

**Online Appendix for  
Together We Will: Experimental Evidence on Female Voting Behavior in Pakistan**

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NOT FOR PRINT PUBLICATION

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## Section OA1. Pakistan's Electoral System

- The head of the government (the Prime Minister), is elected by the members of the National Assembly who hold the majority, while the Electoral College, which consists of both houses of Parliament, together with the four provincial assemblies, elects the head of state (the President), who is a figurehead under the constitution but has been the *de facto* head of government during periods of military rule. In addition to the national parliament and the provincial assemblies, Pakistan also has elected local governments.
- Elections are conducted under the supervision of the Election Commission of Pakistan. The National and Provincial assemblies are elected at the same time during a general election. The Pakistan People's Party-Parliamentarian (PPP-P) which formed the government in 2008, completed its tenure and held elections on time. The successor government formed by the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz Sharif Group (PML-N) came to power in 2013.
- In addition to the 272 constituencies, an additional 70 reserved seats for women and minorities, allocated in proportion to the share of the contested seats won by each party. The lower house thus consists of 342 seats in all, and a party needs 172 – or 50% plus one to form the government.

## **Section OA2. Partners in the Experiment**

The experiment was carried out in collaboration with the Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Fund (PPAF), the Marvi Rural Development Organization (MRDO), Research Consultants (RCons), ECI and the World Bank. PPAF is an apex institution created in 2000 with World Bank funding. PPAF provides capacity building and funding for community based development and microfinance to its partner organizations which are mostly NGOs. MRDO, a non-partisan organization that works with rural women, is one such NGO. RCons, a survey firm, helped MRDO implement the awareness campaign and collected the baseline and follow-up data. Each team consisted of two women: one MRDO staff member and one female enumerator from RCONS.

The RCons team was new to the villages, but MRDO staff had been working in the area, though their coverage was quite low. Only Around 11 percent of the women in the sample said they were MRDO members (see Table 1). Despite this, we ensured that MRDO staff did not conduct the campaign in villages where they had been working previously. They were also not engaged in the collection of follow-up data or voter verification. When asked informally about whether women in the households they had visited to deliver the campaign had voted and for whom, they did not know. It is quite unlikely, as such, that MRDO staff had any influence over village women, due to their previous work in or knowledge of the village.

ECI, a non-partisan local training firm, collaborated in the design of the campaign. ECI had prior experience with the development of visual aids and pamphlets related to electoral participation and the balloting process. It was also actively engaged in the training of local election officers nationwide prior to the elections.

## Section OA3. Visit Script

### Importance of Voting (T1)

**Picture 1:** Ask “In your opinion, who do you consider responsible for the situation shown in this picture?” If women respond that politician, feudal lords, bureaucrats and influential personalities, etc. then clarify that in fact you may be responsible for this state. Also, responsible are all those who do not cast a vote or choose a wrong candidate. You are the ones who empower them. Hence you need to understand how you can individually affect the decision of who finds solutions to your problems/issues. Do realize your power and importance of your vote?

**Picture 2:** Ask “Could your one vote bring a change in your life?” Explain that your vote is of great importance. Through this vote a representative is elected. It is this elected representative who then sits in the provincial or national Assembly and makes decisions with regard to what facilities are provided in your area with regard to education, health, security, roads, income earning options, etc.

**Picture 3:** Many women think that casting a vote makes no difference. Ask women what they think. If they respond that they are women or are underprivileged and therefore it will make no difference, stress that every Pakistani vote is of equal importance, regardless of whether the voter is rich or poor, male or female. If they as women do not cast their vote then individuals who have no interest in women related issues may get elected. Tell the women that there is a lot of power in their vote. People consider that women are weak. Should all Pakistani women begin to vote, their vote has the power to alter a Government!

**Picture 4:** Ask the women whether they are aware that when they cast a vote in the General Elections, they actually select two members: one for the large assembly, which is known as the “National Assembly” on the green ballot paper; and the second for the small assembly which is “Provincial Assembly” on the white ballot paper. Both the assemblies work separately, with different domains and duties assigned.

**Picture 5:** Explain that the major responsibility of the members of the national assembly is legislation. Like setting-up laws for the protection of women rights; establishing law for peace and stability in the country; relations with foreign countries and construction of major roads. Reiterate that the color of ballot for the member of national assembly is green.

**Picture 6:** Ask women whether they know about the responsibilities of the members of the provincial assembly. Explain that provincial assembly member has a more direct link to the area they live in. It is this member’s responsibility to ensure the provision of facilities such as girl’s and boy’s schools, health centers, irrigation and small and home based industries. Remind women that the color of ballot for the member of provincial assembly is white.

Remind women that in the pictures previously shown they must have noted that the members of National and Provincial Assemblies are tasked with a lot of work for local and national progress. Ask women whether they think “good” candidates should have specific qualities in order to be effective at their job. Encourage active participation. Then, show **Picture 7** and list the characteristics of an effective candidate: educated, well reputed, respected for their good character and benevolent to poor; interested to promote projects that will reduce poverty; ability to understand problems; not misused national resources in the past; and have a positive attitude.

Ask women whether they have information about all the candidates that are contesting elections from their constituency. Show **Picture 8** and ask women about their impression. Explain that there may be many women who do not know about the candidates that are contesting in their constituency. How then can they compare the qualities of the candidates in order to decide who is the best candidate?

Ask women if they would cast their vote. If “Yes” then ask how they would decide whom to vote for. “Do they have enough information about all the members?” and “Do they really know who the best candidate is?” If “Not” then ask where they would obtain information about the candidates. Show **Picture 9** and tell them where information about the candidates could be obtained, e.g. male members within the family (since they are more aware and exposed), neighbors, teachers/respected members of the community and party workers.

**Picture 10:** Ask women what they see. The picture is self explanatory, showing a before and after behavior of a candidate – before the election the candidate is humble and attentive. After the election they just whisk off without even acknowledging your presence! Ask the women if this has happened to them. Highlight that this happens when one does not get correct information about the member and thus one chooses the wrong candidate. Ask women if they ever wonder “why cast a vote when nobody has done anything for us so far? Everyone is the same and all exploit resources.” Tell women that they may have had bad experiences, but it is still important to keep the electoral process alive. Show **Picture 11** and explain that one can select the best amongst the lot – and only then will better candidates come forward. This would make clear to the member that you cast your vote sensibly. If this practice continues then soon sincere people would also contest elections and we would vote for them because of their genuine attributes. (As shown in **Picture 7**).

## **Secrecy of Balloting (T2)**

Tell women that we have so far established that voting is important. But does everyone have to vote for the same person? Tell women that even when two sisters go to the market to buy a dress, they generally come away with two different designs, colors, and fabric. Why does this happen? Because people may have different preferences.

Explain that secrecy is a legal right and responsibility of every citizen. When you vote, you have the right to keep your vote confidential. No one may see you cast your vote, not even the election commission staff, polling agent, or another voter. It is only if a voter has a disability such as weak eyesight or a physical problem that can prevent you from stamping the ballot paper that you may seek assistance. Otherwise, any other presence would be considered illegal. Lack of ability to read or write does not justify any kind of assistance (since one does not need to read or write to understand the ballot paper). Show **Picture 12** and explain the basic process of balloting as follows: (i) Voter enters the polling station; (ii) Polling officer inspects National ID Card; marks thumb with indelible ink and after calling the name and serial number of the voter, marks off her name from electoral list; (iii) The First Presiding Officer issues a ballot paper for the national assembly. She stamps and signs it on the reverse side and marks the counterfoil; (iv) The Second Presiding Officer issues ballot paper for provincial assembly. She stamps and signs it on the reverse side, and marks the counterfoil; (v) Voter goes to the polling booth and stamps on both the ballot papers; (vi) Voter puts her ballot in the specified ballot boxes; (vii) Voter leaves the polling station.

Tell the women that to keep voting confidential, all polling stations will be equipped with a Voter Screen. This screen will ensure that no one sees you while stamping the ballot paper. Show **Picture 13** and highlight that the Election Commission has undertaken special arrangements to make voting easy for women – e.g. separate polling stations for women, female polling staff, and ensuring that polling stations and polling booths are located in easy to reach places, e.g. nearby schools.

Show **Picture 14** and explain the right procedure of balloting. Show how the ballot should be stamped and more importantly folded, and then put in the appropriate ballot box i.e. green ballot paper into green ballot box and white ballot paper into the white ballot box.

