

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

Oscar BARRERA, Ana LEIVA, Clara MARTÍNEZ-TOLEDANO and Álvaro ZÚÑIGA-CORDERO

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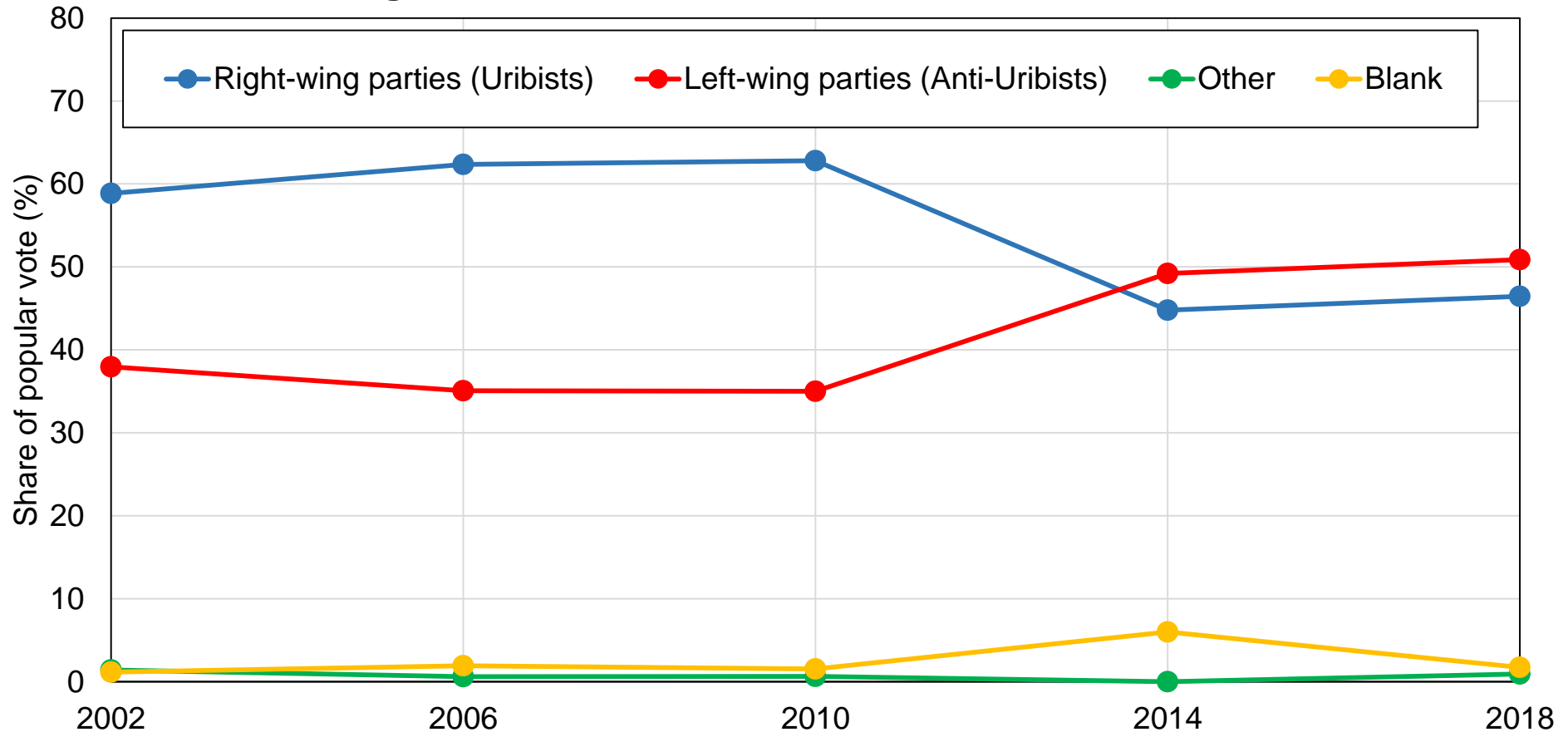
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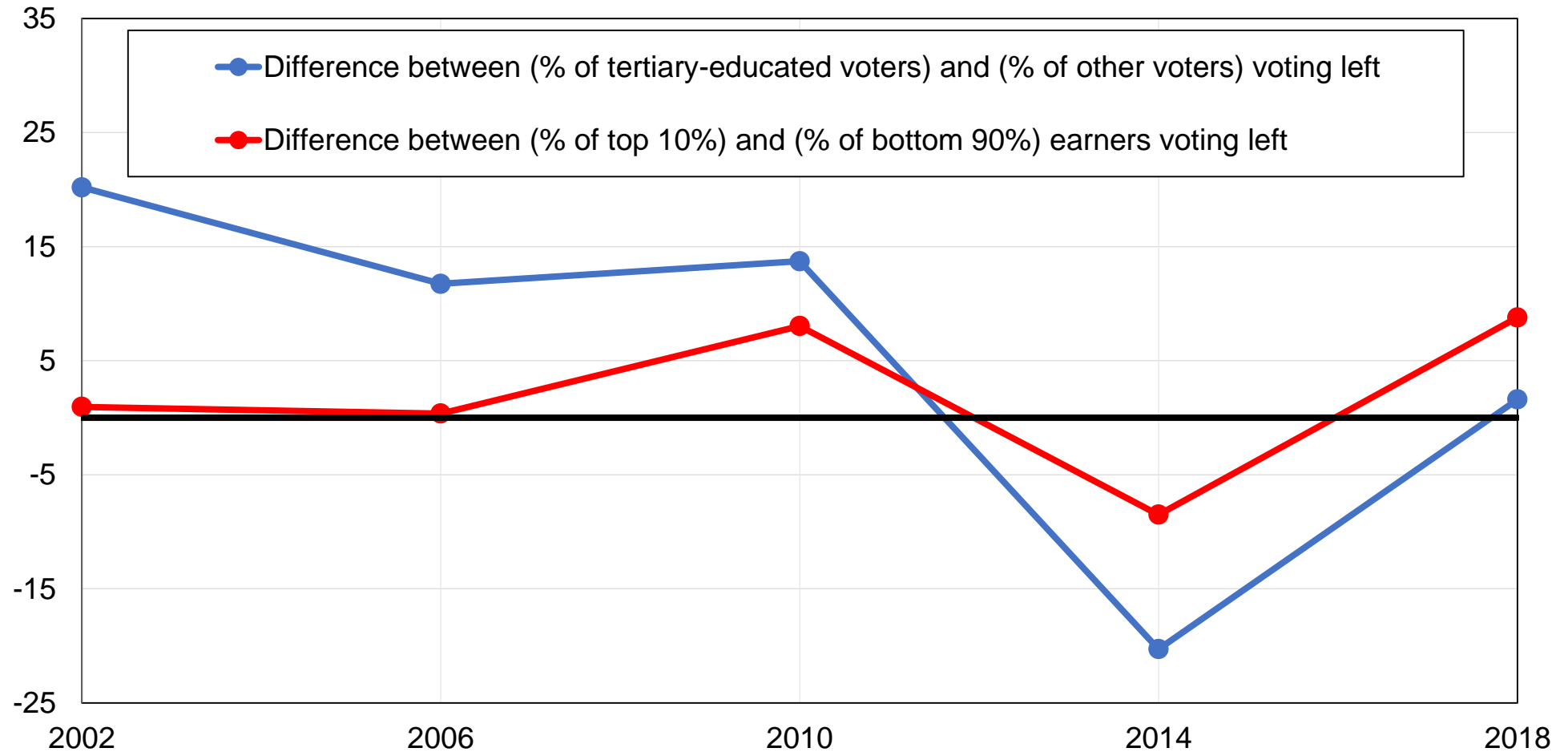
Figure D1 - Election results in Colombia, 2002-2018



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Colombian political parties in general elections between 2002 and 2018. Right-wing parties include all Uribist parties: Partido de la U (2010), Partido conservador, Cambio Radical, Primero Colombia, Movimiento Si Colombia, and Centro Democrático. Left-wing parties include all Anti-Uribist parties: Polo Democrático, Partido de la U (2014), Partido Liberal, Alianza Social Independiente, Partido Verde, Colombia Humana, and Compromiso Ciudadano.

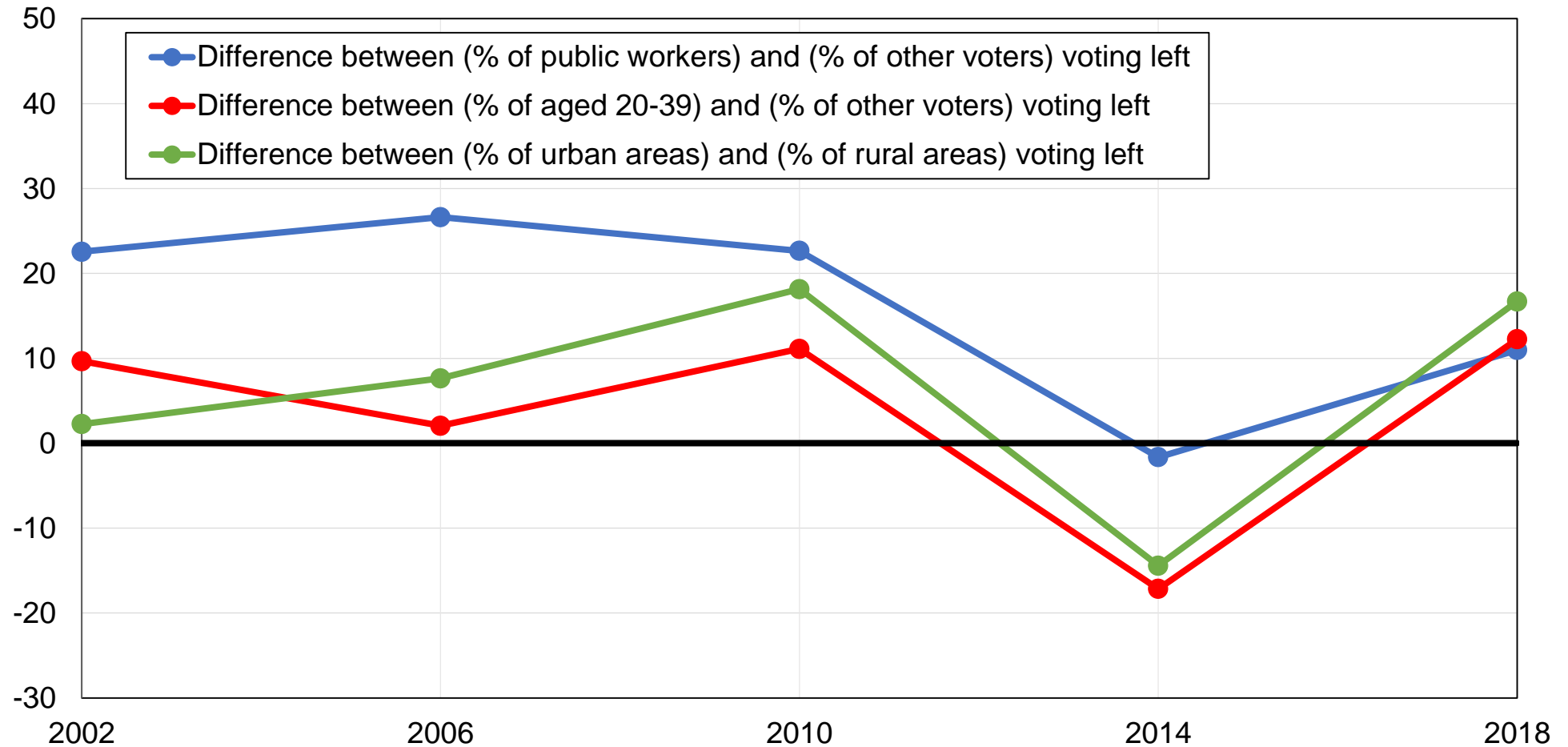
Figure D2 - Vote for left-wing parties (Anti-Uribists) among highest-educated and top-income voters in Colombia, after controls



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

Note: the figure shows the relative support of tertiary-educated and top-income voters for left-wing (Anti-Uribist) parties, after controlling for age, gender, region, rural-urban location, employment and marital status, sector of employment, ethnicity and religious affiliation.

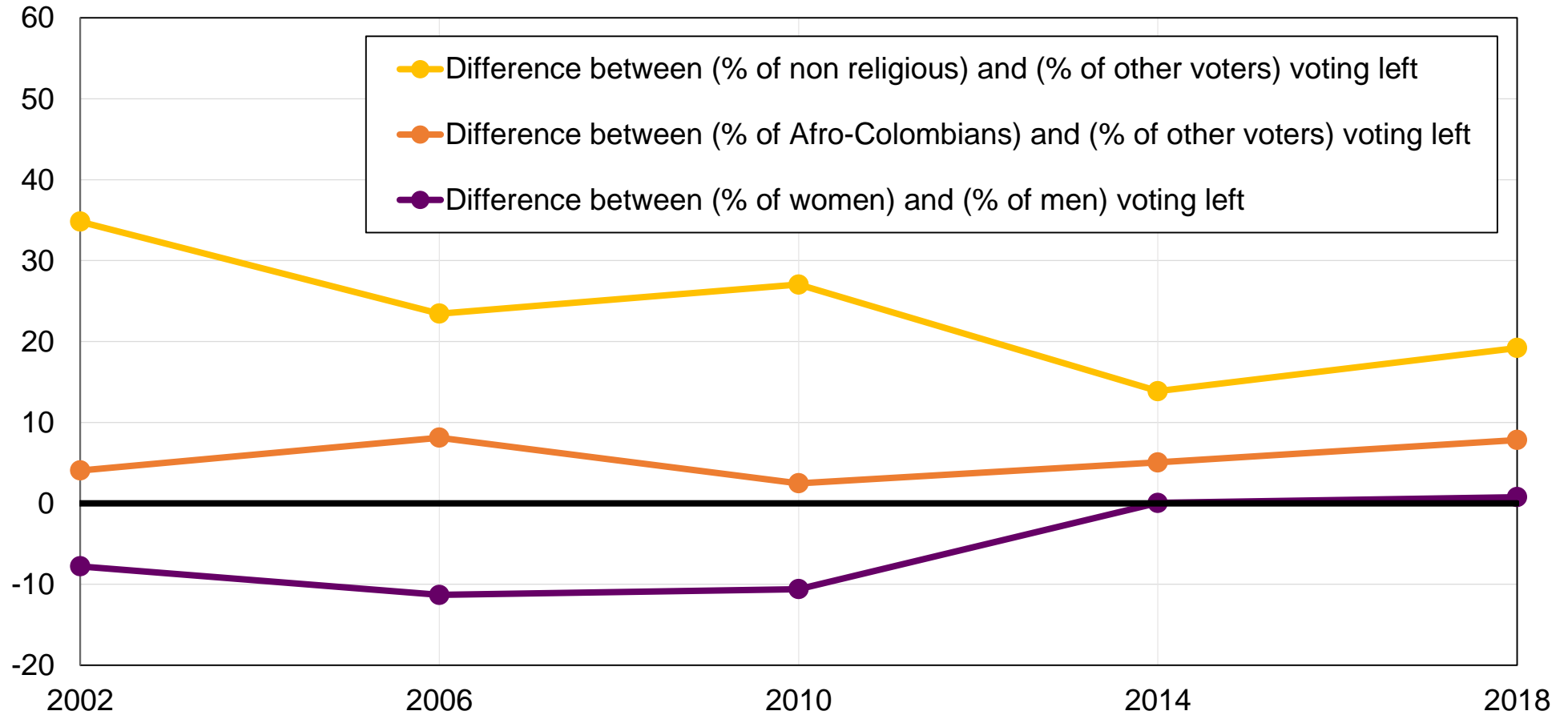
Figure D3 - Vote for left-wing parties (Anti-Uribists) among public workers, young voters, and urban areas in Colombia, after controls



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

Note: the figure shows the relative support of public workers, young voters, and urban areas for left-wing parties, after controlling for income, education, gender, region, employment and marital status, ethnicity and religious affiliation.

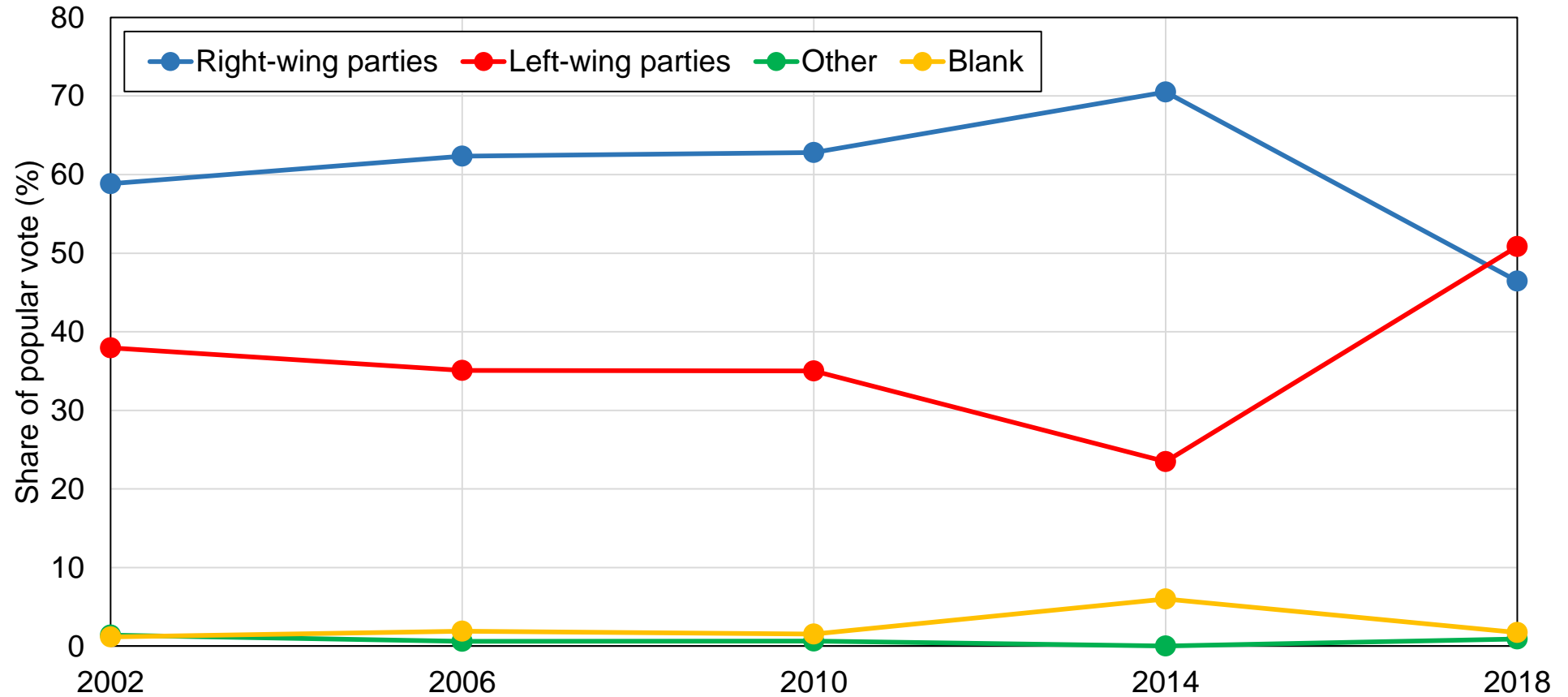
Figure D4 - Vote for left-wing parties (Anti-Uribists) among non-religious voters, Afro-Colombians, and women in Colombia, after controls



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

Note: the figure shows the relative support of non-religious voters, Afro-Colombians and women for left-wing parties, after controlling for income, education, age, region, rural-urban location, employment and marital status, and sector of employment.

