

Supplementary Material for

Legislating Peace

by

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Part of

**Elements in Gender and Politics**

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**APPENDIX**  
**For**  
**“Legislating Peace: How Gender Diverse Rebel Parties Encourage the Implementation of**  
**Gender Peace Agreement Provisions”**  
**Cambridge Elements**

1. Main Model Results

**Table 1. The Effect of Women’s National Representation on the Implementation of Gender Peace Provisions**

	Multi-Level Linear Models		Multi-Level Logit Models		Multi-Level Logit Models	
	Dependent Variables					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Average Implementation Score		Substantial Implementation of Any Provisions		Minimal Implementation of Any Provisions	
Women’s National Representation	.01*	.014**	.033	.023	.057**	.074**
	(.005)	(.006)	(.021)	(.021)	(.025)	(.031)
# Gender Provisions		-.015*		.175***		.255*
		(.008)		(.057)		(.153)
GDP per Capita		0*		0		0
		(0)		(0)		(0)
UN Intervention		.111		.086		-.372
		(.111)		(.426)		(.611)
Women’s CSO Participation		.042		-.015		-.777
		(.386)		(1.161)		(1.438)
Constant	.909***	.947***	-.361	-.937	1.074**	.69
	(.135)	(.224)	(.487)	(.734)	(.54)	(.952)
/lnsig2u			.143	-.64	-1.945	-1.688
			(.66)	(1.039)	(3.195)	(2.352)
Observations	207	166	208	167	209	168

*Standard errors are in parentheses*

\*\*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*  $p < .05$ , \*  $p < .1$

**Table 2. The Effect of Women's Representation in Rebel Parties on the Implementation of Gender Peace Provisions**

	Multi-Level Linear Models			Multi-Level Logit Models			Multi-Level Logit Models		
	Dependent Variables								
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	Average Implementation Score			Substantial Implementation of Any Provisions			Minimal Implementation of Any Provisions		
Women's Representation in Rebel Parties	.806	1.023*	.942	1.885	2.225	3.146	2.148	2.942	3.457
	(.513)	(.551)	(.587)	(2.09)	(2.074)	(2.307)	(2.416)	(2.812)	(2.46)
# Gender Provisions		-.004	-.003		.138**	.12		.611*	.823**
		(.011)	(.013)		(.07)	(.078)		(.351)	(.381)
GDP per Capita		0*	0*		0	0		0	0
		(0)	(0)		(0)	(0)		(0)	(0)
UN Intervention		.004	-.004		.016	.016		-.588	-.186
		(.149)	(.163)		(.595)	(.692)		(.876)	(.863)
Women's CSO Participation		.098	-.085		-1.479	-2.716		.193	1.386
		(.583)	(.812)		(1.897)	(2.858)		(2.949)	(3.088)
Prop. Rebel Party Seats			.782*			.612			4.659***
			(.471)			(1.539)			(1.67)
Constant	.932***	1.004**	.802	.155	.648	1.211	1.696**	.133	-4.076
	(.187)	(.416)	(.598)	(.657)	(1.409)	(2.165)	(.73)	(2.326)	(2.538)
/lnsig2u				.368	-.226	.098	.029	.238	-14.597
				(.81)	(1.078)	(1.122)	(1.139)	(1.057)	(48.199)
Observations	97	91	73	96	90	72	97	91	73

*Standard errors are in parentheses*

\*\*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*  $p < .05$ , \*  $p < .1$

**Table 3. The Effect of Ex-Rebel Women's Representation in Rebel Parties on the Implementation of Gender Peace Provisions**

	Multi-Level Linear Models			Multi-Level Logit Models			Multi-Level Logit Models		
	Dependent Variables								
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	Average Implementation Score			Substantial Implementation of Any Provisions			Minimal Implementation of Any Provisions		
Representation of Ex-Rebel Women	5.725*	7.468**	7.384*	28.509*	29.715*	35.729*	17.58	18.815	17.167
	(3.264)	(3.729)	(3.991)	(14.25)	(17.054)	(17.158)	(15.444)	(16.504)	(15.768)
# Gender Provisions		-.009	-.007		.101	.101		.5	.591*
		(.013)	(.013)		(.077)	(.077)		(.327)	(.326)
GDP per Capita		0*	0		-.001*	-.001*		0	0
		(0)	(0)		(0)	(0)		(0)	(0)
UN Intervention		.059	.058		.233	.432		-.198	-.078
		(.161)	(.172)		(.668)	(.717)		(.878)	(.88)
Women's CSO Participation		-.313	.134		-3.688	.176		2.533	2.182
		(.731)	(.963)		(3.566)	(3.296)		(3.218)	(3.204)
Prop. Rebel Party Seats			.723			.84			4.185**
			(.549)			(1.714)			(1.702)
Constant	1.076**	1.453**	.752	-.094	2.642	-.705	1.701**	-1.153	-3.467
	*	*					*		
	(.178)	(.527)	(.742)	(.617)	(2.662)	(2.548)	(.631)	(2.574)	(2.455)
/Insig2u				.556	.446	.031	.182	-.105	-15.32
				(.904)	(1.015)	(1.203)	(1.058)	(1.146)	(51.641)
Observations	84	78	69	83	77	68	84	78	69

