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Political Party Organization and Women's Empowerment: A Field Experiment in Ghana*

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Gender gaps in participation and representation are common in new democracies, both at the elite level and at the grassroots. We investigate efforts to close the grassroots gender gap in rural Ghana, a patronage-based democracy in which a dense network of political party branches provides the main avenue for local participation. We report results from a randomized field experiment to address norms against women's participation and encourage women's participation ahead of Ghana's December 2016 elections. The treatment is a large community meeting presided over by the traditional chief, known locally as a *durbar*. We find null results. The treatment was hampered in part by its incomplete implementation, including by local political party leaders who may have feared an electorally-risky association with a controversial social message. The study emphasizes the importance of social norms in explaining gender gaps in grassroots politics in new democracies and contributes new evidence on the limitations of common civic education interventions used in the developing world.

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1 Introduction

Many new democracies have significant gender gaps in political participation and representation (Inglehart and Norris 2003). Barriers to women's political participation include economic and resource constraints that deny women the tools and opportunities for political action available to men. Women also confront social norms that politics is a "man's game" and that men rather than women should take on leadership roles. While existing research has investigated gender gaps in leadership in new democracies (e.g., Chattopadhyay and Duflo 2004), particularly at the elite level (e.g., Tripp and Kang 2008, Arriola and Johnson 2014), there has been relatively little focus on the causes and consequences of gender gaps at much more local levels of politics, especially participation in local political party organizations. But in new democracies marked by patronage politics, grassroots participation in organizations such as political parties can play a significant role in shaping which citizens have access to the benefits and resources that are often only available to the politically-active and well-connected (Wantchekon 2003). The exclusion of women from politics at the local level may also limit the influence of women's preferences on policy outcomes and community decisions, potentially harming the economic welfare of women and holding back overall economic development (Duflo 2012).

We focus on the participation of women at the grassroots level in political parties in Ghana, a new democracy with significant gender gaps in politics at both the elite and local levels. We conduct and analyze a randomized field experiment conducted in 5 rural districts in partnership with the National Commission on Civic Education (NCCE), a non-partisan government agency, around Ghana's 2016 presidential and parliamentary elections. The experiment investigates the effect of a civic education intervention targeted at these norms on women's participation in local party organizations; men's and women's attitudes towards women's political participation; the campaign strategies of local party branches, including their mobilization and outreach to women; and women's access to the patronage resources controlled by parties, which affect their economic welfare. With a panel survey of 1,161 randomly-sampled women and 721 close male relatives in their households, our estimates of the effects of durbars on these outcomes at both the community and individual levels are all very close to zero. We also fail to reject the sharp null hypothesis of no effect for any community through randomization inference tests.[1]

The field experiment randomly assigned one community in each of 22 pairs of communities to *durbars* in October 2016, near the outset of the main campaign period for the country's December 2016 elections. A durbar is a large community meeting that delivers a civic education message with the blessing of community leaders, including the traditional chief who presides over the event. The treatment was designed with realism and scalability in mind. The durbars build on NCCE's pre-existing programming and are similar to interventions that have beed used to change social norms

[1]The hypotheses were pre-registered at Experiments in Governance and Politics (EGAP) under ID: 20170117AA (`http://egap.org/registration/2316`). A third wave of the panel survey is underway as of December 2017.

and attitudes in many developing countries, often with substantial donor funding (e.g., Finkel and Smith 2011, Finkel 2014).[2]

At each durbar, NCCE officers and community leaders gave speeches encouraging women's participation and local secondary school students presented a drama on the same theme. Branch-level party leaders spoke to directly invite women to become more active in their party organizations. We specifically included an opportunity for women party leaders, who would be relatable role models to women in the community, to address the audience. The durbars were explicitly non-partisan, encouraging participation in all parties, and aimed at increasing participation by relaxing but not eliminating these normative constraints at a time when immediate opportunities for grassroots participation were available to women.

The null effects may be due in part to the failure to implement all components of the treatment. The NCCE keynote addresses did not always include all components of the message, and party leaders were less likely to explicitly invite women to join the party in more competitive areas. Women party leaders were also less likely to speak at the durbar in more socially conservative communities. One interpretation is that the norms against women's political participation undermined the intervention.

This paper makes several contributions. First, we add the explicit consideration of norms to a new body of work examining the effects of specific policy interventions on the political interest and participation of women in Africa (Barnes and Burchard 2012, Clayton 2015, Gottlieb 2016*b*), bringing theories about the role of norms from a much larger literature on gender gaps in advanced democracies (e.g., Burns et al. 2001, Krook 2009, Fox and Lawless 2014, Karpowitz et al. 2014, Preece 2016) to the study of women's participation in developing countries.

Second, our experiment contributes evidence on the effectiveness of community-based civic education meetings and education-entertainment ("edutainment") interventions that are frequently used in attempts to change social norms in the developing world. Past research has found positive effects of civic education campaigns on political participation, electoral accountability, dispute resolution, knowledge and attitudes about democracy, and inter-communal violence (Finkel 2002, Finkel and Smith 2011, Finkel et al. 2012, Blattman et al. 2014, Gottlieb 2016*a*).[3] Some of these campaigns also included "edutainment" elements, which have been shown to affect social norms in other studies (Paluck and Green 2009, Paluck 2010, Arias 2016). Our null findings highlight the potential limits of these tools, echoing warnings from Finkel (2014) that while civic education has proved effective in some contexts, it can struggle to affect more "deep-seated" values and norms.

[2]For example, the NCCE regularly conducts similar durbars on conflict resolution, peaceful elections, women's rights, child labor, and other topics with funding from UNICEF, the EU, and other donor agencies. EU funding for the NCCE's pre-election activities in 2016 totaled over $2 million dollars, with community durbars a core component. Finkel and Smith (2011) describes donor-funded efforts before recent Kenyan elections that also featured similar durbar-style community events and estimates that as of 2005 USAID alone was spending upwards of $50 million annually on civic education programming.

[3]For a review of recent findings on the effects of civic education, see Finkel (2014).

The paper proceeds as follows. We first describe the gender gap in political participation in Africa and review two approaches focused on resources and norms in the literature from advanced democracies that may also be used to explain lower levels of political participation by women in new democracies. Section 3 describes the importance of grassroots members in the two main political parties in Ghana and the gender gap in political participation at this level. Section 4 discusses the durbar treatment and hypotheses, followed by the experimental design in Section 5 and data, including correlates of women's participation from the baseline survey, in Section 6. We present our null results in Section 7 and discuss potential explanations for these findings in Section 8. Section 9 concludes.

2 The political gender gap

2.1 The gender gap at the elite and grassroots levels

At the elite level, the political gender gap in the developing world can be seen clearly in representation in parliaments, including in Africa. Less than one quarter of Members of Parliament (MPs) in Africa are women (23.8%), but this average is overly rosy, pulled up by a few cases with exceptionally high women's representation, such as Rwanda (61% of MPs).[4] Many African countries perform much worse, including Ghana (12.7% of MPs) and its West African neighbors Côte d'Ivoire (10.6%), Benin (7.2%), and Nigeria (5.6%). Women's representation in cabinets is similarly low, with women holding no more than 20% of ministerial appointments across Africa in recent years (Arriola and Johnson 2014).

Although differences between men's and women's voting rates are fairly small in most countries, Africa's gender gap at the elite level is mirrored in other indicators of political participation at the grassroots level. Data from Round 6 of the Afrobarometer shows large differences in the extent to which men and women work for political parties, attend party meetings, participate in campaign activities, and attend political rallies (Table 1).[5] Ghana is no exception to these patterns. This deficit in women's local participation is important for two reasons. First, it affects the distribution of local resources in patronage-based political systems, and second, the local ranks of party activists provide the largest bench of women positioned to seek local leadership positions, and ultimately, higher elected office. Table 1 also indicates a substantial gender gap across Africa even in informal participation, such as the extent to which women and men discuss political issues with family and friends.

[4] Inter-Parliamentary Union, "Women in National Parliaments" database, accessed 1 November 2017; `http://archive.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm`.

[5] Afrobarometer Data, Merged Round 6, 2016, available at: `http://afrobarometer.org`

Table 1: Gender gaps in grassroots participation in sub-Saharan Africa

	Men	Women	Gender gap
Works for party (All SSA)	19%	11%	8 p.p.
Attends party meetings (All SSA)	32%	22%	10 p.p.
Attends campaign rallies (All SSA)	42%	31%	11 p.p.
Discusses politics frequently (All SSA)	74%	60%	14 p.p.
Works for party (Ghana only)	21%	7%	14 p.p.
Attends party meetings (Ghana only)	28%	14%	14 p.p.
Attends campaign rallies (Ghana only)	37%	25%	12 p.p.
Discusses politics (Ghana only)	74%	59%	15 p.p.

Data: Afrobarometer Round 6

2.2 Resources and norms

The existing literature provides several frameworks for explaining these gender gaps in grassroots participation. A resource model of participation (e.g., Verba et al. 1995, Burns et al. 2001) suggests that women may participate less than men for several reasons: women may have less time for politics than men because they are busy with childcare and other gendered household obligations; women may have had fewer educational opportunities or non-political participatory experiences than men during which they could have developed useful skills for effective participation; and women may have fewer economic resources needed to participate effectively, if, for example, financial vulnerability constrains women more than men from taking time away from work for voluntarily activism.

A related but distinct body of work suggests that the gender gap emerges instead from social norms that politics is a "'man's game" and that only men should hold local leadership positions. Most directly, widely-held beliefs that women should not participate in politics can generate explicit social sanctions for women who deviate from gender-appropriate roles. Recent experimental studies by Beath et al. (2013) in Afghanistan and Gottlieb (2016*b*) in Mali both demonstrate well the potential for male backlash to interventions aimed at improving grassroots women's participation in societies with strong patriarchal norms that constrain womens' freedom to act independently in the public sphere.

