

## **Appendix 1: Robustness Check regarding political efficacy in Latin America**

As a further test of the argument, we examine political efficacy among supporters and opponents of gay marriage, using 2015 Latinobarometer data. These data include eighteen Latin American countries.<sup>i</sup> Our theoretical argument suggests that attitudes regarding sexuality influence political efficacy. We divide Latin American countries by their status as a Southern Cone country (Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay) or not. The Southern Cone exhibits more gay-friendly rights as well as stronger economic development in comparison to non-Southern Cone countries, which approximates the comparison between low and high levels of state homophobia in the European space (Encarnación 2011). In order to operationalize efficacy, we use the variable based on the question:

The way you vote makes things different: (1) The way I vote can make things different in the future, (0) It doesn't matter how I vote nothing is going to make things different.

Around 65 percent of respondents believe their vote makes a difference. In the Southern Cone, around 71 percent of respondents believe their vote makes a difference, while 63 percent of respondents outside of the Southern Cone believe that their vote makes a difference. People in the Southern Cone have greater efficacy in comparison to those who are outside of the Southern Cone.

In order to operationalize support for gay rights, we use the available variable in the Latinobarometer pertaining to gay rights, based on the question:

Degree of agreement: Marriage between people of the same sex. (1) Strongly agree, (2) Agree, (3) Disagree, (4) Strongly disagree.

About 25 percent of respondents strongly agree or agree with same-sex marriage. In the Southern Cone, around 57 percent of the respondents strongly agree or agree with same-sex marriage.

Outside of the Southern Cone, around 18 percent of the respondents strongly agree or agree with same-sex marriage, showing that the Southern Cone citizens exhibit relatively higher levels of support for same-sex marriage in comparison to those outside of the Southern Cone.

In A1 Table 1, we present the results of a mixed logit model, which estimates effects on the probability of believing that one's vote makes a difference. The coefficient for *Southern Cone* is positive and statistically significant, meaning that among respondents who strongly support same-sex marriage, those in the Southern Cone are more likely to believe their vote can make a difference in comparison to those outside of the Southern Cone. The coefficient for *Disagree with gay marriage* is positive and statistically insignificant, meaning that outside of the Southern Cone those who disagree with gay marriage are not more likely to believe that their vote matters. The interaction term *Southern Cone\*Disagree with gay marriage* is negative and statistically significant, meaning that in the Southern Cone, those who disagree with gay marriage are less likely to believe their vote counts. We represent as a bar graph the results in A1 Figure 1, and the results indicate that people in the Southern Cone who agree with gay marriage exhibit the highest level of political efficacy and those who do not agree with gay marriage exhibit lower levels of political efficacy in the Southern Cone. Meanwhile, for states outside of the Southern Cone, those who disagree with gay marriage did not exhibit a substantially higher level of political efficacy. Next, in order to test the theoretical mechanism, we include a triple interaction between *Southern Cone*, *Disagreement with gay marriage*, and *years of education* (A2 Table 2), and we represent the results as a bar graph (A1 Figure 2). We hold years of education at twenty-three for the bar graph of high education levels (the mean years of education in these data is sixteen, plus one standard deviation which is seven). We hold years of education at nine for low education levels (the mean minus one standard deviation). Among those in the Southern Cone, the homophobic