*Standard errors are in parentheses*

\*\*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*  $p < .05$ , \*  $p < .1$

## 2. Net Official Development Assistance to Gender-Related Projects

	Dependent Variables								
	(1) Avg. Imp	(2) Any Substanti al Imp.	(3) Any Minimal Imp.	(4) Avg. Imp	(5) Any Substanti al Imp.	(6) Any Minimal Imp.	(7) Avg. Imp	(8) Any Substan tial Imp.	(9) Any Minimal Imp.
Women's National Representati on	.016** (.008)	.022 (.026)	.094** (.037)						
# Gender Provisions	-.014 (.009)	.152*** (.053)	.265 (.168)	-.007 (.011)	.124* (.067)	.732* (.385)	-.015 (.013)	.063 (.071)	.585* (.35)
GDP per Capita	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0* (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	-.001 (0)	0 (0)
UN Intervention	.114 (.116)	-.047 (.461)	-.623 (.699)	.035 (.147)	.062 (.644)	.274 (.979)	.106 (.162)	.429 (.711)	.653 (.954)
Women's Civil Society Part.	.201 (.532)	.815 (1.512)	-1.624 (1.645)	.629 (.717)	.072 (2.679)	-1.924 (3.434)	.368 (.938)	-.782 (4.464)	1.968 (4.096)
Net ODA	-.008 (.005)	-.021 (.026)	-.063* (.035)	-.006 (.006)	-.029 (.034)	-.083* (.044)	-.009 (.007)	-.056 (.058)	-.091 (.056)
Women's Representati on in Rebel Parties				1.184** (.566)	3.19 (2.54)	1.04 (2.643)			
Ex-Rebel Women's Representati on							6.939* (3.994)	28.712 (18.521)	12.516 (17.22)
Constant	.81** (.328)	-1.147 (.98)	.9 (1.148)	.712 (.508)	-.163 (1.96)	1.084 (2.564)	1.088 (.68)	1.177 (3.291)	-1.278 (3.074)
/lnsig2u		-.328 (1.059)	-13.142 (38.588)		.335 (1.036)	-1.39 (3.629)		.676 (1.179)	-12.52 (51.972)
Observation s	131	131	132	79	78	79	66	65	66

*Standard errors are in parentheses*  
 \*\*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*  $p < .05$ , \*  $p < .1$

### 3. Democracy

	Dependent Variables								
	(1) Avg. Imp	(2) Any Substanti al Imp.	(3) Any Minimal Imp.	(4) Avg. Imp	(5) Any Substanti al Imp.	(6) Any Minimal Imp.	(7) Avg. Imp	(8) Any Substanti al Imp.	(9) Any Minimal Imp.
Women's National Representation	.013**	.019	.074**						
# Gender Provisions	(.006) -.015*	(.022) .172***	(.031) .258*	-.004	.14**	.614*	-.009	.101	.496
GDP per Capita	(.008) 0*	(.056) 0	(.154) 0	(.011) 0*	(.07) 0	(.347) 0	(.013) 0*	(.077) -.001*	(.321) 0
UN Intervention	(0) .111	(0) .059	(0) -.339	(0) 0	(0) -.017	(0) -.662	(0) .055	(0) .233	(0) -.248
Women's Civil Society Participation	(.112) .092	(.424) .815	(.617) -1.205	(.149) .51	(.601) -.646	(.895) 2.226	(.162) -.092	(.671) -3.701	(.89) 3.78
Level of Democracy	(.587) -.107	(1.707) -1.619	(1.994) .956	(.734) -.957	(2.659) -1.491	(4.024) -3.381	(.852) -.674	(4.014) .027	(4.026) -2.036
Women's Representation in Rebel Parties	(.816)	(2.473)	(3.088)	(1.003) .993*	(3.363) 2.218	(4.802) 3.231	(1.013)	(3.894)	(4.159)
Ex-Rebel Women's Representation				(.555)	(2.082)	(2.889)	7.336*	29.721*	19.145
Constant	(3.815) .944***	(17.083) -.996	(16.51) .716	(4.22) .958**	(1.49) .452	(2.43) -.453	(.541) 1.474***	(2.667) 2.643	(2.634) -1.496
/lnsig2u	(1.114) -1.114	(2.398) -1.726	(1.07) -1.07	(1.073) -1.073	(1.073) -1.073	(1.073) -1.073	(1.048) -1.048	(1.179) -1.179	(1.179) -1.179
Observations	166	167	168	91	90	91	78	77	78

Standard errors are in parentheses  
 \*\*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*  $p < .05$ , \*  $p < .1$

