

# Appendix for Acting out and Speaking Up: The Parliamentary Behavior of Ex-Rebel Women

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# A Descriptive Statistics

Table 1: Dataset Summary

Variables	Observations	Mean	Std. Deviation	Min	Max
Speeches	7,885	31.15	72.3	0	1589
“Hard” Topics	7,885	10.19	27.85	0	700
“Hard” Topic Ratio	7,885	0.30	0.20	0	1
“Wartime Experience” Topics	7,885	5.85	13.71	0	332
“Wartime Experience” Topic Ratio	7,885	0.19	0.17	0	1
Women MPs	7,885	0.30	0.46	0	1
Rebels	7,885	0.08	0.27	0	1
Government MPs	7,885	0.72	0.45	0	1
Ministers	7,885	0.08	0.27	0	1
Independents	7,885	0.09	0.28	0	1
Women’s seats	7,885	0.21	0.41	0	1
Army Representatives	7,885	0.01	0.12	0	1
Rebel Leaders	7,885	0.01	0.11	0	1
Chairperson	7,885	0.07	0.26	0	1
Years in Office	7,885	4.11	3.29	0	16

Table 2: Summary Statistics for Rebel and Non-Rebel Parliamentarians in Uganda and Zimbabwe

Variables	Zimbabwe 2008	Zimbabwe 2013	Uganda 2011	Uganda 2016
Women MPs	27	83	133	148
Rebel Women MPs	6	20	4	4
Reserved Women’s Seats	0	59	113	113
Men MPs	181	187	257	296
Rebel Men MPs	21	23	14	11
<b>Women Rebel to Non-rebels:</b>				
Parliamentary seats	22.2%	24%	3%	2.7%
Government membership	26.3%	47.2%	4.3%	4.1%
Committee Chairs	54.5%	45.5%	11.5%	0%
Ministerial Positions	0%	87.5%	0%	0%
<b>Men Rebel to Non-rebels:</b>				
Parliamentary seats	16.8%	14%	5.8%	3.9%
Government membership	16%	18.8%	6.4%	4.4%
Committee Chairs	7.7%	7.1%	0%	0%
Ministerial Positions	6.3%	14%	23.7%	27.3%

## B Main Results

Table 3: Main Models

	(1) Speeches	(2) H. Speeches	(3) H. Speeches (ratio)	(4) W.E. Speeches	(5) W.E. Speeches (ratio)
Rebels	-0.21 (0.24)	-0.18 (0.29)	0.00 (0.03)	0.15 (0.29)	0.05 (0.03)
Women	-0.44** (0.12)	-0.57** (0.15)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.30 (0.16)	0.02 (0.01)
Rebels $\times$ Women	0.68* (0.29)	0.74* (0.36)	0.01 (0.03)	0.60 (0.38)	0.02 (0.03)
Government MPs	-0.72** (0.09)	-0.79** (0.11)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.92** (0.10)	-0.02* (0.01)
Ministers	1.04** (0.20)	1.21** (0.26)	0.00 (0.01)	0.95** (0.16)	-0.01 (0.01)
Chairpersons	1.10** (0.10)	1.24** (0.11)	0.02* (0.01)	1.08** (0.10)	-0.01 (0.01)
Independent MPs	-0.57** (0.13)	-0.62** (0.15)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.64** (0.15)	-0.00 (0.01)
Women's Seats	-0.06 (0.13)	-0.12 (0.16)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.17 (0.17)	-0.03* (0.01)
Army Representatives	-1.96** (0.35)	-1.57** (0.41)	0.03 (0.05)	-1.70** (0.38)	0.06 (0.03)
Years in Office	0.06** (0.01)	0.07** (0.01)	0.01** (0.00)	0.05** (0.01)	0.00 (0.00)
Rebel Leaders	0.15 (0.35)	-0.26 (0.39)	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.21 (0.44)	-0.03 (0.03)
Zimbabwe	-0.75** (0.10)	-0.48** (0.13)	0.03* (0.01)	-0.43** (0.12)	-0.00 (0.01)
Piecewise polynomial 1	8.11** (3.03)	10.97** (3.74)	0.18 (0.40)	14.34** (3.41)	-0.08 (0.33)
Piecewise polynomial 2	-51.81** (15.65)	-73.20** (19.13)	-0.93 (2.19)	-93.59** (17.79)	0.03 (1.83)
Piecewise polynomial 3	71.45** (23.23)	108.23** (28.14)	0.21 (3.48)	139.98** (26.32)	-0.38 (2.99)
Piecewise polynomial 4	16.85 (35.33)	-10.01 (43.91)	8.56 (5.97)	-21.75 (39.26)	9.62 (5.44)
Piecewise polynomial 5	-172.25 (94.46)	-259.02* (123.89)	-46.67** (16.19)	-347.94** (107.47)	-55.43** (14.84)
Piecewise polynomial 6	-550.30 (841.17)	1387.13 (1133.02)	514.58** (142.32)	2419.36* (1069.81)	609.30** (125.50)
Constant	4.00** (0.13)	2.76** (0.16)	0.30** (0.01)	2.24** (0.14)	0.20** (0.01)
Logit					
Rebels	0.02 (0.22)	0.21 (0.31)		0.21 (0.31)	

Women	0.06 (0.24)	-0.11 (0.39)		-0.11 (0.38)	
Rebels $\times$ Women	-1.09** (0.42)	-1.43* (0.59)		-1.40** (0.54)	
Government MPs	0.25 (0.15)	0.04 (0.21)		0.06 (0.20)	
Ministers	-1.33** (0.28)	-1.51** (0.43)		-1.43** (0.45)	
Chairpersons	-1.54** (0.26)	-1.49** (0.44)		-1.59** (0.45)	
Independent MPs	0.32 (0.26)	0.44 (0.37)		0.35 (0.34)	
Women's Seats	0.08 (0.26)	0.47 (0.40)		0.45 (0.39)	
Army Representatives	2.97** (0.51)	10.97** (2.82)		19.22 (49.41)	
Years in Office	0.01 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.03)		-0.03 (0.03)	
Rebel Leaders	0.03 (0.81)	-6.78* (2.64)		-6.88* (3.02)	
Zimbabwe	1.74** (0.14)	8.81** (2.62)		17.49 (49.39)	
Piecewise polynomial 1	-20.61** (3.41)	-11.58* (5.24)		-2.00 (5.19)	
Piecewise polynomial 2	116.00** (20.46)	33.55 (34.76)		-11.90 (34.96)	
Piecewise polynomial 3	-180.62** (35.72)	-56.87 (78.71)		-4.06 (81.19)	
Piecewise polynomial 4	257.37** (62.02)	942.43* (388.07)		928.30* (404.10)	
Piecewise polynomial 5	-501.66** (159.45)	-6212.35** (1693.95)		-6210.60** (1742.26)	
Piecewise polynomial 6	5542.76** (1421.60)	88465.44** (17318.41)		106777.47 (108806.48)	
Constant	-1.52** (0.20)	-8.24** (2.68)		-16.99 (49.42)	
<i>BIC</i>	56934.85	42327.36	-2192.31	36277.15	-3520.51
Observations	7885	7885	5220	7885	5220

Standard errors in parentheses

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

## C Robustness Checks

Table 4: Alternative Specification: Women only sample

	(6) Speeches	(7) H. Speeches	(8) H. Speeches (ratio)	(9) W.E. Speeches	(10) W.E. Speeches (ratio)
Rebels	0.48* (0.20)	0.42 (0.23)	0.01 (0.02)	0.61* (0.25)	0.06* (0.03)
Government MPs	-0.66** (0.16)	-0.64** (0.18)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.72** (0.17)	-0.02 (0.01)
Ministers	0.72** (0.16)	0.58** (0.16)	0.00 (0.02)	0.41* (0.17)	-0.02 (0.02)
Chairpersons	1.05** (0.12)	1.03** (0.13)	0.03* (0.01)	0.95** (0.13)	0.01 (0.01)
Independent MPs	-0.50** (0.20)	-0.60** (0.21)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.60** (0.20)	-0.02 (0.02)
Women's Seats	-0.10 (0.14)	-0.21 (0.15)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.20 (0.16)	-0.02 (0.01)
Army Representatives	-1.10** (0.21)	-0.41 (0.24)	0.25** (0.02)	-0.91** (0.26)	0.09** (0.02)
Years in Office	0.09** (0.02)	0.11** (0.02)	0.00 (0.00)	0.09** (0.02)	0.00 (0.00)
Rebel Leaders	0.39 (0.29)	0.52* (0.24)	-0.04 (0.06)	-0.10 (0.24)	-0.11** (0.04)
Zimbabwe	-0.90** (0.16)	-0.73** (0.17)	0.03 (0.02)	-0.62** (0.20)	0.02 (0.02)
Piecewise polynomial 1	8.71* (3.52)	9.85 (5.25)	1.39 (0.71)	10.51* (4.82)	0.18 (0.70)
Piecewise polynomial 2	-55.76** (19.90)	-55.07 (29.81)	-6.82 (3.91)	-52.79 (27.00)	-0.46 (3.73)
Piecewise polynomial 3	74.13* (33.25)	57.15 (49.07)	7.53 (6.27)	46.78 (44.46)	-1.97 (5.76)
Piecewise polynomial 4	38.68 (64.31)	105.94 (85.66)	7.49 (10.89)	149.17 (83.52)	22.49* (9.77)
Piecewise polynomial 5	-299.53 (179.30)	-494.69* (221.20)	-62.81* (30.10)	-668.58** (246.36)	-100.46** (27.83)
Piecewise polynomial 6	915.71 (1629.14)	3423.00 (2044.16)	681.43** (258.83)	4950.06* (2481.93)	955.15** (237.51)
Constant	3.59** (0.21)	2.31** (0.25)	0.26** (0.03)	1.96** (0.26)	0.21** (0.02)
Logit					
Rebels	-1.30** (0.38)	-1.52** (0.47)		-1.45** (0.42)	
Government MPs	0.48 (0.26)	0.64* (0.31)		0.71* (0.29)	
Ministers	-0.99** (0.38)	-1.05* (0.47)		-1.08* (0.52)	

