

# Do Women Legislators Legislate Different than Men on Gun Related Policy? A Suggestive Yes

## **Abstract**

Polls show that men are less likely to support gun restrictions than women, but do voter preferences translate into elite behavior? Specifically, do women legislators approach gun policy differently than their male counterparts? To answer this question, we use a novel dataset of hand-coded state firearm legislation in six politically diverse states (California, Florida, Iowa, Illinois, Michigan, Texas), constructing a 12-year panel dataset. Our results demonstrate that descriptively, women generally sponsor more gun-control and fewer gun-rights bills than men, even after accounting for partisanship. Using multiple staggered difference-in-differences specifications, we find women are no more likely than men to advance gun-control bills, yet they do sponsor fewer efforts to expand gun rights. Our findings imply that electing more women may not substantially increase efforts to tighten gun laws but could curb gun rights expansion, showcasing how gender may shape legislation through agenda restraint rather than by promoting active policymaking.

**Keywords** Gender, Bill Sponsorship, State Legislators, Gun Control

Across various policy areas, women often exhibit distinct political preferences compared to men (Barnes and Cassese, 2017). The same holds for gun policy, where women are more likely to support gun control measures (Gallup, 2022). Both scholarly work and opinion polls consistently find that women favor banning access to assault weapons, implementing stricter regulations on the sale and ownership of guns, and imposing tighter controls on gun dealers (Crifasi et al., 2021; Pew Research Center, 2012). This support for increased gun control is also reflected in the significant role women play in demonstrations and social movements across the U.S., advocating for strict gun regulations. Examples include the Million Mom March in 2000, which drew over half a million people to Washington, D.C., and Moms Demand Action for Gun Sense in America, which often sees its members running for local and state offices.

The difference in preferences leads to the question: Do women legislators legislate differently on guns than men? Research on elites shows women politicians typically hold more liberal views on gun regulation. In the early 2000s, women state legislators—Democrats and Republicans alike—were more likely to back background checks, bans on semi-automatic weapons, and licensing on surveys (Thomas, Miller, and Murphy, 2008). Studies about gender and gun laws at the state level, however, yield mixed results. Malone and Steidley (2019) find that female governors were linked to stricter concealed carry laws, but no link between women’s share in legislatures and concealed carry laws. Similarly, more women in state houses correlates with more gun laws, but no such link exists for state senates (Goel and Nelson, 2024).

In sum, survey research on the public and elites finds clear gender gaps in gun-policy preferences. And while some studies suggest that more women in legislatures are associated with gun laws, these studies yield mixed findings and were conducted at the chamber level. As a result, it remains unclear whether these differences are directly tied to legislators’ gender or if these preferences translate into individual behavior. We address these gaps by examining the legislative *behavior* of women and men at the *individual level* using a novel *panel data*.

Specifically, we investigate whether (H1) women sponsor more bills aiming for stricter gun laws (gun control), and whether (H2) women sponsor fewer bills proposing looser gun laws (gun rights). Our paper is the first to test whether women actually behave differently from men on gun policy once elected, leveraging more rigorous designs.

To build our dataset, we collected data on gun-related bills sponsored by state legislators in California, Florida, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, and Texas, creating a 12-year panel dataset (2009-2019). Our dataset comprises 2,879 bills sponsored by 2,040 unique legislators across 18 legislative sessions. We analyze this data using multiple specifications of the staggered difference-in-differences estimator. We find observable gender differences in bill sponsorship in simple bivariate comparisons, with women sponsoring more gun control bills and fewer gun rights bills than men. These patterns persist even after controlling for partisanship, suggesting they are not solely explained by differences between the Democratic and the Republican parties. However, in more rigorous models that compare legislators within the same district over time and account for time-varying confounders, the gender gap in gun control sponsorship disappears. In contrast, the gender gap in gun rights sponsorship remains robust: women consistently sponsor fewer bills aimed at expanding gun rights than their male counterparts. Thus, our strongest and most consistent finding is that women are less likely to pursue legislation that weakens gun laws.

We make two contributions in this short article. First, we provide the first systematic, individual-level analysis of bill sponsorship on gun policy—extending research on gender and representation into a domain with large gender opinion gaps and highly visible female advocacy but less study of women as lawmakers. Second, our results indicate a partial translation of gendered public opinion into elite behavior: women are less inclined to loosen gun laws but do not more actively press for stricter firearm regulations (Goss, 2017).

