

## **Supplementary Appendix (for online publication)**

# Crime, Incentives and Political Effort: Evidence from India<sup>\*</sup>

Kai Gehring  
(University of Zurich)

T. Florian Kauffeldt  
(Heilbronn University of Applied Sciences)

Krishna Chaitanya Vadlamannati  
(School of Politics and International Relations; University College Dublin)

### **Abstract**

---

Political representatives with criminal backgrounds are considered a great problem in many countries. In India, public disclosure of the large share of politicians currently facing criminal charges has sparked a heated public debate and emerging literature assessing the causes and effects. We develop two hypotheses based on our theoretical considerations. Based on the coding of published affidavits and a comprehensive set of three proxies to measure effort in the 14<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha over the 2004-2009 legislative period, we put these hypotheses to an empirical test. Members of the parliament (MPs) facing criminal accusations exhibit on average about 5% lower attendance rates and lower utilization rates in a local area development fund, but only insignificantly lower parliamentary activity. In line with our hypotheses, these differences decline in the development level of the constituency - a proxy for higher rent-seeking possibilities and monitoring intensity. We argue and demonstrate why these negative relations should constitute an upper bound estimate of the causal effect, and show that even under conservative assumptions the effect is unlikely to be caused by unaccounted selection-bias.

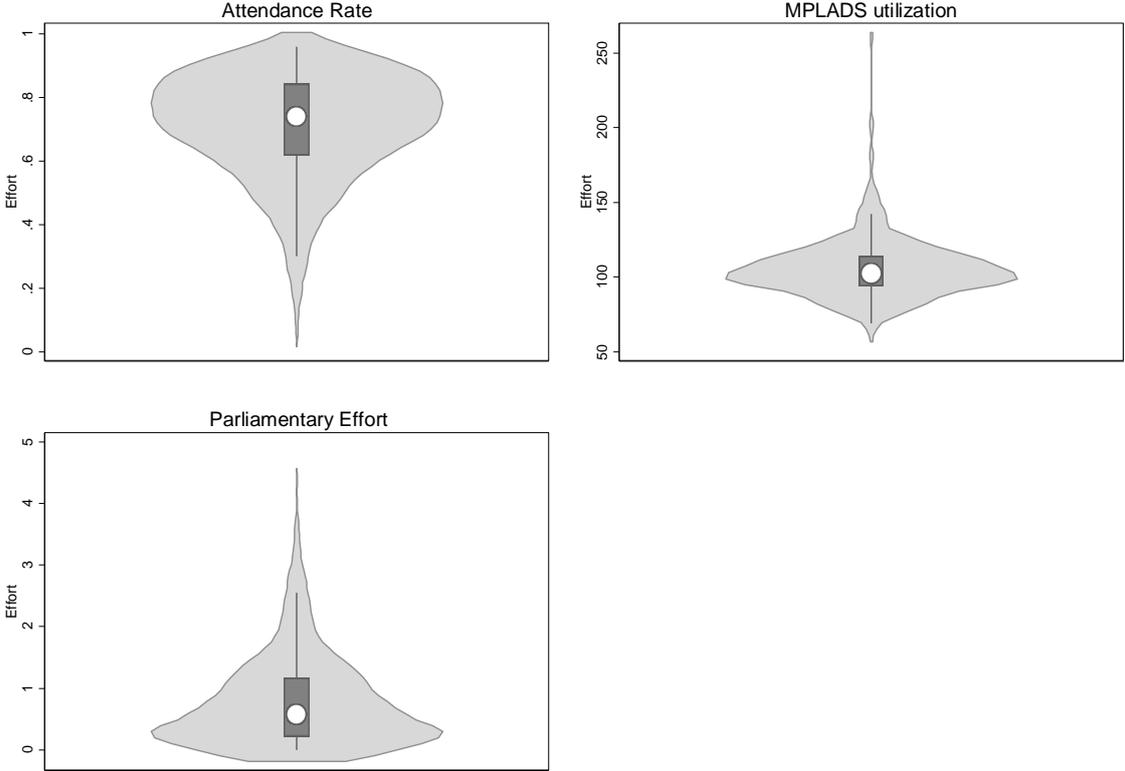
---

---

\*Email of corresponding author: mail@kai-gehring.net.

*Acknowledgments:* We thank the editor, two anonymous referees, as well as Felix Arnold, Marta Curto, Axel Dreher, Vera Eichenauer, Andreas Fuchs, Philip Keefer, Marta Troya-Martinez, Christoph Vanberg and Thomas Wencker for comments, and Toke Aidt, Miriam Golden and Dewesh Tiwari for sharing data with us. We also profited from comments during conference presentations at the European Political Science Association 2015 Conference in Vienna, the European Public Choice Society 2015 in Groningen, the CSAE 2015 Conference at Oxford University and an internal seminar at Heidelberg University. Important research assistance was provided by Katrin Mauch, Muhamed Kurtisi, Franziska Volk and Sven Kunze. Kai Gehring acknowledges funding from the Swiss National Science Foundation since February 2018.

Appendix Figure 1: Violinplots of dependent variables



Notes: Violin plots are a modification of box plots that add plots of the estimated kernel density to the summary statistics displayed by box plots. The white dot indicates the median value, the box comprises the 25th to 75th percentiles. Points beyond the upper and lower adjacent values indicate potential outliers. (Define  $x\%$  as the value at the  $x$ -percentile of the distribution of the indicator. Vioplots then defines outliers as values being larger than  $75\% + 1.5 * |75\% - 25\%|$  or smaller than  $25\% - 1.5 * |75\% - 25\%|$ .)

