Can Party Elites Shape the Rank-and-File? Evidence from a Recruitment Campaign in India

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FOR ONLINE PUBLICATION: APPENDIX

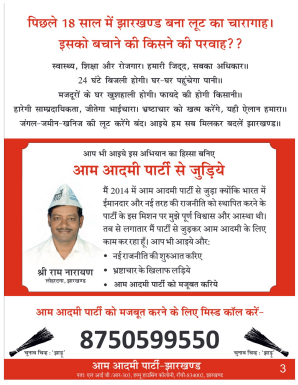
Contents

A Experimental Material and Procedure

A.1 Pamphlet Designs with Original Text

Candidate (M)

Career (M)

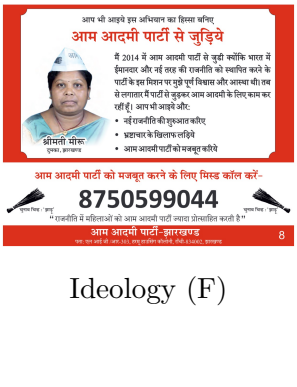


Ideology (M)

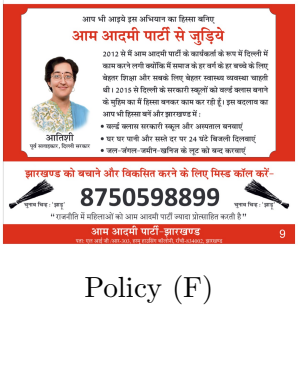
Policy (M)

Candidate (F)

Career (F)



Ideology (F)



Policy (F)

Baseline (F)

A.2 Pamphlets by the Bharatiya Janata Party

Figure A.2: **BJP Volunteer Recruitment**

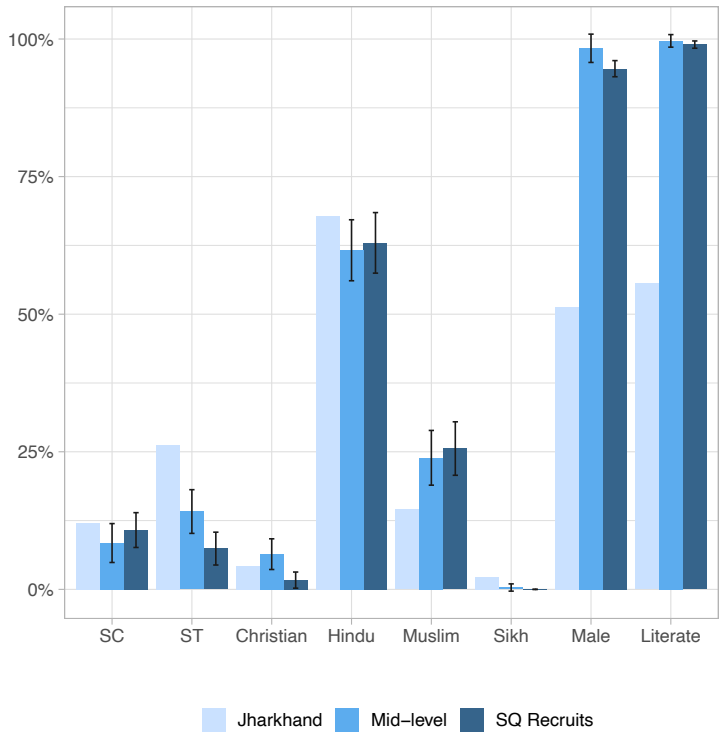
A.3 Context

Figure A.3 compares status-quo recruits and AAP's middle management to the overall Jharkhand population.

A.4 Timeline

- June 14, 2018 to June 19, 2018: Pilot sessions to refine the pamphlet distribution procedure, and teaching the procedure to master trainers
- August 1, 2018 to August 25, 2018: Distribution of pamphlets and Mid-Level Party Member Surveys to vice presidents in assembly-level meetings
- August 1, 2018 to September 1, 2018: Mid-level members distribute the pamphlets in their gram panchayats, as AAP begins missed call campaign
- September 1, 2018 to November 2018: Additional Mid-Level Party Member Surveys conducted in person and over the phone with vice presidents, and completion of pamphlet distribution
- November 12, 2018: New party member survey begins over the phone, for those who gave a missed call

Figure A.3: **Demographics of Jharkhand, Mid-Level Members, and Status-Quo Recruits**



Note: The figure shows means and 95% confidence intervals for three sets of groups: entire population of Jharkhand, mid-level members, and status-quo rank-and-file recruits. Source for Jharkhand population data: *Census 2011, Government of India.*

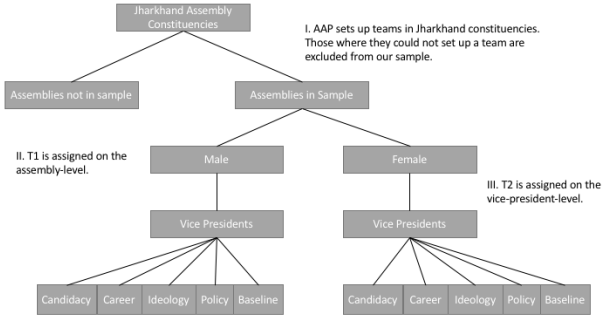
- November 15, 2018: End of recruitment drive
- February 22, 2019: AAP sends text message reminder for new party members survey
- March 2, 2019: New party member survey concludes
- November 2021 - January 2022: AAP conducts follow-up phone survey

A.5 Randomization Procedure

Initially, AAP planned to launch its recruitment drive in all 81 of Jharkhand's constituencies. Therefore, the gender treatment, T1, was assigned at the assembly level for all 81 constituencies. However, the party was only able to bring in reliable assembly-in-charges—senior people who would direct the party's efforts in their areas—from 60 constituencies. We kept the initially assigned treatment status for these 60 constituencies and proceeded to randomly assign T2 within these assemblies. The treatment assignment was unknown to individuals involved in the assembly-in-charge recruitment.

To randomize treatments for T2, master trainers—organizational secretaries or members of AAP's state committee—organized meetings for mid-level members (vice presidents) and

recorded information about them on the randomization sheets. Once vice presidents entered their details, master trainers handed out pamphlets corresponding to the randomly assigned treatment indicator. The sheet also included information on the vice president's name, his or her assigned panchayats, and phone number (see Figure A.4 right panel for an example).



Vidhan Sabha: Bishunpur

VP Name	Position	GP/Ward Assignment	Block	Phone #	Whatsapp #	Pamphlet ID	Distributed ?
						2	
						3	
						1	
						2	
						3	
						2	
						1	
						1	
						3	
						1	

Figure A.4: **Sequence of Randomization (left) and Randomization Sheet (right)**

AAP conducted pilots in Jharkhand in July 2018 to teach existing party members how to properly allocate pamphlets to mid-level members (vice presidents). During pilots held on July 17-18, 2018, senior AAP state committee members monitored the distribution of pamphlets by master trainers, persons responsible for conducting meetings within each assembly for AAP members and new members, and revised and simplified procedures. After the piloting phase, the entire team of AAP master trainers in Jharkhand had a meeting to introduce them to the protocol for distributing pamphlets, recording information about new vice presidents, and administering surveys to session attendees.

Following the meeting of master trainers, AAP assigned each master trainer to 10-12 assembly constituencies to conduct meetings for newly-recruited AAP members. The purpose of these meetings was to record and verify information about each mid-level member (vice president), and to distribute pamphlets to them. When master trainers arrived to a session, they took attendance and recorded contact details of each vice president. Next, they handed out surveys to vice presidents. When they collected the completed surveys from vice presidents, master trainers gave out pamphlets to each vice president according to the random number on the randomization sheet. Master trainers also recorded the number corresponding to the treatment condition and the amount of pamphlets that a vice president received on the survey sheet. Once the meeting concluded, master trainers took photos of the randomization sheet with the vice presidents' information on it and sent them to the party's central team in Delhi. From September to November 2018, AAP conducted the same surveys over the phone as new vice presidents joined.

B Ethical Considerations

Human subjects research undertaken for this project has been approved by Stanford's Institutional Review Board (Protocol # 51207). This section discusses our research in light of the American Political Science Association's "Principles and Guidance for Human Subjects Research" (ratified by the APSA council in April 2020).

Principle 1: "Political science researchers should respect autonomy, consider the wellbeing of participants and other people affected by their research, and be open about the ethical issues they face and the decisions they make when conducting their research." The researchers on this project worked together with the Aam Aadmi Party throughout the recruitment drive in an unpaid consultant capacity. Our role was to evaluate the effectiveness of different approaches AAP took to recruit volunteers. AAP's recruitment drive would have gone ahead without the participation of researchers, since the party needed to build an infrastructure for the upcoming elections in Jharkhand. Furthermore, the party's goal was not only to increase their numbers in Jharkhand, but also to mobilize segments of the population who are often excluded from mainstream political parties, such as women, members of Scheduled Castes and Tribes, and Muslims. We considered diversification of political institutions an important policy-question and thought AAP's campaign could provide an important blueprint for other organizations to mobilize often-excluded groups. Working directly with AAP also allowed us to generate causal insights about party processes that impact electoral outcomes in democratic countries.

As consultants, we have been involved primarily in ensuring that different campaign messages during the recruitment drive were randomized in a way that allow for an evaluation of their efficacy. Furthermore, we were involved in designing the surveys that the party undertook to make sure that they included measurements for the various outcomes of the recruitment drive about which the party was interested in learning: number, demographic characteristics, and skills of new recruits; and policy preferences of existing party members.

We took several steps to ensure that the scientific evaluation process did not disrupt the political work of the party and the party consented to changes or modifications that we have made. First of all, one of the co-authors is a senior member in AAP, which ensured seamless communication between researchers and the political machinery. Second, two members of the research team have participated in extensive fieldwork and a week-long workshop of campaign materials and procedures with the party. The workshop ensured the participation of a variety of stakeholders in the study design: central leadership from Delhi as well as local senior and mid-level party members.

The main component of the recruitment campaign that we examine in this paper is the campaign pamphlet that was given out by canvassers. Those who participated in this activity have previously signed up to canvass for the party. Canvassing is a time-honored tradition of Indian political campaigns. Hence, it did not pose risks to participants different from those involved in regular political work. We consulted with party members to make sure that they would be comfortable handing out the campaign posters that the party designed. These designs were also extensively workshopped with party members to allow for a wide range of input. Similarly, party surveys were workshopped with the party: any questions that were deemed too sensitive or irrelevant were removed and several questions were simplified to make them more accessible to the general population in the area. In this way, all steps of the research were led and owned by the party.

Principle 2: "Political science researchers have an individual responsibility to consider the ethics of their research related activities and cannot outsource ethical reflection to review boards, other institutional bodies, or regulatory agencies." The study received approval by IRB at our University to analyze the secondary data that

the party provided. At the same time, we made sure that our involvement with a political campaign did not pose any ethical problems. One of the co-authors on this project is a senior member in the Aam Aadmi Party so that decisions taken for the experiment like pamphlet design and randomization were all made in consultation with the party to make sure that the evaluation was in line with the party's regular business. In addition, we have hired a field research assistant who regularly checked in with the party and monitored that the party abided by data collection protocols.

Principle 5: "Political science researchers should generally seek informed consent from individuals who are directly engaged by the research process, especially if research involves more than minimal risk of harm or if it is plausible to expect that engaged individuals would withhold consent if consent were sought." In terms of the evaluation protocols, all decisions were vetted by local senior- and mid-level members of the party who were the main participants in the recruitment campaign. Researchers were not involved in the collection of survey data as these data were collected through the party's call center whose staffing and management is dealt with by party personnel. When the party collected information about existing and new members, they did not document consent, but 1) individuals had already given party workers their numbers by giving a missed call to party pamphlets and 2) no penalties (or explicit benefits) existed for party members not taking the survey. In addition the new rank-and-file were also not required to take the party surveys, they were told that they could still participate in the party regardless of whether they responded to the survey or specific questions. Survey participants have also had distinct decision points to refuse participation: they could decide not to contact the party in the first place; once the party re-contacted them after they received a missed call, they could decide not to engage with the party; if they decided to take the survey, they were given the option not to answer questions.

Principle 6: "Political science researchers should carefully consider any use of deception and the ways in which deception can conflict with participant autonomy." No deception was used during this research process.

Principle 9: "Political science researchers should generally keep the identities of research participants confidential; when circumstances require, researchers should adopt the higher standard of ensuring anonymity." The survey responses were recorded by a phone center run by the party and individual responses were kept confidential and not shared with other individual party members. Survey responses were aggregated by the research team and shared only in an aggregate form with the party personnel, although, the party always had the option to recontact their members and new volunteers for their campaign activities directly.

Principle 10: "Political science researchers conducting studies on political processes should consider the broader social impacts of the research process as well as the impact on the experience of individuals directly engaged by the research. In general, political science researchers should not compromise the integrity of political processes for research purposes without the consent of individuals that are directly engaged by the research process." Our collaboration with a political party

affords us to learn important lessons about creating more diverse and inclusive political institutions and study the ways in which party organizations are built. These are important theoretical insights on their own and are difficult to study without collaborating directly with political parties. However, we were also cautious not to disrupt the political process in which AAP was participating. We did not think that our involvement compromised the integrity of the political process for several reasons. First, AAP would have gone ahead with the recruitment of new volunteers using their already existing recruitment materials without the participation of researchers. Second, we did not modify any canvassing procedures, we only collaborated to put in place procedures to evaluate the results of the recruitment drive. For example, we provided insights on how to distribute the pamphlet with the assigned treatment condition, but otherwise party members distributed pamphlets according to the decisions that the local party unit took. Third, the evaluation of the recruitment strategies that the research team undertook are increasingly common in India where many large political parties employ consultants to evaluate and advise on sophisticated get-out-the-vote and other campaign strategies.

Principle 11: "Political science researchers should be aware of relevant laws and regulations governing their research related activities." The research abides by all relevant laws on conducting research. In addition, working with a political party also required adherence to relevant campaign and electoral regulations.

C Further Details on Data Sources and Surveys

C.1 Description of Datasets

Dataset on Pamphlet Distribution During the recruitment drive the party created distribution sheets that also recorded randomly generated treatment assignments. Master trainers then distributed pamphlets to mid-level members (vice presidents) accordingly. Master trainers sent photos of the distribution sheets to the party's central office in Delhi, which digitized them. Later, the central office followed up with vice presidents to check if they had the correct pamphlet and how many pamphlets they had distributed to date. The party recorded at each check-in how many pamphlets vice presidents had distributed, which gives us time series data on the rate of distribution.

Phone Number Database Those interested in joining the party during the recruitment campaign gave AAP a missed call. AAP therefore has the phone numbers and time of calling for all interested individuals. Sometimes AAP received multiple calls from the same number. In the analysis, we drop duplicates and keep the earliest call made, but still note the number of calls they made to AAP. Similarly, some people called phone numbers associated with two or more different treatments. In this situation, we keep only the earliest call made, but note the other treatment phone lines dialed. If AAP cannot reach an individual for the survey, we do not count them as having called since these individuals cannot become party workers if the party cannot contact them.

Mid-Level Party Member Survey (MS) Vice presidents took the mid-level party member survey at the sessions where they received the pamphlets, as well as via phone once assembly meetings ended. This survey measures policy opinions and demographics of vice presidents and new party members. The survey consists of four main sections: demographics, policy opinions, issues of party management, and the conjoint experiment. It was originally written in English, and then translated to Hindi. AAP piloted the survey with two focus groups: one with party workers in Delhi, and another with master trainers in Jharkhand. AAP incorporated their feedback to clarify questions and shorten the survey.

This survey gathers information on a host of demographic characteristics as well as attitudes on political issues and the management of the party. The demographics section records information on religion, caste, education level, profession, age, and gender. The political ideology section consists of a series of statements about policies and social practices and asks participants to rate their agreement on a scale of one to seven, where one is "strongly disagree" and seven is "strongly agree."

Surveys were introduced and distributed at assembly meetings by master trainers, who gave a brief explanation of each part of the survey. The survey is then self-administered. To help respondents with lower literacy skills, master trainers read out the survey and each option to respondents. Master trainers answered any clarifying questions on the text that arose, but were instructed not to explain questions any further to respondents or to lead them to any particular response. They were also instructed to prevent answer sharing.

At pilot sessions, AAP told master trainers to administer surveys at assembly meetings when they handed out pamphlets to vice presidents. However, this protocol was not fully followed in the initial phase of the campaign. In early September 2018, only some surveys had been completed. AAP's Political Affairs Committee instructed master trainers to organize a second round of motivational meetings to give this survey to vice presidents. Additionally, workers in AAP's Delhi headquarters surveyed vice presidents in 12 constituencies over the phone.

Onboarding Survey of New Members AAP piloted a computer-assisted telephone survey and trained enumerators in October and November 2018. The party compiled all phone numbers from the missed call campaign in a randomly generated order and gave phone numbers in this order to phone enumerators for call back. AAP then administered the survey to each new potential member from November 2018 to March 2019. On February 22, 2019, after enumerators had called each potential new recruit numerous times, AAP sent out a short text message to those who had still not completed the survey asking them to call a number if they still wanted to join. If they did call back, AAP surveyed them.

The survey collects information on the new members' demographics, policy preferences, career goals, and previous political engagement. The demographic section includes questions about age, gender, education level, caste, religion, and employment. The political engagement section asks questions on topics including voting history, prior party registration, and knowledge of local politics. For policy preferences and political attitudes, the survey features many of the same questions as the one administered to mid-level members.

In 10 questions concerning socio-economic policies and party organization, respondents say whether they "agree," "disagree," or are indifferent about the statements read to them. AAP created five versions of the survey that randomly made some of the prompts negative

(e.g. "There should not be reservations for women" instead of "There should be reservations for women") because pilots suggested some respondents tended to agree with all survey prompts. Enumerators switched between these survey versions. Additionally, questions where respondents rank their reasons for joining AAP appear in randomly assigned order in different versions of the survey. In pilot surveys, AAP found that asking these questions simultaneously made respondents frustrated and less likely to complete the survey.

Long-Term Retention Survey on New Members Three years after the New Member Survey, AAP conducted another survey wave on those who had indicated their interest in joining the party in 2018 using its call center again. AAP could link the earlier survey responses to the later responses via phone number. Additionally, AAP collected information on the volunteering activities of these individuals since their onboarding.

D Uncertainty and SE Estimation

In our pre-analysis plan we noted that we will cluster our standard errors at the vice president-level. Once we received the dataset, it was very difficult to link survey respondents to a particular vice president, even though we knew the particular treatment that the respondent received based on the number she called. Therefore, we had to make certain assumptions to construct our standard errors. Note that this procedure has no bearing on the calculation of treatment effects.

We take into account two sources of uncertainty. First, if we wanted to allocate new recruits to vice presidents, there is uncertainty about the ratio of the respondents we allocate to a particular vice president. For example, we could allocate 100 percent of respondents to vice president A and none to the others or we could assign 50 percent of respondents to vice president A and 50 percent to vice president B and none to the others. To simplify this complex process, we make a realistic assumption for our main analysis: the ratio of new recruits a vice president gets assigned is the ratio of pamphlets they distributed to the total number of pamphlets. It is important to note that 73% of vice presidents received either a pack of 100, 200, or 500 pamphlets which depended on the availability of printed pamphlets to the party on the day of a vice president's training session. AAP has monitored pamphlet distribution through regular calls with vice presidents and they confirmed that all pamphlets received by the vice presidents were distributed in the field. The second source of uncertainty is which vice president to assign each call. For this, we randomly assign every pamphlet within a particular treatment arm among the vice presidents associated with this arm. The probability that a particular vice president gets a pamphlet assigned is proportional to the number of pamphlets he or she distributed.

For the main analysis, analogous to a bootstrap procedure, we generate 5,000 cluster-assignment vectors. We estimate the standard errors using these cluster-assignment vectors, and use the mean as our estimated standard error. We also conduct the same exercise to obtain standard errors when clustering for constituency assemblies.

As a robustness check, we probe both assumptions above with the following procedure. We begin with probing the second assumption (that the rate of callbacks is proportional to the rate of pamphlet distribution) by taking the largest cluster in terms of callbacks within a

treatment arm and setting the bootstrap probability that that cluster receives 100%, 200%, 400%, or 800% more pamphlets than the baseline procedure. We proportionately decrease the probability for other clusters in the same treatment arm and set as floor a probability of zero. This is because this procedure can yield negative probabilities in some cases since we are increasing the size of the largest cluster by many factors. We always make sure to adjust the total probability to be equal to one. In addition to this procedure, we also take a more straightforward approach where we assign pamphlets with equal probabilities across the vice presidents. To probe the first assumption, we randomly selected the number of treatment arms to which the above procedure should be applied. Together, this procedure should yield a more conservative standard error because we are increasing the skew of callbacks many-fold within treatment arms and also how many treatment arms are affected.

We bootstrap this procedure 10,000 times and compare the updated p-values with those from our main analysis. In Table D.1 we report the results from this exercise and find that the p-values are remarkably stable, perhaps because the main source of uncertainty is accounted for in our case (as we can perfectly match callbacks to treatment arms).

Table D.1: **Sensitivity Analysis for Inference**

	Table G.9		1x		2x		4x		8x		Equal	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Female, LATE	0.002		0.001		0.001		0.001		0.000		0.002	
Ideology, LATE		0.090		0.090		0.089		0.086		0.075		0.091
Candidacy, LATE		0.004		0.004		0.004		0.004		0.007		0.003
Policy, LATE		0.011		0.011		0.011		0.011		0.013		0.011
Career, LATE		0.263		0.263		0.263		0.264		0.266		0.263

Note: Numbers are p-values in columns (3)-(12) that are estimated using 10,000 bootstrap samples. Columns (1) and (2) p-values correspond to the main treatment effect estimates on the rate of callbacks reported in Table G.9. Columns (3)-(10) show sensitivity to increasing the size of the largest cluster within a treatment arm by various factors, while columns (11)-(12) probe robustness to setting callbacks equal across clusters within a treatment arm. See the text above for details of this sensitivity analysis procedure.

