Figure A1. Ideological Differences between the Main Right and Main Left-Wing Parties, by Country



Source: Own elaboration, with data of the Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES) 1999. Panel A: ideological difference in the left-right dimension. Panel B: party positions in the L-R dimension. We used data of the first CHES study (1999) because it is the closest one to the middle of the period studied in this paper.

Table A1. Descriptive Statistics

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 Mean Std dev Minimum Maximum

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All seats (N = 7,064)

Woman 0.26 0.44 0.0 1.0

Party 0.51 0.50 0.0 1.0

Electoral quotas 0.28 0.45 0.0 1.0

Years since 1st parliament 17.22 9.12 0.0 31.2

Chamber size/10 7.78 2.79 3.3 13.5

Electoral competitiveness 18.16 10.56 0.2 51.0

Difference in share: PSOE-PP -0.51 19.09 -48.9 45.0

Junior seats (N = 3,899)

Woman 0.28 0.45 0.0 1.0

Party 0.51 0.50 0.0 1.0

Electoral quotas 0.22 0.42 0.0 1.0

Years since 1st parliament 15.22 9.56 0.0 31.2

Chamber size/10 7.61 2.73 3.3 13.5

Electoral competitiveness 18.22 10.88 0.2 51.0

Difference in share: PSOE-PP 1.61 19.23 -48.9 45.0

Incumbent seats (N = 6,133)

Exit vs Stay 0.48 0.50 0.0 1.0

Party 0.52 0.50 0.0 1.0

Gender 0.24 0.43 0.0 1.0

Electoral quotas 0.17 0.37 0.0 1.0

Years since 1st parliament 15.19 8.02 0.0 27.2

Chamber size/10 7.73 2.75 3.3 13.5

Electoral competitiveness 17.61 10.30 0.2 51.0

Difference in share: PSOE-PP 1.64 18.48 -37.3 45.0

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Source: See Table 1.

Table A2. Additional Analysis with Alternative Measures of the Time Variable

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 H1(Base) H1(Start) H1(Term)

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PSOE 0.315\*\*\* 0.305\*\*\* 0.307\*\*\*

 (5.11) (4.96) (4.99)

Years since 1st Basque 0.204\*\*\*

 (10.34)

Years since 1st Basque squared -0.003\*\*\*

 (-4.91)

Years since 1st in region 0.182\*\*\*

 (10.71)

Years since 1st in region squared -0.003\*\*\*

 (-4.56)

Legislative term 0.783\*\*\*

 (9.35)

Legislative term squared -0.041\*\*\*

 (-4.42)

Controls:^ Yes Yes Yes

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Observations 7064 7064 7064

AIC 7327 7340 7338

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Source: See Table 1. z statistics in parentheses. + p<0.10, \* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001. ^: Chamber size, electoral competitiveness, PSOE-PP percentage difference, PSOE \* PSOE-PP percentage difference, and existence of legislative quotas.

Table A3. Contrast of Predictive Margins (all Seats, by Party and Year)

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 | Delta-method

 | Contrast Std. Err. z P>|z| [95% Conf. Interval]

-----------------+----------------------------------------------------------------