**Appendix Figure 2:** Example of the affidavits that were used for coding the criminal variable

10 Rs.

१० रु. 10RS

भारत INDIA TEN RUPEES

3925 7.4.2003 10/1  
 Name: నరేంద్ర కుమార్ ధులిపల్లా 55-20-50. నరేంద్ర  
 Address: చింతలపూడి గ్రామం, పొన్నూరు మండలం, గుంటూరు జిల్లా 520001

K RAMAKRISHNA  
 STAMP VENDOR  
 PONNUR - - -

**ANNEXURE - 1**

AFFIDAVIT TO BE FURNISHED BY CANDIDATE ALONG WITH NOMINATION PAPER  
 BEFORE THE RETURNING OFFICER

for election to the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly (Name of the House)  
 from 97 Ponnur constituency  
 (Name of the Constituency)

I, Narendra Kumar Dhulipalla Son of Late Veeraiah Chowdary aged 36 years, resident of Chintalapudi Village, Ponnur Mandal candidate at the above election, do hereby solemnly affirm and state on oath as under :-  
 (Strike out whichever not applicable)

(i) The following case is pending against me in which cognizance has been taken by the court.

(i) Section of the Act and description of the offence for which cognizance taken :  
 Section 147 - roiting, 148-roiting armed with dedly weapon, 188- dis obedience to order duly promulgated by public servant, 427- mischief, R/W 149 unlawful assembly of I.P.C.

(ii) The Court which has taken cognizance:  
 The court of Judicial Magistrate of I Class Ponnur

(iii) Case No. :  
 CC 128/99 on the file of Judicial Magistrate of I Class Ponnur, later on tranfer to the Court of V Additional Munsif Magistrate, Guntur. The same was renumbered C.C. 46/2001 and the same is pending there.

(iv) Date of order of the Court taking cognizance. :  
 7-8-1999.

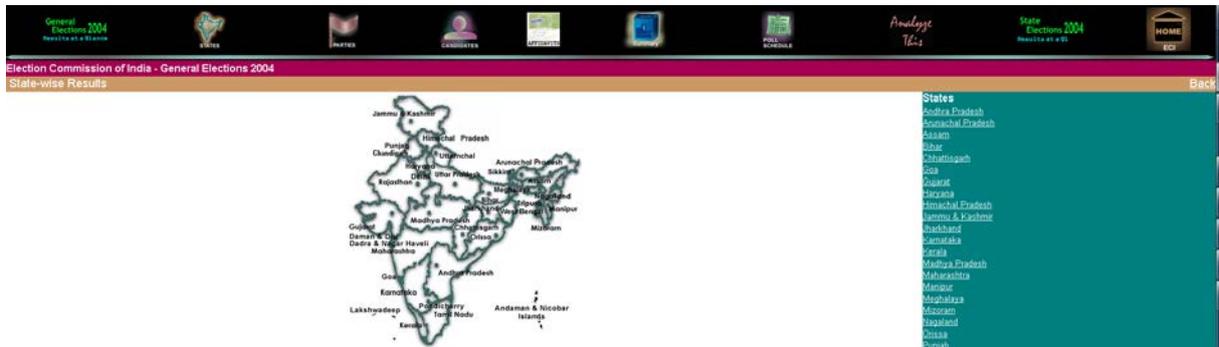
(v) Details of applicatins for revision etc., if any, filed against above order taking cognizance:  
 At the instance of one of the accused in the above case i.e., A4 Chittinani Pratap, the Honourable High Court of A.P. by its order dated 23-1-2003 and passed in Cr. M.P. 206/2003 in Cr. P. 332/2003 stayed all further proceedings in the above said case pending inthe court of V A.M.M. Court, Guntur.

I. JAYA RAJU  
 ADVOCATE & NOTARY  
 Near Miskel  
 PONNUR - 522 124

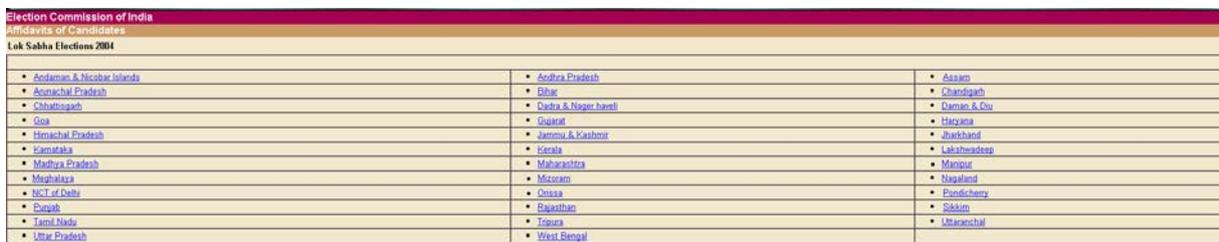
Notes: Main source was [http://eci.nic.in/archive/GE2004/States/index\\_fs.htm](http://eci.nic.in/archive/GE2004/States/index_fs.htm), an alternative source which does not contain all constituencies is <http://myneta.info/loksabha2004/>.

