

**Chapter 16. "Social Inequalities, Identity, and the Structure of Political Cleavages  
in Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Mexico and Peru, 1995-2016"**

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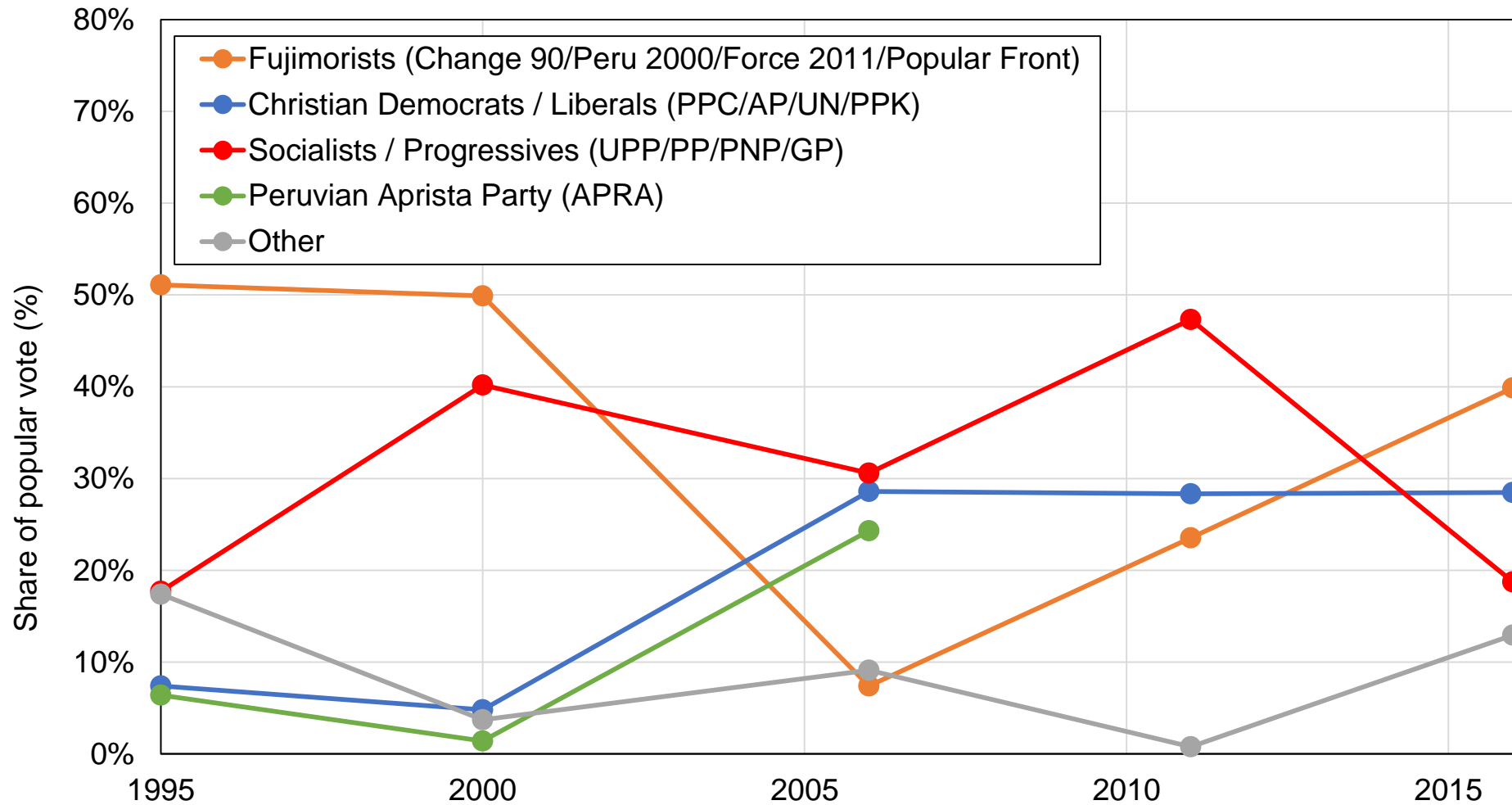
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Table FE3	The structure of political cleavages in Peru, 2016

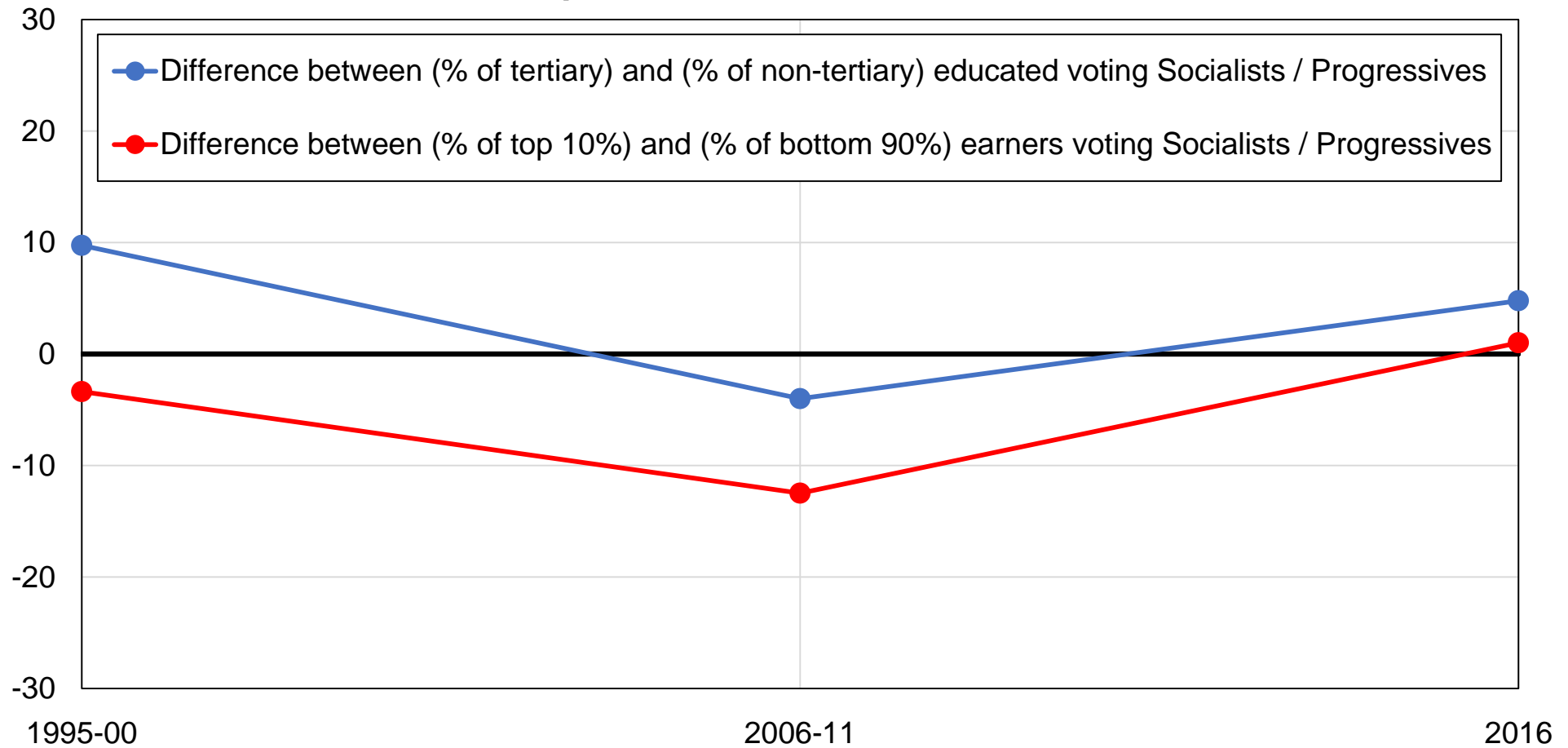
**Figure F1 - Election results in Peru, 1995-2016**



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Peruvian political parties in presidential elections between 1995 and 2016. Note that the APRA still exists in the 2010s but it does not appear separately in the surveys used in this chapter.

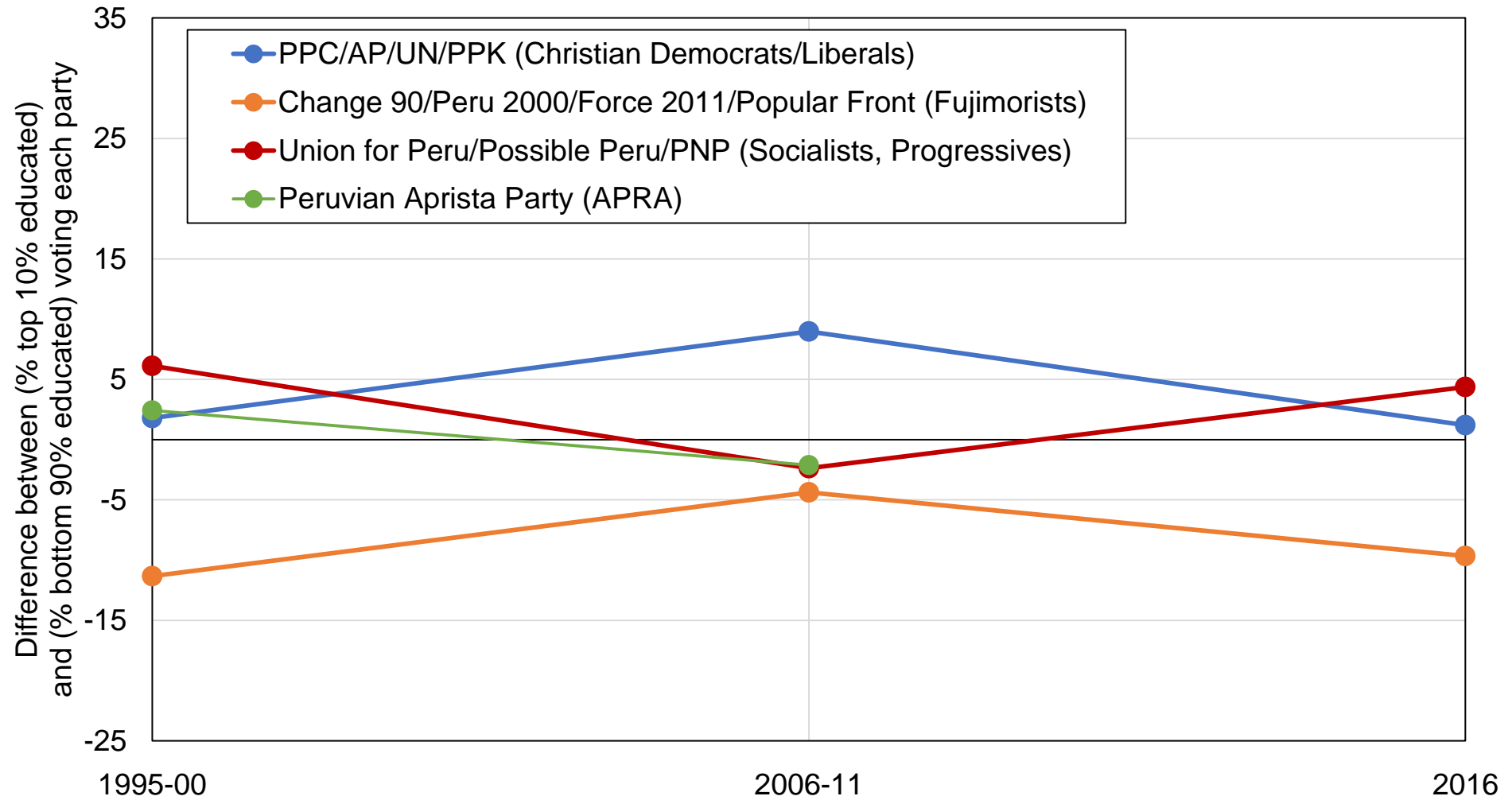
**Figure F2 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives among tertiary-educated and top-income voters, after controls**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the relative support of tertiary-educated and top-income voters for center-left / left-wing parties (UPP / PP / PNP / GP / APRA / Other left), after controlling for age, gender, religious affiliation, employment and marital status, rural-urban location, ethnicity and region.

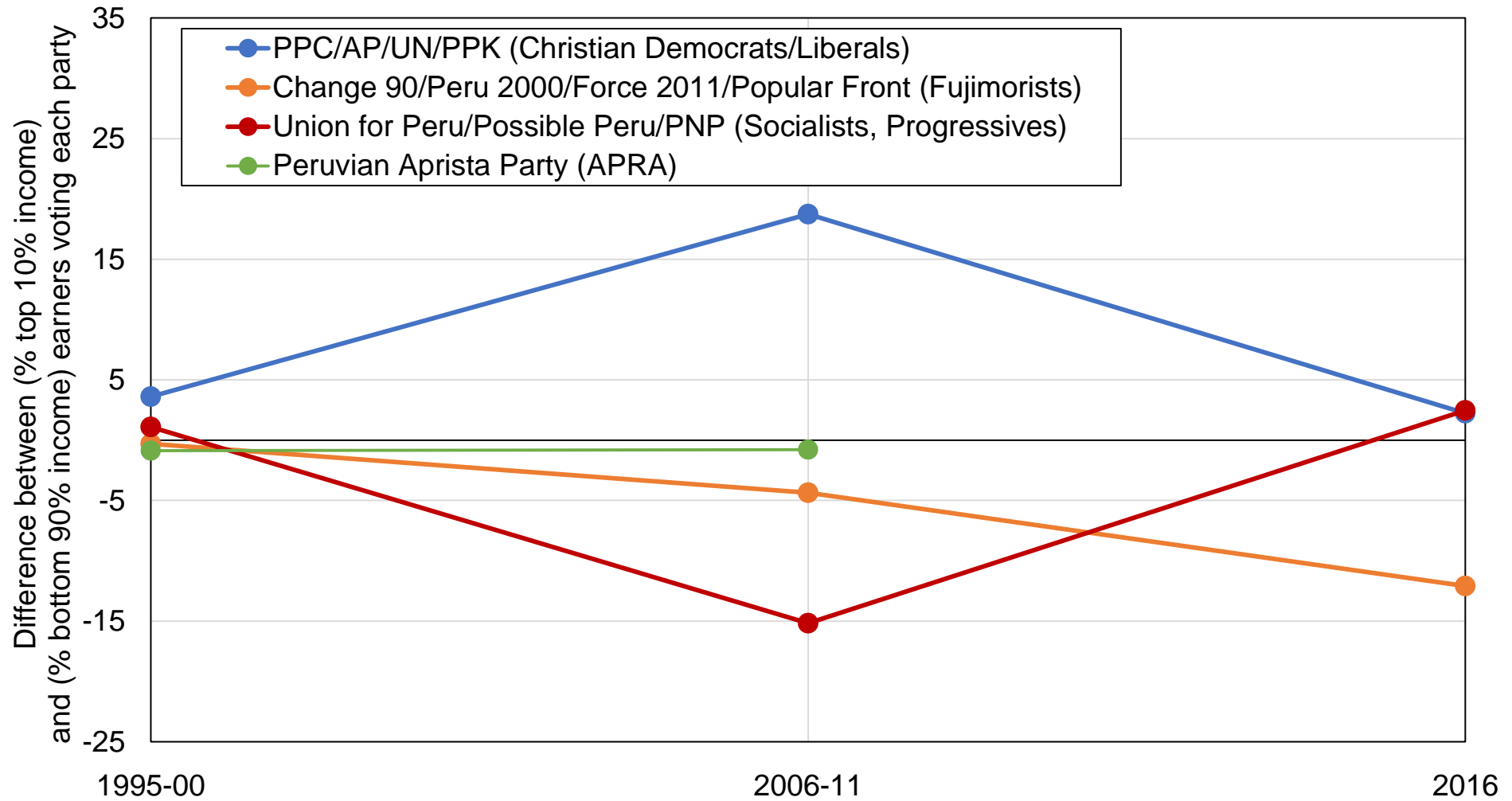
**Figure F3 - The education cleavage in Peru**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the relative support of highest-educated voters for selected Peruvian parties.

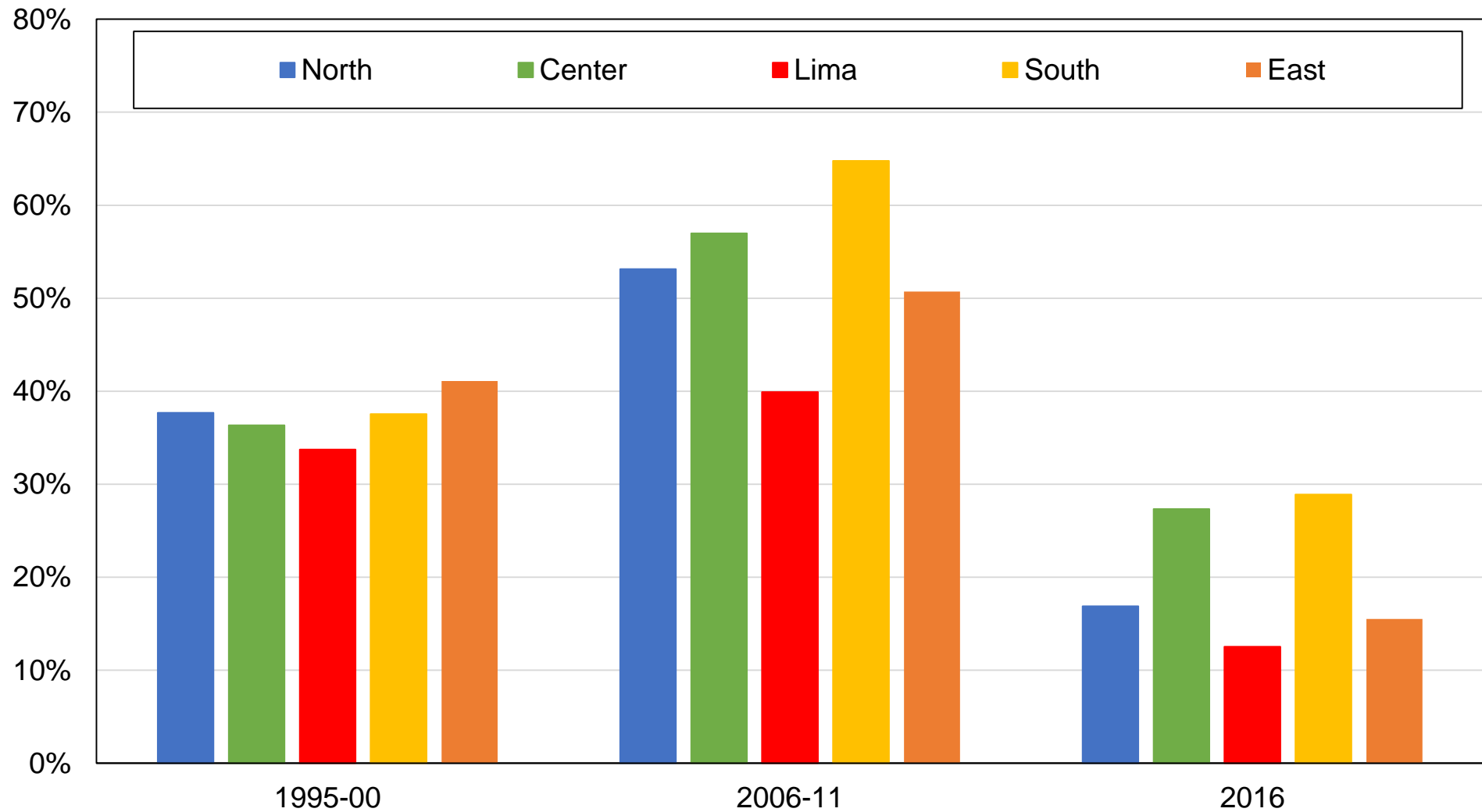
**Figure F4 - The income cleavage in Peru**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the relative support of top-income voters for selected Peruvian parties.

**Figure F5 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by region**

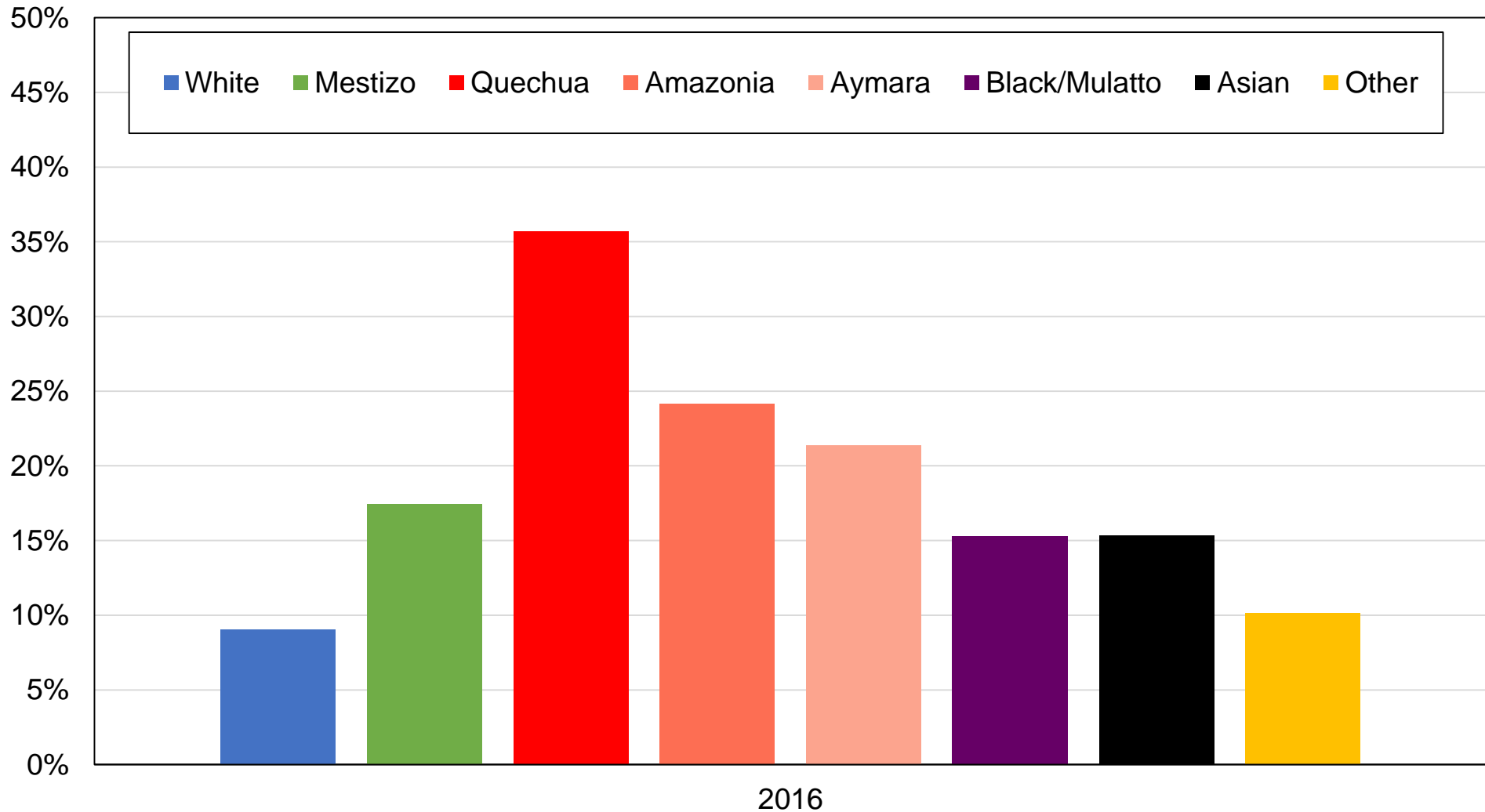


Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by center-left / left-wing parties (UPP / PP / PNP / GP / APRA / Other left) by region.



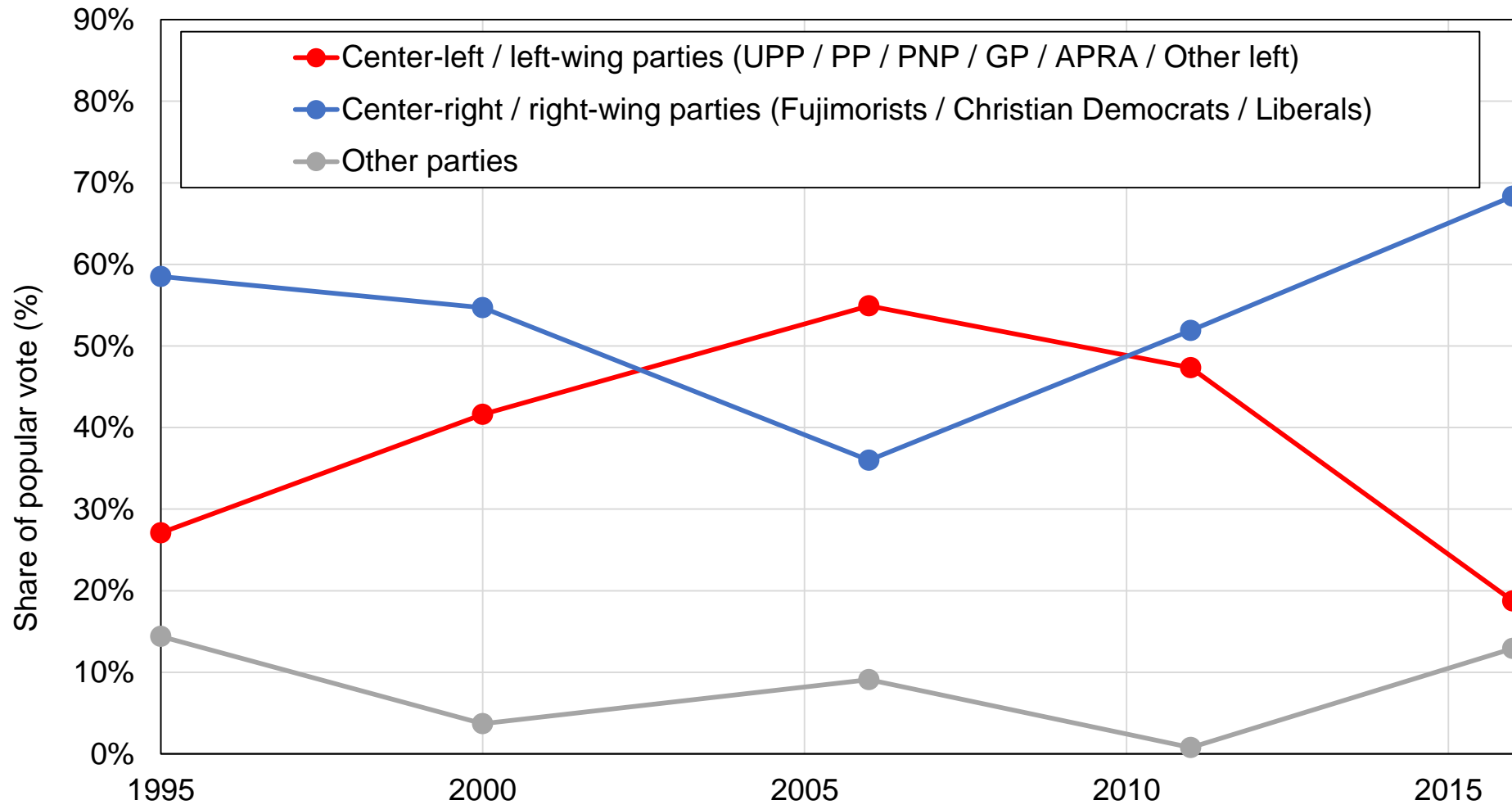
**Figure F6 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by detailed ethnicity**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by center-left / left-wing parties (UPP / PP / PNP / GP / APRA / Other left) by detailed ethnicity.

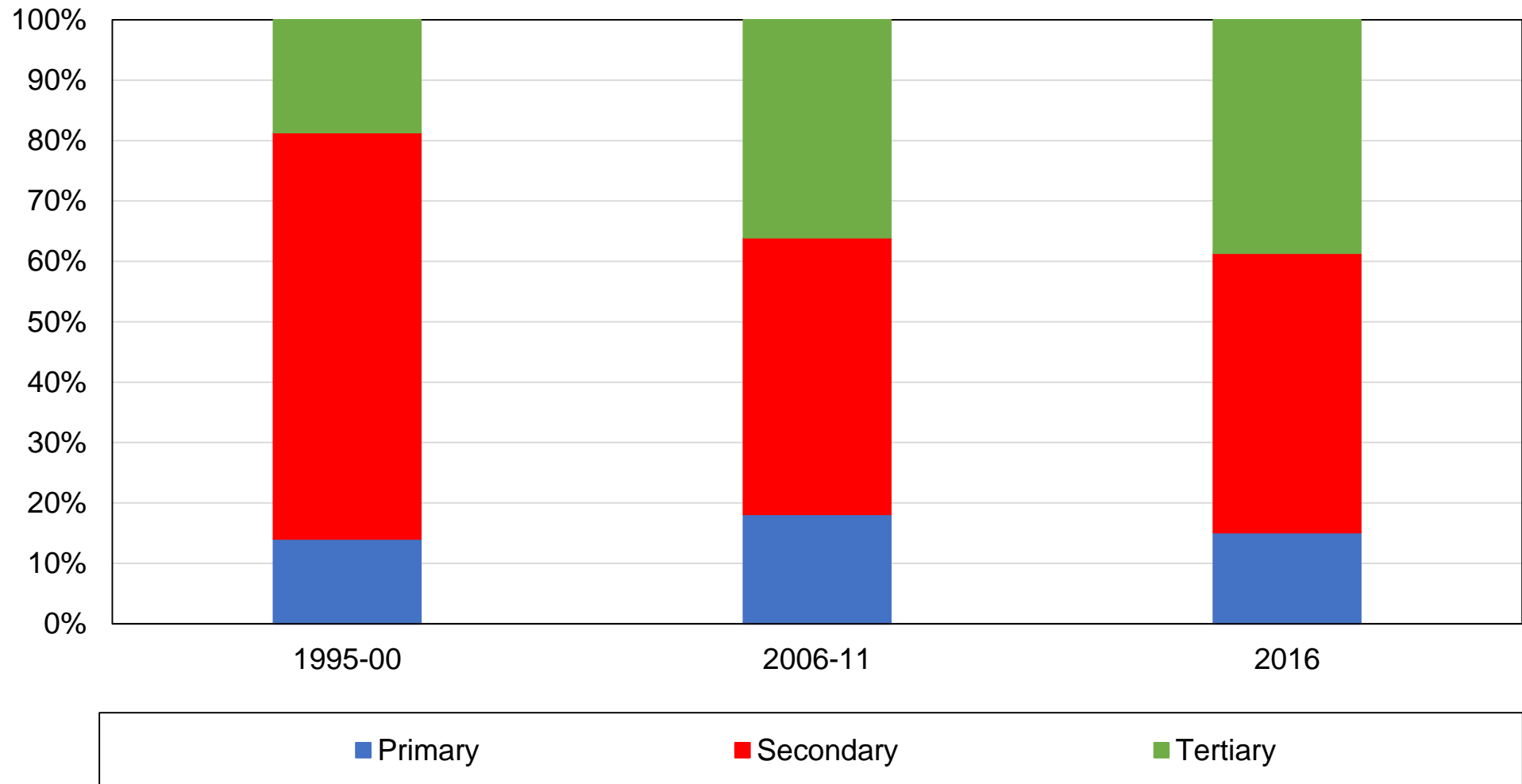
**Figure FA1 - Election results in Peru by group, 1995-2016**



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

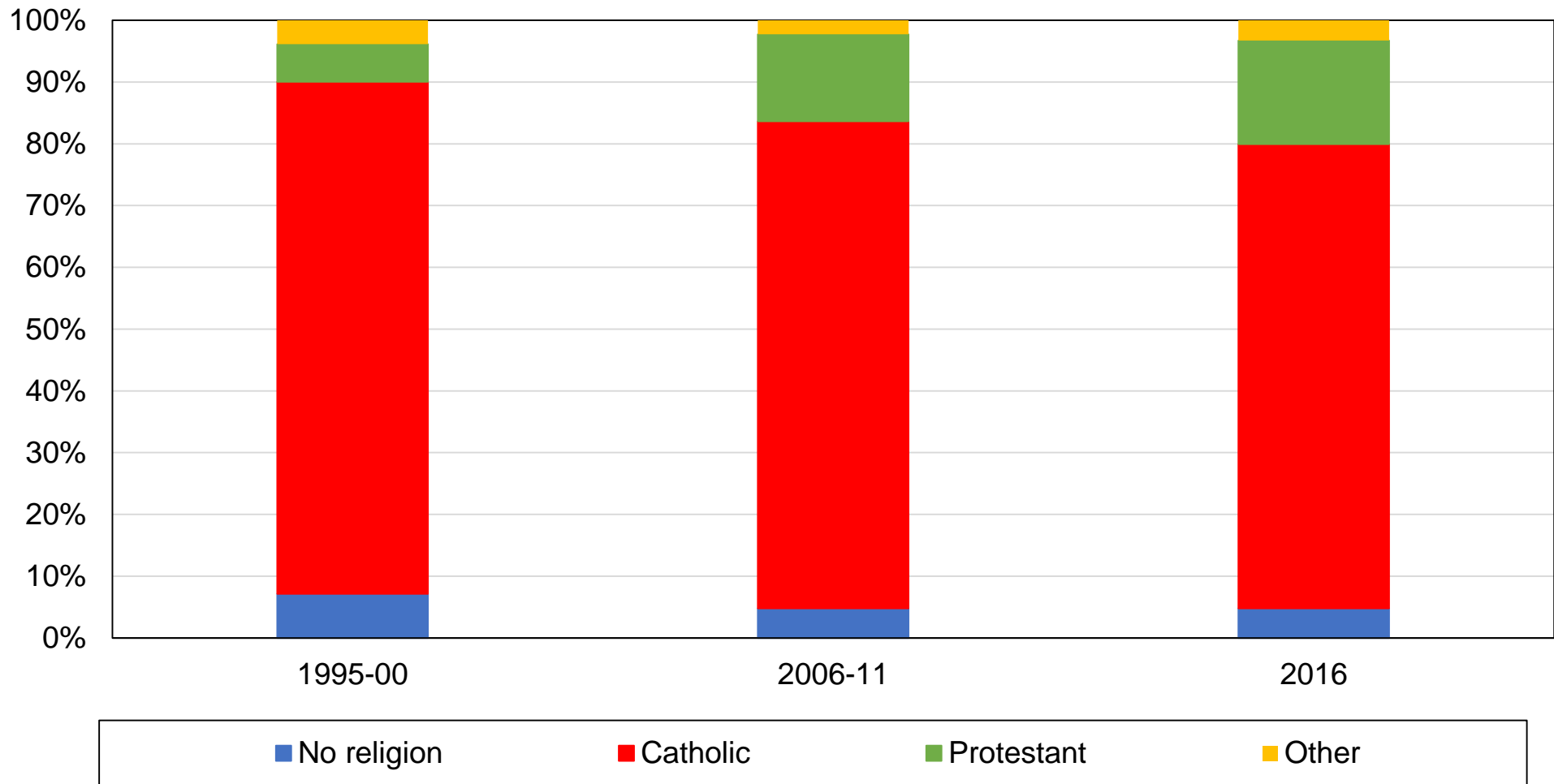
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Peruvian political parties in presidential elections between 1995 and 2016.

