

**Chapter 15. "Social Inequalities, Identity, and the Structure of Political Cleavages
in Argentina, Chile, Costa Rica, Colombia, Mexico, and Peru, 1952-2019"**

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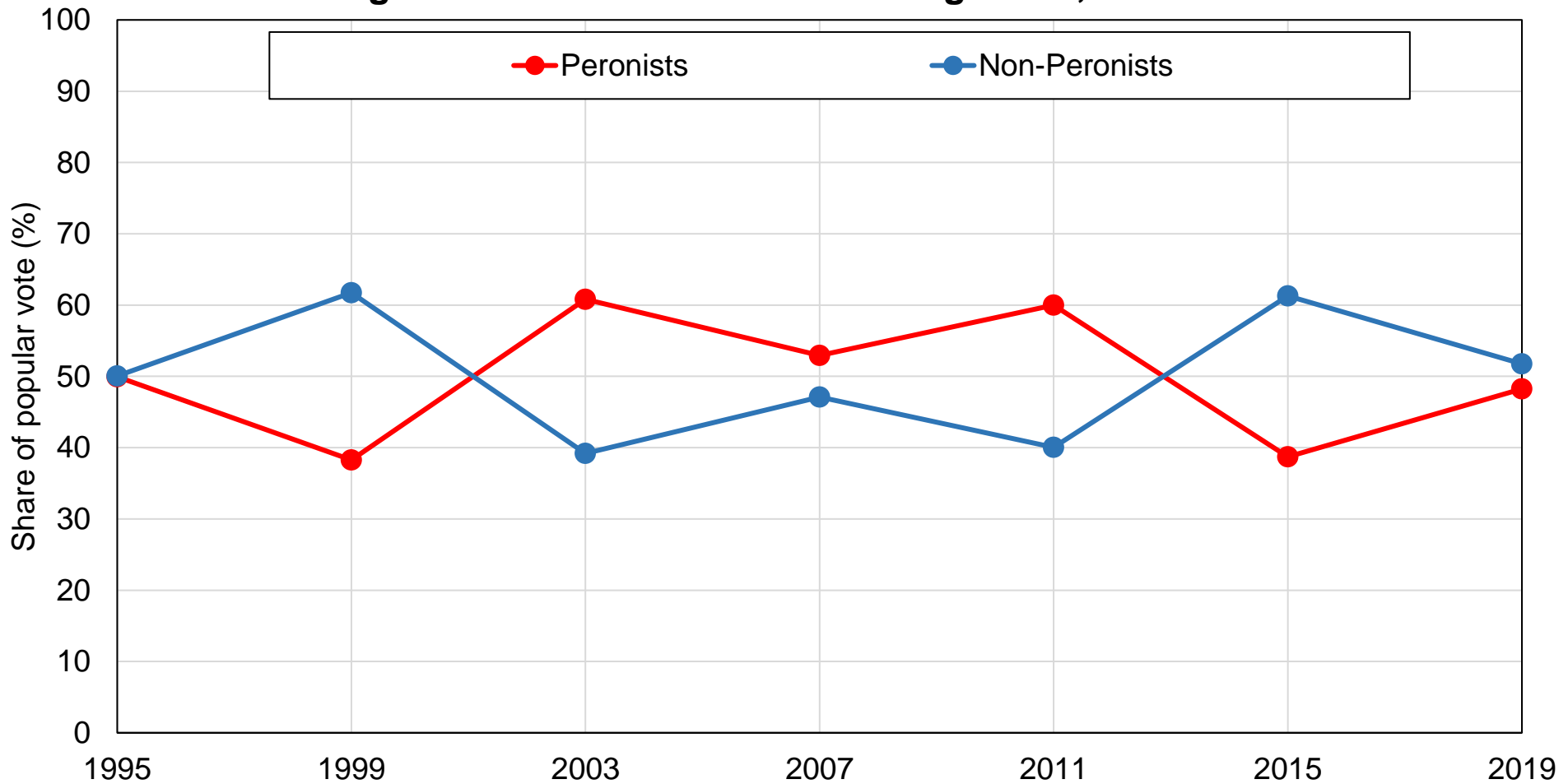
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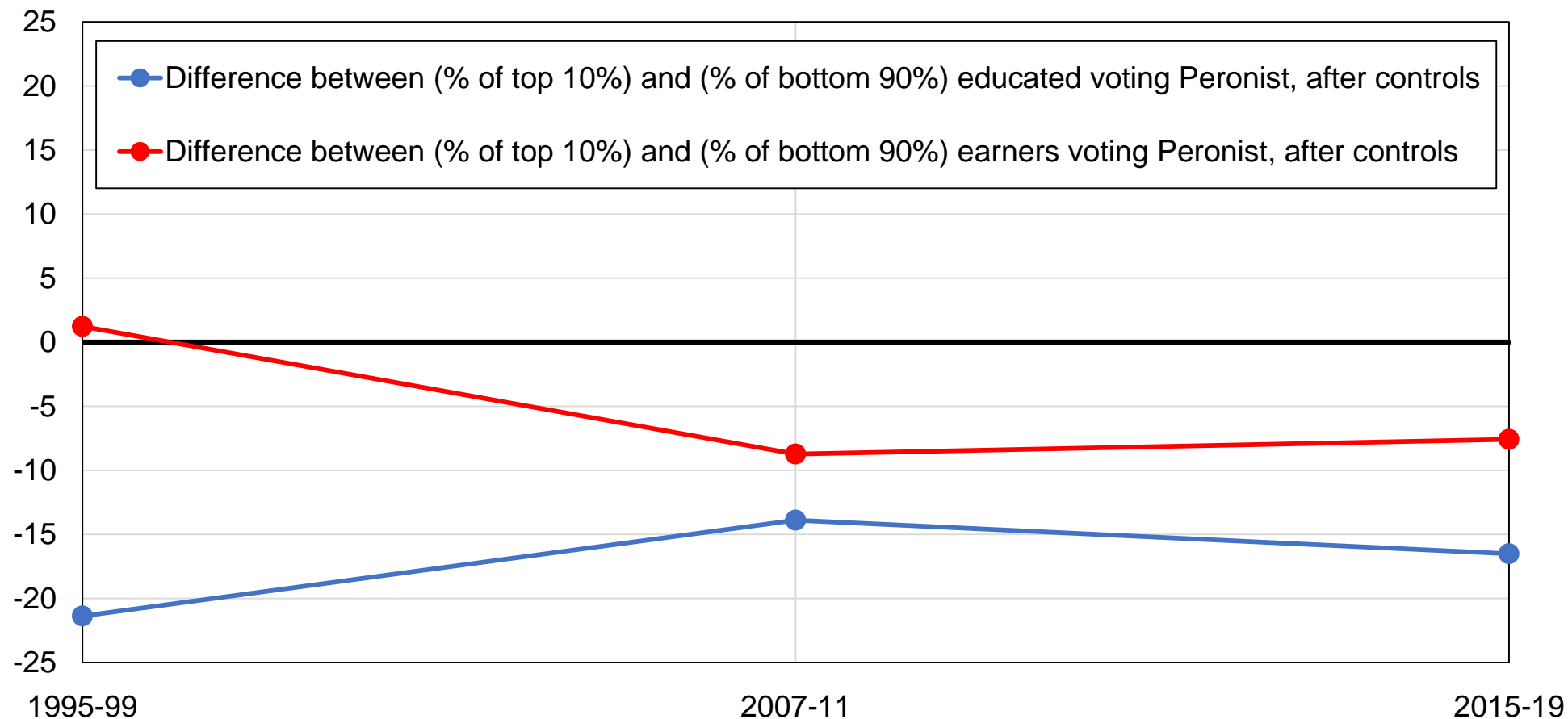
Figure A1 - General elections in Argentina, 1995-2019



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Argentinian political parties in general elections between 1995 and 2019. Non-peronist parties include: Radical Civic Union (UCR), Front for a Country in Solidarity (FREPASO), Action for the Republic, Civic Coalition ARI, Cambiemos, Frente de izquierda, Broad Progressive Front and Recrear.

Figure A2 - Vote for Peronists among highest-educated and top-income voters in Argentina, after controls



Source: authors' computations using Argentinian post-electoral and political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the relative support for highest-educated and top-income voters for Peronists, after controlling for age, gender, religious affiliation, religiosity, employment and marital status, occupation, rural-urban location, region, ethnicity, and perceived social class.

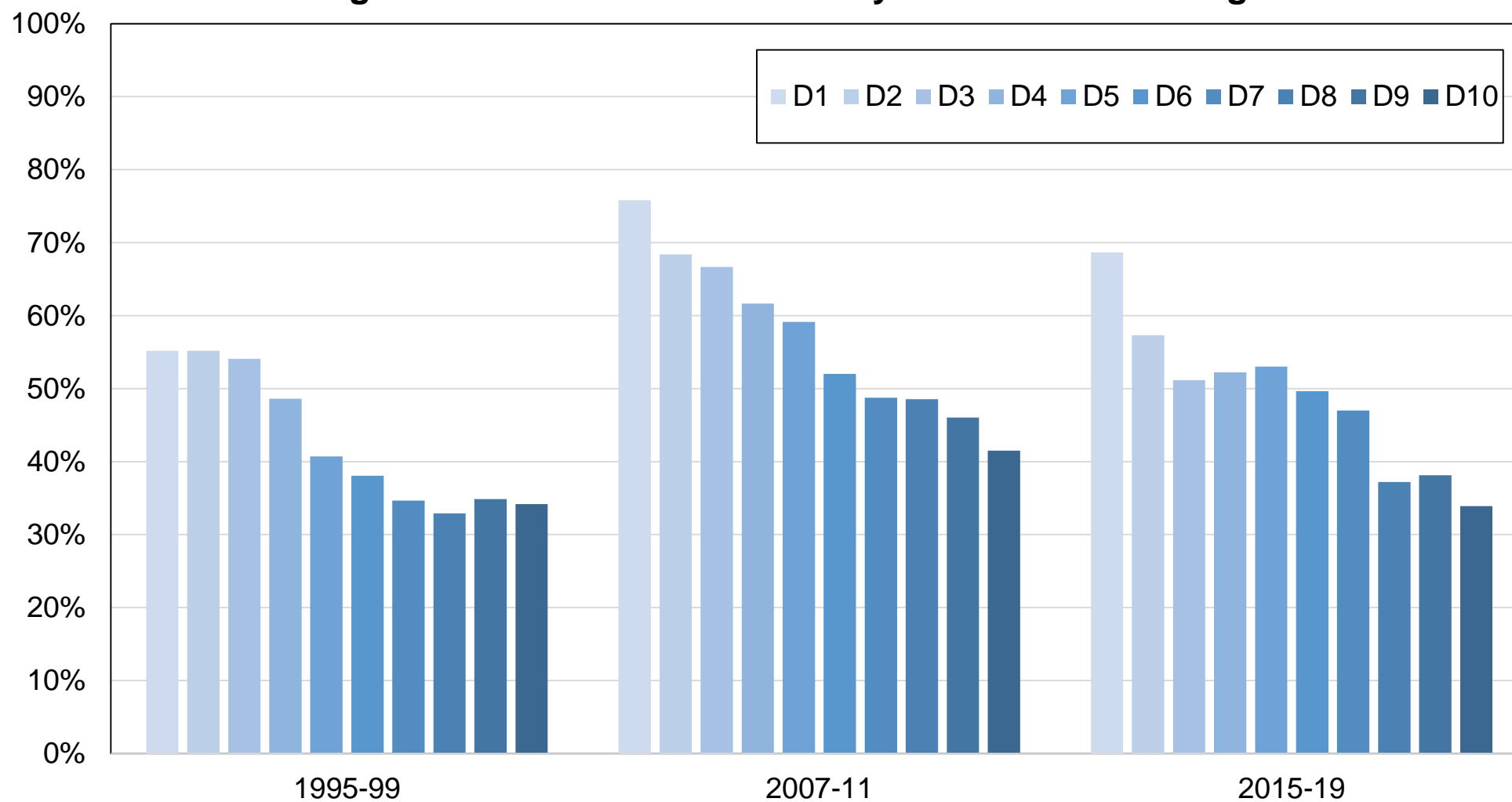
Table A1 - The structure of political cleavages in Argentina, 2015-2019

	Share of votes received (%)	
	Peronists	Non-Peronists
Education		
Primary	55%	45%
Secondary	51%	49%
Tertiary	38%	62%
Income		
Bottom 50%	55%	45%
Middle 40%	44%	56%
Top 10%	34%	66%
Occupation		
Public worker	39%	61%
Private Worker	34%	66%
Entrepreneur	27%	73%
Self-employed	38%	62%
Non-paid worker	45%	55%
Subjective social class		
Working class	57%	43%
Upper/Middle	32%	68%
Rural-urban location		
Urban area	47%	53%
Rural area	40%	60%

Source: authors' computations using Argentinian political attitudes surveys.