Chairpersons	-22.50** (1.57)	-40.74** (1.45)		-37.58** (1.45)	
Independent MPs	0.44 (0.47)	0.43 (0.54)		0.49 (0.53)	
Women's Seats	-0.01 (0.24)	0.01 (0.29)		-0.03 (0.28)	
Army Representatives	4.28** (1.13)	4.37** (1.13)		4.10** (1.18)	
Years in Office	0.03 (0.04)	0.05 (0.05)		0.01 (0.05)	
Rebel Leaders	2.49** (0.38)	21.18** (1.12)		19.08** (1.09)	
Zimbabwe	1.78** (0.25)	1.94** (0.29)		2.06** (0.28)	
Piecewise polynomial 1	-17.63* (7.32)	-19.06 (10.35)		-5.28 (10.16)	
Piecewise polynomial 2	125.80** (42.44)	148.23* (59.80)		82.58 (58.16)	
Piecewise polynomial 3	-227.87** (70.06)	-282.52** (97.14)		-191.97* (95.56)	
Piecewise polynomial 4	342.13** (115.03)	394.20* (157.23)		265.19 (161.77)	
Piecewise polynomial 5	-548.84 (285.28)	-465.93 (425.20)		-134.10 (436.26)	
Piecewise polynomial 6	4848.98* (2368.75)	5117.51 (4021.31)		2383.82 (4072.56)	
Constant	-1.86** (0.38)	-2.09** (0.47)		-2.37** (0.49)	
<i>BIC</i>	16890.60	12049.08	-754.97	10759.71	-1083.28
Observations	2359	2359	1617	2359	1617

Standard errors in parentheses

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

Table 5: Alternative Specification: Number of Words as Dependent Variable

	(11) Words	(12) H. Words	(13) H. Words (rate)	(14) W.E. Words	(15) W.E. Words (rate)
Rebels	-0.16 (0.23)	-0.06 (0.26)	0.01 (0.03)	0.29 (0.24)	0.06 (0.03)
Women	-0.48** (0.13)	-0.56** (0.15)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.34* (0.15)	0.02 (0.02)
Rebels $\times$ Women	0.55 (0.29)	0.46 (0.36)	0.01 (0.04)	0.34 (0.38)	0.02 (0.04)
Government MPs	-1.00** (0.10)	-1.03** (0.11)	-0.02 (0.01)	-1.11** (0.10)	-0.02* (0.01)
Ministers	0.86** (0.20)	0.80** (0.24)	0.01 (0.02)	0.50** (0.15)	-0.00 (0.02)
Chairpersons	1.07** (0.11)	0.98** (0.13)	0.02 (0.01)	0.78** (0.11)	-0.02 (0.01)
Independent MPs	-0.55** (0.14)	-0.56** (0.15)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.58** (0.14)	-0.01 (0.01)
Women's Seats	0.03 (0.14)	-0.03 (0.16)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.16)	-0.03 (0.02)
Army Representatives	-0.42 (0.51)	-0.75 (0.45)	0.03 (0.04)	-0.82* (0.38)	0.06 (0.04)
Years in Office	0.06** (0.01)	0.07** (0.02)	0.01** (0.00)	0.05** (0.01)	0.00* (0.00)
Rebel Leaders	3.11** (0.78)	2.92** (0.71)	-0.01 (0.04)	2.97** (0.67)	-0.04 (0.04)
Zimbabwe	-0.63** (0.10)	-0.26* (0.13)	0.05** (0.01)	-0.23* (0.10)	0.01 (0.01)
Piecewise polynomial 1	7.16** (2.74)	5.51 (3.26)	0.29 (0.47)	6.22* (3.11)	0.02 (0.39)
Piecewise polynomial 2	-58.75** (13.84)	-44.04** (16.39)	-1.37 (2.54)	-47.72** (16.34)	-0.68 (2.19)
Piecewise polynomial 3	113.71** (20.37)	83.77** (24.34)	0.83 (4.03)	90.27** (24.66)	0.99 (3.54)
Piecewise polynomial 4	-178.79** (33.04)	-128.30** (40.76)	7.69 (6.87)	-134.96** (41.00)	7.32 (6.14)
Piecewise polynomial 5	332.55** (91.14)	177.76 (110.91)	-48.56** (18.53)	173.46 (116.42)	-53.49** (16.36)
Piecewise polynomial 6	-3066.48** (829.45)	-1060.04 (1012.08)	557.80** (163.05)	-997.41 (1132.54)	604.56** (141.05)
Constant	8.99** (0.13)	8.02** (0.15)	0.30** (0.02)	7.66** (0.13)	0.21** (0.01)
Logit					
Rebels	0.03 (0.20)	0.18 (0.22)		0.13 (0.23)	
Women	0.11 (0.20)	0.14 (0.18)		0.07 (0.17)	
Rebels $\times$ Women	-1.04**	-1.22**		-1.19**	

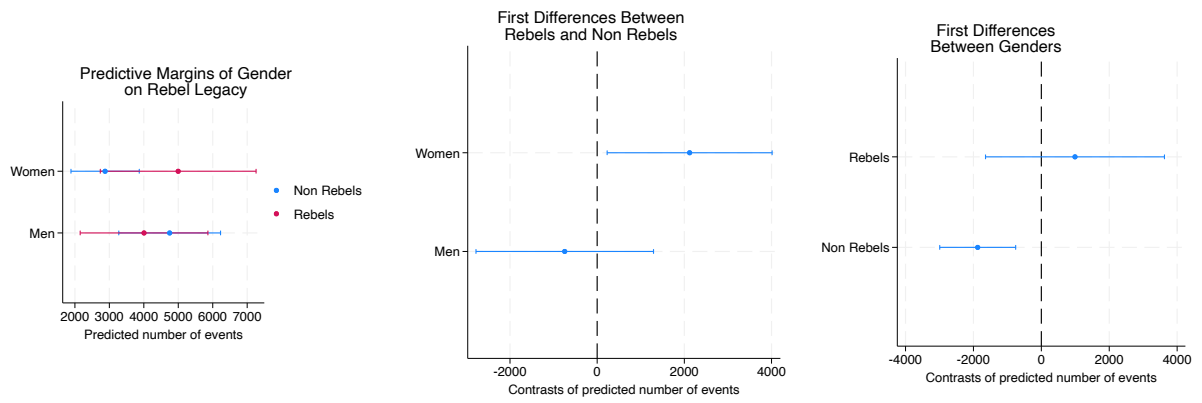
	(0.33)	(0.33)		(0.32)	
Government MPs	0.34**	0.45**		0.51**	
	(0.13)	(0.12)		(0.11)	
Ministers	-1.29**	-1.25**		-1.13**	
	(0.21)	(0.19)		(0.19)	
Chairpersons	-1.52**	-1.64**		-1.60**	
	(0.20)	(0.19)		(0.17)	
Independent MPs	0.36	0.48**		0.46*	
	(0.21)	(0.18)		(0.18)	
Women's Seats	0.10	0.19		0.16	
	(0.21)	(0.19)		(0.18)	
Army Representatives	2.88**	2.92**		2.70**	
	(0.45)	(0.44)		(0.45)	
Years in Office	0.00	-0.02		-0.03*	
	(0.02)	(0.02)		(0.01)	
Rebel Leaders	0.06	0.02		0.05	
	(0.56)	(0.54)		(0.54)	
Zimbabwe	1.57**	1.58**		1.59**	
	(0.11)	(0.11)		(0.10)	
Piecewise polynomial 1	-20.80**	-21.59**		-17.45**	
	(2.77)	(2.87)		(2.77)	
Piecewise polynomial 2	122.15**	134.50**		115.84**	
	(15.81)	(16.18)		(15.66)	
Piecewise polynomial 3	-193.17**	-217.13**		-191.45**	
	(26.47)	(26.69)		(26.21)	
Piecewise polynomial 4	247.15**	239.48**		174.98**	
	(45.75)	(45.75)		(47.70)	
Piecewise polynomial 5	-414.16**	-261.72*		-7.19	
	(119.54)	(122.84)		(132.57)	
Piecewise polynomial 6	4772.66**	3303.54**		1063.85	
	(1079.77)	(1122.39)		(1208.06)	
Constant	-1.21**	-0.94**		-0.82**	
	(0.17)	(0.16)		(0.16)	
<i>BIC</i>	106355.29	86817.17	-462.64	77290.58	-1845.28
Observations	7885	7885	5220	7885	5220

