

ONLINE APPENDICES

A1: Request to Public Authorities in the Original German Version

Sehr geehrte Damen und Herren,

Der Umgang mit dem Thema ‚Homoehe‘ beschäftigt die Menschen derzeit nicht nur in Deutschland, sondern in ganz Europa. Deshalb würden wir gerne in Beeskow die Bürger für dieses Thema sensibilisieren und eine Kundgebung für die Gleichstellung von homosexuellen und heterosexuellen Paaren veranstalten. Wir hoffen auf jeden Fall mehrere hundert Teilnehmer aus Nah und Fern mobilisieren zu können.

Wir sind uns jedoch noch nicht wirklich darüber klar, wie die Anmeldungs-Prozedur für so eine Kundgebung läuft. Daher wären wir Ihnen sehr dankbar, wenn Sie uns zeitnah über die notwendigen Schritte aufklären könnten.

Mit wem müssten wir uns im Vorfeld abstimmen?

Wie viel Vorlaufzeit benötigt ein solches Event?

Wann könnte dies dann stattfinden?

Könnten Sie uns einen geeigneten Platz nennen, auf welchem in der Vergangenheit ähnliche Kundgebungen abgehalten worden sind?

Wäre evtl. eine Persönlichkeit der Stadtverwaltung verfügbar, um ein Grußwort zu halten?

Vielen Dank für Ihre Unterstützung!

Mit den besten Grüßen,

Ihr Philipp Krahn

A2: Party Positions on Homosexuality and Same-Sex Marriage

Progressive Parties

- SPD – Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
 - Party manifesto for the 2013 federal election: *“Wir wollen die Ehe für gleichgeschlechtliche Lebenspartnerschaften öffnen und diese damit auch im Adoptionsrecht und im Steuerrecht gleichstellen“* (we want to open up civil marriage to same-sex couples and thereby ensure their equal treatment regarding adoption rights and matters of taxation).
- Grüne
 - *„Familie ist da, wo Kinder sind.“* (family is wherever children are)
 - *the blog verqueert classifies them as among the parties most outspoken in favor of equal treatment.*
- DIE LINKE
 - The blog *verquert* classifies them as among the parties most outspoken in favor of equal treatment.
- SSW - Südschleswiger Wählerverband
 - No explicit statement in party manifesto
 - But Statement on the German Constitutional Court’s 2013 ruling by the Minister of Justice Anke Spoorendonk belonging to this party: *„Es gibt keine haltbaren Gründe mehr, homo- und heterosexuelle Paare unterschiedlich zu behandeln und am Ehehindernis der Gleichgeschlechtlichkeit festzuhalten“,* (SSW).“ (There remain no legitimate reasons for maintaining the unequal treatment of homo- and heterosexual couples or for restricting same-sex marriage.

Conservative Parties

- CDU – Christlich Demokratische Union
 - Reaction to German Constitutional Court’s ruling, see for example Stanislaw Tillich, Prime Minister of Saxony and member of this party: “Für mich gibt es einen Unterschied zwischen einer Ehe und einer eingetragenen Partnerschaft. Deshalb sollte man auch steuerpolitisch einen Unterschied wahren”. (For me there is a difference between marriage and a registered partnership. Therefore we should maintain to treat these two institutions differently in terms of taxation.
 - This also derives from the party’s manifesto.
- CSU – Christlich-Soziale Union
 - Horst Seehofer, Prime Minister of Bavaria: „hoffe, dass das Verfassungsgericht die besondere Stellung von Ehe und Familie für die Zukunft einer Gesellschaft würdigt“. (I hope that the Court will appreciate the special position of traditional marriage and family).
 - Similarly, Norbert Geiss (Member of the German parliament) criticized the Court’s ruling declaring differential tax treatment unconstitutional: „Also ich würde eher sagen, das Verfassungsgericht ist auf dem Holzweg. (I believe the Court is wrong about this).
 - Clear opposition to the equal treatment.
- CSB – Christlich-Soziale Bürger
 - Since this party is the result of a secession from the CSU that occurred in the context of regional disputes, we classify them with respect to our topic as conservative.

