.06)	.07 (.04)	.07 (.07)
<i>F</i> -Statistics: Difference Jointly Significant (<i>p</i> -value)			.93 (.53)			1.54 (.11)

Notes: 1. There are 2120 observations in the West Bengal regressions, and 100 in the Rajasthan regressions. 2. Standard errors, corrected for clustering at the GP level in the West Bengal regressions, are in parentheses.

TABLE III

EFFECT OF WOMEN'S RESERVATION ON WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Dependent Variables	Mean, Reserved GP (1)	Mean, Unreserved GP (2)	Difference (3)
<i>West Bengal</i>			
Fraction of Women Among Participants in the Gram Samsad (in percentage)	9.80 (1.33)	6.88 (.79)	2.92 (1.44)
Have Women Filed a Complaint to the GP in the Last 6 Months	.20 (.04)	.11 (.03)	.09 (.05)
Have Men Filed a Complaint to the GP in the Last 6 Months	.94 (.06)	1.00	.06 (.06)
Observations	54	107	
<i>Rajasthan</i>			
Fraction of Women Among Participants in the Gram Samsad (in percentage)	20.41 (2.42)	24.49 (3.05)	-4.08 (4.03)
Have Women Filed a Complaint to the GP in the Last 6 Months	.64 (.07)	.62 (.06)	.02 (.10)
Have Men Filed a Complaint to the GP in the Last 6 Months	.95 (.03)	.88 (.04)	.073 (.058)
Observations	40	60	

Notes: 1. Standard errors in parentheses. 2. Standard errors are corrected for clustering at the GP level in the West Bengal regressions, using the Moulton (1986) formula.

TABLE IV
ISSUES RAISED BY WOMEN AND MEN IN THE LAST 6 MONTH

	West Bengal						Rajasthan					
	Women			Men	Average	Difference	Women			Men	Average	Difference
	Reserved	Unreserved	All				Reserved	Unreserved	All			
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	
<i>Other Programs</i>												
Public Works	.84	.84	.84	.85	.84	-.01	.60	.64	.62	.87	.74	-.26
Welfare Programs	.12	.09	.10	.04	.07	.06	.25	.14	.19	.03	.04	.16
Child Care	.00	.02	.01	.01	.01	.00	.04	.09	.07	.01	.02	.06
Health	.03	.04	.04	.02	.03	.02	.06	.08	.07	.04	.03	.03
Credit or Employment	.01	.01	.01	.09	.05	-.08	.06	.06	.05	.04	.09	.01
Total Number of Issues	153	246	399	195			72	88	160	155		
<i>Breakdown of Public Works Issues</i>												
Drinking Water	.30	.31	.31	.17	.24	.13	.63	.48	.54	.43	.49	.09
Road Improvement	.30	.32	.31	.25	.28	.06	.09	.14	.13	.23	.18	-.11
Housing	.10	.11	.11	.05	.08	.05	.02	.04	.03	.04	.04	-.01
Electricity	.11	.07	.08	.10	.09	-.01	.02	.04	.03	.02	.02	.01
Irrigation and Ponds	.02	.04	.04	.20	.12	-.17	.02	.02	.02	.04	.03	-.02
Education	.07	.05	.06	.12	.09	-.06	.02	.07	.05	.13	.09	-.09
Adult Education	.01	.00	.00	.01	.00	.00	0	0	.00	.00	.00	.00
Other	.09	.11	.10	.09	.09	.01	.19	.21	.20	.12	.28	.05
Number of Public Works Issues	128	206	334	166			43	56	99	135		
<i>Public Works</i>												
Chi-square	8.84		71.72			7.48		16.38				
p-value	.64		.00			.68		.09				

Notes: 1. Each cell lists the number of times an issue was mentioned, divided by the total number of issues in each panel. 2. The data for men in West Bengal comes from a subsample of 48 villages. 3. Chi-square values placed across two columns test the hypothesis that issues come from the same distribution in the two columns.