E Alternative Explanation: Differential Party Effort

E.1 Elites: Evidence on Balance of Pamphlet Distribution by Arm

Table E.2: **Balance Table for Treatment Groups**

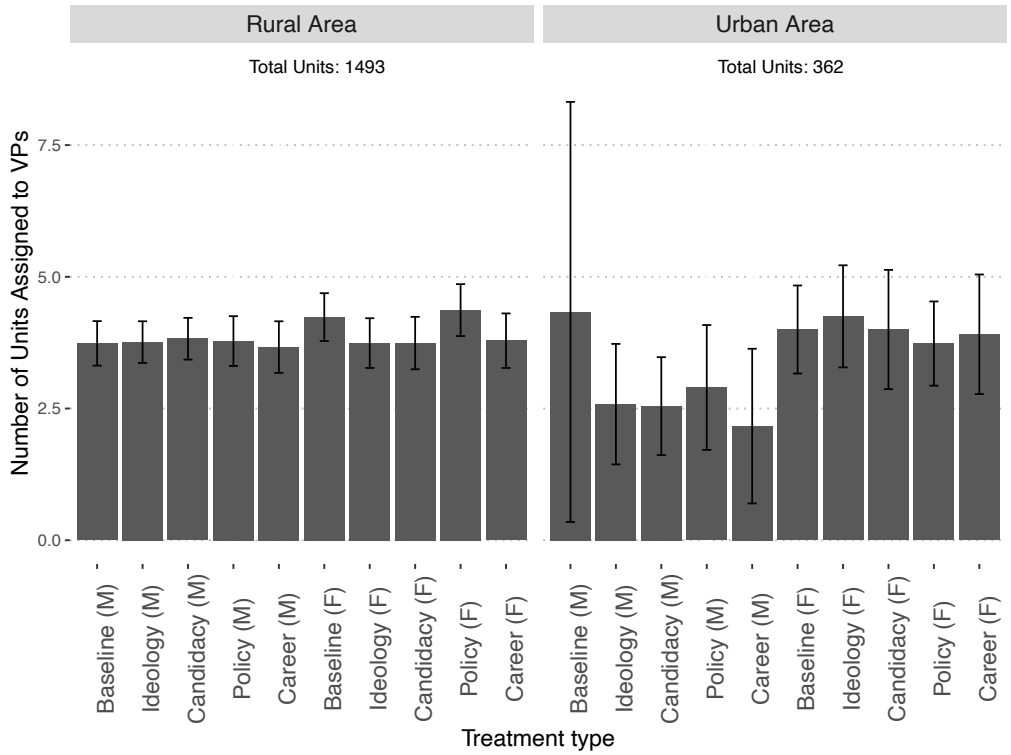
	OLS		Neg. Binom
Dependent Variable:	Count	Log(Count)	Count
Panel A: Gender Inclusive Treatment			
Male	2516.613	7.557	7.831
	(329.672)	(0.145)	(0.135)
Female	2308.966	7.399	7.745
	(356.349)	(0.171)	(0.140)
Hypothesis tests p-values			
Joint orthogonality p-value	0.670	0.482	0.658
Observations	60	60	60
Panel B: Benefits Treatment			
Baseline	496.011	6.175	6.207
	(17.835)	(0.076)	(0.315)
Ideology	511.290	6.252	6.232
	(12.424)	(0.046)	(0.312)
Candidacy	498.257	6.190	6.204
	(17.390)	(0.072)	(0.315)
Policy	507.222	6.209	6.230
	(19.112)	(0.073)	(0.315)
Career	488.710	6.177	6.198
	(12.424)	(0.046)	(0.312)
Hypothesis tests p-values			
Joint orthogonality p-value	0.741	0.858	0.975
Base - Ideology = 0	0.401	0.324	0.699
Base - Candidacy = 0	0.902	0.848	0.959
Base - Policy = 0	0.533	0.663	0.716
Base - Career = 0	0.692	0.980	0.887
Observations	523	523	523

Note: This table shows balance on the number of pamphlets by treatment arm. The unit of analysis is at the vice president level. The dependent variable in Columns 1 and 3 is the number of pamphlets distributed, in Column 2 it is the log of the number of pamphlets distributed. For Columns 1 and 2, we estimate the coefficient using an OLS regression. For Column 3, we use a negative binomial model. The bottom part reports p-values comparing indicated coefficients. The joint orthogonality test checks if all coefficients are equal. Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

E.2 Elites: Evidence on Mid-Level Members' Responsibilities

Figure E.5 shows that mid-level members had a similar number of geographic areas that they were responsible for, across the ten conditions.

Figure E.5: **Number of Rural and Urban Units Assigned to Mid-Level Members**



Note: The figure shows the average number of urban and rural areas that have been assigned to mid-level members (vice presidents) for pamphlet distribution. Urban areas include nagar panchayat wards, colonies, and sectors, rural areas refer to gram panchayats.

E.3 Mid-Level Members: Compliance with Assignment

As Table E.3 demonstrates, compliance to treatment assignment was very high in terms of both the recruitment message assigned and female treatment assigned. This means that AAP Jharkhand mid-level members (vice presidents) by and large received and distributed the type of pamphlet that was assigned to them based on the randomization sheet. We present local average treatment effects, but intention-to-treat effects are very similar in magnitude as compliance is very high. These ITT results are available upon request.

E.4 Mid-Level Members: Pamphlet Distribution Over Time

Similarly, Figures E.6 and E.7 suggest no discernible pattern in how quickly mid-level members distributed their pamphlets, a potential proxy for effort.

Table E.3: **Compliance by Female Treatment and Message Types**

Male/Female Pamphlets	**Compliance**	**Message Type**	**Compliance**	**Message Types**	**Compliance**
Baseline	1.000	Baseline	0.921	Baseline (M)	0.962
	(0.000)		(0.036)		(0.038)
Female Treatment	0.974	Ideology	0.887	Ideology (M)	0.968
	(0.025)		(0.049)		(0.022)
		Candidacy	0.889	Candidacy (M)	0.981
			(0.055)		(0.019)
		Policy	0.926	Policy (M)	0.940
			(0.036)		(0.047)
		Career	0.917	Career (M)	1.000
			(0.043)		(0.000)
				Baseline (F)	0.875
					(0.058)
				Ideology (F)	0.767
					(0.101)
				Candidacy (F)	0.756
					(0.118)
				Policy (F)	0.907
					(0.055)
				Career (F)	0.818
					(0.081)

Linear Hypothesis	**p-values**	**Linear Hypothesis**	**p-values**	**Linear Hypothesis**	**p-values**
Baseline - Female Treatment = 0	0.306	Ideology - Baseline = 0	0.446	Baseline (M) - Baseline (F) = 0	0.209
		Ideology - Candidacy = 0	0.939	Baseline (M) - Candidacy (M) = 0	0.645
		Ideology - Policy = 0	0.315	Baseline (M) - Career (M) = 0	0.323
		Ideology - Career = 0	0.533	Baseline (M) - Policy (M) = 0	0.240
		Candidacy - Baseline = 0	0.540	Baseline (M) - Ideology (M) = 0	0.816
		Candidacy - Policy = 0	0.443	Baseline (F) - Candidacy (F) = 0	0.297
		Candidacy - Career = 0	0.614	Baseline (F) - Career (F) = 0	0.516
		Policy - Baseline = 0	0.824	Baseline (F) - Ideology (F) = 0	0.271
		Policy - Career = 0	0.849	Baseline (F) - Policy (F) = 0	0.412
		Career - Baseline = 0	0.929		

Note: The upper panel in the table shows the average compliance for each pamphlet type, with standard errors in parentheses. The lower panel shows whether compliance rates differ across pamphlet types.

Table E.4: **Patterns in Non-Compliance**

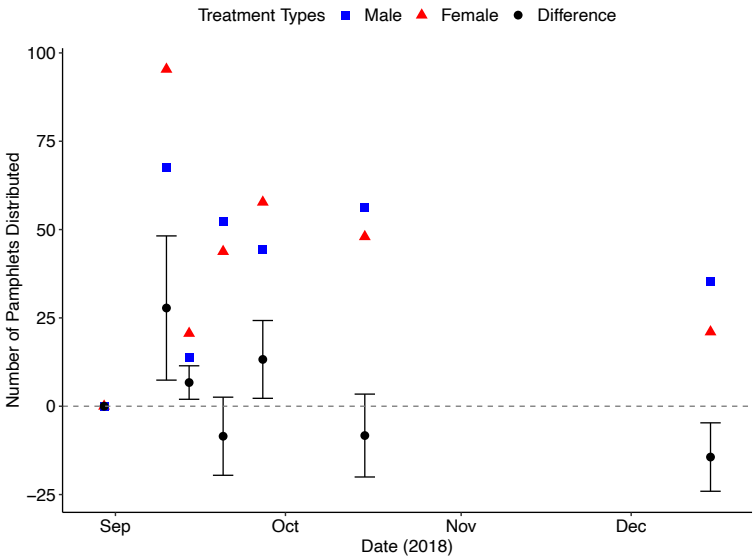
		Treatment Taken Up									
		Candidacy (M)	Career (M)	Ideology (M)	Policy (M)	Candidacy (F)	Career (F)	Ideology (F)	Policy (F)	Baseline (F)	**Sum**
Original treatment	Candidacy (M)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**1**
	Ideology (M)	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	**2**
	Policy (M)	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	**4**
	Baseline (M)	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**2**
	Candidacy (F)	1	2	0	0	0	4	1	2	1	**11**
	Career (F)	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	4	**8**
	Ideology (F)	0	1	0	0	2	3	0	2	2	**10**
	Policy (F)	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	**5**
	Baseline (F)	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	2	0	**6**
	Sum	**2**	**11**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**10**	**4**	**9**	**9**	

Note: This table breaks down the few cases of non-compliance among mid-level members, comparing original pamphlet assignments to the pamphlets they actually distributed.

E.5 Mid-Level Members: Proportionate Group Targeting

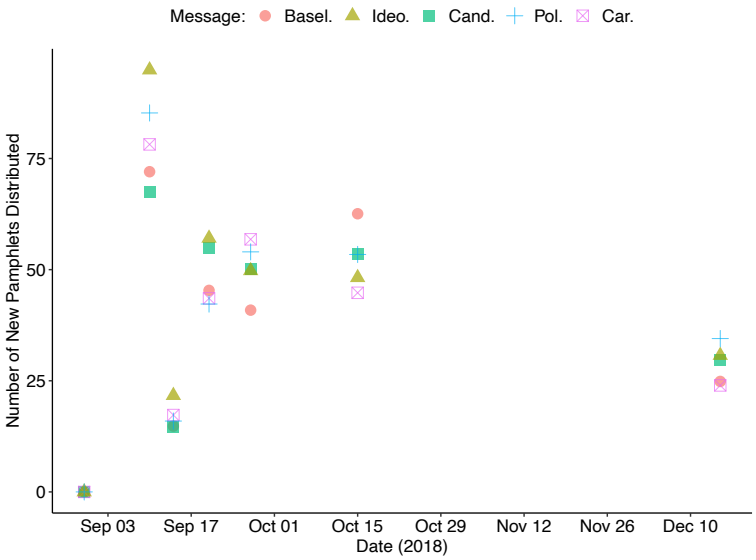
In Figure E.8 we assume that more men are approached than women under the standard, male-faced pamphlet, and test variations in this baseline gender skew from less extreme (40% of pamphlets reach women) to more extreme (10% of pamphlets reach women). Under each condition, we then simulate how recruiters targeting up to 50% more women under the female pamphlet would impact treatment effects. The simulation shows that approaching more women under the female pamphlet does indeed attenuate the effect on women. However, the attenuation is relatively small; the coefficient on women recruited approaches zero only when recruiters approach over 50 percent more women under the female pamphlet. Yet, we also note that concurrently the effect on men (likely from excluded groups) increases, which was our more robust finding over the longer run followup. While we cannot explicitly rule out

Figure E.6: **Timeline of Distribution for Male and Female Pamphlets**



Note: The figure shows what percentage of the total pamphlets have been distributed in each treatment condition since the last check-in by the party.

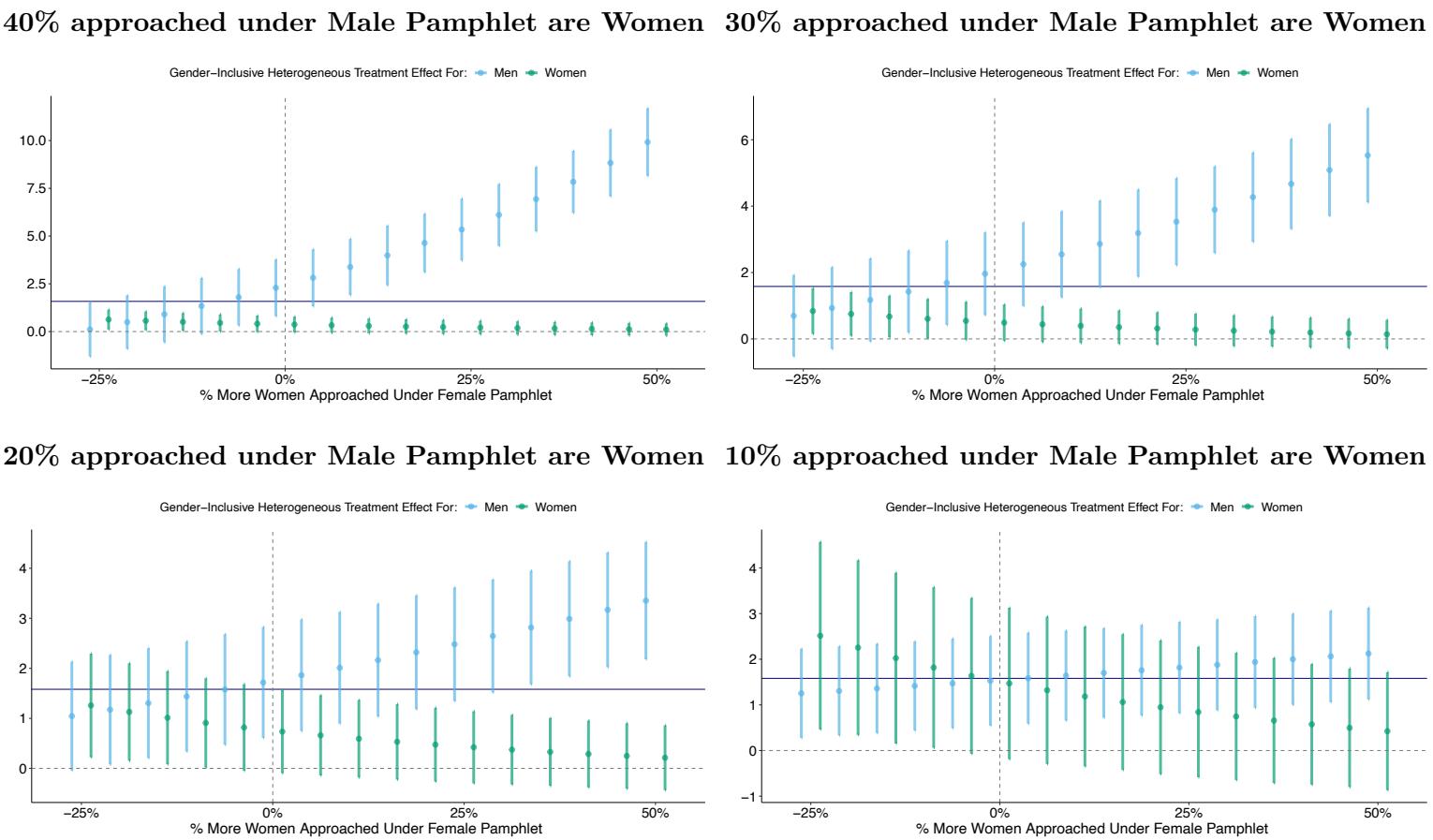
Figure E.7: **Timeline of Distribution for Male and Female Pamphlets**



Note: The figure shows what percentage of the total pamphlets have been distributed in each treatment condition since the last check-in by the party.

the story of the party's preferential targeting with our data—and given that we observe no effect on preferential targeting in a host of tests—we conclude that this story of heterogeneous treatment effects is possible, but perhaps not plausible.

Figure E.8: **Simulated Heterogeneous Effect of Signaling Gender Inclusiveness**



Note: These plots simulate heterogeneous treatment effects of the gender-inclusive treatment by varying two mediators. Across plots we simulate what percentage of those approached under the male pamphlet were women. Within each plot, across the x-axis, we simulate what percentage of more women were approached under the female pamphlet versus the male pamphlet. The solid horizontal line represents the overall treatment effect of female vs male pamphlets. Bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

F Deviations from the Pre-Analysis Plan

Table F.5: **Differences in Estimation of Main Results from PAP**

Panel A: Modifications of the Pre-Analysis Plan	
Paper Results	**Difference from PAP**
Number of New Members	
Table 4 and G.9	
Outcomes	We originally specified three outcomes to measure effects on the size of the recruited pool: any missed call for a pamphlet, a missed call that we can match to a geographic area, a missed call that was matched to an area and the caller completed the volunteer section of the survey. We already report the first outcome as our main analysis, but because we faced difficulties matching new recruits to geographic locations, we drop the remaining two outcomes from the main analysis. Nevertheless, we show that results are similar with these two outcomes in Table F.6 for the sample we were able to match.
Estimation	In our pre-analysis plan, we did not specify that we will estimate our regressions with constituency fixed effects. Nevertheless we include them because treatment is assigned within constituency. Therefore these FEs serve as block fixed effects (constituency) including which is the standard way of running these analyses.
Controls	In our PAP, we specified a procedure for including controls. As before, the inability to match calls precisely to geographic controls creates issues with matching covariates of locations to specific calls as well. Consequently, and since controls should only improve precision in a randomized experiment, we do not include controls in our analyses.
Diversity and Skills of New Party Members	
Table 4-5, G.12, G.4	
Outcomes	We exclude a "political experience index" variable from the analysis. This was a composite of the prior volunteering and voting variables. For ease of presentation and interpretability, we present a skilled member outcome instead which includes the components of the 'political experience index'. We also present the results for each component of the index in Table G.12 and find that the results are quite consistent across the sub-components.
Estimation	See comments for Table G.9 on adding constituency fixed effects
Controls	See comments for Table G.9 on not including controls.
Long-term Retention Survey	
	We did not detail in our PAP that a follow-up survey similar to the original would be conducted. Nevertheless, we include this new data in and perform similar tests to the main analyses to show the longevity of the treatment effects.

Panel B: Pre-registered Analysis That is Excluded from the Paper	
PAP Specification	**Reason for Excluding**
Motivation for joining the party and preferences	We planned to include an index of different possible motivations for joining the party as well as policy preferences. However, we have changed the theoretical focus of the paper to emphasize incentives given by the party instead of motivations and preferences of potential recruits which are not randomized.
VP characteristics	Since we could not match calls to specific VP, we were unable to exploit heterogeneity in vice president characteristics to test if it impacts treatment efficacy.
Conjoint	We had pre-registered conducting a conjoint experiment with party leaders on their recruitment preferences. We omit this from this paper as we have not been able to obtain a correct sample.

Table F.6: **Campaign Messages and Callbacks from Located Members and Motivated Members**

	Dependent variable:			
	Located Member	Motivated Member	Located Member	Motivated Member
Female, LATE	1.796***	1.551***		
	(0.474)	(0.445)		
Ideology, LATE			0.798	1.399
			(0.910)	(0.864)
Candidacy, LATE			2.100**	1.953**
			(0.951)	(0.884)
Policy, LATE			−2.299***	−1.921**
			(0.841)	(0.790)
Career, LATE			−1.160	−0.436
			(0.894)	(0.843)
Control Mean	6.845	6.131	8.058	7.001
Constituency Fixed Effects	No	No	Yes	Yes
Num. obs.	144975	144856	144975	144856
N Clusters	60	60	523	523

Note: $^{***}p < 0.01$; $^{**}p < 0.05$; $^{*}p < 0.1$. The unit of observation is the pamphlet. The dependent variable in Columns 1 and 3 is a binary indicator of whether or not a pamphlet was matched to a caller who indicated his or her geographic location. The dependent variable in Columns 2 and 4 is a binary indicator of whether or not a pamphlet was matched to someone who volunteered for AAP full or part-time. Robust standard errors clustered at the assembly (Columns 1-2) and mid-level-member level (Columns 3-4) are included in parentheses. Standard errors are obtained by bootstrapping potential assignment of pamphlets 5000 times.

G Supplementary Results

G.1 Joint Hypothesis Tests Tables

Table G.7: **Treatment Means and Joint Orthogonality Tests**

	Dependent variable:			
	Excluded Group	Female	Excluded Caste/Tribe	Excluded Religion
Baseline (Male)	5.756	0.447	4.941	1.461
Ideology (Male)	8.222	0.162	6.121	4.087
Candidacy (Male)	11.448	0.231	9.445	5.336
Policy (Male)	2.389	-0.002	2.030	1.007
Career (Male)	5.789	0.075	5.263	2.857
Baseline (Female)	8.556	0.132	6.915	5.085
Ideology (Female)	9.417	0.065	8.719	3.088
Candidacy (Female)	6.882	0.301	5.371	3.545
Policy (Female)	9.222	0.571	8.499	2.237
Career (Female)	5.672	0.428	4.914	2.640
Joint Orthogonality Hypothesis Test				
Joint F statistic	21.408	4.211	17.696	9.616
Joint p-value	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Constituency FE	No	No	No	No
Observations	144975	144975	144975	144975

Note: This table shows the mean value of the outcome for each treatment arm. The bottom part reports F statistics and p-values for a test of the joint orthogonality of the treatments against the Baseline (Male) condition. Standard errors are clustered at the mid-level-member level. Excluded caste and tribe covers Scheduled Castes and Tribes and Other Backward Classes. Excluded religion covers non-Hindus.

Table G.8: **Treatment Means and Joint Orthogonality Tests**

	Dependent variable:				
	Skilled?	Employed	High Education	Prior Vote	Prior Volunteer
Baseline (Male)	7.386	3.095	3.320	5.093	3.545
Ideology (Male)	9.295	5.811	4.409	6.171	4.245
Candidacy (Male)	13.275	5.699	6.950	9.376	4.774
Policy (Male)	2.796	1.311	1.050	2.303	1.213
Career (Male)	6.842	3.534	3.383	5.038	3.308
Baseline (Female)	9.861	4.934	4.265	6.827	3.464
Ideology (Female)	10.158	5.698	5.781	6.197	5.196
Candidacy (Female)	8.133	4.063	4.797	5.641	3.355
Policy (Female)	10.289	6.014	5.138	7.506	3.601
Career (Female)	7.106	4.217	3.274	5.180	3.265
Joint Orthogonality Hypothesis Test					
Joint F statistic	25.629	14.589	20.746	14.101	9.817
Joint p-value	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Constituency FE	No	No	No	No	No
Observations	144975	144975	144975	144975	144975

Note: This table shows the mean value of the outcome for each treatment arm. The bottom part reports F statistics and p-values for a test of the joint orthogonality of the treatments against the Baseline (Male) condition. Skilled is an index of employed, high education, prior vote, and prior volunteer. Standard errors are clustered at the mid-level-member level.

G.2 Effects on Number of New Recruits (LATE)

Table G.9: **Campaign Messages and the Number of New Recruits**

	Dependent variable:	
	New Member	New Member
Female, LATE	1.581^{***}	
	(0.499)	
Ideology, LATE		1.638^{*}
		(0.968)
Candidacy, LATE		2.939^{***}
		(1.008)
Policy, LATE		-2.265^{**}
		(0.889)
Career, LATE		-1.050
		(0.938)
Control Mean	7.947	8.780
Constituency Fixed Effects	No	Yes
Num. obs.	144975	144975
N Clusters	60	523

Note: $^{***}p < 0.01$; $^{**}p < 0.05$; $^{*}p < 0.1$. The unit of observation is the pamphlet. The dependent variable is a binary indicator of if a missed call has been matched to a pamphlet. Robust standard errors clustered at the assembly-level (Column 1) and mid-level-member level (Column 2) are included in parentheses. Standard errors are obtained by bootstrapping potential assignment of pamphlets 5000 times.

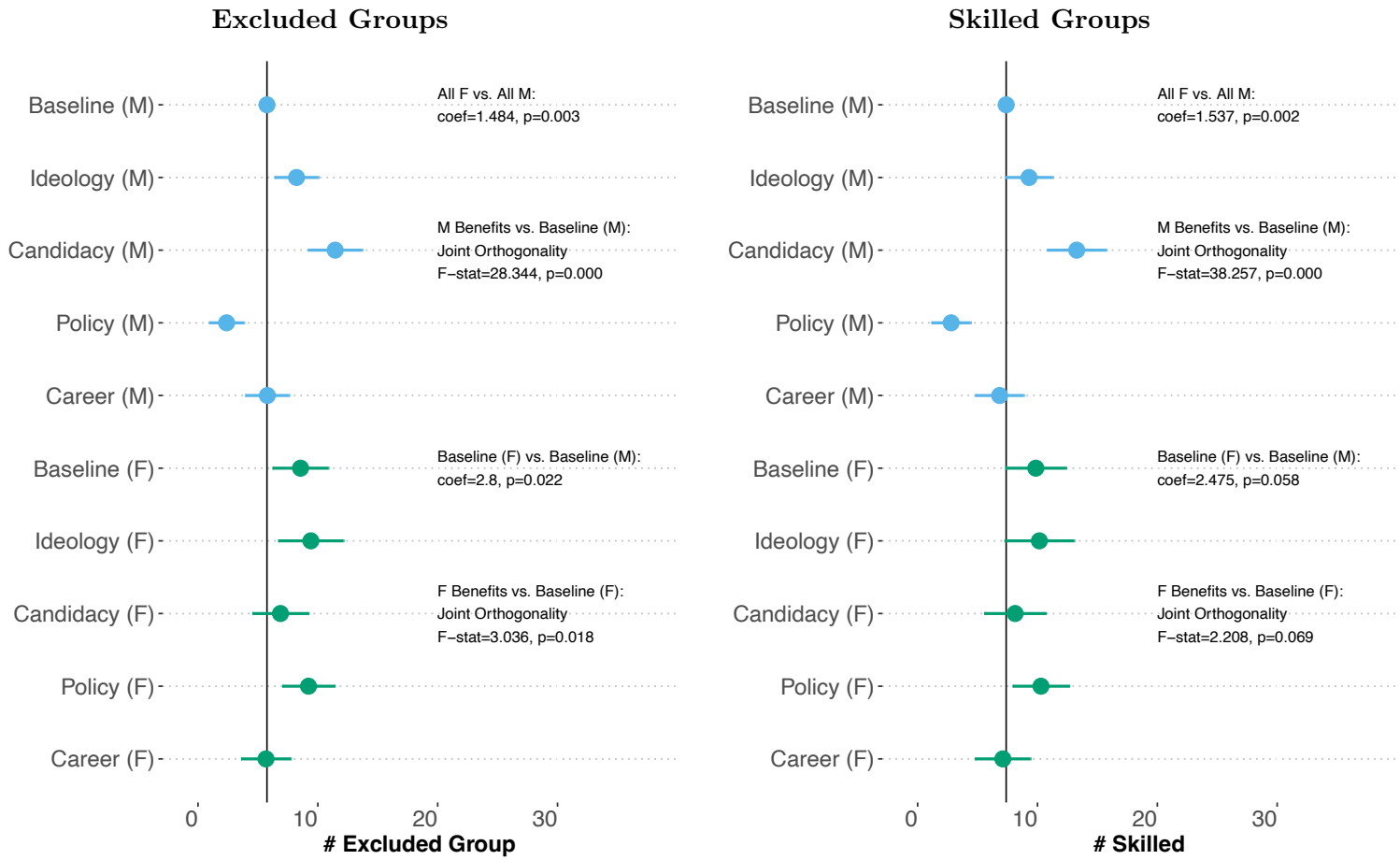
G.3 Effects on Excluded Recruitment

Table G.10: **Effect of Recruitment Messages Together with Female Encouragement Treatment**

	Dependent variable:		
	New Member	Excluded Group	Skilled
Ideology (M), LATE	2.247**	2.466***	1.909*
	(1.037)	(0.937)	(1.021)
Candidacy (M), LATE	6.747***	5.692***	5.889***
	(1.294)	(1.157)	(1.259)
Policy (M), LATE	−4.689***	−3.367***	−4.590***
	(0.845)	(0.751)	(0.838)
Career (M), LATE	−0.541	0.033	−0.544
	(1.046)	(0.939)	(1.036)
Baseline (F), LATE	2.612**	2.800**	2.475*
	(1.311)	(1.190)	(1.295)
Ideology (F), LATE	3.134**	3.661***	2.772*
	(1.514)	(1.389)	(1.485)
Candidacy (F), LATE	0.938	1.126	0.747
	(1.343)	(1.188)	(1.312)
Policy (F), LATE	3.077**	3.466***	2.903**
	(1.219)	(1.110)	(1.202)
Career (F), LATE	0.096	−0.084	−0.280
	(1.207)	(1.059)	(1.180)
Control Mean	7.528	5.756	7.380
Constituency Fixed Effects	No	No	No
Num. obs.	144975	144975	144975
N Clusters	523	523	523
p-values & F-statistics			
All F vs. All M p-value	0.002	0.001	0.002
M Benefits vs Baseline (M) F-stat	40.838	28.344	38.257
M Benefits vs Baseline (M) p-value	0.000	0.000	0.000
Baseline (F) vs Baseline (M) p-value	0.041	0.022	0.058
F Benefits vs Baseline (F) F-stat	2.007	3.036	2.208
F Benefits vs Baseline (F) p-value	0.094	0.018	0.069

Note: $^{***}p < 0.01$; $^{**}p < 0.05$; $^{*}p < 0.1$. The unit of observation is at the pamphlet level. The dependent variable is a binary indicator of whether or not a missed call has been matched to a pamphlet (Column 1), whether a missed call from an excluded group has been matched to a pamphlet (Column 2), whether a missed call from a skilled volunteers has been matched to a pamphlet (Column 3). Robust standard errors clustered at the mid-level worker-level are included in parentheses. Standard errors are obtained by bootstrapping potential assignment of pamphlets 5000 times.

Figure G.9: **Impact of Message Types on Recruitment of...**



Note: The subfigures show the number of recruits belonging to excluded groups (left; meaning women, ST/SC/OBCs, and non-Hindus) and skilled groups (right; meaning those with a high school education) per 1,000 pamphlets distributed for each treatment condition. "M" and "F" on the labels indicate whether the pamphlet shows male or female photos, the gender-inclusive treatment dimension. All coefficients report local average treatment effects with 95% confidence intervals. Coefficients for testing the effectiveness of all female treatments against all male treatments are reported in Column 1 of Table 5 for excluded groups, and Column 1 of Table G.12 for skilled groups. All other results are reported in Table G.10.

Table G.11: **Gender Inclusiveness, Benefits, and the Recruitment of Included Groups**

	Dependent variable:	
	Included Group	Included Group
Female, LATE	0.098	
	(0.214)	
Ideology, LATE		−0.294
		(0.406)
Candidacy, LATE		0.697
		(0.438)
Policy, LATE		−0.684*
		(0.383)
Career, LATE		−0.235
		(0.419)
Control Mean	1.474	1.672
Constituency Fixed Effects	No	Yes
Num. obs.	144975	144975
N Clusters	60	523

Note: $^{***}p < 0.01$; $^{**}p < 0.05$; $^{*}p < 0.1$. The unit of observation is at the pamphlet level. The dependent variable is a binary indicator of whether or not a missed call from the member of a politically-included group (general caste men) has been matched to a pamphlet. Robust standard errors clustered at the assembly-level (Column 1) and mid-level-member level (Column 2) are included in parentheses. Standard errors are obtained by bootstrapping potential assignment of pamphlets 5000 times.