Ask the women, how many of them have voted before? Ask them how they have felt after casting the vote? Some may say nervous or afraid while others may say satisfied. Show **Picture 15** and explain that as shown in the picture, once a voter comes out everyone is interested in knowing whom she has voted for. Tell the women that this should not make them anxious or nervous. If they want, they can make everyone happy!

## Section OA4. Visual Aids



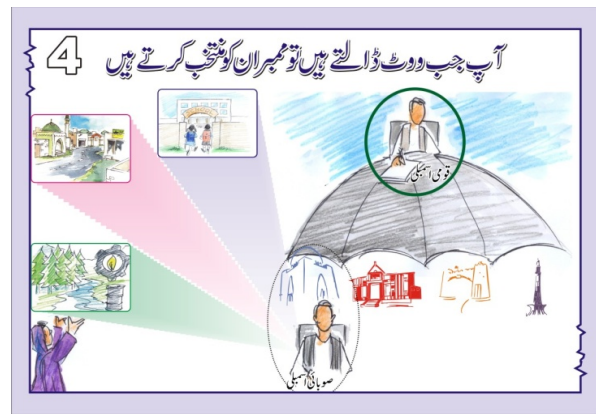
Who is responsible for the situation shown in the picture?



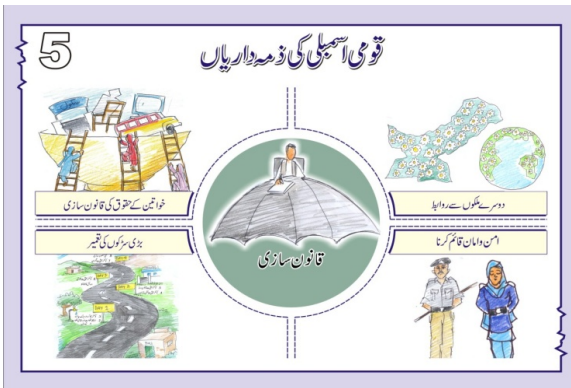
Elected representatives make decisions about developmental activities.



Every Pakistanis vote is of equal importance; regardless whether the voter is rich or poor, male or female

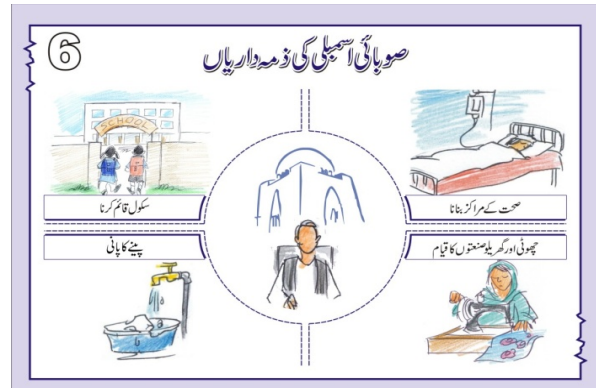


One vote casted results in selection of two members; one from National Assembly and other from Provincial Assembly. a. National assembly; b. Provincial assembly



Major responsibilities of members of the National Assembly are:

- Setting-up laws for the protection of women rights;
- Establishing law for peace and stability in the country;
- Relations with foreign countries and
- Construction of major roads



Responsibilities of the members of provincial assembly are to ensure:

- Provision of facilities such as girls & boys schools,
- Health centers,
- Irrigation and
- Small and home based industries in their own areas

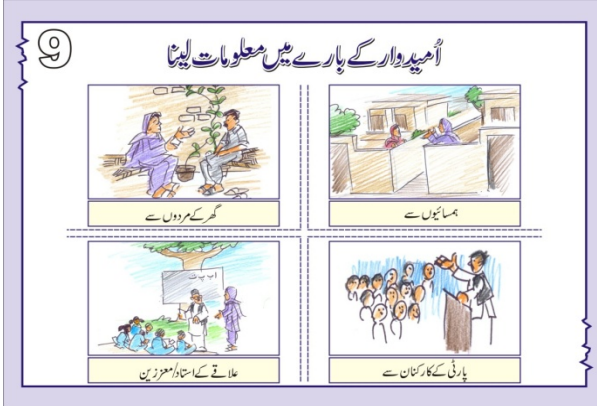


Characteristics of effective member are:

- Interested to promote projects that will reduce poverty;
- Well reputed,
- Not misused national resources in the past;
- Respected for their good character;
- Has a positive attitude towards poor
- Ability to understand problems;
- Educated,

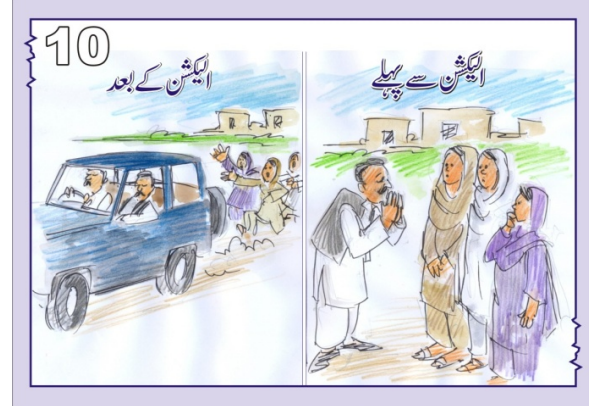


Who are the candidates contesting elections from their constituency?



9. Getting information about the candidate from:

- Neighbors,
- Male members within the family
- Party workers
- Teachers/respected members of the community

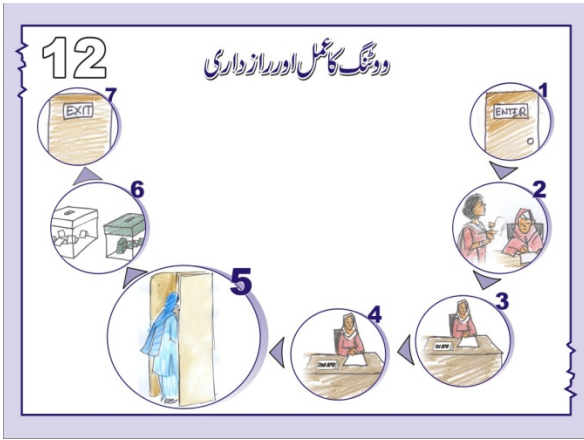


10. Pre-election, Post-election

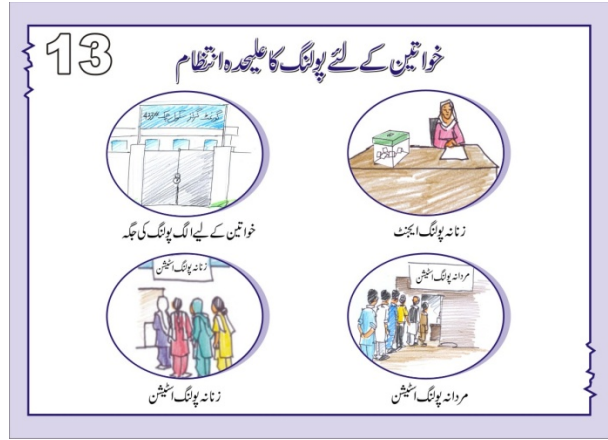


11. One has to choose the best from the lot available.



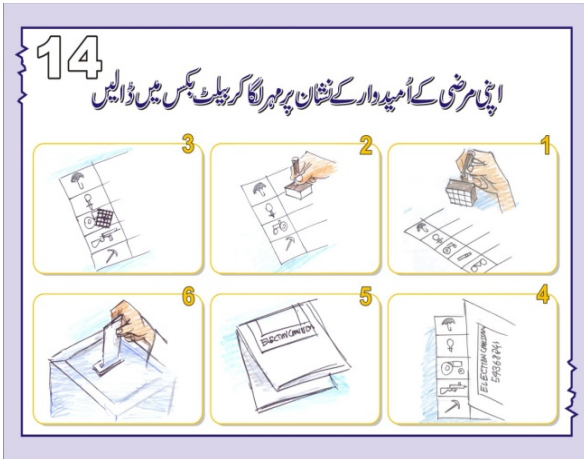


12. The importance and confidentiality of the Voting Process



Separate Polling Arrangements for Women (from right to left)

1. Female Polling Agent
2. Separate Polling Space for Women
3. Male Polling Station
4. Female Polling Station



14. Stamp against the symbol/name of your chosen political candidate and place the vote in the ballot box



15. Don't be afraid after casting your vote!



## Section OA5. Cluster probability of assignment to T<sub>1</sub>

In this section we describe how the probability of assignment to T<sub>1</sub> for each cluster is computed. We use as an example village Deh Sohu that has 7 clusters arranged in the following manner (ignoring gap clusters):

1	2	3
4	5	6
7		

Columns 1 to 7 of the Online Appendix Table OA4 reports all the possible paths --order in which clusters could be visited-- that the field team could have taken if clusters were arranged as above. Column 8 reports the probabilities associated with them. As an example, the first ordering is “1 2 3 6 5 4 7” and the probability is  $\frac{1}{2} * \frac{1}{2} = \frac{1}{4}$ , because after visiting cluster 1, the field team could have moved to cluster 2 with a probability of  $\frac{1}{2}$  (instead of moving to cluster 4), and then after cluster 2, the team could have moved to cluster 3 also with a probability of  $\frac{1}{2}$  (instead of moving to cluster 5). After cluster 3, then the team had to visit 6, 5, 4 and 7.