TABLE V

EFFECT OF WOMEN'S RESERVATION ON PUBLIC GOODS INVESTMENTS

Dependent Variables	West Bengal			Rajasthan		
	Mean, Reserved GP (1)	Mean, Unreserved GP (2)	Difference (3)	Mean, Reserved GP (4)	Mean, Unreserved GP (5)	Difference (6)
<i>A. Village Level</i>						
Number of Drinking Water Facilities	23.83	14.74	9.09	7.31	4.69	2.62
Newly Built or Repaired	(5.00)	(1.44)	(4.02)	(.93)	(.44)	(.95)
Condition of Roads (1 if in good condition)	.41 (.05)	.23 (.03)	.18 (.06)	.90 (.05)	.98 (.02)	-.08 (.04)
Number of Panchayat Run Education Centers	.06 (.02)	.12 (.03)	-.06 (.04)			
Number of Irrigation Facilities	3.01	3.39	-.38	.88	.90	-.02
Newly Built or Repaired	(.79)	(.8)	(1.26)	(.05)	(.04)	(.06)
Other Public Goods (ponds, biogas, sanitation, community buildings)	1.66 (.49)	1.34 (.23)	.32 (.48)	.19 (.07)	.14 (.06)	.05 (.09)
Test Statistics: Difference Jointly Significant (<i>p</i> -value)			4.15 (.001)			2.88 (.02)
<i>B. GP Level</i>						
1 if a New Tubewell Was Built	1.00	.93 (.02)	.07 (.03)			
1 if a Metal Road Was Built or Repaired	.67 (.06)	.48 (.05)	.19 (.08)			
1 if There Is an Informal Education Center in the GP	.67 (.06)	.82 (.04)	-.16 (.07)			
1 if at Least One Irrigation Pump Was Built	.17 (.05)	.09 (.03)	.07 (.05)			
Test Statistics: Difference Jointly Significant (<i>p</i> -value)			4.73 (.001)			

Notes: 1. Standard errors in parentheses. 2. In West Bengal, there are 322 observations in the village level regressions, and 161 in the GP level regressions. There are 100 observations in the Rajasthan regressions. 3. Standard errors are corrected for clustering at the GP level in the village level regressions, using the Moulton (1986) formula, for the West Bengal regressions.

TABLE VI
OLS REGRESSIONS: DETERMINANTS OF PUBLIC GOOD PROVISION

	West Bengal					Rajasthan			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Reserved for a Woman	.23 (.101)	-.17 (.123)	.00 (.159)	.18 (.136)	.17 (.111)	.16 (.115)	-.29 (.19)	.04 (.16)	.16 (.118)
Reserved * D_i	1.63 (.501)		1.22 (.799)	1.56 (.629)	1.67 (.554)	4.40 (1.454)		4.66 (1.6)	4.29 (1.491)
Reserved * S_i		2.04 (.642)					1.78 (.728)		
Reserved * $D_{(ij)}$ (village level)			.03 (.047)					-.37 (.169)	
Reserved * $S_{(ij)}$ (village level)			-.01 (.155)					.05 (.27)	
Pradhan is New					-.09 (.079)				
Pradhan is New * D_i					-.10 (.323)				
Reservation in 2003					.03 (.093)				
Reservation in 2003 * D_i					-.19 (.326)				
Reserved for SC/ST					-.07 (.075)				.00 (.18)
Reserved for SC/ST * D_i					.10 (.145)				.03 (.315)
$D_{(ij)}$	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	No
$S_{(ij)}$	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	No
Pradhan's Characteristics	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
Pradhan's Characteristics * D_i	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No

Notes: 1. The dependent variable is a standardized measure of investment in each good. There are six types of goods in West Bengal (drinking water, roads, informal education, formal education, irrigation, others) and four types of goods in Rajasthan (drinking water, roads, formal education, others). 2. Standard errors (corrected for clustering at the GP level using Moulton (1986) in West Bengal) are in parentheses below the coefficients. 3. The regressions include a good-specific fixed effect. 4. The variables D_i , S_i , $D_{(ij)}$, and $S_{(ij)}$ are defined in the text: D_i is the relative strength of women's preference for good i in the district; S_i is the average strength of preference in the district; $D_{(ij)}$ is the difference of indicators for whether good i was mentioned by women and men in village j ; $S_{(ij)}$ is the sum of the indicators for whether good i was mentioned by women and men in village j . 5. Pradhan characteristics include all variables in Table VII. 6. There are 323 village level observations in West Bengal, and 100 village level observations in Rajasthan.