These patterns suggest that by sponsoring fewer gun-rights bills, women may signal to constituents that they oppose expanding guns’ presence in their communities. Greater descriptive representation could therefore shape how legislatures approach gun policy. At

the same time, the lack of additional sponsorship of gun-control bills may reflect a risk-averse electoral strategy in a polarized environment. Because voters often perceive women as more liberal than men—even within the Republican Party (Koch, 2000)—avoiding bills that restrict gun rights may help women legislators avoid being labeled “even more liberal,” preserving appeal among moderate and conservative voters.

## **Data and Methods**

To examine whether women state legislators are more likely to sponsor gun-related legislation, we created a novel panel dataset covering the years 2009-2019 across six politically diverse states: California, Florida, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, and Texas. This dataset tracks the number and type of gun-related bills sponsored or co-sponsored by each legislator, along with key demographic and political characteristics of legislators and their districts.

Our case selection balances political variation and regional comparability. First, we include the three most populous states in the country that represent distinct partisan alignments: California (Democratic-leaning), Texas (Republican-leaning), and Florida (a historical battleground). As of 2020, these are the three largest states in terms of population, accounting for over one-quarter of the U.S. population. They also reflect diverse gun policy regimes: California maintains some of the strictest firearm laws, Texas has implemented broad gun rights expansions, and Florida sits in the middle, enacting bipartisan reforms in recent years in response to the mass shooting at Stoneman Douglas High School. To minimize confounding from regional political culture, we also include three politically diverse Midwestern states: Illinois (a Democratic-leaning state), Iowa (a Republican-leaning state), and Michigan (a swing state). These states offer variation in party control and demographic composition, while sharing geographic proximity and cultural context, which helps isolate the effects of legislator characteristics from regional effects.

To build our dataset, we primarily relied on legislative records from LegiScan, an online legislative tracking platform offering comprehensive data on bill sponsorship across all 50 states. The LegiScan data provide bill titles, summaries, sponsorship details, session year,

and full text.<sup>1</sup> We collected all available legislative records between 2009 and 2019 and filtered for bills related to gun policy. Following Luca, Malhotra, and Poliquin (2020), we identified bills containing any of the following terms in their title or description: “firearm,” “handgun,” “pistol,” “revolver,” “rifle,” “shotgun,” “long-gun,” “assault weapon.” Additionally, we include bills with the term “gun”, which they did not use. This process yielded 2,879 bills across the six states we proceeded to hand-code.

We assess policy direction using a hand-coding process based on the framework developed by State Firearm Laws. Trained research assistants reviewed each bill and assigned it one of five codes: (i) *strengthen gun laws (gun control)*, bills that expand gun control, such as enhanced background checks; (ii) *weaken gun laws (gun rights)*, bills that reduce regulations or expand gun rights, such as, permitless carry laws; (iii) *neutral legislation*, bills on gun policy but non-directional, such as the creation of research commissions; (iv) *not related*, bills that are false positives or legislation unrelated to gun policy; and, (v) *unclear*, bills that there were insufficient information to determine the direction of the policy.

Coders primarily used titles and summaries, consulting full bill text when necessary (with a five-minute time limit per bill). Ambiguous cases were flagged and resolved iteratively. The final dataset includes 1092 strengthening bills, 1016 weakening bills, and 771 neutral bills. Remaining bills were dropped due to irrelevance or lack of information.<sup>2</sup> We then computed the number of gun bills each legislator sponsored or co-sponsored per year, by policy type. On average, legislators sponsored 2.37 gun-related bills annually, including 0.92 gun control bills and 1 gun rights bill.

We inferred legislators’ gender using their first names. To do so, we employed the **gender** package in R (Mullen, 2021), which draws on historical name-gender distributions from U.S. Census and Social Security data. Legislators were classified as male or female if the predicted

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<sup>1</sup>Additionally, we merge Klarner’s (2018) State Legislative Election Returns includes electoral information and a district census bridge.

<sup>2</sup>See examples for each category in SI B. For measurement validity tests, see SI C.

probability exceeded 90%. Cases between 10% and 90% were manually verified using online biographies. After merging and cleaning, the final dataset includes 8,836 observations for 2,040 unique legislators across 12 legislative chambers (2009–2019). Of these, 527 (25.8%) are women, which is approximately the same as the national average in 2018 (25.4%), and 1,048 (51.4%) are Republicans. Roughly two-thirds of the women legislators are Democrats.

