

# Women as Policy Makers

Evidence from a randomized policy experiment in India

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# Introduction

→ Policy maker's identity affects to the policy outcome?

- ▶ **Main Purpose:** Effects of women's leadership on policy decisions

→ Political reservation enhance women participation

→ Women and men have different preferences

- ▶ Birbhum (West Bengal) and Udaipur (Rajasthan)
- ▶ Gram Panchayat (GP): System of village level
  1. Village
  2. Council
  3. Pradhan

## Good Experiment?

- ▶ Random assignment

# Women among Pradhans in Reserved and Unreserved GP

Table 1: Women among Pradhans

	Reserved GP (1)	Unreserved GP (2)
<i>West Bengal</i>		
Total	54	107
Proportion	100%	6,5%
<i>Rajasthan</i>		
Total	40	60
Proportion	100%	1.7%

Source: (Chattopadhyay and Duflo, 2004)

# Model

- ▶ "Citizen Candidate" model

## Characteristics

- ▶ Citizens in a Gram Panchayat know each other well (they know each other preferences).
- ▶ Higher cost of running for office for women than men.  
 $\delta_W > \delta_M$ .
- ▶ Each citizen has a preferred policy  $\omega_i \in [0, 1]$  and they are different for women and men.



- ▶ The political game has three stages:
  1. Citizens decide whether or not to run.
  2. Citizens elect a candidate.
  3. The policy is implemented.
- ▶ The utility of citizen  $i$  if outcome  $x_j$  is implemented:
  - $|x_j - \omega_i|$  if citizen  $i$  was not a candidate;
  - $|x_j - \omega_i| - \delta_i$  if citizen  $i$  was a candidate
- ▶ Policy implemented:
 
$$x_j = \alpha * w_j + (1 - \alpha) * \mu'$$
  - ▶  $w_j$ : Policy chosen by the elected candidate
  - ▶  $\mu'$ : policy option preferred by the local elite

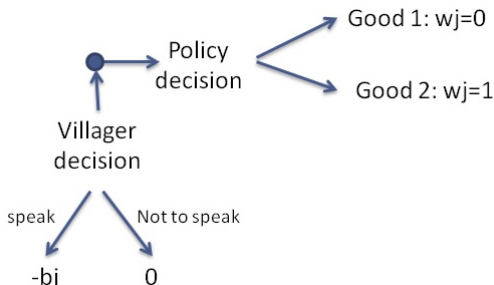
# Testing the Empirical Predictions

Policy outcomes in reserved vs unreserved GPs:

- **Test:** check if there is differences on average women and men preferences.

Preferences of individuals  $\rightarrow$  formal request and complains

- **Approach:**



- ▶ The frequency at which a good appears in the complains is an unbiased estimate of the frequency of which this good is preferred in this group.
- ▶  $D_i = (\frac{n_i^W}{N^W} - \frac{n_i^M}{N^M})$   
strength of the difference between women's and men's preferences for a individual good
- ▶  $S_i = \frac{1}{2}(\frac{n_i^W}{N^W} - \frac{n_i^M}{N^M})$   
the average of the measure of the strength in the aggregate population for the good

→ Allocations are more closely aligned to women's needs in reserved GPs

### **Why?**

- ▶ Selection of women candidates influences the opinion of the local elite
- ▶ Reduction in the cost of speaking for women

# Data Collection

Data from **two locations**: Birbhum in West Bengal (166 GPs) and Udaipur in Rajasthan (100 GPs).

- ▶ Census 1991 → no significant differences in local characteristics between unreserved and reserved GPs.
- ▶ Collection of Data → Two stages:
  1. Interview with the GP Pradhan.
  2. Survey of three villages in the GP: Two villages randomly selected in each GP, as well as the village in which the GP Pradhan resides.



# Empirical Strategy

Denote  $R_i \in [0; 1]$  the policy state and  $Y_i(0)$ ,  $Y_i(1)$  the potential outcomes of the policy.

