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Mapping Right-Wing Women's Policy Priorities in Latin America

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ABSTRACT

Do right-wing women hold unique policy priorities from that of left-wing women and right-wing men? And do right-wing women legislators represent the priorities of right-wing citizens? Right-wing women share unique gendered socialization experiences with left-wing women, but their ideology informs values and attitudes critical to policy preference formation. Political representation theories suggest that women legislators should hold distinct incentives to represent female constituents. However, institutional theories suggest right-wing women legislators may face different incentives that limit the extent to which they represent right-wing female constituents. To evaluate our expectations, we leverage survey data from the Latin American Public Opinion Project and the Parliamentary Elites of Latin America. We demonstrate how right-wing women citizens differ from left-wing women citizens across a range of policy priorities. Then, we evaluate elite priorities for these same policy issues. We find little evidence for policy priority congruency between women citizens and women legislators on the right.

Important gender gaps exist between women's and men's issue priorities (Clayton et al. 2019; Gottlieb, Grossman, and Robinson 2018) and preferences (Box-Steffensmeier, De Boef, and Tse-Min 2004; Inglehart and Norris 2003). Research on gender gaps in citizens' preferences and priorities tend to treat women as a homogenous group. In doing so, scholars, practitioners, and political pundits alike typically assume women are more liberal than men and that women agree on policy positions that disproportionately affect women (Celis and Childs 2012; Dahlerup 2014). Yet this assumption ignores important differences among women. Notably, women span the ideological spectrum, with right-wing women comprising an important voting bloc in the electorate (Barnes and Cassese 2017; Deckman 2016).

Despite the prevalence of right-wing women in the electorate, women legislators are disproportionately from the left (Caul 1999; Thomsen 2015). In Latin America, for instance, about 34% of women identify as right leaning

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(compared to 16% left leaning and 49% centrists).[1] Among legislators the opposite trend emerges: 18% of female legislators identify as right leaning and 31% are left leaning.[2] The incongruence in right-leaning and left-leaning women's numeric representation raises a question about whether right-wing women's policy priorities are being represented in the policy-making process. To answer this question, we first evaluate whether right-leaning women have distinct policy priorities from right-leaning men and from left-leaning women. Then, we examine whether right-wing women's policy priorities are reflected by right-wing women in the legislature.

To answer these questions, we build on existing literature to empirically investigate differences in right-wing women's political representation compared to left-wing women and right-wing men. Utilizing social role theories, we argue that right-leaning women hold distinct priorities from right-leaning men and left-leaning women. Right-wing women share gendered experiences and socialization that work to inform policy priorities on a number of issues and experiences that are not available to men. Right-wing women's ideology, however, structures critical values and attitudes that underpin these experiences and shape socialization processes. As a result, their gender and ideology in tandem are instrumental in the formation of unique policy priorities that are different from left-leaning women. Further, we provide two competing expectations on elite right-wing women's policy priorities. Although there is a robust research agenda that documents the various conditions under which all women legislators represent their female constituents at greater rates than male legislators, institutional theories regarding party constraints maintain the possibility that right-wing women legislators may not face the same incentives to represent their right-leaning female constituents as compared to their left-wing female elite counterparts.

The widespread diffusion of legislative gender quotas across Latin America creates an ideal setting to compare right-wing women and men. In particular, in countries without gender quotas, such as the United States, left-wing women are far more likely to be elected to office than right-wing women (Caul 1999; Crowder-Meyer and Cooperman 2018; Thomsen 2015). Similarly, in countries with party-level gender quotas (most common in Western Europe), leftist political parties are more likely to adopt quotas than are right-wing parties and are more likely to have women in their congressional delegation (Ballington 2004; Caul 2001; O'Brien 2018). Legislative quotas, by contrast, require that all political parties both left and right-wing include more women on their list of candidates (Jones 2005; Schwindt-Bayer 2009). Thus, even though right-leaning women in Latin America face different pathways to power and different constituency demands than left-leaning women, women in Latin America are represented in large numbers across all political parties.

We use survey data from mass public opinion polls from the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) to examine how right-wing women's policy priorities compare to right-wing men's and left-wing men's and left-wing women's priorities. Then, we use elite survey data from the Parliamentary Elites of Latin America (PELA) from the University of Salamanca to examine how well right-wing women legislators represent right-leaning women constituents.

Our findings demonstrate that whereas right-wing women citizens do hold unique policy priorities compared to left-wing women and to right-wing men on a range of issues, the same cannot be said for right-wing women legislators. Right-wing women legislators are instead more similar to male right-wing legislators. Further, when we examine whether or not right-wing women legislators' priorities are congruent with their right-leaning female constituents, we find some evidence for policy congruence, but primarily on issues where the gender gap between women and men legislators is insignificant. Importantly, we find policy congruence is lacking on issues where right-wing female citizens do hold distinct preferences, suggesting that right-wing women's policy priorities are not adequately represented.

Understanding women's unique policy priorities

Social role theory provides a framework to understand why women hold distinct policy priorities from their male counterparts (Diekman and Schneider 2010; Eagly and Diekman 2006). Social role theory argues that gendered segregation in the aggregate division of labor produces stereotypic gendered expectations surrounding women's and men's behaviors (Eagly, Wood, and Diekman 2000). More specifically, women are socialized to espouse more communal traits such as caring for and nurturing vulnerable populations, while men are socialized to assume more agency-oriented traits such as independence and dominance (Wood and Eagly 2009).

These gendered differences in traits are connected to gendered differences in public opinion across a spectrum of policies and issues (Diekman and Schneider 2010). For example, women's roles as caretakers, mothers, and teachers are associated with more support toward social policies targeting the welfare of children, maternity leave, and education (Barnes and Cassese 2017; Cassese and Barnes 2019; Diekman and Eagly 2008; Eagly et al. 2004; Schlesinger and Heldman 2001). Women's communal roles in society have also been connected to support for social welfare policies for disadvantaged groups (Howell and Day 2000; Page and Shapiro 1992).

Gender differences in labor divisions also lead to women and men holding distinct priorities on status-oriented policies that further inform their political priorities (Barnes, Beall, and Holman 2019). For instance, it is well documented that men support reinforcing the status quo (Jost and Kay 2005) and hold attitudes that support competition and hierarchies (Schmitt

and Wirth 2009). These attitudinal differences translate into higher support from men for policies that support institutions such as the military. Women, by contrast, are more likely to support policies that challenge the established hierarchy such as redistribution and social safety net policies (Barnes, Beall, and Holman 2019) and policies seeking to advance the rights of racial or sexual minorities (Cassese and Barnes 2019; Pratto, Stallworth, and Sidanius 1997).

Given this, it may be that women, regardless of their ideology, have similar policy priorities. Previous research argues that women's issues typically cut across party lines, impacting women from a range of different backgrounds – regardless of their ideology (Smooth 2011). This is because women may be motivated by a number of different identities and "social perspectives" (Weldon 2011). Thus, even though women's issues likely vary over time and across political context (Reingold and Swers 2011), they may be common to all women, regardless of their political ideology. To the extent that gender socialization shapes citizens' policy priorities, we should expect to observe a gender gap in women's and men's policy priorities.