Apart from the legislator’s gender, we also include a set of control variables in our models. To create these controls, we merged our district panel data with demographic data from the American Community Survey, accessed via IPUMS-NHGIS (Manson et al., 2025). Control variables include: share of population over age 65, share of population under age 30, share of population identifying as Black, Latino, or Asian, share of population with a college degree, and median household income. Lastly, we also include a control for the total number of bills sponsored by each legislator in a given year.<sup>3</sup>

## Modeling Strategy

We estimate the relationship between legislator gender and gun bill sponsorship using five increasingly rigorous model specifications to retrieve both descriptive patterns and causal estimates. In our first model, we estimate a linear regression without controls, offering a descriptive comparison. Then, we add a control for partisanship to test whether the association remains after accounting for legislators’ partisanship, which is correlated with gender. Our third model is a two-way fixed effects with time-varying controls, which is a more traditional approach to estimating causal effects—a staggered difference-in-differences analysis accounting for both time-invariant district-level confounders and common shocks. However, two-way fixed effects models can produce biased estimates in the absence of parallel trends. If trends in gun bill sponsorship differed between districts that later elected a woman and those that did not—even before the election occurred—then the estimated effect of having a woman legislator may be biased. We relax this assumption in our fourth model by including district-specific time trends, allowing each district to follow its own trajectory over

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<sup>3</sup>Descriptive statistics for dependent, explanatory, and control variables are in SI A.

time independently of treatment.

In our fifth and final model, we turn to doubly robust models using the `fect` package (Liu et al., 2022), which combine outcome modeling and weighting strategies to reduce bias under weaker identifying assumptions. These estimators are particularly useful in settings with unit-level heterogeneity and non-random treatment assignment, as is the case here. The method is termed “doubly robust” because it yields consistent estimates if either the outcome model or the treatment assignment model is correctly specified, offering additional protection in observational contexts where gender is not randomly assigned (Athey et al., 2021). We use these models to assess the robustness of our findings, testing whether observed patterns hold under more flexible assumptions. One limitation, however, is that this approach requires at least two pre-treatment periods per unit, which effectively excludes observations before 2012 in many districts due to redistricting.<sup>4</sup>

Each model is estimated separately for three dependent variables: all gun-related legislation, gun control (restrictive) legislation (H1), and gun rights (weakening) legislation (H2). Although we only have hypotheses about the second and third dependent variables, our reason for estimating models for the total number of bills is twofold. First, it allows us to present a more complete picture of the potential relationship between gun legislation and gender. Second, as we described above, some gun-related bills are neutral, meaning they are excluded from the analyses for H1 and H2.

## Results

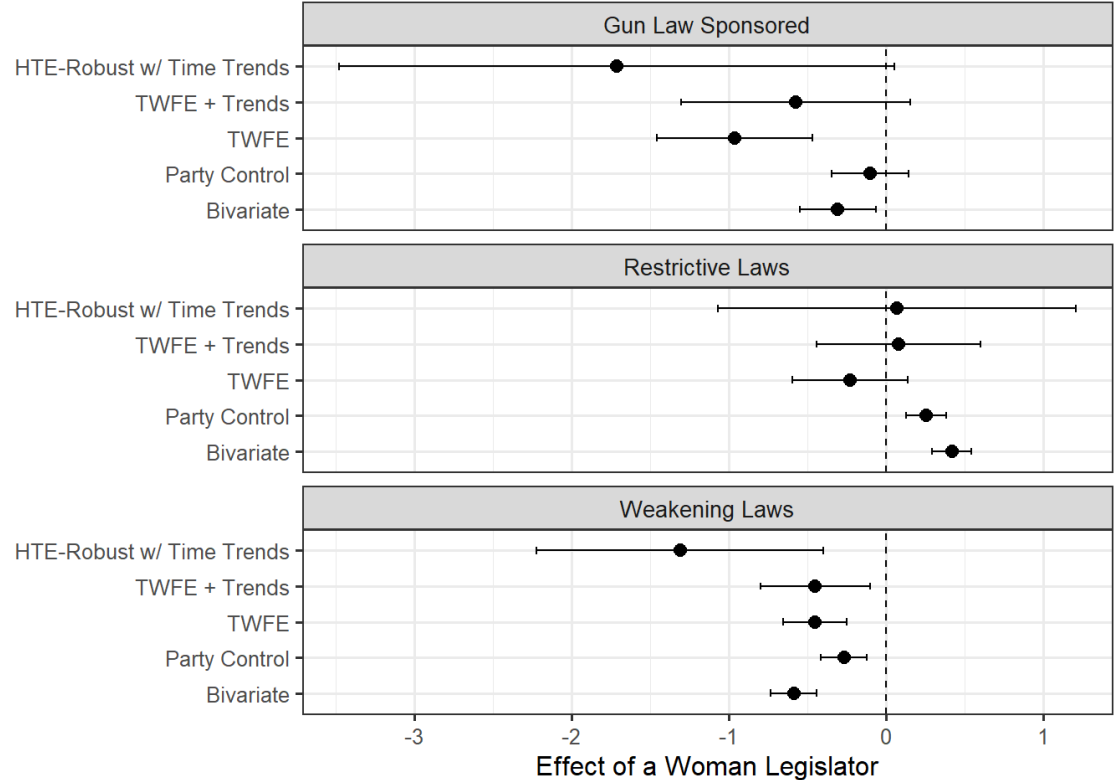
Figure 1 presents our results. In the three initial models, we find a statistically significant association between gender and gun-related bills. On average, women legislators sponsor 0.31 fewer gun-related bills, 0.59 fewer gun rights bills, and 0.42 more gun control bills per year than men. These results offer preliminary support for H1 and H2. We observe modest changes when we include partisanship, with the association being statistically significant in