## Replication:

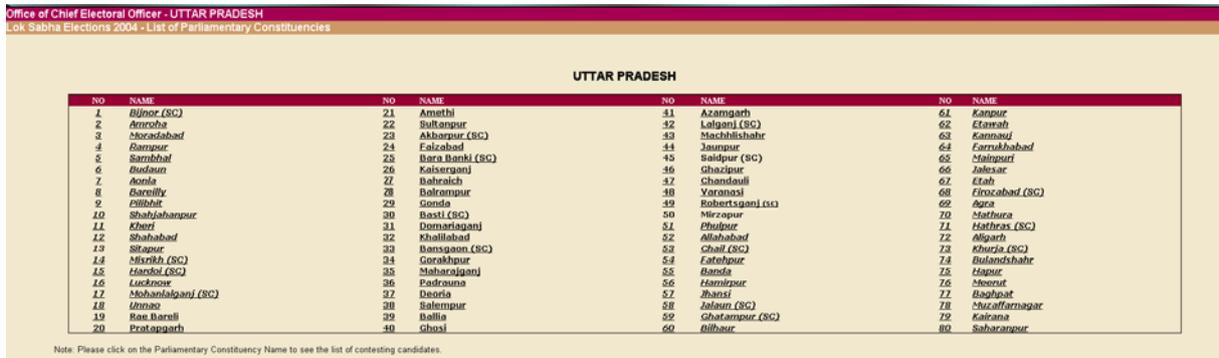
1. Select the "Affidavits" option on the page of the election commission.



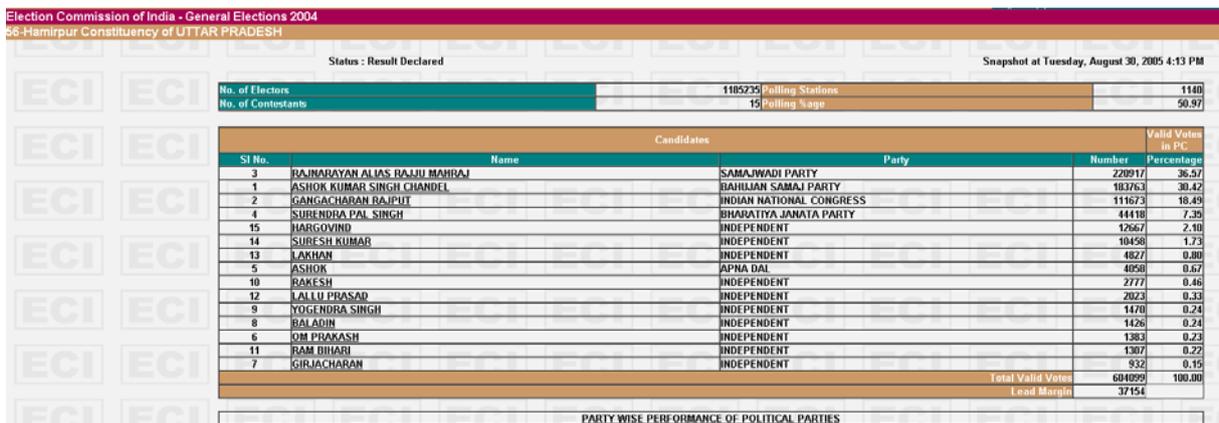
2. Select the state for the 2004 Lok Sabha election.



3. Select the constituency from the list within the state.



4. Copy the relevant from the election results into an excel sheet for the respective constituency and select the winner.



5. Select the winner from the affidavit list.

Office of Chief Electoral Officer - UTTAR PRADESH  
Lok Sabha Elections 2004 - List of Parliamentary Constituencies

**56 - Hamirpur**

S.No	Name	Sex	Party Affiliation
1	<a href="#">Ashok Kumar Singh Chandel</a>	M	Bahujan Samaj Party
2	<a href="#">Gangacharan Rajput</a>	M	Indian National Congress
3	<a href="#">Rajnarayan Alias Rajju Mahraj</a>	M	Samajwadi Party
4	<a href="#">Surendra Pal Singh</a>	M	Bharatiya Janata Party
5	<a href="#">Ashok</a>	M	Apna Dal
6	<a href="#">Om Prakash</a>	M	Independent
7	<a href="#">Giracharan</a>	M	Independent
8	<a href="#">Baladin</a>	M	Independent
9	<a href="#">Yogendra Singh</a>	M	Independent
10	<a href="#">Rakesh</a>	M	Independent
11	<a href="#">Ram Bihari</a>	M	Independent
12	<a href="#">Lalu Prasad</a>	M	Independent
13	<a href="#">Lakhan</a>	M	Independent
14	<a href="#">Suresh Kumar</a>	M	Independent
15	<a href="#">Hargovind</a>	M	Independent

Note: Please click on the Candidate's Name to see the affidavits filed by him/her.

