**Methodological Appendix**

Between 2017 and 2018 two of the authors conducted interviews with political actors in Brazil. One interviewer is a native Portuguese speaker, and the other interviewer used an interpreter to assist in the interview process. Interviews were conducted in five states: Bahia, Federal District, Goiás, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo. The intent was to gather data beyond the federal government hub in the Federal District and provide a variety of profiles and their connections to the federal government as well as involvement with the Rousseff administration.

The profile of interviewees varies greatly and includes candidates and elected politicians at all levels of government, activists and members of civil society organizations, cabinet members, bureaucrats inside government institutions (legislative, executive, and judiciary), journalists, and academics We chose respondents who would have deeper knowledge of the president’s time in office and could comment on some of the decisions made from the inner circle such as ministers, advisors, and academics. We also selected respondents who could directly comment on relationships with the legislature, including senators and deputies. Every attempt was made to go beyond analyzing fellow partisans to include opposition and coalition parties. The ultimate sample, to be sure, is nonrepresentative of all the potential views and result from snowballing. Academics were selected to provide a more balanced understanding of the leader and political context. Representatives from think tanks were generally chosen because they could best comment on relationships between the president and various organizations, particularly ones focused on women.

All our interviews were semistructured with open-ended questions that allowed for flexibility when interacting with each respondent. Email interviews included a list of open-ended questions sent to specific respondents.

Questions

Below we provide the questions we developed for the interviews conducted. We did not ask all questions to every respondent but used the questions as guides in each interview. Because respondents came from various backgrounds, some questions were not pertinent to certain interviews. Some interviews were interpreted.

English:

1.Do you think the factor of being a woman was used in the 2010 campaign? And in the 2014 campaign?

2. Do you think gender was used in any way in the 2010 campaign? And in the 2014 campaign?

3. What were the biggest differences between the 2010 and 2014 campaigns?

4.What were the differences regarding the use of gender between the 2010 and 2014 campaigns?

5. What sectors of the population do you think were against impeachment? Which sectors were in favor of impeachment?

6. Since the impeachment in August 2016, do you think sectors of the population have changed their minds about the impeachment?

7. In your opinion, was it a legal impeachment or was it a coup? Please elaborate.

8. Dilma Rousseff said in an interview to the New York Times that there was a misogynist factor in her impeachment. Do you agree or disagree with this statement?

9.What is the legacy of the Dilma government for Brazilian women?

10. What is the legacy of the Dilma government for women involved in politics?

11. Do you use (or did you use) the word *presidente\** or *presidenta\*\** when referring to Dilma Rousseff? Please elaborate.

Note.: In Portuguese, the male\* and female\*\* version of the word president.

12. Thinking about the Dilma government, what did you think of her cabinet appointments?

13. Dilma has appointed more female ministers than any other president. What do you think of this attitude? Do you think this has strengthened, weakened, or had no effect on the governability of the Dilma government?

14. Temer: The Temer government has a very low number of female ministers. What is your opinion about this situation?

15. In your view, how was the relationship between Dilma and the National Congress?

16. Do you think Dilma Rousseff has focused enough on women's issues? Please use specific examples to justify your response.

17. What were some of the political victories that women had during the Dilma government? Which policies in her cabinet do you think have had a positive impact on Brazilian women?

18. What were some of the political defeats women had during the Dilma government? Any specific factors in her ministry can be seen as a defeat for Brazilian women?

19. Do you think Dilma had a specific policy for women in government? Do you think she wanted to leave a legacy for women in the government of the first woman president of Brazil?

Portuguese:

1. Você acha que o fator de ser mulher foi usado na campanha de 2010? E na campanha de 2014?
2. Você acha que gênero foi usado de alguma forma na campanha de 2010? E na campanha de 2014?
3. Quais foram as maiores diferenças entre as campanhas de 2010 e 2014?
4. Quais foram as diferenças em relação ao uso de gênero entre as campanhas de 2010 e 2014?
5. Quais setores da população você acha foram contra o impeachment? Quais setores foram a favor do impeachment?
6. Desde o impeachment em agosto do ano passado, você acha que setores da população mudaram de opinião sobre o impeachment?
7. Na sua opinião, foi um impeachment legal ou foi um golpe? Favor elaborar.
8. Dilma Rousseff disse em uma entrevista com o New York Times que teve um fator misógino no impeachment dela. Você concorda ou discorda com esta declaração?
9. Qual o legado do governo Dilma para as mulheres brasileiras?
10. Qual o legado do governo Dilma para as mulheres envolvidas na política?
11. Você usa (ou usava) presidente ou presidenta ao se referir à Dilma Rousseff? Favor elaborar.
12. Pensando no governo Dilma, o que você achou das nomeações de ministr@s?
13. Dilma nomeou mais mulheres ministras do que qualquer outro presidente. O que você acha desta atitude? Você acha que isso fortaleceu, enfraqueceu, ou não teve efeito na governabilidade do governo Dilma?
14. Temer: O governo Temer tem um numero bem baixo de mulheres ministras. Qual a sua opinião sobre essa situação?
15. Na sua visão, como era a relação entre Dilma e o Congresso Nacional?
16. Você acha que Dilma Rousseff focou o suficiente em questões ligadas a mulher? Favor usar exemplos específicos que justifiquem sua resposta.
17. Quais foram algumas das vitorias politicas que as mulheres tiveram durante o governo Dilma? Quais políticas no seu ministério você acha que tiveram um impacto positivo para as mulheres brasileiras?
18. Quais foram algumas das derrotas politicas que as mulheres tiveram durante o governo Dilma? Algum fator especifico em seu ministério que pode ser visto como uma derrota para as mulheres brasileiras?
19. Você acha que Dilma tinha uma politica especifica para mulheres no governo? Você acha que ela queria deixar um legado para mulheres no governo da primeira mulher presidenta do Brasil?

