**Supporting Information for**

**The weight on her shoulders: Marginalization of women legislators in parliaments and substantive representation of women**

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**List safety**

Due to party organizations’ control of ranking, and thus also the order of election, an MK’s marginality is a product of (1) the candidate’s rank on the party list, and (2) the number of seats the party has won in the elections. To capture this duality, we use a measure we call “safety on the list” (Shugart et al. 2021). This is a scale in which the most marginally elected MK is the one who won the last of the party’s seats in the general elections. The safest is always the one ranked first on the list: As long as the party wins one seat, this candidate is assured of election. This variable, which ranges from 0 – least safe, to 1 – the safest, is calculated by the formula:



**Party family classification**

Israeli parties that served in the Knesset between the years 1977 and 2015 are classified into four party families:

**Right-wing parties**: Ha'bayit Hayehudi; Likud Beytenu; Ichud Le'umi; Likud, Yisrael Beytenu; Mafdal-Ichud Le'umi; Ichud Le'umi-Yisrael Beytenu; Moledet; Zomet; Yisrael Be'aliya; Mafdal; Likud-Gesher-Zomet; Shlomzion; Tchiya; Tchiya-Zomet; Morasha; Tami; Kach; Ometz.

**Center-left parties**: Ha'avoda; Ha'tnua; Yesh Atid; Merez; Kadima; Yisrael Achat; Gil; Shinui; Am Echad; Ha'avoda-Meimad; Merez-Yachad; Ha'derech Ha'shlishit; Ma'arach; Tnua Democratit Le'shinui; Sheli; Raz; Liberalim Atzmaim; Mifleget Ha'merkaz; Mapam; Reshima Mitkademet Le'shalom; Panterim; Yachad; Telem.

**Arab parties**: Balad; Hadash; Ra'am-Ta'al-Mada; Ra'am-Ta'al; Joint Arab List; Hadash-Ta'al; Mada; Mada-Ra'am; Hadash-Balad; Ra'am; Hadash-Panterim.

**Ultra-Orthodox parties**: Yahadut Ha'torah; Shas; Degel Ha'torah; Agudat Yisrael; Poalei Agudat Yisrael.

**Table A1.** Descriptive statistics

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | N | mean | SD | min | max |
| Gender bills | 1,453 | 2.68 | 4.00 | 1 | 19 |
| Female | 1,453 | 0.11 | 0.32 | 0 | 1 |
| Tenure | 1,453 | 2.81 | 2.07 | 1 | 14 |
| List safety  | 1,453 | 0.49 | 0.32 | 0 | 1 |
| Parliamentary role | 1,453 | 0.24 | 0.42 | 0 | 1 |
| Government | 1,453 | 0.63 | 0.48 | 0 | 1 |
| % women in parliament | 1,453 | 0.11 | 0.05 | 0.05 | 0.22 |
| % women in party | 1,453 | 0.13 | 0.12 | 0 | 1 |
| Prior masculine occu. | 1,453 | 0.13 | 0.34 | 0 | 1 |
| Party family | 1,452 | 1.83 | 0.85 | 1 | 4 |
| Ministerial position | 1,453 | 0.19 | 0.39 | 0 | 1 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |

**Table A2.** Negative binomial regression models with robust standard errors

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| (7) | (6) | (5) | (4) | (3) | (2) | (1) |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1.41\*\* | 1.49\*\* | 1.14\*\* | 1.01\*\* | 1.19\*\* | 1.06\*\* | 1.06\*\* | Female |
| (0.14) | (0.18) | (0.11) | (0.09) | (0.13) | (0.13) | (0.08) |  |
| -0.08\*\* | -0.08\*\* | -0.08\*\* | -0.08\*\* | -0.08\*\* | -0.08\*\* |   | Tenure |
| (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |   |  |
| 0.21\* | 0.20 | 0.18 | 0.19 | 0.24\* | 0.18 |   | List safety |
| (0.11) | (0.11) | (0.11) | (0.11) | (0.12) | (0.11) |   |  |
| 0.10 | 0.09 | 0.10 | 0.07 | 0.10 | 0.10 |   | Parliamentary role |
| (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.09) | (0.07) | (0.07) |   |  |
| -0.07 | -0.06 | -0.04 | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.07 |   | Government  |
| (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.08) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) |  |  |
| -0.72 | -0.02 | -0.36 | -0.50 | -0.54 | -0.46 |   | % women in parliament |
| (2.41) | (2.44) | (2.43) | (2.43) | (2.43) | (2.44) |   |  |
| 0.23 | -0.19 | -0.24 | -0.22 | -0.17 | -0.21 |   | % women in party |
| (0.37) | (0.34) | (0.34) | (0.34) | (0.33) | (0.33) |   |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | -0.01 |  | Female\*tenure |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.05) |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | -0.33 |  |  | Female\*list safety |
|  |  |  |  | (0.26) |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | 0.16 |  |  |  | Female\*parliamentary role |
|  |  |  | (0.16) |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | -0.13 |  |  |  |  | Female\*government |
|  |  | (0.15) |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | -3.41\*\* |  |  |  |  |  | Female\*descriptive rep |
|  | (1.28) |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| -1.61\*\* |  |  |  |  |  |  | Female\*% women in party |
| (0.52) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| -0.25\*\* | -0.25\*\* | -0.24\*\* | -0.25\*\* | -0.25\*\* | -0.24\*\* | -0.21\* | Prior masculine occu. |
| (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) |  |
| 0.34\*\* | 0.35\*\* | 0.35\*\* | 0.36\*\* | 0.35\*\* | 0.35\*\* | 0.34\*\* | Center left parties (ref: rightwing) |
| (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) |  |
| -0.33\*\* | -0.41\*\* | -0.40\*\* | -0.40\*\* | -0.39\*\* | -0.40\*\* | -0.37\*\* | Ultra-orthodox parties (ref: rightwing) |
| (0.11) | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.10) |  |
| 0.50\*\* | 0.45\*\* | 0.47\*\* | 0.48\*\* | 0.46\*\* | 0.47\*\* | 0.54\*\* | Arab parties (ref: rightwing) |
| (0.12) | (0.12) | (0.12) | (0.13) | (0.12) | (0.12) | (0.12) |  |
| -0.67\*\* | -0.66\*\* | -0.67\*\* | -0.66\*\* | -0.67\*\* | -0.66\*\* | -0.75\*\* | Ministerial position |
| (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.06) |  |
| 0.38\*\*(0.11) | 0.38\*\*(0.11) | 0.37\*\*(0.11) | 0.37\*\*(0.11) | 0.38\*\*(0.11) | 0.37\*\*(0.11) | 0.35\*\*(0.05) | Knesset term |
| 2.38\*\*(0.71) | 2.42\*\*(0.71) | 2.30\*\*(0.72) | 2.32\*\*(0.72) | 2.36\*\*(0.72) | 2.32\*\*(0.72) | 2.25\*\*(0.5) | Cubic Spline 1 |
| 1.94\*\*(0.52) | 1.96\*\*(0.52) | 1.87\*\*(0.53) | 1.89\*\*(0.53) | 1.93\*\*(0.53) | 1.89\*\*(0.53) | 1.83\*\*(0.39) | Cubic Spline 2 |
| 1.60\*\*(0.34) | 1.63\*\*(0.33) |

|  |
| --- |
| 1.57\*\* |
| (0.34) |

 | 1.58\*\*(0.34) | 1.60\*\*(0.34) | 1.58\*\*(0.34) | 1.57\*\*(0.28) | Cubic Spline 3 |
| 0.62\*\*(0.19) | 0.63\*\*(0.19) | 0.60\*\*(0.19) | 0.60\*\*(0.19) |