But social norms against women's participation can also have more indirect effects. Norms can lead to the emergence of a "gendered psyche," in which women internalize beliefs that politics is not a female domain and limit their participation even in the absence of explicit sanctioning (Burns et al. 2001, Fox and Lawless 2010, Preece 2016). This can be manifested in women expressing more limited political interest and ambition in the absence of female political role models (Atkeson 2003, Campbell and Wolbrecht 2006, Fox and Lawless 2014), selecting into educational or career choices in which they do not develop skills for efficacious participation (e.g., Burns et al. 2001, Beaman et al. 2012), or underestimating how efficacious their participation could be in anticipation that their

contributions will not be valued by male counterparts (Karpowitz and Mendelberg 2014).

If resources are the main constraint on women's participation, greater women's economic and educational empowerment, such as in Friedman et al. (2016), should provide the best path to closing the grassroots gender gap in new democracies. But if norms provide a greater constraint, interventions targeted at attitudes – like the one examined here – that address prevailing attitudes against women's participation are potentially more appropriate.

3 Political Parties in Ghana

Ghana provides a setting in which there is a gender gap in grassroots participation, particularly in political parties, and both men and women point to norms as hindering women's participation. Since its democratic transition in 1992, Ghana has held regular, concurrent elections for president and an a unicameral, single-member district parliament every four years. The most recent election was December 7, 2016. Ghanaian elections are highly competitive, with two major political parties, the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP), alternating in power. These parties are similarly organized, with internally-elected standing committees of party executives at the national, regional, parliamentary constituency, and polling station levels (Fobih 2010, Bob-Milliar 2012). The backbone of each party organization is the polling station-level party committee, or party branch, typically one for each of the country's 29,000 polling stations.[6]

Branch leaders and members play an essential role in Ghanaian elections, carrying out the large majority of campaign activities on behalf of both national and local candidates. The use of mass media and advertising remains relatively minor, and presidential and parliamentary candidates typically do not have their own teams of campaign activists separate from the existing branches. Instead, the local agents active at the branch level take on central tasks of campaigning door-to-door, distributing pre-election handouts to voters, organizing attendance at rallies, and mobilizing turnout (Ichino and Nathan 2013). In between elections, branch leaders serve as key intermediaries between party supporters and the local government, helping to sustain the party's clientelistic relationships with individual voters (Nathan 2017). Polling station branches, even in the opposition party, also serve as a social support network for their members, who benefit from small-scale assistance from each other for hospital bills, funeral expenses, and the like.

Women are underrepresented in party branches in both parties. Estimates of the gender gap from our baseline survey are nearly identical to the Afrobarometer estimates of gender gaps in party membership and branch meeting attendance in Table 1. Typically only one member of the committee of branch executives at each polling station is a woman – the "women's organizer," a special position the parties have set aside for women.[7] Local party leaders describe social norms as

[6] In rural areas, most polling stations – and thus branches – correspond to individual villages. But in larger villages that contain up to three or four polling stations, a single branch may cover multiple stations.

[7] The NPP's branches are led by a committee of 5 polling station executives, while the NDC has a committee of 9.

a key deterrent against greater women's participation. In interviews, women active in the parties describe social sanctions that they can face for their activism. Public insults from both male and female community members include being shamed as "prostitutes" for spending time away from their families working on party activities.[8] Local party leaders also complain that the limited number of women in their branches restricts the manner in which they campaign, describing, for example, that it is often considered inappropriate for their male party agents to solicit the support of a married woman at home without her husband present.[9]

In the process of securing approval for the study, constituency-level party leaders in both parties expressed significant enthusiasm for finding new ways to recruit more women members to allow their branches to better connect with female voters. This interest in recruiting more women is reflected in higher-level party policy decisions. In recent years, both the NPP and NDC have made efforts to reduce barriers to the nomination of female candidates, for example, by sharply reducing the fees women must pay to seek party nominations and discussing the possibility of reserving some parliamentary nominations for women.[10]

4 Treatment Durbars and Hypotheses

4.1 Durbars

Our main treatment is a durbar, a community-wide civic education meeting aimed at addressing norms against women's participation, held once in each selected community in October 2016, just as Ghana's parties were ramping up their campaign activities for the December 2016 elections. Durbars are large-scale community events held in a central location, with the community's traditional chief blessing and presiding over the proceedings.

The durbars were organized and designed in partnership with the National Commission for Civic Education (`www.nccegh.org`), an independent, non-partisan organization within the government of Ghana. Among the NCCE's major thematic areas of programming is "Promoting Inclusiveness and Participation of Marginalized Groups (e.g. Women, people with disabilities, etc.)." While the chairman of the Commission is appointed by the president, the commission makes a great effort in its work to appear non-partisan and is generally viewed as independent from the current ruling party. The NCCE often uses durbars for voter education, public health education, and other messages, and the NCCE held other durbars outside of our study area in the lead up to the 2016 elections. The durbars for the experiment were designed to be as similar as possible to existing NCCE programming, including only being held once in each selected community.

The durbar was open to all members of the community, conducted in the main local language, and publicized in the communities according to NCCE's standard practices. In order to maximize

[8] Interview with NPP Women's Wing members, Amasaman constituency, Greater Accra, 9 October 2015.
[9] Interview with NPP constituency women's organizer, Madina constituency, Greater Accra, 8 October 2015.
[10] For example, see "NPP's Affirmative Action Plan Stirs Controversy," *The Daily Graphic*, 24 March 2015.

attendance, the NCCE scheduled as many of the durbars as possible on the traditional "taboo day" in each community, the one day of the week other than Sunday when people traditionally do not farm or fish and are therefore more likely to be available to attend an event.

The durbar had three core elements.[11] The first element was a keynote speech by the NCCE's local district officer (DO), following an introduction and endorsement by the community's traditional chief. The keynote speech had several standardized elements: emphasis on the importance of including women in important community decisions; examples of women from the local area who had successfully participated in public life; acknowledgment and arguments against common criticisms that women who become politically active can face; and explicitly encouragement to women to become involved in politics during the election.

The second element was a drama presentation by a local secondary school drama troupe, a common element of civic education interventions by the NCCE and elsewhere (e.g., Finkel and Smith 2011). In the drama, a female protagonist successfully overcomes the skepticism of male community members, including that of her own husband, to join a political party and make a positive impact in her community. The messages in the drama overlap closely with the talking points in the NCCE speech, emphasizing joining a political party as the way that the protagonist ensures her voice is heard in community affairs.[12]

Speeches by local branch leaders of the political parties comprise the third element. The NCCE invited two local leaders from each political party active in the community to address the durbar in order to explicitly invite women from the community to join their respective party branches.[13] The two leaders invited from each party were the branch chairman, always a man in these communities, and the branch women's organizer, who is always a woman. The women's organizer provides a potential role model to women in the community of a local woman "like them" who successfully participates in politics and demonstrates that a woman can serve in a leadership position.

Care was taken to standardize the order and content of all activities across durbars. The NCCE district officers (DOs) responsible for organizing the durbars participated in training sessions over several days with the research team, and all DOs attended a pilot durbar held in Central Region in September 2016. The DO for the district in which the pilot was held gave a keynote speech, and this was used as the model for the speeches to be given by the other DOs in their own districts.

The durbars were supplemented by a separate treatment of SMS messages sent to a subset of residents in the durbar communities. The messages were addressed from the NCCE and sent one or two days before the durbar, inviting the recipients to attend the upcoming durbar.[14]

[11] The pre-analysis plan describes more detail on the design of these elements (`http://egap.org/registration/2316`). Given constraints on sample size, we chose to bundling these elements to strengthen the treatment.

[12] For each district, the DO selected a local school group to perform the drama for all the durbars in that district.

[13] The NDC and NPP were invited in all communities. Smaller third parties such as the CPP and PPP were also invited in the handful of treatment communities in which they are actually active.

[14] The SMS text read: "Hello! The NCCE is holding an important durbar at [LOCATION] in your community on [DAY] at [TIME]. Entry is free. We hope that you can attend!" In half of the durbar communities, the SMS messages were sent to a randomly selected subset of women, and in the other half, to a randomly selected subset of men. The

4.2 Hypotheses

We have two central hypotheses on the effects of durbars. First and most importantly, we expect that the durbars will increase women's participation in political parties. This may occur in two ways – durbars may encourage the women who attend the durbars to become active in parties, or durbars may encourage party leaders who attend to recruit more women to join. Second, we expect the durbars to move both men and women to view women's political participation as more socially appropriate. This may either be a direct outcome of the messaging about social norms in the durbar or an indirect outcome of durbars increasing the number of women participating in political parties and community members subsequently observing these women participating.

These hypotheses build on several key features of the durbars. First, as large, public events, durbars are an opportunity to create *common knowledge* around a message with a *public endorsement* from leaders of the community. Second, durbars expose women in the community to a relatable *role model* who demonstrate that meaningful participation by women is possible. Third, durbars present a concrete *opportunity* for women to participate in grassroots party activities at a time in the electoral calendar when many opportunities for participation were immediately available, and finally, that opportunity comes with an *invitation* to participate.

The pre-analysis plan also lays out several additional hypotheses for other effects of increased political participation. A political party's "labor" resources – its grassroots members and networks of agents who can mobilize or persuade voters through personal relationships – play a vital role in shaping party behavior in new democracies in which successful vote- and turnout-buying, as well as other forms of canvassing and the distribution of pre-election handouts, require "immediate, frequent, and organized contacts with the electorate" (Tavits 2013, 9). Greater political participation by women in these settings can affect party behavior by both changing (a) how many agents a party has, and (b) who those agents are. First, by increasing the number of female agents, we expect the treatment to cause the party to extend its outreach to more voter and to more female voters, in particular. This in turn would shift the gender profile of the recipients of the party's pre-election benefits to be more female. Finally, through this contact, durbars may improve the economic security and expectations of women after the election by better incorporating them into grassroots patronage networks through which state benefits are commonly distributed to party supporters (Wantchekon 2003). Because of our null results on political participation, however, we do not elaborate on this theoretical argument here. A more extended version is presented in the pre-analysis plan.

pre-analysis plan lays out exploratory analyses for this treatment; these are not reported here.