6. Download and code the PDF scans for the affidavit.

Office of Chief Electoral Officer - UTTAR PRADESH  
General Election 2004 - Affidavits filed by Candidate

PC No. & Name: 56 - Hamirpur

Sl. No.	Candidate Name	Party
3	Rajnarayan Alias Rajju Mahraj	Samajwadi Party

**Affidavit Regarding Assets/Liabilities**

Page 1      Page 2      Page 3      Page 4      Page 5

**Affidavit In Form 28(Rule 4A)**

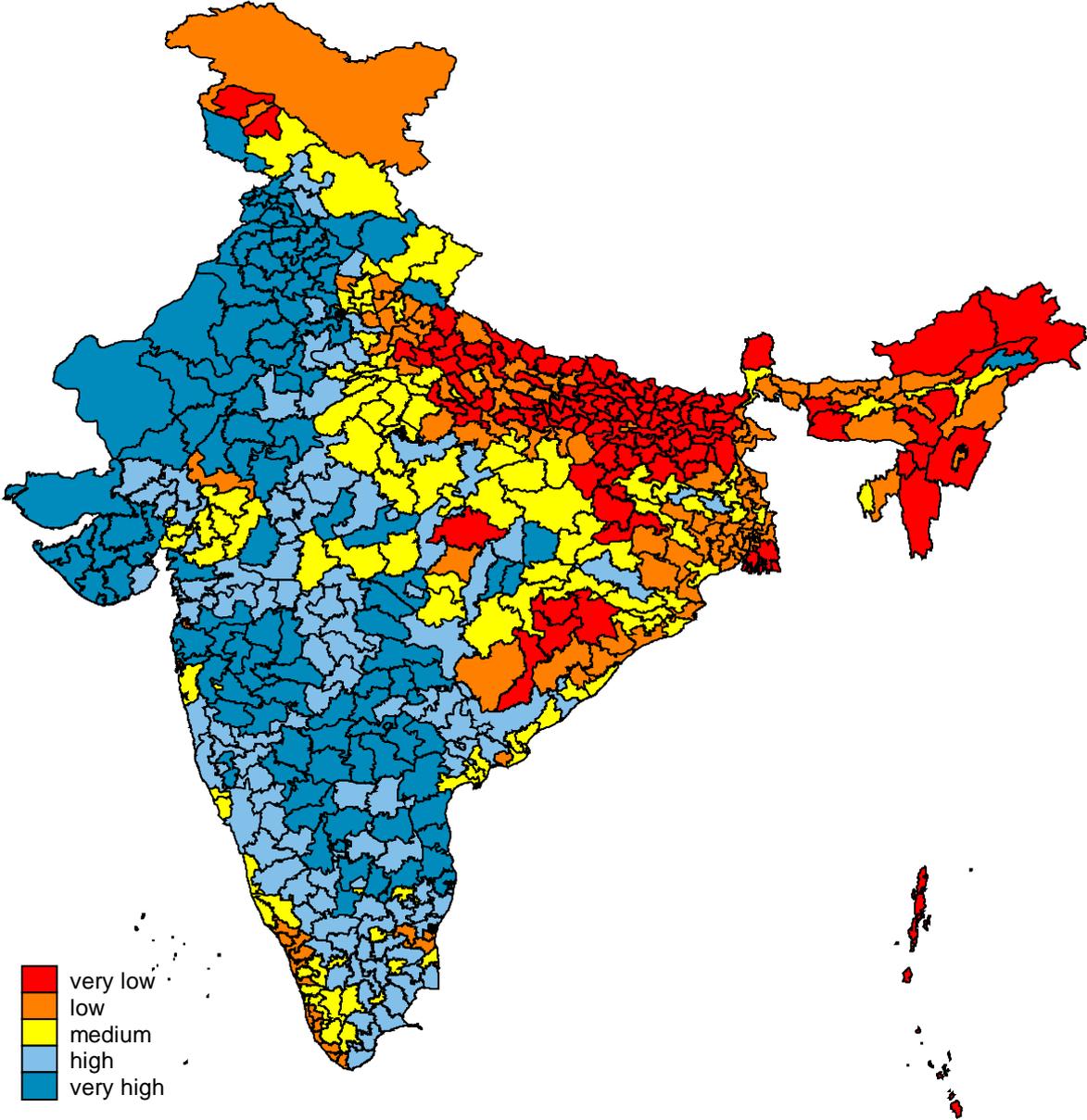
Page 1      Page 2

Note: Please Click on thumbnails to view the full page.

7. Continue and repeat for each constituency.

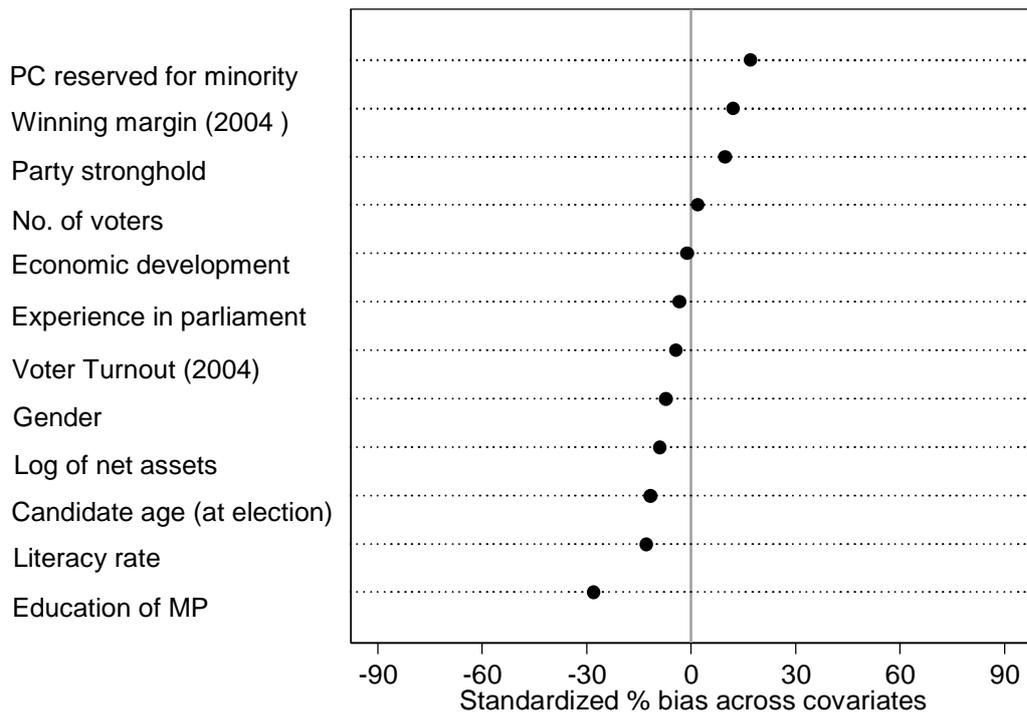
Each constituency was coded twice independently and the results were compared to detect any potential coding errors. In very few cases (<5), the affidavits were either not available or only in a local language that we could not translate. A list of these cases is available from the authors on request. In other cases, the names differed between either affidavits and election results, election summary results and statistics from other sources, or the homepage of the parliament and the election commission. We verified each of these cases with multiple sources to find the correct match.