Ideology and gender: Right-leaning women's unique perspective

Despite important differences in women's and men's gendered socialization that undoubtedly structures their policy priorities, there are reasons to expect that political ideology further informs women's policy priorities and underpins differences between left-leaning and right-leaning women (Barnes and Cassese 2017). Although much research has documented clear differences between women and men more generally, we argue right-wing women, thanks in part to their ideology, hold unique priorities from left-wing women as well. Right-leaning women hold values and norms that are different from left-leaning women that are a result of their ideology influencing their socialization experiences. Right-wing women are more likely to hold values and attitudes that emphasize traditional gender roles, perceptions of women, and women's issues in society (Barnes and Cassese 2017; Deckman 2016; Lovenduski and Norris 2003; Schreiber 2008; Swers 2002). In turn, right-wing women's political attitudes and priorities are shaped by these more traditional values (Celis 2006; Childs and Webb 2012). Right-leaning women may be more likely to use traditional gender roles and stereotypes surrounding women to justify policy priorities that are different from their left-leaning counterparts who may reject these traditional notions (Barnes and Cassese 2017; Franceschet, Piscopo, and Thomas 2017; Piscopo, Franceshet, and Thomas 2016; Schreiber 2012). For example, work on maternal feminism details how traditional feminist women, that is women who hold more traditional values and attitudes, utilize biologically driven explanations for the differences between men and women and the roles they occupy in society to help inform their policy priorities (Offen 2000).

In particular, right-wing women are likely to conceptualize motherhood and gender roles differently from their left-wing counterparts. For example, both left-wing and right-wing women may want to support mothers in society; however, right-wing women's traditional notion of motherhood leads these two groups to diverge in the policies they prioritize in an effort to address these concerns. Right-wing women may be more likely to support policies that subsidize mothers to allow them to stay in the home, whereas left-wing women may pursue policies that encourage women's participation in the workforce outside the home (Schreiber 2008). More recent work on right-leaning women in the United States highlights how right-wing women use their roles as mothers to justify their diverging preferences on an array of policy issues ranging from economic policy to gun control (Deckman 2016). Thus, we expect to observe ideological gaps in policy priorities between rightist and leftist women. Further, we expect that the gender gap in policy priorities between rightist men and women will be smaller than the average gaps observed between all men and women.

Understanding the gender gaps that divide rightist men and women and the ideology gaps that divide women's policy priorities is the first critical step to understanding whether rightist women are represented in the policy-making process. The next step is to understand whether rightist women legislators advance policy priorities that are congruent with rightist women citizens. Research on women's representation leads to competing explanations for whether or not we should expect to observe rightist women being represented by right-wing women legislators. In the next section, we make the case for women's policy congruence. Then, we explain why competing incentives may limit policy congruence between right-wing women elites and their female right leaning constituents.

Right-wing women: The case for issue congruence

As with citizens, women legislators may have different lived experiences that structure their policy priorities to be unique from those priorities held by male legislators. Indeed, previous research argues that descriptive representatives are more likely to have similar experiences that shape their perspective on government and public policy (Dovi 2002; Mansbridge 1999; Phillips 1995). Thus, it may simply be the case that women legislators, like women citizens, experience society differently and hold distinct policy priorities from men.

That said, legislators tend to come from the most elite segment of society (Barnes and Saxton Forthcoming; Carnes 2013; Taylor-Robinson 2010). For example, elite women policy-makers may be removed from the experiences of middle and working-class women (Barnes, Beall, and Holman 2019). Still, even to the extent that legislators are faced with more privileged circumstances,

women legislators may be more likely to take an interest their female constituents as a group and invest in learning about their concerns (Weldon 2002).

While we should expect that all legislators are interested in identifying problems their constituents face and designing and approving policy solutions (Fenno 1978), a growing body of research indicates that descriptive representatives, in this case women, are actually more responsive to constituents from politically marginalized groups than are their male colleagues (Barnes 2016; Rodríguez 2003; Schwindt-Bayer 2010). For instance, an audit study from the United States revealed that women legislators are more likely than men legislators to respond to constituents inquiring about women's issues legislation (Butler and Broockman 2011). Consistent with these trends, Schwindt-Bayer (2010) finds that women legislators in Argentina and Costa Rica (but not Colombia) report placing a higher priority on female constituents and on women's groups than do male legislators. Barnes (2016) finds that women from across the political spectrum in the Argentine provinces work within and across party lines to promote policy that advances women's interests. Similarly, Rodríguez (2003) finds that among Mexican representatives, women work together regardless of party on gender equality issues such as workplace equality and sexual harassment. Together, this evidence suggests that even to the extent that women legislators themselves face more privileged circumstances than female constituents, they are more likely than male legislators to take an interest in learning about women's welfare and prioritize their needs in the policy-making process.

A large body of research shows that women politicians tend to have some priorities that are distinct from their male colleagues (Clayton et al. 2019; Funk and Philips 2019; Taylor-Robinson and Heath 2004) and they spend more of their time proposing legislation relevant to women's issues (Brown and Banks 2014; Holman 2014; Kittilson 2008, 2011; Piscopo 2011). Research on the Argentine Congress, for instance, finds that women prioritize different legislation than do men during the bill introduction phase, introducing more legislation pertaining to women's rights and children and family issues (Jones 1997; Piscopo and Franceshet 2008; Schwindt-Bayer 2006). Surveys from legislators in Argentina, Colombia, and Costa Rica demonstrate that women are more likely than men to say that women's equality and children and family issues are "very high priorities" (Schwindt-Bayer 2006). And ideal point estimates derived from bill cosponsorship in Argentina show that women exhibit distinct legislative preferences from their male colleagues (Barnes 2012).

Although left-leaning women historically have been more likely to be elected to office, there has been a recent rise of right-wing women in politics and right-wing women's organizations that claim to represent the interests of women (Celis and Childs 2014b). Rightist women elites advocate for women's interests, while simultaneously rejecting conventional leftist notions of feminism (Campbell and Childs 2015b; Piscopo, Franceshet, and Thomas 2016; Schreiber 2012, 2014; Celis and Childs 2014a). Work from the United

States using interviews of members and leaders of right-wing women's organizations finds rightist women are actively engaged in challenging the notion that leftist women are the only ones to represent women's interests and claim women's representation (Schreiber 2008, 2002). In addition, Campbell and Childs (2015a) find right-wing women elites in the British Conservative Party hold unique attitudes on issues related to the economy, but not on other issues. Lloren (2014) finds a similar story among right-wing women elites in Switzerland. Rightist women elites are more likely to represent their female constituents' interests than their male counterparts, but the same is not found to be true for women in leftist parties.

In Latin America, there is further evidence for right-wing women representatives' unique priorities compared to left-wing women elites. For example, examining party stances on abortion legislation in Mexico, Rodríguez (2003) finds that women from the Partido Revolucionario Institucional, a center-left party, support legislation granting women access to abortion. In contrast, women from the Partido Acción Nacional, a center-right party, are strong adversaries against abortion legislation. Similarly, Piscopo (2011) finds that in Argentina even right-leaning women legislators take to the floor to speak on behalf of women during debates about reproductive rights. They make claims in support of women to justify their ideologically right-wing position.

Taken together, there are a number of reasons to believe that right-leaning women legislators may be more likely than their male colleagues and their liberal women colleagues to represent conservative women. Indeed, to the extent that women's shared life experiences shape their priorities, we expect to observe: (1) a gender gap in policy priorities between rightist male and female legislators; and (2) rightist women legislators are more likely than rightist male legislators to have congruent issue priorities with rightist women citizens.