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<sup>4</sup>For event study plots providing evidence in favor of the parallel trends in the pre-treatment period under these assumptions, see SI D.

two out of the three models. Specifically, the gender gap in overall sponsorship becomes statistically insignificant. Still, the directional findings persist: women sponsor more gun control and fewer gun rights bills than their male colleagues, offering continued support for both hypotheses.

Figure 1: Effect of a Woman Legislator on Gun Legislation Sponsorship, Difference-in-Differences Results



Note: 95% Confidence Intervals.

In two-way fixed effects models comparing legislators within the same district over time, the gender gap in gun control sponsorship disappears, failing to support hypothesis 1. However, we continue to detect a statistically significant result for the model on gun rights. More precisely, we estimate that women sponsor 0.45 fewer gun rights bills annually, supporting H2. We find a similar result when we include district-specific linear trends into our two-way fixed effects model. Again, the coefficient for gender is statistically insignificant in the model for bills aimed at restricting gun laws. However, the gender difference in gun rights spon-



sponsorship remains statistically significant and substantively meaningful. In sum, we again find support for H2 but not H1.

Finally, using doubly robust difference-in-differences models, we find that women sponsor 1.7 fewer gun-related bills per year than men ( $p = 0.052$ ). This effect is driven primarily by reduced sponsorship of gun rights legislation. We detect no evidence of gender differences in gun control sponsorship. Providing the strongest support for H2, the estimate for this modeling strategy indicates that women sponsor 1.31 fewer gun rights bills per year than men in the same district ( $p < 0.01$ ).

In conclusion, although we find some evidence supporting H1, the results are not robust under the most rigorous models. However, in all five specifications, we find evidence supporting H2. These results suggest that women legislators may not be more active in legislating on gun control than their male counterparts. Nevertheless, they are less likely to pursue policies that expand gun rights.

## Conclusion

In this paper, we analyzed politically diverse states to evaluate whether women legislators are more likely to sponsor bills on gun regulation. We examined individual-level sponsorship of firearm and gun-related policies, extending research on gender and representation into a policy domain where women have been most active in advocacy roles, but less so as lawmakers. Furthermore, by expanding research on women’s policy behavior on gun-related policy, we not only gain a better understanding of how women’s legislative behavior differs from that of their male counterparts, but we also expand our knowledge on women’s legislative behavior to a policy area outside the usual women’s issues domain. By doing so, we evaluate whether the election of a woman not only increases the descriptive representation of women but also their substantive representation.

Our findings show that while women legislators sponsor fewer bills expanding gun rights than men, they are no more likely to sponsor legislation restricting gun ownership. This suggests a qualified translation of gendered public opinion into lawmaker behavior: women

legislators are less likely to support loosening gun laws but do not more actively promote stricter regulations. Women appear to use their positions to object to sponsoring permissive firearm legislation rather than to champion new regulations. Although women constitute roughly a fourth of legislators and sponsored a similar share of gun-related bills in our dataset, gender differences in sponsorship are narrower than those observed in public opinion or social-movement leadership. In contrast with other policy areas where women tend to be more liberal and activist, our findings align with firearm-regulation studies showing that pro-regulation women are less likely than pro-gun men to use the political system to voice their preferences (Goss, 2017). The pro-gun men’s active efforts to weaken firearm laws—and women’s apparent reluctance to initiate regulatory legislation—may also reflect a political survival strategy. Studies show voters perceive women as more liberal than men, even controlling for partisanship (Koch, 2000). The need to appeal to a median voter with more moderate views on gun policy may constrain women’s willingness to engage in propositional behavior, limiting sponsorship of bills that restrict gun rights. We invite future studies to probe these dynamics further.

In conclusion, the patterns that we uncovered suggest that gendered dynamics in firearm policymaking are driven less by heightened regulatory advocacy among women than by pronounced efforts of pro-gun men to expand gun rights. They also invite evaluation of how making legislatures more descriptively representative affects outcomes. In a political environment where voters do not support increasing gun rights (Jones, 2023), electing more women may curb legislative efforts that contradict public opinion.