Respondents:

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Code** | **Gender** | **Profession/Political Position** | **City** | **Interview Date** |
| Respondent 1 | F | High-level bureaucrat | Brasília, DF | 6/29/2017 |
| Respondent 2 | F | Career bureaucrat | Brasília, DF | 6/30/2017 |
| Respondent 3 | F | Career bureaucrat | Brasília, DF | 6/30/2017 |
| Respondent 4 | F | Journalist | Brasília, DF | 7/1/2017 |
| Respondent 5 | M | University Professor | Brasília, DF | 7/3/2017 |
| Respondent 6 | F | Appointed bureaucrat | Brasília, DF | 7/4/2017 |
| Respondent 7 | F | Career bureaucrat | Brasília, DF | 7/4/2017 |
| Respondent 8 | F | Human rights specialist | Brasília, DF | 7/5/2017 |
| Respondent 9 | M | Journalist | Brasília, DF | 7/9/2017 |
| Respondent 10 | F | Career bureaucrat | Brasília, DF | 7/10/2017 |
| Respondent 11 | M | Career bureaucrat | Brasília, DF | 7/10/2017 |
| Respondent 12 | F | Career bureaucrat | Brasília, DF | 7/10/2017 |
| Respondent 13 | F | Senator and former cabinet member | Brasília, DF | 7/11/2017 |
| Respondent 14 | F | Career bureaucrat | Brasília, DF | 7/12/2017 |
| Respondent 15 | F | Researcher and former bureaucrat | Brasília, DF | 7/12/2017 |
| Respondent 16 | F | Lawyer and researcher | Brasília, DF | 7/12/2017 |
| Respondent 17 | F | Political Scientist and former bureaucrat | Brasília, DF | 7/12/2017 |
| Respondent 18 | F | Lawyer and former bureaucrat | Brasília, DF | 7/12/2017 |
| Respondent 19 | F | Professor and career bureaucrat | Brasília, DF | 7/13/2017 |
| Respondent 20 | F | Deputy Attorney General | Brasília, DF | 7/13/2017 |
| Respondent 21 | F | Local appointed leader | Goiânia, GO | 7/17/2017 |
| Respondent 22 | M | Former federal appointed leader | Goiânia, GO | 7/18/2017 |
| Respondent 23 | F | Professor and NGO leader | Goiânia, GO | 7/18/2017 |
| Respondent 24 | F | Former Federal Deputy | Goiânia, GO | 7/18/2017 |
| Respondent 25 | F | Activist and NGO leader | Goiânia, GO | 7/19/2017 |
| Respondent 26 | M | State Assembly Member | Goiânia, GO | 7/19/2017 |
| Respondent 27 | F | Doctor and former appointed political leader | Goiânia, GO | 7/21/2017 |
| Respondent 28 | F | Human Rights Activist | Goiânia, GO | 7/21/2017 |
| Respondent 29 | F | Journalist | São Paulo, SP | 7/24/2017 |
| Respondent 30 | F | Journalist, activist, and NGO leader | São Paulo, SP | 7/24/2017 |
| Respondent 31 | M | Journalist | São Paulo, SP | 7/24/2017 |
| Respondent 32 | F | Women's Rights Activist | São Paulo, SP | 7/25/2017 |
| Respondent 33 | F | Professor and think tank member | São Paulo, SP | 7/26/2017 |
| Respondent 34 | F | Former appointed political leader (federal level) | São Paulo, SP | 7/26/2017 |
| Respondent 35 | F | Professor and UN Women worker | Brasília, DF | 7/27/2017 |
| Respondent 36 | F | Former appointed political leader (federal level) | Brasília, DF | 7/27/2017 |
| Respondent 37 | F | Activist and former appointed political leader (federal level) | Brasília, DF | 7/28/2017 |
| Respondent 38 | F | Activist and career bureaucrat | Brasília, DF | 7/29/2017 |
| Respondent 39 | F | Political Science Professor | Email | 7/5/2018 |
| Respondent 40 | F | Economics Professor and previously appointed political leader (federal level) | Rio de Janeiro, RJ | 7/11/2018 |
| Respondent 41 | F | Party leader | Salvador, BA | 07/13/2018 |
| Respondent 42 | F | Sociology Professor | Salvador, BA | 07/13/2018 |
| Respondent 43 | F | Political Science Professor | Rio de Janeiro, RJ | 07/13/2018 |
| Respondent 44 | F | Feminist Activist | Rio de Janeiro, RJ | 07/13/2018 |
| Respondent 45 | F | Former appointed political leader (federal level) | Rio de Janeiro, RJ | 7/13/2018 |
| Respondent 46 | F | Activist and NGO leader | Feira de Santana, BA | 07/14/2018 |
| Respondent 47 | F | State Assembly Member | Feira de Santana, BA | 07/14/2018 |
| Respondent 48 | F | Activist and NGO leader | Salvador, BA | 07/16/2018 |
| Respondent 49 | F | Former councilwoman and LGBTQ activist | Salvador, BA | 07/16/2018 |
| Respondent 50 | F | Gender Studies Professor | Salvador, BA | 07/16/2018 |
| Respondent 51 | F | Councilwoman | Salvador, BA | 07/16/2018 |
| Respondent 52 | F | Black Movement activist and NGO leader | Salvador, BA | 07/17/2018 |
| Respondent 53 | F | Federal Deputy | Salvador, BA | 07/17/2018 |
| Respondent 54 | F | Appointed political leader (state level) | Salvador, BA | 07/17/2018 |
| Respondent 55 | F | Gender Studies Professor | Salvador, BA | 07/17/2018 |
| Respondent 56 | F | Activist and NGO leader | Salvador, BA | 07/17/2018 |
| Respondent 57 | F | Councilwoman | Salvador, BA | 07/17/2018 |
| Respondent 58 | F | Senator | Salvador, BA | 07/18/2018 |
| Respondent 59 | F | Appointed political leader (state level) | Salvador, BA | 07/18/2018 |
| Respondent 60 | F | Appointed political leader (state level) | Salvador, BA | 07/18/2018 |
| Respondent 61 | F | Councilwoman | Salvador, BA | 07/18/2018 |
| Respondent 62 | F | Activist and NGO leader | Salvador, BA | 07/19/2018 |
| Respondent 63 | F | Appointed political leader (state level) | Salvador, BA | 07/19/2018 |
| Respondent 64 | F | Gender Studies Professor | Salvador, BA | 07/19/2018 |
| Respondent 65 | F | Culture and Society Professor | Salvador, BA | 07/19/2018 |
| Respondent 66 | F | Activist | Salvador, BA | 07/19/2018 |
| Respondent 67 | F | Councilwoman | Salvador, BA | 07/19/2018 |
| Respondent 68 | F | Former councilwoman and former appointed political leader (state level) | Salvador, BA | 07/19/2018 |
| Respondent 69 | F | Gender Studies Professor | Salvador, BA | 07/20/2018 |
| Respondent 70 | F | Women's Rights Activist and party member | Rio de Janeiro, RJ | 07/20/2018 |
| Respondent 71 | F | Economics Professor and former appointed political leader (federal level) | Rio de Janeiro, RJ | 07/20/2018 |
| Respondent 72 | F | Activist and NGO leader | Rio de Janeiro, RJ | 07/23/2018 |
| Respondent 73 | F | Activist and researcher | Rio de Janeiro, RJ | 07/23/2018 |
| Respondent 74 | F | Lawyer and NGO leader | Rio de Janeiro, RJ | 07/24/2018 |
| Respondent 75 | F | Appointed political leader (state level) | Rio de Janeiro, RJ | 07/24/2018 |
| Respondent 76 | F | Appointed political leader (state level) | Rio de Janeiro, RJ | 07/24/2018 |
| Respondent 77 | F | Activist and NGO leader | Rio de Janeiro, RJ | 07/24/2018 |
| Respondent 78 | F | Federal Deputy | Rio de Janeiro, RJ | 07/24/2018 |
| Respondent 79 | F | Former appointed political leader (federal level) | Rio de Janeiro, RJ | 07/24/2018 |
| Respondent 80 | F | Appointed political leader (state level) | Rio de Janeiro, RJ | 07/25/2018 |
| Respondent 81 | M | Publicist and media personality | Rio de Janeiro, RJ | 07/25/2018 |
| Respondent 82 | F | Activist and researcher | Rio de Janeiro, RJ | 07/25/2018 |
| Respondent 83 | F | Party leader (state level) | Rio de Janeiro, RJ | 07/26/2018 |
| Respondent 84 | F | Appointed political leader (state level) | Rio de Janeiro, RJ | 07/26/2018 |
| Respondent 85 | F | Activist and NGO leader | Rio de Janeiro, RJ | 07/30/2018 |
| Respondent 86 | F | Federal Deputy | Rio de Janeiro, RJ | 07/30/2018 |
| Respondent 87 | F | Professor and politician | Rio de Janeiro, RJ | 07/30/2018 |
| Respondent 88 | F | Career bureaucrat | Rio de Janeiro, RJ | 07/31/2018 |
| Respondent 89 | F | Former appointed political leader (municipal level) | Rio de Janeiro, RJ | 07/31/2018 |
| Respondent 90 | F | Philosophy Professor | Rio de Janeiro, RJ | 8/2/2018 |