Competing pressures facing right-wing women legislators

Although there are reasons to believe that right-leaning women legislators will be responsive to and representative of rightist women's issue priorities, women legislators (like all legislators, see Carey and Shugart 1995; Crisp et al., 2004) face a number of competing pressures (Barnes 2016; Schwindt-Bayer 2010), electoral coordination challenges (Crisp and Demirkaya Forthcoming), and even voter information deficits (Demirkaya 2019) that may limit their issue congruence with constituents (Clayton et al. 2019).

The majority of countries in Latin America, though not all, employ some form of an electoral list for candidates seeking election to the national legislature (IDEA 2019). Women, like men, are selected by party leaders to run on these party lists. Party leaders may intentionally select candidates that share their priorities (Jones, De Luca, and Tula 2002; Siavelis and Morgenstern 2008). That is, legislators do not represent a random draw of

the population. Instead, party leaders recruit candidates who they believe will be loyal to the party. For this reason, right-wing women elites may not reflect the priorities of the average right-leaning woman in society. Instead, parties are likely to recruit women (and men) who believe in the party's agenda or who are willing to align their priorities with the parties' priorities.

Even if women do not share the same policy priorities as the party a priori, once they are in office, legislators face a number of competing pressures (Clayton, Josefsson, and Wang 2017; Crisp et al. 2018; Jones and Hwang 2005; Kerevel 2015) that sometimes lead them to advance policies that do not align with their constituents' priorities (Demirkaya 2019). Since legislators are selected to represent an entire constituency, they may feel obligated to align their priorities with the average person in the district (Barnes 2012). Or, more precisely, for right-leaning legislators, they may wish to align their priorities with the average right-wing person in the district – and not the average right-wing *woman* in the district. For this reason, right-wing women legislators may not accurately reflect gender gaps among right-leaning constituents.

Beyond constituency obligations, women may be faced with pressures to represent their entire party without showing any partiality toward their own individual political priorities or even toward a subset of women constituents (Espírito-Santo, Freire, and Serra-Silva Forthcoming; Schwindt-Bayer 2010; see also Crisp et al. 2018 for a similar discussion on ethnic minorities). Indeed, in many democracies, party leaders control the fates of legislators' careers as they control access to the ballot and, depending on the electoral system, the order in which candidates' names appear on the ballot (Carey and Shugart 1995; Crisp et al. 2004). For example, Lopreite (2014) finds less collaboration among women across party lines on issues relating to reproductive rights in Mexico, in part because of the strong opposing party platforms on reproductive rights. For these reasons, even if women have different legislative priorities than their male colleagues, they may be compelled to report legislative priorities that reflect the party's priorities and not their own.

In sum, to the extent that political party and constituent constraints structure right-wing women's policy priorities, we should not expect to observe policy congruence between rightist women legislators and constituents. Instead, we should observe: (1) right-leaning women legislators should report policy priorities that comport closely to their male colleagues on the right; and (2) to the extent that we observe gender gaps in priorities among conservative citizens, policy priorities of rightist women legislators will not be congruent with rightist women citizens.

Evidence from citizen- and elite-level data across Latin America

To evaluate our expectations and to understand how well rightist women in the electorate are represented by legislative elites, we need a series of

empirical tests. First, we need to understand how much of the electorate are rightist women. Second, we need to understand if rightist women citizens' policy priorities differ from rightist men and from leftist women. Third, to the extent that rightist women citizens hold unique policy priorities, we need to understand whether these differences are reflected in the priorities of representatives.

Answering these questions poses a unique challenge because it requires citizen-level data and elite-level data. For this reason, scholars have rarely examined the congruence between citizens' and elites' priorities. Clayton et al. (2019), however, recently introduced a new research design in which they compare citizens' priorities from cross-national public opinion surveys in sub-Saharan Africa with legislators' priorities from elite surveys across sub-Saharan Africa. Herein, we adopt a similar research design to evaluate policy congruence of right-leaning women citizens and elites in Latin America. The primary difference between our approach and that of Clayton et al. (2019) is that whereas they examine average policy congruence between women citizens and elites, we first look at average policy congruence between women citizens and elites and then turn to policy congruence among right-leaning women citizens and elites.

Specifically, we combine citizen-level survey data from the Latin American Public Opinion Project with elite-level survey data from the Parliamentary Elites of Latin America. Our survey data covers 13 countries across Latin America in 2008. We draw on data from Latin America for a number of reasons.

First, the prevalence of national-level legislative quotas throughout the region means that right-leaning women are better represented among elites than would be the case absent this intervention. Indeed, in most countries without legislative gender quotas, left-leaning women are more likely than right-leaning women to become legislators (Caul 1999; O'Brien 2018; Thomsen 2015). Latin America diverges from this pattern in part because of the proliferation of legislative gender quotas. Legislative gender quotas apply to *all* political parties, regardless of their ideological leanings. So, although left-leaning women still outnumber right-leaning women in Latin America legislatures, right-leaning women are better represented than in other regions of the world. In regions such as Western Europe and Africa, for example, there is a prevalence of party quotas (Ballington 2004). Party quotas apply only to the parties that adopt them, and party quotas are more likely to be adopted and fulfilled by left-wing parties (Caul 2001). Thus, party quotas do not do as much as legislative candidate quotas to aid in right-leaning women's representation. As a result, the widespread adoption of candidate quotas – institutional designs that require all political parties to save space for women on their list of candidates – in Latin America makes the region unique to other parts of the world and an ideal place to study whether right-leaning women legislators represent right-leaning women citizens.

Beyond this, it is particularly important to study the representation of right-leaning women citizens in Latin America because of the prevalence of right-leaning women in the citizenry. Unlike other regions of the world where scholars have observed a modern gender gap – that is, women are more left-leaning than men on average – Latin America still has a traditional gender gap – that is, women are more right leaning, holding more traditional values and attitudes, than men on average (Arana and Santacruz Giralt 2005; Morgan 2015). Indeed, in our sample, a larger percentage of men than women identify as left leaning (see below). Additionally, in an analysis of Latin American's vote choice, Morgan (2015) find that women are more likely than men to support right-leaning presidential candidates across the region. Given that right-leaning women make up a substantial part of the electorate, it is imperative to study how well they are represented in the policy-making process.

Finally, despite the widespread use of candidate quotas, left-leaning women are still better represented in legislatures. Indeed, as we show below, using women legislators' self-placement on a left-right scale, women legislators are more likely to place themselves left of center than right of center.[3] Given that more women citizens self-identify as right leaning, this incongruence points to an important tension in Latin America and raises profound questions about the extent to which the policy priorities of right-leaning women are represented by Latin American legislators.

Analyzing right-leaning women's issue priorities

In this section, we first focus on right-leaning women in the electorate. We assess how prevalent right-leaning women are in the population. Then, we evaluate how their policy priorities differ from right-leaning men and left-leaning women, respectively.