► **Average effect of the Reservation Policy:**

$$ATE = E(Y_{ij}|R_i = 1) - E(Y_{ij}|R_i = 0)$$

**Regressions** to test if in reserved GPs there is **more investment** in goods mentioned more frequently by women:

1.  $Y_{ij} = \beta_1 + \beta_2 * R_j + \beta_3 * D_i * R_j + \sum_{l=1}^N \beta_l * d_{il} + \epsilon_{ij}$

2.  $Y_{ij} = \beta_4 + \beta_5 * R_j + \beta_6 * S_i * R_j + \sum_{l=1}^N \beta_l * d_{il} + \epsilon_{ij}$

**Regression** to test if in reserved GPs there is more investment in goods preferred by women in **a specific village**:

3.  $Y_{ij} = \beta_7 + \beta_8 * R_j + \beta_9 * D_i * R_j + \beta_{10} * D_{ij} * R_j + \beta_{11} * S_{ij} * R_j + \beta_{12} * S_{ij} + \beta_{13} * D_{ij} + \sum_{l=1}^N \beta_l * d_{il} + \epsilon_{ij}$

# Results

## Effects on political participation of women

**Table 2:** Effect of Women's Reservation on Women's Political Participation in West Bengal

Dependent Variables	Mean, Reserved GP (1)	Mean, Unreserved GP (2)	Difference (3)
Fraction of Women Among Participants(%)	9.80 (1.33)	6.88 (0.79)	2.92 (1.44)
Have Women filed a Complaint in the last 6 months	0.20 (0.04)	0.11 (0.03)	0.09 (0.05)
Have Men filed a Complaint in the last 6 months	0.94 (0.06)	1.00	0.06 (0.06)
Observations	54	107	

Source: (Chattopadhyay and Duflo, 2004)

# Results

## Effects on political participation of women

**Table 3:** Effect of Women's Reservation on Women's Political Participation in Rajasthan

Dependent Variables	Mean, Reserved GP (1)	Mean, Unreserved GP (2)	Difference (3)
Fraction of Women Among Participants(%)	20.41 (2.42)	24.49 (3.05)	-4.08 (4.03)
Have Women filed a Complaint in the last 6 months	0.64 (0.07)	0.62 (0.06)	0.02 (0.10)
Have Men filed a Complaint in the last 6 months	0.95 (0.03)	0.88 (0.04)	0.073 (0.058)
Observations	40	60	

Source: (Chattopadhyay and Duflo, 2004)

# Results

## Request of Men and Women

**Table 4:** Issues raised by women and men in the last 6 months in West Bengal

	Reserved	Women Unreserved	All	Men	Average	Difference
Public Works Issues	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Drinking water	0.30	0.31	0.31	0.17	0.24	0.13
Road Improvement	0.30	0.32	0.31	0.25	0.28	0.06
Housing	0.10	0.11	0.11	0.05	0.08	0.05
Electricity	0.11	0.07	0.08	0.10	0.09	-0.01
Irrigation and Ponds	0.02	0.04	0.04	0.20	0.12	-0.17
Education	0.07	0.05	0.06	0.12	0.09	-0.06
Adult Education	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00
Other	0.09	0.11	0.10	0.09	0.09	0.01
Number of Issues	128	206	334	166		
Chi-Square		8.84		71.72		
p-value		0.64		0.00		

# Results

## Request of Men and Women

**Table 5:** Issues raised by women and men in the last 6 months in Rajasthan

	Reserved	Women Unreserved	All	Men	Average	Difference
Public Works Issues	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Drinking water	0.63	0.48	0.54	0.43	0.49	0.09
Road Improvement	0.09	0.14	0.13	0.23	0.18	-0.11
Housing	0.02	0.04	0.03	0.04	0.04	-0.01
Electricity	0.02	0.04	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.01
Irrigation and Ponds	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.04	0.03	-0.02
Education	0.02	0.07	0.05	0.13	0.09	-0.09
Adult Education	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Other	0.19	0.21	0.20	0.12	0.28	0.05
Number of Issues	43	56	99	135		
Chi-Square		7.48		16.38		
p-value		0.68		0.09		

