

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

Appendix

Oscar Barrera
Ana Leiva
Clara Martínez-Toledano
Álvaro Zúñiga-Cordero

March 2021



WID.WORLD
THE SOURCE FOR
GLOBAL INEQUALITY DATA

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

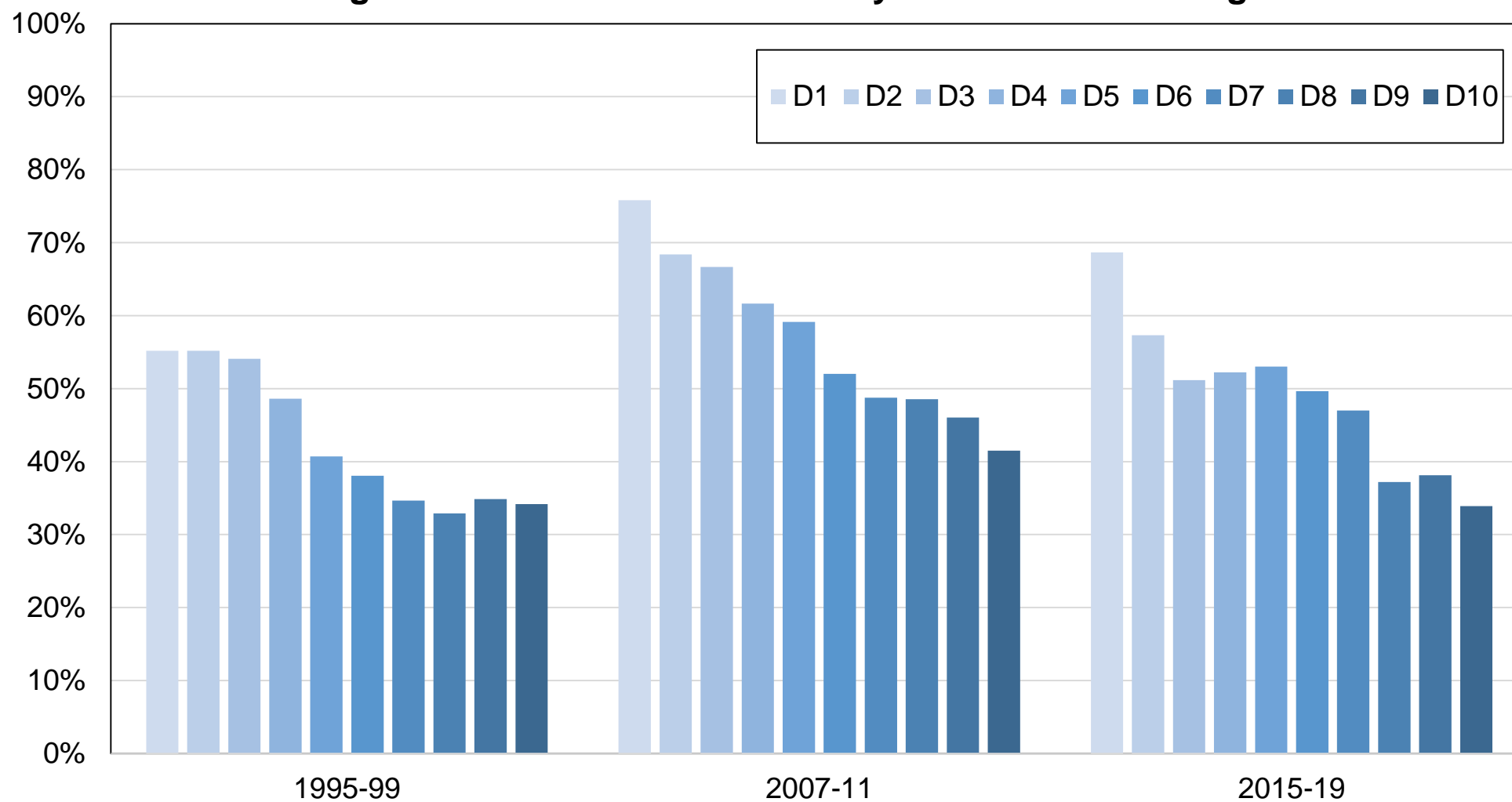
Álvaro Zúñiga-Cordero[†]

Appendix

This document supplements our working paper “Social Inequalities, Identity, and the Structure of Political Cleavages in Argentina, Chile, Costa Rica, Colombia, Mexico, and Peru, 1952-2019”. It contains all appendix tables and figures.

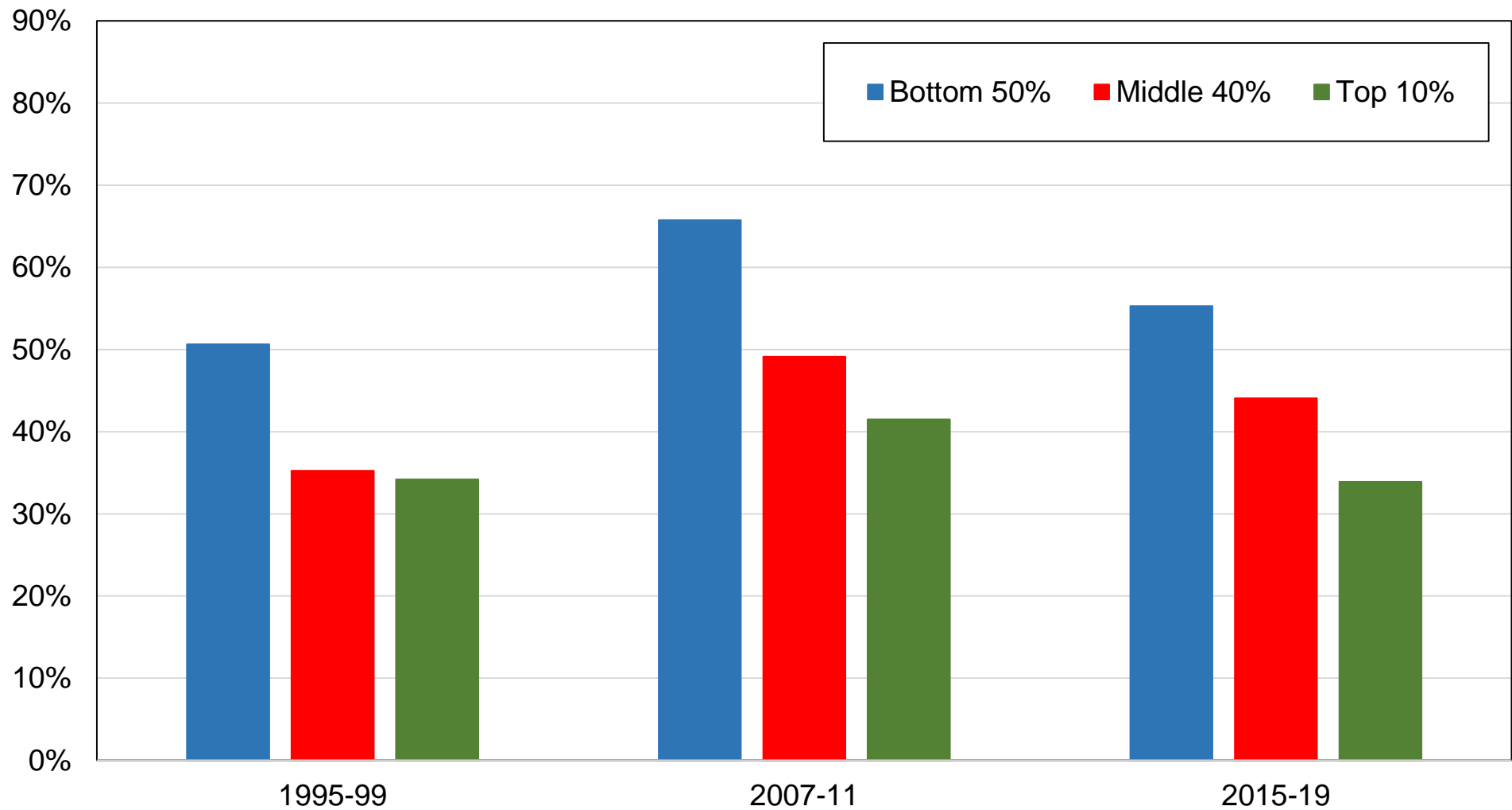
[†] Oscar Barrera (World Inequality Lab): odbarrera@gmail.com; Ana Leiva (University of Oslo, UiO): leiva.vernengo@econ.uio.no; Clara Martínez-Toledano (Imperial College London, World Inequality Lab): c.martinez-toledano@imperial.ac.uk; Álvaro Zúñiga-Cordero (Paris School of Economics, World Inequality Lab): a.zuniga-cordero@psemail.eu. We are grateful to Lavih Abraham, Ronald Alfaro-Redondo, María Julia Blanco, Francesco Bogliacino, Nicolás Dvoskin, Ignacio Flores, Gustavo García, Amory Gethin, Kyong Mazaro and Thomas Piketty for their useful advice.

Figure AA1 - Vote for Peronists by income decile in Argentina



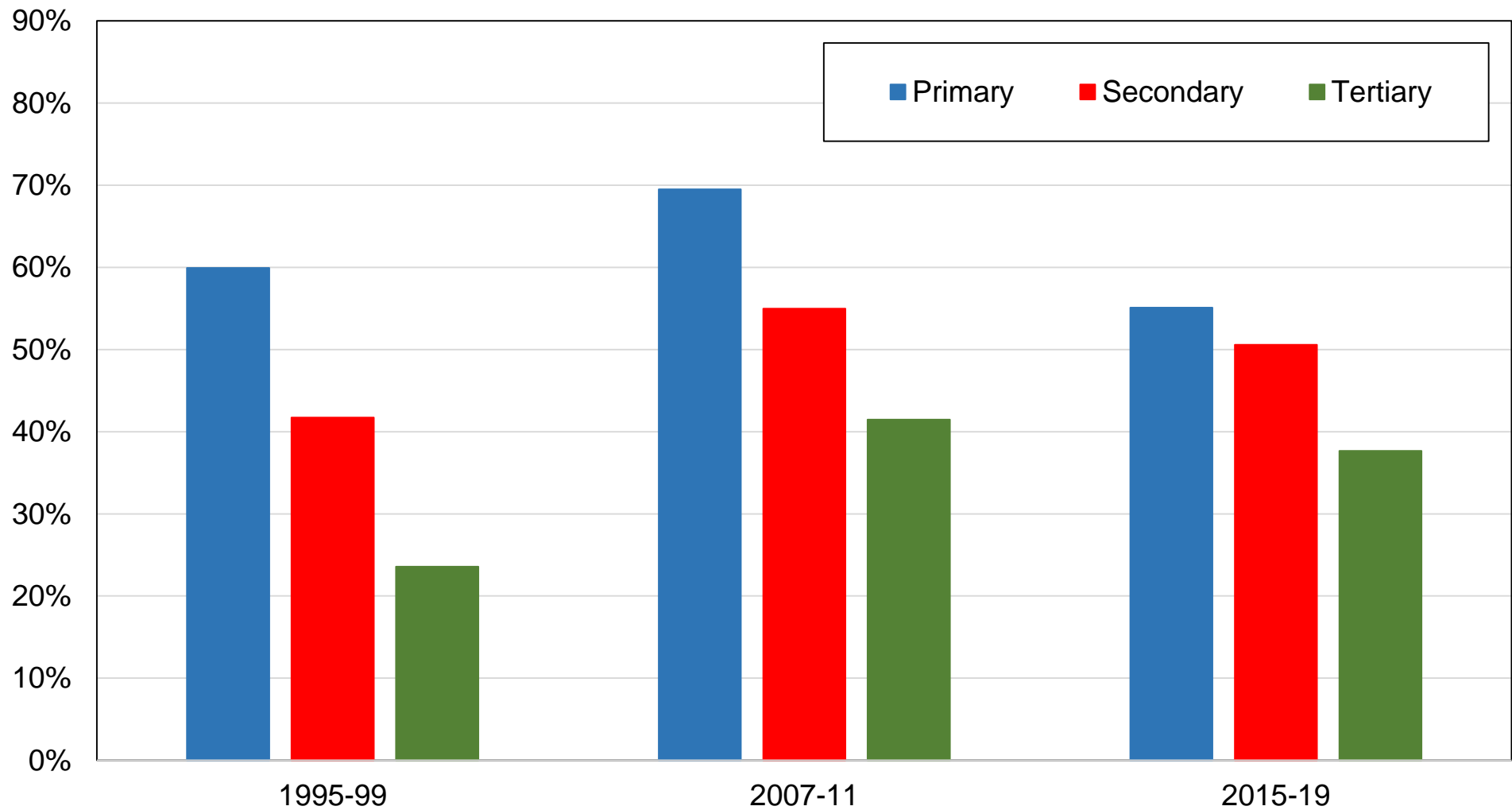
Source: authors' computations using Argentinian post-electoral and political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Peronist party by income decile.

Figure AA2 - Vote for Peronists by income group in Argentina



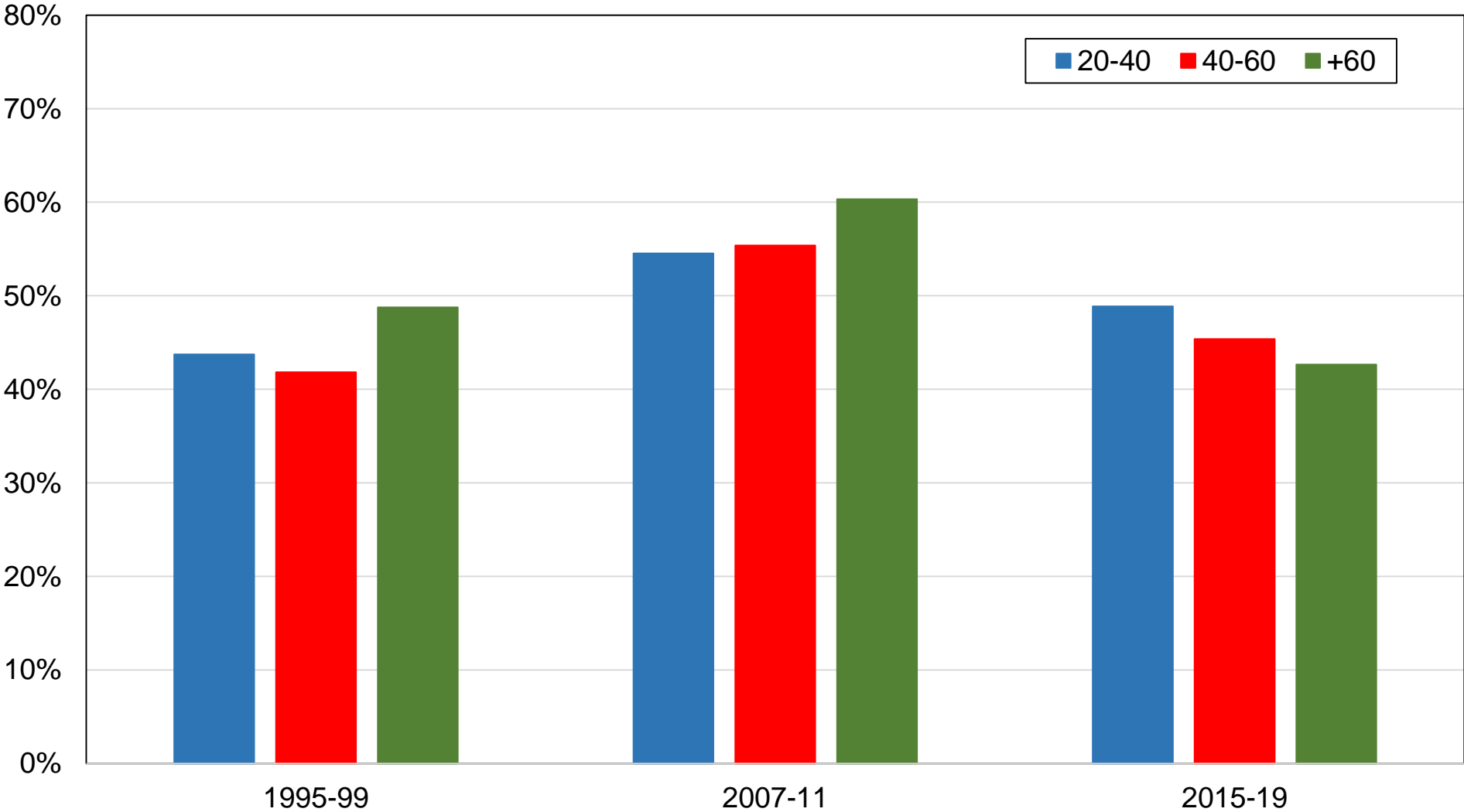
Source: authors' computations using Argentinian post-electoral and political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Peronist party by income group.

Figure AA3 - Vote for Peronists by education level in Argentina



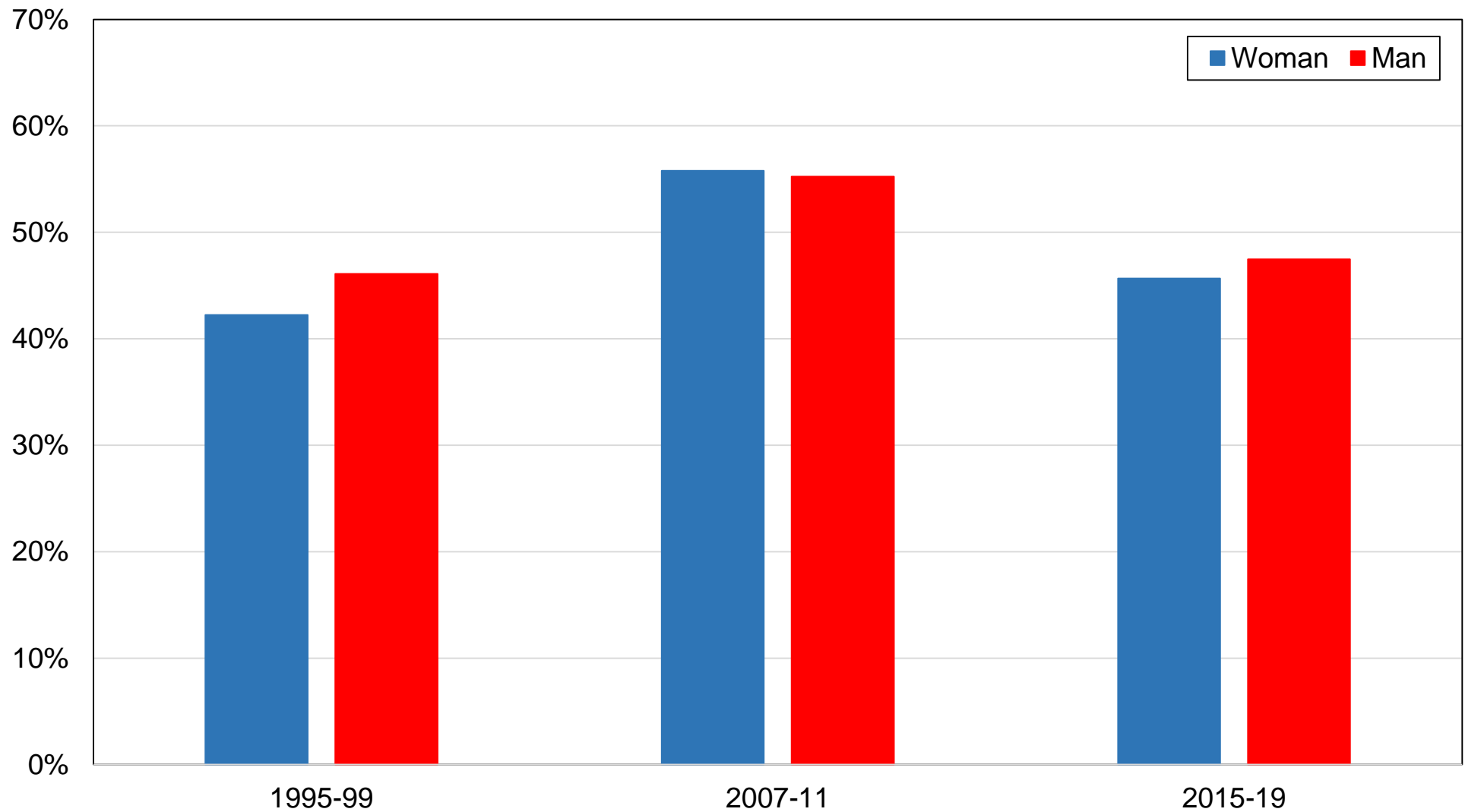
Source: authors' computations using Argentinian post-electoral and political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Peronist party by education level.

Figure AA4 - Vote for Peronists by age group in Argentina



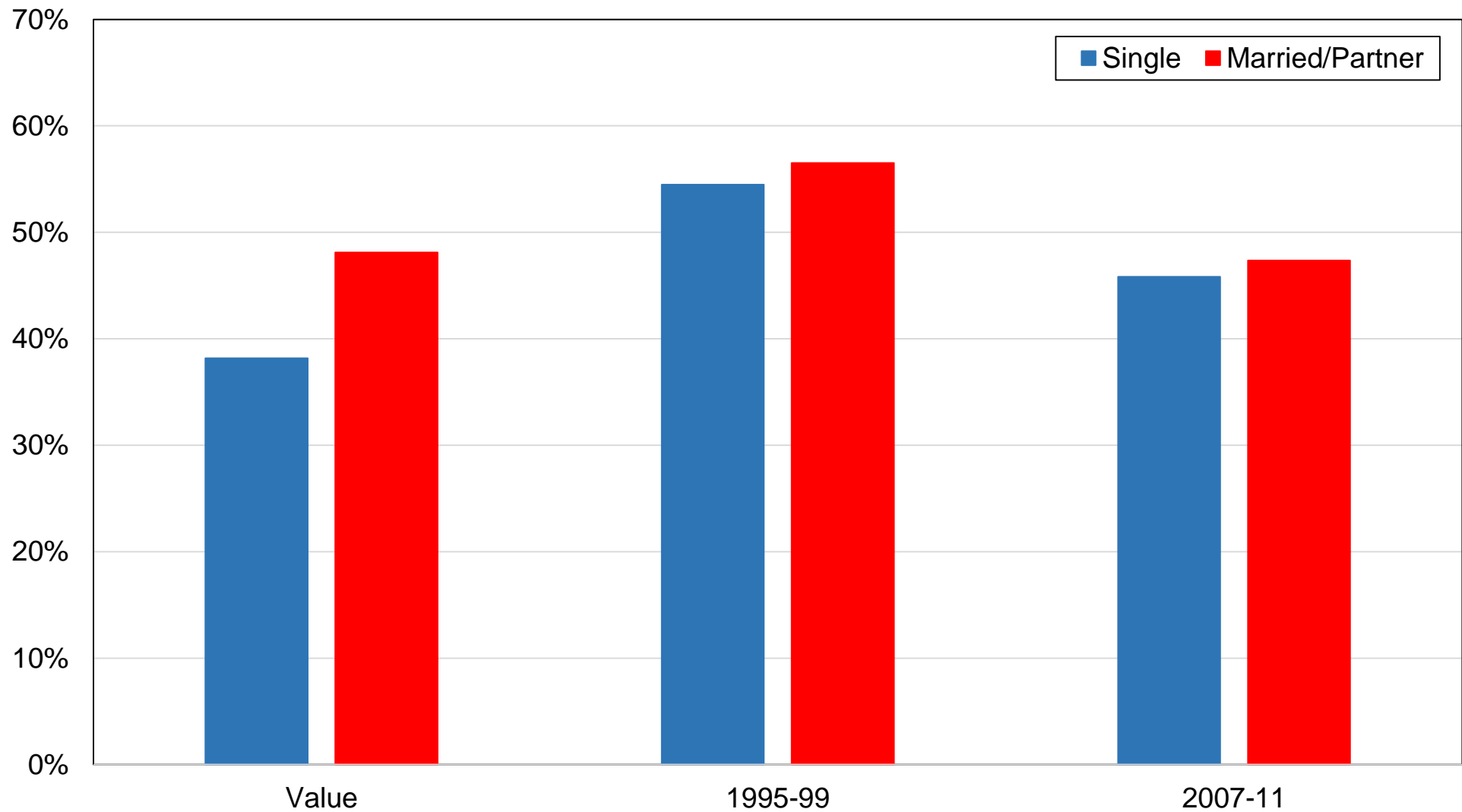
Source: authors' computations using Argentinian post-electoral and political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Peronist party by age group.

Figure AA5 - Vote for Peronists by gender in Argentina



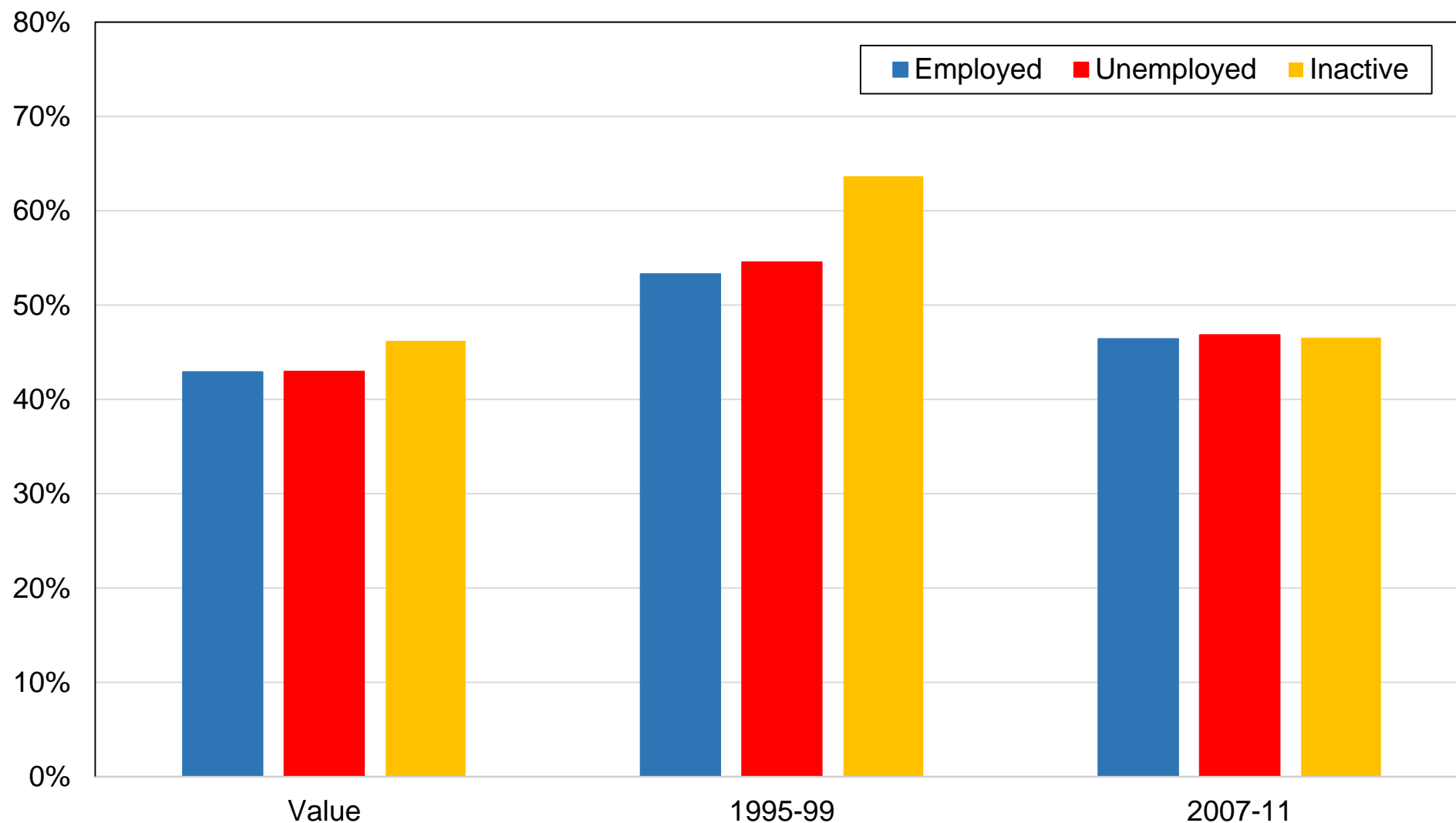
Source: authors' computations using Argentinian post-electoral and political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Peronist party by gender.

Figure AA6 - Vote for Peronists by marital status in Argentina



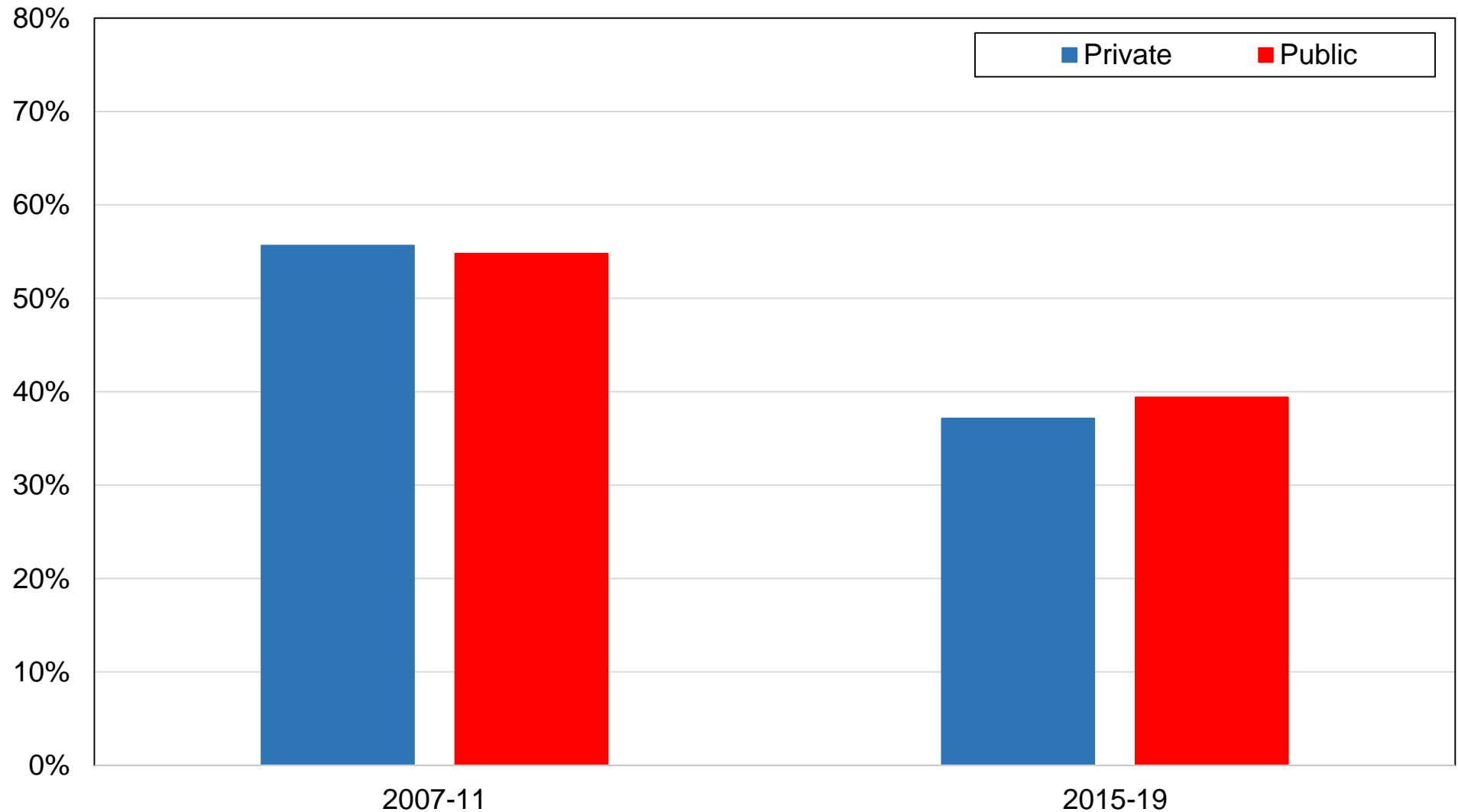
Source: authors' computations using Argentinian post-electoral and political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Peronist party by marital status.

Figure AA7 - Vote for Peronists by employment status in Argentina



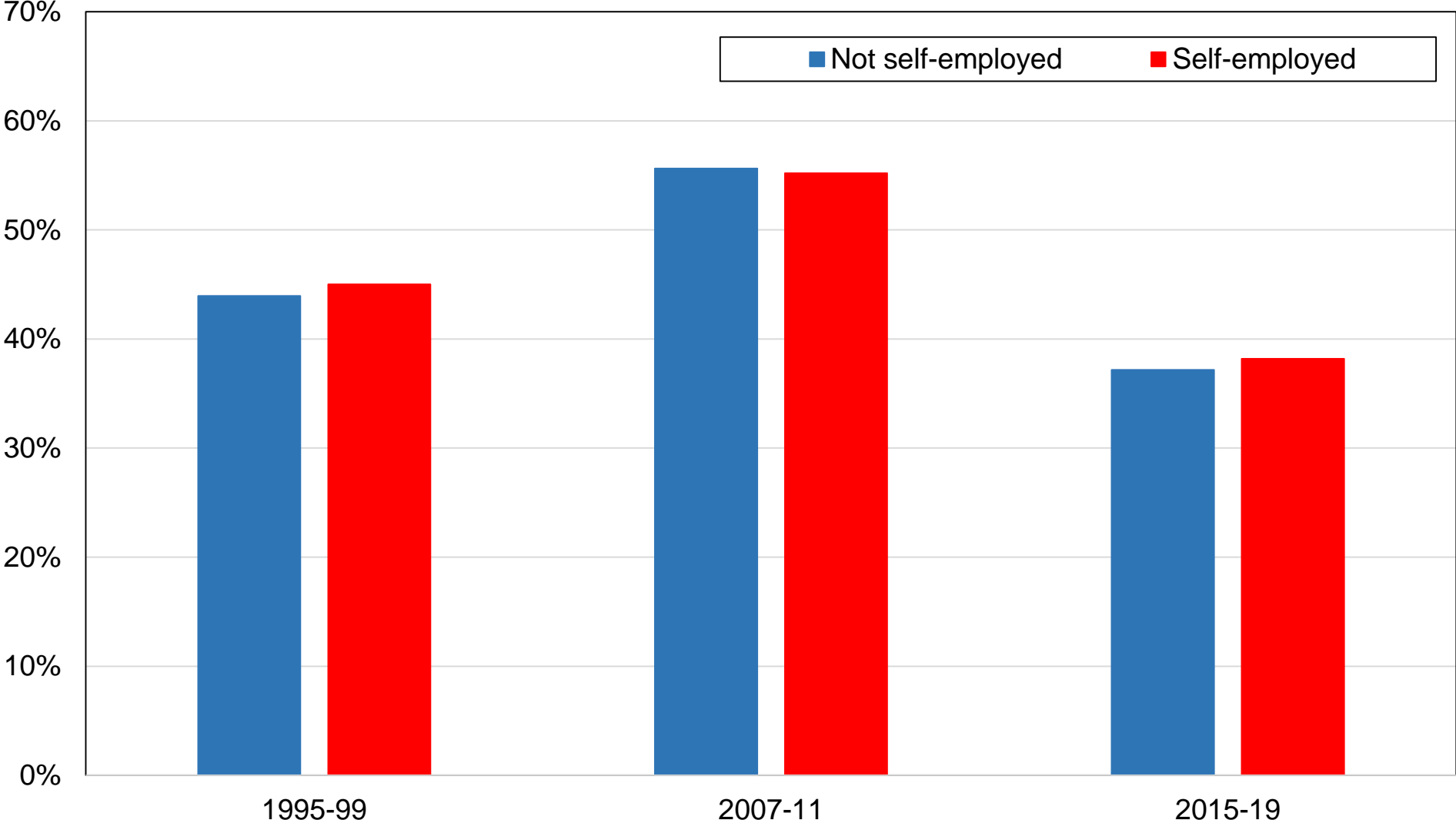
Source: authors' computations using Argentinian post-electoral and political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Peronist party by employment status.

Figure AA8 - Vote for Peronists by employment sector in Argentina



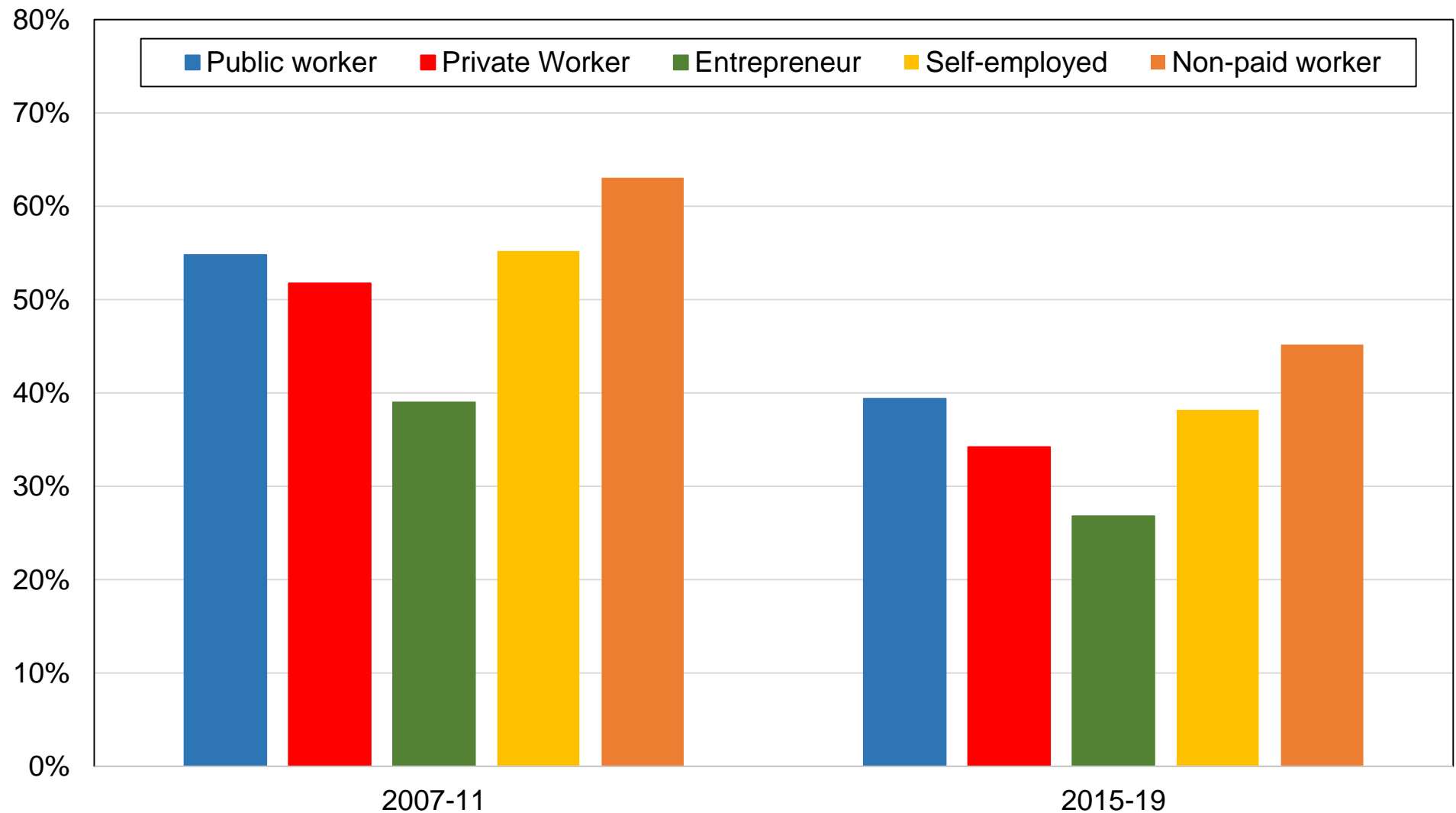
Source: authors' computations using Argentinian post-electoral and political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Peronist party by sector of employment.

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.

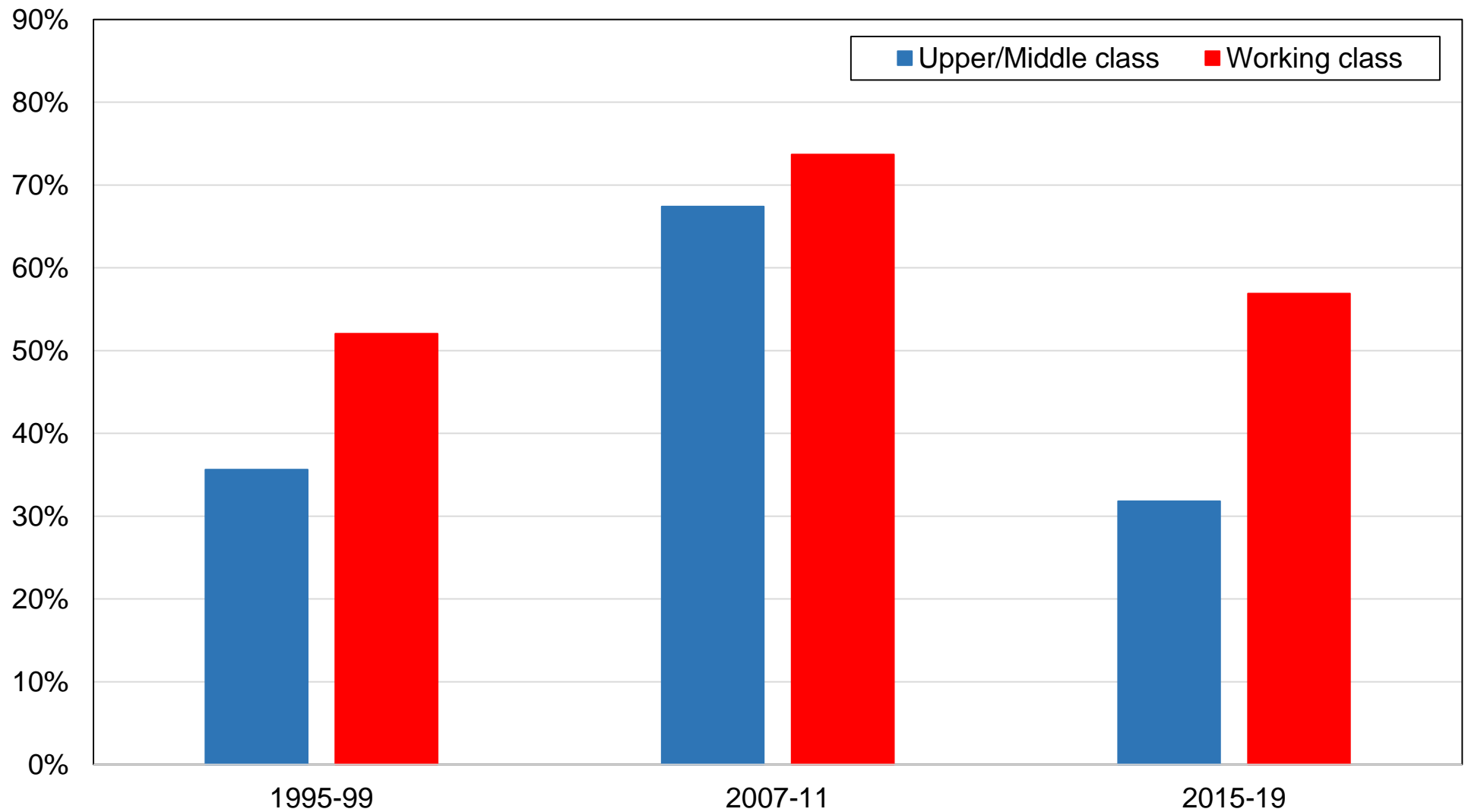
Figure AA10 - Vote for Peronists by occupation in Argentina



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.