**Appendix Figure 3:** Constituency-level approximation of economic development based on nighttime light intensity using satellite data.



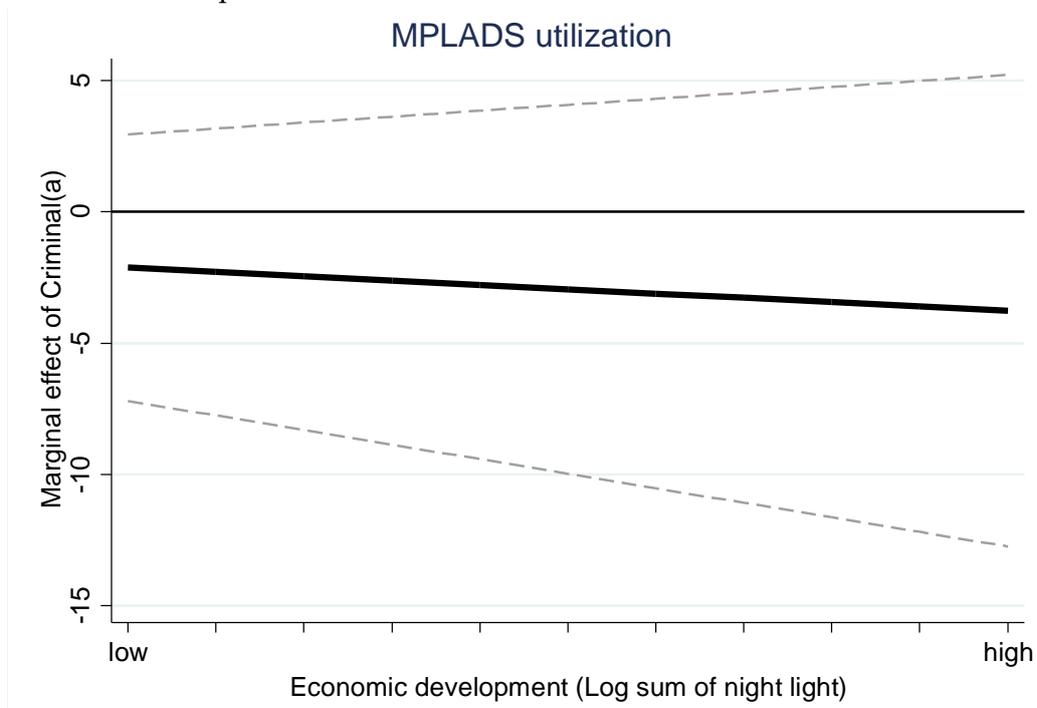
Notes: Created using average visible, stable light and cloud free from the F16 satellite for 2004. The original description states that "The cleaned up (file) contains the lights from cities, towns, and other sites with persistent lighting, including gas flares. Ephemeral events, such as fires have been discarded. Then the background noise was identified and replaced with values of zero. Data values range from 1-63. Areas with zero cloud-free observations are represented by the value 255." More information can be found at [http://ngdc.noaa.gov/eog/gcv4\\_readme.txt](http://ngdc.noaa.gov/eog/gcv4_readme.txt). We use the tif-image-file from the National Geophysical Data Center and merged it in ArcGIS with constituency boundaries that were shared by Aidt et al. (2015). We then calculated the sum of lights using zonal statistics within the constituencies to proxy for economic development.

