Online Appendix

Rushing to the altar?
Same-sex marriages when rights feel at risk

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Online Appendix

A Detailed institutional background

The Brazilian Supreme Federal Court (*Supremo Tribunal Federal*, STF) declared the bill allowing same-sex civil unions constitutional by majority vote in 2011. In 2013, the National Council of Justice (*Conselho Nacional de Justiça*, CNJ), responsible for supervising the judiciary system, issued Resolution 175, establishing that notaries and civil registries cannot refuse to perform same-sex marriages, ensuring equal treatment under the law for marriage registration regardless of sexual orientation (Conselho Nacional de Justiça, 2013).

Same-sex civil unions are not covered by the Brazilian Civil Code, which is the country's primary source of law. Instead, the legal status of same-sex marriages falls under common law, meaning it is shaped and can be altered by judicial rulings. Consequently, the recognition or revocation of same-sex marriage rights depends on decisions made by the justices of the STF. Additionally, changes can occur through legislative action, which is, however, a more complex process and has so far been unsuccessful. Furthermore, attempts to incorporate same-sex unions into the Civil Code have failed to pass all legislative stages and were either archived or left pending.[1][2]

[1] https://www.camara.leg.br/proposicoesWeb/fichadetramitacao?idProposicao=346155
[2] https://www25.senado.leg.br/web/atividade/materias/-/materia/102589

The Brazilian STF is composed of 11 justices who hold lifetime appointments and are responsible for interpreting common law. Between the recognition of same-sex marriage through judicial rulings in 2013 and the beginning of President Bolsonaro's term in 2019, three changes occurred in the Court's composition. These appointments were made by Presidents Dilma Rousseff and Michel Temer, neither of whom is considered conservative, suggesting that the justices they nominated likely align with more progressive legal interpretations. Table OA1 presents the changes in the composition of the Brazilian STF from the recognition of same-sex marriage to the present.

Table OA1: Supreme Court Composition Changes

Justice at time when the same-sex marriage bill was approved	Voted in favor	Retired	Current Justice (since)	Appointed by left-wing President
Cezar Peluso	Yes	Yes	A. de Moraes (2017)	No (Temer)
Celso de Mello	Yes	Yes	N. Marques (2020)	No (Bolsonaro)
Marco Aurélio	Yes	Yes	A. Mendonça (2021)	No (Bolsonaro)
Ellen Gracie	Yes	Yes	F. Dino (2024)	Yes (Lula)
Gilmar Mendes	Yes	No	–	–
Ayres Britto	Yes	Yes	L. R. Barroso (2013)	Yes (Dilma)
Joaquim Barbosa	Yes	No	–	–
Ricardo Lewandowski	Yes	No	–	–
Cármen Lúcia	Yes	Yes	C. Zanin (2023)	Yes (Lula)
Luiz Fux	Yes	No	–	–
Dias Toffoli	Abstained	No	–	–

Notes: Four justices who voted in favor remained. One who abstained also remained. Three new justices were appointed by left-wing presidents, suggesting a low likelihood of reversing the ruling. Furthermore, although Temer is not a left-wing politician, his appointee Alexandre de Moraes is often aligned with the left.

The exact number of expected retirements from the STF after the beginning of Bolsonaro's presidency - and thus the potential for new appointments by him - was uncertain. However, at the time of his election, it was highly unlikely that enough justices would step down within four years to secure a majority capable of overturning the same-sex marriage precedent. In fact, during his presidency, Bolsonaro appointed two new justices to the STF. One of them was André Mendonça, who, despite his religious and political background, publicly expressed support for same-sex civil unions.[3] This, combined with the limited number of appointments, meant that Bolsonaro was unable

[3]https://www.bbc.com/portuguese/brasil-59389598

to shift the STF majority to overturn its prior rulings on LGBT rights during his single term. Only if Bolsonaro had been re-elected would he have had the opportunity to appoint additional justices, potentially increasing the likelihood of reversing the precedent on same-sex marriage.[4]

Furthermore, revoking the same-sex marriage precedent through legislative action would be even more difficult. First, a bill must pass through multiple committees, including those on Human Rights and on the Constitution and Justice. It must then be approved by a majority vote in both the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate. If passed, the bill is sent to the President for signature. This multi-step process makes a legislative reversal of same-sex marriage rights extremely unlikely, and therefore, the revocation of same-sex civil unions through legislative action highly improbable.

[4]Since the end of Bolsonaro's tenure, there have been two changes in the composition of the Supreme Court. Therefore, if Bolsonaro had been re-elected, he would have nominated two more justices.

Table A1: Descriptive Statistics: September 2018 (baseline) by Bolsonaro 2018 Vote Share (1st Round)

	[0%, 25%)			[25%, 50%)			[50%, 100%]		
Variable	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD
Marriages (per 100,000 inhabitants)									
All									
Same-sex	1347	0.029	0.370	1774	0.073	0.843	1783	0.195	1.471
Lesbian	1347	0.025	0.357	1774	0.034	0.557	1783	0.141	1.379
Gay	1347	0.004	0.098	1774	0.038	0.634	1783	0.054	0.460
Different-sex	1347	29.484	36.882	1774	44.623	46.673	1783	50.010	39.004
Divorce	769	98.821	86.459	766	157.070	109.493	1084	208.905	124.619
Same-sex by age group									
15–24	1347	0.003	0.115	1774	0.018	0.434	1783	0.037	0.476
25–39	1347	0.012	0.204	1774	0.044	0.661	1783	0.118	1.326
40–59	1347	0.004	0.085	1774	0.011	0.294	1783	0.038	0.395
60+	1347	0.010	0.275	1774	0.000	0.003	1783	0.003	0.063
Gay by age group									
15–24	1347	0.000	0.000	1774	0.003	0.075	1783	0.007	0.123
25–39	1347	0.002	0.075	1774	0.027	0.559	1783	0.030	0.365
40–59	1347	0.002	0.064	1774	0.008	0.289	1783	0.018	0.250
60+	1347	0.000	0.000	1774	0.000	0.003	1783	0.000	0.007
Lesbian by age group									
15–24	1347	0.003	0.115	1774	0.014	0.427	1783	0.031	0.460
25–39	1347	0.010	0.190	1774	0.016	0.353	1783	0.088	1.274
40–59	1347	0.002	0.057	1774	0.004	0.053	1783	0.020	0.214
60+	1347	0.010	0.275	1774	0.000	0.000	1783	0.003	0.063
Treatment									
2014 election									
Left parties vote share (1st round)	1347	0.852	0.075	1774	0.659	0.114	1783	0.499	0.102
2018 election									
Bolsonaro vote share (1st round)	1347	0.160	0.050	1774	0.388	0.074	1783	0.598	0.068
Bolsonaro vote share (2nd round)	1347	0.199	0.063	1774	0.472	0.097	1783	0.707	0.072
2022 election									
Bolsonaro vote share (1st round)	1347	0.194	0.056	1774	0.395	0.075	1783	0.577	0.076
Bolsonaro vote share (2nd round)	1347	0.220	0.062	1774	0.445	0.082	1783	0.638	0.075
PT vote share (1st round)	1347	0.756	0.062	1774	0.541	0.079	1783	0.350	0.072
PT vote share (2nd round)	1347	0.780	0.062	1774	0.555	0.082	1783	0.362	0.075
Controls									
GDP per capita (R$ thousand)	1347	14.921	15.300	1774	30.917	29.950	1783	45.870	40.173
Population density	1347	41.930	58.371	1774	146.946	853.163	1783	182.485	687.832
Registry office (per 100,000 inhs.)	1347	4.583	7.057	1774	8.612	13.557	1783	6.365	10.291
Labor market shock	1347	−0.170	0.628	1774	−0.331	0.531	1783	−0.194	0.446
LGBT population share (2010)	1347	0.000	0.000	1773	0.000	0.000	1781	0.000	0.000
Migrant population share (2010)	1347	0.252	0.092	1773	0.391	0.138	1781	0.450	0.125
Anti-LGBT protests (per 100,000 inhs.)	1347	0.002	0.056	1774	0.000	0.000	1783	0.000	0.005
Pro-LGBT protests (per 100,000 inhs.)	1347	0.000	0.000	1774	0.001	0.018	1783	0.001	0.016
Private health ins. share (2017)	1347	1.797	3.465	1773	7.890	8.968	1781	15.934	11.794
Informality share (2010)	1347	31.569	8.142	1773	27.007	8.850	1781	20.547	8.042

Notes: Municipalities grouped by Bolsonaro's 2018 first-round vote share: [0%, 25%), [25%, 50%), [50%, 100%]. Marriage density variables are measured per 100,000 inhabitants. GDP per capita in thousands of BRL, deflated to 2023 values using IPCA. Vote shares from the 2014, 2018, and 2022 Brazilian presidential elections. Labor market shock follows Barros and Silva (2025). LGBT population share, migrant population share, and informality share from the 2010 Brazilian Census. Private health insurance coverage from ANS. Protest data from ACLED.

Table A2: Descriptive Statistics: Oct. 2015 – Oct. 2019 (pooled)

Variable	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Marriages (per 100,000 inhabitants)					
All					
Same-sex	240 296	0.11	1.14	0	102
Lesbian	240 296	0.06	0.82	0	81
Gay	240 296	0.05	0.78	0	102
Different-sex	240 296	38.75	44.23	0	1787
Divorce	128 406	155.23	113.81	1	1325
Same-sex by age group					
15–24	240 296	0.02	0.48	0	62
25–39	240 296	0.06	0.86	0	102
40–59	240 296	0.03	0.48	0	51
60+	240 296	0.00	0.17	0	36
Gay by age group					
15–24	240 296	0.01	0.35	0	62
25–39	240 296	0.03	0.59	0	102
40–59	240 296	0.01	0.33	0	51
60+	240 296	0.00	0.14	0	36
Lesbian by age group					
15–24	240 296	0.01	0.32	0	59
25–39	240 296	0.04	0.63	0	81
40–59	240 296	0.02	0.35	0	49
60+	240 296	0.00	0.10	0	24
Treatment					
2014 election					
Left parties vote share (1st round)	240 296	0.65	0.17	0	1
2018 election					
Bolsonaro vote share (1st round)	240 296	0.40	0.19	0	1
Bolsonaro vote share (2nd round)	240 296	0.48	0.22	0	1
2022 election					
Bolsonaro vote share (1st round)	240 296	0.41	0.17	0	1
Bolsonaro vote share (2nd round)	240 296	0.45	0.18	0	1
PT vote share (1st round)	240 296	0.53	0.18	0	1
PT vote share (2nd round)	240 296	0.55	0.18	0	1
Controls					
GDP per capita (R$ thousand)	240 296	31.38	31.09	6	774
Population density	240 296	130.36	658.48	0	14 208
Registry office (per 100,000 inhs.)	240 296	6.92	11.00	0	127
Labor market shock	240 296	−0.24	0.54	−2	2
LGBT population share (2010)	240 149	0.00	0.00	0	0
Migrant population share (2010)	240 149	0.37	0.15	0	1
Anti-LGBT protests (per 100,000 inhs.)	107 888	0.00	0.06	0	15
Pro-LGBT protests (per 100,000 inhs.)	107 888	0.00	0.01	0	4
Private health ins. share (2017)	240 149	9.14	10.73	0	100
Informality share (2010)	240 149	25.91	9.47	4	61

Notes: Marriage density variables are measured per 100,000 inhabitants. GDP per capita in thousands of BRL, deflated to 2023 values using IPCA. Vote shares from the 2014, 2018, and 2022 Brazilian presidential elections. Labor market shock follows Barros and Silva (2025). LGBT population share, migrant population share, and informality share from the 2010 Brazilian Census. Private health insurance coverage from ANS. Protest data from ACLED.

Table A3: Descriptive Statistics: September 2018 (baseline)

Variable	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Marriages (per 100,000 inhabitants)					
All					
Same-sex	4904	0.11	1.04	0	48
Lesbian	4904	0.07	0.92	0	48
Gay	4904	0.04	0.47	0	17
Different-sex	4904	42.42	42.22	0	730
Divorce	2619	161.42	119.21	1	1108
Same-sex by age group					
15–24	4904	0.02	0.39	0	15
25–39	4904	0.06	0.90	0	48
40–59	4904	0.02	0.30	0	13
60+	4904	0.00	0.15	0	9
Gay by age group					
15–24	4904	0.00	0.09	0	3
25–39	4904	0.02	0.40	0	17
40–59	4904	0.01	0.23	0	12
60+	4904	0.00	0.00	0	0
Lesbian by age group					
15–24	4904	0.02	0.38	0	15
25–39	4904	0.04	0.80	0	48
40–59	4904	0.01	0.14	0	6
60+	4904	0.00	0.15	0	9
Treatment					
2014 election					
Left parties vote share (1st round)	4904	0.65	0.17	0	1
2018 election					
Bolsonaro vote share (1st round)	4904	0.40	0.19	0	1
Bolsonaro vote share (2nd round)	4904	0.48	0.22	0	1
2022 election					
Bolsonaro vote share (1st round)	4904	0.41	0.17	0	1
Bolsonaro vote share (2nd round)	4904	0.45	0.18	0	1
PT vote share (1st round)	4904	0.53	0.18	0	1
PT vote share (2nd round)	4904	0.55	0.18	0	1
Controls					
GDP per capita (R$ thousand)	4904	31.96	33.55	7	774
Population density	4904	131.02	662.83	0	14 007
Registry office (per 100,000 inhs.)	4904	6.69	11.01	0	93
Labor market shock	4904	−0.24	0.54	−2	2
LGBT population share (2010)	4901	0.00	0.00	0	0
Migrant population share (2010)	4901	0.37	0.15	0	1
Anti-LGBT protests (per 100,000 inhs.)	4904	0.00	0.03	0	2
Pro-LGBT protests (per 100,000 inhs.)	4904	0.00	0.02	0	1
Private health ins. share (2017)	4901	9.14	10.73	0	100
Informality share (2010)	4901	25.91	9.47	4	61

Notes: Marriage density variables are measured per 100,000 inhabitants. GDP per capita in thousands of BRL, deflated to 2023 values using IPCA. Vote shares from the 2014, 2018, and 2022 Brazilian presidential elections. Labor market shock follows Barros and Silva (2025). LGBT population share, migrant population share, and informality share from the 2010 Brazilian Census. Private health insurance coverage from ANS. Protest data from ACLED.

Table A4: Descriptive Statistics: Oct. 2019 – Oct. 2023 (pooled)

Variable	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Marriages (per 100,000 inhabitants)					
All					
Same-sex	240 296	0.16	1.30	0	99
Lesbian	240 296	0.10	0.98	0	65
Gay	240 296	0.06	0.83	0	99
Different-sex	240 296	33.22	39.56	0	2518
Divorce	99 978	169.05	122.76	1	1391
Same-sex by age group					
15–24	240 296	0.02	0.45	0	38
25–39	240 296	0.10	0.97	0	63
40–59	240 296	0.04	0.64	0	66
60+	240 296	0.00	0.24	0	65
Gay by age group					
15–24	240 296	0.01	0.28	0	38
25–39	240 296	0.04	0.62	0	63
40–59	240 296	0.02	0.41	0	66
60+	240 296	0.00	0.14	0	30
Lesbian by age group					
15–24	240 296	0.01	0.35	0	34
25–39	240 296	0.06	0.75	0	59
40–59	240 296	0.02	0.49	0	65
60+	240 296	0.00	0.19	0	65
Treatment					
2014 election					
Left parties vote share (1st round)	240 296	0.65	0.17	0	1
2018 election					
Bolsonaro vote share (1st round)	240 296	0.40	0.19	0	1
Bolsonaro vote share (2nd round)	240 296	0.48	0.22	0	1
2022 election					
Bolsonaro vote share (1st round)	240 296	0.41	0.17	0	1
Bolsonaro vote share (2nd round)	240 296	0.45	0.18	0	1
PT vote share (1st round)	240 296	0.53	0.18	0	1
PT vote share (2nd round)	240 296	0.55	0.18	0	1
Controls					
GDP per capita (R$ thousand)	132 408	35.78	40.73	6	1019
Population density	191 256	132.51	665.75	0	14 593
Registry office (per 100,000 inhs.)	191 256	11.00	16.29	0	216
Labor market shock	240 296	−0.24	0.54	−2	2
LGBT population share (2010)	240 149	0.00	0.00	0	0
Migrant population share (2010)	240 149	0.37	0.15	0	1
Anti-LGBT protests (per 100,000 inhs.)	240 296	0.00	0.06	0	25
Pro-LGBT protests (per 100,000 inhs.)	240 296	0.00	0.00	0	1
Private health ins. share (2017)	240 149	9.14	10.73	0	100
Informality share (2010)	240 149	25.91	9.47	4	61

Notes: Marriage density variables are measured per 100,000 inhabitants. GDP per capita in thousands of BRL, deflated to 2023 values using IPCA. Vote shares from the 2014, 2018, and 2022 Brazilian presidential elections. Labor market shock follows Barros and Silva (2025). LGBT population share, migrant population share, and informality share from the 2010 Brazilian Census. Private health insurance coverage from ANS. Protest data from ACLED.

Table A5: Robustness: Seasonality

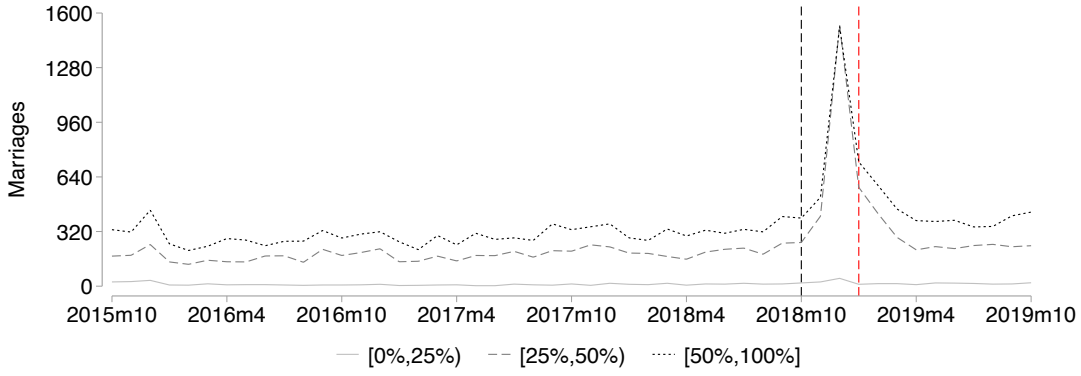
	Same-sex		Lesbian		Gay	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
DiD	0.133***	0.127***	0.104***	0.103***	0.029	0.024
	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.020)	(0.020)
Municipality FE (γ_m)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Month-year FE (τ_t)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State × month FE ($\theta_{s,c(t)}$)	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
De-seasonalized outcome	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	240,296	240,296	240,296	240,296	240,296	240,296

Notes: Each column reports the difference-in-differences (DiD) coefficient from a separate regression. Columns (1), (3), (5) use the baseline fixed effects: municipality, month-year, and state-by-month. Columns (2), (4), (6) replace the outcome with its de-seasonalized counterpart, constructed by removing the municipality-specific pre-treatment mean for each calendar month, as an alternative to absorbing seasonality through state-by-month fixed effects. Standard errors clustered at the municipality level in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

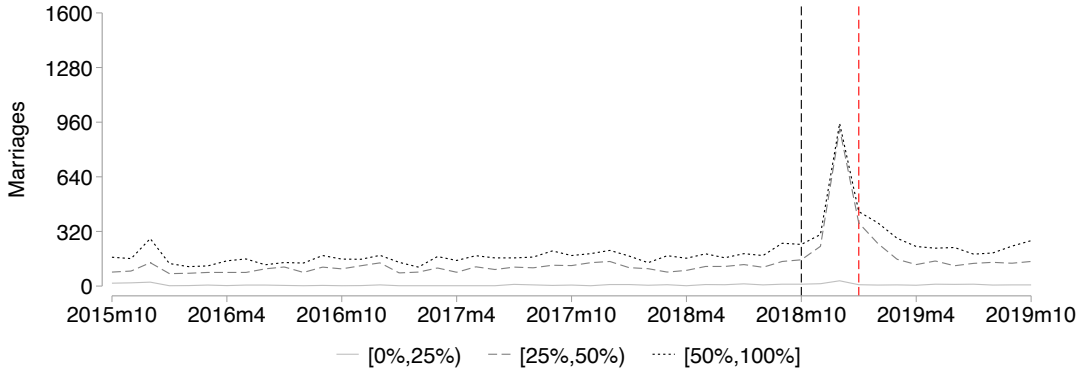
Table A6: Robustness: excluding municipalities with extreme Bolsonaro support

	Excluding low support (≤20%)			Excluding high support (≥80%)		
	Same-sex	Lesbian	Gay	Same-sex	Lesbian	Gay
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
DiD	0.117***	0.107***	0.010	0.137***	0.107***	0.030
	(0.045)	(0.030)	(0.032)	(0.030)	(0.022)	(0.020)
Observations	191,051	191,051	191,051	239,904	239,904	239,904

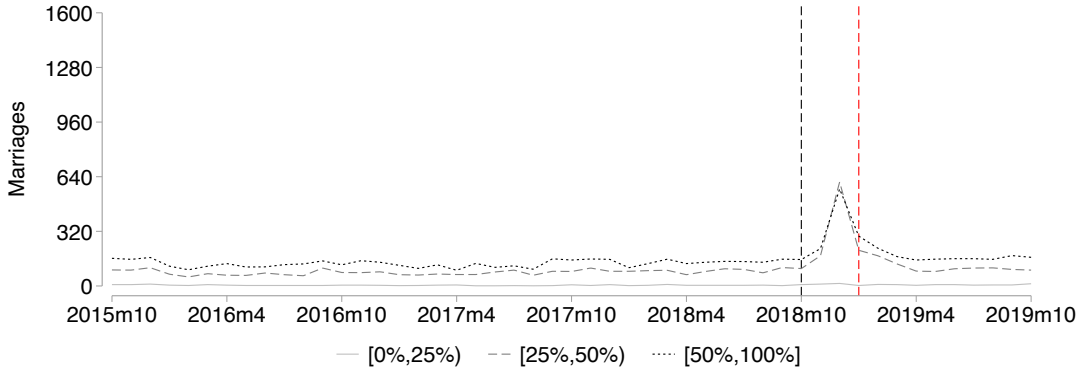
Notes: Each column reports the difference-in-differences (DiD) coefficient from a separate regression of the number of same-sex, lesbian, or gay marriages per 100,000 inhabitants. Columns (1)–(3) exclude municipalities where Bolsonaro received at most 20% of the first-round vote; columns (4)–(6) exclude those where he received at least 80%. All specifications include municipality, month-year, and state-by-calendar-month fixed effects. Standard errors clustered at the municipality level in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.



(a) Same-sex



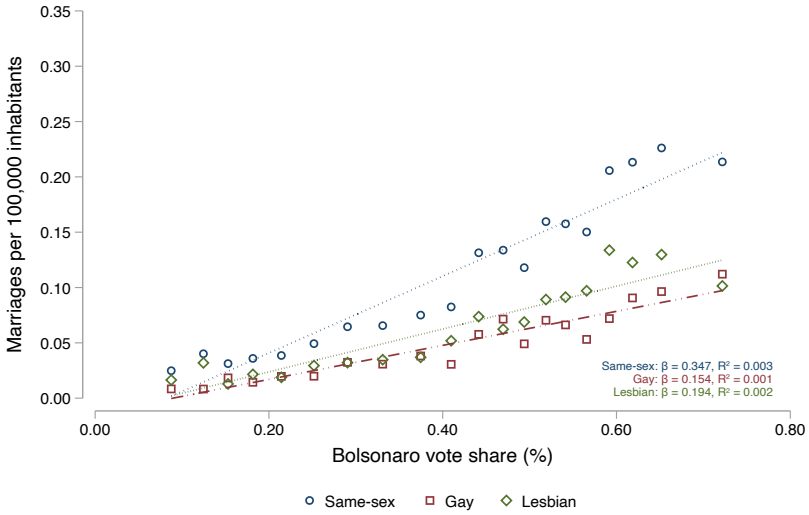
(b) Lesbian



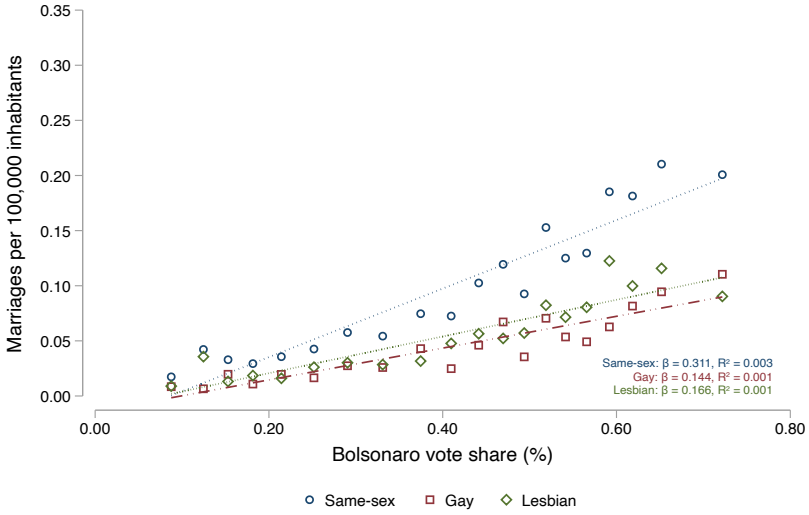
(c) Gay

Figure A1: Same-sex marriages in Brazil over time: absolute values

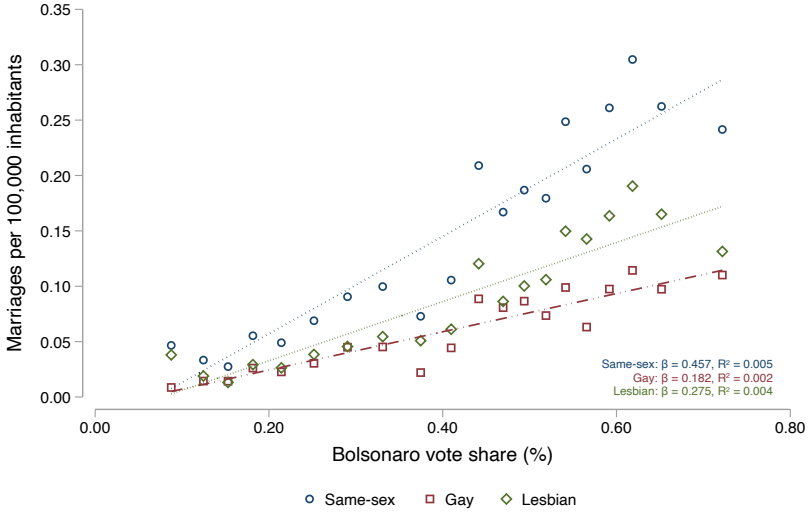
Notes: This figure shows the absolute number of monthly marriages from October 2015 to October 2019, categorized by the share of votes for Bolsonaro in the first round of the 2018 presidential election. The vertical black dashed line indicates the date of Bolsonaro's election, while the red line marks the beginning of his presidential term.