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# Supplemental Information: Do Women Legislators Legislate Different than Men on Gun-Related Policy? A Suggestive Yes

<b>A</b>	<b>Descriptive Statistics</b>	<b>1</b>
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## A Descriptive Statistics

Table A.1: Descriptive Statistics

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Women	8,689	0.249	0.432	0	1
Democrat	8,824	0.481	0.500	0	1
# of Bills on Gun Policy	8,824	2.370	4.948	0	65
# of Bills on Gun Policy (Strict Control)	8,824	0.922	2.584	0	54
# of Bills on Gun Policy (Loose Control)	8,824	1.001	3.012	0	37
Share of Population Over Age 65	8,824	0.142	0.048	0.040	0.537
Share of Population Under Age 30	8,824	0.405	0.057	0.149	0.782
Share of Population Black	8,824	0.110	0.147	0.000	0.966
Share of Population Asian	8,824	0.046	0.062	0.001	0.548
Share of Population Latino	8,824	0.212	0.221	0.004	0.969
Share of Population with College Degree	8,824	0.281	0.129	0.033	0.810
District Median Income	8,824	56,309.090	16,750.310	19,227	146,166
Total Bills Sponsored	8,769	75.147	63.791	0.500	790.000

## B Coding Gun Policy Bills

In this SI, we include three representative examples for each of the categories that we used to code gun policy bills included in our analysis. We selected examples from different states to provide a more general view of the bills included in our dataset.

- **Strengthen Control:**

- Illinois House Bill 2599 - 100th General Assembly (2017-2018); changes the definition of handgun to include handguns and handgun components, thereby increasing restrictions on firearm ownership.
- Texas C.S.H.B. 316 – Legislative Session 86 (R); seeks to prevent gun deaths and increase gun awareness and safety by requiring the Department of Public Safety to develop and implement a public awareness campaign designed to encourage firearm safety and to improve public awareness on topics regarding the prevention

of firearm accidents involving children, suicide prevention, and the safe handling and storage of firearms.

- Florida Senate Bill 1208 – 2020 Session: Prohibiting the sale or transfer of an assault weapon or large-capacity ammunition magazine; providing conditions for continued possession of such weapons or large-capacity ammunition magazines; requiring certificates of transfer for transfers of assault weapons or large-capacity magazines; providing for relinquishment of assault weapons or large-capacity magazines; providing enhanced criminal penalties for certain offenses when committed with an assault weapon or large-capacity magazine, etc.

- **Weaken Control:**

- Michigan House Bill No. 4457 – 2013 Session: Any federal law that attempts to ban certain firearms or magazines is unenforceable in this state; to provide for the powers and duties of certain state officers; to prohibit the enforcement of certain federal laws; and to prescribe penalties.
- Texas House Bill 1078 – Legislative Session 86(R): waiving certain driver's license and handgun license fees for certain applicants who hold a certification in cardiopulmonary resuscitation.
- Illinois Senate Bill 2888 - 99th General Assembly: It is illegal for state employees, local government employees, or licensed federal gun dealers in the state to enforce federal gun laws on firearms, accessories, or ammunition that are made in the state and stay within state borders. Any federal official who tries to enforce federal gun laws on such in-state firearms, accessories, or ammunition could be charged with a Class 4 felony.

- **Neutral:**

- Iowa Senate Resolution 23 – 86th General Assembly: The Iowa Senate opposes

any ban on 5.56 mm rifle ammunition and supports the future use of 5.56 rifle ammunition by Iowans in the same manner as Iowans have previously enjoyed before a ban on the ammunition.

- California Senate Bill 1332 – 2015/2016 Session: Allows both spouses to register as the owners of a firearm. Exchanges of firearms must be carried out through a licensed dealer. Allows exceptions to storage if certain requirements are met.
- Texas Senate Bill 1057 – Legislative Session 86 (R): If it's legal to carry a handgun on someone's property, the property owner can't be sued just because they chose not to ban handguns there. This rule doesn't protect the owner if someone is hurt or property is damaged due to actions taken intentionally, recklessly, or with extreme carelessness.

