Explaining LGBT Rights in Europe and LAC:

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Sections

- I. Progress thus far
- II. Homophobia across and within
- III. Conventional independent variables:
 Regime Type, Secularism, Globalization
- IV. My argument
- V. Conclusion

Gay-Friendliness Index

LEGAL COMPONENT

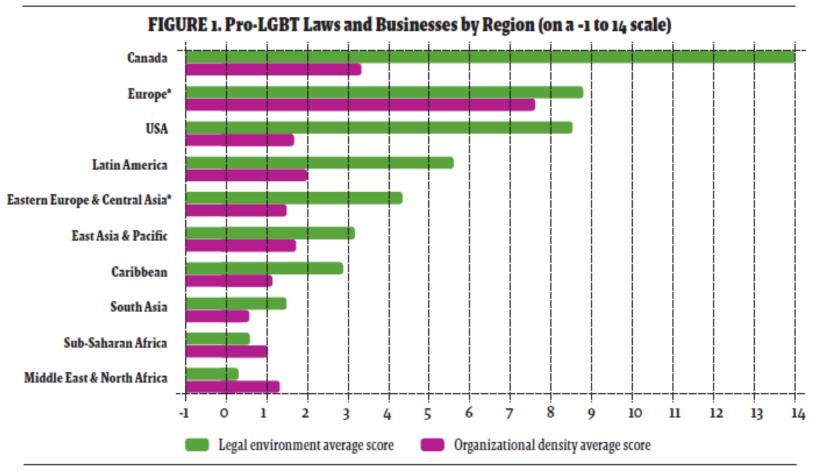
- Sexual activity Legalization of same-sex sexual activity
- Relationship Recognition of same-sex relationships
- Marriage Legalization of same-sex marriage
- Adoption Legalization of same-sex adoption
- Military –Allowing gays to serve openly in the military
- Anti-Discrimination legislation concerning sexual orientation
- Gender Identity and/or expression

ORGANIZATIONS COMPONENT

Gay-Friendly Business and Organizations in Largest City

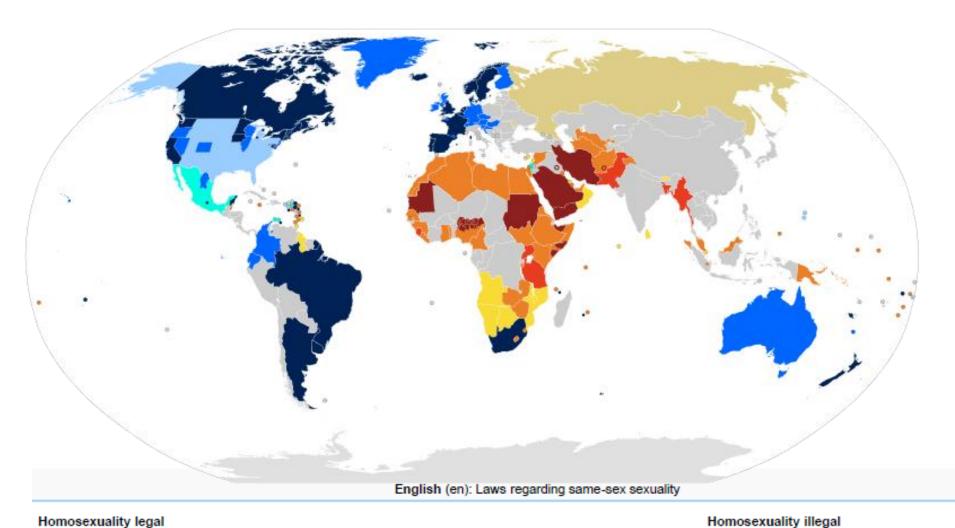
Source: Corrales (2012).

Progress thus far



*Countries author includes in Europe and Eastern Europe/ Central Asia are: Europe: Andorra, Austria, Belgium, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Faroe Islands, Finland, France, Germany, Gibraltar, Greece, Greenland, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, San Marino, Slovakia, Slovenia, South Georgia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom.

Eastern Europe and Central Asia: Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Moldova, Montenegro, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Tajikistan, Turkey, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, Uzbekistan.



Minimal penalty

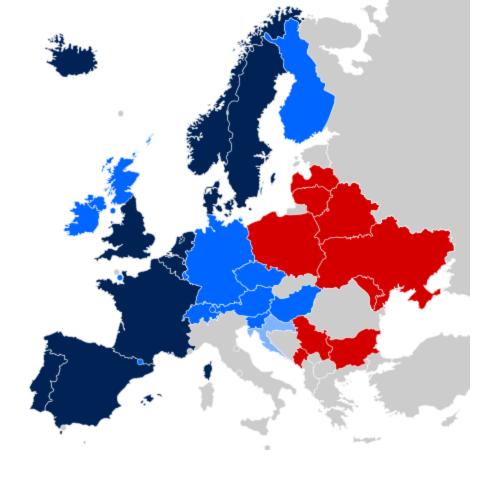
Heavy penalty

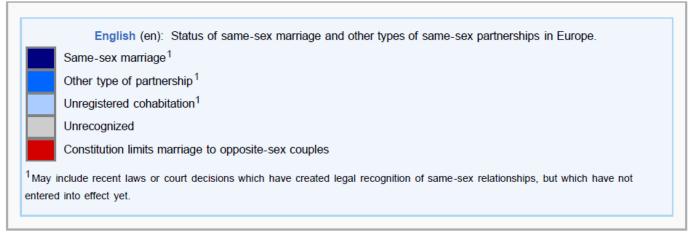
Up to life in prison

Up to death (ring = local judges)