Unclear Positions

- FDP
 - While the FDP manifesto speaks out against discrimination, it emphasizes the need for information instead of anti-discrimination laws. There is no clear statement in favor of equal treatment in terms of tax or adoption policy.
 - In fact, in 2013, the FDP voted down a bill trying to enforce the FCC's requirements regarding the equal treatment of same-sex couples regarding adoption rights.
 - Consequently, we classify the FDP's position as unclear.
- No_party (parteilos)
 - Candidates without any party affiliation are included in the 'unclear' category.
- BfW – Bürger für Weilheim
- FSM – Freisinger Mitte
- ProRuppin
- UPW/FW – Unabhängige parteifreie Wählergemeinschaft – Freie Wähler
- UW – Unabhängige Wählergemeinschaft
- UWG – Unabhängige Wählergemeinschaft
- UsW – Unabhängige soziale Wählergruppe
 - For all of these parties, no clear position on same-sex marriage could be identified.

A3: Balance Testing

Randomized treatment assignment should ensure that both groups of cities do not systematically vary in ways that could affect their responses. Covariates in table 6 show that this criterion is fulfilled.

Table A1: description of groups after randomization

	cause					
	for equal treatment			against equal		
	n	x	sd	n	x	sd
share of Catholics	164	0.32	0.21	165	0.29	0.21
conservative mayors	164	0.45	0.49	165	0.33	0.47
population density (log)	164	6.25	0.87	165	6.36	0.84

Both groups comprise a similar share of Catholics (32 % vs. 29 %) and a similar logged population density (6.25 vs. 6.36). Yet, we also see that groups comprise a different share of cities with a conservative mayor (45 % vs. 33 %). Consequently, we treat the data as observational data instead of experimental data, which essentially means that we do not simply rely on comparisons of means but instead assess treatment effects and conditional treatment effects through regression analysis that includes additional control variable.

A4: Robustness Check – Regional State/Länder Dummies

Table A2: Regression analysis with additional control variables

	help desk ordered logit 1 OR (se)	extra logistic 2 OR (se)	minimalist logistic 3 OR (se)	help desk ordered logit 4 OR (se)	total ordered 5 OR (se)
H1: treatment effect X	0.14** (0.98)	0.02*** (1.28)			
H2: treatment effect X			7.22** (0.88)	0.43** (0.42)	0.38** (0.41)
treatment (0=against; 1=for)	1.48 (0.37)	3.46*** (0.48)	1.11 (0.41)	1.11 (0.26)	1.11 (0.25)
catholicism	3.31 (0.97)	1.82 (1.23)	1.79 (1.28)	1.08 (0.81)	2.19 (0.78)
conservatism	0.86 (0.22)	7.65 (0.31)	0.19** (0.78)	1.36 (0.31)	2.17*** (0.31)
population density (log)	0.9 (0.14)	0.61*** (0.19)	1.28 (0.21)	0.92 (0.14)	1.41*** (0.13)
Bavaria	1.83 (0.37)	5.48** (0.81)	0.58 (0.57)	1.77 (0.38)	0.76 (0.37)
Brandenbourg	1.35 (0.63)	2.28 (1.06)	0.77 (0.98)	1.87 (0.63)	1.03 (0.6)
Bremen	0.92 (1.65)	0 (2399.5)	1.3 e+08 (3956.1)	0.89 (1.65)	0.22 (1.48)
Hesse	1.64 (0.47)	2.58 (0.94)	0.55 (0.76)	1.63 (0.47)	0.91 (0.45)