- **Not Related:**

- Texas House Resolution 1000 – Legislative Session 86 (R): Congratulating the Texas Christian University rifle team on winning the 2019 NCAA rifle national championship.
- Illinois House Bill 5514 - 98th General Assembly: Provides that trapped beaver, river otter, weasel, mink, or muskrat may be killed with a .22 caliber or a smaller rifle.
- Iowa House File 69 – 88th General Assembly: the refusal to provide or the charging of unfair, discriminatory, premiums, policy fees, or rates for any policy or contract of real or personal property insurance, liability, insurance, or policy containing liability coverage to a private or public school solely because the school authorizes a person to go armed with, carry, or transport, a firearm on the school grounds for security purposes is an unfair method of competition, or an unfair or deceptive act or practice in the business of insurance.

## C Measurement Validity Checks

To assess the reliability and validity of our hand-coded outcome measures, we conducted two key validation exercises: an intercoder reliability check and a partisan alignment check. Together, these provide evidence that the classification of gun-related legislation is both consistent and construct-valid.

### C.1 Intercoder Reliability Check

To assess coding consistency, a subset of bills ( $N = 982$ ) was independently coded by both the research team and trained research assistants (RAs). Table C.2 reports the cross-tabulation of the original codes and RA codes across three directional categories: strengthen (s), weaken (w), and neutral (n). The overall intercoder agreement rate was 64.6%.

Table C.2: Intercoder Reliability Between Authors and Research Assistant

Original Code	RA: Neutral (n)	RA: Strengthen (s)	RA: Weaken (w)
Neutral (n)	34.5%	26.4%	39.1%
Strengthen (s)	17.4%	77.0%	5.6%
Weaken (w)	21.0%	9.7%	69.3%

This level of agreement is moderate and comparable to other hand-coded legislative classification efforts. Most disagreements were concentrated between adjacent categories (e.g., strengthen vs. neutral), with few instances of direct misclassification between opposite policy directions (e.g., strengthen vs. weaken).

### C.2 Partisan Alignment Check

As an additional validity test, we verified whether our coding produced patterns that align with well-established partisan differences in gun policy preferences. Specifically, we regressed our three main dependent variables—total gun bills sponsored, gun control (restrictive) bills sponsored, and gun rights (weakening) bills sponsored—on a binary indicator for whether a



legislator is Republican. As expected, Republican legislators were significantly more likely to sponsor weakening bills and significantly less likely to sponsor gun control bills, providing strong evidence for face validity of the policy direction coding.

Table C.3: Partisan Alignment Check: Republican Legislators and Gun Bill Sponsorship

	<b>All Gun Bills</b>	<b>Gun Control (s)</b>	<b>Gun Rights (w)</b>
Republican Legislator	0.865*** (0.105)	-0.757*** (0.054)	1.393*** (0.062)
Constant	1.922*** (0.076)	1.315*** (0.039)	0.278*** (0.045)
Observations	8,824	8,824	8,824
$R^2$	0.008	0.021	0.053
Adj. $R^2$	0.008	0.021	0.053
Residual SE	4.929	2.557	2.930
F-statistic	67.834***	193.034***	498.049***

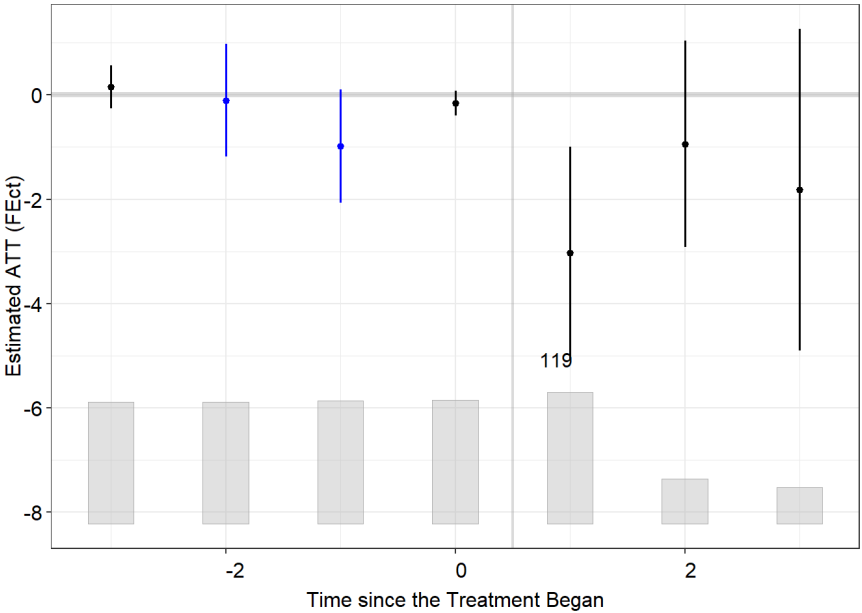
\*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

These results reinforce the validity of our coding scheme by demonstrating that, consistent with theory and prior research, Republican legislators are more likely to sponsor bills that weaken gun laws and less likely to sponsor those that strengthen them.