**Appendix Figure 4: Covariate matching balance**



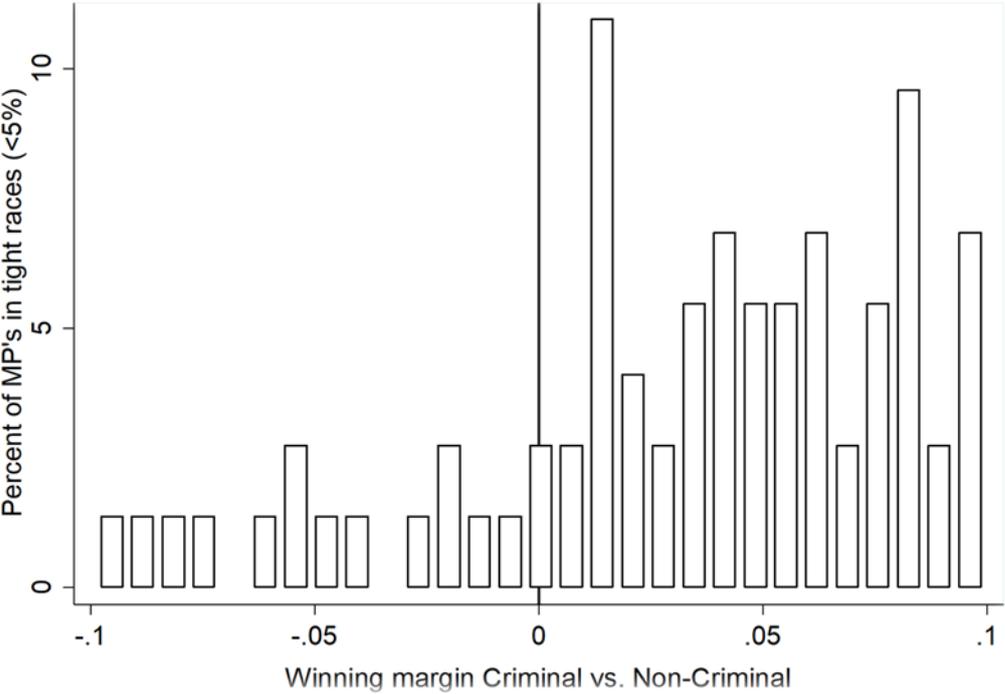
Notes: Relates to Table 6. Graphical depiction of matching balance. Results remain qualitatively unchanged when matching exactly on education.

**Appendix Figure 5: Marginal Effect of Criminal(a) on parliamentary activity conditional on economic development**



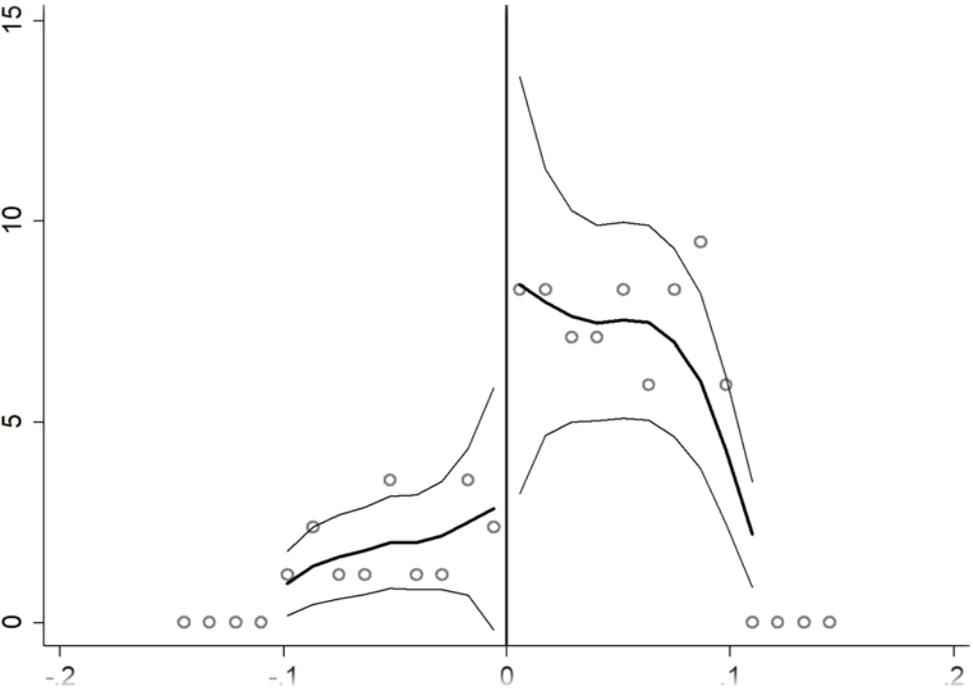
Notes: Marginal effect of a *Criminal(a)* MP Dummy on MPLADS utilization for different levels of economic development. Dotted lines represent the 95% confidence intervals.

**Appendix Figure 6:** Validity of Regression discontinuity assumptions – Density around the threshold



Notes: This suggests that criminals are able to manipulate elections. This seems to hold for close elections with a winning margin +/- 10%.

**Appendix Figure 7:** McCrary test



Notes: Density graph based on the DCdensity program code from <http://eml.berkeley.edu/~jmccrary/DCdensity/>. The x-axis display the margin between a criminal winner and a non-criminal runner-up in close elections with a winning margin +/-10%.

**Appendix Table 1: Frequency of Crimes**

Number of Crimes	Frequency	Percentage	Specification 1	Specification 2	Specification 3
0	336	[76.54%]	Non-Criminals	Non-Criminals	Non-Criminals
1	54	[12.30%]			Excluded
2	20	[4.56%]	Criminal(a)	Criminal(b)	Criminal(b)
3	8	[1.82%]			
4	7	[1.59%]			
5	3	[0.68%]			
8	1	[0.23%]			
9	1	[0.23%]			
13	3	[0.68%]			
18	1	[0.23%]			

Notes: Specification 1 is the main specification, used for example in Table 3, column 1-3. Specification 2 is used in all specifications using *Criminal(b)*, for example Table 3, column 4-6. The one exception is the last row in Table 5.2, where Specification 3 is used as a robustness check.