The prevalence of right-leaning women

To test our expectations we utilize the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP). LAPOP conducts face-to-face interviews with a nationally representative sample of voting age citizens across Latin American countries every two years. Our analyses cover 14 countries across Latin America and over 22,000 respondents from 2008.[4]

To answer the first empirical question – How much of the electorate are rightist women? – we created a variable to identify respondents' ideology. Specifically, we used a question that asked respondents to place themselves on a left to right scale ranging from 1 to 10, where 10 is right and 1 is left. Then, we coded respondents as right leaning if they placed themselves at a 7 or above. People were coded as left leaning if they rated themselves a 4 or below. People identifying as a 5 or 6 were considered centrists. In our sample,

17% of individuals identified as a 4 or below (left), 34% of individual placed themselves at a 7 or higher (right), and the remaining 49% placed themselves at a 5 or 6 (centrists). This is fairly evenly distributed across men and women: 16% of women reported as being on the left, 34% identified as being on the right, while 49% identified as centrists. Among men, 18% were on the left, 34% were on the right, and 49% responded as centrists.

Although the modal respondent in our sample identified as centrist, far more women identified as rightist than as leftist. This pattern is important for understanding rightist women's representation given that women elites in Latin America are more likely to identify as leftist. Women as a whole are underrepresented in legislatures across the region and women on the right are disproportionately underrepresented among women legislators. Thus, to the extent that right-leaning women constituents have distinct policy priorities, it is all the more important to understand if the right-leaning women in legislatures represent the policy priorities of right-leaning women constituents. This brings us to our second question: Do rightist women have distinct policy priorities from men on the right and from women on the left?

Measuring policy priorities

To gauge policy priorities – and hence to evaluate if rightist women differ from rightist men and from left women – we used the question "In your opinion, what is the most serious problem faced by the country?" This was an open-ended question. The enumerator was instructed not to read response options to the respondent and to identify only the single most important issue. Since this question was open-ended, people could provide any response they liked. Across all of the countries in our sample, there were 69 unique responses. Still, there were a number of issues that routinely showed up. For example, 24.8% of respondents said the economy, and 27.9% of respondents said crime-related issues were the most serious issue facing their country. On the other hand, only 1.9% of respondents said health was the most serious issue.

These trends also varied considerably across countries. For example, whereas 29.9% of respondents said the economy was the most serious issue in Peru, only 3.6% of respondents identified this as the most serious issue in Colombia. To allow us to compare citizens' issue priorities across countries (and to create comparable responses for our citizen-elite congruency analysis discussed below), we created ten mutually exclusive categories that reflect broad political issues in society: Economy, Unemployment, Crime, Drugs, Education, Social Problems (e.g., poverty and social inequality, discrimination), Domestic Politics, Corruption, Health, and Infrastructure.[5] The other categories were more intuitive but for more information on the full coding procedures, see the online Appendix.

Using these ten categories, we first compared the percentage of women and men who listed each category as the most serious problem facing the country. We used the difference in proportions test to see if the gender gaps were significant. Then, we turned to the comparison between rightist women and other citizens.

Average gender gaps in respondents' policy priorities

Table 1 presents the average share of women and men who reported each issue as the top priority facing the nation. For each issue, we show the gender gap and whether the gap is significant. Table 2 presents the figures by ideology. Here, we report gender gaps among right-wing and left-wing citizens respectively, then ideology gaps (i.e., differences between right-wing versus left-wing) for women and men.

Next, given that the categories we report are mutually exclusive, and thus the errors are correlated between the different categories, we show that our results are robust to a seemingly unrelated regression (SUR) that jointly models citizens' responses. Finally, to ensure the gender gaps observed are not driven by any one country or any set of countries, we include country-level fixed effects in our SUR analysis. These results are reported in Tables A2–A5 in the online Appendix. Given that our results are robust across model specifications, we focus our discussion on Tables 1 and 2.

First, consider the average gender gaps across society. Table 1 lists the issue priorities in the first column, then the share of women and men who

Table 1. Citizens' Priorities by Gender.

Issue	Women	Men	Gender Gap (SE)
Economy	26.13	23.28	2.85*** (0.01)
Unemployment	13.08	14.39	−1.31** (0.004)
Crime	28.74	26.89	1.85*** (0.01)
Drugs	2.77	2.31	0.46* (0.002)
Education	1.62	1.85	−0.23 (0.001)
Social Problems	10.68	9.38	1.30** (0.004)
Domestic Politics	1.36	2.46	−1.10*** (0.003)
Corruption	5.38	8.09	−2.71*** (0.003)
Health	2.14	1.69	0.45* (0.002)
Infrastructure	2.79	3.17	−0.38† (0.002)

Significance tests are from a difference in proportions test. † $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 2. Ideological Gaps Between Citizens by Political Orientation and Gender.

	Citizens on the Right			Citizens on the Left			Ideological Gaps‡	
Issue	Women	Men	Gender Gap (SE)	Women	Men	Gender Gap (SE)	Women	Men
Economy	25.88	24.05	1.83† (0.01)	27.04	25.09	1.95 (0.01)	1.16	1.04
Unemployment	12.73	13.03	−0.30 (0.01)	14.63	13.67	0.96 (0.01)	1.9†	0.64
Crime	31.53	29.86	1.67 (0.01)	25.42	23.78	1.63 (0.01)	−6.11***	−6.08***
Drugs	29.35	28.57	0.08 (0.004)	3.06	1.63	1.43** (0.004)	−26.29	−26.94**
Education	1.49	1.60	−0.11 (0.003)	1.72	2.43	−0.71† (0.004)	0.23	0.83*
Social Problems	9.48	7.91	1.57* (0.01)	11.83	10.72	1.11 (0.01)	2.35**	2.81***
Domestic Politics	1.31	2.07	−0.76* (0.003)	1.13	2.59	−1.46*** (0.004)	−0.18	0.52
Corruption	4.88	7.44	−2.56*** (0.01)	5.69	9.00	−3.31*** (0.008)	0.81	1.56†
Health	1.88	1.63	0.25 (0.003)	2.17	1.59	0.57 (0.004)	0.29	−0.04
Infrastructure	2.39	3.20	−0.81* (0.004)	2.48	2.59	−0.11 (0.004)	0.09	−0.61

Significance tests are from a difference in proportions test. † $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .001$, *** $p < .0001$.
‡When interpreting the ideological gaps presented here, positive values indicate more leftist citizens prioritized the issue than rightists while negative values indicate more rightist citizens prioritized the issue than leftists.

said this was the most serious problem in the second and third columns respectively. The third column shows the gender gap, where positive gaps indicate that women were more likely than men to report the issue was serious and negative gaps indicate that men were more likely to report the issue was serious. The third column also indicates whether the gender gap was statistically significant.

Consistent with our expectation that socialization shapes citizens' policy priorities, we observe gender gaps across nine of the ten issue areas. Women were more likely than men to rank the economy, crime, drugs, social problems, and health as the most serious issues facing the country. Men, by contrast, were more likely to rank unemployment, domestic politics, infrastructure, and corruption as the most important issues. There were no significant gender differences between the share of women and men who said education is the most important issue facing their country.

Taking a closer look at these gender gaps, Table 1 indicates that crime ranks as the most serious problem facing the country for both women and men. This category includes issues such as general crime and violence, gangs, and a lack of security. Yet there is an important gender difference, with women being more likely to prioritize crime than men. Specifically, 28.7% of women reported crime as the most important issue facing the country and

26.9% of men said the same. This is a 1.85 gender gap ($p < .001$). The economy – including the economy in general, inflation, high prices, external debt, and lacking credit – was the second most important issue citizens identified. Additionally, an even larger gender gap, the largest identified in our sample, emerged among citizens responding that the economy is the most important issue facing the country. While 26.1% of women reported the economy is the most serious issue facing the country, the same can be said for 23.3% of men – a 2.85 gender gap ($p < .001$).