## D FEct Event Study Plots

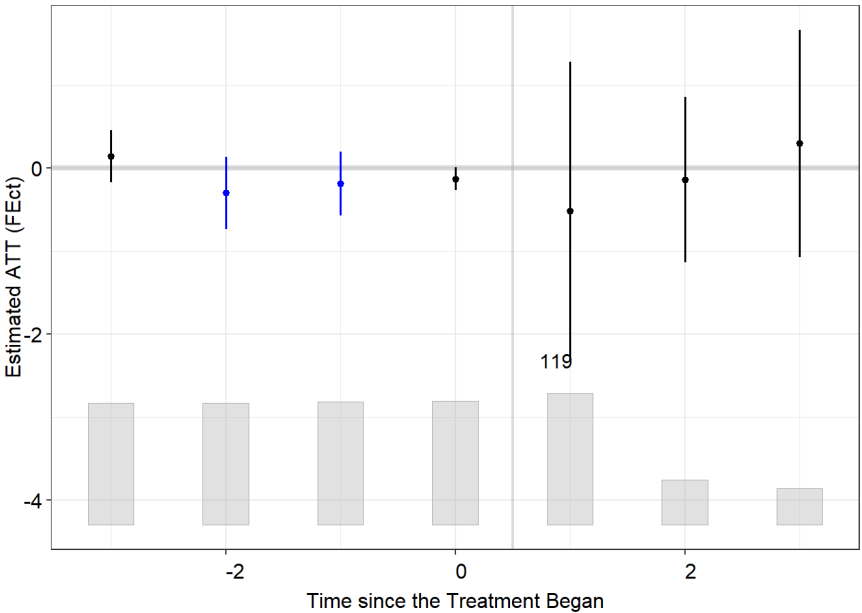
Figures D.1, D.2, and D.3 offer event study-style plots for our three outcomes of interest under the FEct package. They provide evidence that the parallel trends generally hold when conditioned on covariates and unit-specific trends for the pre-treatment periods, providing some validation to the assumption, though it may deviate slightly in the case of gun rights (weakening) legislation. In addition, they visually display the treatment effects seen in Figure 1.

Figure D.1: Effect of a Woman Legislator on Gun Legislation Sponsorship, Difference-in-Differences Results



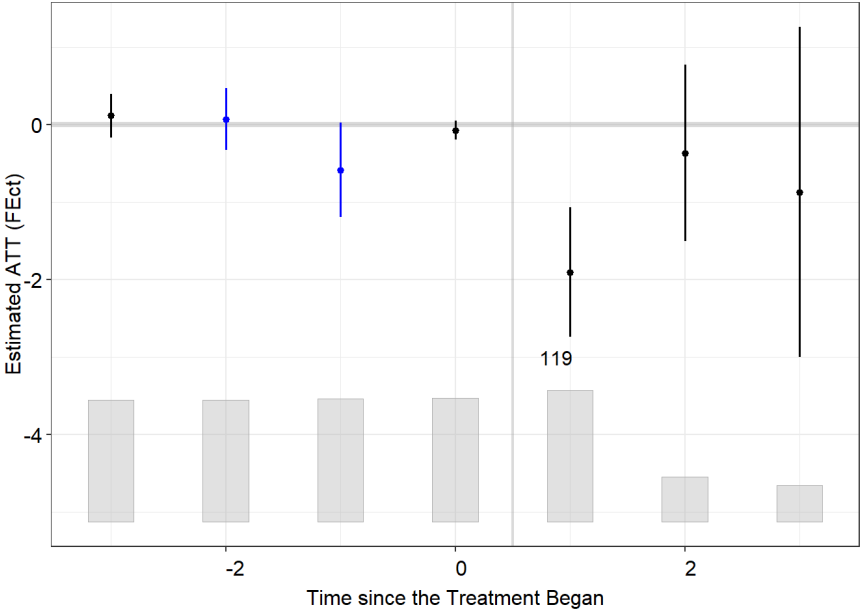
Note: 95% Confidence Intervals.

Figure D.2: Effect of a Woman Legislator on Gun Legislation Sponsorship, Difference-in-Differences Results



Note: 95% Confidence Intervals.

Figure D.3: Effect of a Woman Legislator on Gun Legislation Sponsorship, Difference-in-Differences Results



Note: 95% Confidence Intervals.