**Appendix Table 2: Criminals by state**

State \ Status	Normal		Criminal(a)		Normal		Criminal(a)		
Andaman Nicobar	1	[100.0%]	0	[0.0%]	Maharashtra	21	[53.8%]	18	[46.2%]
Andhra Pradesh	29	[90.6%]	3	[9.4%]	Manipur	2	[100.0%]	0	[0.0%]
Arunachal Pradesh	2	[100.0%]	0	[0.0%]	Meghalaya	1	[100.0%]	0	[0.0%]
Assam	14	[100.0%]	0	[0.0%]	Mizoram	1	[100.0%]	0	[0.0%]
Bihar	19	[61.3%]	12	[38.7%]	NCT of Delhi	3	[60.0%]	2	[40.0%]
Chhattisgarh	6	[75.0%]	2	[25.0%]	Nagaland	1	[100.0%]	0	[0.0%]
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	1	[100.0%]	0	[0.0%]	Orrisa	16	[84.2%]	3	[15.8%]
Daman & Diu	0	[0.0%]	1	[100.0%]	Pondicherry	1	[100.0%]	0	[0.0%]
Goa	1	[100.0%]	0	[0.0%]	Punjab	7	[63.6%]	4	[36.4%]
Gujarat	17	[73.9%]	6	[26.1%]	Rajasthan	20	[87.0%]	3	[13.0%]
Haryana	7	[87.5%]	1	[12.5%]	Sikkim	1	[100.0%]	0	[0.0%]
Himachal Pradesh	3	[100.0%]	0	[0.0%]	Tamil Nadu	28	[75.7%]	9	[24.3%]
Jammu & Kashmir	4	[100.0%]	0	[0.0%]	Tripura	2	[100.0%]	0	[0.0%]
Jharkhand	4	[44.4%]	5	[55.6%]	Uttar Pradesh	46	[74.2%]	16	[25.8%]
Karnataka	15	[75.0%]	5	[25.0%]	Uttaranchal	3	[100.0%]	0	[0.0%]
Kerela	12	[63.2%]	7	[36.8%]	West Bengal	34	[94.4%]	2	[5.6%]
Madhya Pradesh	13	[72.2%]	5	[27.8%]	Total	335	[76.3%]	104	[23.7%]

**Appendix Table 3:** Relation between dropping out of sample, dependent variable and variable of interest

Dependent variable	Criminal Winner(a)		MPLADS	
<b>MP change from MP data</b>	<b>1.983</b>	<b>[2.518]</b>	<b>1.993</b>	<b>[2.516]</b>
Bharatiya Janata Party	-0.087	[0.064]	1.038	[3.309]
Communist Party of India (Marxist)	-0.031	[0.099]	8.452*	[5.108]
Indian National Congress	-0.077	[0.056]	-2.829	[2.912]
Rashtriya Janata Dal	0.139	[0.127]	-2.954	[6.584]
Samajwadi Party	0.006	[0.095]	-3.291	[4.907]
Party stronghold (3time winner)	-0.026	[0.060]	4.214	[3.125]
Winning margin (2004)	0.002	[0.202]	-11.984	[10.446]
PC is reserved for minority SC or ST	-0.027	[0.074]	2.615	[3.810]
No of voters	-0.041	[0.046]	-1.600	[2.389]
Economic development	0.000	[0.032]	-1.318	[1.633]
Literacy rate	-0.004	[0.002]	0.289**	[0.126]
Voter turnout (2004)	-0.195	[0.253]	-20.825	[13.083]
Candidate Age (at election)	-0.003*	[0.002]	0.036	[0.089]
Education of MP	-0.042*	[0.025]	1.185	[1.277]
Experience in parliament	-0.010	[0.021]	-2.166*	[1.112]
Gender	0.090	[0.069]	-1.696	[3.576]
Log of net assets	0.008	[0.018]	0.240	[0.910]
Number of constituencies	540		540	
SE's clustered at	State level		State level	

Notes: Analyzes whether there is a relation between *Criminal(a)* and MP's dropping out of parliament, and between the dependent variable MPLADS utilization and MP's dropping out of parliament. Standard errors are clustered at the state level. If *Criminal(a)* would be significantly related to the change, this could bias our results. If it would be significantly related to our dependent variables, it would be an omitted variable bias problem. We are only able to capture the value of the dependent variable for those constituencies with a change during the term. *Attendance rates* and *Parliamentary activity* are not provided for those constituencies with a change in MP. We can see in both regressions that there is no significant relationship; hence this does not affect our results.