Standard errors in parentheses

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

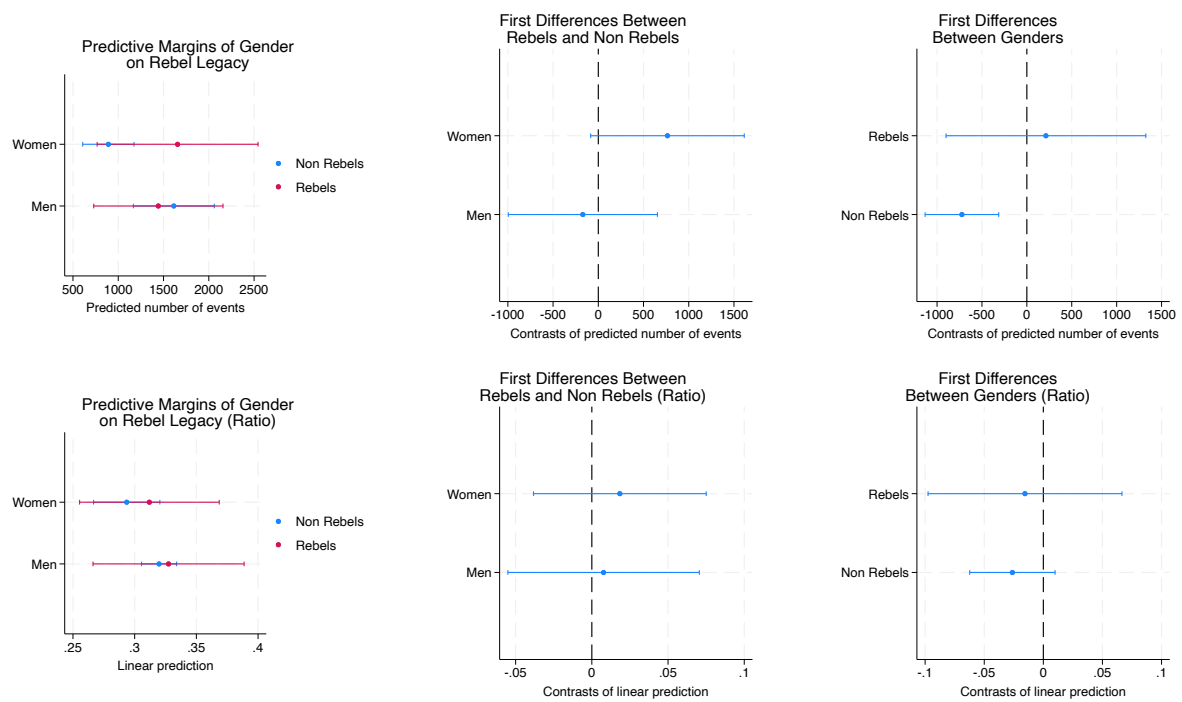


Figure 1: Simulations with Number of Words as DV for All Speeches



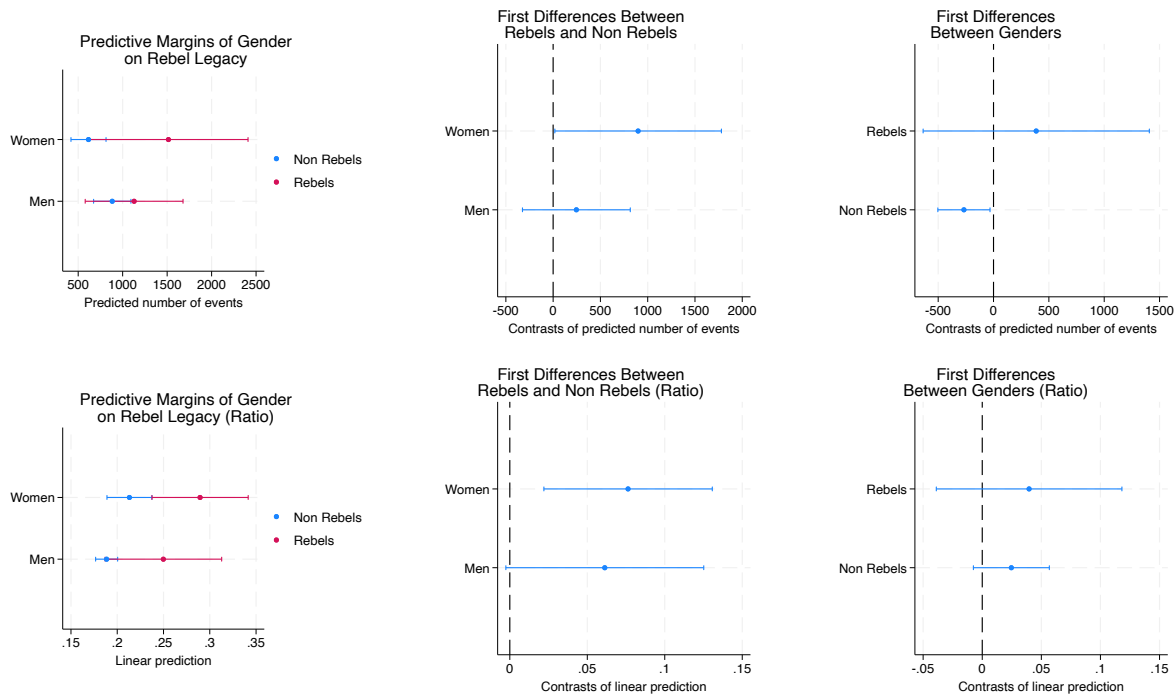
Note: Model results can be found in Table 5.

Figure 2: Simulations with Number of Words as DV for Speeches on Hard Topics



Note: Model results can be found in Table 5.

Figure 3: Simulations with Number of Words as DV for Speeches on Wartime Experience-Related Topics



Note: Model results can be found in Table 5.

## D Alternative Explanations

Table 6: The effect of government membership

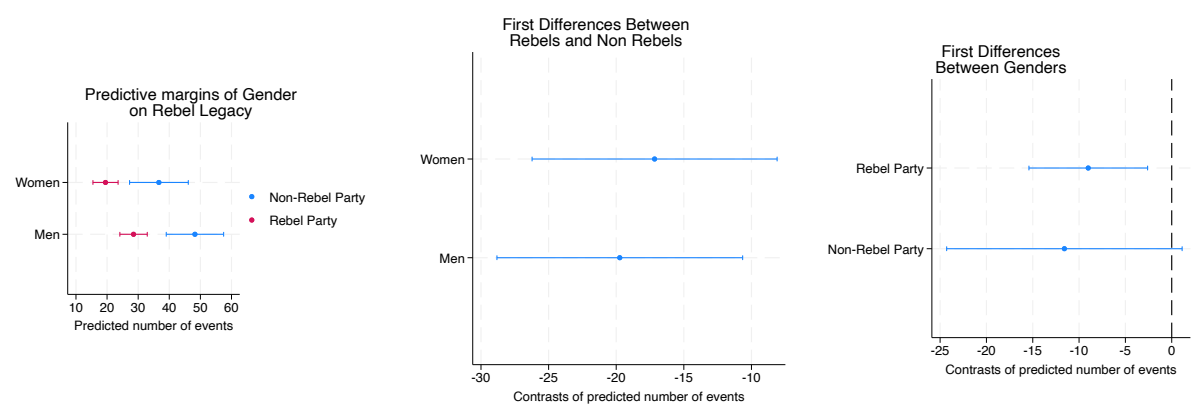
	(16) Speeches	(17) H. Speeches	(18) H. Speeches (rate)	(19) W.E. Speeches	(20) W.E. Speeches (rate)
Rebel Party	-0.53** (0.10)	-0.56** (0.12)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.70** (0.12)	-0.03** (0.01)
Women	-0.27 (0.15)	-0.45* (0.18)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.24 (0.18)	0.03 (0.02)
Rebel Party $\times$ Women	-0.12 (0.16)	-0.09 (0.19)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.18)	0.00 (0.01)
Rebels	0.07 (0.16)	0.04 (0.20)	0.01 (0.02)	0.28 (0.21)	0.06** (0.02)
Ministers	0.98** (0.20)	1.12** (0.26)	0.00 (0.01)	0.86** (0.16)	-0.01 (0.01)
Chairpersons	1.11** (0.11)	1.26** (0.12)	0.02* (0.01)	1.08** (0.11)	-0.01 (0.01)
Independent MPs	-0.46** (0.13)	-0.46** (0.15)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.48** (0.15)	-0.01 (0.01)
Women's Seats	-0.10 (0.13)	-0.10 (0.16)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.13 (0.17)	-0.03* (0.01)
Years in Office	0.06** (0.01)	0.07** (0.01)	0.01** (0.00)	0.06** (0.01)	0.00 (0.00)
Zimbabwe	-0.83** (0.11)	-0.54** (0.14)	0.02* (0.01)	-0.49** (0.12)	-0.00 (0.01)
Piecewise polynomial 1	11.32** (2.94)	14.67** (3.55)	0.29 (0.41)	18.29** (3.57)	0.06 (0.33)
Piecewise polynomial 2	-65.24** (15.39)	-89.09** (18.35)	-1.39 (2.22)	-110.75** (18.58)	-0.56 (1.85)
Piecewise polynomial 3	86.87** (23.04)	126.12** (27.28)	0.71 (3.52)	159.85** (27.43)	0.23 (3.02)
Piecewise polynomial 4	-1.38 (34.88)	-24.00 (43.18)	8.27 (5.99)	-39.45 (41.66)	9.33 (5.44)
Piecewise polynomial 5	-121.93 (92.48)	-202.92 (120.09)	-46.05** (16.22)	-277.90* (120.19)	-54.82** (14.83)
Piecewise polynomial 6	-826.61 (828.16)	567.44 (1104.30)	509.72** (142.53)	1440.13 (1206.88)	604.24** (125.42)
Constant	3.70** (0.13)	2.39** (0.16)	0.30** (0.01)	1.88** (0.14)	0.20** (0.01)
Logit					
Rebel Party	-0.00 (0.16)	0.21 (0.23)		0.10 (0.22)	
Women	0.00 (0.32)	-0.36 (0.47)		-0.57 (0.45)	
Rebel Party $\times$ Women	-0.07 (0.29)	-0.24 (0.41)		0.12 (0.40)	