## E Full Model Results

Table E.4: Effect of Legislator Gender on Gun Bill Sponsorship

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	All Gun Bills	Restrictive	Permissive
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Legislator is a Woman	−0.306* (0.123)	0.420*** (0.064)	−0.588*** (0.075)
Constant	2.449*** (0.061)	0.814*** (0.032)	1.155*** (0.037)
Observations	8,689	8,689	8,689
R <sup>2</sup>	0.001	0.005	0.007
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.001	0.005	0.007

*Note:* \*p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01; \*\*\*p<0.001  
OLS models. Standard errors in parentheses.

Table E.5: Effect of Legislator Gender on Gun Bill Sponsorship Controlling for Legislators' Party

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	All Gun Bills	Restrictive	Permissive
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Legislator is a Woman	−0.101 (0.125)	0.254*** (0.065)	−0.268*** (0.075)
Legislator is a Republican	0.871*** (0.108)	−0.705*** (0.056)	1.359*** (0.065)
Constant	1.946*** (0.087)	1.221*** (0.045)	0.371*** (0.052)
Observations	8,689	8,689	8,689
R <sup>2</sup>	0.008	0.023	0.055
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.008	0.023	0.055

*Note:* \*p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01; \*\*\*p<0.001  
OLS models. Standard errors in parentheses.

Table E.6: TWFE Models with District and Year Fixed Effects

Dependent Variables: Model:	All Gun Bills Sponsored	Restrictive Gun Bills Sponsored	Permissive Gun Bills Sponsored
Legislator is a Woman	-0.9633*** (0.2526)	-0.2286 (0.1868)	-0.4518*** (0.1031)
Share of Population Over Age 65	-7.605 (6.976)	-2.211 (4.862)	-5.955* (3.279)
Share of Population Under Age 30	-6.065 (4.501)	-4.334 (3.026)	-3.201 (2.435)
Share of Population Black	-2.136 (3.908)	0.9257 (2.915)	-2.197** (0.9253)
Share of Population Asian	-4.203 (3.154)	-1.103 (2.003)	-3.958** (1.851)
Share of Population Latino	-3.261 (2.548)	0.3558 (1.763)	-2.960*** (0.8623)
Share of Population with College Degree	-0.2931 (2.960)	-0.8429 (2.180)	1.655* (0.9836)
District Median Income	$-2.72 \times 10^{-5}$ ( $1.95 \times 10^{-5}$ )	$7.47 \times 10^{-6}$ ( $1.34 \times 10^{-5}$ )	$-3.79 \times 10^{-5}$ *** ( $9.85 \times 10^{-6}$ )
Total Gun Bills Sponsored	0.0209*** (0.0024)	0.0085*** (0.0015)	0.0065*** (0.0010)
District FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	8,634	8,634	8,634
R <sup>2</sup>	0.34612	0.35555	0.37250
Within R <sup>2</sup>	0.02367	0.01416	0.00873

*Clustered (state\_district\_regime) standard-errors in parentheses*

*Signif. Codes: \*\*\*: 0.01, \*\*: 0.05, \*: 0.1*

Table E.7: TWFE Models with District and Year Fixed Effects

Dependent Variables: Model:	All Gun Bills Sponsored	Restrictive Gun Bills Sponsored	Permissive Gun Bills Sponsored
Legislator is a Woman	-0.5738 (0.3721)	0.0777 (0.2661)	-0.4517** (0.1775)
Share of Population Over Age 65	-4.152 (11.87)	2.888 (7.780)	-5.233 (6.067)
Share of Population Under Age 30	-4.913 (6.734)	1.198 (4.154)	-4.165 (4.151)
Share of Population Black	-2.629 (6.328)	1.092 (4.663)	-1.368 (1.731)
Share of Population Asian	-4.371 (4.549)	-2.136 (2.633)	-2.659 (2.978)
Share of Population Latino	-1.890 (3.889)	1.387 (2.612)	-2.545 (1.614)
Share of Population with College Degree	-1.752 (4.183)	-2.890 (2.952)	1.242 (1.712)
District Median Income	$-1.12 \times 10^{-5}$ ( $3.21 \times 10^{-5}$ )	$3.88 \times 10^{-5**}$ ( $1.77 \times 10^{-5}$ )	$-3.49 \times 10^{-5*}$ ( $1.93 \times 10^{-5}$ )
Total Gun Bills Sponsored	0.0170*** (0.0030)	0.0069*** (0.0019)	0.0044*** (0.0014)
District FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
District Linear Trends	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	8,634	8,634	8,634
R <sup>2</sup>	0.49664	0.55757	0.50922
Within R <sup>2</sup>	0.01212	0.00909	0.00325

*Clustered (state\_district\_regime) standard-errors in parentheses*

*Signif. Codes: \*\*\*: 0.01, \*\*: 0.05, \*: 0.1*