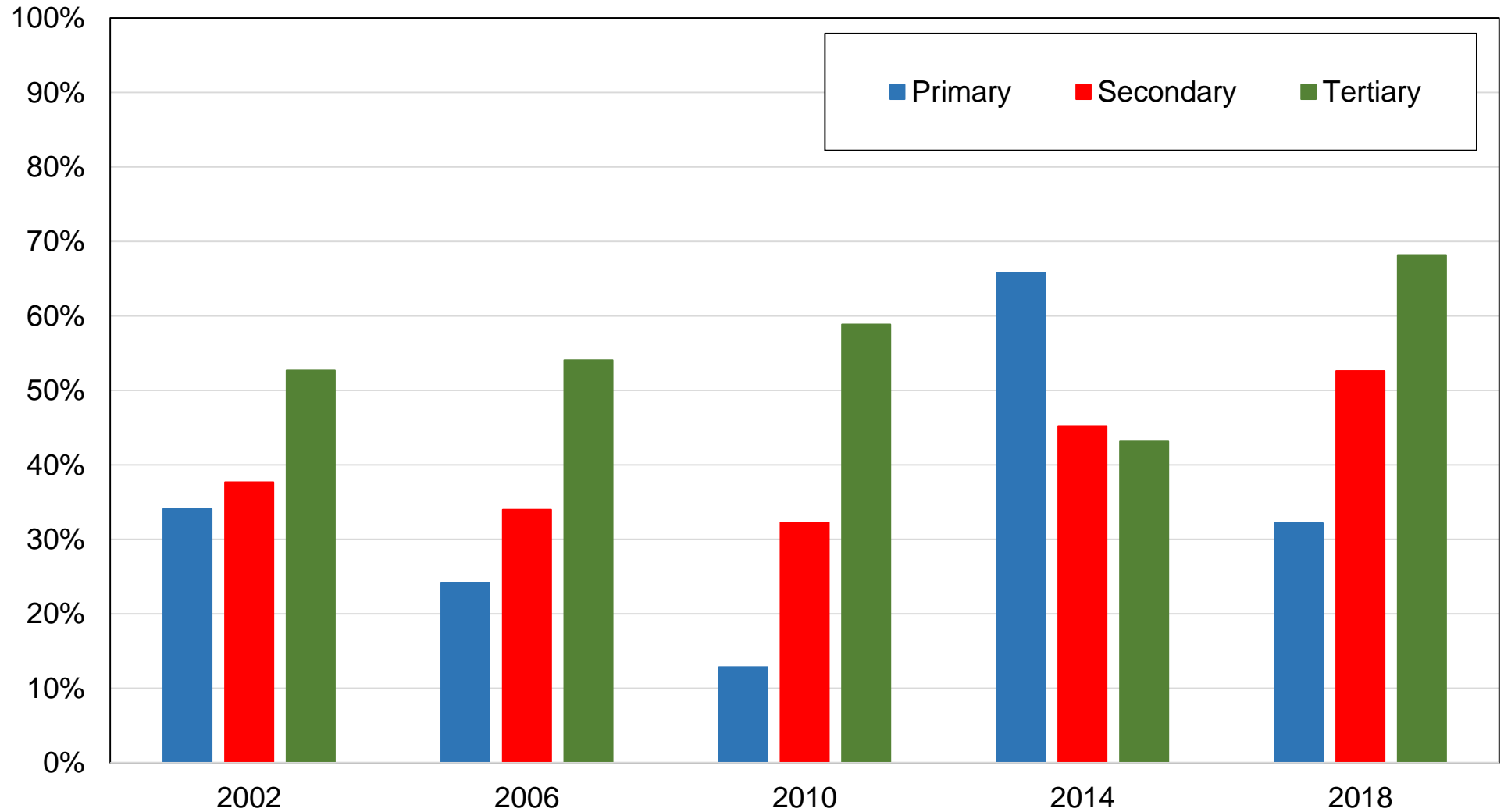
Figure DA1 - General elections in Colombia, 2002-2018 (including the Party of the U as right-wing)



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

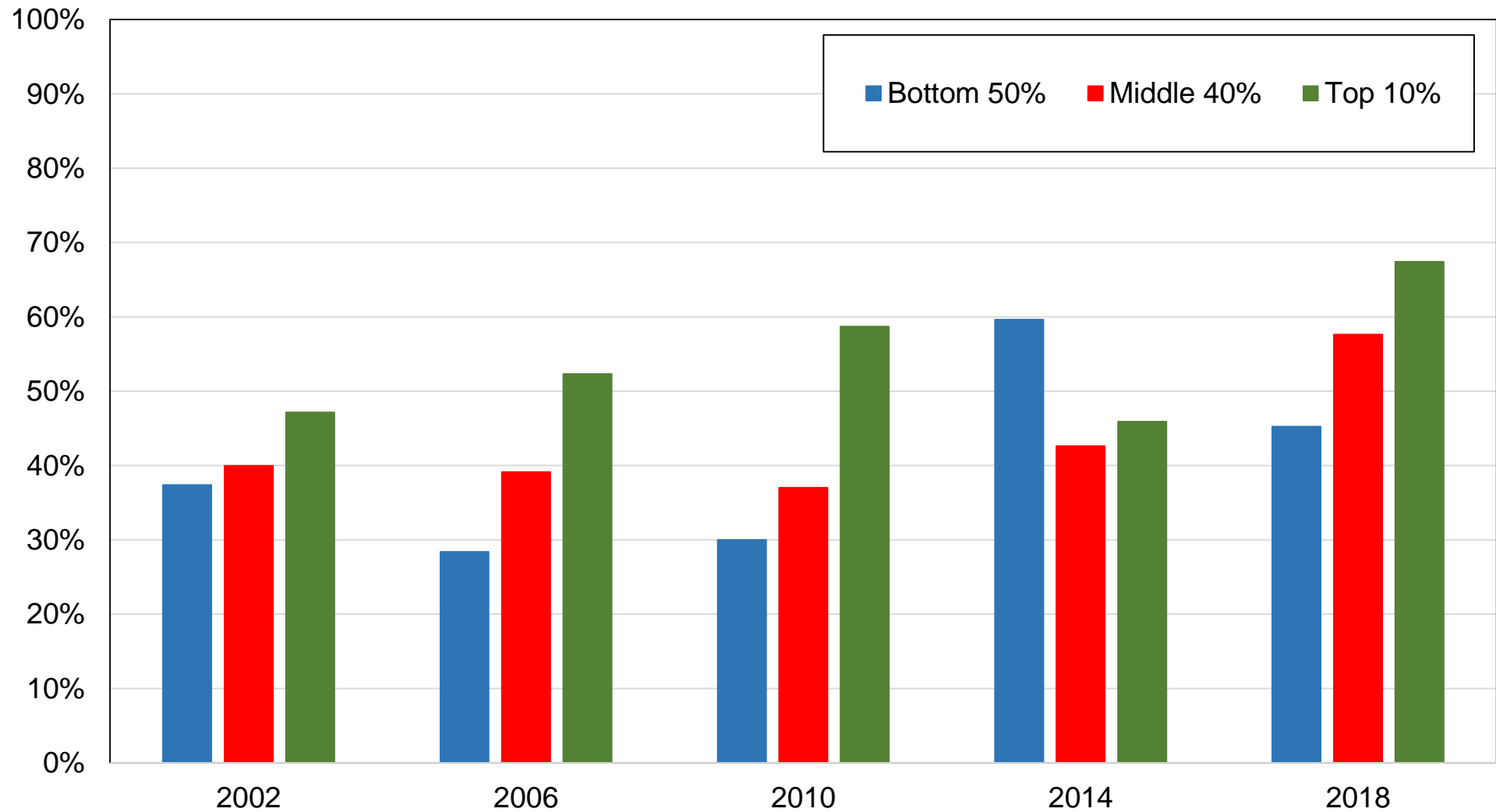
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Colombian political parties in general elections between 2002 and 2018. Right-wing parties include: Partido de la U, Partido conservador, Cambio Radical, Primero Colombia, Movimiento Si Colombia, and Centro Democrático. Left-wing parties include Polo Democrático, Partido Liberal, Alianza Social Independiente, Partido Verde, Colombia Humana, and Compromiso Ciudadano.

Figure DA2 - Vote for left-wing parties (Anti-Uribists) by education level



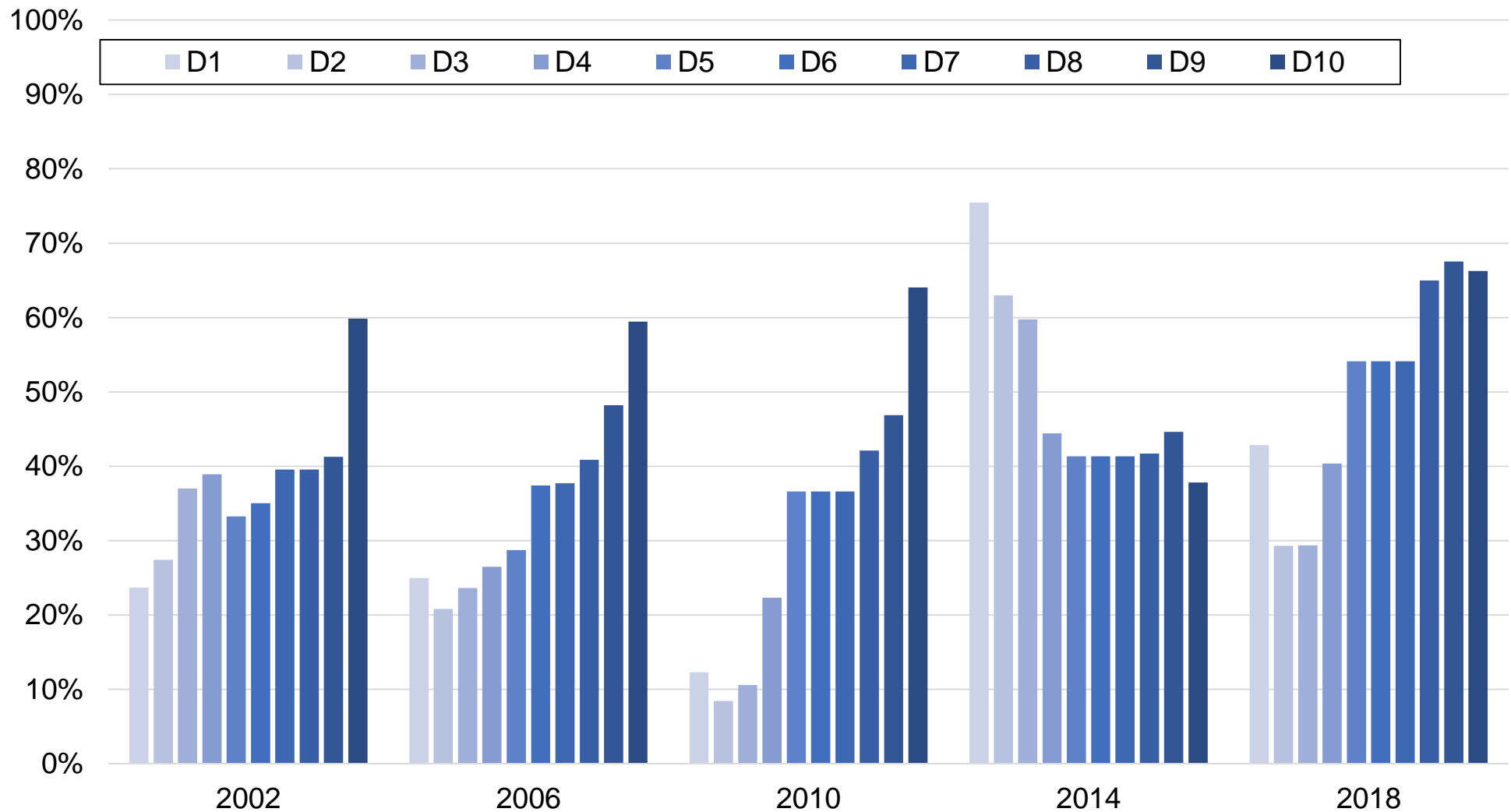
Source: authors' computations using Colombian post-electoral and political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by education level.

Figure DA3 - Vote for left-wing parties (Anti-Uribists) by income group



Source: authors' computations using Colombian post-electoral and political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by income group.

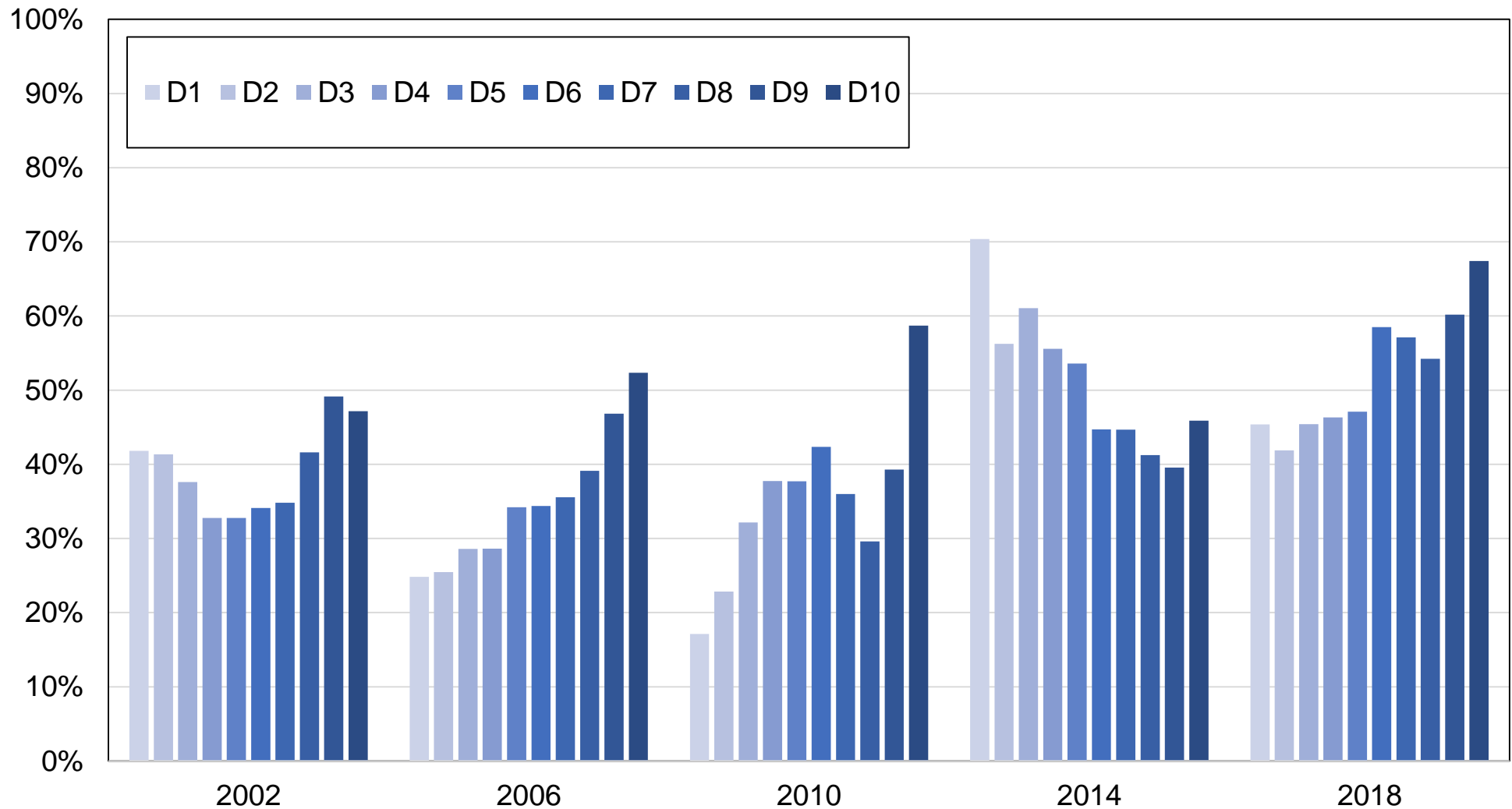
Figure DA4 - Vote for left-wing parties (Anti-Uribists) by education decile



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

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by education group.

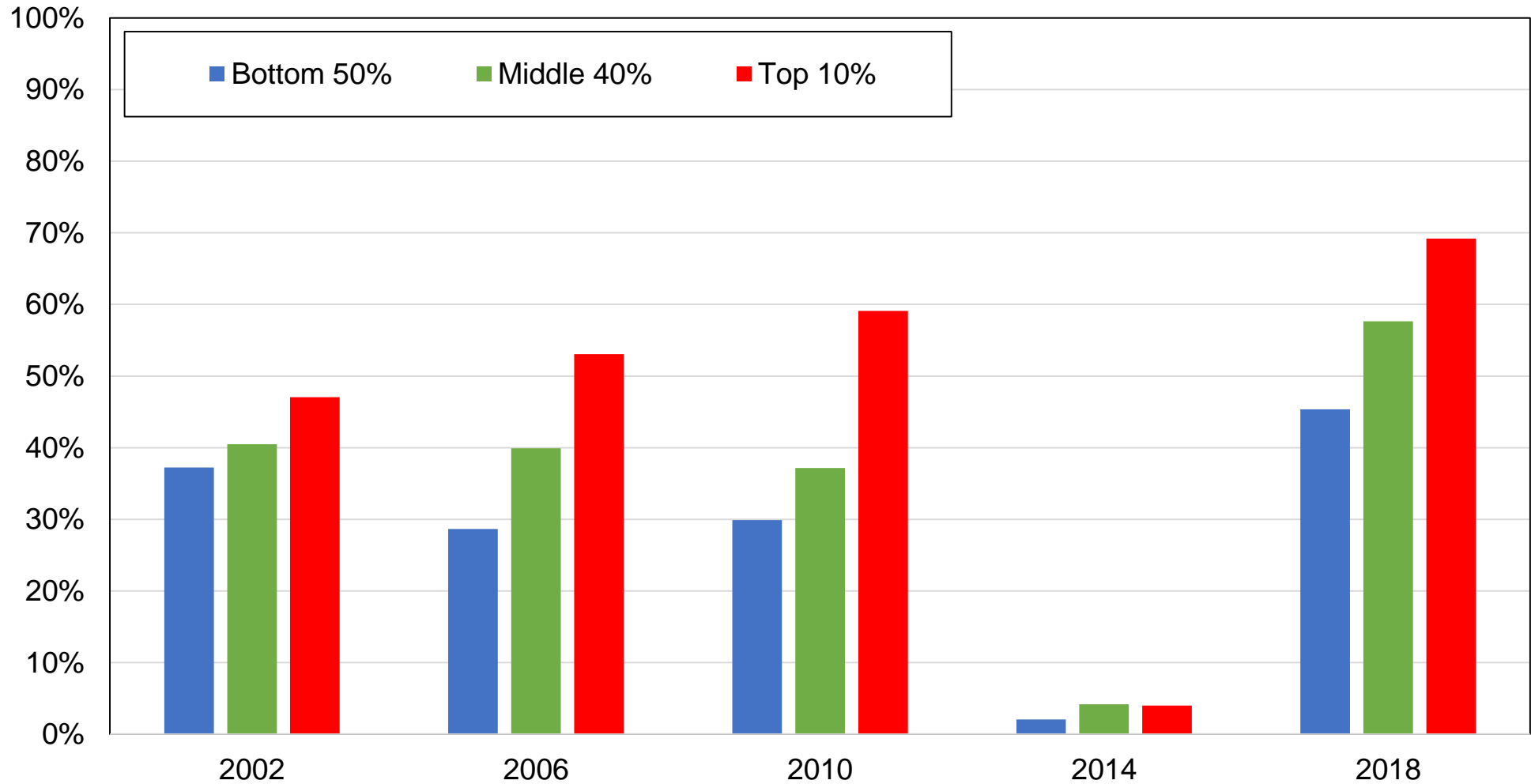
Figure DA5 - Vote for left-wing parties (Anti-Uribists) by income group



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

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by income decile.

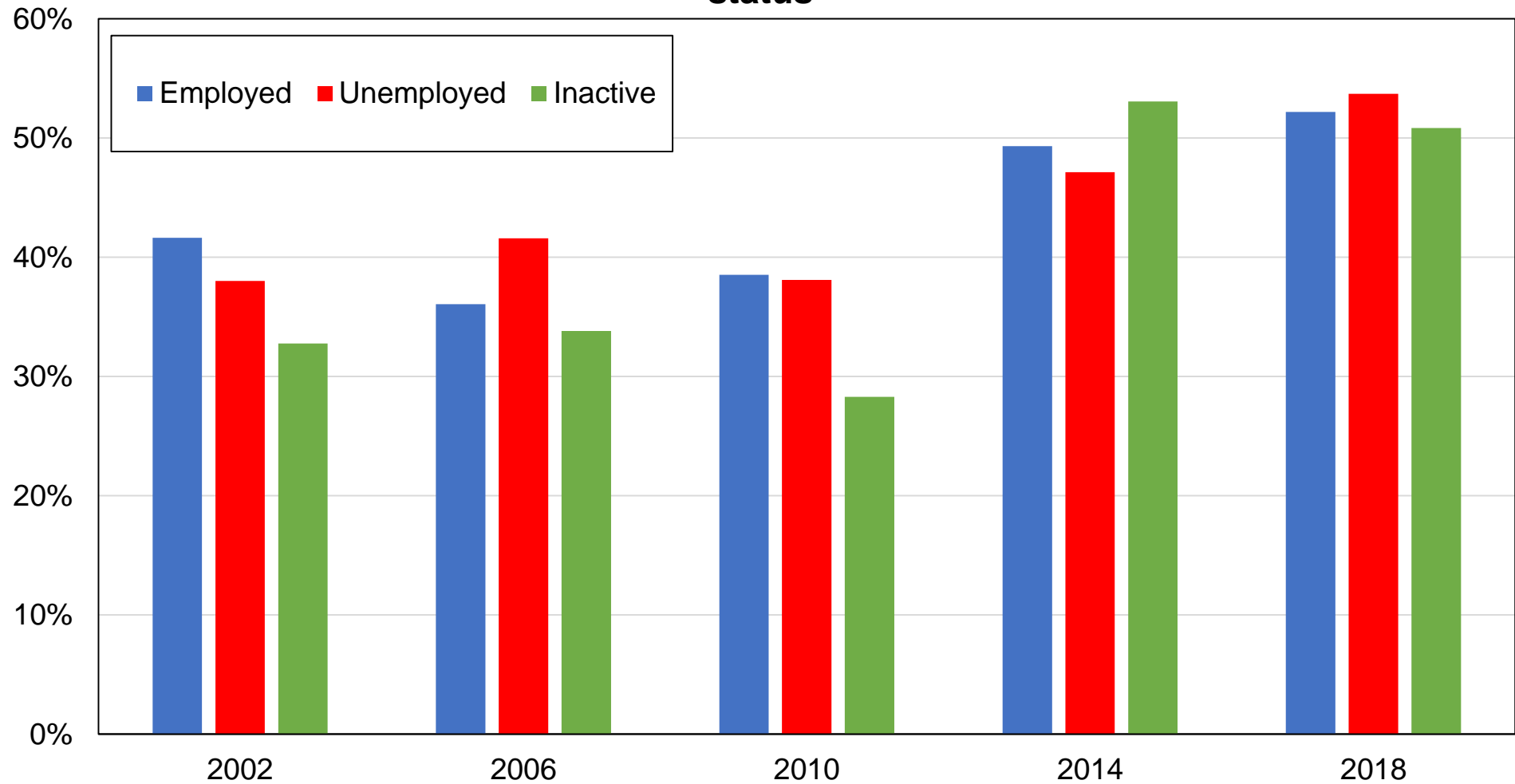
**Figure DA6 - Vote for left-wing parties (Anti-Uribists) by income group
(excluding the Party of the U in 2014)**



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

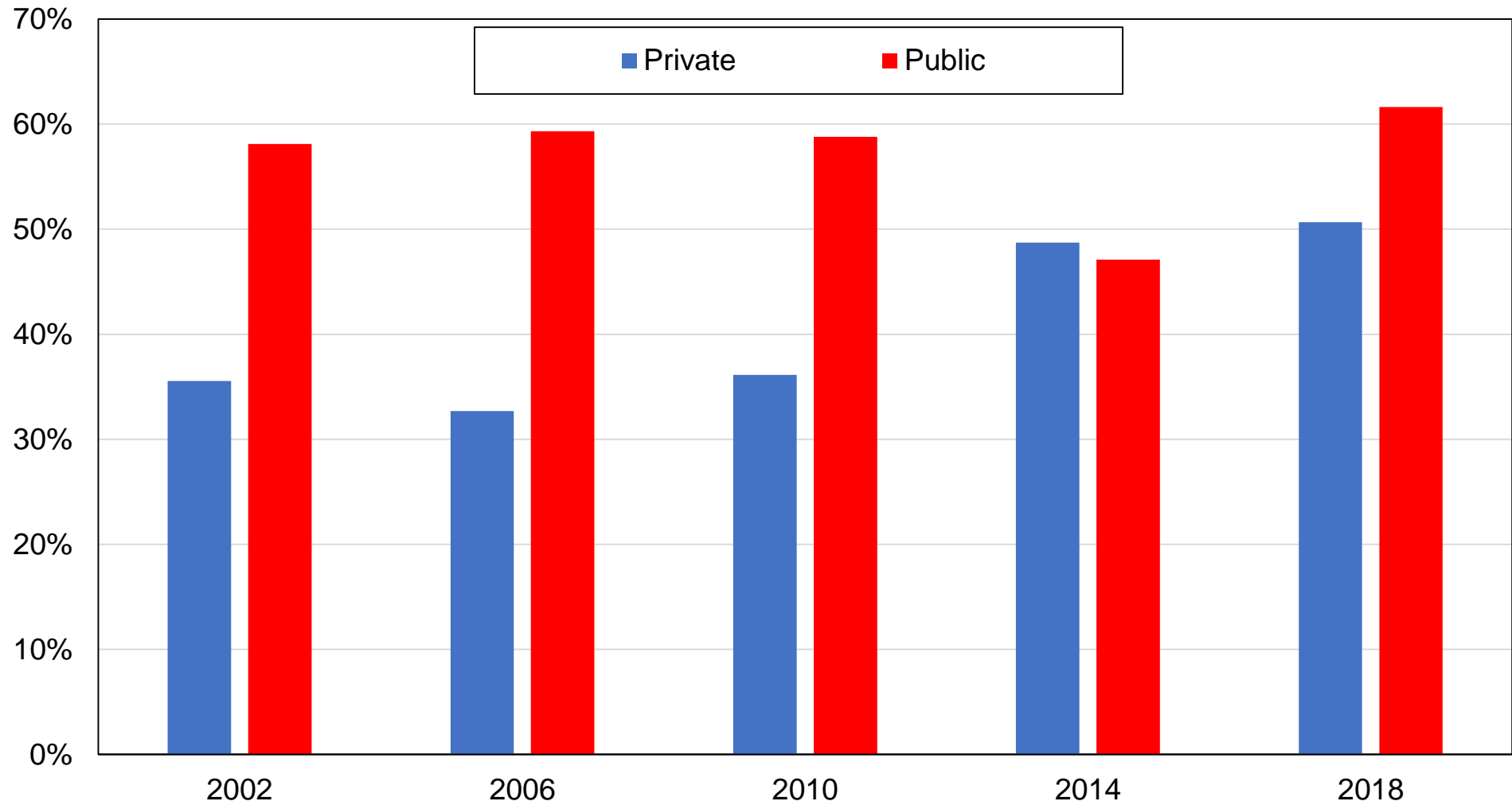
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by income decile excluding the U Party in 2014.

Figure DA7 - Vote for left-wing parties (Anti-Uribists) by employment status



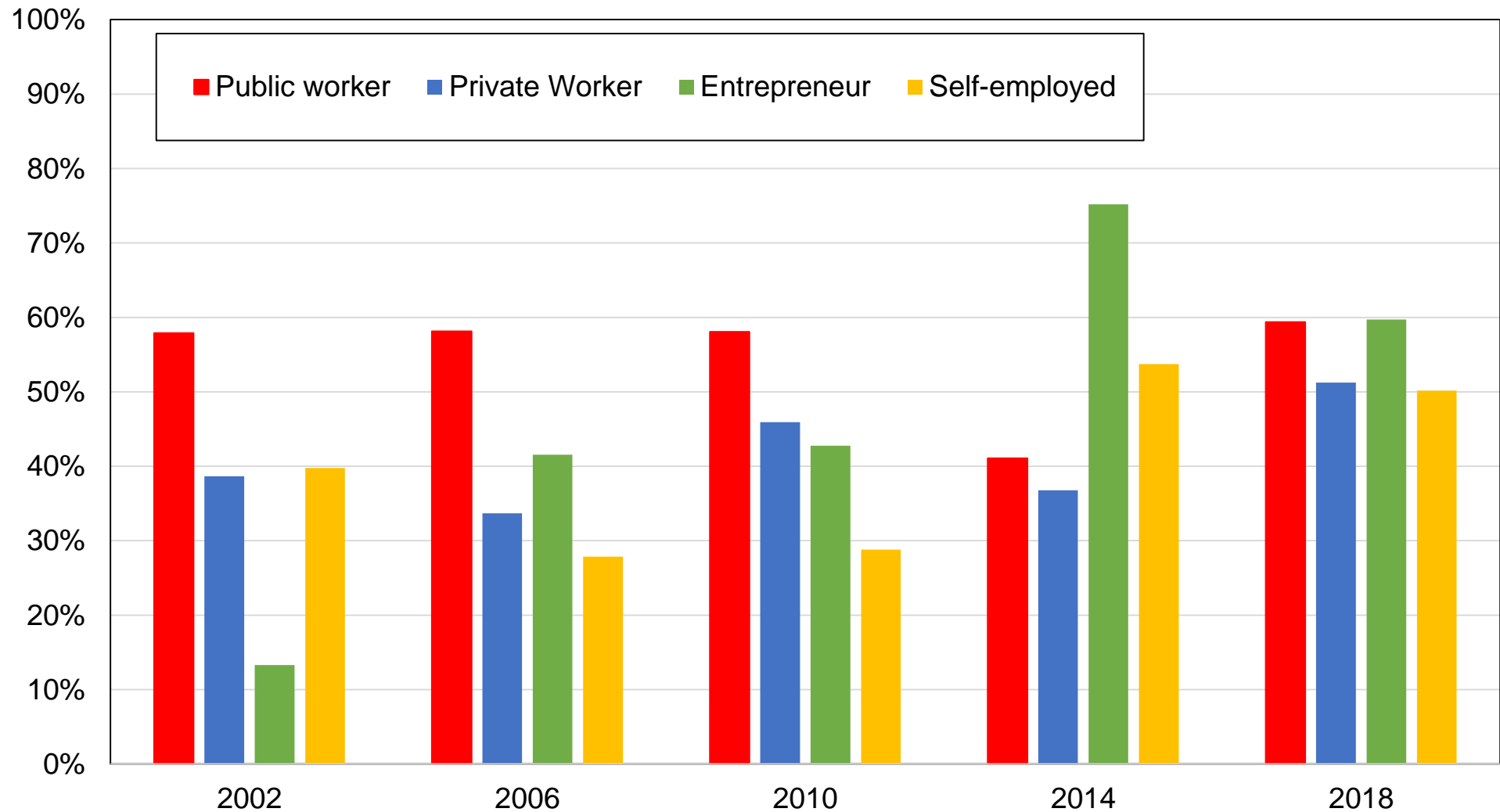
Source: authors' computations using Colombian post-electoral and political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by employment status.

Figure DA8 - Vote for left-wing parties (Anti-Uribists) by employment sector



Source: authors' computations using Colombian post-electoral and political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by employment sector.

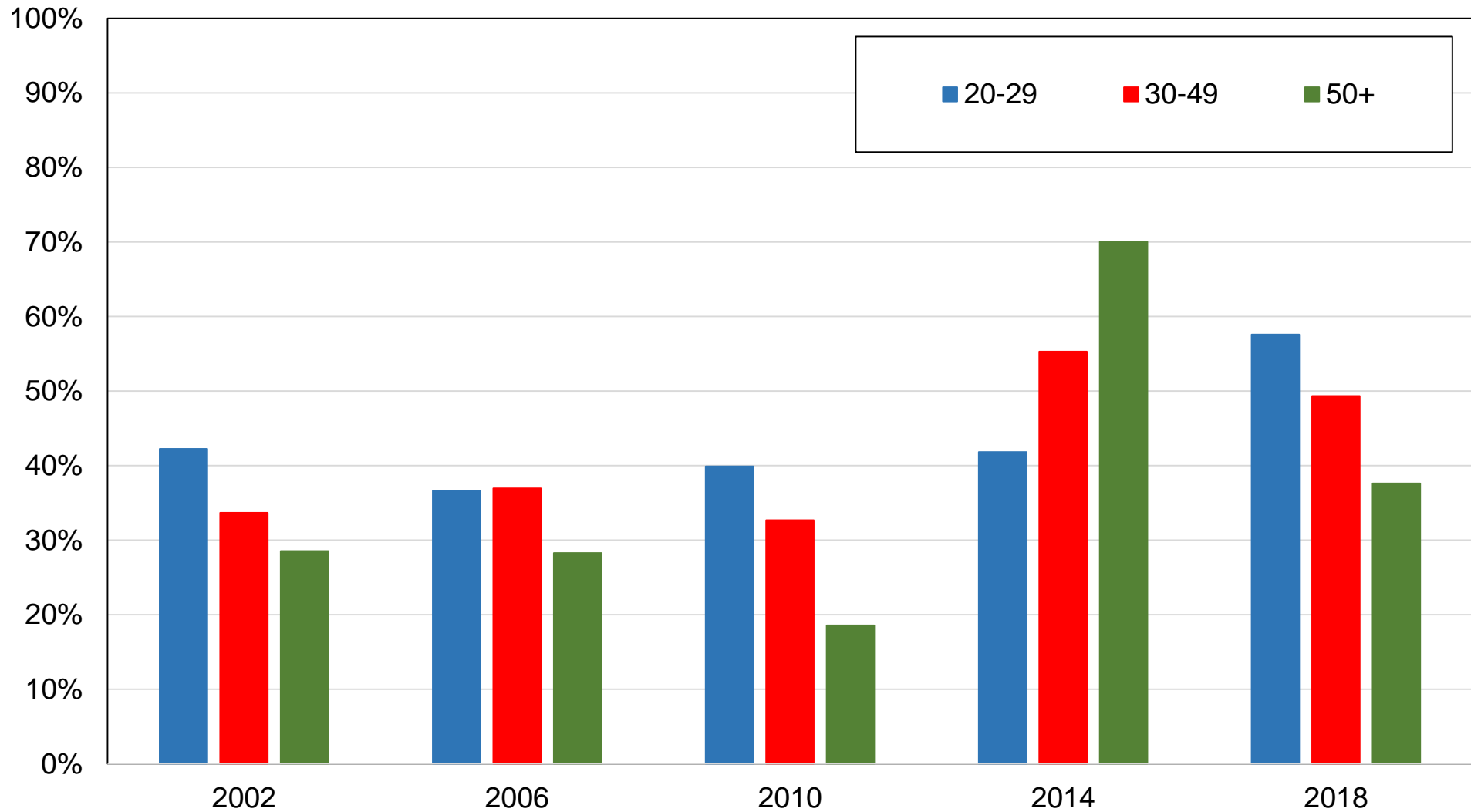
Figure DA9 - Vote for left-wing parties (Anti-Uribists) by occupation



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

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by occupation.