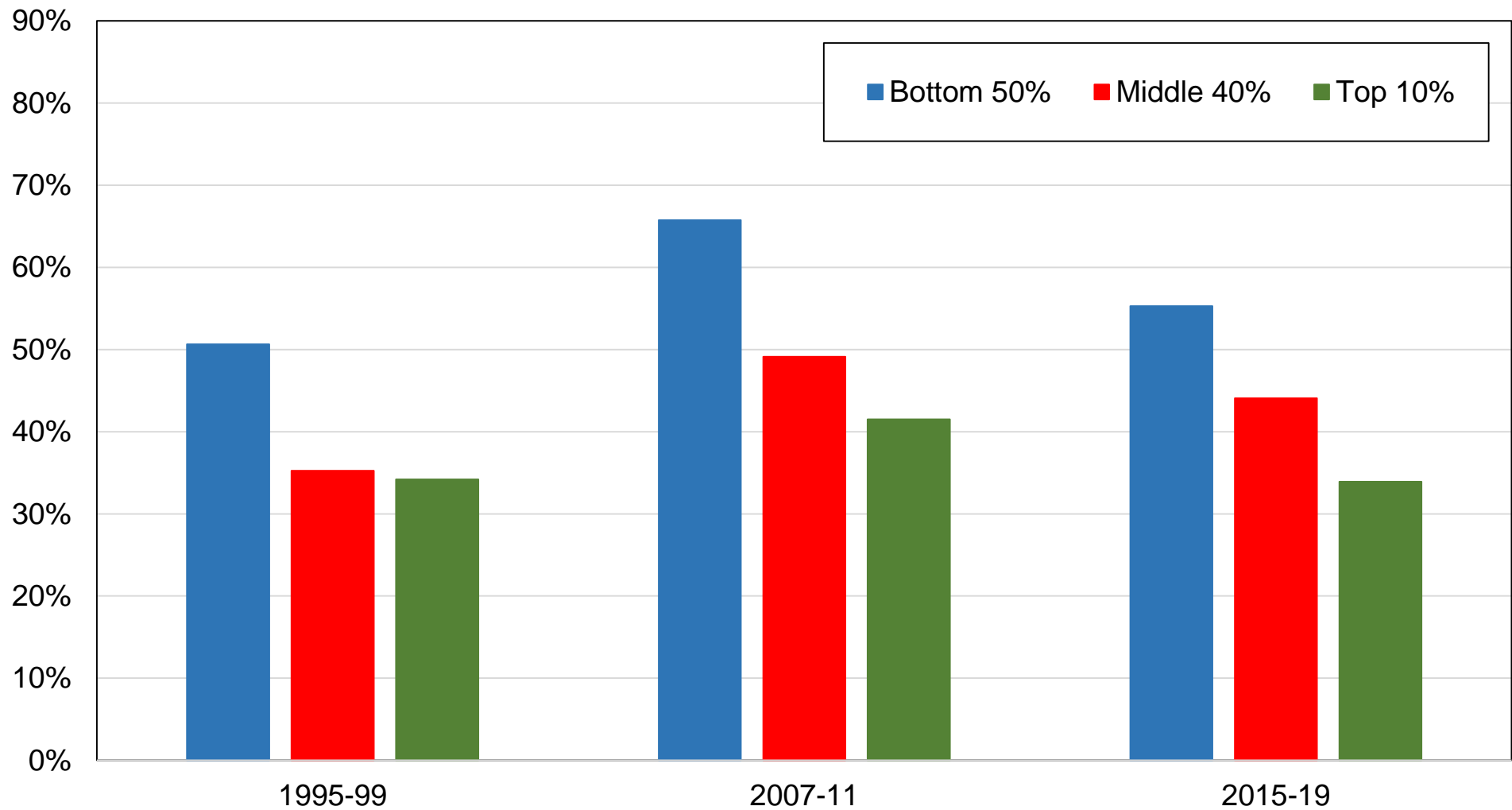
Note: the table shows the average share of votes received by Peronists by selected individual characteristics in 2015-2019.

Figure AA1 - Vote for Peronists by income decile in Argentina



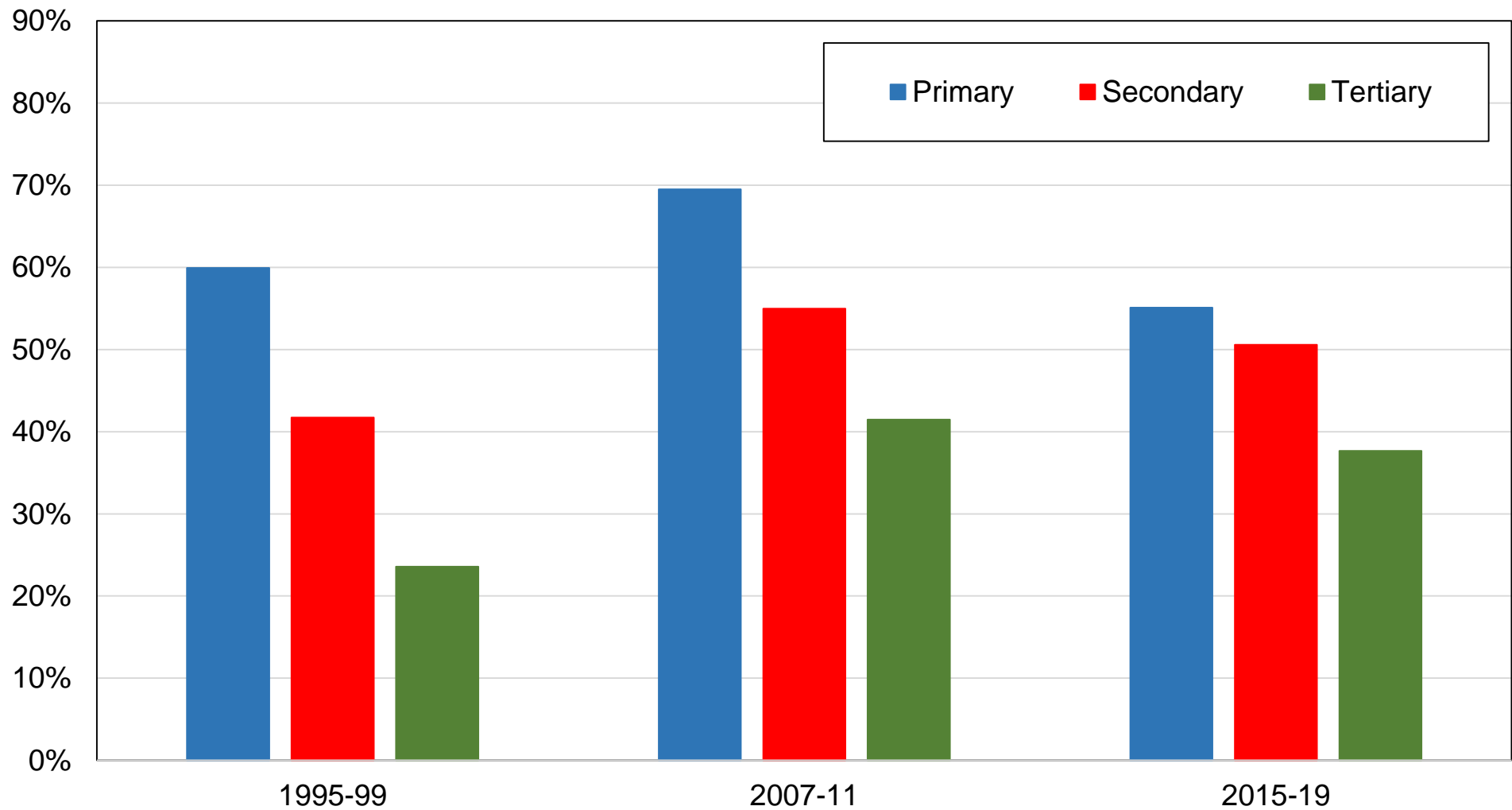
Source: authors' computations using Argentinian post-electoral and political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Peronist party by income decile.

Figure AA2 - Vote for Peronists by income group in Argentina



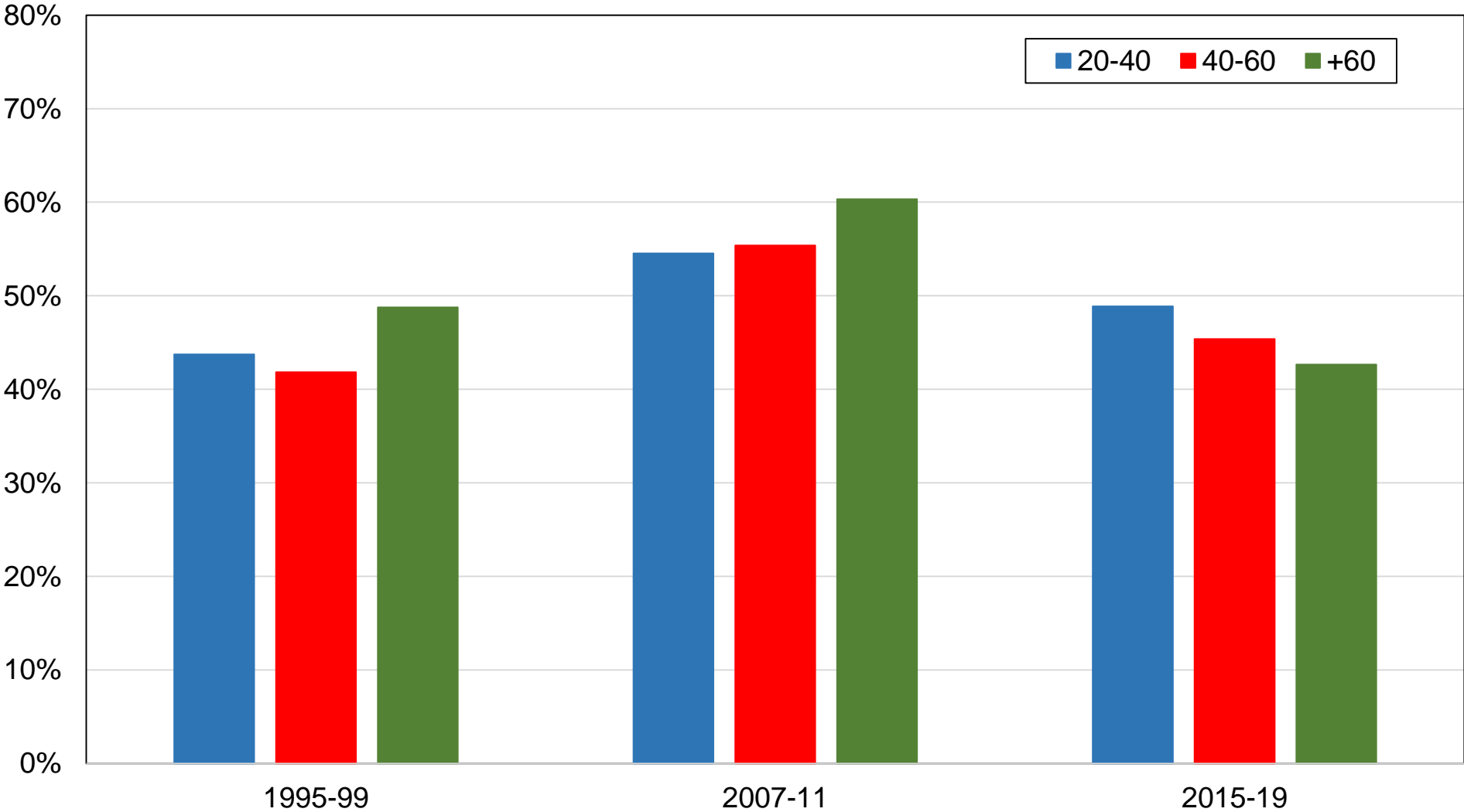
Source: authors' computations using Argentinian post-electoral and political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Peronist party by income group.