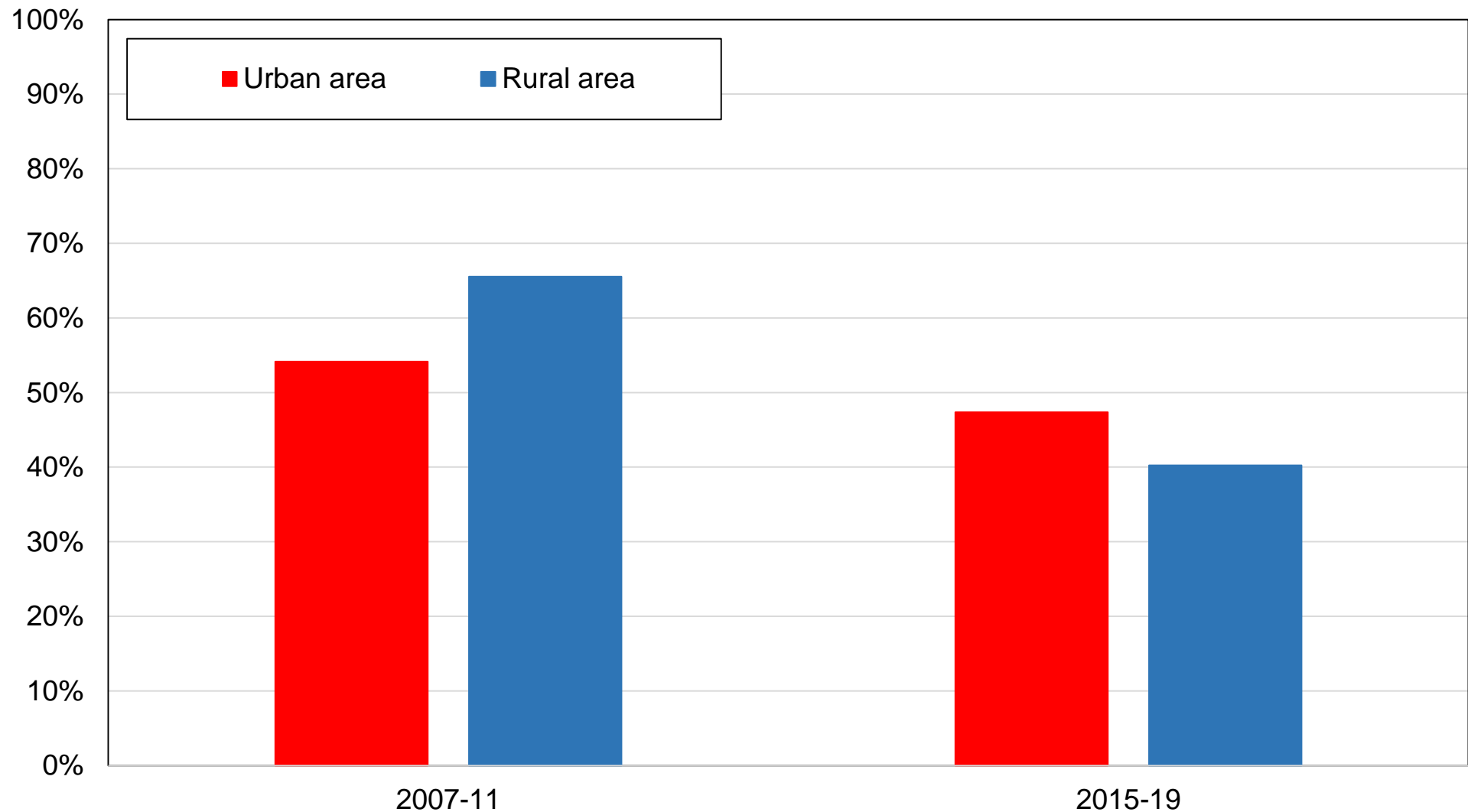
Figure AA11 - Vote for Peronists by subjective social class in Argentina



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

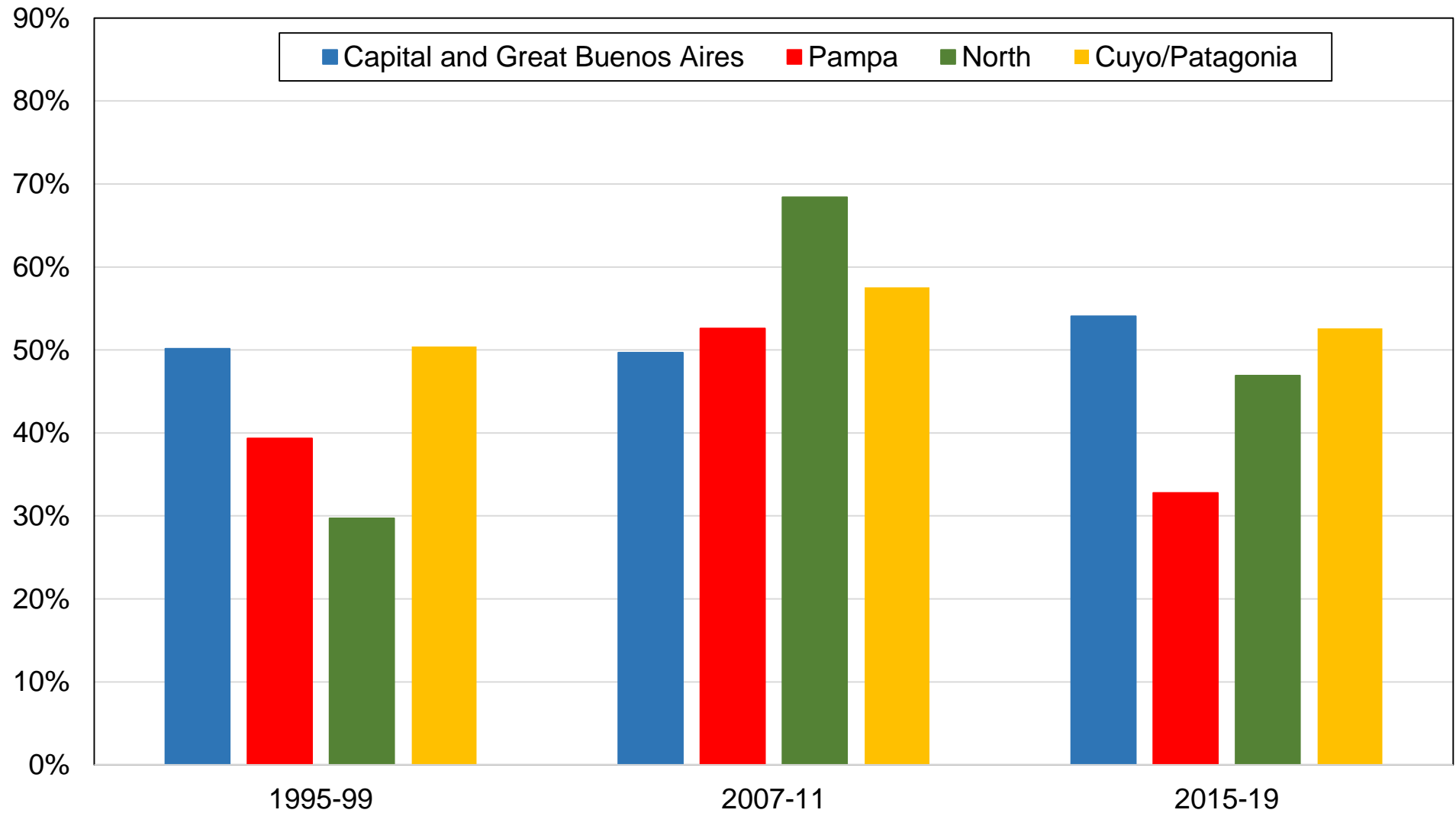
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Peronist party by subjective social class.

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.

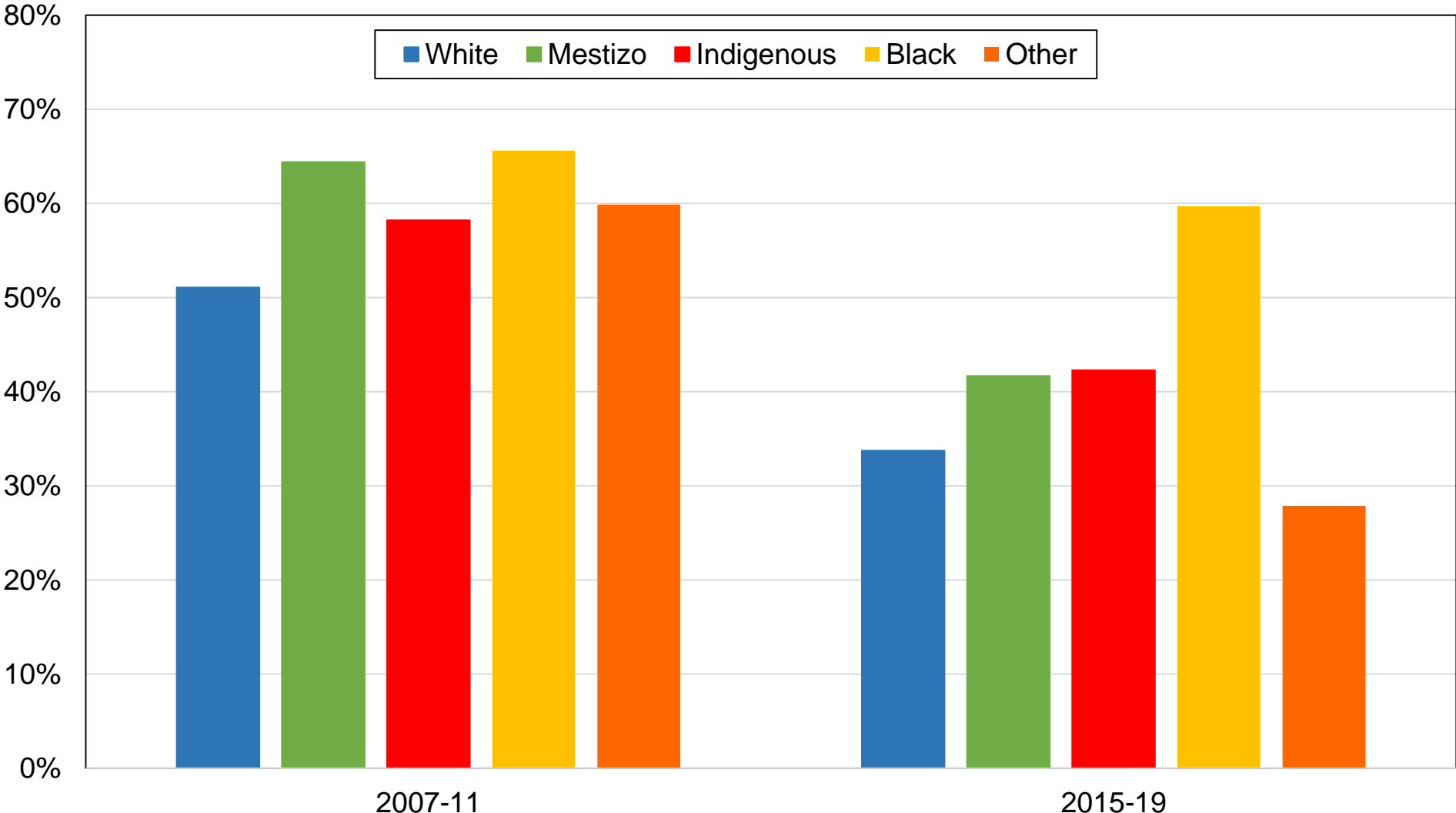
Figure AA13 - Vote for Peronists by region in Argentina



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

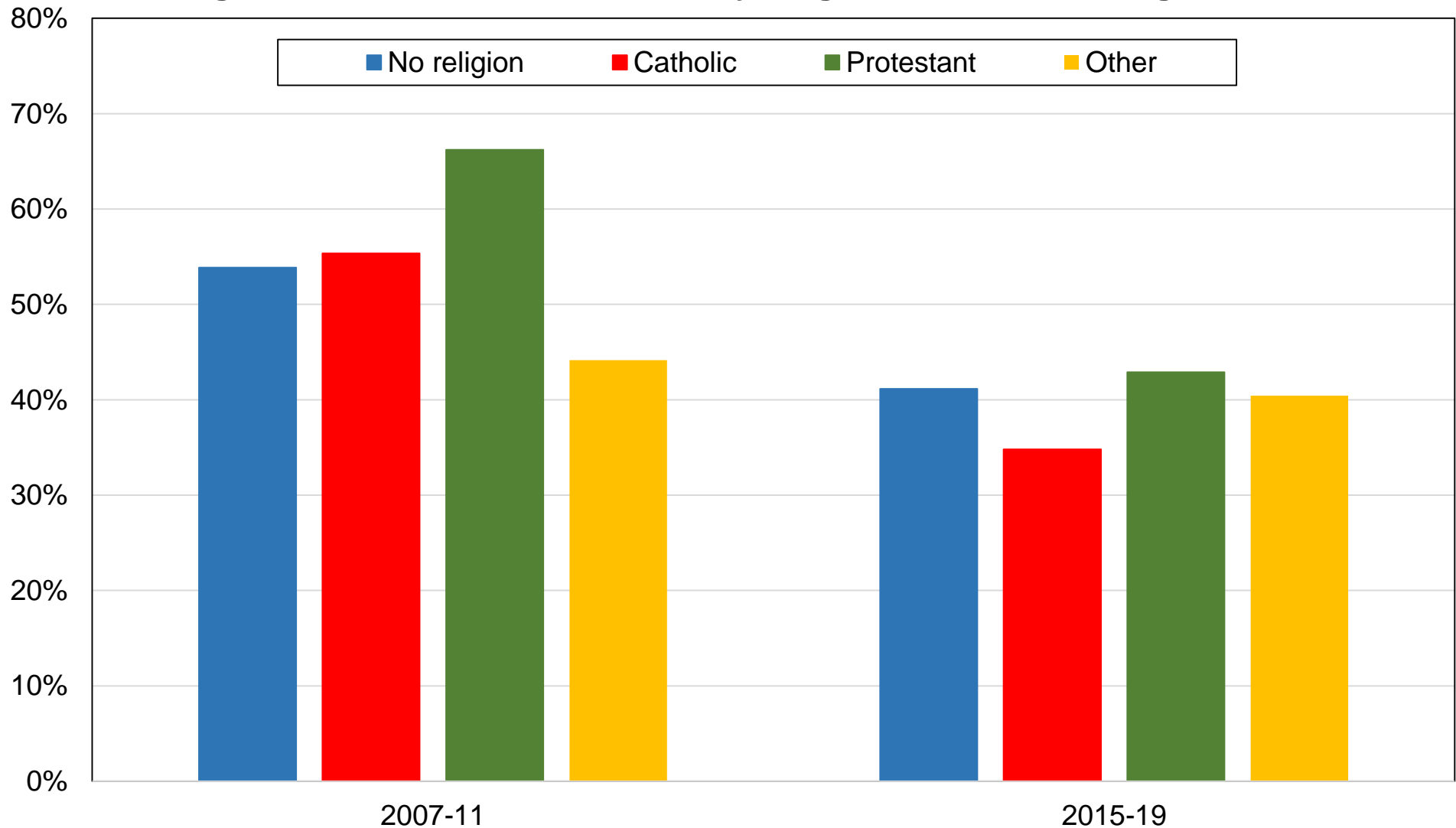
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Peronist party by region.

Figure AA14 - Vote for Peronists by ethnicity in Argentina



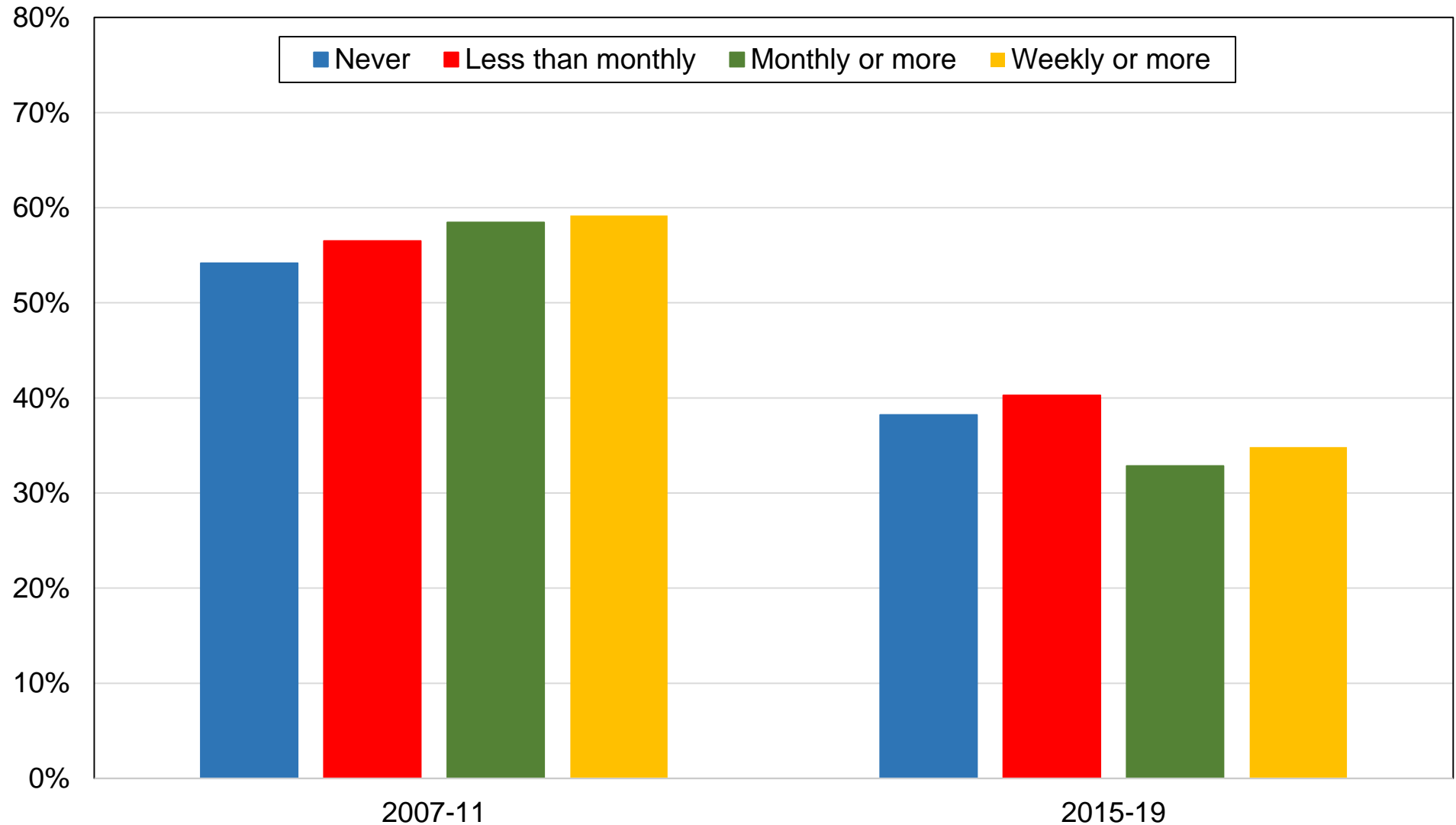
Source: authors' computations using Argentinian post-electoral and political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Peronist party by ethnicity.

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.

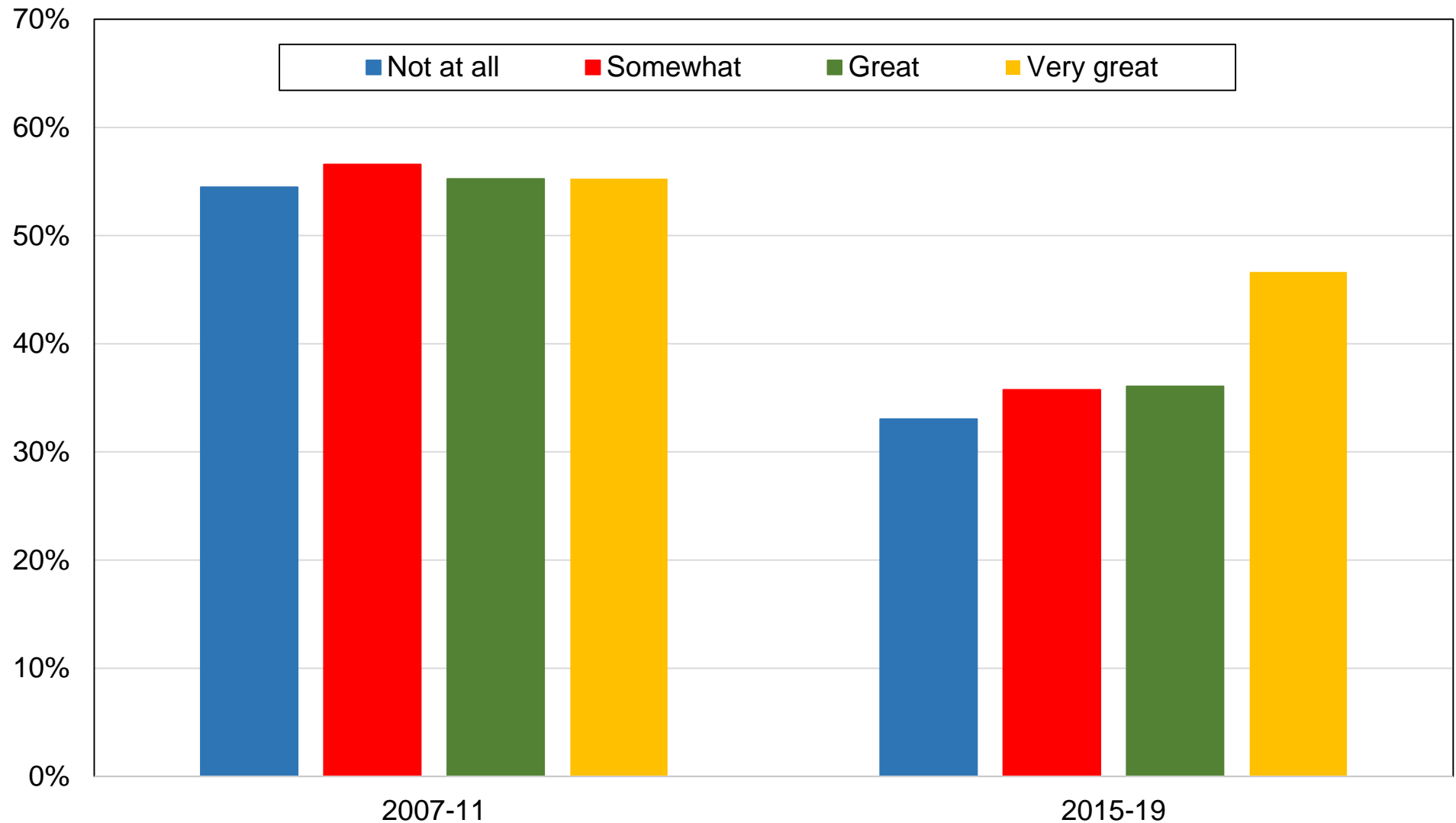
Figure AA16 - Vote for Peronists by religiosity in Argentina



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

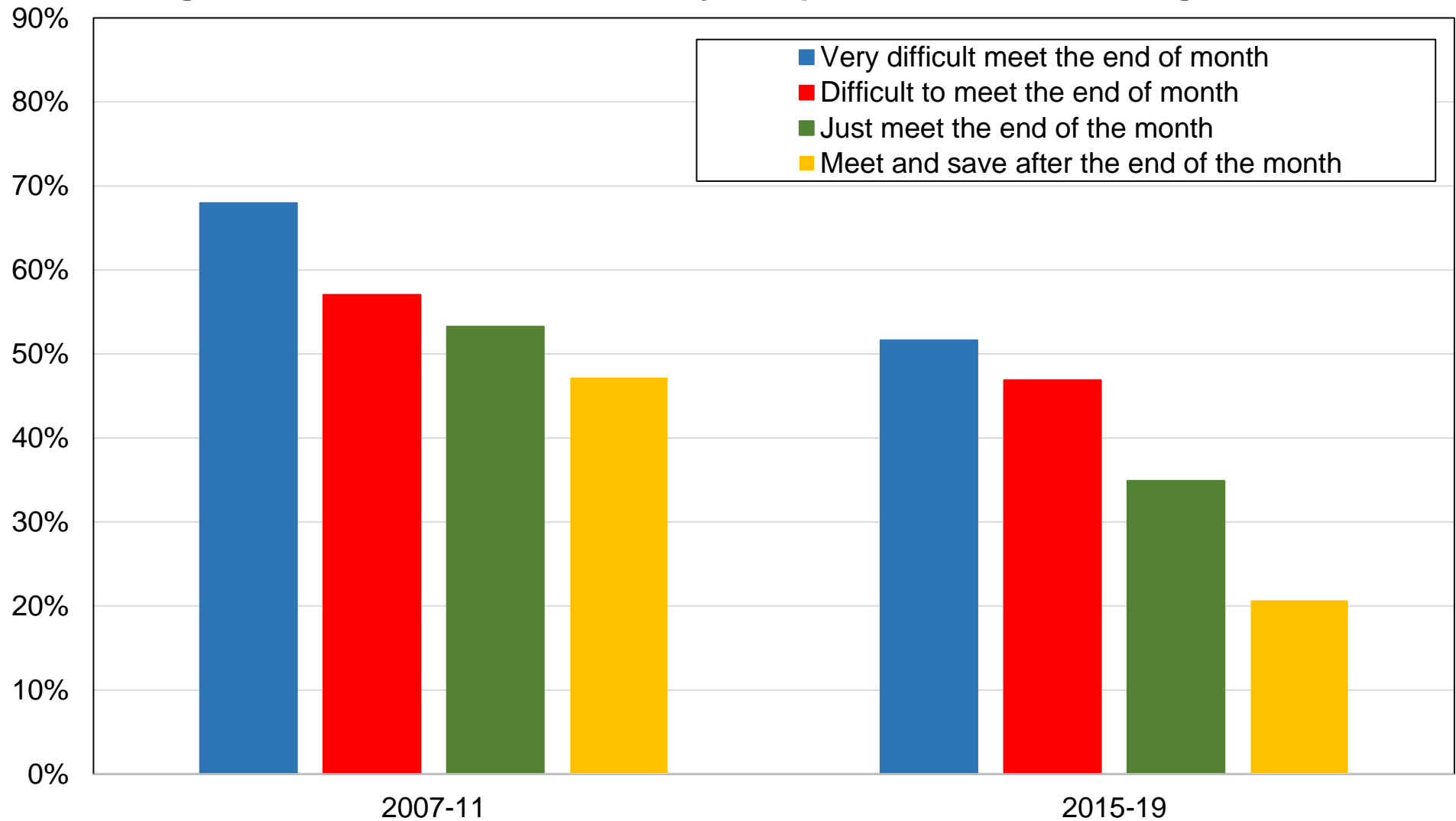
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Peronist party by religiosity.

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.

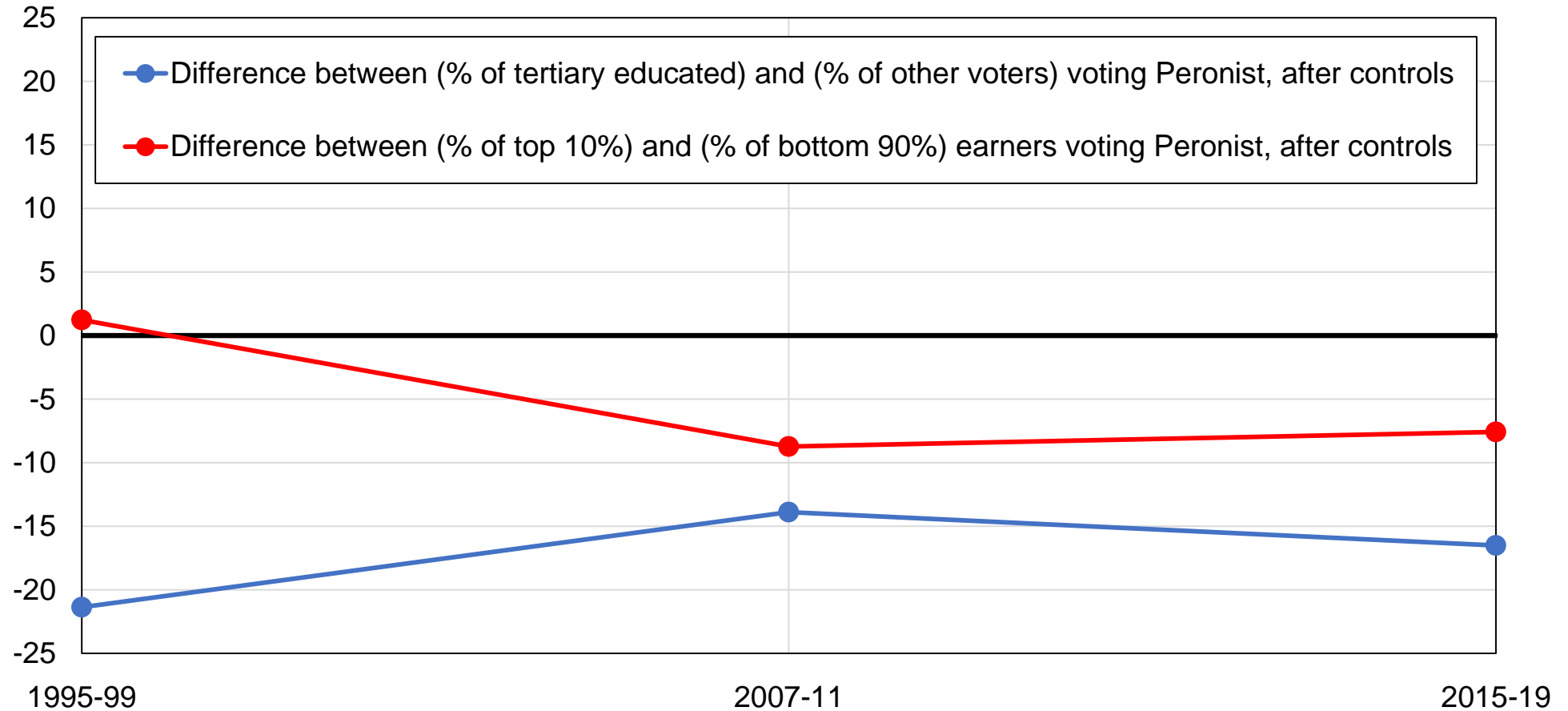
Figure AA18 - Vote for Peronists by self-perceived income in Argentina



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.

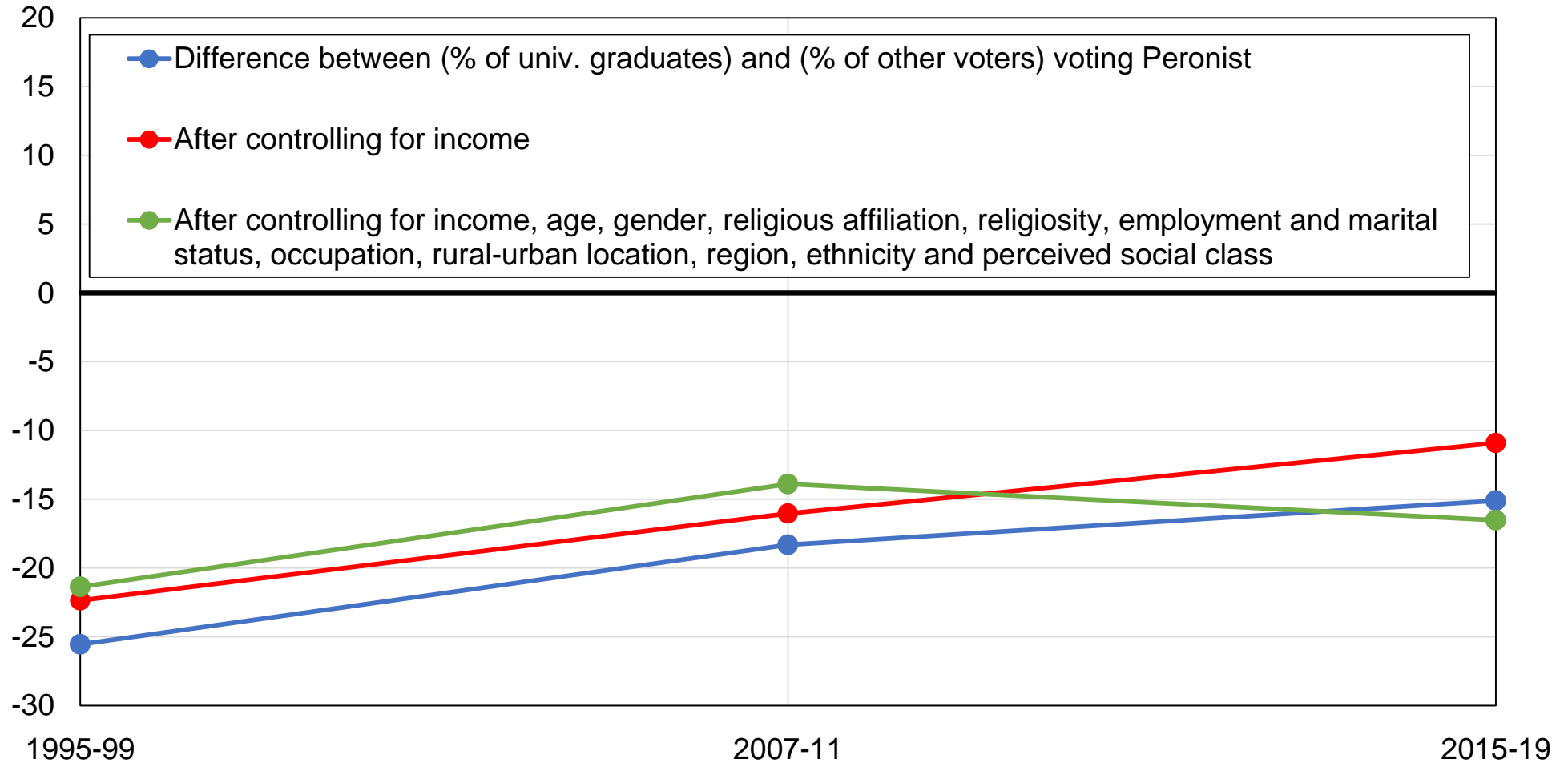
Figure AA19 - Vote for Peronists among tertiary educated and top-income voters in Argentina, after controls



Source: authors' computations using Argentinian political attitudes surveys.

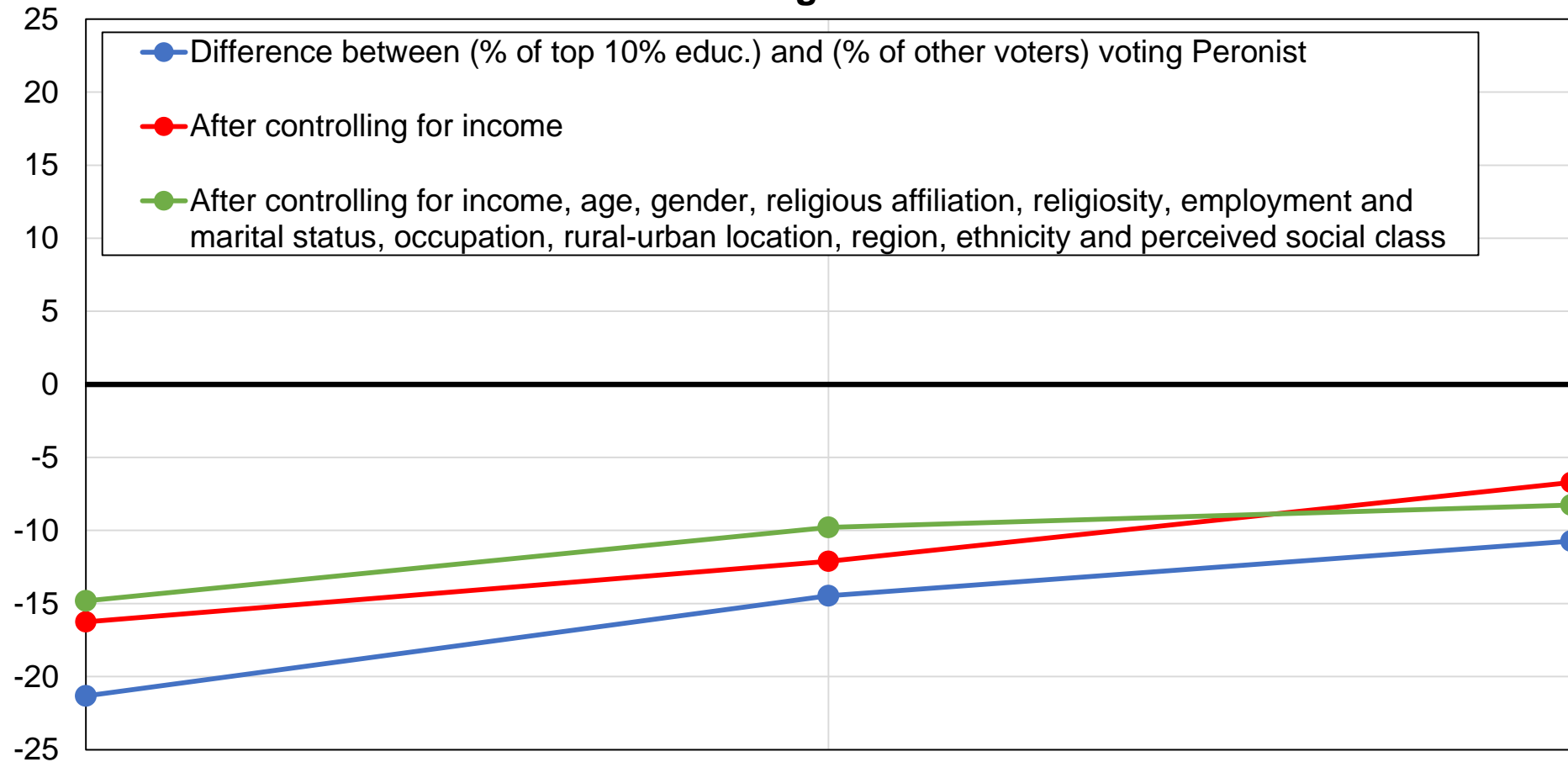
Note: the figure shows the relative support for highest-educated and top-income voters for Peronists, after controlling for age, gender, religious affiliation, religiosity, employment and marital status, occupation, rural-urban location, region, ethnicity, and perceived social class.

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.

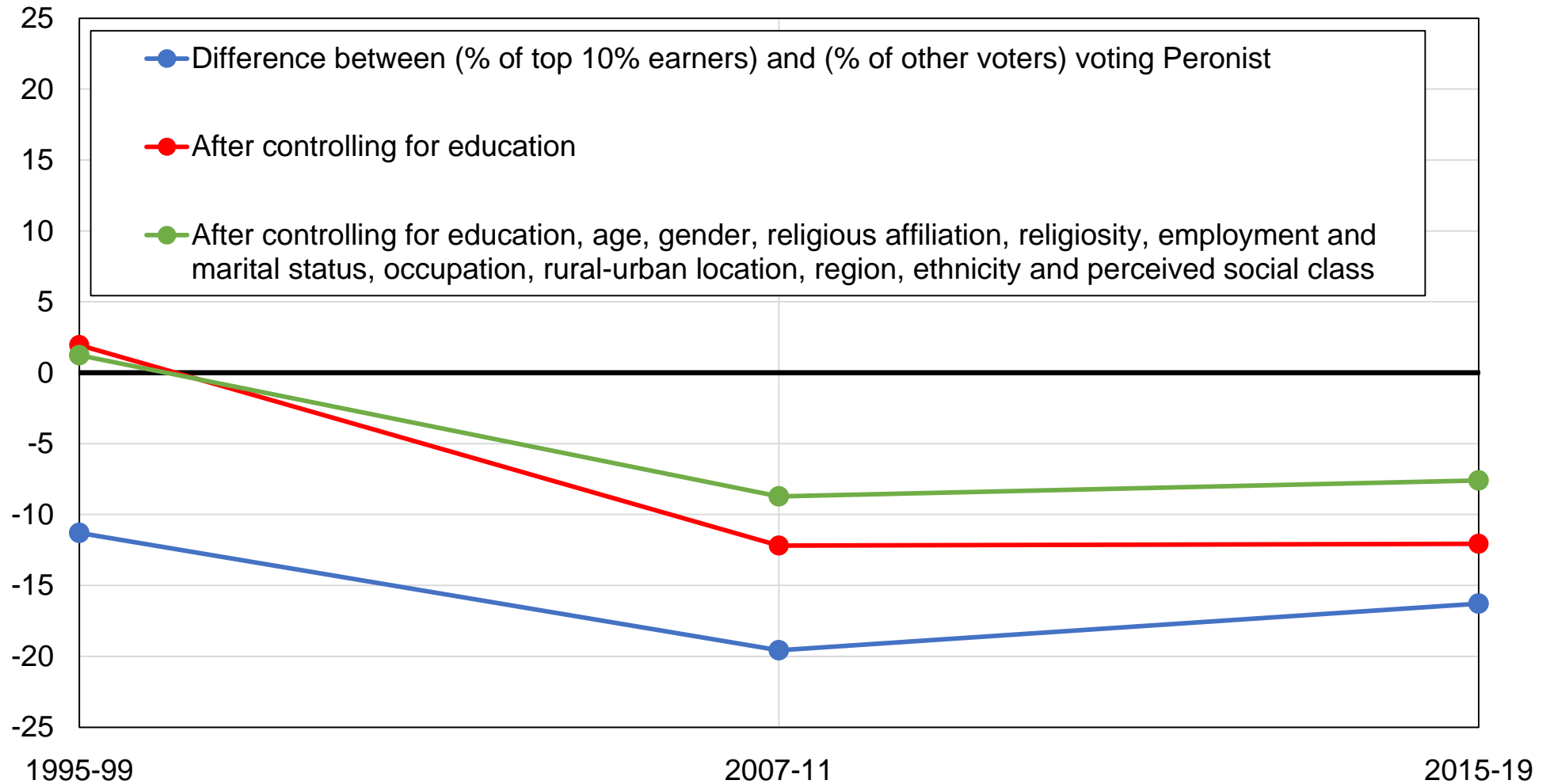
Figure AA21 - Vote for Peronists among highest-educated voters in Argentina



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 paper, 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.