Mecklenburg-Vorpommern	5.15** (0.75)	10.1*** (0.8)	0 (1353.6)	4.47** (0.76)	1.14 (0.67)
Lower Saxony	1.62 (0.44)	1.98 (0.9)	0.43 (0.72)	1.63 (0.44)	2.25* (0.42)
North Rhine-Westphalia	2.04 (0.46)	10.8*** (0.8)	0.94 (0.54)	2.02* (0.39)	0.39** (0.38)
Rhineland-Palatinate	0.92* (0.39)	4.28* (0.89)	0.63 (0.69)	0.92 (0.46)	0.45* (0.44)
Saarland	0.88 (0.46)	0 (884.2)	0.67 (1.2)	0.8 (0.72)	0.79 (0.79)
Saxony	2.74* (0.62)	3.58 (1.05)	0 (1122.7)	2.66 (0.62)	2.07 (0.66)
Saxony-Anhalt	1.11 (0.68)	3.11 (1.05)	1.57 (0.91)	0.98 (0.67)	0.46 (0.63)
Schleswig-Holstein	3.53** (0.59)	7.69** (0.97)	2.7 (1.16)	3.13** (0.59)	1.22 (0.57)
constant		1.28 (1.57)	0.05* (1.66)		
observations	329	329	329	329	329
Log Likelihood	-494.57	-153.26	-125.43	-494.67	-650.19

Note: Note: The table displays proportional odds ratios resulting from binary logistic and ordered logit regression analysis. Standard errors are displayed in brackets. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$. Since we treat our data as observational data, we conduct regression analysis and include control variables. In contrast to table 5 in the main text, we also include dummy variables for the individual German states (Länder) to control for potential regional differences. Baden-Wuerttemberg serves as baseline state. While the city of Bremen is excluded, the analysis includes Bremerhaven as a city within the state Bremen.

A5: Additional Analysis: Effects on the Probability to Obtain a Response

In addition to the theorized effects on response quality, we explore potential moderating effects of Catholicism and conservatism on response probability. Here, the dependent variable is the probability to obtain an answer. The analysis is unable to reveal any kind of discriminatory pattern in terms of this probability.

Table A3: Exploring Patterns of Response Probability

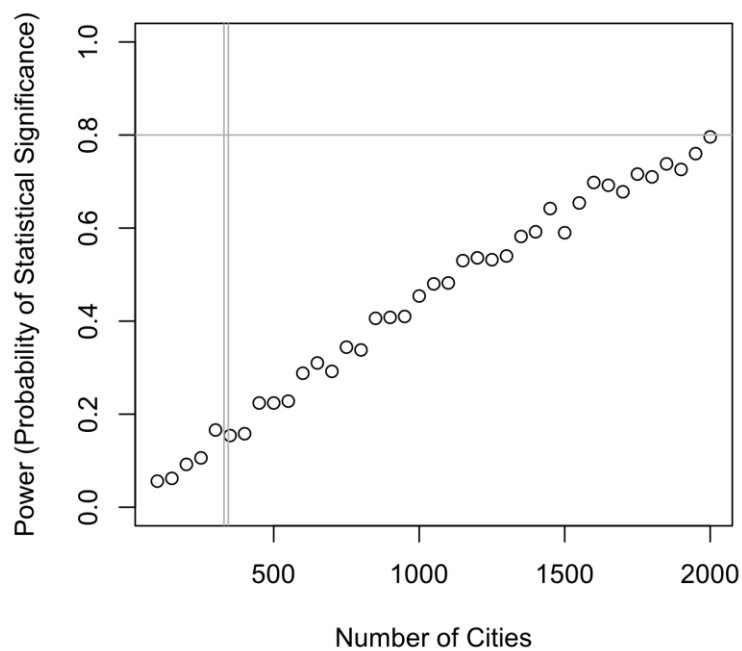
	logistic 1 OR (se)	logistic 2 OR (se)
treatment effect X catholicism	0.23 1.36	
treatment effect X conservatism		0.43
treatment (0=against; 1=for)	1.54 0.49	0.62 1.42
catholicism	4.32 1	0.39 2
conservatism	0.91 0.31	0.69 1.43
population density (log)	1.37* 0.17	0.46 1.41
constant	0.45 1.06	0.17** 0.4
observations	329	329
Log Likelihood	-150.13	-149.77

Note: The table displays odds ratios resulting from binary logistic regression analysis. Standard errors are displayed in brackets. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

A6: Power Calculations

Assuming that an ideal answer would comprise an answer from the help desk that comprised the contact details of the competent administrators (1 point) and forwarded our request to them (1 point) and assuming that the competent authority would then ideally answer all questions, inform us about our rights and offer some sort of meeting or phone call to push the registration process ahead (max. 5 points), it seemed plausible to assume that very good answers would score seven out of a total of max. 12 points in total answer quality. Since extra service cannot be expected, we did not anticipate to obtain additional points here. Moreover, assuming that on average public administrations would score 4 out of these 7 points in total with a standard deviation of this total score of 1.5, while aspiring a power of 0.8, our study group of 329 cities would be much too small to capture a total quality score difference between the two requests of 0.2 (see figure 4).

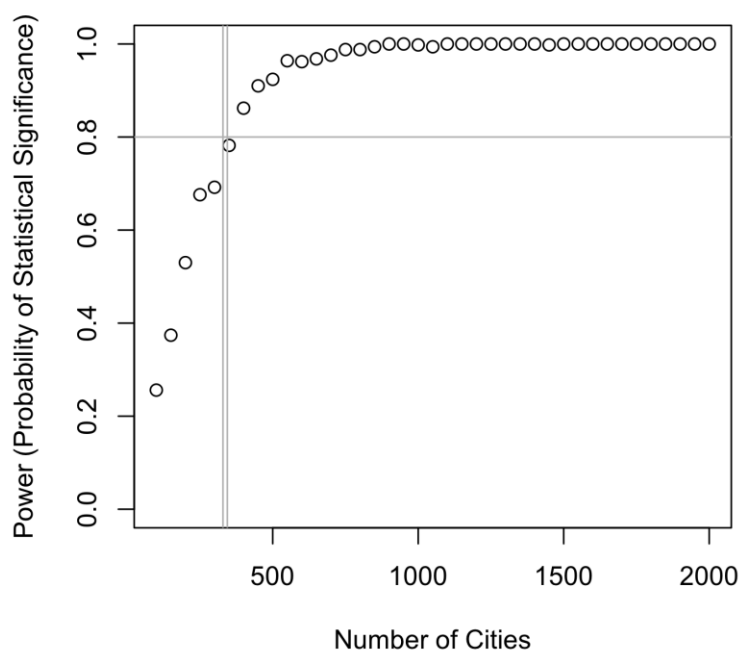
Figure A1: Simulated study group size (for power=0.8; treatment effect 0.2, sd=1.5)



Note: vertical lines at $x=329$ and $x=344$ cities.

Yet, if the treatment effect is rather 0.5 instead of only 0.2, then we should have a reasonable safeguard against false-negative results. (All of this is assuming a significance level of $\alpha = 0.05$ for a two-sided test). We will thus be unlikely to detect any treatment effect < 0.5 . Since this only relates to half a question answered for one group but not for the other group, this seems to be acceptable.

Figure A2: Simulated study group size (for power=0.8; treatment effect 0.5, sd=1.5)



Note: vertical lines at $x=329$ and $x=344$ cities.

This power analysis was conducted based on the material and R code provided by Alexander Coppock at: <https://egap.org/content/power-analysis-simulations-r>. All remaining errors remain our own, however.

A7: Assessment of potential multicollinearity

Table A4: Assessing multicollinearity

	Catholics	Conservative mayor	Population (log)
Catholics	1.0	0.25	−0.01
Conservative mayor		1.0	−0.02
Population (log)			1.0

Table A4 reassures us that multicollinearity between these different regressors is not a problem. While high shares of Catholics correlate with a strong position of sexually conservative parties to some degree, the correlation coefficient is only 0.25. There are enough cities with strong sexually conservative parties in Protestant regions as to be unproblematic for our analysis.