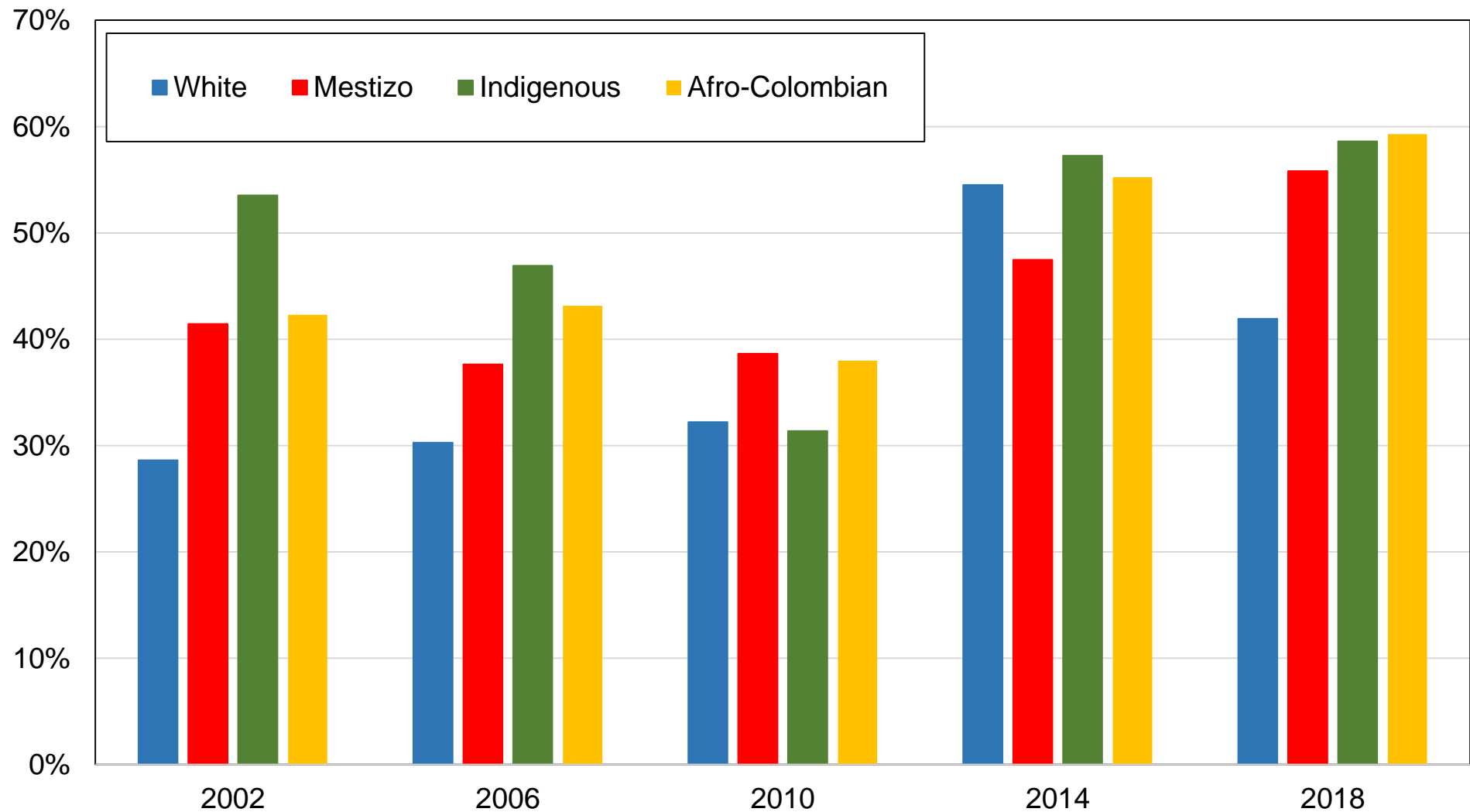
Figure DA10 - Vote for left-wing parties (Anti-Uribists) by age group



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

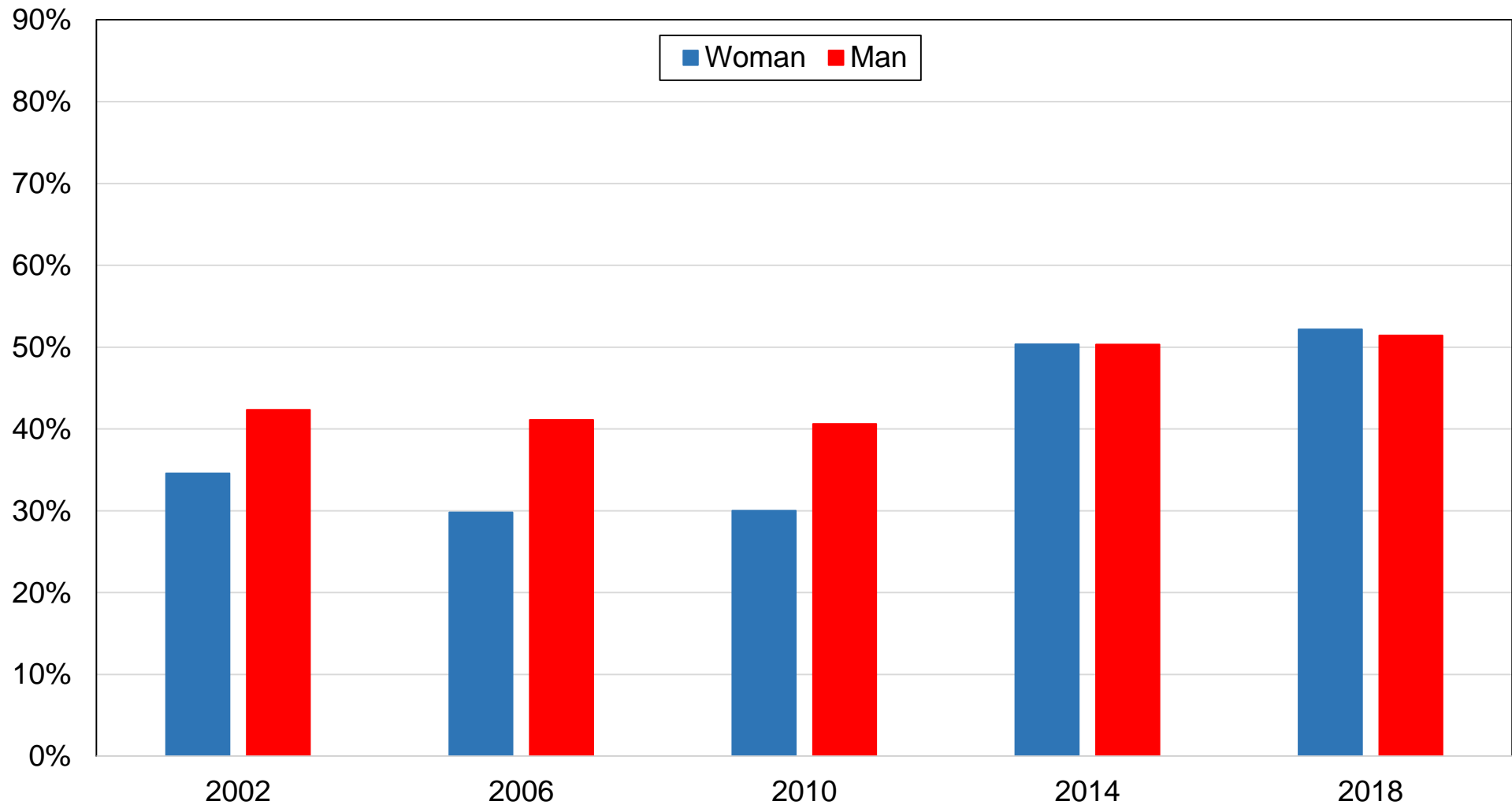
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by age group.

Figure DA11 - Vote for left-wing parties (Anti-Uribists) by ethnicity



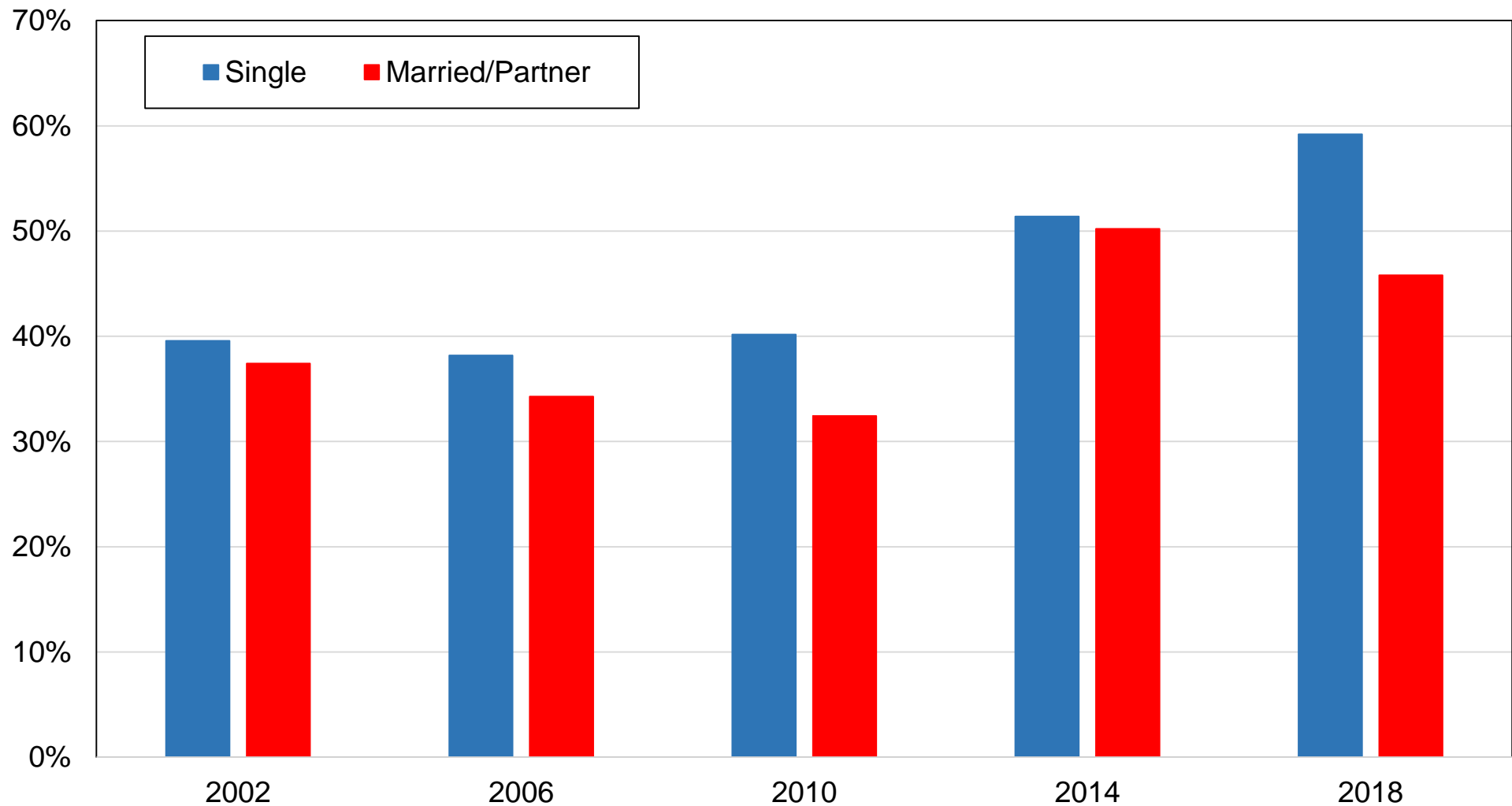
Source: authors' computations using Colombian post-electoral and political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by ethnicity.

Figure DA12 - Vote for left-wing parties (Anti-Uribists) by gender



Source: authors' computations using Colombian post-electoral and political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by gender.

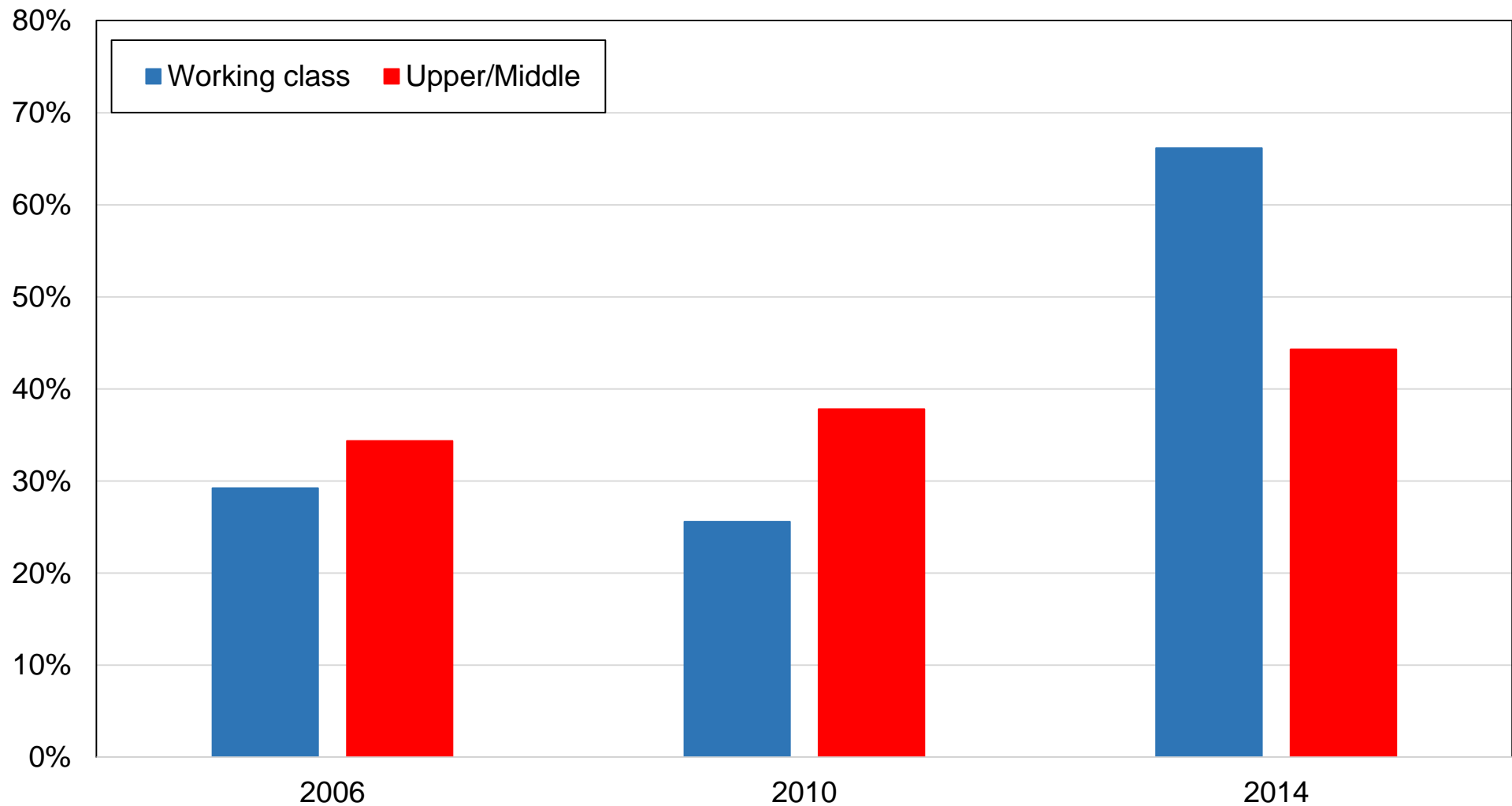
Figure DA13 - Vote for left-wing parties (Anti-Uribists) by marital status



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

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by marital status.

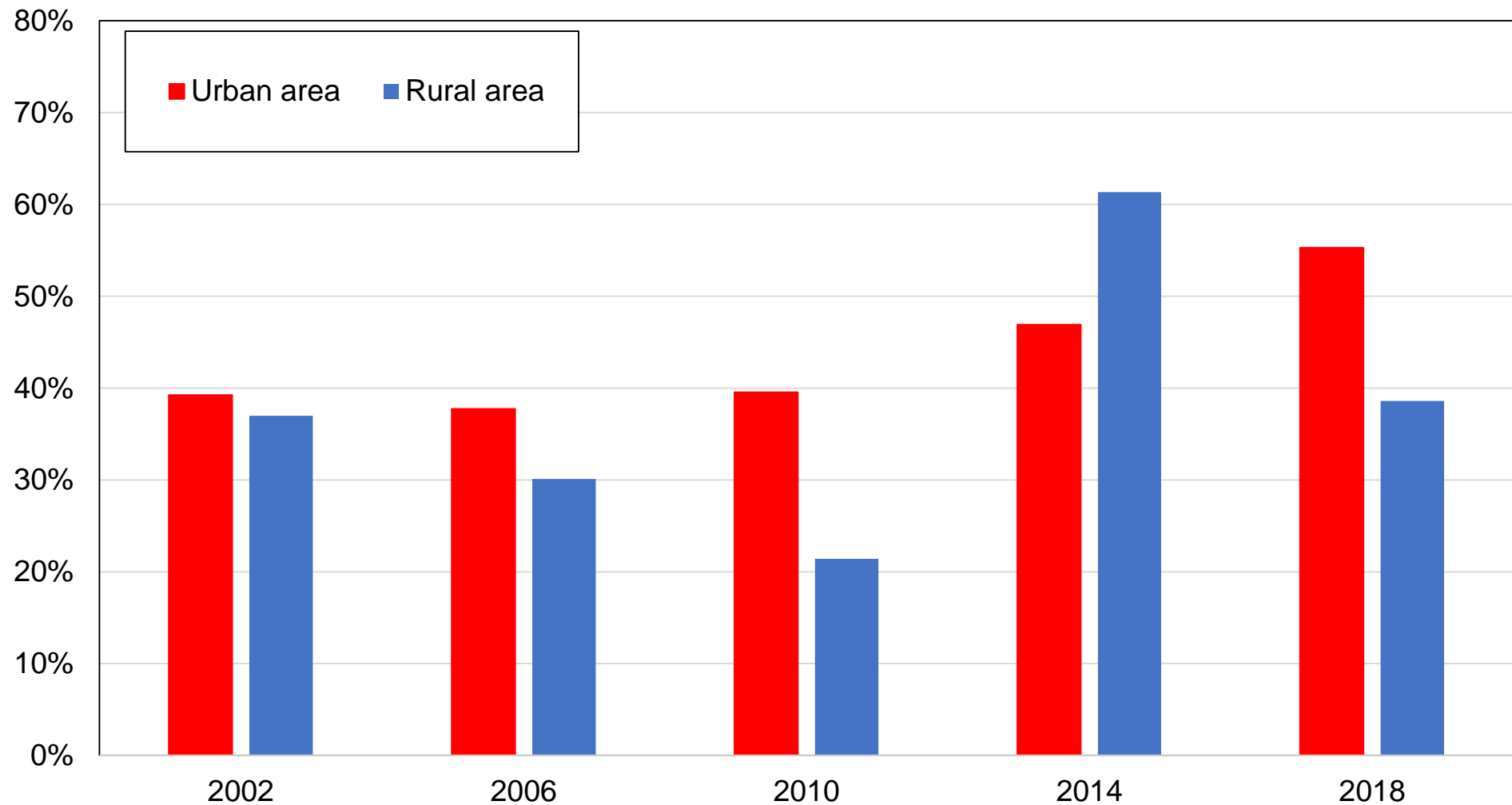
Figure DA14 - Vote for left-wing parties (Anti-Uribists) by social class



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

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by social class.

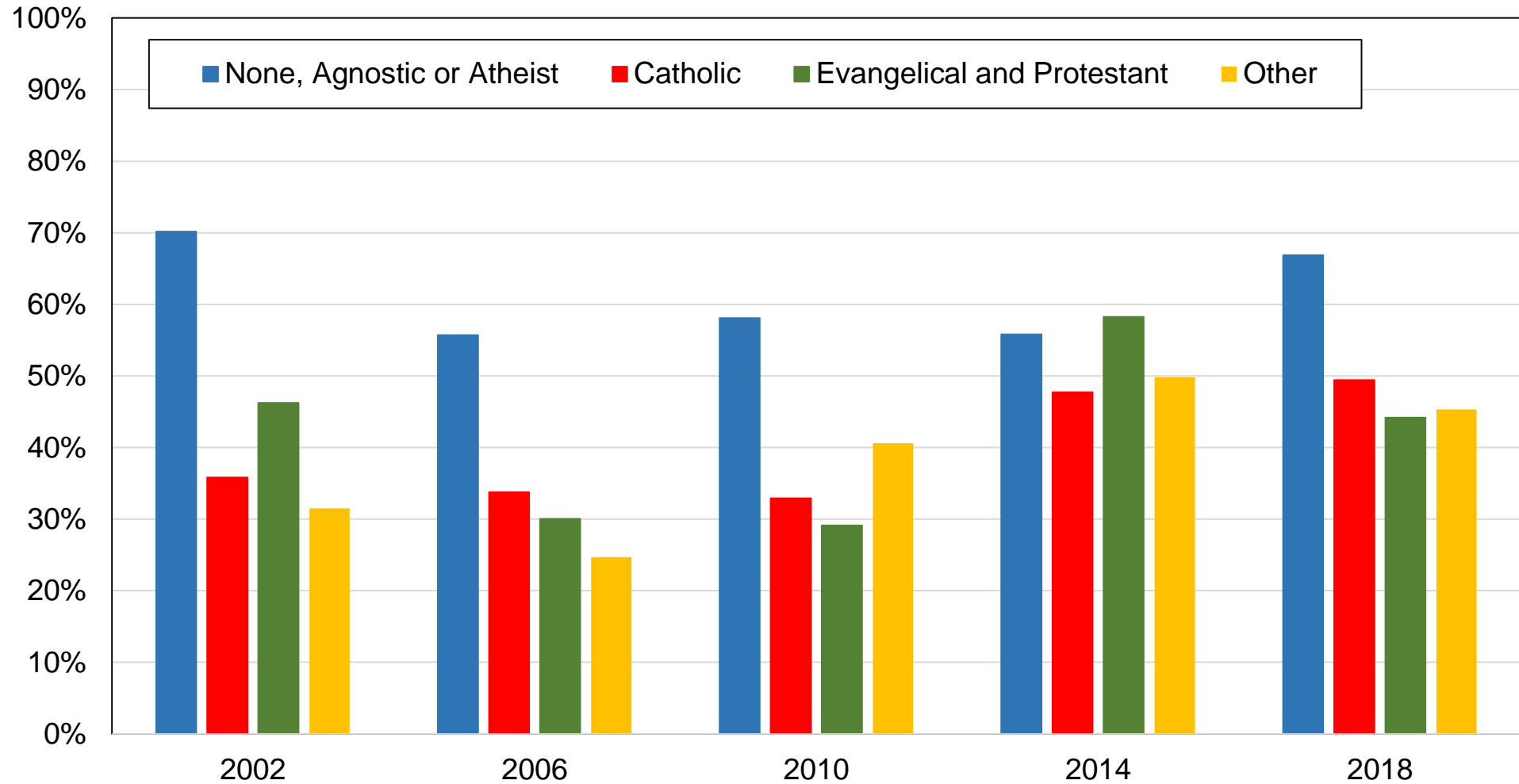
Figure DA15 - Vote for left-wing parties (Anti-Uribists) by location



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

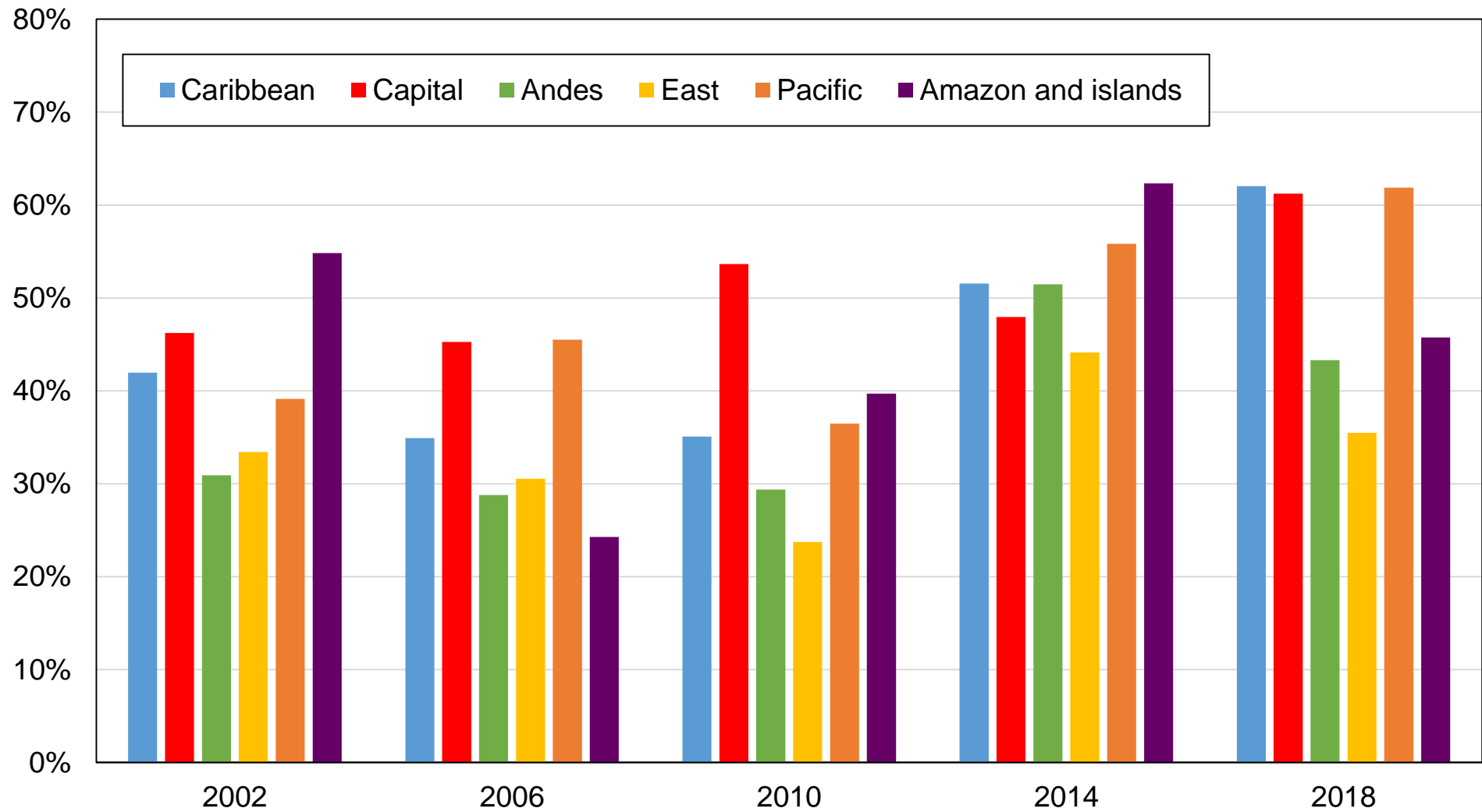
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by location.

Figure DA16 - Vote for left-wing parties (Anti-Uribists) by religious affiliation



Source: authors' computations using Colombian post-electoral and political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by religious affiliation.

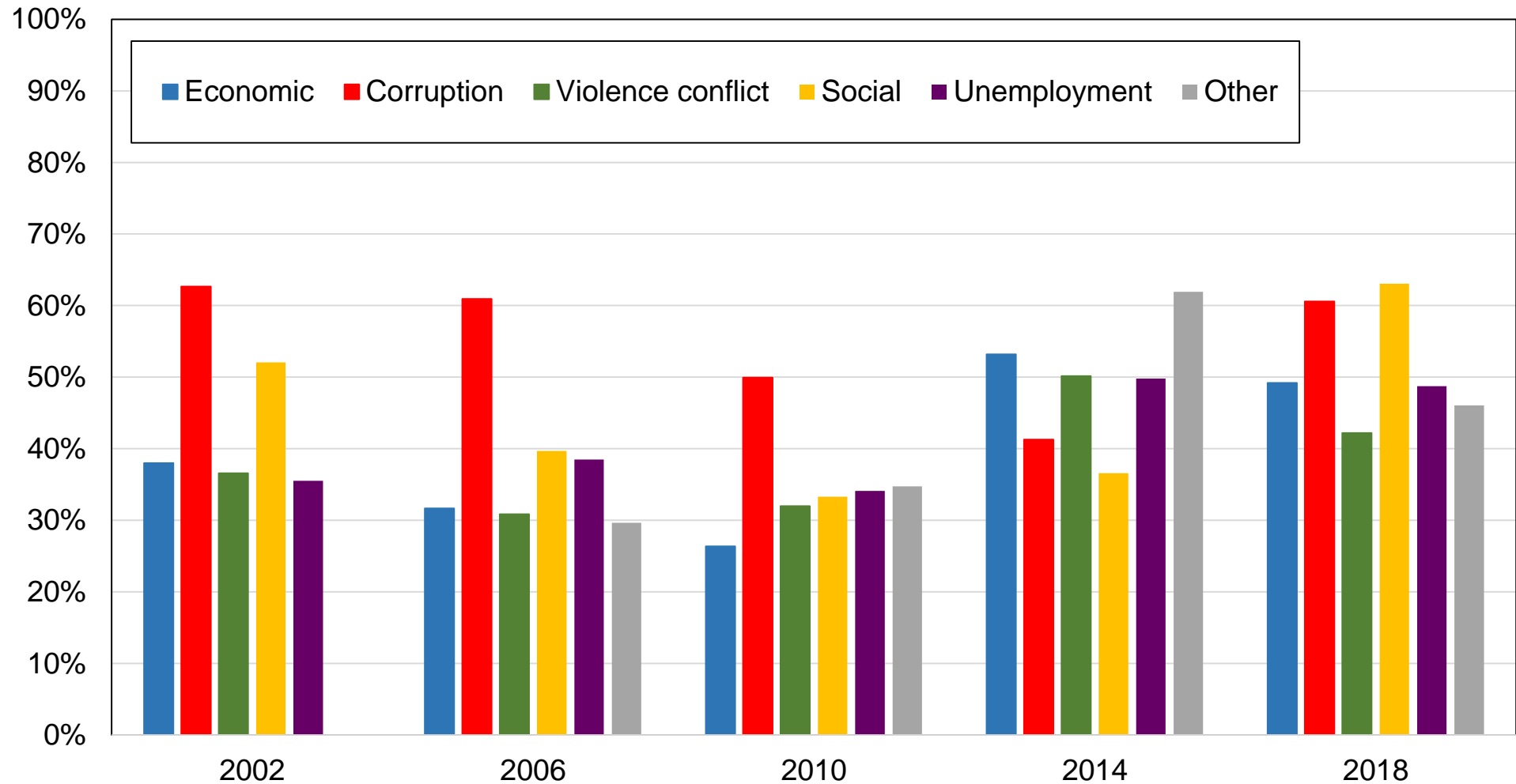
Figure DA17 - Vote for left-wing parties (Anti-Uribists) by region



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

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by region.

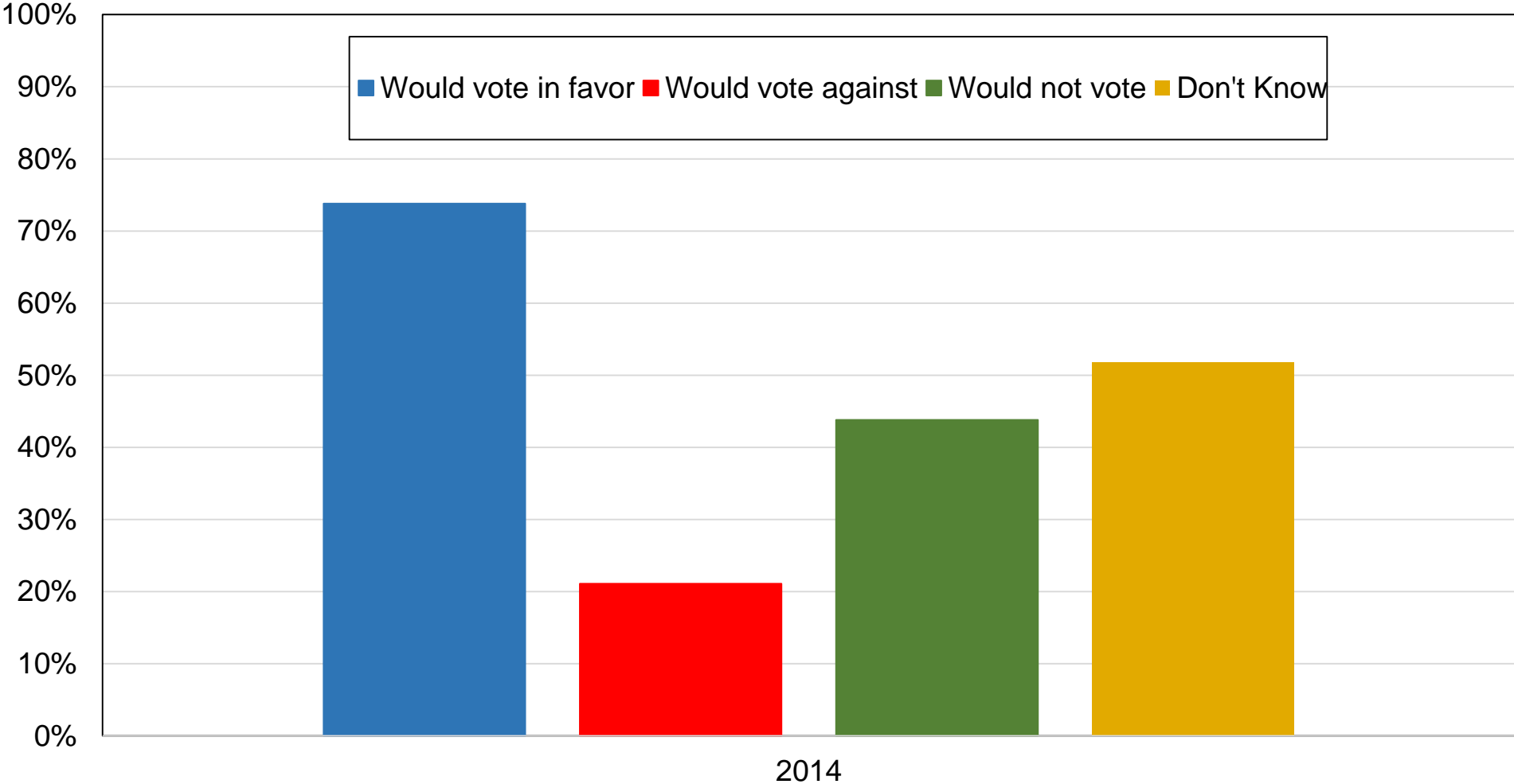
Figure DA18 - Vote for left-wing parties (Anti-Uribists) by main perceived problem



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

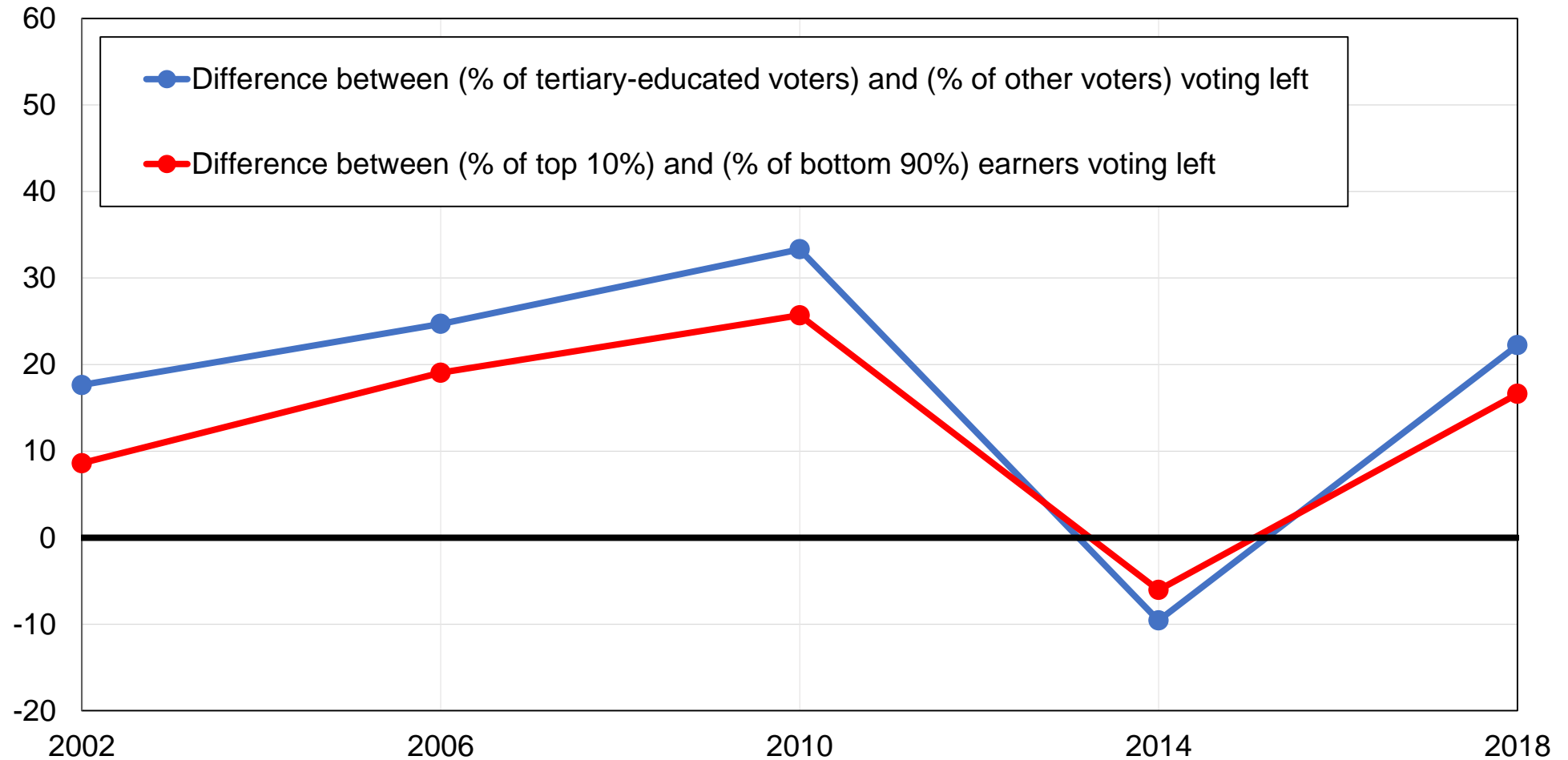
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by main perceived problem in the country.

Figure DA19 - Vote for left-wing parties (Anti-Uribists) by plebiscite preferences, 2016



Source: authors' computations using Colombian post-electoral and political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by plebiscite preferences in 2016.