Rebels	-0.05 (0.21)	-0.10 (0.29)		-0.16 (0.28)	
Ministers	-1.31** (0.27)	-1.52** (0.44)		-1.42** (0.45)	
Chairpersons	-1.59** (0.27)	-1.55** (0.42)		-1.67** (0.45)	
Independent MPs	-0.01 (0.26)	0.37 (0.37)		0.23 (0.37)	
Women's Seats	-0.00 (0.28)	0.66 (0.43)		0.61 (0.41)	
Years in Office	0.01 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.03)		-0.03 (0.03)	
Zimbabwe	1.54** (0.15)	11.83** (2.90)		13.37 (8.10)	
Piecewise polynomial 1	-21.78** (3.38)	-15.33** (5.31)		-6.21 (5.20)	
Piecewise polynomial 2	120.46** (20.23)	62.57 (36.78)		18.78 (37.33)	
Piecewise polynomial 3	-184.68** (35.21)	-149.78 (98.34)		-96.31 (102.70)	
Piecewise polynomial 4	257.38** (60.66)	1592.04* (640.08)		1551.00* (653.01)	
Piecewise polynomial 5	-499.57** (153.68)	-6260.63* (2488.78)		-5733.57 (3246.00)	
Piecewise polynomial 6	5449.09** (1361.68)	41895.21* (19151.21)		32714.31 (43265.79)	
Constant	-1.08** (0.18)	-11.24** (2.92)		-12.73 (8.15)	
<i>BIC</i>	57234.23	42562.81	-2215.16	36499.33	-3546.24
Observations	7885	7885	5220	7885	5220

Standard errors in parentheses

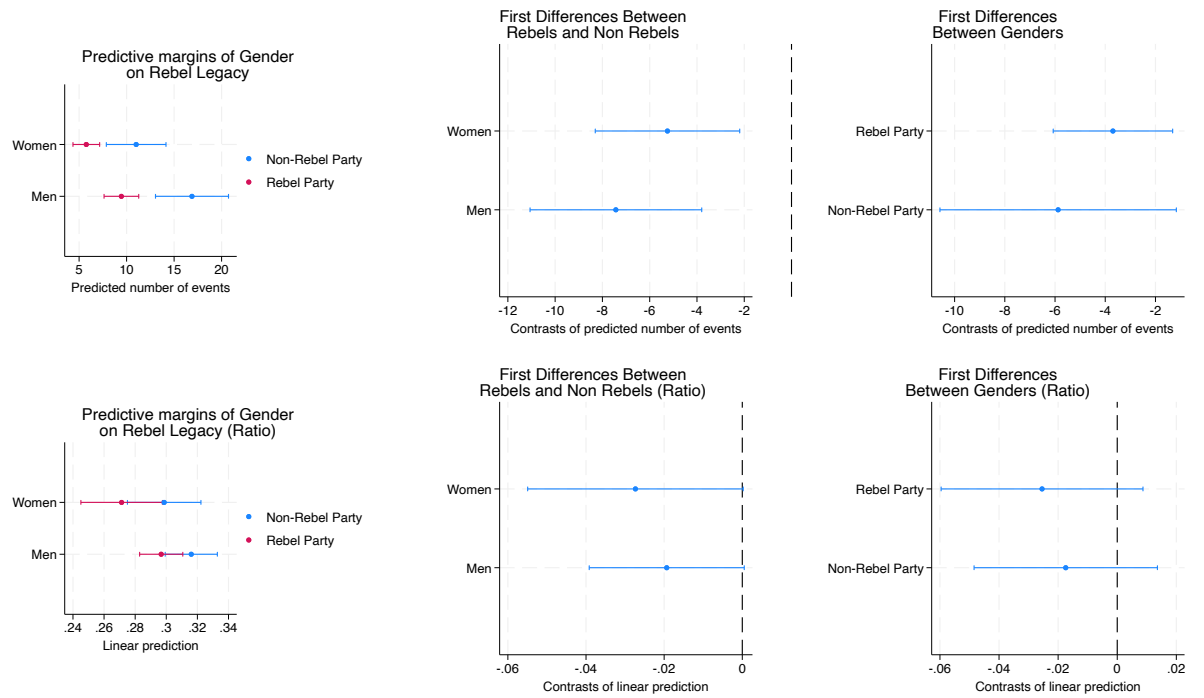
\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$

Figure 4: Marginal Effects between Gender and Government (Rebel) Party Membership on All Speeches



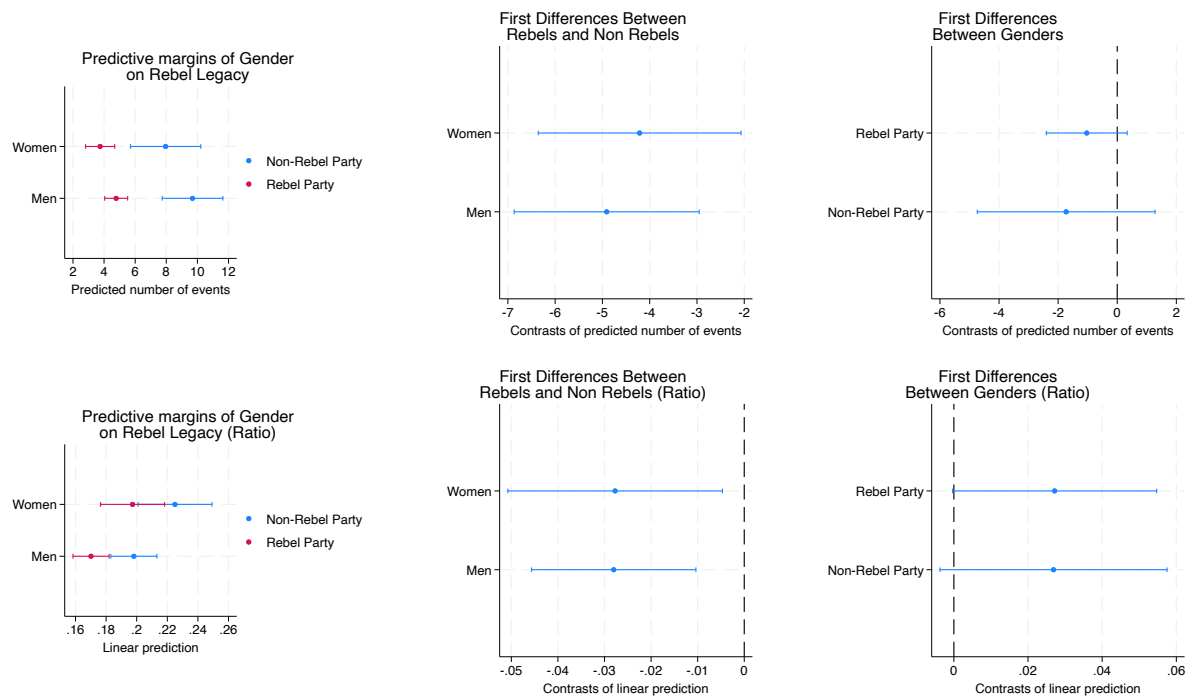
Note: Model results can be found in Table 6.

Figure 5: Marginal Effects between Gender and Government (Rebel) Party Membership on Hard Topics



Note: Model results can be found in Table 6.

Figure 6: Marginal Effects between Gender and Government (Rebel) Party Membership on Wartime Experience-Related Topics



Note: Model results can be found in Table 6.



