

Ideology on Trial. Attitudes toward Sexual Politics among Latin American Legislators

La ideología en tela de juicio. Actitudes
de los legisladores latinoamericanos
frente a la política sexual

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Abstract

This paper examines Latin American legislators' attitudes toward sexuality politics. Utilizing comprehensive PELA-USAL survey data collected from 17 countries, the analysis focuses on three critical dimensions: gender equality, reproductive rights, and LGBT+ issues. The findings reveal that left-right ideological divisions remain the primary drivers of support for gender equality and reproductive rights policies, with state-market preferences playing a secondary but noteworthy role. Religion proves to be a significant factor, as Evangelicals consistently oppose such measures, while Catholic legislators exhibit a broader and more varied ideological range. Female legislators emerge as key and prominent advocates for these causes, and younger cohorts show stronger support for LGBT+ rights, clearly reflecting generational shifts in perspectives. By analyzing the interplay of cultural, economic, and ideological influences, this study sheds valuable light on the hybrid nature of sexuality politics, which transcends traditional ideological boundaries and redefines political discourse in Latin America.

Keywords: Gender politics, Latin America, Ideology, Religion, LGBT+.

Resumen

Este artículo examina las actitudes de los legisladores latinoamericanos hacia las políticas de sexualidad. Basándose en datos de la encuesta PELA-USAL de 17 países, el análisis se centra en tres dimensiones clave: igualdad de género, derechos reproductivos y cuestiones LGBT+. Los resultados revelan que las divisiones ideológicas entre izquierda y derecha siguen siendo los principales impulsores del apoyo a políticas que promueven la igualdad de género y los derechos reproductivos, mientras que las preferencias entre estado y mercado juegan un papel secundario. La religión emerge como una variable decisiva, ya que los legisladores evangélicos se oponen de manera consistente a dichas medidas, mientras que los legisladores católicos exhiben un espectro ideológico más amplio. Las legisladoras mujeres destacan como defensoras prominentes de estas causas, mientras que los legisladores más jóvenes muestran un mayor apoyo a los derechos LGBT+, lo que indica un cambio generacional en las actitudes. Al analizar la interacción de fuerzas culturales, económicas e ideológicas, este estudio ilumina la naturaleza híbrida de las políticas de sexualidad, que trascienden las divisiones ideológicas tradicionales y redefinen los contornos del discurso político en América Latina.

Palabras clave: Política de género, América Latina, Ideología, Religión, LGBTB+.

Declarations of interest

The authors declare no conflict of interest concerning the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Introduction

Sexuality politics has emerged as a pivotal electoral issue in Latin America, displacing traditional material concerns and emphasizing religion's influence on political discourse. This shift represents a significant political cleavage (Smith & Boas, 2024). Discussions surrounding gender equality, LGBT+ rights, and reproductive autonomy are reshaping the political landscape and its underlying dynamics (Davis & Greenstein, 2009; Paternotte & Kuhar, 2018; Ruiz et al., 2017). Understanding these issues requires an approach that considers the region's unique ideological context.

Unlike Western Europe, where political discourse balances economic and socio-cultural axes (Dalton, 2018; Kitschelt, 1994; Kriesi et al., 2008), Latin American politics has historically centered on economic issues (Martínez-Gallardo et al., 2022). However, the rise of sexuality politics introduces a new divide, complicating the traditional left-right spectrum and fostering diverse, pragmatic alliances. These issues are crucial, as opposition to reproductive rights drives a global anti-gender movement (Hamlin, 2021; Rawłuszko, 2021) that frames supportive measures as "gender ideology" using concepts from gender theory (Butler, 2019; Corredor, 2019; Faúndes, 2019; Gwiazda, 2023; Kováts & Pöim, 2015; Molyneux, 2000; Okeke-Ihejirika & Franceschet, 2002; Ruiz et al., 2017).

The Latin American context adds unique complexities to this divide. On one side, the rise of Pentecostalism and Neo-Pentecostalism merges social conservatism with neoliberal economic views, crafting a discourse rooted in religious principles. On the other side, the ideological left—traditionally focused on socioeconomic issues—has exhibited ambivalence toward sexuality politics, limiting its capacity to fully champion progressive stances (Hamlin, 2021; Miskolci & Campana, 2017).

While research has examined how sexuality politics influences public opinion on religion and gender attitudes (Adamczyk & Liao, 2019; Ayoub & Garretson, 2017; Corrales & Sagarzazu, 2019; Kováts, 2017; Losiggio, 2021; Miskolci, 2019; Raupp Rios et al., 2022; Smith & Boas, 2024), there is a notable gap in the comparative analysis of political elites' views on sexuality issues. Elites play a key

role in shaping discourse on abortion, same-sex marriage, and gender education, which, in turn, affects electoral realignments and ideological divides (Harbers et al., 2013; Morgan & Buice, 2013). They also influence public norms on gender equality and the political environment for women (Alexander, 2012; O'Brien & Piscopo, 2018). Addressing this gap is essential to understanding how elites frame debates on sexuality, especially given the polarizing nature of these issues.

This paper argues that a single ideological axis cannot explain Latin American legislators' positions on sexuality politics¹. Rather, these positions are multidimensional, shaped by the interplay of state intervention preferences and the ideological left-right spectrum². Religion is explored as a moderating variable, highlighting its conditional influence on culturally sensitive issues. Evidence suggests that sexuality politics in Latin America reflect hybrid configurations that combine material realities –such as socioeconomic conditions, legal frameworks, and access to rights like equal marriage and reproductive autonomy– with symbolic factors, including cultural norms, religious beliefs, and narratives about gender and sexuality (Corrales & Pecheny, 2010; Harbers et al., 2013; Kováts & Póim, 2015; Márquez Romo & Montaña Reyes, 2023; Ruiz et al., 2017; Zavala-Pelayo, 2019).

Analyzing political elites' attitudes toward gender issues underscores the complexity of factors influencing their engagement in Latin America. These findings challenge the notion that attitudes toward sexuality politics align neatly along ideological lines, highlighting a complex interplay of influences beyond traditional divisions. Factors such as religious affiliation, gender, age, and education further complicate how gender issues are framed, particularly when analyzed alongside left-right and state-market dimensions.

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2 The left-right dimension, rooted in cultural issues, and the state-market dimension, focused on economic positions, are foundational concepts in Political Science (Kitschelt, 1994; Lipset & Rokkan, 1967). Scholars such as Kriesi et al. (2006) and Beramendi et al. (2015) have shown that emerging cultural cleavages in the 21st century align closely with the left-right axis. Bornschieer (2010), however, stressed the importance of distinguishing these dimensions due to their divergent meanings, especially within the Latin American context (Hawkins et al., 2010). The alignment of postmaterialist values with the left-right political division, contrasted with state-market economic stances, has been extensively discussed in the literature (Inglehart, 1977, 1985, 1990, 1997; Inglehart & Flanagan, 1987). This perspective builds on earlier work by Downs (1957). While there is some overlap, particularly regarding democratic preferences (Dahl, 1971), each dimension retains its distinct logic and analytical focus.

The article is structured as follows: The introduction situates the study within Latin American politics, emphasizing the intersection of sexuality politics with ideology, economy, and religion. Sections 2-4 present the theoretical framework, examining the Catholic Church's role in shaping gender ideologies, ideological contradictions, and predictors of sexuality politics, focusing on gender equality, reproductive rights, and sexual orientation. The Data and Methods section outlines the PELA-USAL survey methodology, and the results section reveals ideological and cultural tensions shaped by left-right and state-market divisions. Finally, the conclusion explores potential shifts in ideological alignments and underscores the importance of deepening our understanding of sexuality politics in the Latin American context.

From Pulpit to Politics: The Catholic Church and the Discourse of Gender Ideology

The politicization of gender-related issues has been heavily influenced by feminist movements, particularly during the United Nations Conferences on Population and Development in Cairo (1994) and Beijing (1995) (Corredor, 2019; Faúndes, 2019; Kuhar & Patternote, 2017). These conferences were instrumental in shaping the discourse surrounding sexuality and reproductive rights, alongside the Catholic Church's significant role in influencing public debates on gender issues. Mary Anne Case (2016, p. 27) argues that "gender ideology" reflects the Vatican's theological anthropology centered on sexual complementarity, which underpins its opposition to same-sex marriage and its resistance to secular policies it deems contradictory to its teachings.

The Catholic Church has formalized its doctrinal positions on abortion, homosexuality, and the ordination of women through a series of authoritative documents. The encyclical letter *Humanae Vitae*, issued by Pope Paul VI in 1968, firmly established the Church's opposition to abortion. The document states:

Therefore We base Our words on the first principles of a human and Christian doctrine of marriage when We are obliged once more to declare that the direct interruption of the generative process already begun and, above all, all direct abortion, even for therapeutic reasons, are to be absolutely excluded as lawful

means of regulating the number of children. (14) Equally to be condemned, as the magisterium of the Church has affirmed on many occasions, is direct sterilization, whether of the man or of the woman, whether permanent or temporary (Pope Paul VI, 1968).