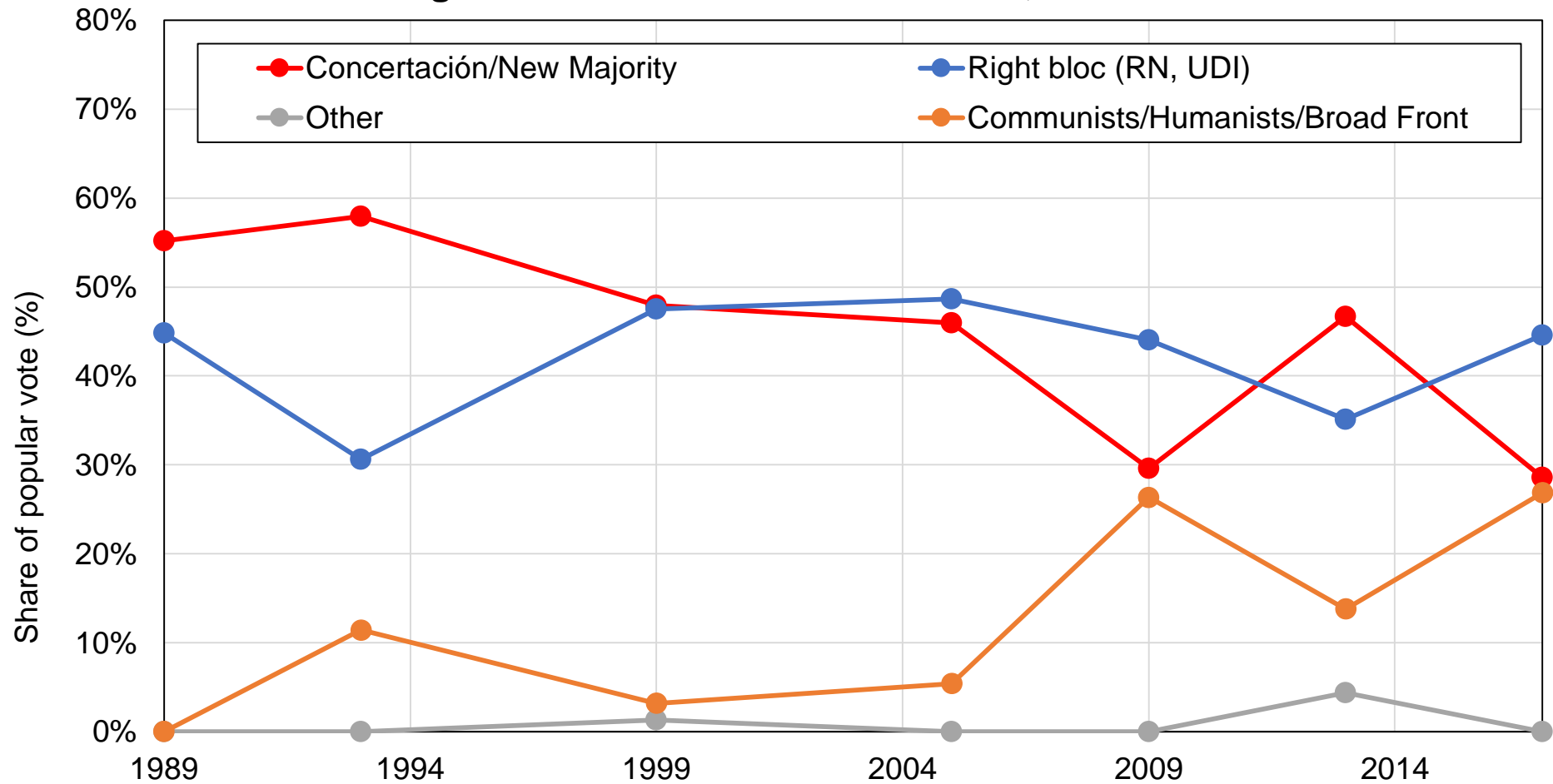
Note: the table shows descriptive statistics by decade for selected available variables.

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.

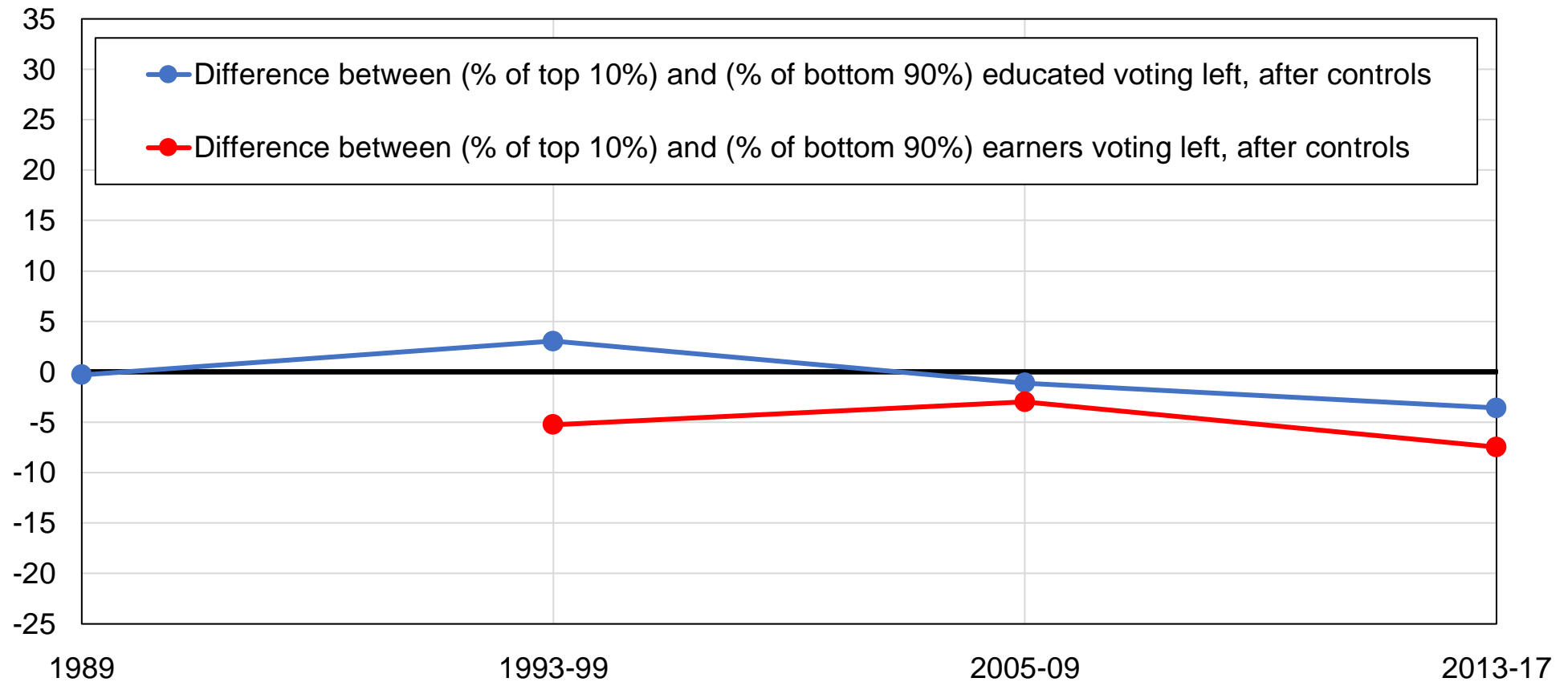
Figure B1 - Election results in Chile, 1989-2017



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Chilean political parties in presidential elections between 1989 and 2017. The Communists are included with Concertación in 2013 and 2017, as they run together in the election, and the DC is included with Concertación in 2017, even though they run separately for the first time in that election.

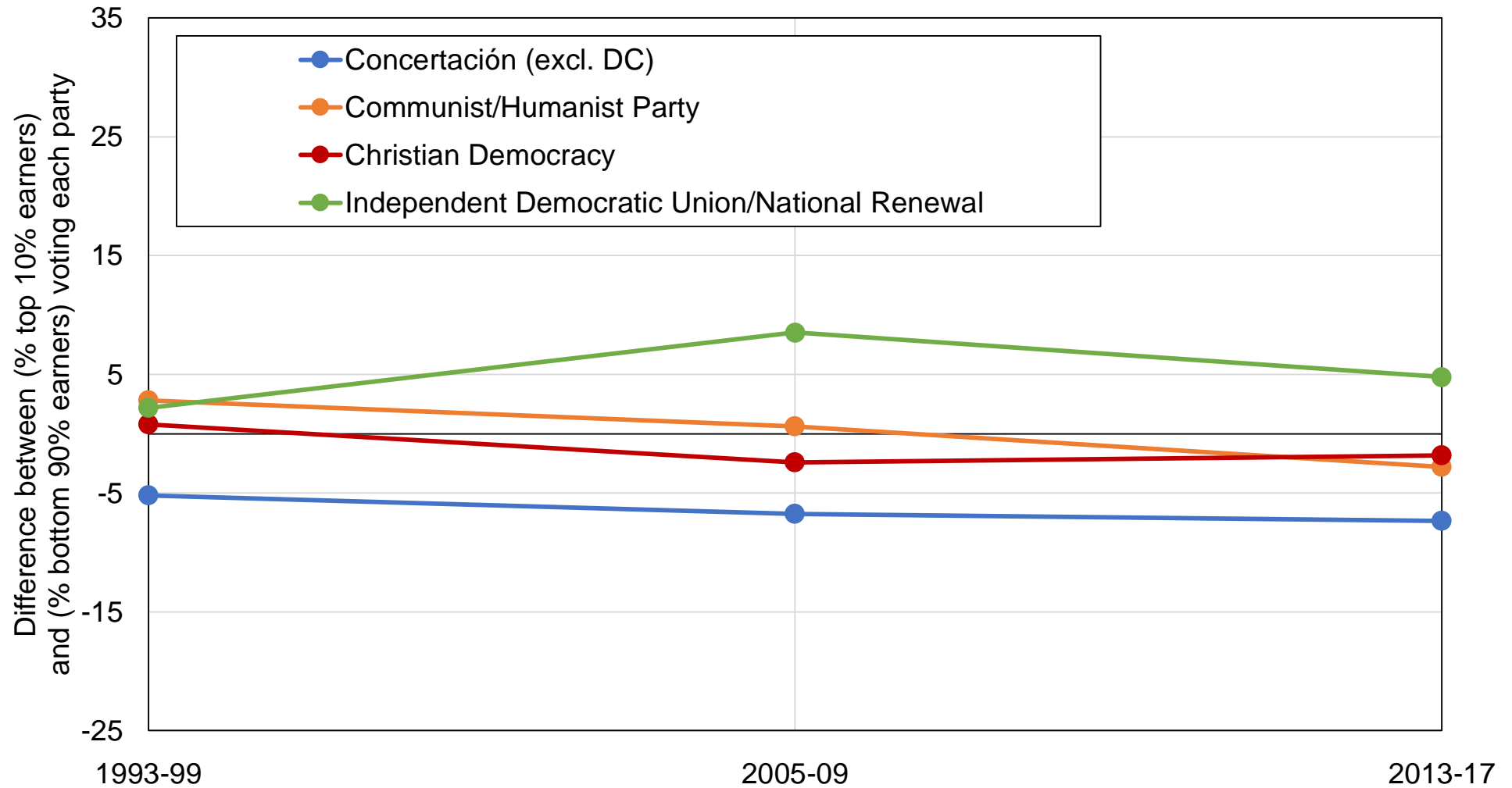
Figure BA2 - Vote for the left among highest-educated and top-income voters in Chile, after controls



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the relative support of top-income and highest-educated voters for center-left/left-wing parties, after controlling for age, gender, religious affiliation, religiosity, employment and marital status, union membership, ethnicity and region. The left is defined as Concertación minus DC plus other left-wing parties that do not belong to the center-left alliance.

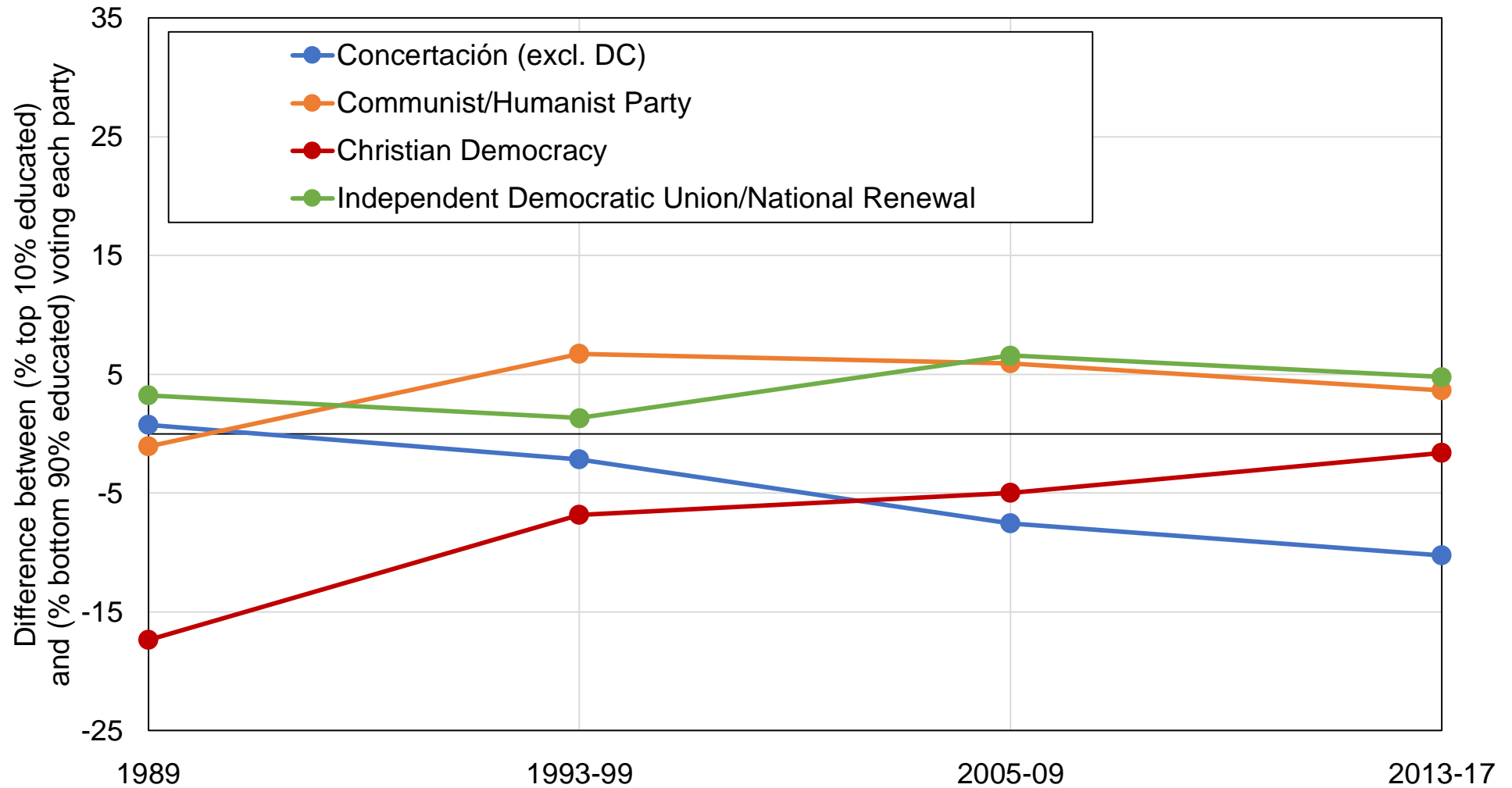
Figure B3 - The income cleavage in Chile



Source: authors' computations using Chilean 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 selected Chilean parties.

Figure B4 - The education cleavage in Chile



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters and the share of bottom 90% educated voters voting for selected Chilean parties.

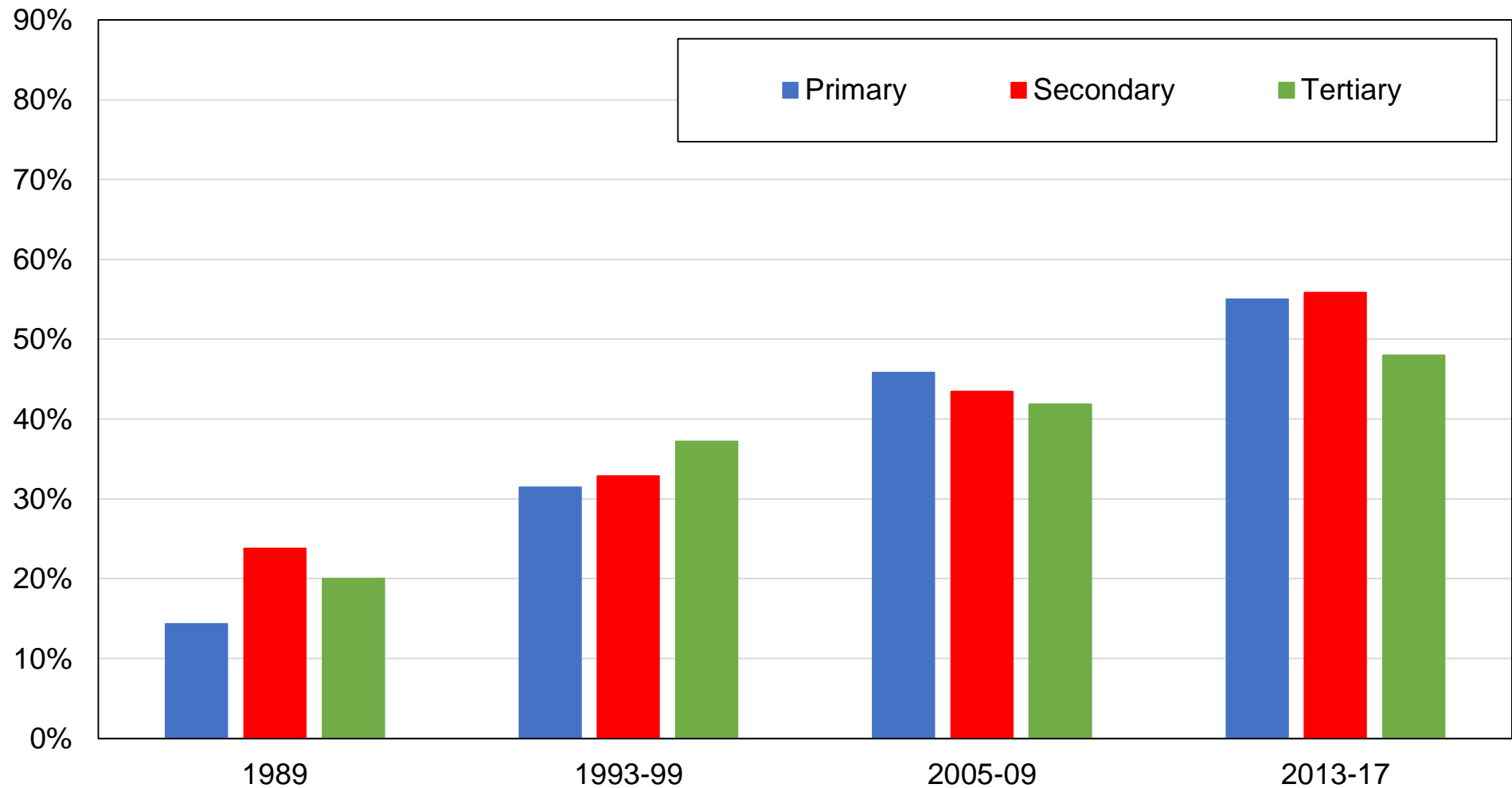
Table B1 - The structure of political cleavages in Chile, 2017

Share of votes received (%)				
	Independent Democratic Union/National Renewal	Christian Democracy	The Force of the Majority (excl. Communists)	Communist Party/Humanist Party/Broad Front/Other left
Education level				
Primary	48%	6%	27%	19%
Secondary	45%	5%	23%	27%
Tertiary	43%	4%	29%	24%
Income group				
Bottom 50%	45%	5%	24%	26%
Middle 40%	47%	6%	26%	21%
Top 10%	51%	3%	31%	16%
Region				
North	47%	2%	26%	25%
Center	42%	5%	27%	26%
South	51%	4%	25%	21%
Age				
20-39	47%	2%	19%	33%
40-59	44%	5%	29%	21%
+60	42%	9%	34%	16%

Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the table shows the average share of votes received by Independent Democratic Union and National Renewal (right bloc), Christian Democracy, The Force of the Majority (heirs of Concertación, excluding the Communists) and the Communist Party, Humanist Party, the Broad Front and other left-wing parties by selected individual characteristics in 2017.

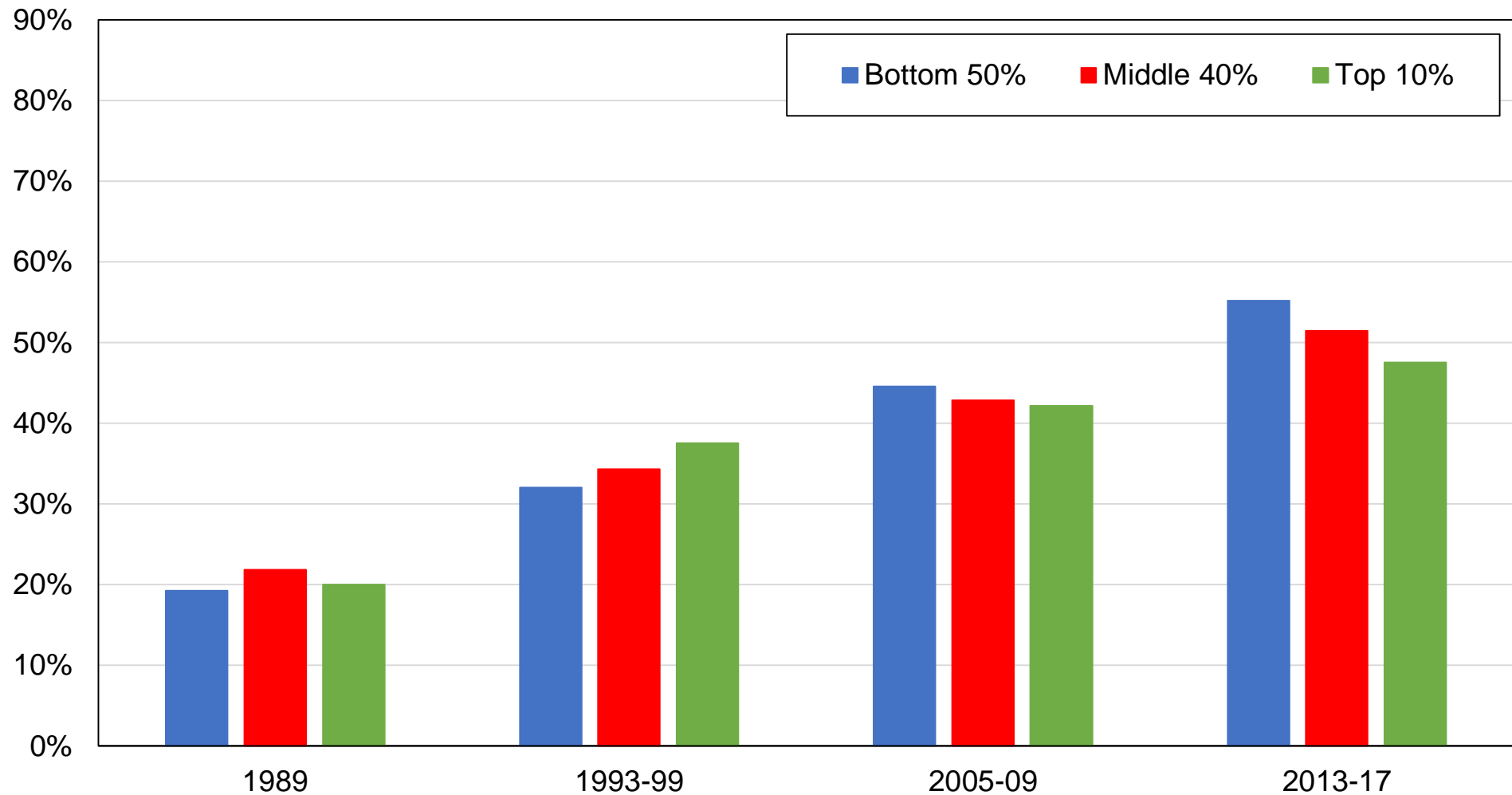
Figure BA1 - Vote for the left by education level in Chile



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by center-left/left-wing parties by education level. The left is defined as Concertación minus DC plus other left-wing parties that do not belong to the center-left alliance.

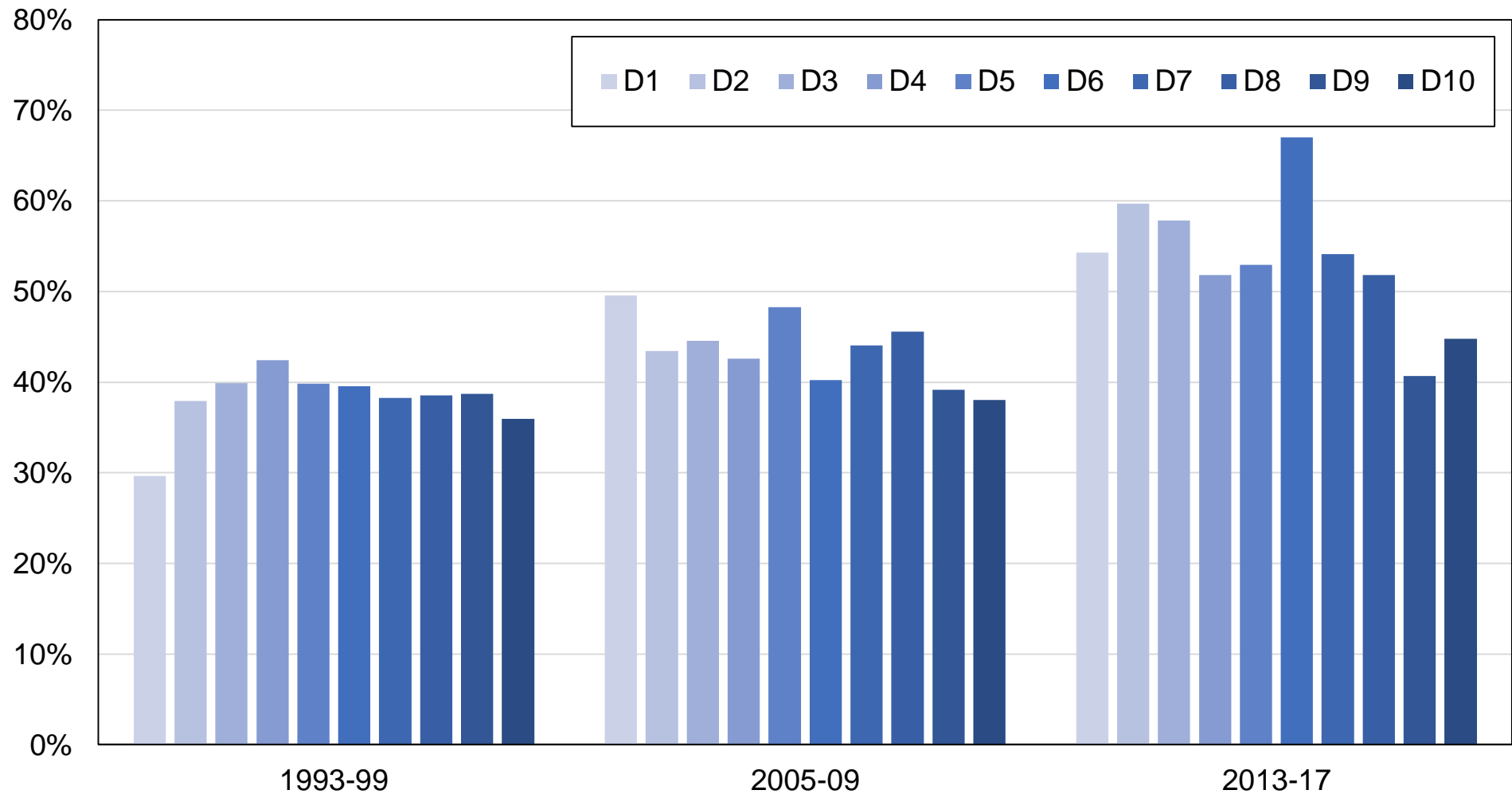
Figure BA2 - Vote for the left by education group



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by center-left/left-wing parties by education group. The left is defined as Concertación minus DC plus other left-wing parties that do not belong to the center-left alliance.

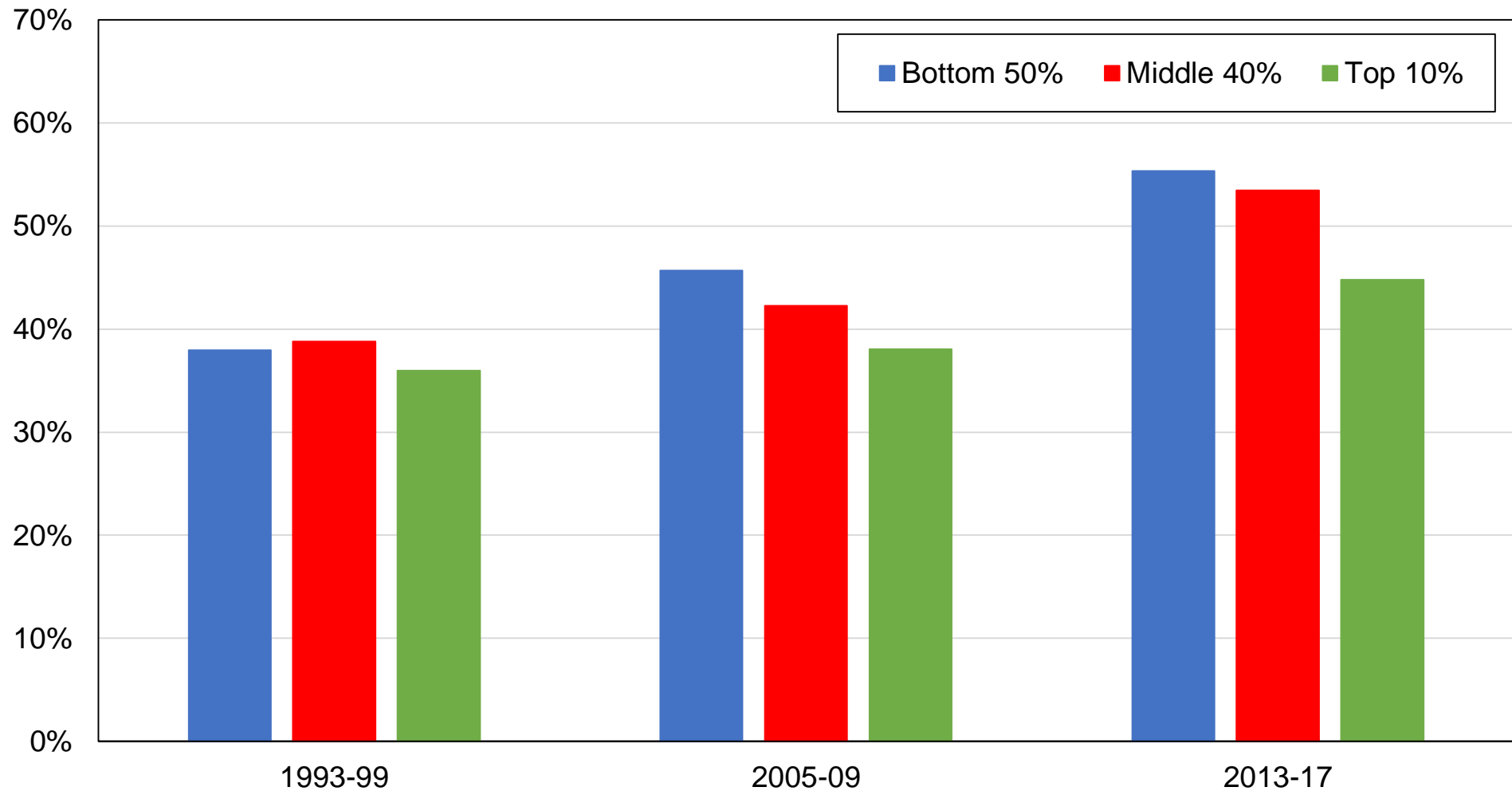
Figure BA3 - Vote for the left by income decile



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by center-left/left-wing parties by income decile. The left is defined as Concertación minus DC plus other left-wing parties that do not belong to the center-left alliance.

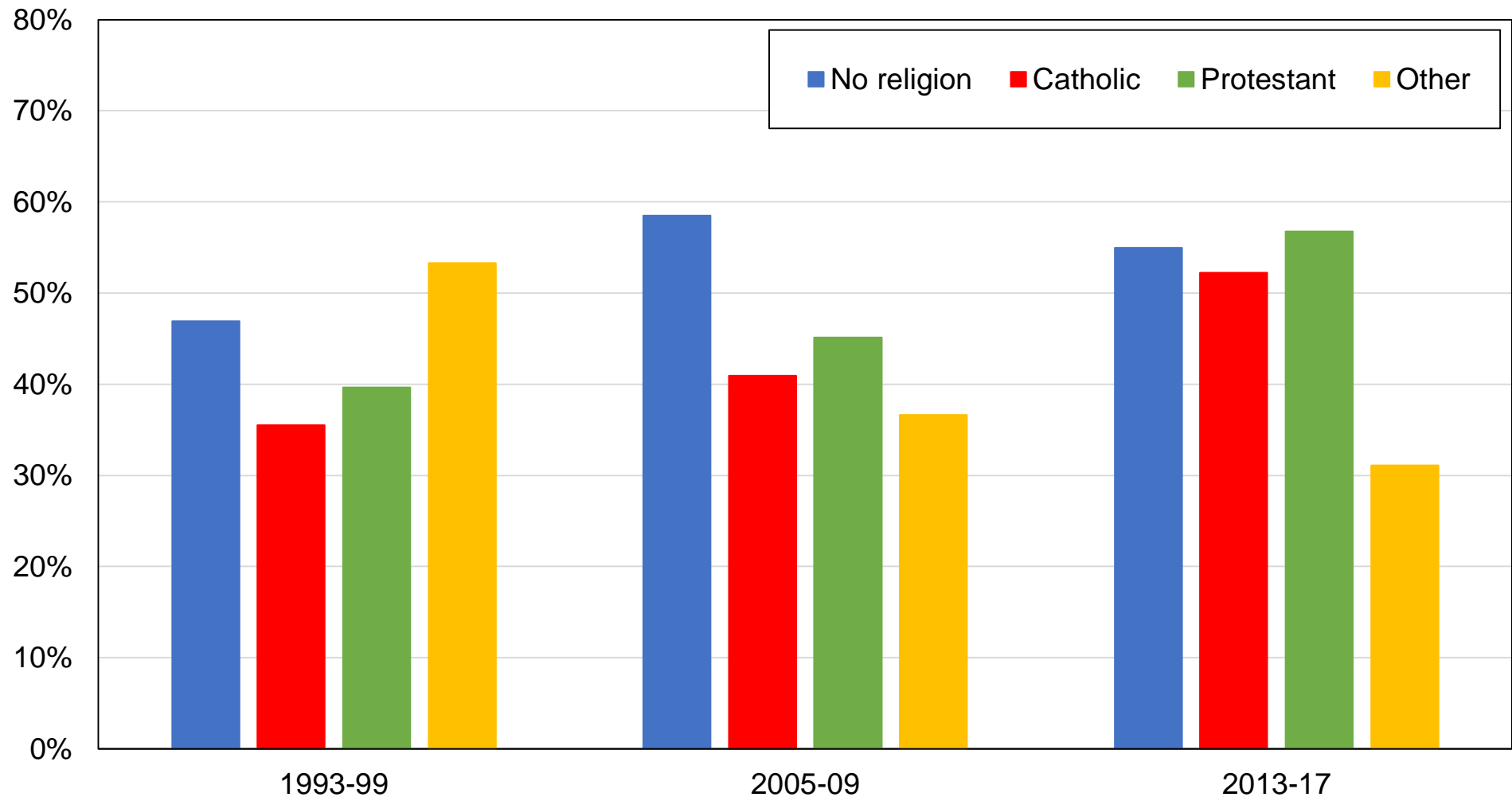
Figure BA4 - Vote for the left by income group



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by center-left/left-wing parties by income group. The left is defined as Concertación minus DC plus other left-wing parties that do not belong to the center-left alliance.

Figure BA5 - Vote for the left by religious affiliation



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by center-left/left-wing parties by religious affiliation. The left is defined as Concertación minus DC plus other left-wing parties that do not belong to the center-left alliance.

Figure BA6 - Vote for the left by church attendance

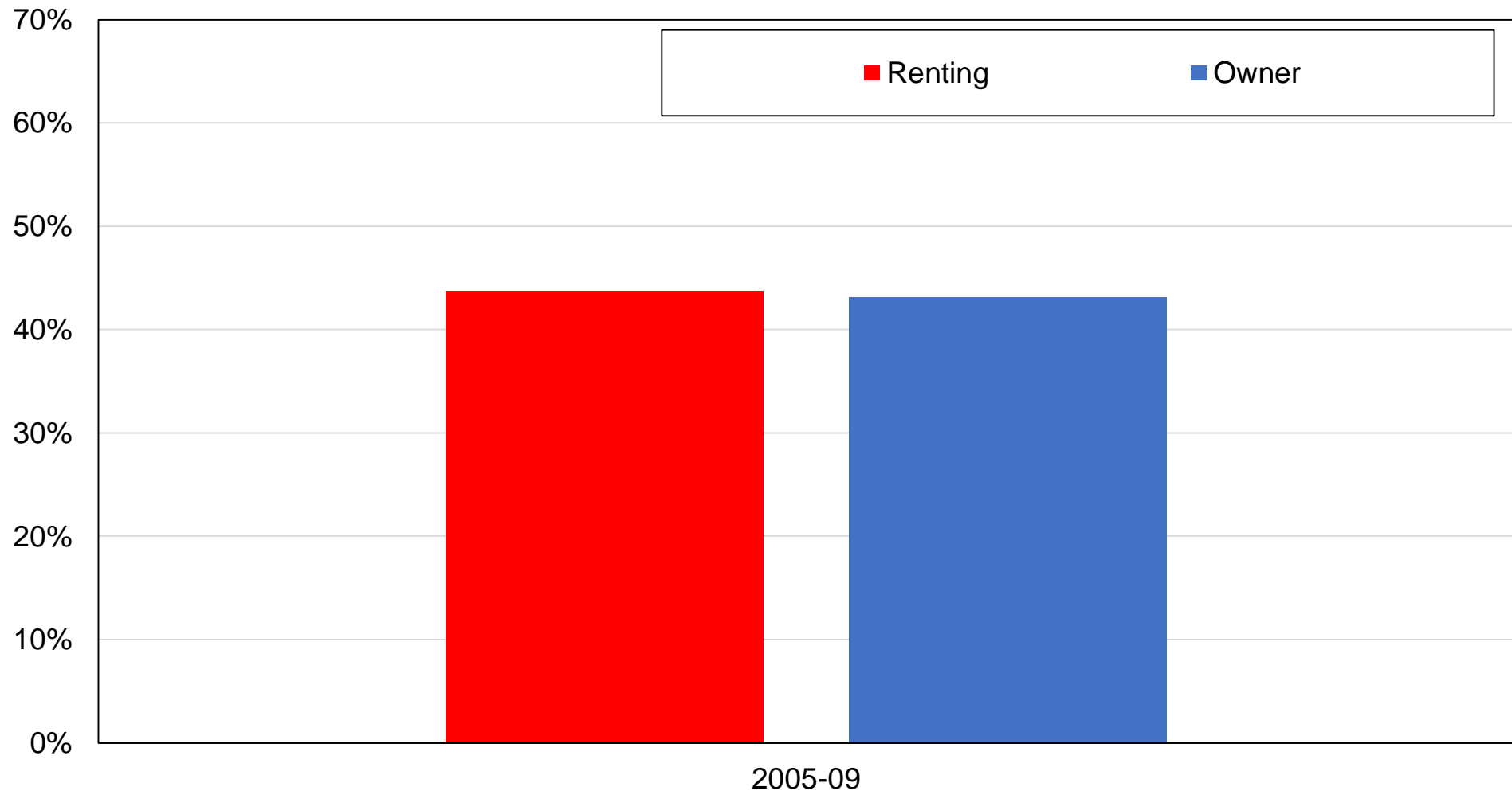


Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by center-left/left-wing parties by church attendance.

The left is defined as Concertación minus DC plus other left-wing parties that do not belong to the center-left alliance.

Figure BA7 - Vote for the left by home ownership



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by center-left/left-wing parties by home ownership. The left is defined as Concertación minus DC plus other left-wing parties that do not belong to the center-left alliance.

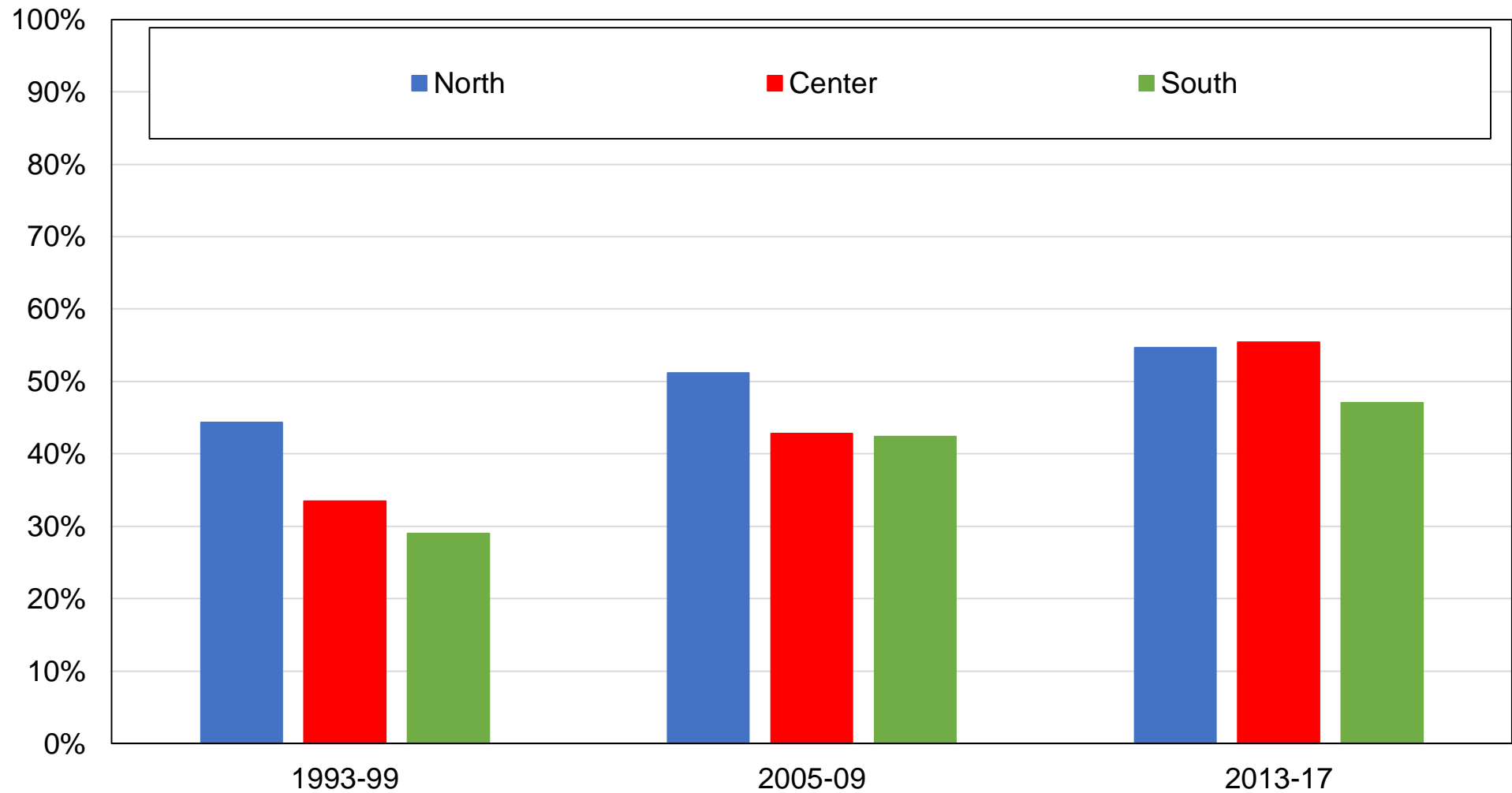
Figure BA8 - Vote for the left by employment status



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by center-left/left-wing parties by employment status. The left is defined as Concertación minus DC plus other left-wing parties that do not belong to the center-left alliance.

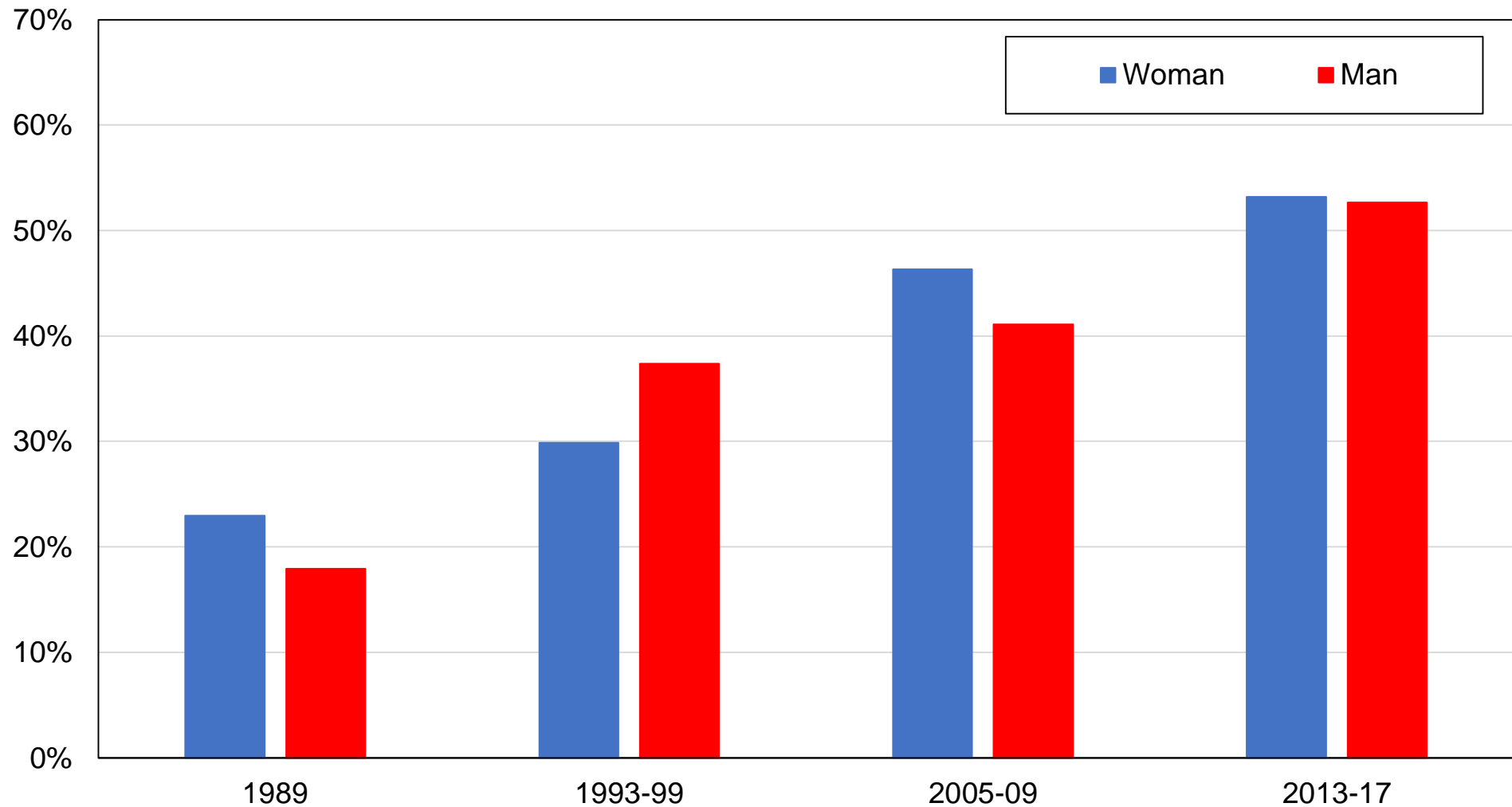
Figure BA9 - Vote for the left by region



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by center-left/left-wing parties by region. The left is defined as Concertación minus DC plus other left-wing parties that do not belong to the center-left alliance.

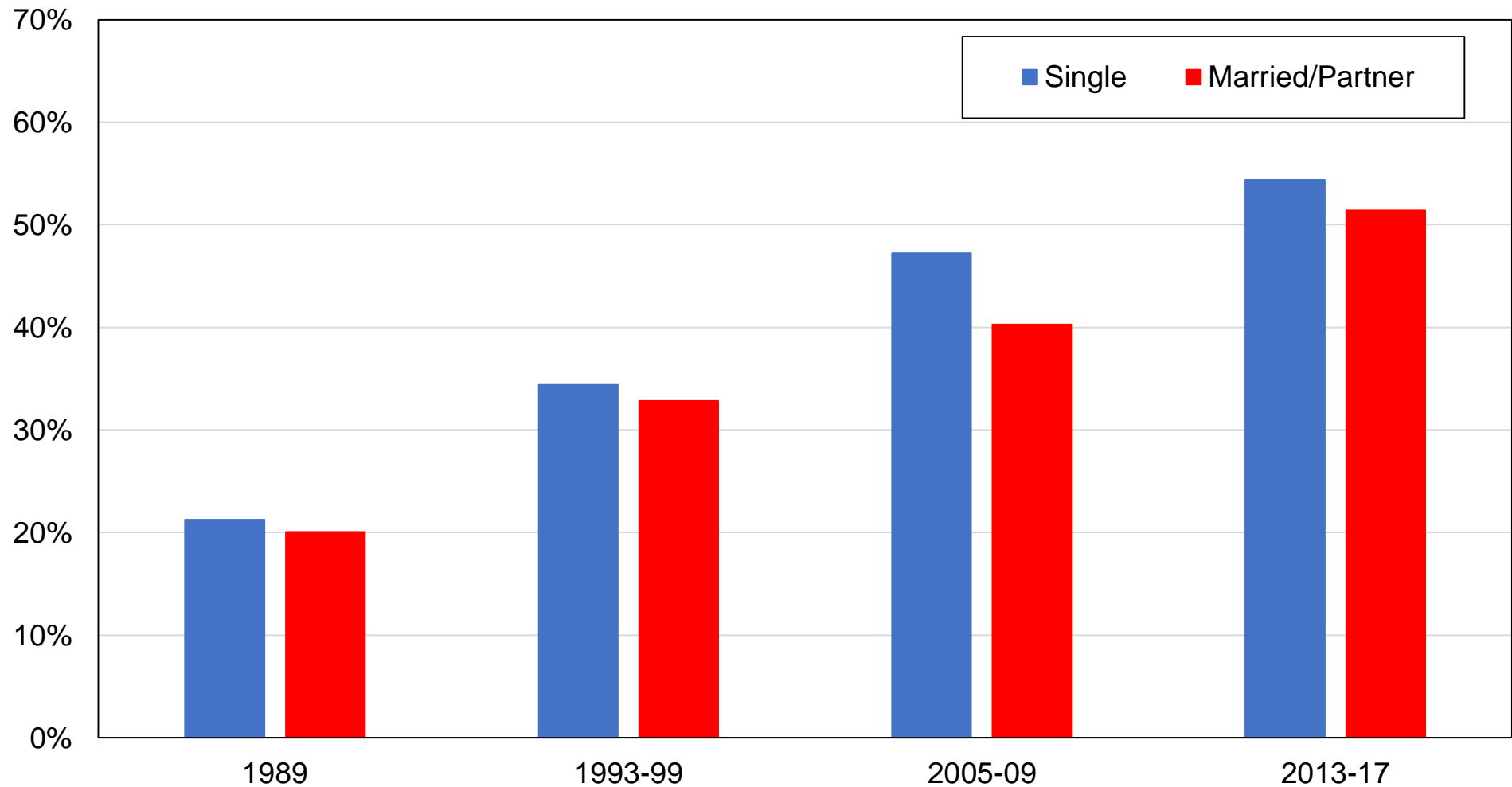
Figure BA10 - Vote for the left by gender



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by center-left/left-wing parties by gender. The left is defined as Concertación minus DC plus other left-wing parties that do not belong to the center-left alliance.

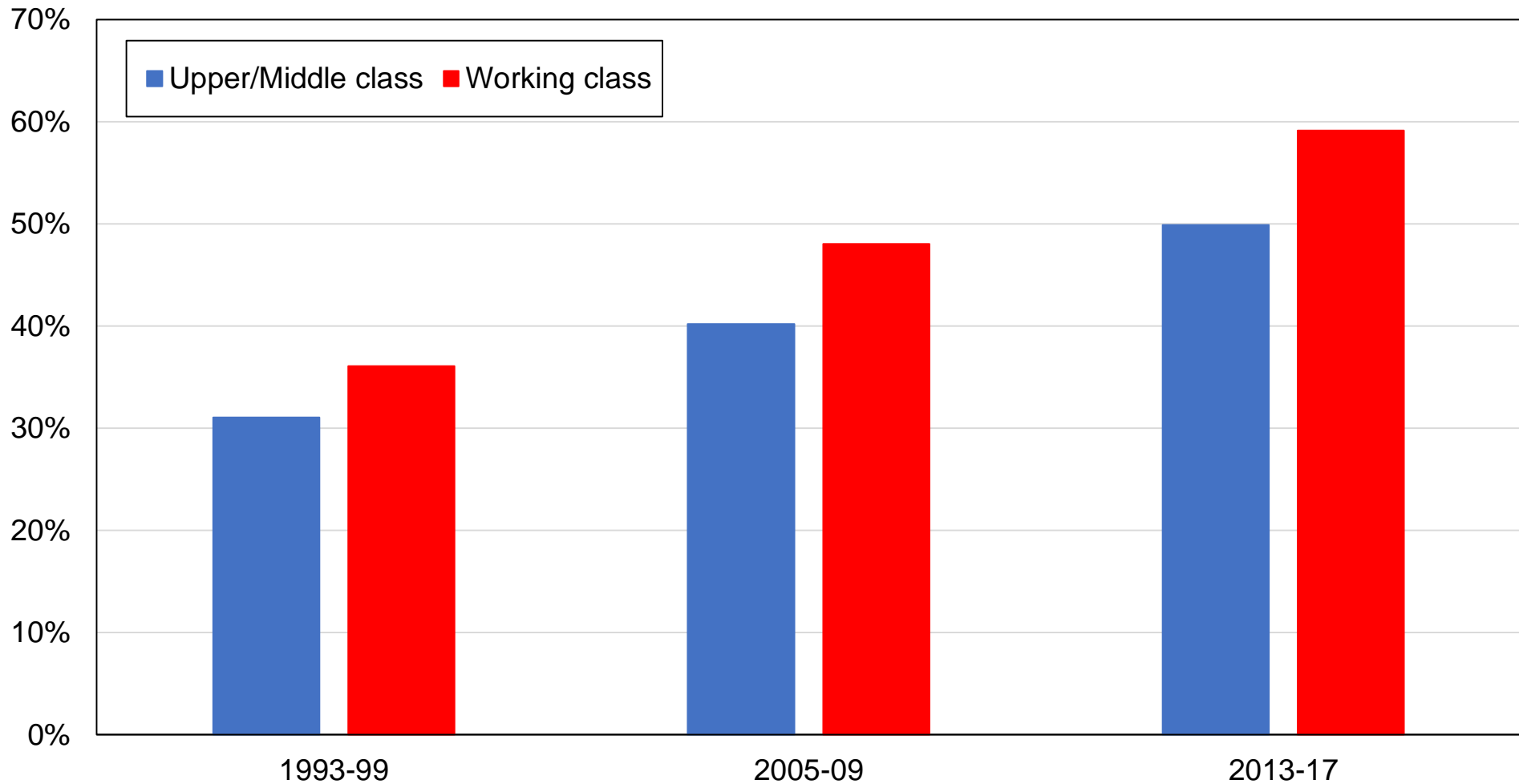
Figure BA11 - Vote for the left by marital status



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by center-left/left-wing parties by marital status. The left is defined as Concertación minus DC plus other left-wing parties that do not belong to the center-left alliance.

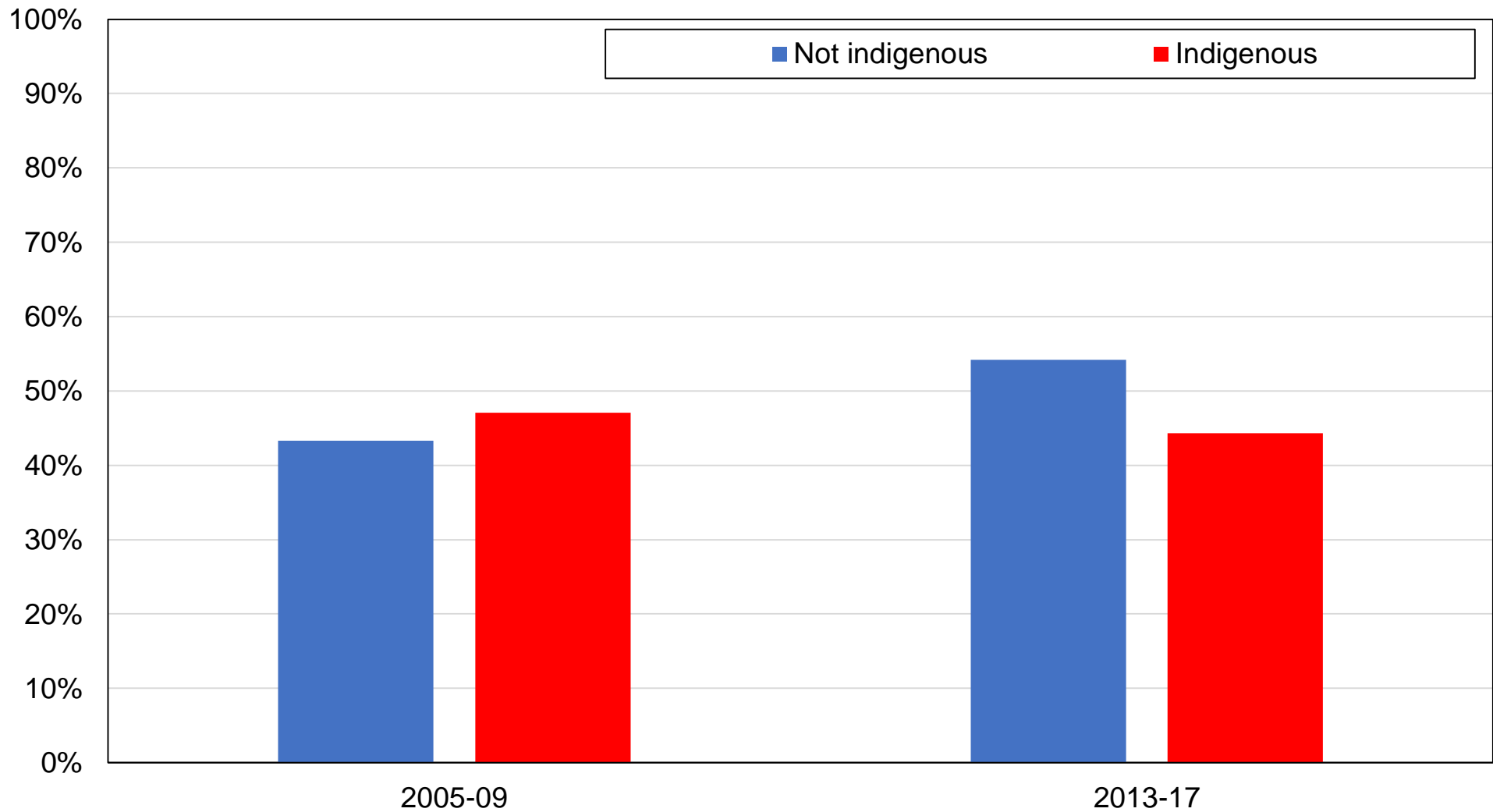
Figure BA12 - Vote for the left by occupational social class



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by center-left/left-wing parties by occupational social class. The left is defined as Concertación minus DC plus other left-wing parties that do not belong to the center-left alliance.

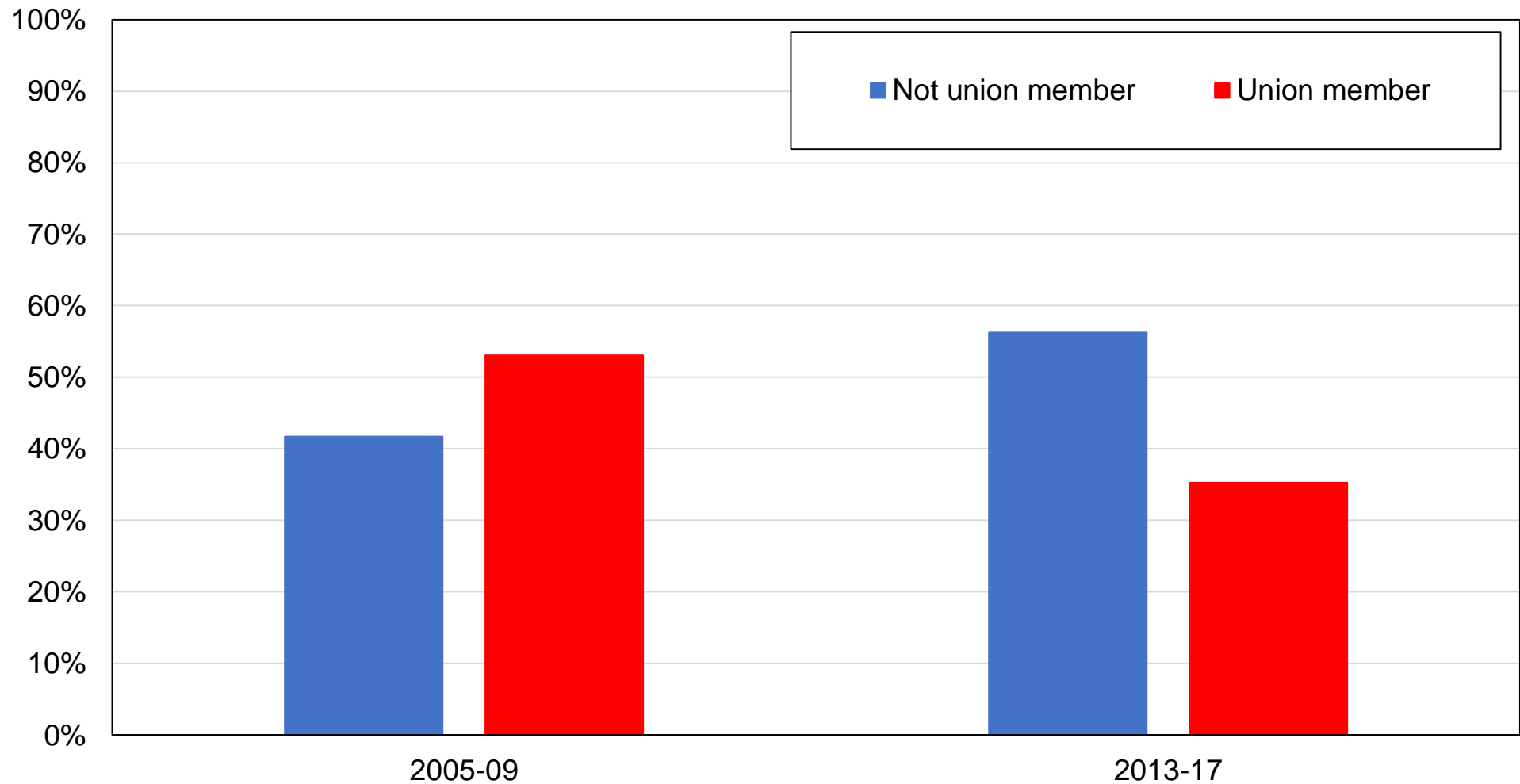
Figure BA13 - Vote for the left by ethnicity



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by center-left/left-wing parties by ethnicity. The left is defined as Concertación minus DC plus other left-wing parties that do not belong to the center-left alliance.

Figure BA14 - Vote for the left by union membership

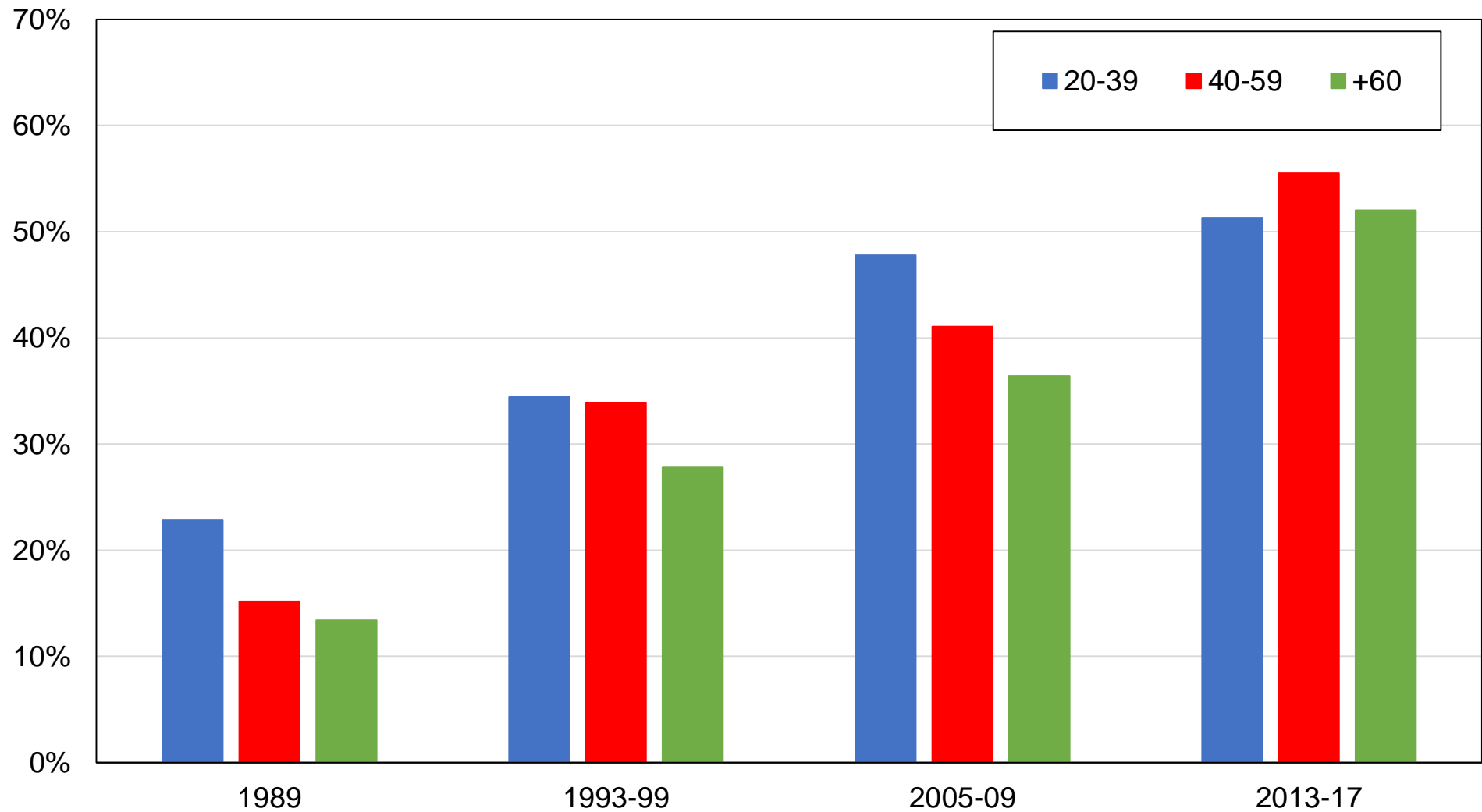


Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by center-left/left-wing parties by union membership.

The left is defined as Concertación minus DC plus other left-wing parties that do not belong to the center-left alliance.

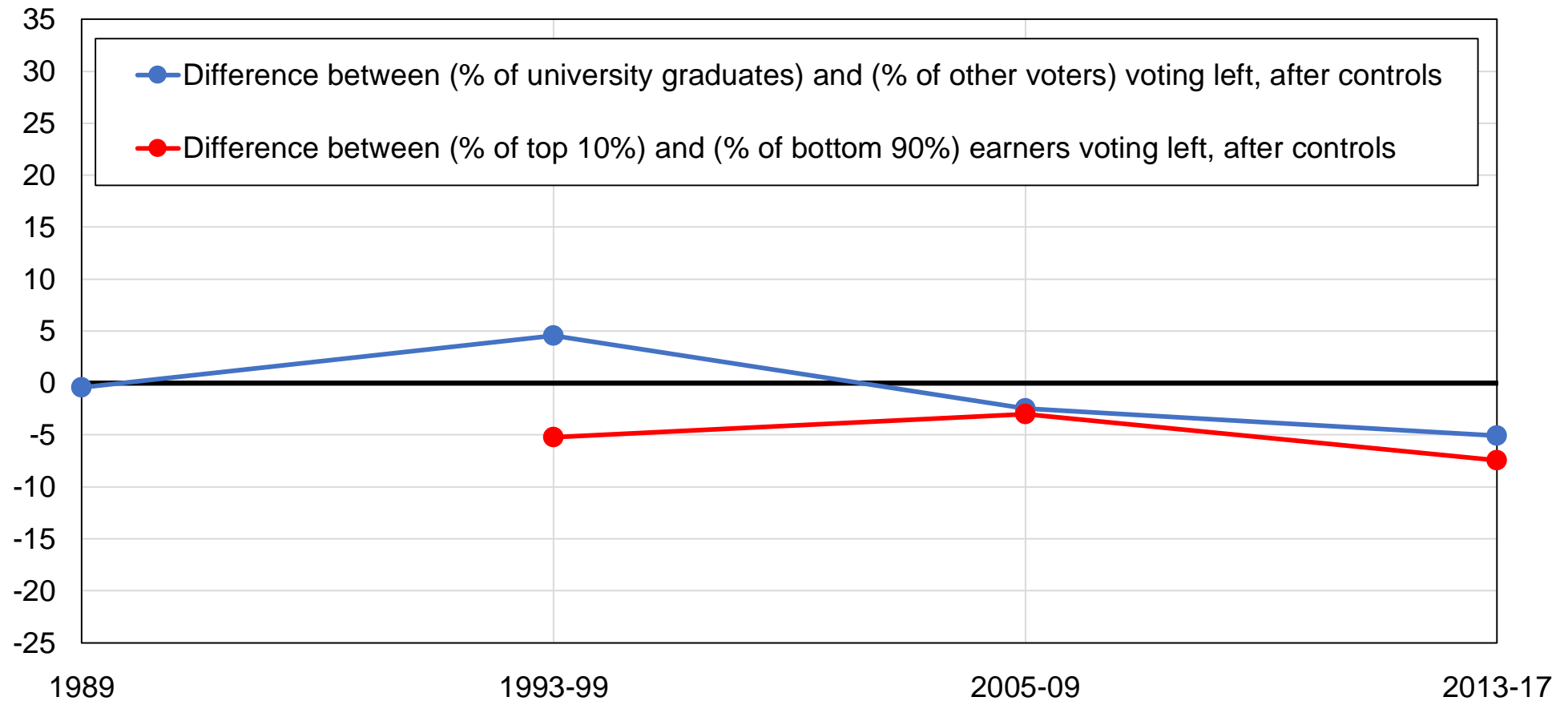
Figure BA15 - Vote for the left by age group



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by center-left/left-wing parties by age group. The left is defined as Concertación minus DC plus other left-wing parties that do not belong to the center-left alliance.

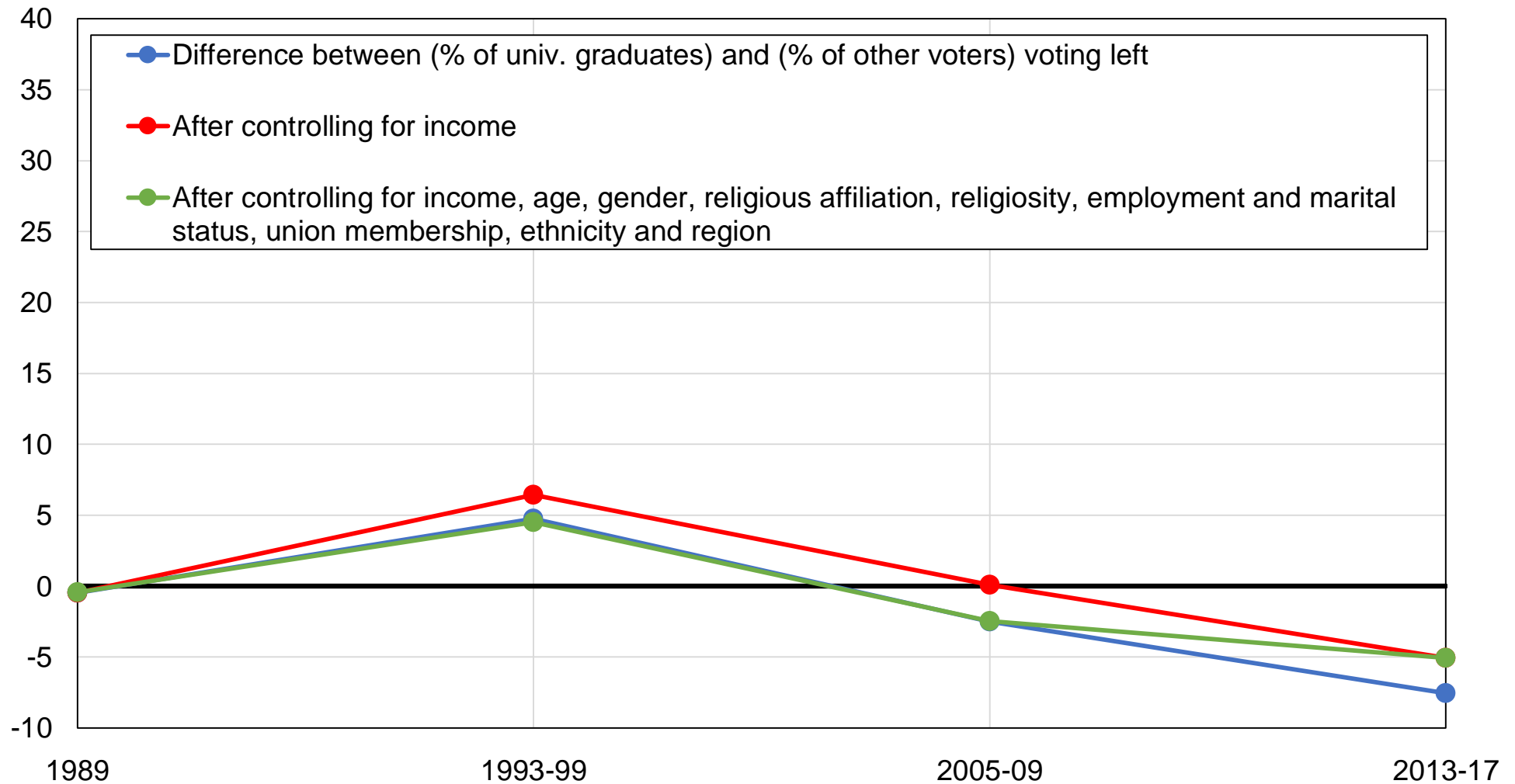
Figure BA16 - Vote for the left among university graduates and top-income voters, after controls



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the relative support of top-income and highest-educated voters for center-left/left-wing parties, after controlling for age, gender, religious affiliation, religiosity, employment and marital status, union membership, ethnicity and region. The left is defined as Concertación minus DC plus other left-wing parties that do not belong to the center-left alliance.

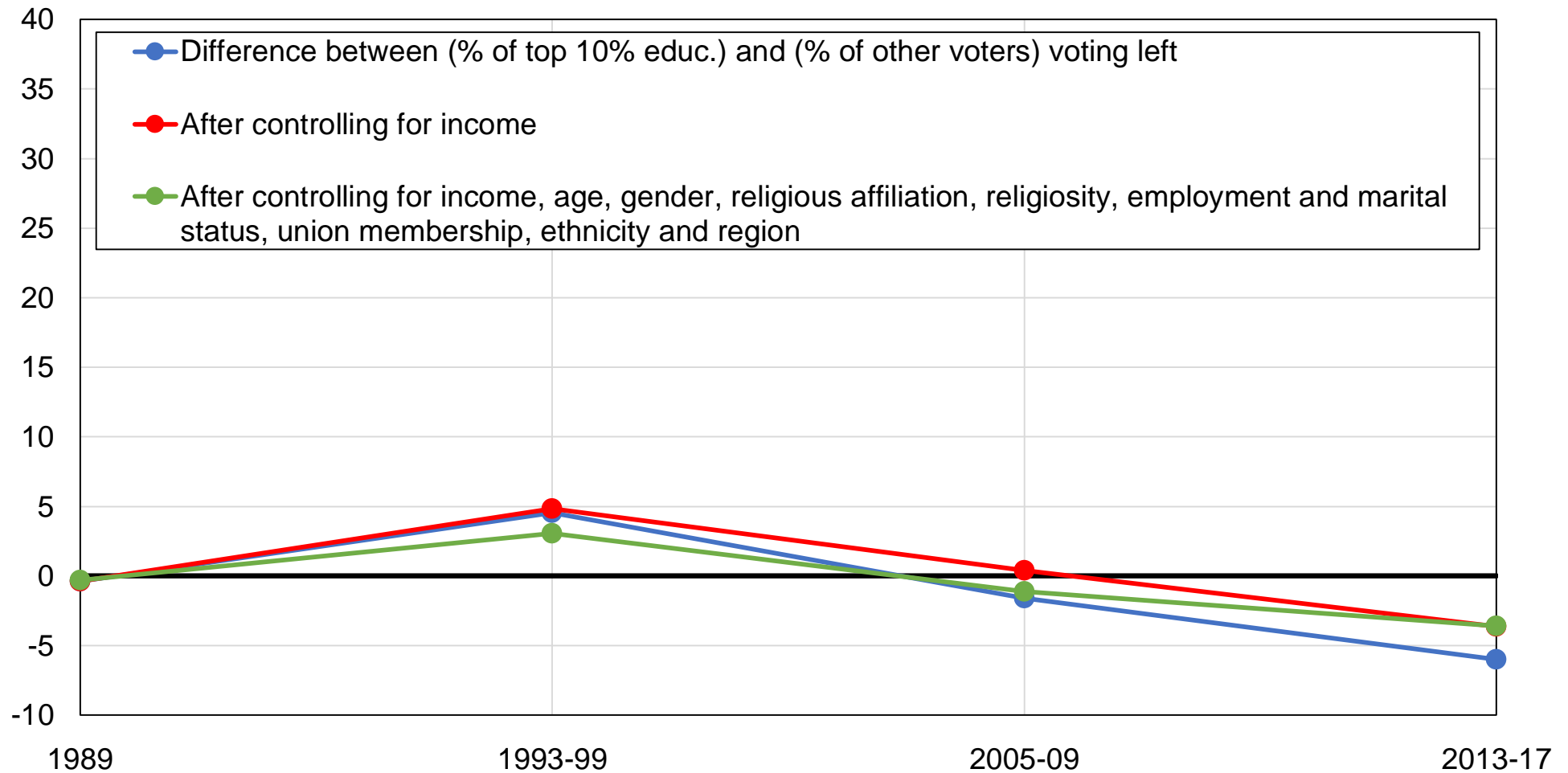
Figure BA17 - Vote for the left among university graduates



Source: authors' computations using Chilean 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, before and after controlling for other variables. The left is defined as Concertación minus DC plus other left-wing parties that do not belong to the center-left alliance.

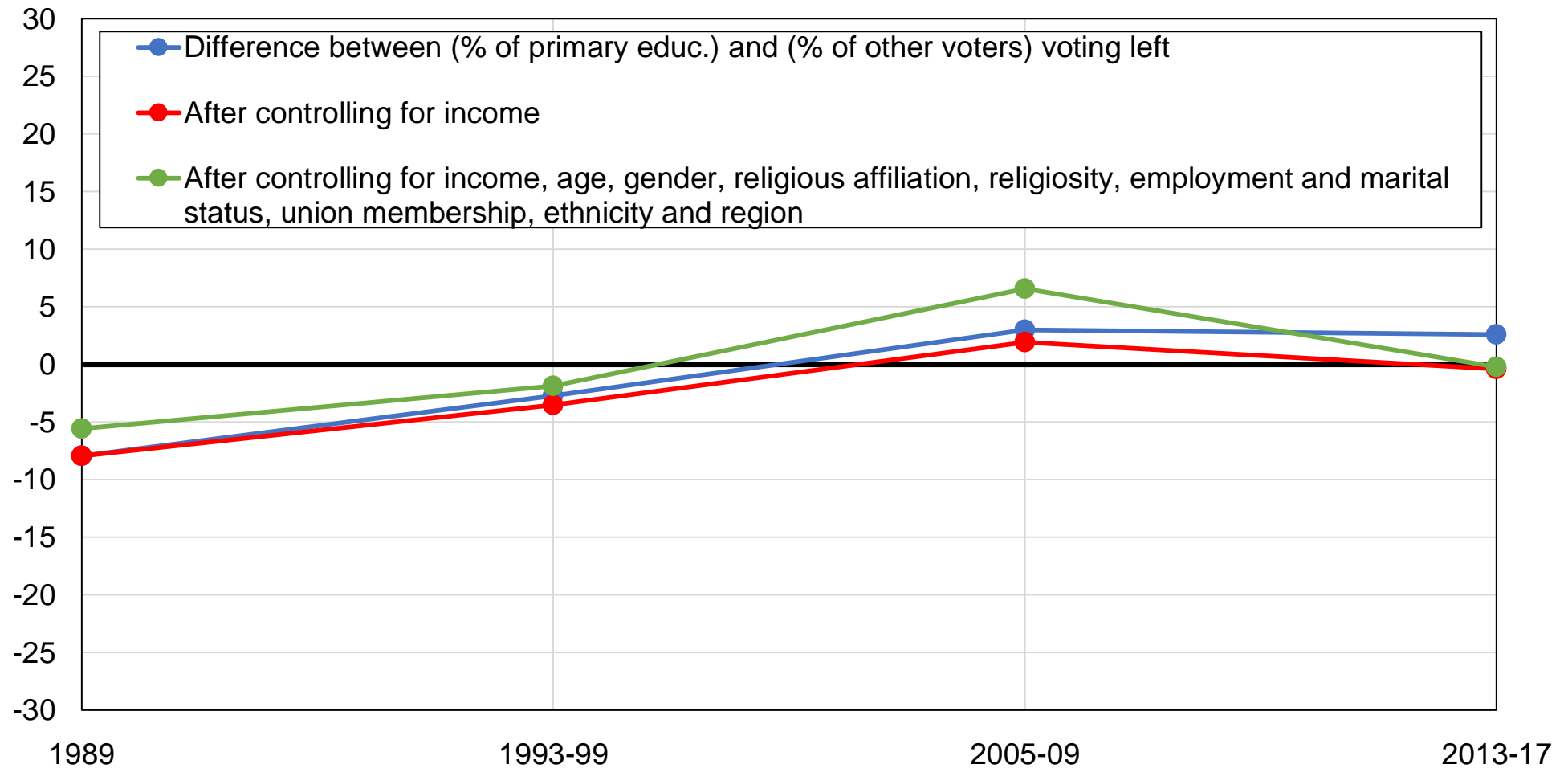
Figure BA18 - Vote for the left among highest-educated voters



Source: authors' computations using Chilean 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, before and after controlling for other variables. The left is defined as Concertación minus DC plus other left-wing parties that do not belong to the center-left alliance.

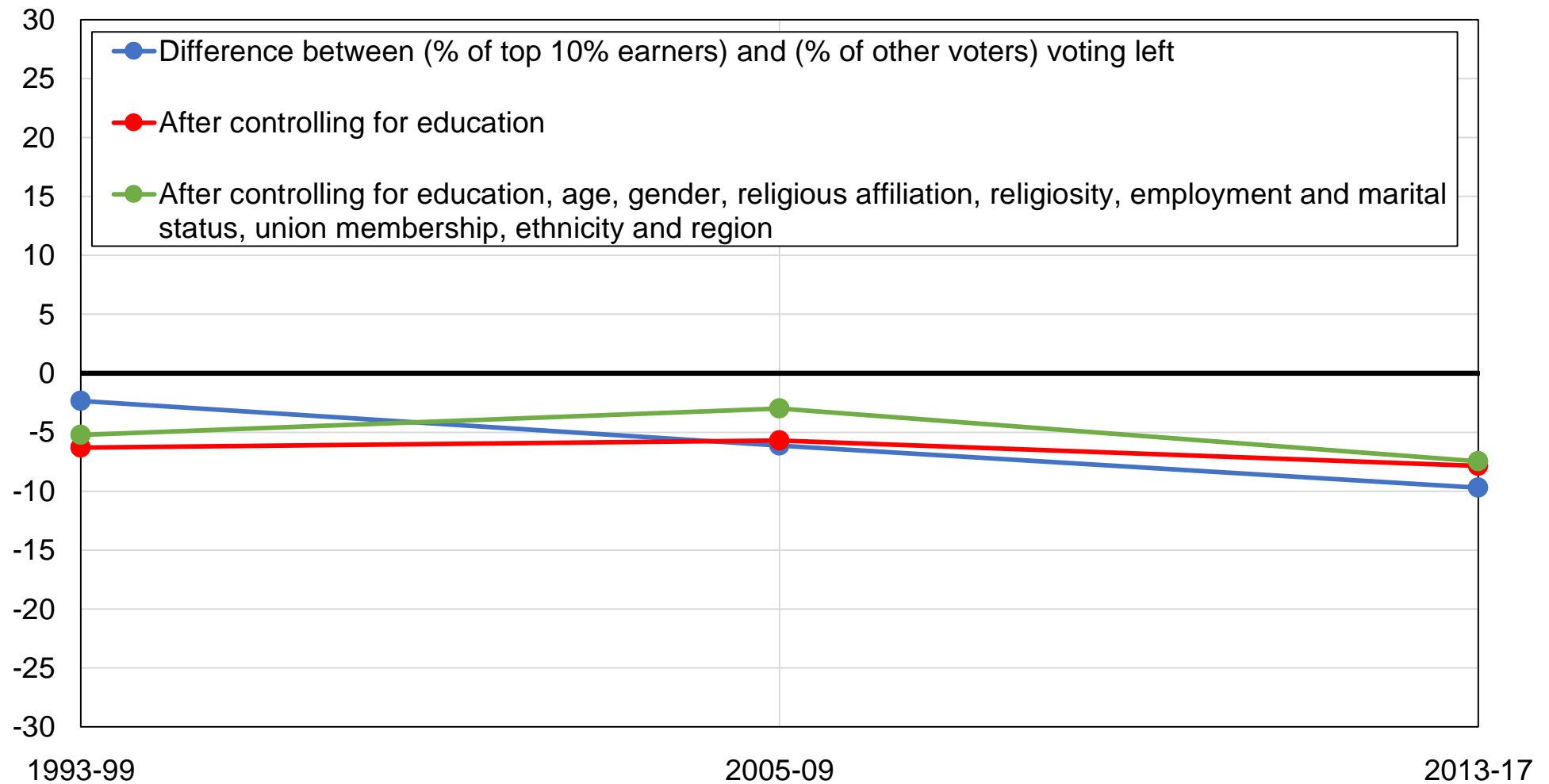
Figure BA19 - Vote for the left among primary educated voters



Source: authors' computations using Chilean 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, before and after controlling for other variables. The left is defined as Concertación minus DC plus other left-wing parties that do not belong to the center-left alliance.

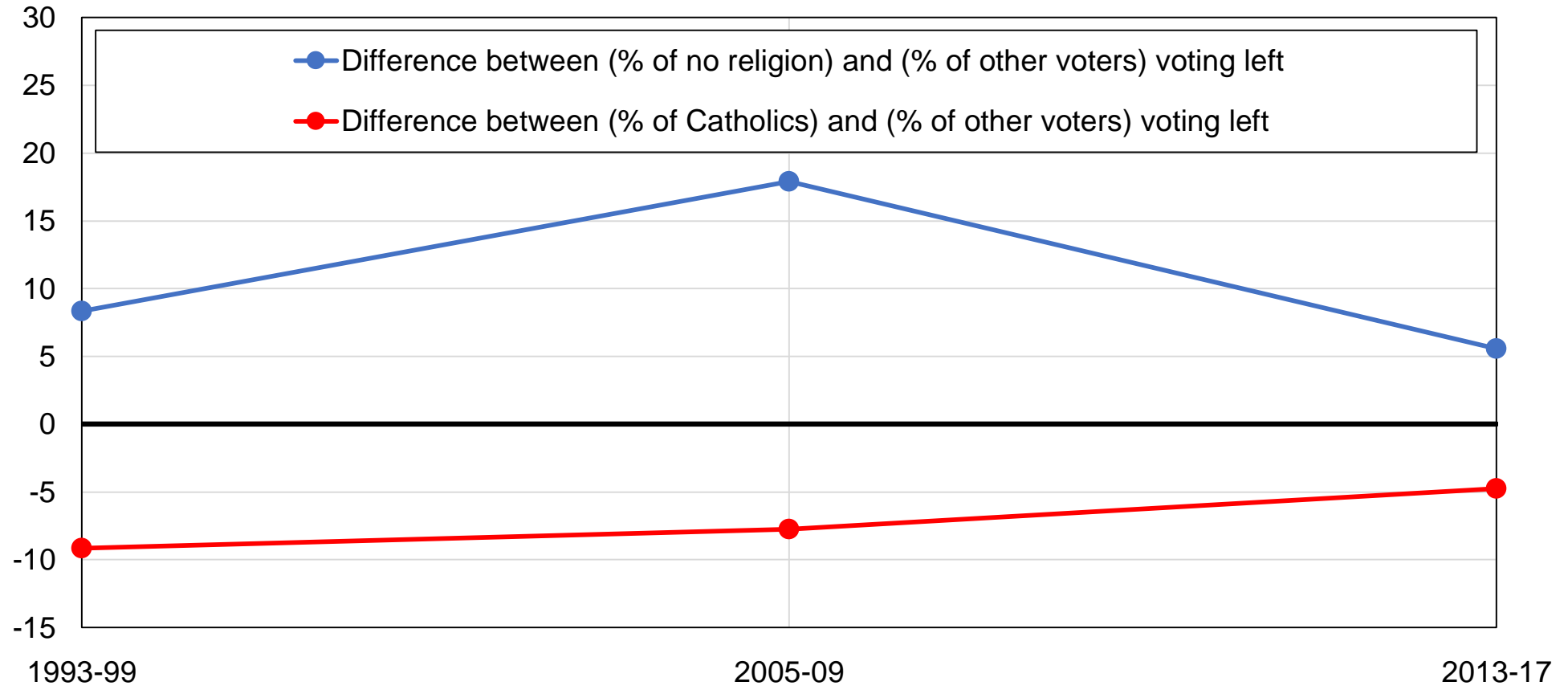
Figure BA20 - Vote for the left among top 10% earners



Source: authors' computations using Chilean 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, before and after controlling for other variables. The left is defined as Concertación minus DC plus other left-wing parties that do not belong to the center-left alliance.

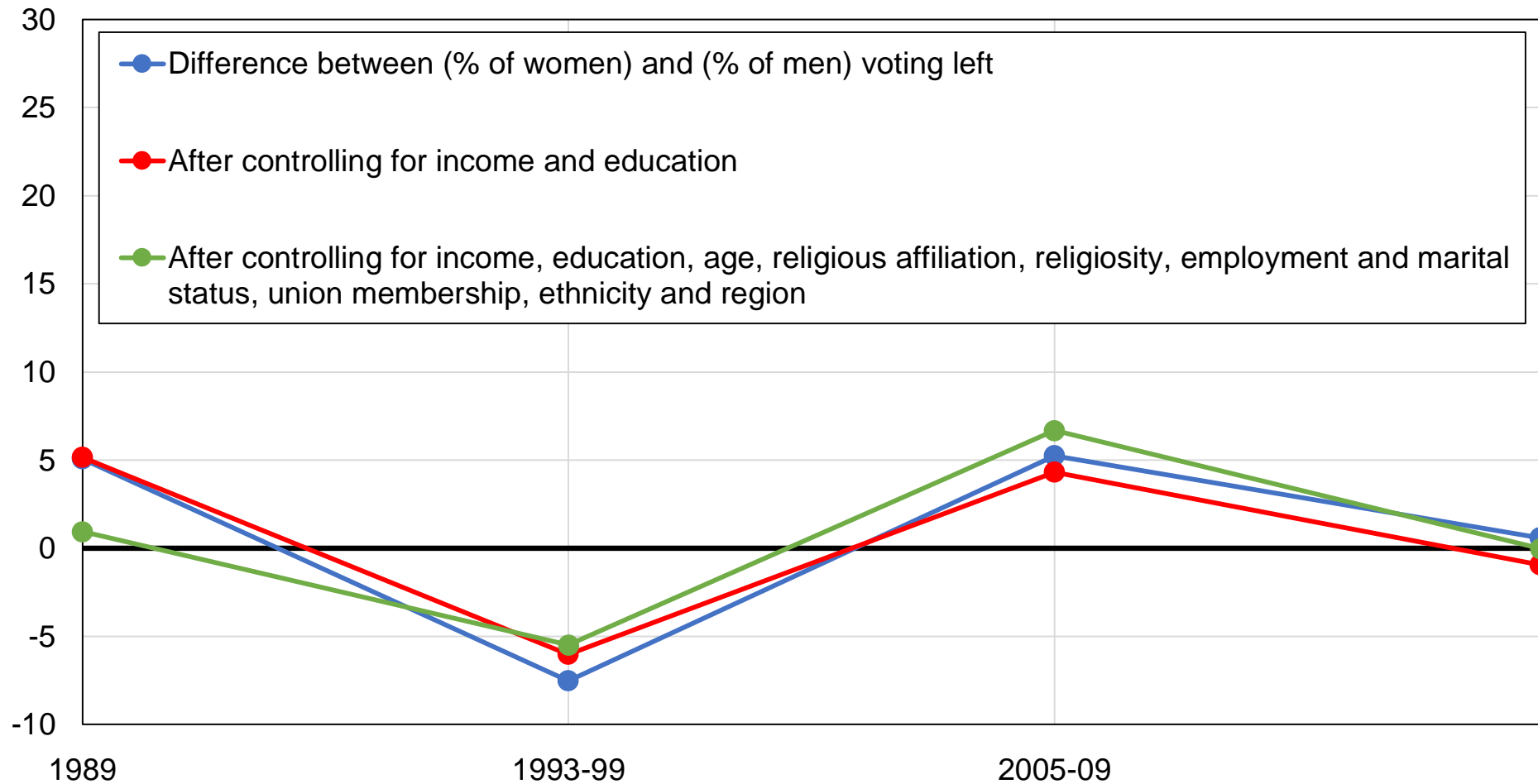
Figure BA21 - Vote for the left among Catholics and voters with no religion, after controls



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters with no religion and the share of other voters voting for center-left/left-wing parties, as well as the same difference between Catholics and others voters, after controlling for education, income, age, gender, religiosity, employment and marital status, union membership, ethnicity and region. The left is defined as Concertación minus DC plus other left-wing parties that do not belong to the center-left alliance.

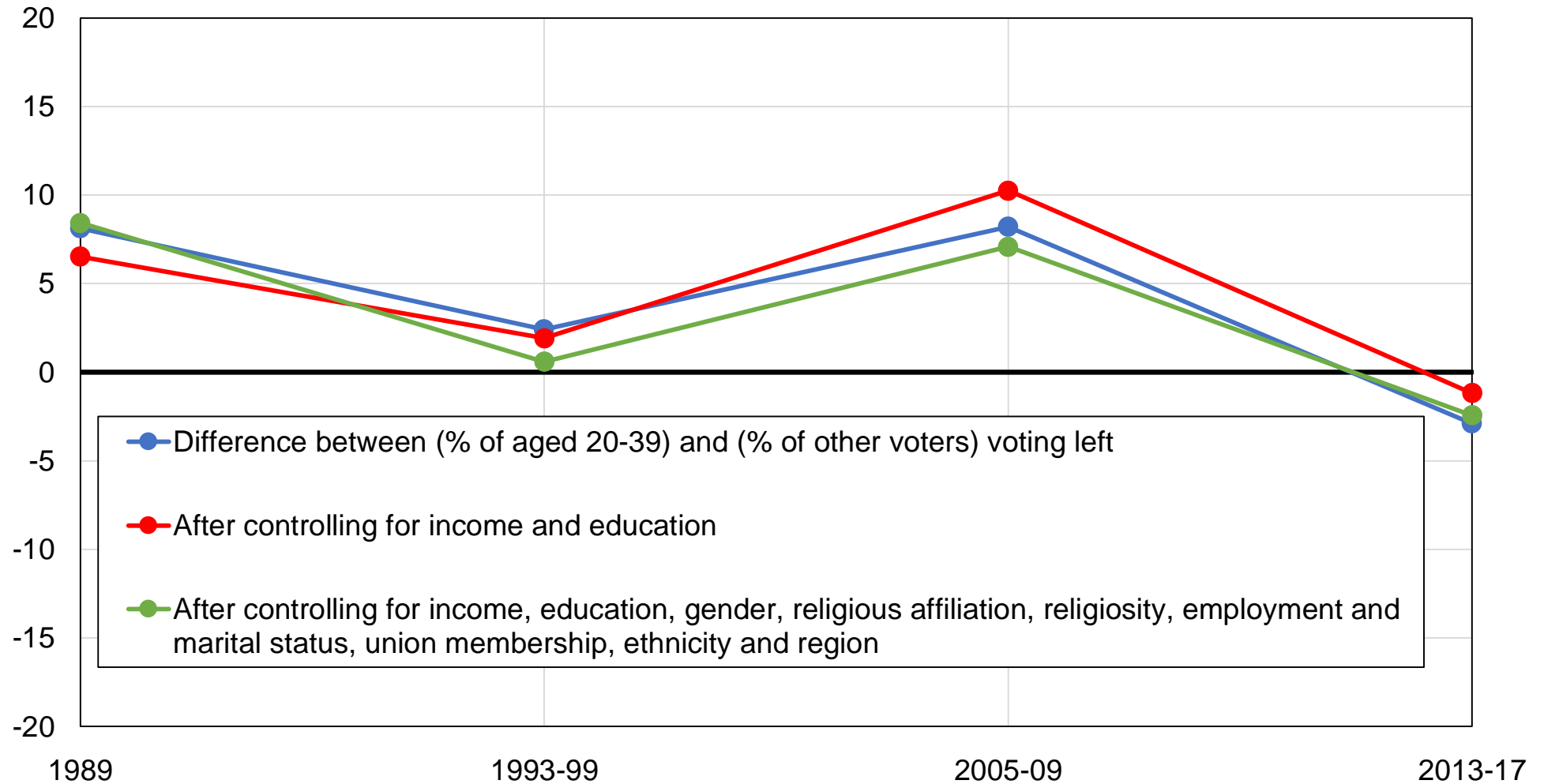
Figure BA22 - Vote for the left among women, after controls



Source: authors' computations using Chilean 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, before and after controls. The left is defined as Concertación minus DC plus other left-wing parties that do not belong to the center-left alliance.

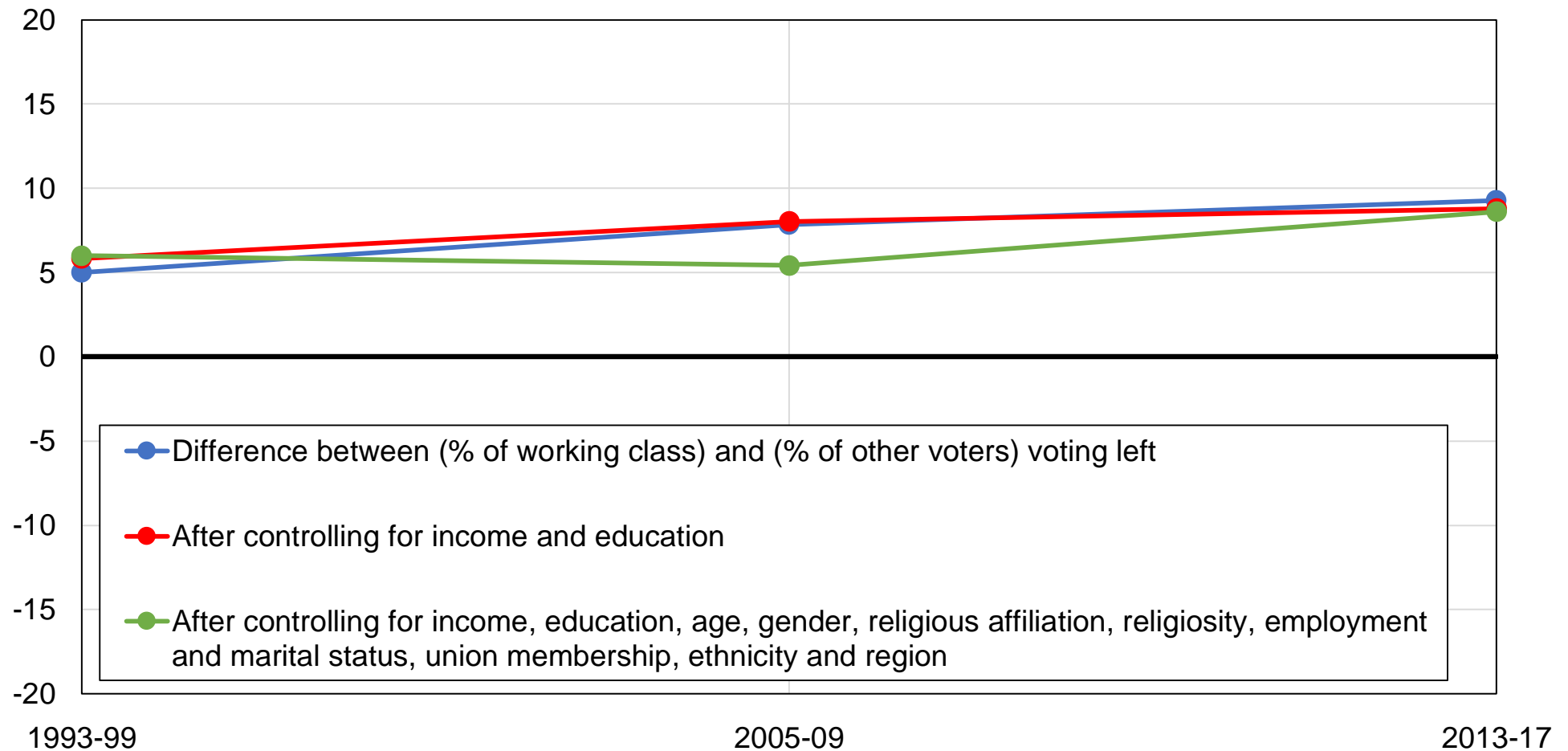
Figure BA23 - Vote for the left among young voters



Source: authors' computations using Chilean 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, before and after controlling for other variables. The left is defined as Concertación minus DC plus other left-wing parties that do not belong to the center-left alliance.

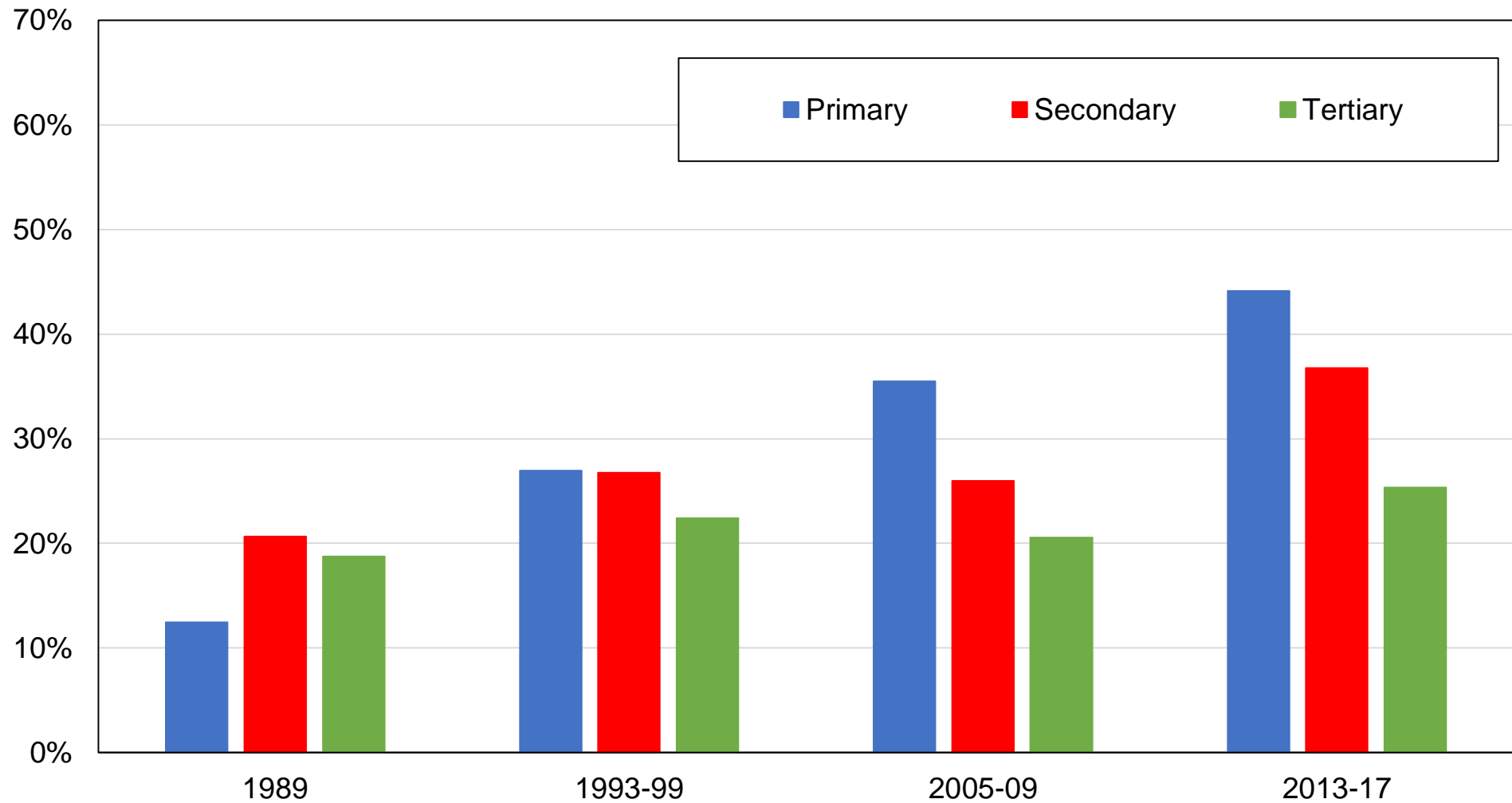
Figure BA24 - Vote for the left among the working class



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters belonging to the working class and the share of other voters voting for center-left/left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables. The left is defined as Concertación minus DC plus other left-wing parties that do not belong to the center-left alliance.

Figure BB1 - Vote for Concertación (excl. DC) by education level



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Concertación (excl. DC) by education level.

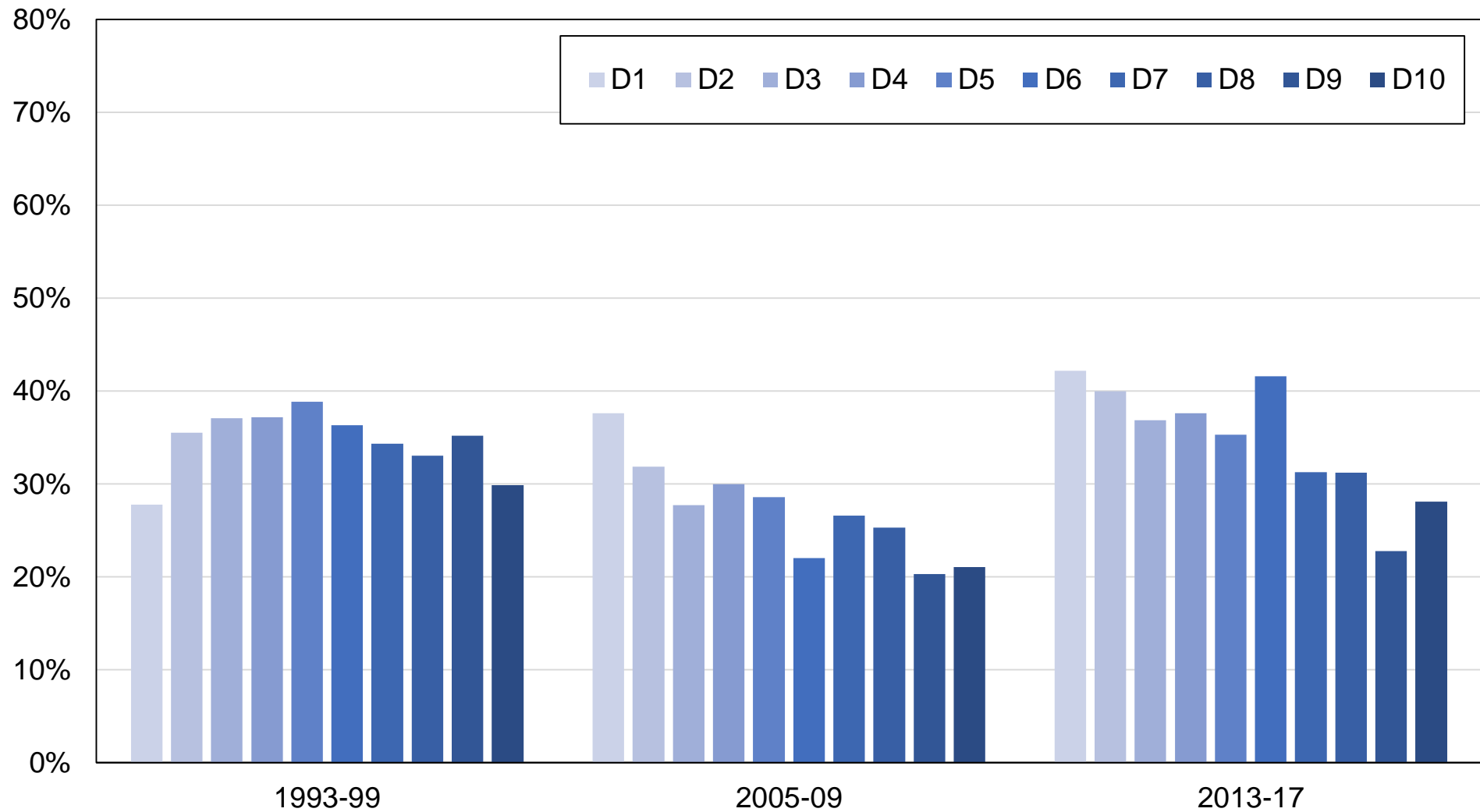
Figure BB2 - Vote for Concertación (excl. DC) by education group



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Concertación (excl. DC) by education group.

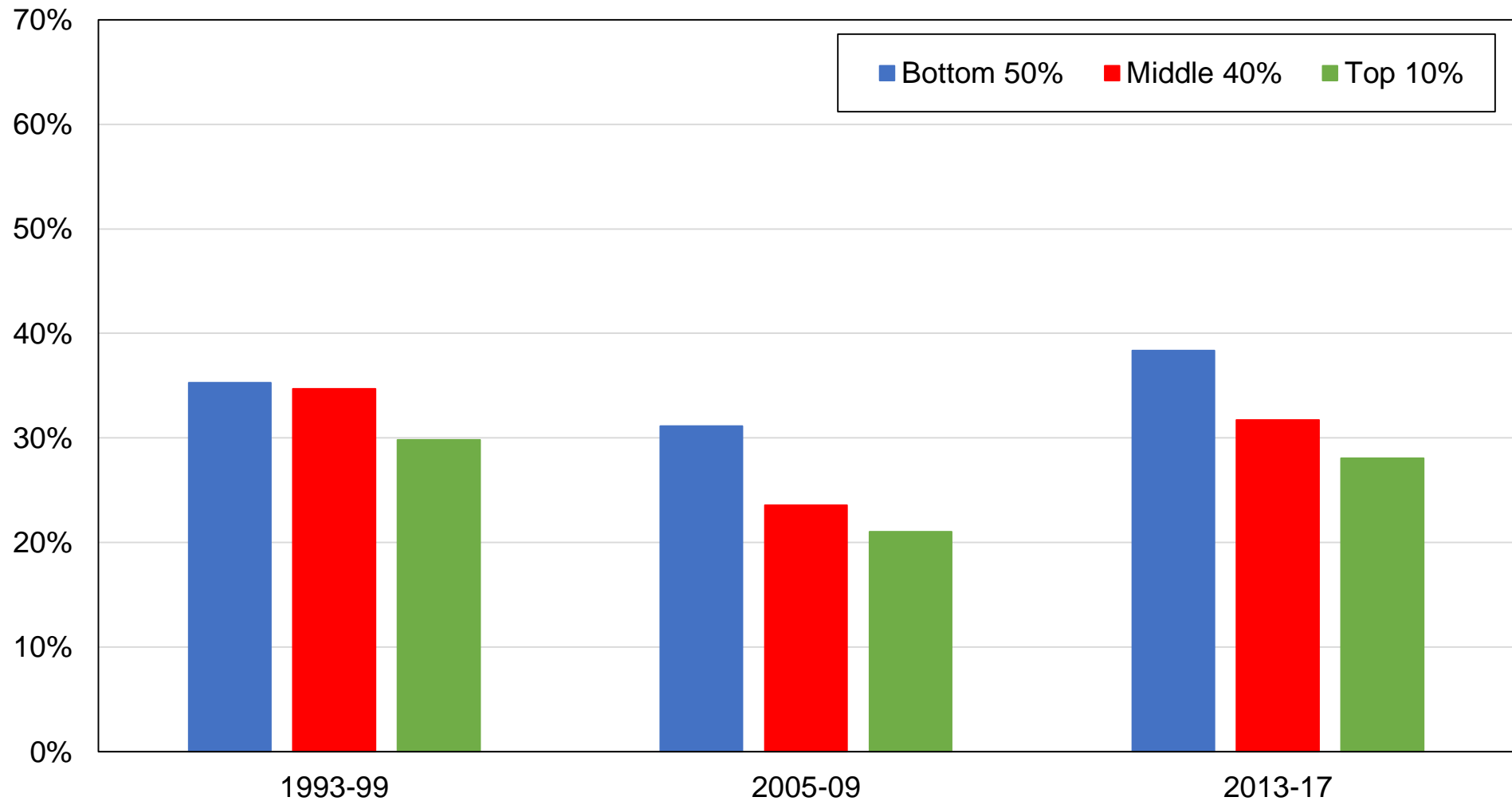
Figure BB3 - Vote for Concertación (excl. DC) by income decile



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Concertación (excl. DC) by income decile.

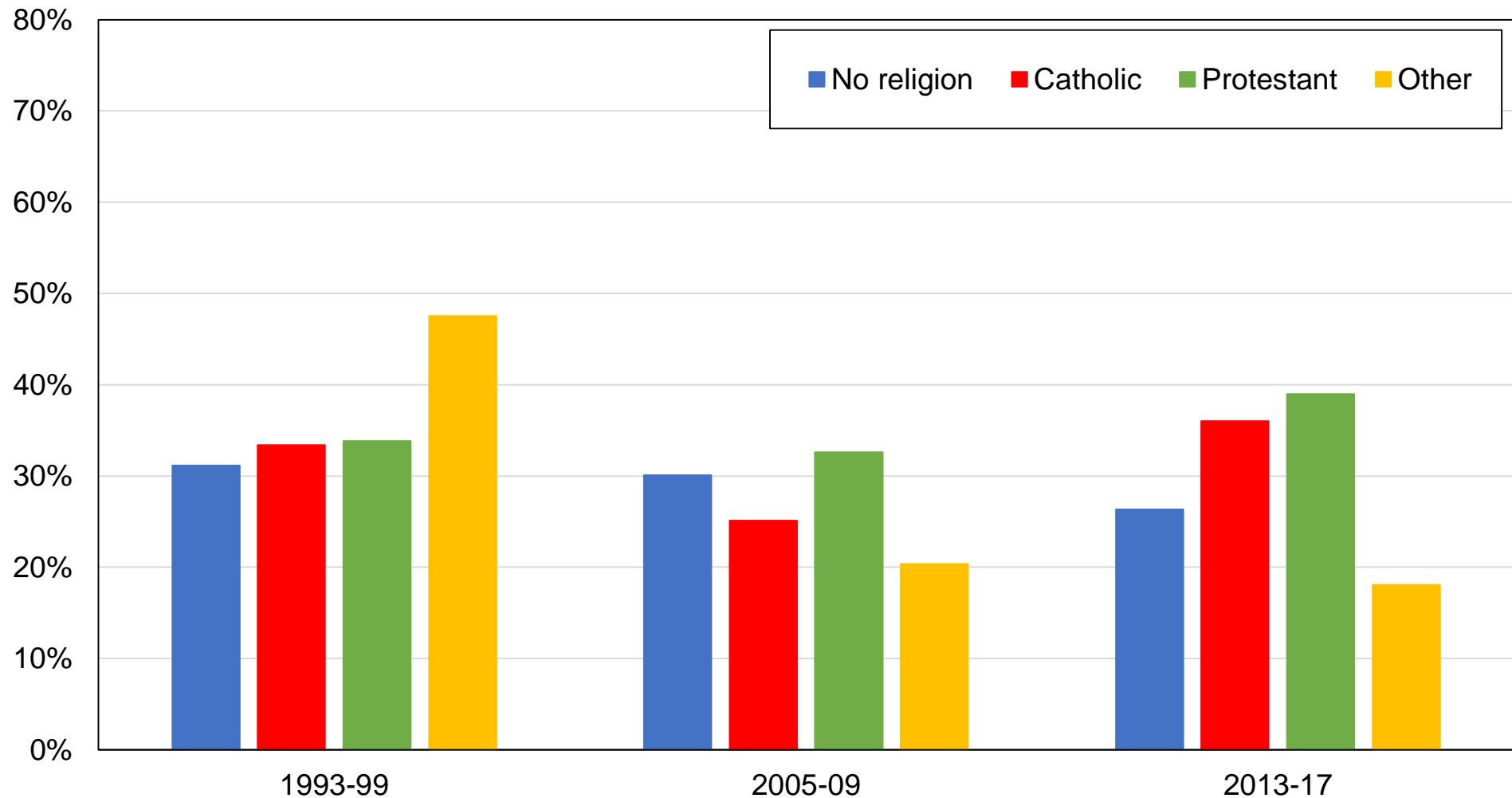
Figure BB4 - Vote for Concertación (excl. DC) by income group



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Concertación (excl. DC) by income group.

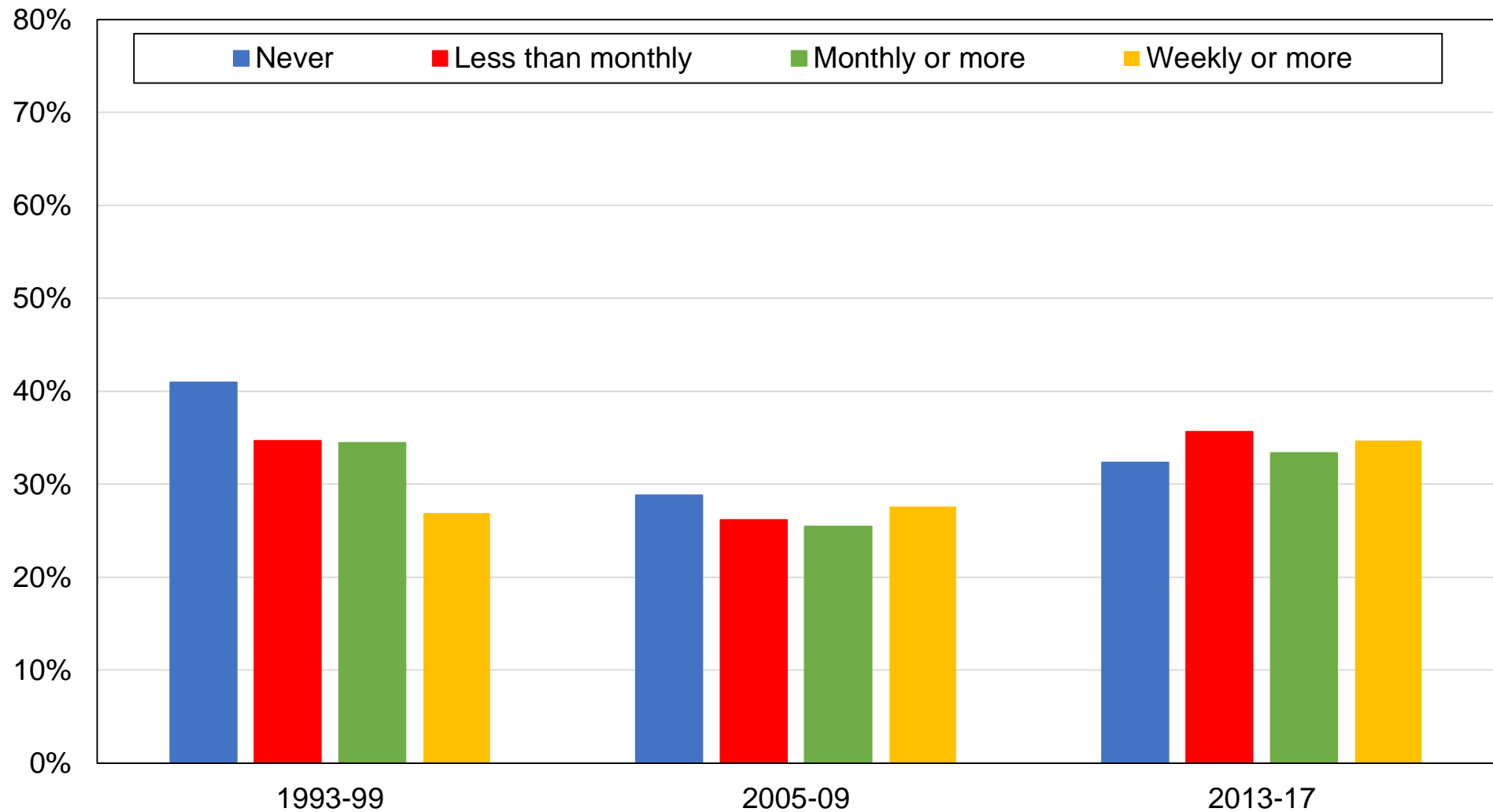
Figure BB5 - Vote for Concertación (excl. DC) by religious affiliation



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Concertación (excl. DC) by religious affiliation.

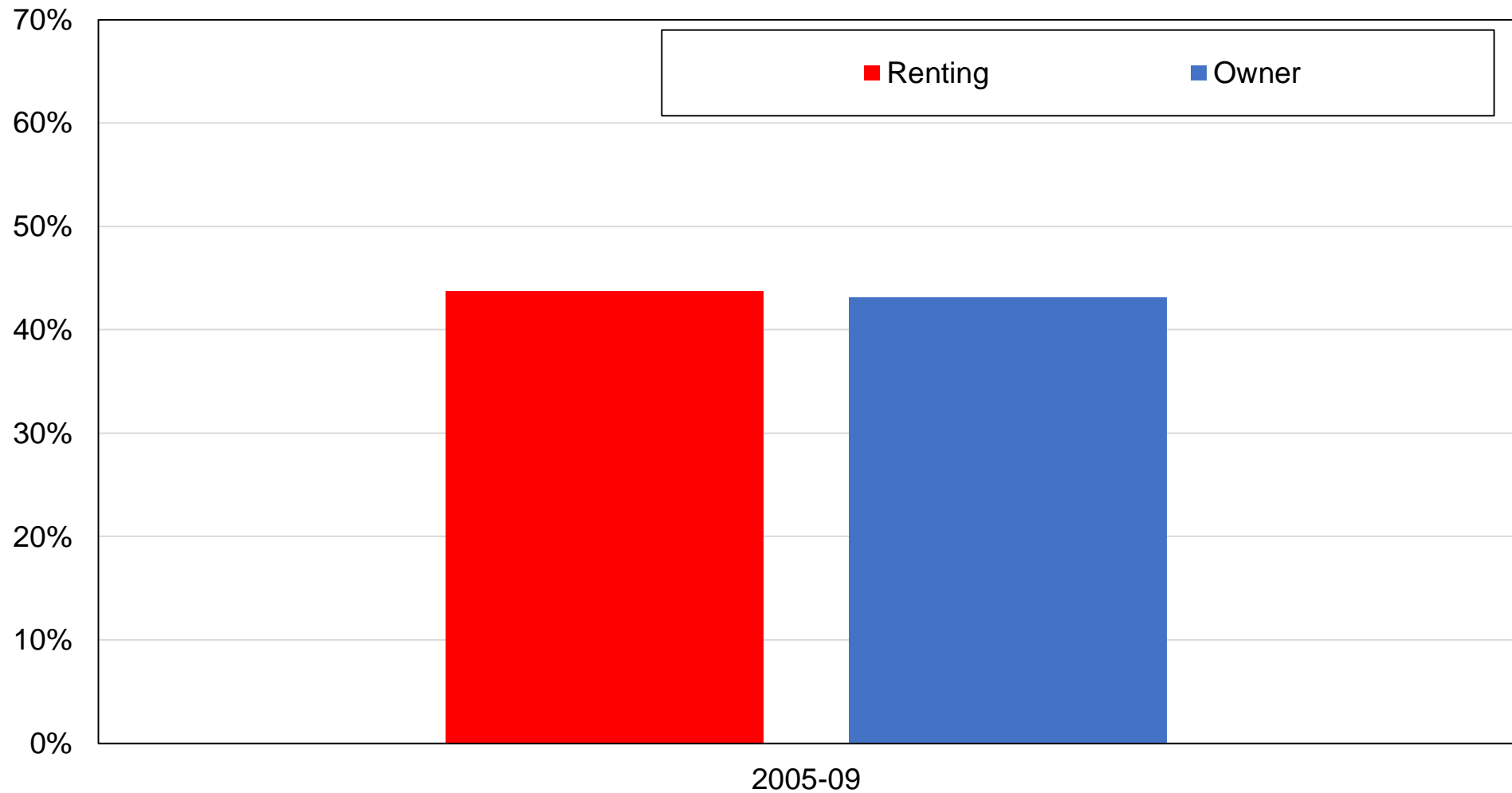
Figure BB6 - Vote for Concertación (excl. DC) by church attendance



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Concertación (excl. DC) by church attendance.

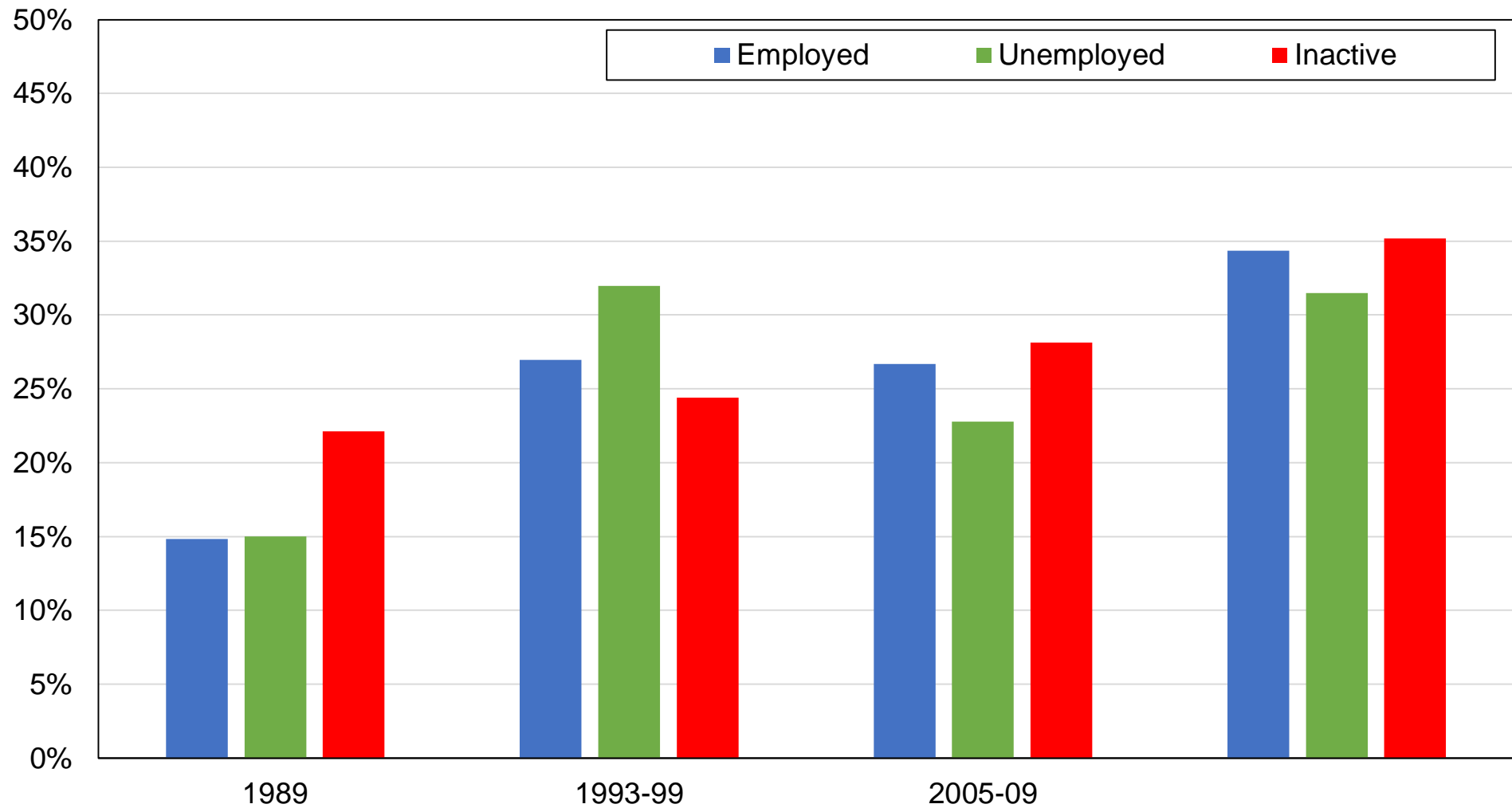
Figure BB7 - Vote for Concertación (excl. DC) by home ownership



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Concertación (excl. DC) by home ownership.