#### 4. UN Women's Office

	Dependent Variables								
	(1) Avg. Imp	(2) Any Substanti al Imp.	(3) Any Minimal Imp.	(4) Avg. Imp	(5) Any Substanti al Imp.	(6) Any Minimal Imp.	(7) Avg. Imp	(8) Any Substanti al Imp.	(9) Any Minimal Imp.
Women's National Representation	.014** (.006)	.026 (.023)	.073** (.032)						
# Gender Provisions	-.015* (.008)	.179*** (.058)	.246 (.151)	-.004 (.011)	.141** (.07)	.648* (.359)	-.007 (.013)	.121 (.076)	.448 (.325)
GDP per Capita	0* (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0* (0)	0* (0)	0 (0)	0** (0)	-.001** (0)	0 (0)
UN Intervention	.109 (.114)	-.161 (.48)	-.601 (.669)	.009 (.153)	-.285 (.682)	-.249 (.987)	.006 (.166)	-.243 (.781)	-.518 (1.037)
Women's Civil Society Part.	.04 (.388)	.079 (1.282)	-.603 (1.512)	.108 (.575)	-1.659 (2.123)	.412 (2.783)	-.326 (.743)	-5.449 (4.505)	2.481 (3.414)
UN Women	.011 (.158)	.952 (.66)	.688 (.81)	-.056 (.267)	1.904 (1.529)	-1.069 (1.653)	.515 (.41)	6.352 (4.731)	1.704 (2.575)
Women's Representation in Rebel Parties				1.009* (.564)	1.413 (2.343)	3.461 (2.827)			
Ex-Rebel Women's Representation							7.605** (3.758)	37.546* (20.843)	19.787 (17.452)
Constant	.947*** (.225)	-1.128 (.8)	.674 (.978)	1.001** (.413)	1.022 (1.597)	-.442 (2.349)	1.497*** (.534)	4.174 (3.425)	-.663 (2.86)
/Insig2u		-.176 (.983)	-1.23 (1.876)		.243 (1.086)	-.109 (1.276)		1.207 (.944)	.24 (1.102)
Observations	166	167	168	91	90	91	78	77	78

*Standard errors are in parentheses*

\*\*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*  $p < .05$ , \*  $p < .1$

## 5. Gender Quotas

	Dependent Variables								
	(1) Avg. Imp	(2) Any Substan tial Imp.	(3) Any Minimal Imp.	(4) Avg. Imp	(5) Any Substan tial Imp.	(6) Any Minimal Imp.	(7) Avg. Imp	(8) Any Substan tial Imp.	(9) Any Minimal Imp.
Women's National Representation	.012	.022	.053						
# Gender Provisions	(.007) -.015*	(.027) .174***	(.038) .232	(.011) -.005	(.072) .14*	(.35) .481	(.013) -.009	(.076) .098	(.328) .406
GDP per Capita	0* (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0* (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0** (0)	-0.001 (0)	0 (0)
UN Intervention	.11 (.111)	.085 (.426)	-.465 (.617)	.002 (.149)	.019 (.596)	-.689 (.878)	.055 (.161)	.215 (.671)	-.358 (.899)
Women's Civil Society Part.	.11 (.43)	.039 (1.408)	.335 (1.894)	.218 (.6)	-1.558 (1.993)	1.684 (3.104)	-.392 (.746)	-3.899 (3.661)	2.572 (3.053)
Gender Quotas	.012 (.046)	.011 (.162)	.206 (.237)	.047 (.071)	-.03 (.225)	.476 (.323)	.075 (.08)	.124 (.301)	.35 (.305)
Women's Representation in Rebel Parties				.921* (.559)	2.315 (2.184)	1.508 (2.917)			
Ex-Rebel Women's Representation							7.521** (3.768)	28.746* (17.008)	18.71 (15.981)
Constant	.916*** (.24)	-.964 (.832)	.248 (1.065)	.869* (.462)	.74 (1.574)	-.857 (2.328)	1.4*** (.54)	2.552 (2.684)	-1.367 (2.422)
/Insig2u		-.631 (1.043)	-1.903 (2.728)		-.211 (1.074)	-.158 (1.354)		.448 (1.041)	-.383 (1.336)
Observations	166	167	168	91	90	91	78	77	78

*Standard errors are in parentheses*

\*\*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*  $p < .05$ , \*  $p < .1$