Further emphasizing moral principles, the Charter on the Pastoral Care of Homosexual Persons, published on October 10, 1986, addressed the Church's perspective on homosexuality. It noted:

Explicit treatment of the problem was given in this Congregation's "Declaration on Certain Questions Concerning Sexual Ethics" of December 29, 1975. That document stressed the duty of trying to understand the homosexual condition and noted that culpability for homosexual acts should only be judged with prudence. At the same time the Congregation took note of the distinction commonly drawn between the homosexual condition or tendency and individual homosexual actions. These were described as deprived of their essential and indispensable finality, as being "intrinsically disordered," and able in no case to be approved of (Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, 1986).

Additionally, the Declaration on the Question of the Admission of Women to the Ministerial Priesthood - *Inter Insigniores*, dated October 15, 1976, articulates the Church's rationale for not admitting women to priestly ordination. The Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith explains:

The Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith deems it necessary to recall that the Church, in fidelity to the example of the Lord, does not consider herself authorized to admit women to priestly ordination. The Sacred Congregation considers it opportune, at the present juncture, to explain this position of the Church, which may cause pain, but whose positive value will be manifested in the long run, since it can help to deepen the understanding of the respective roles of men and women (Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, 1976).

The Catholic Church's opposition to abortion, homosexuality, and gender equality constitutes a cornerstone of its stance against "gender ideology," aligning it with contemporary neoconservative ideals. The 1986 Report on Faith (Ratzinger & Messori, 1986) portrayed gender as a threat to human anthropology, framing gender-related issues as ideological challenges to the natural order. In 2003, Cardinal Alfonso López Trujillo of the Pontifical Council for the Family denounced "gender ideology" as a moral danger, arguing that it undermines natural law and divine order by promoting new rights.

Pope Francis has upheld traditional Catholic doctrine while adopting a more flexible tone on social issues. At a symposium in March 2024, he condemned "gender ideology" as a threat to human distinctions, emphasizing the "fruitful tension" between men and women in Christian anthropology (Pope Francis, 2024). However, the Congregation for Catholic Education (2019) clarified that not all discussions on gender should be labeled as "gender ideology." The focus remains on adherence to natural law and established sexual identity while rejecting groups that advocate for reproductive rights and challenge traditional views on gender and sexuality.

The Latin American Political Scenario: Ideological Misalignments or a Different Political Scheme? The social conservative left

The ideological landscape in Latin America presents a paradox: neoliberal and anti-democratic governments have, at times, advanced gender policies, while left-wing Pink Tide governments have occasionally been reactive, leaving a mixed legacy for gender equality (Blofield et al., 2017). This challenges the assumption that progress in gender rights is exclusively linked to progressive movements, as such advancements can also emerge from seemingly contradictory ideological frameworks (Htun, 2003; Encarnación, 2016).

Gender ideology has become a central topic for notable Latin American leaders such as Guido Manini Ríos, Nayib Bukele, Jair Bolsonaro, and Colombian Uribeismo. Progressive gender advancements are frequently hindered or outright rejected by left-leaning governments. Leaders like Andrés Manuel López Obrador exhibit ambiguity on the issue, while Rafael Correa and Evo Morales oscillate between progressive and conservative stances. More extreme cases include Daniel Ortega and Nicolás Maduro, who strongly oppose gender policies, criminalize abortion, revoke legal recognition for pro-LGBT+ organizations, and deploy security forces to suppress feminist demonstrations.

Historically, Latin American leftist politics have uniquely intertwined gender and sexuality issues (Friedman, 2019). The populist left prioritizes redistribution while accommodating the conservative views of low-income voters (González

Ferrer & Queirolo Velasco, 2013; Lynch, 2007; Remmer, 2012; Roberts, 2002). This diverges from European leftist movements, which are more uniformly aligned with progressive social values. Movements like Argentine Peronismo and Venezuelan Chavismo combine economic egalitarianism with traditional social values, creating distinct regional ideological identities. The intersection of class politics and cultural conservatism informs a leftist approach that reflects a unique political framework rather than ideological misalignment.

Chavarria-Mora et al. (2024) explore this phenomenon, highlighting the significant ideological diversity among leftist legislators on moral issues like abortion and same-sex marriage, despite their economic views dominating alignment. This diversity underscores the hybrid nature of leftist movements, shaped by a legacy of male leadership that has often reinforced heteronormativity and, at times, homophobia. Corrales and Pecheny (2010) argue that leftist movements can mirror right-wing reactions to sexuality. While some leftist parties now cautiously support minority rights, these efforts often conflict with their broader ideological objectives (Ayoub & Stoeckl, 2024; Wilson & Gianella-Malca, 2019). Furthermore, the New Christian Right's alliance with Latin American evangelicals reshapes sexuality politics. Pentecostal movements influence public opinion, forge ties with populist leaders, and merge conservative cultural values with economic agendas, challenging traditional leftist norms.

In contrast to Europe –where anti-gender movements align with far-right populist parties, such as Rassemblement National in France, Vox in Spain, or AfD in Germany, alongside the Catholic Church (Bitzan et al., 2017; Kuhar & Patternote, 2017; Paternotte & Kuhar, 2018)–, Latin America's positions are shaped by diverse, context-specific alliances. This suggests that the conservatism-liberalism framework better explains the region's socio-political landscape than the traditional left-right spectrum, given the fragmentation of the latter (Bárcenas Barajas, 2022). Consequently, Latin American left-wing governments cannot be assumed to be progressive on social issues, as the blend of economic populism, social conservatism, and religious influence creates a complex dynamic that defies traditional categorizations often applied in other global contexts.

Gender Politics: Components and Predictors

Scholars have analyzed sexuality politics from various perspectives. Critical discourse analysis explores rhetorical strategies in politicized concepts (Schmidt, 2011; Vaggione, 2022). Genealogical studies examine the historical origins of the term "gender ideology" (Lage Carbone, 2024; Miskolci, 2019; Miskolci & Campana, 2017; Waylen, 2014). The programmatic approach focuses on public policy and how leaders and citizens interpret these discourses (Dada et al., 2021; Kováts, 2018, 2020, 2021; Lavizzari & Pirro, 2024). Finally, militancy critiques conservative figures such as Jorge Scala (Butler, 2019; Miskolci & Campana, 2017; Scala, 2010) and Agustín Laje (Márquez & Laje, 2016), alongside critical gender studies and theorists advocating for feminist and LGBT+ rights, such as Nancy Fraser, Paul B. Preciado, Silvia Federici, and Raewyn Connell.

This paper aims to address sexuality politics as an emerging cleavage while avoiding overly theoretical debates. Rather than engaging in discussions about whether "anti-gender discourses" function as a unifying force for a new political identity or as a flexible and adaptable concept—as proposed by Kováts & Póim (2015) and Kuhar & Patternote (2017)—we adopt a broader perspective. We approach sexuality politics as a general phenomenon encompassing both advocates and critics.

Components of Sexual Politics

Sexuality politics in Latin America revolves around three primary axes (Pecheny et al., 2016; Ritholtz & Mesquita, 2023; Smith & Boas, 2024): gender equality (Mezey, 2020), reproductive rights—particularly abortion (Ronconi, 2024; Zaremborg & Rezende de Almeida, 2022), and the recognition of diverse identities and sexual orientations (Corrales & Kiryk, 2022; Corrales & Sagarzazu, 2019).

These themes are central to both pro-gender and anti-gender movements, playing a key role in the study of sexuality politics and broader ideological polarization (Sarsfield et al., 2024). Analyzing the controversies within these themes is essential for understanding global political dynamics, particularly in the Latin American context.

Attitudes toward gender equality vary significantly across dimensions. David and Greenstein (2009) highlight key areas such as family roles, workforce participation, and views on male privilege. In the political sphere, Alexander et al. (2023) identify three critical factors: commitment to egalitarianism, recognition of ongoing inequalities, and support for equity-promoting policies. The debate on gender equality underscores the importance of gender quotas, which Htun and Piscopo (2014) argue have enhanced women's political representation in Latin America. However, issues like political harassment and sexist practices persist, undermining the quotas' effectiveness. Beyond addressing representation gaps, quotas also promote the importance of women's equitable participation in politics.

LGBT+ rights and abortion are highly polarizing issues at the heart of discussions on sexual equality. Cultural and religious divides heavily influence attitudes toward these topics, with more religious legislators often adopting conservative views on abortion and divorce (Rosas, 2010). Furthermore, Corrales (2015a, 2015b) highlights how conservative religious opposition hampers cultural acceptance, even in countries that have achieved legislative advancements, such as Brazil. These dynamics expose internal divisions within sexuality politics, which shape both societal norms and political discourse.

Predictors of Attitudes toward Sexuality Politics among Politicians

Gender Equality

Legislators' approaches to gender equality vary based on personal backgrounds, ideologies, and institutional contexts. Female legislators generally support gender quotas to address disparities in political representation (Bohigues & Piscopo, 2021). Left-leaning legislators perceive gender inequality as a systemic issue requiring structural solutions (Beall & Barnes, 2020), while conservative legislators often view quotas as unnecessary, attributing disparities to individual choices rather than societal factors.

Research consistently shows that female legislators are more likely than their male counterparts to advocate for women's rights, though their focus often varies by policy domain (Taylor-Robinson & Heath, 2003). For example, policies promoting workplace equality tend to garner broader support compared to those addressing family roles. Morgan and Buice (2013) argue that support for gender-equitable policies aligns with democratic principles of fairness and inclusion.

However, entrenched patriarchal norms in political institutions continue to hinder progress, illustrating the challenges of translating ideological support into tangible policy outcomes.

Reproductive Rights/Abortion

Reproductive rights, particularly abortion policy, lie at the center of some of the most contentious ideological and cultural debates in Latin America. Conservative legislators, especially those aligned with evangelical and Pentecostal movements, frequently oppose expanding abortion rights. They frame their resistance through moral and cultural narratives that align with broader right-wing concerns about preserving traditional values and societal cohesion (Rosas, 2010).

In contrast, progressive legislators advocate for reproductive rights as essential for public health and personal autonomy. Younger lawmakers often situate abortion access within broader discussions of gender equality and human rights. However, divisions persist within leftist coalitions, as some prioritize other issues, reflecting the complexity of the debate influenced by generational, cultural, and educational factors (Chavarría Mora et al., 2024).

Despite growing public support for abortion rights, legislative progress remains hindered by institutional resistance and conservative movements framing abortion as a moral threat. Evangelical and Pentecostal groups further polarize the issue by linking it to anti-gender rhetoric (Smith & Boas, 2024). However, reframing abortion as a public health issue is gradually shifting the narrative, creating opportunities for incremental policy advancements amid political polarization.

Sexual Orientations

Legislators' views on LGBT+ rights, including same-sex marriage, are deeply polarized. Conservative religious groups, primarily from evangelical and Catholic backgrounds, oppose these rights by emphasizing the preservation of cultural values and traditional family structures (Corrales, 2015a). This resistance reinforces barriers to change within political institutions and broader society.

Progressive legislators and younger generations increasingly advocate for LGBT+ rights as integral to equality and social justice. While left-leaning parties are incorporating these issues into their platforms, their support remains inconsistent due to competing political priorities (Corrales & Pecheny, 2010).

Nonetheless, public attitudes are evolving, with greater acceptance of LGBT+ rights fueled by generational shifts and global equality movements (Adamczyk & Liao, 2019; Ayoub & Stoeckl, 2024; Roberts, 2019).

Despite these advancements, challenges persist as conservative groups frame LGBT+ rights as societal threats, hindering legislative progress. However, grassroots advocacy and judicial rulings continue to drive change and expand protections. Political leadership remains critical in fostering acceptance and enabling meaningful policy reforms.

Left-Right Positions as Predictors of Sexuality Politics in Latin America: The Role of the State and the Market

State-market dynamics and sexuality politics in Latin America reveal significant ideological divides. Unlike in Europe and the U.S., where sexual and reproductive rights are integral to progressive dialogue, Latin America intertwines these issues with economic and religious factors. This creates a complex struggle between state intervention and market forces over gender and morality narratives. Evangelical fundamentalism and the conservative right oppose state-driven gender policies and LGBT+ rights, framing them as socialist impositions that threaten family values. In contrast, the far right in Europe criticizes global markets and neoliberalism for promoting gender ideology, arguing that they undermine traditional values.

The Latin American right has weaponized the concept of "cultural Marxism" to associate gender policies with globalism and socialism, portraying them as threats to sovereignty and traditional values (Mirrlees, 2018). For example, Jair Bolsonaro's 2018 campaign linked homosexuality and cultural Marxism to moral decay (Trajber Waisbich, 2024). Meanwhile, the European far right critiques neoliberalism by associating gender ideology with global capitalism's commodification, claiming it erodes societal morals and traditional values by commercializing progressive ideas across industries (Bitzan et al., 2017).

In Latin America, the relationship between market dynamics and sexuality politics reflects a markedly different correlation. Conservative movements support neoliberal economics while opposing state intervention, viewing the state as morally compromised. Evangelical groups reject state-driven gender policies, claiming to defend divine order and framing the state as a promoter of foreign ideologies. This has fostered alliances with Catholic groups, forming a neoconservative coalition that merges family values with neoliberal principles.

Feminist movements and leftist parties in Latin America have faced challenges with sexual and reproductive policies, often prioritizing economic issues over gender during the “Pink Tide,” which limited progress (Okeke-Ihejirika & Franceschet, 2002; Blofield et al., 2017; Friedman, 2019). Economic concerns frequently overshadow cultural debates, complicating analysis (Benoit & Laver, 2006; Martínez-Gallardo et al., 2022; Wiesehomeier & Doyle, 2012). The literature highlights the influence of traditional ideologies, culture, and religion on sexuality politics, exposing tensions between progressivism and conservatism shaped by factors such as religiosity and education.

Given these dynamics, it is essential to evaluate gender and sexual diversity through a broader perspective that transcends economic or ideological frameworks. This study proposes the following hypotheses for further examination:

- **H1:** Latin American legislators' preferences on sexuality politics (gender equality, reproductive rights, and sexual orientations) are shaped by the interplay of left-right and state-market positions.
- **H2:** Latin American legislators' preferences on sexuality politics (gender equality, reproductive rights, and sexual orientations) are influenced by their religiosity, particularly among Evangelicals and Pentecostals.

Data and Methods

Data

Our analysis draws on data from the Survey of Latin American Elites (PELA-USAL, 2024), a pioneering project from the University of Salamanca that examines parliamentary elites across the region. Since 1994, PELA-USAL has conducted regular surveys of legislators from 18 Latin American countries using a standardized questionnaire tailored to local contexts. This approach has produced a unique, comparative database that reflects the partisan composition of each parliament, highlighting ideological and programmatic similarities and differences among legislators.

Dependent variables

This study employs quantitative analysis to evaluate Latin American legislators' attitudes toward sexuality policy. We analyze five variables to capture the three key

dimensions of sexuality politics: three variables for gender equality (egalitarian attitudes, support for gender quotas in politics, and views on traditional gender roles) and another two variables for reproductive rights (acceptance of abortion) and sexual orientations (acceptance of same-sex marriage). Each variable is constructed as an index, synthesizing multiple questionnaire items (see Table 1).

First, we analyzed attitudes toward gender equality utilizing 19 survey questions grouped into three categories³: *gender equality* (support for gender parity), *gender quotas* (views on affirmative action), and *gender roles* (perceptions of stereotypes and leadership). We reverse scales when needed and exclude those questions with data limitations.

All three gender attitude indexes show good reliability. The first index's Cronbach's alpha improved from 0.65 to 0.72 upon removing variable (1), indicating better internal consistency. The second index on gender quotas had an alpha of 0.85, reflecting high internal consistency in evaluating female representation in parliament. The third index on political gender roles had an alpha of 0.80, indicating good internal consistency as well. Both subsets favored traditional views, leading to a scale inversion in further analyses to evaluate attitudes toward equality. The questions were prefaced with: "*People have different opinions regarding political and social issues. Please tell me, to what extent do you strongly agree (5), agree (4), neither agree nor disagree (3), disagree (2), or strongly disagree (1) with each of the following statements:*"

3 We excluded questions (13) and (14) from the analysis due to their small sample sizes, which included only 408 and 248 cases, respectively. Variable (2) was reversed as it measured the opposite of its group, ensuring consistency in the analysis. Additionally, variable (1), which states, "*If the woman earns more than the man, she will almost certainly have problems in the household,*" was excluded because of its ambiguity and its focus on personal gender dynamics. This question differed significantly from the others, which assessed perceptions of gender-based competencies in political and professional contexts. While the remaining statements evaluated beliefs about leadership ability and merit, question (1) centered on individual issues, highlighting a thematic dissonance that justified its exclusion.

Table 1. Views on issues related to gender

	Var	Label	Range	Obs.	Mean
Gender equality	(1)	If the woman earns more than the man, it is almost certain that she will have problems in the household	1-5	1977	2.537
	(2)	Electoral parity (50/50) contributes to a better democracy (reversed).	1-5	1308	4.122
	(3)	When women demand equality these days, they are looking for favored treatments.	1-5	1973	1.848
	(4)	Quotas encourage under-qualified women to enter Parliament.	1-5	899	2.689
	(5)	In general, men have better managerial skills than women in companies.	1-5	1969	1.491
	(6)	In general, men are better political leaders than women.	1-5	1134	1.674
	(7)	When employment is scarce, men should have priority over women in access to 10 jobs.	1-5	1124	1.442
	(8)	A college education is more important for a boy than for a girl.	1-5	1124	1.268
Gender quotas	(9)	Quotas needed to increase the number of women in parliament.	1-5	1978	3.793
	(10)	Party lists must be composed of half men and half women, in alternating order.	1-5	1304	3.974
	(11)	Effective sanctions should be applied to those parties that do not comply with the established gender quotas, declaring the lists null and void.	1-5	1303	4.177
	(12)	Financial penalties should be applied to parties that fail to comply with gender quotas	1-5	1053	4.027
	(13)	Effective mechanisms must be implemented to ensure compliance with gender quotas such as position and alternation mandates.	1-5	408	4.123
	(14)	Regulations should be made to facilitate the effective implementation of gender quotas.	1-5	248	4.222
Gender roles	(15)	A man is more capable of managing a country's national economy than a woman.	1-5	896	1.308
	(16)	A woman has more capacity to manage a country's health policy than a man.	1-5	842	1.935
	(17)	A man is more capable of managing a country's national security policy than a woman.	1-5	894	1.689
	(18)	A woman is better able to manage primary childcare policy than a man	1-5	842	2.558
	(19)	A man can manage a country's education policy more than a woman.	1-5	896	1.441

Source: Authors' elaboration.

We analyzed three items from the abortion tolerance questionnaire (see Table 2). A cross-check of legislative and country variables confirmed their reflection of different legislative periods and national contexts, ensuring statistical

independence. To facilitate comparison, variables (1) and (2) were scaled from 1 to 10 to a 1 to 5 range using the transformation $(Val-1)/9 \times 4 + 1$ while preserving relative scores (see Table 3). We then calculated an aggregate index, *abortion acceptance*, using the row mean function to maximize sample size and minimize missing data effects.

This methodology ensures a comprehensive and representative evaluation of abortion acceptance by incorporating data from diverse legislative periods and countries within a statistically valid framework. Internal consistency analysis further confirmed that the three variables significantly contribute to the theoretical construct of abortion acceptance, providing robust support for the reliability of the index.

The preface to this set of questions was, “*Moving on, in your personal opinion, how strongly do you approve or disapprove of any of the following actions I present to you below? For this, use this scale ranging from 1 to 10, where 1 means you 'strongly disapprove' and 10 means you 'strongly approve.'*”

Table 2. Abortion acceptance variables before rescaling

Var	Label	Range	Obs.
(1)	Legalization of abortion	(1-5)	5390
(2)	Indicate on the following scale your opinion regarding abortion	(1-5)	722
(3)	What is your opinion about abortion?	(1-5)	2146

Source: Authors' elaboration.

Table 3. Abortion acceptance variables after rescaling

Var	Label	Range	Obs.	Mean
(1)	Legalization of abortion	(1-5)	5390	2.47
(2)	Indicate on the following scale your opinion regarding abortion	(1-5)	722	2.60
(3)	What is your opinion about abortion?	(1-5)	2146	2.55

Source: Authors' elaboration.

To measure *tolerance toward different sexual orientations* (see Table 4), we use the questionnaire item on same-sex marriage, which asks, "In your opinion, to what extent do you approve or disapprove of the following? Rate from 1 (strongly disapprove) to 10 (strongly approve): Same-sex couples may have the right to marry." Descriptive statistics for the five dependent variables are presented in Table 5.

Table 4. Acceptance of same-sex marriage

Var	Label	Range	Obs.	Mean
(1)	Same-sex couples may have the right to marry	(1-10)	3469	5.04

Source: Authors' elaboration.

Table 5. Descriptive Statics

Var	Obs.	Mean	Syd. Dev.	Min	Max
Gender quotas	1981	3.893	1.266	1	5
Gender equality	1986	4.249	.791	1	5
Gender roles	897	4.234	.913	1	5
Abortion acceptance	8258	2.505	1.487	1	5
LGBT acceptance	3469	2.796	1.686	1	5

Source: Authors' elaboration.

Independent and control variables

We assessed legislators' self-positioning on a left-right ideological scale from 1 (extreme left) to 10 (extreme right) and analyzed their state-market positioning using a scale from 1 (maximum state regulation) to 5 (maximum liberalization). We categorized religious affiliation, using Catholics as a reference group and comparing it with Evangelicals/Pentecostals and Traditional Protestants. Treating religion as a moderator allows us to evaluate its specific influence on issues like abortion and LGBT+ rights without mixing it with broader ideological trends. The religion question was open-ended ("What is your practiced religion?"), and responses were grouped into ten categories, including agnostics/atheists, who constituted less than 9% of the sample. Control variables included sex (1 for Male,

2 for Female), age (mean 47.5), education, and income. The appendix contains a summary of the analyzed countries, focusing on two main VIs (ideology and state-market) and the variables of sex, age, education, income, and religion.

Method

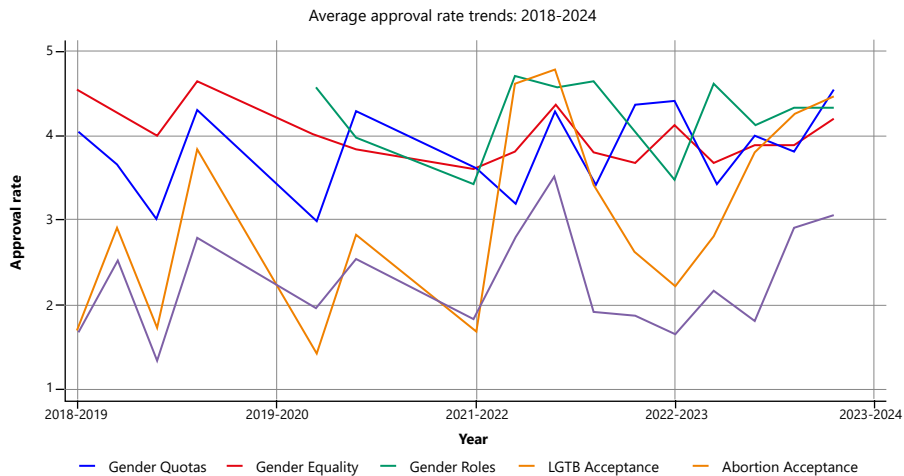
We analyze five dimensions of sexuality politics using the PELA-USAL database. The analysis begins with a descriptive overview, followed by ordinal multiple linear regression (OLS) statistical analysis. Each dependent variable is evaluated through four models: 1) a baseline with control variables, 2) the left-right ideological axis, 3) the state-market axis, and 4) a comprehensive model including all variables. To better understand the dynamics of sexuality politics, we incorporate interaction terms to assess how ideological positioning moderates the impact of state-market preferences on gender equality. This analysis specifically distinguishes between center-right and extreme right-wing legislators. Furthermore, we examine the role of religion as a moderating factor in the relationship between gender politics and ideology, providing deeper insights into the interplay of cultural and political influences.

Results

Figure 1 illustrates the progression in average acceptance among legislators across five dimensions of sexuality policy, highlighting significant changes over the past seven years. Notably, there was a sharp increase between 2021 and 2022, which aligns with the peak influence of global social movements like *MeToo* and pivotal judicial rulings. For example, Colombia decriminalized abortion in 2022, reflecting regional political trends toward broader rights recognition.

Although not all regional governments are leftist, progressive administrations have played a significant role in advancing social and cultural rights. Leaders such as Alberto Fernández in Argentina, who championed abortion legalization in 2020, and Gabriel Boric in Chile, who initiated inclusive policies in 2022, exemplify this perceived leftist shift. However, the Latin American left has frequently exhibited conservative stances on social issues, resulting in fewer women in positions of power and limited advances in gender equality.

Consequently, ideological alignment may be less influential than the momentum of the global agenda, which continues to drive greater acceptance of sexuality policies across the region.

Figure 1. Dependent variables evolution: gender politics dimensions

Source: Authors' elaboration.

Approval ratings fell sharply from 2022 to 2023 as political opponents exploited a conservative backlash against newly institutionalized rights. This backlash was amplified by the inability of leftist governments in Peru, Chile, and Colombia to deliver on structural reforms amidst persistent inflation throughout 2023, which continued into 2024. In Argentina and Paraguay, polarizing campaigns emerged, with figures such as Javier Milei hindering progress in gender and reproductive rights. The 2022 overturning of *Roe v. Wade* in the United States strengthened conservative narratives while invigorating progressive movements across Latin America.

While acceptance of abortion is increasing, it still lags behind other issues due to political polarization. Current views echo those from three years ago, shaped by digital activism and a robust conservative backlash. The religious “gender ideology” narrative has intensified divisions, often forcing individuals to align with opposing sides. During periods of economic or political strain, traditional values frequently overshadow support for social change.

The regression results⁴ (see Table 6) reveal that the left-right ideological spectrum exerts a significantly stronger influence than state-market preferences, which consistently show no statistical significance. While both economic and ideological factors play a role, the comprehensive model highlights gender as a crucial predictor of attitudes toward sexuality politics. Female legislators are notably more likely to advocate for equality, gender quotas, LGBT+ rights, and abortion, with a particular emphasis on increasing female representation. Conversely, gender has a negligible effect on attitudes toward traditional gender roles, which are influenced by other variables.

Age reveals a generational divide: younger legislators favor LGBT+ rights, while older legislators favor gender quotas. However, the overall impact of age is modest and less reliable compared to gender or ideological alignment, with no significant effects observed in other dimensions.

Educational attainment correlates with progressive stances, particularly on issues related to sexual diversity, such as LGBT+ rights and abortion. In some cases, its predictive strength rivals that of gender, though its effects are less consistent. Notably, education shows no significant impact on attitudes toward gender quotas or traditional gender roles, limiting its explanatory power in these areas.

Religion plays a significant role in shaping legislative attitudes on culturally polarized issues like abortion and LGBT+ rights. Evangelical legislators consistently oppose these measures due to strong religious convictions, while Catholic legislators demonstrate greater flexibility. Left-leaning Catholic legislators, in particular, often support progressive gender equality policies. This suggests that religion selectively influences attitudes on specific issues rather than broadly shaping policy preferences, where its impact is less pronounced.

4 The full regressions (the four regressions with control, VI, and full for each DV –gender equality, gender quotas, gender roles, abortion, and LGBT) are included in the appendix.

Table 6. Full regressions on sexual policy support with country-level controls

Model Dependent	(4) Equality	(4) Quotas	(4) Roles	(4) LGTB	(4) Abortion
Sex	0.334*** (0.044)	0.536*** (0.060)	0.080 (0.043)	0.385*** (0.050)	0.255** (0.067)
Age	0.002 (0.002)	0.008** (0.002)	-0.000 (0.003)	-0.014*** (0.003)	-0.002 (0.002)
Educational level	0.065* (0.025)	-0.027 (0.054)	0.094* (0.037)	0.180** (0.050)	0.107* (0.043)
Income	-0.035 (0.019)	-0.055 (0.031)	-0.016 (0.026)	-0.023 (0.031)	0.011 (0.026)
Catholics	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)
Evangelicals and Pentecostals	-0.177 (0.104)	0.053 (0.125)	-0.178 (0.120)	-0.788*** (0.157)	-0.527*** (0.085)
Protestants	-0.060 (0.068)	0.111 (0.112)	-0.196 (0.144)	-0.368** (0.124)	-0.013 (0.099)
Left-right (1-10)	-0.023 (0.014)	-0.081*** (0.018)	-0.011 (0.018)	-0.125*** (0.025)	-0.144*** (0.027)
State-Market (1-10)	-0.052 (0.025)	-0.053 (0.032)	-0.055 (0.031)	-0.006 (0.036)	-0.035 (0.027)
Constant	3.636*** (0.215)	3.780*** (0.243)	4.229*** (0.298)	5.755*** (0.452)	2.847*** (0.400)
Legislature and country FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1610	1605	720	2831	5116
r2	0.247	0.242	0.229	0.417	0.200
Standard errors in parentheses * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$					

Source: Authors' elaboration.

The state-market axis significantly impacts variables such as gender equality, quotas, gender roles, and abortion, with notable negative coefficients (model 3, Table 7). However, its influence is less stable compared to the left-right ideological spectrum. While pro-market economic views shape perceptions of sexuality policies –particularly abortion and quotas– their diminished importance in the complete model highlights political ideology as the primary determinant. This finding suggests that ideological and religious values play a more decisive role in shaping attitudes toward sexuality policies, relegating economic factors to a contextual influence.

The state-market axis exhibits a significant negative effect on attitudes toward abortion, with a negative coefficient of -0.145 ($*p < 0.05$). In contrast, its impact on LGBT+ rights is negligible, showing a coefficient of -0.100 (not significant) in the isolated model and further decreasing to -0.006 in the full model.

These results indicate that attitudes toward LGBT+ rights are driven primarily by ideological and cultural factors rather than economic preferences.

Pro-market legislators often oppose abortion and gender quotas, perceiving these policies as forms of state interference and undesired support for reproductive health initiatives. This perspective aligns with a broader resistance to gender equality policies associated with redistribution. Such opposition reinforces traditional gender roles and reflects a conservative stance on gender equality, quotas, and abortion. However, the impact of pro-market views on LGBT+ rights is less pronounced, further underscoring the dominance of ideological and cultural factors in this domain.

Table 7. Regressions on sexual policy support with state-market positions and country controls

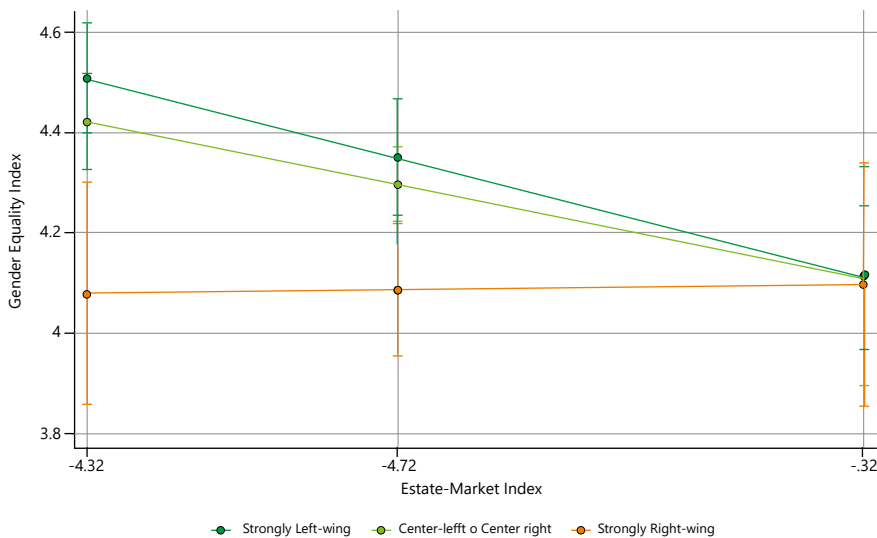
Model Dependent	(3) Equality	(3) Quotas	(3) Roles	(3) LGTB	(3) Abortion
Sex	0.328*** (0.044)	0.516*** (0.059)	0.077 (0.043)	0.377*** (0.053)	0.250** (0.070)
Age	0.002 (0.002)	0.008" (0.002)	-0.000 (0.003)	-0.012" (0.003)	-0.001 (0.002)
Educational level	0.063* (0.025)	-0.033 (0.058)	0.091* (0.036)	0.176*** (0.042)	0.111* (0.039)
Income	-0.039 (0.020)	-0.070' (0.032)	-0.018 (0.025)	-0.044 (0.031)	-0.018 (0.030)
Catholics	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)
Evangelicals and Pentecostals	-0.183 (0.104)	0.031 (0.137)	-0.178 (0.120)	-0.801*** (0.172)	-0.538*** (0.093)
Protestants	-0.056 (0.066)	0.128 (0.107)	-0.192 (0.145)	-0.341* (0.133)	0.007 (0.109)
Left-right (1-10)	X	X	X	X	X
State-Market (1-10)	-0.072* (0.027)	-0.120* (0.046)	-0.065* (0.023)	-0.100 (0.049)	-0.145* (0.052)
Constant	3.579*** (0.226)	3.585*** (0.293)	4.215*** (0.307)	5.311*** (0.382)	2.574*** (0.387)
Legislature and country FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1611	1606	720	2832	5120
r ²	0.244	0.226	0.229	0.395	0.162
Standard errors in parentheses * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$					

Source: Authors' elaboration.

We examined the interplay between market-state positioning and left-right ideology in our regression models. The two variables exhibit a significant positive correlation of 0.4 but demonstrate inconsistent indexing, as reflected in Cronbach's alpha of 0.5. Meaningful results emerged primarily in the context of gender equality, where a clear divide is evident: centrist and left-wing legislators exhibit significantly higher support for gender equality compared to their right-wing counterparts (See Figure 2).

Our analysis reveals that left-wing legislators' support decreases as market orientation increases, while right-wing support remains stable. This convergence suggests that economic liberalization may weaken ideological boundaries, thereby diminishing support for gender equality, complicating the alignment of market-focused policies with egalitarian legislative objectives.

Figure 2. Moderating effect of ideology (L-R) on the relationship between gender equality and state interventionism



Source: Authors' elaboration.

Note: The X-axis represents the centered State-Market variable, and the Y-axis shows predicted values for the Gender Equality Dimension based on the interaction between the State-Market and Left-Right variables.

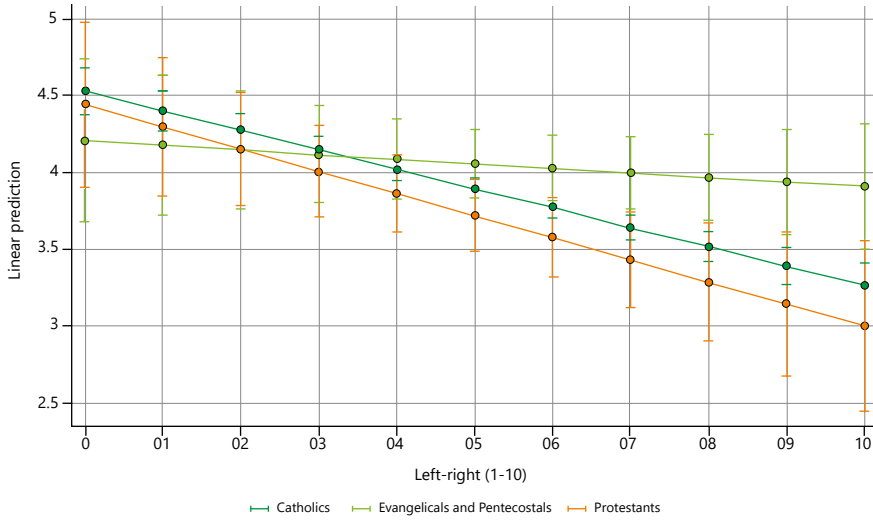
The subsequent graphs analyze how religion moderates the relationship between ideology (measured along the left-right spectrum) and various aspects of sexuality politics. Each figure presents predicted estimates for legislators based on their religion (Catholic, Evangelical, and Protestant) and ideological stance.

Religion plays a significant role in shaping the relationship between ideology and attitudes toward gender and sexuality. As shown in Figure 4, Catholic legislators exhibit decreasing support for gender equality as their ideological conservatism increases. In contrast, Evangelical and Protestant legislators show the opposite trend, with greater support for gender equality as they become more conservative. This divergence underscores the intricate interplay between religion and ideology in shaping attitudes toward gender equality.

Figure 3 shows that support for gender quotas declines consistently across all three religious groups as legislators shift to the right. This indicates a shared ideological response that transcends the more pronounced religious divisions evident in other areas of sexuality politics.

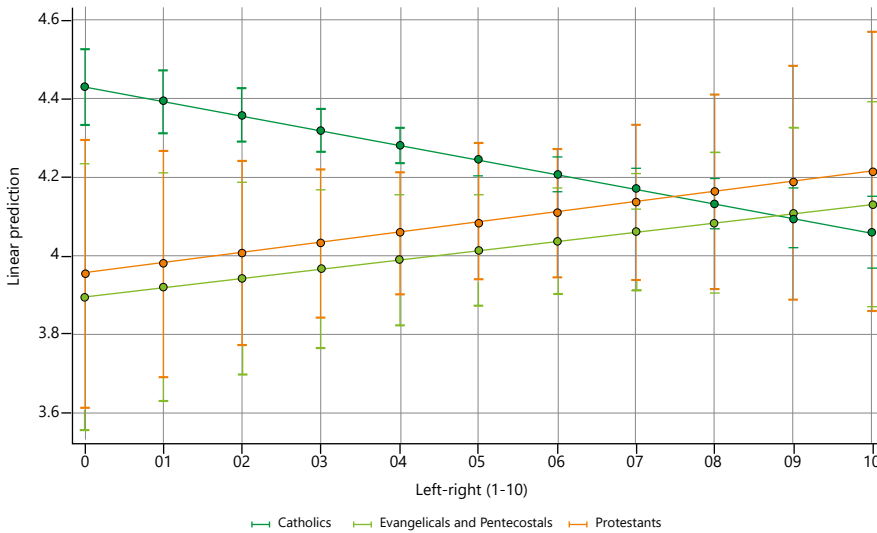
Figure 5 highlights a complex pattern regarding gender roles. Support for equality among Catholic legislators declines with increased conservatism, whereas Protestant and Evangelical legislators on the right demonstrate greater support for gender equality compared to their left-leaning counterparts. This finding suggests that gender roles may be less ideologically polarized within these religious groups, particularly among conservative legislators.

Figure 3. Predicted estimates of gender quotas by religion and left-right ideology

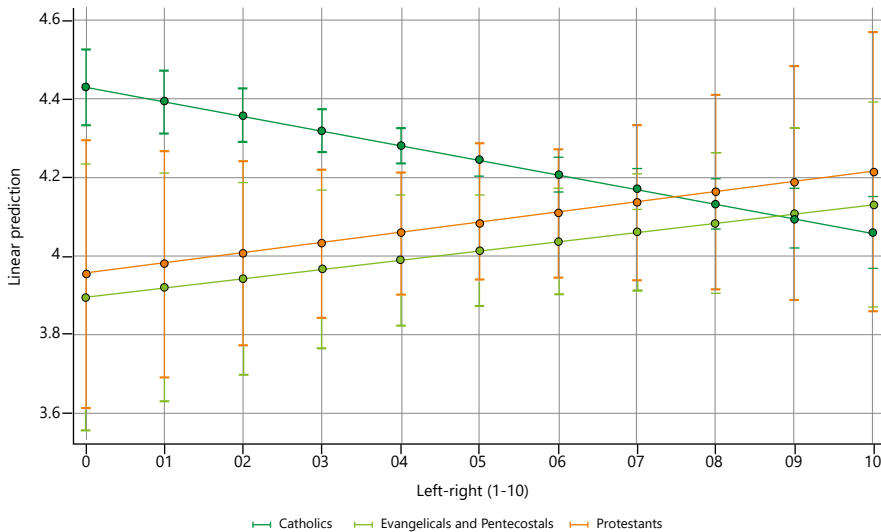


Source: Authors' elaboration.

Figure 4. Predicted estimates of gender equality dimension by religion and left-right ideology



Source: Authors' elaboration.

Figure 5. Predicted estimates of gender roles by religion and left-right ideology

Source: Authors' elaboration.

Figures 6 and 7 illustrate the ideological effects on views regarding abortion and same-sex marriage. In Figure 6, left-wing legislators display varying levels of support for abortion, with Catholics and Protestants being more supportive than Evangelicals. Among right-wing legislators, however, support for abortion declines uniformly across all religious groups.

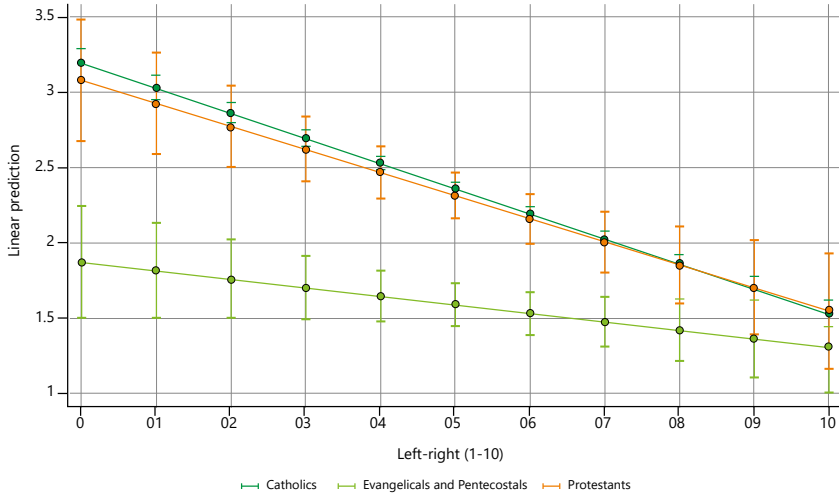
Figure 7 highlights a similar decline in support for same-sex marriage as legislators shift toward the right, with Catholic and Protestant views converging toward conservatism. This convergence contrasts with other issues, such as gender quotas, where religious divides remain more distinct.

Together, these figures underscore the dual influence of religion and ideology on sexuality politics. Certain dimensions, like gender quotas, exhibit uniform ideological effects, while others, such as marriage equality, reveal more pronounced inter-religious differences.

To further explore gender-based differences in attitudes toward sexuality politics, we conducted T-tests comparing male and female legislators' responses across key dimensions: gender quotas, gender equality, abortion, and LGBT+ rights. These tests assess whether gender-based differences are statistically significant within and across religious groups.

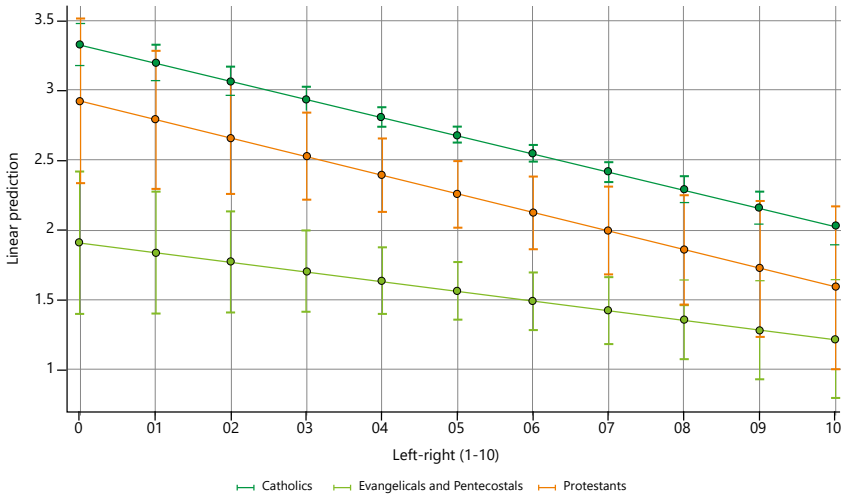
The results consistently show that women express higher levels of support for progressive stances compared to men, with the most significant gaps observed among Catholic legislators. Full details and statistical results from these tests are provided in the appendix.

Figure 6. Predicted estimates of abortion acceptance by religion and left-right ideology



Source: Authors' elaboration.

Figure 7. Predictes estimates of LGBT acceptance by religion and left-right ideology.



Source: Authors' elaboration.

Conclusions

This study has examined how Latin American legislators' sexuality policy preferences are shaped, emphasizing the roles of ideological alignment, religious beliefs, and sociodemographic influences. It supports two key hypotheses: the interplay of left-right and state-market ideologies predicts views on gender equality and sexual rights (H1), while religiosity, particularly among Evangelicals and Pentecostals, significantly impacts attitudes on cultural issues (H2). These factors create a complex political divide beyond traditional ideological lines.

Legislators' left-right orientation significantly influences their support for gender equality policies, with progressive positions anchored in the ideological left. On the other hand, there is the marked conservatism of Evangelical and Pentecostal legislators, whose religiosity fuels opposition to reproductive and LGBT+ rights. Catholics exhibit ideological diversity, with left-leaning members often supporting gender equality, while Protestants reflect a mix of traditional values and selective openness to evolving norms, especially concerning gender equality.

State-market dynamics complicate legislators' preferences, particularly how economic views shape their attitudes on issues like abortion and gender quotas. Legislators who favor economic liberalization often oppose these policies, likely perceiving them as state overreach into personal or moral domains. This illustrates how economic ideologies, extending beyond the left-right spectrum, influence positions on sexual policies. Sociodemographic factors, such as sex, age, and education, also play a determining role, particularly the sex of the representative. Women legislators consistently advocate for progressive policies in all dimensions of sexuality policy, especially gender equality and reproductive rights. The pronounced support for LGBT+ rights among younger legislators suggests generational shifts in attitudes, while higher educational attainment correlates with more progressive stances on controversial issues such as abortion and sexual diversity.

Future research could examine how modernization and economic integration affect attitudinal changes, especially in religious communities balancing traditional doctrines with socioeconomic pragmatism. Additionally, understanding the alignment between party platforms and voter preferences is crucial to grasping the broader impact of sexuality politics on electoral behavior and ideological polarization in the region.

In conclusion, sexuality politics in Latin America cannot be reduced to ideological binaries or singular religious influences. Instead, they reflect a multidimensional interplay of cultural, spiritual, and socio-economic forces. By delving into these complexities, scholars and policymakers can gain a deeper understanding of the evolving dynamics of gender and sexuality in the region, facilitating the institutionalization of progressive norms while addressing the underlying tensions that shape legislative and societal attitudes.

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Appendix

Table 1. Tabulation of country

Country	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
Argentina - (ARG)	310	5.88	5.88
Bolivia - (BOL)	362	6.87	12.75
Chile - (CHL)	295	5.60	18.35
Colombia - (COL)	421	7.99	26.33
Costa Rica - (CRI)	257	4.88	31.21
Dominican Republic - (DOM)	367	6.96	38.17
Ecuador - (ECU)	349	6.62	44.79
El Salvador - (SLV)	355	6.73	51.53
Guatemala - (GTM)	376	7.13	58.66
Honduras - (HND)	488	9.26	67.92
Mexico - (MEX)	573	10.87	78.79
Nicaragua - (NIC)	208	3.95	82.74
Panama - (PAN)	269	5.10	87.84
Peru - (PER)	231	4.38	92.22
Paraguay - (PRY)	210	3.98	96.21
Uruguay - (URY)	148	2.81	99.01
Venezuela - (VEN)	52	0.99	100.00
Total	5271	100.00	

Table 2. Tabulation of ideology

Left-right (1-10)	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
01 Left	383	7.28	7.28
02	251	4.77	12.04
03	380	7.22	19.26
04	606	11.51	30.78
05	1355	25.74	56.52
06	810	15.39	71.90
07	561	10.66	82.56
08	482	9.16	91.72
09	214	4.07	95.78
10 Right	222	4.22	100.00
Total	5264	100.00	

Table 3. Tabulation of State-Market

State-Market (1-5)	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1	392	7.46	7.46
1.45	163	3.10	10.56
1.89	281	5.34	15.90
2	216	4.11	20.01
2.33	263	5.00	25.01
2.78	745	14.17	39.18
3	812	15.44	54.62
3.22	324	6.16	60.78
3.67	368	7.00	67.78
4	473	9.00	76.78
4.11	377	7.17	83.95
4.56	180	3.42	87.37
5	664	12.63	100.00
Total	5258	100.00	

Table 4. Tabulation of sex

Sex	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
Men	3992	75.81	75.81
Women	1274	24.19	100.00
Total	5266	100.00	

Table 5. Tabulation of age

Age	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
19	1	0.02	0.02
21	1	0.02	0.04
22	5	0.10	0.13
23	7	0.13	0.27
24	8	0.15	0.42
25	14	0.27	0.69
26	21	0.40	1.09
27	33	0.63	1.72
28	36	0.69	2.41

Age	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
29	36	0.69	3.10
30	51	0.97	4.07
31	58	1.11	5.18
32	77	1.47	6.65
33	99	1.89	8.54
34	94	1.80	10.34
35	101	1.93	12.27
36	128	2.45	14.72
37	155	2.96	17.68
38	140	2.68	20.36
39	143	2.73	23.09
40	185	3.54	26.62
41	172	3.29	29.91
42	187	3.57	33.49
43	185	3.54	37.02
44	162	3.10	40.12
45	167	3.19	43.31
46	178	3.40	46.71
47	207	3.96	50.67
48	192	3.67	54.34
49	164	3.13	57.47
50	230	4.40	61.87
51	178	3.40	65.27
52	193	3.69	68.96
53	153	2.92	71.88
54	160	3.06	74.94
55	163	3.12	78.06
56	131	2.50	80.56
57	109	2.08	82.65
58	120	2.29	84.94
59	95	1.82	86.75
60	121	2.31	89.07
61	85	1.62	90.69
62	69	1.32	92.01
63	78	1.49	93.50
64	56	1.07	94.57
65	65	1.24	95.81
66	39	0.75	96.56

Age	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
67	32	0.61	97.17
68	38	0.73	97.90
69	19	0.36	98.26
70	22	0.42	98.68
71	16	0.31	98.99
72	16	0.31	99.29
73	4	0.08	99.37
74	6	0.11	99.48
75	8	0.15	99.64
76	4	0.08	99.71
77	4	0.08	99.79
78	2	0.04	99.83
79	1	0.02	99.85
80	2	0.04	99.89
81	2	0.04	99.92
82	1	0.02	99.94
83	1	0.02	99.96
84	1	0.02	99.98
85	1	0.02	100.000
Total	5232	100.000	

Table 6. Tabulation of Education

Educational level	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
None	4	0.08	0.08
Primary	44	0.84	0.91
Secondary or similar	402	7.64	8.55
University graduates or similar	570	10.83	19.38
University graduates or higher	2314	43.97	63.35
Postgraduate degree	1929	36.65	100.00
Total	5263	100.00	

Table 7. Tabulation of Income

Until 10,000	1833	35.09	35.09
10,001 a 20,000	1627	31.14	66.23
20,001 a 30,000	819	15.68	81.91
30,001 a 40,000	778	14.89	96.80
40,001 a 50,000	55	1.05	97.86
More than 50,000	59	1.13	98.99
More than 60,000	53	1.01	100.00
Total	5224	100.00	