We find significant gender gaps regarding social problems as well. Specifically, 10.7% of women and 9.4% of men reported social problems as the most important issue facing the country. This is a statistically significant gender gap of 1.30 ($p < .01$). There were also statistically significant, albeit much smaller, gender gaps for drugs and health, with women more likely than men to identify each of these issues as a serious problem facing their country.

Men, by contrast, were more likely to prioritize unemployment, domestic politics, corruption, and infrastructure as the most important issues facing the country. Unemployment represents the third-largest issue identified by women and men in our analyses: 14.4% of men identified unemployment as a serious issue compared with 13.1% of women – a 1.31 gender gap ($p < .01$). Corruption represents our second-largest gender gap at 2.71 ($p < .001$). Here, we find men were more likely than women (8.1% compared with 5.4%, respectively) to say that issues of corruption – such as lacking impunity, bad government, lacking democracy, and violations of law – comprise the most important problem facing their country. Men also prioritized issues surrounding domestic politics (i.e., centralization, polarization, referendums, and politicians) more so than women. Although 1.4% of women prioritized domestic politics, 2.5% of men did so as well. Here, we find a statistically significant gender gap of 1.10 ($p < .001$). Finally, we find an additional, albeit smaller, gender gap on issues relating to infra-structure, with men prioritizing these issues more so than women.

Combined, the results reported in Table 1 provide support for our expecta-tion that gender socialization shapes citizens' policy priorities, as we observe a number of gender gaps in women's and men's policy priorities across a range of issues. Nonetheless, as we explained above, gender socialization is not the only factor that influences women's policy priorities. Ideology is important too. Indeed, there is reason to expect that some of the gender gaps will attenuate when we account for women's and men's ideology, and that we should observe important ideological gaps among women.

Right-leaning women's policy preferences

To evaluate whether there are gender gaps among right-wing individuals, whether the gender gaps are driven by left-wing orientation, or whether the gender gaps are constant across both right-wing and left-wing individuals,

Table 2 shows the percentage of right-wing women and men alongside the percentage of left-wing women and men who reported each issue is the most serious in their country.

Four interesting patterns emerge in Table 2. First, gender gaps for domestic politics and corruption are persistent regardless of respondents' ideology. That is, both right-wing and left-wing women were less likely than right-wing and left-wing men, respectively, to report domestic politics as the largest problem facing society. Additionally, women were less likely to report that corruption is the most serious problem.

Second, some gender gaps emerge among rightists that do not emerge among leftists. Specifically, right-wing women were less likely than right-wing men to prioritize infrastructure and more likely to prioritize the economy. Neither of these gaps persisted among leftists. Likewise, some differences emerge among leftists that do not persist among rightists. Specifically, left-wing women were more likely than left-wing men to prioritize issues pertaining to drugs such as drug consumption, addiction, and trafficking. Further, left-leaning women were less likely than men to prioritize education. This gap exists only among leftists and is not apparent when we do not account for ideology.

Third, once we account for ideology, four of the gender gaps disappear completely. Whereas the average gender gap indicates that women were less likely to report unemployment as a problem, there is no gender gap for unemployment among rightists nor leftists. Further, the average gender gap also indicates that women were more likely to report crime and health as a problem, but we find no evidence of a gender gap among rightists or leftists on either of these two categories.

Fourth, significant ideology gaps emerge among women. The eighth and ninth columns of Table 2 report the ideology gaps for women and men respectively. The ideology gap for women is calculated by taking the average response for left women minus the average response for right women such that positive values indicate an issue was a larger priority for left women than right women. Negative gaps indicate the issue was prioritized more by women on the right than women on the left.

Both right-wing women and men were more likely than leftists to report that crime is a problem. Whereas only 25.4% of left-wing women report crime is a problem, 31.5% of right-wing women do, a 6.11 ideology gap. Left-wing women, by contrast, were more likely than right-wing women to indicate that social problems are the most important issue facing the country: 11.8% of left-wing women reported it as the most important issue, compared with 9.5% of right-wing women – a 2.35 ideology gap. This same pattern holds between right-wing and left-wing men. Finally, it is worth pointing out that among men there are ideology gaps regarding their desire to prioritize drugs and education – these same ideology gaps are not observed among women.

The results from this section demonstrate support for our expectations that gender gaps in policy priorities between rightist men and women will be smaller than the average gaps observed between all men and women. Further, they support our expectation that we should observe ideological gaps in policy priorities between rightist and leftist women. Both ideology gaps and gender gaps are critically important for understanding right-leaning women's representation. Indeed, elite women are typically more left-leaning than right-leaning. The fact that right-wing and left-wing women do not always share the same priorities, such as the differences we found on issues relating to crime and social problems, underscores the need for both right-wing and left-wing women in parliament. In particular, our findings demonstrate the need for right-leaning women. Right-wing women diverged from right-wing men on five of our ten categories, implying that right-wing men's representation alone will not provide quality representation for right-wing women. If right-wing men alone do not provide right-women political representation, the question is then: Do right-leaning women legislators share the policy priorities of right-leaning citizens? Legislators' policy priorities and their congruence with citizens is the focus of the second half of our empirical analysis.

Evaluating elites' policy priorities

The next step in understanding whether right-wing women are represented in the policy-making process is to evaluate the policy priorities of elites. To the extent that women's shared life experiences shape their priorities, we should observe a gender gap in policy priorities between rightist male and female legislators. By contrast, to the extent that party and constituency constraints structure policy priories, gender difference between left-leaning men and women may be minimal. In this section, we examine gender and ideology gaps among elites.

To assess elite policy priorities, we used elite survey data from the Parliamentary Elites of Latin America (PELA) survey from the University of Salamanca. We used Wave 5 of the survey conducted between 2009 and 2012. This timing most closely overlaps with the dates when the citizen-level survey was in the field. PELA conducts confidential face-to-face surveys with a representative sample of legislators from each country included in the sample. Responses are deidentified, but include information on the respondents' sex, party, and self-placement on a left-right scale. The sample is stratified by party without replacement. PELA obtains an average response rate of 90%. The PELA data cover 14 countries across the Latin American region with over 1,000 respondents.

To begin, we used the same approach as in the section above to identify conservative women. As with LAPOP, PELA asks legislator respondents to place themselves on a left to right scale that ranges from 1 to 10, where 10 is

right and 1 is left. We again coded respondents as right leaning if they placed themselves at a 7 or above. People were coded as left leaning if they rated themselves a 4 or below. People identifying as a 5 or 6 were concentered centrists. Leftist legislators made up about 20% of the sample, while legislators who identify on the right made up about 24% of the sample. Centrists made up the remaining 56% of the sample.