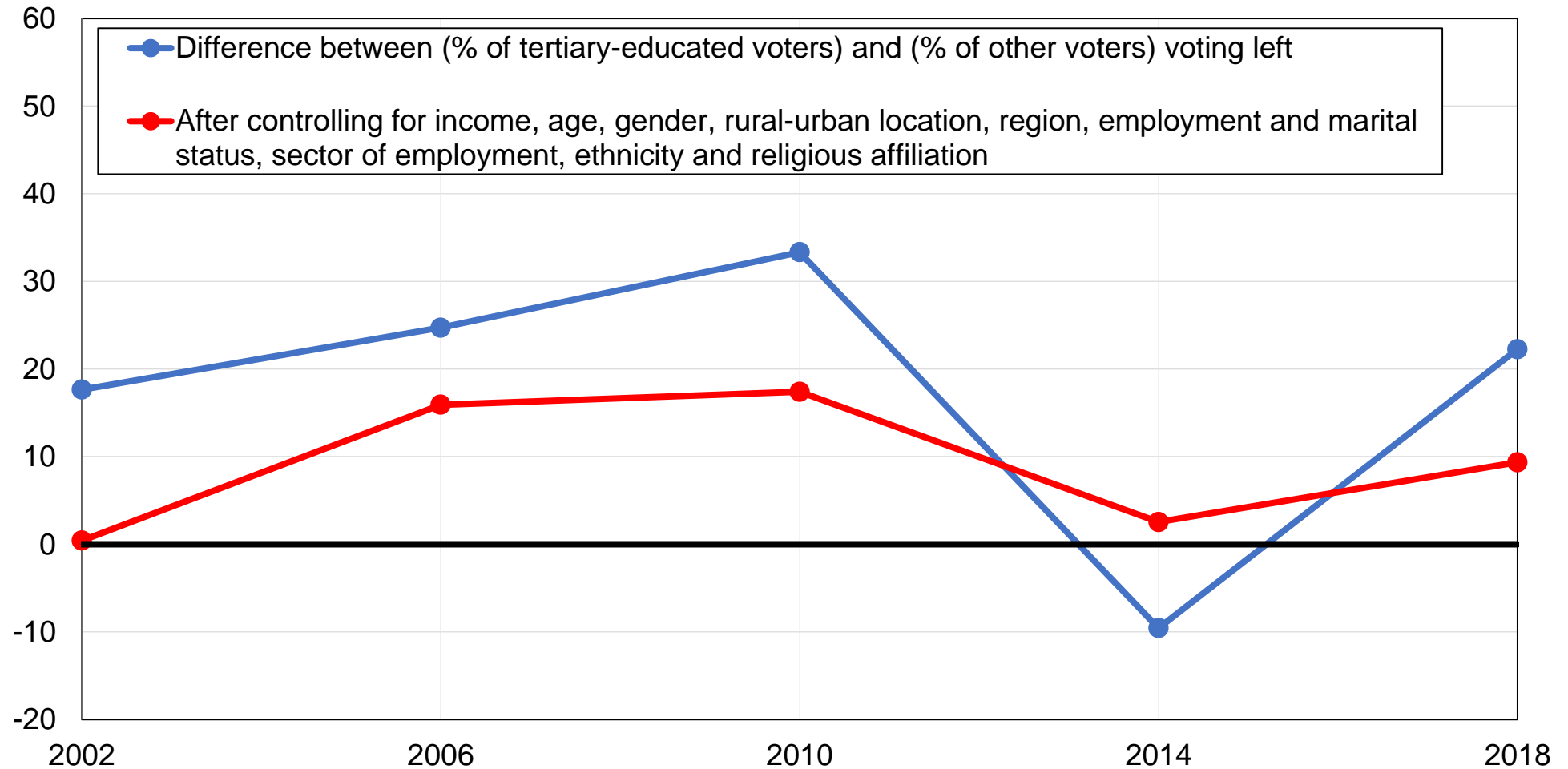
Figure DA20 - Vote for left-wing parties (Anti-Uribists) among tertiary-educated and top-income voters



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

Note: the figure shows the relative support for tertiary-educated and top-income voters for left-wing parties.

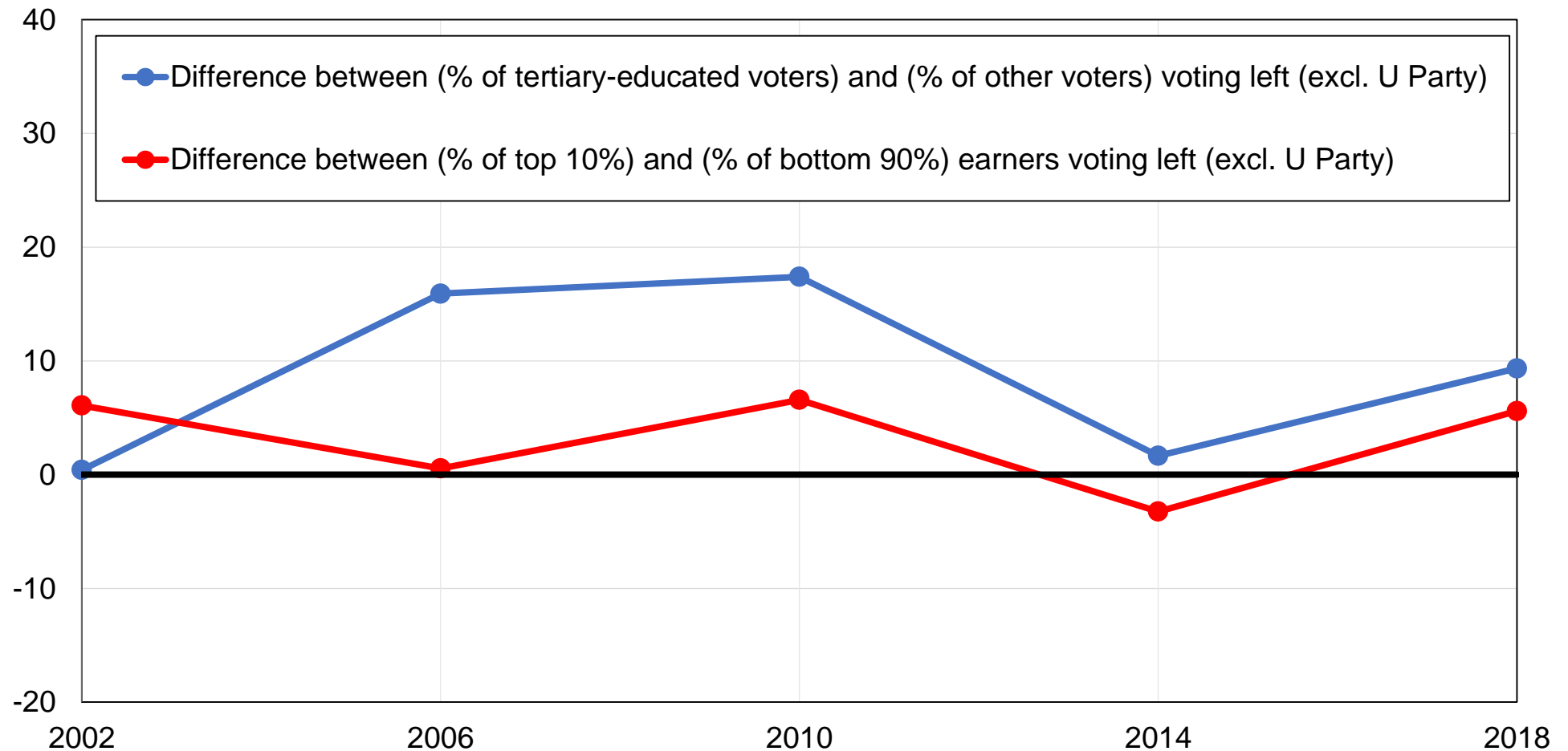
Figure DA21 - Vote for left-wing parties (Anti-Uribists) among tertiary-educated voters



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

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of tertiary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controls.

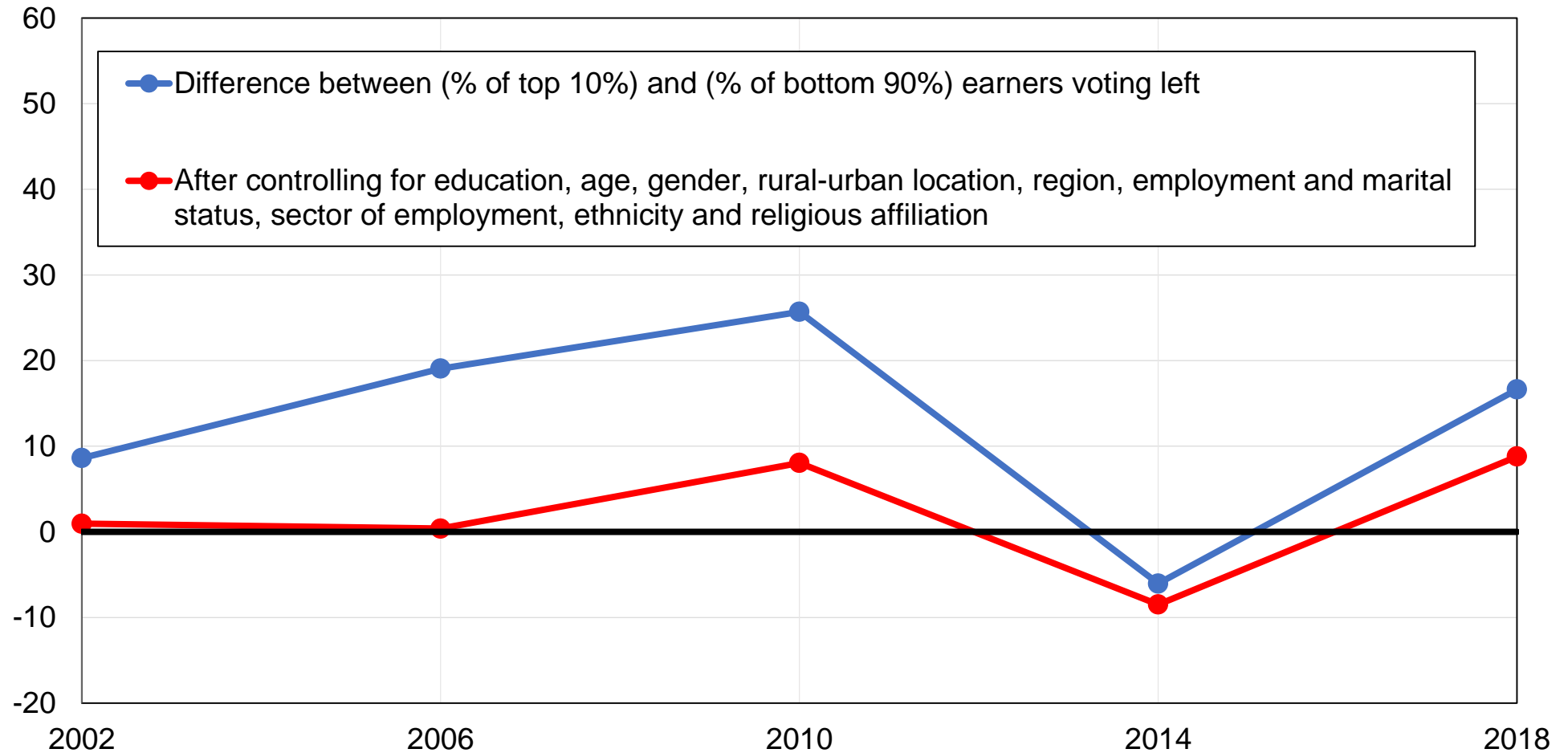
Figure DA22 - Vote for left-wing parties (Anti-Uribists) among tertiary-educated voters and top-income voters, after controls



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

Note: the figure shows the difference between the relative support of tertiary-educated and top-income voters for left-wing parties, after controlling for age, gender, region, rural-urban location, employment and marital status, sector of employment, ethnicity and religious affiliation.

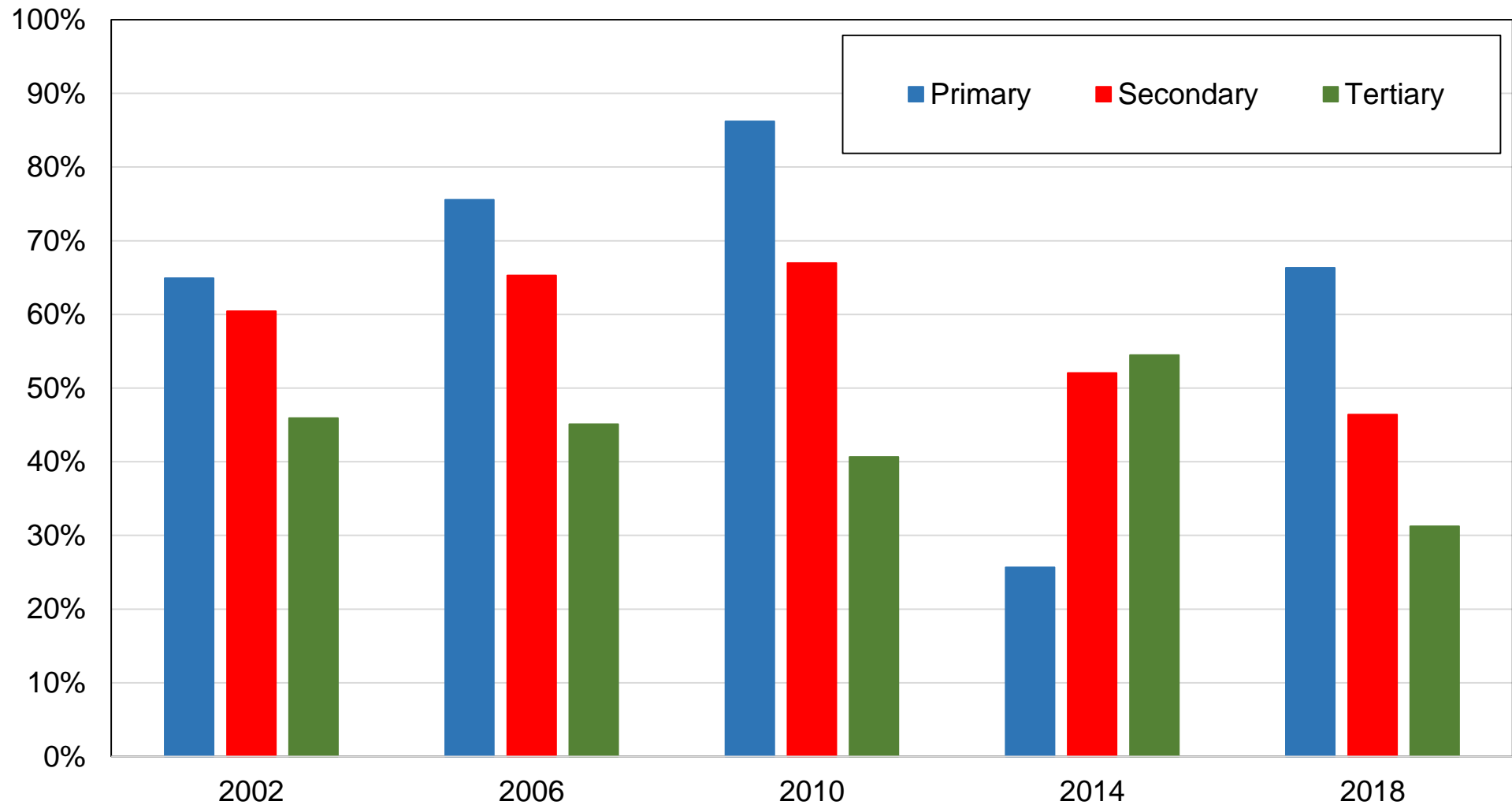
Figure DA23 - Vote for left-wing parties (Anti-Uribists) among top-income earners



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

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and the share of bottom 90% earners voting for left-wing parties, before and after controls.

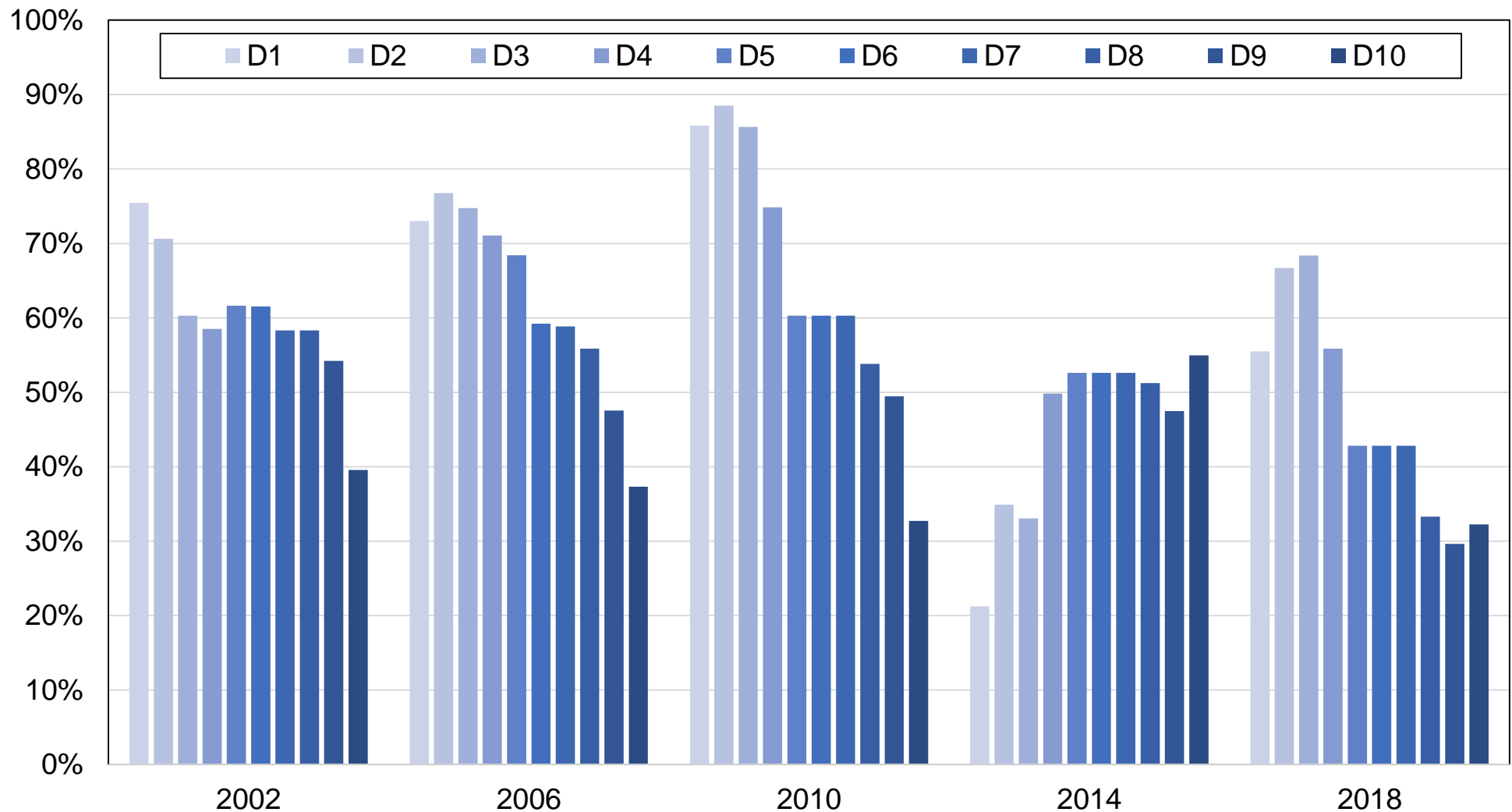
Figure DB1 - Vote for right-wing parties (Uribists) by education level



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

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Uribist parties by education level, including the U party in 2014.