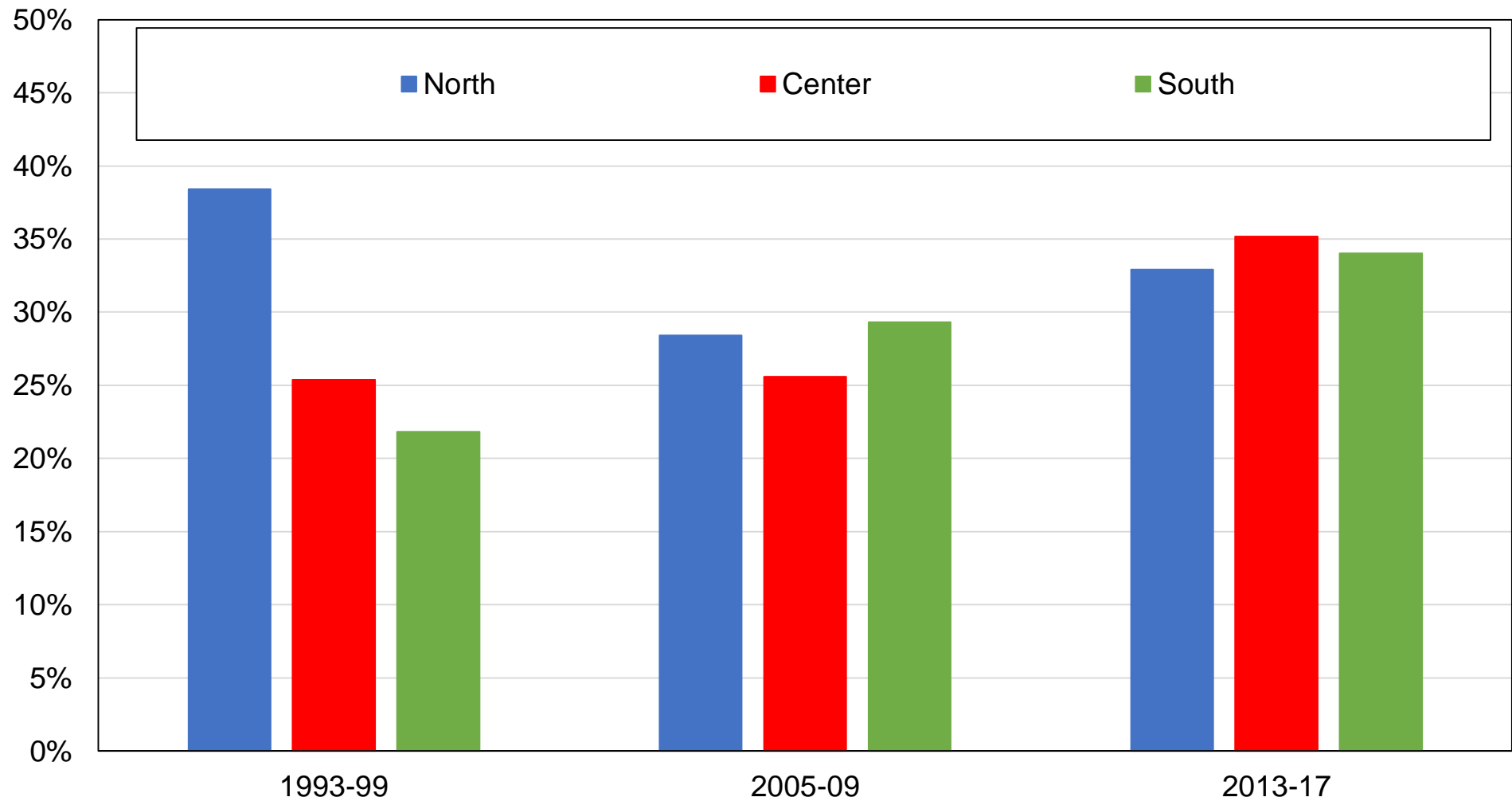
Figure BB8 - Vote for Concertación (excl. DC) by employment status



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Concertación (excl. DC) by employment status.

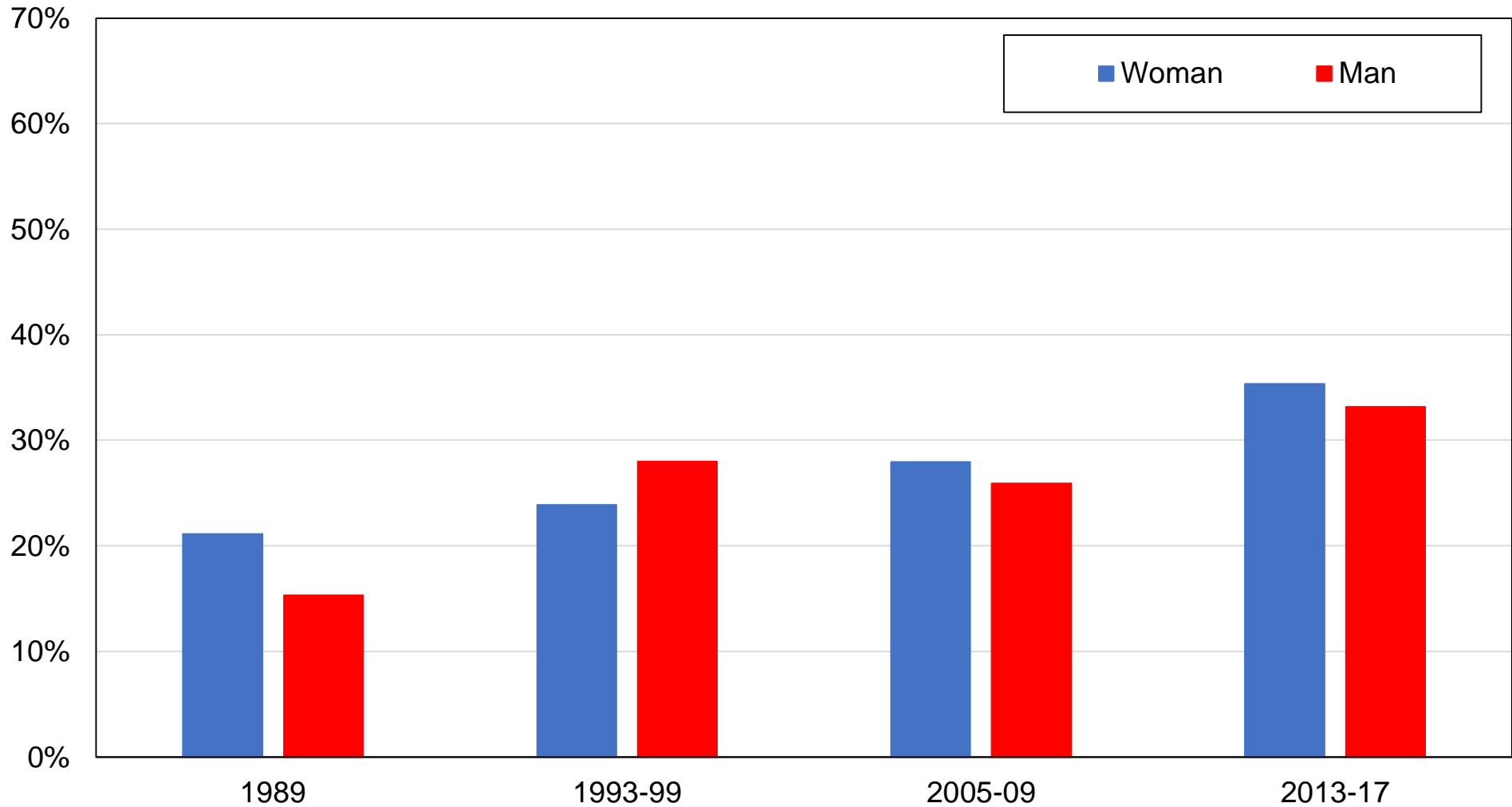
Figure BB9 - Vote for Concertación (excl. DC) by region



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Concertación (excl. DC) by region.

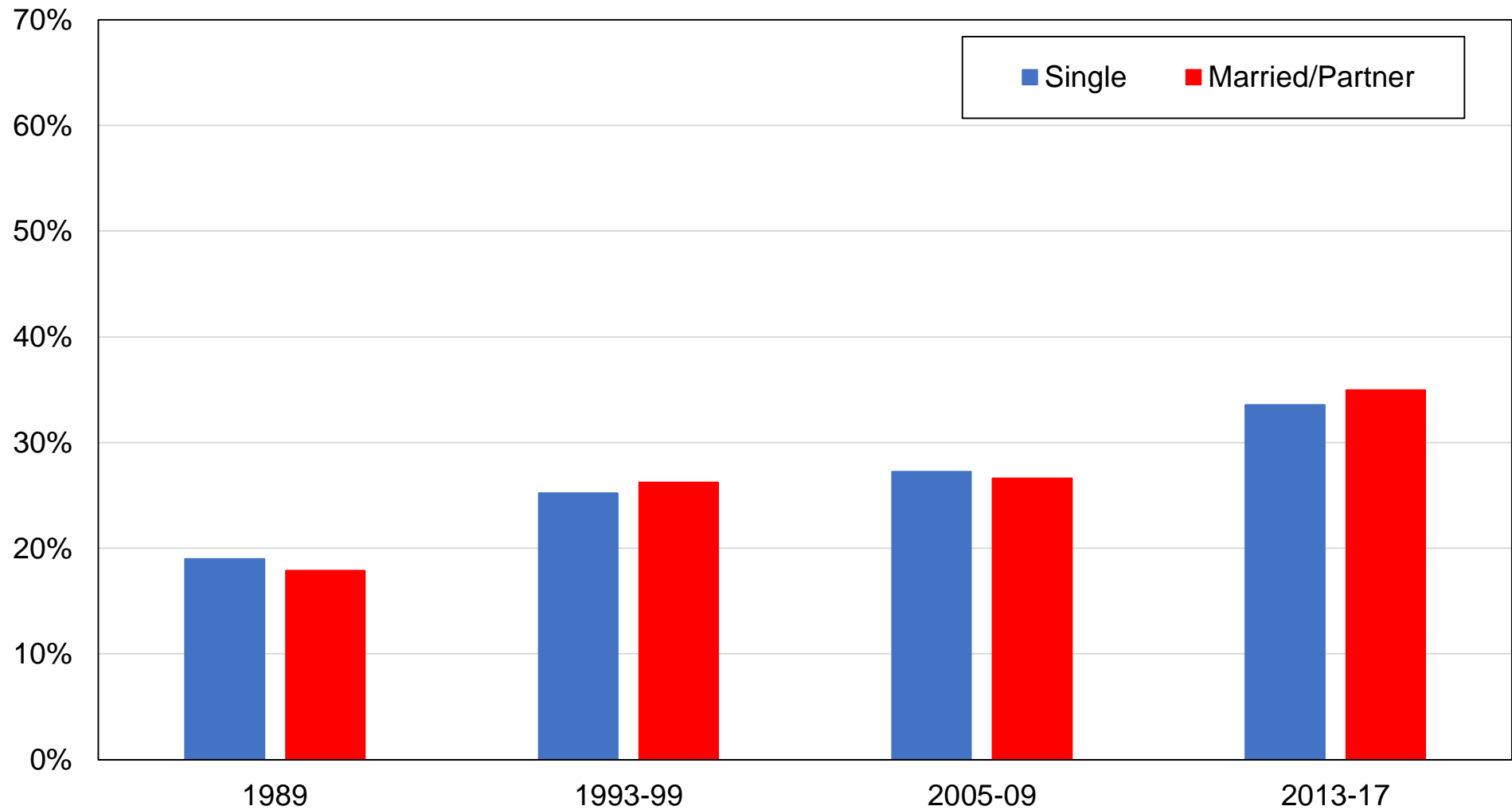
Figure BB10 - Vote for Concertación (excl. DC) by gender



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Concertación (excl. DC) by gender.

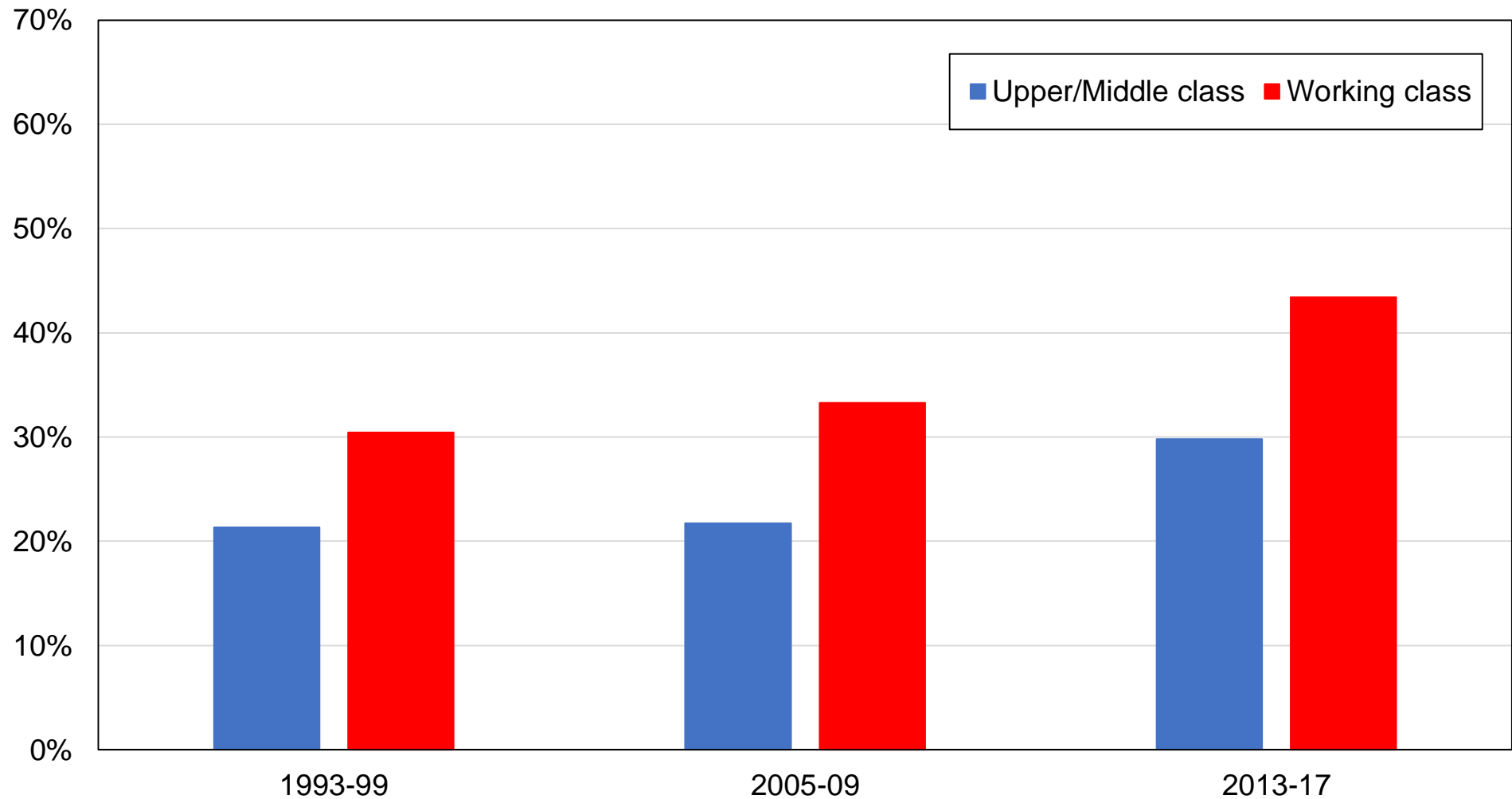
Figure BB11 - Vote for Concertación (excl. DC) by marital status



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Concertación (excl. DC) by marital status.

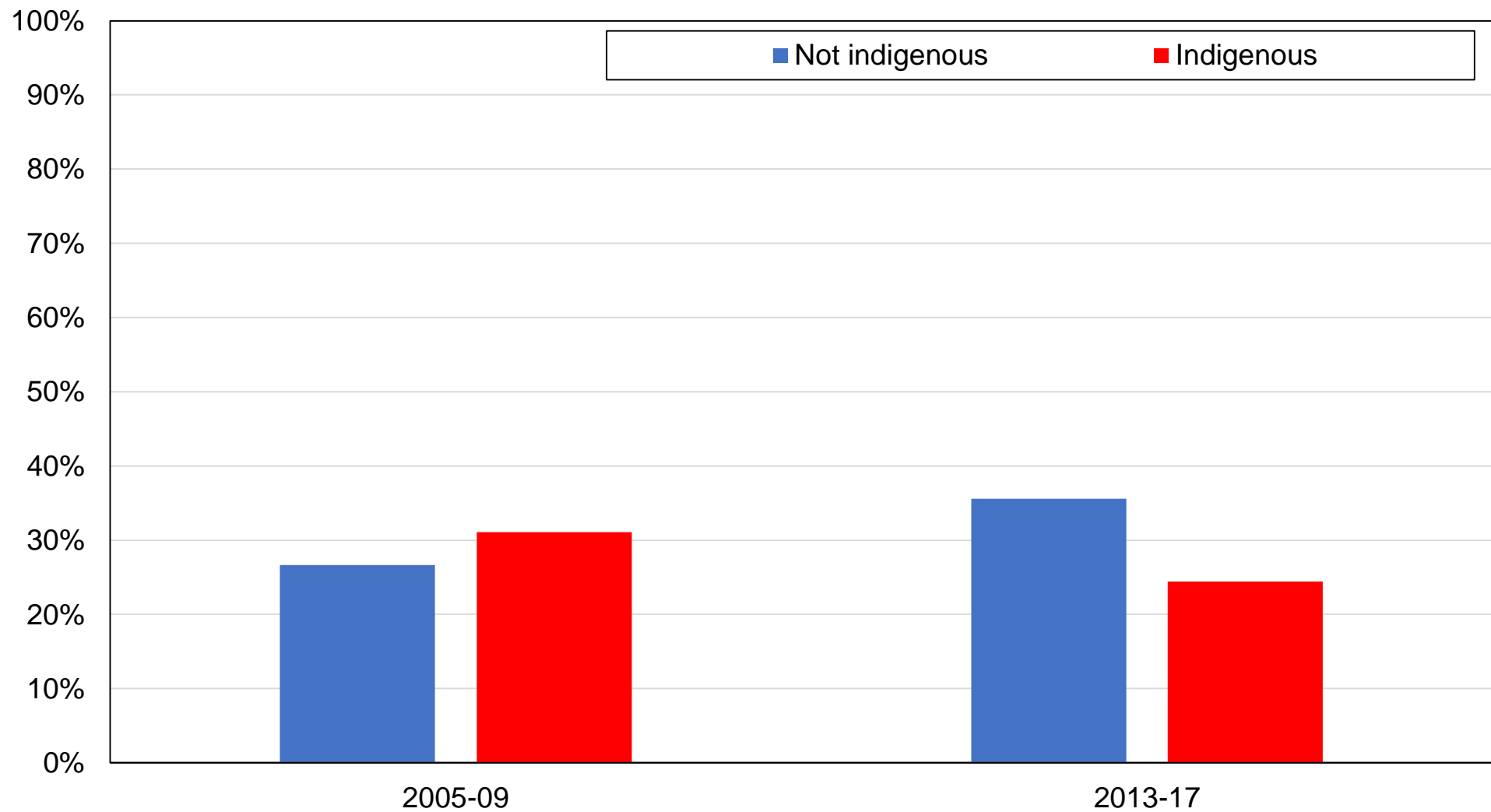
Figure BB12 - Vote for Concertación (excl. DC) by social class



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Concertación (excl. DC) by social class.

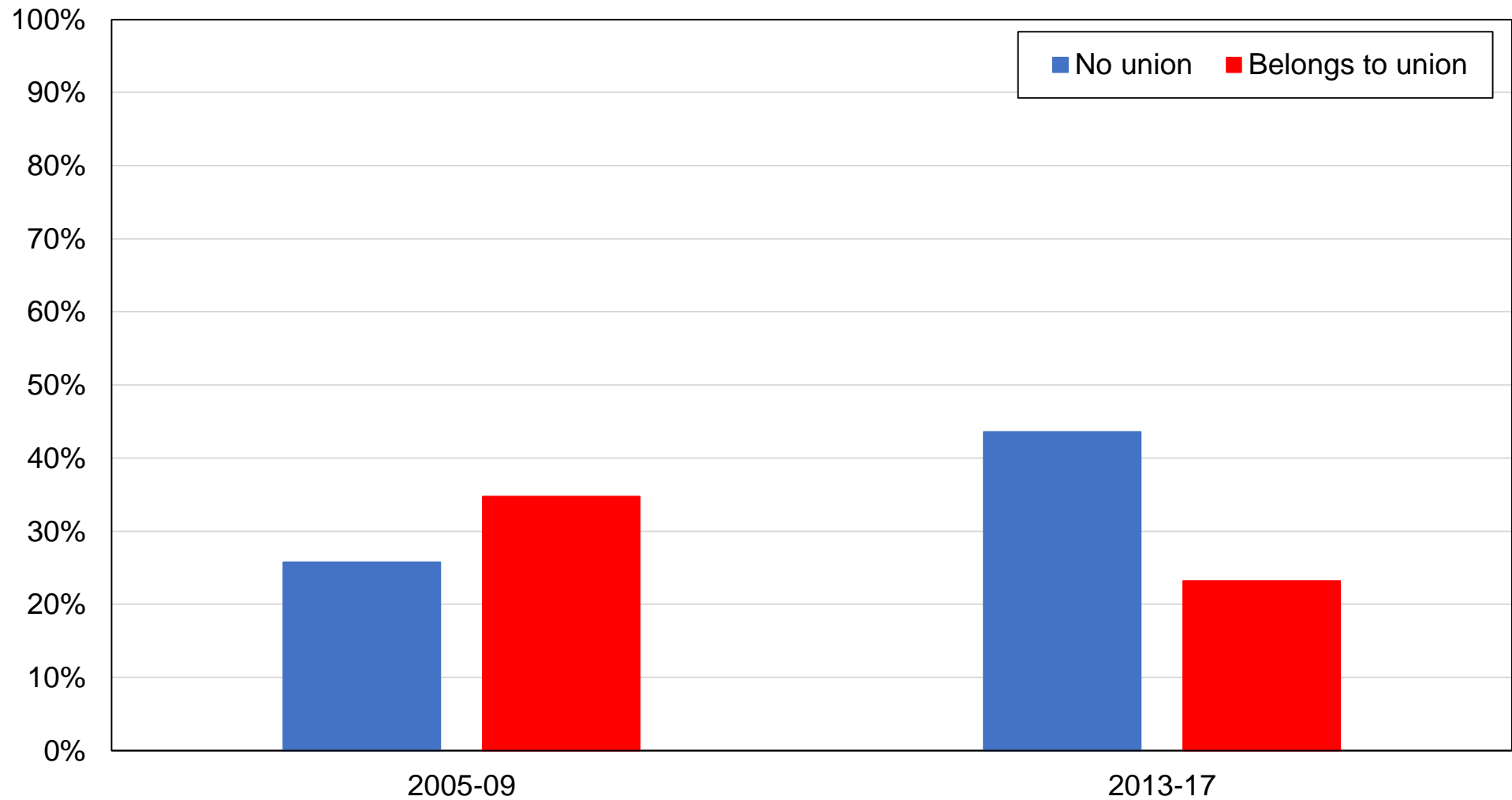
Figure BB13 - Vote for Concertación (excl. DC) by ethnicity



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Concertación (excl. DC) by ethnicity.

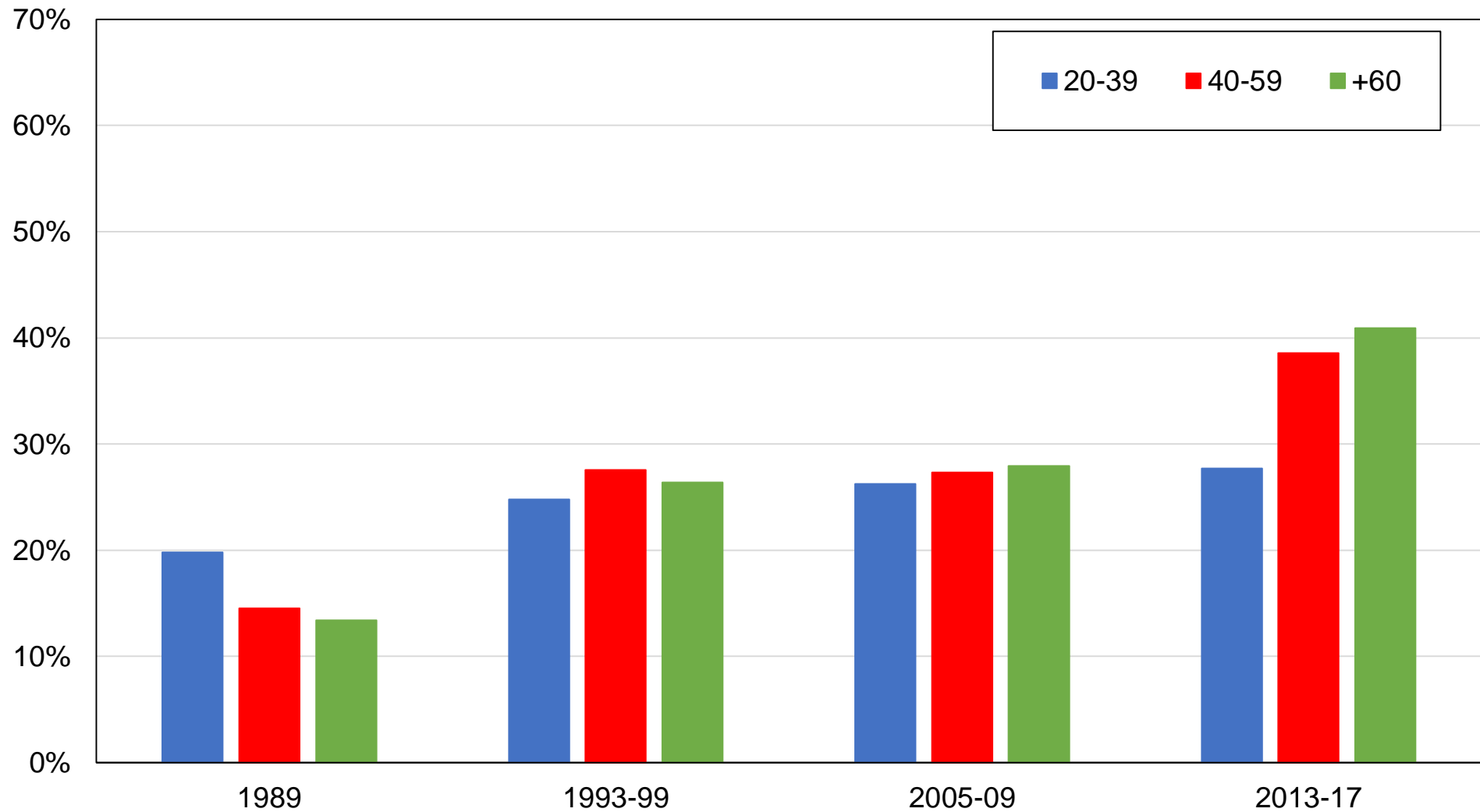
Figure BB14 - Vote for Concertación (excl. DC) by union membership



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Concertación (excl. DC) by union membership.

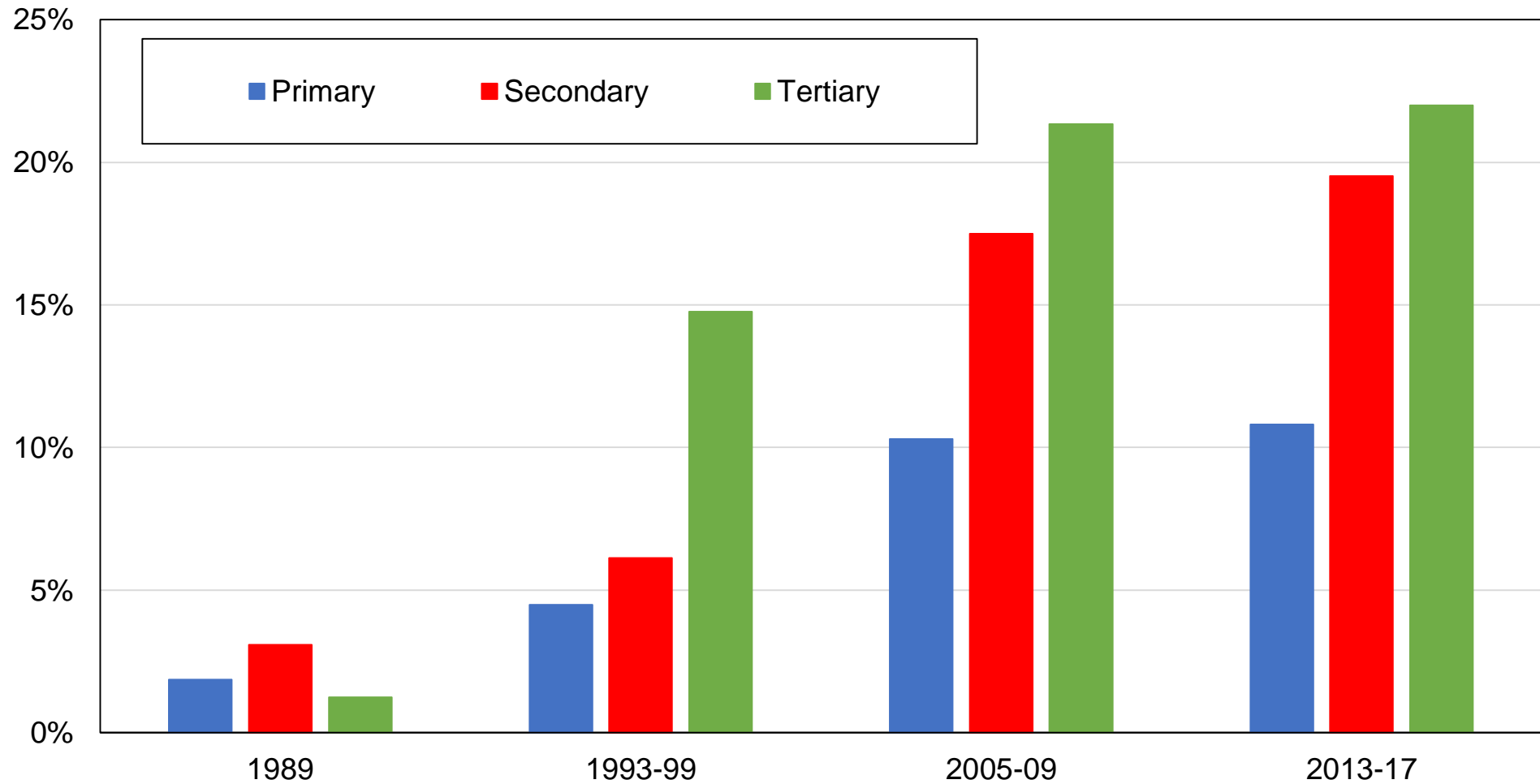
Figure BB15 - Vote for Concertación (excl. DC) by age group



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Concertación (excl. DC) by age group.

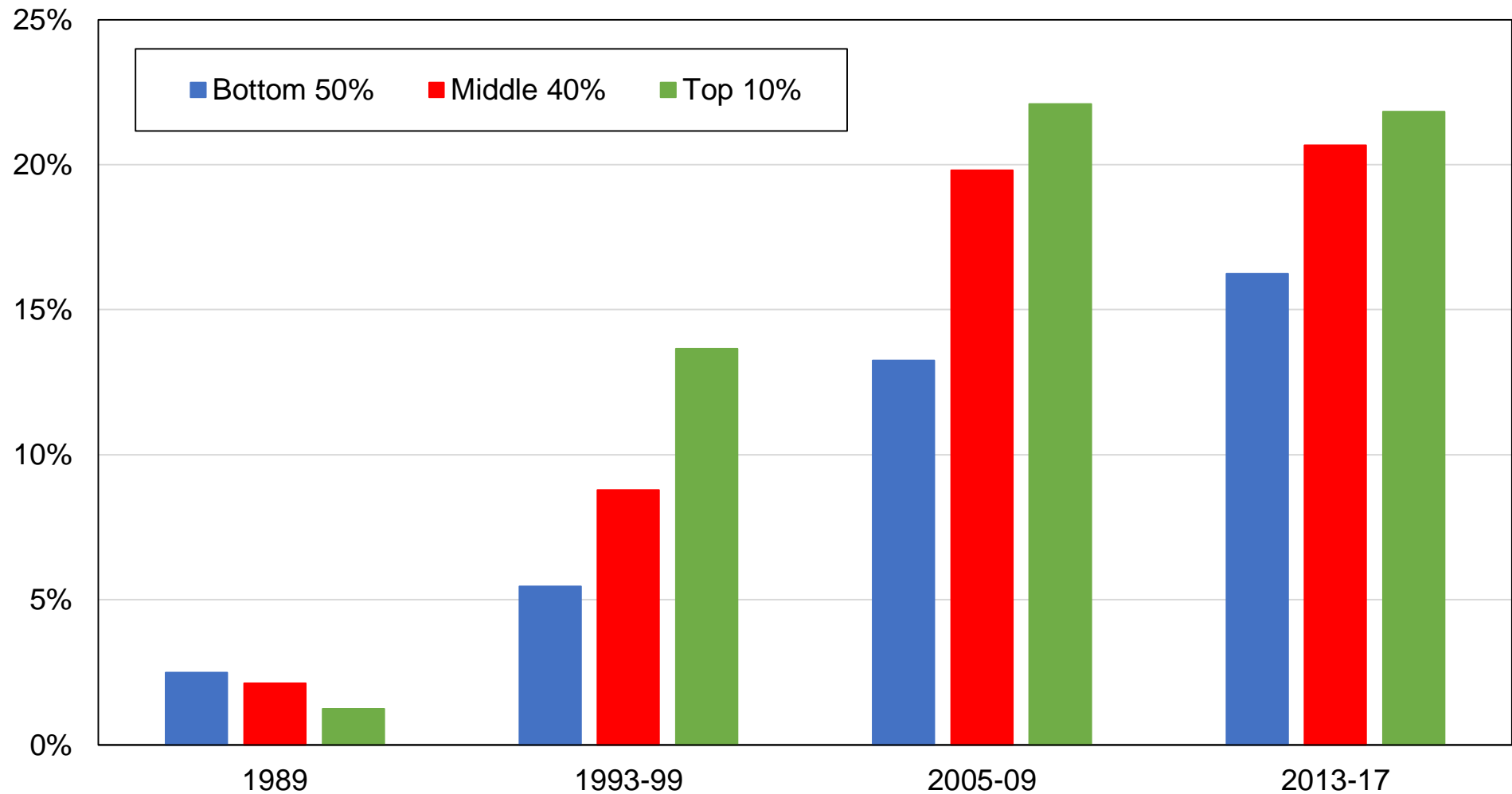
Figure BB16 - Vote for Communist/Humanist Party by education level



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Communist/Humanist Party by education level.

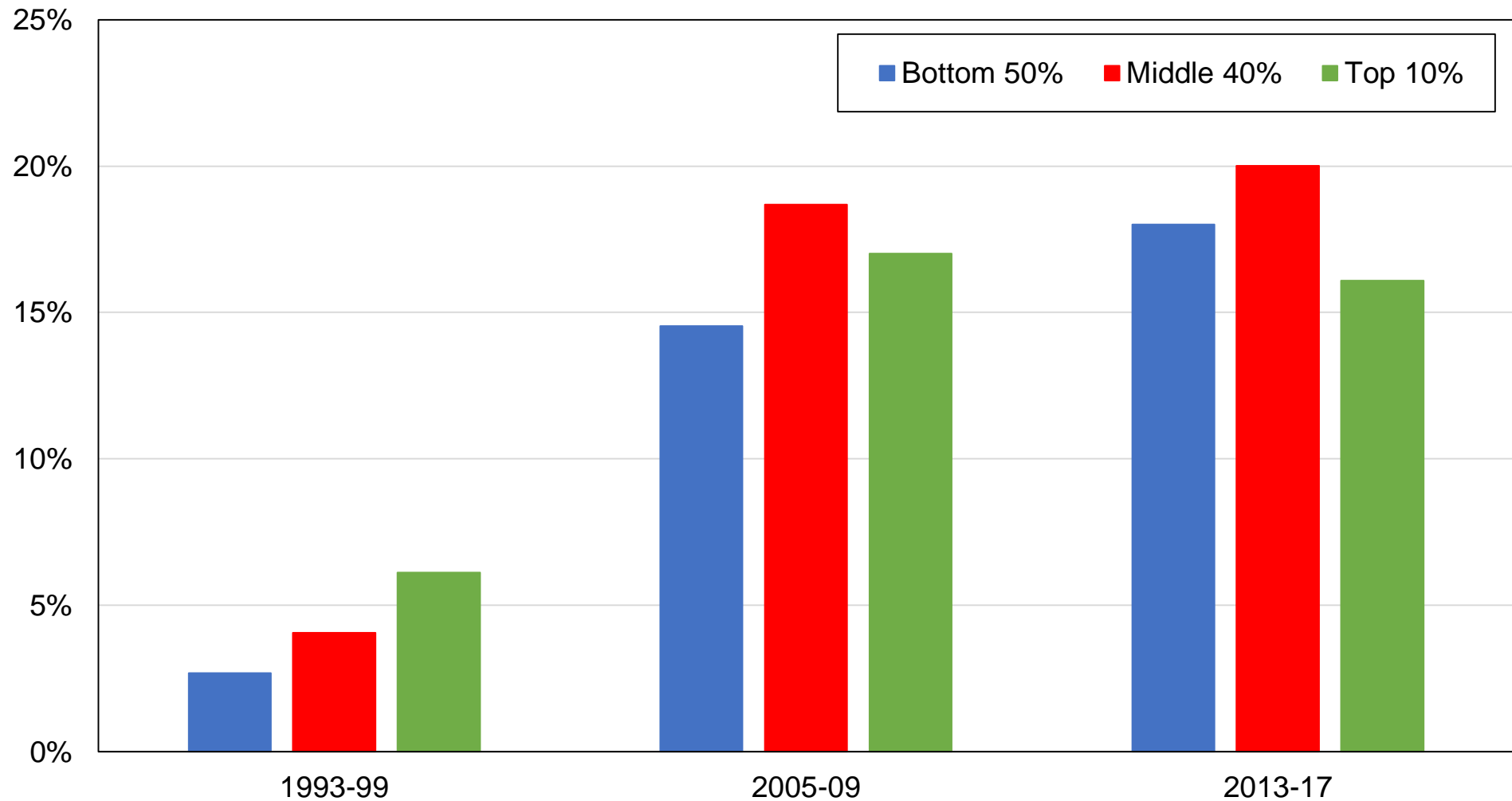
Figure BB17 - Vote for Communist/Humanist Party by education group



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Communist/Humanist Party by education group.

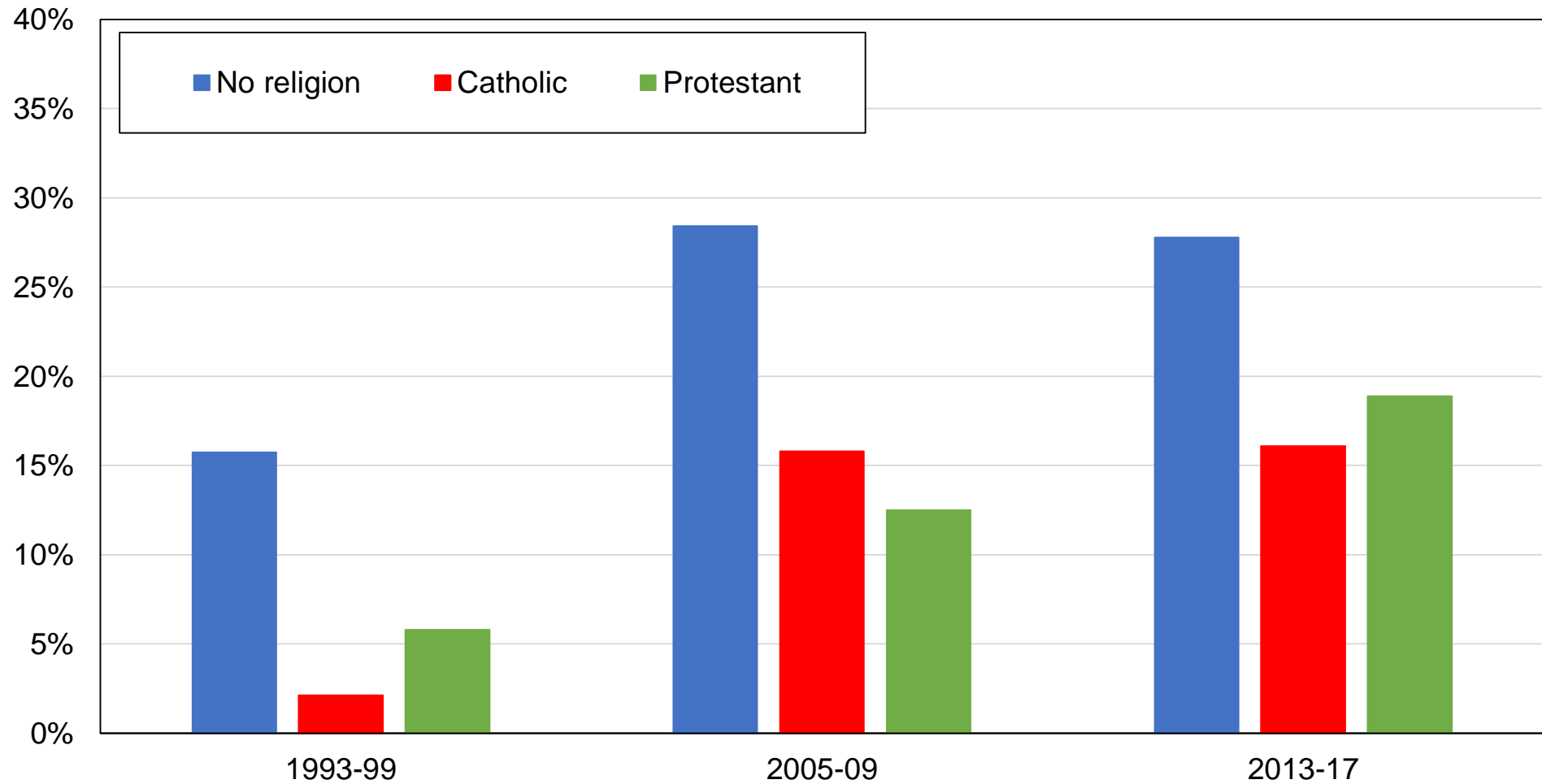
Figure BB18 - Vote for Communist/Humanist Party by income group



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Communist/Humanist Party by income group.