Same-sex marriage¹ Other type of partnership (or unregistered cohabitation)¹ Foreign same-sex marriages recognized¹ No recognition of same-sex couples

Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:World_homosexuality_laws.svg;
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:World_homosexuality_laws.svg;
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:World_homosexuality_laws.svg;
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:World_homosexuality_laws.svg;
http://en.wikipedia.org/statehomophobia/ILGA_State_Sponsored_Homophobia_2013.pdf



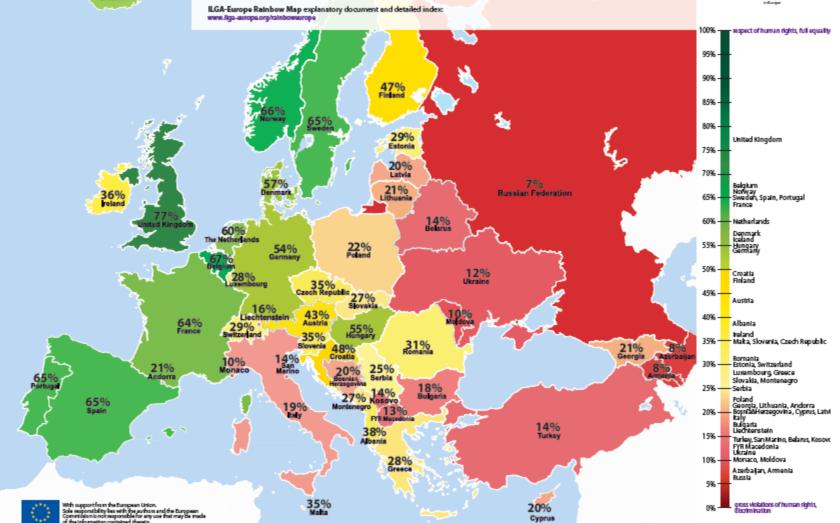




ILGA-Europe Rainbow Map May 2013

reflecting the national legal and policy human rights situation of lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans and intersex (LGBTI) people in Europe





Latin America 2011

Country	Sexual activity	Same-Sex Relationships	Marriage Equality	Adoption Rights	Military Service	Anti-Disc Law	Gender Identity	Total:
Uruguay	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	14
Argentina	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	14
Brazil	2	2	0	2	2	0	2	10
Colombia	2	2	0	0	2	2	2	10
Peru	2	0	0	0	2	2	2	8
Chile	2	0	0	0	2	0	2	6
Ecuador	2	2	0	0	NI.	2	NI.	6
El Salvador	2	0	0	0	2	2	0	6
Bolivia	2	0	0	0	NI.	0	2	4
Costa Rica**	2	0	0	0	NI.	2	NI.	4
Guatemala	2	0	0	0	NI.	2	0	4
Mexico	-1	0	1	1	1	2	1	4
Nicaragua	2	0	0	0	NI.	2	NI.	4
Venezuela	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	4
Honduras	2	0	0	0	0	0	NI.	2
Panama	2	0	0	0	0	0	NI.	2
Paraguay	2	0	0	0	NI.	0	NI.	2
Belize	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Average:

Caribbean 2011

Guadeloupe	2	2	0	0	2	2	no info.	8
Martinique	2	2	0	0	2	2	no info.	8
Puerto Rico	2	0	0	0	1	2	2	7
British Virgin	2	0	0	0	2	2	0	6
Aruba	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	4
Bahamas	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	4
Bermuda	2	0	0	no info.	2	0	0	4
Cuba	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	4
Turks and Caic	2	0	0	0	2	0	no info.	4
Dominica Rep	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Haiti	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Jamaica	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Saint Kitts anc	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Saint Lucia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Antigua and B	-1	0	0	0	0	0	0	-1
Barbados	-1	0	0	0	0	0	0	-1
Saint Vincent	-1	0	0	0	0	0	0	-1
Trinidad and 1	-1	0	0	0	0	0	0	-1
AVERAGES:								2.412