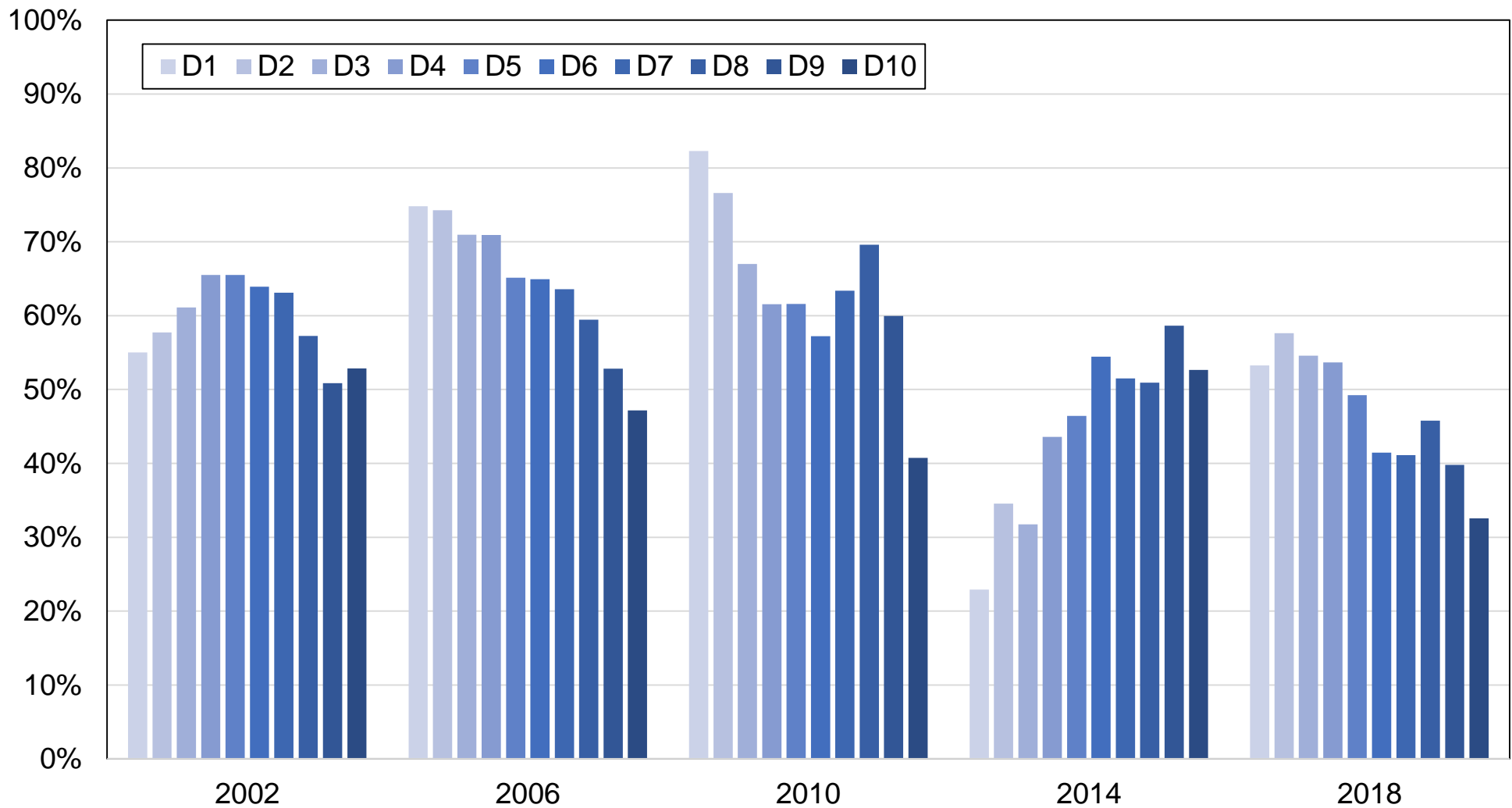
Figure DB2 - Vote for right-wing parties (Uribists) by education decile



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

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Uribist parties by education decile, including the U party in 2014.

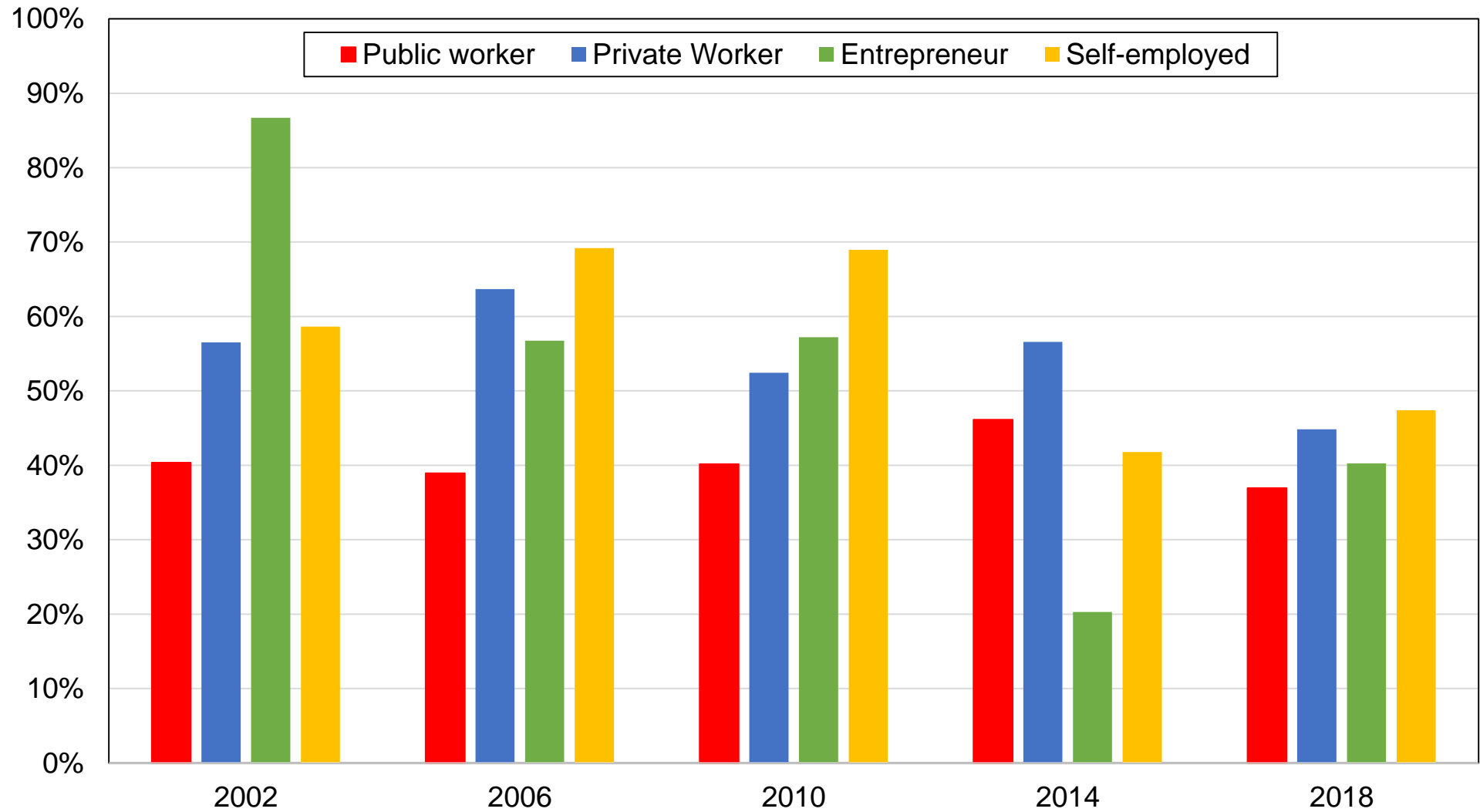
Figure DBA3 - Vote for right-wing parties (Uribists) by income decile



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

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Uribist parties by income decile.

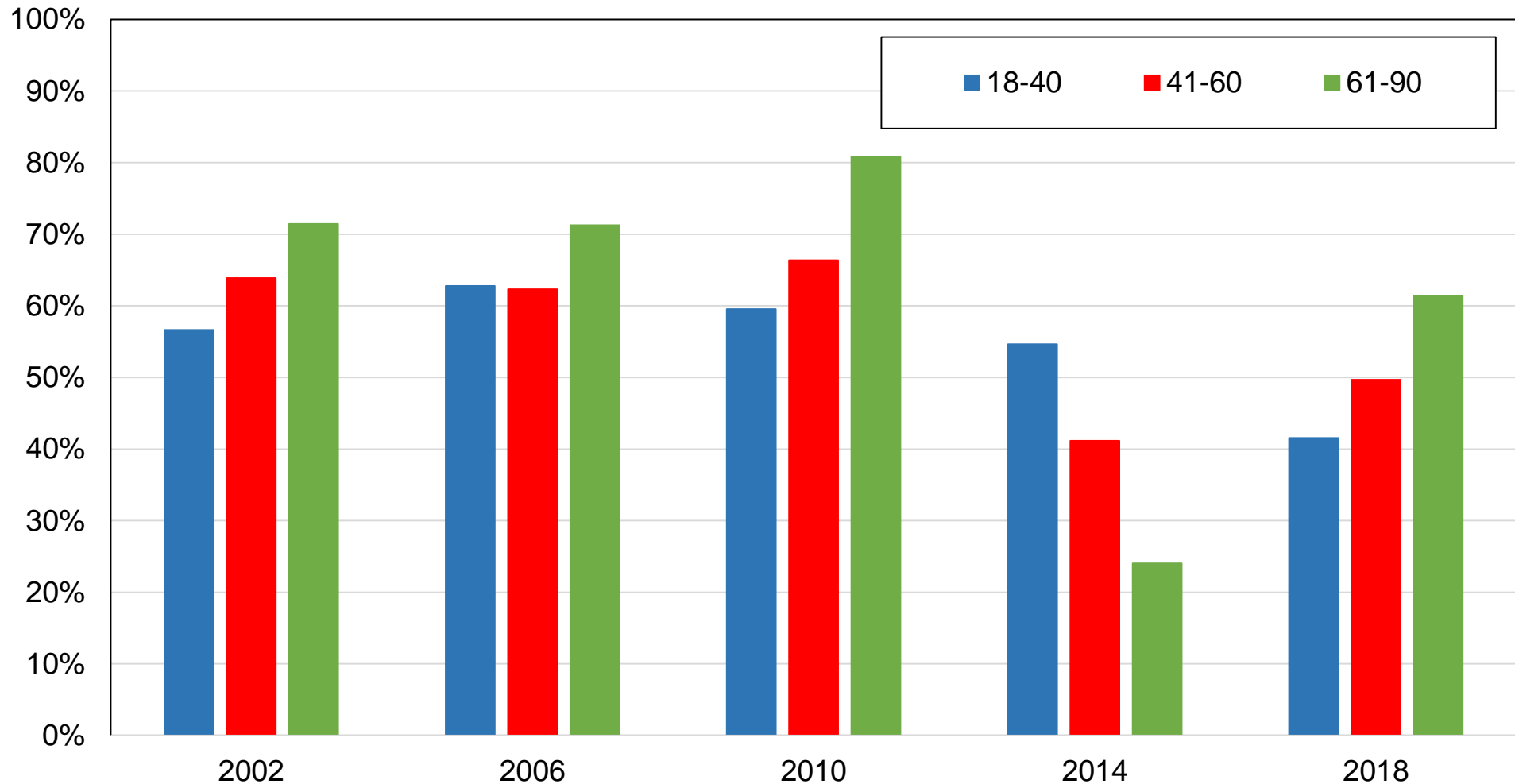
Figure DB4 - Vote for right-wing parties (Uribists) by occupation



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

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Uribist parties by occupation.

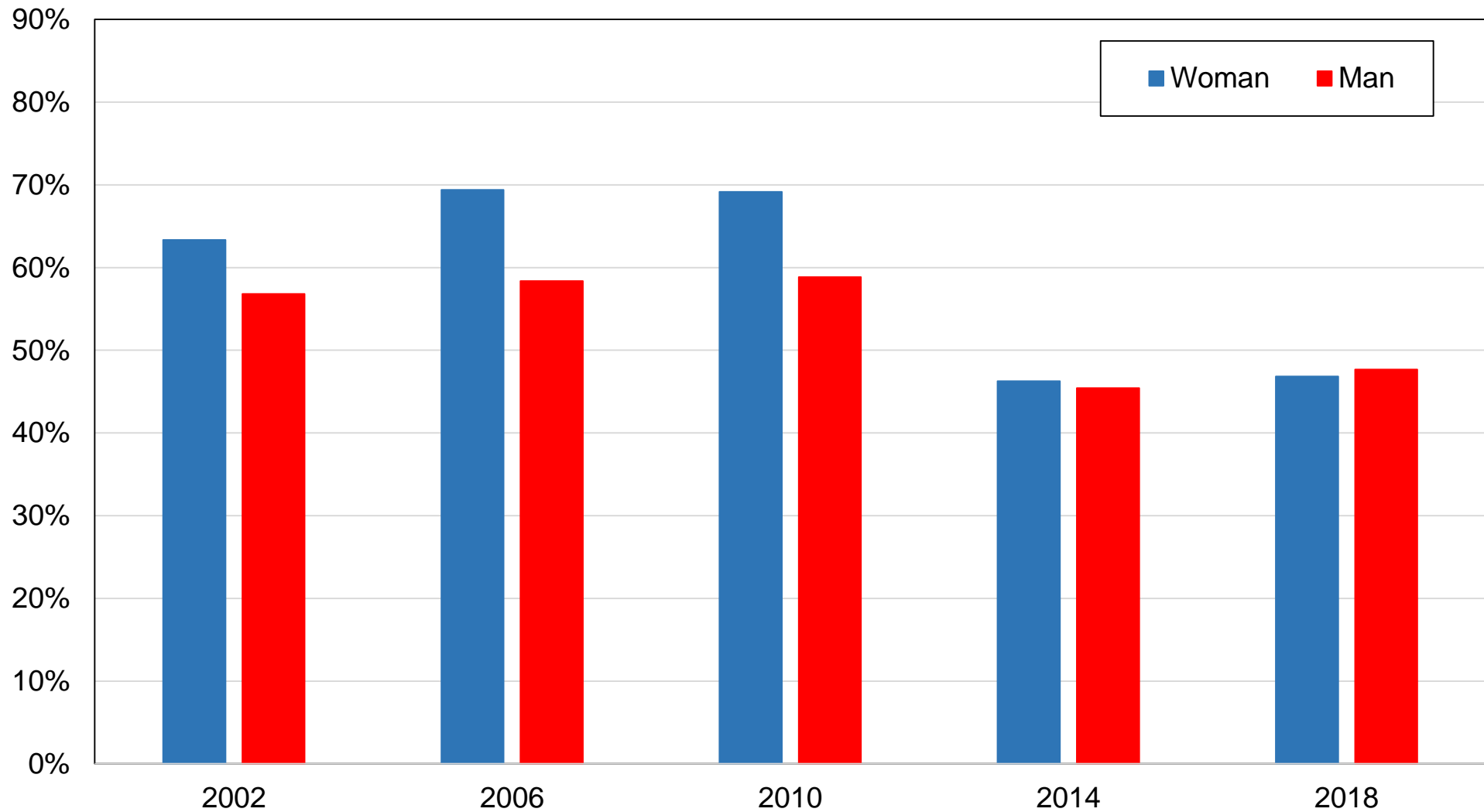
Figure DB5 - Vote for right-wing parties (Uribists) by age group



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

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Uribist parties by age group, including U party in 2014.

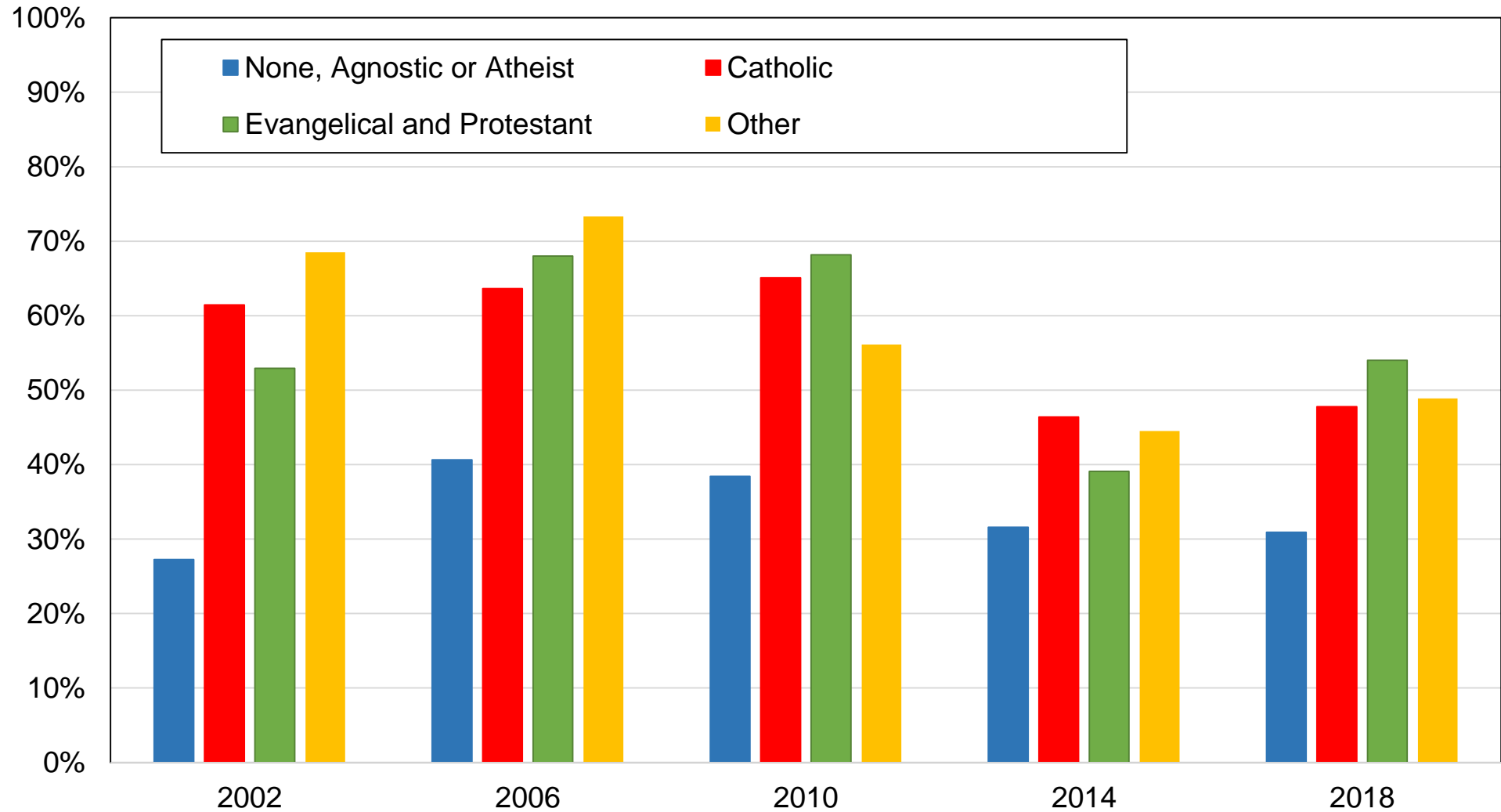
Figure DB6 - Vote for right-wing parties (Uribists) by gender



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

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Uribist parties by gender.