Since the first, fourth and seventh clusters visited received T<sub>1</sub>, while the others were assigned to either T<sub>2</sub> or control with the same probability, columns 8 to 15 record the probability that a given cluster is assigned to T<sub>1</sub> for each path or ordering of clusters. The sum of these probabilities (in bold) yields the actual probability of assignment of each cluster to T<sub>1</sub>.

We now check that the probability of assignment to T<sub>1</sub> is orthogonal to cluster characteristics. Column 1 of Online Appendix Table OA5 reports that among 21 cluster characteristics, only one is statistically correlated with the probability of assignment to T<sub>1</sub>. More formally, we cannot reject that all the coefficients associated to cluster characteristics are jointly zero (p-value = 0.650).

### **Boundary Clusters**

Given that the probability of assignment to T<sub>1</sub> varies by cluster, we assess whether clusters on the village boundaries are more likely to have probabilities that are different from that if clusters had the same probability of assignment.

A boundary cluster is defined as one that connects to at most one (or two) other cluster(s), respectively, ignoring gap clusters. In the example above, cluster 7 would be a boundary cluster under definition 1, while clusters 1, 3 and 6 would be boundary clusters under definition 2. The mean of a dummy that takes value 1 if a cluster is a boundary cluster (connecting to at most one other cluster, i.e. definition 1) is 0.17 and 0.77 when it is defined as the cluster connecting to two other cluster or less (definition 2).

Online Appendix Table OA6 regresses the percentage change in the absolute difference between the equal and actual probabilities against a dummy for whether the cluster is in the village boundary. We find that under definition 1, boundary clusters are more likely to have divergent assignment probabilities, but not under definition 2.

Online Appendix Figure OA3 shows the schematic location of clusters in all of the 9 villages in the study. Clusters in dark (light) gray are boundary clusters according to definition 1 (2), respectively. Column 2 of Online Appendix Table OA5 shows that boundary clusters are not different from other clusters. Among 21 cluster characteristics, only one is statistically correlated with the probability of assignment to  $T_1$ . More formally, we cannot reject that all the coefficients associated to cluster characteristics are jointly zero (p-value = 0.387).

## Section OA6: Robustness Checks

The results in tables 4, 5, 7, 8, and 10 in the main text control for the fact that the probability of assignment to  $T_1$  varies from cluster to cluster by running weighted least squares. Online Appendix Tables OA11 to OA15 provide the following robustness checks to the results in the main text.

First, we run the same specification as in the text but excluding covariates. Second, we run an ordinary least squares specification that includes as covariate the probability that the cluster is assigned to  $T_1$ . Third, we drop from the regression the sample of boundary clusters (using definition 1) and run an ordinary least squares regression.

By and large we find that the point estimates and significant levels are similar across columns, suggesting that the inclusion of covariates or sample used do not affect the results and that the probability of assignment to  $T_1$ , although varying, are not correlated with outcomes.

## Section OA7: Additional Tables

Table OA1: Definition of Variables

Variable	Definition
<b>Polling Station Characteristics</b>	
Number of women registered in each polling station	Number of women registered in each polling station
Number of targeted women in each polling station	Number of targeted women in each polling station
Share of targeted women	Calculated by dividing the total number of women targeted, in a polling station, by the number of registered women in the polling station.
Turnout for women	Total number of valid votes for women over total number of registered women
Turnout for men	Total number of valid votes for men over total number of registered men
Share Valid Votes	Share of valid votes cast by women (columns 1-2) and men (3-4)
Share of PPPP among female voters	Share of votes obtained by PPPP over the total number of valid votes among females
Share PPPP among male voters	Share of votes obtained by PPPP over the total number of valid votes among males
Percentage of women with access to cable in the PS	Calculated by dividing total number of women with access to Cable TV, by the total number of women in each polling station
St. Dev of asset index	Standard Deviation of household asset Index
St. Dev of distance to polling station	Standard deviation of distance to polling station
<b>Household Characteristics</b>	
Household size	Total number of individuals in the household including children
Number of women in the household	Total number of women in the household
Asset Index	The first component of a PCA including the number of refrigerators, freezers, fans, geysers, washing machines/dryers, cooking stoves, TVs, VCRs, VCPs/ CD players, Radios/ cassette players, sewing/knitting machines, dish antennas, cable services, bicycles, motorcycles, cows, buffalos and goats, as well as a dummy variable that takes value 1 if household owned any major agricultural assets/ machinery.
Total owned land (in acres)	Total acres of owned land by the household
Average monthly expenditure (in Rs. thousands)	Average monthly expenditure computed using the mid point of the following options: less than 2,000, greater than 2,000 but less than 4,000, greater than 4,000 but less than 6,000, greater than 6,000 but less than 8,000, greater than 8,000 but less than 10,000, greater than 10,000 but less than 15,000, greater than 15,000 but less than 25,000, greater than 25,000 but less than 35,000.
House quality index	Index constructed using principal component analysis using number of rooms and dummy variables that take value 1 if house has pacca walls, a roof made of concrete, iron/brick/tile or wood/brick/tile, the toilet is flush connected to public sewerage, flush connected to pit or flush connected to open drain latrine and the main source of drinking water for the household is either piped water or hand pump.
Low Zaat (Caste) Status	Household belongs to service or menial zaat groups
Distance to polling station (Km.)	Total distance in Km. from household to polling station.
Distance between households within cluster (meters)	The distance in meters between each sample household and all other households within the sample households cluster using GPS coordinates
Distance between households within village (meters)	The distance in meters between each sample household and all other households within the sample households village using GPS coordinates
<b>Woman Characteristics</b>	
Age	Age
Woman has formal schooling	Dummy variable equal to 1 if woman has any formal schooling (1=Yes)
Woman is married	Dummy variable equal to 1 if woman is married (1=Yes)
Number of children under age 5	Total Number of children under 5 years old
Woman has a National Identity Card (NIC or CNIC)	Dummy variable equal to 1 if the woman has a national identity card (1=Yes)
Woman voted in last local elections	Dummy variable equal to 1 if respondent voted in this local elections (1=Yes)
Access to radio	Dummy variable equal to 1 if woman has access to a radio (1=Yes)
Access to TV	Dummy variable equal to 1 if woman has access to TV (1=Yes)
Access to cable	Dummy variable equal to 1 if woman has access to cable (1=Yes)
Woman would be allowed to join a NGO	Dummy variable equal to 1 if woman would be allowed to get involved in an NGO if one were to start working in their village (1=Yes)
Woman is a member of MRDO	Dummy variable equal to 1 if woman is a member of a community organization in her village (1=Yes)

Table OA1. Definition of Variables (cont.)