Figure AA3 - Vote for Peronists by education level in Argentina



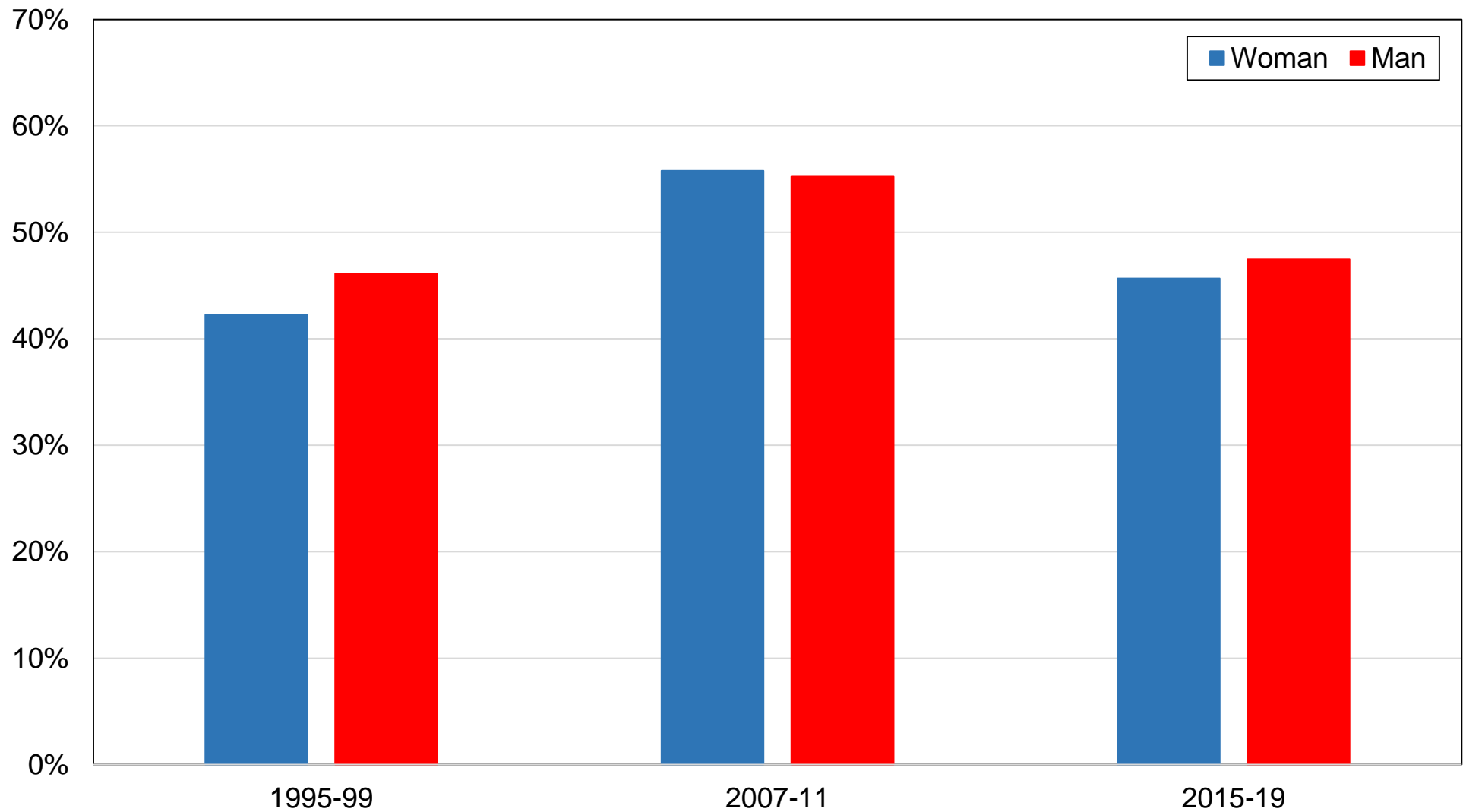
Source: authors' computations using Argentinian post-electoral and political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Peronist party by education level.

Figure AA4 - Vote for Peronists by age group in Argentina



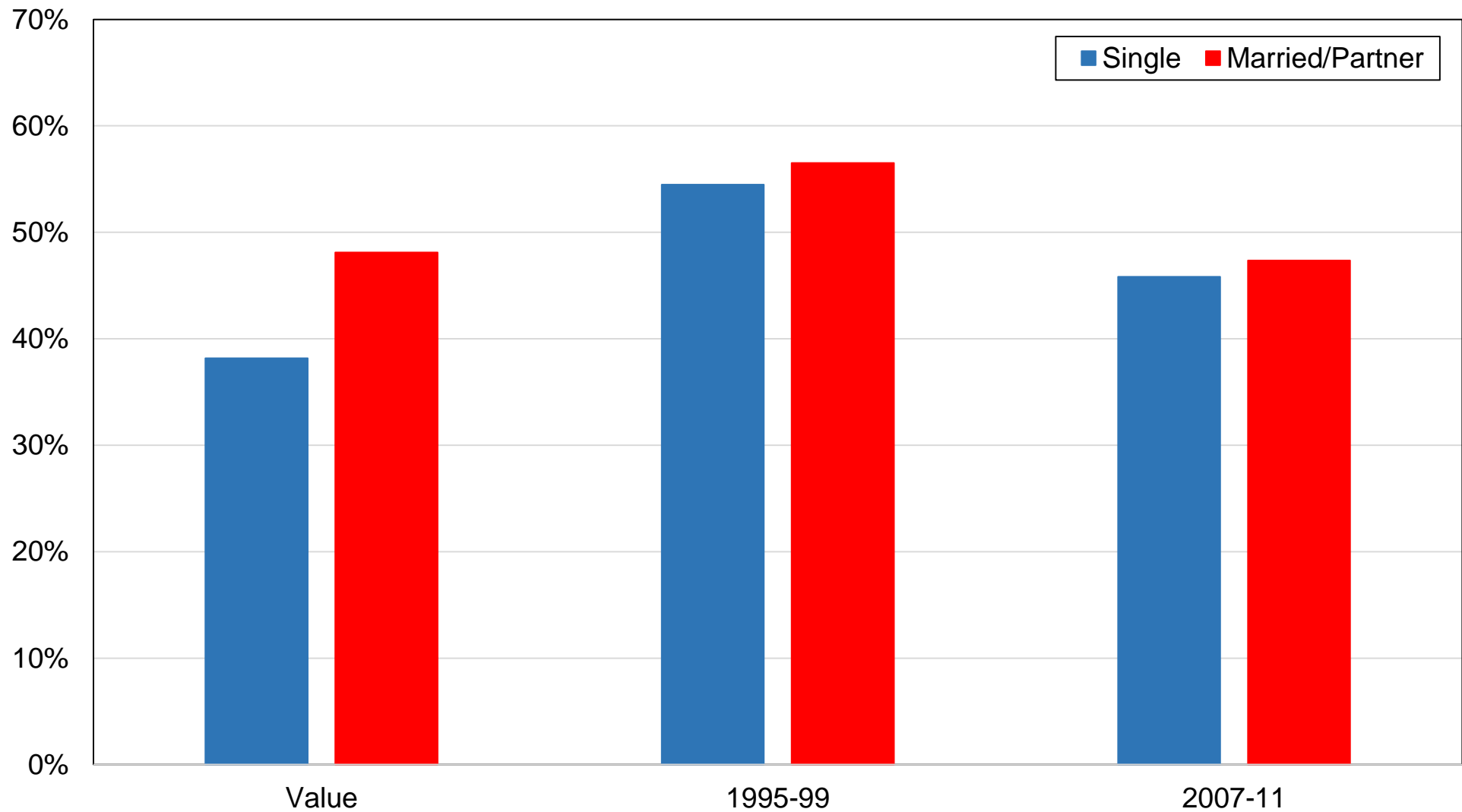
Source: authors' computations using Argentinian post-electoral and political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Peronist party by age group.

Figure AA5 - Vote for Peronists by gender in Argentina



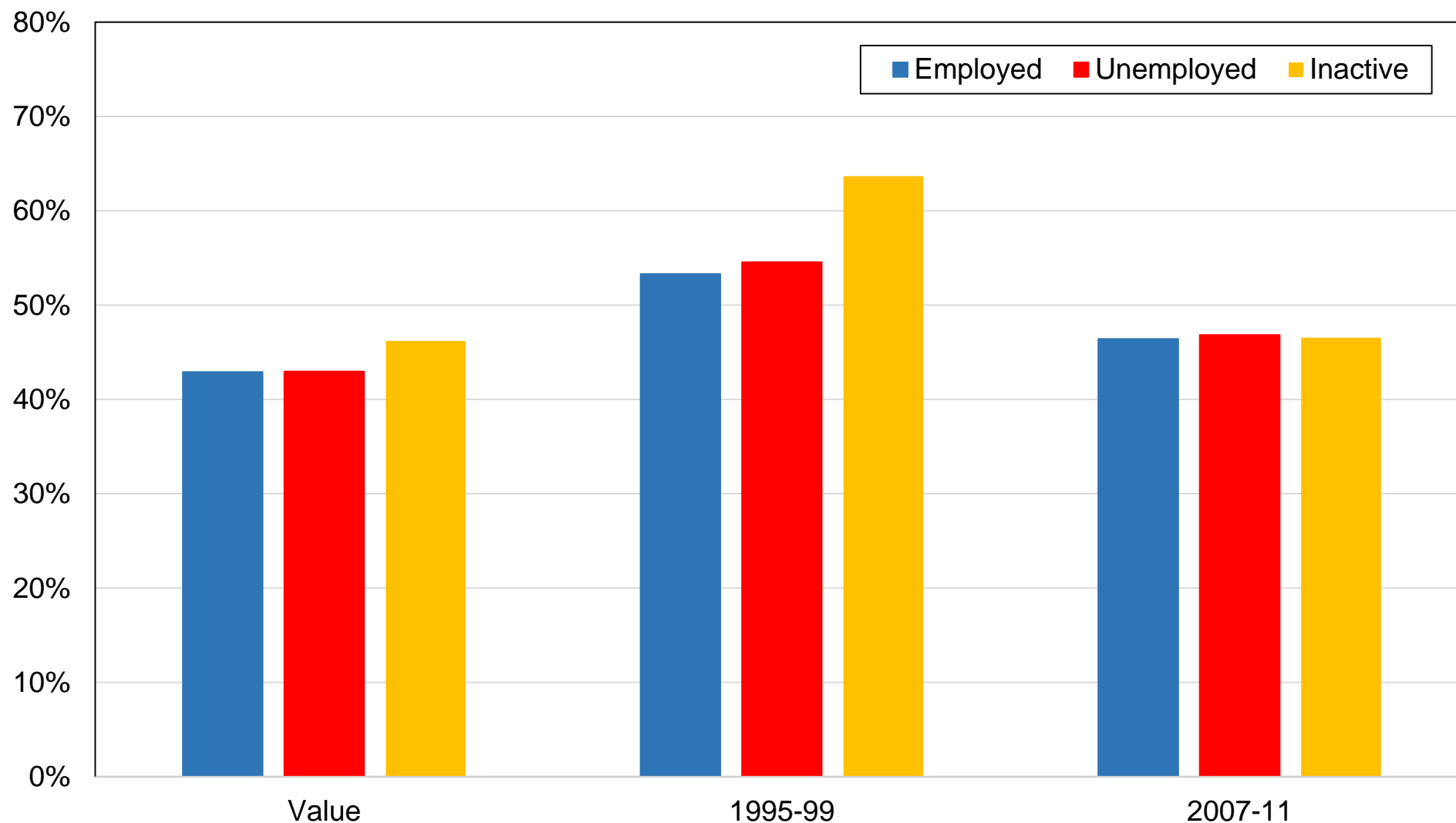
Source: authors' computations using Argentinian post-electoral and political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Peronist party by gender.

Figure AA6 - Vote for Peronists by marital status in Argentina



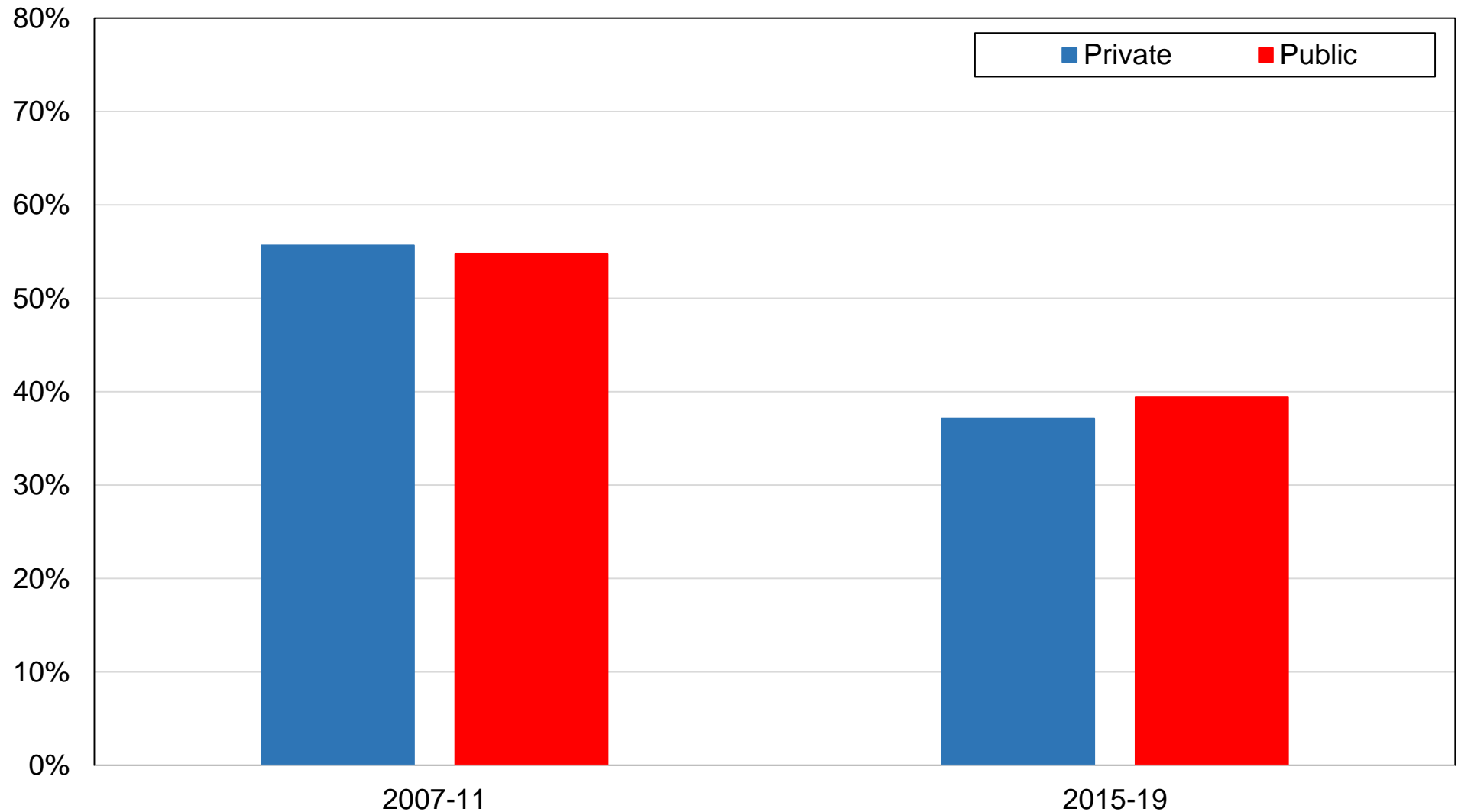
Source: authors' computations using Argentinian post-electoral and political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Peronist party by marital status.

Figure AA7 - Vote for Peronists by employment status in Argentina



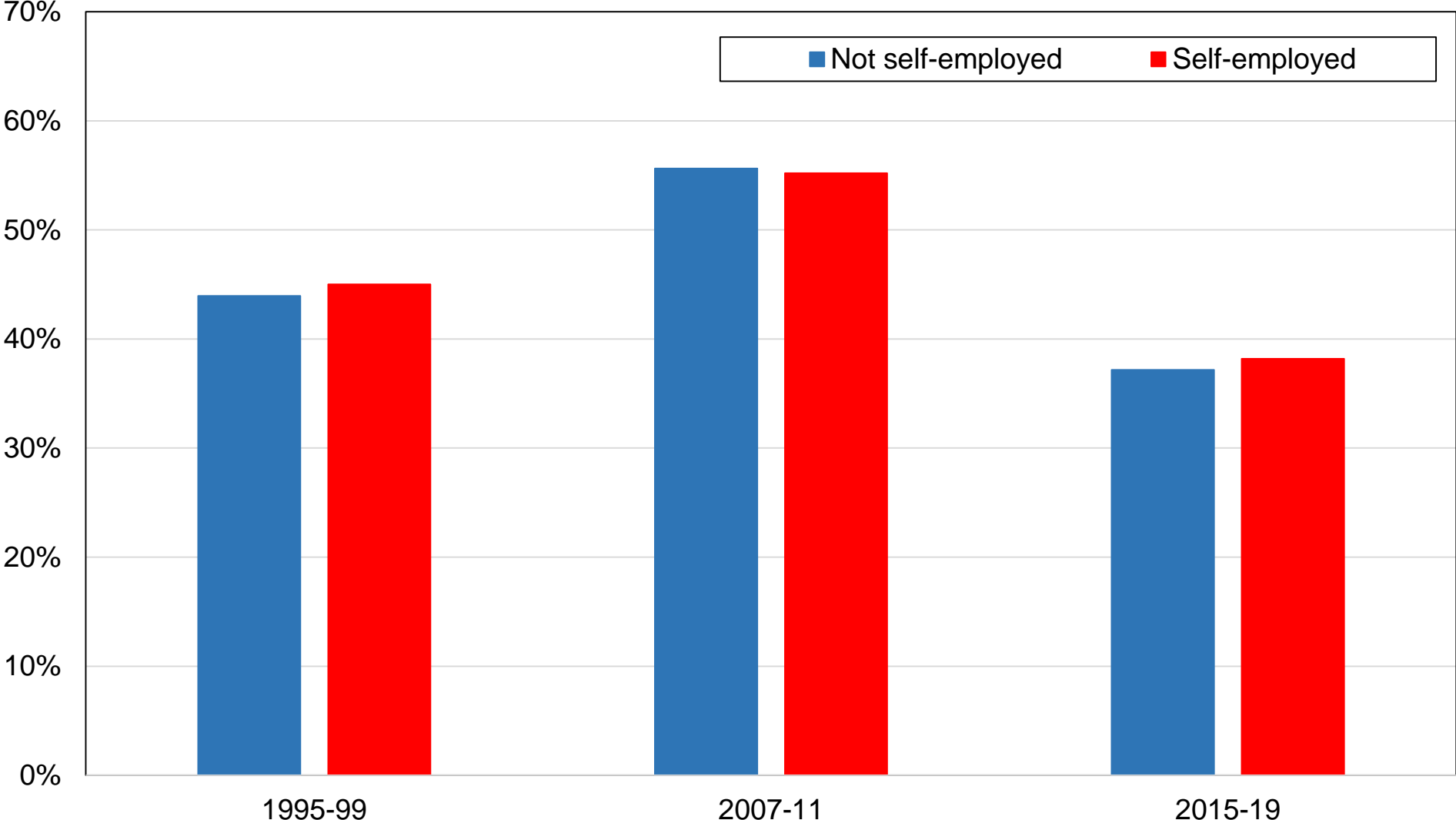
Source: authors' computations using Argentinian post-electoral and political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Peronist party by employment status.

Figure AA8 - Vote for Peronists by employment sector in Argentina



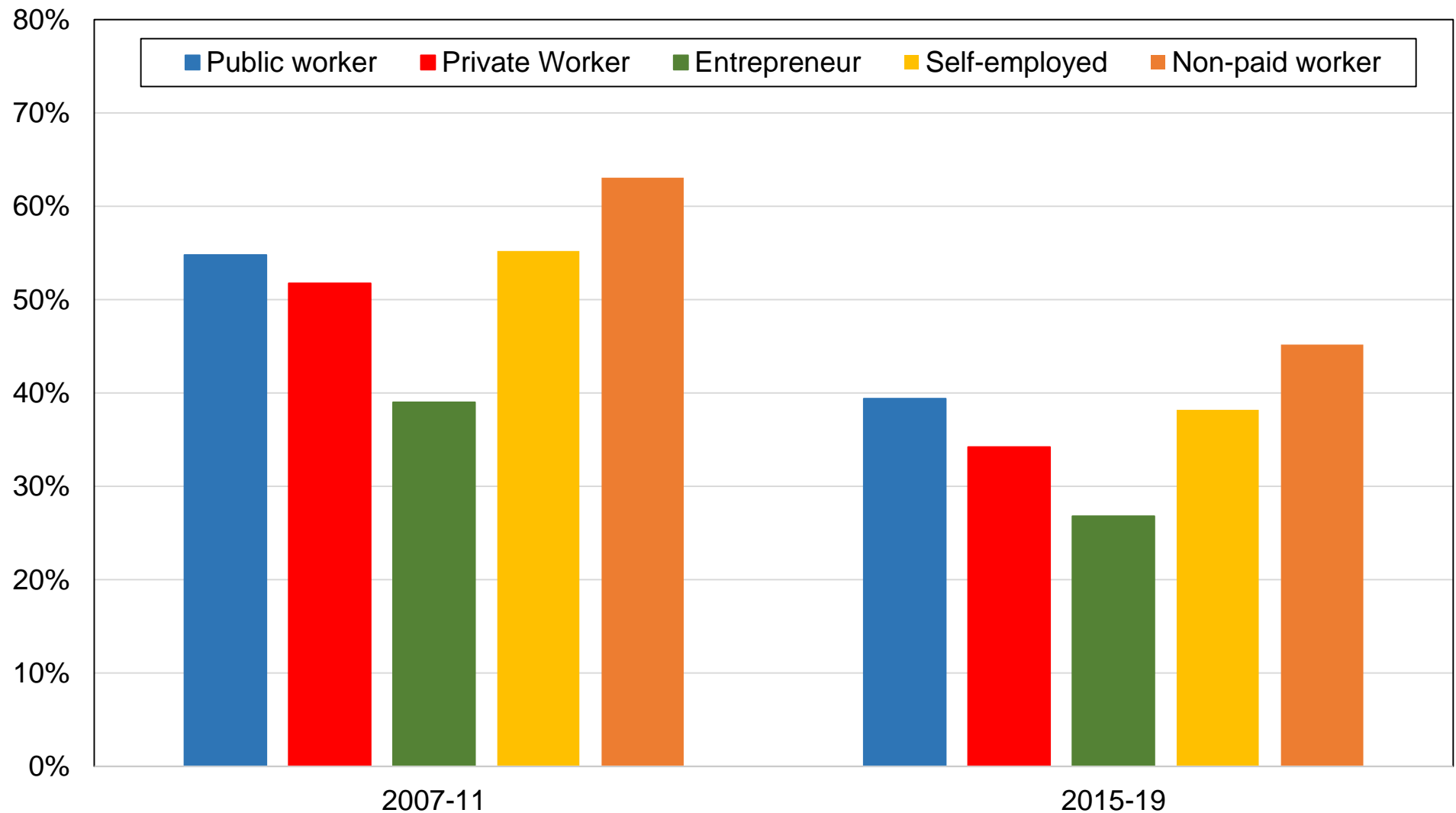
Source: authors' computations using Argentinian post-electoral and political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Peronist party by sector of employment.

Figure AA9 - Vote for Peronists by self-employment status in Argentina



Source: authors' computations using Argentinian post-electoral and political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Peronist party by self-employment status.

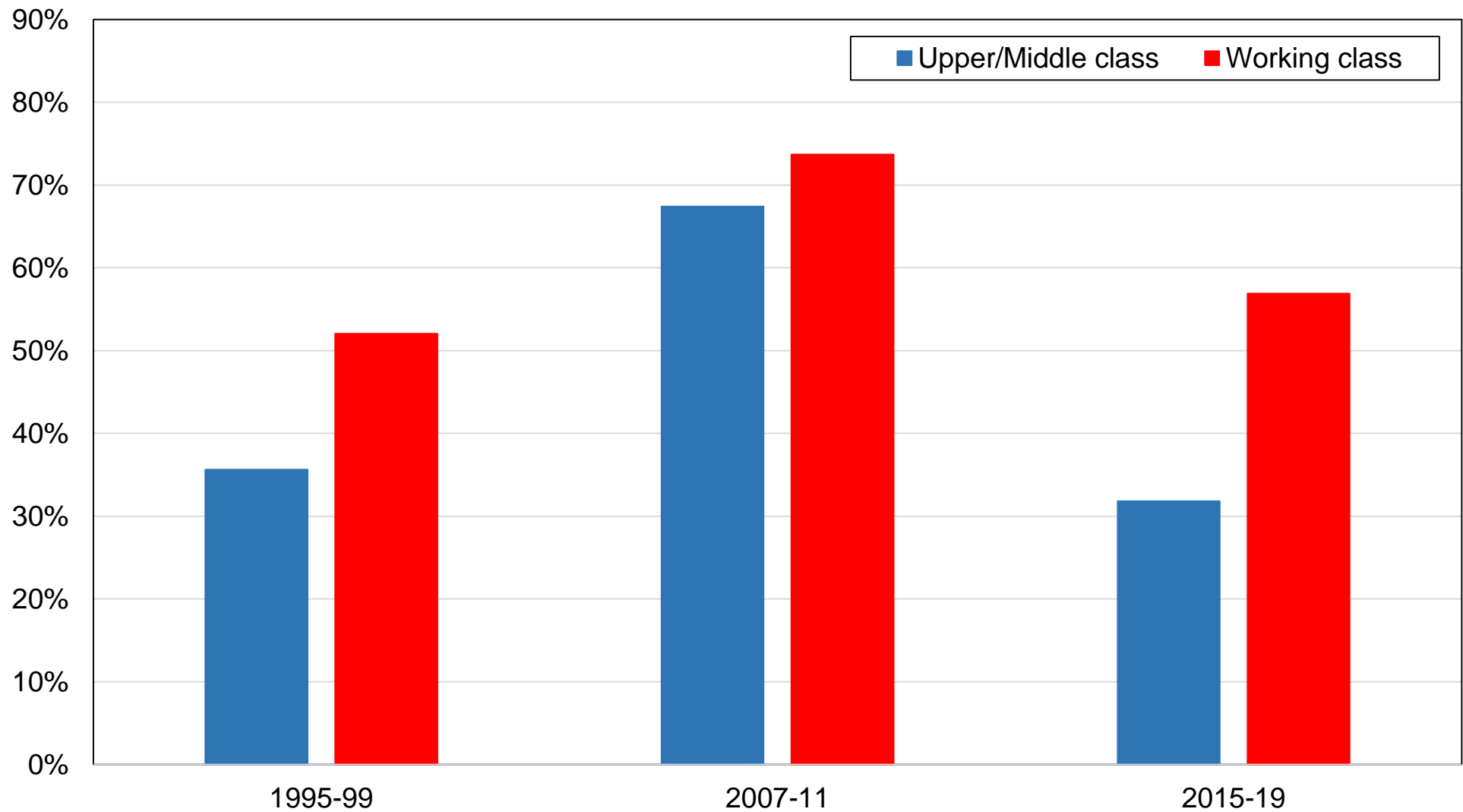
Figure AA10 - Vote for Peronists by occupation in Argentina



Source: authors' computations using Argentinian post-electoral and political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Peronist party by occupation.

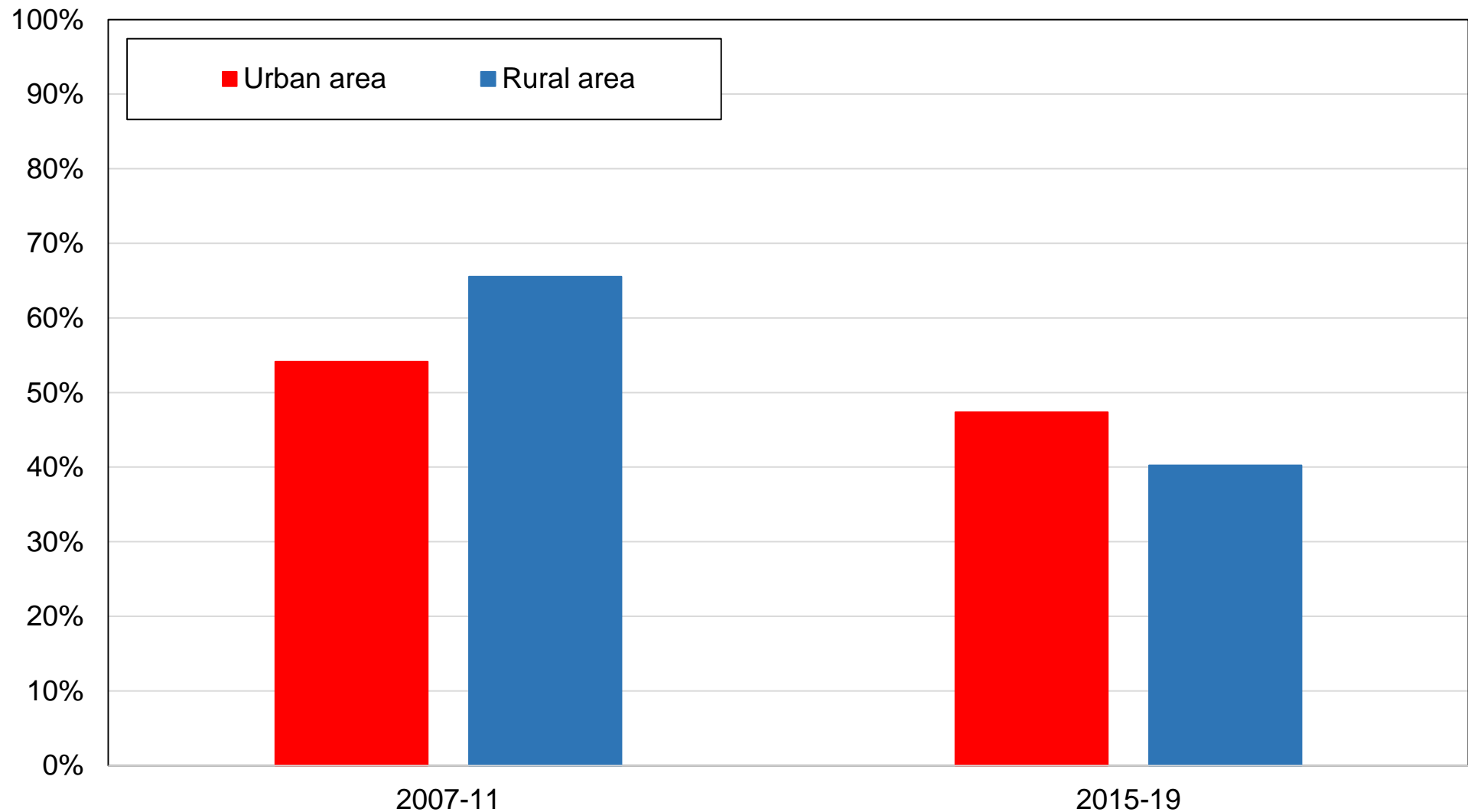
Figure AA11 - Vote for Peronists by subjective social class in Argentina



Source: authors' computations using Argentinian post-electoral and political attitudes surveys.

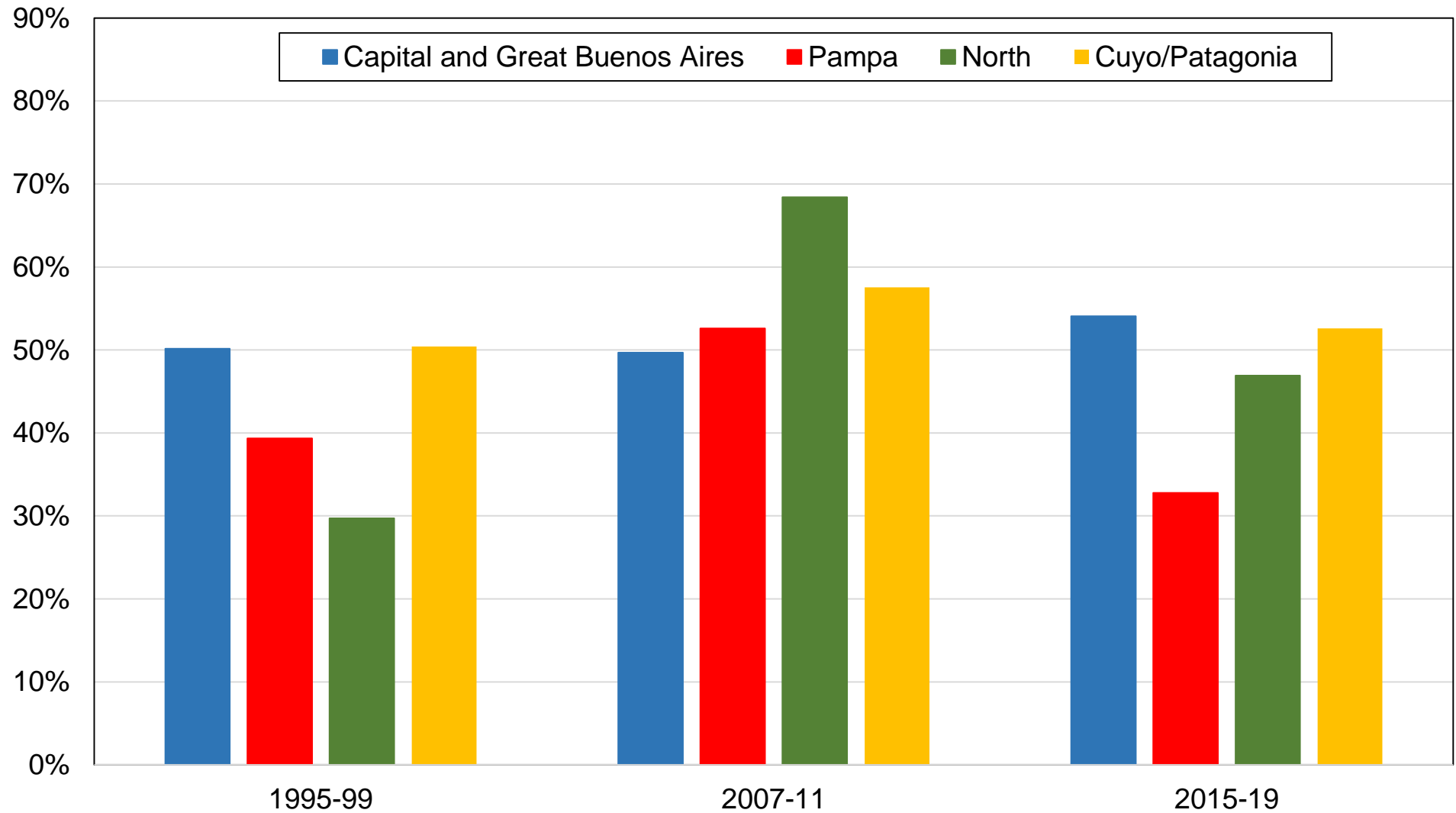
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Peronist party by subjective social class.

Figure AA12 - Vote for Peronists by rural-urban location in Argentina



Source: authors' computations using Argentinian post-electoral and political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Peronist party by rural-urban location.

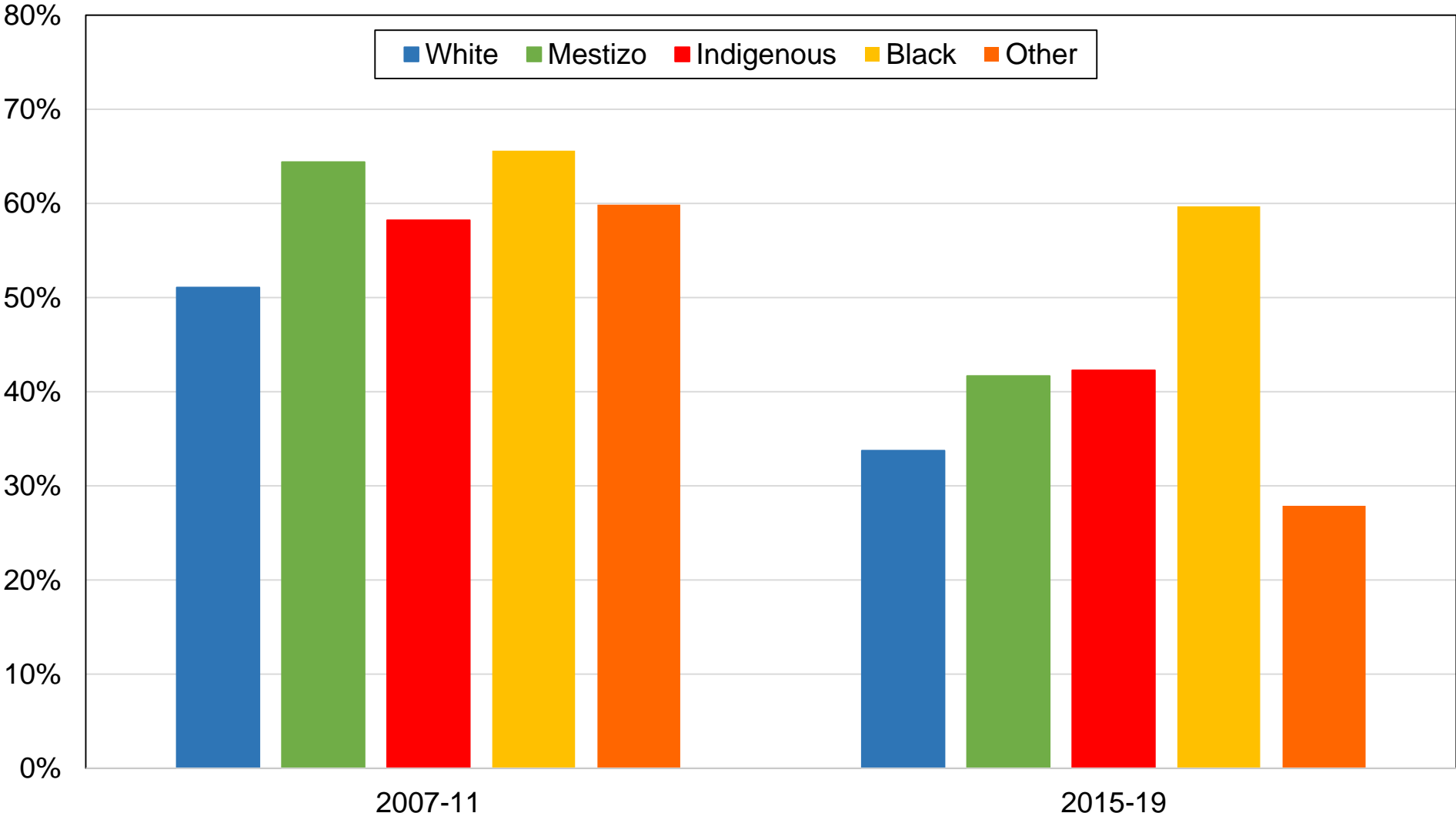
Figure AA13 - Vote for Peronists by region in Argentina



Source: authors' computations using Argentinian post-electoral and political attitudes surveys.