5 Experimental design

5.1 Study locations

The field experiment took place in 44 rural communities in 5 parliamentary constituencies in the Central and Eastern Regions of Ghana: Abetifi, Abirem, Ajumako-Enyam-Esiam, Lower Manya Krobo, and Mfantseman. Each parliamentary constituency is coterminous with an administrative district. We focus on Central and Eastern Regions because they contain a mix of politically competitive constituencies as well as strongholds of each major party. These two regions also allow us to work in culturally similar communities dominated by Akan ethnic groups that share similar attitudes towards women at baseline. Because it is difficult to determine the pool of potential durbar attendees for which to measure community-level outcomes in a primarily urban constituency, only primarily rural constituencies were in our potential sample. We selected the study constituencies after stratifying on three levels of political competitiveness: (1) competitive (neither party won more than 55% in 2012 presidential vote); (2) NDC strongholds (NDC won more than 55%); (3) NPP strongholds (NPP won more than 55%). This process is detailed in Appendix A.

To select communities within the constituencies, we first eliminated all large towns and listed only the largest community in each Electoral Area (or ward) to ensure that each study community would be large enough to have active branches from each major party. This also reduced possibility of interference by ensuring that the selected communities would not be too close to each other.[15] Communities were then sampled after stratifying on several demographic characteristics: 2012 NDC presidential vote share, proportions Akan and Ewe (the main ethnic groups affiliated with each party), proportion Muslim, and indicators of development (proportion of households with electricity, proportion of households engaged in farming).[16] The selected constituencies and community locations are presented in Figures 1 and 2, respectively.

5.2 Randomization and analysis approach

We formed 22 pairs from the 44 selected communities in several stages.[17] Within each pair, one community was randomly assigned to the durbar and the other was assigned to the control group with equal probability. The NCCE agreed to forego civic education activities in all control communities for the remaining period before the election. Within constituencies, the treatment communities were then blocked into a second set of pairs, within which we randomly assigned whether the SMS

[15]The endline survey data suggests that this strategy was successful. Only a small fraction of control respondents reported knowledge of any NCCE activities before the election and none were able to recall an event about women's participation (not shown).

[16]The final list of study communities was slightly adjusted in response to difficulties faced during the baseline survey. See Appendix A.

[17]The initial sampling and randomization were conducted assuming a larger sample size, but later developments required dropping part of the original sample before the study began and re-randomizing treatment assignment within new pairs created from among the remaining units. See Appendix A.

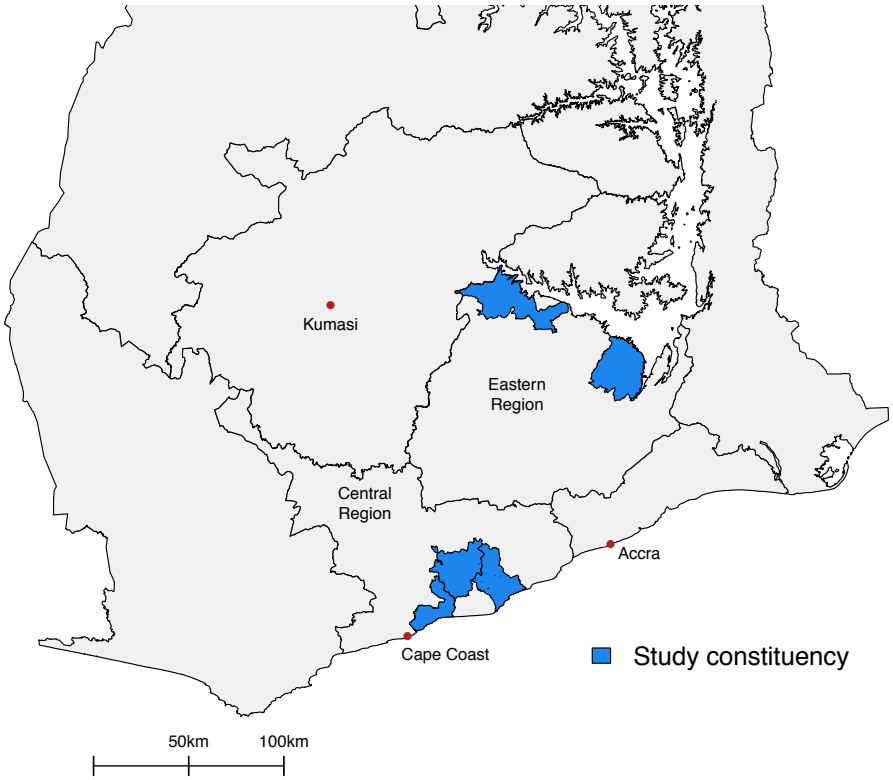


Figure 1: Map of the southern half of Ghana with region boundaries. Study constituencies are highlighted in blue.

encouragements to attend the durbar would be sent to a randomly selected half of female baseline survey respondents or to a randomly selected half of male baseline survey respondents.

For analyses at the community level, we adopt a Fisherian randomization approach to statistical inference. Using potential outcomes notation, $Y_j^k(Z=1)$ and $Y_j^k(Z=0)$ are the outcomes for community j on outcome k under treatment (durbar) and control (no durbar), respectively. Our estimand is the sample average treatment effect at the community-level, $E[\tau_j^k] = E[Y_j^k(1) - Y_j^k(0)]$, which we estimate as a difference in means of outcomes between treatment and control groups. For each outcome k, we are interested in the sharp null hypothesis of no effect for any community, $H_0 : \tau_j^k = Y_j^k(1) - Y_j^k(0) = 0, \forall j$, with an alternative hypothesis of $H_1 : \tau_j^k \neq 0$ for at least one community. We use a rank-based test statistic to calculate one-tailed p-values, the proportion of randomizations yielding a test statistic that is greater (less) than or equal to the observed test statistic, with level $\alpha = 0.05$.[18]

[18]Communities $j = 1, ..., 44$ are blocked into pairs $s = 1, ..., 22$, and within each set, the communities are indexed $v = 1, 2$. Let Z_{s1} indicate whether the first unit in set s is treated, and Z_{s2} indicate whether the second unit in set s

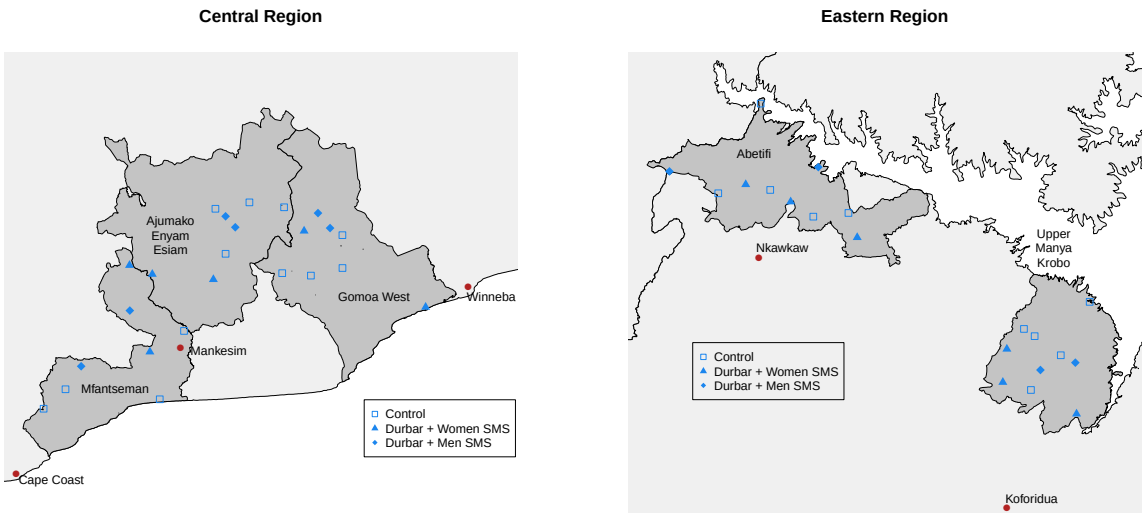


Figure 2: Study Communities in Five Districts in Central and Eastern Regions

For analyses at the individual level, we estimate the following models:

$$Y_{ijs} = \alpha + \theta Z_{js} + \beta_0 X_{ijs} + \gamma_s + \nu_{js} + \epsilon_{ijs}$$

where i indexes a respondent in community j in pair s. Z_{js} is the durbar indicator, Y is the outcome variable; X is the pre-treatment value of Y (when availalbe); and γ_s is a fixed effect for the block (pair). Our primary interest is in estimating θ, the average treatment effect for the durbars, on each of the indices for the major outcomes (Y^{1w}, Y^{1m}, ...) described in the next section. These are estimated using OLS with robust standard errors clustered at the community level.

6 Data and measures

The primary instrument for data collection is a two-wave panel survey of adult females and their close male relatives living in the same household. In October 2016, just before the durbars began, we sampled 25 households in each community for face-to-face interviews in the baseline survey using a random walk. In each household, we interviewed one randomly selected adult woman and then

is treated. Because only one unit in the pair receives treatment, $Z_{s1} + Z_{s2} = 1$. The test statistic for outcome k is:

$$T_k^{rank} = |\bar{R}_{tk} - \bar{R}_{ck}| = |\frac{1}{S}\sum_{s=1}^{S}(Z_{s1} \cdot (R_{s1k} - R_{s2k}) + (1 - Z_{s1}) \cdot (R_{s2k} - R_{s1k}))|$$

where R_{jk} is the rank of the observed Y_j^k among the $2S$ values, normalized to have mean zero; R_{s1k} and R_{s2k} are the rank, among all $2S$ units, of the first and second units in pair s (Imbens and Rubin 2015, 223).

a close male relative in that woman's household. This was her husband, if she was married, or her next closest most senior male relative living in the household. In households where women lived alone without any male relatives, no man was interviewed. This yielded a baseline sample of 1,882 (1,161 female; 721 male). The endline survey was conducted in January and February 2017, after the December elections, and had a successful reinterview rate of 91%, leaving 1,708 respondents in both waves of the panel. We drop all respondents who were not successfully reinterviewed in the analyses below.

Attendance at the durbars is measured through two methods. The first is a self-report of attendance on the endline survey. The second is through a raffle of foodstuffs and cooking supplies (approximate value USD 40) held at all durbars to encourage attendees to stay to the end. Attendees could enter the raffle by writing their name and telephone number (if available). We combine these two measures into a single indicator for durbar attendance. On average, 25% of the women sampled in each treated community attended the durbar, but this ranges from 4% to 54% across communities.

6.1 Outcome measures

Five main outcomes are captured through the endline survey: grassroots political participation; attitudes about the appropriateness of women's participation; exposure to party campaign activities; women's economic expectations and access to patronage resources; and women's participation in non-political association life. Most of the outcome measures are indices constructed from individual survey items following the method in Kling et al. (2007). Table A1 in the Appendix lists each outcome measure and the component survey items from which it is constructed. As an example of how we construct these indices, women's political participation is compiled from whether each female survey respondent (1) is a party member, (2) participated in campaign activities, (3) regularly attends party meetings, (4) knows other women in the community who are party members, (5) participates/speaks at party meetings, and (6) discusses politics with family and friends. For each item, we subtract the mean of the control group from an individual woman's response and then divide by the standard deviation for the control group to construct a z-score for this item for that woman. Each respondent's score on the overall index is the average of the z-scores of the components. The community-level measure of each of the major outcomes is the unweighted mean of the individual-level indices for the community.

A sixth outcome measure – the information branch-level party leaders have about women in their communities – is based on data from a separate panel survey of party branch leaders from the NPP and NDC in each study community. This interviewed the chairman and women's organizer from each party's branch in each community at the same time as the household survey. The party leader survey has a sample size of 130 at baseline. The endline successfully reached some party leaders who had been unavailable during the baseline, resulting in a sample size of 171.

6.2 Correlates of women's political participation in Ghana

The baseline survey data suggest a connection between a woman's participation in grassroots politics and her attitudes and social connections. Table A2 in the Appendix presents exploratory analyses of our index of women's political participation. Results are mixed for the theory that the lack of resources is the primary constraint to women's participation. Having no education is associated with less political participation, as compared with the omitted category of completed primary education. Being financially independent, not working, and having children are negatively associated with political participation, which is inconsistent with the resources account. In addition, household assets appear to be unrelated to women's political participation.

However, this exploratory analysis suggests that attitudes and social factors do more than resources to differentiate women who participate from those who do not. Having a family member active in a political party is a strong predictor of whether a woman participates in grassroots politics, although the attitude of a closely related man in a woman's household is not. A woman's own attitudes towards women's participation are also strongly correlated with her participation, as would be expected, since those more favorably disposed may be more likely to participate and personal experience with participation may lead to more positive attitudes towards it. We also find that being married, controlling for age and having children, is associated with greater political participation.[19] Being married, the woman's attitudes towards women's participation, and having a family member who is active in a political party are also predictors of whether a woman is a member of a party and whether she participates in campaign activities, two of the individual items that make up the overall index (not shown). One possible explanation is that it may be more socially accepted for married women than unmarried women to participate in activities dominated by men. These results remain substantively unchanged when only including subsets of these variables or omitting community fixed effects (not shown).

7 Impacts of the Durbars

7.1 Balance

We find no appreciable differences between communities assigned to treatment and to control on baseline values of our outcome variables and other variables generated from the census. Table A3 reports balance on several variables, the first six of which were used to block the communities; the differences and their standard errors are results from OLS regressions. An OLS regression of treatment on all of these variables produces an F-statistic of 0.68, with a p-value of 0.61 from randomization inference that replicates the pairwise randomization procedure 10,000 times. An

[19] Approximately 64% of our women's sample is married, while approximately 78% of the women who have a male relative in the household are married.

OLS regression of treatment on just the pre-treatment values of the outcomes produces an F-statistic of 1.42, with a p-value of 0.27 from the same randomization inference procedure.

Similarly, we do not find imbalance on individual-level variables for women or men when examining the sample as a whole. Tables A4 and A5 report control group means and treatment group means for women and men, respectively, along with results from OLS regressions of each baseline variable on treatment assignment, with standard errors clustered by community. Unfortunately, we find differences between treatment and control communities ($p < 0.05$) on several variables when investigating within-block balance (not shown), indicating that our community blocks (pairs) may have been poor matches. For example, we fail to reject the null of no difference on average in the women's participation index for 2 blocks and women's access to patronage in 10 of our 22 blocks.

7.2 Null results

The results support neither of our main hypotheses – the durbars had no effect on women's political participation or on women's or men's attitudes towards women's participation. Table 2 reports community-level differences in means for the main outcomes, along with the rank statistics and their randomization inference p-values, as laid out in the pre-analysis plan. We fail to reject the sharp null hypothesis of no effect for any community for most outcomes at $\alpha = 0.05$. The lone positive result for political party leaders' self-reported knowledge about their community may be due to bias in their self-reports, especially given the otherwise null effects on campaign effort and activities.

Table 2: Community-Level Effects

	Difference in means	Rank statistic	One-sided p-value
Women's participation	-0.001	1.091	0.820
Men's participation	0.008	0.091	0.993
Women's attitudes towards women's participation	0.011	0.727	0.858
Men's attitudes towards women's participation	0.001	1.909	0.653
Campaign effort	0.017	0.364	0.934
Intimidation	0.080	2.182	0.509
Campaign effort towards women v. men	0.832	4.045	0.350
Women's patronage access	-0.023	2.273	0.511
Women's economic expectations	0.001	0.182	0.968
Party leader knowledge	0.546	10.909	0.005
Women's civil society participation	0.081	3.500	0.366

The individual-level analyses support the same conclusion. Table 3 reports the coefficient on the treatment indicator for a series of ordinary least squares regressions of the outcome variable on the treatment indicator, controlling for the baseline measure of the outcome, if available, and block

Table 3: Effects on Individual-Level Outcome Indices

	Estimate	s.e.	t	p-value	n
Women:					
Political participation	-0.008	0.043	-0.175	0.861	1031
Campaign effort towards respondent (no baseline)	-0.027	0.053	-0.518	0.605	1051
Intimidation (no baseline)	0.056	0.049	1.148	0.251	1051
Attitudes towards women's participation	-0.007	0.032	-0.216	0.829	1031
Economic expectations	0.003	0.032	0.093	0.926	1031
Patronage access	0.038	0.041	0.923	0.356	1031
Civil society participation	0.078	0.068	1.138	0.256	1031
Men:					
Political articipation	-0.046	0.043	-1.070	0.285	640
Campaign effort towards respondent (no baseline)	0.016	0.053	0.309	0.757	657
Intimidation (no baseline)	0.098	0.041	2.405	0.016	657
Attitudes towards women's participation	0.023	0.051	0.452	0.652	640

OLS, with baseline measure of the outcome when available and block fixed effects.
Standard errors clustered by community.

fixed effects, with standard errors clustered by community. The estimated effects are very modest, with standard errors mostly larger than their respective estimates, except for one outcome: male respondents' reported experiences of intimidation by parties before the election. Because there is some within-block imbalance on specific covariates, but no overall imbalance across the full sample, we also re-estimate the models reported in Table 3 without the block fixed effects (Table A6). We similarly find no effects of treatment on the individual-level outcomes, including the intimidation outcome for which there was a statistically significant effect in Table 3.

8 Explaining the null results

These null findings may be due at least in part to problems in the execution of the durbar.[20] Survey enumerators observed each durbar and completed a detailed checklist documenting what actually occurred. Table 4 summarizes this checklist data, indicating significant variation across treated communities in the extent to which the planned durbar activities were implemented. Two areas appear particularly important: the keynote address by NCCE officials and whether local party leaders spoke at the event and invited women to join their parties.

First, the keynote speeches delivered by NCCE officials differed across durbars. NCCE officials were supposed to deliver a standardized keynote address, centered around 8 talking points developed during a multi-day training session held with all NCCE officials participating in the study. But

[20]The analyses in this section are not pre-registered.

Table 4 indicates that only in 6 of the 22 durbars did the NCCE officer deliver the full set of 8 points. At only 10 durbars did NCCE officers deliver the two key sections of the speech in which women were explicitly invited to become more active in political parties before the election. Consistency with the talking points is not correlated with baseline community characteristics, however (not shown). Instead, anecdotally, some NCCE officials appear to have simply been more committed to the full execution of the planned activities than others. This may be a realistic limitation of any civic education campaign that is implemented by multiple people at scale without close supervision.