 party@\_at |

(PSOE vs PP) 1 | .0077279 .0018627 4.15 0.000 .0040771 .0113788

(PSOE vs PP) 2 | .0112125 .0024944 4.50 0.000 .0063235 .0161015

(PSOE vs PP) 3 | .0157513 .0033076 4.76 0.000 .0092686 .022234

(PSOE vs PP) 4 | .0213857 .0043286 4.94 0.000 .0129017 .0298696

(PSOE vs PP) 5 | .0280202 .0055557 5.04 0.000 .0171313 .0389091

(PSOE vs PP) 6 | .0353974 .0069452 5.10 0.000 .0217851 .0490097

(PSOE vs PP) 7 | .0431138 .0084143 5.12 0.000 .026622 .0596056

(PSOE vs PP) 8 | .0506842 .0098605 5.14 0.000 .0313579 .0700105

(PSOE vs PP) 9 | .0576367 .0111884 5.15 0.000 .0357079 .0795655

(PSOE vs PP) 10 | .0636063 .0123299 5.16 0.000 .03944 .0877726

(PSOE vs PP) 11 | .0683931 .013252 5.16 0.000 .0424197 .0943665

(PSOE vs PP) 12 | .0719711 .0139515 5.16 0.000 .0446267 .0993154

(PSOE vs PP) 13 | .0744544 .0144474 5.15 0.000 .0461382 .1027707

(PSOE vs PP) 14 | .0760434 .0147724 5.15 0.000 .0470899 .1049968

(PSOE vs PP) 15 | .0769689 .0149666 5.14 0.000 .0476349 .1063029

(PSOE vs PP) 16 | .07745 .0150704 5.14 0.000 .0479125 .1069874

(PSOE vs PP) 17 | .0776662 .0151191 5.14 0.000 .0480334 .107299

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Source: See Table 1. Contrast at k = at 2 \* (years-1). For instance, contrast at 1 = contrast at 0 years; contrast at 4 = contrast at 6 years.

Table A4. Additional Analyses: Models for Ideological Blocs (all Seats and Junior MPs)

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 All Seats Junior MPs

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Left **0.280\*\*\* 0.310\*\*\***

 (5.50) (4.57)

Years since 1st parliament **0.182\*\*\* 0.236\*\*\***

 (11.18) (11.96)

Years squared **-0.002\*\*\* -0.004\*\*\***

 (-4.96) (-6.40)

Chamber size/10 0.002 0.004

 (0.19) (0.36)

Electoral competitiveness -0.000 -0.001

 (-0.10) (-0.44)

Electoral quotas -0.039 0.073

 (-0.37) (0.49)

Constant **-3.612\*\*\* -3.662\*\*\***

 (-22.09) (-19.25)

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Observations 9311 5239

AIC 9422 5280

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Source: See Table 1. The difference in the share of PSOE and PP MPs has not been included because the causal mechanism that connects the difference in share with the odds that a seat is held by a woman only concerns the PSOE and the PP, and not the left and right-wing ideological blocks.

Table A5. Additional Analyses: Results of the Models for Ideological Blocs (Incumbents)

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 Incumbent-All Incumbent Men Incumbent Women

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Left 0.008 0.008 **-0.263\*\***

 (0.16) (0.16) (-2.77)

Woman 0.109

 (1.35)

Left # Woman **-0.266\***

 (-2.47)

Years since 1st parliament **0.030\*\* 0.026\*** 0.040

 (2.63) (2.07) (1.22)

Years squared -0.001 -0.000 -0.001

 (-1.43) (-0.85) (-1.01)

Chamber size/10 **0.040\*\*\* 0.038\*\*\* 0.045\*\***

 (5.31) (4.46) (2.78)

Electoral competitiveness 0.002 0.002 -0.001

 (0.73) (0.91) (-0.16)

Constant **-0.767\*\*\* -0.751\*\*\* -0.665\***

 (-6.95) (-6.31) (-2.03)

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Observations 8113 6296 1817

AIC 11168 8666 2509

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Source: See Table 1.

Figure A2. Gender Share by Party



Source: See Table 1. Upper panel: figures refer to seats. P-value of the two-tailed chi square test of independence = 0.110; one-tailed test = 0.055. Lower panel: figures refer to junior MPs or seats, which, by definition, are the same, because an MP can be junior only once. P-value of the two-tailed chi square test of independence = 0.084; one-tailed test = 0.042.

Figure A3. Adjusted Prediction of a Seat Being Held by a Woman, by Party and Years (Junior MPS)



Source: See Table 1. A formal contrast shows that party differences are statistically significant for all the years.

Figure A4. Propensity to Keep the Seat, by Party Label and Gender



Source: See Table 1.

Figure A5. Share of the PSOE and PP Seats within their Ideological Blocks



Source: See Table 1. Figures refer to seats, not to MPs. In absolute terms, the figures are 3,609 PSOE seats out of 4,619 left-wing seats, and 3,455 PP seats out of 4,692 right-wing seats.

Figure A6. Evolution of Women (Seats) by Ideological Blocks and by Party



Source: See Table 1. Note: Figures refer to seats, not to MPs.