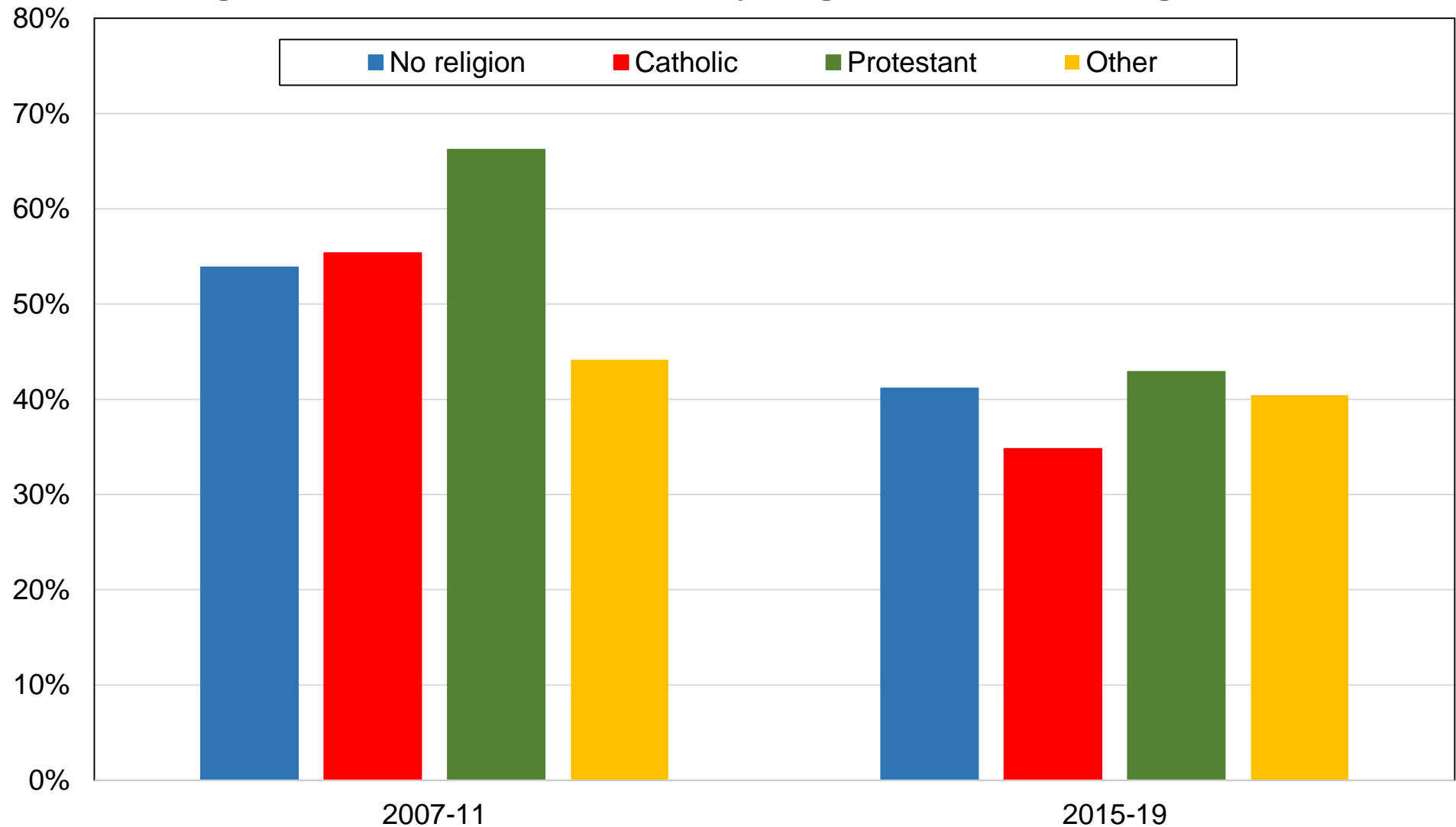
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Peronist party by region.

Figure AA14 - Vote for Peronists by ethnicity in Argentina



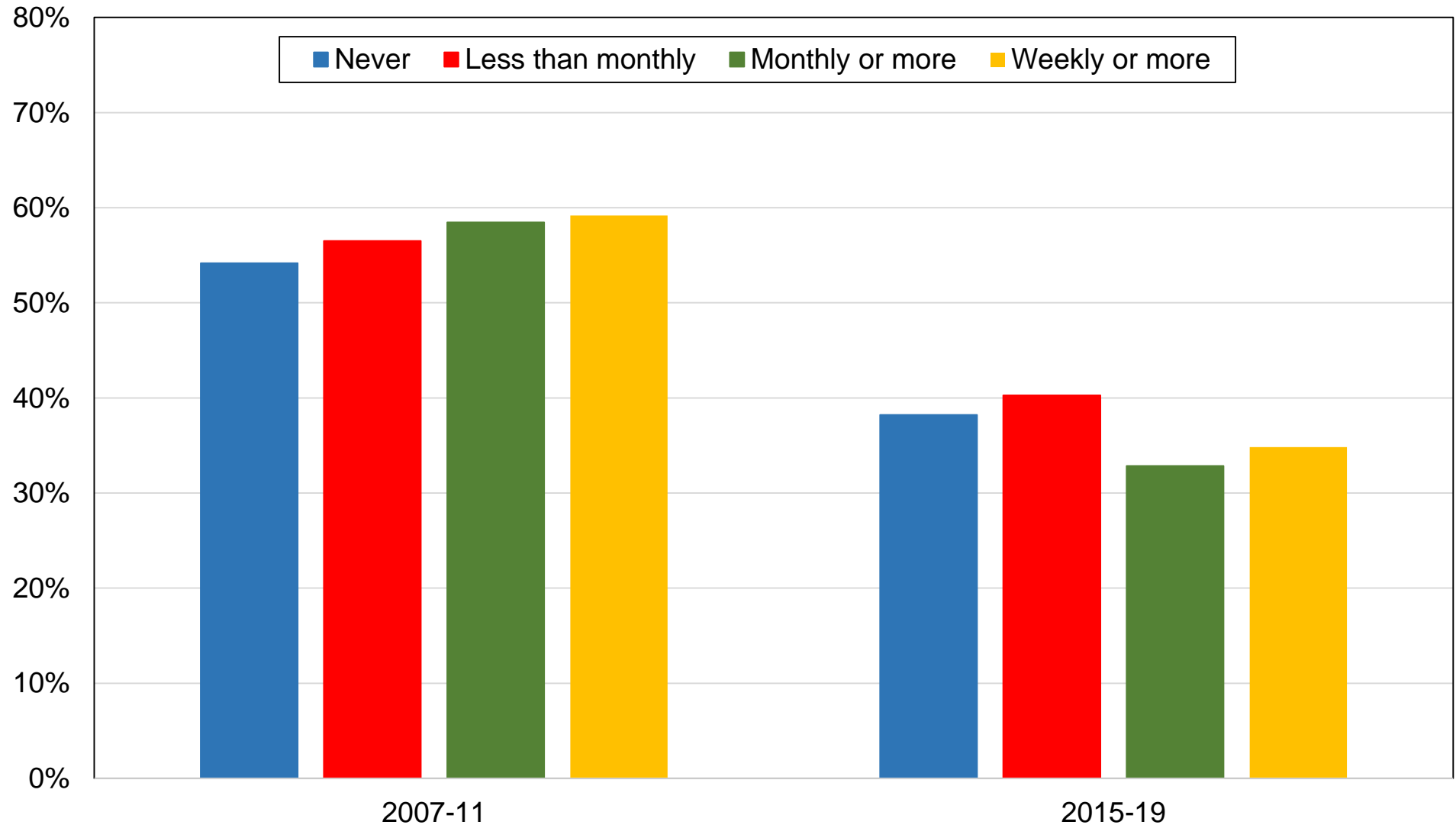
Source: authors' computations using Argentinian post-electoral and political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Peronist party by ethnicity.

Figure AA15 - Vote for Peronists by religious affiliation in Argentina



Source: authors' computations using Argentinian post-electoral and political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Peronist party by religious affiliation.

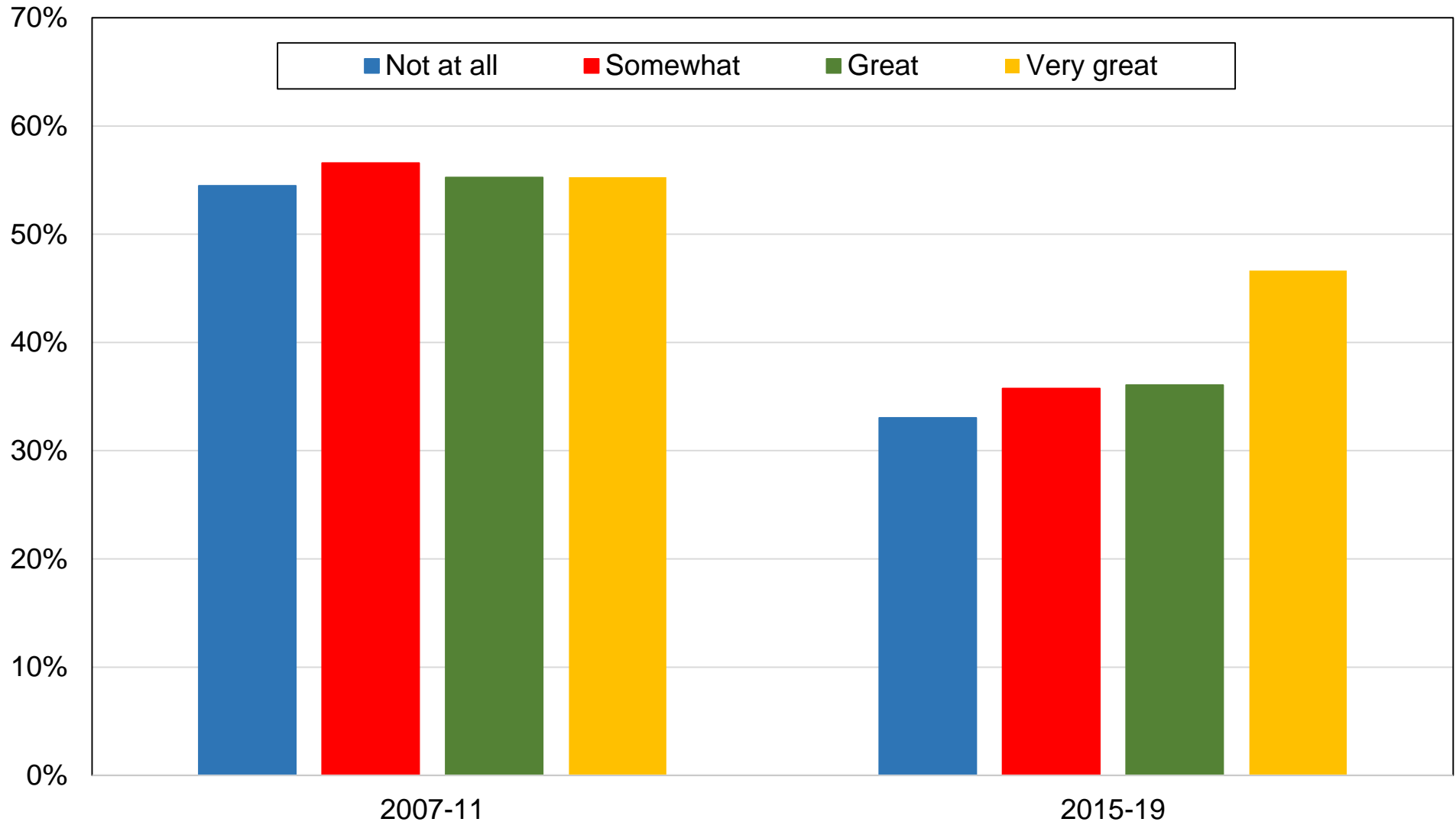
Figure AA16 - Vote for Peronists by religiosity in Argentina



Source: authors' computations using Argentinian post-electoral and political attitudes surveys.