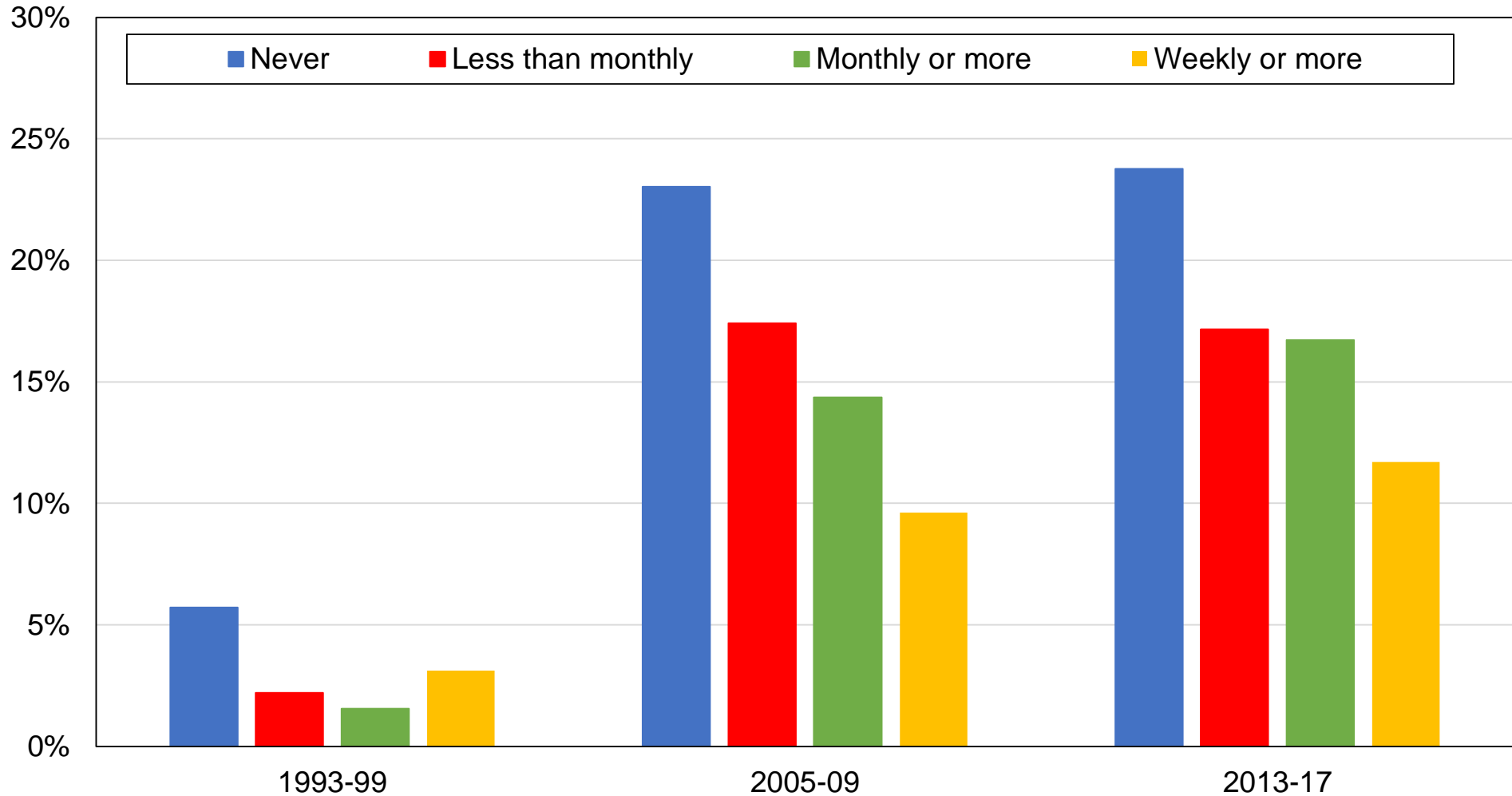
Figure BB19 - Vote for Communist/Humanist Party by religious affiliation



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Communist/Humanist Party by religious affiliation.

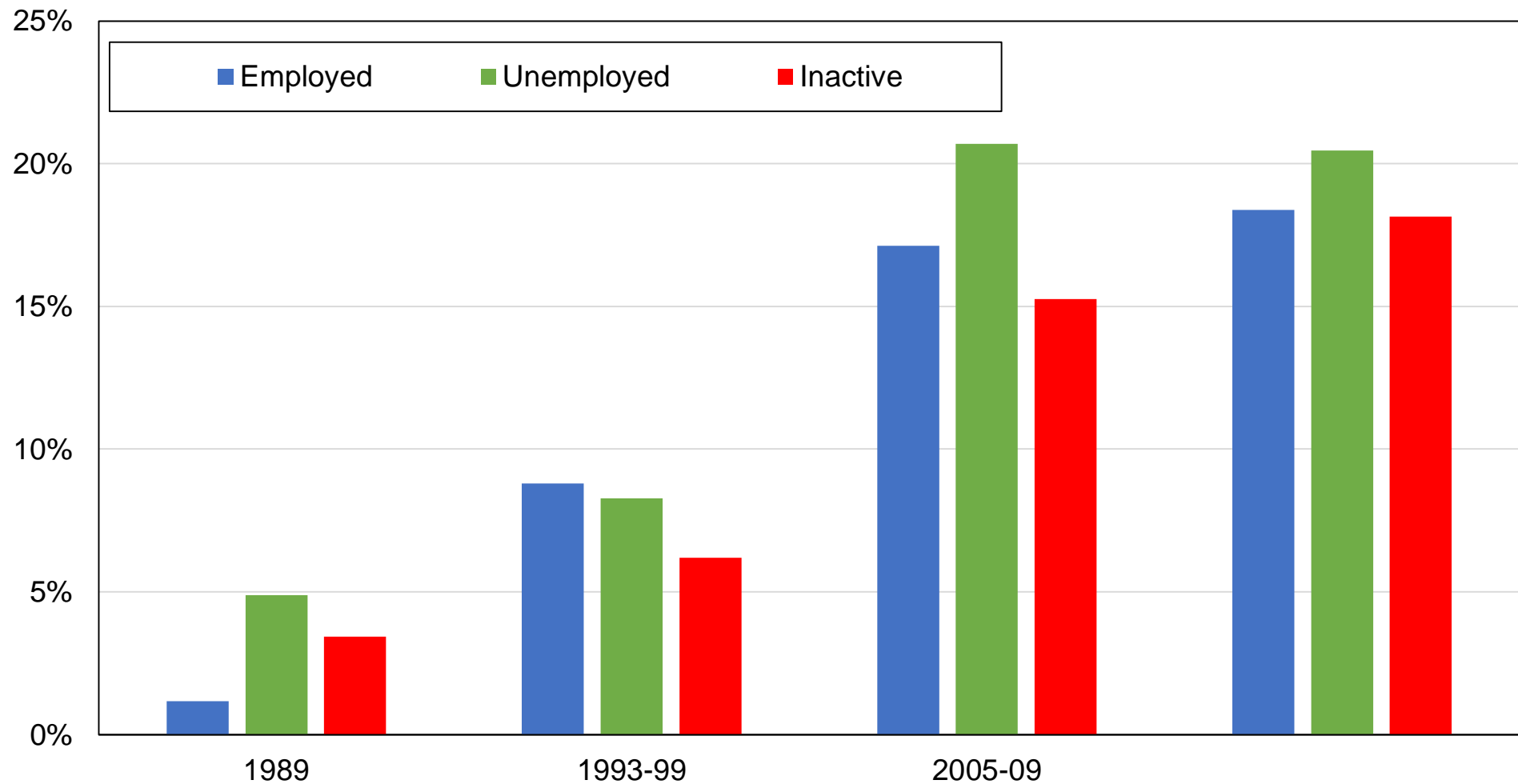
Figure BB20 - Vote for Communist/Humanist Party by church attendance



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Communist/Humanist Party by church attendance.

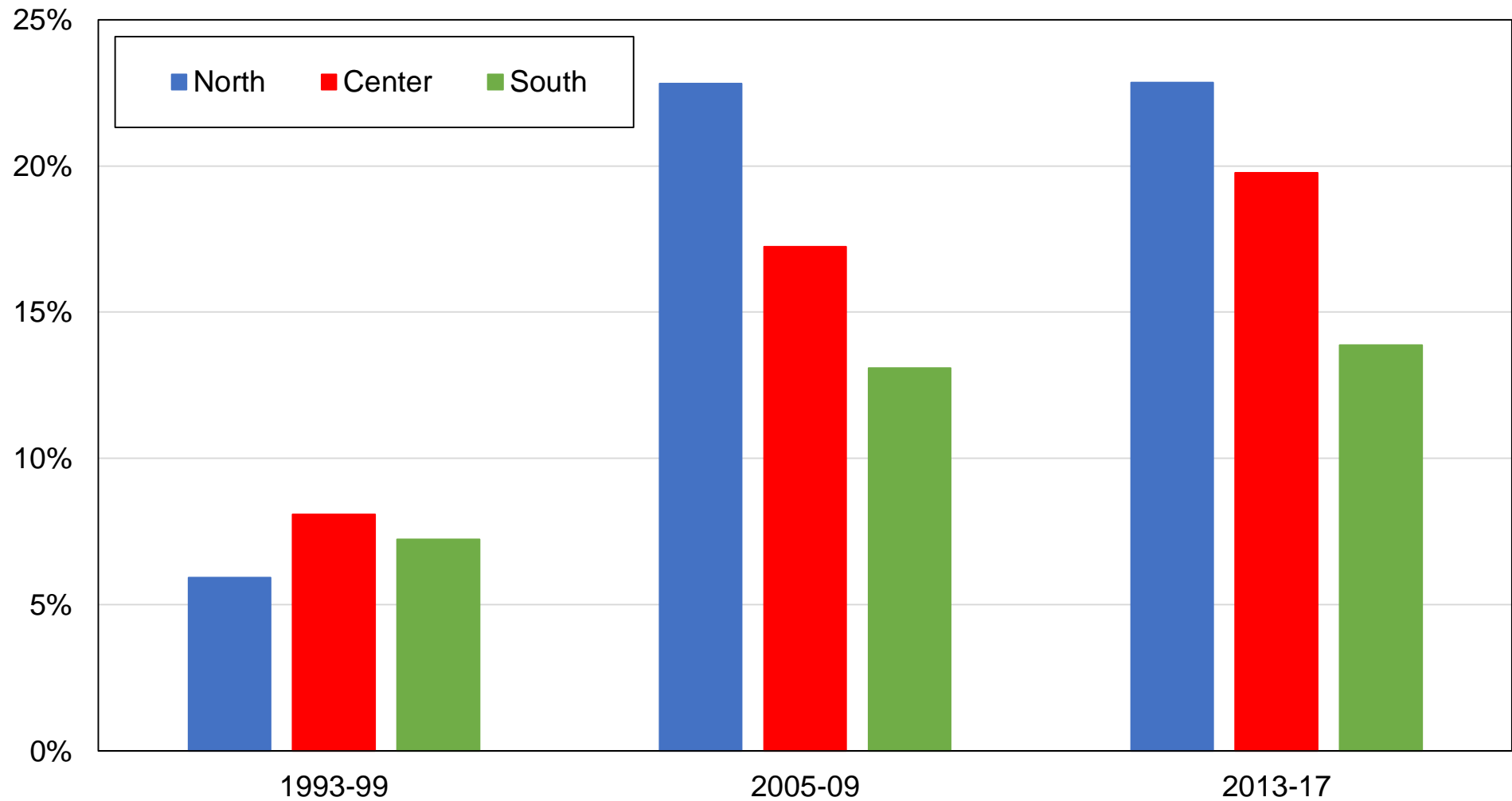
Figure BB21 - Vote for Communist/Humanist Party by employment status



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Communist/Humanist Party by employment status.

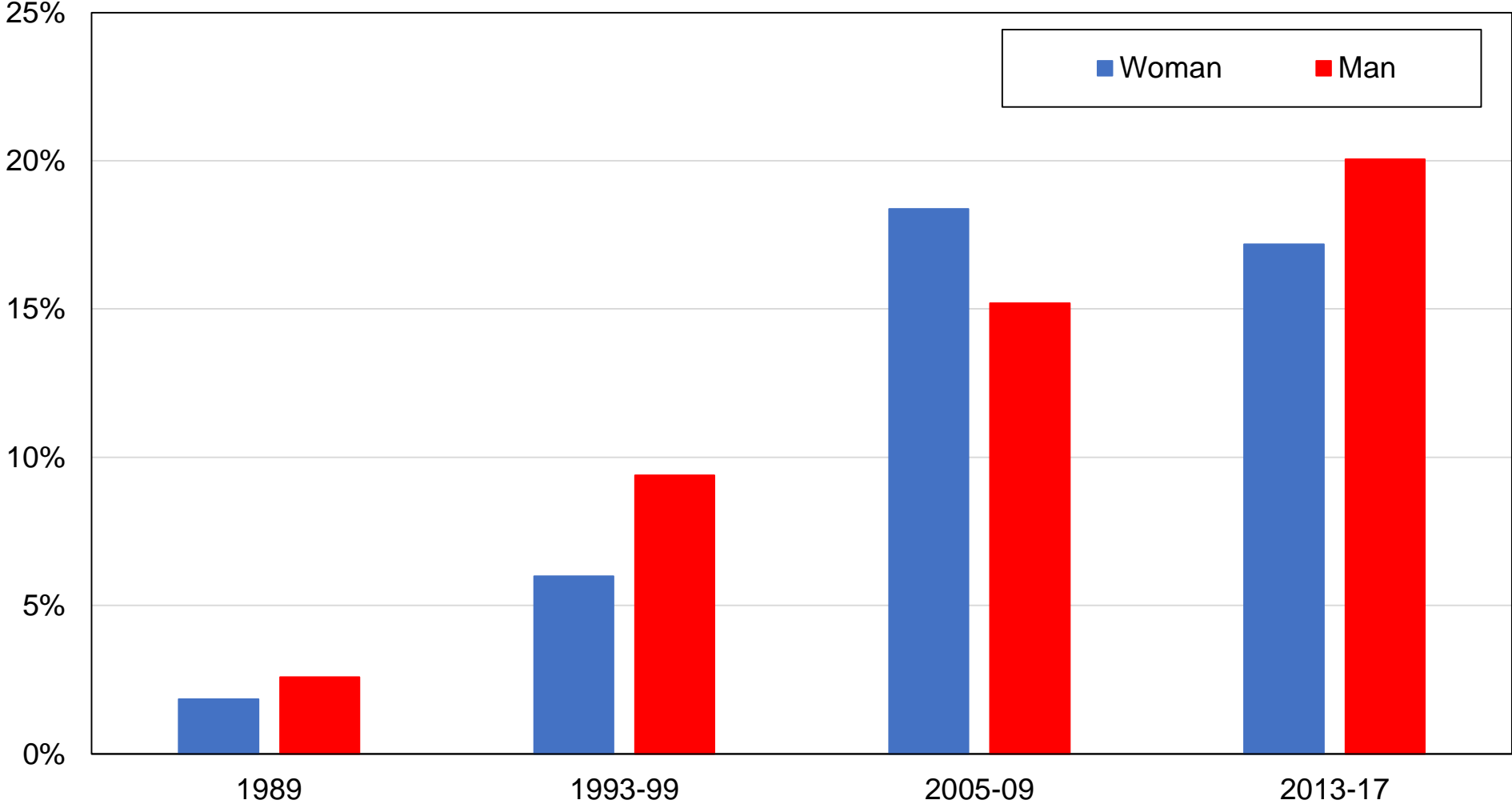
Figure BB22 - Vote for Communist/Humanist Party by region



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Communist/Humanist Party by region.

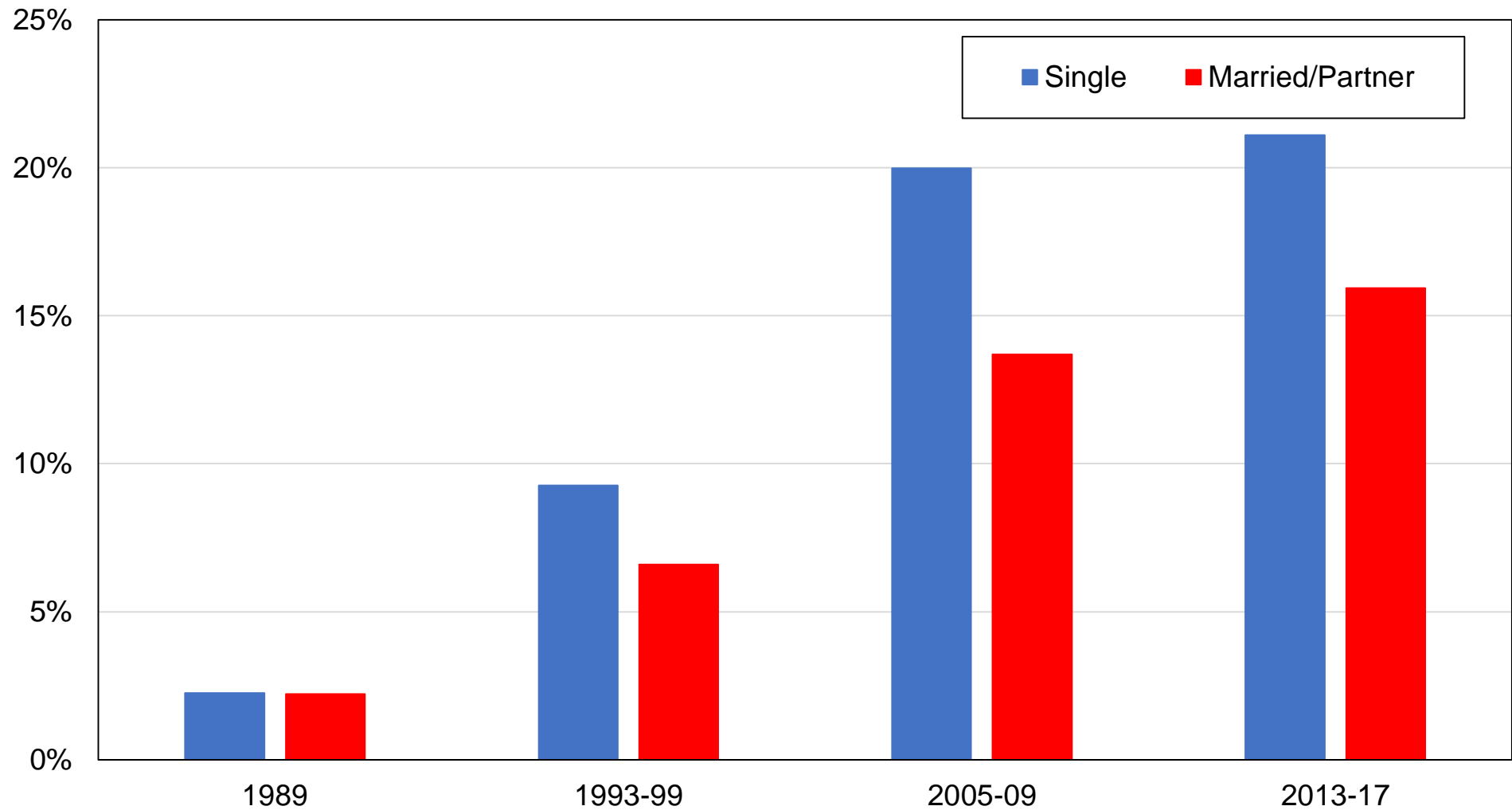
Figure BB23 - Vote for Communist/Humanist Party by gender



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Communist/Humanist Party by gender.

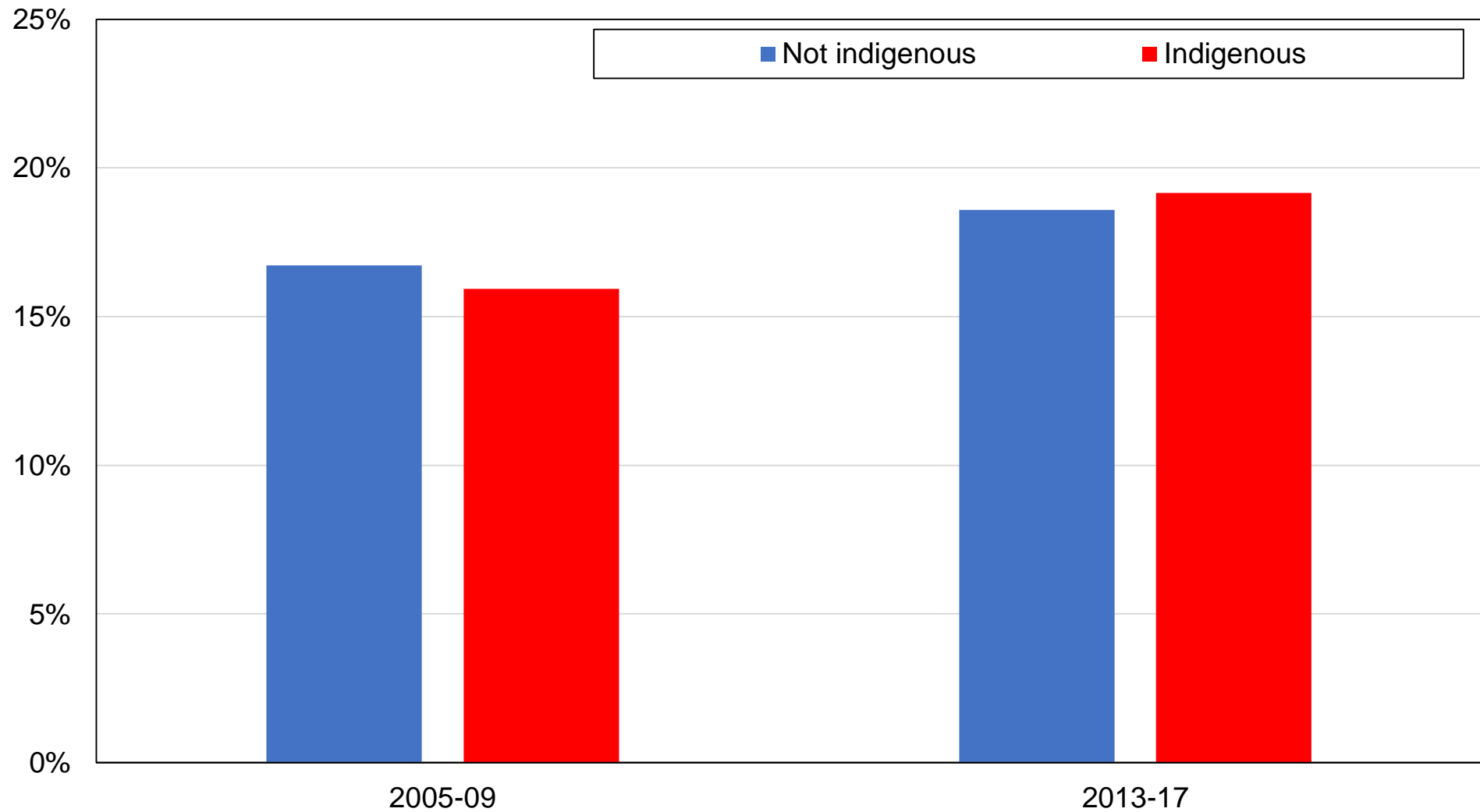
Figure BB24 - Vote for Communist/Humanist Party by marital status



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Communist/Humanist Party by marital status.

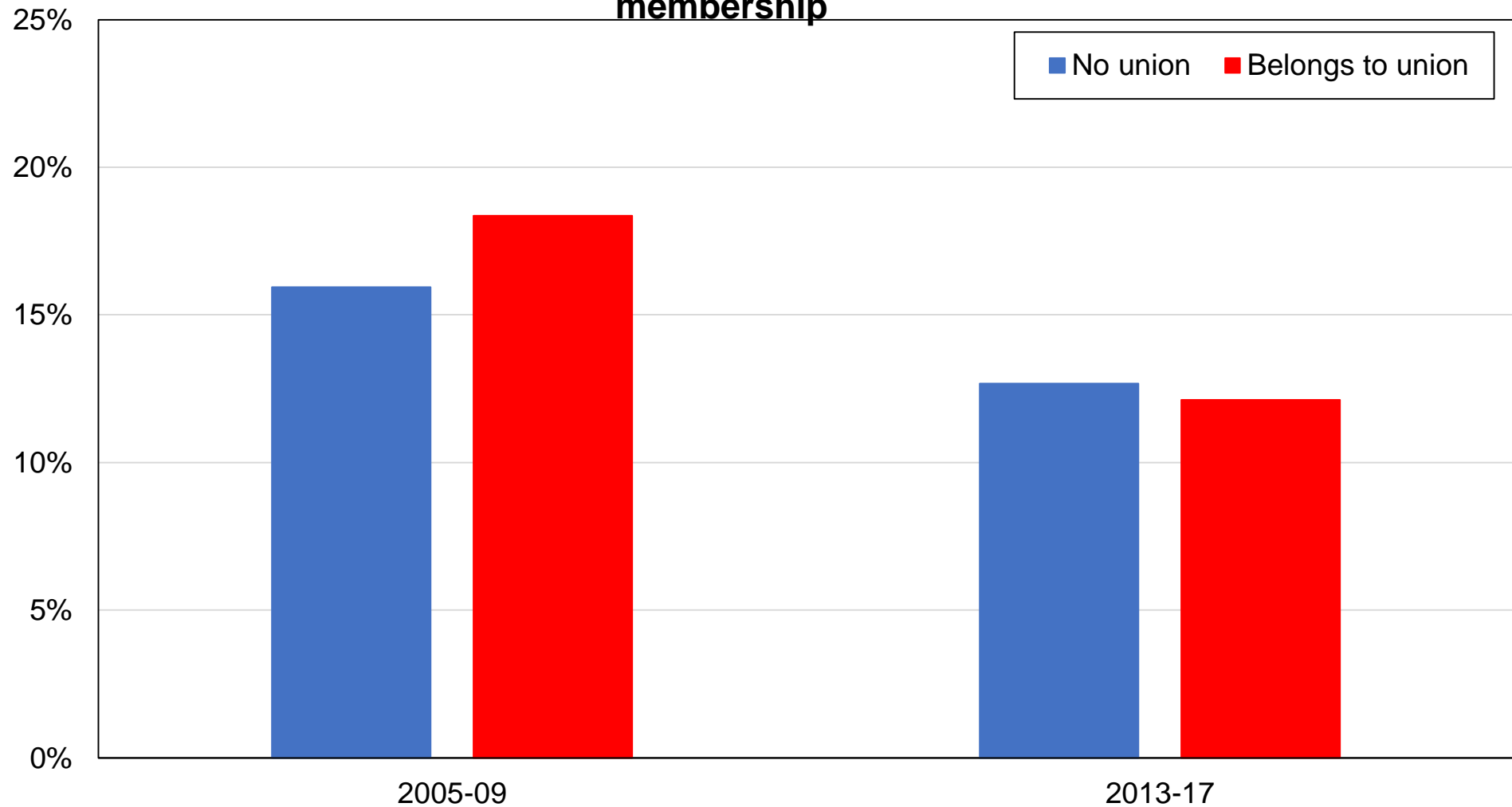
Figure BB25 - Vote for Communist/Humanist Party by ethnicity



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Communist/Humanist Party by ethnicity.

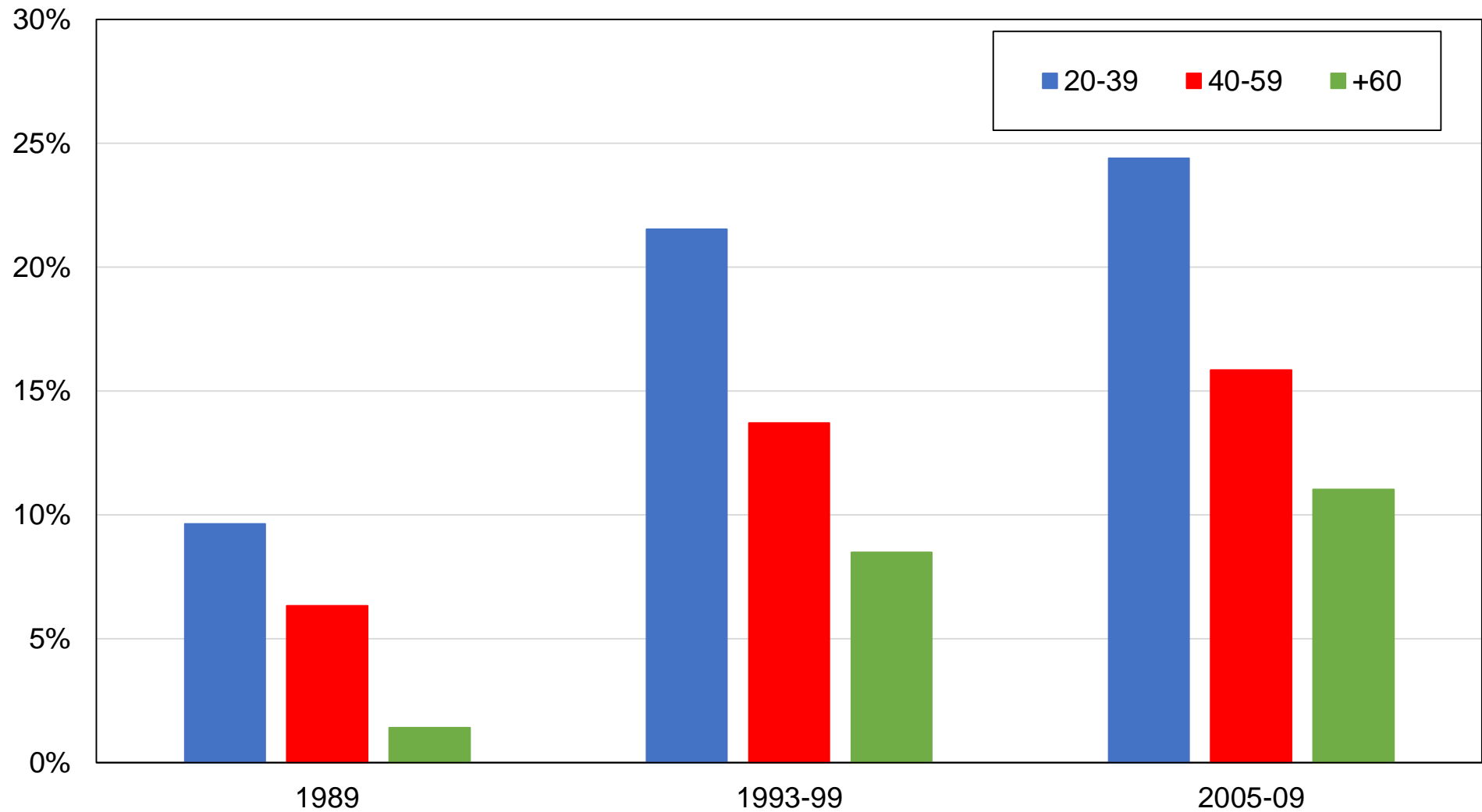
Figure BB26 - Vote for Communist/Humanist Party by union membership



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Communist/Humanist Party by union membership.

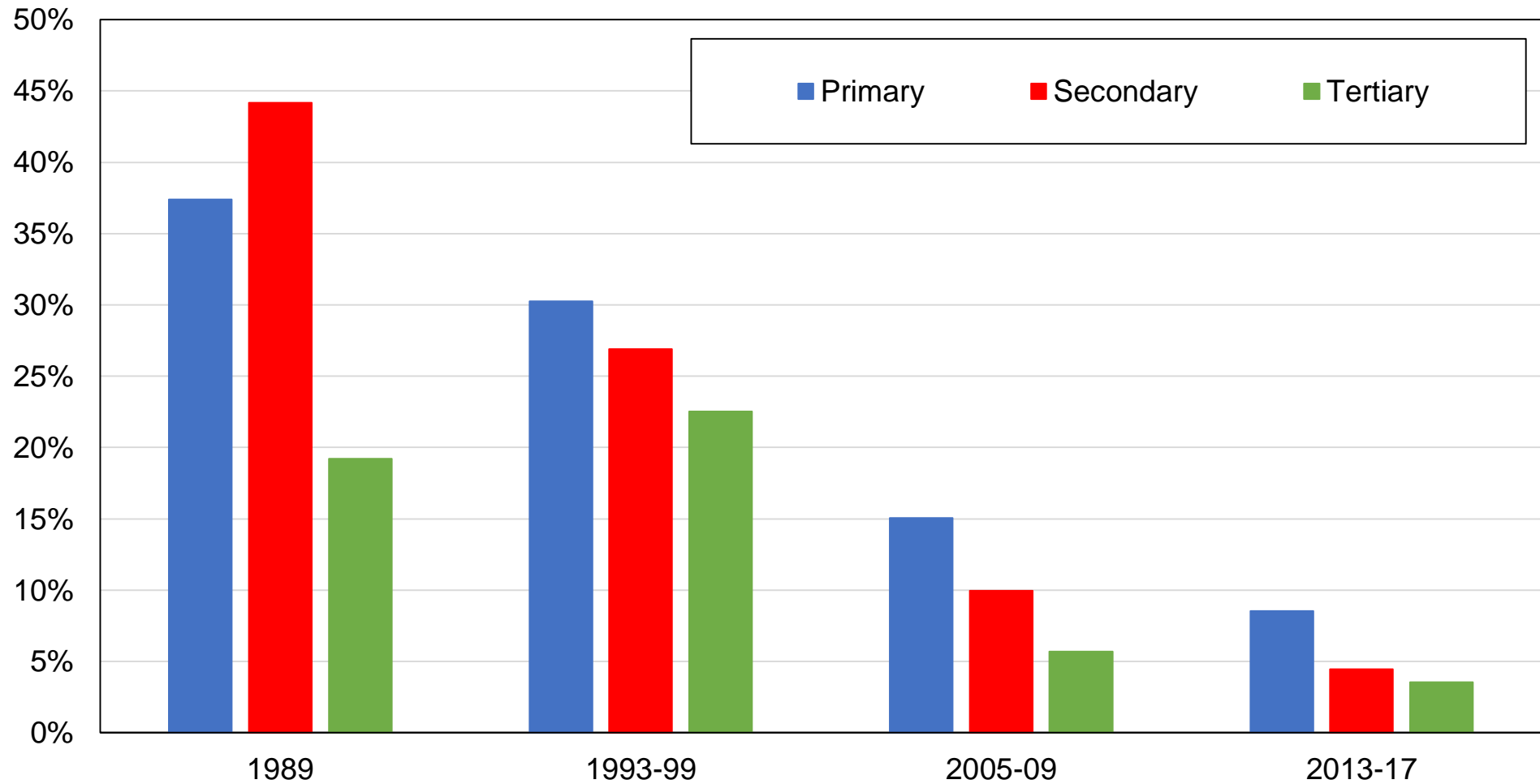
Figure BB27 - Vote for Communist/Humanist Party by age group



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Communist/Humanist Party by age group.

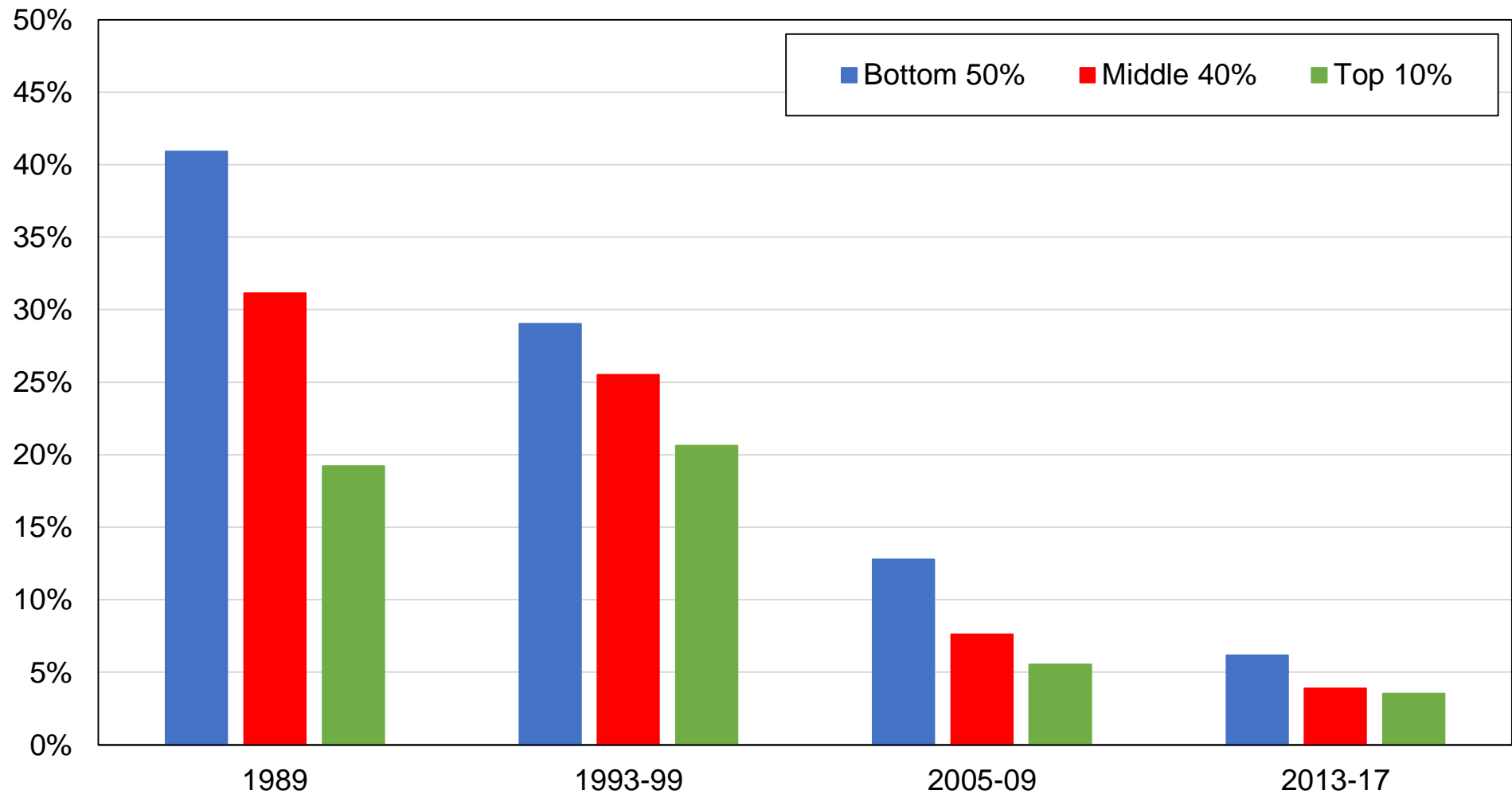
Figure BB28 - Vote for Christian Democracy by education level



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

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

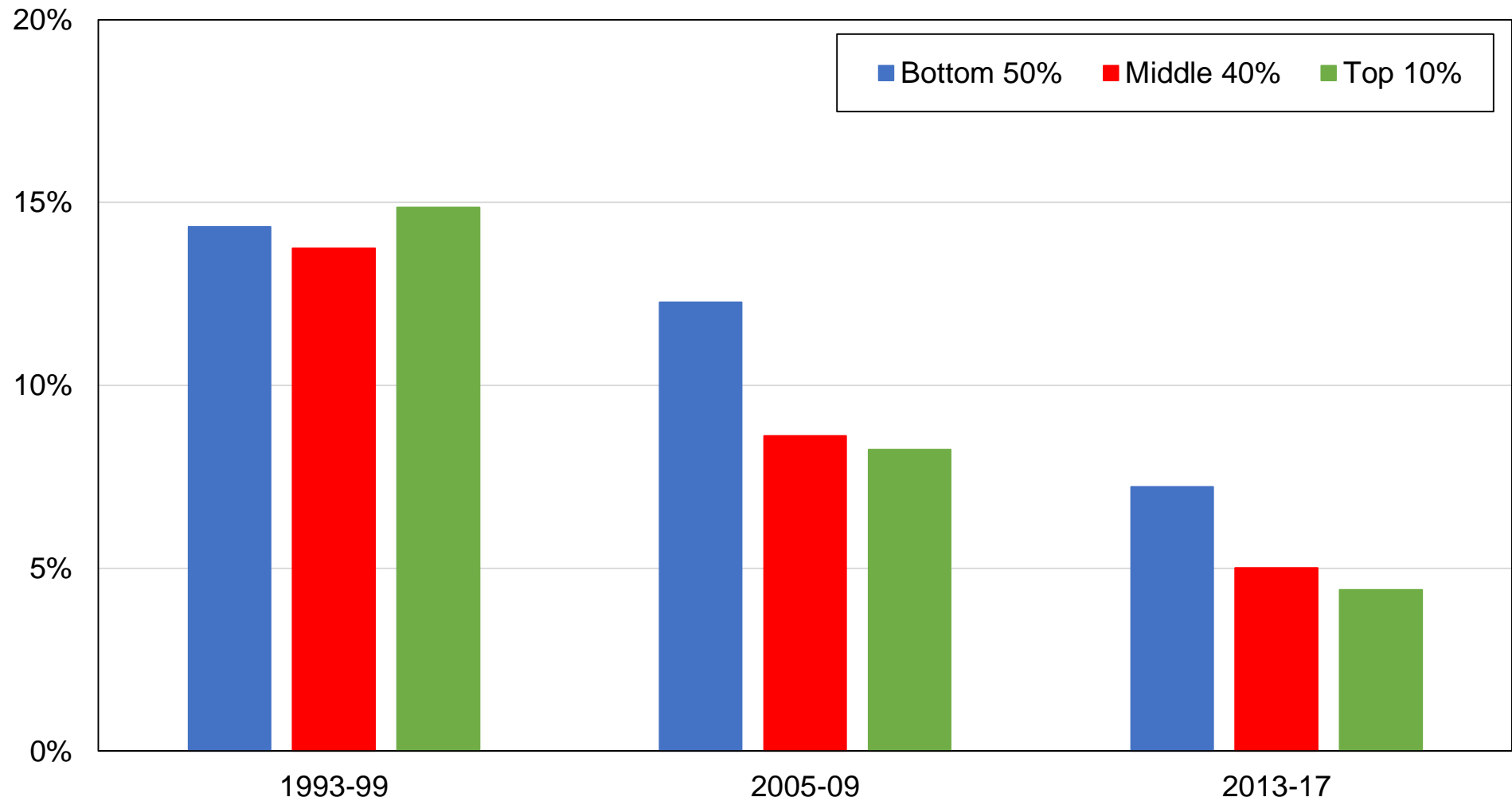
Figure BB29 - Vote for Christian Democracy by education group