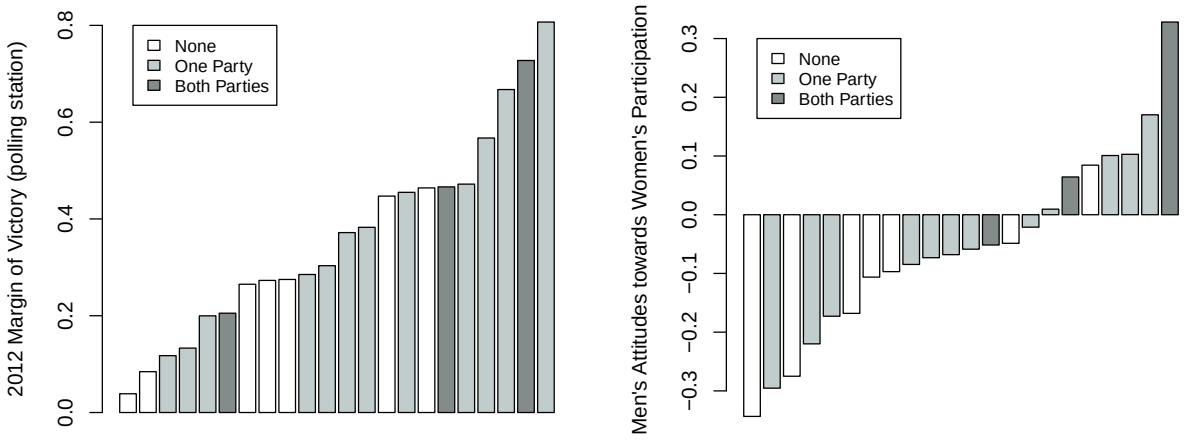
Second, Table 4 also shows significant variation in the extent to which leaders of local party branches took advantage of the opportunity created by the durbar to invite women to join their organizations before the election. At only 5 of the 22 durbars did the full set of four invited branch leaders from the two main parties speak (NDC branch chairman, NDC branch women's organizer, NPP branch chairman, NPP branch women's organizer). Attendance was particularly poor among the women's organizers. At 12 of the durbars, at least one of the two women's organizers did not speak. In some of these cases, women's leaders attended the durbar, but refused to speak to the gathered audience when given the opportunity. In these cases, the durbar did not present durbar attendees with female role models, as originally intended.

Furthermore, when party leaders did agree to speak, many spoke off-topic from the main message about women's participation, even though the NCCE had briefed party leaders beforehand about the purpose of their speech. One in four party leader speeches did not mention anything about women and only 7 durbars had at least one party leader extend an explicit public invitation to women in the community to attend an upcoming party branch meeting to become more involved in campaign activities.

Unlike with the NCCE officials, the consistency of local party leaders' participation in the durbars appears to be systematically related to the characteristics of each community. The attendance of female party leaders is positively correlated with the margin of victory between the NDC and NPP in the previous presidential election ($r = 0.35$), such that women's organizers were least likely to agree to speak at durbars in the most electorally competitive communities. This can be seen in the left panel of Figure 3, which orders the durbar communities by the 2012 vote margin. The right panel of Figure 3 instead orders communities by the index of men's attitudes about the appropriateness of women's participation in the baseline survey. This index is also positively correlated with the women's organizers' attendance at the durbars ($r = 0.48$); female party leaders were least likely to agree to speak in communities where male residents held the most conservative gender attitudes. When party leaders did speak, they were less likely to use the opportunity to explicitly invite women in the community to join their parties in more electorally competitive communities ($r = 0.55$), as shown in Figure 4.

Together, these patterns suggest that the leaders of local party branches may not have been willing to participate in these events and be associated with a potentially controversial message in

Figure 3: Women leaders' participation in the durbar, by margin of victory in the previous election and men's attitudes towards women's participation



communities where it may have been too electorally risky to do so. The pilot durbar in the Central Region shortly before the experiment illustrates the point. The NPP branch women's organizer came to the event, but refused to speak at the last minute because she feared that it would be inappropriate for her to take the stage to address the gathered community. But by not participating, she may have reinforced norms against women's participation, and helped weaken the intervention. This is a potential challenge for any civic education initiative focused on a controversial social issue.

Given these implementation issues, it is unsurprising that many community residents failed to absorb the main message conveyed by the durbar. Figure 5 displays the most common responses to an open-ended question on the endline survey asking respondents in treated communities who report attending the durbars to recall what the durbar was about.[21] Only 18% of self-reported durbar attendees could correctly recall several months after the event that women's issues were a central message of the durbar. Nearly as many – 15% – thought the durbar had been about sanitation, which was a background plot element in the community theater presentation, but not a message emphasized by any of the speakers.

[21]Responses sum to more than 100% because the coding is not mutually exclusive.

Figure 4: Whether party leaders invited women to attend party meetings, by margin of victory in the previous election. Dark shading indicates invited.

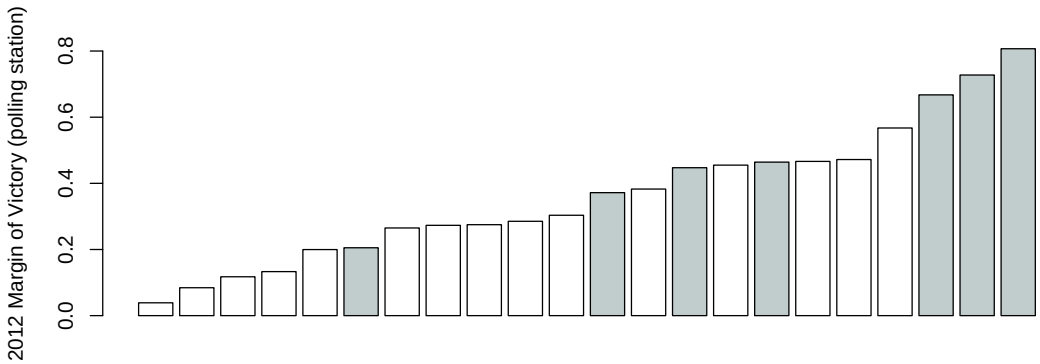
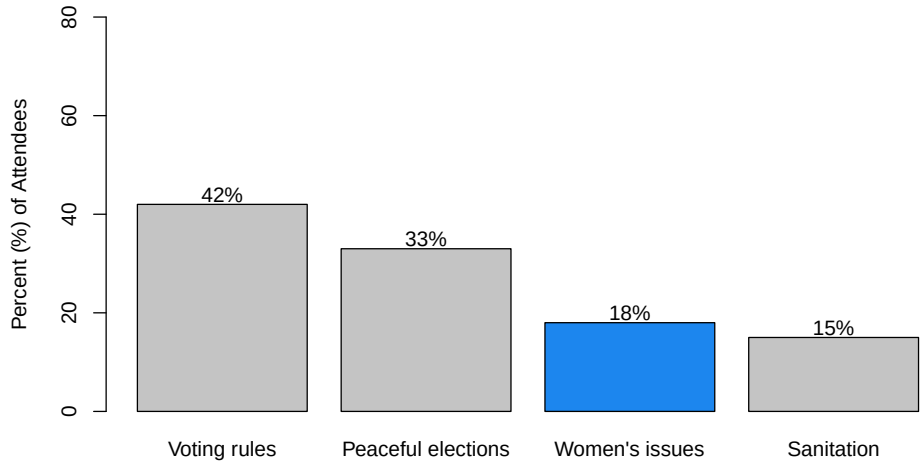


Figure 5: Attendees' understanding of the durbar message



9 Conclusion

This study investigated the effect of large civic education meetings on women's political participation at the grassroots level organized by the National Commission for Civic Education around the 2016 elections in Ghana. We found null effects of these durbars on women's participation in local party organizations, men's and women's attitudes towards women's political participation, the campaign strategies of local party branches, including their mobilization and outreach to women, and women's access to the patronage resources controlled by parties.

These results point to the potential limits of civic education interventions more broadly. While some details of our results may be specific to our particular intervention, our treatment shares key elements with other common civic education programs studied in existing literature (Finkel 2014). Many other interventions also seek to push back on deeply embedded social norms and beliefs and rely on the participation of crucial local actors for implementation. They do so in a context in which similar implementation challenges can arise because those crucial actors may be reluctant to be associated with a controversial social message. The one-time nature of the treatment in each community is also conventional, reflecting common practice when government agencies, such as the NCCE, implement civic education programs at a wide scale in developing countries.

The existing literature largely points to positive effects of civic education, and we cannot conclude from one study alone that community-based programs such as durbars are ineffective. However, our results should invite a re-examination of these types of interventions given the likely existence of a "file drawer" problem (Rosenthal 1979), in which the published literature is biased against null findings. Other methods of engaging local communities may be better suited to effect social change around controversial issues. These may include interventions such as the educational entertainment campaigns using mass media studied by Paluck and Green (2009), where messages can be more tightly controlled and consistently implemented, can be delivered over a longer period of time with a much wider reach, are more subtle, and less likely to provoke backlash from local actors.

Finally, our results point to the need for further research on the nature of the social norms that constrain women's participation in developing countries, including why local actors, such as political party leaders, may have vested interests in sustaining and reinforcing these norms. Future lines of work can investigate the content of norms surrounding women's participation, how they are enforced and reproduced, and the manner in which they directly and indirectly affect women's decision making.

Table 4: Durbar Program Elements by Community, as Implemented

District	Community	Drama performance	NCCE keynote	Keynote had all 8 items	Speech by traditional leader	Traditional leader on-topic	Headcount total attendance	Headcount female attendance	No. of raffle stubs
Abetifi (Kwahu East)	Abene	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	120	65	110
	Bokuruwa	✓	✓		✓	✓	95	50	114
	Dwerebease	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100	60	162
	Kotoso	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	60	30	110
	Oframoase	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	85	45	130
Ajumako-Enyan-Esiam	Assasan	✓	✓		✓	✓	145	95	136
	Nkodwo	✓	✓		✓		180	110	167
	Sunkwaa	✓	✓		✓		170	110	156
	Techiman	✓	✓		✓	✓	155	100	99
Gomoa West	Akropong	✓	✓		✓	✓	135	80	170
	Gomoa Mankessim	✓	✓		✓	✓	190	110	183
	Mankoadze	✓	✓		✓	✓	105	65	95
	Oguaa	✓	✓		✓	✓	61	32	77
Mfantseman	Duadze	✓	✓		✓	✓	210	120	145
	Krofu	✓	✓		✓	✓	280	170	200
	Kyeakor	✓	✓		✓		220	120	117
	Mampong	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	120	80	96
Upper Manya Krobo	Akumersu	✓	✓		✓	✓	80	47	139
	Bisa	✓	✓		✓	✓	77	42	107
	Otrokper	✓	✓		✓	✓	92	62	135
	Sutapong	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	138	76	194
	Takorase	✓	✓		✓	✓	98	38	102