Variable	Definition
<b>Woman Characteristics</b>	
Mobility Index	Index based on questions about whether woman would be allowed to go to bazaars , doctors or for social visits inside her village and her settlement. 1= No to all three; 2=accompanied by adult male and 3= Accompanied by adult female, children or alone. The index is the sum of responses divided by 3 (range 0 to 3)
Received visit from political party staff prior to election	Dummy variable equal to 1 if woman confirmed in the follow-up survey that she was visited before the elections to tell her about the importance of the elections and voting (1=Yes)
Attended political rally before intervention	Dummy variable equal to 1 if women attended any political rallies in/near the village before February 5th election (1=Yes)
In the Voter list	Dummy variable equal to 1 if women is in the voter list
Woman seeks advice from a religious leader or "Pir"	Dummy variable equal to 1 if household follow the advice of pir/murshid in important decisions of HH (1=Yes)
Hours of Radio in an average week	The product of number of hours of radio listened to in an average day times number of days respondent listens to the radio in an average week.
Gets World new from BBC's Urdu Service	Dummy variable equal to 1 if respondent reported turning to BBC radio first for getting world news
Number of hrs of TV watched in avg week	The product of number of hours of TV watched in an average day times number of days respondent watches TV in an average week
Index of community action taken	Index constructed using principal component analysis of 3 questions on methods used to resolve the following situations by both men and women (election officials left name off voter list, police wrongly arrested someone in family, someone wrongly seized family's land). The 3 questions were recoded to 1 if respondent had either lodged a complaint, used connections with influence, offered a tip or participated in a protest to resolve the situation. 0 if they had not.
Index of contact with formal authority	Index constructed using principal component analysis of the following 2 questions (1) whether during the past year he/she had contacted a local government councilor (Nazim, Naib Nazim) or (2) a political party official.
Index of contact with informal authority	Index constructed using principal component analysis of the following 2 questions: (1) whether during the past year he/she had contacted a religious leader (Pir, Murshid) or (2) contacted a traditional ruler (Wadera, Maalik, Numberdar).
<b>Knowledge of current events and the political process</b>	
Aware of imposition of Emergency Rule (1=Yes)	Dummy variable equal to 1 if respondent had heard about the imposition of the emergency rule, the removal of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and the house arrest of various lawyers.
Index of knowledge of current events	Average score of the following knowledge questions: "Aware of imposition of emergency/house arrest of lawyers and removal of Chief Justice" and "Knows name of newly elected Prime Minister".
Share of political party signs correctly identified	Proportion of signs (out of 7) that respondents were able to correctly match to a political party contesting a National Assembly seat.
Share of political party names correctly identified	Proportion of party names contesting for seats in the National Assembly that the respondent was able to recall perfectly.
Recalls winning candidate	Dummy variable equal to 1 if woman perfectly recalled the name of the candidate that won the National Assembly seat in her constituency (1=Yes)
Recalls names of main candidates	Dummy variable equal to 1 if woman perfectly recalled the names of the candidates from the two main parties that contested a National Assembly seat (1=Yes)
Knows the gender of main candidates	Dummy variable equal to 1 if woman perfectly identified the gender of the candidates from the two main parties that contested a National Assembly seat (1=Yes)
<b>Voting behavior and perceptions</b>	
Woman checked voter list after intervention	Dummy variable equal to 1 if after February 5th a woman or another family member checked to see if she was on the voter list.
Voted in Feb 08	Dummy variable equal to 1 if respondent voted in this national elections (1=Yes)
Index of opinion on democracy	Disagreement with the following statements: "Only educated should vote" and average disapproval of the following forms of government: "Only one party is allowed to stand for election and hold office. ", "The army comes in to govern the country", "There are no elections, no MPA or MNA and the president decides everything".
Woman believes elections were free and fair	Dummy variable equal to 1 if woman believes that the national elections held on February 18th 2008 were "Completely free and fair" or "Free and fair, but with minor problems" instead of "Free and fair but with major problems" and "Not free and fair".
Woman witnessed or heard about violence in village	Dummy variable equal to 1 if woman personally witnessed or heard of any type of violence in/near her village.

Table OA2: Gender Differences

	N. Obs	Means		P-value
		Female	Male	(2)-(3)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Panel A: Access to Media				
Access to Radio (1=Yes)	3,611	0.48	0.42	0.025
Number of hours of radio listened to in an average week	1,678	9.66	9.63	0.955
Access to TV (1=Yes)	3,611	0.70	0.63	0.004
Number of hours of TV watched in an average week	2,354	15.34	11.03	0.000
Access to cable TV (1=Yes)	3,611	0.30	0.23	0.001
Listens to BBC's Urdu service for world news (1=Yes)	1,669	0.11	0.48	0.000
Panel B: Knowledge of Political Parties and Elections				
Share of political party signs correctly identified	3,611	0.28	0.42	0.000
Share of political party names correctly identified	3,611	0.86	0.96	0.000
Knows the gender of main candidates (1=Yes)	3,611	0.95	0.98	0.548
Share of names of main candidates correctly identified	3,611	0.82	0.86	0.442
Recalls winning candidate (1=Yes)	3,611	0.90	0.95	0.200
Aware of Emergency Rule (1=Yes)	3,611	0.13	0.51	0.000
Panel C: Participation in Public Life				
Attends community meetings (1=Yes)	1,902	0.18	0.52	0.000
Attends demonstrations (1=Yes)	1,902	0.12	0.23	0.000
Attended political rally before intervention (1=Yes)	1,904	0.05	0.24	0.000
Takes action				
If name missing in voter list (1=Yes)	1,902	0.76	0.92	0.000
If police mistakenly arrest family member (1=Yes)	1,902	0.93	0.98	0.000
If family land is seized (1=Yes)	1,902	0.92	0.98	0.000
Index of community action taken	1,902	-0.30	0.69	0.000
Contacts local councilor (1=Yes)	1,902	0.25	0.37	0.000
Contacts a local political party official (1=Yes)	1,902	0.22	0.38	0.000
Index of formal authority contact	1,902	-0.11	0.34	0.000
Contacts a religious leader (1=Yes)	1,902	0.66	0.49	0.000
Contacts a traditional ruler (1=Yes)	1,902	0.45	0.32	0.000
Index of informal authority contact	1,902	0.13	-0.30	0.000

Note: Data come from follow-up survey. In all panels, male refers to the head of the household. In Panels A and B, female refers to all females in the household. In Panel C, the female selected is the household head's wife. *P*-values are calculated from a regression of each variable on a gender dummy. All regressions include a village fixed effect. Standard errors are clustered at the geographical cluster level.

Table OA3: Characteristics of Sample Villages Compared to All Other Villages in Study Districts and Sindh Province

	Mean of study villages	Mean of all draws from other villages in study districts	Difference in mean values at the 5th and 95th percentile of the distribution in study districts		Mean of all draws from other villages in Sindh	Difference in mean values at the 5th and 95th percentile of the distribution in all of Sindh	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
			5th	95th		5th	95th
Total village area	2849.22	3882.29	-3042.67	706.33	4918.39	-8658.44	347.44
Percentage cultivated area in village	0.62	0.48	-0.01	0.31	0.33	0.16	0.44
Number of settlements in the village	7.22	6.95	-2.67	2.78	9.22	-6.33	1.44
Village has a post office	0.22	0.14	-0.11	0.22	0.10	-0.11	0.22
Village has at least one primary school for boys	1.00	0.85	0.00	0.44	0.91	0.00	0.22
Village has at least one primary school for girls	0.89	0.62	0.00	0.67	0.66	0.00	0.44
Any industry in the village	0.00	0.07	-0.33	0.00	0.08	-0.22	0.00
Village has all bricked roads	0.00	0.00	-0.11	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Village has all "Pacca" houses	0.22	0.08	0.00	0.22	0.03	0.11	0.22
At least some households in the village have electricity	1.00	0.85	0.00	0.44	0.84	0.00	0.33
Village has at least one retail market	0.11	0.09	-0.11	0.11	0.07	-0.11	0.11
Village has a water filtration system/plant	0.22	0.07	0.00	0.22	0.05	0.00	0.22

Note: Source Mouza (Village) Census 2008. Column 1 shows the mean for sample villages of a range of village characteristics; Column 2 shows the mean for all other villages (601) in the same districts as the sample villages and column 5 shows the same mean for all other villages across the province (5274). Columns 3 and 4 and 6 and 7 show the distribution at the 5th and 95th percentile of the difference between the mean of the sample village and the mean of each of 100 random draws of 9 villages each (from either the sample districts or all of Sindh province).



Table OA4: Computation of Probability of Assignment to Treatment 1

Order in which clusters are visited:							Probability	Probability that cluster is assigned to $T_1$						
1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	of path	c1	c2	c3	c4	c5	c6	c7
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
1	2	3	6	5	4	7	0.250	0.250	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.250	0.250
1	2	5	4	7	6	3	0.125	0.125	0.000	0.125	0.125	0.000	0.000	0.000
1	2	5	6	3	4	7	0.125	0.125	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.125	0.125
1	4	5	6	3	2	7	0.125	0.125	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.125	0.125
1	4	5	2	3	6	7	0.125	0.125	0.125	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.125
1	4	7	5	2	3	6	0.125	0.125	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.125	0.125	0.000
1	4	7	5	6	3	2	0.125	0.125	0.125	0.000	0.000	0.125	0.000	0.000
2	1	4	5	6	3	7	0.167	0.000	0.167	0.000	0.000	0.167	0.000	0.167
2	1	4	7	5	6	3	0.167	0.000	0.167	0.167	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.167
2	5	4	1	3	6	7	0.083	0.083	0.083	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.083
2	5	4	7	1	3	6	0.083	0.000	0.083	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.083	0.083
2	5	6	3	1	4	7	0.167	0.000	0.167	0.167	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.167
2	3	6	5	4	7	1	0.167	0.167	0.167	0.000	0.000	0.167	0.000	0.000
2	3	6	5	4	1	7	0.167	0.000	0.167	0.000	0.000	0.167	0.000	0.167
3	2	1	4	5	6	7	0.125	0.000	0.000	0.125	0.125	0.000	0.000	0.125
3	2	1	4	7	5	6	0.125	0.000	0.000	0.125	0.125	0.000	0.125	0.000
3	2	5	4	7	1	6	0.063	0.000	0.000	0.063	0.063	0.000	0.063	0.000
3	2	5	4	1	7	6	0.063	0.000	0.000	0.063	0.063	0.000	0.063	0.000
3	2	5	6	4	7	1	0.125	0.125	0.000	0.125	0.000	0.000	0.125	0.000
3	2	5	6	4	1	7	0.125	0.000	0.000	0.125	0.000	0.000	0.125	0.125
3	6	5	2	1	4	7	0.125	0.000	0.125	0.125	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.125
3	6	5	4	7	1	2	0.125	0.000	0.125	0.125	0.125	0.000	0.000	0.000
3	6	5	4	1	2	7	0.125	0.000	0.000	0.125	0.125	0.000	0.000	0.125
4	1	2	3	6	5	7	0.167	0.000	0.000	0.167	0.167	0.000	0.000	0.167
4	1	2	5	6	3	7	0.167	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.167	0.167	0.000	0.167
4	5	6	3	2	1	7	0.167	0.000	0.000	0.167	0.167	0.000	0.000	0.167
4	5	2	1	7	6	3	0.083	0.083	0.000	0.083	0.083	0.000	0.000	0.000
4	5	2	3	6	7	1	0.083	0.083	0.000	0.083	0.083	0.000	0.000	0.000
4	7	5	2	1	3	6	0.083	0.000	0.083	0.000	0.083	0.000	0.083	0.000
4	7	5	2	3	6	1	0.083	0.083	0.083	0.000	0.083	0.000	0.000	0.000
4	7	5	6	3	2	1	0.167	0.167	0.000	0.000	0.167	0.000	0.167	0.000
5	4	1	2	3	6	7	0.167	0.000	0.167	0.000	0.000	0.167	0.000	0.167
5	4	7	1	2	3	6	0.167	0.167	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.167	0.167	0.000
5	2	1	4	7	6	3	0.167	0.000	0.000	0.167	0.167	0.167	0.000	0.000
5	2	3	6	4	1	7	0.083	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.083	0.083	0.083
5	2	3	6	4	7	1	0.083	0.083	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.083	0.083	0.000
5	6	3	2	1	4	7	0.333	0.000	0.333	0.000	0.000	0.333	0.000	0.333
6	3	2	1	4	5	7	0.125	0.125	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.125	0.125
6	3	2	1	4	7	5	0.125	0.125	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.125	0.125	0.000
6	3	2	5	4	1	7	0.125	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.125	0.125	0.125
6	3	2	5	4	7	1	0.125	0.125	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.125	0.125	0.000
6	5	4	1	2	3	7	0.125	0.125	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.125	0.125
6	5	4	7	1	2	3	0.125	0.000	0.000	0.125	0.000	0.000	0.125	0.125
6	5	2	1	4	7	3	0.125	0.125	0.000	0.125	0.000	0.000	0.125	0.000
6	5	2	3	1	4	7	0.125	0.000	0.000	0.125	0.000	0.000	0.125	0.125
7	4	1	2	3	6	5	0.250	0.000	0.250	0.000	0.000	0.250	0.000	0.250
7	4	5	2	1	3	6	0.125	0.000	0.125	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.125	0.125
7	4	5	2	3	6	1	0.125	0.125	0.125	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.125
7	4	1	2	5	6	3	0.250	0.000	0.250	0.250	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.250
7	4	5	6	3	2	1	0.250	0.250	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.250	0.250
Total Probability:								0.435	0.417	0.393	0.274	0.363	0.452	0.667

Table OA5: Correlation with Cluster-level Characteristics

	Probability of Assignment to T <sub>1</sub>	Boundary Cluster
	(1)	(2)
Average number of registered female voters	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
Average monthly household expenditure	0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
Average household size	0.001 (0.012)	0.047 (0.037)
Average house quality Index	0.069 (0.054)	0.223 (0.160)
Average asset index	-0.055 (0.049)	-0.111 (0.147)
Percentage of women with low zaat status	0.061 (0.088)	-0.105 (0.261)
Average land owned	0.009 (0.009)	-0.008 (0.027)
Average number of women in household	-0.040 (0.039)	-0.048 (0.114)
Average distance to polling station	0.035 (0.043)	0.113 (0.127)
Average age of women	0.008 (0.008)	0.046* (0.025)
Percentage of women with formal schooling	0.149 (0.219)	-0.382 (0.645)
Average Number of Children under 5	-0.023 (0.107)	0.056 (0.315)
Percentage of women who voted in last local election	-0.412 (0.292)	-0.488 (0.861)
Percentage of women with access to TV	0.224 (0.137)	0.452 (0.405)
Percentage of women with access to cable	-0.088 (0.107)	0.128 (0.317)
Percentage of women with access to radio	-0.011 (0.118)	-0.484 (0.347)
Woman would be allowed to join an NGO	-0.191 (0.165)	-0.402 (0.486)
Percentage of women who are member of MRDO	0.311* (0.175)	0.359 (0.518)
Average index of mobility	-0.041 (0.152)	-0.557 (0.449)
Percentage of women who have a National Identity Card (NIC or CN	0.366 (0.345)	0.350 (1.017)
Percentage of women who seek advice from a religious leader	0.019 (0.101)	-0.063 (0.297)
R-squared	0.412	0.436
N. Observations	67	67
<i>P-Value</i> (Joint Significance of all variables)	0.650	0.387

Note: Dependent variable in column (2) takes value 1 if the cluster is connected to at most one cluster. The symbols \*, \*\*, \*\*\* represent significance at the 10, 5 and 1 percent respectively. Standard errors are reported in parentheses below the coefficient. The specification includes village fixed effects .

Table OA6: Divergent Assignment Probabilities for Treatment 1

	Percentage Change in the Absolute Difference between Equal and Actual Probabilities of being assigned to $T_1$	
	(1)	(2)
Boundary Cluster 1	0.177*** (0.054)	
Boundary Cluster 2		-0.004 (0.055)
R-squared	0.437	0.331
N. Observations	67	67

Note: Boundary Cluster 1 takes value 1 if the cluster is connected to at most one cluster.

Boundary Cluster 2 takes value 1 if the cluster is connected to two other clusters or less. Refer to Online Appendix Section OA5. The symbols \*, \*\*, \*\*\* represent significance at the 10, 5 and 1 percent respectively. Standard errors are reported in parentheses below the coefficient. The specification includes village fixed effects .

Table OA7: Probability of Assignment to Treatment 1

Village Name	Cluster Code	Cluster Type	Equal Probability of Assignment to T <sub>1</sub>	Actual Probability of Assignment to T <sub>1</sub>	Weight	Boundary Cluster
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Akbar Pur	1	Treatment 1	0.333	0.361	2.769	No
	2	Treatment 2	0.333	0.319	1.469	No
	3	Control	0.333	0.319	1.469	No
	4	Treatment 1	0.333	0.361	2.769	No
	5	Treatment 2	0.333	0.319	1.469	No
	6	Treatment 2	0.333	0.319	1.469	No
Haman Loi	7	Treatment 1	0.375	0.418	2.390	No
	8	Treatment 2	0.375	0.387	1.632	No
	9	Treatment 1	0.375	0.387	2.583	No
	10	Control	0.375	0.370	1.587	No
	11	Treatment 2	0.375	0.306	1.440	No
	12	Treatment 1	0.375	0.370	2.704	No
	13	Treatment 2	0.375	0.344	1.524	No
	14	Treatment 2	0.375	0.418	1.719	No
Kalari	15	Treatment 1	0.429	0.714	1.400	Yes
	16	Treatment 2	0.429	0.286	1.400	No
	17	Control	0.429	0.214	1.273	No
	18	Treatment 1	0.429	0.643	1.556	No
	19	Treatment 2	0.429	0.286	1.400	No
	20	Treatment 2	0.429	0.357	1.556	No
	21	Treatment 1	0.429	0.500	2.000	Yes
Kandri	22	Treatment 1	0.333	0.316	3.165	No
	23	Treatment 2	0.333	0.285	1.398	No
	24	Treatment 2	0.333	0.245	1.324	No
	25	Control	0.333	0.410	1.694	No
	26	Control	0.333	0.233	1.303	Yes
	27	Treatment 1	0.333	0.580	1.725	No
	28	Treatment 1	0.333	0.198	5.053	No
	29	Treatment 2	0.333	0.326	1.485	No
	30	Treatment 2	0.333	0.432	1.761	Yes
	31	Treatment 2	0.333	0.408	1.689	No
	32	Treatment 1	0.333	0.271	3.692	No
	33	Treatment 1	0.333	0.297	3.368	No
Nebahoo Pata	34	Treatment 1	0.429	0.385	2.598	No
	35	Treatment 1	0.429	0.310	3.231	No
	36	Treatment 2	0.429	0.456	1.839	No
	37	Control	0.429	0.310	1.448	No
	38	Treatment 1	0.429	0.698	1.432	Yes
	39	Treatment 2	0.429	0.456	1.839	No
	40	Treatment 2	0.429	0.385	1.626	No
Deh Sohu	41	Treatment 1	0.429	0.435	2.301	No
	42	Treatment 2	0.429	0.417	1.714	No
	43	Control	0.429	0.393	1.647	No
	44	Treatment 1	0.429	0.452	2.211	No
	45	Treatment 2	0.429	0.363	1.570	No
	46	Treatment 1	0.429	0.274	3.652	No
	47	Treatment 1	0.429	0.667	1.500	Yes
Bafo	48	Treatment 1	0.429	0.363	2.754	No
	49	Treatment 2	0.429	0.452	1.826	No
	50	Control	0.429	0.274	1.377	No
	51	Treatment 1	0.429	0.667	1.500	Yes
	52	Treatment 2	0.429	0.435	1.768	No
	53	Treatment 1	0.429	0.417	2.400	No
	54	Treatment 2	0.429	0.393	1.647	No
	55	Treatment 1	0.333	0.417	2.400	No
Arore	56	Treatment 2	0.333	0.333	1.500	No
	57	Control	0.333	0.250	1.333	Yes
	58	Treatment 1	0.333	0.333	3.000	No
	59	Treatment 2	0.333	0.333	1.500	Yes
	60	Treatment 1	0.333	0.333	3.000	No
	61	Treatment 1	0.429	0.214	4.667	No
Borah	62	Treatment 2	0.429	0.714	3.500	Yes
	63	Control	0.429	0.643	2.800	No
	64	Treatment 1	0.429	0.286	3.500	No
	65	Treatment 2	0.429	0.286	1.400	No
	66	Treatment 1	0.429	0.500	2.000	No
	67	Treatment 1	0.429	0.357	2.800	Yes

Table OA8: Attrition at Vote Verification among Sample Women

Panel A: Treatment	(1)
Treatment (T)	-0.004 (0.010)
R-squared	0.02
Panel B: T <sub>1</sub> vs T <sub>2</sub>	
Importance of voting (T <sub>1</sub> )	-0.022* (0.012)
Importance of voting and secret balloting (T <sub>2</sub> )	0.019 (0.013)
R-squared	0.03
Mean dependent variable	0.035
<i>P-value</i> (T <sub>1</sub> = T <sub>2</sub> )	0.007
<i>P-value</i> (F-test for joint significance of T <sub>1</sub> and T <sub>2</sub> )	0.023
Observations	2,735

Note: The dependent variable takes the value 1 if woman attrited. The symbols \*, \*\*, \*\*\* represent significance at the 10, 5 and 1 percent respectively. Standard errors are reported in parentheses below the coefficient and are clustered at the geographic cluster level. The specification includes village fixed effects .

Table OA9: Turnout, Registered Voters and PPPP vote share by Gender

	Across Polling Stations		
	Study (1)	Rest (2)	P-value (1)=(2)
Panel A: Registered Voters			
Male	744	774	0.728
Female	589	652	0.434
Panel B: Voter Turnout			
Male	0.485	0.449	0.278
Female	0.576	0.306	0.000
Panel C: PPPP Vote share			
Male	0.655	0.686	0.524
Female	0.647	0.733	0.065

Note: There are 20 study polling stations and 1254 polling stations in districts Khairpur and Sukkur. Polling stations are mapped to 5 constituencies. Study villages were drawn from 2 of these. Column 1 for Panels A-C refers to the 20 study polling stations. Column 2 in Panel A refers to all other polling stations besides the 20 study polling stations in the 2 study constituencies. Column 2 in Panel B and C refer to only single gendered polling stations (excluding the study polling stations) in the 2 study constituencies.

Table OA10: Intervention Check (Table 3 cont.)

	N. Obs	All	Targeted		Untargeted		Controls
			T <sub>1</sub>	T <sub>2</sub>	T <sub>1</sub>	T <sub>2</sub>	C
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Panel A: Political discussions with women in own household							
Discuss political issues (1=Yes, frequently)	2637	0.46	0.43	0.49	0.54	0.46	0.42
Issues raised during conversations							
Party/Candidate Positions	2122	0.90	0.90	0.91	0.90	0.87	0.91
Importance of voting	2122	0.62	0.63	0.63	0.55	0.58	0.61
Importance of voting in accordance to own preferences	2122	0.87	0.86	0.86	0.87	0.81	0.89
Panel B: Political discussions with close confidant							
Discuss political issues (1=Yes, frequently)	2637	0.41	0.38	0.43	0.47	0.35	0.42
Issues raised during conversations							
Party/Candidate Positions	2215	0.91	0.90	0.93	0.91	0.83	0.92
Importance of voting	2215	0.64	0.65	0.64	0.60	0.59	0.64
Importance of voting in accordance to own preferences	2215	0.87	0.87	0.88	0.85	0.85	0.89

Notes: Data come from follow-up survey. Columns (1) and (2) provide the number of observations and the sample mean. Columns (3)-(4) report data for targeted women. Columns (5)-(6) report data for untargeted women. Column (8) reports data for women in control clusters.



Table OA11: Effect on Female Turnout

	Targeted			Untargeted		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Method of Estimation:	WLS	OLS	OLS	WLS	OLS	OLS
Importance of voting ( $T_1$ )	0.074 (0.081)	0.107 (0.075)	0.118 (0.087)	0.098 (0.071)	0.076 (0.060)	0.068 (0.072)
Importance of voting and secret balloting ( $T_2$ )	0.098 (0.086)	0.152* (0.078)	0.125 (0.089)	0.093 (0.093)	0.107 (0.073)	0.113 (0.091)
R-squared	0.100	0.200	0.185	0.111	0.210	0.224
N. Observations	2,304	2,304	1,926	767	767	639
Sample of Clusters	All	All	Non-boundary	All	All	Non-boundary
Mean dependent variable among $C_N$	0.523	0.523	0.550	0.523	0.523	0.550
<i>P</i> -value ( $T_1 = T_2$ )	0.699	0.347	0.871	0.958	0.708	0.615
<i>P</i> -value (F-test for joint significance of $T_1$ and $T_2$ )	0.522	0.153	0.365	0.362	0.221	0.421
Covariates	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Covariates include probability of cluster assignment to $T_1$	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No

Note: The dependent variable takes the value 1 if a woman reports having voted in the February 2008 elections and had a verifiable ink mark on her thumb. The symbols \*, \*\*, \*\*\* represent significance at the 10, 5 and 1 percent respectively. All specifications include village fixed effects. Standard errors are reported in parentheses below the coefficient and are clustered at the geographic cluster level. In columns (2), (3), (5) and (6) the following controls, which were selected using the Lasso method are used: the number of registered female voters in the woman's catchment polling station, whether woman has a NIC or CNIC, the woman's age, access to television, number of children under five years of age; household size, the woman's index of mobility, whether the woman seeks advice from a religious leader. Columns (1) and (4) use a weighted least squares estimator based on Gerber and Green (2011) and Humphreys (2009) for when treatment assignment probabilities vary by cluster. Columns (2) and (5) include the probability of assigning the cluster to  $T_1$ . See Online Appendix Section OA5 for an explanation of how the assignment probabilities are computed and Online Appendix Table OA7 for a list of the probabilities. Columns (3) and (6) use only the sample of non-boundary clusters, also defined in Online Appendix Section OA5. Variables are defined in Online Appendix Table OA1.