(a) Entire sample



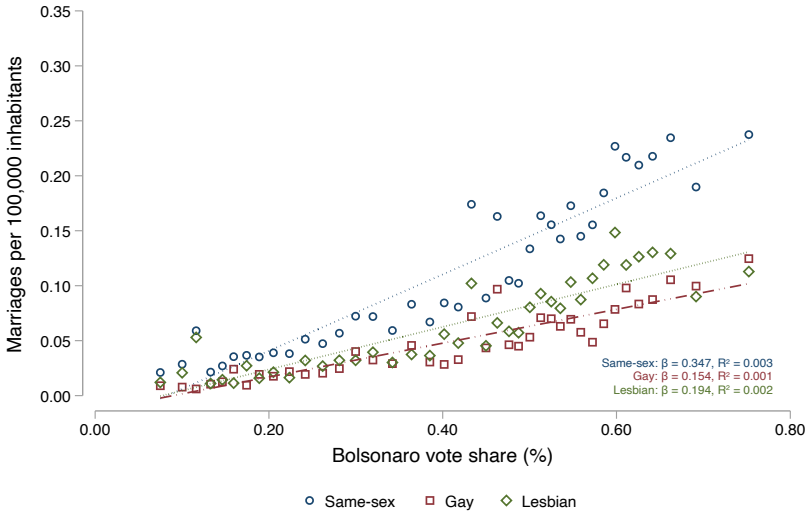
(b) Pre-election



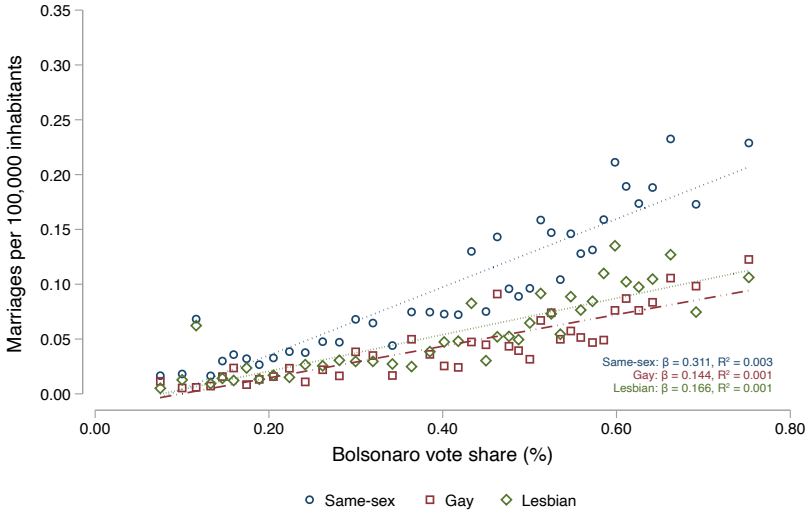
(c) Post-election

Figure A2: Bolsonaro vote share and same-sex marriages (20 bins)

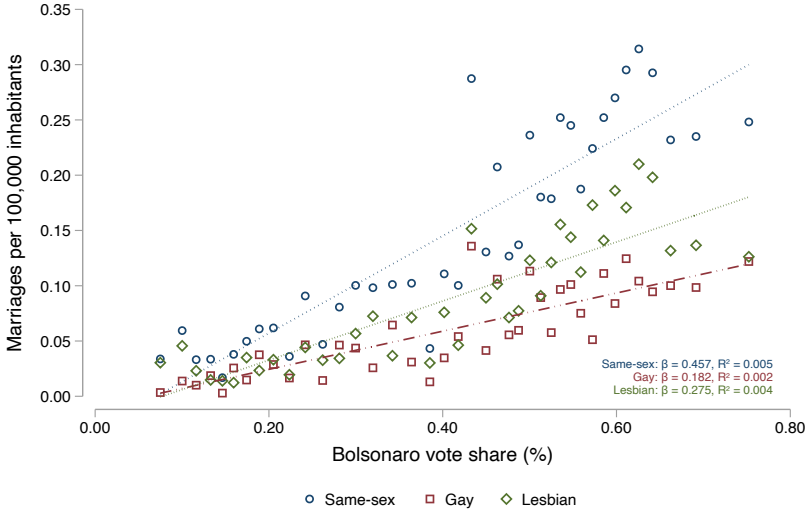
Notes: This figure presents quantile-based binned scatter plots of the relationship between municipal marriage rates and electoral support for Bolsonaro. The x-axis shows the municipal share of Bolsonaro votes in the first round of the 2018 presidential election, and the y-axis shows the number of marriages per 100,000 inhabitants. Each marker represents the mean outcome and mean vote share within one of 20 equal-sized quantile bins. Panels (a), (b), and (c) use, respectively, the full sample period (October 2015–October 2019), the pre-election period (October 2015–September 2018), and the post-election period (October 2018–September 2019). OLS slope estimates displayed inside each panel.



(a) Entire sample



(b) Pre-election



(c) Post-election

Figure A3: Bolsonaro vote share and same-sex marriages (40 bins)

Notes: This figure presents quantile-based binned scatter plots of the relationship between municipal marriage rates and electoral support for Bolsonaro. The x-axis shows the municipal share of Bolsonaro votes in the first round of the 2018 presidential election, and the y-axis shows the number of marriages per 100,000 inhabitants. Each marker represents the mean outcome and mean vote share within one of 40 equal-sized quantile bins. Panels (a), (b), and (c) use, respectively, the full sample period (October 2015–October 2019), the pre-election period (October 2015–September 2018), and the post-election period (October 2018–September 2019). OLS slope estimates displayed inside each panel.

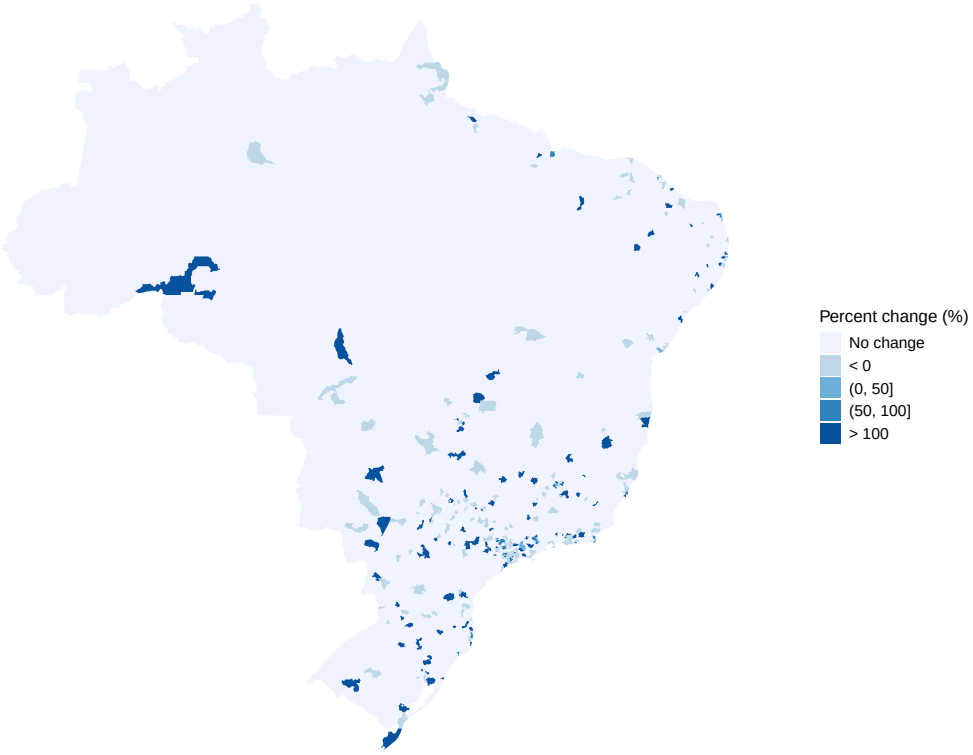


Figure A4: Change in same-sex marriages: October 2017 to January 2018

Notes: This figure shows the percentage change in the number of same-sex marriages across Brazilian municipalities between October 2017 and January 2018. Changes are computed as point-to-point percentage differences.

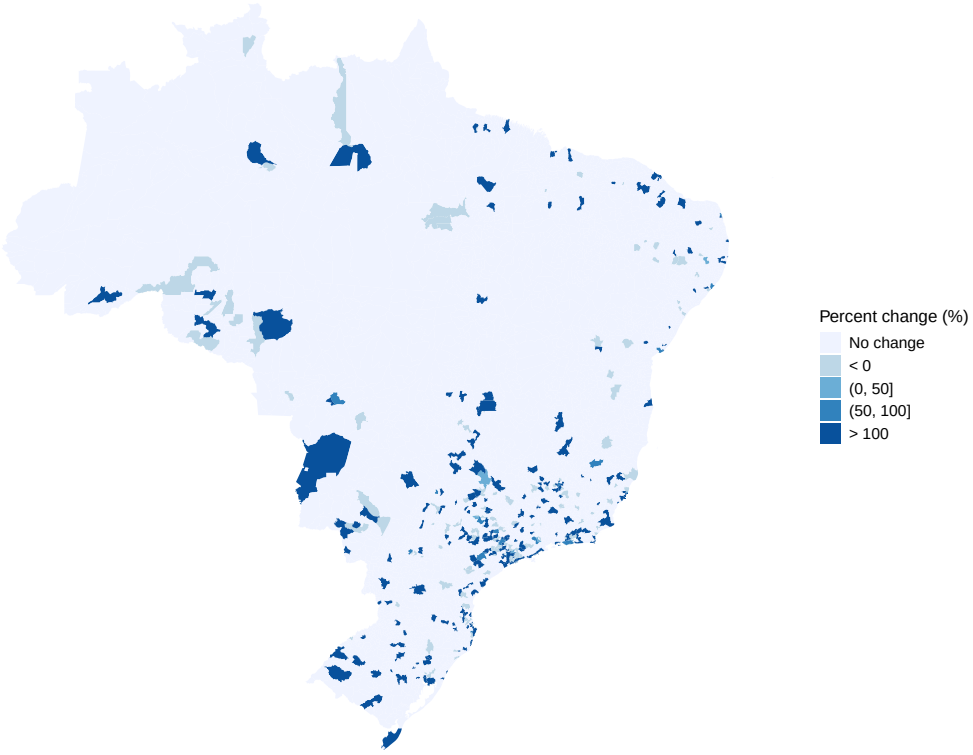


Figure A5: Change in same-sex marriages: October 2018 to January 2019

Notes: This figure shows the percentage change in the number of same-sex marriages across Brazilian municipalities between October 2018 and January 2019. Changes are computed as point-to-point percentage differences.

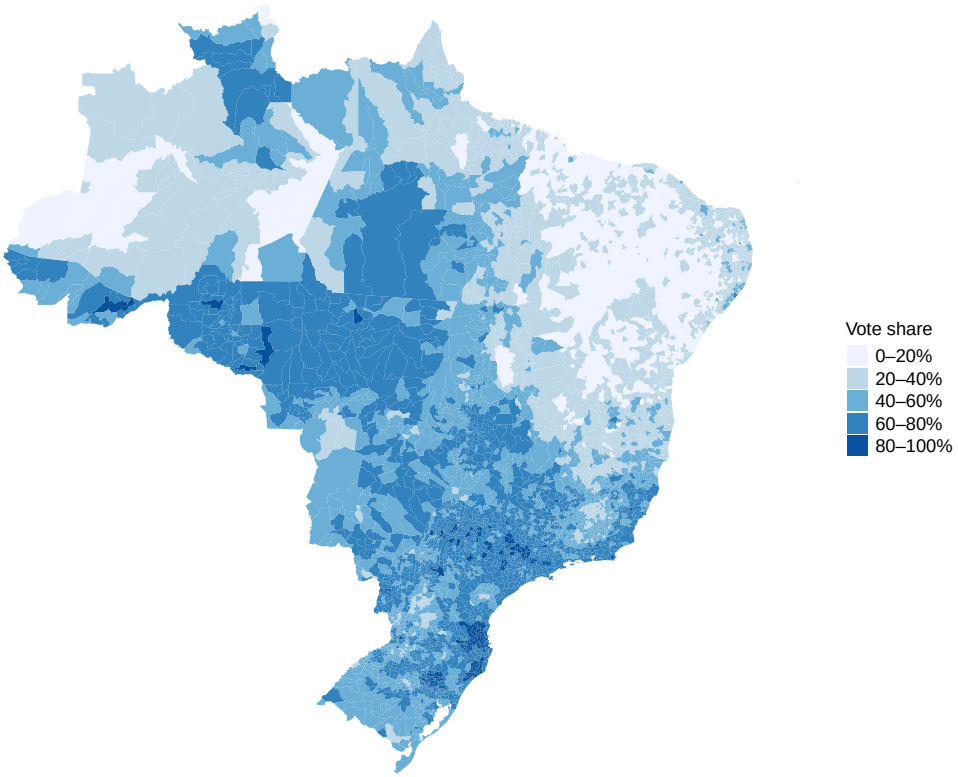
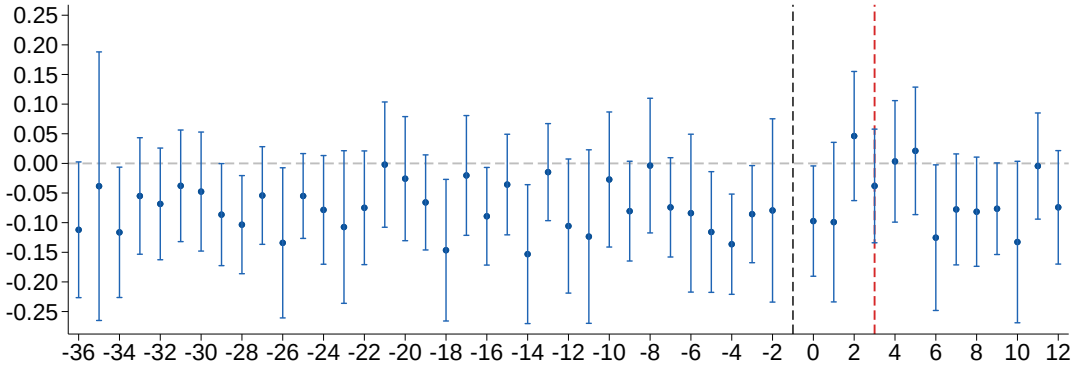
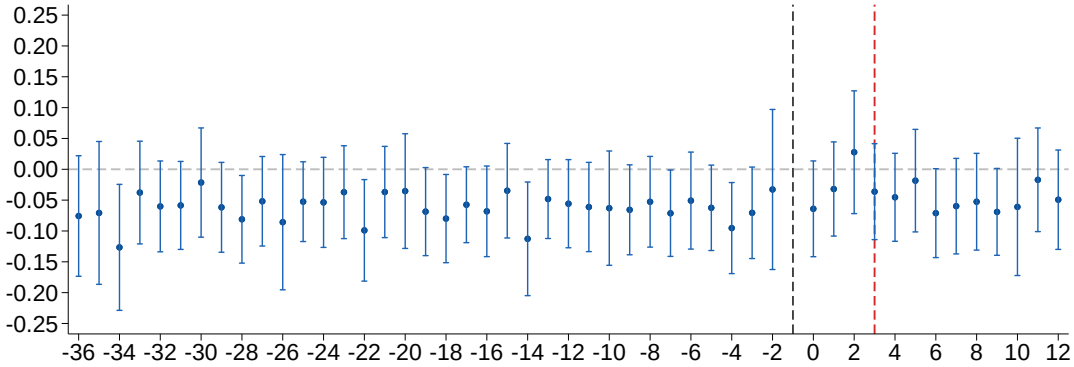


Figure A6: Share of votes for Bolsonaro: second round

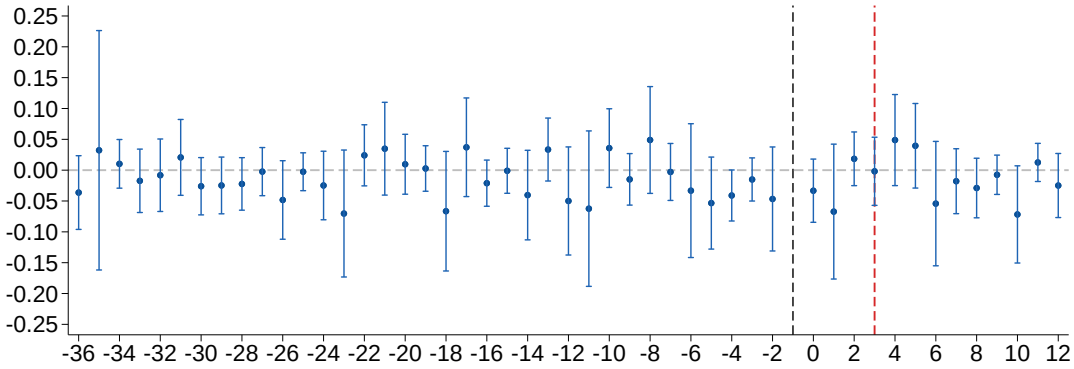
Notes: This figure shows the share of votes for Bolsonaro in the second round of the 2018 presidential election across Brazilian municipalities. The continuous variable is presented using a discrete scale for visualization purposes.



(a) Same-sex



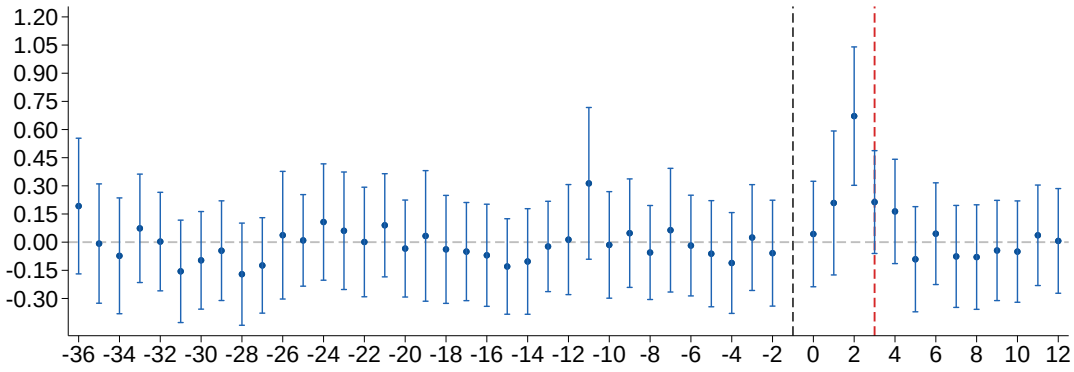
(b) Lesbian



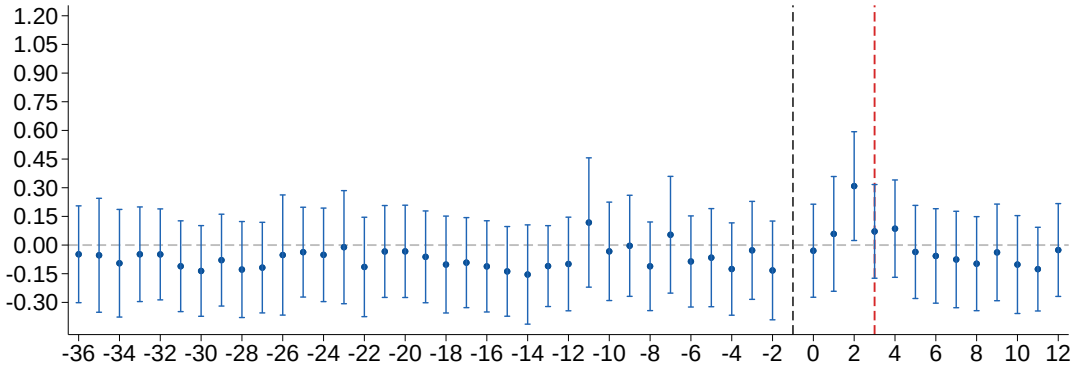
(c) Gay

Figure A7: Share of votes for Bolsonaro and same-sex marriages: Event study (Age group 15–24)

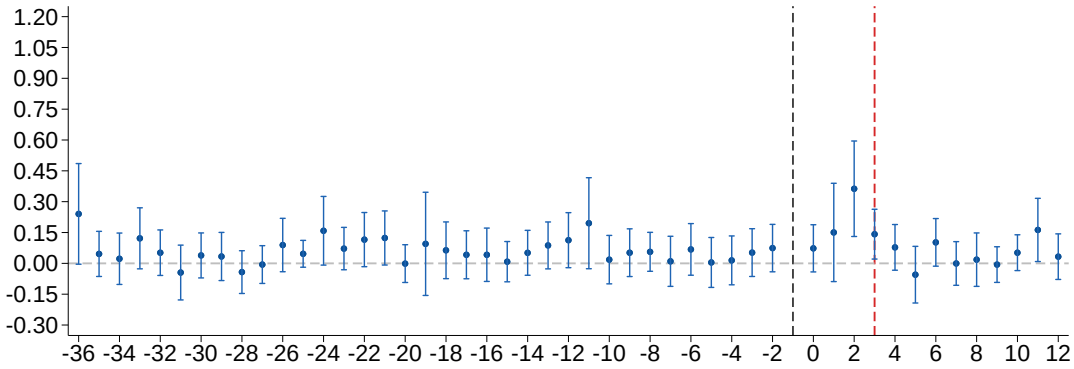
Notes: This figure presents results based on a difference-in-differences approach with varying treatment intensity for the 15–24 age group. Panels (a), (b), and (c) show, respectively, the number of same-sex, lesbian, and gay marriages per 100,000 inhabitants. The treatment is the share of votes for Bolsonaro in the first round of the 2018 presidential election. Coefficients are shown with 95% confidence intervals. The x-axis shows the number of months relative to October 2018, the month of Bolsonaro's election. The black dashed line indicates the last pre-election month (September 2018), which serves as the reference period, and the red dashed line marks the beginning of his presidential term.



(a) Same-sex



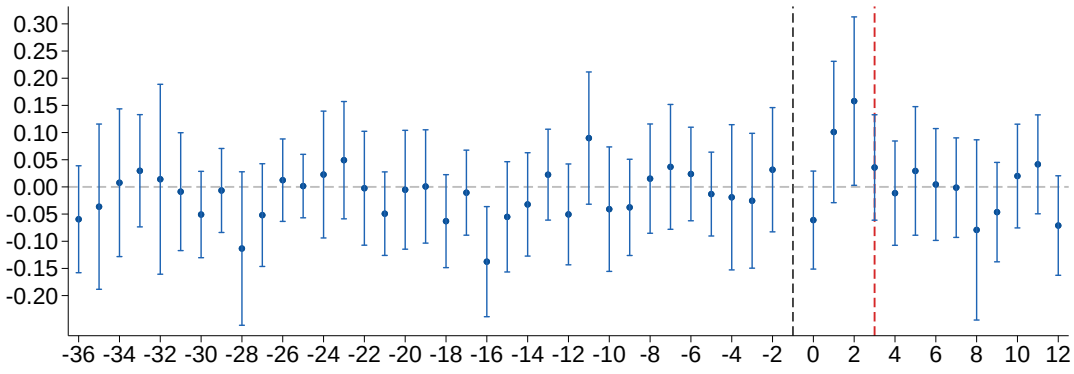
(b) Lesbian



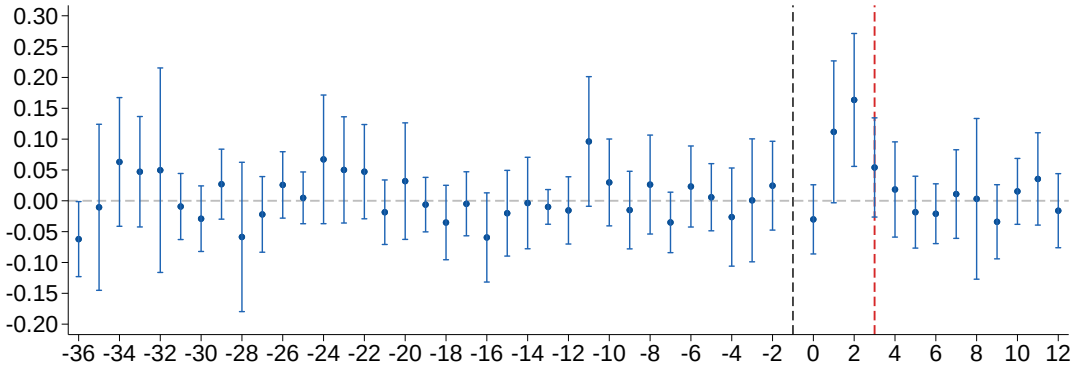
(c) Gay

Figure A8: Share of votes for Bolsonaro and same-sex marriages: Event study (Age group 25–39)

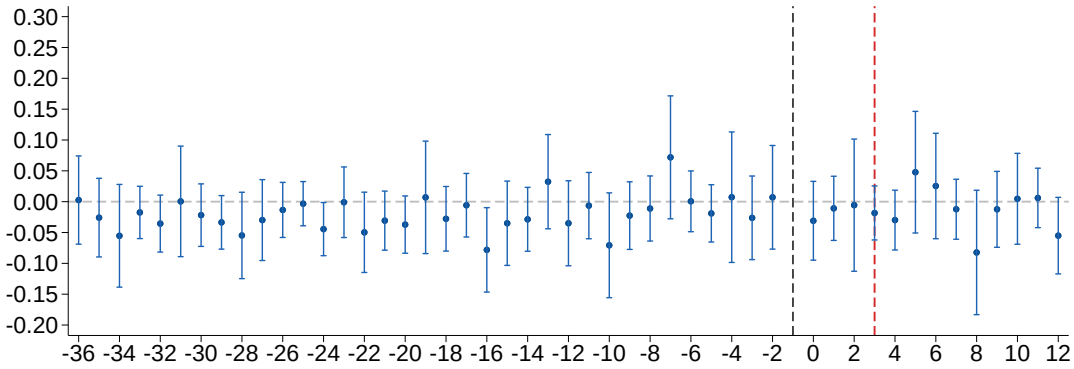
Notes: This figure presents results based on a difference-in-differences approach with varying treatment intensity for the 25–39 age group. Panels (a), (b), and (c) show, respectively, the number of same-sex, lesbian, and gay marriages per 100,000 inhabitants. The treatment is the share of votes for Bolsonaro in the first round of the 2018 presidential election. Coefficients are shown with 95% confidence intervals. The x-axis shows the number of months relative to October 2018, the month of Bolsonaro's election. The black dashed line indicates the last pre-election month (September 2018), which serves as the reference period, and the red dashed line marks the beginning of his presidential term.