District	Community	Speech by NDC branch chairman	NDC chairman on-topic	Speech by NDC women's organizer	NDC women's org. on-topic	Speech by NPP branch chairman	NPP chairman on-topic	Speech by NPP women's organizer	NPP women's org. on-topic
Abetifi (Kwahu East)	Abene	✓	✓					✓	✓
	Bokuruwa			✓	✓			✓	✓
	Dwerebease			✓	✓			✓	✓
	Kotoso			✓	✓			✓	✓
	Oframoase	✓	✓			✓	✓		
Ajumako-Enyan-Esiam	Assasan	✓							
	Nkodwo			✓	✓			✓	✓
	Sunkwaa			✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
	Techiman							✓	✓
Gomoa West	Akropong	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓	
	Gomoa Mankessim	✓	✓			✓	✓		
	Mankoadze			✓		✓	✓		
	Oguaa	✓						✓	✓
Mfantseman	Duadze							✓	✓
	Krofu							✓	✓
	Kyeakor								
	Mampong								
Upper Manya Krobo	Akumersu	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
	Bisa	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Otrokper					✓	✓	✓	✓
	Sutapong	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
	Takorase	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	

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A Community selection and randomization

A.1 Initial selection of six constituencies

After selecting Eastern and Central Regions and dropping urban areas (Cape Coast, Koforidua), we stratified the remaining rural constituencies by political competitiveness into three categories: (1) competitive (no party won more than 55% in 2012 presidential vote); (2) NDC strongholds (NDC won more than 55%); (3) NPP strongholds (NPP won more than 55%). We dropped constituencies that were missing 2012 polling station-level election results from the Electoral Commission of Ghana, which we need in order for blocking at the community-level.

Within each stratum of the remaining constituencies, we then selected the two that had the largest number of unique place names in their list of polling stations from the 2012 election. We used this as an indicator of the number of unique communities in each constituency available for treatment. When we selected the constituencies, we anticipated a larger sample than the final sample size, and we wanted to ensure that we had enough communities available within each district. This yielded 2 NPP strongholds (Abetifi, Abirem); 2 NDC strongholds (Gomoa West; Lower Manya Krobo); and 2 competitive constituencies (Ajumako-Enyam-Esiam; Mfantseman). This process initially selected Lower Manya Krobo in Eastern Region as one of the NDC strongholds, but this constituency was dropped for the next eligible NDC stronghold (Upper Manya Krobo) because the census data available for Lower Manya Krobo was not sufficiently disaggregated to allow for blocking at the community level.

A.2 Delimitation of eligible communities within constituencies

To simplify the design and preserve power, we defined eligible communities as those in which the two major political parties each have a single party branch and hold regular branch meetings. We were not able to compile a full list of eligible communities, because the major parties do not have publicly available lists of their branches, but we approximate this list through a multi-step process.

In theory, both major parties have a local branch at every polling station. However, in interviews, several constituency-level party chairmen in our selected constituencies noted that they did not actually have active branches in their smallest polling stations because there sometimes weren't enough people living there to sustain a branch. Moreover, an area covered by one branch in one party may not be covered by just one branch by the other party. We were not able to obtain official lists of active branches and their communities from the party chairmen to sort this out.

Therefore, we applied a two-step process to the official list of polling stations from the 2012 elections to select communities within each constituency that were likely to have active branches from each major party. In Ghana, small sets of neighboring polling stations are grouped into electoral areas (ELAs). Large towns in rural constituencies may have several ELAs within them, which function as wards of the town in the local government system, while a rural ELA instead will cover a cluster of neighboring villages, each with its own polling station. Party leaders confirmed that the major parties always have at least one branch in each ELA and that branches never cross ELA boundaries.

First, we dropped all electoral areas in large towns, defined as those that are covered by multiple electoral areas, for the same reasons that we dropped urban constituencies. Then within each of the remaining electoral areas, we kept only the community in the ELA with the largest number of registered voters at its polling station(s) in 2012. This has two purposes. First, it allows us to avoid

very small villages that may lack their own party branches, as the durbars cannot increase women's participation in a party branch that does not exist. Second, selecting at most one community in each ELA creates a spatial buffer between study communities to reduce the possibility of interference, especially if two communities within an ELA actually share the same party branch in practice.

A.3 Initial selection of communities

The NCCE agreed to the randomization of the durbar locations, with two restrictions. Communities that the NCCE deemed problem areas before the 2016 election would be excluded from the study sample, so that they could be guaranteed to receive some NCCE pre-election programming and not be at risk of being randomized to the control condition. Other communities in which their staff would not be safe would be excluded from the study sample. Rather than listing these excluded communities itself, the NCCE head office preferred that we propose an initial list of study communities to their Regional Officers.

We had originally planned for each constituency to have 12 communities randomly assigned to one of four treatment conditions (2x2 factorial) or control. Anticipating that the NCCE may veto some communities, we initially formed two (oversized) blocks of 8 communities within each constituency. We used `blockTools` version 0.6-2 (Moore and Schnakenberg 2015) to apply an optimal-greedy algorithm on Mahalanobis distances with the following variables at the electoral area level: NDC's 2012 ELA-level vote share, proportion of population that is ethnic Akan, proportion of population that is Muslim, proportion of population that is ethic Ewe, proportion of population that has access to electricity at home, and proportion of households whose main occupation is farming. The Akan and Ewe are the major ethnic groups associated with the two major political parties. These variables were aggregated from census enumeration areas to the electoral area-level rather than the community level, since multiple communities share census enumeration areas in many rural areas. We selected the two blocks with the smallest maximum Mahalanobis distance between communities. In each block, 2 communities were randomly designated as reserved and ordered, while the other 6 were assigned to treatment or control conditions.

We circulated the list of communities selected into the blocks, without information on treatment assignment, to the NCCE's Central and Eastern Regional Officers. Two communities were rejected. Amoa in Abirem constituency was rejected because it had violent chieftaincy dispute and the NCCE did not believe it was safe to work there. Tenguanya in Upper Manya Krobo was rejected because it was too remote and inaccessible and the NCCE believed it would be impossible to assemble a sufficient audience for a durbar. Amoa and Tenguanya were replaced by the first reserved community in their blocks, and the remaining reserved communities were set aside. This produced an an initial list of 12 study communities per constituency. We then began contacting political party leaders in each constituency (usually the party chairman, but sometimes also the parliamentary candidate) to secure their permission to interview branch-level party leaders in these communities.

A.4 Re-selection of communities

Funding limitations necessitated that we simplify the experiment to one treatment and control condition and reduce the sample size to 8 communities per constituency. We randomly selected 4 communities from each of the 2 blocks formed for the initial selection of communities, for a sample of 8 communities per constituency.

The list of study communities were then presented to the NCCE District Officers (DOs, the officials who actually implement the durbars) at a training meeting in August 2016. The three DOs from Eastern Region confirmed the suitability of the communities in their districts. However, the three DOs from Central Region raised additional objections to the list not initially raised by the Regional Officer. They requested that we drop all communities along the Cape Coast - Accra highway, explaining that no one would attend a durbar in these communities because the people there work all day selling by the roadside and would not leave their shops to attend. The DO for Mfantseman also requested that Akobima be dropped because it had a chieftaincy dispute and a durbar could not be held safely there.

Consequently, for each of the three constituencies in Central Region, we returned to the full list of eligible communities, dropped these communities, and pair-matched communities such that the sum of distances in blocks would be minimized. We first calculated the Mahalanobis distance between all eligible communities on the three variables of the original 6 blocking variables that we thought would be most likely to create treatment effect heterogeneity: NDC's vote share in the 2012 presidential election, the proportion of the population that is Muslim, and the proportion of households that have electricity. If the constituency had an odd number of eligible communities, dropped the community that was on average the furthest from all others in order to have an even number of communities. We kept the four pairs with the smallest Mahalanobis distances between the paired communities. In each of the three constituencies in Eastern Region, we applied the same procedure to form 4 pairs among the 8 already selected communities.

A.5 Last minute changes to communities

There were two sets of last minute changes to the study communities. First, although community leaders had given permission to conduct the baseline survey in Durwampong, a control unit in Gomoa West constituency, we learned that recent incidents of pre-election violence in the community would prevent the survey team from being able to work there safely. The necessitated replacing Durwampong. Durwampong was originally paired with Gomoa Mankessim, with the latter assigned to treatment but not yet having held its durbar. This gave us the opportunity to select Enyeme, the community that was closest to Gomoa Mankessim by the distance metric used in the pair-matching from among the remaining eligible communities. We then re-randomized treatment assignment for this pair only. Gomoa Mankessim was again assigned the durbar, and Enyeme became the new control unit.

Second, and regrettably, we had to end all research activities in Abirem due to safety concerns in the middle of the baseline survey after NPP vigilantes detained a baseline survey enumerator team and the district police commander could not guarantee the enumerators' safety. This incident took place before any durbars took place in the constituency.

Within our budgetary and logistical constraints, we were able to partially make up for the loss of the 8 Abirem communities from our sample by adding 2 additional communities in each of the two remaining constituencies in Eastern Region. We applied the procedure described in Section A.4 to find the closest pair of remaining eligible communities in each constituency and randomized treatment within each pair. Our final sample thus consists of 44 communities in 5 constituencies, with 8 communities (4 treatment, 4 control) each in 3 constituencies in Central Region (Ajumako-Enyam-Esiam, Mfantseman, and Gomoa West) and 10 communities (5 treatment, 5 control) each in 2 constituencies in Eastern Region (Abetifi, Upper Manya Krobo).