Women legislators made up only 21% of the sample, with men holding the vast majority of legislative seats in Latin America. Among men, 25% reported they are a 6 or above on the 10-point scale (right leaning), while 17% placed themselves as a 4 or below (left leaning). The remaining 58% were male legislators who identified themselves as centrists, placing themselves at a 5 or 6. Among women, 18% reported themselves at a 6 or above (right leaning) and 31% placed themselves as a 4 or below (left leaning). The remaining 51% of women legislators placed themselves at a 5 or 6, identifying as centrists. Following the same logic, we next coded legislators into 10 different categories that map on to the same issues identified in the LAPOP survey.

Table 3 presents the proportion of women and men legislators reporting each issue as the top issue facing the country. For each issue, we report the gender gap and whether the gap is significant. Table 4 shows the figures by ideology. Here, we report gender gaps among right-wing and left-wing legislators respectively, then we report ideology gaps (i.e., difference between rightists versus leftists) for women and men legislators. Tables A7–A11 in the online Appendix show that the gaps reported in Tables 2 and 4 are robust to a SUR that jointly models citizens' responses and country-level fixed effects.

Gender gaps in legislators' priorities

First, consider the average gender gaps across legislators. Table 3 lists the issue priorities in the first column, and the share of women and men legislators who said this was the most serious problem in the second and third columns, respectively. The fourth column shows the gender gap, where positive gaps indicate that women were more likely than men to report the issue is serious, and negative gaps indicate that men were more likely to report the issue is serious. The fourth column also indicates whether the gender gap was statistically significant.

When examining legislators' priorities, we find quite different results from those observed among citizens' priorities. Out of ten policy issues, we find a gender gap in only one. Women legislators were more likely than men to say economic issues are the most serious issue facing the country: 12.7% of women legislators and 9.2% of male legislators prioritize economic issues in their country. This gender gap of 3.56 is statistically significant at a 90% confidence level. Of the remaining issues, we find that women legislators were no more or less likely than their male counterparts to prioritize

Table 3. Legislators' Priorities by Gender.

Issue	Women	Men	Gender Gap (SE)
Economy	12.73	9.17	3.56† (0.02)
Unemployment	8.18	10.76	−2.58 (0.02)
Crime	21.82	25.31	−3.49 (0.03)
Drugs	3.64	4.03	−0.39 (0.01)
Education	5.91	7.21	−1.30 (0.02)
Social Problems	21.82	21.39	0.43 (0.03)
Domestic Politics	6.82	4.77	2.05 (0.02)
Corruption	9.55	9.29	0.25 (0.02)
Health	3.64	2.32	1.32 (0.01)
Infrastructure	0.91	1.96	−1.05 (0.01)

Significance tests are from a difference in proportions test. † $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .001$, *** $p < .0001$.

Table 4. Legislators' Priorities by Gender and Ideology.

	Legislators on the Right			Legislators on the Left			Ideological Gaps‡	
Issue	Women MPs	Men MPs	Gender Gap (SE)	Women MPs	Men MPs	Gender Gap (SE)	Women	Men
Economy	7.89	10.73	−2.84 (0.05)	18.27	9.82	8.46* (0.04)	10.38†	−0.91
Unemployment	13.16	10.73	2.43 (0.06)	6.45	10.27	−3.82 (0.03)	−6.71	−0.46
Crime	31.58	29.27	2.31 (0.08)	10.75	12.05	−1.30 (0.04)	−20.83**	−17.22***
Drugs	7.89	3.90	3.99 (0.05)	5.38	4.46	0.91 (0.03)	−2.51	0.56
Education	2.63	6.83	−4.20 (0.03)	6.45	9.38	−2.92 (0.03)	3.82	2.55
Social Problems	18.42	15.12	3.30 (0.07)	24.73	35.27	−10.54† (0.05)	6.31	20.15***
Domestic Politics	2.63	3.90	−1.27 (0.03)	7.53	5.36	2.17 (0.03)	4.9	1.46
Corruption	7.89	7.80	0.09 (0.05)	9.68	9.38	0.30 (0.04)	1.79	1.58
Health	7.89	3.41	4.48 (0.05)	4.30	1.34	2.96† (0.02)	−3.59	−2.07
Infrastructure	0	1.46	−1.46 (0.01)	0	1.34	−1.34 (0.01)	0	−0.12

Significance tests are from a difference in proportions test. † $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .001$, *** $p < .0001$.
‡When interpreting the ideological gaps presented here, positive values indicate more leftist representatives (both men and women) prioritized the issue than rightist representatives while negative values indicate more rightist representatives prioritized the issue than leftist representatives.

unemployment, crime, drugs, education, social problems, domestic politics, corruption, health, or infrastructure.

Right-wing legislators' policy priorities

Even though we find little evidence of a gender gap in priorities generally between women and men legislators, these general trends are not our primary interest. Our primary interest is in right-wing women's representation and their policy priorities and to evaluate whether there are gender gaps among rightists, whether the gender gaps are driven by leftists, or whether the gender gaps are constant across both rightists and leftists. Table 4 below shows the percentage of right-wing women and men alongside the percentage of left-wing women and men who reported each issue is the most serious in the country.

One trend is immediately apparent: There are no statistically significant gender gaps between right-leaning legislators. Indeed, once we account for ideology, the average gender gap for the economy becomes insignificant. And no other gender gaps emerge.

The same does not hold for legislators on the left. The gender gap for economic issues remains: 18.3% of women and 9.8% of men reported the economy as the most important issue, a statistically significant 8.46 gender gap. Moreover, other important gender gaps emerge among legislators on the left. We observe statistically significant gender gaps between women and men legislators on the left for both health and social problems. Notably, female legislators on the left prioritized issues of health more than their male counterparts, at 4.3% and 1.3% respectively. This 2.96 gender gap is statistically significant at a 90% confidence level. Finally, male legislators on the left were more likely than women to report issues relating to social problems as the greatest issue facing their country. Here, we find that 35.3% of male legislators on the left prioritize social problems while 24.7% of women legislators do as well. With a statistically significant gender gap of 10.54, social problems represented not only the issue prioritized by the largest share of women and men legislators on the left, but also the largest gender gap. It seems that not only do women and men legislators hold few differences in the issues they prioritize in general, these same trends emerge within parties on the right and less so within parties on the left.

Importantly, although there were no significant gender gaps among legislators on the right, we did observe a number of significant ideological gaps among women. Negative values indicate that right-wing legislators prioritize an issue more and positive values mean that left-wing legislators prioritize an issue more. Among women, we first find that left-wing women legislators prioritize the economy more so than right-wing women legislators: 18.3% of left-wing women reported the economy as the most important issue, but only 7.9% of right-wing women reported the same – a 10.38 gap.

Both rightist women and men representatives prioritize issues of crime more so than their leftist counterparts. Specifically, while 31.6% of right-wing women legislators reported crime issues as the most pressing concern facing the country, only 10.8% of left-wing women legislators did. This represents an ideological gap of 20.83, the largest gap observed among women.

Right-wing priority incongruence: Mapping ideology gaps

Now that we have a clear understanding of the share of rightist women in the electorate, how their policy preference differs from rightist men and leftist women, and the policy priorities of elites, we can bring this information together to answer our final question: Are rightist women represented in the policy-making process?