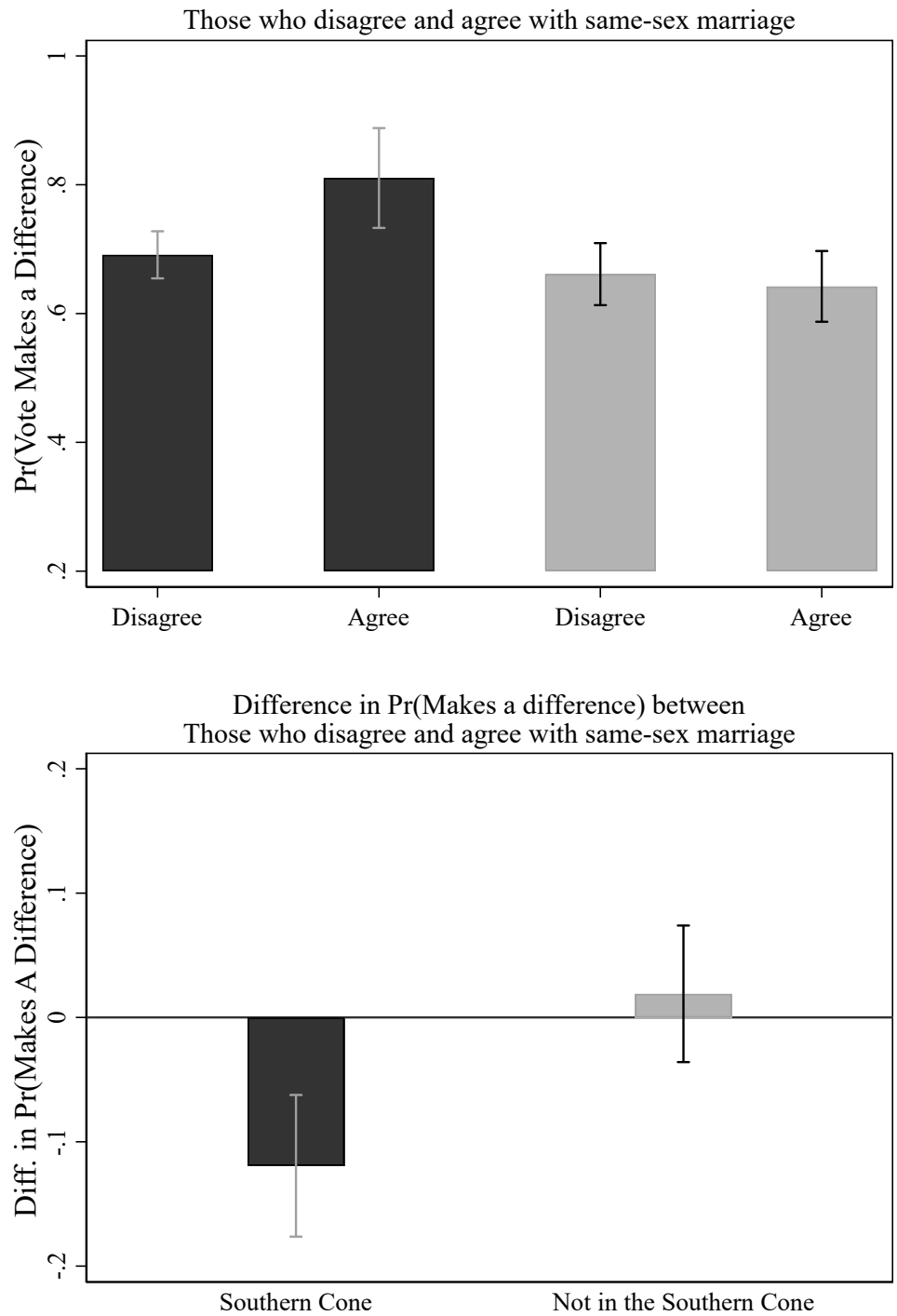
group (those disagreeing with gay marriage) was less likely to believe their vote counted, whether or not they exhibited high education levels or low education levels. For those with a low education level, the homophobia effect (the difference in probabilities) among those who are outside of the Southern Cone is greater than those who are inside the Southern Cone. This result agrees with the theoretical expectation that survivalists (those disadvantaged in the economy) are more likely to have their efficacy boosted by political homophobia in comparison to gay-friendly state norms.

A1 Table 1: Effects on one's belief that one's vote makes a difference, using Latinobarometer data.

Southern Cone	1.1*** (0.4)
Disagree with gay marriage	0.03 (0.04)
Southern Cone*Disagree with gay marriage	-0.3*** (0.08)
Age	0.007*** (0.002)
Years of education	0.01*** (0.005)
Ideology (Left-Right)	0.02 (0.03)
Constant	0.05 (0.2)
Survey responses	13,969
Random Effect Variance	0.12 (0.04)

Dependent variable: Believing one's votes makes a difference (1), not believing (0). Results calculated using a mixed logit models with a random effect for countries. Robust standard errors in parentheses. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

A1 Figure 1: Probability to believe one's vote makes a difference by agreement with same-sex marriage and whether one lives in the Southern Cone with 95 percent confidence intervals.