B Outcome measures

Table A1: Major Outcomes and their Components

Y^{1w} : Women's participation in parties and politics			
Source(s): endline survey (female respondents)			
Index from baseline survey: mean 0; sd 0.66			
In index:	(1)	Is a party member	0 = no; 1 = yes
	(2)	Participated in campaign activities	0 = no; 1 = yes
	(3)	Regularly attends party meetings	0 = no; 1 = yes
	(4)[a]	Knows other women in the community who are party members	0= none; 1= few; 2= many
	(5)	Participates/speaks at party meetings	0= never; 1= sometimes; 2= often
	(6)	Discusses politics with friends/family	0= never; 1= sometimes; 2= often
Not in index:	(7)	Attended campaign rally	0 = no; 1 = yes
	(8)	Went door-to-door for party	0 = no; 1 = yes
	(9)	Voted in the election	0 = no; 1 = yes
Y^{1m} : Men's participation in parties and politics			
Source(s): endline survey (male respondents)			
Index from baseline survey: mean 0; sd 0.74			
In index:	(1)	Party member	0 = no; 1 = yes
	(2)	Participated in campaign activities	0 = no; 1 = yes
	(3)	Regularly attends party meetings	0 = no; 1 = yes
	(5)	Participates/speaks at party meetings	0= never; 1= sometimes; 2= often
	(6)	Discusses politics with friends/family	0= never; 1= sometimes; 2= often
Not in index:	(7)	Attended campaign rally	0 = no; 1 = yes
	(8)	Went door-to-door for party	0 = no; 1 = yes
	(9)	Voted in the election	0 = no; 1 = yes
Y^{2a} : Party campaign activities: overall effort			
Source(s): endline survey (male and female respondents) and election results (for (4) only)			
No baseline data			
In index:	(1)	Contacted in door-to-door campaign	0 = no or don't know; 1 = yes
	(2)	Knows of pre-election gifts in community	0 = no or don't know; 1 = yes
	(3)	Offered pre-election gifts personally	0 = no or don't know; 1 = yes
Not in index:	(1w)	Woman contacted in door-to-door campaign	0 = no or don't know; 1 = yes
	(1m)	Man contacted in door-to-door campaign	0 = no or don't know; 1 = yes
	(3w)	Woman offered pre-election gifts	0 = no or don't know; 1 = yes
	(3m)	Man offered pre-election gifts	0 = no or don't know; 1 = yes
	(4)	Polling station-level turnout	percentage of registered voters
Y^{2b} : Party campaign activities: intimidation, fraud, and violence			
Source(s): endline survey (male and female respondents)			
No baseline data			
In index:	(1)	Felt threatened or intimidated before election	0 = no; 1 = yes

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	(2)	Knows of others who felt threatened or intimidated before election	0 = no or don't know; 1 = yes
	(3)	Feared violence before or on election day	0 = no; 1 = yes
	(4)	Believes voting in community was not free and fair	0 = no or don't know; 1 = yes
Y^{2c} : Party campaign activities: effort aimed at women relative to men			
Source(s): endline survey (male and female respondents)			
No baseline data			
Index is mean of:	(1)	% women contacted/% men contacted (community-level)	
	(2)	% women offered pre-election gifts/% men offered (community-level)	
Y^{3w} : Women's attitudes about women's participation			
Source(s): endline survey and post-endline survey (female respondents)			
Index from baseline survey: mean 0; sd 0.57			
In index:	(1)	Agrees with criticism others face for being party members	0 = yes; 1 = no opinion; 2: no
	(2)	Agree: men make better leaders than women	0 = yes; 1 = same or don't know; 2: women better
	(3)	Agree: male politicians are less corrupt than women	0 = yes; 1 = same or don't know; 2: women are less corrupt
	(4)	Agree: appropriate for women to be in parties	0 = no; 1 = no opinion or don't know; 2: yes
	(5)	Agree: appropriate for women to run for office	0 = no; 1 = no opinion or don't know; 2: yes
	(6)	Would let daughter join a party	0 = opposes; 1 = no opinion or don't know; 2: supports
Not in index:	(7)[b]	Willing to participate in party if invited	0 = no or don't know; 1 = yes
	(8)[c]	Has faced criticism from other women for participating	0 = no; 1 = yes
	(9)	Interested in running for office in future	0 = no; 1 = maybe or don't know; 2 = yes
	(10)	Approval rate difference (female - male cues) in survey experiment (community level)	
	(11)	Approval rate difference (party - church cues) in survey experiment under female cue condition (community level)	
Y^{3m} : Men's attitudes about women's participation			
Source(s): endline survey and post-endline survey (male respondents; female respondents for (6)–(9))			
Index from baseline survey: mean 0; sd 0.72			
In index:	(1)	Agree: men make better leaders than women	0 = yes; 1 = same or don't know; 2: women better
	(2)	Agree: male politicians are less corrupt than women	0 = yes; 1 = same or don't know; 2: women are less corrupt
	(3)	Agree: appropriate for women to be in parties	0 = no; 1 = no opinion or don't know; 2: yes
	(4)	Agree: appropriate for women to run for office	0 = no; 1 = no opinion or don't know; 2: yes

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	(5)	Would let daughter join a party	0 = opposes; 1 = no opinion or don't know; 2: supports
Not in index:	(6)[c]	Report criticism for participating from men	0 = yes; 1 = no
	(7)[d]	Women report their suggestions at party meetings are implemented (individual-level analysis only)	0 = no ; 1 = yes
	(8)	Women think male relatives would/do support decision to join party	0 = no or don't know; 1 = yes
	(9)[e]	Women think they would be welcomed at party meetings	0 = no or don't know; 1 = yes
	(10)	Approval rate difference (female - male cues) in survey experiment (community level)	
	(11)	Approval rate difference (party - church cues) in survey experiment under female cue condition (community level)	
Y^{4p} : Women's access to patronage			
Source(s): endline survey and post-endline survey (female respondents)			
Index from baseline survey: mean 0; sd 0.73			
In index:	(1)	Can turn to party leader or politician for help	0 = no to both; 1 = yes to either
	(2)	Thinks party will support her after election	0 = no or don't know; 1 = sometimes; 2: yes
Not in index:	(3)	Woman offered pre-election gifts	0 = no or don't know; 1 = yes
Y^{4e} : Women's economic expectations			
Source(s): post-endline survey (female respondents)			
Index from baseline survey: mean 0; sd 0.49			
In index:	(1)	Likelihood of making a big purchase in next 6 months	0 = unlikely; 1 = unsure; 2: likely
	(2)	Is saving money for the future	0 = no; 1 = yes
	(3)	Household doing better than 1 year ago	0 = worse; 1 = same; 2: better
	(4)	Can pay bills without male relatives	0 = never; 1 = sometimes; 2: always
	(5)	Considering moving to urban area	0 = already seasonal migrant; 1 = yes; 2: no
	(6)	Can leave farm land fallow and still maintain access	0 = no or don't know; 1 = yes
Y^{5} : Party leaders' information about women			
Source(s): party leader endline survey			
No baseline data			
Not in index:	(1)	% community party leader claims to know by name	
	(2)	% community for which party leader claims to know partisanship	
	(3)	Party leader met women at durbar that s/he didn't know before	0 = no / didn't attend / was no durbar; 1 = met a few; 2 = met many
Y^{6} : Women's participation in civil society			
Source(s): endline survey (female respondents)			
Only one item; normalized to mean 0 sd 1.00			
	(1)	Participates in any form of non-partisan associational life	0 = no; 1 = yes

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[a] Included in the index constructed for the community-level analysis only because it reflects overall participation of women in the community. Not included for the individual-level analysis, as this does not reflect the participation of the specific Woman respondent.
[b] Only for women who have participated in party activities.
[c] Only for women who have not participated in party activities.
[d] Only for women who attend party meetings.
[e] Only for women who do not attend party meetings.

C Baseline survey correlations

Table A2: Correlates of Women's Political Participation Index

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Married	0.142**	0.128**	0.127**	0.065	0.063
	(0.048)	(0.048)	(0.048)	(0.072)	(0.072)
Age	0.000	0.001	0.001	−0.001	−0.001
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Children	0.089	0.083	0.080	0.118	0.117
	(0.093)	(0.096)	(0.095)	(0.125)	(0.125)
Muslim	0.030	0.070	0.091	−0.002	−0.000
	(0.113)	(0.113)	(0.113)	(0.150)	(0.150)
Evangelical/Charismatic	−0.010	0.001	0.007	−0.005	−0.005
	(0.045)	(0.044)	(0.044)	(0.058)	(0.058)
No education	−0.174**	−0.172**	−0.171**	−0.164*	−0.164*
	(0.056)	(0.056)	(0.056)	(0.073)	(0.073)
JSS and above	0.055	0.013	0.002	0.016	0.014
	(0.052)	(0.051)	(0.051)	(0.066)	(0.066)
Not working		−0.121†	−0.108	−0.165†	−0.168†
		(0.071)	(0.071)	(0.094)	(0.094)
Financially independent		−0.061†	−0.056†	−0.085*	−0.084*
		(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.043)	(0.043)
Assets index		0.017	0.019	0.035	0.034
		(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.044)	(0.044)
Years in community		−0.002	−0.001	0.001	0.001
		(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Relative of chief		0.059	0.056	0.049	0.047
		(0.049)	(0.049)	(0.066)	(0.066)
Local minority		−0.114	−0.122	−0.187†	−0.190†
		(0.084)	(0.084)	(0.106)	(0.106)
Family member active in party		0.387***	0.372***	0.396***	0.392***
		(0.043)	(0.043)	(0.056)	(0.056)
Own attitude			0.122**	0.151**	0.148**
			(0.037)	(0.050)	(0.050)
Male relative's attitude					0.029
					(0.043)
Intercept	0.208	0.037	0.022	0.078	0.085
	(0.179)	(0.187)	(0.186)	(0.221)	(0.221)
N	1027	995	995	616	616
R^2	0.080	0.160	0.170	0.216	0.217

OLS. All models include community fixed effects. Standard errors in parentheses.
† significant at $p < .10$; *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$

D Balance

Table A3: Community-Level Balance

	Control Means	Treated Means	Diff.	S.E.	p-value
2012 NDC presidential vote share	0.570	0.541	-0.029	0.055	0.598
% Akan	0.654	0.686	0.032	0.125	0.798
% Muslim	0.037	0.035	-0.001	0.012	0.907
% Ewe	0.088	0.035	-0.053	0.046	0.260
% Electricity	0.473	0.505	0.032	0.094	0.739
% Farmers	0.805	0.831	0.027	0.052	0.610
% Running water	0.123	0.155	0.032	0.052	0.545
% English literacy	0.405	0.438	0.034	0.021	0.123
Men's participation	0.002	0.068	0.067	0.071	0.355
Women's participation	-0.002	0.038	0.040	0.047	0.404
Men's attitudes towards women's participation	-0.002	-0.056	-0.054	0.046	0.250
Women's attitudes towards women's participation	0.001	0.055	0.054	0.032	0.094
Women's economic expectations	-0.002	0.002	0.003	0.047	0.946
Women's patronage access	-0.004	-0.124	-0.119	0.079	0.140
Women's civil society participation	-0.002	0.015	0.017	0.081	0.836

OLS. $n = 44$.