# Results

## Effects on provision of public goods

**Table 6:** Effect of Women's Reservation on Public Goods Investment in West Bengal (Village Level)

Dependent Variables	Mean, Reserved GP (1)	Mean, Unreserved GP (2)	Difference (3)
Number of Drinking Water Facilities	23.83	14.74	9.09
Newly Built or Repair	(5.00)	(1.44)	(4.02)
Conditions of Roads (1=Good Condition)	0.41 (0.05)	0.23 (0.03)	0.18 (0.06)
Number of Panchayat Run Education Centers	0.06 (0.02)	0.12 (0.03)	-0.06 (0.04)
Number of Irrigation Facilities Newly Built or repaired	3.01 (0.79)	3.39 (0.08)	-0.38 (1.26)
Other	1.66 (0.49)	1.34 (0.23)	0.32 (0.48)
Test-Statistics: Difference Jointly Significant p-value			4.15 (0.001)

Source: (Chattopadhyay and Duflo, 2004)

# Results

## Effects on provision of public goods

**Table 7:** Effect of Women's Reservation on Public Goods Investment in Rajasthan (Village Level)

Dependent Variables	Mean, Reserved GP (4)	Mean, Unreserved GP (5)	Difference (6)
Number of Drinking Water Facilities	7.31	4.69	2.62
Newly Built or Repair	(0.93)	(0.44)	(0.95)
Conditions of Roads (1=Good Condition)	0.90 (0.05)	0.98 (0.02)	-0.08 (0.04)
Number of Irrigation Facilities	0.88	0.90	-0.02
Newly Built or repaired	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.06)
Other	0.19 (0.07)	0.14 (0.06)	0.05 (0.09)
Test-Statistics: Difference Jointly Significant p-value			2.88 (0.02)

Source: (Chattopadhyay and Duflo, 2004)

# Results

## Effects on provision of public goods

**Table 8:** OLS Regressions: Determinants of Public Good Provision in West Bengal

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
$R_j$	0.23 (0.101)	-0.17 (0.123)	0.00 (0.159)	0.18 (0.136)
$R_j * D_i$	1.63 (0.501)		1.22 (0.799)	1.56 (0.629)
$R_j * S_i$		2.04 (0.642)		
$R_j * D_i$ (Village level)			0.03 (0.047)	
$R_j * S_i$ (Village level)			-0.01 (0.155)	
$D_{ij}$	No	No	Yes	No
$S_{ij}$	No	No	Yes	No
Pradhan's Characteristics	No	No	No	Yes
Pradhan's Characteristics* $D_i$	No	No	No	Yes

Source: (Chattopadhyay and Duflo, 2004)



# Results

## Effects on provision of public goods

Table 9: OLS Regressions: Determinants of Public Good Provision in Rajasthan

	(5)	(6)	(7)
$R_j$	0.16 (0.115)	-0.29 (0.19)	0.04 (0.16)
$R_j * D_i$	4.40 (1.454)		4.66 (1.6)
$R_j * S_i$		1.78 (0.728)	
$R_j * D_i$ (Village level)			-0.37 (0.169)
$R_j * S_i$ (Village level)			0.05 (0.27)
$D_{ij}$	No	No	Yes
$S_{ij}$	No	No	Yes

Source: (Chattopadhyay and Duflo, 2004)

# Conclusion

Mandated representation for women has important effects on policy decisions in local government. Under reservation policy...

1. they invest more in public goods more closely linked to women's concerns;
2. they invest less in those linked to men's concerns.

—→ Only because of the gender of the policy maker.

The direct manipulation of the identity of the policymaker can have important effect on policy.

## Why this paper is important?

1. Reservations for women are increasingly being implemented at various levels of government.
2. Even at the lowest level of a decentralized government, all mechanisms that affect politician's identities may affect policy decisions.