**Figure FA2 - Composition of the electorate by education level**



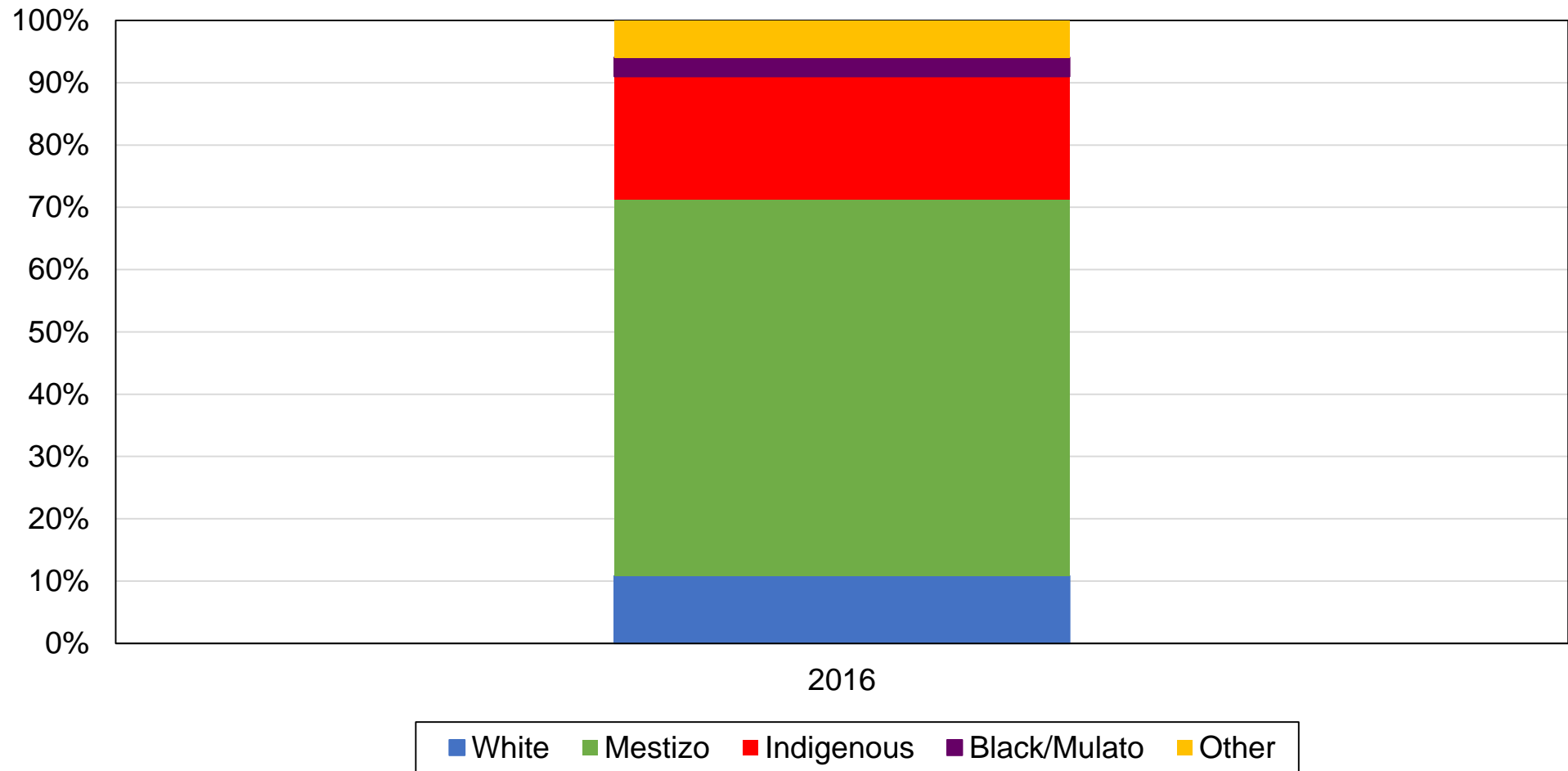
Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.  
Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by education level.

**Figure FA3 - Composition of the electorate by religion**



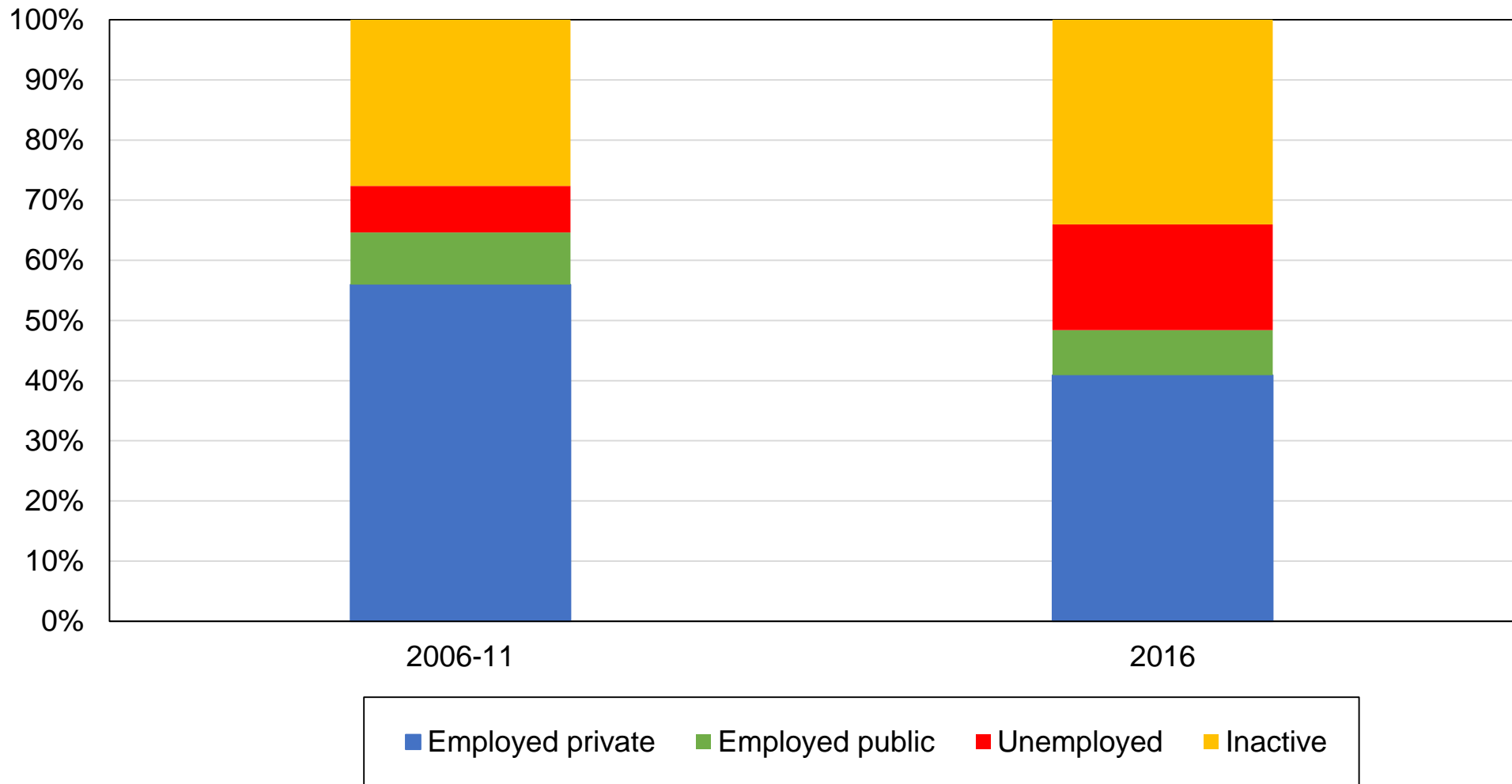
Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.  
Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by religion.

**Figure FA4 - Composition of the electorate by ethnicity**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.  
Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by ethnicity.

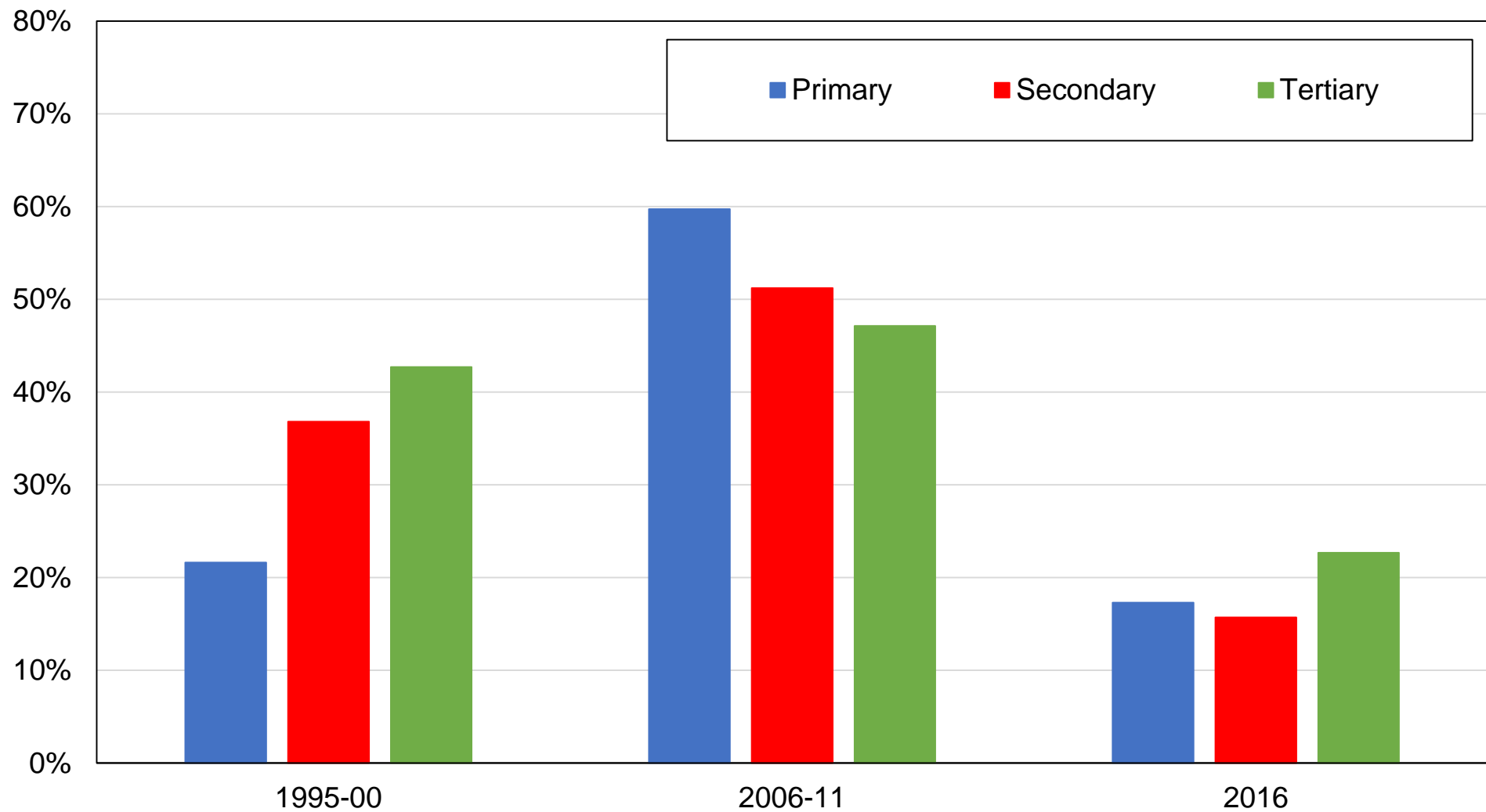
**Figure FA5 - Composition of the electorate by employment status**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by employment status.

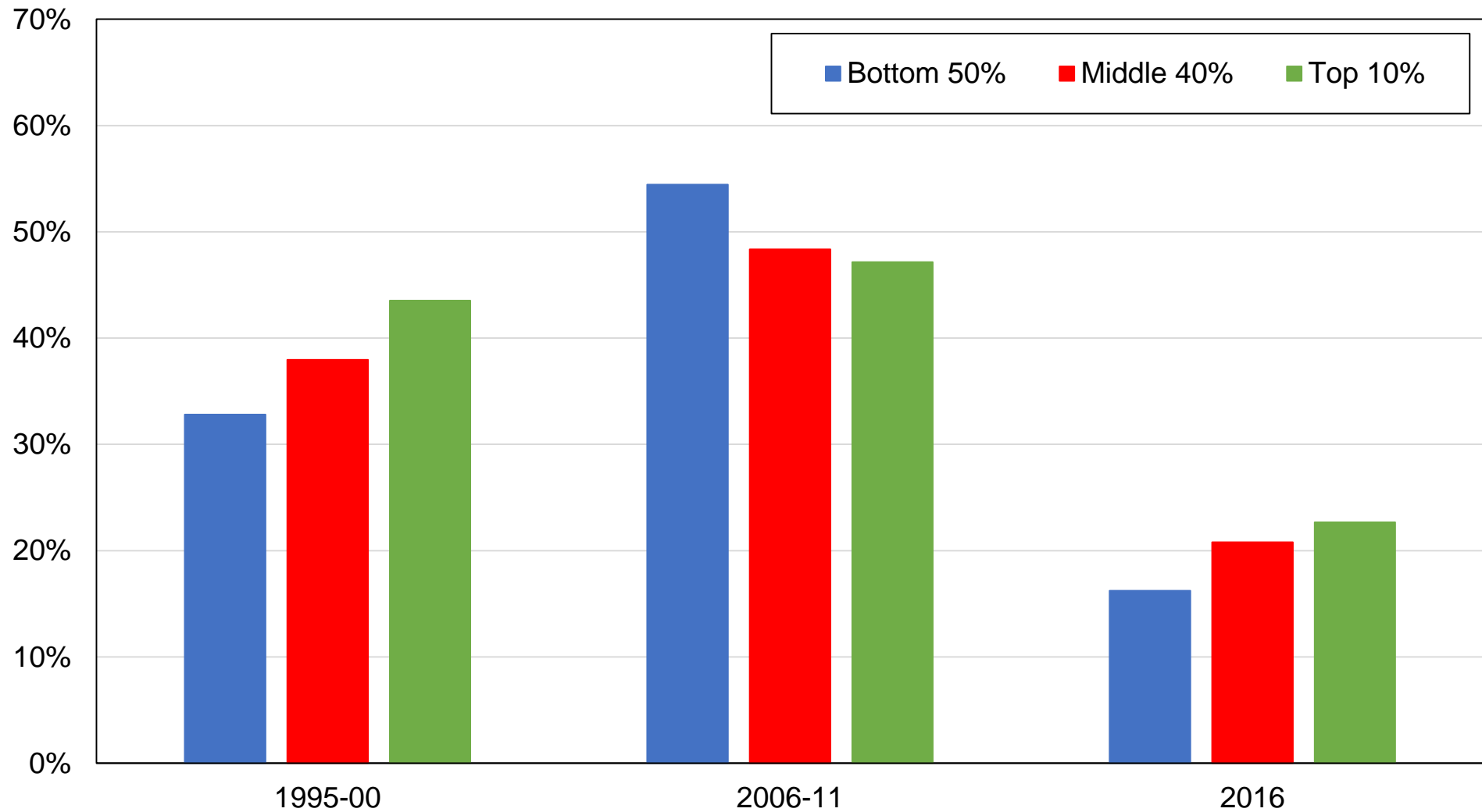
**Figure FB1 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by education level**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by center-left / left-wing parties (UPP / PP / PNP / GP / APRA / Other left) by education level.

**Figure FB2 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by education group**

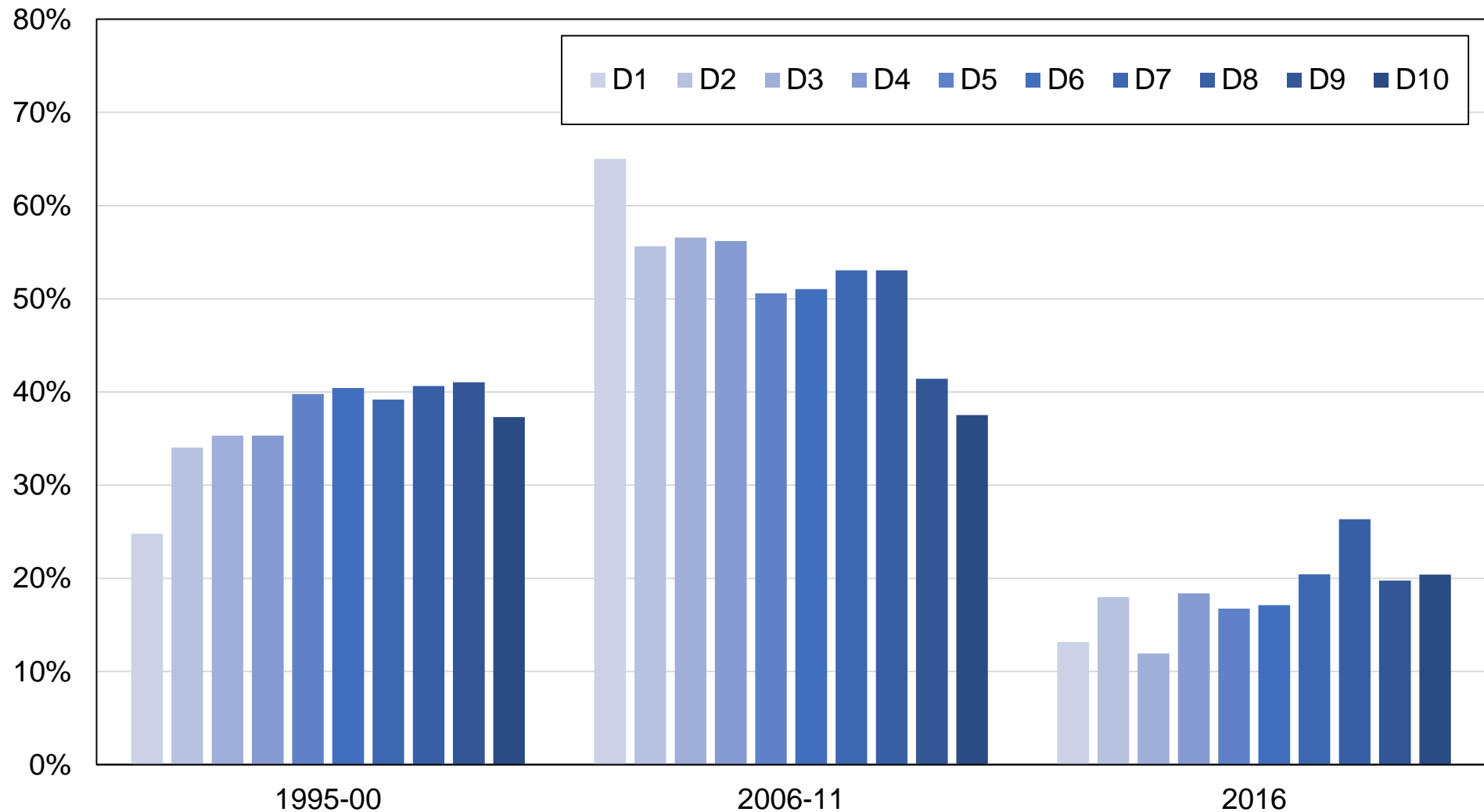


Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by center-left / left-wing parties (UPP / PP / PNP / GP / APRA / Other left) by education group.



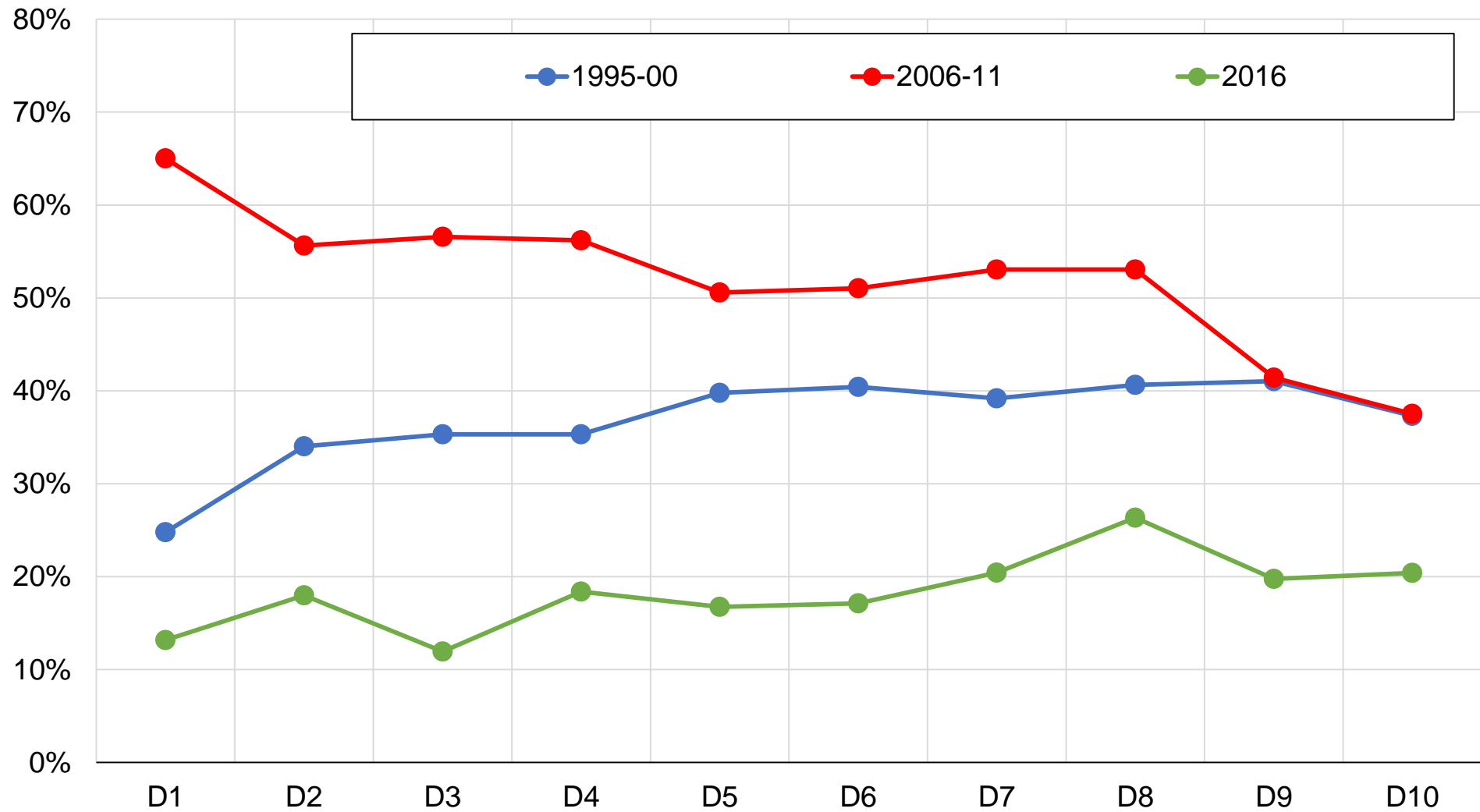
**Figure B - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by income decile (bars)**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by center-left / left-wing parties (UPP / PP / PNP / GP / APRA / Other left) by income decile.

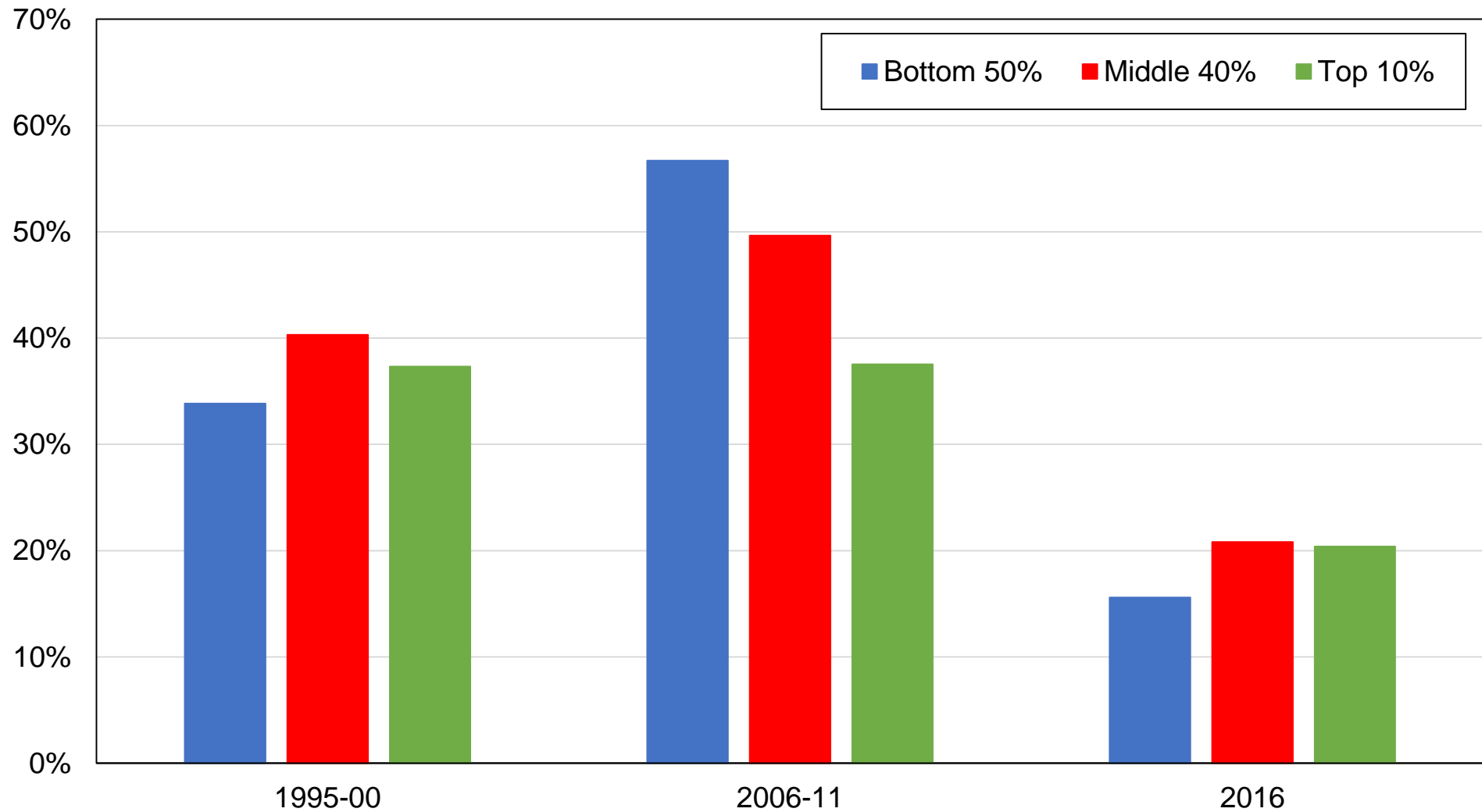
**Figure FB4 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by income decile (lines)**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by center-left / left-wing parties (UPP / PP / PNP / GP / APRA / Other left) by income decile.

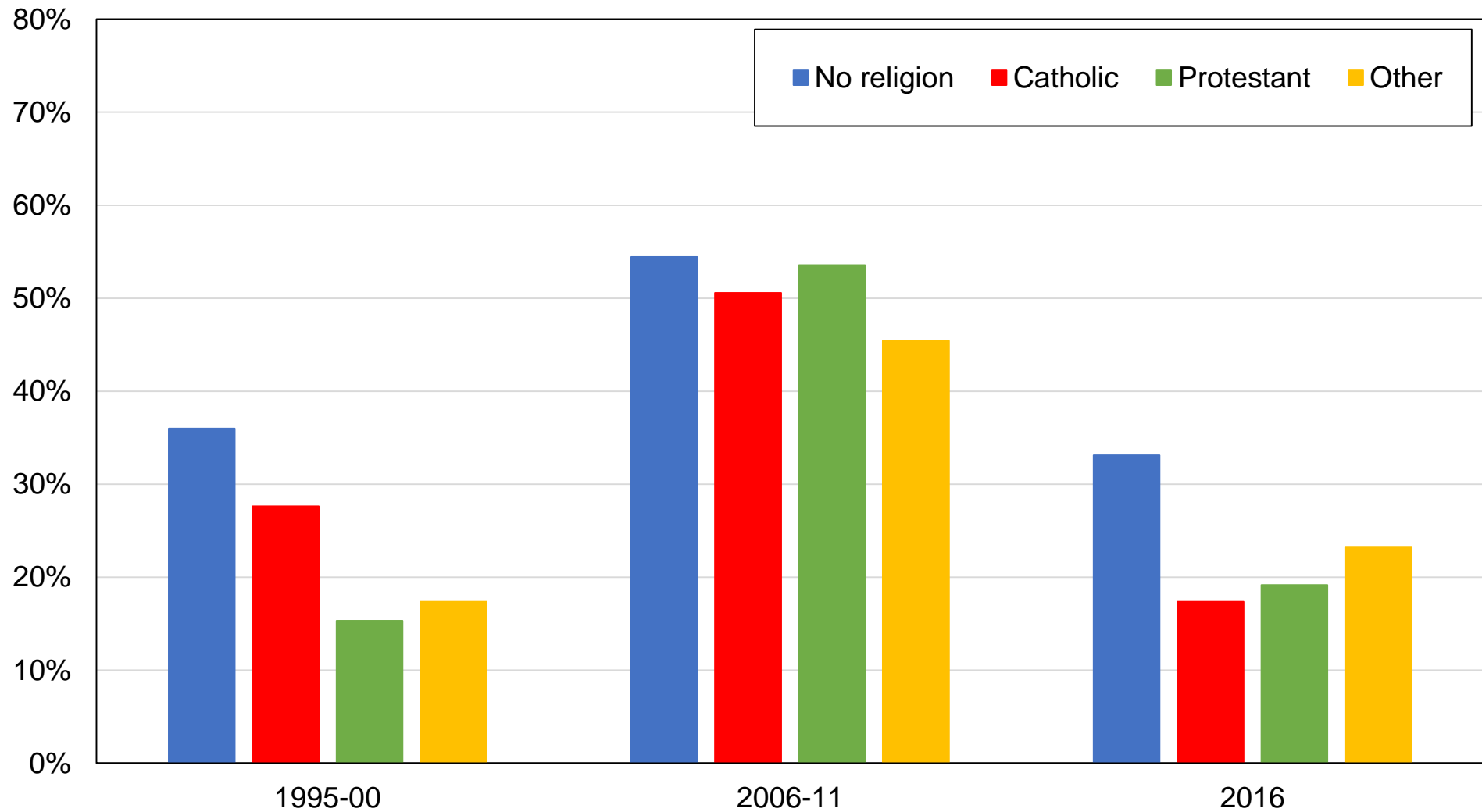
**Figure FB5 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by income group**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by center-left / left-wing parties (UPP / PP / PNP / GP / APRA / Other left) by income group.

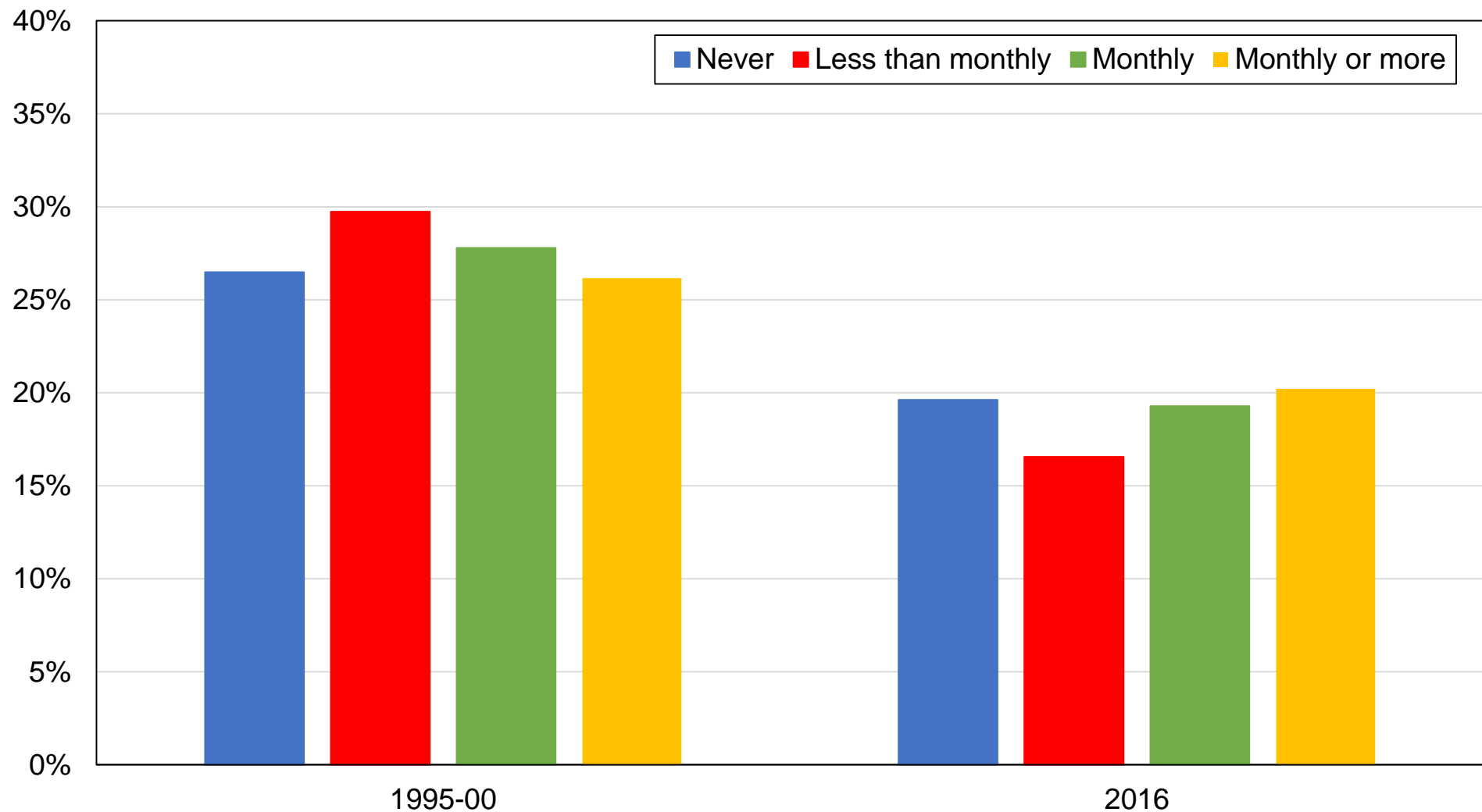
**Figure FB6 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by religious affiliation**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by center-left / left-wing parties (UPP / PP / PNP / GP / APRA / Other left) by religious affiliation.

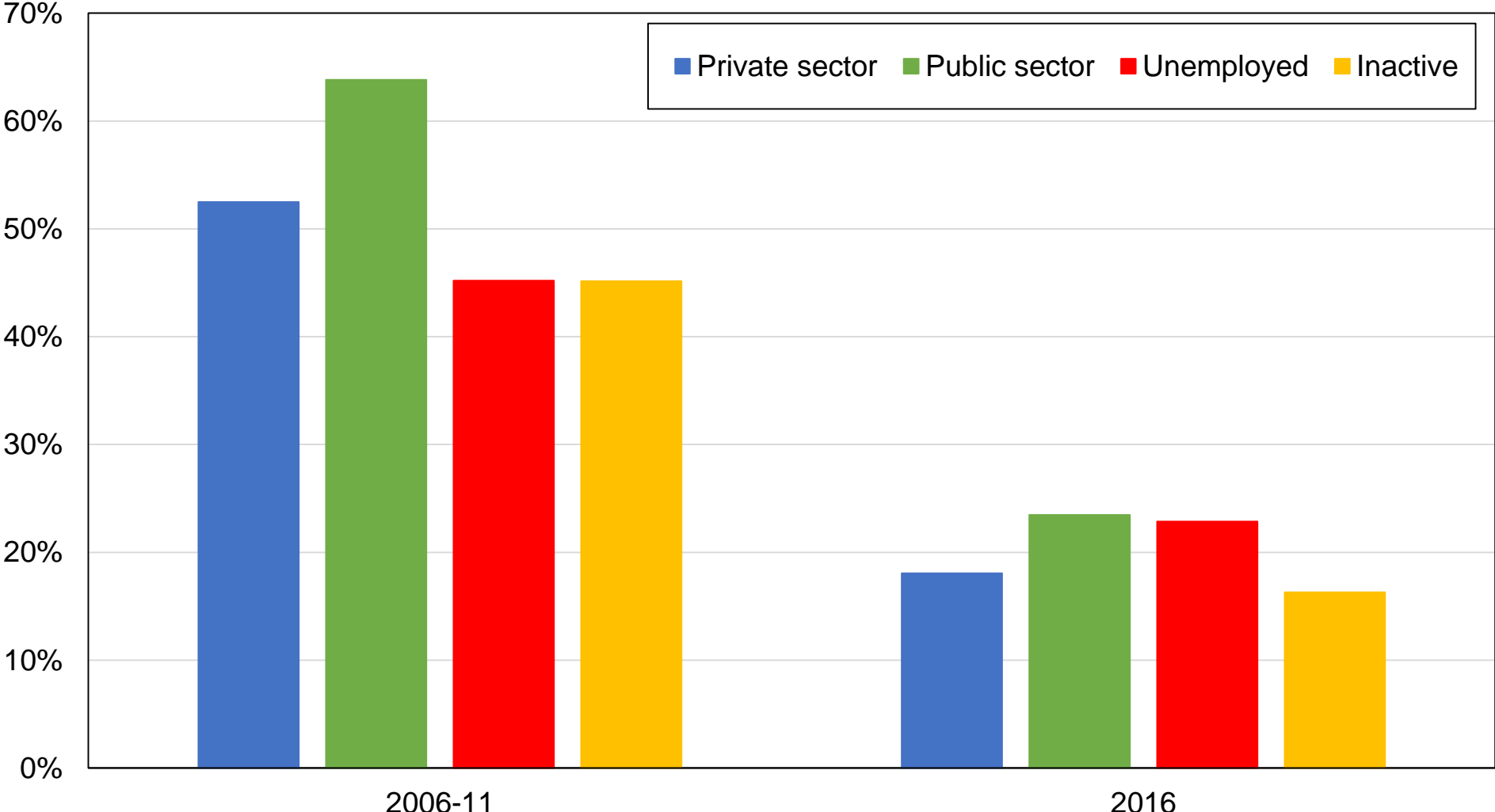
**Figure FB7 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by church attendance**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

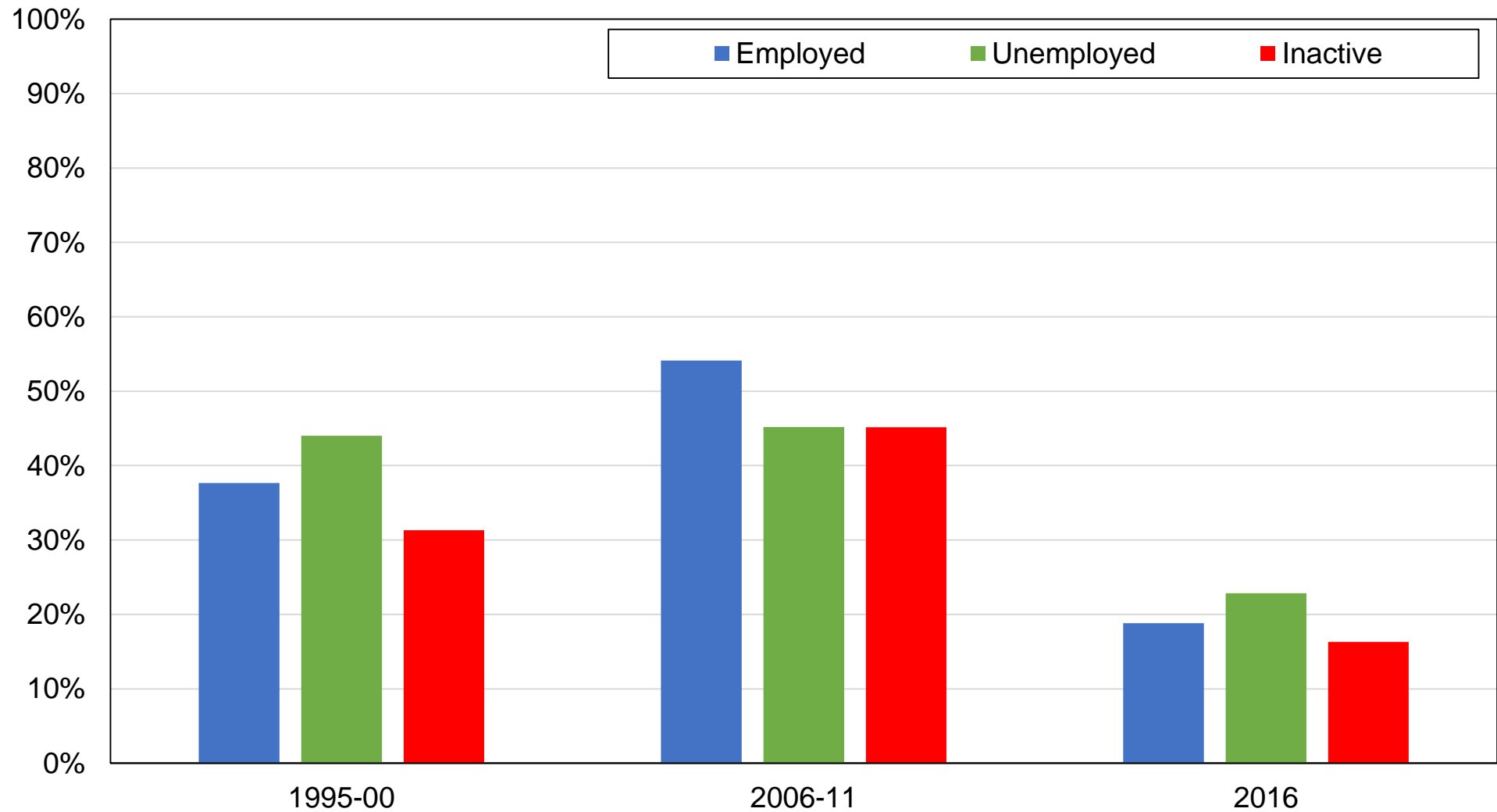
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by center-left / left-wing parties (UPP / PP / PNP / GP / APRA / Other left) by frequency of church attendance.

**Figure FB8 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by occupation**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.  
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by center-left / left-wing parties (UPP / PP / PNP / GP / APRA / Other left) by occupation.

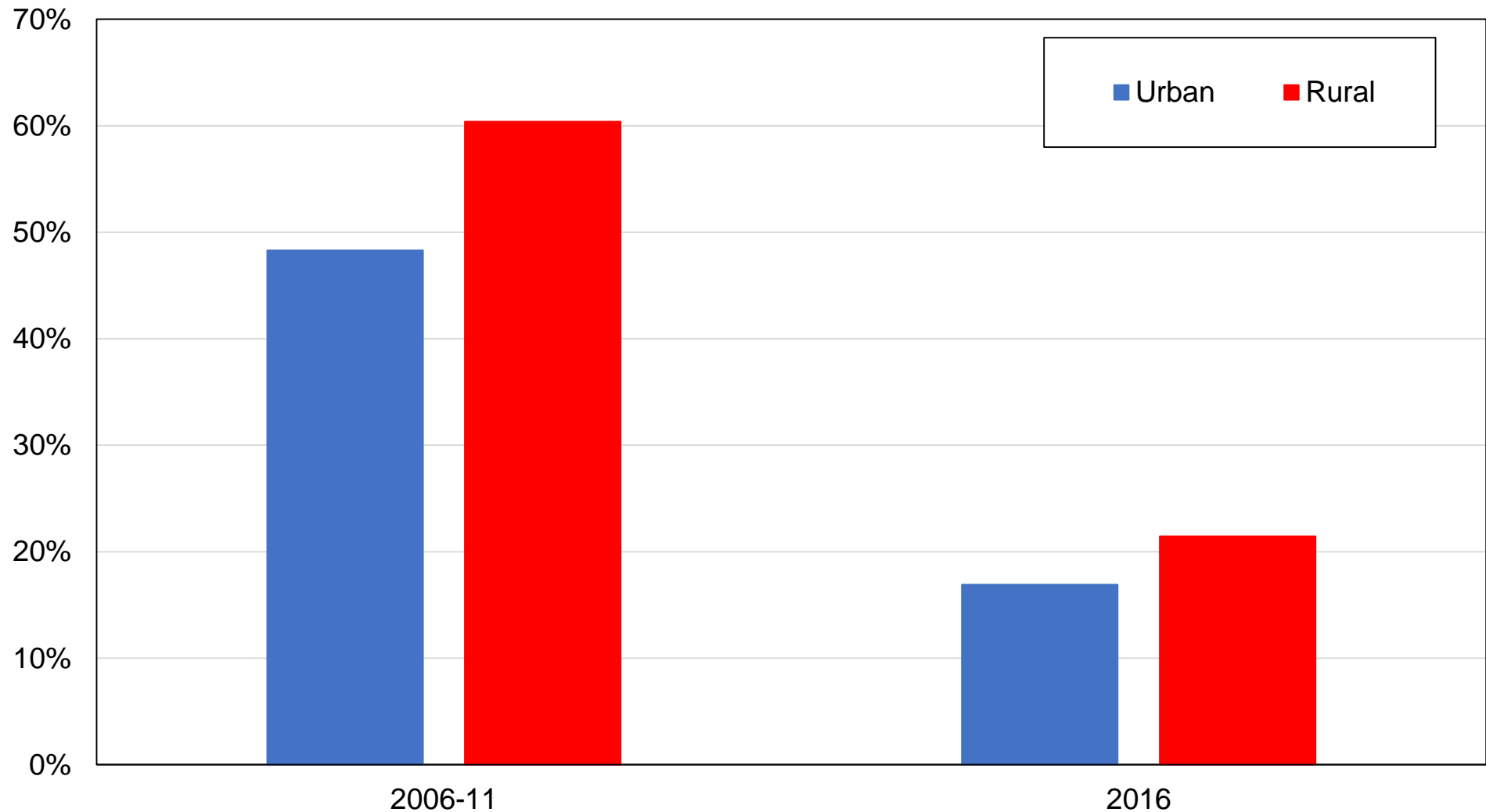
**Figure FB9 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by employment status**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by center-left / left-wing parties (UPP / PP / PNP / GP / Other left) by employment status.

**Figure FB10 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by location**

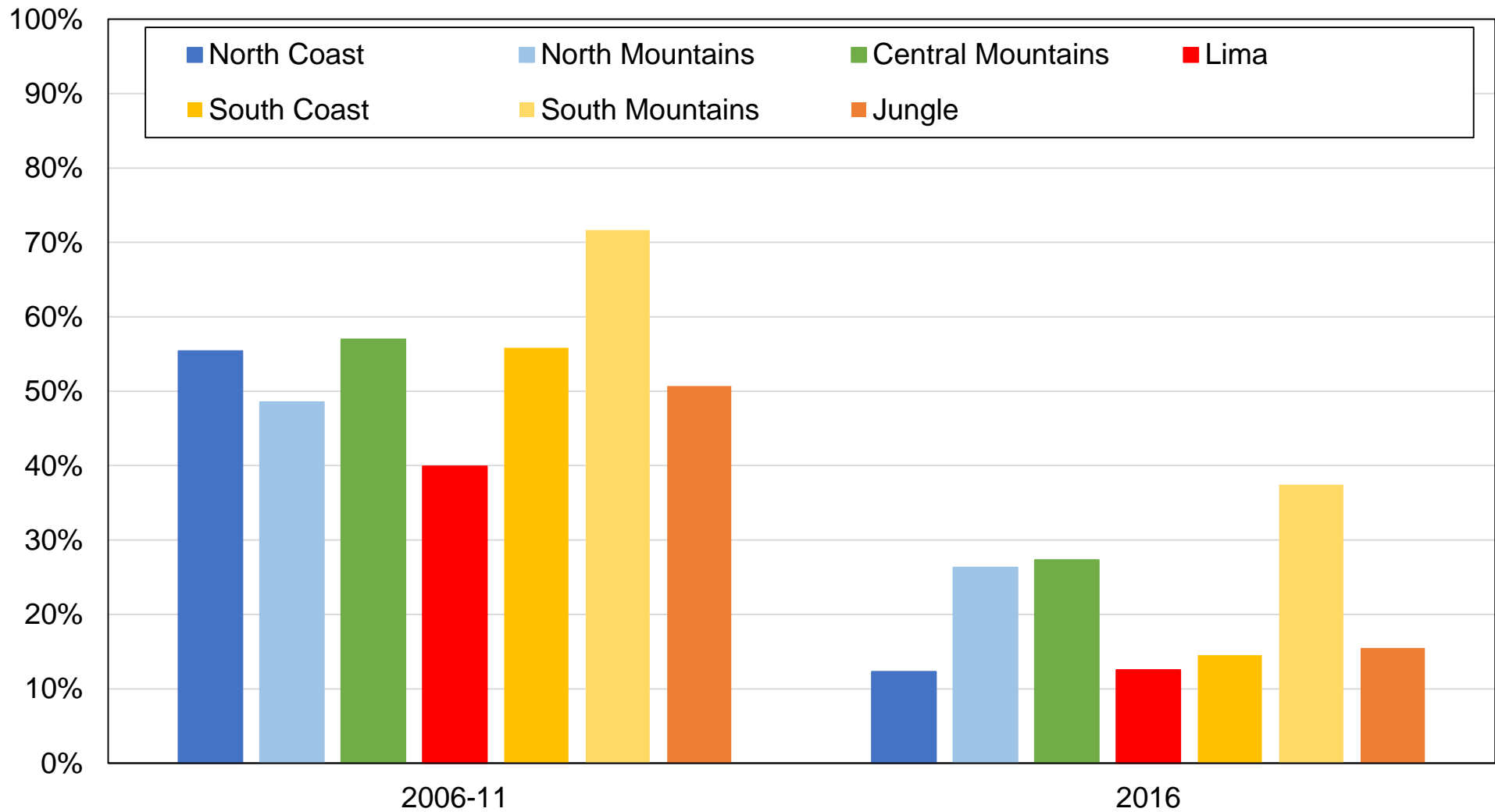


Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by center-left / left-wing parties (UPP / PP / PNP / GP / APRA / Other left) by rural-urban location.



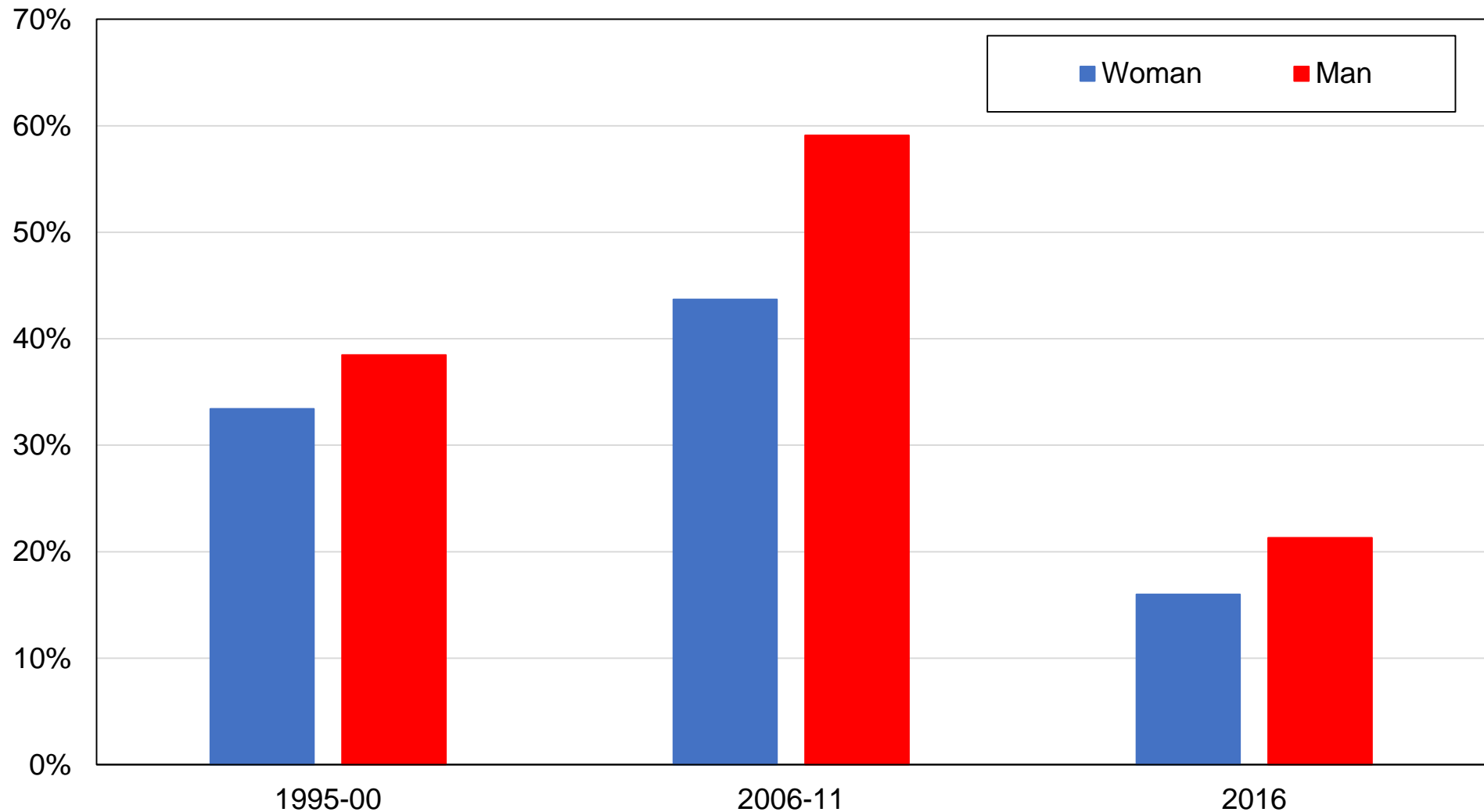
**Figure FB11 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by detailed region**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by center-left / left-wing parties (UPP / PP / PNP / GP / APRA / Other left) by detailed region.

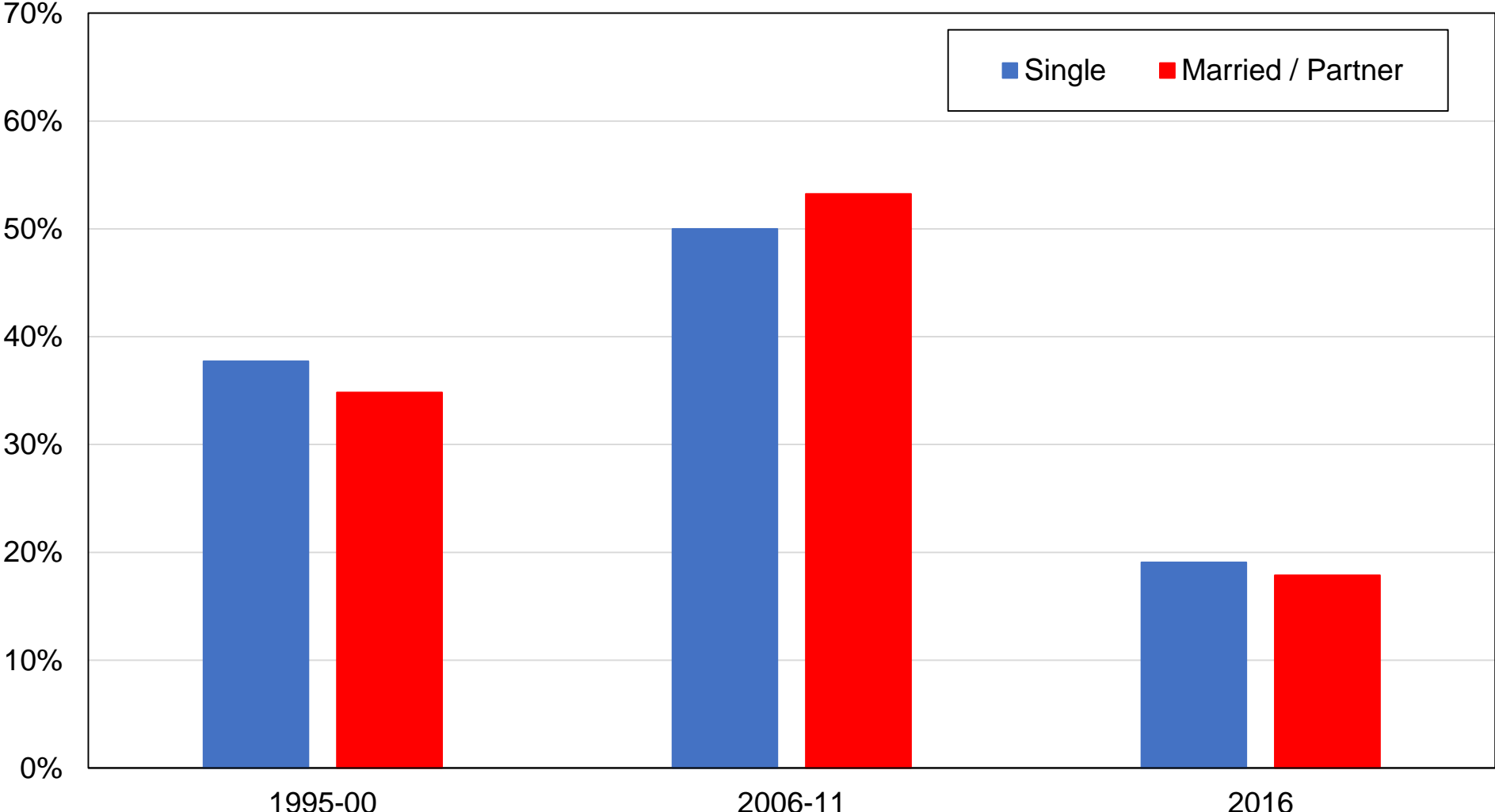
**Figure FB12 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by gender**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by center-left / left-wing parties (UPP / PP / PNP / GP / APRA / Other left) by gender.

**Figure FB13 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by marital status**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by center-left / left-wing parties (UPP / PP / PNP / GP / APRA / Other left) by marital status.

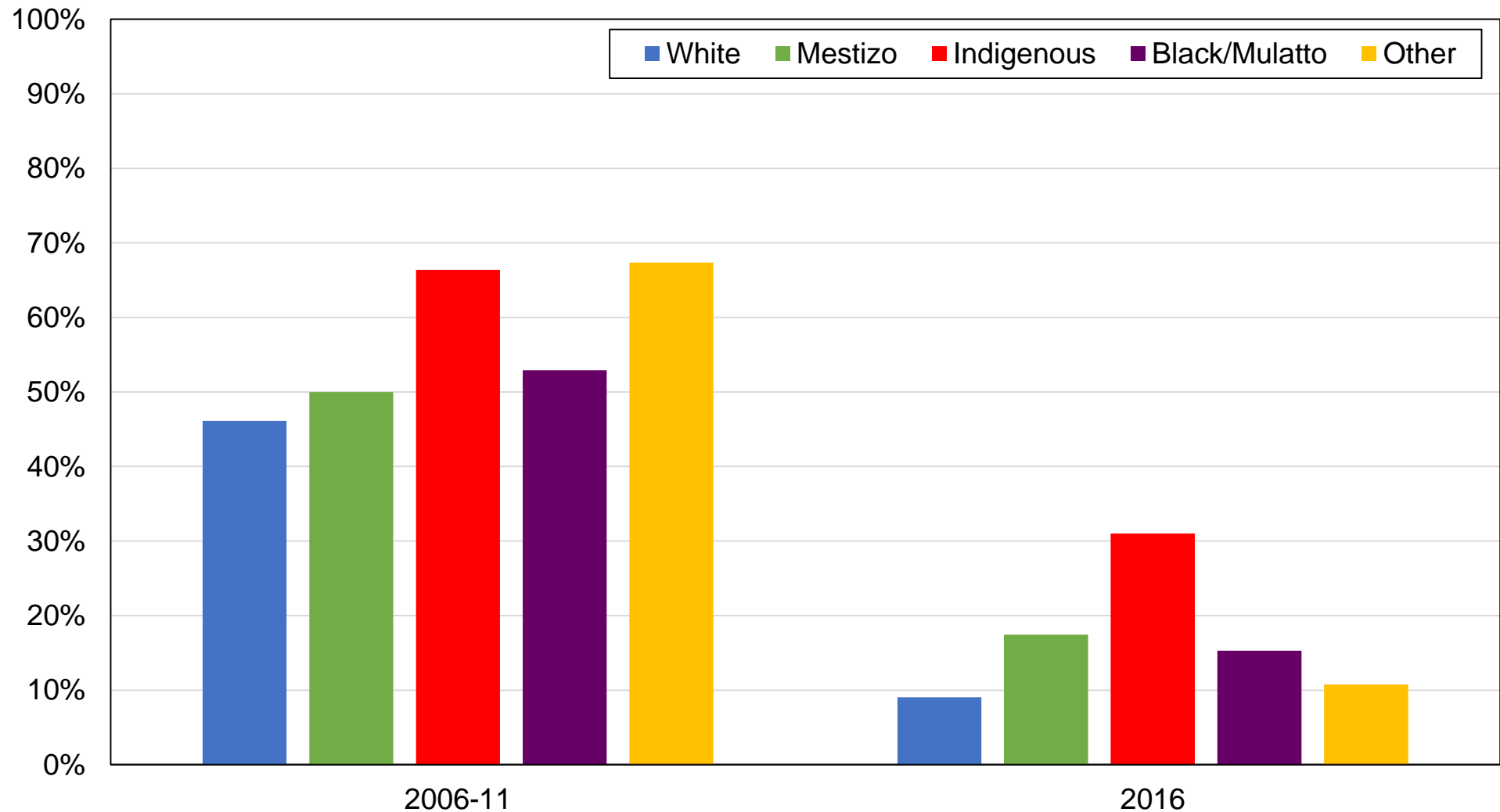
**Figure FB14 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by perceived social class**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by center-left / left-wing parties (UPP / PP / PNP / GP / APRA / Other left) by self-perceived social class. Working class includes "lower class". Middle class includes "no class" and "upper class".

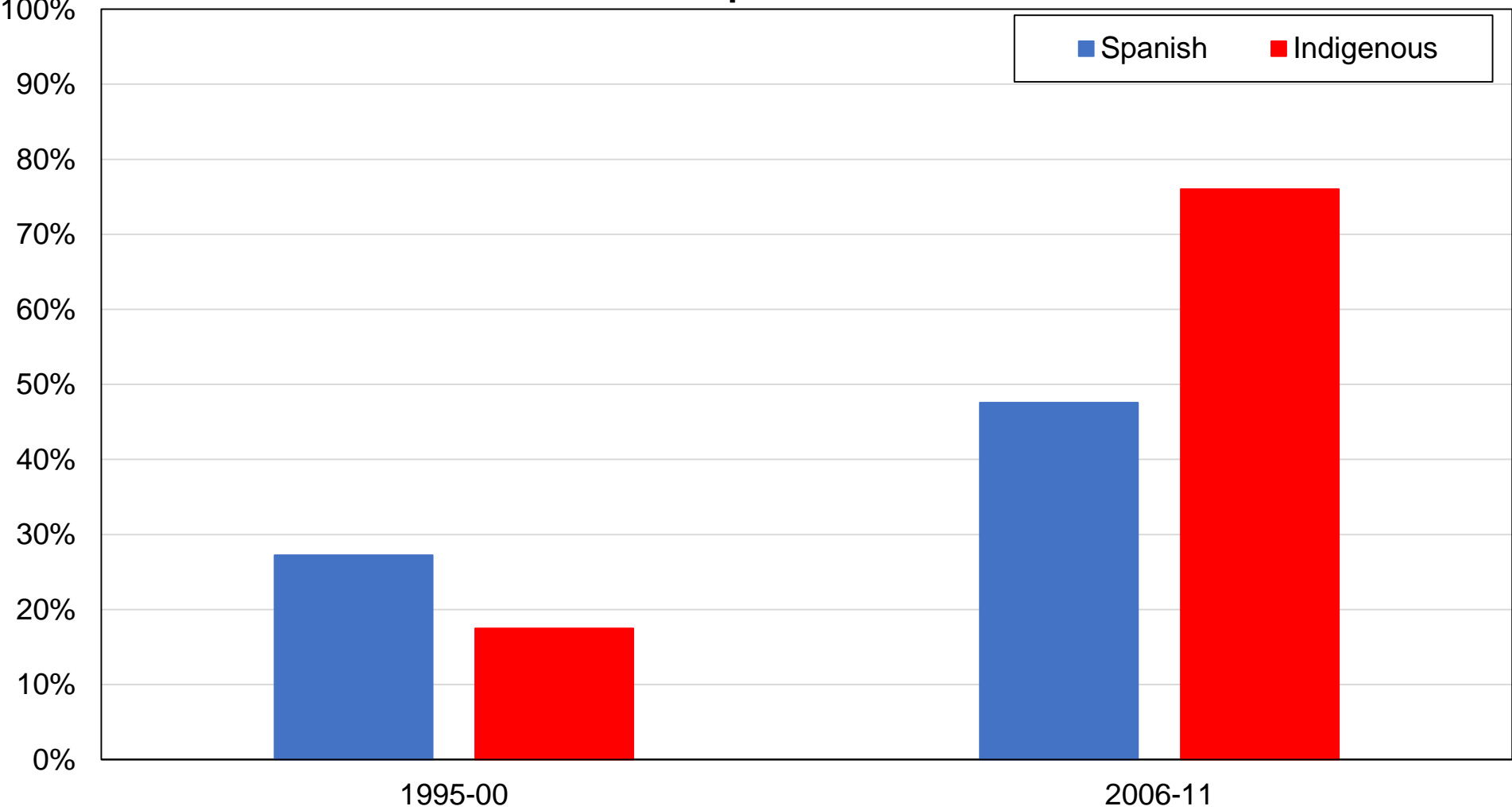
**Figure FB15 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by detailed ethnicity**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

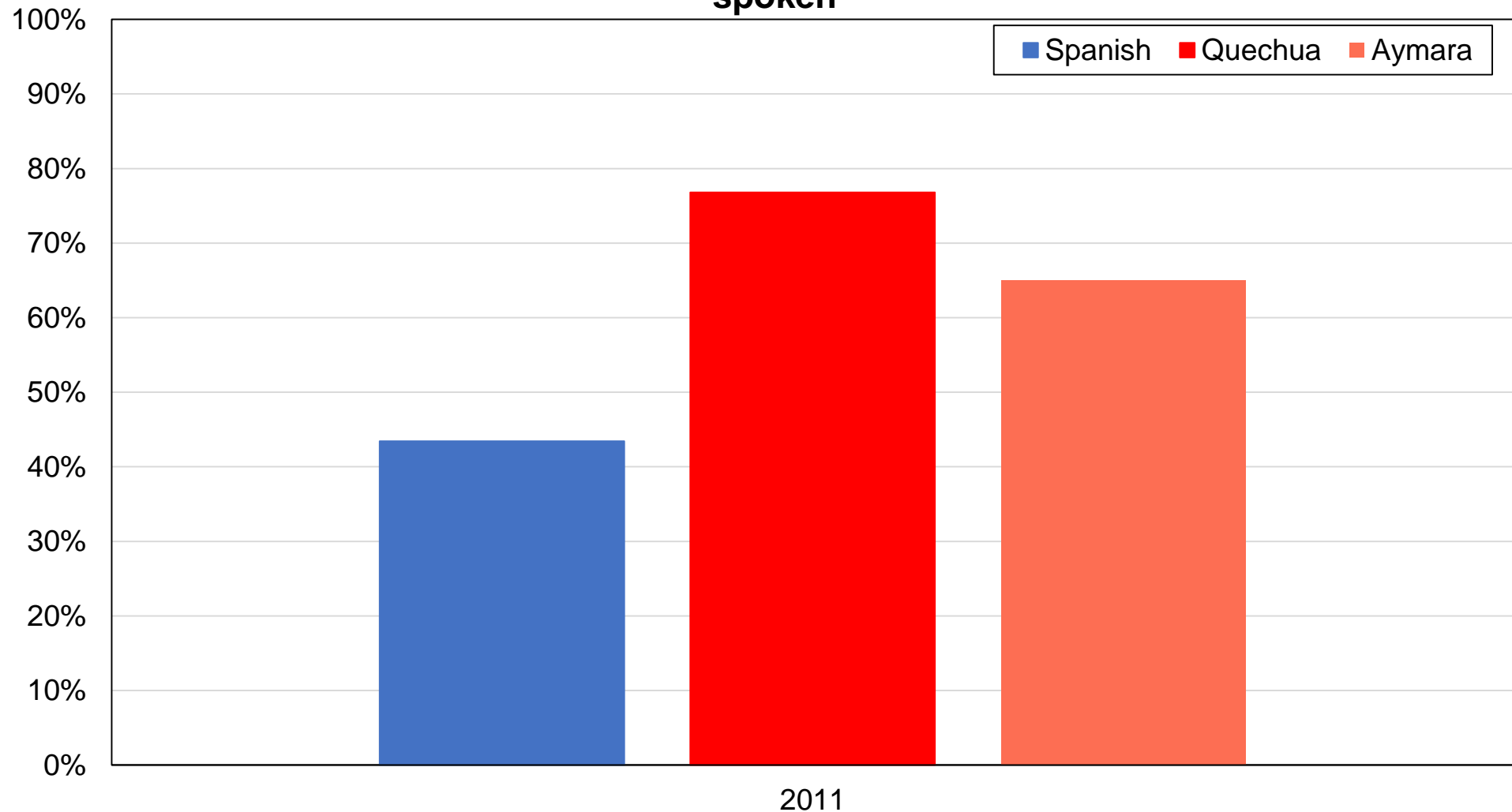
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by center-left / left-wing parties (UPP / PP / PNP / GP / APRA / Other left) by detailed ethnicity.

**Figure FB16 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by main language spoken**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.  
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by center-left / left-wing parties (UPP / PP / PNP / GP / APRA / Other left) by main language spoken.

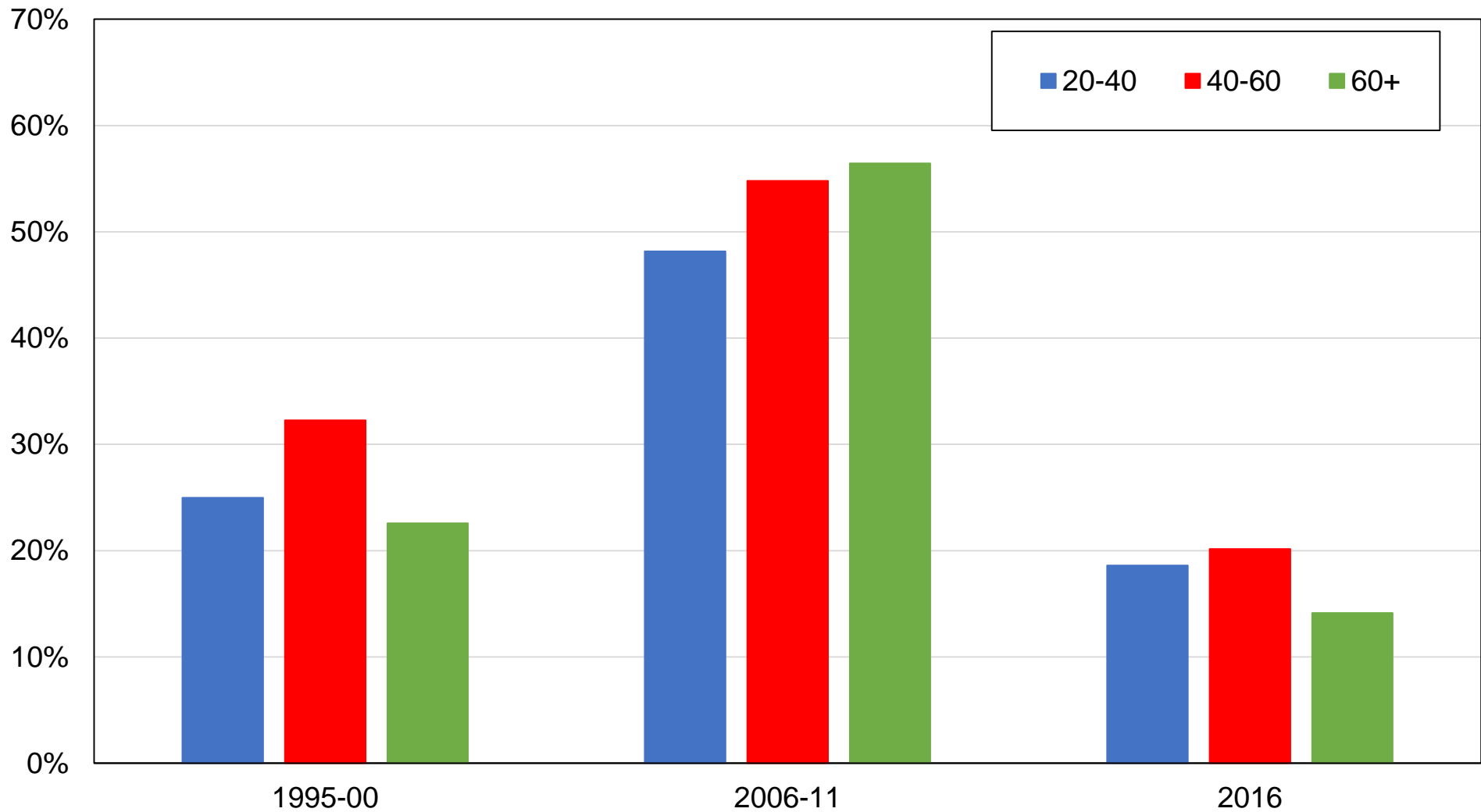
**Figure FB17 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by main language spoken**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by center-left / left-wing parties (UPP / PP / PNP / GP / APRA / Other left) by main language spoken.

**Figure FB18 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by age group**

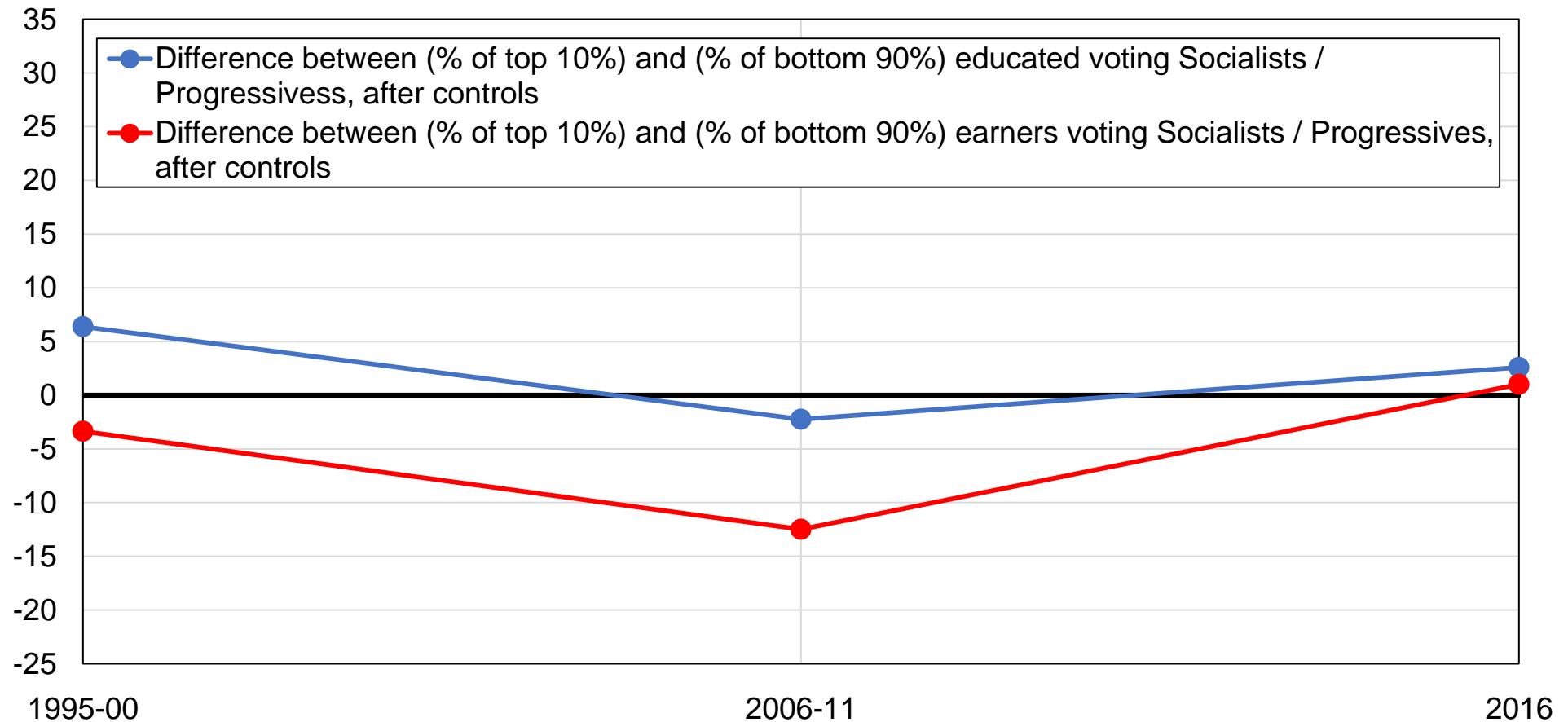


Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by center-left / left-wing parties (UPP / PP / PNP / GP / APRA / Other left) by age group.



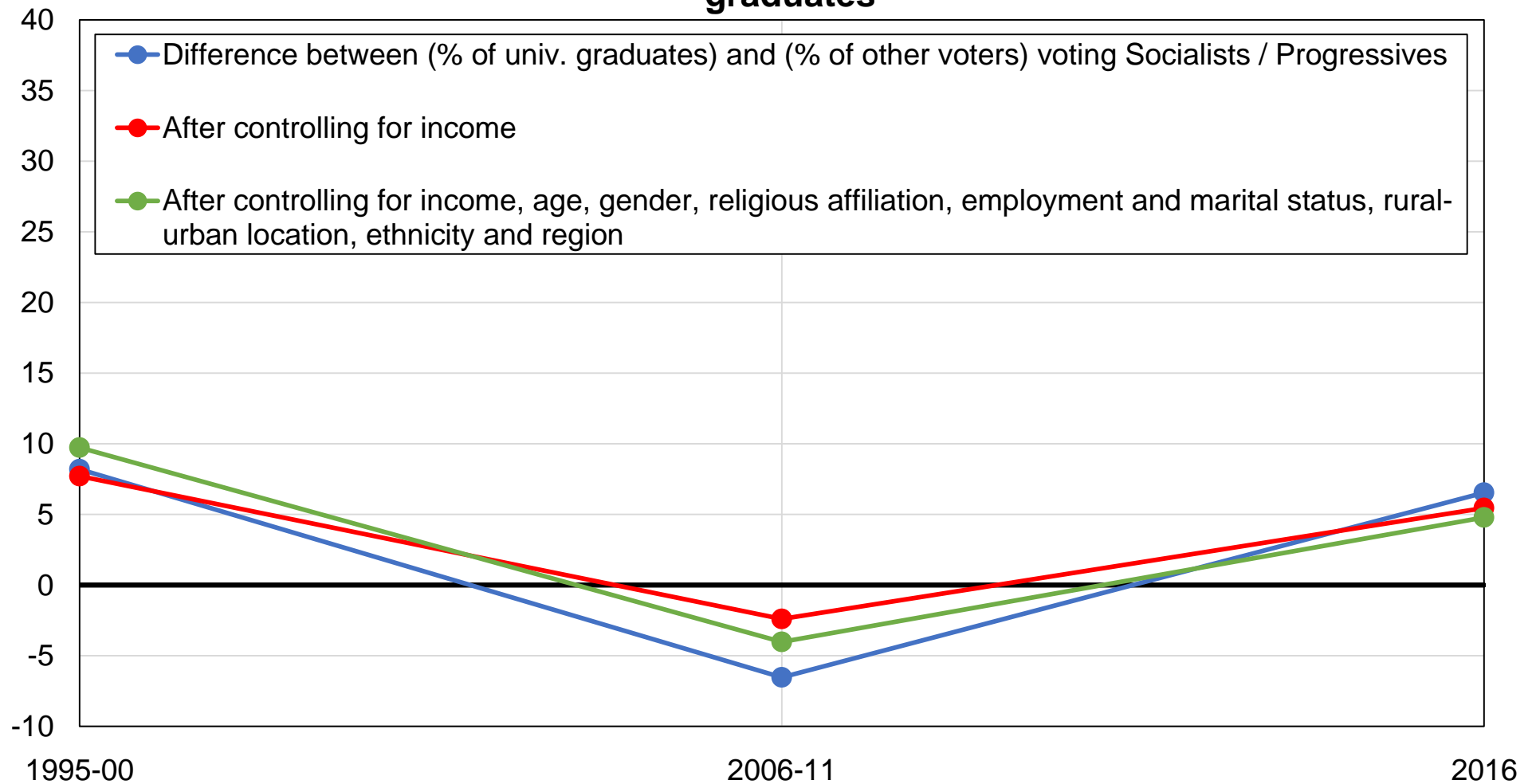
**Figure FB19 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives among highest-educated and top-income voters, after controls**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the relative support of highest-educated and top-income voters for center-left / left-wing parties (UPP / PP / PNP / GP / APRA / Other left), after controlling for age, gender, religious affiliation, employment and marital status, rural-urban location, ethnicity and region.

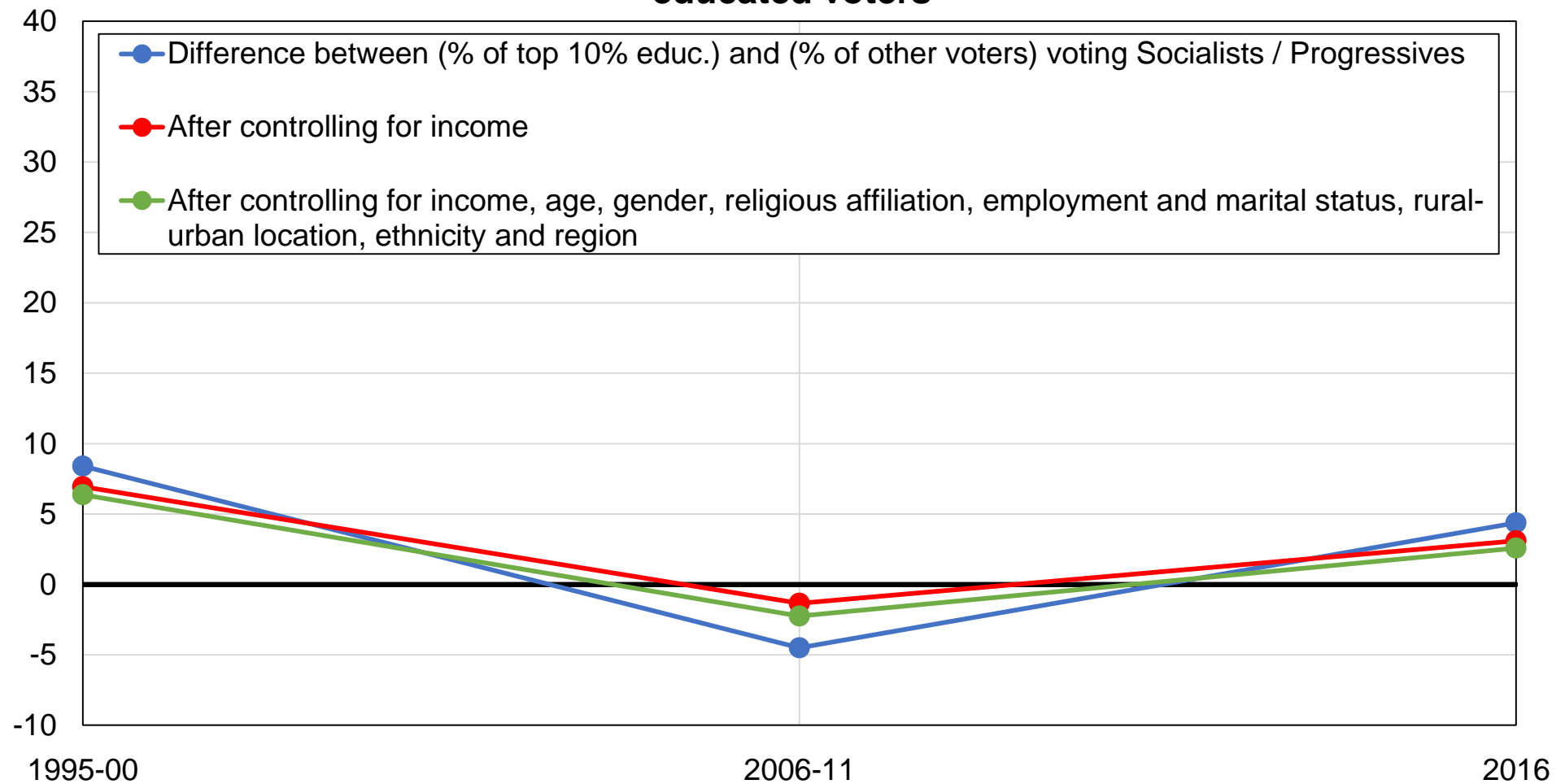
**Figure FB20 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives among university graduates**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of university graduates and the share of other voters voting for center-left / left-wing parties (UPP / PP / PNP / GP / APRA / Other left), before and after controlling for other variables.

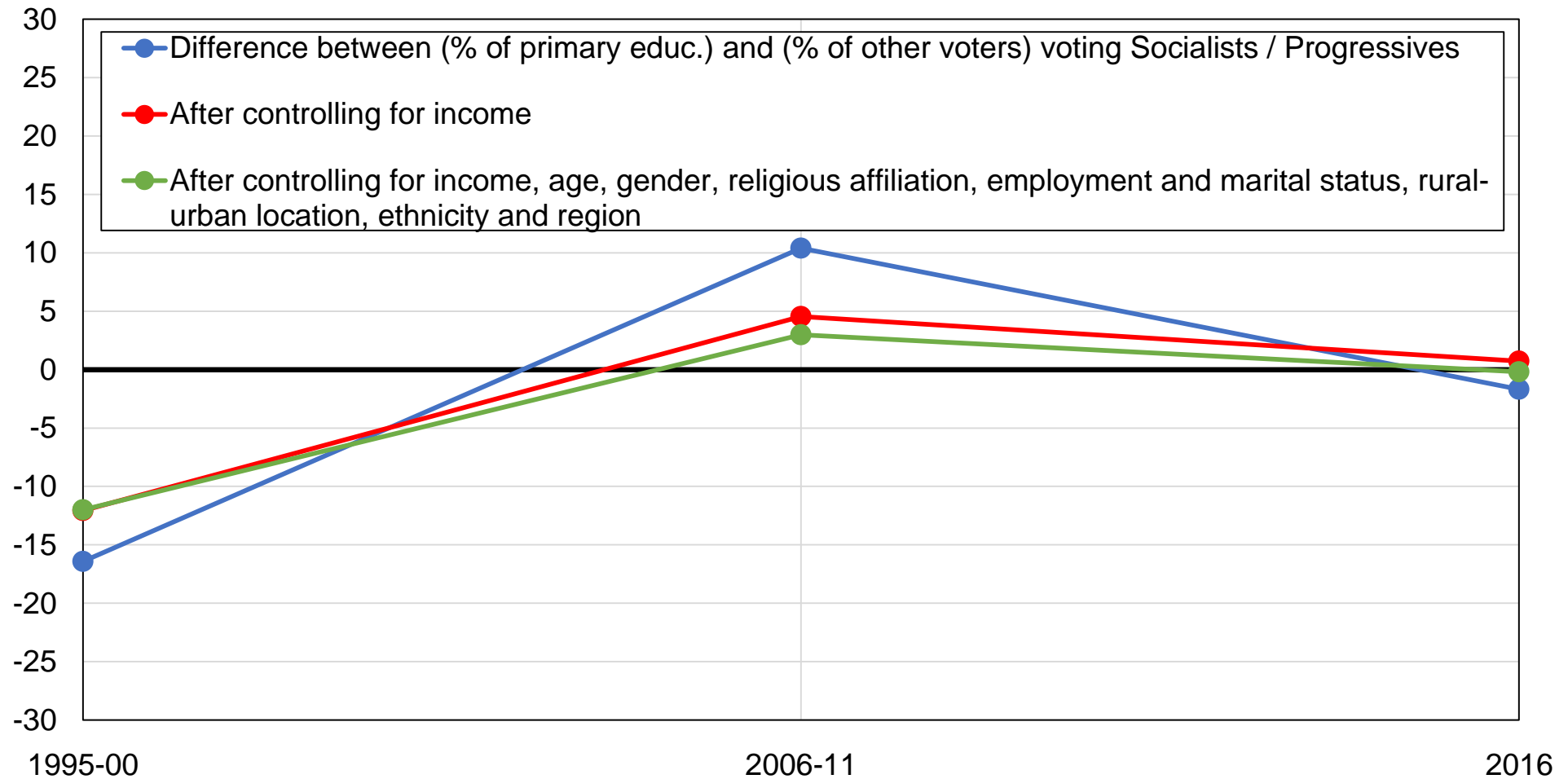
**Figure FB21 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives among highest-educated voters**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian 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 center-left / left-wing parties (UPP / PP / PNP / GP / APRA / Other left), before and after controlling for other variables.

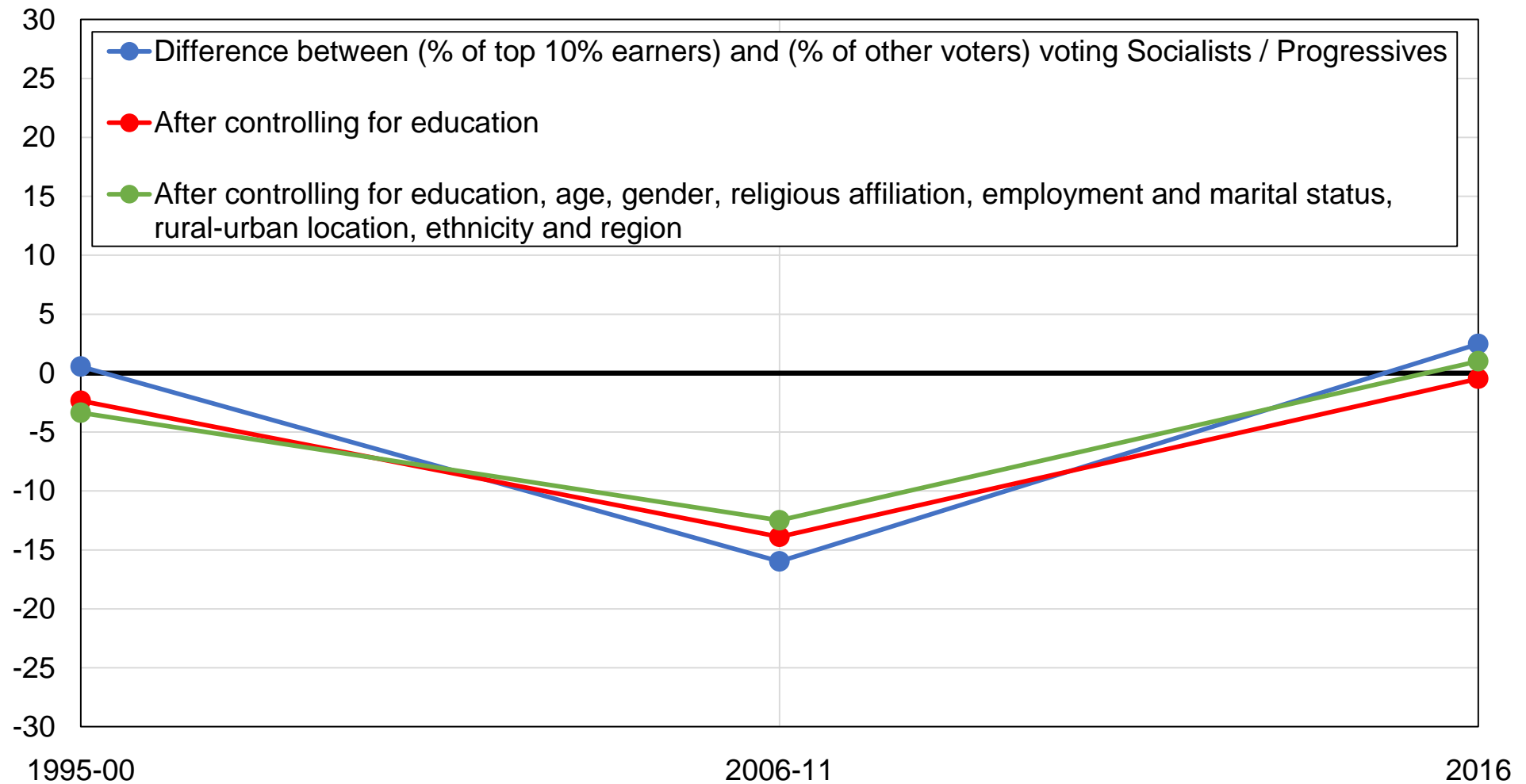
**Figure FB22 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives among primary-educated voters**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of primary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for center-left / left-wing parties (UPP / PP / PNP / GP / APRA / Other left), before and after controlling for other variables.

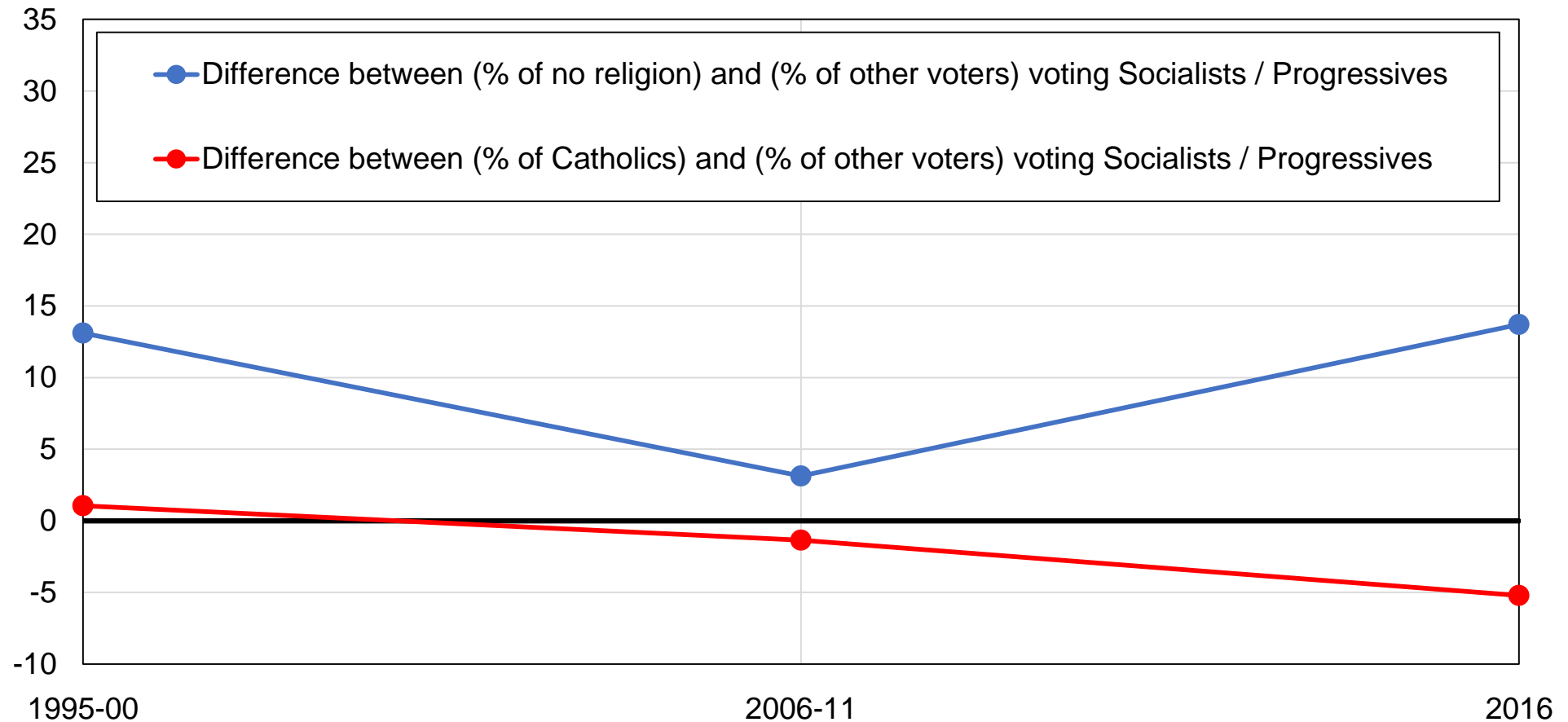
**Figure FB23 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives among top 10% earners**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and the share of other voters voting for center-left / left-wing parties (UPP / PP / PNP / GP / APRA / Other left), before and after controlling for other variables.

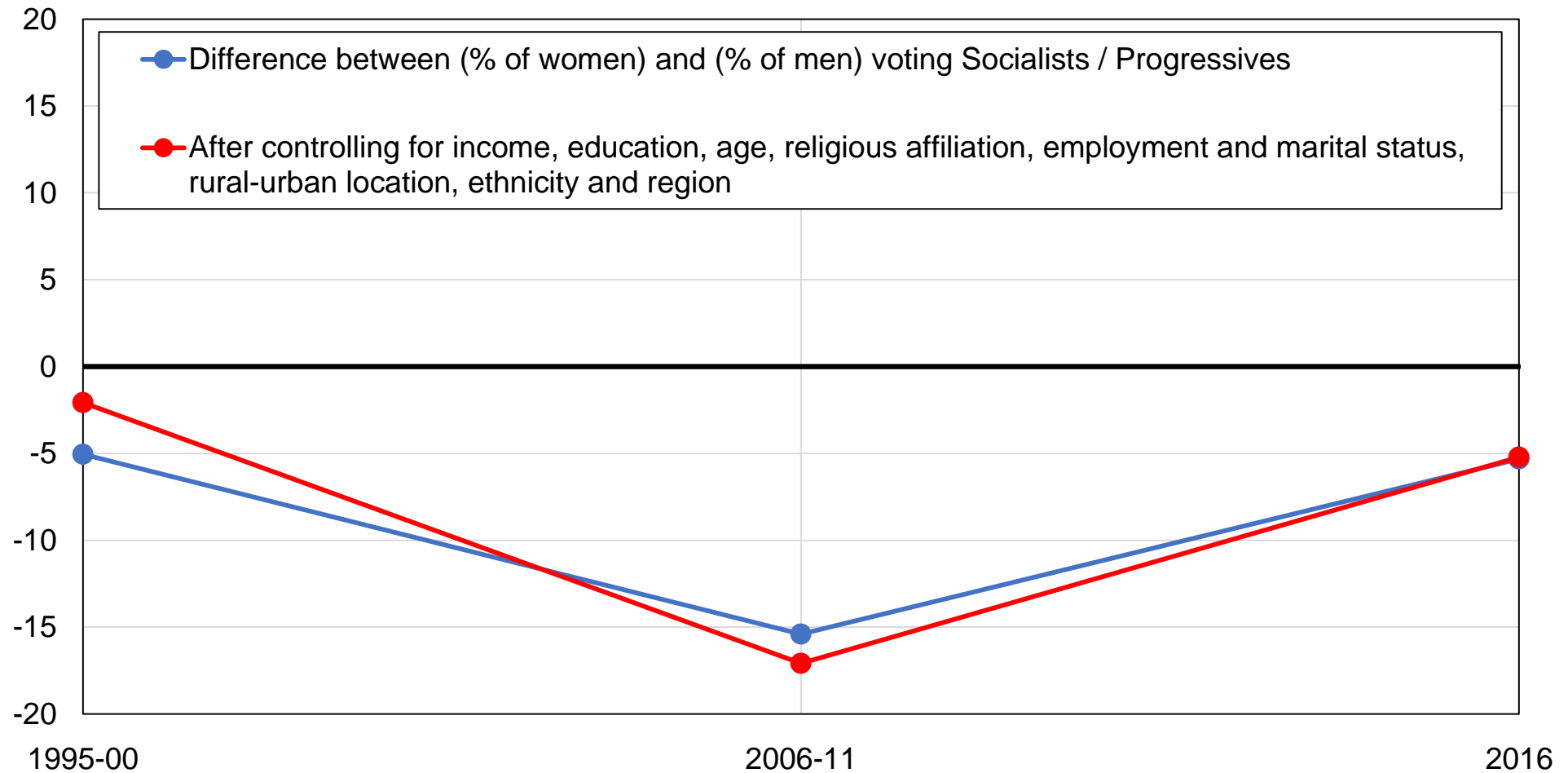
**Figure FB24 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives among Catholics and non-religious voters, after controls**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters declaring no religion and the share of other voters voting for center-left / left-wing parties (UPP / PP / PNP / GP / APRA / Other left), as well as the same difference between Catholics and other voters, after controlling for education, income, age, gender, employment and marital status, rural-urban location, ethnicity and region.

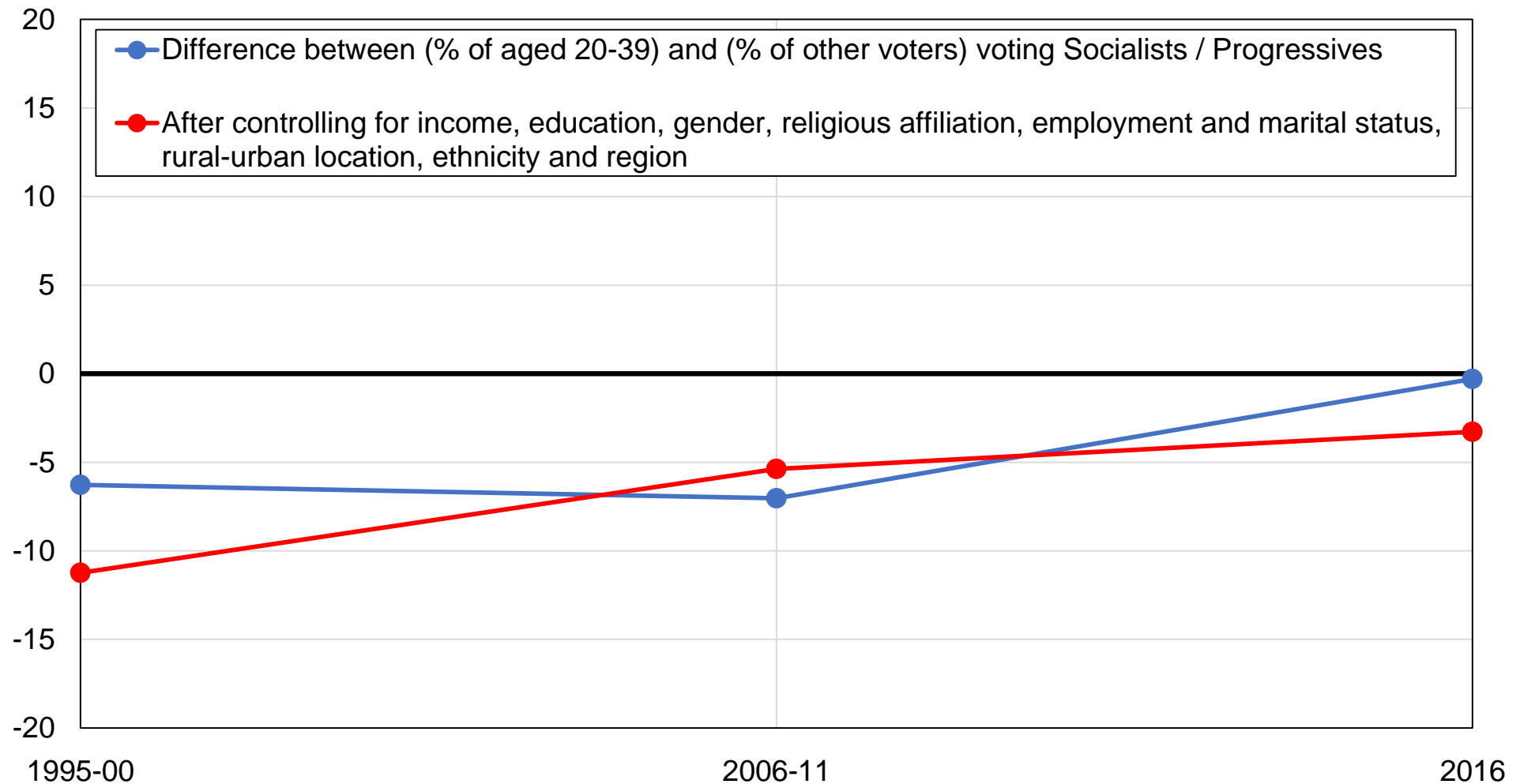
**Figure FB25 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives among women, after controls**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of women and the share of men voting for center-left / left-wing parties (UPP / PP / PNP / GP / APRA / Other left), before and after controlling for other variables.

**Figure FB26 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives among young voters**

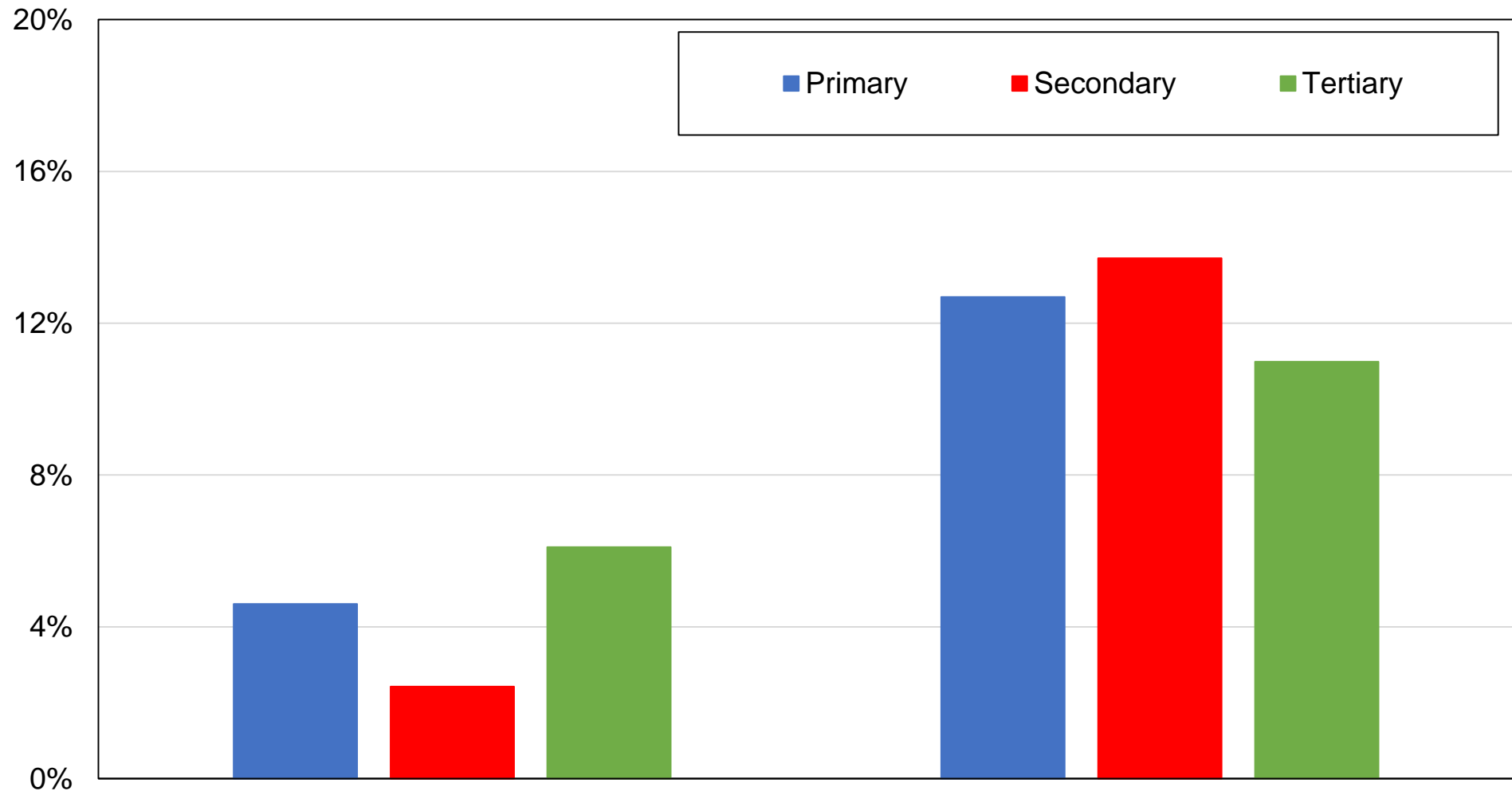


Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters aged 20-39 and the share of voters older than 40 voting for center-left / left-wing parties (UPP / PP / PNP / GP / APRA / Other left), before and after controlling for other variables.



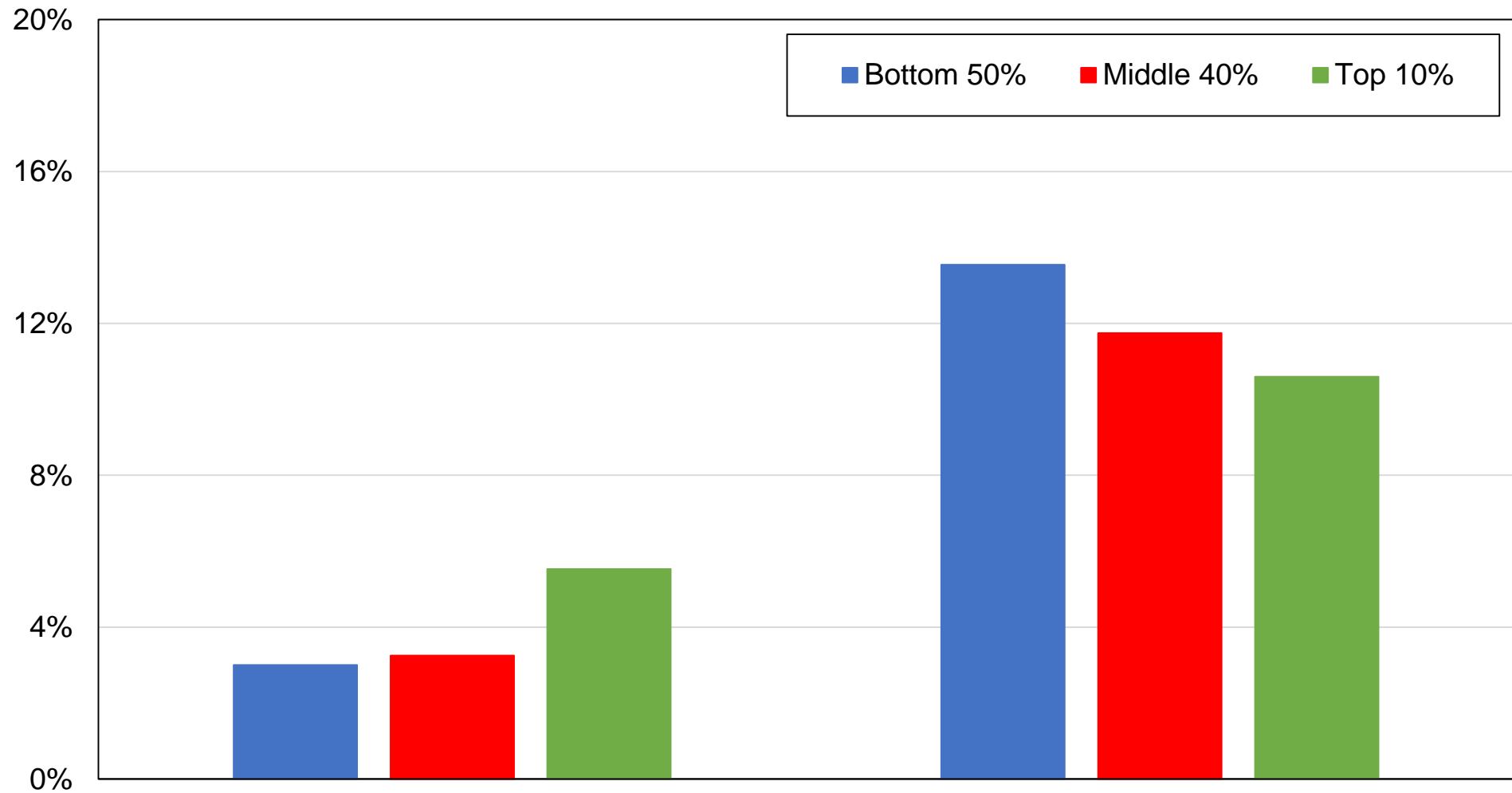
**Figure FC1 - Vote for the Peruvian Aprista Party by education level**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Peruvian Aprista Party by education level.

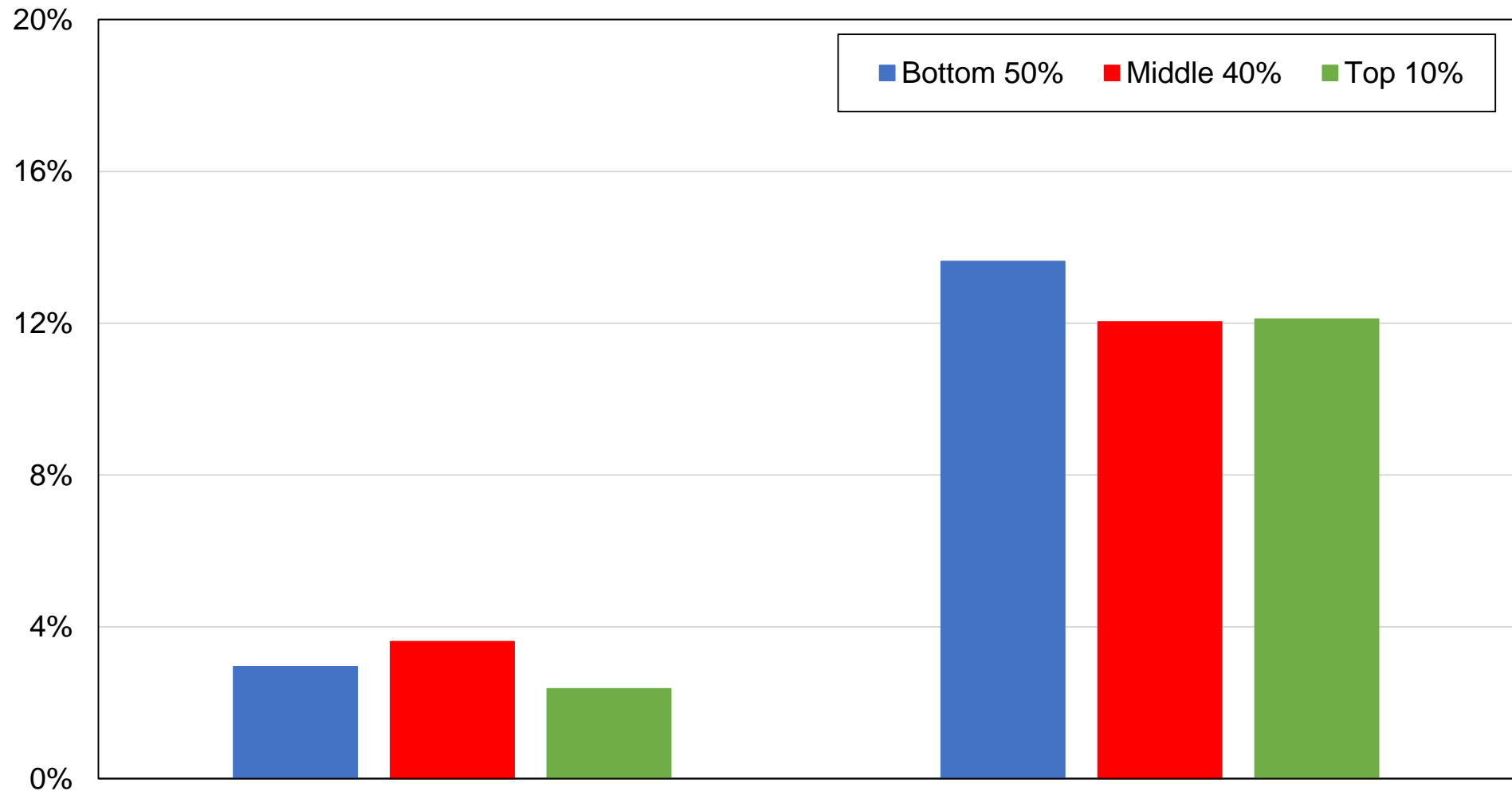
**Figure FC2 - Vote for the Peruvian Aprista Party by education group**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Peruvian Aprista Party by education group.

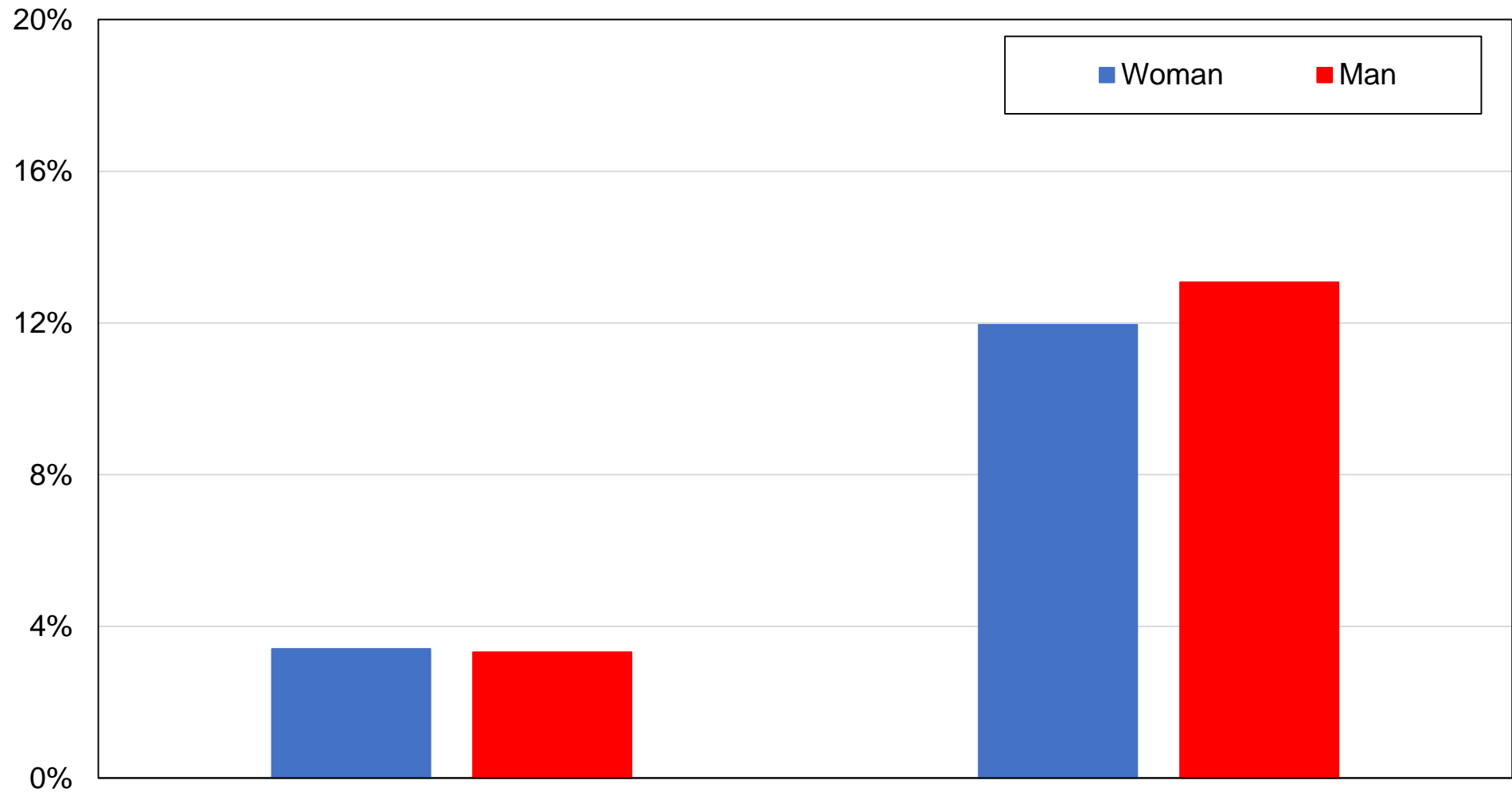
**Figure FC3 - Vote for the Peruvian Aprista Party by income group**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Peruvian Aprista Party by income group.

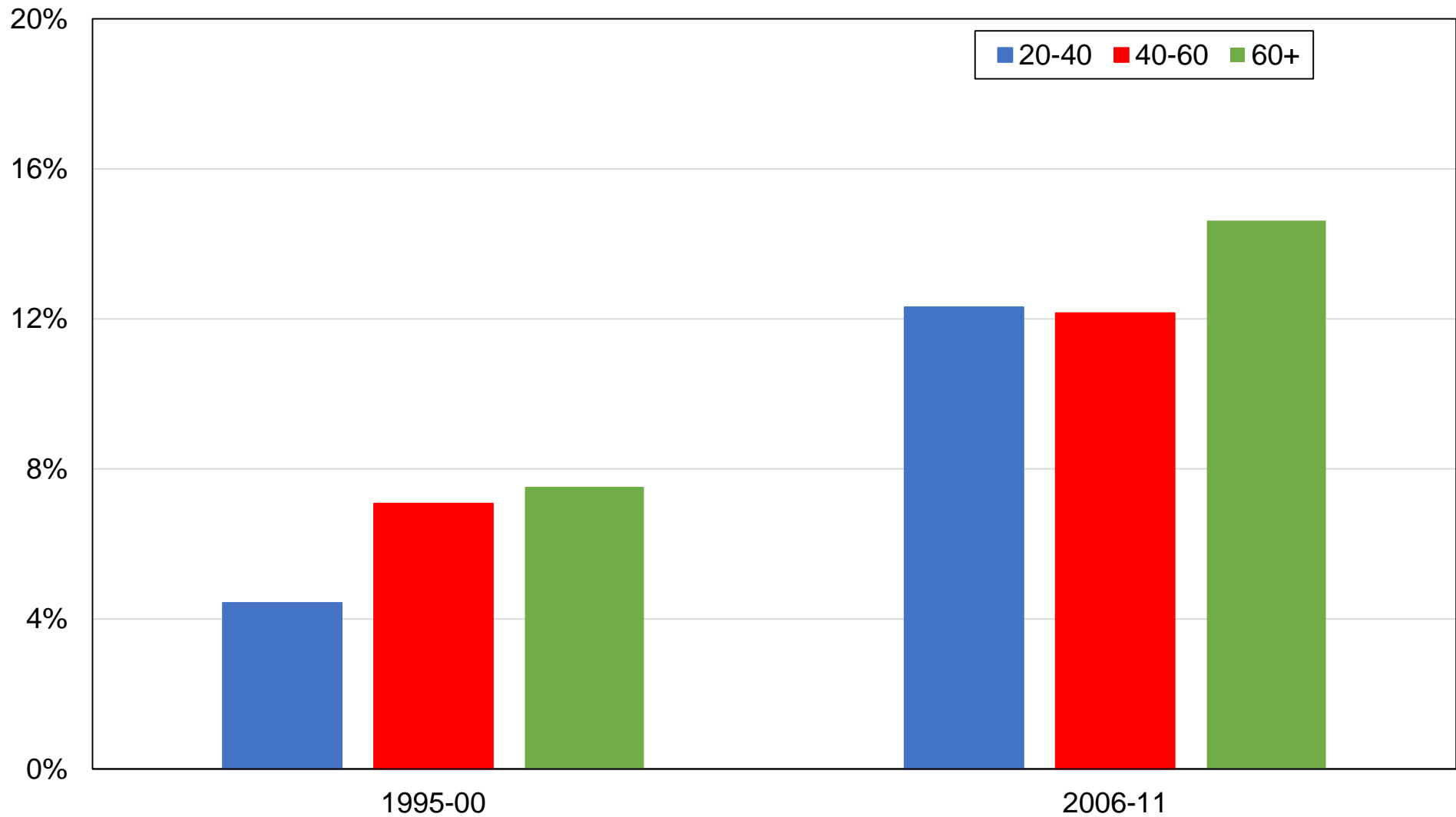
**Figure FC4 - Vote for the Peruvian Aprista Party by gender**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Peruvian Aprista Party by gender.

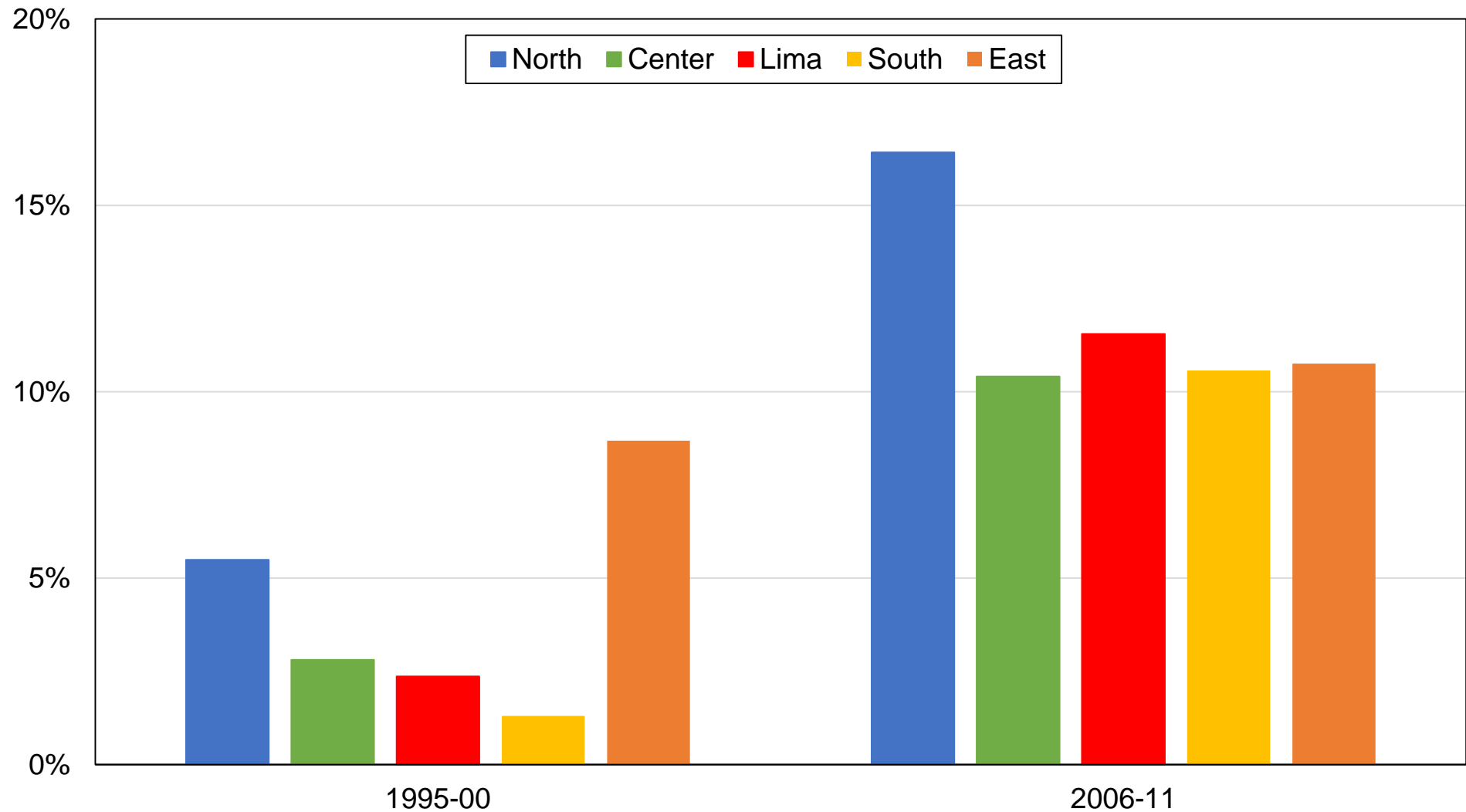
**Figure FC5 - Vote for the Peruvian Aprista Party by age group**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Peruvian Aprista Party by age group.

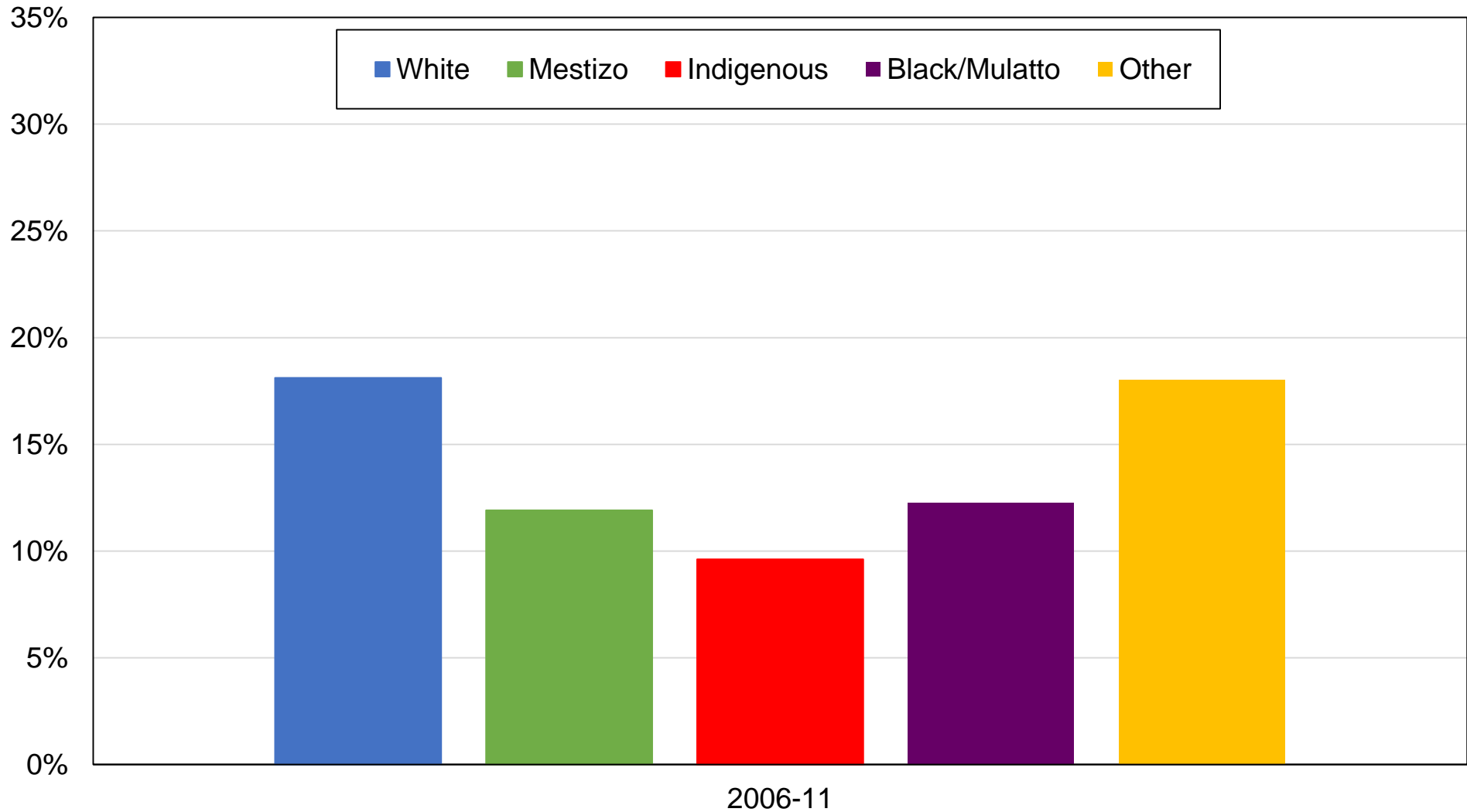
**Figure FC6 - Vote for the Peruvian Aprista Party by region**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Peruvian Aprista Party by region.

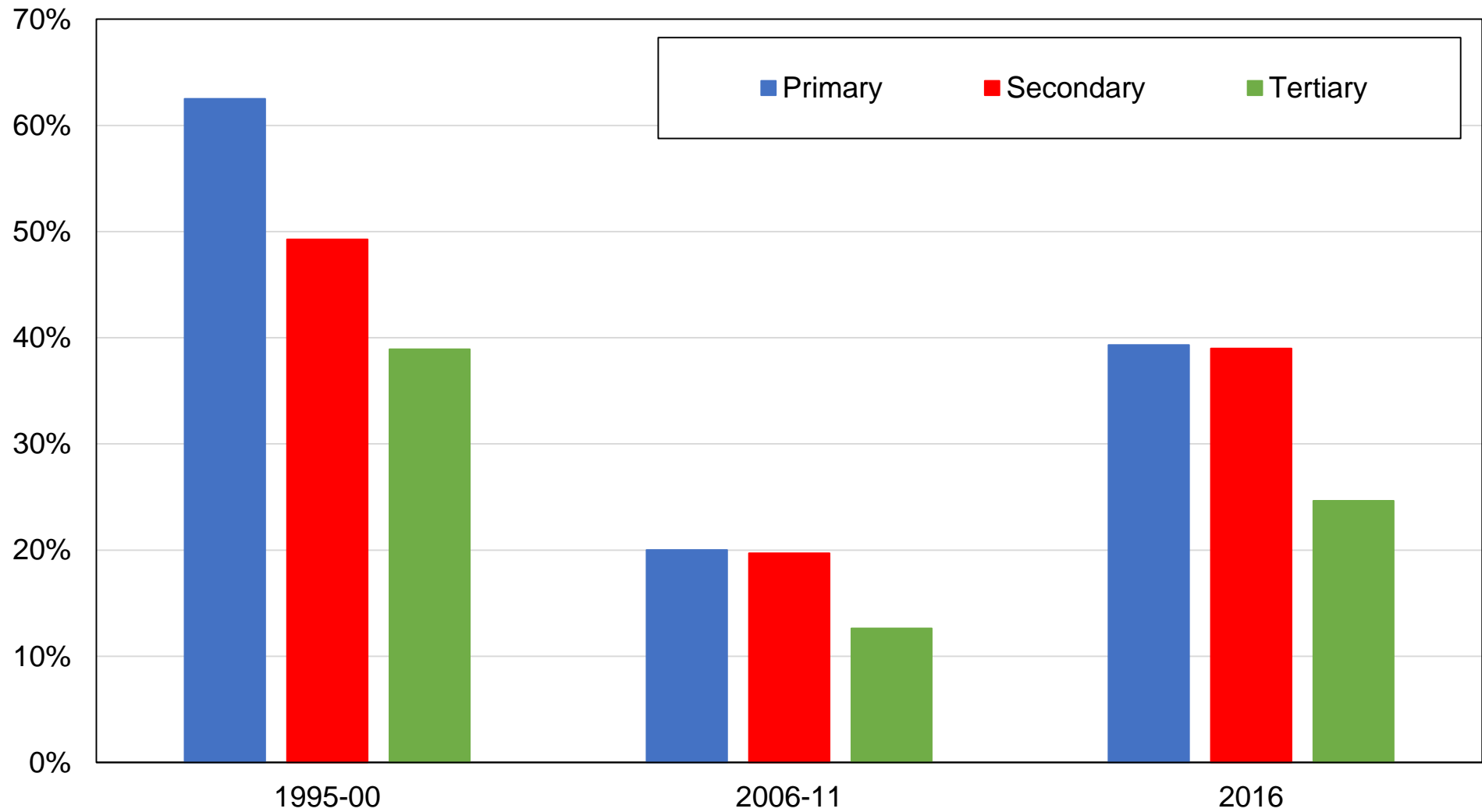
**Figure FC7 - Vote for the Peruvian Aprista Party by ethnicity**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Peruvian Aprista Party by ethnicity.

**Figure FC8 - Vote for Fujimorists by education level**

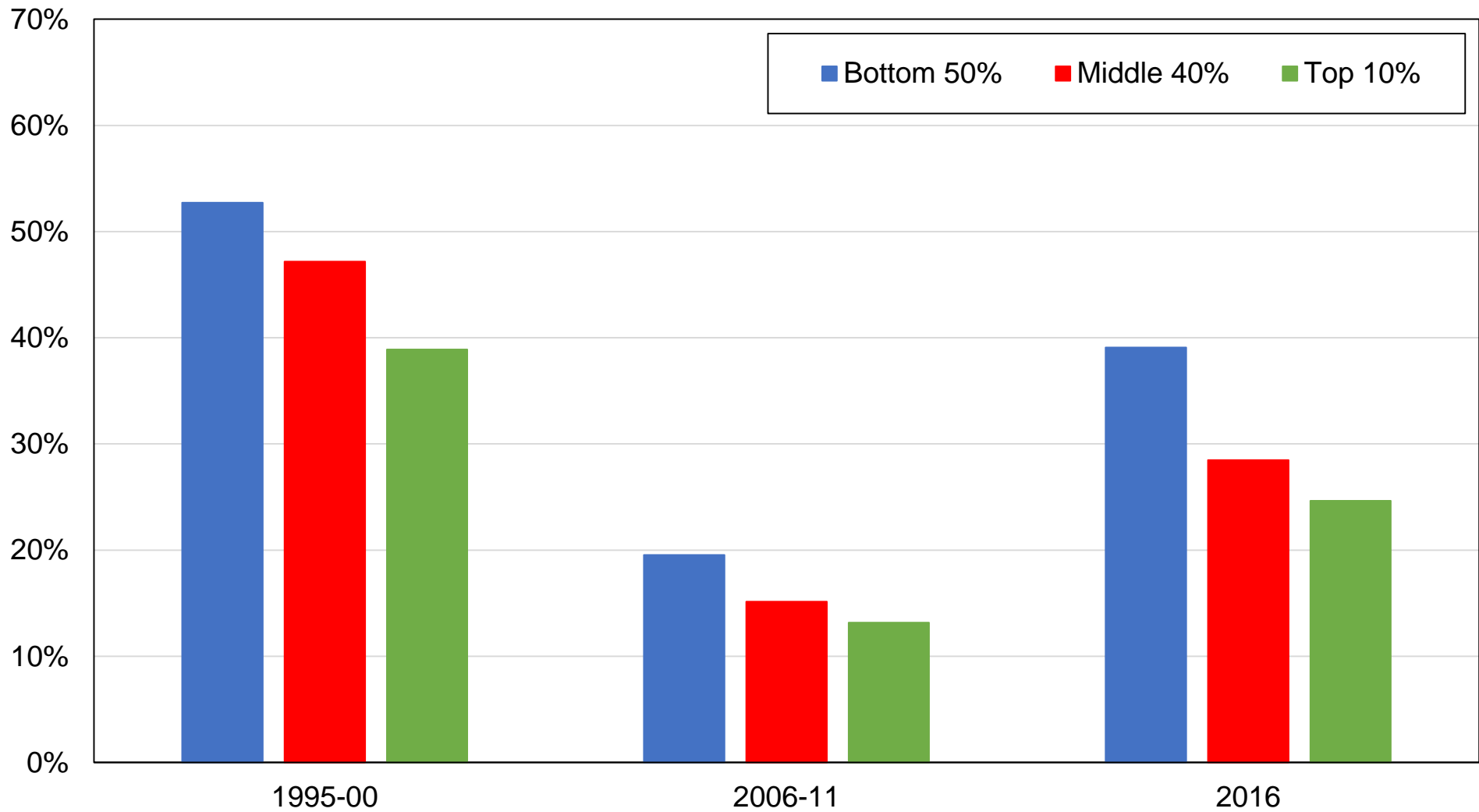


Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Fujimorists by education level.



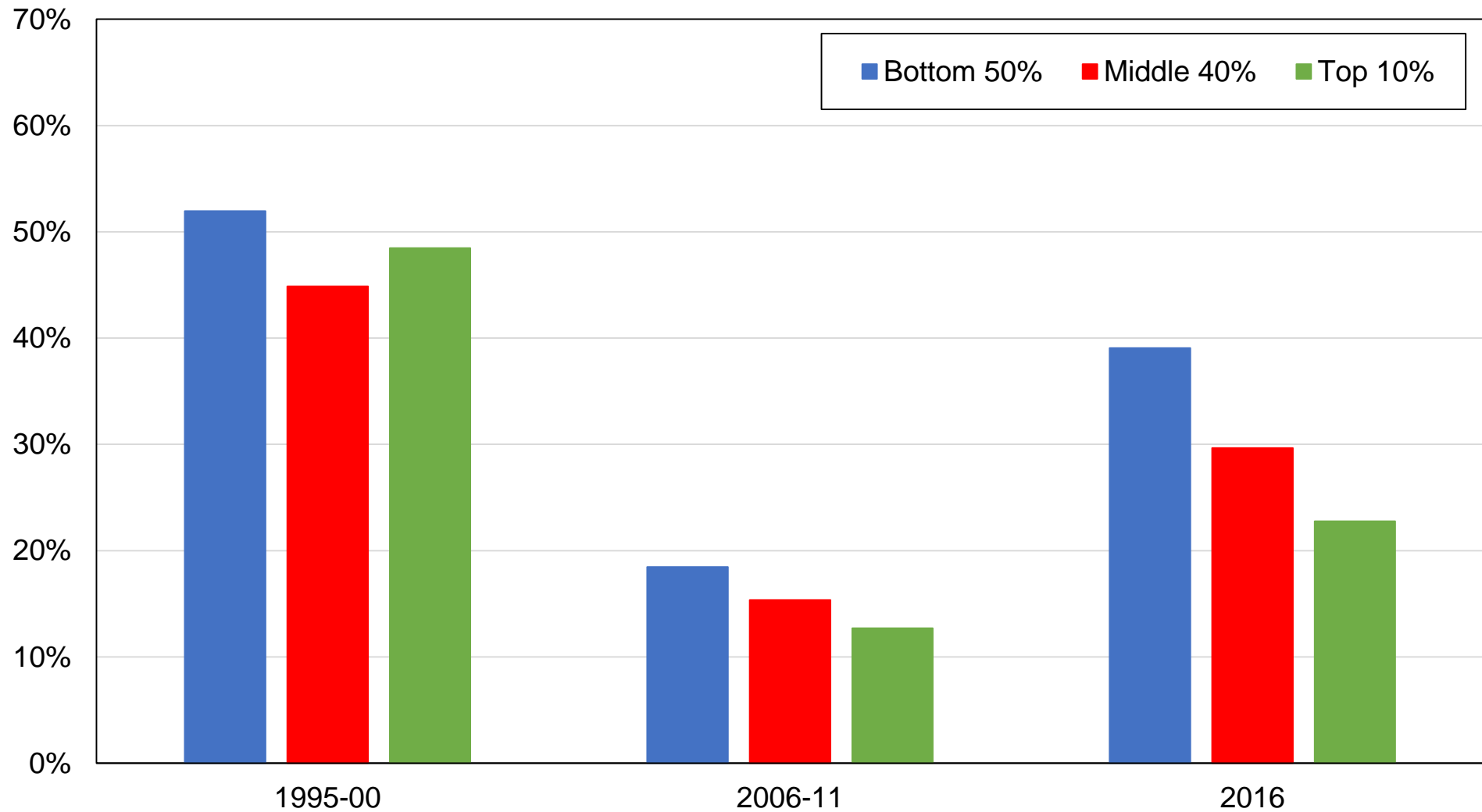
**Figure FC9 - Vote for Fujimorists by education group**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Fujimorists by education group.

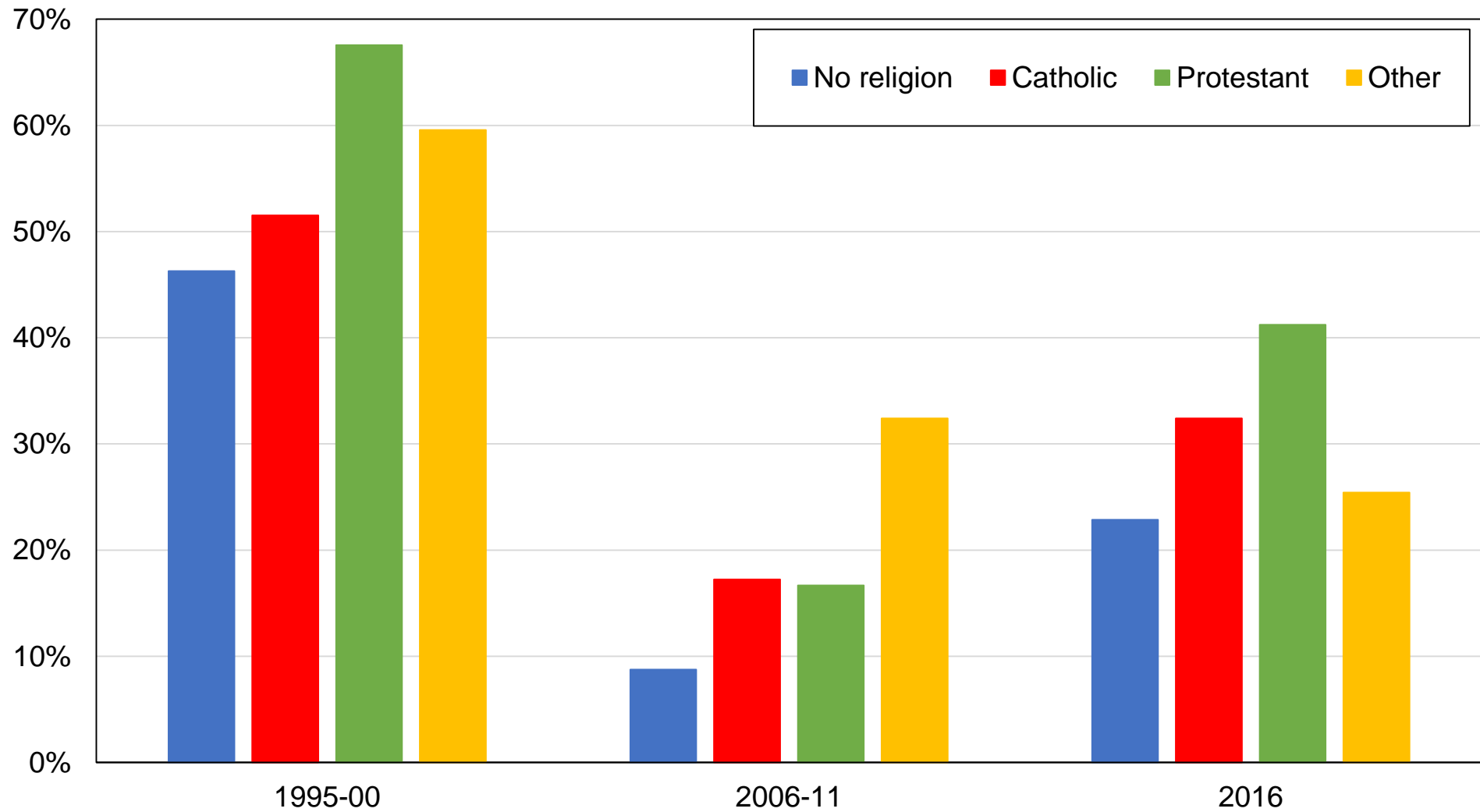
**Figure FC10 - Vote for Fujimorists by income group**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Fujimorists by income group.

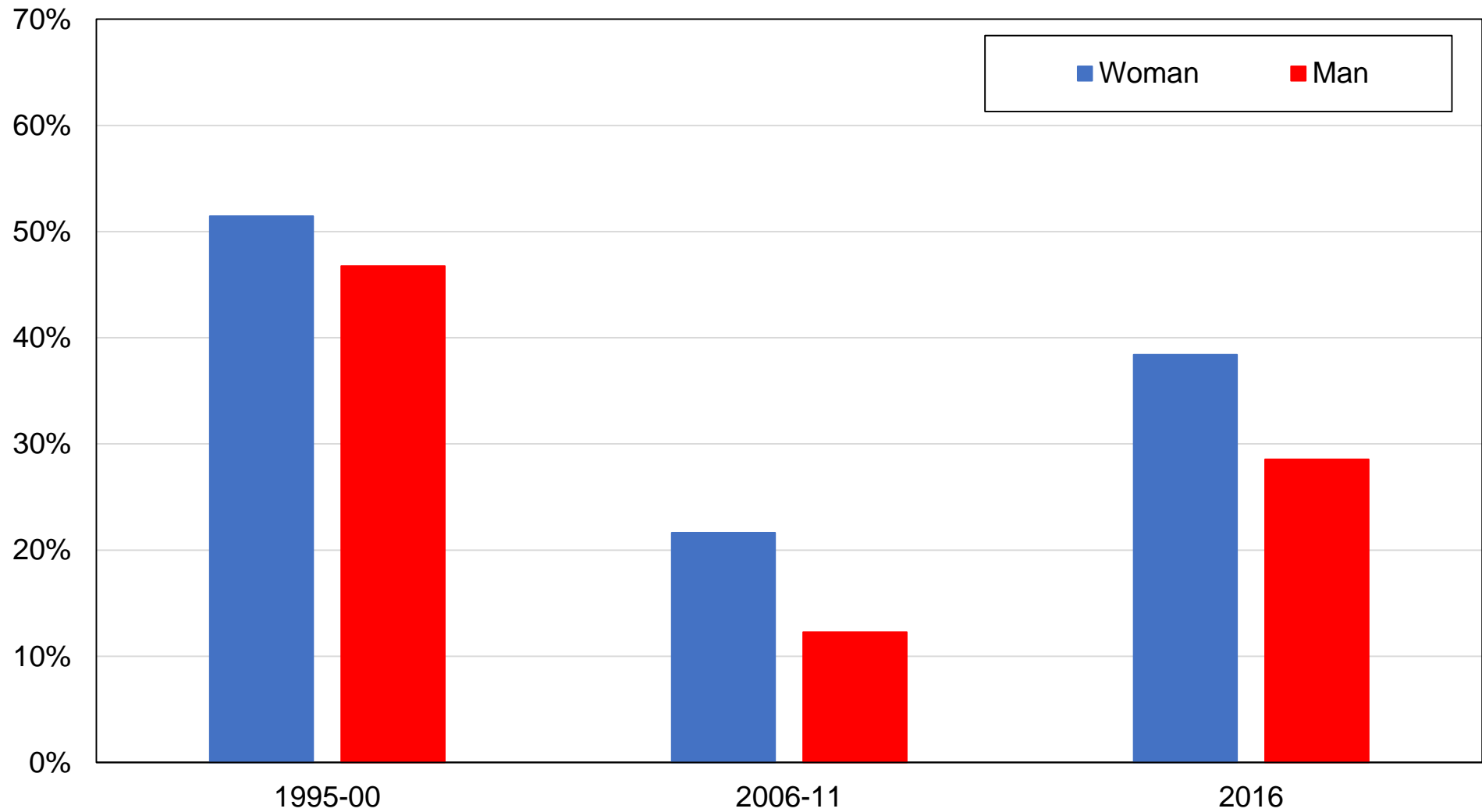
**Figure FC11 - Vote for Fujimorists by religious affiliation**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

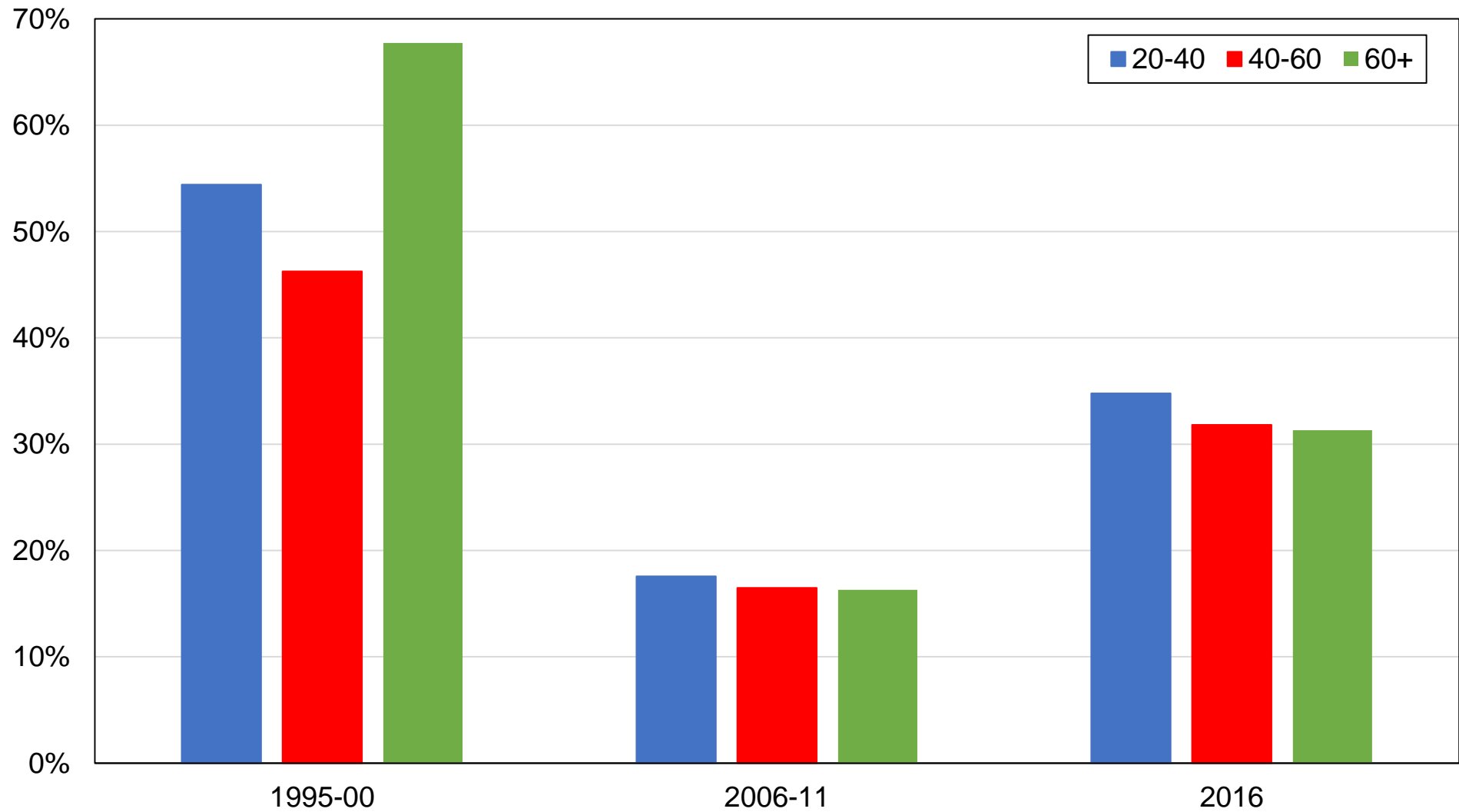
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Fujimorists by religious affiliation.

**Figure FC12 - Vote for Fujimorists by gender**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.  
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Fujimorists by gender.

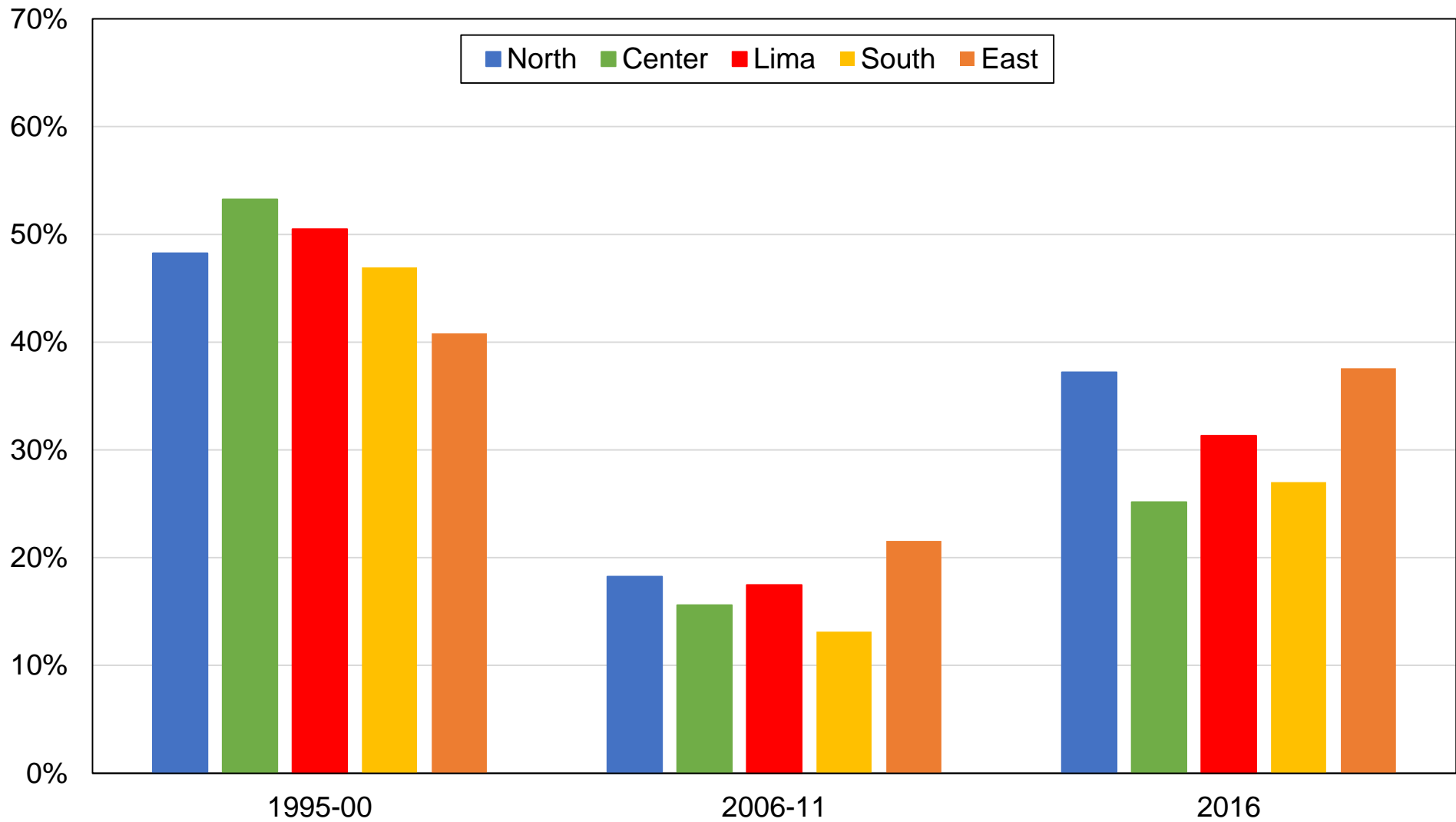
**Figure FC13 - Vote for Fujimorists by age group**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

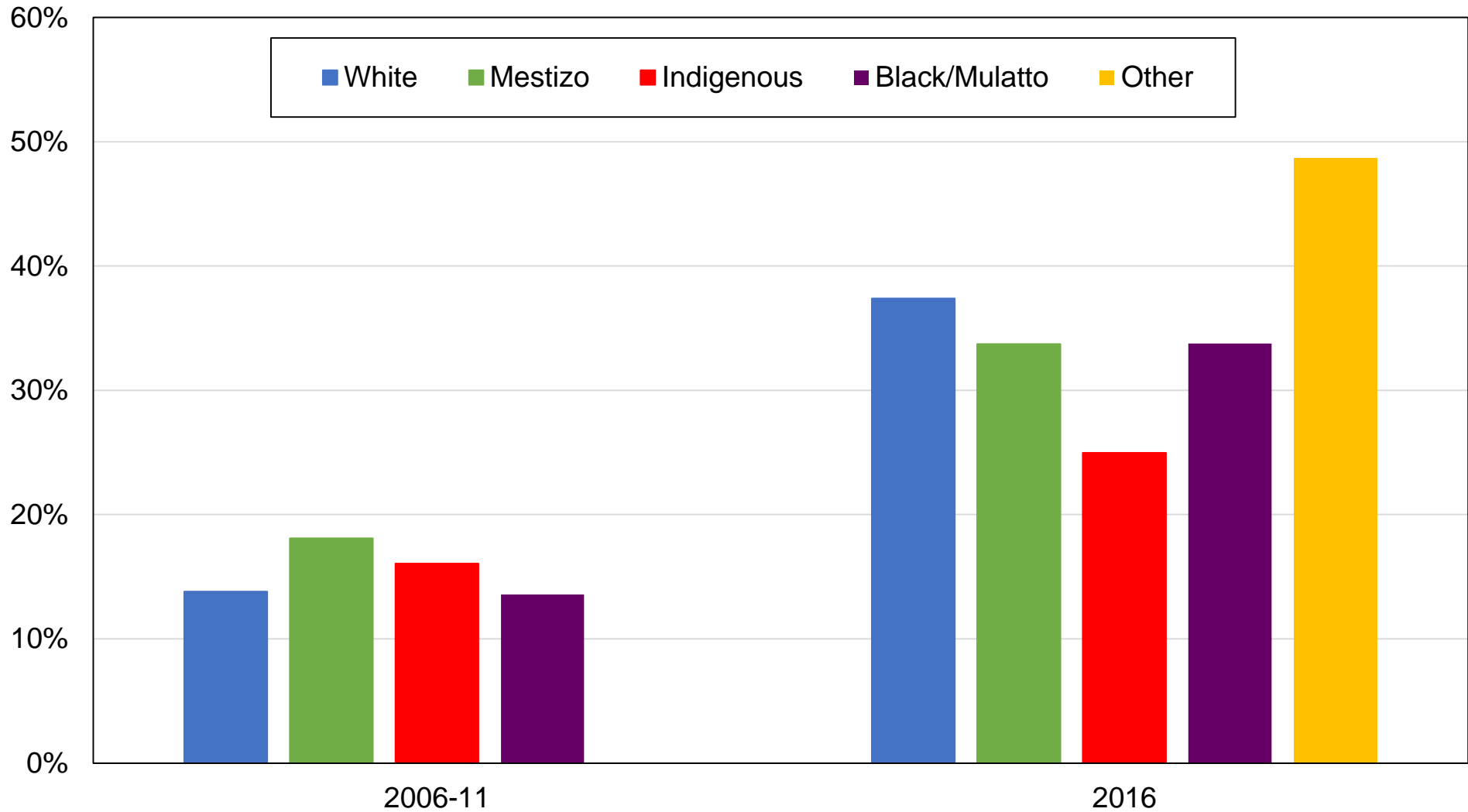
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Fujimorists by age group.

**Figure FC14 - Vote for Fujimorists by region**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.  
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Fujimorists by region.

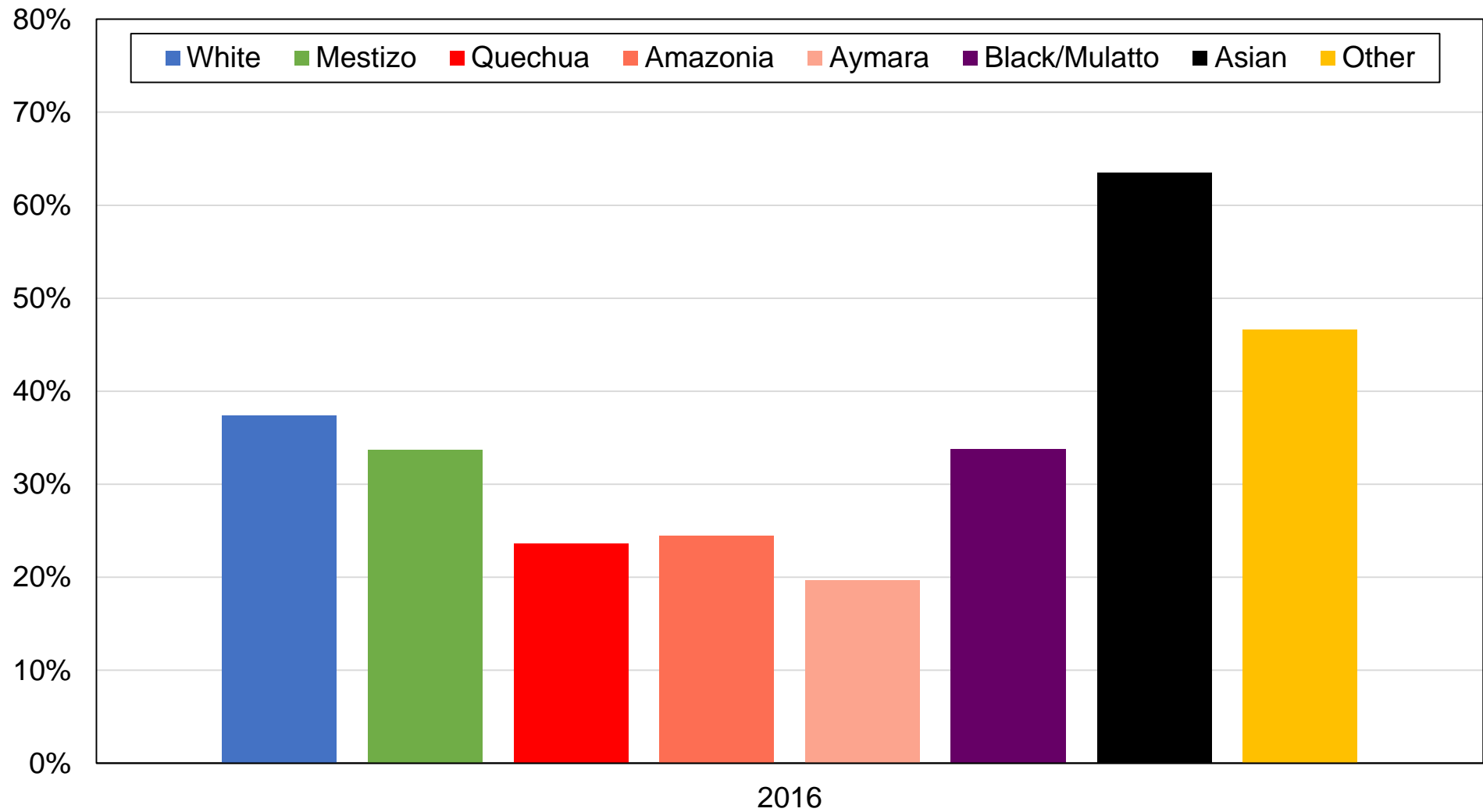
**Figure FC15 - Vote for Fujimorists by ethnicity**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

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

**Figure FC16 - Vote for Fujimorists by detailed ethnicity**

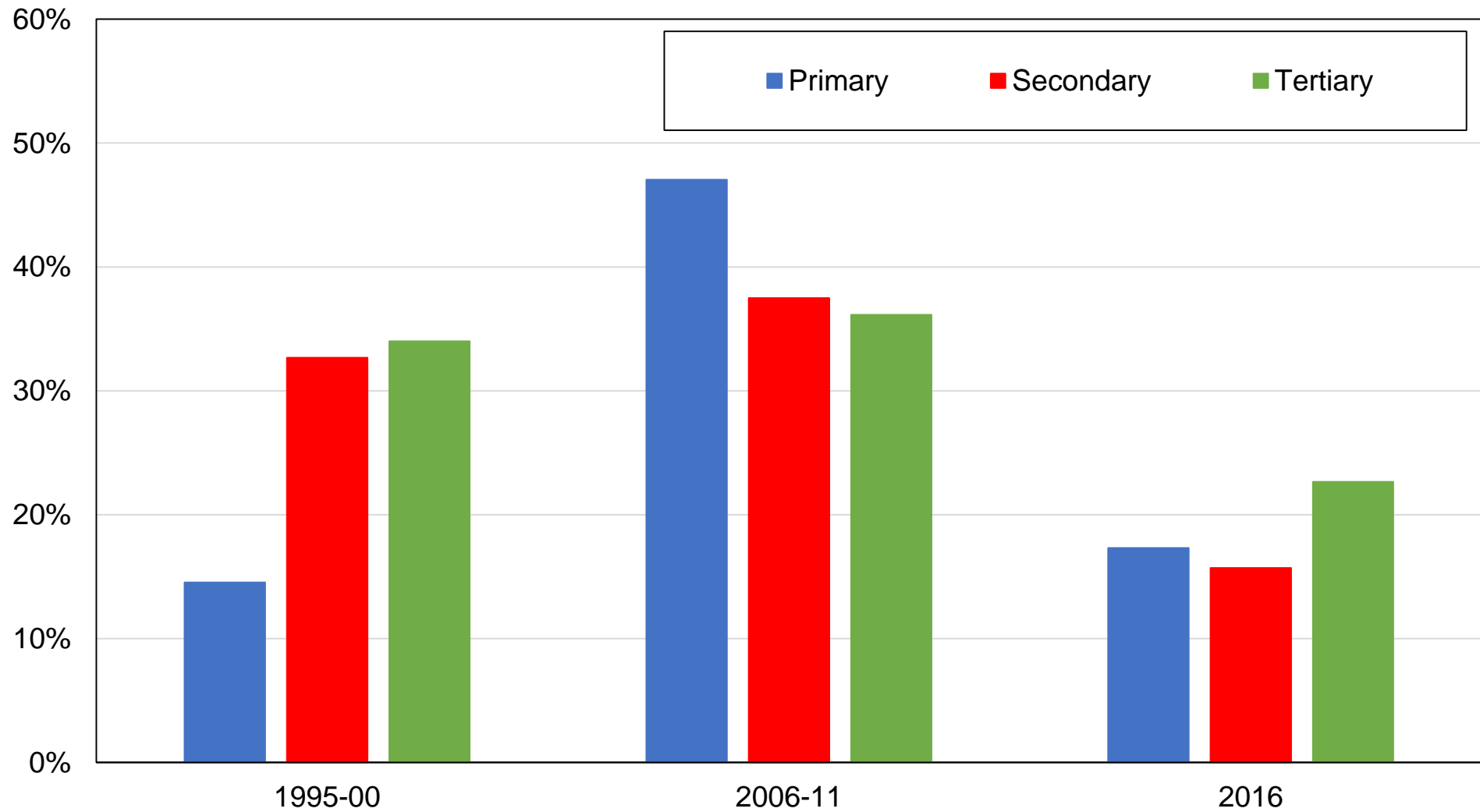


Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Fujimorists by detailed ethnicity.



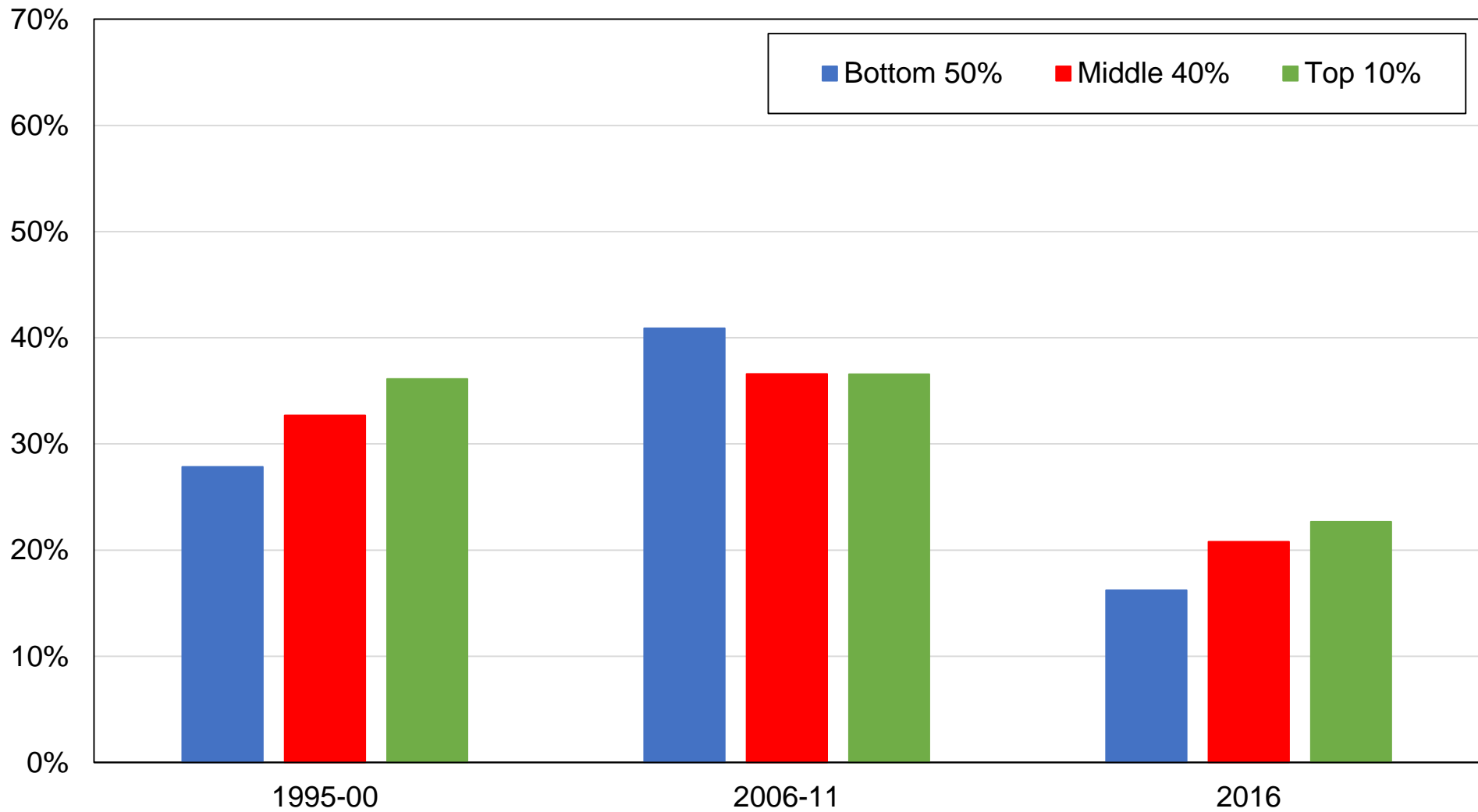
**Figure FC17 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by education level**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Socialists/Progressives by education level.

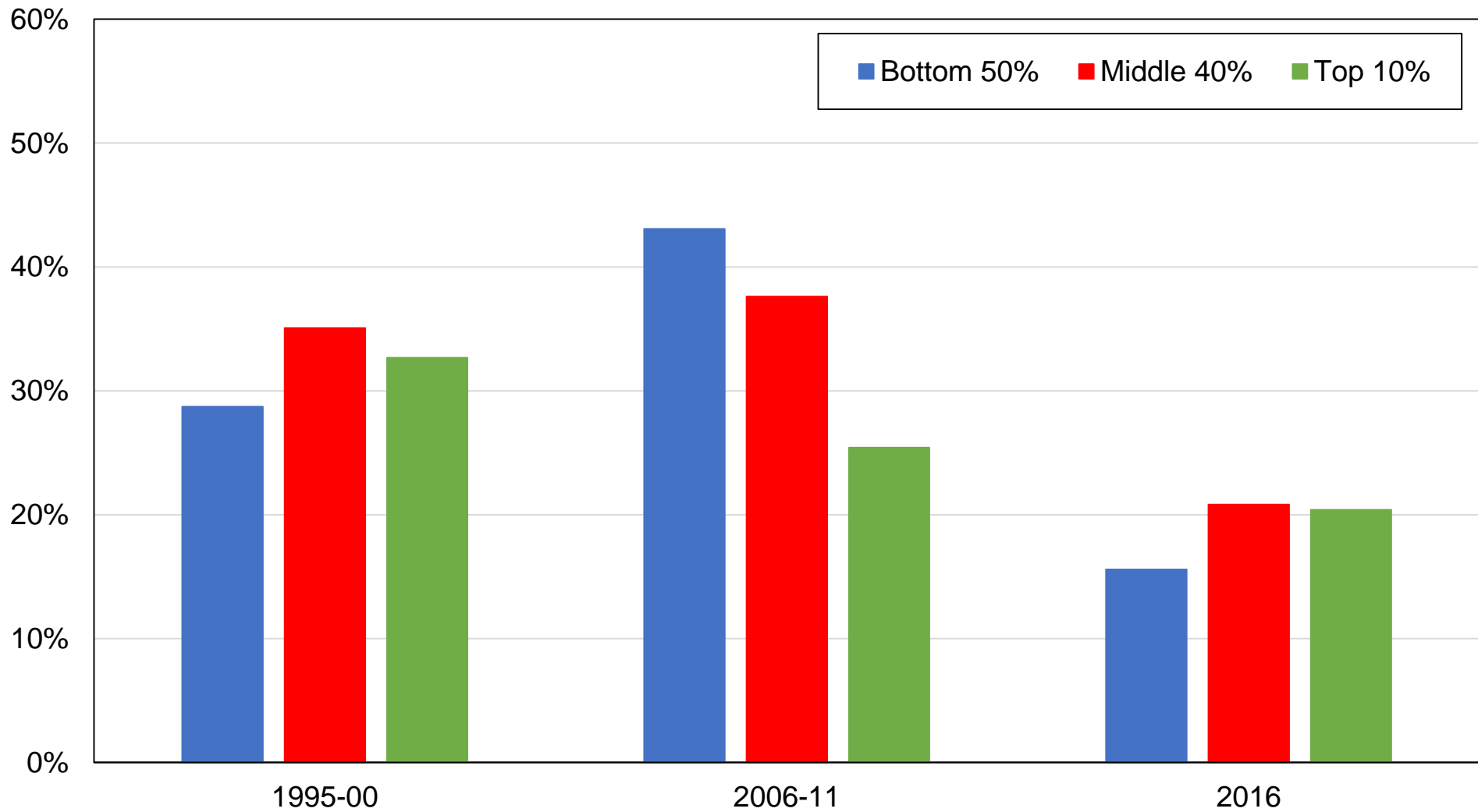
**Figure FC18 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by education group**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Socialists/Progressives by education group.

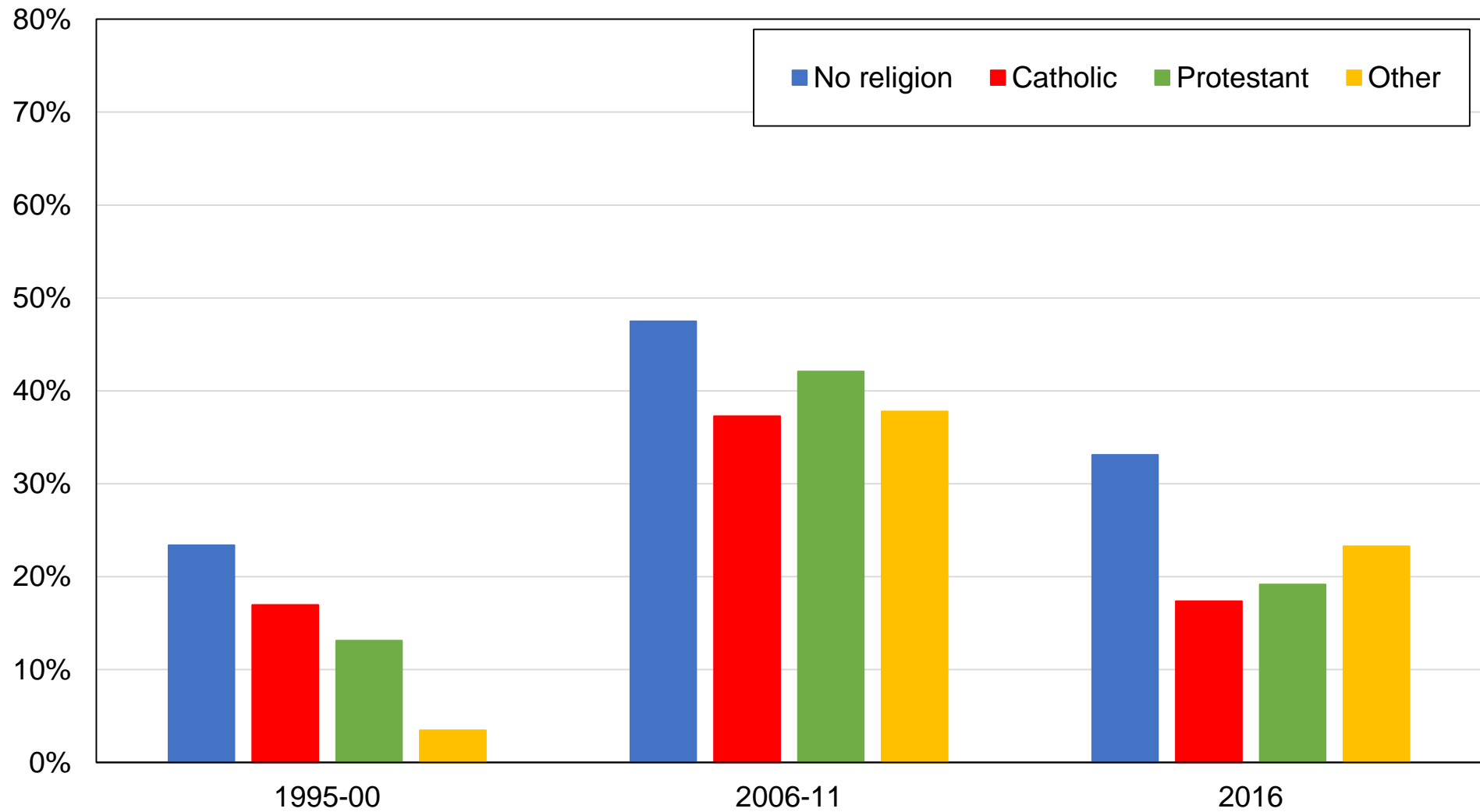
**Figure FC19 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by income group**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Socialists/Progressives by income group.

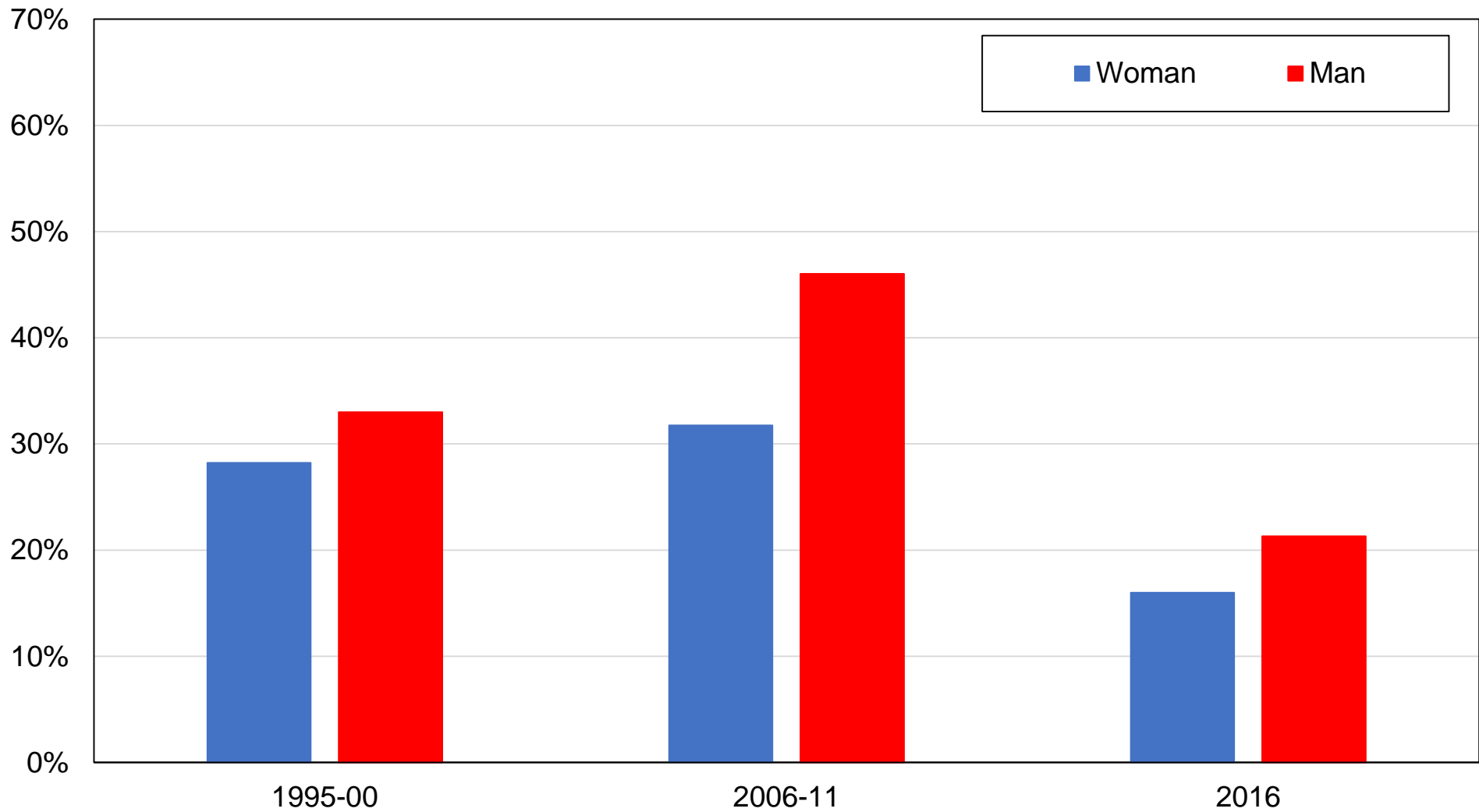
**Figure FC20 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by religious affiliation**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Socialists/Progressives by religious affiliation.

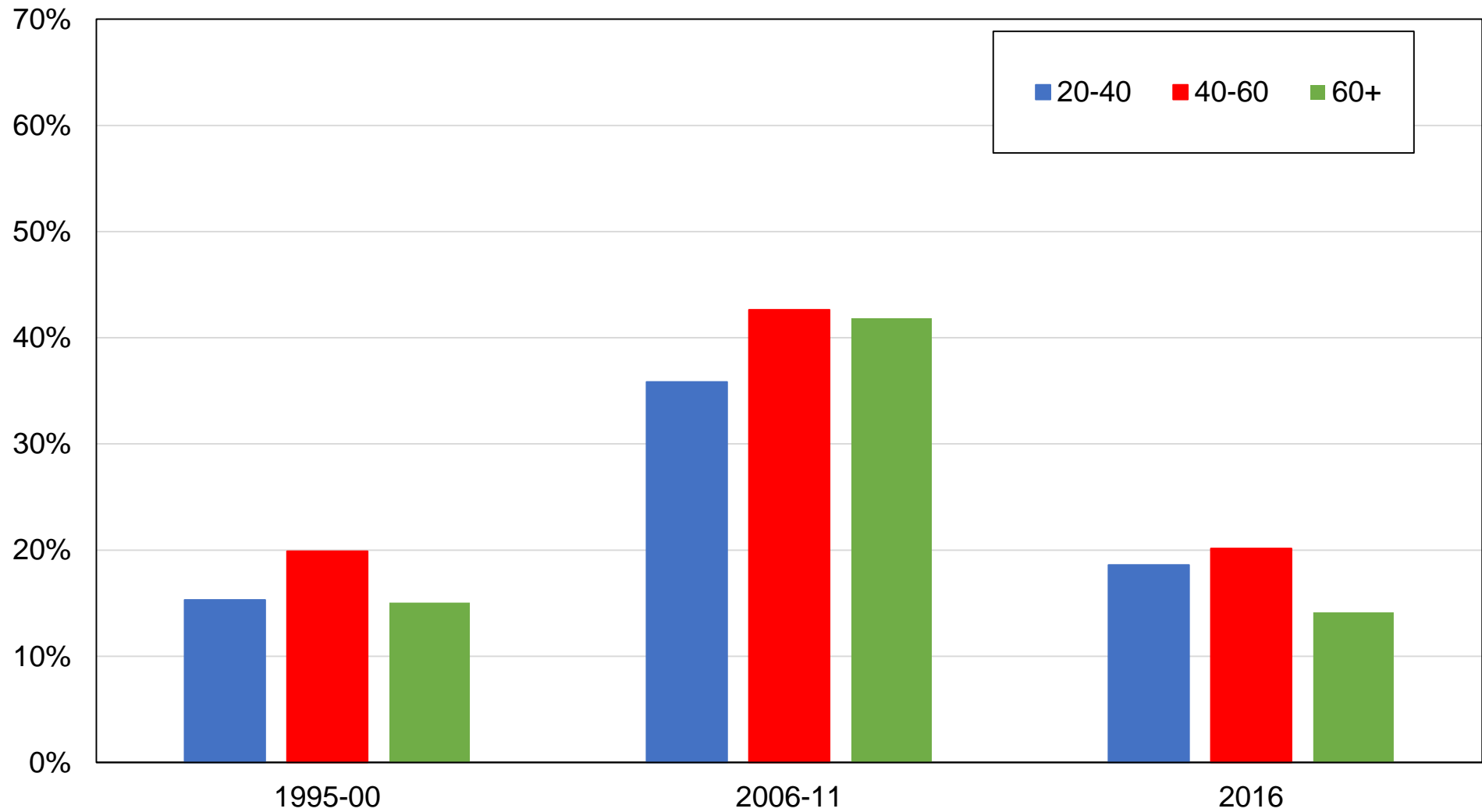
**Figure FC21 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by gender**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Socialists/Progressives by gender.

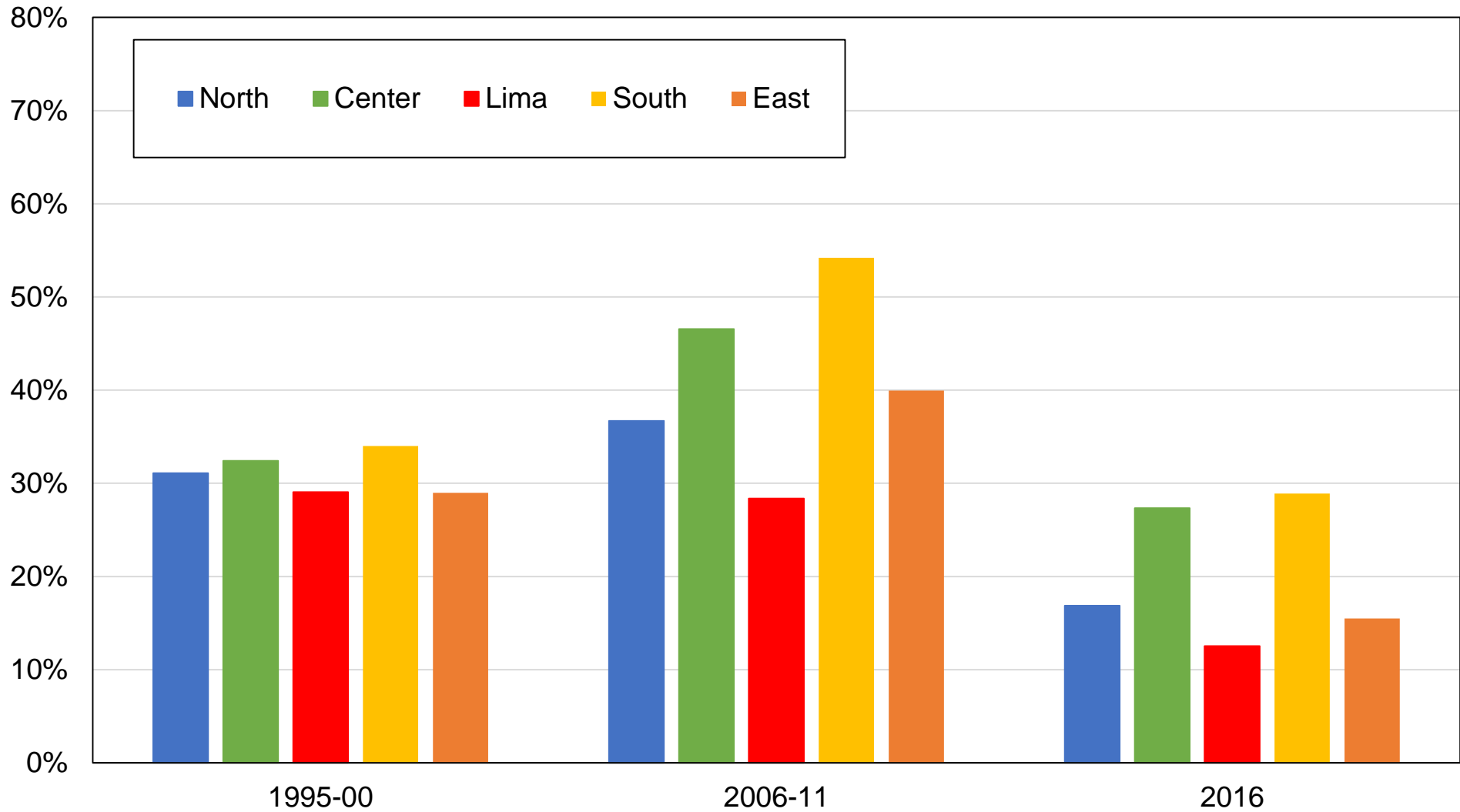
**Figure FC22 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by age group**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Socialists/Progressives by age group.

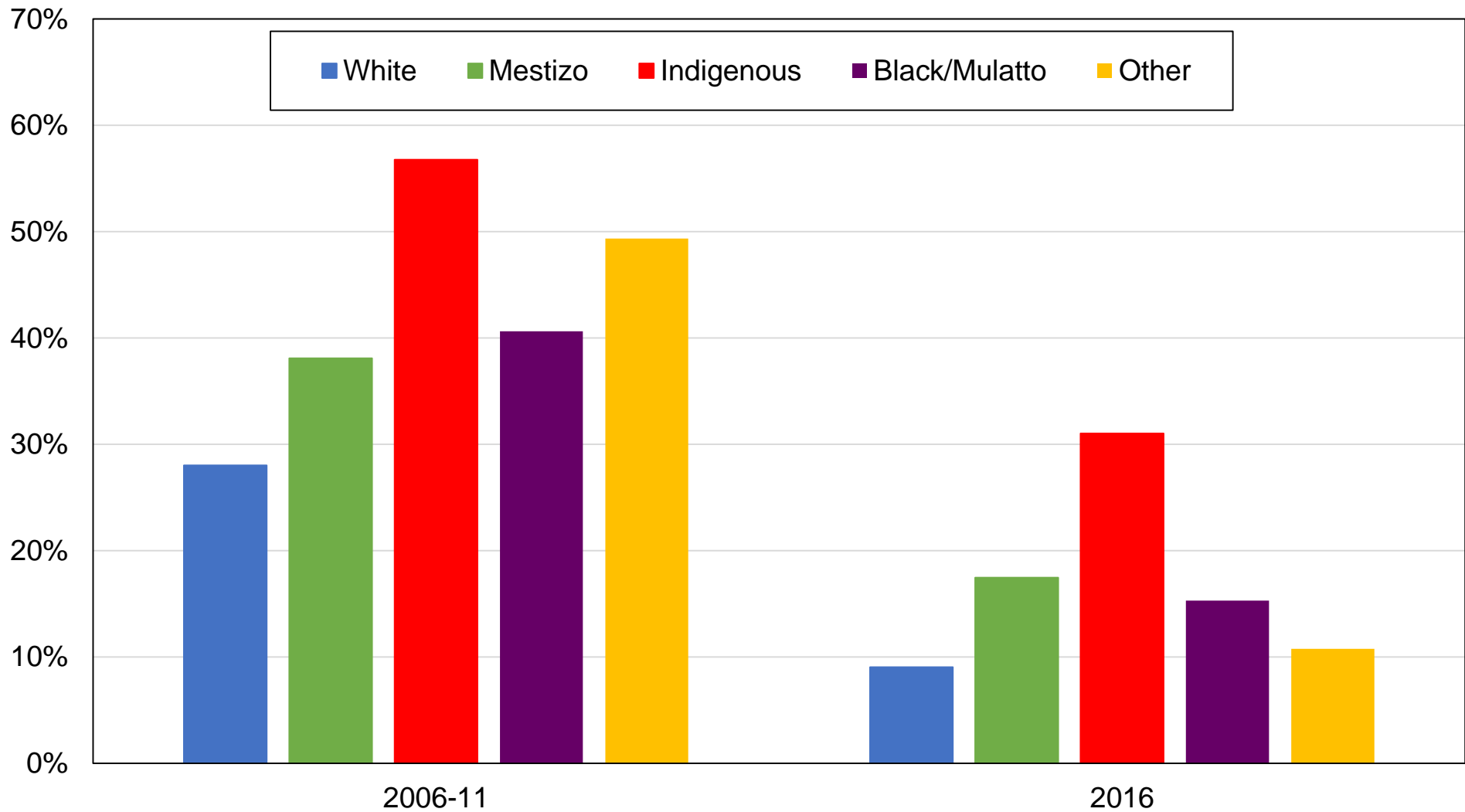
**Figure FC23 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by region**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Socialists/Progressives by region.

**Figure FC24 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by ethnicity**

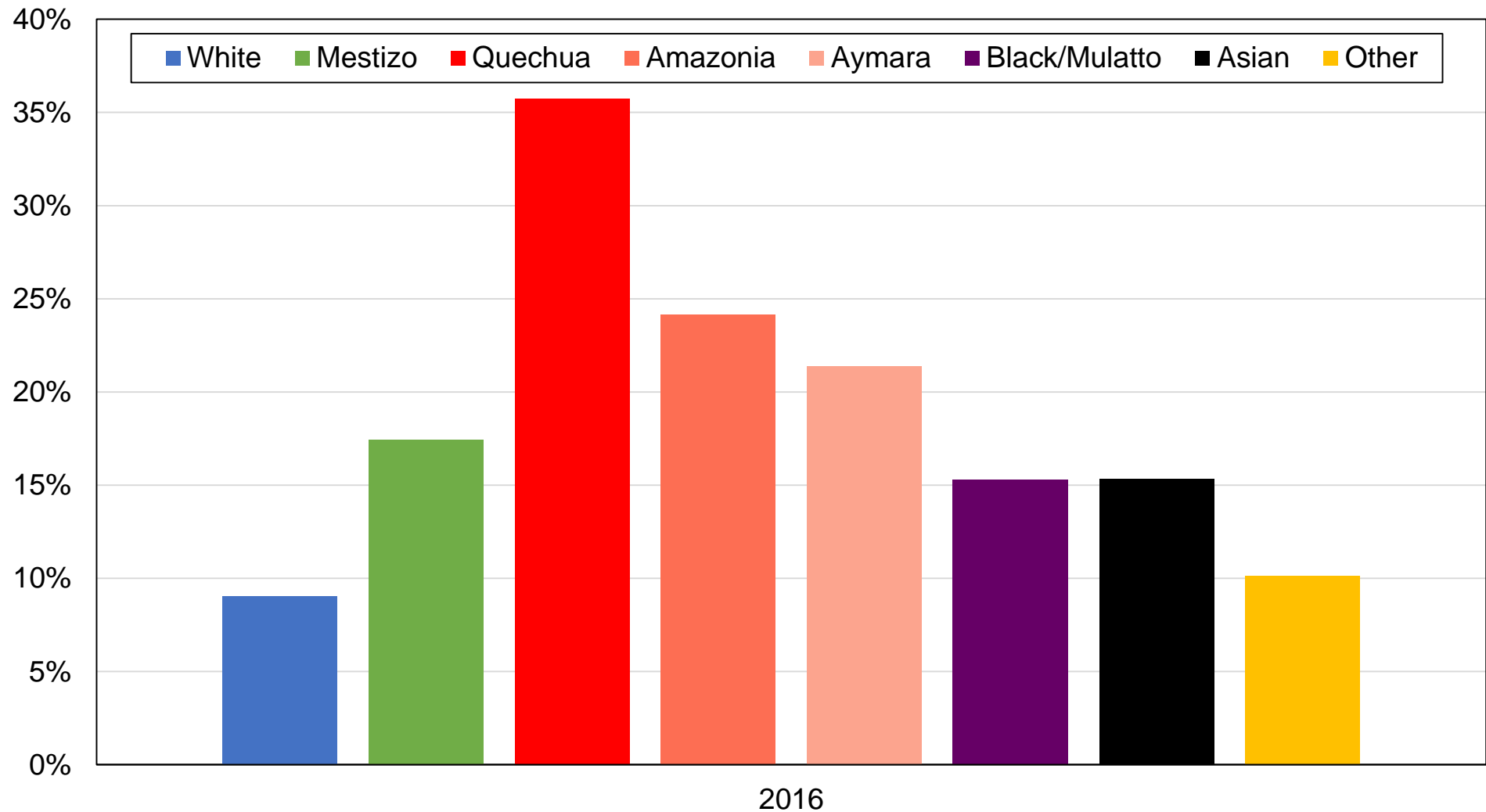


Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Socialists/Progressives by ethnicity.



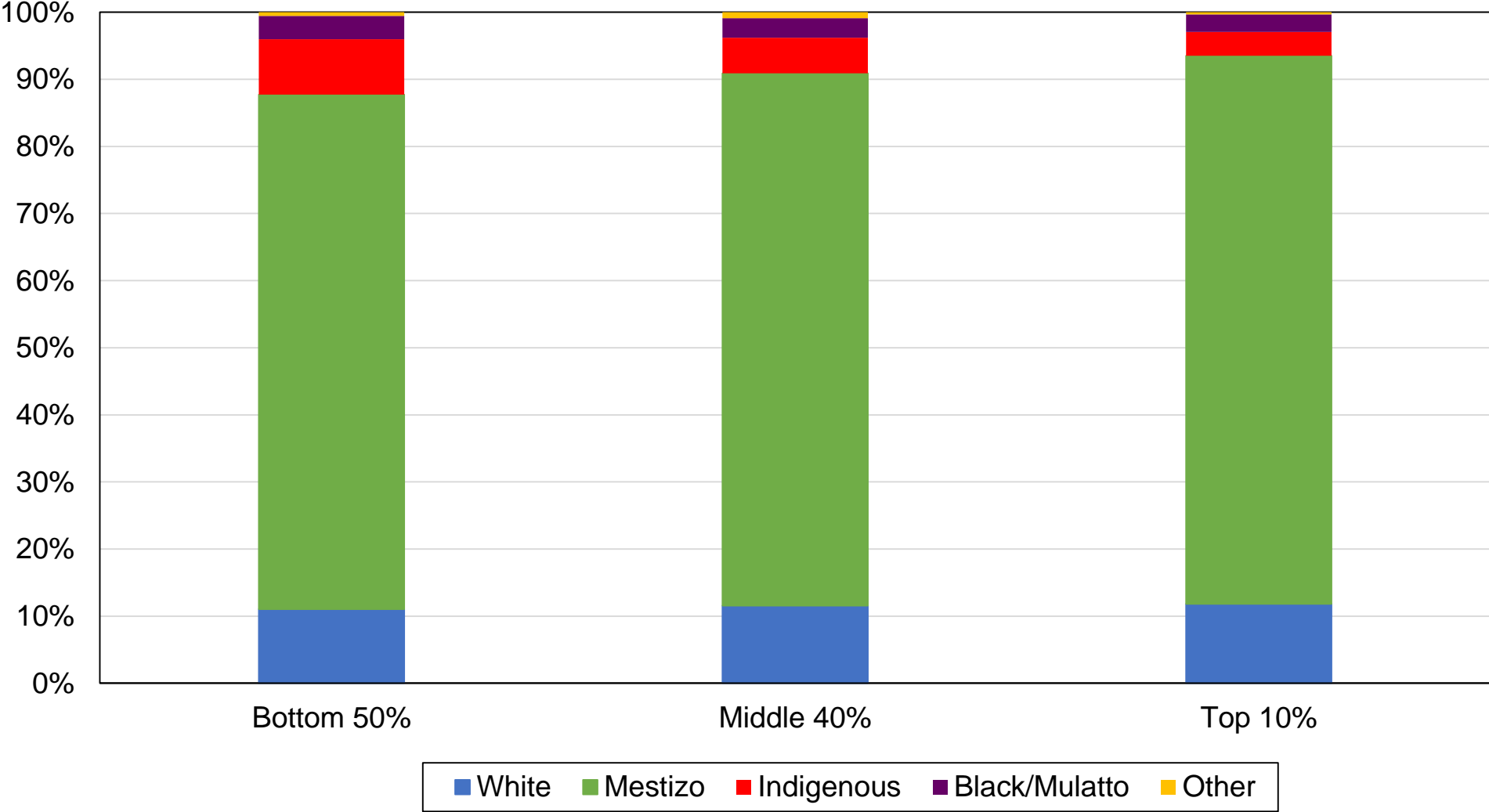
**Figure FC25 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by detailed ethnicity**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

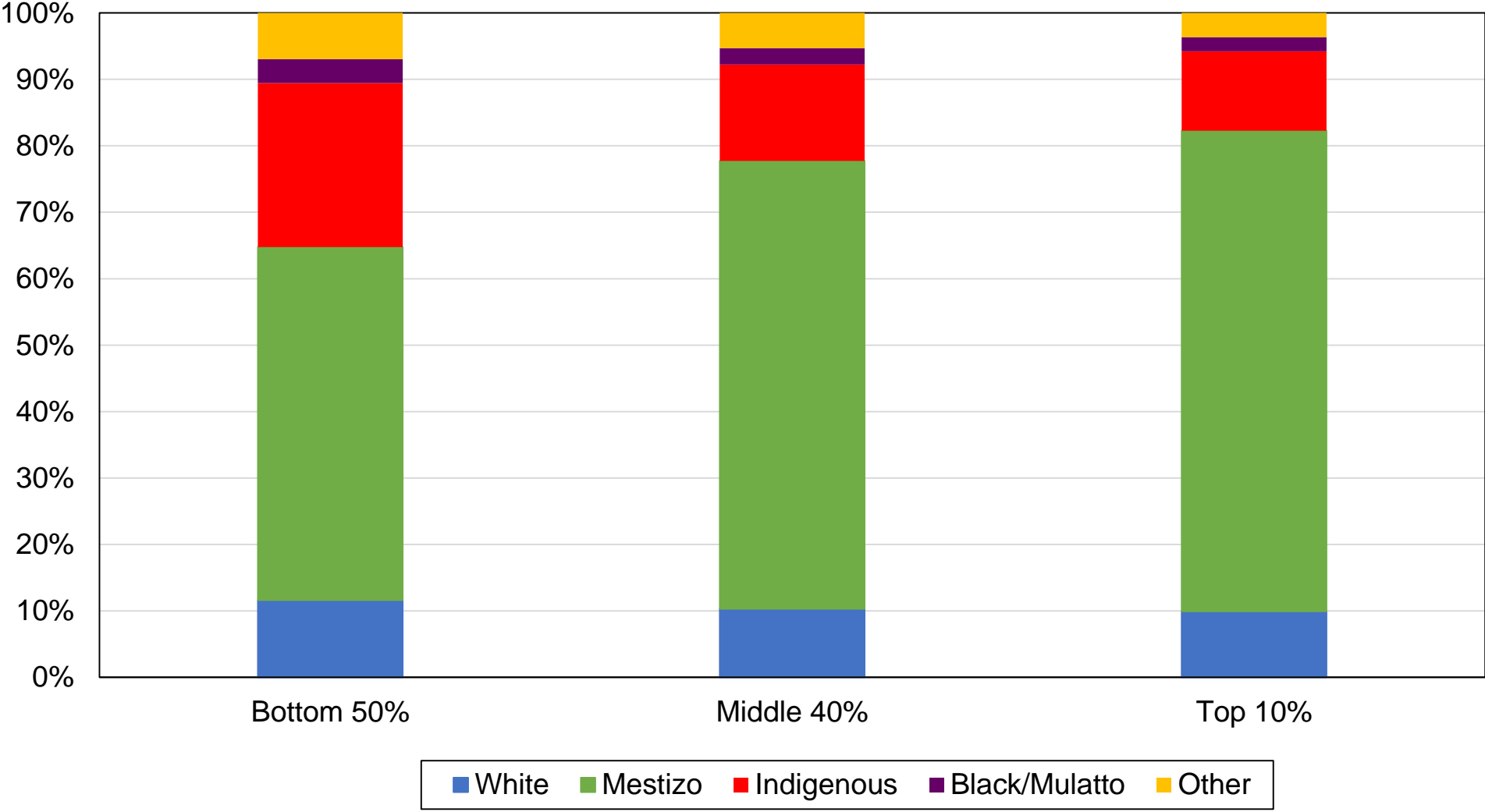
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Socialists/Progressives by detailed ethnicity.

**Figure FD1 - Composition of income groups by ethnicity, 2000s**



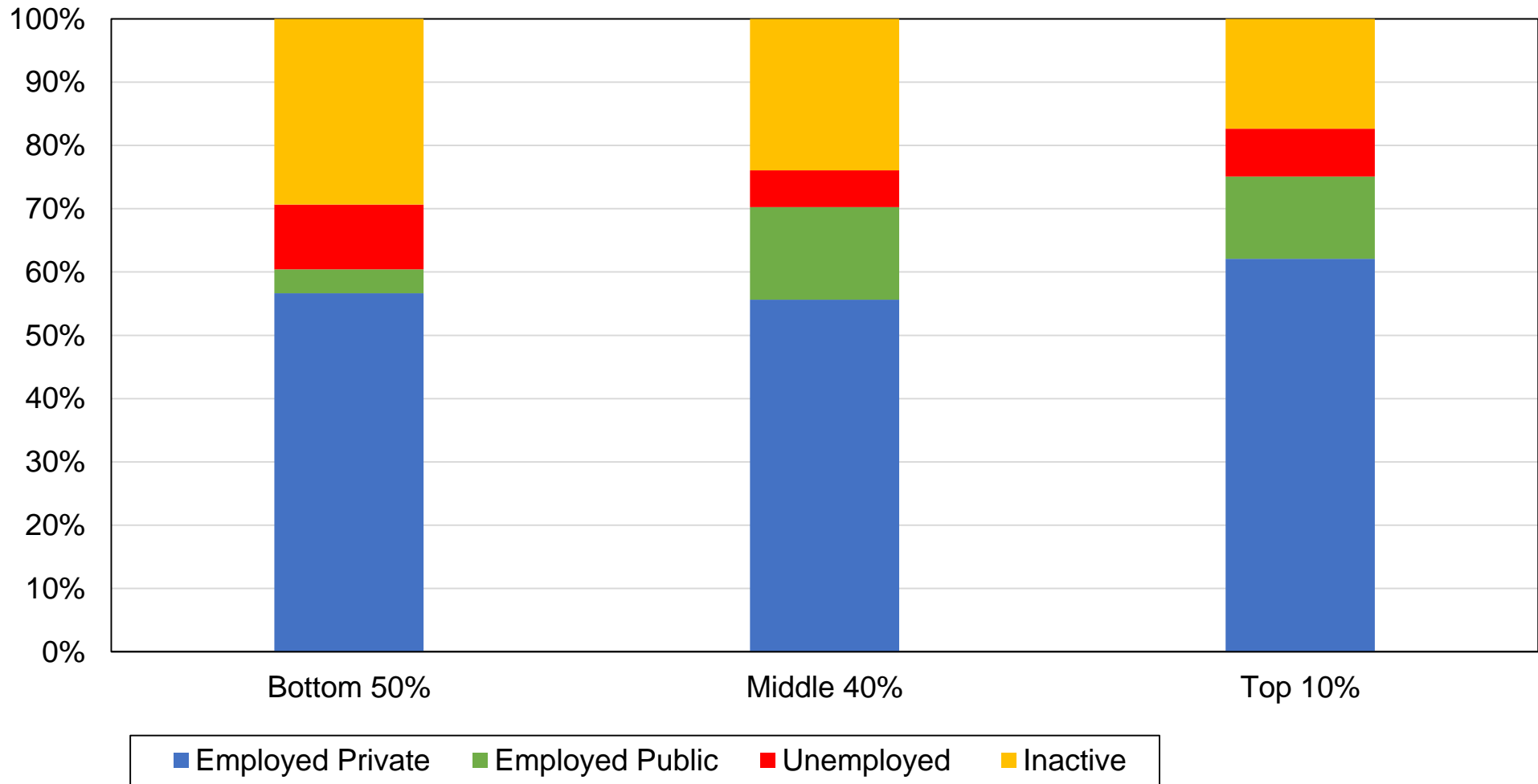
Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.  
Note: the figure shows the composition of income groups by ethnicity in the 2000s.

**Figure FD2 - Composition of income groups by ethnicity, 2010s**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.  
Note: the figure shows the composition of income groups by ethnicity in the 2010s.

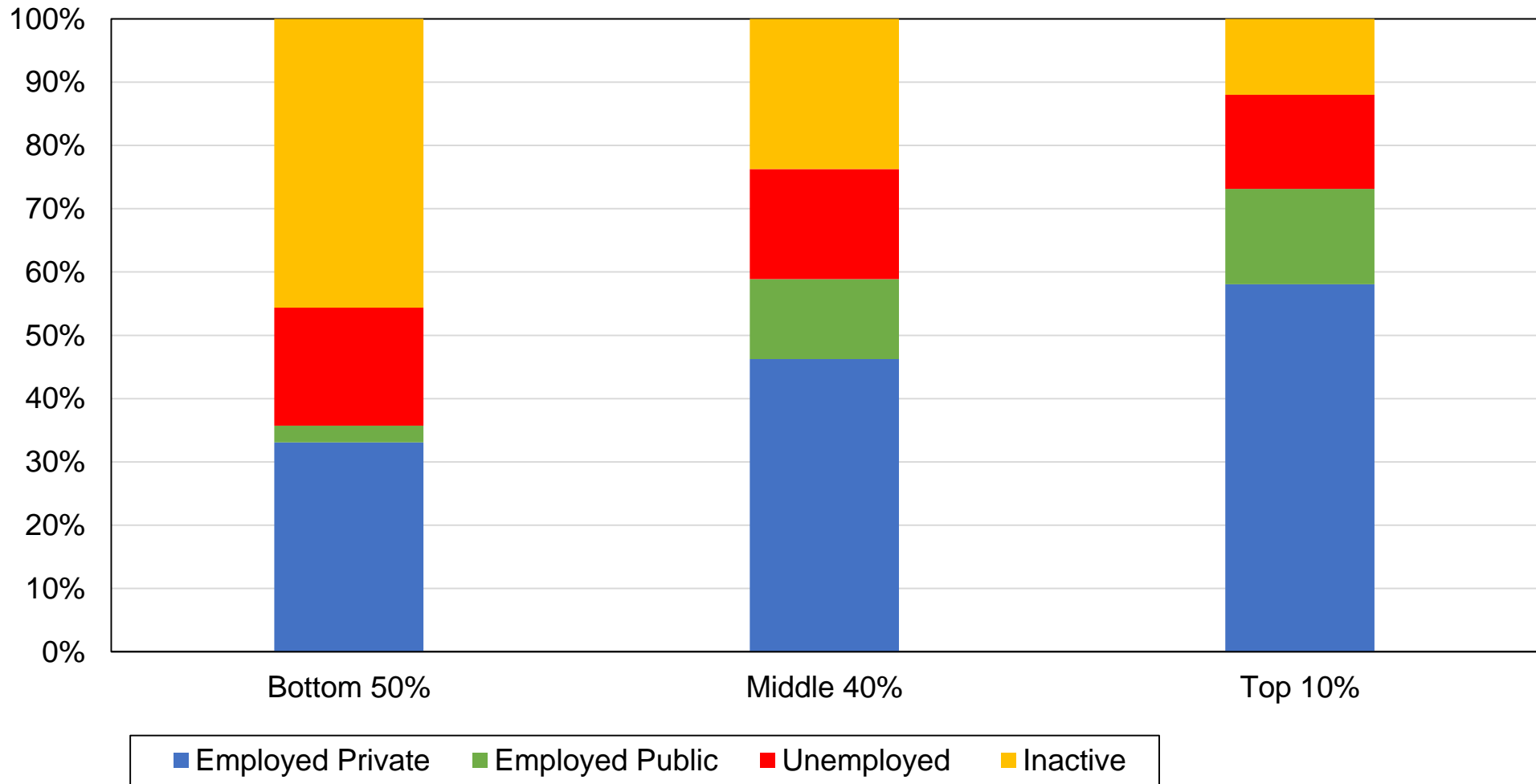
**Figure FD3 - Composition of income groups by employment status, 2000s**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of income groups by employment status in the 2000s.

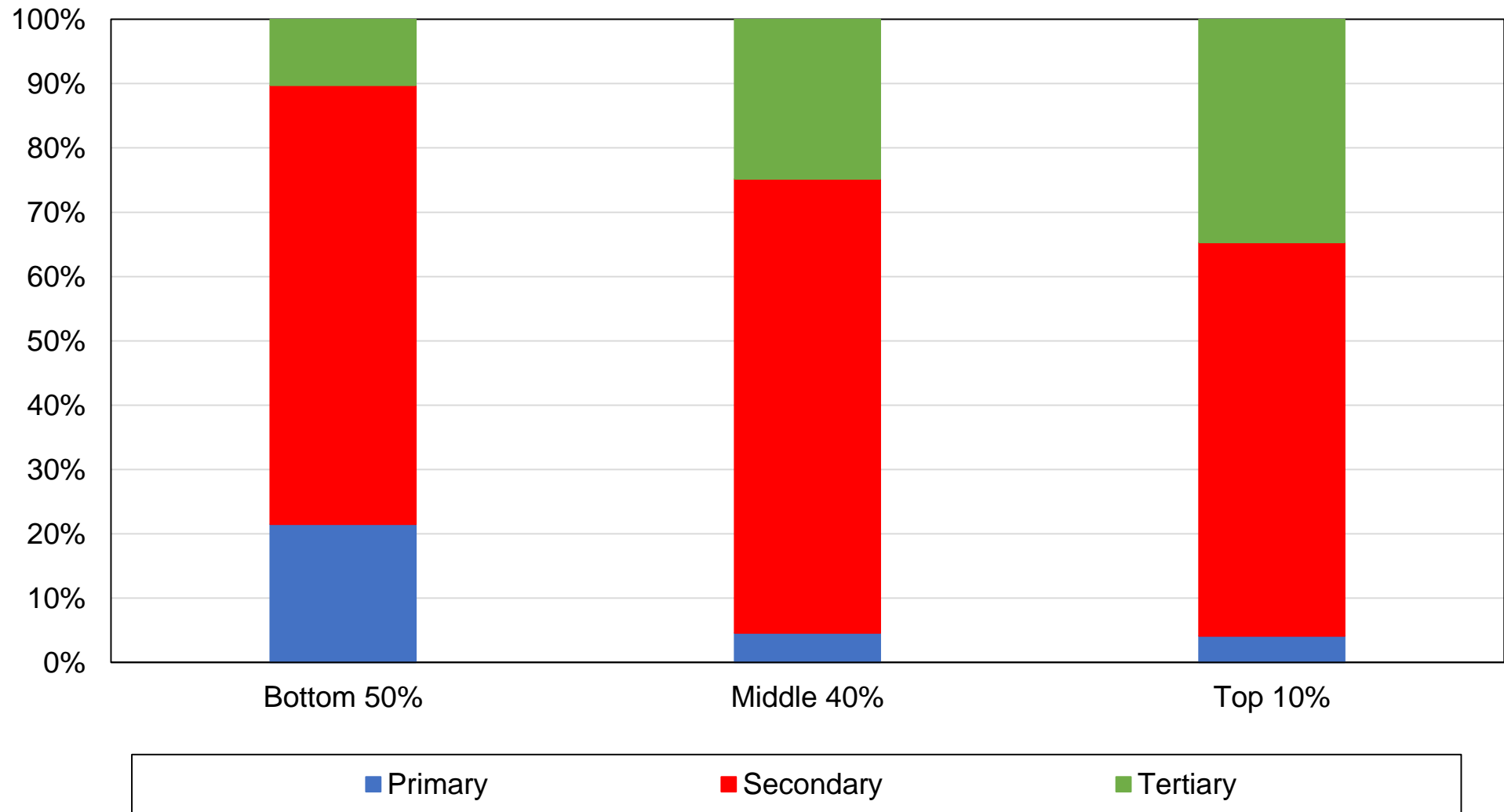
**Figure FD4 - Composition of income groups by employment status, 2010s**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of income groups by employment status in the 2010s.

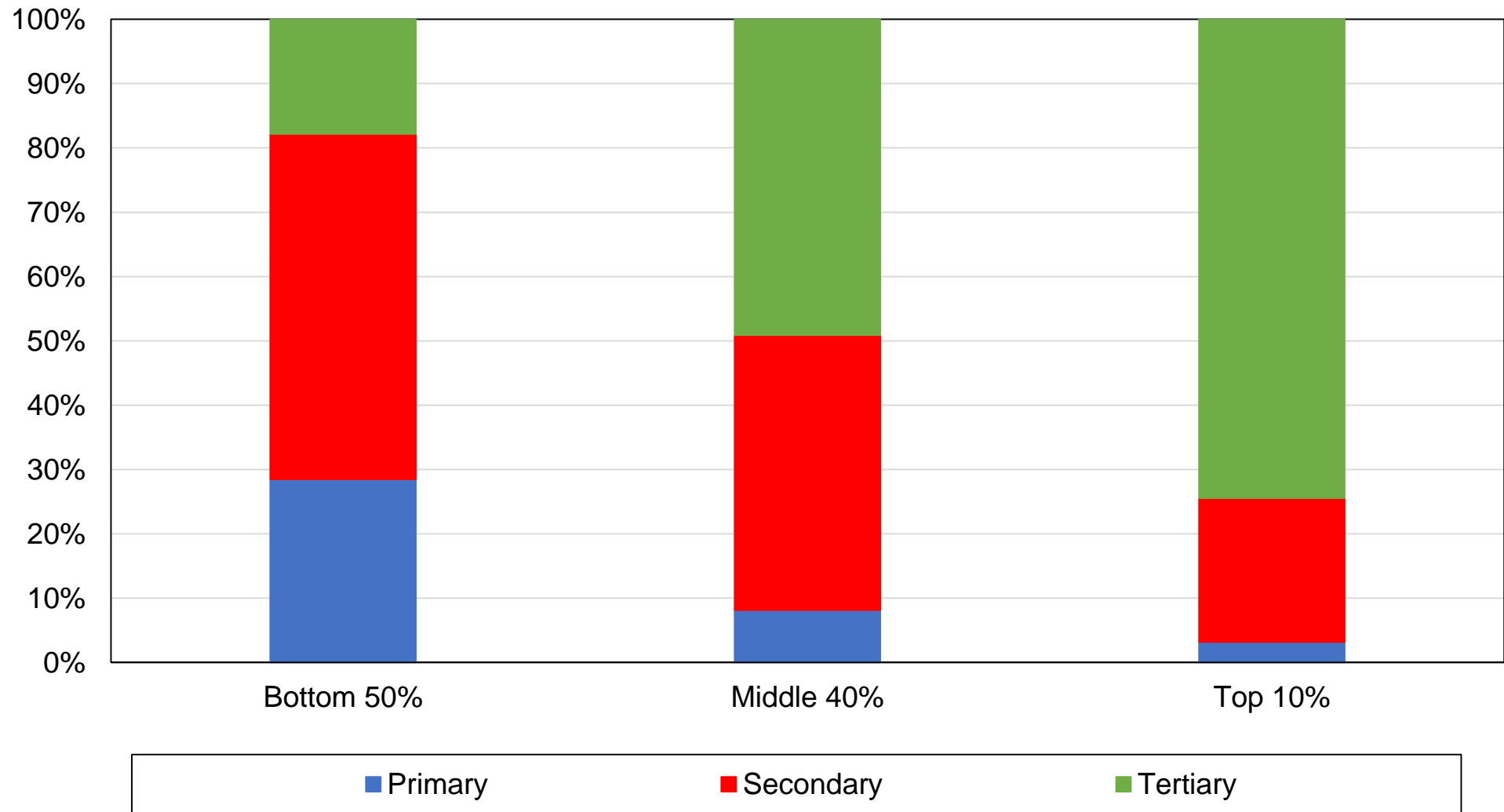
**Figure FD5 - Composition of income groups by education level, 1990s**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of income groups by education level in the 1990s.

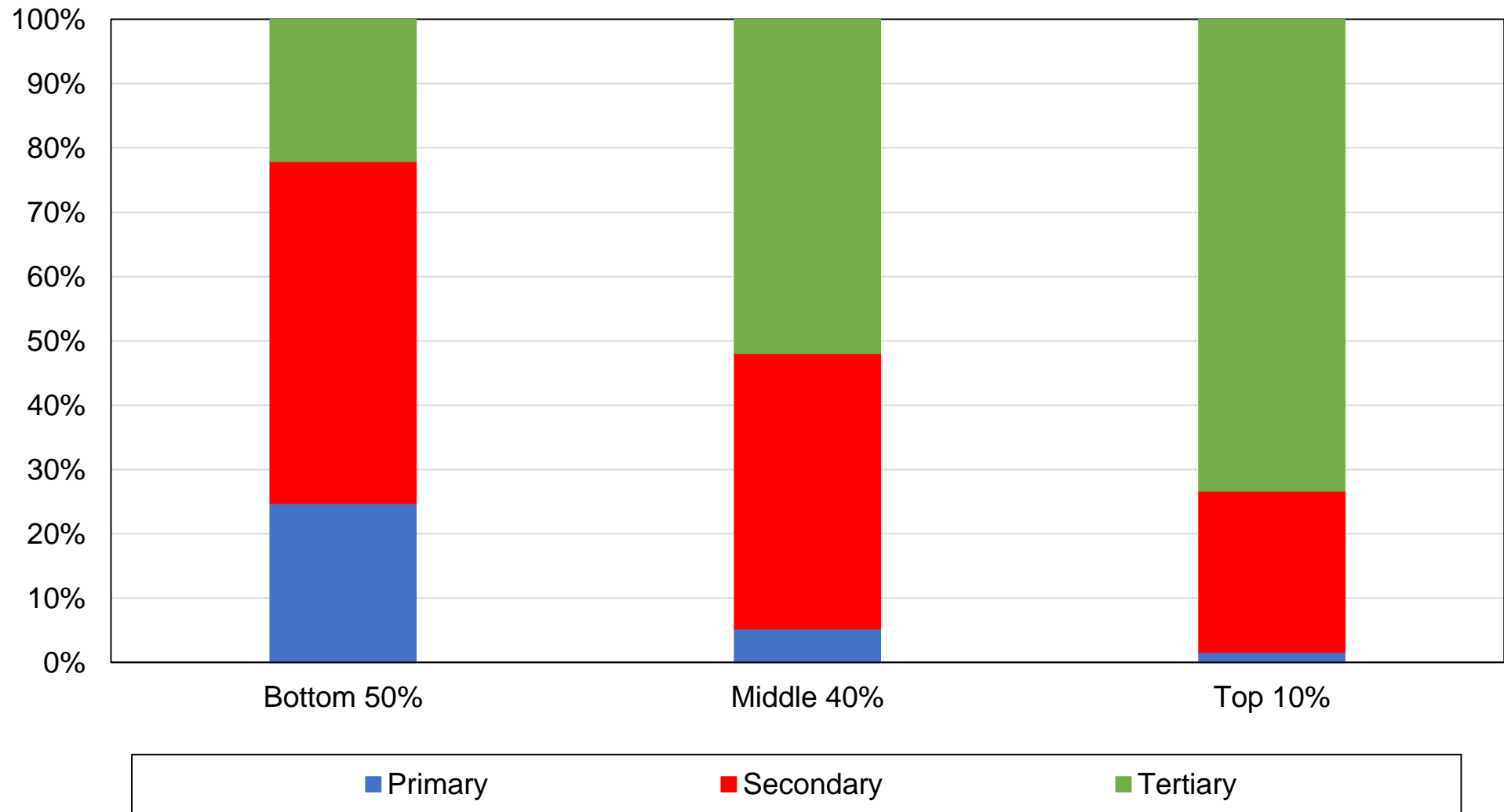
**Figure FD6 - Composition of income groups by education level, 2000s**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of income groups by education level in the 2000s.

**Figure FD7 - Composition of income groups by education level, 2010s**

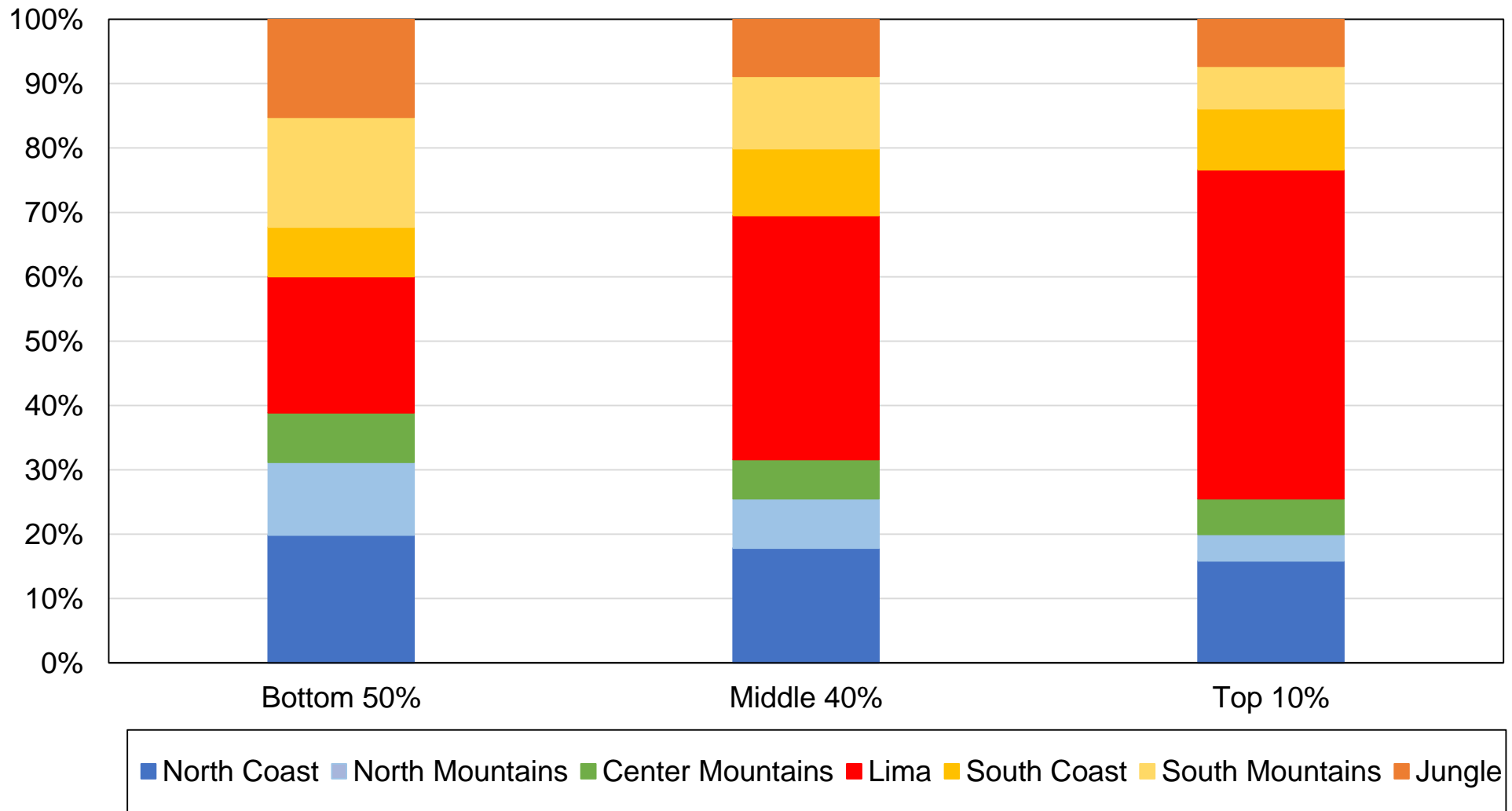


Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of income groups by education level in the 2010s.



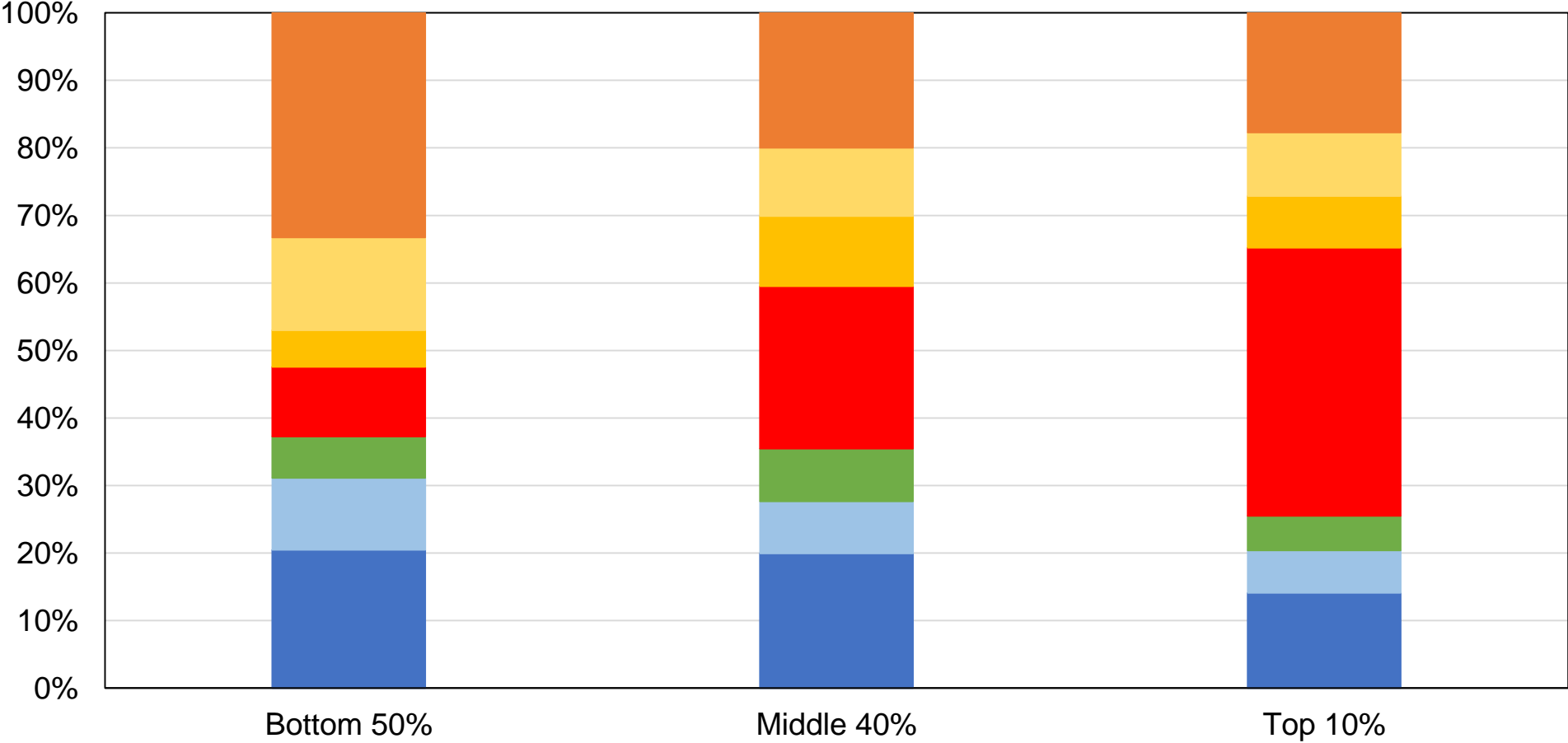
**Figure FD8 - Composition of income groups by region, 2000s**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of income groups by region in the 2000s.

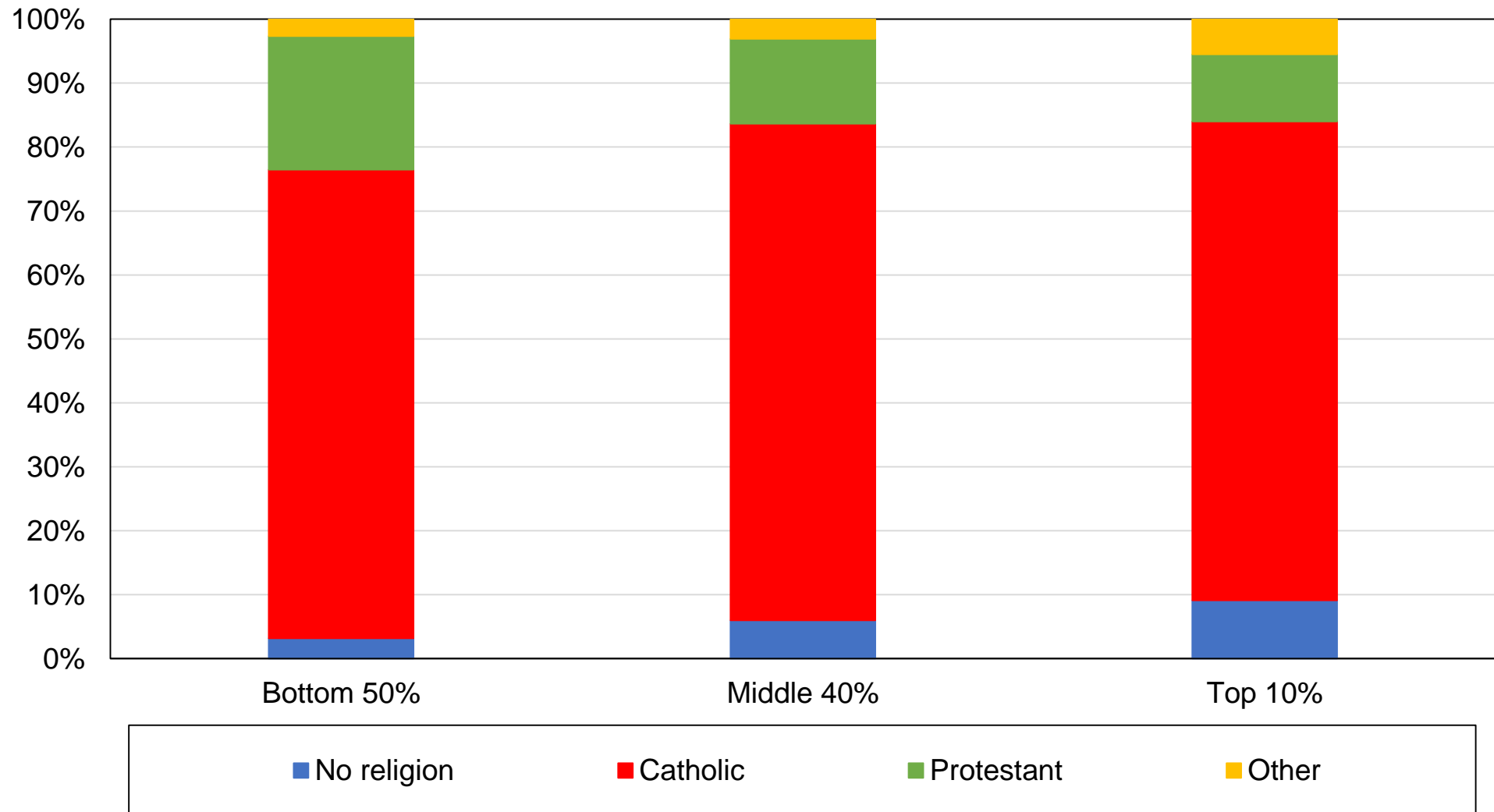
**Figure FD9 - Composition of income groups by region, 2010s**



■ North Coast 
 ■ North Mountains 
 ■ Center Mountains 
 ■ Lima 
 ■ South Coast 
 ■ South Mountains 
 ■ Jungle

Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.  
 Note: the figure shows the composition of income groups by region in the 2010s.

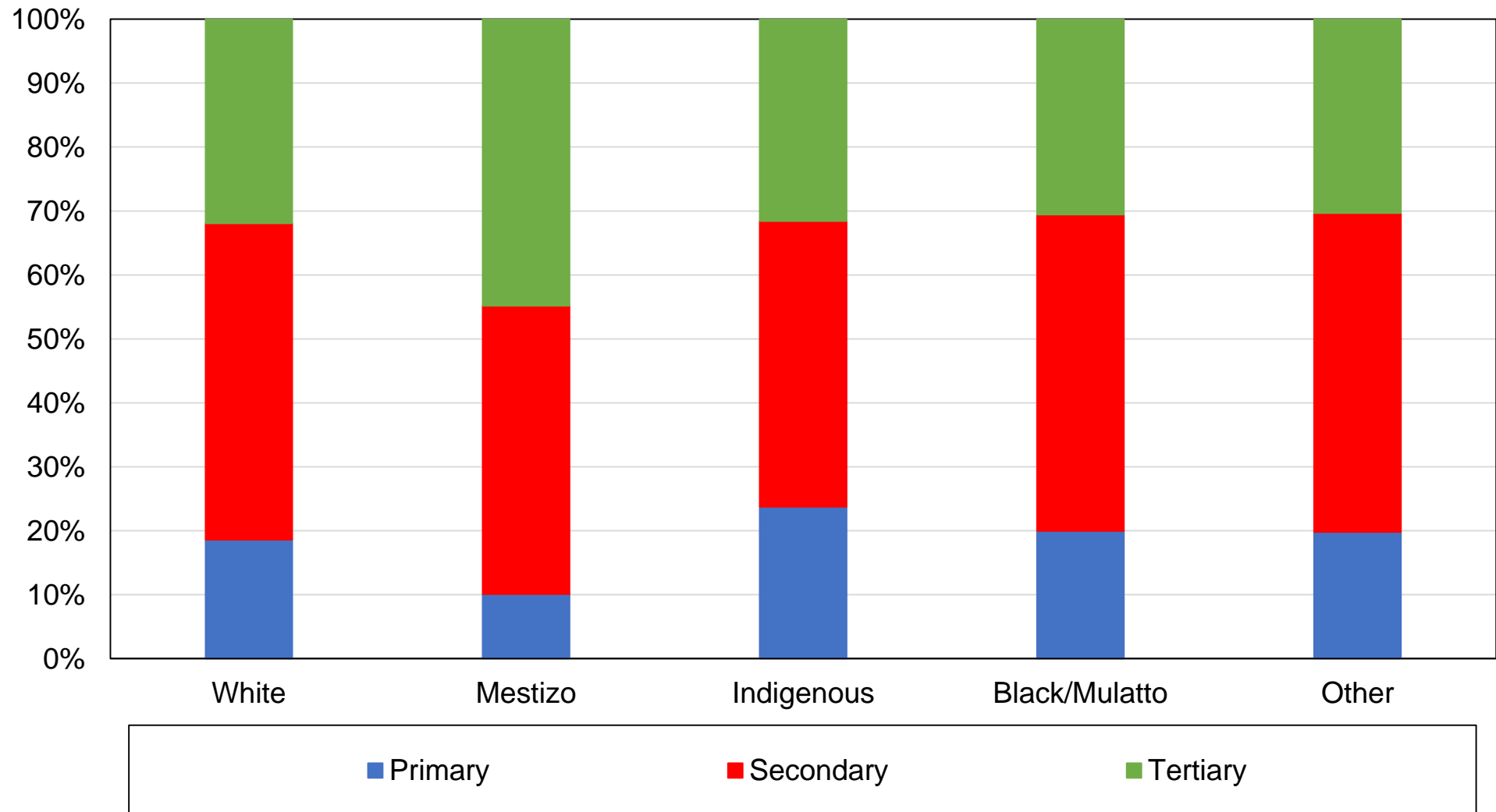
**Figure FD10 - Composition of income groups by religion, 2010s**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of income groups by religion in the 2010s.

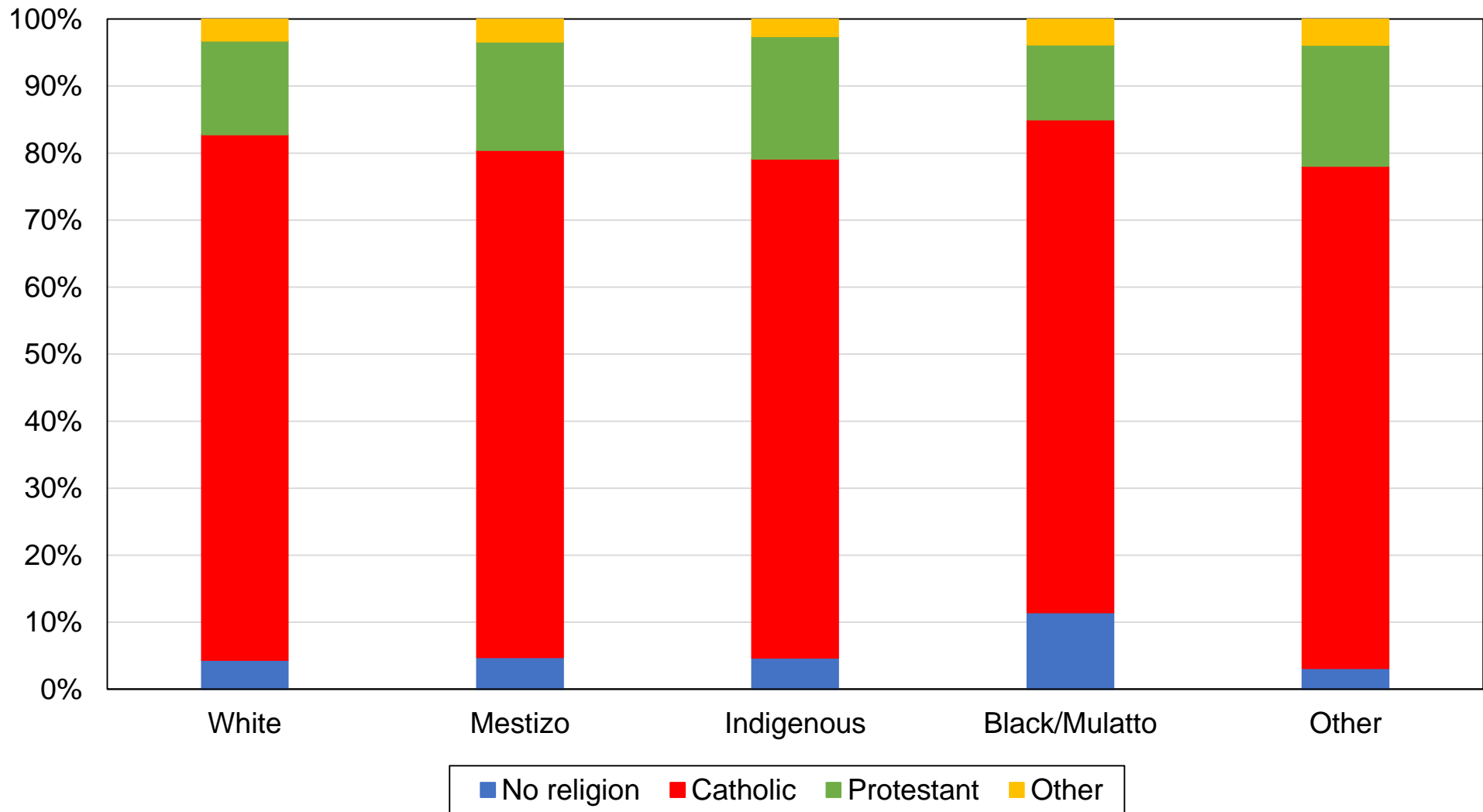
**Figure FD11 - Composition of ethnic groups by education level, 2010s**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of ethnic groups by education level in the 2010s.

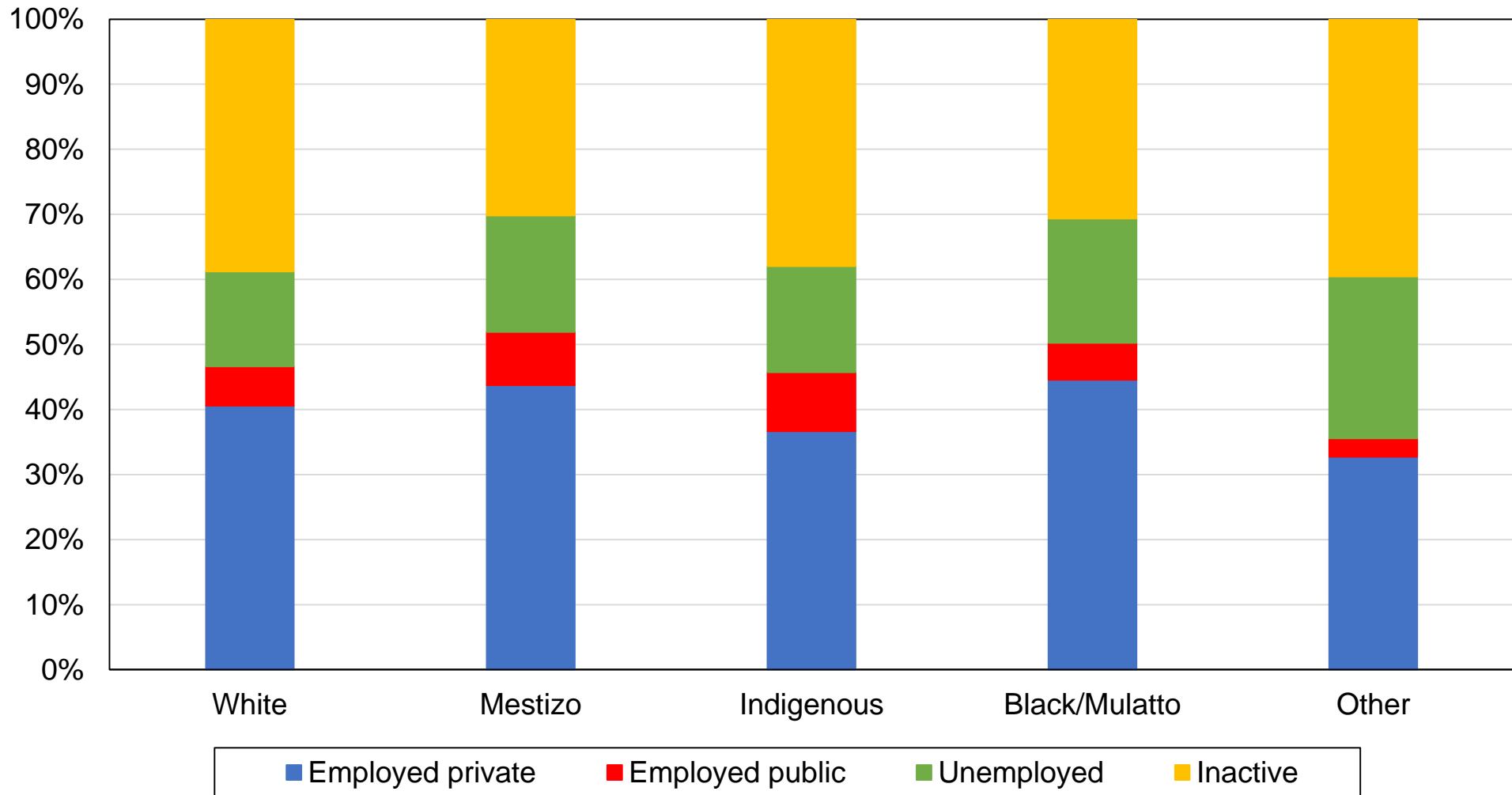
**Figure FD12 - Composition of ethnic groups by religion, 2010s**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of ethnic groups by religion in the 2010s.

**Figure FD13 - Composition of ethnic groups by employment status, 2010s**



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of ethnic groups by employment status in the 2010s.

**Table FE1 - Survey data sources**

Year	Survey	Source	Sample size
1995	World Values Survey, Wave 3	WVS	1211
2000	Comparative Study of Electoral Systems, Module 1	CSES	1102
2006	Latin American Public Opinion Project, 2006	LAPOP	1500
2011	Latin American Public Opinion Project, 2012	LAPOP	1500
2016	Latin American Public Opinion Project, 2016/2017	LAPOP	2647

**Source:** author's 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 FE2 - Complete descriptive statistics by decade**

	1995-00	2006-11	2016
Age: 20-40	67%	58%	56%
Age: 40-60	29%	31%	35%
Age: 60+	4%	11%	9%
Subjective class: Not working class		53%	
Education: Primary	14%	18%	15%
Education: Secondary	67%	46%	46%
Education: Tertiary	19%	36%	39%
Employment status: Employed	58%	65%	49%
Employment status: Unemployed	7%	8%	18%
Employment status: Inactive	36%	28%	34%
Marital status: Married or with partner	60%	35%	28%
Occupation: Employed private	0%	56%	41%
Occupation: Employed public	0%	9%	7%
Occupation: Unemployed	16%	8%	18%
Occupation: Inactive	84%	28%	34%
Language: Spanish	98%	87%	
Language: Indigenous	2%	13%	
Ethnicity: White		11%	11%
Ethnicity: Mestizo		79%	60%
Ethnicity: Indigenous		6%	20%
Ethnicity: Black/Mulatto		3%	3%
Ethnicity: Other		1%	6%
Region: Lima	46%	34%	19%
Region: North	23%	27%	28%
Region: Center	8%	6%	6%
Region: South	17%	22%	20%
Region: East	6%	11%	26%
Religion: No religion	7%	5%	5%
Religion: Catholic	83%	79%	75%
Religion: Protestant	6%	14%	17%
Religion: Other	4%	2%	3%
Church attendance: Never	5%		26%
Church attendance: Less than monthly	19%		30%
Church attendance: Monthly	33%		22%
Church attendance: Monthly or more	43%		22%
Rural-urban: Rural areas	7%	23%	40%
Sector		14%	17%
Gender: Man	50%	49%	51%

**Source:** authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

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



**Table FE3 - The structure of political cleavages in Peru, 2016**

	Share of votes received (%)		
	Fujimorists (Force 2011/Popular Front)	Christian Democrats/Liberals (UN/PPK/AP)	Socialists/Progressives (GP/PP/FAJVL)
<b>Education</b>			
Primary	39%	36%	17%
Secondary	39%	34%	16%
Tertiary	25%	36%	23%
<b>Income</b>			
Bottom 50%	39%	34%	16%
Middle 40%	30%	35%	21%
Top 10%	23%	37%	20%
<b>Religious affiliation</b>			
No religion	23%	26%	33%
Catholic	32%	36%	17%
Protestant	41%	32%	19%
Other	25%	35%	23%
<b>Age</b>			
20-40	35%	35%	19%
40-60	32%	34%	20%
60+	31%	38%	14%
<b>Employment status</b>			
Employed private	35%	35%	18%
Employed public	21%	40%	23%
Unemployed	30%	33%	23%
Inactive	37%	35%	16%
<b>Region</b>			
Lima	31%	38%	13%
North	37%	33%	17%
Center	25%	40%	27%
South	27%	33%	29%

East	38%	35%	16%
<b>Ethnicity</b>			
White	37%	39%	9%
Mestizo	34%	35%	17%
Black/Mulatto	34%	39%	15%
Other	47%	34%	10%
Asian	63%	21%	15%
Quechua	24%	29%	36%
Aymara	20%	59%	21%
Amazonia	24%	38%	24%
Zamba	50%	43%	0%

Source: author's computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.  
Notes: the table shows the average share of votes received by Fujimorists, Christian Democrats/Liberals and Socialists/Progressives by selected individual characteristics in 2016.