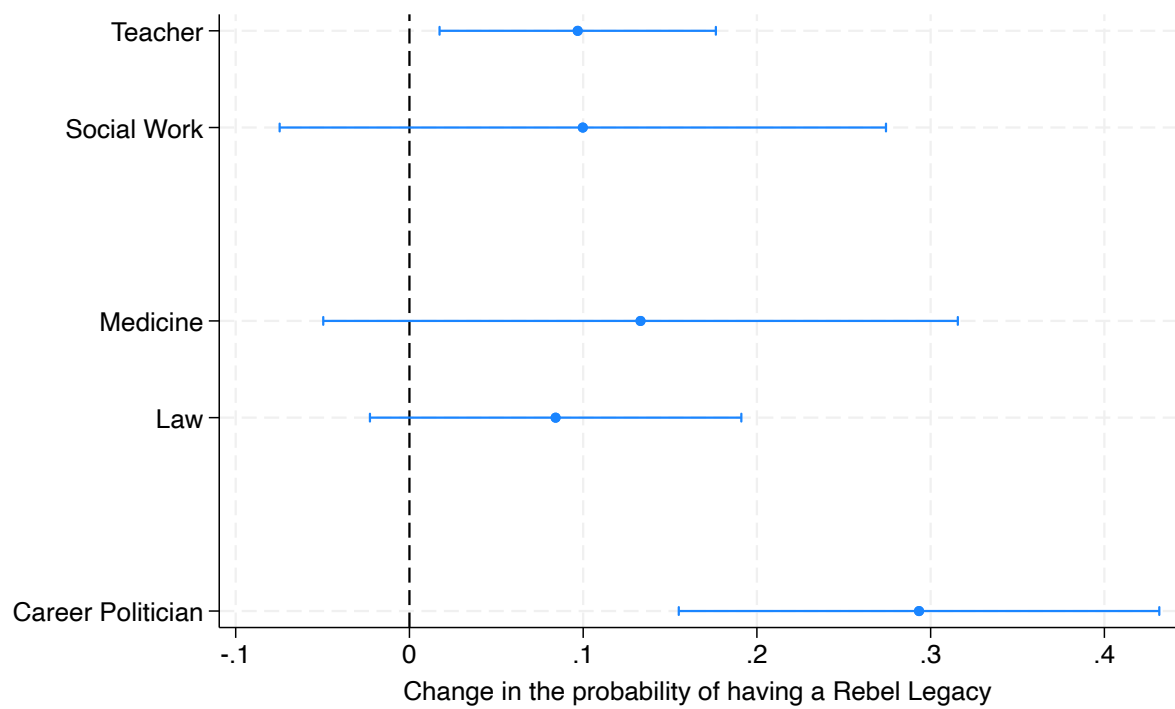
Table 7: Testing Association Between Career Path and Rebel Legacy

	(21) Rebels
Law	-1.81* (0.73)
Medicine	-1.23 (0.86)
Social Work	-1.60 (0.93)
Teacher	-1.64** (0.38)
Women	0.21 (0.58)
Women's Seats	-0.43 (0.67)
Army Representatives	3.35** (0.75)
Zimbabwe	1.80** (0.39)
Piecewise polynomial 1	-1.88 (4.29)
Piecewise polynomial 2	3.14 (17.42)
Piecewise polynomial 3	2.79 (18.53)
Piecewise polynomial 4	-48.01 (32.26)
Piecewise polynomial 5	181.53 (96.67)
Piecewise polynomial 6	-932.65* (414.75)
Constant	-1.59** (0.49)
<i>BIC</i>	2073.78
Observations	3207

Standard errors in parentheses

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

Figure 7: Simulations of the Association Between Career Path and Rebel Legacy for Women MPs



Note: Model results can be found in Table 7.

Table 8: Background controls

	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)	(26)
	Speeches	H. Speeches	H. Speeches (rate)	W.E. Speeches	W.E. Speeches (rate)
Rebels	-0.12 (0.29)	0.15 (0.34)	0.01 (0.05)	0.29 (0.30)	0.09* (0.04)
Women	-0.32* (0.16)	-0.52* (0.22)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.20)	0.05* (0.02)
Rebels $\times$ Women	0.94** (0.34)	0.75 (0.42)	-0.00 (0.05)	0.80* (0.41)	-0.05 (0.05)
Government MPs	-0.98** (0.14)	-1.01** (0.16)	-0.03* (0.01)	-1.14** (0.15)	-0.01 (0.01)
Ministers	0.92** (0.16)	0.86** (0.22)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.74** (0.17)	0.01 (0.02)
Chairpersons	0.99** (0.12)	1.13** (0.16)	0.03 (0.02)	0.81** (0.12)	0.00 (0.01)
Independent MPs	-0.75** (0.20)	-0.75** (0.21)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.74** (0.21)	-0.00 (0.02)
Women's Seats	-0.20 (0.16)	-0.24 (0.23)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.40 (0.21)	-0.03 (0.02)
Army Representatives	-1.78** (0.43)	-1.59* (0.81)	0.09 (0.06)	-2.02** (0.61)	0.13** (0.03)
Years in Office	0.06** (0.02)	0.06** (0.02)	0.01* (0.00)	0.03 (0.02)	0.00 (0.00)
Rebel Leaders	0.01 (0.50)	-0.32 (0.85)	-0.01 (0.06)	0.04 (0.65)	-0.07 (0.05)
Zimbabwe	-0.80** (0.14)	-0.56** (0.19)	0.05* (0.02)	-0.52** (0.18)	0.00 (0.02)
Piecewise polynomial 1	6.20 (3.99)	6.01 (5.25)	-0.93 (0.58)	10.17* (4.37)	-0.64 (0.54)
Piecewise polynomial 2	-48.52* (21.28)	-49.43 (30.14)	4.91 (3.12)	-64.11** (24.61)	2.91 (2.86)
Piecewise polynomial 3	69.81* (32.53)	70.15 (49.97)	-8.19 (4.99)	79.27* (40.00)	-4.34 (4.46)
Piecewise polynomial 4	61.29 (53.27)	86.02 (80.03)	19.37* (8.75)	116.30 (68.13)	15.52* (7.58)
Piecewise polynomial 5	-384.57** (140.96)	-538.50** (184.74)	-75.97** (23.53)	-629.66** (177.56)	-78.14** (20.90)
Piecewise polynomial 6	715.34 (1258.03)	2819.95 (1627.32)	792.74** (207.82)	3370.95* (1698.39)	853.71** (184.69)
Education	0.41** (0.15)	0.67** (0.23)	0.05 (0.02)	0.58** (0.22)	0.01 (0.02)
Government Bureaucrat	-0.20 (0.20)	-0.31 (0.25)	-0.06* (0.03)	-0.45 (0.36)	-0.06 (0.04)
Law	0.25 (0.18)	0.31 (0.24)	0.01 (0.02)	0.23 (0.20)	0.04* (0.02)
Medicine	0.10	0.03	-0.05	0.09	-0.02

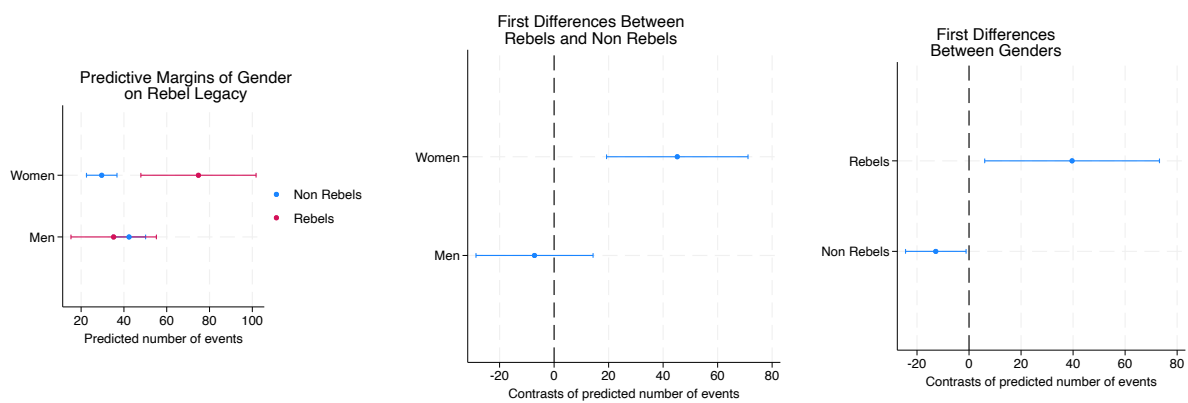
	(0.22)	(0.25)	(0.03)	(0.30)	(0.02)
Academic	-0.87**	-1.45**	-0.07*	-0.88**	0.03
	(0.21)	(0.29)	(0.03)	(0.25)	(0.03)
Social Work	-0.15	-0.13	-0.00	-0.22	-0.00
	(0.17)	(0.20)	(0.02)	(0.20)	(0.02)
Teacher	0.19	0.31	0.01	-0.06	-0.03
	(0.15)	(0.18)	(0.02)	(0.16)	(0.02)
Business	-0.15	-0.25	0.08*	0.41	0.05*
	(0.19)	(0.25)	(0.03)	(0.23)	(0.02)
Constant	3.19**	1.27	0.20*	1.15	0.19**
	(0.47)	(0.76)	(0.08)	(0.70)	(0.06)
<hr/>					
Logit					
Rebels	0.44	0.69		0.48	
	(0.35)	(0.49)		(0.44)	
Women	0.32	-0.01		0.41	
	(0.46)	(0.95)		(0.51)	
Rebels $\times$ Women	-1.42*	-1.82		-1.48*	
	(0.56)	(1.28)		(0.64)	
Government MPs	0.53	0.72		0.43	
	(0.31)	(0.51)		(0.35)	
Ministers	-1.55**	-2.36**		-1.61**	
	(0.38)	(0.78)		(0.58)	
Chairpersons	-1.90**	-2.04*		-3.03	
	(0.64)	(1.03)		(1.62)	
Independent MPs	0.26	0.61		0.44	
	(0.47)	(0.63)		(0.49)	
Women's Seats	0.00	0.21		-0.32	
	(0.46)	(1.19)		(0.52)	
Army Representatives	3.21**	3.46*		2.35*	
	(0.80)	(1.48)		(1.00)	
Years in Office	0.01	-0.03		-0.04	
	(0.03)	(0.08)		(0.04)	
Rebel Leaders	0.20	-0.06		0.34	
	(0.91)	(2.96)		(1.19)	
Zimbabwe	1.74**	2.36**		2.03**	
	(0.27)	(0.79)		(0.33)	
Piecewise polynomial 1	-21.80**	-14.78		-9.05	
	(6.77)	(11.12)		(8.77)	
Piecewise polynomial 2	138.92**	99.64		90.49	
	(39.35)	(75.58)		(51.90)	
Piecewise polynomial 3	-235.60**	-168.93		-196.99*	
	(64.93)	(147.24)		(89.31)	
Piecewise polynomial 4	343.58**	206.56		325.80*	
	(108.95)	(247.30)		(163.28)	
Piecewise polynomial 5	-561.40*	-164.29		-280.90	
	(276.79)	(493.09)		(424.94)	
Piecewise polynomial 6	4520.64	2085.97		1344.71	