(a) Same-sex



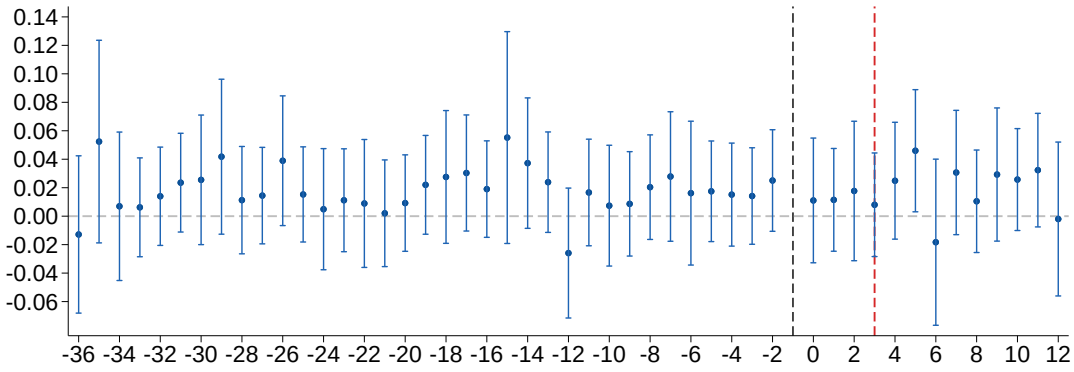
(b) Lesbian



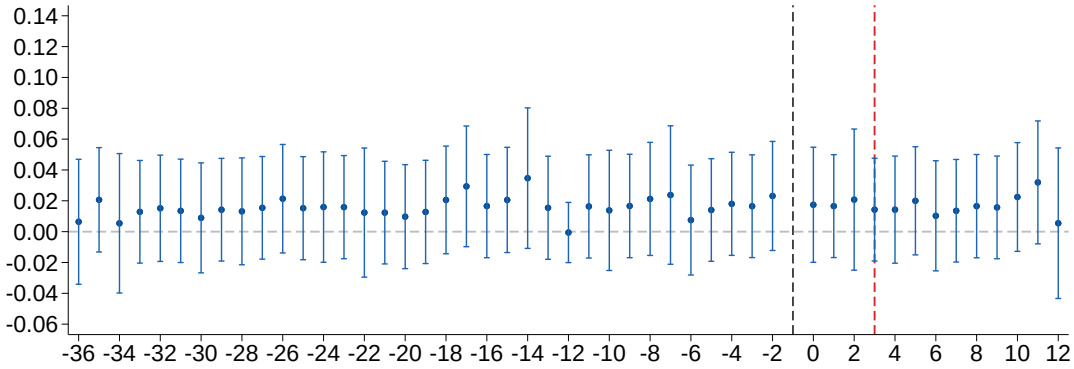
(c) Gay

Figure A9: Share of votes for Bolsonaro and same-sex marriages: Event study (Age group 40–59)

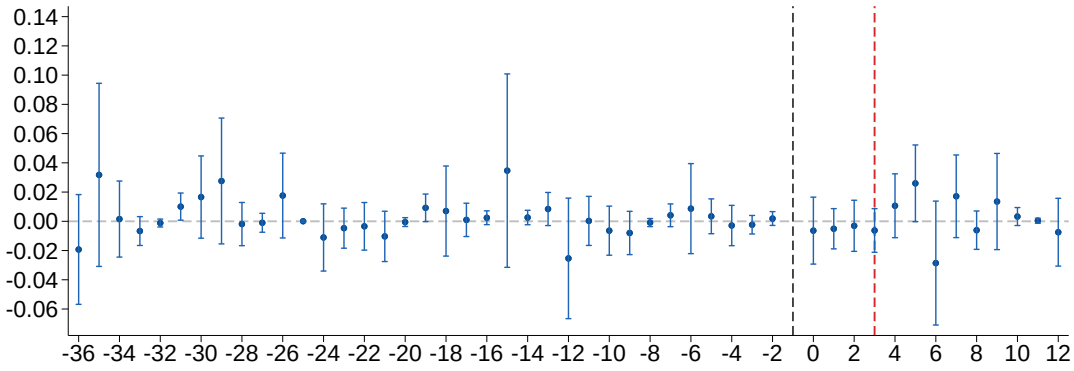
Notes: This figure presents results based on a difference-in-differences approach with varying treatment intensity for the 40–59 age group. Panels (a), (b), and (c) show, respectively, the number of same-sex, lesbian, and gay marriages per 100,000 inhabitants. The treatment is the share of votes for Bolsonaro in the first round of the 2018 presidential election. Coefficients are shown with 95% confidence intervals. The x-axis shows the number of months relative to October 2018, the month of Bolsonaro's election. The black dashed line indicates the last pre-election month (September 2018), which serves as the reference period, and the red dashed line marks the beginning of his presidential term.



(a) Same-sex



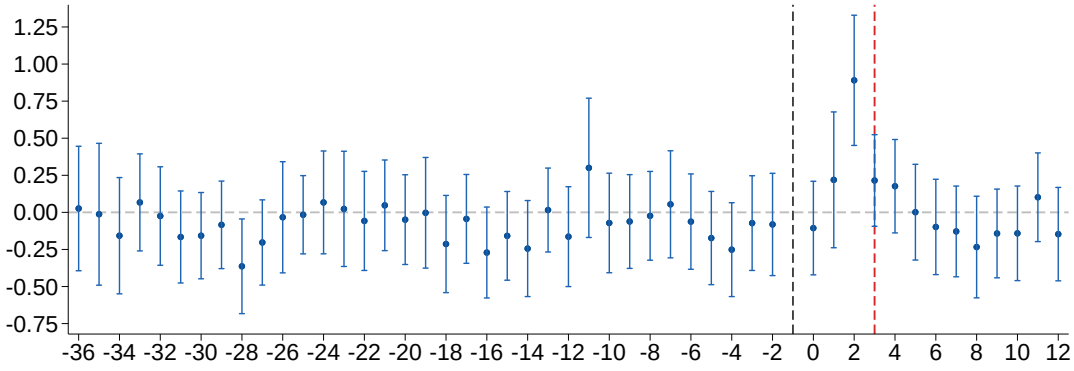
(b) Lesbian



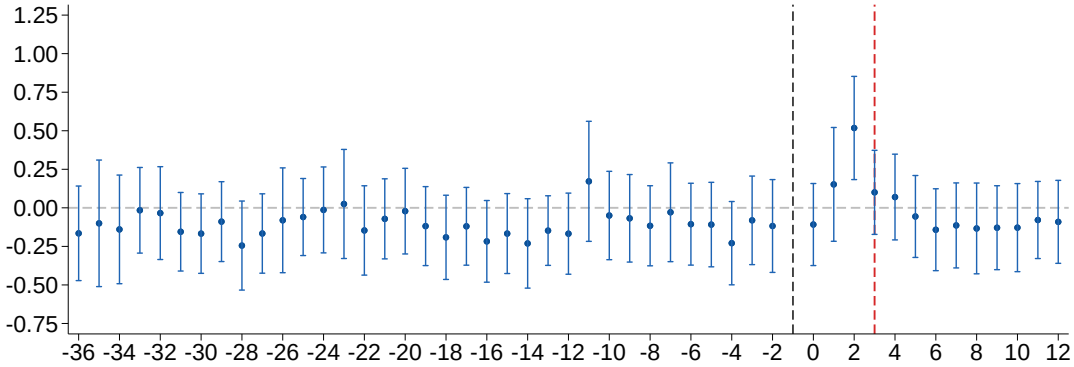
(c) Gay

Figure A10: Share of votes for Bolsonaro and same-sex marriages: Event study (Age group 60+)

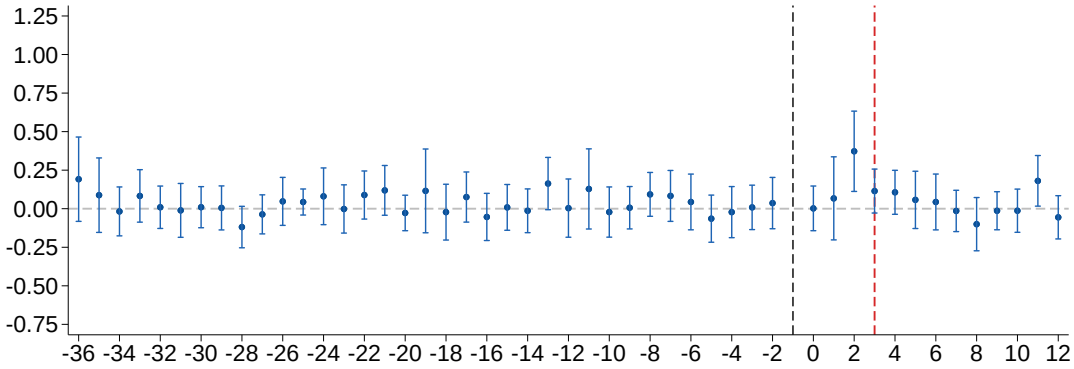
Notes: This figure presents results based on a difference-in-differences approach with varying treatment intensity for the 60+ age group. Panels (a), (b), and (c) show, respectively, the number of same-sex, lesbian, and gay marriages per 100,000 inhabitants. The treatment is the share of votes for Bolsonaro in the first round of the 2018 presidential election. Coefficients are shown with 95% confidence intervals. The x-axis shows the number of months relative to October 2018, the month of Bolsonaro's election. The black dashed line indicates the last pre-election month (September 2018), which serves as the reference period, and the red dashed line marks the beginning of his presidential term.



(a) Same-sex



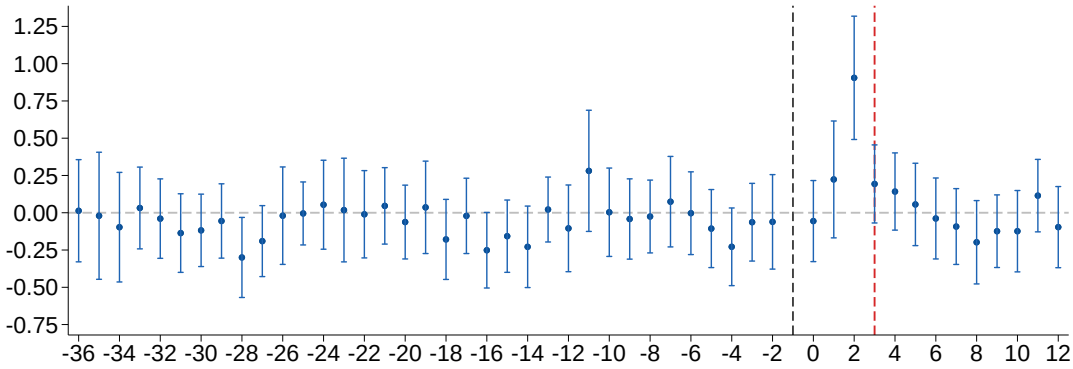
(b) Lesbian



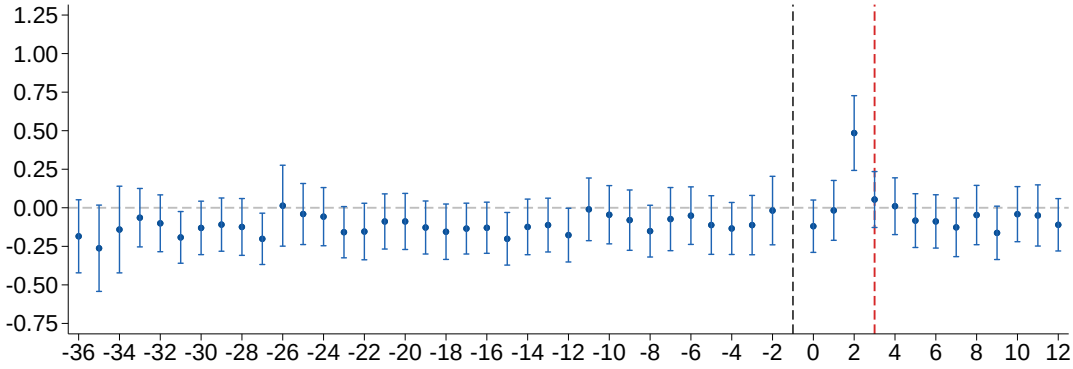
(c) Gay

Figure A11: Robustness: Baseline event study with controls

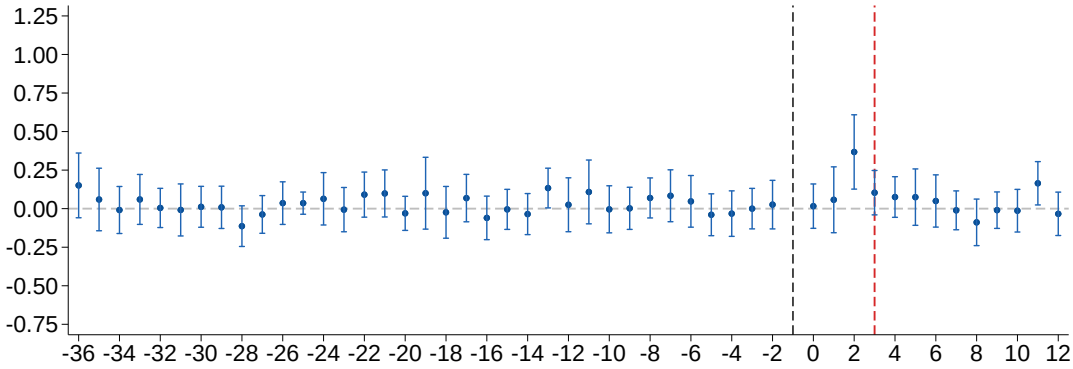
Notes: This figure presents results based on a difference-in-differences approach with varying treatment intensity. Panels (a), (b), and (c) show, respectively, the number of same-sex, lesbian, and gay marriages per 100,000 inhabitants. The treatment is the share of votes for Bolsonaro in the first round of the 2018 presidential election. Controls include GDP per capita, population density, and density of registry offices. Coefficients are shown with 95% confidence intervals. The x-axis shows the number of months relative to October 2018, the month of Bolsonaro's election. The black dashed line indicates the last pre-election month (September 2018), which serves as the reference period, and the red line marks the beginning of his presidential term.



(a) Same-sex



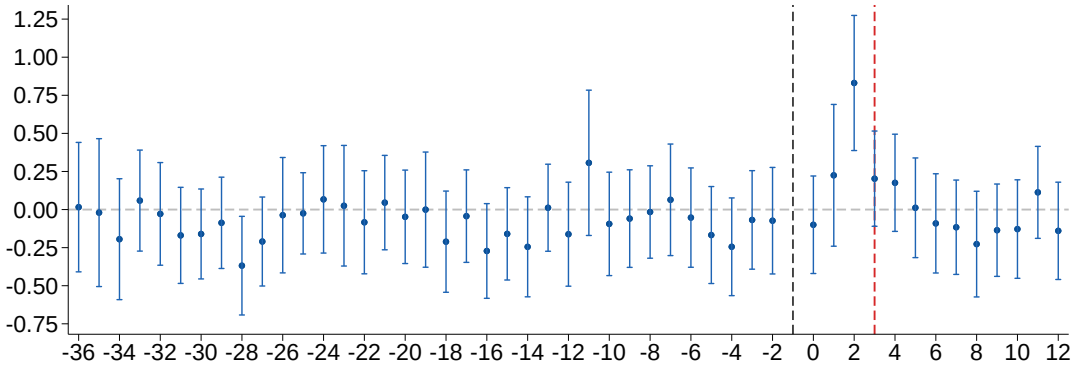
(b) Lesbian



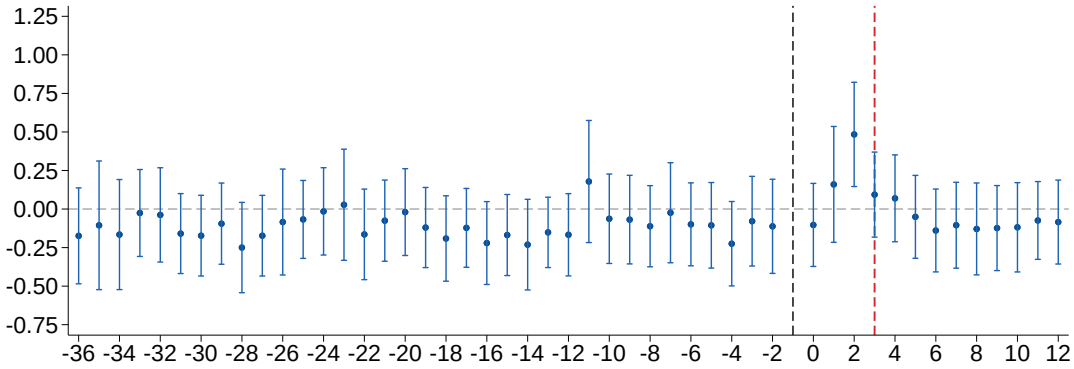
(c) Gay

Figure A12: Robustness: Second round

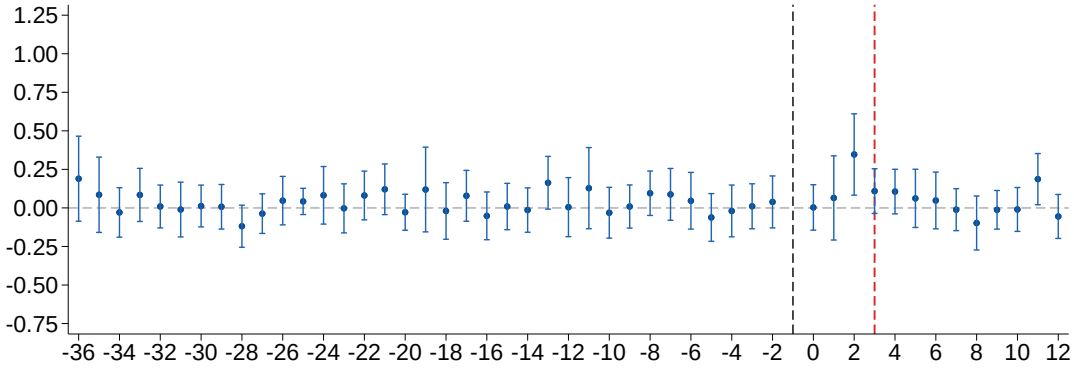
Notes: This figure presents results based on a difference-in-differences approach with varying treatment intensity. Panels (a), (b), and (c) show, respectively, the number of same-sex, lesbian, and gay marriages per 100,000 inhabitants. The treatment is the share of votes for Bolsonaro in the second round of the 2018 presidential election. Coefficients are shown with 95% confidence intervals. The x-axis shows the number of months relative to October 2018, the month of Bolsonaro's election. The black dashed line indicates the last pre-election month (September 2018), which serves as the reference period, and the red line marks the beginning of his presidential term.



(a) Same-sex



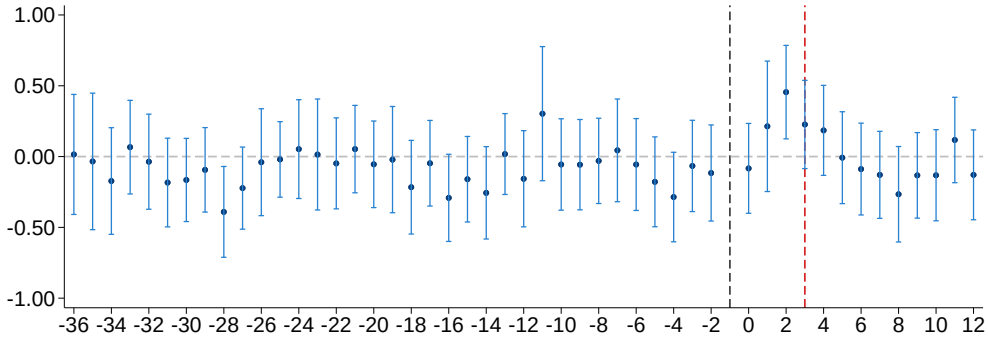
(b) Lesbian



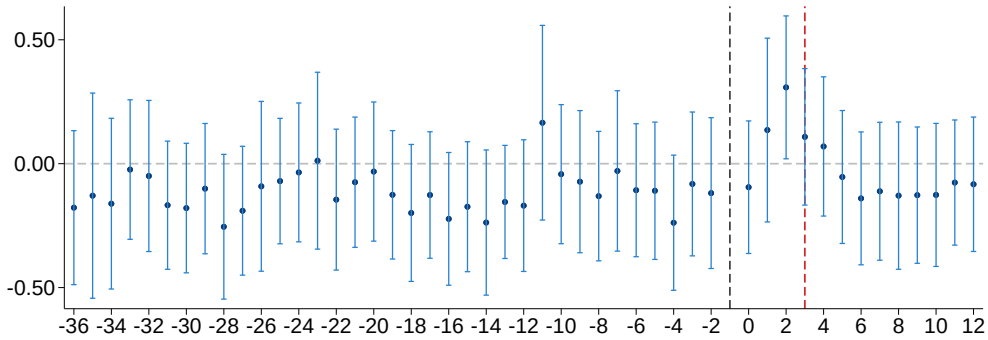
(c) Gay

Figure A13: Robustness: Municipalities with less than 500,000 inhabitants

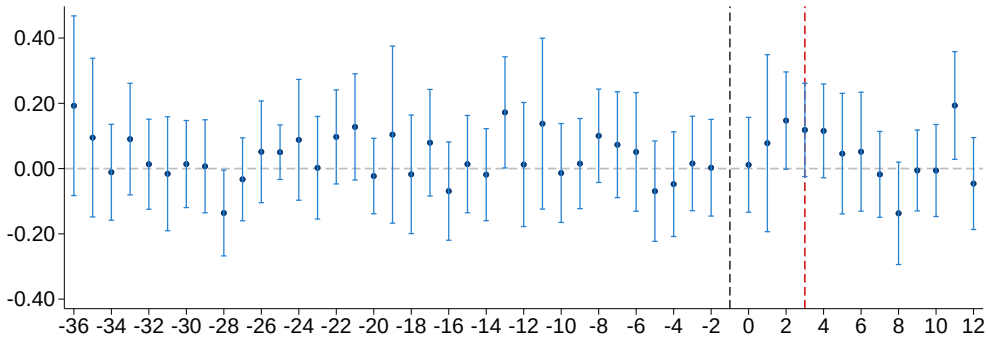
Notes: This figure presents results based on a difference-in-differences approach with varying treatment intensity. Panels (a), (b), and (c) show, respectively, the number of same-sex, lesbian, and gay marriages per 100,000 inhabitants. The treatment is the share of votes for Bolsonaro in the first round of the 2018 presidential election, excluding municipalities with more than 500,000 inhabitants. Coefficients are shown with 95% confidence intervals. The x-axis shows the number of months relative to October 2018, the month of Bolsonaro's election. The black dashed line indicates the last pre-election month (September 2018), which serves as the reference period, and the red line marks the beginning of his presidential term.



(a) Same-sex



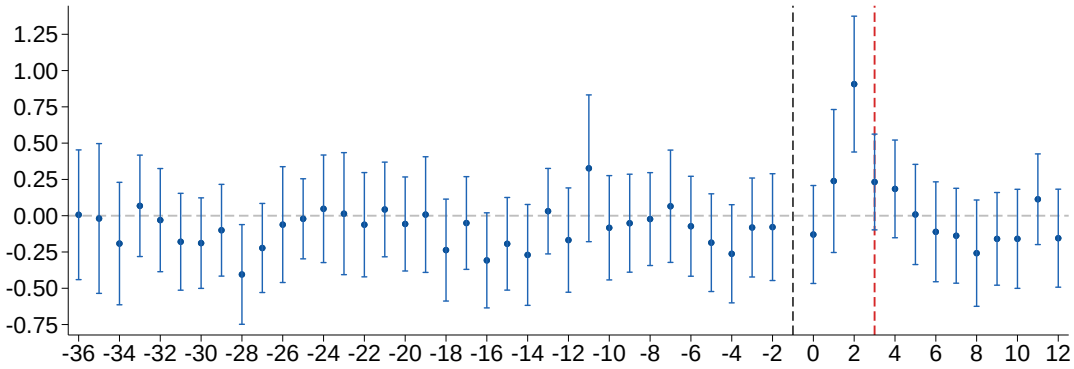
(b) Lesbian



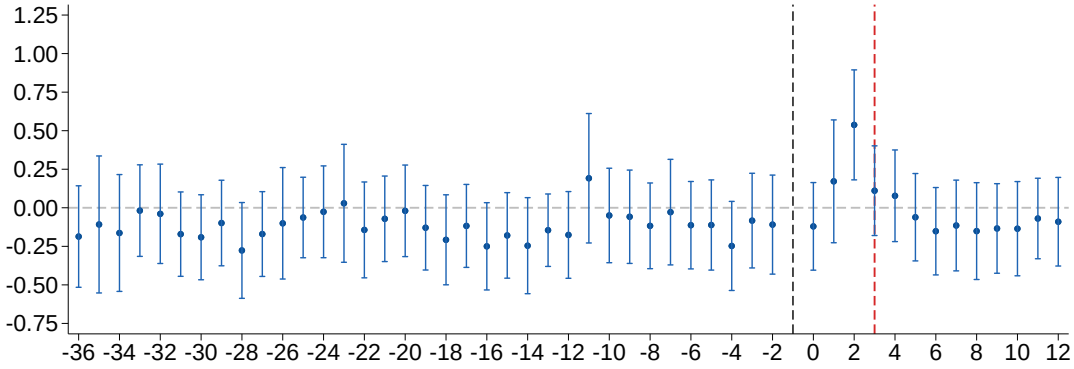
(c) Gay

Figure A14: Robustness: Small Municipalities as Outliers

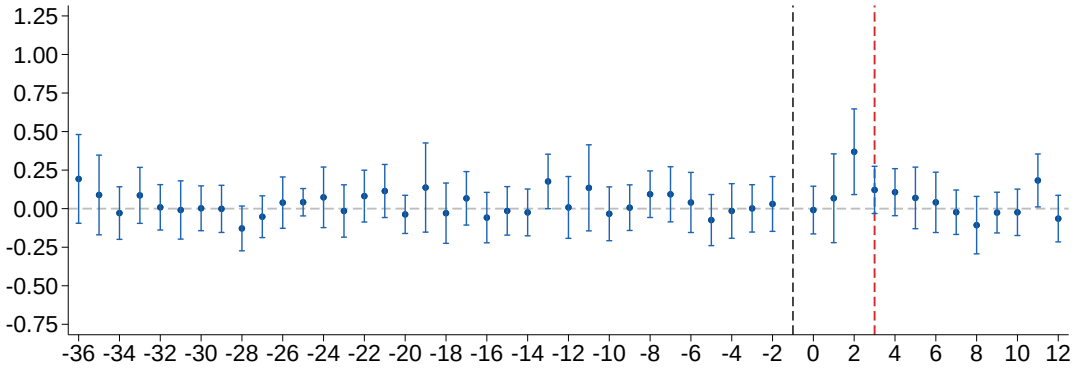
Notes: This figure presents results based on a difference-in-differences approach with varying treatment intensity. We drop here small municipalities with the highest same-sex marriage rate in December 2018, the post-election spike month. We define small municipalities as those with below-median population and drop those whose December 2018 rate lies in the top decile across all municipalities. Panels (a), (b), and (c) show, respectively, the number of same-sex, lesbian, and gay marriages per 100,000 inhabitants. The treatment is the share of votes for Bolsonaro in the first round of the 2018 presidential election. Coefficients are shown with 95% confidence intervals. The x-axis shows the number of months relative to October 2018, the month of Bolsonaro's election. The black dashed line indicates the last pre-election month (September 2018), which serves as the reference period, and the red line marks the beginning of his presidential term.