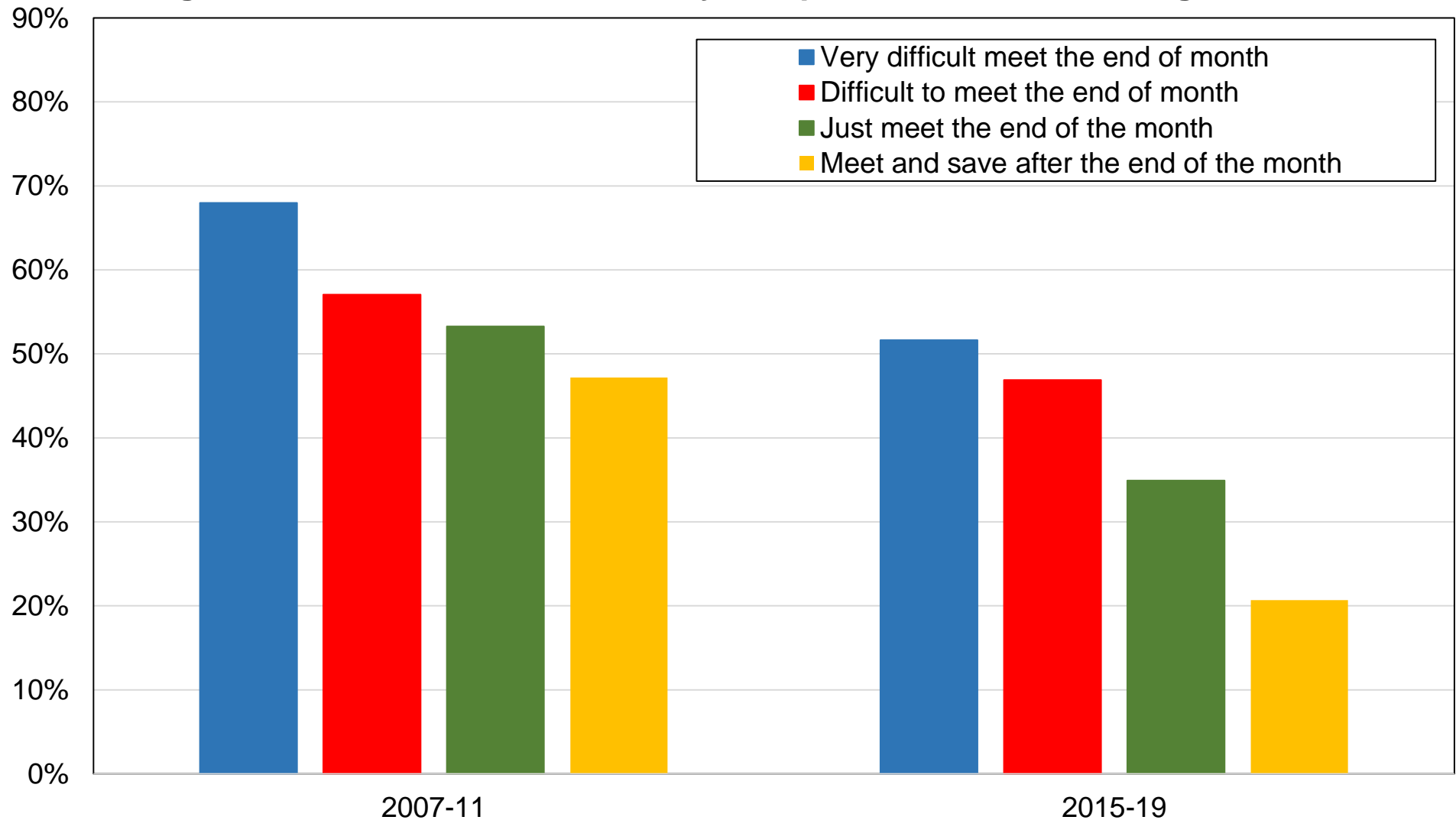
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Peronist party by religiosity.

Figure AA17 - Vote for Peronists by interest in politics in Argentina



Source: authors' computations using Argentinian post-electoral and political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Peronist party by interest in politics.

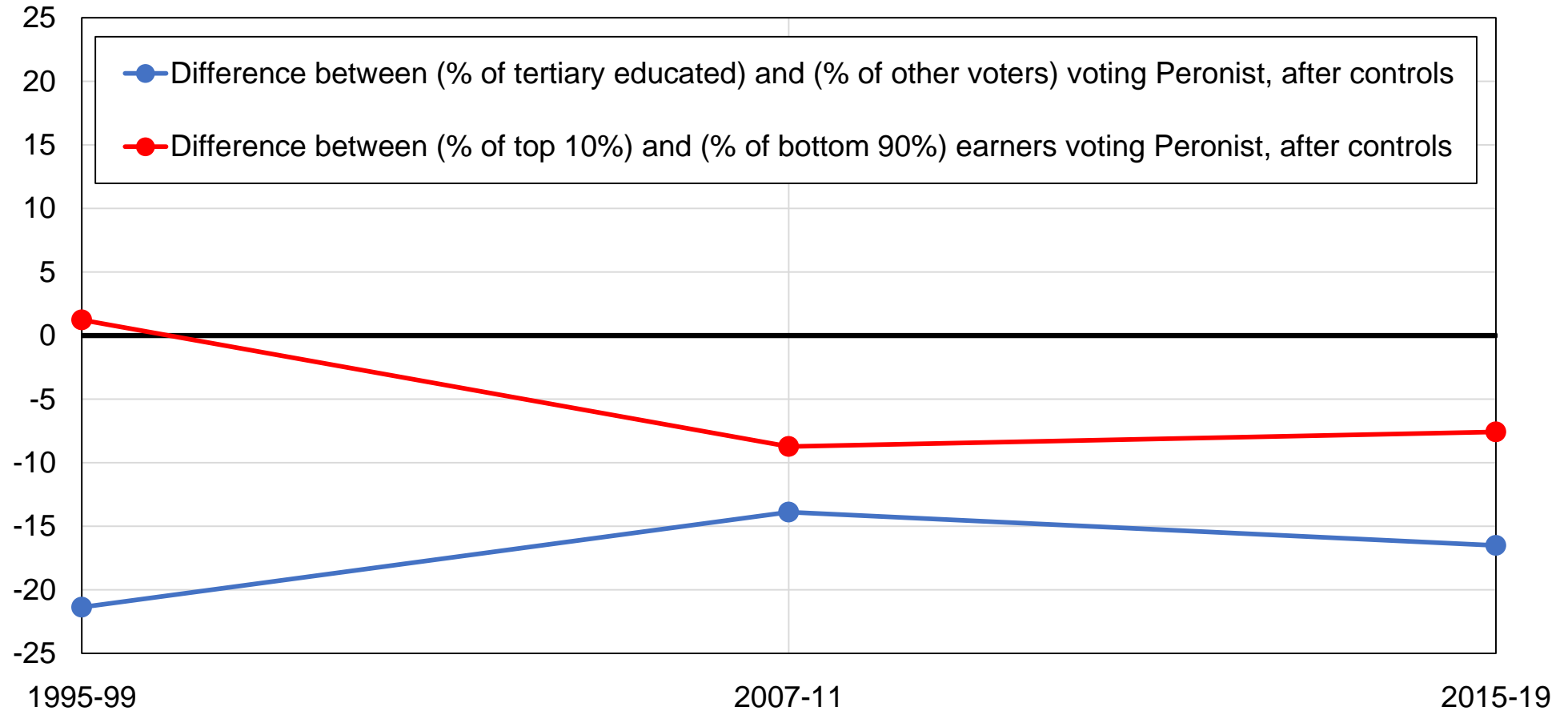
Figure AA18 - Vote for Peronists by self-perceived income in Argentina



Source: authors' computations using Argentinian post-electoral and political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Peronist party by self-perceived income.

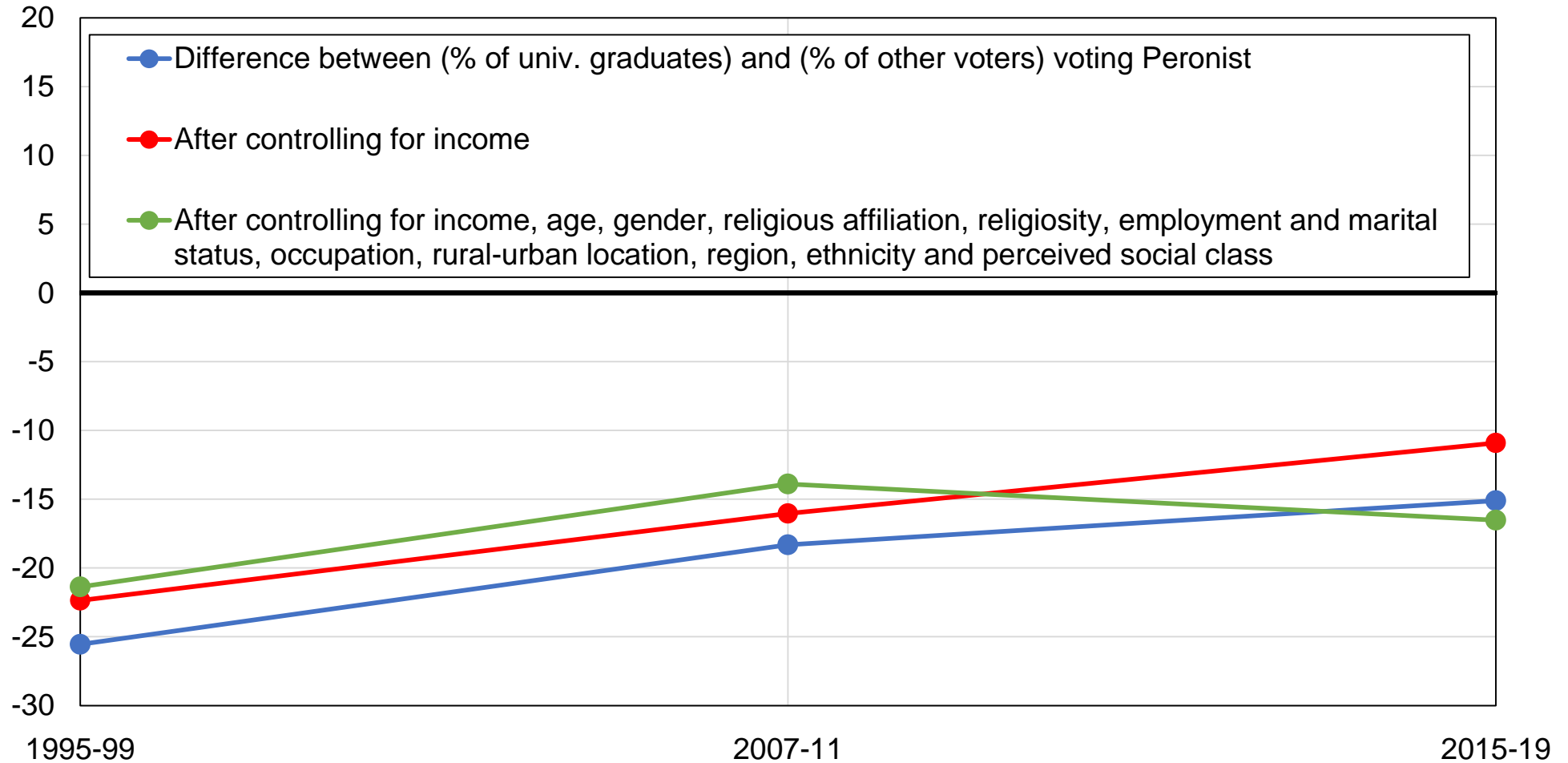
Figure AA19 - Vote for Peronists among tertiary educated and top-income voters in Argentina, after controls



Source: authors' computations using Argentinian political attitudes surveys.