	(2350.68)	(4143.74)		(3612.82)	
Education	-0.08 (0.35)	0.06 (0.70)		-0.09 (0.33)	
Government Bureaucrat	-0.27 (0.61)	-0.13 (1.02)		-0.45 (0.71)	
Law	0.52 (0.43)	0.70 (0.94)		0.06 (0.50)	
Medicine	-0.21 (0.53)	0.15 (0.81)		-0.18 (0.54)	
Academic	0.08 (0.79)	-17.42** (1.58)		-0.29 (1.11)	
Social Work	-0.28 (0.49)	-0.38 (0.88)		-0.43 (0.56)	
Teacher	0.41 (0.32)	0.71 (0.66)		0.25 (0.35)	
Business	-1.21 (0.64)	-12.44** (2.21)		-0.34 (0.53)	
Constant	-2.05 (1.11)	-3.28 (2.78)		-1.88 (1.12)	
<i>BIC</i>	22242.20	16720.83	-1051.83	14413.98	-1636.38
Observations	2826	2826	2033	2826	2033

Standard errors in parentheses

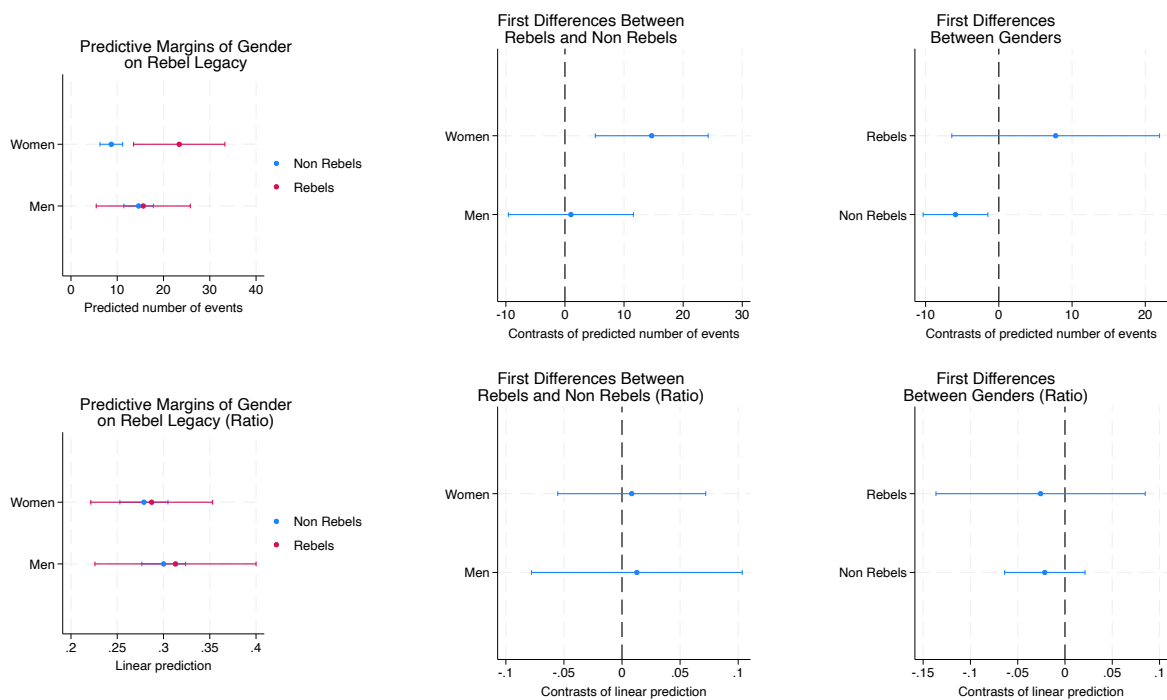
\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$

Figure 8: Simulations with additional controls for All Speeches



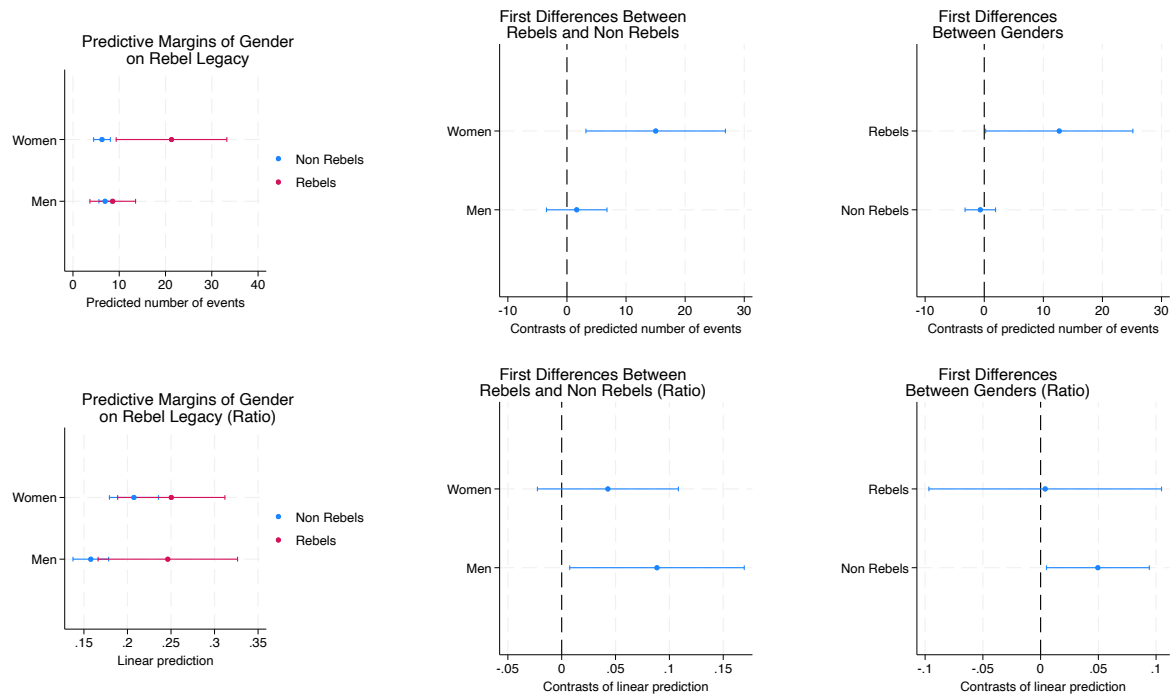
Note: Model results can be found in Table 9.

Figure 9: Simulations with additional controls for Speeches on Hard Topics



Note: Model results can be found in Table 9.

Figure 10: Simulations with additional controls for Speeches on Wartime Experience-Related Topics



Note: Model results can be found in Table 9.