Table A4: Individual-Level Balance (Women)

	Ctrl. Mean	Ctrl. n	Trtd. Mean	Trtd. n	Diff.	s.e.	p-value
Age	42.03	562	41.86	558	-0.17	1.41	0.90
Married	0.61	552	0.65	548	0.04	0.03	0.27
Children	0.94	551	0.93	546	-0.01	0.01	0.36
Years in community	25.66	550	23.55	548	-2.11	1.56	0.18
No education	0.30	552	0.28	548	-0.03	0.04	0.50
JSS and above	0.33	551	0.32	548	-0.01	0.04	0.89
Farmer/Fisher	0.51	552	0.60	548	0.09	0.06	0.13
Government employee	0.03	552	0.02	548	-0.01	0.01	0.42
Not working	0.14	552	0.13	548	-0.01	0.02	0.72
Financial independence	0.44	539	0.41	543	-0.04	0.07	0.61
Literacy	0.36	552	0.37	548	0.01	0.06	0.86
Evangelical/Charismatic	0.51	552	0.51	548	-0.01	0.05	0.91
Muslim	0.04	552	0.04	548	-0.00	0.02	0.93
Relative of chief	0.26	552	0.25	548	-0.01	0.04	0.84
Fanti	0.52	552	0.51	548	-0.00	0.14	0.98
Ashanti	0.02	552	0.02	548	0.01	0.01	0.52
Ewe	0.05	552	0.04	548	-0.01	0.04	0.84
Local minority	0.14	552	0.11	548	-0.03	0.06	0.59
Access to clean water	0.51	552	0.46	548	-0.04	0.11	0.70
Assets index	0.01	552	-0.01	548	-0.01	0.16	0.93
Family member active in party	0.45	557	0.46	543	0.01	0.03	0.74
Party member	0.45	548	0.46	546	0.02	0.05	0.75
Participated in campaign activities	0.15	550	0.14	548	-0.00	0.03	0.91
Regularly attends party meetings	0.12	551	0.14	547	0.02	0.03	0.44
Knows other women in the community who are party members	0.62	549	0.66	546	0.04	0.07	0.54
Participates/speaks at party meetings	0.09	552	0.14	548	0.04	0.02	0.06
Discusses politics with friends/family	0.56	551	0.55	548	-0.01	0.04	0.80
Attended campaign rally	0.08	550	0.07	548	-0.01	0.02	0.72
Went door to door for party	0.03	550	0.04	548	0.01	0.01	0.45
Voted in election	0.79	552	0.82	547	0.03	0.03	0.26
Agrees with criticism other women face for being party members	1.58	43	1.66	62	0.08	0.12	0.52
Agree: men make better leaders than women	0.91	551	0.91	548	-0.01	0.06	0.92
Agree: male politicians are less corrupt than women	1.35	551	1.37	547	0.01	0.04	0.75
Agree: appropriate for women to be in parties	1.70	551	1.69	548	-0.01	0.04	0.84
Agree: appropriate for women to run	1.78	551	1.72	548	-0.07	0.05	0.16

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	Ctrl Mean	Ctrl. n	Trtd. Mean	Trtd. n	Diff.	s.e.	p-value
for office							
Would let daughter join a party	1.53	552	1.54	547	0.02	0.07	0.82
Has faced criticism from other women for participating	0.09	80	0.12	78	0.03	0.04	0.50
Interested in running for office in the future	0.68	552	0.73	546	0.06	0.09	0.56
Criticized for participating from men	0.12	80	0.09	78	-0.04	0.05	0.49
Own suggestions at party meetings are implemented	0.68	40	0.76	50	0.08	0.12	0.48
Think male relatives would/do support decision to join party	0.24	548	0.20	544	-0.04	0.04	0.37
Believe would be welcomed at party meetings	0.68	304	0.70	293	0.01	0.04	0.78
Likelihood of making a big purchase in the next 6 months	0.65	551	0.65	545	-0.00	0.06	0.97
Is saving money for the future	0.29	551	0.27	547	-0.02	0.03	0.47
Household doing better (economically) than 1 year ago	0.43	547	0.48	544	0.05	0.06	0.39
Can pay bills without help from male relatives	0.68	539	0.67	543	-0.00	0.07	0.95
Considering moving to urban area	1.46	551	1.46	547	0.00	0.05	0.95
Can turn to politician or party leader for help	0.18	552	0.12	548	-0.06	0.04	0.20
Thinks party will support me after the election	0.93	499	0.84	512	-0.09	0.09	0.35
Participates in non-partisan associational life	0.47	552	0.47	548	0.01	0.04	0.83
Participation index	0.00	552	0.04	548	0.04	0.05	0.38
Attitudes towards women's participation	0.00	552	0.06	548	0.06	0.03	0.06
Economic expectations index	0.00	552	0.00	548	0.00	0.05	0.94
Patronage access index	-0.00	552	-0.12	548	-0.12	0.08	0.11
Civil society participation index	0.00	552	0.02	548	0.02	0.08	0.83

OLS with standard errors clustered by community.

Table A5: Individual-Level Balance (Men)

	Ctrl Mean	Ctrl. n	Trtd. Mean	Trtd. n	Diff.	s.e.	p-value
Age	44.63	338	42.98	368	-1.65	1.52	0.28
Married	0.81	334	0.75	355	-0.06	0.04	0.10
Children	0.86	334	0.81	354	-0.05	0.03	0.15
Years in community	27.79	334	24.95	355	-2.83	1.79	0.11
No education	0.13	334	0.08	355	-0.04	0.03	0.13
JSS and above	0.60	334	0.60	355	0.00	0.06	0.98
Farmer/Fisher	0.69	334	0.68	355	-0.01	0.07	0.90
Government employee	0.03	334	0.04	355	0.01	0.01	0.44
Not working	0.10	334	0.10	355	0.00	0.04	0.94
Literacy	0.89	334	0.95	355	0.05	0.08	0.50
Evangelical/Charismatic	0.41	334	0.44	355	0.03	0.05	0.58
Muslim	0.06	334	0.04	355	-0.02	0.02	0.32
Relative of chief	0.29	334	0.25	355	-0.04	0.04	0.37
Fanti	0.47	334	0.48	355	0.01	0.15	0.97
Ashanti	0.02	334	0.01	355	-0.01	0.01	0.34
Ewe	0.04	334	0.04	355	-0.00	0.04	0.95
Local minority	0.12	334	0.10	355	-0.02	0.07	0.72
Access to clean water	0.45	333	0.45	362	-0.00	0.12	0.98
Assets index	-0.01	333	0.02	362	0.03	0.20	0.90
Family member active in party	0.48	339	0.49	368	0.01	0.05	0.76
Party member	0.58	329	0.60	354	0.02	0.05	0.70
Participated in campaign activities	0.29	333	0.31	354	0.02	0.04	0.62
Regularly attends party meetings	0.27	334	0.30	355	0.03	0.04	0.53
Participates/speaks at party meetings	0.37	334	0.42	355	0.05	0.06	0.42
Discusses politics with friends/family	1.00	334	1.06	354	0.06	0.06	0.26
Attended campaign rally	0.18	333	0.18	354	0.00	0.03	0.90
Went door to door for party	0.14	333	0.13	354	-0.01	0.03	0.73
Voted in election	0.86	333	0.84	355	-0.02	0.03	0.43
Agree: men make better leaders than women	0.81	333	0.74	355	-0.07	0.06	0.25
Agree: men politicians are less corrupt than women pols.	1.31	334	1.30	353	-0.01	0.06	0.89
Agree: appropriate for women to be in parties	1.74	334	1.71	355	-0.03	0.05	0.48
Agree: appropriate for women to run for office	1.76	334	1.71	355	-0.05	0.04	0.22
Would let daughter join a party	1.64	334	1.59	355	-0.05	0.06	0.39
Political participation index	0.00	334	0.06	355	0.06	0.07	0.37
Attitudes towards W's participation	-0.00	334	-0.06	355	-0.06	0.04	0.16

OLS with standard errors clustered by community.

E Additional Results

Table A6: Effects on Individual-Level Outcome Indices

	Estimate	s.e.	t	p-value	n
Women:					
Participation	-0.008	0.053	-0.153	0.878	1031
Campaign effort towards respondent (no baseline)	-0.024	0.069	-0.348	0.728	1051
Intimidation (no baseline)	0.045	0.082	0.550	0.583	1051
Attitudes towards women's participation	-0.005	0.046	-0.118	0.906	1031
Economic expectations	0.004	0.048	0.083	0.934	1031
Patronage access	0.045	0.062	0.727	0.467	1031
Civil society participation	0.088	0.091	0.966	0.334	1031
Men:					
Participation	-0.046	0.043	-1.070	0.285	640
Campaign effort towards respondent (no baseline)	0.011	0.076	0.146	0.884	657
Intimidation (no baseline)	0.094	0.060	1.573	0.116	657
Attitudes towards women's participation	0.023	0.051	0.452	0.652	640

OLS, with baseline measure of the outcome when available, without block fixed effects. Standard errors clustered by community.

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