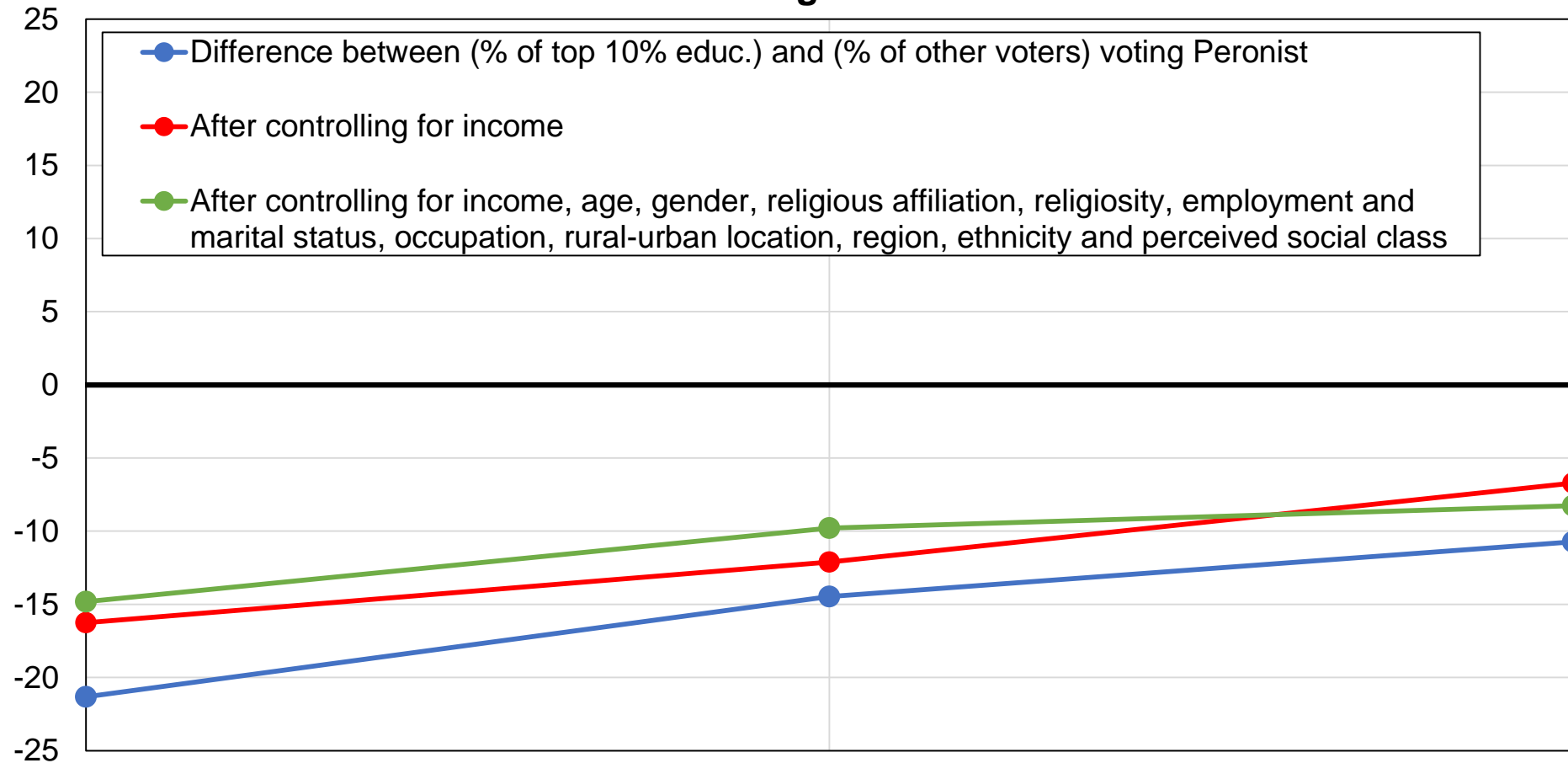
Note: the figure shows the relative support for highest-educated and top-income voters for Peronists, after controlling for age, gender, religious affiliation, religiosity, employment and marital status, occupation, rural-urban location, region, ethnicity, and perceived social class.

Figure AA20 - Vote for Peronists among university graduates in Argentina



Source: authors' computations using Argentinian post-electoral and political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of university graduates and the share of other voters voting for Peronists, before and after controlling for other variables.

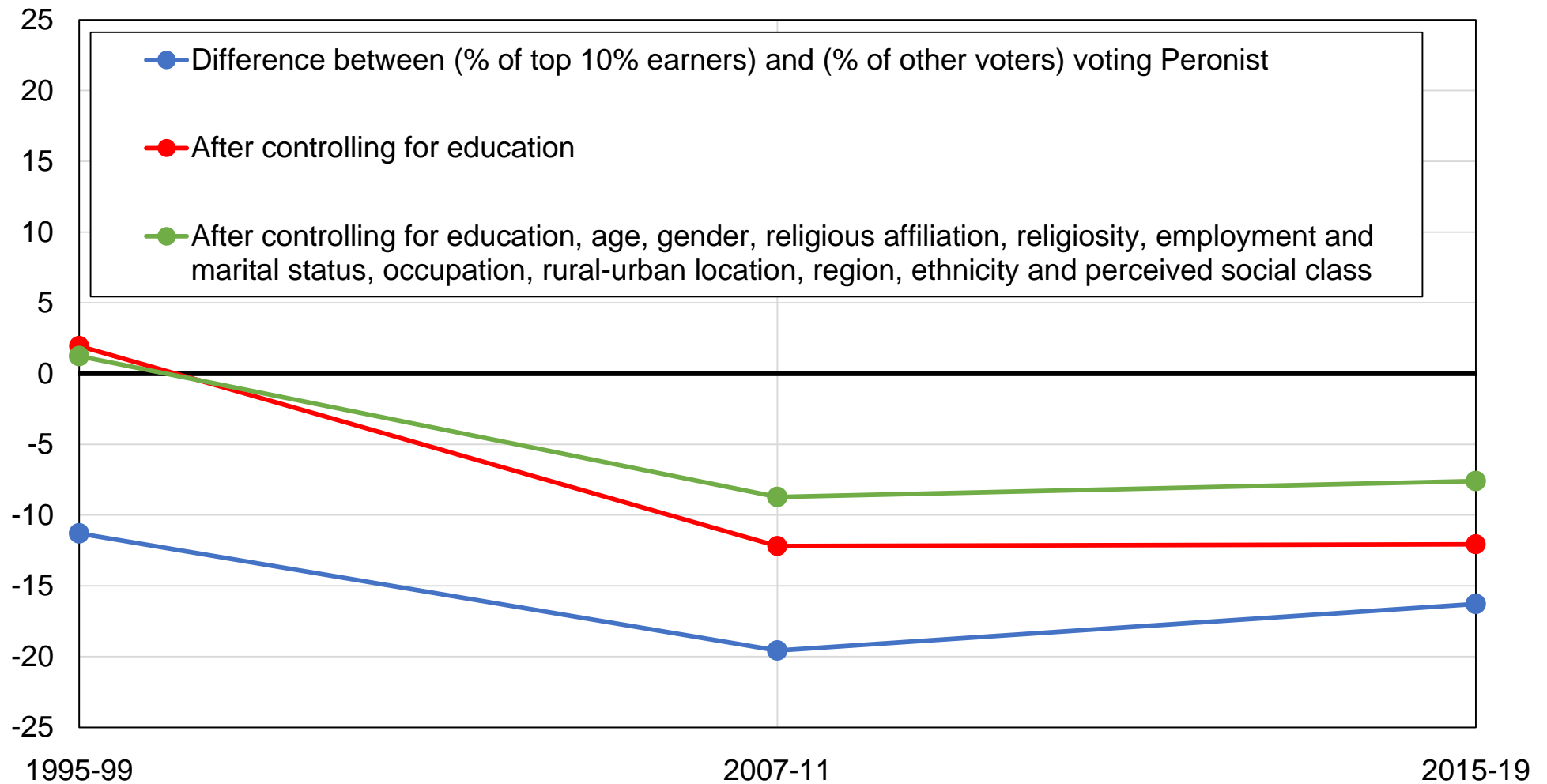
Figure AA21 - Vote for Peronists among highest-educated voters in Argentina



Source: authors' computations using Argentinian post-electoral and political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters and the share of other voters voting for Peronists, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure AA22 - Vote for Peronists among top 10% earners in Argentina



Source: authors' computations using Argentinian post-electoral and political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and the share of other voters voting for Peronists, before and after controlling for other variables.

Table AB1 - Survey data sources

Survey	Year	Source	Type	Sample size
Pre-electoral	1995	World Values Survey, Argentina	Presidential	1079
Pre-electoral	1999	World Values Survey, Argentina	Presidential	1280
Post-electoral	2007	LAPOP, Argentina	Presidential	2896
Post-electoral	2011	LAPOP, Argentina	Presidential	3024
Post-electoral	2015	LAPOP, Argentina	Presidential	3056
Pre-electoral	2019	World Values Survey, Argentina	Presidential	1003

Source: authors' elaboration. WVS: World Values Survey, available from <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/>. CSES: Comparative Study of Electoral Systems, available from <https://cses.org/>. LAPOP: Latin American Public Opinion Project, available from <https://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/survey-data.php>.

Note: the table shows the surveys used in the chapter, the source from which these surveys can be obtained, and the sample size of each survey.

Table AB2 - Complete descriptive statistics by decade

	1995-99	2007-11	2015-19
Age: 20-40	51%	58%	48%
Age: 40-60	29%	29%	31%
Age: 60+	19%	13%	20%
Meet end of the month: Very difficult meet the end of month		12%	15%
Meet end of the month: Difficult to meet the end of month		33%	28%
Meet end of the month: Just meet the end of the month		47%	49%
Meet end of the month: Meet and save after the end of the month		9%	8%
Subjective social class: Working class	53%	42%	88%
Subjective social class: Upper/Middle class class	47%	58%	12%
Education: Primary	36%	26%	27%
Education: Secondary	42%	47%	34%
Education: Tertiary	22%	28%	39%
Employment status: Employed	50%	61%	56%
Employment status: Unemployed	12%	16%	6%
Employment status: Inactive	38%	22%	38%
Interest in politics: Not at all		29%	33%
Interest in politics: Somewhat		33%	26%
Interest in politics: Great		28%	23%
Interest in politics: Very great		11%	18%
Marital status: Single	40%	49%	50%
Marital status: Married/Partner	60%	51%	50%
Occupation: Public worker		21%	19%
Occupation: Private Worker		39%	34%
Occupation: Entrepreneur		3%	3%
Occupation: Self-employed		36%	43%
Occupation: Non-paid worker		1%	1%
Ethnicity: White		68%	55%
Ethnicity: Mestizo		28%	36%
Ethnicity: Indigenous		1%	1%
Ethnicity: Black		1%	4%
Ethnicity: Other		1%	5%
Region: Capital and Great Buenos Aires	71%	38%	39%

Region: Pampa	18%	27%	30%
Region: North	4%	22%	20%
Region: Cuyo/Patagonia	7%	13%	11%
Religion: No religion		11%	11%
Religion: Catholic		74%	64%
Religion: Protestant		9%	16%
Religion: Other		5%	9%
Church attendance : Never		65%	70%
Church attendance : Less than monthly		12%	8%
Church attendance : Monthly or more		10%	8%
Church attendance : Weekly or more		13%	14%
Locality size: Urban area		89%	88%
Locality size: Rural area		11%	12%
Sector of employment: Private		88%	90%
Sector of employment: Public		12%	10%
Self-employment status: Not self-employed	84%	79%	76%
Self-employment status: Self-employed	16%	21%	24%
Gender: Woman	53%	51%	52%
Gender: Man	47%	49%	48%
Union membership: Not union member	93%		92%
Union membership: Union member	7%		8%

Source: authors' computations using Argentinian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the table shows descriptive statistics by decade for selected available variables.

Table AB3 - The structure of political cleavages in Argentina, 2015-2019 (extended)

	Share of votes received (%)	
	Peronists	Non-Peronists
Education		
Primary	55%	45%
Secondary	51%	49%
Tertiary	38%	62%
Income		
Bottom 50%	55%	45%
Middle 40%	44%	56%
Top 10%	34%	66%
Religious affiliation		
No religion	41%	59%
Catholic	35%	65%
Protestant	43%	57%
Other	40%	60%
Church attendance		
Never	38%	62%
Less than monthly	40%	60%
Monthly or more	33%	67%
Weekly or more	35%	65%
Age		
20-40	49%	51%
40-60	45%	55%
+60	43%	57%
Gender		
Woman	46%	54%
Man	47%	53%
Occupation		
Public worker	39%	61%
Private Worker	34%	66%
Entrepreneur	27%	73%
Self-employed	38%	62%
Non-paid worker	45%	55%
Subjective social class		
Working class	57%	43%
Upper/Middle	32%	68%
Region		
Capital and Great Buenos Aires	54%	46%
Pampa	33%	67%
North	47%	53%
Cuyo/Patagonia	53%	47%
Rural-urban location		
Urban area	47%	53%
Rural area	40%	60%

Source: authors' computations using Argentinian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the table shows the average share of votes received by Peronists by selected individual characteristics in 2015-2019.