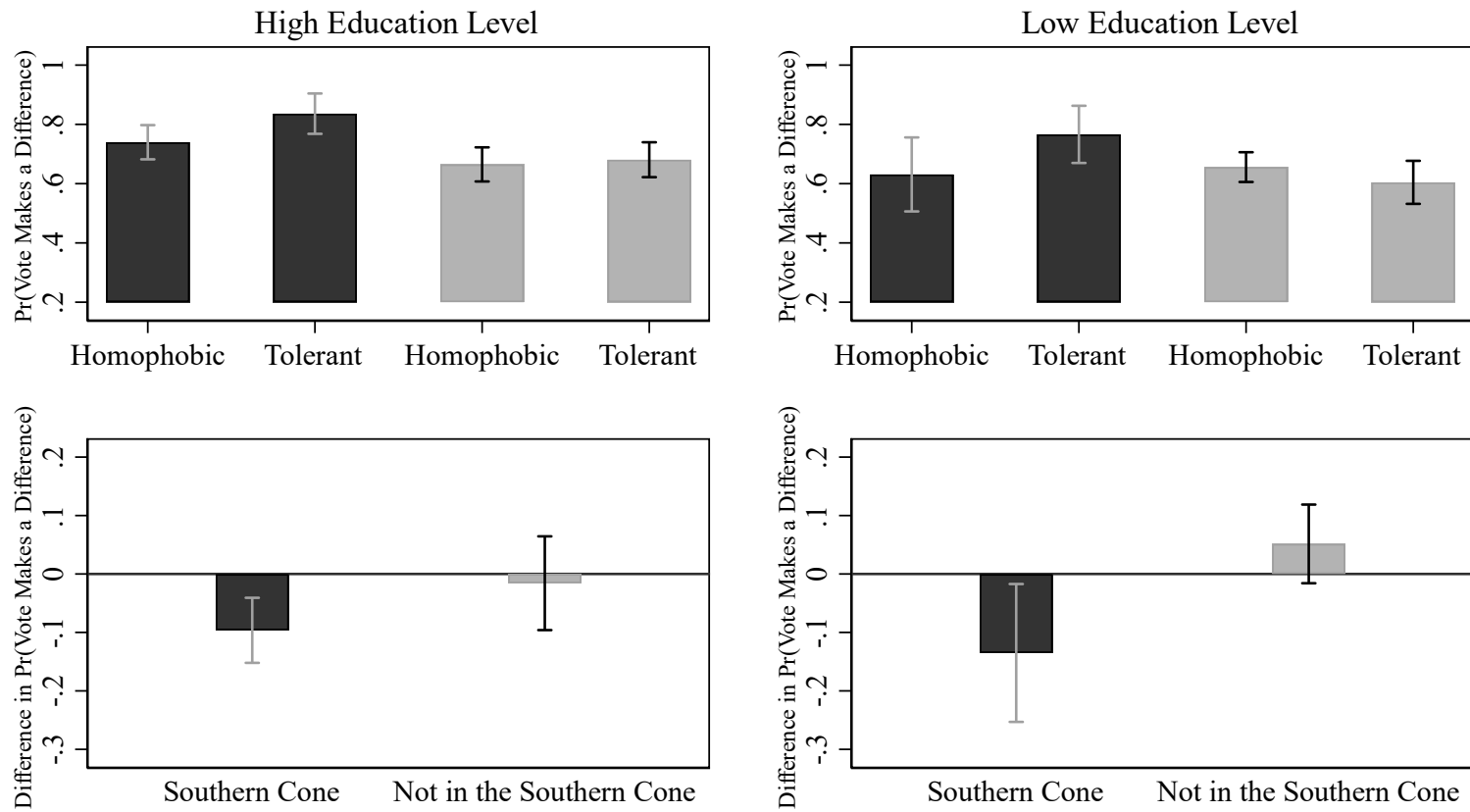
My vote makes a difference(1), My vote doesn't make a difference(0).  
Data source: Latinobarometer 2015

A1 Table 2: Effects on one's belief that one's vote makes difference, using Latinobarometer data.

Southern Cone	1.064** (0.489)
Disagree with gay marriage	0.135 (0.0845)
Years of education	0.0305* (0.0172)
Southern Cone*Disagree with gay marriage	-0.366** (0.179)
Years of education*Disagree with gay marriage	-0.00683 (0.00527)
Years of education*Southern Cone	-0.000148 (0.0173)
Southern Cone*Years of education*Disagree with gay marriage	0.00825 (0.00912)
Ideology (Left-Right)	0.0177 (0.0252)
Age	0.00636*** (0.00241)
Constant	-0.271 (0.357)
Survey Responses	13,969

Dependent variable: Believing one's votes makes a difference (1), not believing (0). Results calculated using mixed logit models, with a random effect for countries. Robust standard errors in parentheses. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

A1 Figure 2: Probability to believe one's vote makes a difference by agreement with same-sex marriage, education, and whether one lives in the Southern Cone with 95 percent confidence intervals.



Dependent variable: My vote makes a difference(1), Not my vote makes a difference(0).  
Data source: Latinobarometer 2015

---

<sup>i</sup> Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela.