

ARTICLE

## Religion, Sexuality Politics, and the Transformation of Latin American Electorates

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### Abstract

Right-wing candidates have rallied against same-sex marriage, abortion, and 'gender ideology' in several recent Latin American elections, attracting socially conservative voters. Yet, these issues are largely irrelevant to voting decisions in other parts of the region. Drawing on theories explaining partisan shifts in the US and Europe, we argue that elite and social movement debates on sexuality politics create conditions for electoral realignment. When politicians take polarized positions on newly salient 'culture war' issues, the masses' voting behaviour shifts. Using region-wide multilevel analysis of the AmericasBaronsetro and Latinobarónsetro and a conjoint experiment in Brazil, Chile, and Peru, we demonstrate that the rising salience of sexuality politics creates new electoral cleavages, magnifying the electoral impact of religion and sexuality politics attitudes and shrinking the impact of economic views. Whereas scholarship on advanced democracies posits the centrality of partisanship, our findings indicate that sexuality politics prompts realignments even in weak party systems.

Keywords: religion; voting behaviour; Latin America; abortion; same-sex marriage

### Introduction

In January 2018, the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (IACtHR) ruled that Costa Rica was obligated to legalize same-sex marriage, immediately transforming the dynamics of its ongoing presidential election campaign. While most candidates equivocated in their response to the ruling, the two who staked out the clearest positions for and against same-sex marriage, Carlos Alvarado and Fabricio Alvarado, went from single-digit standings to become the top two finishers (Zúñiga Ramírez 2018). Views on sexuality politics emerged as a major cleavage. In a post-electoral survey that inquired about the reasons for one's presidential vote, the biggest gap between supporters of the two candidates was in the percentage who voted 'to defend the traditional values of Costa Rica': 54 per cent for Fabricio Alvarado and 9 per cent for Carlos Alvarado (Alfaro Redondo et al. 2018).

Religion also played new roles in the election. Nine days after the court ruling, the Catholic Bishops Conference and the Costa Rican Evangelical Alliance Federation issued a joint statement supporting 'the family founded on the marriage between a man and a woman', calling on citizens to meditate on their presidential vote before God (Arroyo 2018). Such stances might have pushed both conservative Catholics and evangelicals into the arms of Fabricio Alvarado, an evangelical pastor. However, in the second round campaign, media attention to ostensibly anti-Catholic statements from an ally of Fabricio Alvarado prevented an inter-religious alliance (Alfaro Redondo et al. 2018). On election day, religious affiliations and attitudes were among

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# Organized Religion In The Political Transformation Of Latin America

**Paul E. Sigmund**

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