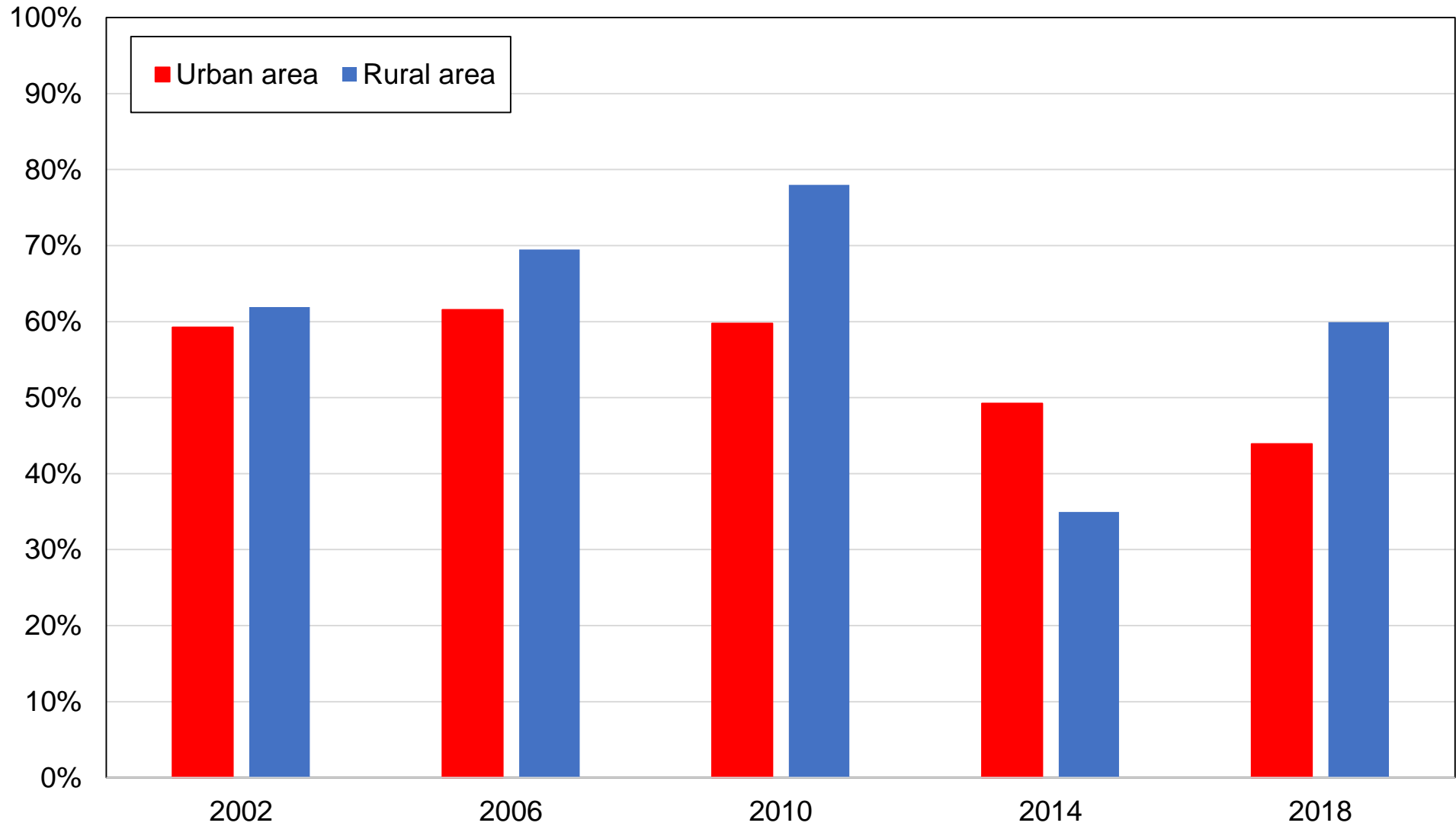
Figure DB7 - Vote for right-wing parties (Uribists) by religious affiliation



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

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Uribist parties by religious affiliation.

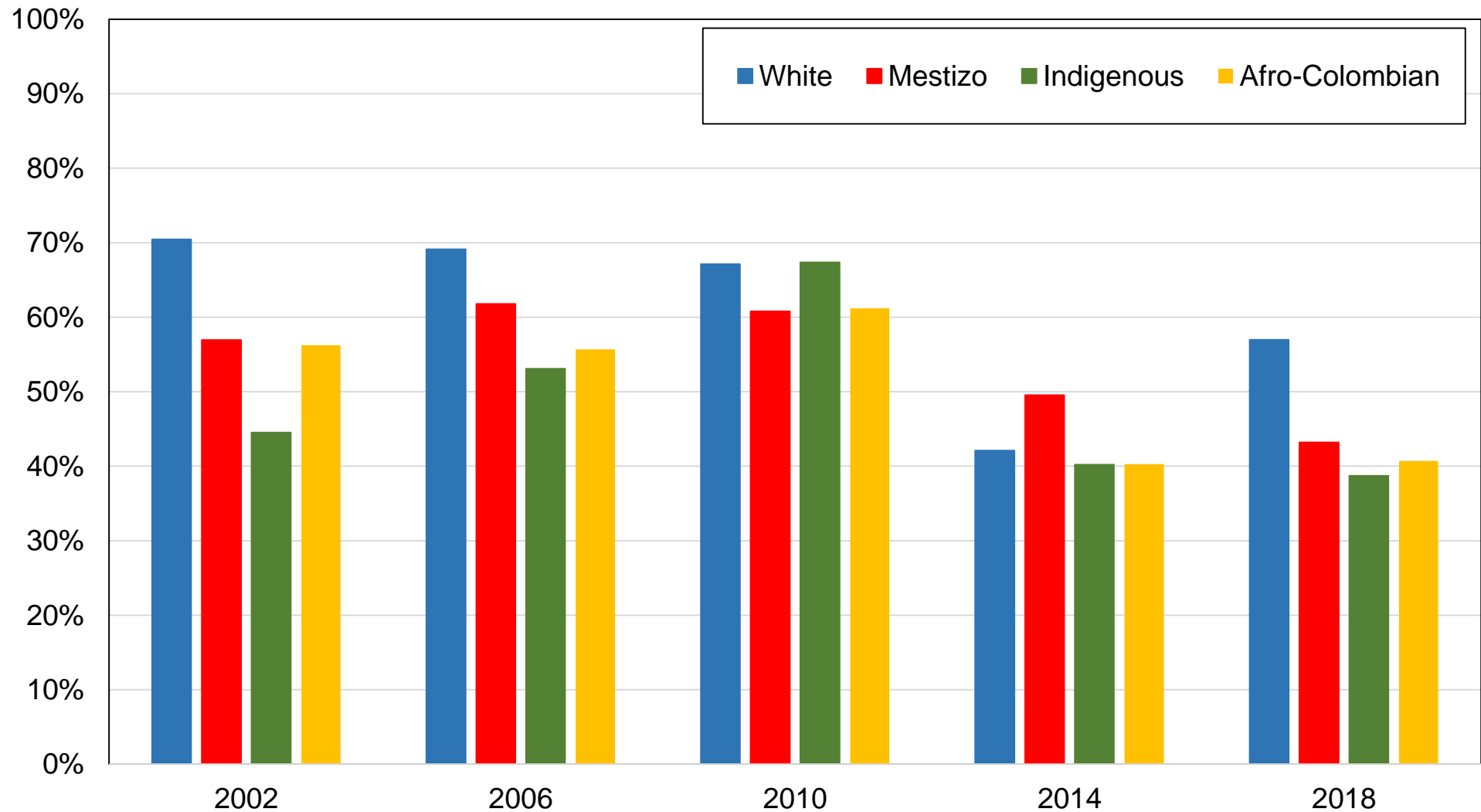
Figure DB8 - Vote for right-wing parties (Uribists) by location



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

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by right-wing parties by location.

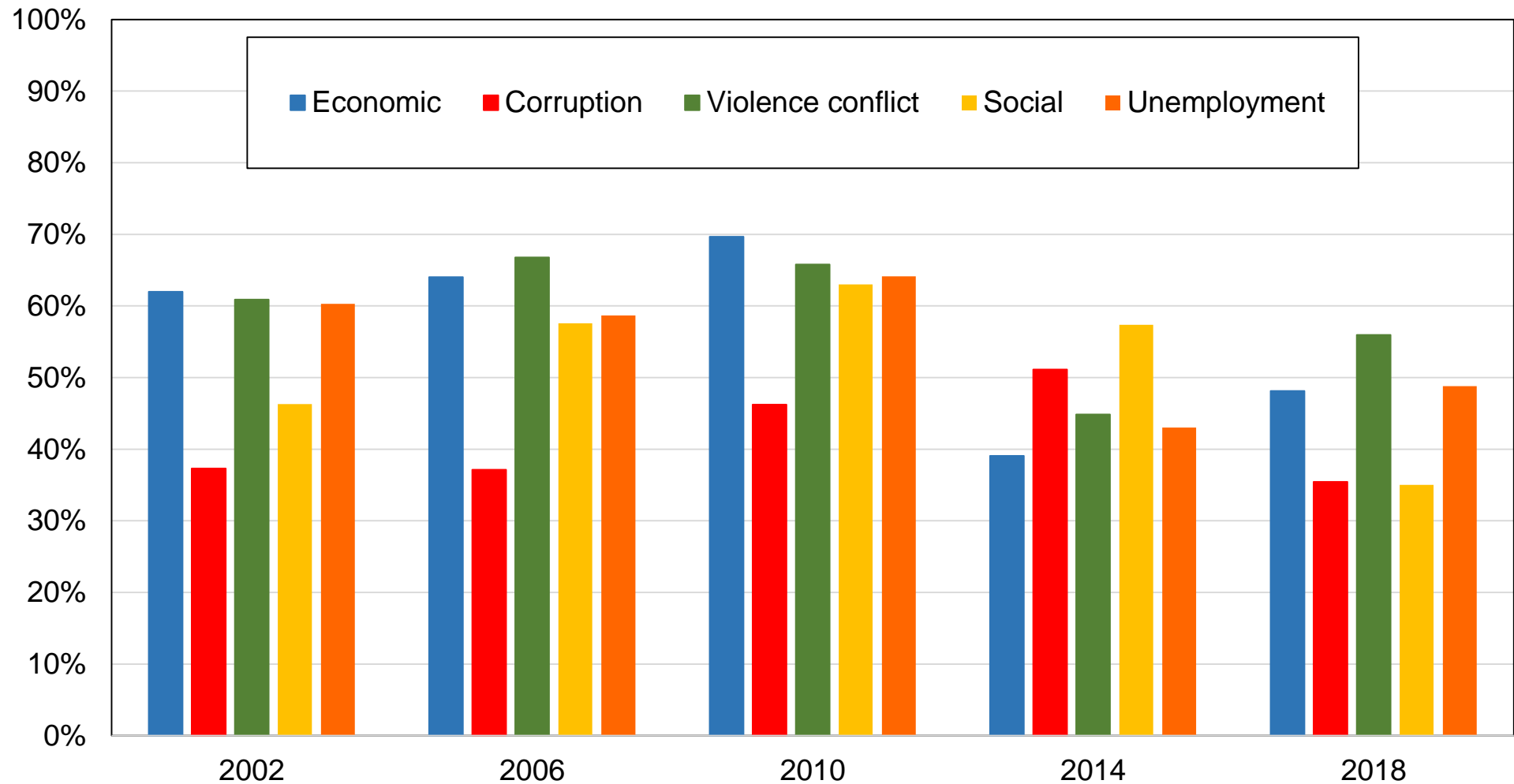
Figure DB9 - Vote for right-wing parties (Uribists) by ethnicity



Source: authors' computations using political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Uribist parties by ethnicity.

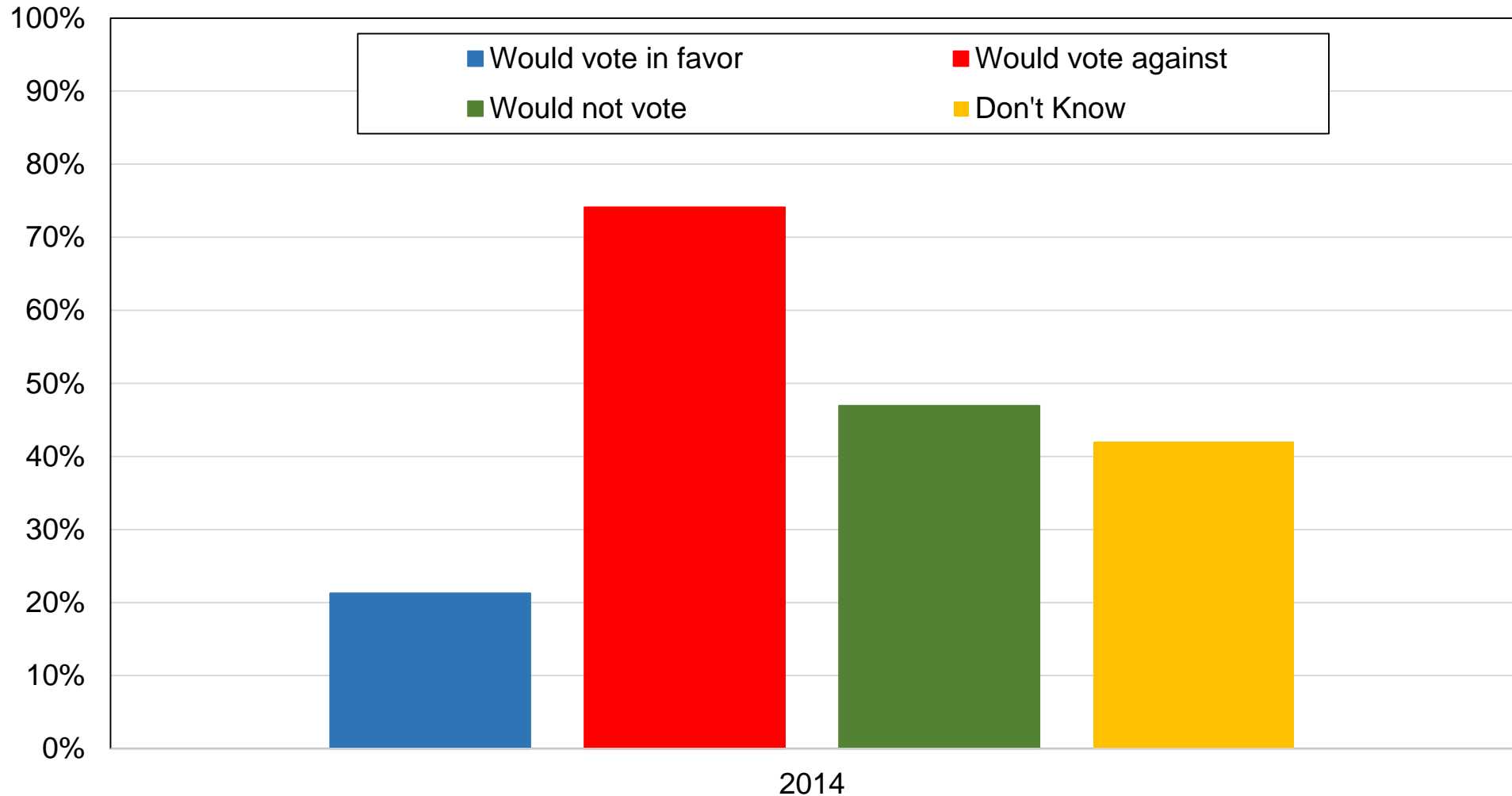
Figure DB10 - Vote for right-wing parties (Uribists) by perceived main problem



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

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Uribist parties by main perceived problem in the country.

Figure DBA11 - Vote for right-wing parties (Uribists) by plebiscite preferences , 2016



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

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Uribist parties by plebiscite preferences in 2016.

Table DC1 - Survey data sources

Survey	Year	Source	Type	Sample size
Post-electoral	2002	LAIPOP, Colombia	Presidential	1479
Post-electoral	2006	LAIPOP, Colombia	Presidential	7484
Post-electoral	2010	LAIPOP, Colombia	Presidential	4511
Post-electoral	2014	LAIPOP, Colombia	Presidential	1563
Post-electoral	2018	LAIPOP, Colombia	Presidential	1663

Table DC2 - Descriptive Statistics

	2002	2006	2010	2014	2018
Primary	31%	30%	24%	22%	22%
Secondary	53%	49%	54%	55%	55%
Tertiary	16%	20%	22%	23%	22%
Age: 20-40	66%	67%	66%	57%	56%
Age: 40-60	27%	24%	24%	32%	30%
Age: +60	7%	9%	10%	11%	14%
Public worker	8%	9%	8%	10%	11%
Men	50%	50%	50%	50%	50%
Rural	26%	26%	23%	21%	20%
Employed	61%	59%	60%	49%	47%
Unemployed	4%	8%	7%	13%	13%
Inactive	36%	33%	33%	39%	40%
Married	56%	56%	55%	54%	55%
No religion	5%	8%	9%	7%	11%
Catholic	84%	80%	75%	74%	68%
Protestant	10%	11%	14%	10%	18%
Other religion	1%	1%	3%	9%	4%
White	33%	36%	34%	31%	31%
Mestizo	51%	51%	49%	45%	47%
Indigenous	6%	4%	5%	5%	6%
Afro-Colombian	9%	9%	10%	13%	12%
Upper/Middle Class		73%	77%	71%	
Caribbean	21%	22%	20%	19%	18%
Capital	16%	15%	17%	17%	19%
Andes	24%	24%	24%	24%	23%
East	19%	18%	19%	19%	20%
Pacific	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
Amazon and Islands	4%	3%	3%	3%	3%

Table DC3 - The structure of political cleavages in Colombia, 2018

	Share of votes received (%)		
	Uribists (Centro Democrático / V Lleras)	Petrists (Colombia Humana)	Fajardists (Coalición Colombia)
Education			
Primary	38%	14%	4%
Secondary	24%	19%	8%
Tertiary	21%	22%	22%
Income			
Bottom 50%	30%	18%	7%
Middle 40%	24%	20%	13%
Top 10%	22%	19%	23%
Gender			
Woman	25%	17%	11%
Man	28%	19%	10%
Marital status			
Single	22%	20%	12%
Married/Partner	31%	16%	9%
Age			
18-40	22%	18%	12%
41-60	30%	19%	10%
61-90	42%	16%	6%
Religious affiliation			
No religion	17%	24%	12%
Catholic	29%	17%	12%
Protestant	29%	16%	6%
Other	21%	17%	2%
Religiosity			
Never	22%	19%	11%
Less than monthly	29%	16%	13%
Monthly or more	29%	19%	10%

Weekly or more	31%	17%	10%
Type of employment			
Public worker	23%	24%	13%
Private Worker	27%	17%	14%
Entrepreneur	18%	13%	13%
Self-employed	28%	18%	10%
Location			
Urban area	25%	18%	12%
Rural area	36%	17%	6%
Region			
Caribbean	23%	35%	4%
Capital	19%	14%	16%
Andes	32%	11%	12%
East	35%	7%	12%
Pacific	21%	27%	6%
Amazon and islands	34%	18%	11%
Ethnicity			
White	31%	14%	9%
Mestizo	25%	18%	13%
Indigenous	23%	33%	3%
Afro-Colombian	22%	25%	6%
Other	25%	22%	10%

Source: author's computations using Colombian political attitudes surveys.

Notes: the table shows the average share of votes received by Uribists, Petrists and Fajardists by selected individual characteristics in 2018.