Table OA12: Spillover Effects Using Distance

Method of Estimation:	Coefficients		
	(1) WLS	(2) OLS	(3) OLS
Targeted (1=Yes)	0.017 (0.033)	0.016 (0.031)	0.029 (0.034)
Number of treated women within 0-200 radius	0.002 (0.002)	0.005*** (0.002)	0.004* (0.002)
Number of treated women within 200-400 radius	0.007*** (0.002)	0.008*** (0.002)	0.007*** (0.003)
Number of treated women within 400-600 radius	0.003 (0.002)	0.006*** (0.002)	0.006* (0.003)
Number of treated women within 600-800 radius	0.004 (0.003)	0.005** (0.002)	0.003 (0.003)
Number of treated women within 800-1000 radius	0.007* (0.004)	0.005 (0.003)	0.002 (0.004)
Number of treated women within 1000-1,200 radius	0.004 (0.004)	0.001 (0.003)	0.001 (0.004)
Number of women within 0-200 radius	0.001 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)
Number of women within 200-400 radius	-0.003** (0.001)	-0.004*** (0.001)	-0.004** (0.002)
Number of women within 400-600 radius	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.004*** (0.001)	-0.004 (0.002)
Number of women within 600-800 radius	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.002)
Number of women within 800-1000 radius	-0.005* (0.002)	-0.003 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.003)
Number of women within 1000-1,200 radius	-0.003 (0.003)	0.001 (0.002)	0.000 (0.002)
N. of treated over sample women per cluster	0.096 (0.102)	0.083 (0.087)	0.061 (0.098)
R-squared	0.130	0.235	0.207
Observations	2,637	2,637	2,216
Sample of Clusters	All	All	Non-boundary
Covariates	No	Yes	Yes
Covariates include probability of cluster assignment to	No	Yes	No

Note: The dependent variable takes the value 1 if a woman reports having voted in the February 2008 elections and had a verifiable ink mark on her thumb. The symbols \*, \*\*, \*\*\* represent significance at the 10, 5 and 1 percent respectively. All specifications include village fixed effects. Standard errors are reported in parentheses below the coefficient and are clustered at the geographic cluster level. . In columns (2) and (3) the following controls, which were selected using the Lasso method are used: the number of registered female voters in the woman's catchment polling station, whether woman has a NIC or CNIC, the woman's age, access to television, number of children under five years of age; household size, the woman's index of mobility, whether the woman seeks advice from a religious leader. Column (1) uses a weighted least squares estimator based on Gerber and Green (2011) and Humphreys (2009) for when treatment assignment probabilities vary by cluster. Column (2) include the probability of assigning the cluster to T1. See Online Appendix Section OA5 for an explanation of how the assignment probabilities are computed and Online Appendix Table OA7 for a list of the probabilities. Column (3) uses only the sample of non-boundary clusters, also defined in Online Appendix Section OA5. Variables are defined in Online Appendix Table OA1.

Table OA13: Effect on Female PPPP Vote

	Targeted			Untargeted		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Method of Estimation:	WLS	OLS	OLS	WLS	OLS	OLS
Importance of voting ( $T_1$ )	-0.159*	-0.142*	-0.130*	-0.227**	-0.193*	-0.185*
	(0.086)	(0.077)	(0.079)	(0.104)	(0.099)	(0.096)
Importance of voting and secret balloting ( $T_2$ )	-0.206***	-0.198***	-0.193***	-0.277***	-0.233***	-0.258***
	(0.076)	(0.060)	(0.062)	(0.089)	(0.080)	(0.092)
R-squared	0.155	0.193	0.202	0.241	0.290	0.318
N. Observations	974	974	864	299	299	258
Sample of Clusters	All	All	Non-boundary	All	All	Non-boundary
Mean dependent variable among C	0.950	0.950	0.941	0.950	0.950	0.941
<i>P-value</i> ( $T_1 = T_2$ )	0.561	0.462	0.438	0.594	0.657	0.451
<i>P-value</i> (F-test for joint significance of $T_1$ and $T_2$ )	0.026	0.006	0.011	0.010	0.017	0.022
Covariates	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Covariates include probability of cluster assignment to $T_1$	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No

Note: The dependent variable takes the value 1 if a woman reports having voted for PPPP in the February 2008 elections and was verified as having voted. The symbols \*, \*\*, \*\*\* represent significance at the 10, 5 and 1 percent respectively. All specifications include village fixed effects. Standard errors are reported in parentheses below the coefficient and are clustered at the geographic cluster level. In columns (2), (3), (5) and (6) the following controls, which were selected using the Lasso method are used: the number of registered female voters in the woman's catchment polling station, whether woman has a NIC or CNIC, the woman's age, access to television, number of children under five years of age; household size, the woman's index of mobility, whether the woman seeks advice from a religious leader. Columns (1) and (4) use a weighted least squares estimator based on Gerber and Green (2011) and Humphreys (2009) for when treatment assignment probabilities vary by cluster. Columns (2) and (5) include the probability of assigning the cluster to  $T_1$ . See Online Appendix Section OA5 for an explanation of how the assignment probabilities are computed and Online Appendix Table OA7 for a list of the probabilities. Columns (3) and (6) use only the sample of non-boundary clusters, also defined in Online Appendix Section OA5. Variables are defined in Online Appendix Table OA1.

Table OA14: Effect on Candidate Choice Using Cross Reports from Family Members

	Targeted			Untargeted		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Method of Estimation:	WLS	OLS	OLS	WLS	OLS	OLS
Importance of voting ( $T_1$ )	-0.045 (0.037)	-0.033 (0.023)	-0.037 (0.030)	0.005 (0.023)	-0.001 (0.025)	0.026 (0.027)
Importance of voting and secret balloting ( $T_2$ )	-0.025 (0.027)	-0.009 (0.024)	-0.019 (0.027)	-0.002 (0.025)	0.006 (0.022)	0.022 (0.027)
Man reporting about woman	-0.027 (0.025)	-0.024 (0.020)	-0.016 (0.021)	-0.037 (0.028)	-0.019 (0.021)	-0.007 (0.022)
Man reporting x $T_1$	-0.066 (0.045)	-0.070* (0.037)	-0.086** (0.041)	-0.023 (0.045)	-0.021 (0.039)	-0.046 (0.036)
Man reporting x $T_2$	-0.072* (0.037)	-0.089** (0.035)	-0.109*** (0.037)	-0.166* (0.085)	-0.185** (0.083)	-0.226** (0.089)
R-squared	0.056	0.076	0.082	0.113	0.147	0.164
N. Observations	3200	3,200	2,839	914	914	807
Sample of Clusters	All	All	Non-boundary	All	All	Non-boundary
Mean dependent variable among C	0.983	0.983	0.982	0.983	0.983	0.982
<i>P-value</i> ( $T_1=T_2$ )	0.533	0.390	0.512	0.767	0.811	0.872
<i>P-value</i> (Male Report x $T_1$ =Male Report x $T_2$ )	0.898	0.688	0.636	0.107	0.065	0.051
Covariates	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Covariates include probability of cluster assigner	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No

Note: The dependent variable takes the value 1 if a woman's self-report about candidate choice matches the report of the reportee, either another woman in the household or the male head. Each observation is therefore a pair with several observations for each woman. If a reporter believes that a woman did not vote or does not know whom she voted for, the dependent variable is coded as missing. The symbols \*, \*\*, \*\*\* represent significance at the 10, 5 and 1 percent respectively. All specifications include village fixed effects. Standard errors are reported in parentheses below the coefficient and are clustered at the geographic cluster level. In columns (2), (3), (5) and (6) the following controls, which were selected using the Lasso method are used: the number of registered female voters in the woman's catchment polling station, whether woman has a NIC or CNIC, the woman's age, access to television, number of children under five years of age; household size, the woman's index of mobility, whether the woman seeks advice from a religious leader. Columns (1) and (4) use a weighted least squares estimator based on Gerber and Green (2011) and Humphreys (2009) for when treatment assignment probabilities vary by cluster. Columns (2) and (5) include the probability of assigning the cluster to  $T_1$ . See Online Appendix Section OA5 for an explanation of how the assignment probabilities are computed and Online Appendix Table OA7 for a list of the probabilities. Columns (3) and (6) use only the sample of non-boundary clusters, also defined in Online Appendix Section OA5. Variables are defined in Online Appendix Table OA1.