## 6. Fertility Levels at Agreement Signing

	Dependent Variables								
	(1) Avg. Imp	(2) Any Substan tial Imp.	(3) Any Minimal Imp.	(4) Avg. Imp	(5) Any Substan tial Imp.	(6) Any Minimal Imp.	(7) Avg. Imp	(8) Any Substan tial Imp.	(9) Any Minimal Imp.
Women's National Representation	.015** (.006)	.029 (.023)	.1*** (.035)						
# Gender Provisions	-.014* (.008)	.191*** (.064)	.304* (.173)	-.004 (.011)	.14** (.07)	.57* (.338)	-.008 (.013)	.102 (.077)	.489 (.305)
GDP per Capita	0* (0)	0 (0)	0** (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0* (0)	-.001* (0)	0 (0)
UN Intervention	.122 (.112)	.127 (.449)	-.019 (.651)	.002 (.152)	-.059 (.616)	-.293 (.941)	.084 (.165)	.347 (.704)	.375 (.953)
Women's Civil Society Part.	-.057 (.383)	-.223 (1.202)	-1.752 (1.486)	.084 (.596)	-1.524 (1.904)	.026 (2.931)	-.385 (.753)	-3.698 (3.614)	2.237 (3.379)
Fertility Rate @ Agreement Signing	-.057 (.084)	.037 (.245)	-.652** (.277)	.016 (.133)	.165 (.361)	-.392 (.438)	-.114 (.149)	-.268 (.49)	-.634 (.455)
Women's Representation in Rebel Parties				1.041* (.558)	2.076 (2.106)	3.257 (2.713)			
Ex-Rebel Women's Representation							8.175** (3.883)	33.696* (18.771)	27.71 (18.093)
Constant	1.343** (.533)	-1.15 (1.635)	4.568** (1.943)	.914 (.836)	-.268 (2.43)	2.391 (3.489)	2.158** (1.036)	4.198 (4.077)	2.366 (3.827)
/Insig2u		-.51 (1.007)	-12.392 (40.603)		-.208 (1.047)	-.097 (1.317)		.42 (1.024)	-.814 (1.765)
Observations	160	161	162	91	90	91	78	77	78

*Standard errors are in parentheses*

\*\*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*  $p < .05$ , \*  $p < .1$

## 7. Female Labor Force Participation at Agreement Signing

	Dependent Variables								
	(1) Avg. Imp	(2) Any Substan tial Imp.	(3) Any Minimal Imp.	(4) Avg. Imp	(5) Any Substan tial Imp.	(6) Any Minimal Imp.	(7) Avg. Imp	(8) Any Substan tial Imp.	(9) Any Minimal Imp.
Women's National Representation	.014** (.006)	.022 (.021)	.081*** (.031)						
# Gender Provisions	-.015* (.008)	.173*** (.056)	.245* (.143)	-.004 (.011)	.141** (.071)	.521* (.313)	-.008 (.013)	.102 (.077)	.469 (.299)
GDP per Capita	0* (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0* (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0* (0)	-.001 (0)	0 (0)
UN Intervention	.113 (.112)	.068 (.424)	-.138 (.595)	.002 (.151)	-.089 (.618)	.031 (.995)	.064 (.163)	.283 (.691)	.33 (.942)
Women's Civil Society Part.	.077 (.421)	-.309 (1.361)	.75 (1.664)	.019 (.715)	-2.285 (2.326)	1.755 (2.944)	-.308 (.782)	-3.32 (3.782)	3.559 (3.266)
Female Labor Force Participation @ Agreement Signing	-.001 (.004)	.004 (.011)	-.027** (.013)	.001 (.006)	.011 (.018)	-.029 (.019)	-.002 (.007)	-.007 (.023)	-.027 (.02)
Women's Representation in Rebel Parties				1.044* (.574)	1.89 (2.155)	3.936 (2.691)			
Ex-Rebel Women's Representation							7.735** (3.9)	31.87* (18.715)	26.056 (17.548)
Constant	.992*** (.291)	-1.086 (.817)	1.62 (1.058)	.968** (.469)	.373 (1.471)	1.014 (2.395)	1.57** (.678)	2.931 (2.921)	-.013 (2.779)
/Insig2u		-.78 (1.141)	-13.067 (37.857)		-.194 (1.052)	-.643 (1.828)		.431 (1.018)	-.905 (1.795)
Observations	166	167	168	91	90	91	78	77	78

*Standard errors are in parentheses*

\*\*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*  $p < .05$ , \*  $p < .1$

## 8. Battle-Related Deaths

	Dependent Variables								
	(1) Avg. Imp	(2) Any Substanti al Imp.	(3) Any Minimal Imp.	(4) Avg. Imp	(5) Any Substanti al Imp.	(6) Any Minimal Imp.	(7) Avg. Imp	(8) Any Substanti al Imp.	(9) Any Minimal Imp.
Women's National Representation	.016**	.022	.081**						
# Gender Provisions	(.006) -.016*	(.022) .155***	(.036) .261	-.007	.115*	.776*	-.012	.068	.518
GDP per Capita	(.008) 0*	(.053) 0	(.164) 0	(.011) 0**	(.063) -.001	(.444) 0	(.013) 0**	(.069) -.001*	(.377) 0
UN Intervention	(0) .126	(0) .059	(0) -.346	(0) -.019	(0) -.181	(0) -.957	(0) .061	(0) .13	(0) -.289
Women's Civil Society Part.	(.113) -.22	(.438) -.321	(.665) -.932	(.15) .507	(.633) -.038	(1.005) 1.953	(.168) -.397	(.732) -5.649	(.997) 2.179
Battle Deaths	(.553) 0	(1.664) 0	(2) 0	(.74) 0	(2.847) .001	(4.306) .002	(.828) 0	(4.726) .001	(4.2) 0
Women's Representation in Rebel Parties				1.166**	2.786	4.557			
Ex-Rebel Women's Representation				(.567)	(2.273)	(3.444)	7.338*	33.209*	16.984
Constant	1.186*** (.395)	-.589 (1.18)	.831 (1.469)	.549 (.643)	-.671 (2.38)	-2.66 (3.678)	1.533** (.634)	3.9 (3.512)	-.817 (3.186)
/Insig2u		-.609 (1.065)	-1.177 (1.929)		.089 (.994)	.802 (.962)		1.074 (.96)	.234 (1.151)
Observations	154	155	156	82	81	82	69	68	69