G.4 Effects on Skills of Recruits (LATE)

Table G.12: **Female Encouragement Treatment and the Recruitment of Skilled Volunteers**

	Dependent variable:				
	Skilled?	Employed?	High Education?	Prior Vote	Prior Volunteer
Panel A: Highlighting Inclusiveness of Party					
Female, LATE	1.537***	1.199***	0.966***	0.984**	0.412
	(0.491)	(0.358)	(0.344)	(0.409)	(0.326)
Control Mean	7.601	3.820	3.640	5.371	3.307
Constituency Fixed Effects	No	No	No	No	No
Num. obs.	144975	144975	144975	144975	144975
N Clusters	60	60	60	60	60
Panel B: Highlighting Benefits of Joining					
Ideology, LATE	1.449	2.003***	1.216*	0.583	1.473**
	(0.950)	(0.702)	(0.666)	(0.785)	(0.641)
Candidacy, LATE	2.444**	0.915	2.238***	1.808**	0.751
	(0.984)	(0.679)	(0.683)	(0.818)	(0.614)
Policy, LATE	−2.217**	−0.630	−1.083*	−1.106	−1.050*
	(0.877)	(0.630)	(0.602)	(0.744)	(0.561)
Career, LATE	−1.082	0.095	−0.396	−0.379	−0.082
	(0.924)	(0.664)	(0.628)	(0.772)	(0.613)
Control Mean	8.552	4.029	3.839	5.891	3.573
Constituency Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Num. obs.	144975	144975	144975	144975	144975
N Clusters	523	523	523	523	523

Note: $^{***}p < 0.01$; $^{**}p < 0.05$; $^{*}p < 0.1$. The unit of observation is at the pamphlet level. In Column 1, the dependent variable is a binary indicator of whether or not a caller who is skilled (employed, high education, has prior voting or volunteering experience) has been matched to a pamphlet. The rest of the columns present results for each component. Robust standard errors clustered at the assembly-level (Panel A) and mid-level-member level (Panel B) are included in parentheses. Standard errors are obtained by bootstrapping potential assignment of a pamphlet to different assemblies or mid-level members 5000 times.

Table G.13: **The Impact of Gender Inclusiveness and Benefits on Recruitment of Low Skilled Volunteers**

	Dependent variable:	
	Low Skilled	Low Skilled
Female, LATE	0.044	
	(0.104)	
Ideology, LATE		0.190
		(0.192)
Candidacy, LATE		0.495**
		(0.210)
Policy, LATE		−0.048
		(0.152)
Career, LATE		0.032
		(0.167)
Control Mean	0.346	0.228
Constituency Fixed Effects	No	Yes
Num. obs.	144975	144975
N Clusters	60	523

***$p < 0.01$; **$p < 0.05$; *$p < 0.1$. The unit of observation is at the pamphlet level. The dependent variable is a binary indicator of whether or not a missed call from a low skilled (no high school education, no employment, no prior voting or volunteer experience) volunteer has been matched to a pamphlet. Robust standard errors clustered at the assembly-level (Column 1) or mid-level worker-level (Column 2) are included in parentheses. Standard errors are obtained by bootstrapping potential assignment ofpamphlets 5000 times.

G.5 Long-term Retention Survey

Table G.14: **Gender Inclusiveness, Benefits of Joining, and the Retention of Rank-and-File**

	Dependent variable:		
	New Member (2021)	Excluded Group (2021)	Skilled? (2021)
Panel A: Highlighting Inclusiveness of Party			
Female, LATE	0.520**	0.491***	0.515***
	(0.194)	(0.179)	(0.192)
Control Mean	1.038	0.872	1.013
Constituency Fixed Effects	No	No	No
Num. obs.	144975	144975	144975
N Clusters	60	60	60
Panel B: Highlighting Benefits of Joining			
Ideology, LATE	−0.798**	−0.460	−0.691*
	(0.372)	(0.341)	(0.365)
Candidacy, LATE	−0.219	−0.185	−0.177
	(0.389)	(0.352)	(0.381)
Policy, LATE	−0.557	−0.343	−0.500
	(0.383)	(0.351)	(0.374)
Career, LATE	−0.729**	−0.502	−0.627*
	(0.374)	(0.341)	(0.367)
Control Mean	1.710	1.368	1.634
No. Clusters	523	523	523
Constituency Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	144975	144975	144975

Note: $^{***}p < 0.01$; $^{**}p < 0.05$; $^{*}p < 0.1$. The unit of observation is the pamphlet. The DV in Column 1 is a binary indicator of whether a person who the party could recontact in 2021 was matched to the pamphlet. Column 2's DV indicates if the pamphlet is matched to someone from an excluded group who consented to the survey. Column 3's DV indicates if the pamphlet was matched to a skilled recruit who consented to the survey. Robust standard errors clustered at the assembly-level (Panel A) and mid-level-member level (Panel B) are in parentheses. Standard errors are from bootstrapping potential assignment of pamphlets 5000 times.

Table G.15: **Gender Inclusiveness, Benefits of Joining, and the Retention of Excluded Groups**

	Dependent variable:			
	Excluded Group (2021)	Woman (2021)	Excluded Caste/Tribe (2021)	Excluded Religion (2021)
Panel A: Highlighting Inclusiveness of Party				
Female, LATE	0.491***	−0.011	0.392**	0.119
	(0.183)	(0.024)	(0.168)	(0.120)
Control Mean	0.872	0.026	0.743	0.423
Constituency Fixed Effects	No	No	No	No
Num. obs.	144975	144975	144975	144975
N Clusters	60	60	60	60
Panel B: Highlighting Benefits of Joining				
Ideology, LATE	−0.460	−0.002	−0.263	−0.506**
	(0.341)	(0.066)	(0.306)	(0.217)
Candidacy, LATE	−0.185	−0.003	−0.099	0.142
	(0.352)	(0.049)	(0.318)	(0.262)
Policy, LATE	−0.343	−0.032	0.001	−0.547***
	(0.351)	(0.049)	(0.319)	(0.215)
Career, LATE	−0.502	−0.019	−0.259	−0.218
	(0.341)	(0.046)	(0.306)	(0.240)
Control Mean	1.368	0.038	1.064	0.646
No. Clusters	523	523	523	523
Constituency Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	144975	144975	144975	144975

Note: $^{***}p < 0.01$; $^{**}p < 0.05$; $^{*}p < 0.1$. The DV in Column 1 is a binary indicator of whether or not the pamphlet is matched to someone from an excluded group (woman, excluded caste/tribe, excluded religion) who consented to the survey. In Columns 2-4, the DV indicates the different components of this index. Robust standard errors clustered at the assembly-level (Panel A) and mid-level-member level (Panel B) are in parentheses. Standard errors are from bootstrapping potential assignment of pamphlets 5000 times.

Table G.16: **Gender Inclusiveness, Benefits of Joining, and the Retention of Skilled Recruits**

	Dependent variable:				
	Skilled (2021)	Employed (2021)	High Educ. (2021)	Prior Vote (2021)	Prior Volunteer (2021)
Panel A: Highlighting Inclusiveness of Party					
Female, LATE	0.515***	0.569***	0.408***	0.312**	0.101
	(0.194)	(0.146)	(0.133)	(0.170)	(0.128)
Control Mean	1.013	0.423	0.385	0.820	0.500
Constituency Fixed Effects	No	No	No	No	No
Num. obs.	144975	144975	144975	144975	144975
N Clusters	60	60	60	60	60
Panel B: Highlighting Benefits of Joining					
Ideology, LATE	−0.691*	−0.219	−0.212	−0.572*	−0.234
	(0.365)	(0.266)	(0.215)	(0.322)	(0.238)
Candidacy, LATE	−0.177	−0.179	0.274	−0.464	−0.190
	(0.381)	(0.264)	(0.252)	(0.319)	(0.237)
Policy, LATE	−0.500	−0.139	−0.166	−0.426	−0.148
	(0.374)	(0.274)	(0.236)	(0.333)	(0.255)
Career, LATE	−0.627*	−0.165	0.234	−0.479	−0.274
	(0.367)	(0.265)	(0.251)	(0.330)	(0.246)
Control Mean	1.634	0.798	0.532	1.292	0.722
Constituency Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Num. obs.	144975	144975	144975	144975	144975
N Clusters	523	523	523	523	523

Note: $^{***}p < 0.01$; $^{**}p < 0.05$; $^{*}p < 0.1$. The unit of observation is the pamphlet. The dependent variable in Column 1 is a binary indicator of whether or not the pamphlet is matched to someone who is skilled (employed, having at least high school education, having experience with voting or volunteering). The dependent variables in Columns 2-5 are different components of this index. Robust standard errors clustered at the assembly-level (Panel A) and mid-level-member level (Panel B) are included in parentheses. Standard errors are obtained by bootstrapping potential assignment of pamphlets 5000 times.