(a) Same-sex



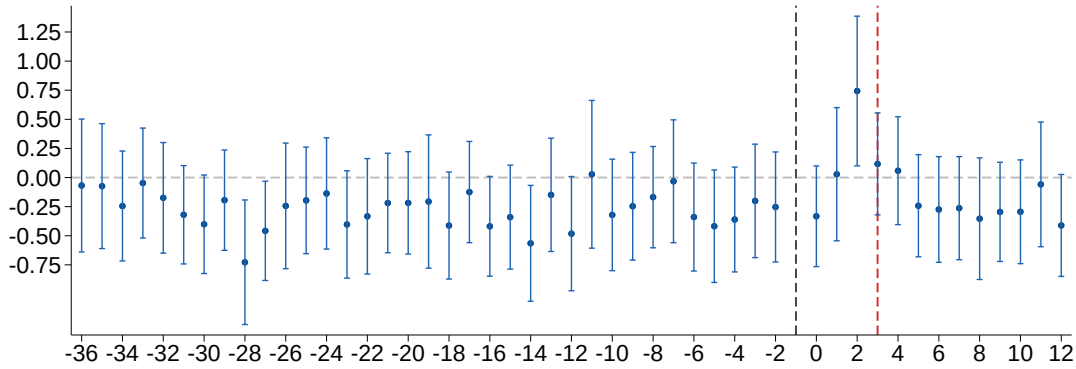
(b) Lesbian



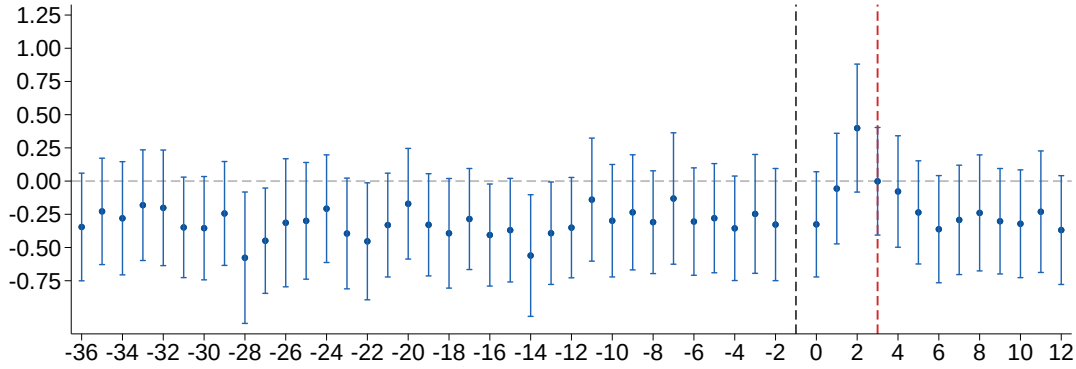
(c) Gay

Figure A15: Robustness: Drop Municipalities from the North of Brazil

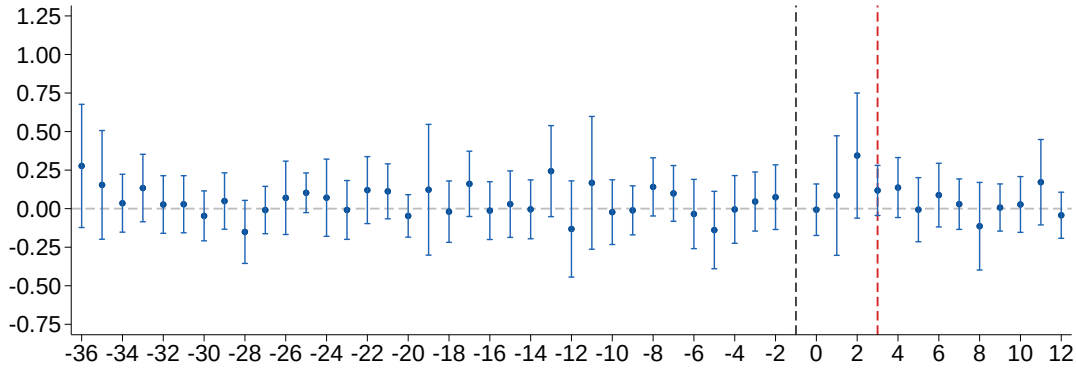
Notes: This figure presents results based on a difference-in-differences approach with varying treatment intensity. Panels (a), (b), and (c) show, respectively, the number of same-sex, lesbian, and gay marriages per 100,000 inhabitants. The treatment is the share of votes for Bolsonaro in the first round of the 2018 presidential election, excluding municipalities from the North of Brazil. Coefficients are shown with 95% confidence intervals. The x-axis shows the number of months relative to October 2018, the month of Bolsonaro's election. The black dashed line indicates the last pre-election month (September 2018), which serves as the reference period, and the red line marks the beginning of his presidential term.



(a) Same-sex



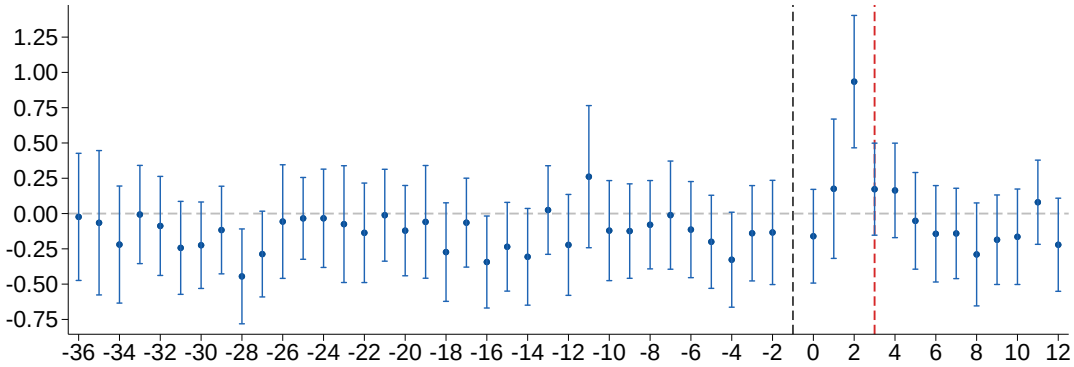
(b) Lesbian



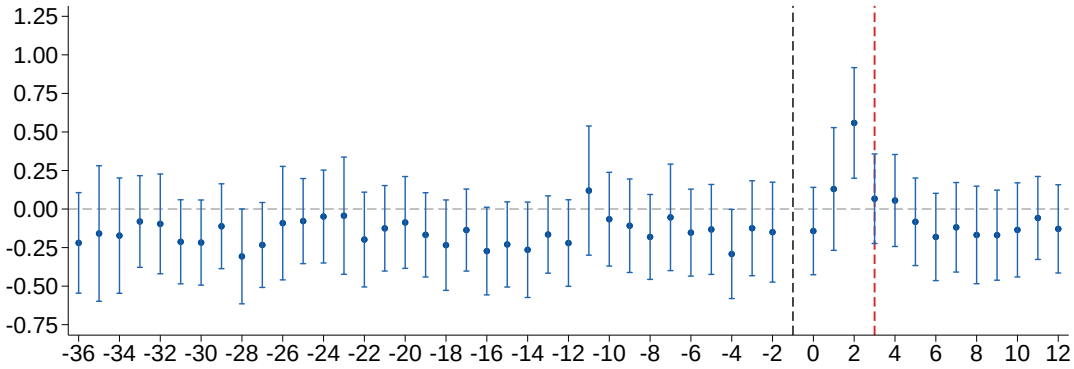
(c) Gay

Figure A16: Robustness: Drop Municipalities from the Northeast of Brazil

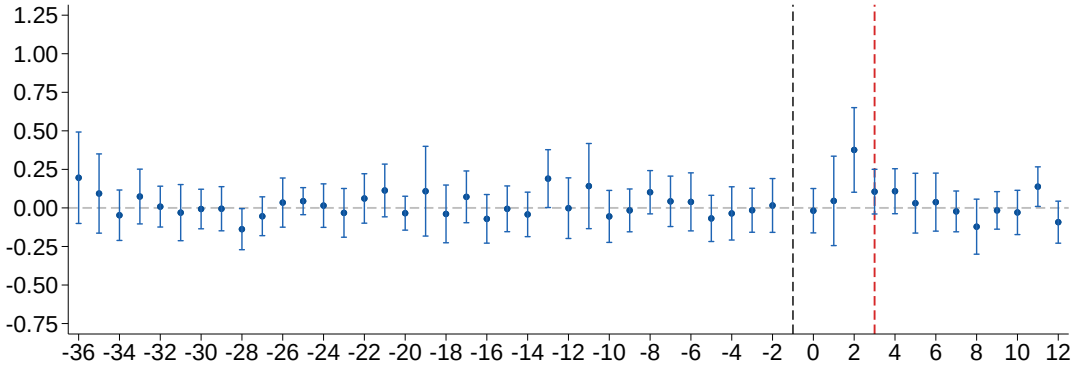
Notes: This figure presents results based on a difference-in-differences approach with varying treatment intensity. Panels (a), (b), and (c) show, respectively, the number of same-sex, lesbian, and gay marriages per 100,000 inhabitants. The treatment is the share of votes for Bolsonaro in the first round of the 2018 presidential election, excluding municipalities from the Northeast of Brazil. Coefficients are shown with 95% confidence intervals. The x-axis shows the number of months relative to October 2018, the month of Bolsonaro's election. The black dashed line indicates the last pre-election month (September 2018), which serves as the reference period, and the red line marks the beginning of his presidential term.



(a) Same-sex



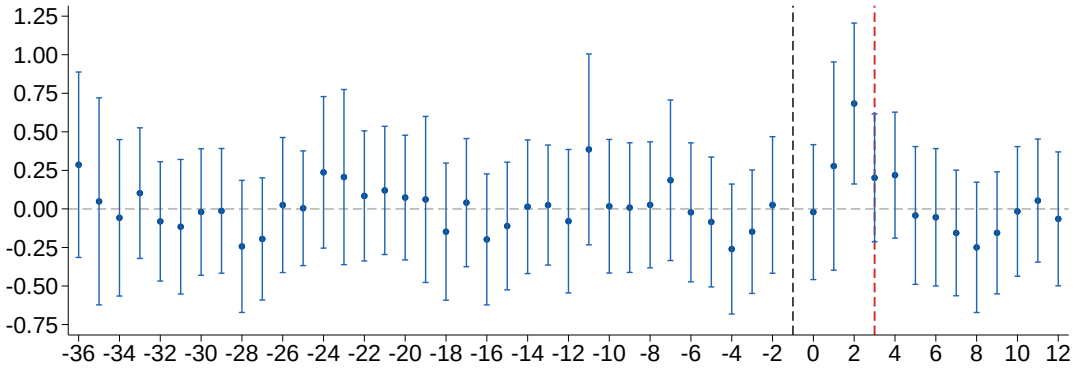
(b) Lesbian



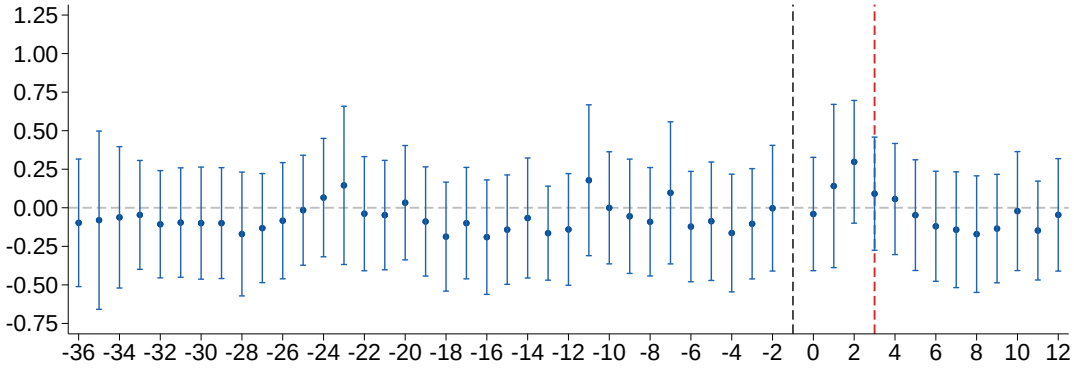
(c) Gay

Figure A17: Robustness: Drop Municipalities from the Central-West of Brazil

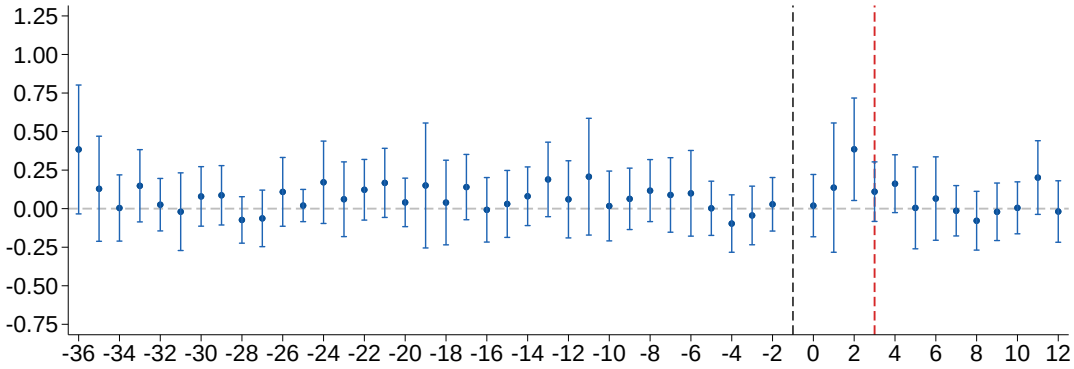
Notes: This figure presents results based on a difference-in-differences approach with varying treatment intensity. Panels (a), (b), and (c) show, respectively, the number of same-sex, lesbian, and gay marriages per 100,000 inhabitants. The treatment is the share of votes for Bolsonaro in the first round of the 2018 presidential election, excluding municipalities from the Central-West of Brazil. Coefficients are shown with 95% confidence intervals. The x-axis shows the number of months relative to October 2018, the month of Bolsonaro's election. The black dashed line indicates the last pre-election month (September 2018), which serves as the reference period, and the red line marks the beginning of his presidential term.



(a) Same-sex



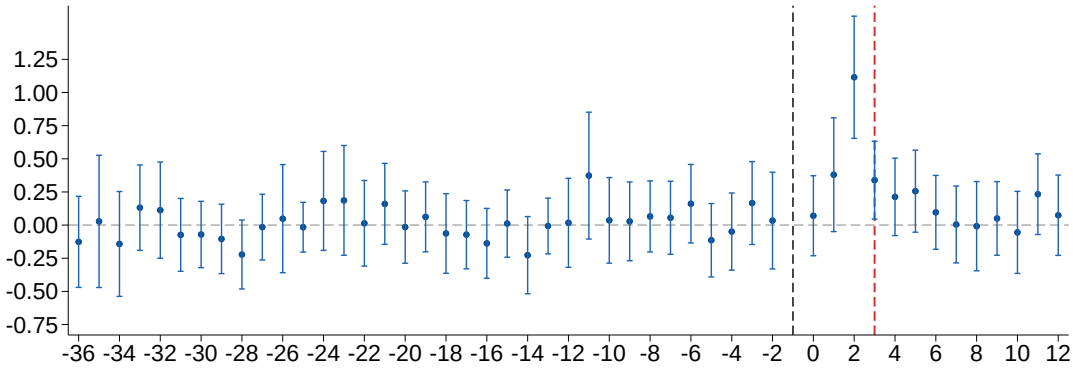
(b) Lesbian



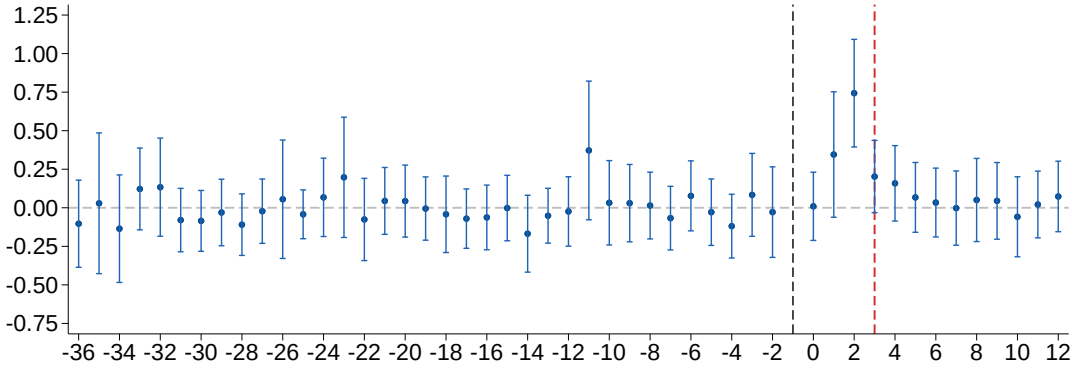
(c) Gay

Figure A18: Robustness: Drop Municipalities from the Southeast of Brazil

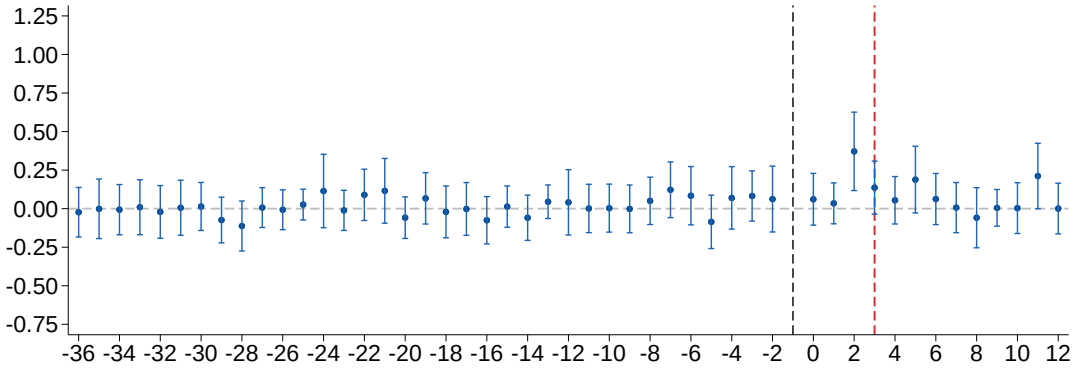
Notes: This figure presents results based on a difference-in-differences approach with varying treatment intensity. Panels (a), (b), and (c) show, respectively, the number of same-sex, lesbian, and gay marriages per 100,000 inhabitants. The treatment is the share of votes for Bolsonaro in the first round of the 2018 presidential election, excluding municipalities from the Southeast of Brazil. Coefficients are shown with 95% confidence intervals. The x-axis shows the number of months relative to October 2018, the month of Bolsonaro's election. The black dashed line indicates the last pre-election month (September 2018), which serves as the reference period, and the red line marks the beginning of his presidential term.



(a) Same-sex



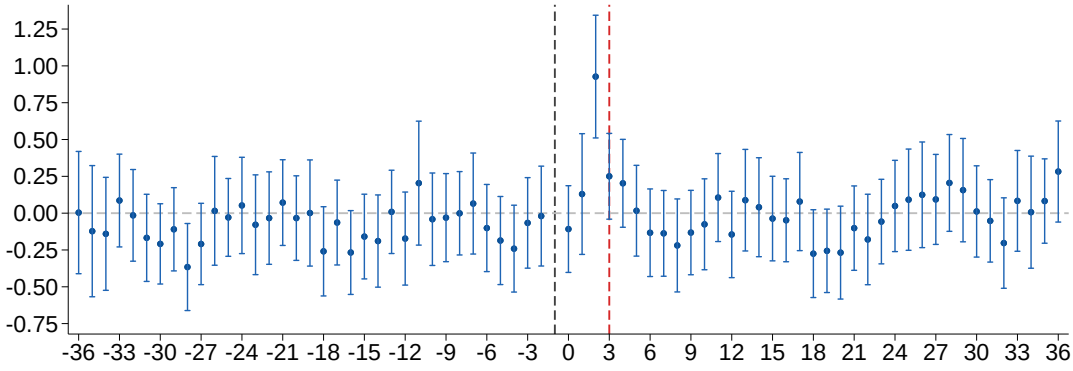
(b) Lesbian



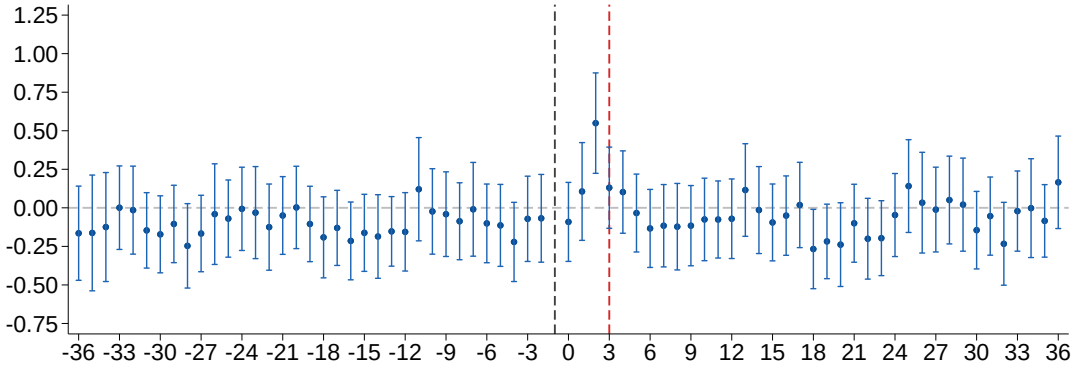
(c) Gay

Figure A19: Robustness: Drop municipalities from the South of Brazil

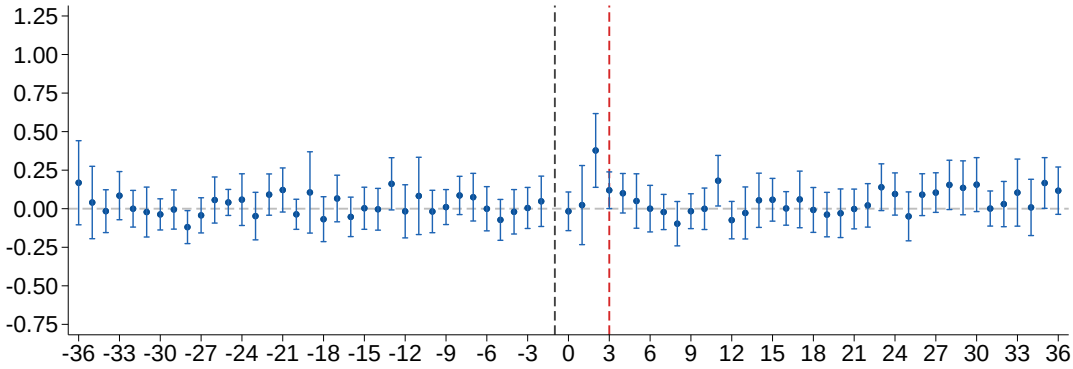
Notes: This figure presents results based on a difference-in-differences approach with varying treatment intensity. Panels (a), (b), and (c) show, respectively, the number of same-sex, lesbian, and gay marriages per 100,000 inhabitants. The treatment is the share of votes for Bolsonaro in the first round of the 2018 presidential election, excluding municipalities from the South of Brazil. Coefficients are shown with 95% confidence intervals. The x-axis shows the number of months relative to October 2018, the month of Bolsonaro's election. The black dashed line indicates the last pre-election month (September 2018), which serves as the reference period, and the red line marks the beginning of his presidential term.



(a) Same-sex



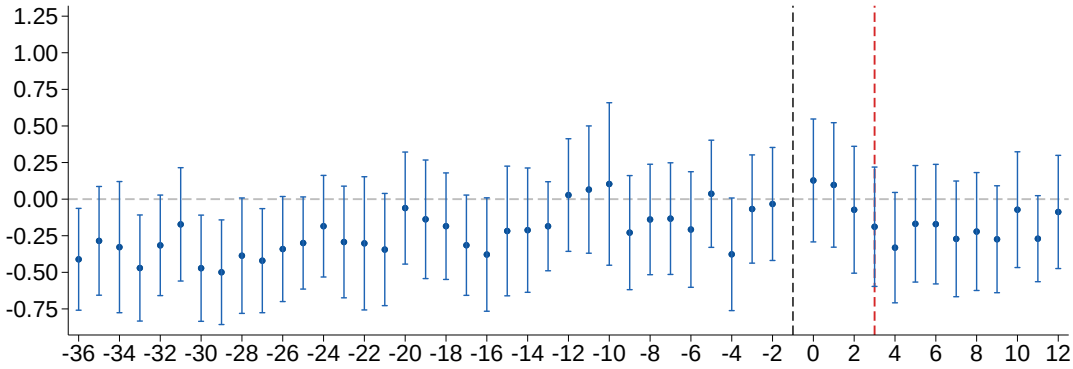
(b) Lesbian



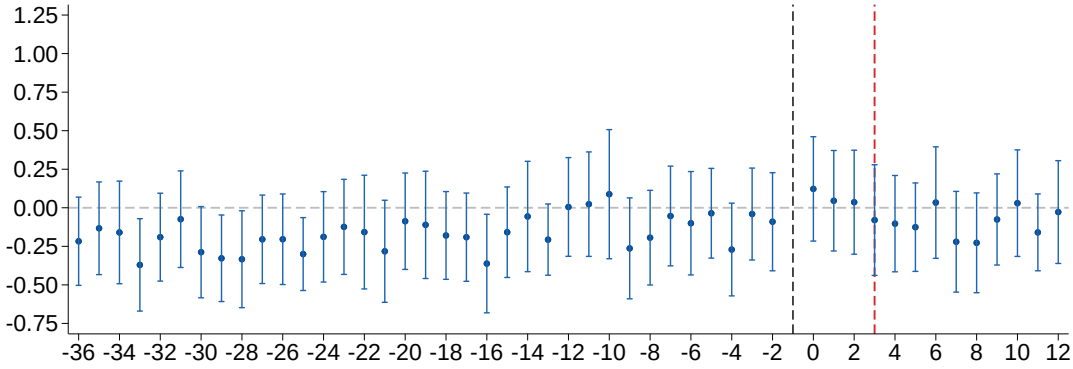
(c) Gay

Figure A20: Robustness: Share of votes for Bolsonaro and same-sex marriages (Oct. 2015–Oct. 2021)

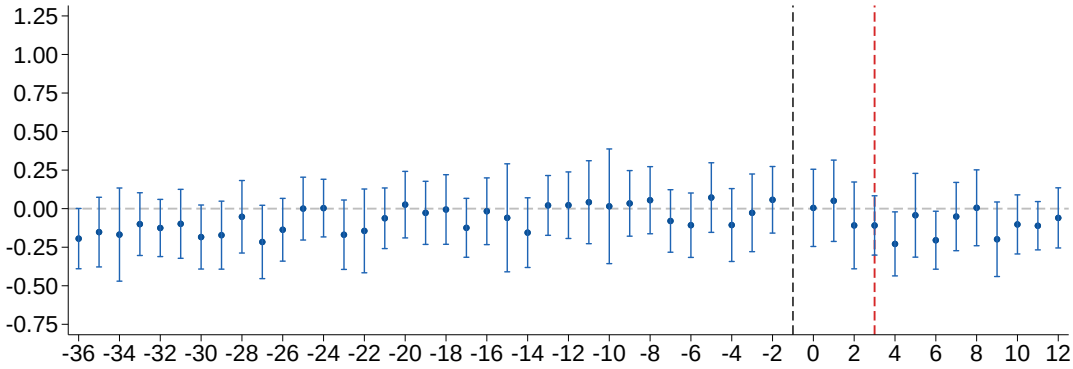
Notes: This figure presents event-study estimates from a difference-in-differences design with varying treatment intensity. Panels (a), (b), and (c) report, respectively, estimates for all same-sex couples, lesbian couples, and gay couples. The treatment is the municipal share of votes for Bolsonaro in the first round of the 2018 presidential election. Specifications include municipality, month-year, and state-by-month fixed effects, with standard errors clustered at the municipality level. Coefficients are shown with 95% confidence intervals. The x-axis reports months relative to the first round of the 2018 election; the black dashed line indicates the last pre-election month (September 2018), which serves as the reference period, and the red dashed line the start of the presidential term.