**Appendix Table 4: Baseline results**

	Attendance rate		Parliamentary activity		MPLADS utilization	
	(1)		(2)		(3)	
Bharatiya Janata Party	-0.003	[0.012]	-0.098	[0.116]	-1.824	[1.994]
Communist Party of India	0.064	[0.039]	-0.371**	[0.156]	5.376	[4.198]
Indian National Congress	0.055***	[0.014]	-0.125	[0.104]	-4.098*	[2.131]
Rashtriya Janata Dal	0.028	[0.017]	0.291**	[0.120]	-4.626	[3.665]
Samajwadi Party	0.075***	[0.027]	0.162*	[0.087]	-4.360	[2.752]
Party stronghold (3time winner)	0.032	[0.031]	0.027	[0.153]	0.426	[2.977]
Winning margin (2004)	-0.178*	[0.092]	-0.545	[0.331]	-4.529	[6.570]
PC is reserved for minority SC or ST	-0.022	[0.022]	-0.044	[0.109]	6.975	[6.946]
No of voters	0.057***	[0.014]	-0.106	[0.103]	-1.757	[2.219]
Economic development	-0.008	[0.013]	0.108*	[0.060]	-0.658	[1.051]
Literacy rate	0.002***	[0.001]	0.003	[0.003]	0.143	[0.110]
Voter turnout (2004)	-0.214***	[0.066]	-0.345	[0.651]	-21.143	[13.250]
Candidate age (at election)	0.003***	[0.001]	0.000	[0.003]	0.000	[0.108]
Education of MP	0.024***	[0.007]	0.048	[0.069]	0.112	[1.517]
Experience in parliament	-0.013	[0.011]	0.017	[0.040]	-1.092	[1.248]
Gender	-0.015	[0.032]	0.206*	[0.105]	-0.197	[4.002]
Net assets (log)	-0.019**	[0.008]	-0.002	[0.031]	-0.205	[0.448]
R-Squared	0.30		0.11		0.08	
Number of MPs	394		394		439	
State Dummies	Yes		Yes		Yes	

Notes: Dependent variable as specified above over the full legislative period 2004-2009, MPLADS 2005-2008. Standard errors are clustered at the party level. \*\*\* (\*\*, \*) indicates significance at the 1 (5, 10) percent level respectively.

Descriptive statistics for the matching specifications:

**Appendix Table 5:** Matching balance - descriptive statistics for treated and control group

Variable	Mean		%bias	t-test	
	Treated	Control		t	p>t
Party stronghold (3time winner)	0.23	0.16	16.60	1.28	0.202
Winning margin (2004)	0.57	0.57	-1.80	-0.14	0.887
PC is reserved for minority SC or ST	6.53	6.53	1.00	0.08	0.937
No of voters	0.15	0.11	10.70	0.88	0.379
Economic development	0.11	0.10	11.70	0.97	0.331
Literacy rate	9.71	9.75	-4.20	-0.30	0.766
Voter turnout (2004)	54.55	56.49	-15.50	-1.04	0.300
Candidate Age (at election)	50.38	51.45	-10.50	-0.81	0.420
Education of MP	1.50	1.76	-34.20	-2.69	0.008
No of times the MP has won before, experience in parliament	0.55	0.59	-4.30	-0.34	0.733
Gender	0.94	0.98	-13.70	-1.30	0.197
Log of Net Assets	16.09	16.14	-4.00	-0.39	0.700

Notes: Relates to Table 6. T-test is a simple t-test of differences in the mean. Outcome variable is attendance rate.

**Appendix Table 6:** Selection equations for treatment effect regressions

Dependent variable in second stage	Attendance rate		Parliamentary activity		MPLADS	
Dependent variable in selection equation	Criminal(a)		Criminal(a)		Criminal(a)	
Bharatiya Janata Party	-0.585***	[0.226]	-0.570**	[0.234]	-0.536	[0.336]
Communist Party of India	0.087	[0.386]	0.038	[0.405]	0.099	[0.445]
Indian National Congress	-0.343**	[0.156]	-0.379**	[0.167]	-0.471	[0.311]
Rashtriya Janata Dal	0.374	[0.430]	0.37	[0.418]	0.579***	[0.214]
Samajwadi Party	0.154	[0.187]	-0.015	[0.141]	0.018	[0.153]
Party stronghold (3time winner)	0.016	[0.302]	0.017	[0.269]	-0.074	[0.249]
Winning margin (2004)	-0.089	[0.908]	0.103	[0.792]	0.396	[0.721]
PC is reserved for minority SC or ST	-0.230*	[0.140]	-0.204	[0.153]	-0.233	[0.334]
No of voters	0.056	[0.221]	0.075	[0.238]	0.014	[0.165]
Economic development	-0.023	[0.125]	0.025	[0.107]	0.041	[0.116]
Literacy rate	-0.018*	[0.010]	-0.018*	[0.009]	-0.023	[0.014]
Voter turnout (2004)	-1.401	[1.504]	-1.622	[1.653]	-1.425	[1.103]
Candidate age (at election)	-0.014***	[0.005]	-0.012**	[0.005]	-0.011	[0.009]
Education of MP	-0.134***	[0.050]	-0.147***	[0.055]	-0.178*	[0.093]
Experience in parliament	-0.111*	[0.060]	-0.096*	[0.055]	-0.102	[0.066]
Number of other contesting candidates with charges	0.572	[0.355]	0.52	[0.339]	0.282	[0.299]
State Dummies	Yes		Yes		Yes	
SE's clustered at	Party level		Party level		State level	
Number of MPs	394		394		439	
Lamda	0.09		0.12		4.28	
Rho	0.57		0.16		0.22	
Prob>Chi2	0.0744		0.1183		0.004	

Notes: Dependent variable as specified above over the full legislative period 2004-2009, MPLADS 2005-2008. Second stage results for Criminal(a) see Table 6. Standard errors are clustered at the party level. \*\*\* (\*\*, \*) indicates significance at the 1 (5, 10) percent level respectively.