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Political Obstacles

Political Obstacle 1: Attitudinal

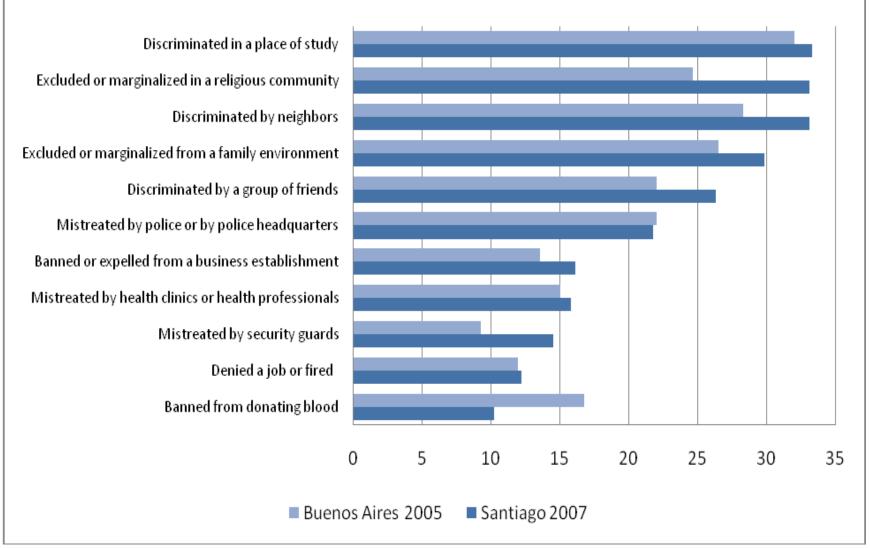
Average Support for Same-Sex Marriage, circa 2010

63.9 Canada 57.7 Argentina 50.5 Uruguay 47.4 United States Brazil : 39.8 • 39.7 Chile Mexico • 37.8 Colombia -* 34.4 • 26.3 Peru Bolivia -24.7 Panama : • 22.8 Honduras • 22.6 Venezuela 22.5 Costa Rica • 20.7 Suriname • 20.3 Dominican Republic 18.6 Ecuador 18.4 Belize: • 17.5 Guatemala 16.5 Paraguay • 16.1 Nicaragua -15.6 Trinidad & Tobago 15.4 El Salvador Guyana Jamaica -40 60 Support for Same-Sex Marriage 95% Confidence Interval (Design-Effects Based) Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP

Source: Lodola and Corral (2011) at http://www.americasquarterly.org/node/ 1728



Percentage of People Who Have Experienced Any of the Following Situations
Survey of Participants in Gay Pride Marches



Source: Corrales and Pecheny (2010).

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Argentina since 2010:

Marriage Equality, Adoption Equality, Gender Choice



My argument 1a

Rather than Secularism,
 ...type of Church activity:

- Catholic Church: low attendance rates
- Evangelical Community: small share of total

My Argument 1b

In addition to separation of church and state,

...separation of state and party

My Argument 2

Instead of globalization...

.... Transnational Legalism (e.g., Piatti-Crocker 2012)





My Argument 3

Instead of Regime type (Democracy or not),

- Federalism
- Inter-party competition (PRO v FPV)
- Type of NGO
 (Encarnación forthcoming)

Subnational Share of Total Spending				
Argentina	49			
Bolivia	27			
Brazil	46			
Chile	14			
Mexico	25			
Venezuela	20			
Source: Stein (1999) in Montero and Samuels (2010).				

Center-right (PRO) v. Peronists (FPV)





Mauricio Macri, Chief of Govt, B.A.

Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, Pres.



http://www.gaytravel.in/2012/10/buenosairespride/

Gay Tourist Dollars

Mexico

Argentina 2010

Argentina 2012

Post-Left Leftists: Key Strategies

- Embrace, not hate, globalization
- Think Anti-Establishment, Work Intra-Establishment



http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Lula_LGBT.jpg

Post-Left Leftists: Key Strategies

- Embrace, not hate, globalization
- Think Anti-Establishment, Work Intra-Establishment
- Party hard





Gay Pride, São Paulo, June 2012.

Chile: Candidate (now President) Sebastián Piñera Campaign Ad



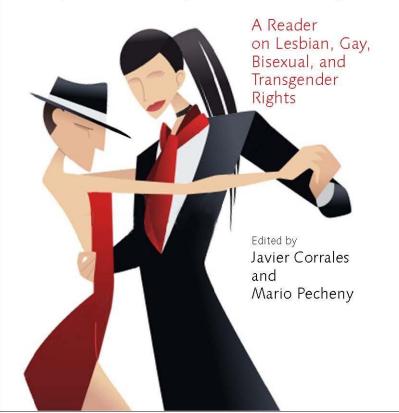
Post-Left Leftists: Key Strategies

- Embrace, not hate, globalization
- Think Anti-Establishment, Work Intra-Establishment
- Party hard
- Democracy, yes; referenda, no

COSTA RICA 2010: Constitutional Hall of Supreme Court Declares Referendum *Unconstitutional*



THE POLITICS OF SEXUALITY IN LATIN AMERICA



Univ. of Pittsburgh Press, 2010

Thank you.