(a) Same-sex



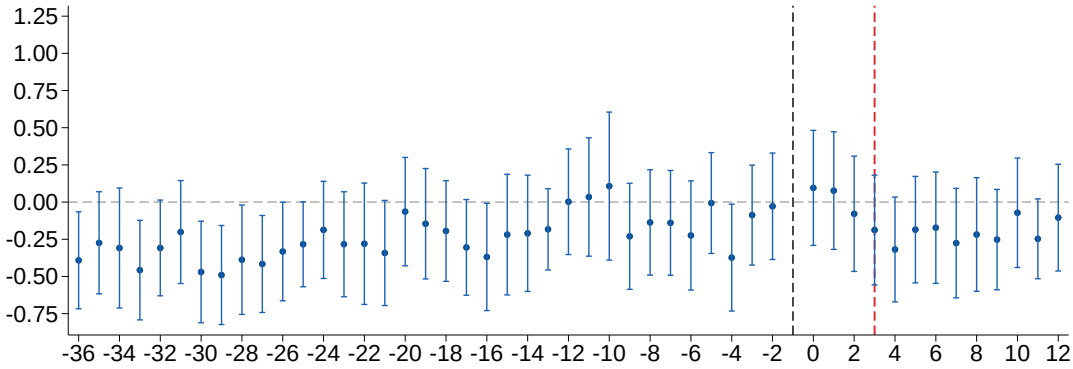
(b) Lesbian



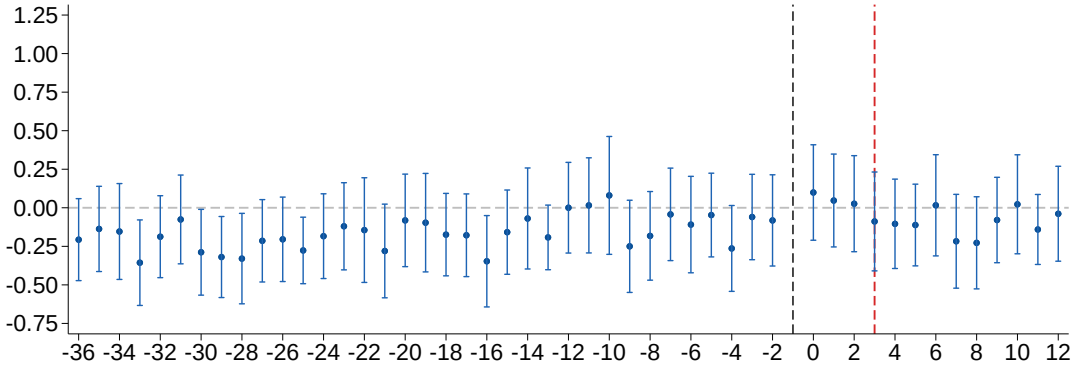
(c) Gay

Figure A21: Placebo test: First round of the 2022 election

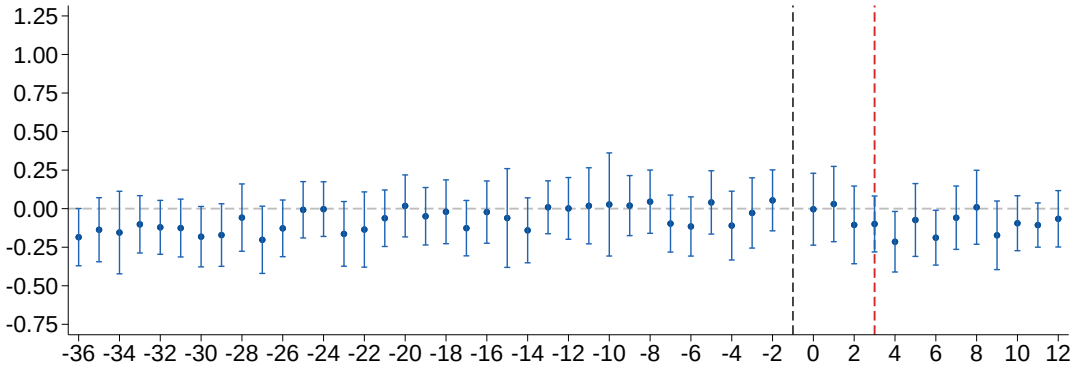
Notes: This figure presents results based on a difference-in-differences approach with varying treatment intensity. Panels (a), (b), and (c) show, respectively, the number of same-sex, lesbian, and gay marriages per 100,000 inhabitants. The treatment is the share of votes for Bolsonaro in the first round of the 2022 presidential election. Coefficients are shown with 95% confidence intervals. The x-axis shows the number of months relative to the month of the first round of the 2022 presidential election; the black dashed line indicates the last pre-election month (September 2022), which serves as the reference period, and the red dashed line the start of Lula da Silva's presidential term.



(a) Same-sex



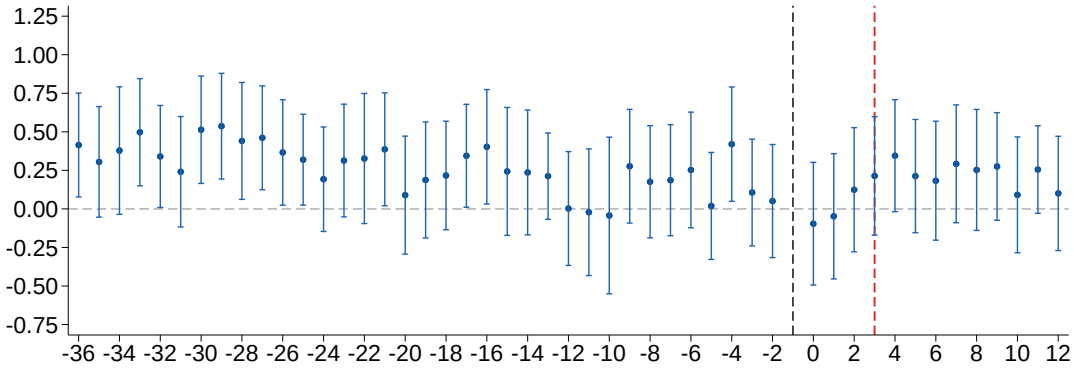
(b) Lesbian



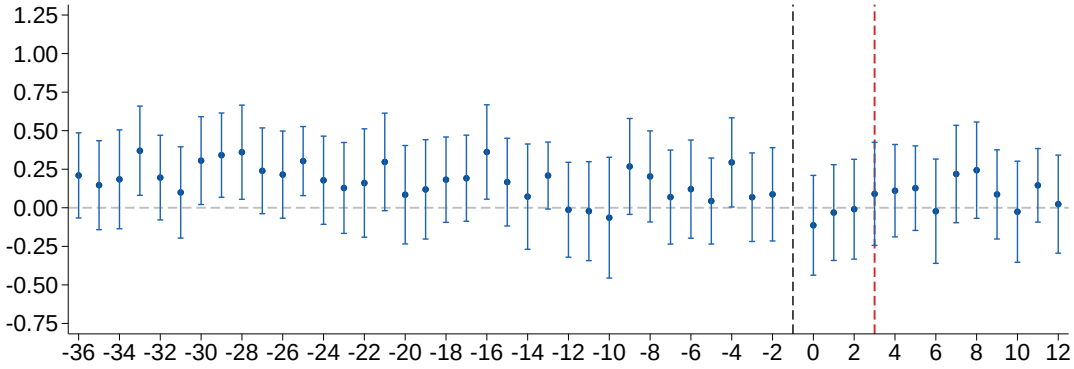
(c) Gay

Figure A22: Placebo test: Second round of the 2022 election

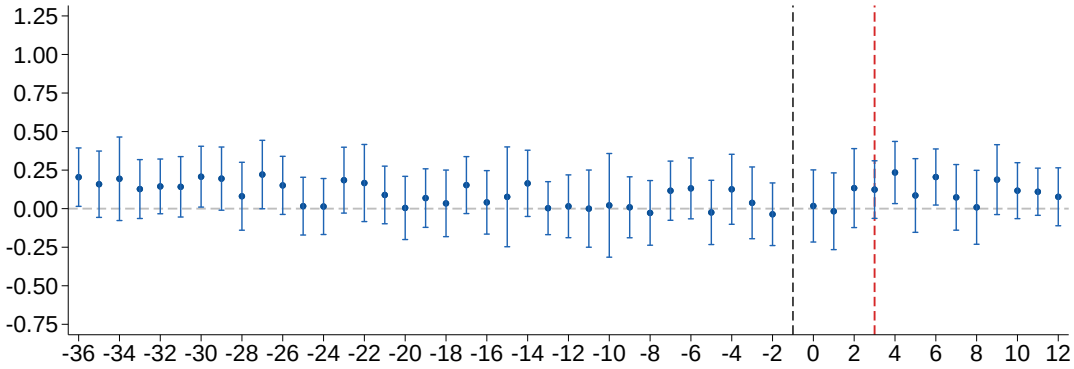
Notes: This figure presents results based on a difference-in-differences approach with varying treatment intensity. Panels (a), (b), and (c) show, respectively, the number of same-sex, lesbian, and gay marriages per 100,000 inhabitants. The treatment is the share of votes for Bolsonaro in the second round of the 2022 presidential election. Coefficients are shown with 95% confidence intervals. The x-axis shows the number of months relative to the month of the second round of the 2022 presidential election; the black dashed line indicates the last pre-election month (September 2022), which serves as the reference period, and the red dashed line the start of Lula da Silva's presidential term.



(a) Same-sex



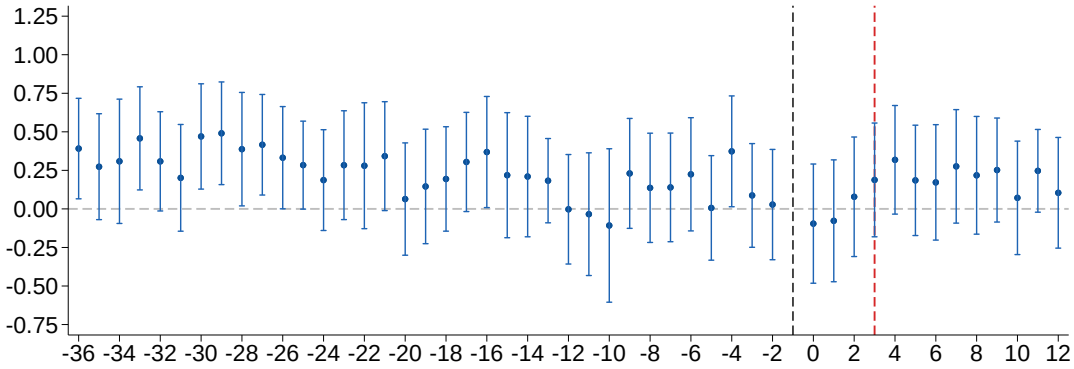
(b) Lesbian



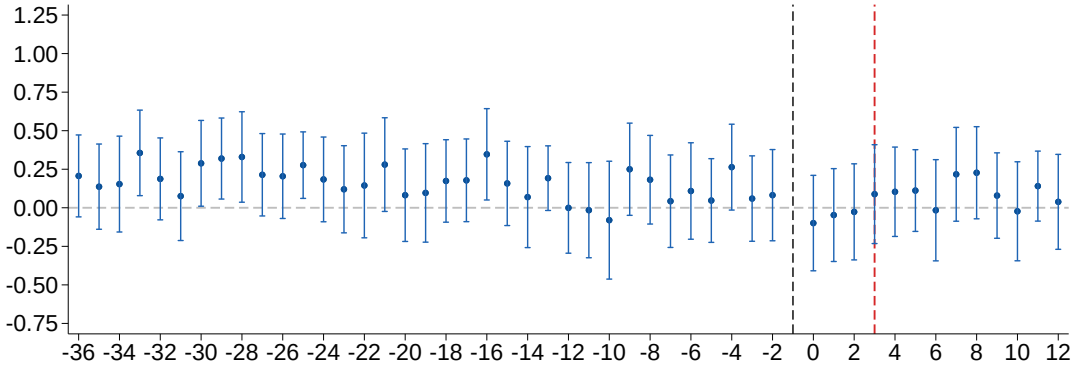
(c) Gay

Figure A23: Placebo test: First round of the 2022 election (Lula vote share)

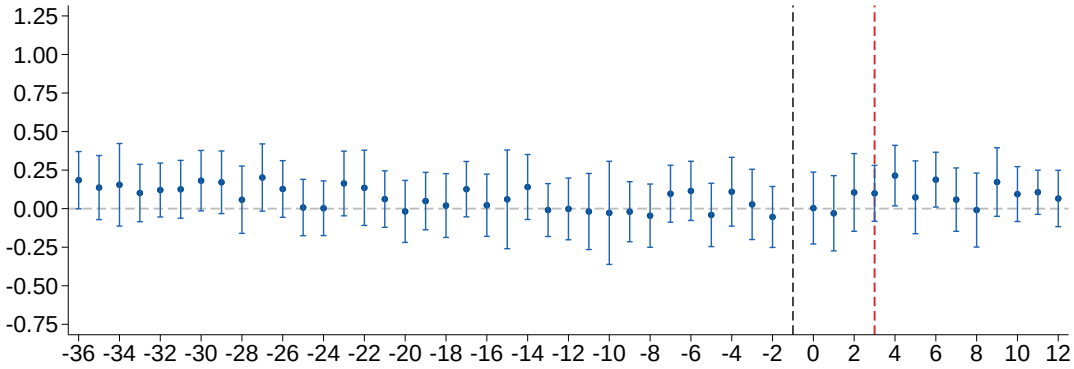
Notes: This figure presents results based on a difference-in-differences approach with varying treatment intensity. Panels (a), (b), and (c) show, respectively, the number of same-sex, lesbian, and gay marriages per 100,000 inhabitants. The treatment is the share of votes for Lula da Silva in the first round of the 2022 presidential election. Coefficients are shown with 95% confidence intervals. The x-axis shows the number of months relative to the month of the first round of the 2022 presidential election; the black dashed line indicates the last pre-election month (September 2022), which serves as the reference period, and the red dashed line the start of Lula da Silva's presidential term.



(a) Same-sex



(b) Lesbian



(c) Gay

Figure A24: Placebo test: Second round of the 2022 election (Lula vote share)

Notes: This figure presents results based on a difference-in-differences approach with varying treatment intensity. Panels (a), (b), and (c) show, respectively, the number of same-sex, lesbian, and gay marriages per 100,000 inhabitants. The treatment is the share of votes for Lula da Silva in the second round of the 2022 presidential election. Coefficients are shown with 95% confidence intervals. The x-axis shows the number of months relative to the month of the second round of the 2022 presidential election; the black dashed line indicates the last pre-election month (September 2022), which serves as the reference period, and the red dashed line the start of Lula da Silva's presidential term.

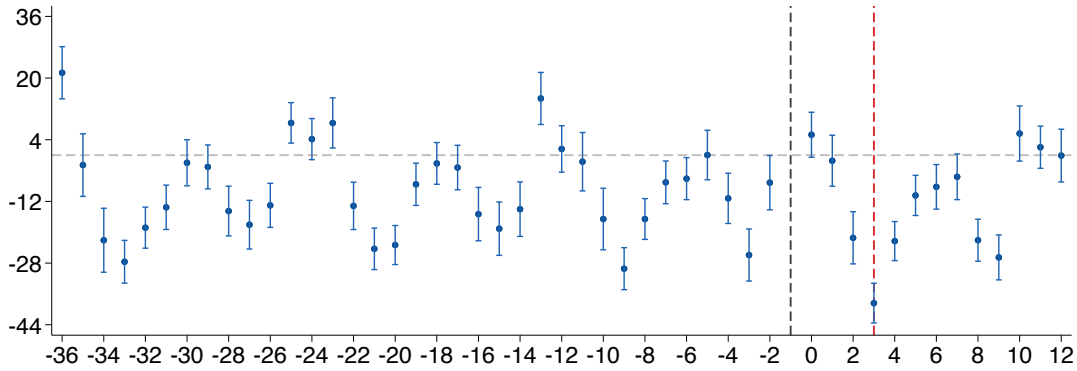


Figure A25: Share of votes for Bolsonaro and different-sex marriages: Event study

Notes: This figure presents results based on a difference-in-differences approach with varying treatment intensity. The outcome variable is the number of different-sex marriages per 100,000 inhabitants. The treatment is the share of votes for Bolsonaro in the first round of the 2018 presidential election. Coefficients are shown with 95% confidence intervals. The x-axis shows the number of months relative to October 2018, the month of Bolsonaro's election. The black dashed line indicate the last pre-election month (September 2018), which serves as the reference period, and the red line marks the beginning of his presidential term.

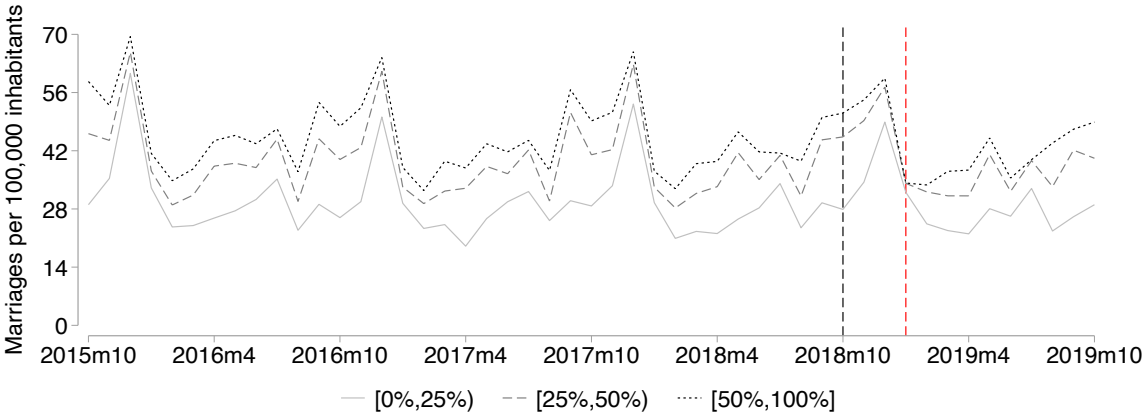
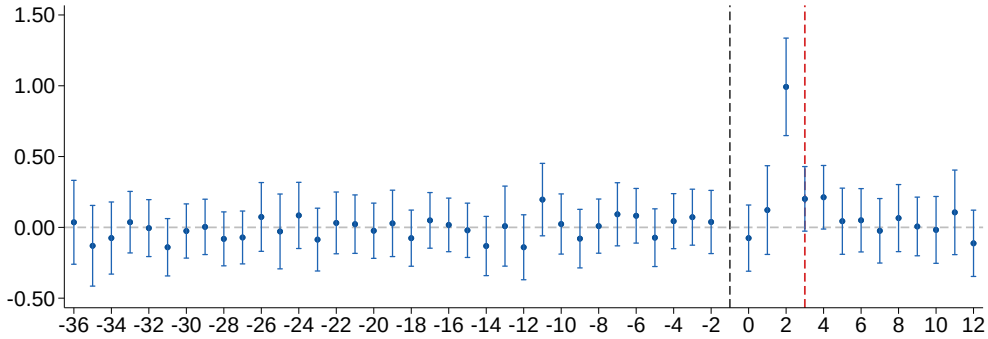
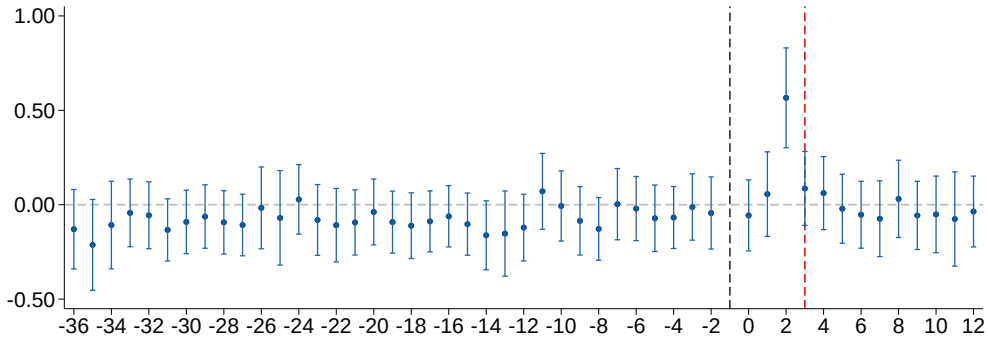


Figure A26: Different-sex marriages in Brazil over time

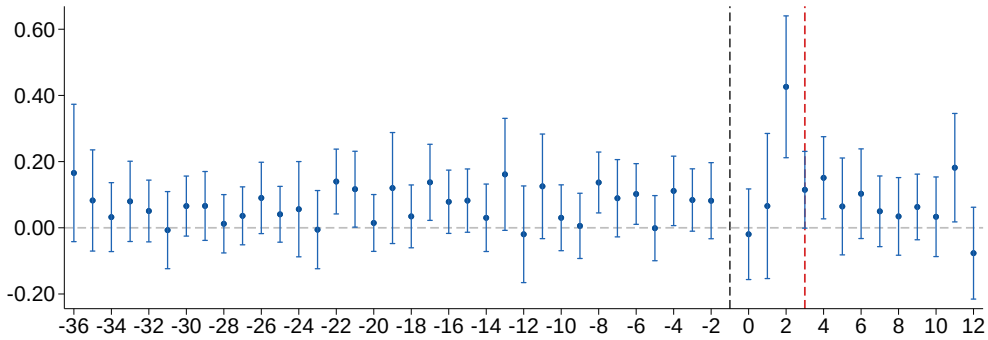
Notes: This figure shows the number of monthly marriages per 100,000 inhabitants from October 2015 to October 2019, categorized by the share of votes for Bolsonaro in the first round of the 2018 presidential election. The vertical black dashed line indicates the date of Bolsonaro's election, while the red line marks the beginning of his presidential term.



(a) Same-sex



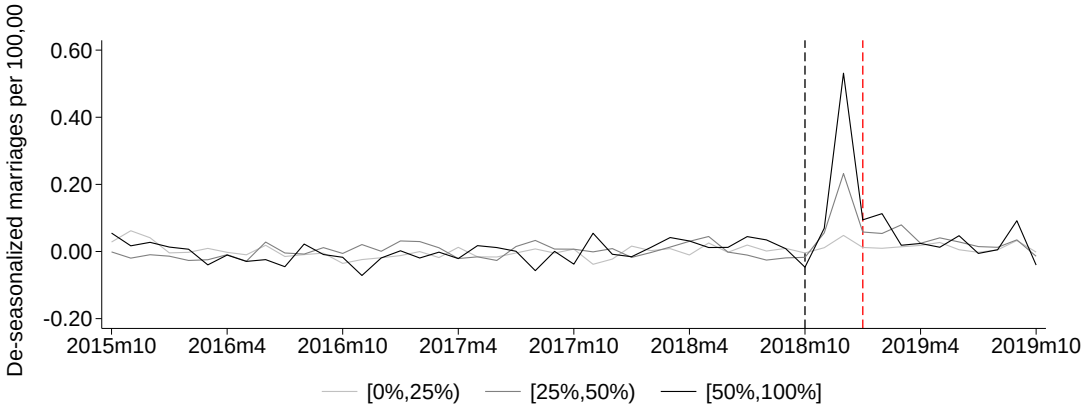
(b) Lesbian



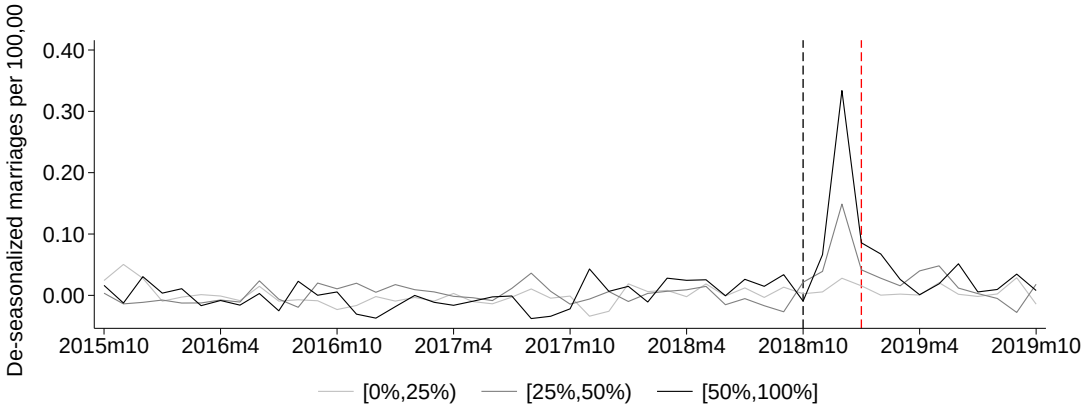
(c) Gay

Figure A27: Robustness: Seasonality

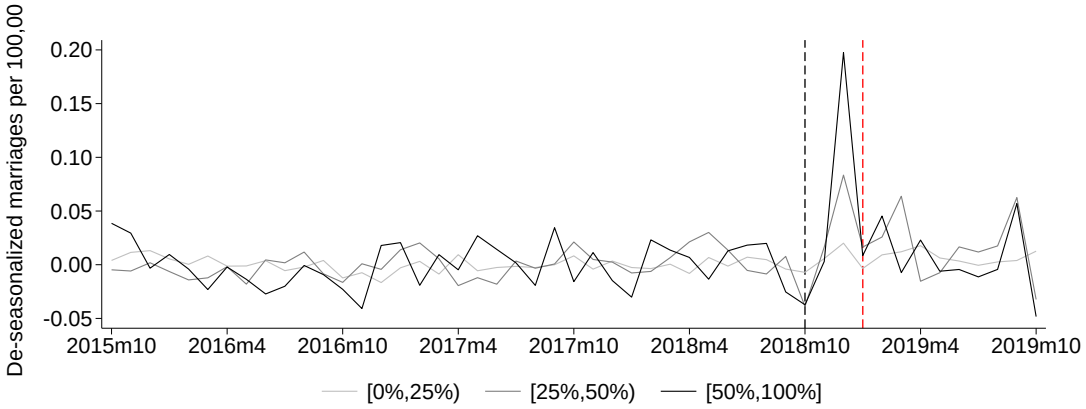
Notes: Event-study estimates on the de-seasonalized outcome, obtained by subtracting, for each municipality and calendar month, the mean of that calendar month over the pre-treatment years. Panels (a), (b), and (c) show same-sex, lesbian, and gay marriages, respectively. Specifications include municipality and month-year fixed effects. Coefficients are shown with 95% confidence intervals. The x-axis reports months relative to the first round of the 2018 election; the black dashed line indicates the last pre-election month (September 2018), which serves as the reference period, and the red dashed line marks the start of the presidential term.



(a) Same-sex



(b) Lesbian



(c) Gay

Figure A28: De-seasonalized marriages over time, by Bolsonaro vote share

Notes: Monthly de-seasonalized marriages per 100,000 inhabitants, averaged across municipalities grouped by their share of votes for Bolsonaro in the first round of the 2018 election ([0%,25%), [25%,50%), [50%,100%]). Panels (a), (b), and (c) show same-sex, lesbian, and gay marriages, respectively. The series is de-seasonalized by subtracting, for each municipality and calendar month, the mean of that calendar month over the pre-treatment years. The vertical black dashed line indicates the date of Bolsonaro's election, while the red line marks the beginning of his presidential term.

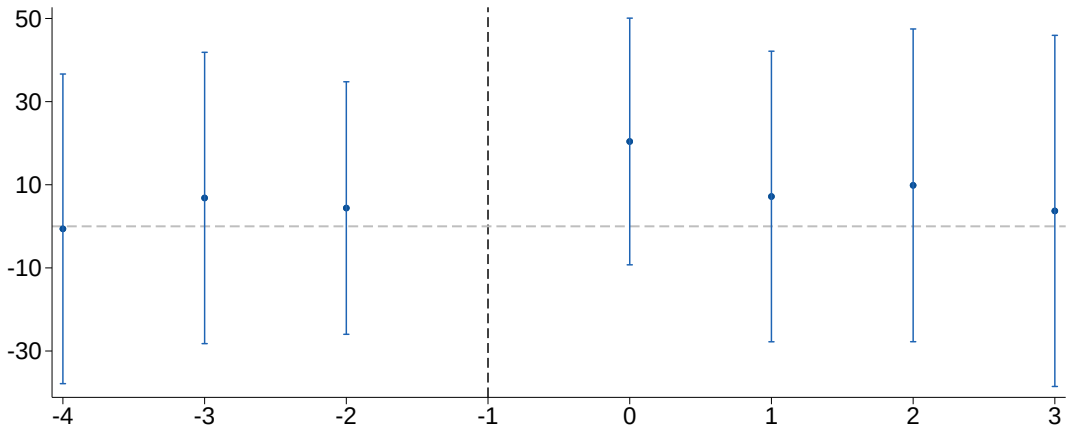
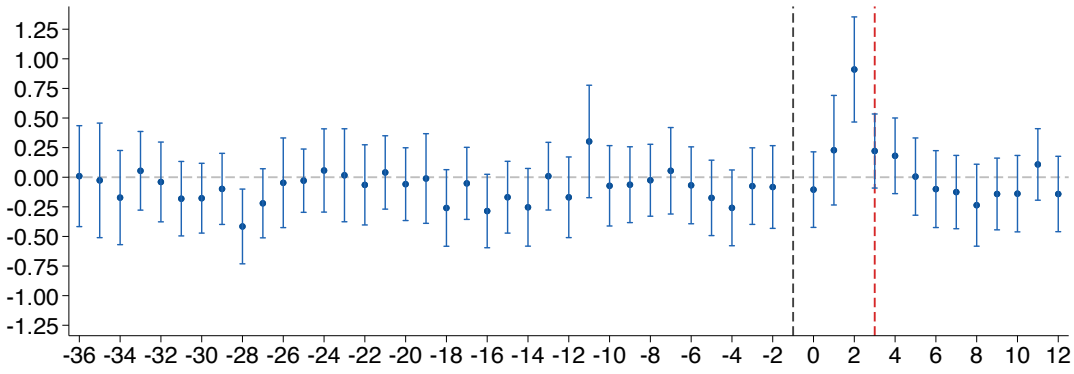
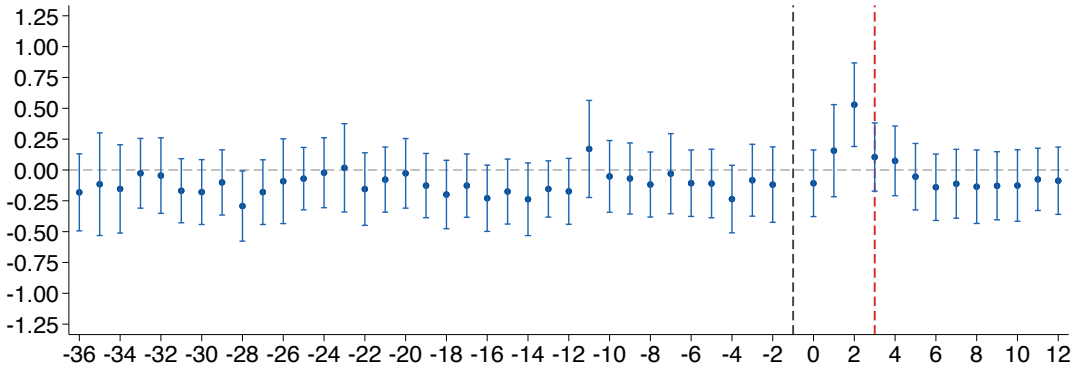


Figure A29: Placebo test: Divorces

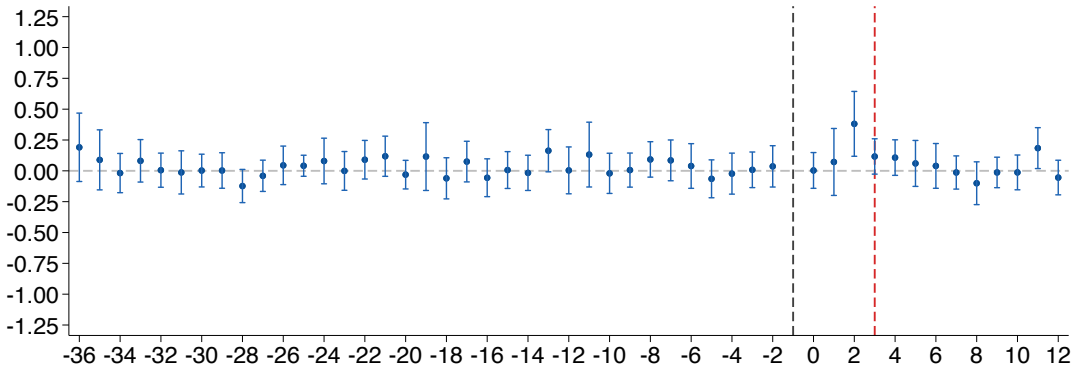
Notes: This figure presents results from a difference-in-differences event-study specification with varying treatment intensity. The outcome is the number of divorces per 100,000 inhabitants at the municipality-year level. The treatment is the municipal share of votes for Bolsonaro in the first round of the 2018 presidential election. The sample covers the period 2014–2021. Event-time indicators are constructed by interacting year dummies with the continuous treatment variable, generating lead and lag terms relative to 2018. The regression includes municipality fixed effects, calendar-year fixed effects, and state-by-year fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered at the municipality level. Coefficients are shown with 95% confidence intervals. The x-axis reports the number of years relative to 2018, the election year. The vertical dashed line indicates the year immediately preceding the election, and the horizontal line marks zero.



(a) Same-sex



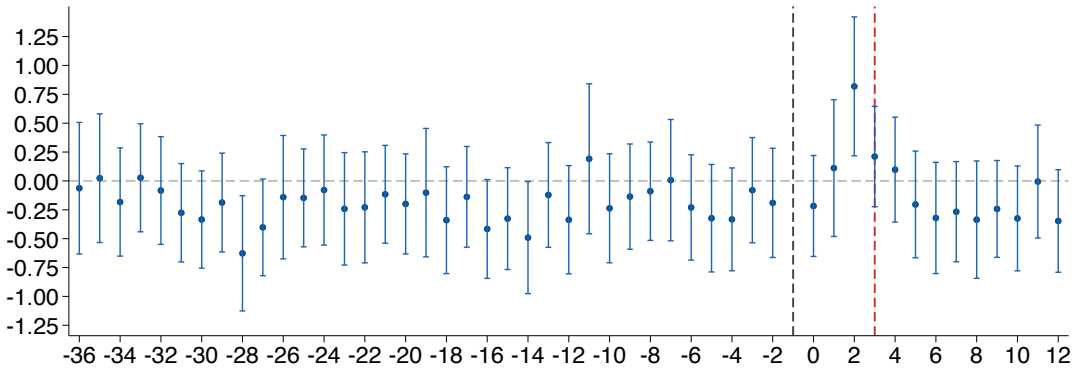
(b) Lesbian



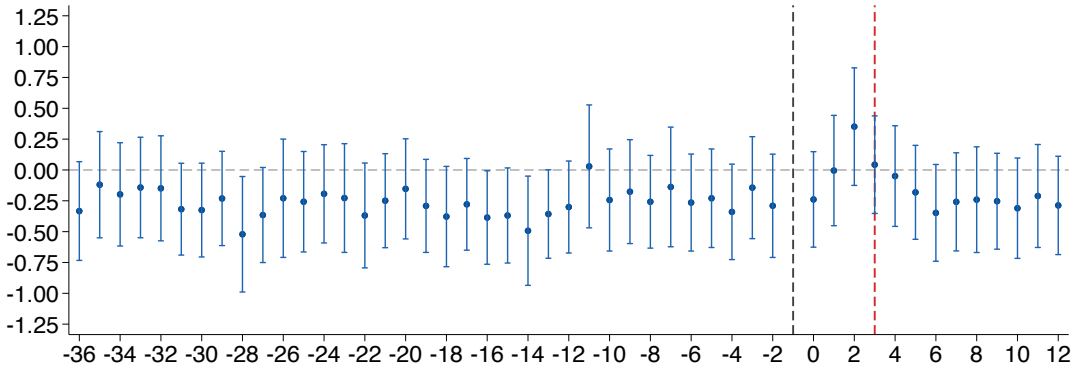
(c) Gay

Figure A30: Robustness: Excluding High Vote-Share Municipalities (≥80%)

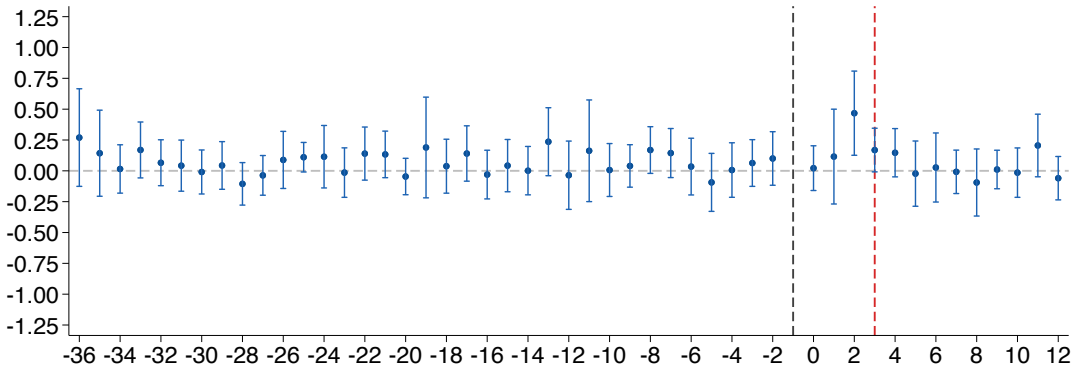
Notes: This figure presents results based on a difference-in-differences approach with varying treatment intensity. Panels (a), (b), and (c) show, respectively, the number of same-sex, lesbian, and gay marriages per 100,000 inhabitants. The treatment is the share of votes for Bolsonaro in the first round of the 2018 presidential election, excluding municipalities where Bolsonaro obtained equal or more than 80% of the votes. Coefficients are shown with 95% confidence intervals. The x-axis shows the number of months relative to October 2018, the month of Bolsonaro's election. The black dashed line indicates the last pre-election month (September 2018), which serves as the reference period, and the red line marks the beginning of his presidential term.



(a) Same-sex



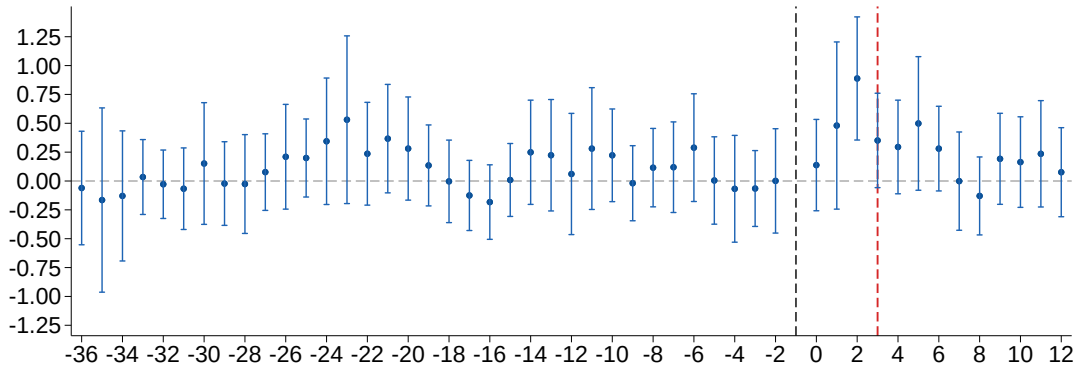
(b) Lesbian



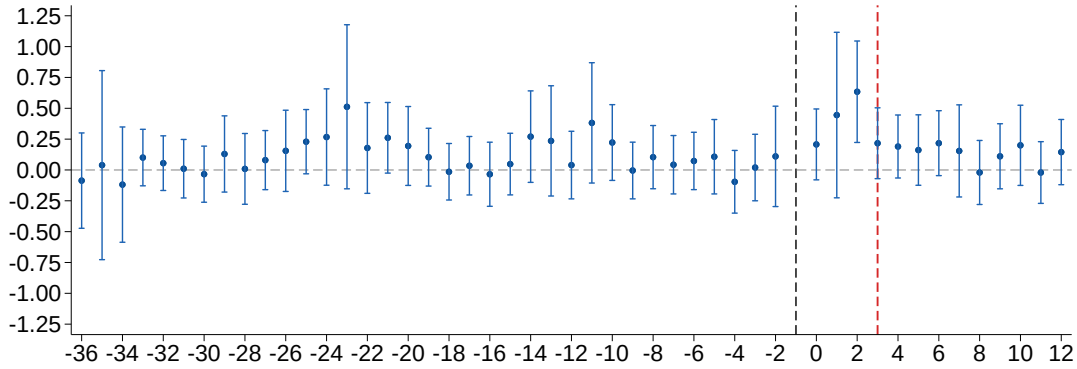
(c) Gay

Figure A31: Robustness: Excluding Low Vote-Share Municipalities (≤20%)

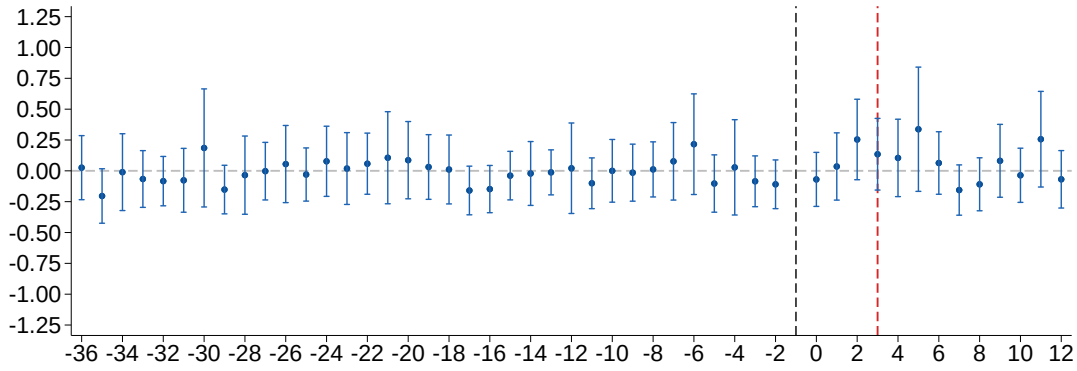
Notes: This figure presents results based on a difference-in-differences approach with varying treatment intensity. Panels (a), (b), and (c) show, respectively, the number of same-sex, lesbian, and gay marriages per 100,000 inhabitants. The treatment is the share of votes for Bolsonaro in the first round of the 2018 presidential election, excluding municipalities where Bolsonaro obtained equal or less than 20% of the votes. Coefficients are shown with 95% confidence intervals. The x-axis shows the number of months relative to October 2018, the month of Bolsonaro's election. The black dashed line indicates the last pre-election month (September 2018), which serves as the reference period, and the red line marks the beginning of his presidential term.



(a) Same-sex



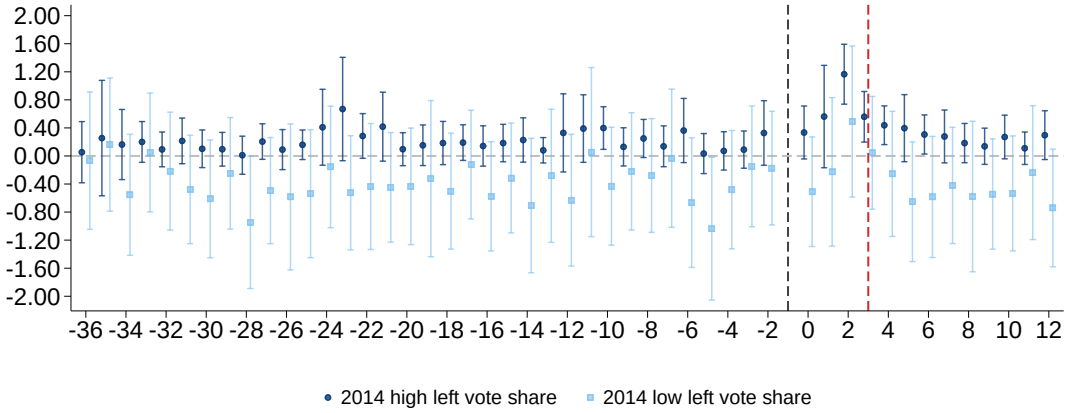
(b) Lesbian



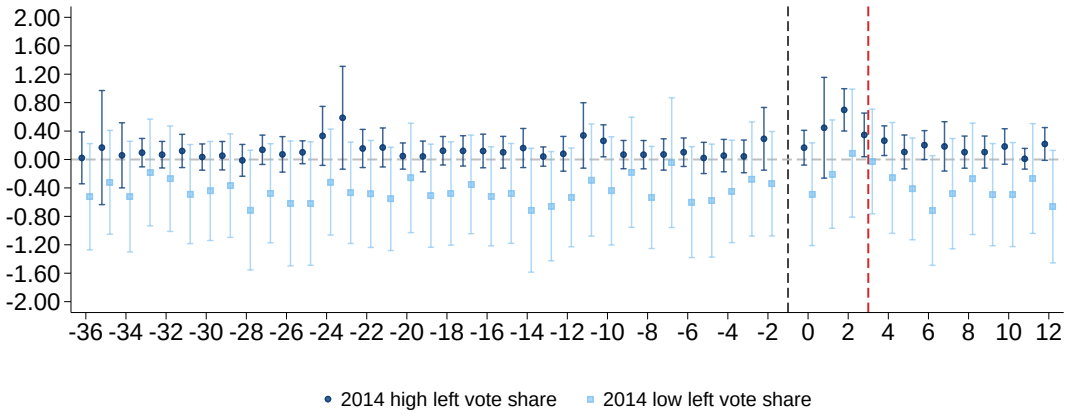
(c) Gay

Figure A32: Robustness: Excluding High Vote-Share Municipalities: (≥50%)

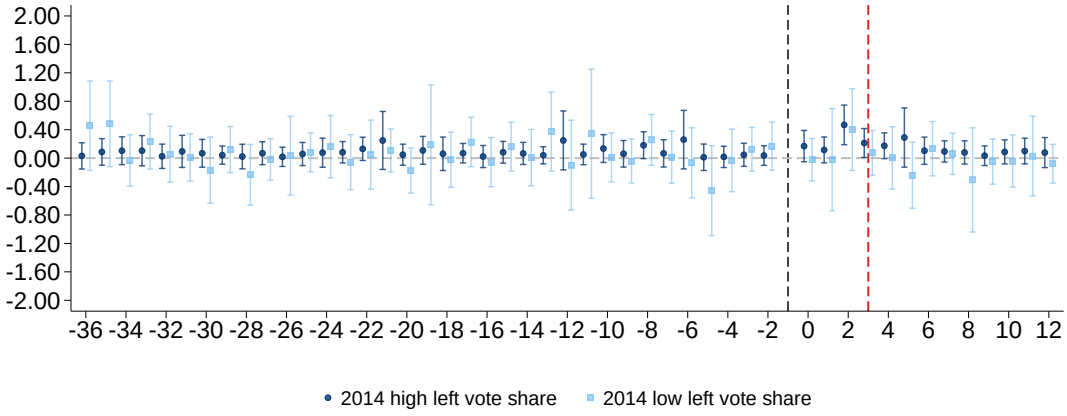
Notes: This figure presents results based on a difference-in-differences approach with varying treatment intensity. Panels (a), (b), and (c) show, respectively, the number of same-sex, lesbian, and gay marriages per 100,000 inhabitants. The treatment is the share of votes for Bolsonaro in the first round of the 2018 presidential election, excluding municipalities where Bolsonaro obtained equal or more than 50% of the votes. Coefficients are shown with 95% confidence intervals. The x-axis shows the number of months relative to October 2018, the month of Bolsonaro's election. The black dashed line indicates the last pre-election month (September 2018), which serves as the reference period, and the red line marks the beginning of his presidential term.



(a) Same-sex



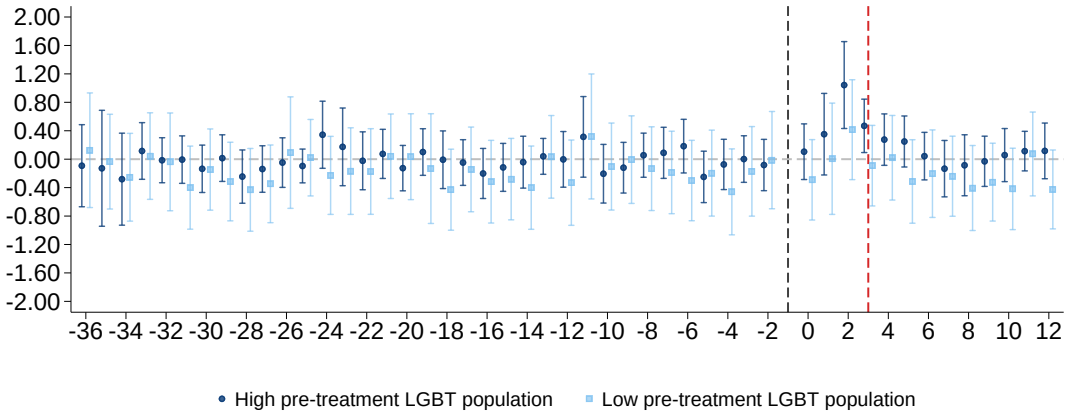
(b) Lesbian



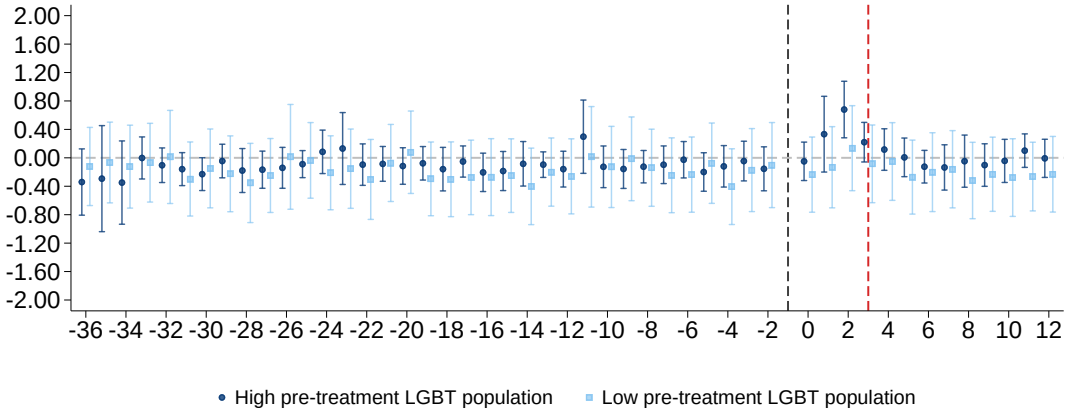
(c) Gay

Figure A33: Heterogeneity: Historically liberal vs. conservative municipalities

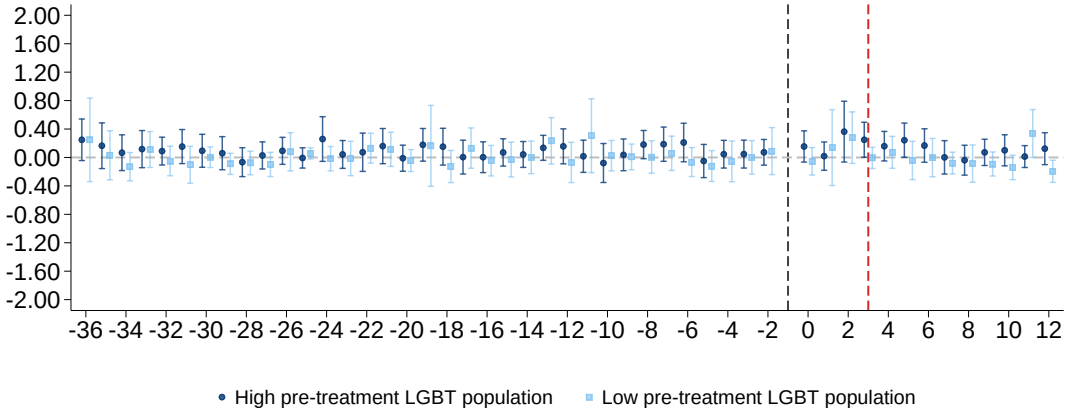
Notes: This figure presents event-study estimates from a difference-in-differences design with varying treatment intensity, splitting municipalities by whether their left vote share in the 2014 presidential election was above or below the median. Panels (a), (b), and (c) show results for same-sex, lesbian, and gay male marriages per 100,000 inhabitants, respectively. The treatment is the municipal share of votes for Bolsonaro in the first round of the 2018 presidential election. Specifications include municipality, month-year, and state-by-month fixed effects, with standard errors clustered at the municipality level. Coefficients are shown with 95% confidence intervals. The x-axis reports months relative to the first round of the 2018 election; the black dashed line indicates the last pre-election month (September 2018), which serves as the reference period, and the red dashed line marks the start of the presidential term.



(a) Same-sex



(b) Lesbian



(c) Gay

Figure A34: Heterogeneity: Pre-treatment LGBT population share

Notes: This figure presents event-study estimates from a difference-in-differences design with varying treatment intensity, splitting municipalities by their 2010 LGBT population share relative to the median. Panels (a), (b), and (c) show results for same-sex, lesbian, and gay male marriages per 100,000 inhabitants, respectively. The treatment is the municipal share of votes for Bolsonaro in the first round of the 2018 presidential election. Specifications include municipality, month-year, and state-by-month fixed effects, with standard errors clustered at the municipality level. Coefficients are shown with 95% confidence intervals. The x-axis reports months relative to the first round of the 2018 election; the black dashed line indicates the last pre-election month (September 2018), which serves as the reference period, and the red dashed line marks the start of the presidential term.

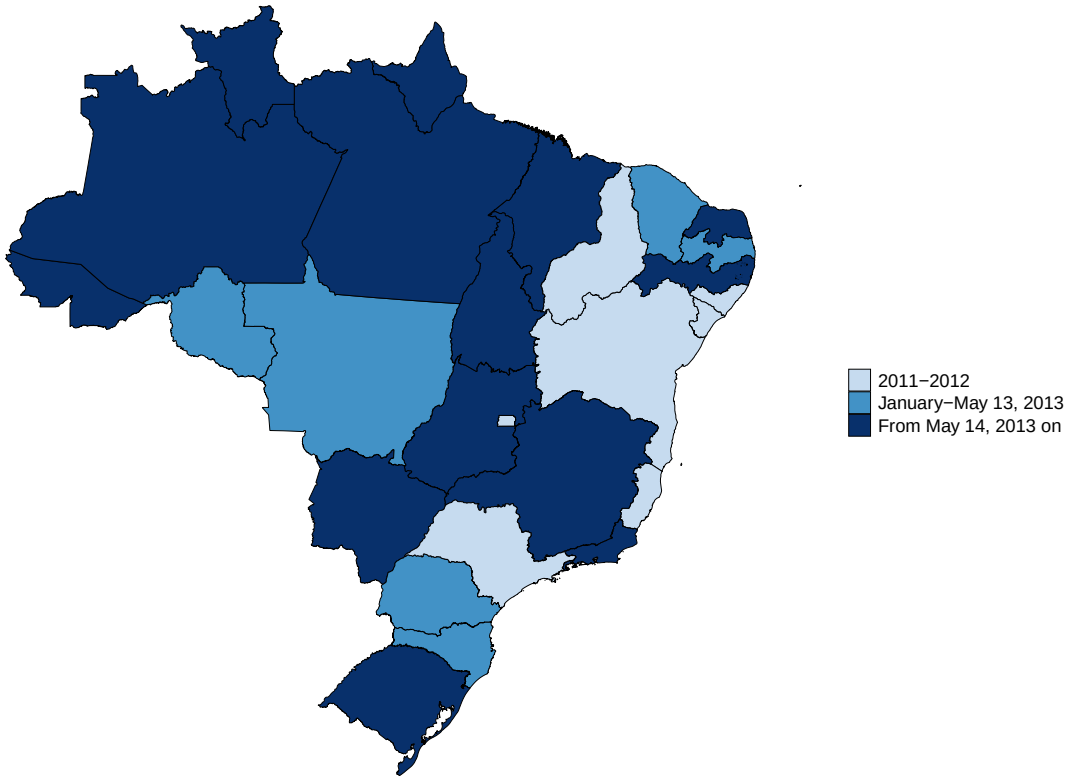
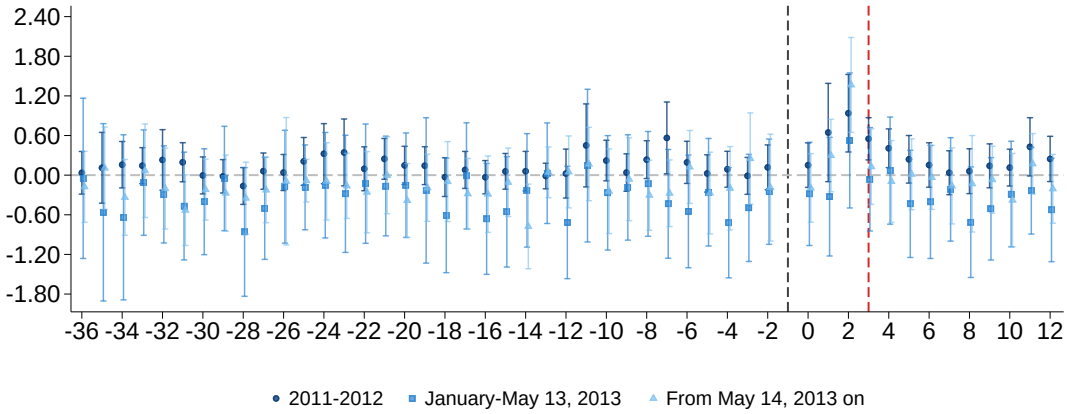
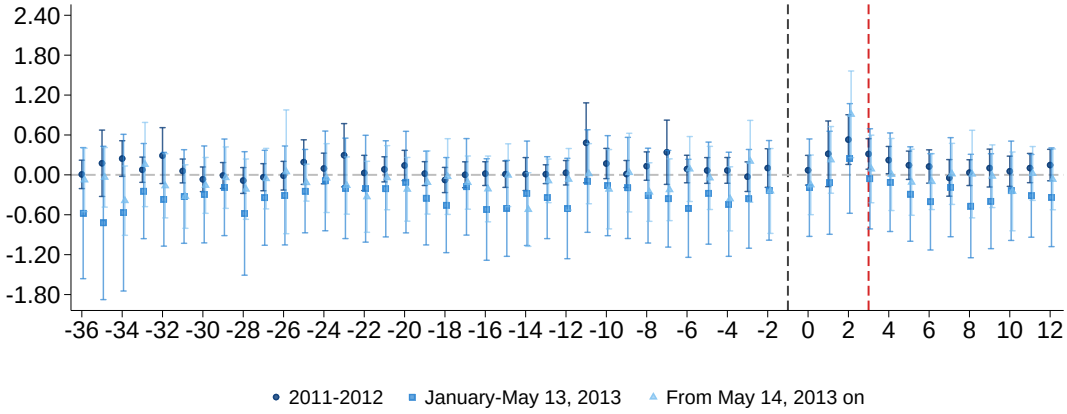


Figure A35: Timing of same-sex marriage legalization across Brazilian states

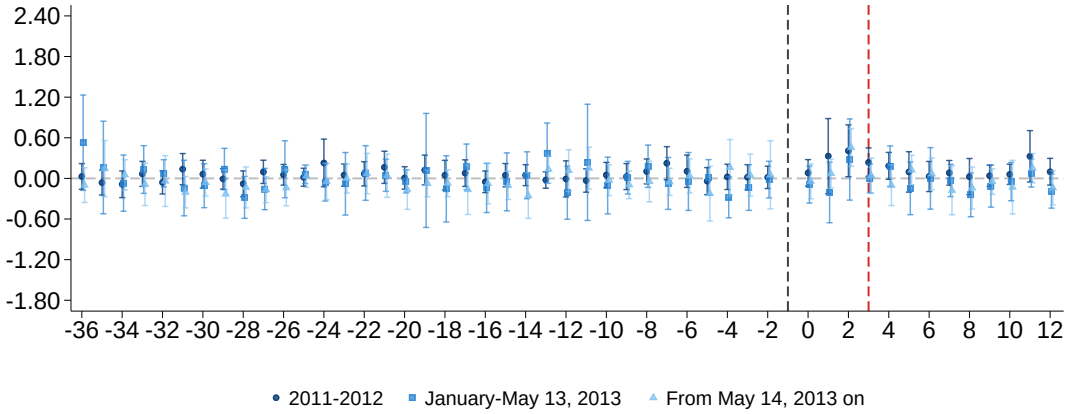
Notes: This figure shows the timing of same-sex marriage legalization across Brazilian states. States shaded in light blue legalized same-sex marriage in 2011 or 2012, following the Supreme Court (STF) ruling recognizing stable same-sex unions. States shaded in medium blue adopted same-sex marriage between January and May 13, 2013, through state-level court decisions prior to the nationwide standardization. States shaded in dark blue legalized same-sex marriage from May 14, 2013, onward, following the National Justice Council (CNJ) Resolution 175.



(a) Same-sex



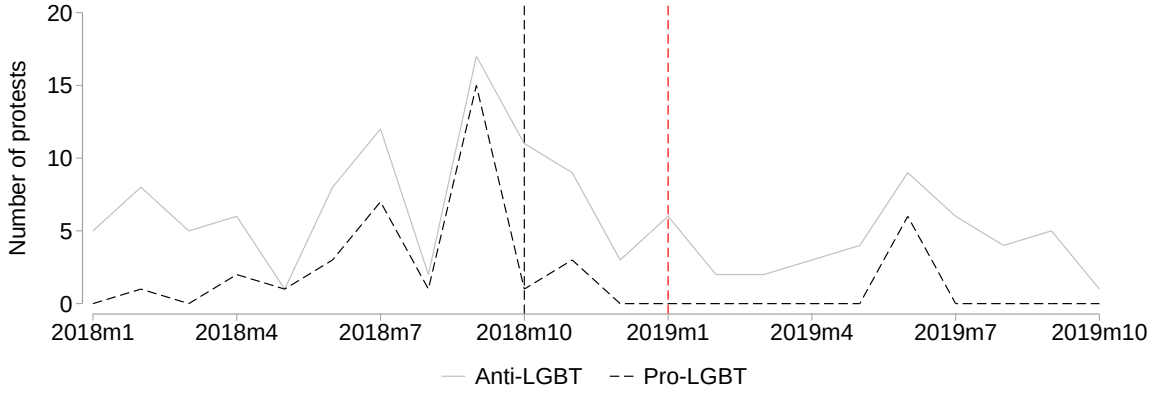
(b) Lesbian



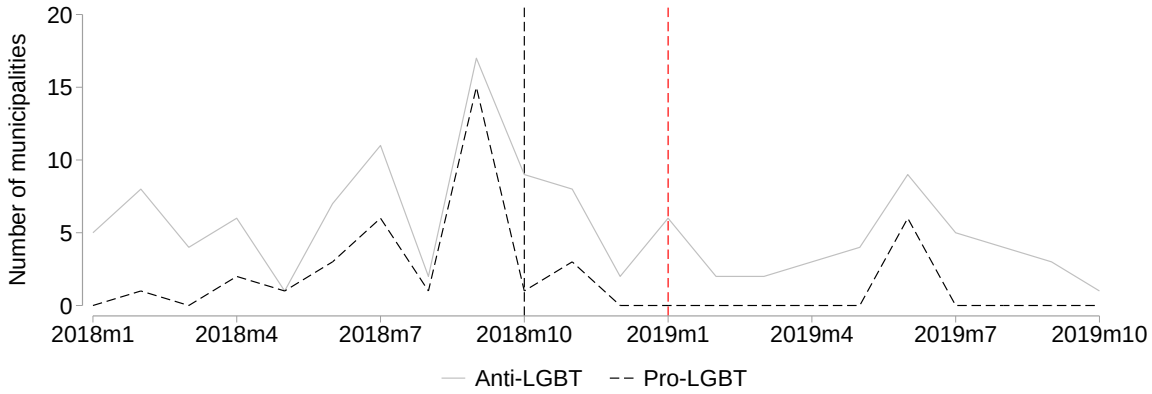
(c) Gay

Figure A36: Heterogeneity: States distinct same-sex marriage implementation bill

Notes: This figure presents results based on a difference-in-differences approach with varying treatment intensity, by the timing of when the state enforced the same-sex marriage bill (see Figure A35). Panels (a), (b), and (c) show, respectively, the number of same-sex, lesbian, and gay marriages per 100,000 inhabitants. The treatment is the share of votes for Bolsonaro in the first round of the 2018 presidential election. Coefficients are shown with 95% confidence intervals. The x-axis shows the number of months relative to the month of the first round of the 2018 presidential election; the black dashed line indicates the last pre-election month (September 2018), which serves as the reference period, and the red dashed line marks the start of the presidential term.



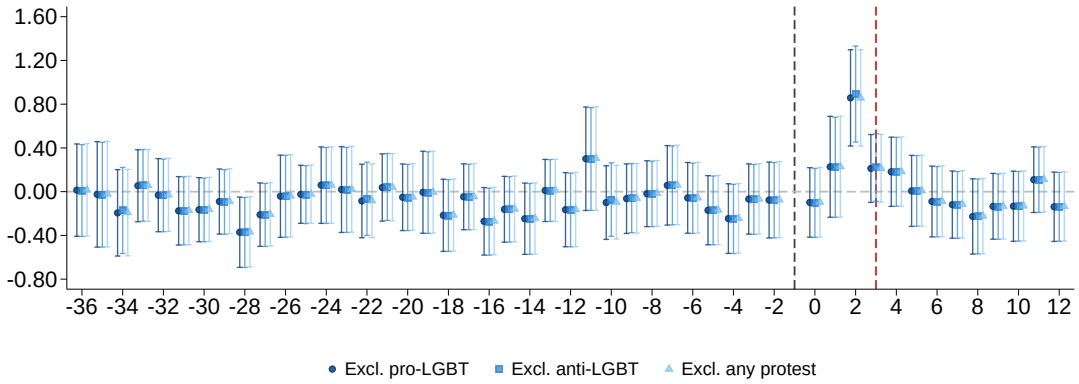
(a) Total protest events



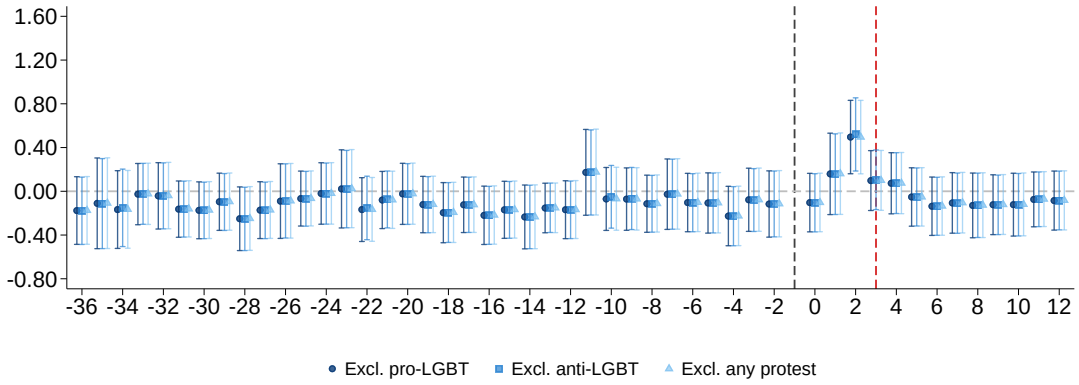
(b) Municipalities with protest events

Figure A37: LGBT protest events in Brazil, January 2018–October 2019

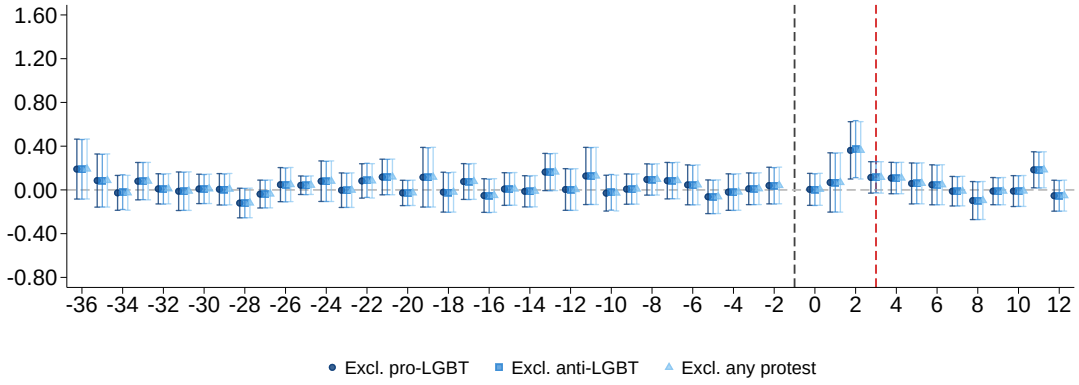
Notes: This figure presents the monthly distribution of LGBT-related protest events in Brazil between January 2018 and October 2019. Panel (a) shows the total number of protest events per month, and panel (b) shows the number of municipalities with at least one protest event per month. The darker line represents anti-LGBT events and the lighter line represents pro-LGBT events. Protest events are identified from the Brazil Political Violence and Protests Dataset using keyword-based text classification of event notes and sub-event types to assign pro- and anti-LGBT orientation, aggregated to the municipality-month level. The black dashed vertical line marks the first round of the 2018 presidential election and the red dashed vertical line marks the start of Bolsonaro's presidential term in January 2019.



(a) Same-sex



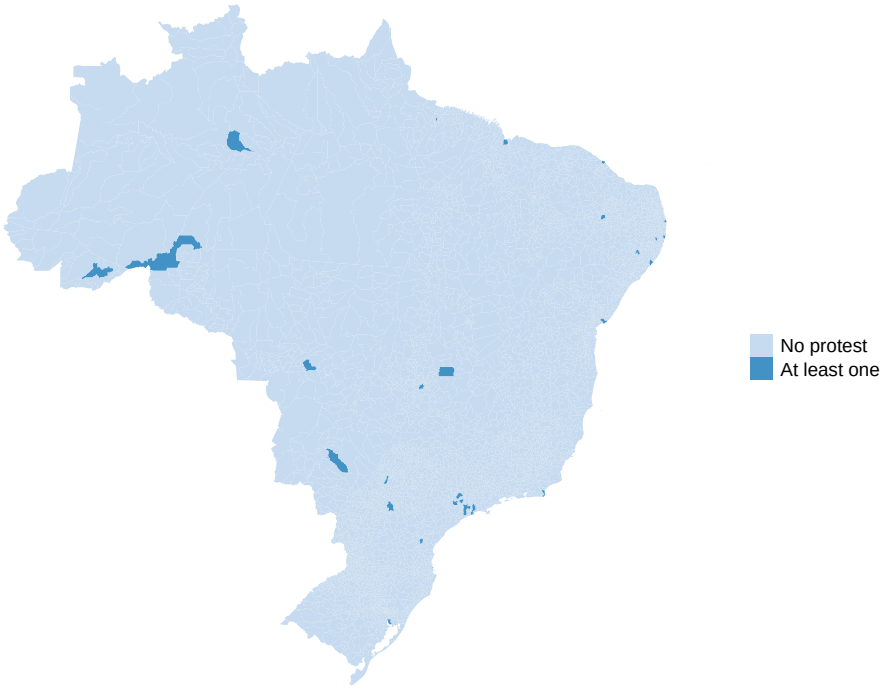
(b) Lesbian



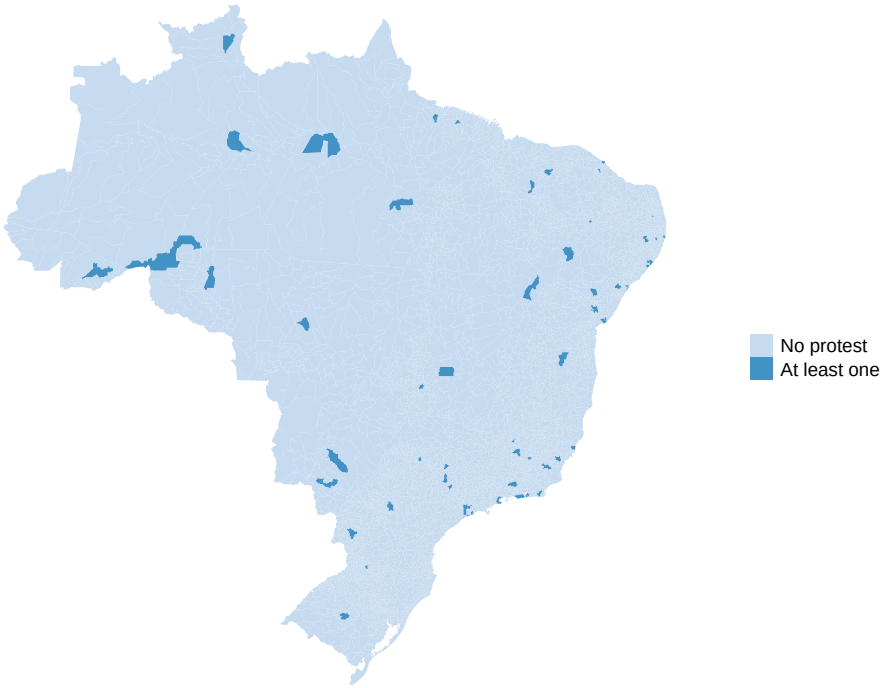
(c) Gay

Figure A38: Heterogeneity: Excluding municipalities with LGBT protests

Notes: This figure presents event-study estimates from a difference-in-differences design with varying treatment intensity. Panels (a), (b), and (c) display results for same-sex, lesbian, and gay male marriages, respectively. Each panel shows three specifications that sequentially exclude municipalities with at least one pro-LGBT protest, at least one anti-LGBT protest, and at least one protest of either type, in the month prior to the election. The treatment is the municipal share of votes for Bolsonaro in the first round of the 2018 presidential election. Specifications include municipality, month-year, and state-by-month fixed effects, with standard errors clustered at the municipality level. Coefficients are shown with 95% confidence intervals. The x-axis reports months relative to the first round of the 2018 election; the black dashed line indicates the last pre-election month (September 2018), which serves as the reference period, and the red dashed line marks the start of the presidential term.



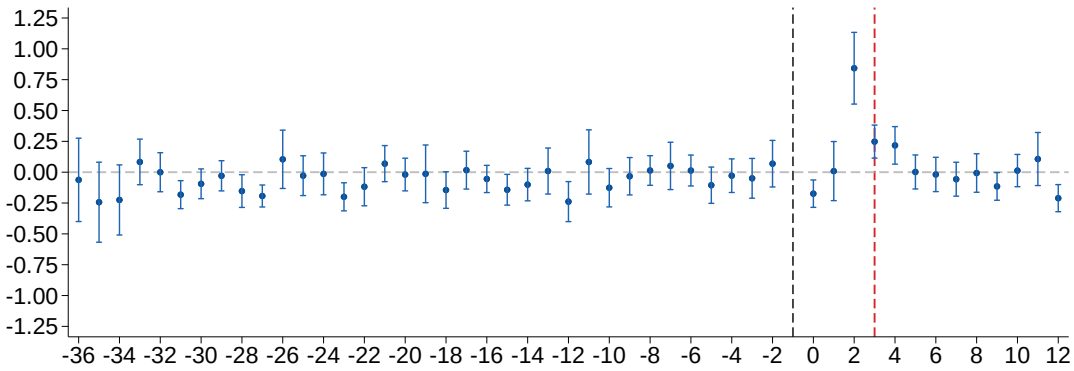
(a) Pro-LGBT Protests



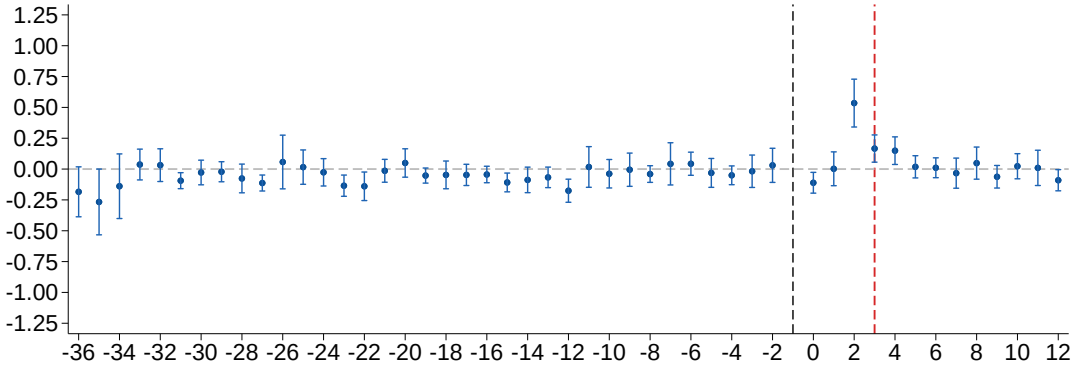
(b) Anti-LGBT Protests

Figure A39: Geographic Distribution of LGBT-Related Protests in Brazil, January 2018–October 2019

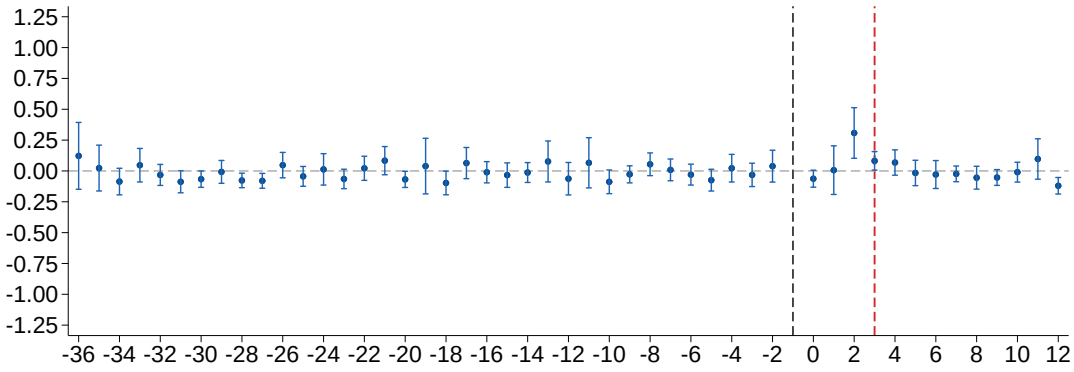
Notes: This figure presents the geographic distribution of LGBT-related protest events in Brazil between January 2018 and October 2019. Panel (a) shows municipalities with at least one pro-LGBT protest event and panel (b) shows municipalities with at least one anti-LGBT protest event over the period. Darker blue indicates the presence of at least one protest event; lighter blue indicates no protest events recorded. Protest events are identified from the Brazil Political Violence and Protests Dataset using keyword-based text classification of event notes and sub-event types to assign pro- and anti-LGBT orientation, aggregated to the municipality level.



(a) Same-sex



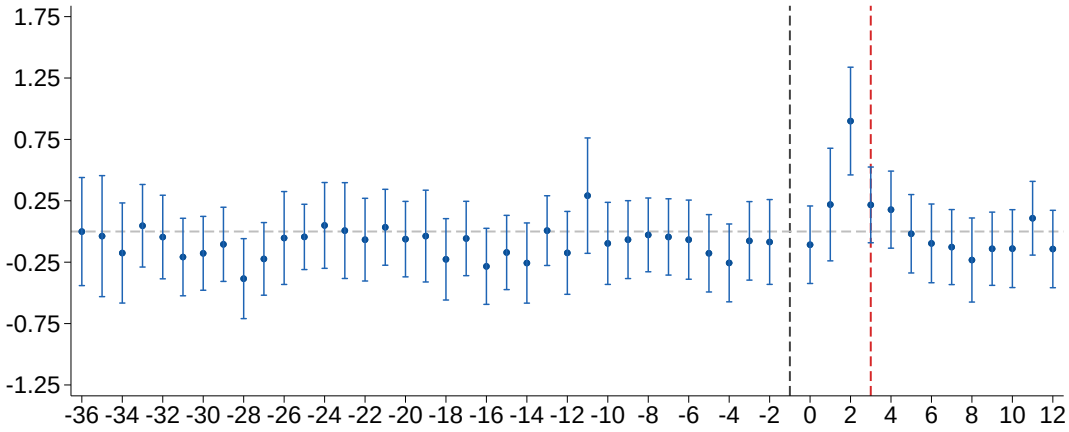
(b) Lesbian



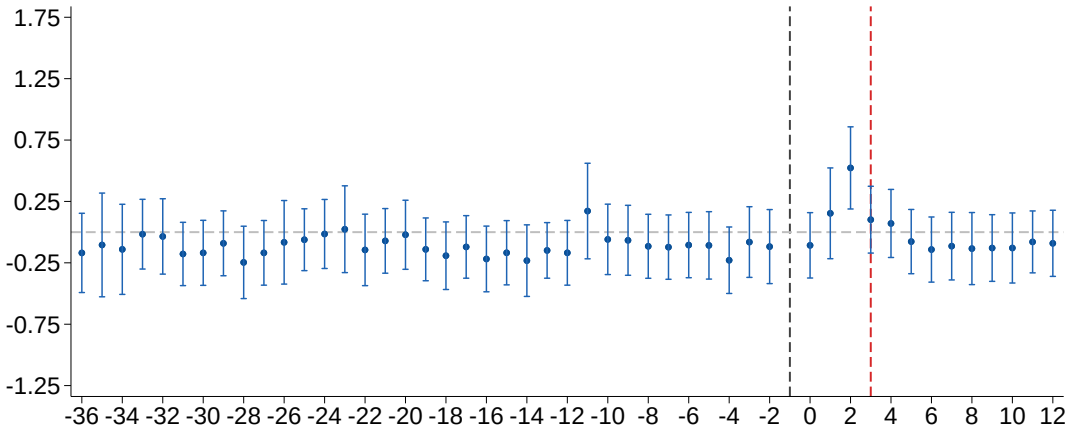
(c) Gay

Figure A40: Robustness: Drop municipalities with collective same-sex weddings

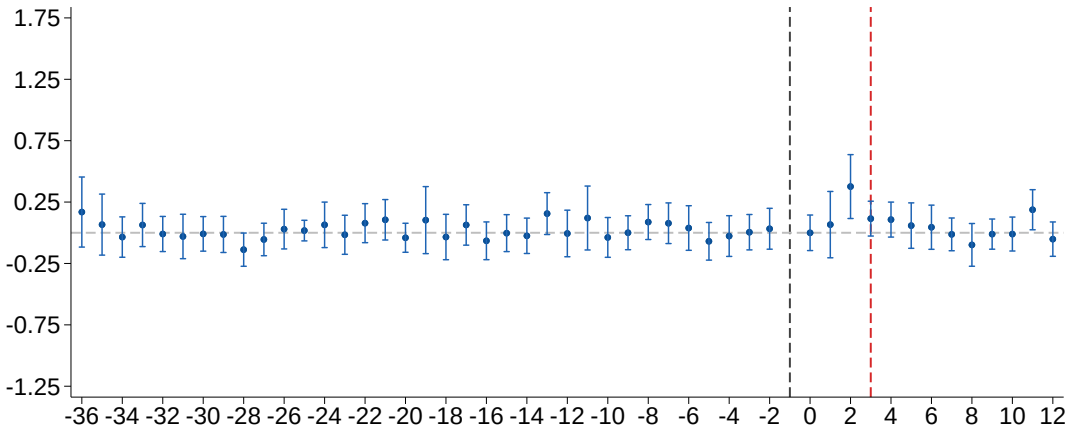
Notes: This figure presents event-study estimates from a difference-in-differences design with varying treatment intensity. Panels (a), (b), and (c) report, respectively, estimates for all same-sex couples, lesbian couples, and gay couples. The sample excludes municipalities that hosted collective same-sex wedding events: São Paulo (São Paulo), Rio Branco (Acre), Maceió (Alagoas), Belo Horizonte (Minas Gerais), Teresina (Piauí) and Recife (Pernambuco). The treatment is the municipal share of votes for Bolsonaro in the first round of the 2018 presidential election. Specifications include municipality, month-year, and state-by-month fixed effects, with standard errors clustered at the municipality level. Coefficients are shown with 95% confidence intervals. The x-axis reports months relative to the first round of the 2018 election; the black dashed line indicates the last pre-election month (September 2018), which serves as the reference period, and the red dashed line the start of the presidential term.



(a) Same-sex



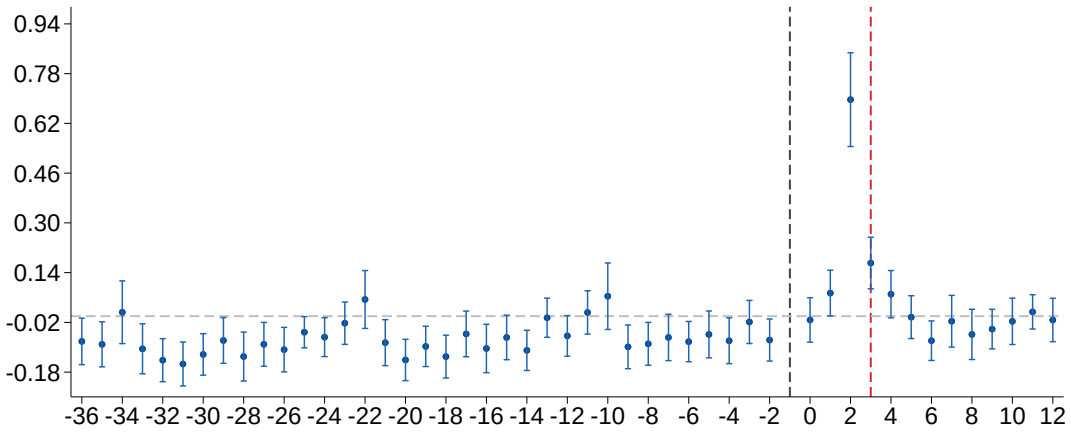
(b) Lesbian



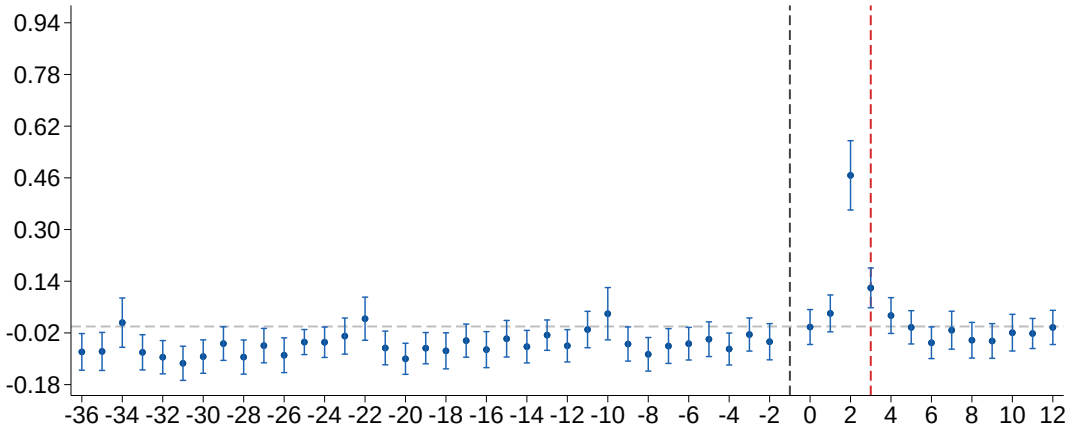
(c) Gay

Figure A41: Robustness: controlling for pre-treatment migration share

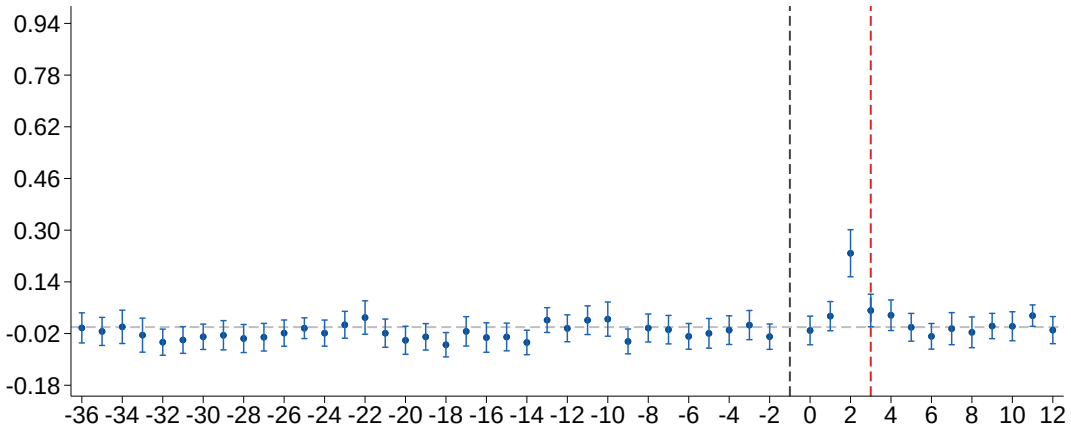
Notes: This figure presents results based on a difference-in-differences approach with varying treatment intensity, controlling for pre-treatment migration share interacted with a time indicators. Panels (a), (b), and (c) show, respectively, the number of same-sex, lesbian, and gay marriages per 100,000 inhabitants. The treatment is the share of votes for Bolsonaro in the first round of the 2018 presidential election. Coefficients are shown with 95% confidence intervals. The x-axis shows the number of months relative to the month of the first round of the 2018 presidential election. The black dashed line indicates the last pre-election month (September 2018), which serves as the reference period, and the red dashed line marks the beginning of the presidential term.



(a) Same-sex



(b) Lesbian



(c) Gay

Figure A42: Robustness: Marriages (absolute value)

Notes: This figure presents event-study estimates from a difference-in-differences design with varying treatment intensity, where the outcomes are the levels of same-sex, lesbian, and gay male marriages. Panels (a), (b), and (c) display the number of marriages in each category. The treatment is the municipal share of votes for Bolsonaro in the first round of the 2018 presidential election. Specifications include municipality, month-year, and state-by-month fixed effects, with standard errors clustered at the municipality level. Because the outcomes are absolute counts rather than rates, a few very large cities contribute disproportionately many marriages and would dominate the estimates. Thus, we restrict the sample to municipalities with fewer than 500,000 inhabitants to make sure that the effect is not driven by potential outliers. Coefficients are shown with 95% confidence intervals. The x-axis reports months relative to the first round of the 2018 election; the black dashed line indicates the last pre-election month (September 2018), which serves as the reference period, and the red dashed line the start of the presidential term.

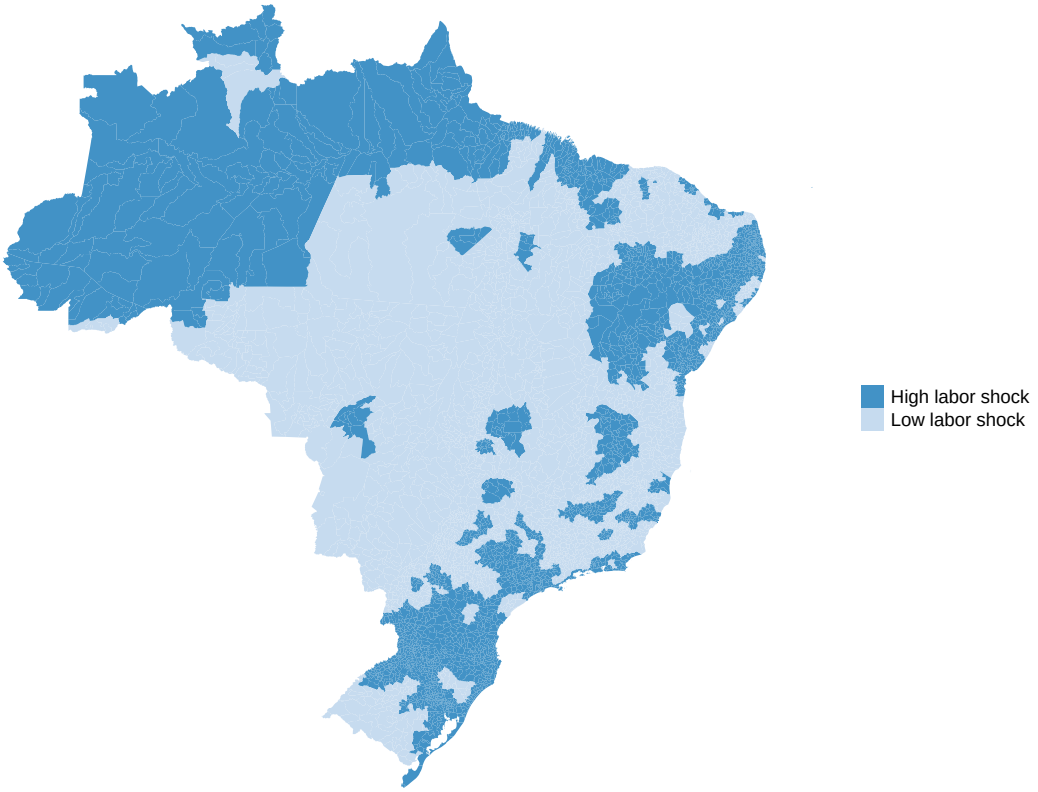
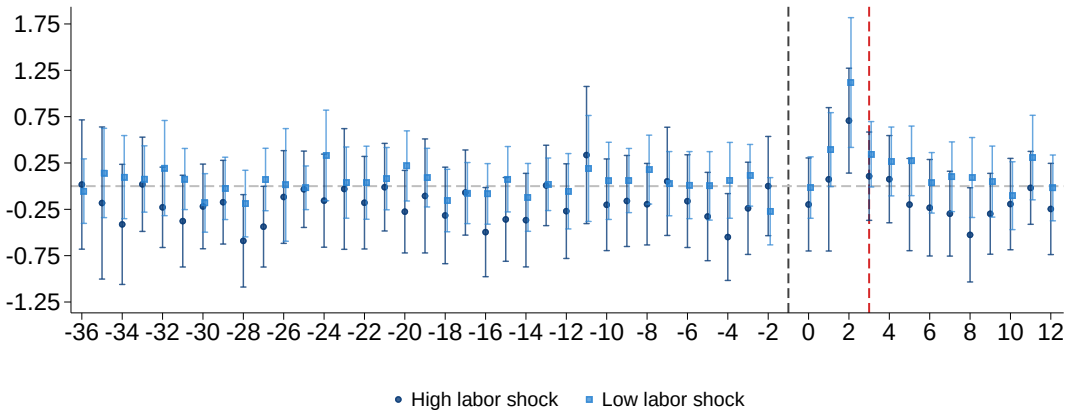
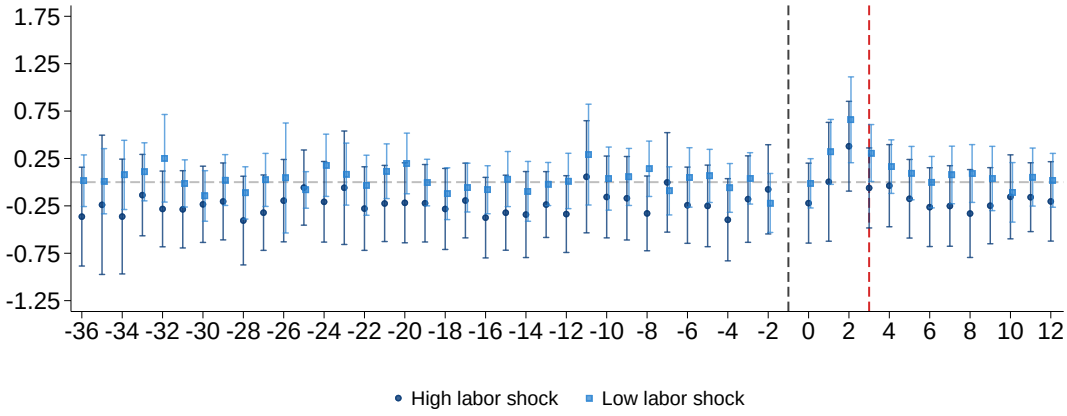


Figure A43: Geographic distribution of municipal labor market shocks

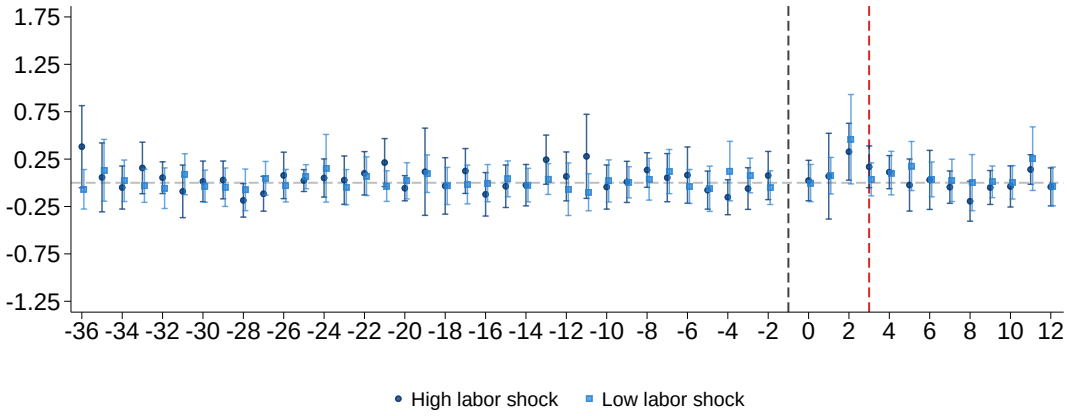
Notes: This figure maps the spatial distribution of municipal labor market shocks constructed by Barros and Silva (2025) using a gender-specific shift-share (Bartik) measure based on pre-recession industrial composition and national employment changes. Municipalities are classified into high- and low-shock groups using the sample median of the standardized shock measure, defined as the difference between male and female exposure to national industry-level employment changes. High-shock municipalities (dark blue) are those above the median, while low-shock municipalities (light blue) are those at or below it. Shapefiles correspond to 2010 municipal boundaries.



(a) Same-sex



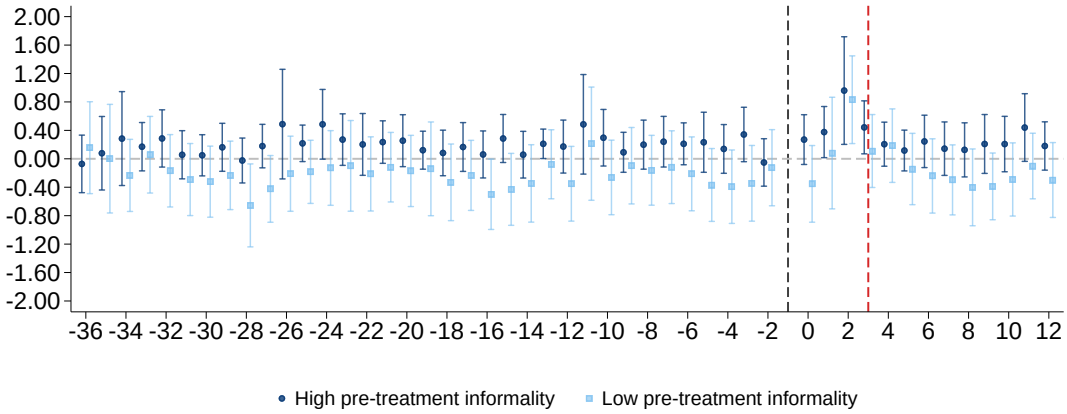
(b) Lesbian



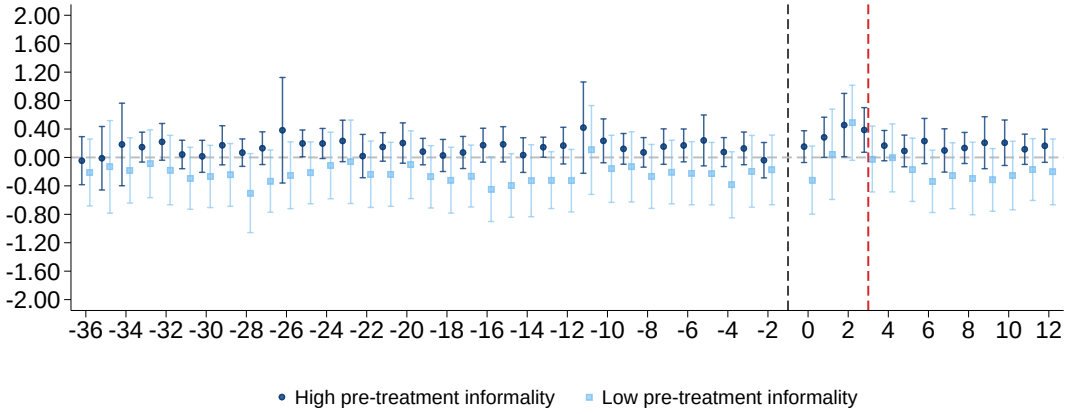
(c) Gay

Figure A44: Heterogeneity: Local labor market shocks

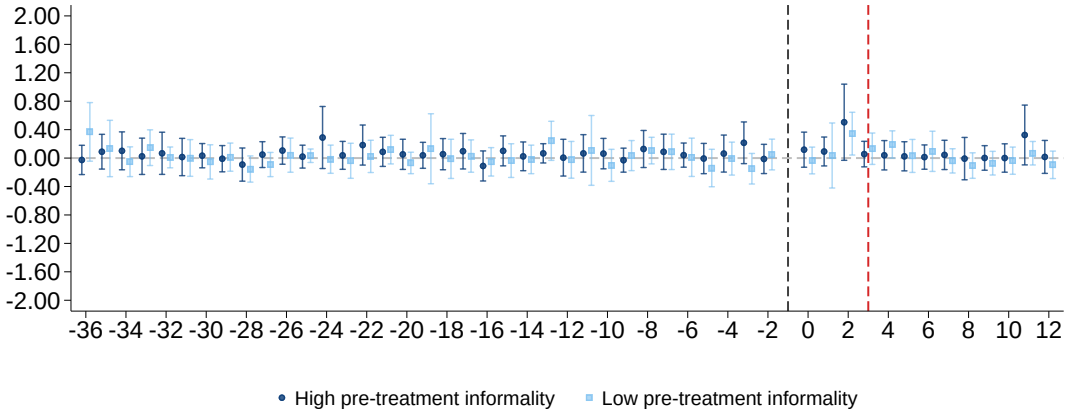
Notes: This figure presents event-study estimates from a difference-in-differences design with heterogeneous exposure to local labor market shocks, constructed using a gender-specific Bartik (shift-share) measure based on national employment changes by industry and pre-period municipal employment shares following Barros and Silva (2025). Municipalities are stratified into high- and low-labor-shock groups using the sample median of the standardized shock measure: high-shock municipalities are those above the median, and low-shock municipalities are those at or below it. Event studies are estimated separately for each group and plotted jointly within each panel. Panels (a), (b), and (c) report effects on same-sex, lesbian, and gay marriages per 100,000 inhabitants, respectively. The treatment variable is the municipal share of votes for Bolsonaro in the first round of the 2018 presidential election, interacted with event-time indicators. All specifications include municipality, month-year, and state-by-month fixed effects, with standard errors clustered at the municipality level. Points denote coefficient estimates and bars indicate 95% confidence intervals. The x-axis reports months relative to the first round of the 2018 election; the black dashed line indicates the last pre-election month (September 2018), which serves as the reference period, and the red dashed line indicates the start of the presidential term.



(a) Same-sex



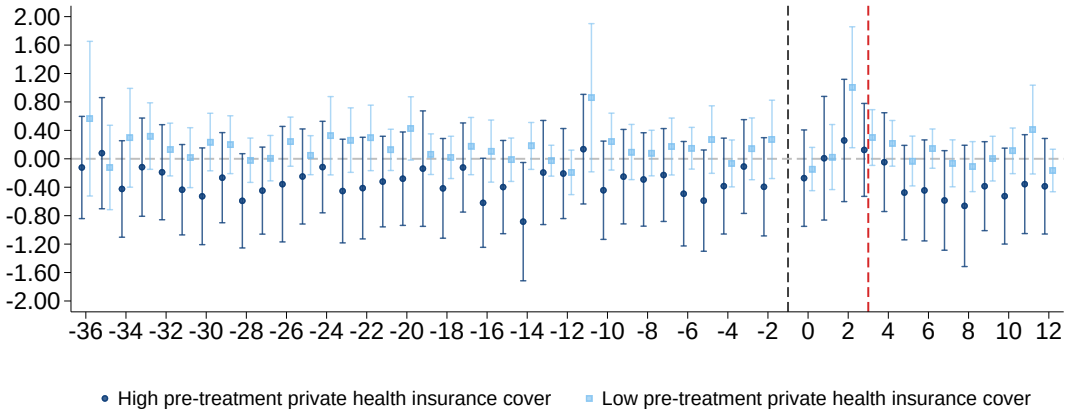
(b) Lesbian



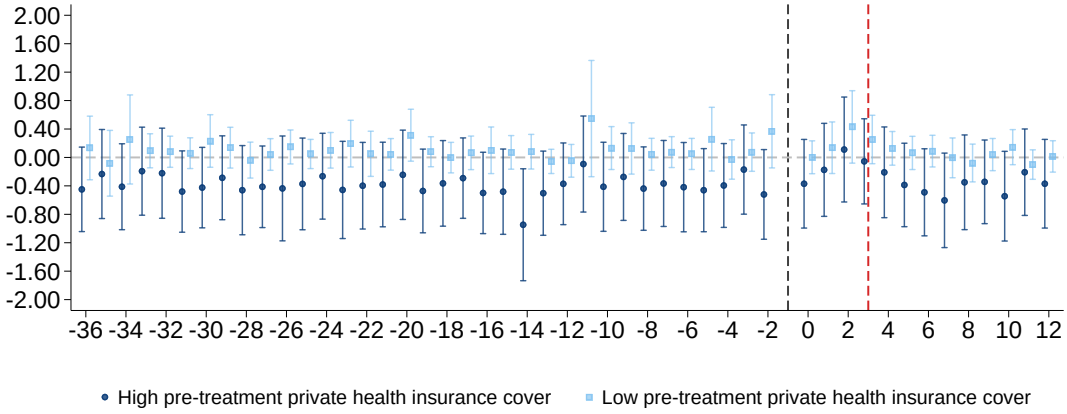
(c) Gay

Figure A45: Heterogeneity: Labor market informality

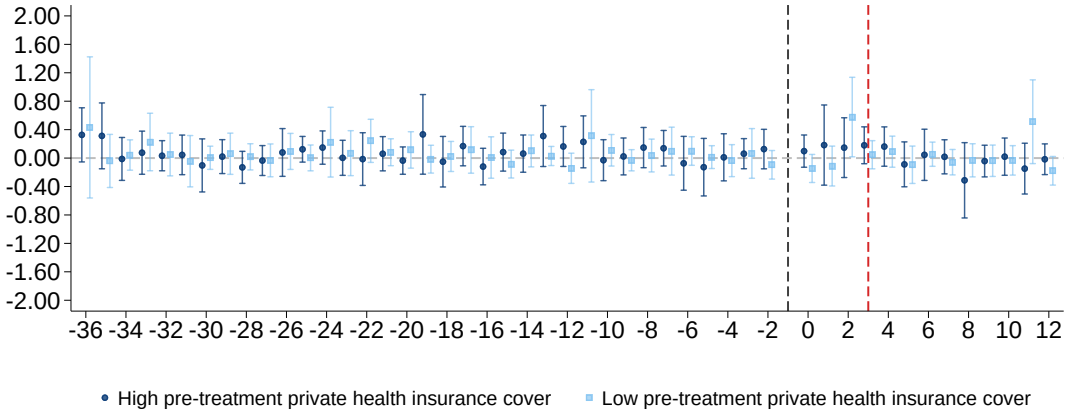
Notes: This figure presents results based on a difference-in-differences approach with varying treatment intensity, estimated separately for municipalities with above- and below-median pre-treatment labor market informality rates. Panels (a), (b), and (c) show, respectively, the number of same-sex, lesbian, and gay marriages per 100,000 inhabitants. The treatment is the share of votes for Bolsonaro in the first round of the 2018 presidential election. Coefficients are shown with 95% confidence intervals. The x-axis shows the number of months relative to the first round of the 2018 presidential election. The black dashed line indicates the last pre-election month (September 2018), which serves as the reference period, and the red line marks the beginning of his presidential term.



(a) Same-sex



(b) Lesbian



(c) Gay

Figure A46: Heterogeneity: Private health insurance coverage

Notes: This figure presents results based on a difference-in-differences approach with varying treatment intensity, estimated separately for municipalities with above- and below-median pre-treatment private health insurance coverage rates. Panels (a), (b), and (c) show, respectively, the number of same-sex, lesbian, and gay marriages per 100,000 inhabitants. The treatment is the share of votes for Bolsonaro in the first round of the 2018 presidential election. Coefficients are shown with 95% confidence intervals. The x-axis shows the number of months relative to the first round of the 2018 presidential election. The black dashed line indicates the last pre-election month (September 2018), which serves as the reference period, and the red line marks the beginning of his presidential term.

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Barros, L. and Silva, M. S. (2025). Economic shocks, gender, and populism: Evidence from Brazil. *Journal of Development Economics*, **174**, 103412.

Conselho Nacional de Justiça (2013). Resolução nº 175/2013: Dispõe sobre a habilitação, celebração de casamento civil, ou de conversão de união estável em casamento, entre pessoas do mesmo sexo.