To evaluate this question, we examined priority congruence between these two groups – that is, the extent to which the priorities of rightist women legislators reflect the priorities of rightist women citizens. To evaluate the extent to which citizens' priorities are reflected by their representatives, we plotted the gender gaps at the citizen level and elite level and examined the correlations between the two (Clayton et al. 2019). First, we broke up the gender gaps by ideology, focusing our discussion on right-wing women. We conclude this section by examining ideology gaps within genders to see how congruent right-wing women citizens' priorities are with that of their right-wing women legislators. Figure 1 plots the gender gap for both legislators and citizens on the right. We include the gender gaps for legislators and citizens on the left in Figure 2 as a point of comparison for readers. However, given that our focus is on right-wing women's representation, we chose to focus on Figure 1.

In keeping with our previous analyses, positive values indicate women prioritized the issue more and negative values indicate that men prioritized a given issue more. In other words, when looking at Figure 1, if the gender gap is positive on the x-axis, right-wing women prioritized the issue more than their male counterparts. For elites, the same is said of the y-axis, with a positive gender gap indicating that women elites prioritized the issue more than men. When we see issues fall into either the top right quadrant or the bottom left quadrant, we have policy congruence because these are the quadrants that represent where citizens' and legislators' gender gaps were in the same direction. In contrast, when issues fell into the bottom right or top left quadrants, these are issues where the gender gaps with citizens and within legislators did not align. If an issue fell into either of these two quadrants, we would say the two groups were not congruent.

Examining the gender gaps among right-wing citizens and legislators, we find evidence pointing toward policy congruence (see Figure 1). On issues relating to social problems, crime, health, and drugs, all received positive
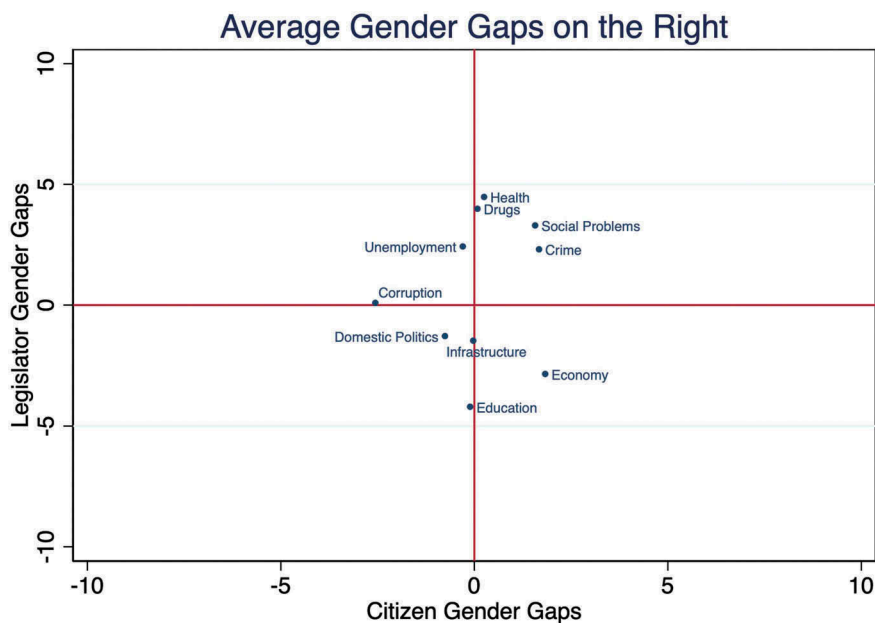
Figure 1. Gender gaps on the right.

values among women on the right in the citizenry and women elites. Similarly, we see women in the citizenry and among elites were less likely to prioritize issues related to domestic politics, education, and infrastructure. However, on issues regarding unemployment, corruption, and the economy, we see women in the citizenry and women elites on the right hold diverging priorities. Right-wing women were more likely to prioritize unemployment and corruption, but less likely to do so for the economy, while the opposite can be said of right-wing women in the citizenry. However, these results do not mean that right-wing women experience policy congruence with right-wing women elites. Quite the contrary, while there were five gender gaps between rightist women and men in the citizenry, there were no gender gaps among rightist women and men elites. So again, while Figure 2 implies some policy congruence among women on the right in the citizenry and in elites, right-wing women elites were actually no different from their male counterparts regarding the policies they prioritized.

Finally, to test our expectations on conservative women's representation, we also plotted the correlations between ideological gaps within genders. Figure 3 plots the ideology gap among women citizens and legislators. We include Figure 4, which plots the ideology gap among male citizens and legislators, for readers' comparison. In these figures, positive values indicate that left-wing individuals, citizen or legislator, prioritized the issue more so than their right-wing counterparts and negative values reflect issues that were more prioritized by rightists.
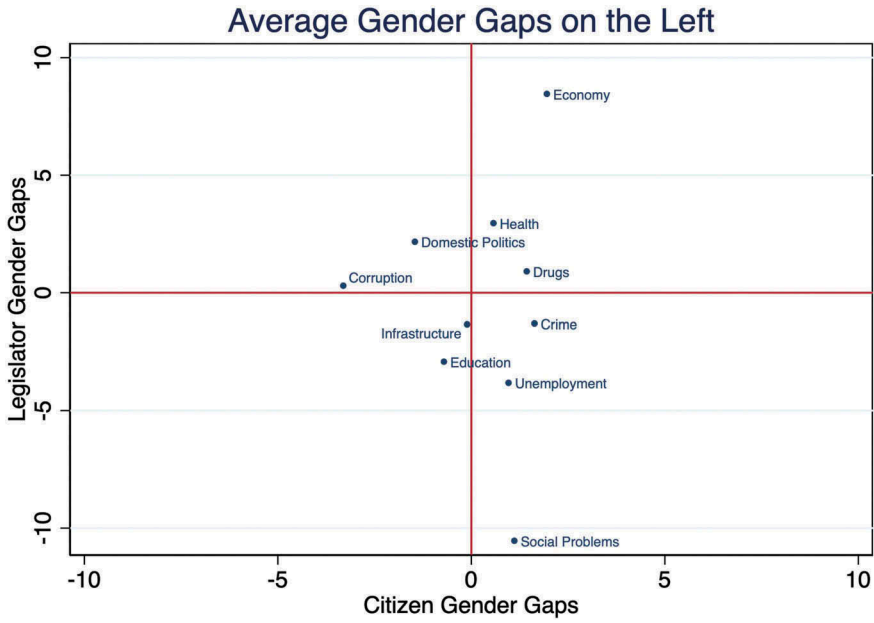
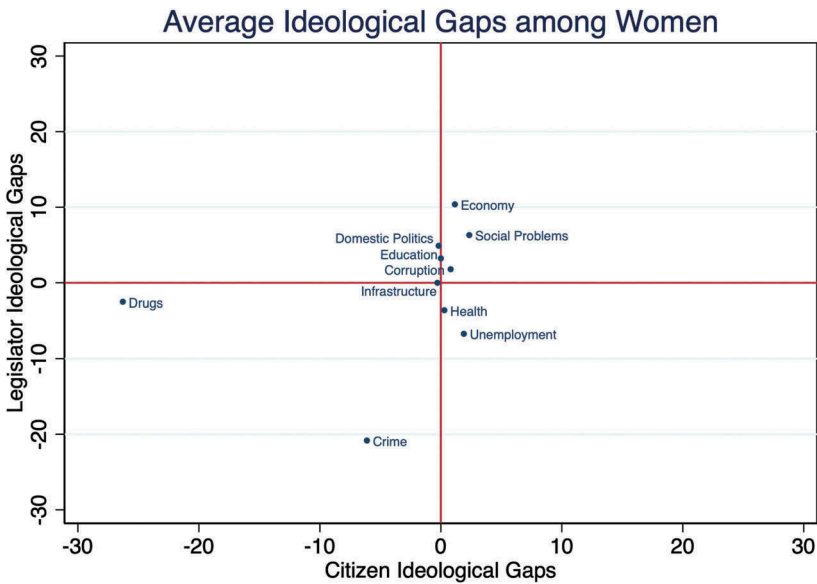**Figure 2.** Gender gaps on the left.