*Standard errors are in parentheses*

\*\*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*  $p < .05$ , \*  $p < .1$

## 9. Ongoing conflict

	Dependent Variables								
	(1) Avg. Imp	(2) Any Substanti al Imp.	(3) Any Minimal Imp.	(4) Avg. Imp	(5) Any Substanti al Imp.	(6) Any Minimal Imp.	(7) Avg. Imp	(8) Any Substanti al Imp.	(9) Any Minimal Imp.
Women's National Representation	.013**	.023	.073**						
	(.006)	(.022)	(.031)						
# Gender Provisions	-.015*	.174***	.25	-.005	.135*	.549*	-.009	.096	.466
	(.008)	(.057)	(.152)	(.011)	(.071)	(.329)	(.014)	(.078)	(.32)
GDP per Capita	0*	0	0	0*	0	0	0*	-.001	0
	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
UN Intervention	.11	.062	-.405	.021	.049	-.238	.06	.257	-.08
	(.111)	(.433)	(.615)	(.151)	(.61)	(.936)	(.163)	(.682)	(.907)
Women's Civil Society Participation	.055	.473	-.327	.16	-.985	1.407	-.317	-3.693	2.748
	(.388)	(1.308)	(1.511)	(.608)	(2.124)	(3.041)	(.74)	(3.759)	(3.223)
Ongoing Conflict	.005	.475	.53	.092	.434	1.108	.011	.343	.496
	(.118)	(.482)	(.581)	(.152)	(.676)	(.902)	(.159)	(.735)	(.838)
Women's Representation in Rebel Parties				1.092*	2.421	3.428			
				(.559)	(2.171)	(2.719)			
Ex-Rebel Women's Representation							7.466**	29.408*	18.835
							(3.767)	(17.204)	(16.515)
Constant	.937***	-1.499	.137	.895*	.117	-1.373	1.45***	2.558	-1.504
	(.251)	(.959)	(1.116)	(.459)	(1.684)	(2.626)	(.54)	(2.805)	(2.634)
/Insig2u		-.447	-1.873		-.012	-.014		.61	-.156
		(1.014)	(2.845)		(1.052)	(1.162)		(1.051)	(1.184)
Observations	166	167	168	91	90	91	78	77	78

*Standard errors are in parentheses*

*\*\*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*  $p < .05$ , \*  $p < .1$*

## 10. Leftist Rebel Ideology

	Dependent Variables								
	(1) Avg. Imp	(2) Any Substan tial Imp.	(3) Any Minimal Imp.	(4) Avg. Imp	(5) Any Substan tial Imp.	(6) Any Minimal Imp.	(7) Avg. Imp	(8) Any Substan tial Imp.	(9) Any Minimal Imp.
Women's National Representation	.017*** (.006)	.035 (.022)	.076** (.032)						
# Gender Provisions	-.014* (.008)	.176*** (.057)	.259* (.152)	-.003 (.011)	.121 (.08)	.604* (.356)	-.008 (.013)	.122 (.092)	.557* (.332)
GDP per Capita	0** (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0** (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0** (0)	-.001** (0)	0 (0)
UN Intervention	.133 (.112)	.181 (.42)	-.417 (.604)	.015 (.15)	.188 (.753)	-.64 (.904)	.093 (.164)	.776 (.607)	0 (.884)
Women's Civil Society Participation	-.248 (.424)	-.782 (1.15)	-.843 (1.407)	-.129 (.693)	-3.571 (2.776)	.693 (3.331)	-.472 (.75)	-1.896 (2.01)	2.451 (3.085)
Leftist Ideology	-.416 (.253)	-.866 (.541)	-.279 (.66)	-.213 (.346)	-.748 (1.102)	.519 (1.493)	-.399 (.362)	- (.633)	-.879 (1.124)
Women's Representation in Rebel Parties				1.057* (.557)	3.065 (2.107)	3.042 (2.888)			
Ex-Rebel Women's Representation							7.641** (3.754)	31.484* (14.114)	20.318 (16.176)
Constant	1.213** * (.273)	-.396 (.74)	.748 (.937)	1.226** (.562)	1.846 (2.135)	-.33 (2.719)	1.683** * (.567)	1.391 (1.472)	-1.127 (2.508)
/Insig2u		-1.032 (1.361)	-2.364 (4.569)		-.627 (2.411)	.4 (1.088)		-11.162 (48.629)	-.713 (1.884)
Observations	165	166	167	91	72	91	78	77	78

*Standard errors are in parentheses*

\*\*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*  $p < .05$ , \*  $p < .1$

## 11. Religious Rebel Ideology

	Dependent Variables								
	(1) Avg. Imp	(2) Any Substan tial Imp.	(3) Any Minimal Imp.	(4) Avg. Imp	(5) Any Substan tial Imp.	(6) Any Minimal Imp.	(7) Avg. Imp	(8) Any Substan tial Imp.	(9) Any Minimal Imp.
Women's National Representation	.016*** (.006)	.033 (.021)	.071** (.031)						
# Gender Provisions	-.014* (.008)	.193*** (.063)	.208 (.133)	-.003 (.011)	.133 (.088)	.468 (.333)	-.008 (.013)	.105 (.08)	.361 (.276)
GDP per Capita	0** (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0** (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0* (0)	-.001 (0)	0 (0)
UN Intervention	.11 (.111)	.118 (.422)	-.414 (.579)	-.005 (.148)	-.005 (.681)	-.234 (.953)	.059 (.162)	.197 (.664)	.273 (.89)
Women's Civil Society Participation	-.238 (.405)	-1.396 (1.164)	.151 (1.481)	-.236 (.652)	-3.625 (2.724)	1.864 (3.074)	-.371 (.759)	-3.938 (3.519)	3.845 (3.092)
Religious Ideology	-.477** (.23)	- 1.375** (.569)	1.02* (.584)	-.374 (.321)	-1.349 (.972)	1.483 (1.247)	-.076 (.407)	-.973 (1.17)	2.398* (1.378)
Women's Representation in Rebel Parties				1.05* (.551)	3.645 (2.318)	3.053 (2.602)			
Ex-Rebel Women's Representation							7.372* (3.921)	24.675 (17.657)	29.391* (17.851)
Constant	1.319** * (.283)	.347 (.809)	-.189 (.962)	1.373** * (.526)	1.921 (2.204)	-1.437 (2.61)	1.515** * (.572)	3.075 (2.728)	-2.735 (2.478)
/Insig2u		-1.261 (1.425)	-14.101 (705.44 9)		-.284 (1.29)	-.814 (2.341)		.302 (1.066)	-1.686 (3.045)
Observations	165	166	167	91	72	91	78	77	78

*Standard errors are in parentheses*

\*\*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*  $p < .05$ , \*  $p < .1$

## 12. Re-Coded Values for Non-Rebel Party Countries

	Dependent Variables					
	(1) Avg. Imp	(2) Any Substantial Imp.	(3) Any Minimal Imp.	(4) Avg. Imp	(5) Any Substantial Imp.	(6) Any Minimal Imp.
Women's Representation in Rebel Parties	.9*	3.146	1.724			
# Gender Provisions	(.529) -.007	(2.307) .12	(2.335) .386*			
GDP per Capita	(.011) 0*	(.078) 0	(.21) 0	-.011 0*	.135** 0	.335* 0
UN Intervention	(.132) .021	(.692) .016	(.659) -.239	(.013) .061	(.067) .216	(.195) .061
Women's Civil Society Participation	.37 (.511)	-2.716 (2.858)	1.754 (1.812)	.343 (.582)	-.3 (1.733)	3.104 (1.981)
Prop. Rebel Party Seats		.612 (1.539)				
Ex-Rebel Women's Representation				8.011** (3.654)	31.56** (14.302)	12.76 (15.022)
Constant	.879** (.349)	1.211 (2.165)	-.222 (1.295)	.983** (.399)	-.242 (1.217)	-.924 (1.377)
/Insig2u		.098 (1.122)	-.449 (1.221)		-.531 (1.176)	-.462 (1.188)
Observations	118	72	120	105	106	107

*Standard errors are in parentheses*

\*\*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*  $p < .05$ , \*  $p < .1$

### 13. Random Effects at the Country Level

	Dependent Variables								
	(1) Avg. Imp	(2) Any Substanti al Imp.	(3) Any Minimal Imp.	(4) Avg. Imp	(5) Any Substanti al Imp.	(6) Any Minimal Imp.	(7) Avg. Imp	(8) Any Substanti al Imp.	(9) Any Minimal Imp.
Women's National Representation	.021*** (.005)	.136** (.069)	.112** (.052)						
# Gender Provisions	-.026* (.014)	.43** (.213)	.35 (.243)	-.008 (.017)	.471*** (.182)	.762 (.509)	-.011 (.023)	-.083 (.273)	.545 (.369)
GDP per Capita	0** (0)	-.001 (.001)	0 (0)	0** (0)	-.003*** (.001)	0 (0)	0* (0)	-.003* (.002)	0 (0)
UN Intervention	-.086 (.167)	-1.954 (2.296)	-1.068 (1.091)	-.229 (.225)	-1.677 (1.962)	-1.34 (1.464)	-.133 (.264)	.359 (4.019)	-.449 (1.128)
Women's Civil Society Participation	-.462 (.297)	-3.822 (4.076)	-1.634 (2.272)	-.183 (.481)	- 17.251** *	.465 (3.307)	-.378 (.647)	-19.533* (10.962)	3.291 (3.103)
Women's Representation in Rebel Parties				1.072** (.427)	22.13*** (5.686)	4.023 (3.575)			
Prop. Rebel Party Seats					7.39** (3.383)				
Ex-Rebel Women's Seats							5.328* (3.183)	131.019* (53.552)	15.932 (17.758)
Constant	1.109*** (.183)	-1.025 (2.529)	1.442 (1.555)	1.154*** (.366)	5.634 (4.208)	-.009 (2.726)	1.481*** (.484)	13.016 (8.485)	-1.563 (2.531)
/Insig2u		3.511*** (.65)	1.43 (.906)		4.008*** (.304)	1.378 (1.147)		4.249*** (.277)	.548 (1.32)
Observations	166	167	168	91	72	91	78	77	78

*Standard errors are in parentheses*

\*\*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*  $p < .05$ , \*  $p < .1$

## 14. OLS with Country Clustered Standard Errors

	Dependent Variables								
	(1) Avg. Imp	(2) Any Substan tial Imp.	(3) Any Minimal Imp.	(4) Avg. Imp	(5) Any Substan tial Imp.	(6) Any Minimal Imp.	(7) Avg. Imp	(8) Any Substan tial Imp.	(9) Any Minimal Imp.
Women's National Representation	.015** (.007)	.005 (.004)	.007** (.003)						
# Gender Provisions	-.022*** (.006)	.024*** (.006)	.008*** (.003)	-.01 (.01)	.019 (.011)	.014** (.006)	-.012 (.012)	.016 (.012)	.013** (.004)
GDP per Capita	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0*** (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0* (0)	0 (0)
UN Intervention	.079 (.114)	.01 (.077)	-.056 (.042)	.008 (.179)	.052 (.131)	-.09 (.077)	.092 (.154)	.078 (.113)	-.034 (.07)
Women's Civil Society Participation	.205 (.319)	-.041 (.22)	-.059 (.093)	.371 (.498)	-.522 (.429)	.166 (.217)	.419 (.998)	-.401 (.515)	.503 (.412)
Women's Representation in Rebel Parties				.419 (.586)	.586 (.417)	.244 (.262)			
Prop. Rebel Party Seats					.183 (.262)				
Ex-Rebel Women's Seats							4.621 (3.316)	3.611* (1.774)	1.586 (1.672)
Constant	.757*** (.199)	.353*** (.116)	.772*** (.093)	.892 (.514)	.6* (.294)	.681** (.25)	.885 (.818)	.673* (.372)	.468 (.353)
Observations	166	167	168	91	72	91	78	77	78
R-squared	.11	.132	.085	.051	.181	.093	.059	.148	.097

*Standard errors are in parentheses*

\*\*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*  $p < .05$ , \*  $p < .1$

### 15. OLS with Agreement Clustered Standard Errors

	Dependent Variables								
	(1) Avg. Imp	(2) Any Substan tial Imp.	(3) Any Minimal Imp.	(4) Avg. Imp	(5) Any Substan tial Imp.	(6) Any Minimal Imp.	(7) Avg. Imp	(8) Any Substan tial Imp.	(9) Any Minimal Imp.
Women's National Representation	.015** (.006)	.005 (.005)	.007*** (.002)						
# Gender Provisions	-.022** (.008)	.024*** (.007)	.008*** (.003)	-.01 (.014)	.019 (.014)	.014*** (.005)	-.012 (.022)	.016 (.016)	.013** (.005)
GDP per Capita	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0** (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0* (0)	0 (0)
UN Intervention	.079 (.155)	.01 (.123)	-.056 (.062)	.008 (.251)	.052 (.185)	-.09 (.103)	.092 (.265)	.078 (.194)	-.034 (.105)
Women's Civil Society Participation	.205 (.34)	-.041 (.26)	-.059 (.108)	.371 (.5)	-.522 (.555)	.166 (.189)	.419 (.751)	-.401 (.555)	.503 (.334)
Women's Representation in Rebel Parties				.419 (.538)	.586 (.383)	.244 (.269)			
Prop. Rebel Party Seats					.183 (.28)				
Ex-Rebel Women's Seats							4.621 (3.503)	3.611* (2.069)	1.586 (1.711)
Constant	.757*** (.234)	.353** (.169)	.772*** (.094)	.892** (.415)	.6 (.378)	.681*** (.194)	.885 (.601)	.673 (.411)	.468 (.284)
Observations	166	167	168	91	72	91	78	77	78
R-squared	.11	.132	.085	.051	.181	.093	.059	.148	.097

*Standard errors are in parentheses*

\*\*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*  $p < .05$ , \*  $p < .1$

## 16. Alternative Operationalization of Female Rebels (Raw Number)

	Dependent Variables		
	(1) Avg. Imp	(2) Any Substantial Imp.	(3) Any Minimal Imp.
Ex-Rebel Women's Seats	.05*	.187	.189
	(.027)	(.136)	(.132)
# Gender Provisions	-.007	.098	.511
	(.013)	(.074)	(.342)
GDP per Capita	0**	-.001	0
	(0)	(.001)	(0)
UN Intervention	.029	.106	-.362
	(.161)	(.654)	(.877)
Women's Civil Society Participation	-.717	-5.272	.63
	(.736)	(3.369)	(3.385)
Constant	1.745***	3.975	.081
	(.506)	(2.445)	(2.42)
/lnsig2u		.421	.001
		(.999)	(1.187)
Observations	78	77	78
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	.z	.z	.z

*Standard errors are in parentheses*

\*\*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*  $p < .05$ , \*  $p < .1$

<b>Table 1: List of Gender-Inclusive Provisions for which Gender is Coded</b>			
<b>PA-X Provision Category</b>	<b>PA-X Provisions Used to Identify Sample</b>	<b>Phase 2: Additional PA-X Provisions Coded</b>	<b>Aggregated Category</b>
Participation [wggpar]- <i>provision(s) on women's participation</i>			
	Gender Quotas in electoral or other bodies [WggGenQuot]		Political
		Effective Participation [WggEffPart]	Political
		Citizenship [WggCitizen]	Political
		Other [WggParOth]	Political
New Institutions [WggNewInst]- <i>provision(s) on creation of a new institution catering to women, women's issues or gender</i>			
	Institutions for women [WggInstWom]		Political
	Infrastructure (general) [WggInf]		Economic/Development/Health
	Reconciliation and Peace [WggRecon]		Security
	Other [WggNewInstOth]		Political
Transitional Justice [WggTraJus]- <i>provision(s) related to women's role in transitional justice or</i>			

<i>the effect of transitional justice on women</i>			
	Past and gender [WggPast]		Political
	Prisons, prisoner release [WggPri]		Security
	Other [WggTra]usOth]		Political
Institutional Reform [WggInstRef] – <i>provision(s) relating institutional form to women, including their participation in the reform process or newly reformed institutions</i>			
	Constitution-making/reform		Political
	Emergency/criminal law/corruption reform [WggLawRef]		Security
	Judiciary, judicial reform [WggJud]		Political
	Police [WggPol]		Security
	DDR, Army, Parastatal or rebel forces [WggDdr]		Security
	Public administration [WggPubAdm]		Political
	Other [WggInstRefOth]		Political
Development [WggDev]- <i>provision(s) in reference to development and women, including</i>			

<i>women's inclusion in development-related programs</i>			
	Rehabilitation and reconstruction [WggRehab]		Security
		General Development [WggDevGen]	Economic/Development/Health
		Education [WggEdu]	Economic/Development/Health
		Health [WggHea]	Economic/Development/Health
		Reproductive Rights [WggRepro]	Economic/Development/Health
		Other [WggDevOth]	Economic/Development/Health
Equality [WggEq]: <i>provision(s) on women's equality</i>			
	Equality (general) [WggEqGen]		Political
	Social equality [WggSocEq]		Political
	WggEqOther		Political
Particular Groups of Women [WggGrp]- <i>provision(s) mentioning/ accommodating specific groups of women</i>			
		Indigenous/Nomadic Women [WggIndNom]	Political
		Refugee/Displaced Women [WggRefDisp]	Political
		Pregnancy/Maternity [WggPreg]	Political
		Other [WggGrpOth]	Political
International Law			

[WggIntLaw]- <i>provision(s) referring to international law, including how human rights practices affect women</i>			
		General International Human Rights/Humanitarian Law [WggHR]	Political
		International Human Rights Standards [WggHrSta]	Political
		References to UNSCR 1325 [WggUNSC]	Political
		International Law [WggIntLaw]	Political
Violence Against Women [WggVio]- <i>provision(s) invoking violence against women</i>			
		Sexual Violence [WggVioSex]	Security
		Gender-based Violence [WggVioGen]	Security
		Protection [WggVioProt]	Security
		Other [WggVioOth]	Security
Implementation [WggImpl] – <i>provision[s] with any reference to the manner of implementation, with regard to women</i>			
		Women’s role and consideration in implementation of the agreement [WggImplRole]	Political
		Signing or Witnessing agreement	Political

		[WggImplSign]	
		Other [WggImplOth]	Political
Other [WggOth] – <i>Any reference to women or gender which does not fit in the categories above</i>			Political