|  |
| --- |
| 0.62\*\* |
| (0.19) |

 | 0.61\*\*(0.19) | 0.59\*\*(0.16) | Cubic Spine 4  |
| -5.55\*\* | -5.65\*\* | -5.35\*\* | -5.39\*\* | -5.49\*\* | -5.37\*\* | -5.34\*\* | Constant |
| (1.54) | (1.55) | (1.57) | (1.57) | (1.57) | (1.57) | (1.01) |  |
| -0.88\*\* | -0.87\*\* | -0.86\*\* | -0.86\*\* | -0.86\*\* | -0.86\*\* | -0.83\*\* | Ln Alpha |
| (0.06)0.41\*\*(0.02) | (0.06)0.41\*\*(0.02) | (0.06)0.42\*\*(0.02) | (0.06)0.42\*\*(0.02) | (0.06)0.42\*\*(0.02) | (0.06)0.42\*\*(0.02) | (0.06)0.43\*\*(0.02) | Alpha |
| 1,451 | 1,451 | 1,451 | 1,451 | 1,451 | 1,451 | 1,451 | Observations |
| 0.12 | 0.12 | 0.12 | 0.12 | 0.12 | 0.12 | 0.11 | Pseudo R2 |
| -2735.23 | -2736.15 | -2739.64 | -2739.45 | -2739.01 | -2740.09 | -2756.37 | Log pseudolikelihood |

Dependent variable: number of gender-related bills initiated by legislator per Knesset term

Robust standard errors in parentheses

\*\* p<0.01, \* p<0.05

**Table A3.** The combined effect of individual and collective marginality on women legislators' gender-related bill initiation

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| (2) | (1) |  |
|  |  |  |
| -0.03 | 0.18 | Tenure |
| (0.11) | (0.14) |  |
| -0.18 | -0.27 | List safety |
| (0.30) | (0.29) |  |
| 0.35\* | 0.34\* | Parliamentary role |
| (0.15) | (0.14) |  |
| -0.31\* | -0.31\* | Government  |
| (0.14) | (0.14) |  |
| -2.19 | 3.72 | % women in parliament |
| (5.64) | (6.20) |  |
| -0.19 | -1.12\* | % women in party |
| (1.16) | (0.53) |  |
|   | -2.02\* | Tenure\* % women in parliament |
|   | (0.85) |  |
| -0.29(0.38) |  | Tenure\* % women in party |
| -0.23 | -0.28 | Prior masculine occu. |
| (0.30) | (0.31) |  |
| 0.32 | 0.30 | Center left parties (ref: rightwing) |
| (0.17) | (0.16) |  |
| 0.67\*\* | 0.68\*\* | Arab parties (ref: rightwing) |
| (0.21) | (0.20) |  |
| 0.31 | 0.25 | Knesset term |
| (0.22) | (0.22) |  |
| 1.43(1.41) | 1.05(1.41) | Cubic spline 1 |
| 1.45(1.04) | 1.04(1.04) | Cubic spline 2 |
| 1.43\*(0.62) | 1.25\*(0.61) | Cubic spline 3 |
| 0.70(0.37) | 0.62(0.36) | Cubic spline 4 |
| -2.81 | -2.40 | Constant |
| (3.01) | (3.01) |  |
| -0.52\*\*(0.10) | -0.55\*\*(0.10) | Ln Alpha |
| 0.59\*\*(0.05) | 0.57\*\*(0.05) | Alpha |
| 171 | 171 | Observations |
| 0.04 | 0.04 | Pseudo R2 |
| -502.42 | -499.97 | Log pseudolikelihood |

Dependent variable: number of gender-related bills initiated by legislator per Knesset term, female subset only.

Robust standard errors in parentheses

\*\* p<0.01, \* p<0.05

**Table A4.** The effect of marginalization on female legislators' likelihood to sponsor legislation across policy issues

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Children and family | Education | Health | Welfare | Economics | Agri. | Law | Security |
| Tenure | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| List safety | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Parliamentary role | X | ✓ | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Government | X | X | ✓ | X | X | X | ✓ | X |
| Descriptive rep  | X | X | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | X | X | X |
| % women in party | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |

Note: Negative binomial regression models including controls, with Knesset term fixed effects. Women subset only.

✓= statistically significant effect at p<0.05; X= statistically insignificant effect

Figure A1. Share of gender-related private member bills per Knesset term

Note. The figure presents the share of gender related private member bills out of the total number of private member bills initiated per term.