Figure 3. Ideology gaps among women.

More specifically, when we see a positive ideological gap on the x-axis, left-wing citizens prioritized the issue more than right-wing citizens. On the y-axis, a positive ideological gap indicates left-wing elites prioritized an issue more than right-wing elites.
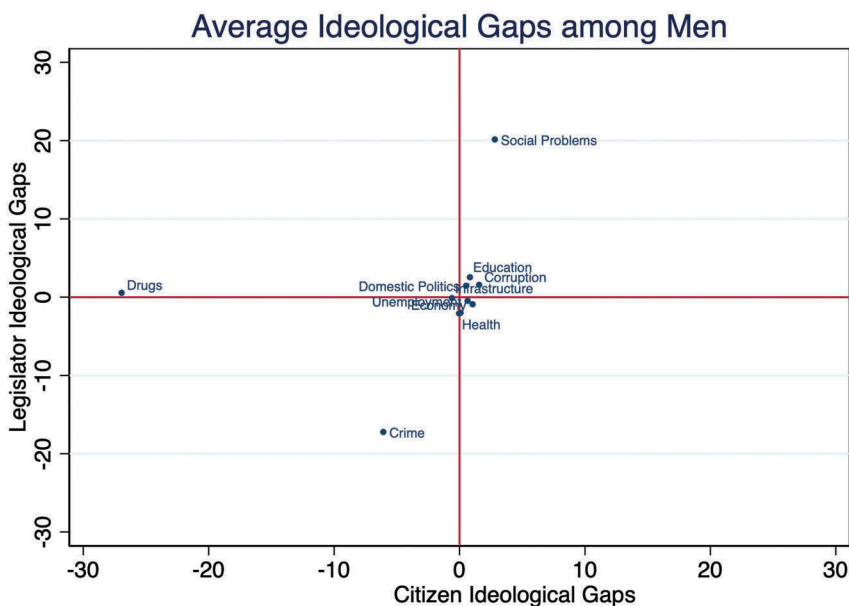
Figure 4. Ideology gaps among men.

Turning our attention to the priorities of right-wing women, we see that on issues related to crime and drugs, both women in the citizenry and among elites were more likely to report this issue as the most important issue facing the country. Rightist women in the citizenry diverged from the priorities of rightist women elites on issues related to health and unemployment, with right-wing women citizens less likely to prioritize, and right-wing women elites more likely to prioritize these issues. The only issue on which there was an ideological gap for right-wing women elites and in the citizenry was crime. On this issue, both rightist women from the citizenry and elites were more likely than leftist women to prioritize crime. Although there is a statistically significant ideological gap on issues related to unemployment and social problems among women citizens, these gaps did not emerge among women elites. Instead, there were ideological gaps on issues related to the economy.

Overall, we take these findings as a tentatively negative sign for conservative women's representation in Latin America. While there were issues that both right-wing women elites and right-leaning women in the citizenry prioritized more so than right-wing male elites and right-leaning male citizens (e.g., health, drugs, and crime), right-wing women elites were no different from their male elite counterparts on any of the ten categories. In other words, women elites on the right largely did not share the same priorities as their right-leaning female constituents. Furthermore, we find evidence for five different gender gaps among women and men citizens on the right that we did not find between women and men elites on the right. Hence, there are issues in society that right-leaning women citizens placed value on that were not reflected by their rightist women elite counterparts.

Conclusion

Consistent with previous research from the United States (Barnes and Cassese 2017; Box-Steffensmeier, De Boef, and Tse-Min 2004; Inglehart and Norris 2003) and Africa (Clayton et al. 2019; Gottlieb, Grossman, and Robinson 2018) indicating that women citizens have different issue preferences and priorities than men, our analysis shows a number of gender gaps among citizens in Latin America. Women and men diverged on their priorities across a range of issues including the economy, crime, political problems, health, and international relations. Beyond these average gender gaps, we show that conservative women citizens have issue priorities that diverge from both conservative men and liberal women.

We find that right-leaning women citizens in Latin America hold distinct policy priorities from right-leaning men. Right-wing women citizens prioritized issues related to the economy and social problems more so than right-wing men citizens. Right-wing women also were less likely to prioritize domestic politics, corruption, and infrastructure as compared to right-wing men. However, we find no evidence for a gender gap among conservative legislators across all ten issues in our sample.

Despite that conservative women's policy priorities were distinct, we did not observe that conservative women legislators' priorities mapped onto citizens' when examining ideological gaps among women. Right-wing women citizens prioritized crime more so than their left-wing female counterparts and social problems less. For right-wing women elites, crime was also prioritized more than their left-wing women elite counterparts. However, we failed to find any difference between right-wing and left-wing women elites on issues pertaining to social problems. With regard to the economy, although we find no difference between right-leaning and left-leaning citizens, we did find evidence of an ideological gap among women elites: left-wing women were more likely than right-wing women to prioritize issues pertaining to the economy.

Our results indicate that the persistent focus on the gender gap in society more broadly belies important differences between right- and left-leaning women. This is potentially problematic given that, even in Latin America where candidate gender quotas are near ubiquitous and they are applied to all political parties in the countries where they are adopted, left-wing women are still more likely to be elected.

Indeed, the findings from this research have important implications for the representation of right-wing women in Latin America. As we demonstrated, right-wing women are more prevalent in the Latin American electorate than are left-wing women. Yet right-wing women are disproportionately underrepresented in Latin American legislatures, despite legislative gender quotas requiring that all parties include women on their list of candidates.

This numeric underrepresentation indicates that rightist women's voices are already marginalized in the policy-making process. Still, our research suggests that the lack of right-wing women's representation may go beyond disparities in descriptive representation, as it appears that right-leaning women citizens have distinct issue priorities that are not matched by right-wing women legislators.

Notes

1. Authors' calculation using the Latin American Public Opinion Project 2008. See the section "Analyzing right-leaning women's issue priorities" for details.
2. Authors' calculation using data from the Parliamentary Elites of Latin America. See the section "Evaluating elites' policy priorities" for details.
3. Importantly, research on Latin America finds that right-leaning parties are just as likely as left-leaning parties to nominate and elect women (Hinojosa 2012; Htun 2005; Roza 2010). Nonetheless, the self-placement of legislators varies dramatically even within political parties (e.g., Jones and Hwang 2005). For this reason, these two findings are not inconsistent.
4. Our sample consisted of the following countries: Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Panama, Peru, and Uruguay. We selected these countries because they provided the most comprehensive overlap between the LAPOP data and the data collected by PELA, which is discussed in further detail in the section "Evaluating elites' policy priorities."
5. Social Unrest (e.g., human rights violations, forced displacement, and internal conflict), environment, international security, and international politics were issues mentioned less than 1% of the time in fewer than six countries.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

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