Table 8. Tabulation of Religion

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
Catholics	4607	87.40	87.40
Evangelicals and Pentecostals	359	6.81	94.21
Protestants	305	5.79	100.00
Total	5271	100.00	

Table 9. T-test results

Religion/Dependents	Men	Women	Total	T-test	N
Catholics					
Views on gender quotas	3.645	4.306	3.867	***	1387
Views on gender equality	4.124	4.461	4.237	***	1390
Views on gender roles	4.174	4.29	4.216		613
Acceptance of abortion	2.225	2.566	2.309	***	4557
Acceptance of LGBT couples	2.428	3.147	2.641	***	2496
Evangelicals and Pentecostals					
Views on gender quotas	3.86	4.375	4.031	*	132
Views on gender equality	3.915	4.277	4.032	*	133
Views on gender roles	3.742	4	3.837		57
Acceptance of abortion	1.522	1.680	1.558		357
Acceptance of LGBT couples	1.498	1.575	1.521		231

Religion/Dependents	Men	Women	Total	T-test	N
Protestants					
Views on gender quotas	3.385	4.523	3.733	***	111
Views on gender equality	3.953	4.373	4.080	*	112
Views on gender roles	3.903	4.063	3.964		50
Acceptance of abortion	2.320	2.182	2.290		302
Acceptance of LGBT couples	2.163	2.472	2.253		166
Total					
Views on gender quotas	3.645	4.325	3.871	***	1630
Views on gender equality	4.095	4.441	4.210	***	1635
Views on gender roles	4.122	4.252	4.168		720
Acceptance of abortion	2.182	2.488	2.256	***	5216
Acceptance of LGBT couples	2.338	2.984	2.529	***	2893

Table 10. Regressions on support for gender equality with robust standard errors and country-level controls

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Views on gender equality	Views on gender equality	Views on gender equality	Views on gender equality
Sex	0.338*** (0.045)	0.343*** (0.044)	0.328*** (0.044)	0.334* (0.044)
Age	0.002 (0.002)	0.002 (0.002)	0.002 (0.002)	0.002 (0.002)
Educational level	0.058* (0.026)	0.063* (0.025)	0.063* (0.025)	0.065* (0.025)
Income	-0.048* (0.018)	-0.038 (0.019)	-0.039 (0.020)	-0.035 (0.019)
Catholics	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)
Evangelicals and Pentecostals	-0.190 (0.100)	-0.179 (0.102)	-0.183 (0.104)	-0.177 (0.104)
Protestants	-0.029 (0.070)	-0.045 (0.070)	-0.056 (0.066)	-0.060 (0.068)
Left-right (1-10)		-0.033* (0.014)		-0.023 (0.014)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Views on gender equality	Views on gender equality	Views on gender equality	Views on gender equality
State-Market (1-10)			-0.072*	-0.052
			(0.027)	(0.025)
Constant	3.356***	3.516***	3.579***	3.636***
	(0.204)	(0.200)	(0.226)	(0.215)
Legislature and country FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1613	1612	1611	1610
r2	0.235	0.243	0.244	0.247
Standard errors in parentheses * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$				

Table 11. Regressions on the support for gender quotas with robust standard errors and country-level control

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Views on gender quotas	Views on gender quotas	Views on gender quotas	Views on gender quotas
Sex	0.529***	0.543***	0.516***	0.536***
	(0.059)	(0.059)	(0.059)	(0.060)
Age	0.009***	0.008**	0.008***	0.008**
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Educational level	-0.044	-0.030	-0.033	-0.027
	(0.060)	(0.054)	(0.058)	(0.054)
Income	-0.085*	-0.058	-0.070*	-0.055
	(0.033)	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.031)
Catholics	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)
Evangelicals and Pentecostals	0.019	0.051	0.031	0.053
	(0.132)	(0.122)	(0.137)	(0.125)
Protestants	0.173	0.126	0.128	0.111
	(0.101)	(0.109)	(0.107)	(0.112)
Left-right (1-10)		-0.091***		-0.081***
		(0.023)		(0.018)
State-Market (1-10)			-0.120*	-0.053
			(0.046)	(0.032)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Views on gender quotas	Views on gender quotas	Views on gender quotas	Views on gender quotas
Constant	3.228*** (0.335)	3.674*** (0.244)	3.585*** (0.293)	3.780*** (0.243)
Legislature and country FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1608	1607	1606	1605
r2	0.216	0.241	0.226	0.242
Standard errors in parentheses * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$				

Table 12. Regressions on support for gender roles with robust standard errors and country-level control

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Views on gender roles	Views on gender roles	Views on gender roles	Views on gender roles
Sex	0.083 (0.042)	0.087 (0.042)	0.077 (0.043)	0.080 (0.043)
Age	-0.000 (0.003)	-0.000 (0.003)	-0.000 (0.003)	-0.000 (0.003)
Educational level	0.080 (0.037)	0.089* (0.037)	0.091* (0.036)	0.094* (0.037)
Income	-0.026 (0.026)	-0.019 (0.026)	-0.018 (0.025)	-0.016 (0.026)
Catholics	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)
Evangelicals and Pentecostals	-0.191 (0.118)	-0.187 (0.118)	-0.178 (0.120)	-0.178 (0.120)
Protestants	-0.157 (0.139)	-0.178 (0.142)	-0.192 (0.145)	-0.196 (0.144)
Left-right (1-10)		-0.024 (0.014)		-0.011 (0.018)
State-Market (1-10)			-0.065* (0.023)	-0.055 (0.031)
Constant	4.095*** (0.273)	4.167*** (0.275)	4.215*** (0.307)	4.229*** (0.298)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Views on gender roles	Views on gender roles	Views on gender roles	Views on gender roles
Legislature and country FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	720	720	720	720
r ²	0.223	0.226	0.229	0.229
Standard errors in parentheses * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$				

Table 13. Regressions for acceptance of LGBT couples with robust standard errors and country fixed effects

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Acceptance of LGBT couples	Acceptance of LGBT couples	Acceptance of LGBT couples	Acceptance of LGBT couples
Sex	0.396*** (0.057)	0.390*** (0.051)	0.377*** (0.053)	0.385*** (0.050)
Age	-0.012*** (0.003)	-0.013*** (0.003)	-0.012*** (0.003)	-0.014*** (0.003)
Educational level	0.167** (0.044)	0.181** (0.052)	0.176*** (0.042)	0.180** (0.050)
Income	-0.056 (0.032)	-0.023 (0.031)	-0.044 (0.031)	-0.023 (0.031)
Catholics	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)
Evangelicals and Pentecostals	-0.806*** (0.170)	-0.787*** (0.156)	-0.801*** (0.172)	-0.788*** (0.157)
Protestants	-0.320* (0.134)	-0.369** (0.124)	-0.341* (0.133)	-0.368** (0.124)
Left-right (1-10)		-0.125*** (0.029)		-0.125*** (0.025)
State-Market (1-10)			-0.100 (0.049)	-0.006 (0.036)
Constant	4.973*** (0.361)	5.710*** (0.451)	5.311*** (0.382)	5.755*** (0.452)
Legislature and country FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	2838	2836	2832	2831
r ²	0.391	0.417	0.395	0.417
Standard errors in parentheses * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$				

Table 14. Regressions for Abortion acceptance with robust standard errors and country fixed effects

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Acceptance of abortion	Acceptance of abortion	Acceptance of abortion	Acceptance of abortion
Sex	0.279** (0.074)	0.261** (0.067)	0.250** (0.070)	0.255** (0.067)
Age	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.002)
Educational level	0.101* (0.037)	0.103* (0.044)	0.111* (0.039)	0.107* (0.043)
Income	-0.038 (0.034)	0.008 (0.026)	-0.018 (0.030)	0.011 (0.026)
Catholics	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)
Evangelicals and Pentecostals	-0.544*** (0.094)	-0.527*** (0.085)	-0.538*** (0.093)	-0.527*** (0.085)
Protestants	0.038 (0.116)	-0.010 (0.100)	0.007 (0.109)	-0.013 (0.099)
Left-right (1-10)		-0.151*** (0.030)		-0.144*** (0.027)
State-Market (1-10)			-0.145* (0.052)	-0.035 (0.027)
Constant	2.143*** (0.301)	2.776*** (0.361)	2.574*** (0.387)	2.847*** (0.400)
Legislature and country FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	5131	5126	5120	5116
r2	0.151	0.200	0.162	0.200
Standard errors in parentheses * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$				

Table 15. Descriptive Statistics of Dependent Variables

Variable	Obs.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Gender equality	1635	4.21	.801	1	5
Gender quotas	1630	3.871	1.276	1	5
Gender roles	720	4.169	.946	1	5
Abortion acceptance	5221	2.257	1.404	1	5
LGBT acceptance	2894	2.53	1.613	1	5