Table 9: Effect of Years in Office

	(27) Speeches	(28) H. Speeches	(29) H. Speeches (rate)	(30) W.E. Speeches	(31) W.E. Speeches (rate)
Rebels	-0.01 (0.35)	0.21 (0.39)	0.03 (0.04)	0.38 (0.41)	0.06 (0.04)
Women	-0.51** (0.15)	-0.59** (0.19)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.35 (0.20)	0.02 (0.02)
Rebels $\times$ Women	0.50 (0.41)	0.16 (0.48)	-0.00 (0.05)	-0.06 (0.49)	-0.00 (0.05)
Years in Office	0.06** (0.01)	0.07** (0.02)	0.01** (0.00)	0.05** (0.02)	0.00 (0.00)
Rebels $\times$ Years in Office	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.08 (0.06)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.05 (0.06)	-0.00 (0.01)
Women $\times$ Years in Office	0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.01 (0.02)	0.00 (0.00)
Rebels $\times$ Women $\times$ Years in Office	0.04 (0.08)	0.13 (0.09)	0.00 (0.01)	0.15 (0.09)	0.01 (0.01)
Government MPs	-0.71** (0.09)	-0.79** (0.11)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.92** (0.10)	-0.02* (0.01)
Ministers	1.06** (0.20)	1.22** (0.26)	0.00 (0.01)	0.95** (0.16)	-0.01 (0.01)
Chairpersons	1.09** (0.10)	1.23** (0.12)	0.02* (0.01)	1.07** (0.10)	-0.01 (0.01)
Independent MPs	-0.56** (0.13)	-0.62** (0.15)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.64** (0.15)	-0.00 (0.01)
Women's Seats	-0.06 (0.13)	-0.14 (0.16)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.18 (0.17)	-0.03* (0.01)
Army Representatives	-2.01** (0.34)	-1.71** (0.41)	0.02 (0.05)	-1.82** (0.39)	0.06 (0.03)
Rebel Leaders	0.14 (0.36)	-0.29 (0.40)	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.19 (0.45)	-0.03 (0.03)
Zimbabwe	-0.75** (0.10)	-0.48** (0.13)	0.03* (0.01)	-0.40** (0.11)	-0.00 (0.01)
Piecewise polynomial 1	8.10** (3.00)	11.07** (3.73)	0.17 (0.40)	14.57** (3.39)	-0.07 (0.33)
Piecewise polynomial 2	-51.68** (15.53)	-73.58** (19.16)	-0.84 (2.20)	-94.52** (17.75)	-0.03 (1.82)
Piecewise polynomial 3	71.11** (23.13)	108.24** (28.29)	0.10 (3.49)	140.54** (26.33)	-0.30 (2.98)
Piecewise polynomial 4	16.62 (35.49)	-7.75 (44.20)	8.51 (6.00)	-15.62 (39.90)	9.56 (5.42)
Piecewise polynomial 5	-167.75 (95.19)	-267.00* (123.79)	-46.28** (16.27)	-361.23** (113.99)	-55.34** (14.82)
Piecewise polynomial 6	-608.04 (846.31)	1430.64 (1127.19)	512.15** (142.73)	2140.29 (1261.63)	608.36** (125.51)
Constant	4.01**	2.76**	0.29**	2.27**	0.20**

	(0.13)	(0.16)	(0.01)	(0.15)	(0.01)
Logit					
Rebels	-0.78*	-0.60		-0.63	
	(0.35)	(0.40)		(0.45)	
Women	-0.21	-0.32		-0.15	
	(0.26)	(0.41)		(0.40)	
Rebels $\times$ Women	0.22	-0.73		-1.16	
	(0.57)	(0.78)		(0.85)	
Years in Office	-0.01	-0.08		-0.07*	
	(0.02)	(0.04)		(0.03)	
Rebels $\times$ Years in Office	0.16**	0.19*		0.20*	
	(0.06)	(0.08)		(0.08)	
Women $\times$ Years in Office	0.06	0.05		-0.00	
	(0.04)	(0.06)		(0.07)	
Rebels $\times$ Women $\times$ Years in Office	-0.32**	-0.15		-0.03	
	(0.11)	(0.15)		(0.15)	
Government MPs	0.24	-0.01		-0.02	
	(0.15)	(0.21)		(0.21)	
Ministers	-1.33**	-1.51**		-1.47**	
	(0.27)	(0.42)		(0.48)	
Chairpersons	-1.54**	-1.49**		-1.56**	
	(0.27)	(0.43)		(0.43)	
Independent MPs	0.30	0.41		0.30	
	(0.26)	(0.38)		(0.41)	
Women's Seats	0.09	0.44		0.45	
	(0.26)	(0.40)		(0.40)	
Army Representatives	3.07**	10.60**		7.55**	
	(0.51)	(2.16)		(2.50)	
Rebel Leaders	0.10	-6.72*		-5.01	
	(0.73)	(2.71)		(3.61)	
Zimbabwe	1.74**	8.47**		6.37**	
	(0.14)	(1.91)		(1.92)	
Piecewise polynomial 1	-20.80**	-11.43*		0.42	
	(3.47)	(5.38)		(5.27)	
Piecewise polynomial 2	116.81**	32.18		-38.90	
	(20.83)	(35.53)		(35.68)	
Piecewise polynomial 3	-181.76**	-55.86		79.99	
	(36.33)	(80.50)		(83.77)	
Piecewise polynomial 4	260.29**	968.26*		428.55	
	(62.88)	(402.28)		(430.08)	
Piecewise polynomial 5	-509.50**	-6370.81**		-2467.74	
	(160.70)	(1753.87)		(1402.27)	
Piecewise polynomial 6	5587.78**	89421.46**		22686.30*	
	(1425.41)	(17598.62)		(9389.76)	
Constant	-1.38**	-7.69**		-5.61**	
	(0.21)	(1.98)		(1.94)	
<i>BIC</i>	56954.49	42353.46	-2171.14	36312.85	-3496.63

Observations	7885	7885	5220	7885	5220
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Standard errors in parentheses

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

Figure 11: Effect of Years in Office on Women's Speeches

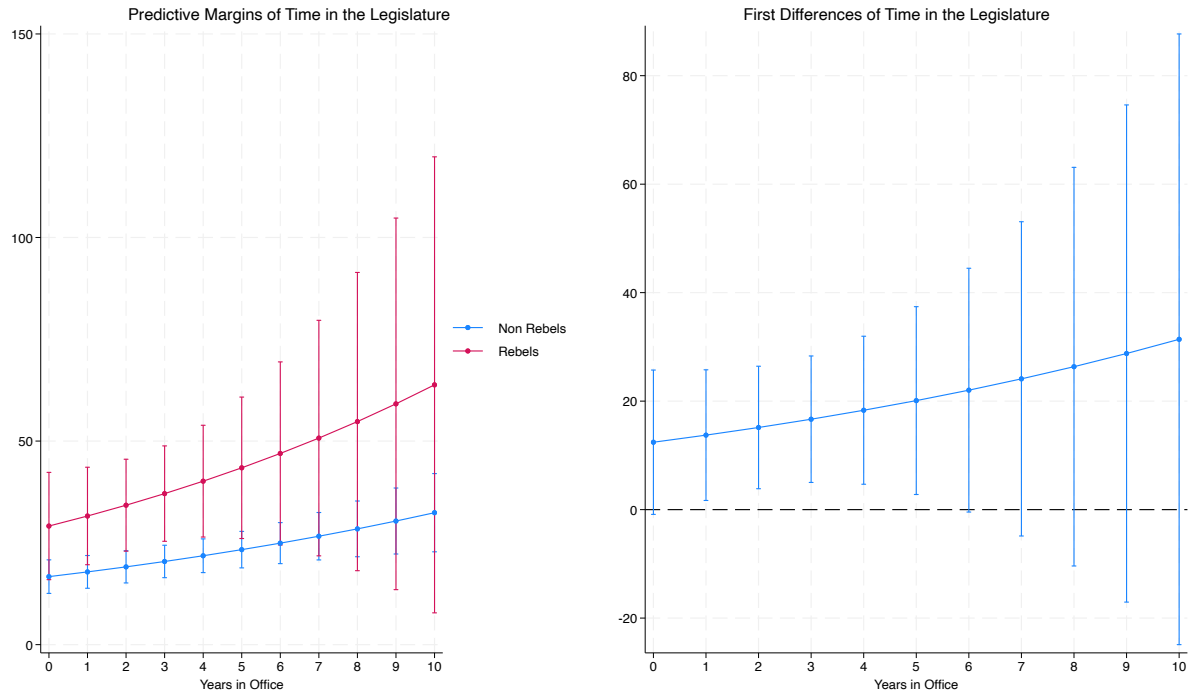


Figure 12: Effect of Years in Office on Women's Speeches on Hard Topics

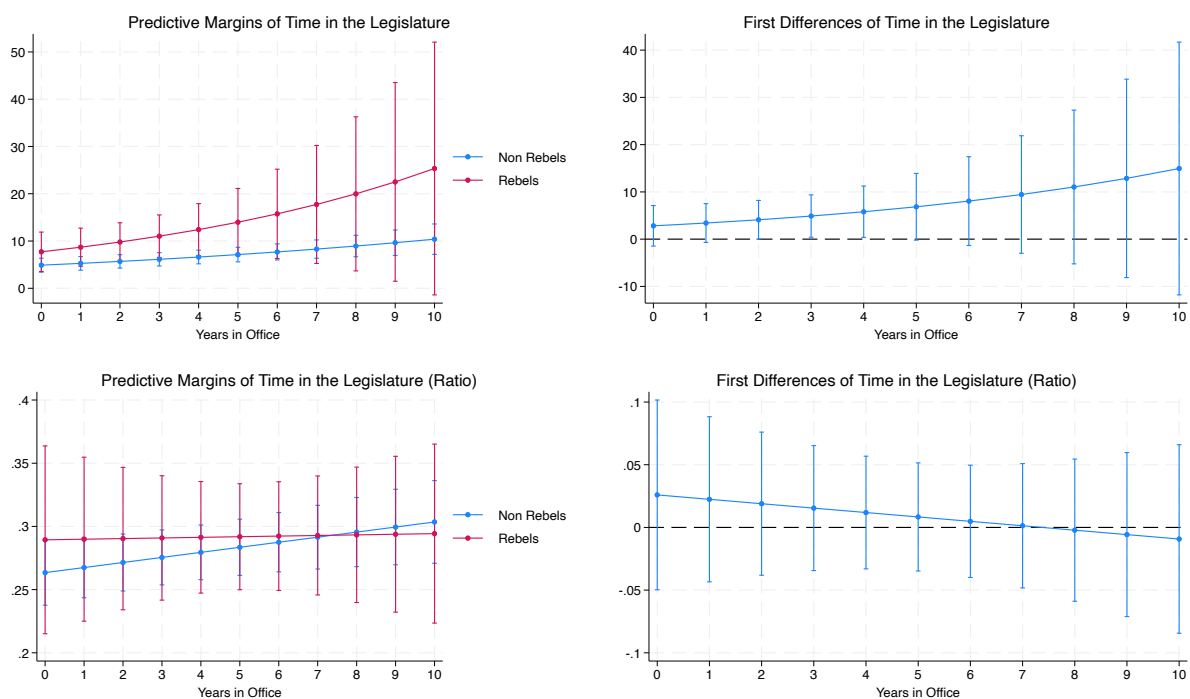


Figure 13: Effect of Years in Office on Women’s Speeches on Wartime Experience-Related Topics