Table OA15: Effect on Knowledge and Perceptions

	N. Obs (1)	Index of knowledge of current events (2)	Index of opinion on democracy (3)	Woman checked voter list after intervention (4)	Woman believes elections were free and fair (5)	witnessed or heard about violence in village (6)
Panel A: Without Covariates (WLS)						
Targeted	2304	0.015 (0.084)	0.054 (0.049)	0.063* (0.037)	0.070** (0.033)	-0.099** (0.041)
Untargeted	767	-0.032 (0.108)	0.002 (0.056)	0.070* (0.035)	0.031 (0.040)	-0.095* (0.051)
Mean dependent variable among C		-0.050	-0.033	0.548	0.834	0.313
Panel B: Covariates include probability of cluster assignment to T <sub>1</sub>						
Targeted	2304	0.005 (0.082)	0.064 (0.044)	0.061* (0.031)	0.079** (0.033)	-0.111** (0.043)
Untargeted	767	0.005 (0.107)	0.026 (0.053)	0.053 (0.036)	0.056 (0.035)	-0.093** (0.046)
Mean dependent variable among C		-0.050	-0.033	0.548	0.834	0.313
Panel C: Sample excluding Boundary Clusters						
Targeted	1926	-0.001 (0.082)	0.032 (0.044)	0.054 (0.036)	0.096** (0.043)	-0.120** (0.046)
Untargeted	639	0.036 (0.113)	0.037 (0.061)	0.078** (0.038)	0.078** (0.038)	-0.109* (0.055)
Mean dependent variable among C		-0.063	-0.036	0.550	0.814	0.338

Note: The symbols \*, \*\*, \*\*\* represent significance at the 10, 5 and 1 percent respectively. All specifications include village fixed effects. Standard errors are reported in parentheses below the coefficient and are clustered at the geographic cluster level. In panels (B) and (C) the following controls, which were selected using the Lasso method are used: the number of registered female voters in the woman's catchment polling station, whether woman has a NIC or CNIC, the woman's age, access to television, number of children under five years of age; household size, the woman's index of mobility, whether the woman seeks advice from a religious leader. Panel (A) uses a weighted least squares estimator based on Gerber and Green (2011) and Humphreys (2009) for when treatment assignment probabilities vary by cluster. Panel (B) includes the probability of assigning the cluster to T<sub>1</sub>. See Online Appendix Section OA5 for an explanation of how the assignment probabilities are computed and Online Appendix Table OA7 for a list of the probabilities. Panel (C) uses only the sample of non-boundary clusters, also defined in Online Appendix Section OA5. Variables are defined in Online Appendix Table OA1.

Table OA16: Effect on Female Turnout (Pooled)

	WLS - Voted (1)
Importance of voting ( $T_1$ )	0.085 (0.072)
Importance of voting and secret balloting ( $T_2$ )	0.120 (0.072)
Untargeted x $T_1$	0.099 (0.076)
Untargeted x $T_2$	0.096 (0.084)
R-squared	0.187
N. Observations	2637
Mean dependent variable among C	0.523
<i>P-value</i> ( $T_1$ =Untargeted x $T_1$ )	0.751
<i>P-value</i> ( $T_2$ =Untargeted x $T_2$ )	0.870

Note: The dependent variable takes the value 1 if a woman reports having voted in the February 2008 elections and had a verifiable ink mark on her thumb. The symbols \*, \*\*, \*\*\* represent significance at the 10, 5 and 1 percent level respectively. Standard errors are reported in parentheses below the coefficient and are clustered at the geographic cluster level. The regression uses a weighted least squares estimator based on Gerber and Green (2011) and Humphreys (2009) for when treatment assignment probabilities vary by cluster. All specifications include village fixed effects and the following controls, which were selected using the Lasso method: the number of registered female voters in the woman's catchment polling station, whether woman has a NIC or CNIC, the woman's age, access to television, number of children under five years of age; household size, the woman's index of mobility, whether the woman seeks advice from a religious leader. Variables are defined in Online Appendix Table OA1.

Table OA17: Effect on Female PPPP Vote (Pooled)

	WLS - Voted for PPPP (1)
Importance of voting ( $T_1$ )	-0.166* (0.083)
Importance of voting and secret balloting ( $T_2$ )	-0.232*** (0.077)
Untargeted x $T_1$	-0.198* (0.107)
Untargeted x $T_2$	-0.212** (0.101)
R-squared	0.163
N. Observations	1133
Mean dependent variable among C	0.950
<i>P-value</i> ( $T_1$ =Untargeted x $T_1$ )	0.521
<i>P-value</i> ( $T_2$ =Untargeted x $T_2$ )	0.644

Note: The dependent variable takes the value 1 if a woman reports having voted for PPPP in the February 2008 elections and was verified as having voted. The symbols \*, \*\*, \*\*\* represent significance at the 10, 5 and 1 percent respectively. Standard errors are reported in parentheses below the coefficient and are clustered at the geographic cluster level. The regression uses a weighted least squares estimator based on Gerber and Green (2011) and Humphreys (2009) for when treatment assignment probabilities vary by cluster. All specifications include village fixed effects and the following controls, which were selected using the Lasso method: the number of registered female voters in the woman's catchment polling station, whether woman has a NIC or CNIC, the woman's age, access to television, number of children under five years of age; household size, the woman's index of mobility, whether the woman seeks advice from a religious leader. Variables are defined in Online Appendix Table OA1.



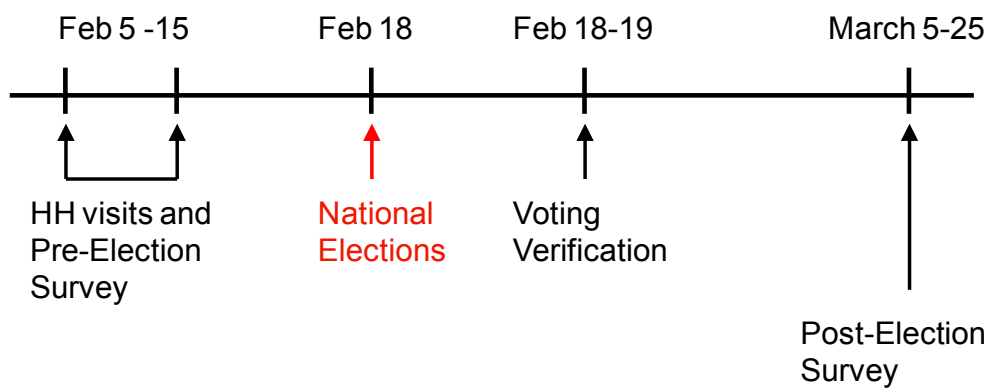
## Section OA8: Figures

Figure OA1: Section of Village with geographical clusters



Notes: The solid white lines delimit a geographical cluster. Note that the boundaries of clusters do not coincide with the natural boundaries of the village. The dots, squares, diamonds and triangles indicate the location of the study households. A dot denotes a household in a control cluster, a square (diamond) denotes a treated household in a T1 (T<sub>2</sub>) cluster and a triangle is a control household in a treated cluster (either T1 or T<sub>2</sub>). These three clusters are mapped to a polling station whose boundary falls outside the map.

**Figure OA2: Timeline**



**Figure OA3: Village-wise Cluster Maps**

Akberpur	2	1	6					
	3	4	5					
Hamanloi	11	12	9					
	10	13	14					
	8	7						
Kalari	21	20	19	18	16	17	15	
Kandri	33	32	31	25	24	23	27	
	30		29	22			28	26
Nebahoo	39	35	36					
	40	37	34					
		38						
Deh Sohu	41	42	43					
	46	45	44					
	47							
Bapho	54	53	52					
	49	48	50					
		51						
Arrore	59	60	58	55	56	57		
Borah	64	61	62					
	63							
	65							
	67							
	66							