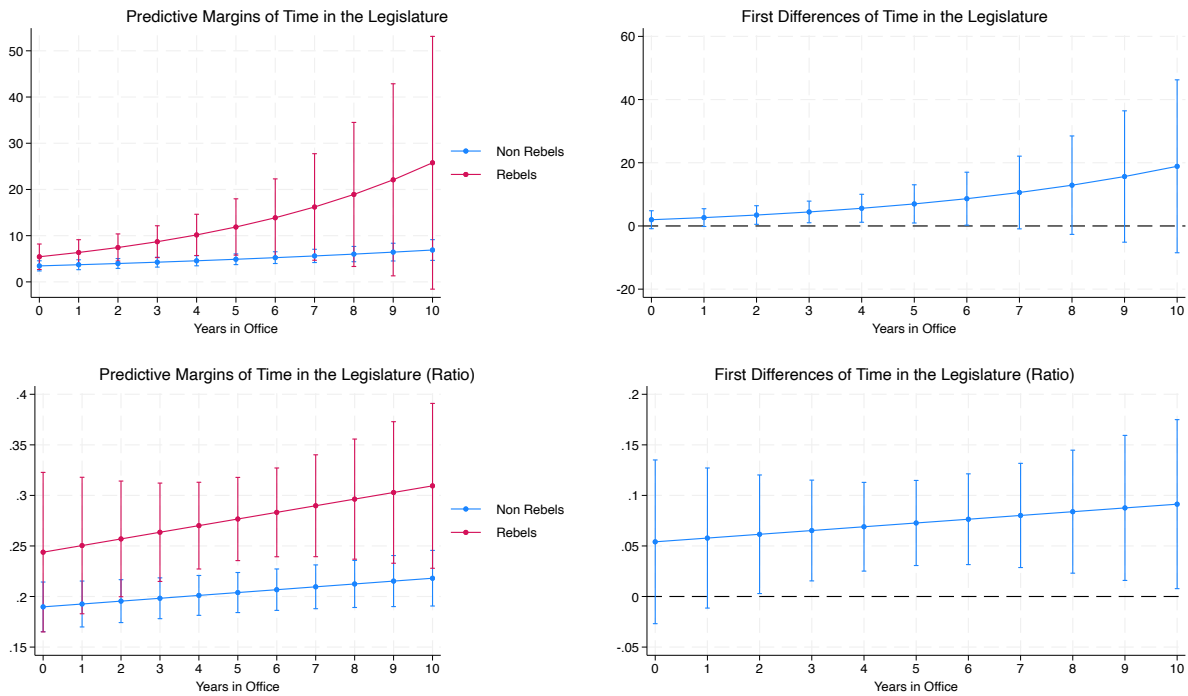


Table 10: Testing the Effect of Rebel Legacy on Soft Speeches

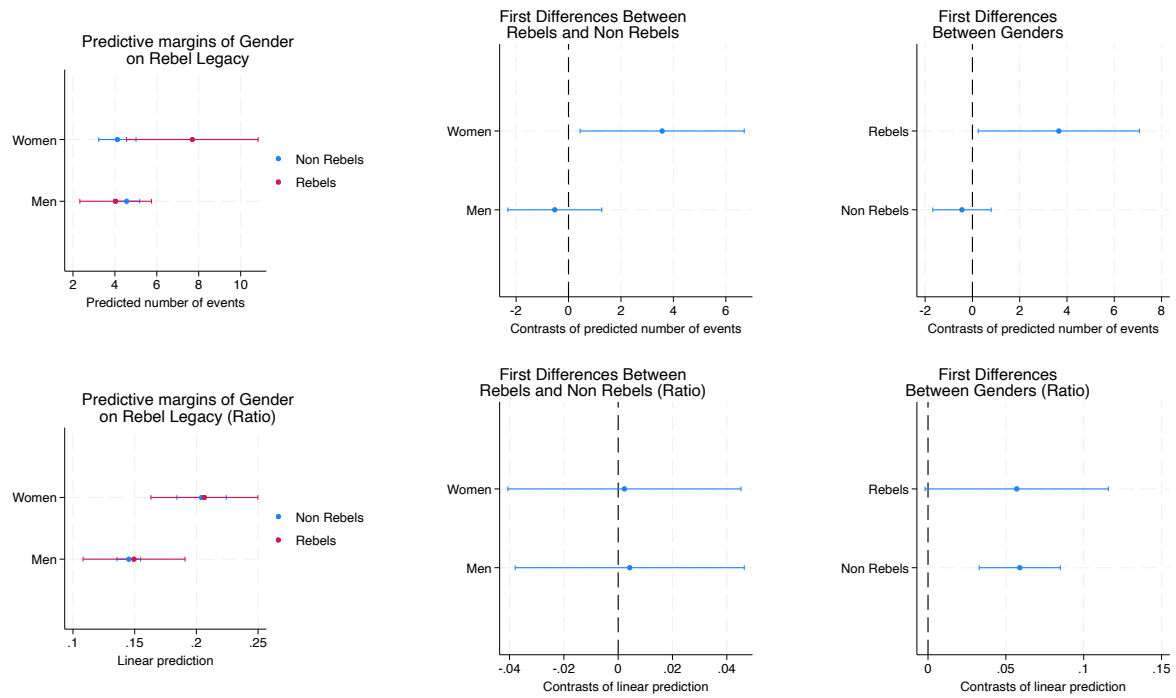
	(32)	(33)
	soft	soft_rate
Rebels	-0.11 (0.23)	0.00 (0.02)
Women	-0.12 (0.15)	0.06** (0.01)
Rebels $\times$ Women	0.67* (0.30)	-0.00 (0.03)
Government MPs	-0.67** (0.10)	0.01 (0.01)
Ministers	0.99** (0.17)	-0.01 (0.01)
Chairpersons	1.06** (0.12)	-0.01 (0.01)
Independent MPs	-0.46** (0.14)	0.02* (0.01)
Women's Seats	-0.01 (0.16)	0.01 (0.01)
Army Representatives	-2.12** (0.43)	-0.05* (0.02)
Years in Office	0.05** (0.01)	-0.00* (0.00)
Rebel Leaders	-0.34 (0.41)	-0.03 (0.03)
Zimbabwe	-0.62** (0.11)	-0.00 (0.01)
Piecewise polynomial 1	12.91** (3.16)	-0.45 (0.30)
Piecewise polynomial 2	-81.34** (16.37)	3.64* (1.67)
Piecewise polynomial 3	117.68** (24.29)	-6.64* (2.78)
Piecewise polynomial 4	8.69 (40.06)	10.10* (5.09)
Piecewise polynomial 5	-383.09** (117.09)	-19.04 (13.36)
Piecewise polynomial 6	1943.04 (1070.10)	31.68 (116.33)
Constant	1.74** (0.13)	0.14** (0.01)
Logit		
Rebels	0.16 (0.34)	
Women	-0.31 (0.39)	
Rebels $\times$ Women	-1.20	

	(0.62)	
Government MPs	0.16	
	(0.20)	
Ministers	-1.09**	
	(0.39)	
Chairpersons	-1.56**	
	(0.49)	
Independent MPs	0.62	
	(0.35)	
Women's Seats	0.46	
	(0.42)	
Army Representatives	8.52**	
	(2.20)	
Years in Office	-0.01	
	(0.03)	
Rebel Leaders	-6.32**	
	(2.38)	
Zimbabwe	6.48**	
	(1.36)	
Piecewise polynomial 1	3.87	
	(5.82)	
Piecewise polynomial 2	-67.62	
	(37.20)	
Piecewise polynomial 3	119.50	
	(81.48)	
Piecewise polynomial 4	573.27	
	(390.24)	
Piecewise polynomial 5	-5078.79**	
	(1705.56)	
Piecewise polynomial 6	76064.63**	
	(18035.66)	
Constant	-6.07**	
	(1.38)	
<i>BIC</i>	33770.53	-4101.57
Observations	7885	5220

Standard errors in parentheses

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

Figure 14: Marginal Effects between Gender and Rebel Group Membership for Soft Speeches



Note: Model results can be found in Table 10.