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

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

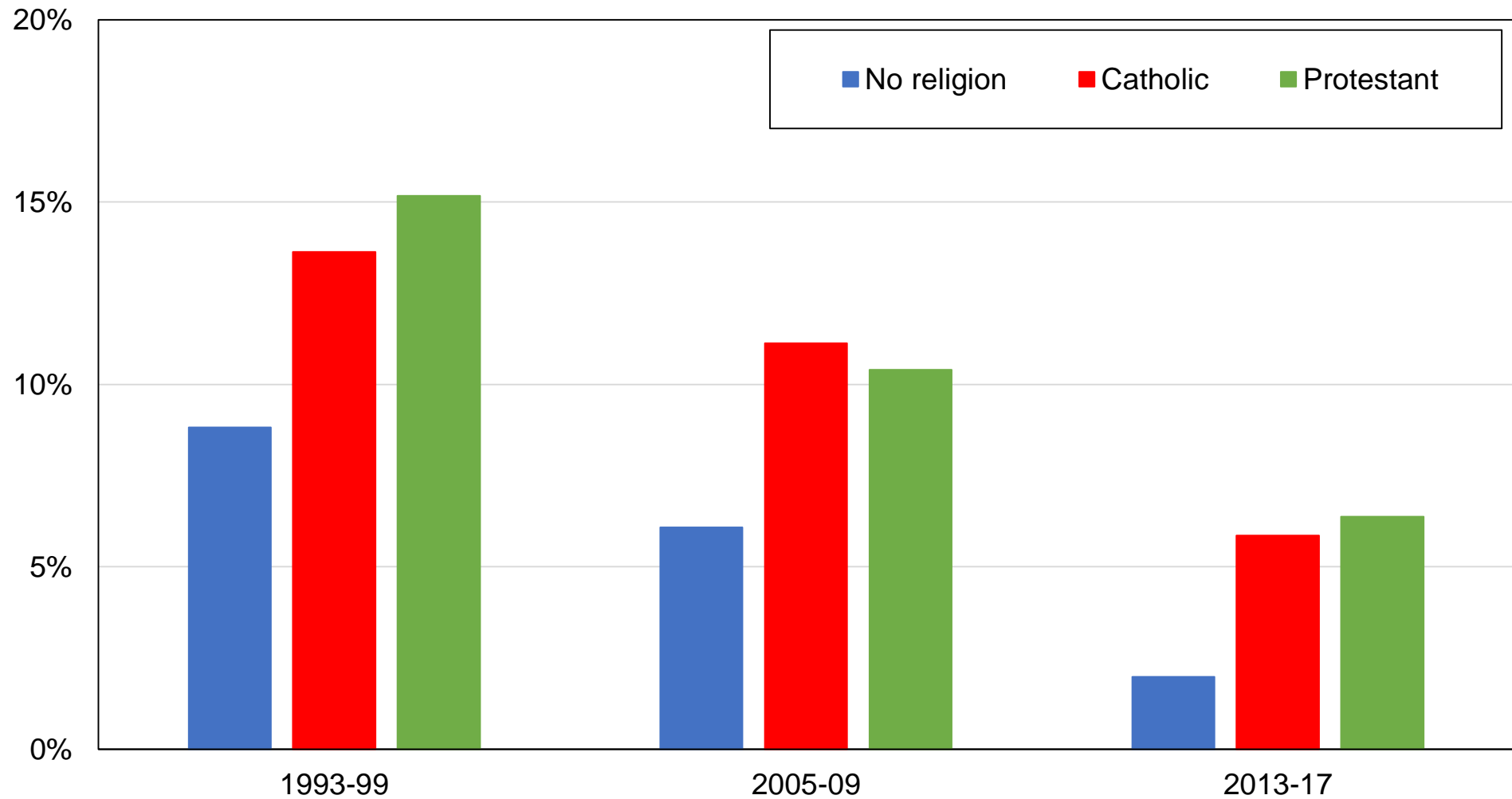
Figure BB30 - Vote for Christian Democracy by income group



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

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

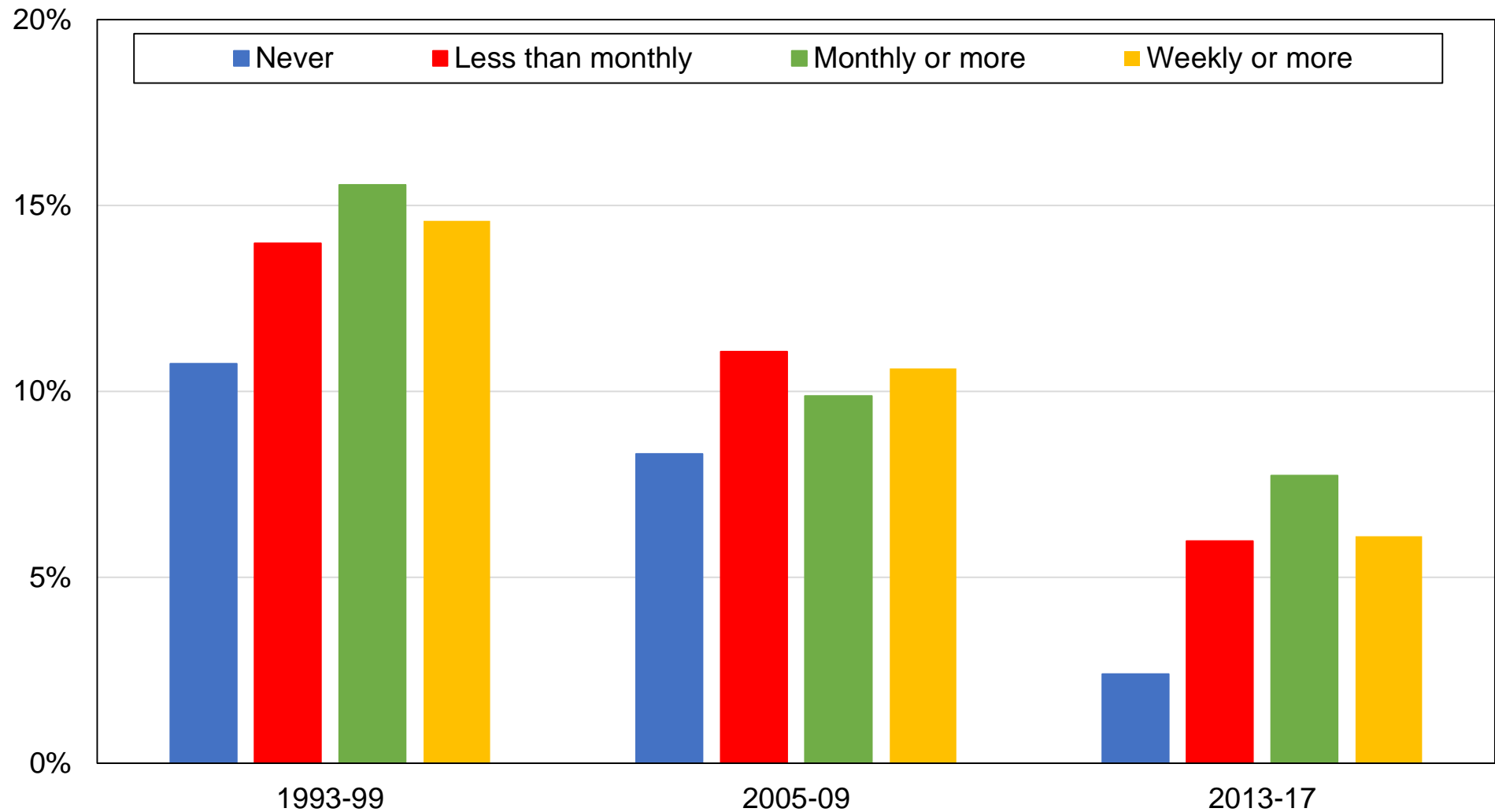
Figure BB31 - Vote for Christian Democracy by religious affiliation



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

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

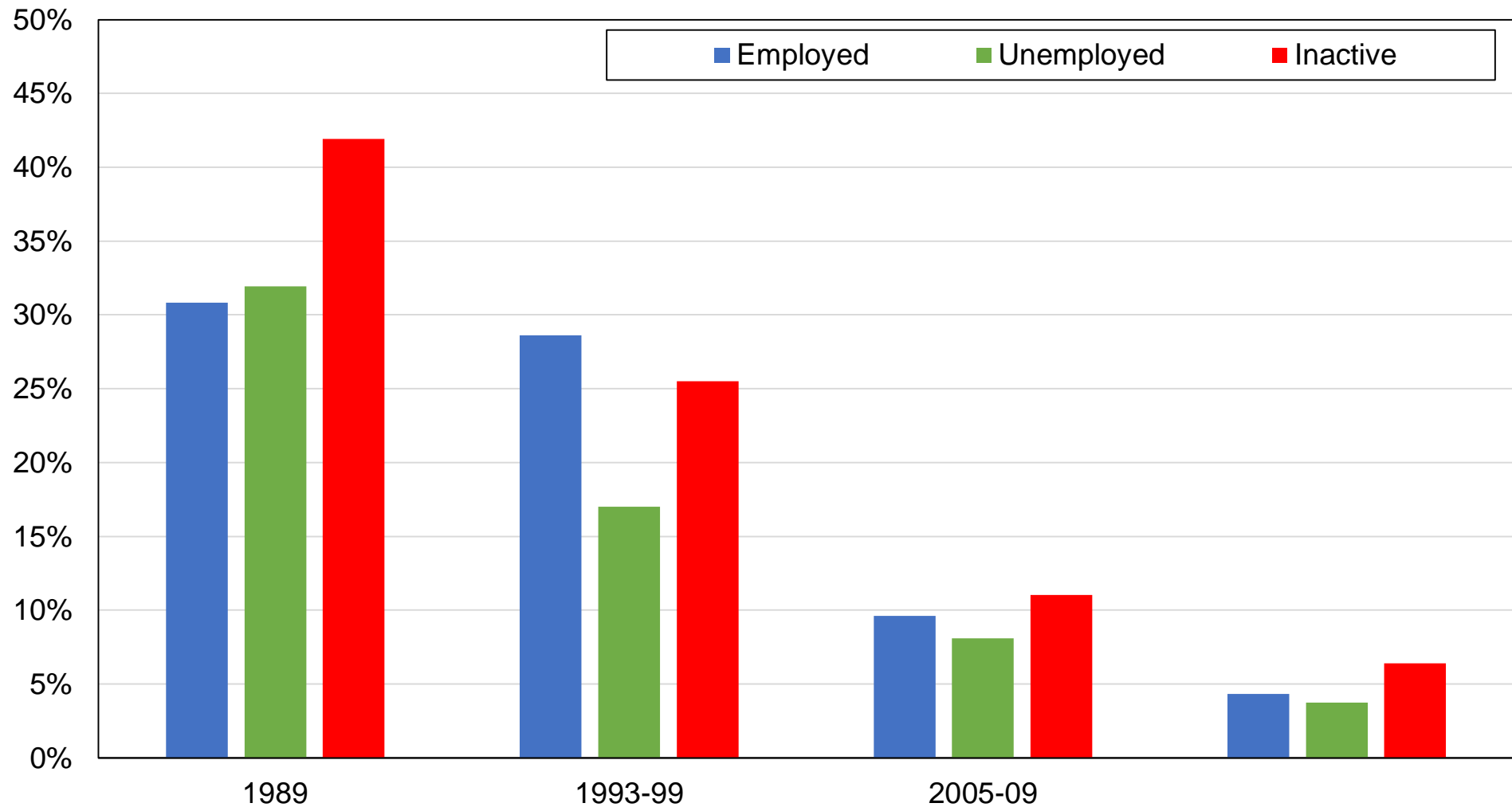
Figure BB32 - Vote for Christian Democracy by church attendance



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Christian Democracy by church attendance.

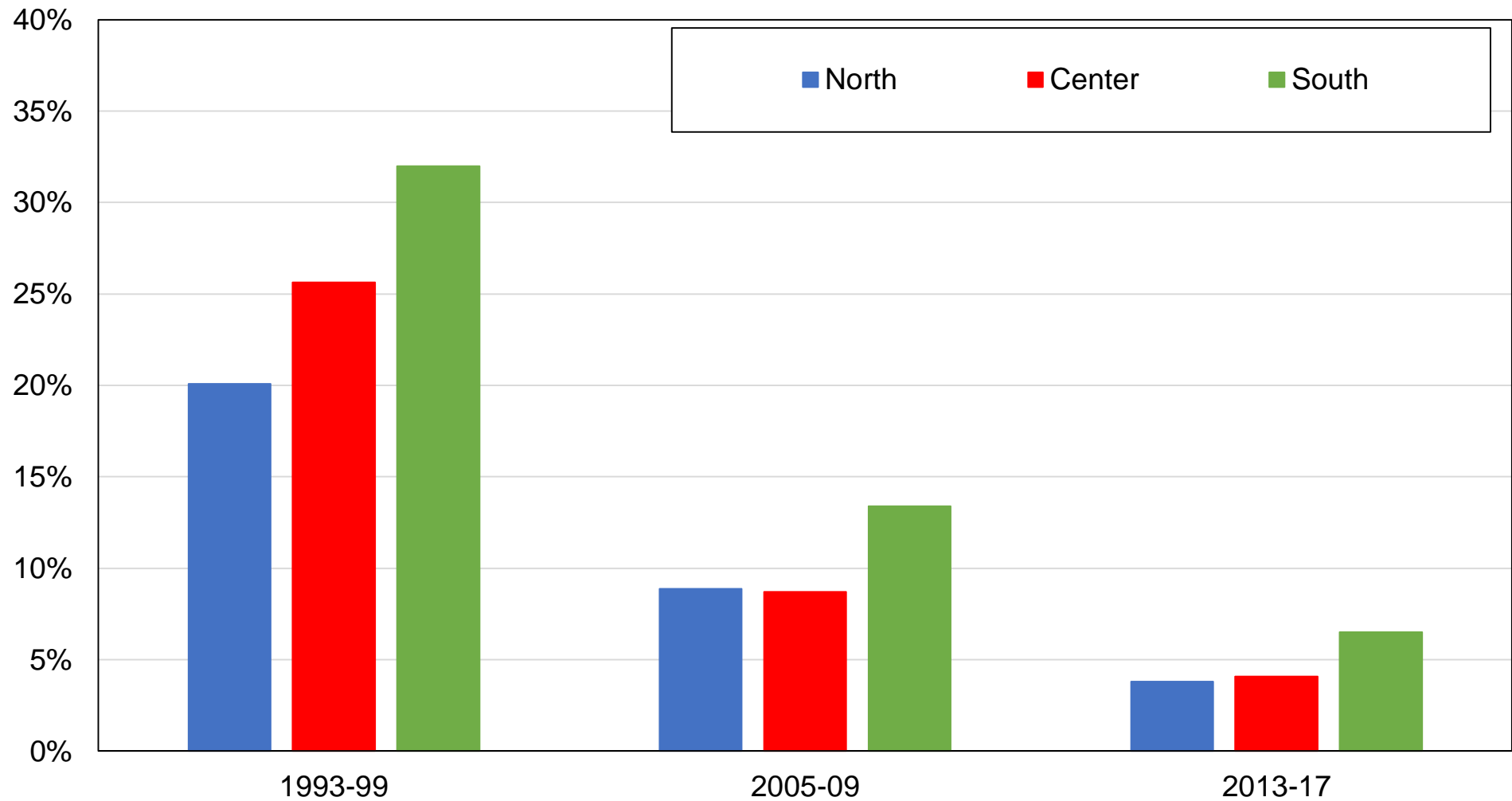
Figure BB33 - Vote for Christian Democracy by employment status



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Christian Democracy by employment status.

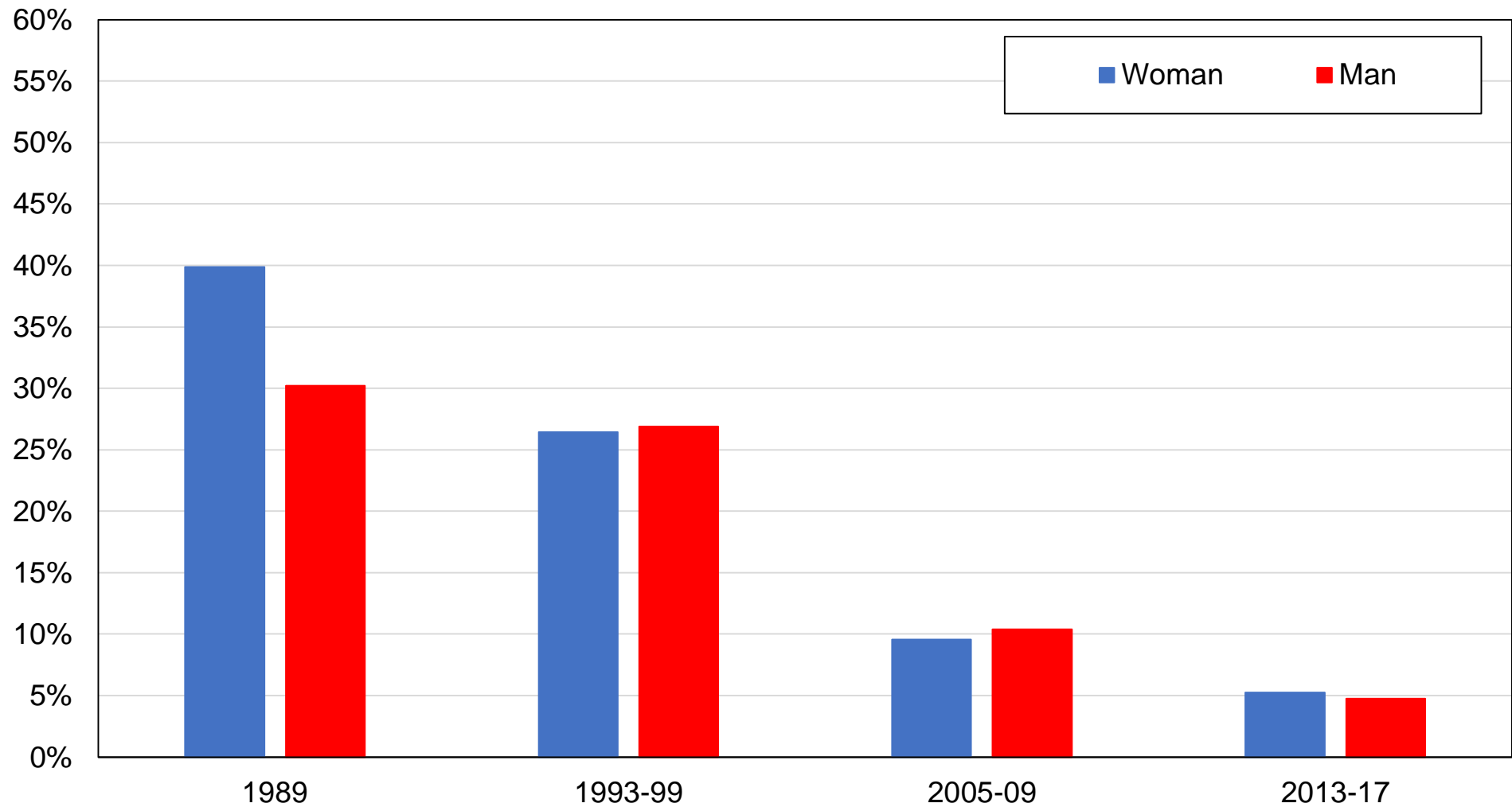
Figure BB34 - Vote for Christian Democracy by region



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Christian Democracy Party by region.

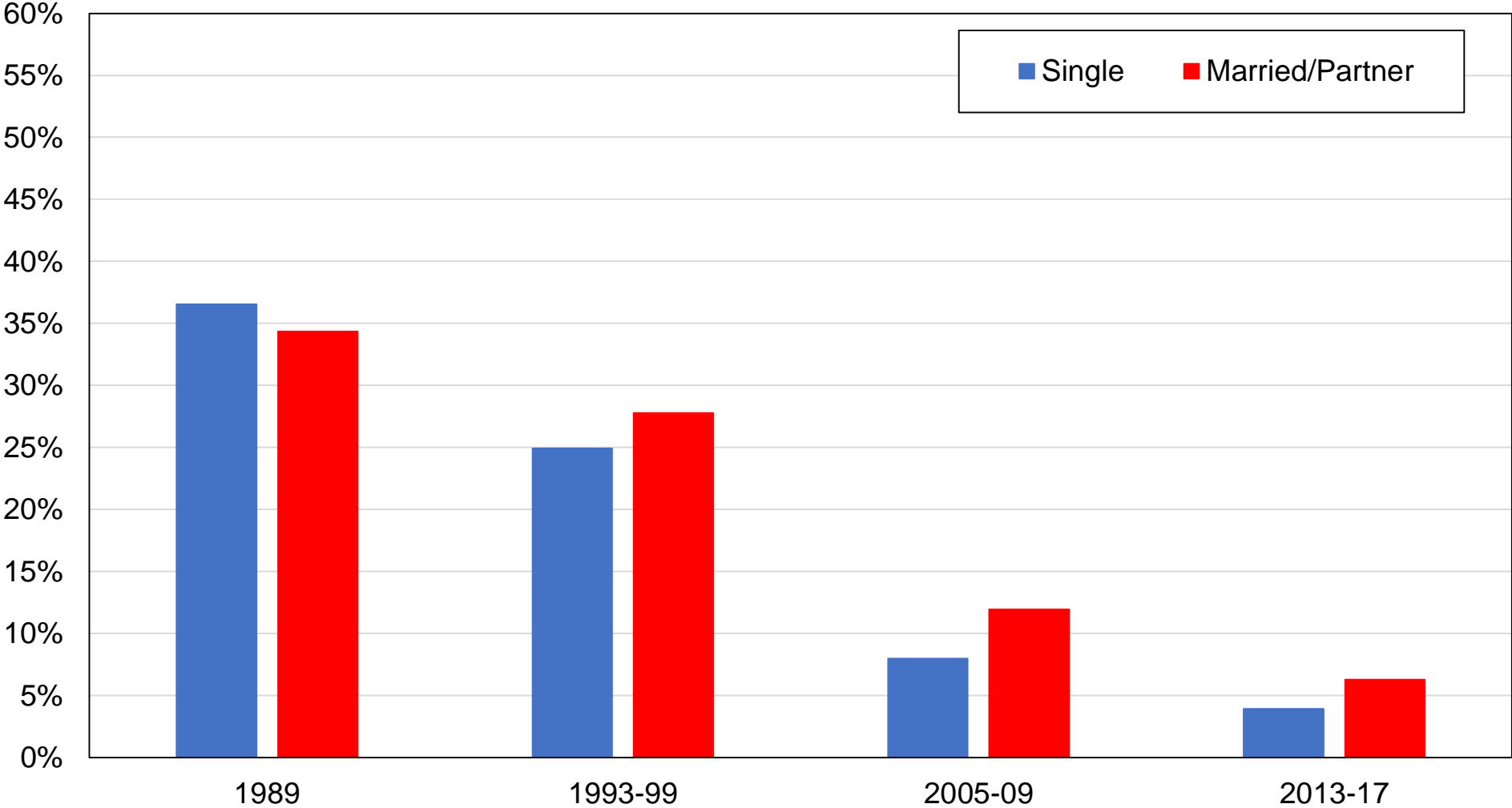
Figure BB35 - Vote for Christian Democracy by gender



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

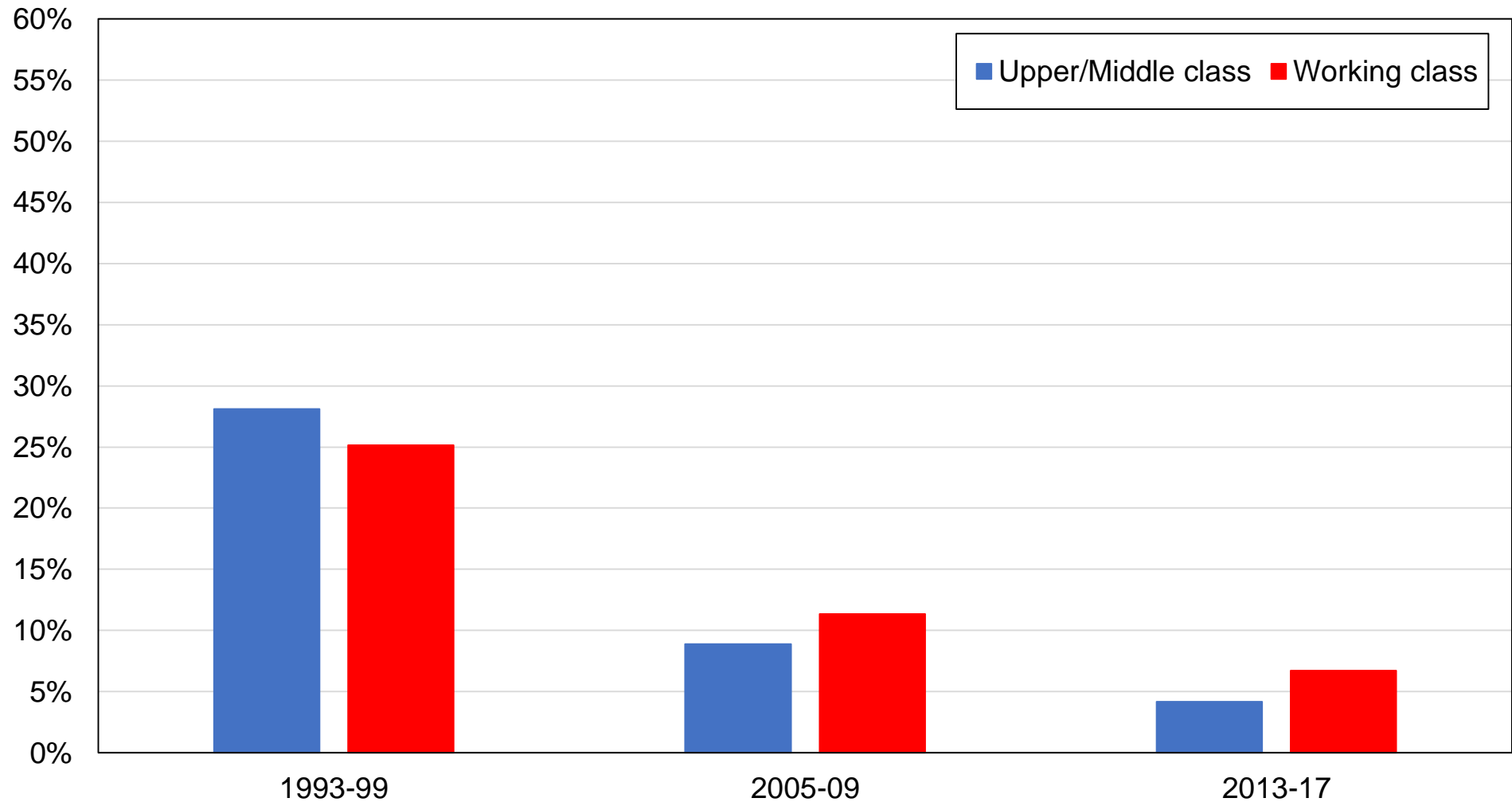
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Christian Democracy by gender.

Figure BB36 - Vote for Christian Democracy by marital status



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Christian Democracy by marital status.

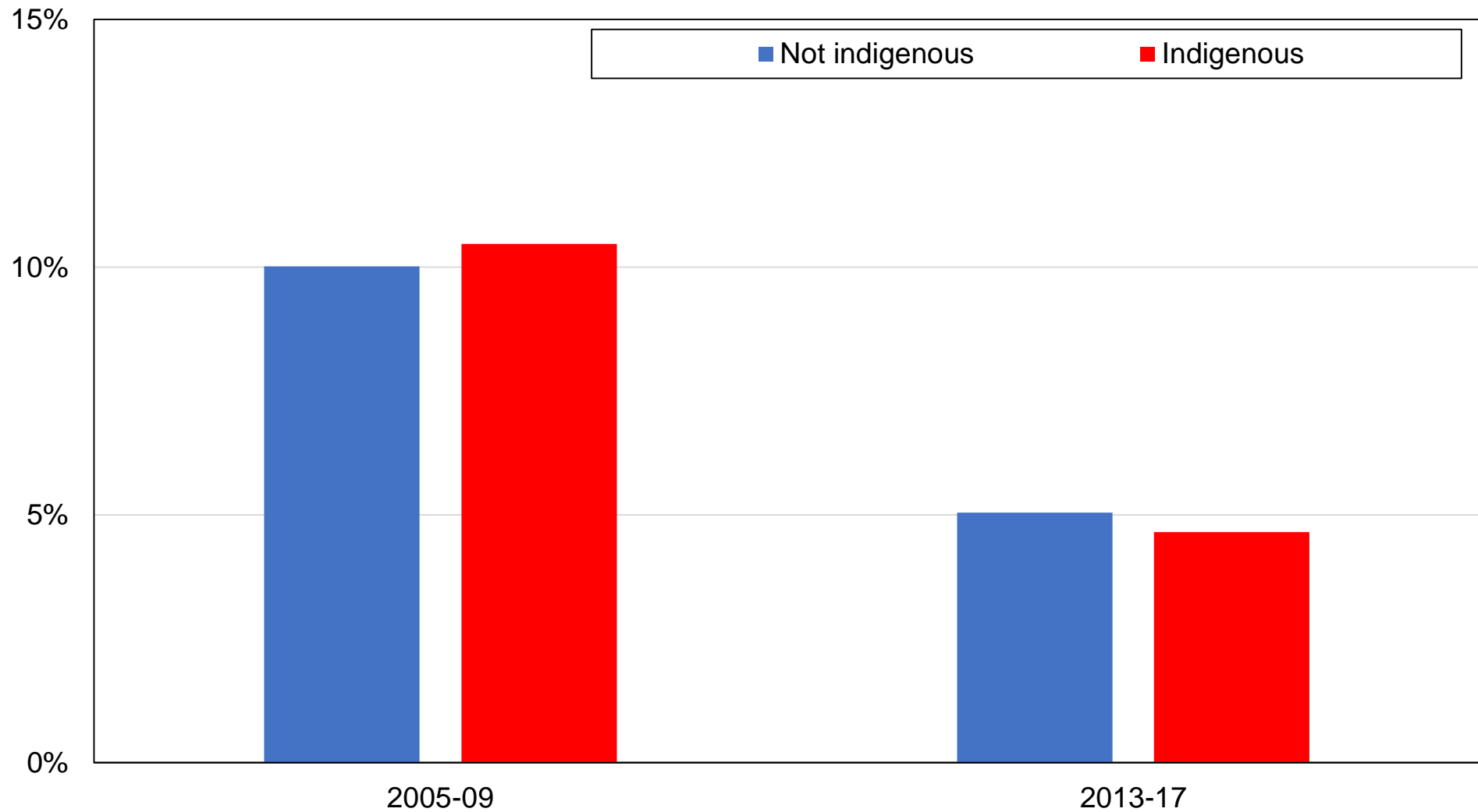
Figure BB37 - Vote for Christian Democracy by social class



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Christian Democracy by social class.

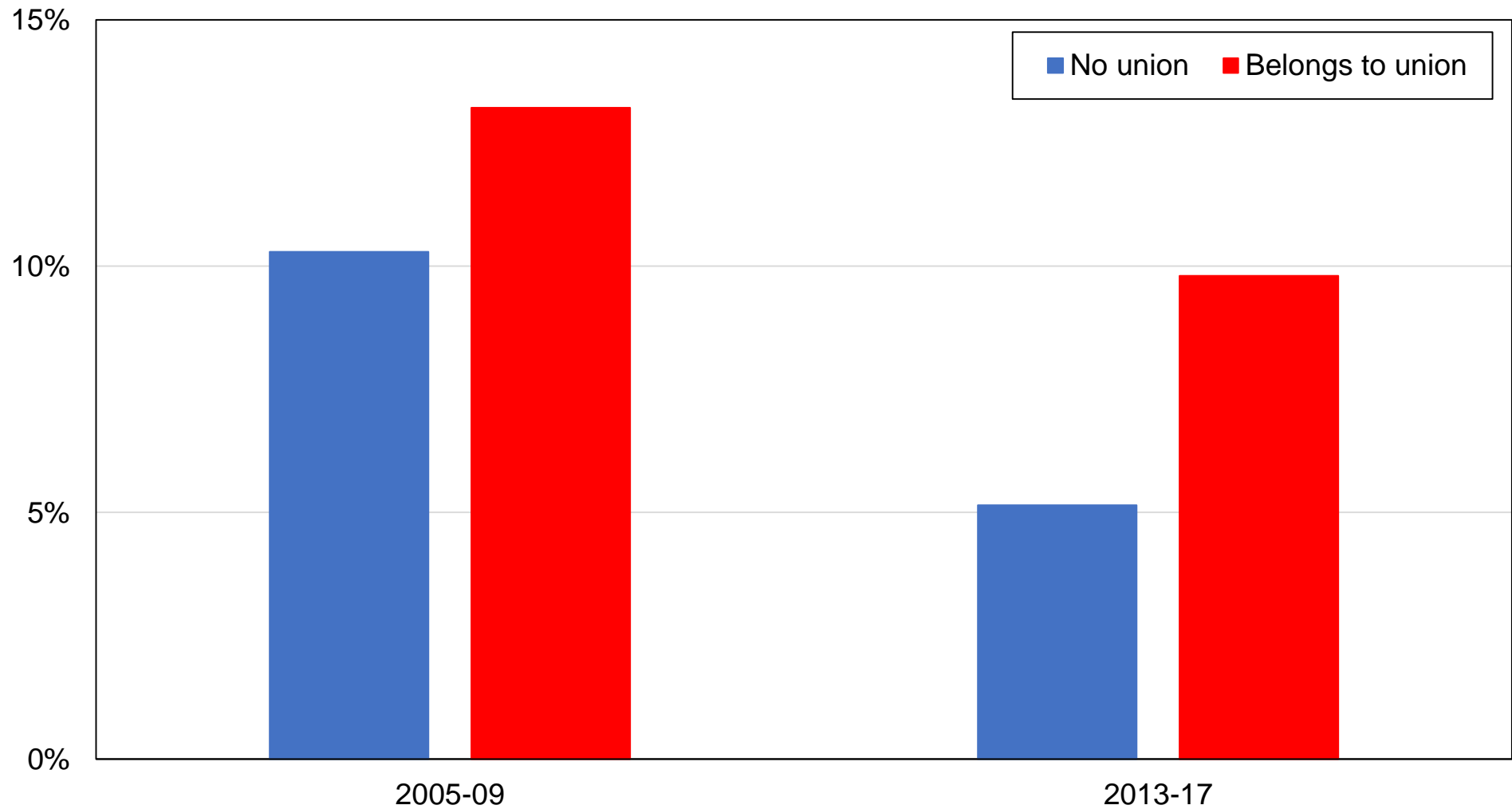
Figure BB38 - Vote for Christian Democracy by ethnicity



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

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

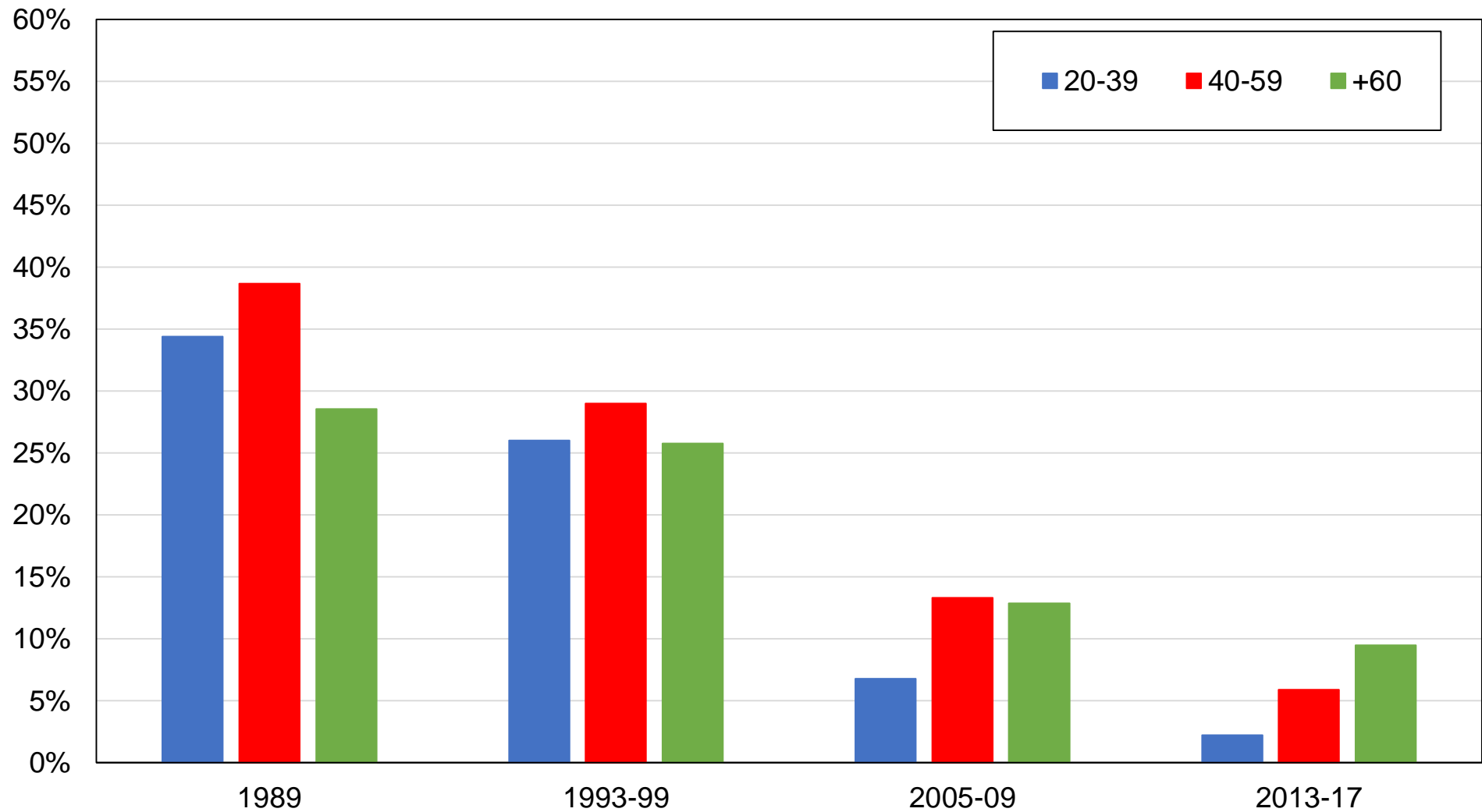
Figure BB39 - Vote for Christian Democracy by union membership



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Christian Democracy by union membership.

Figure BB40 - Vote for Christian Democracy by age group



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

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

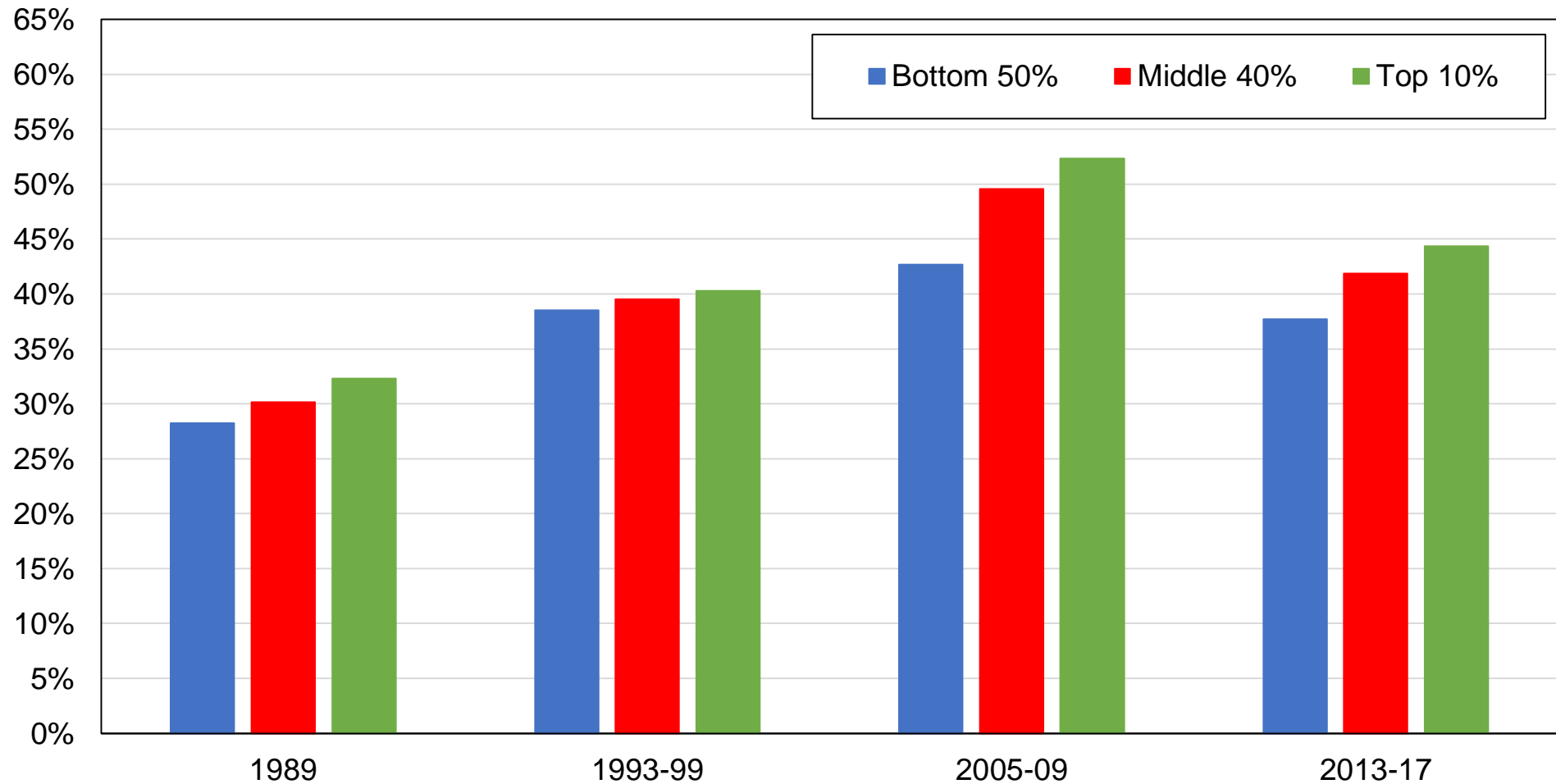
**Figure BB41 - Vote for Independent Democratic Union/National Renewal
by education level**



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Independent Democratic Union/National Renewal by education level.

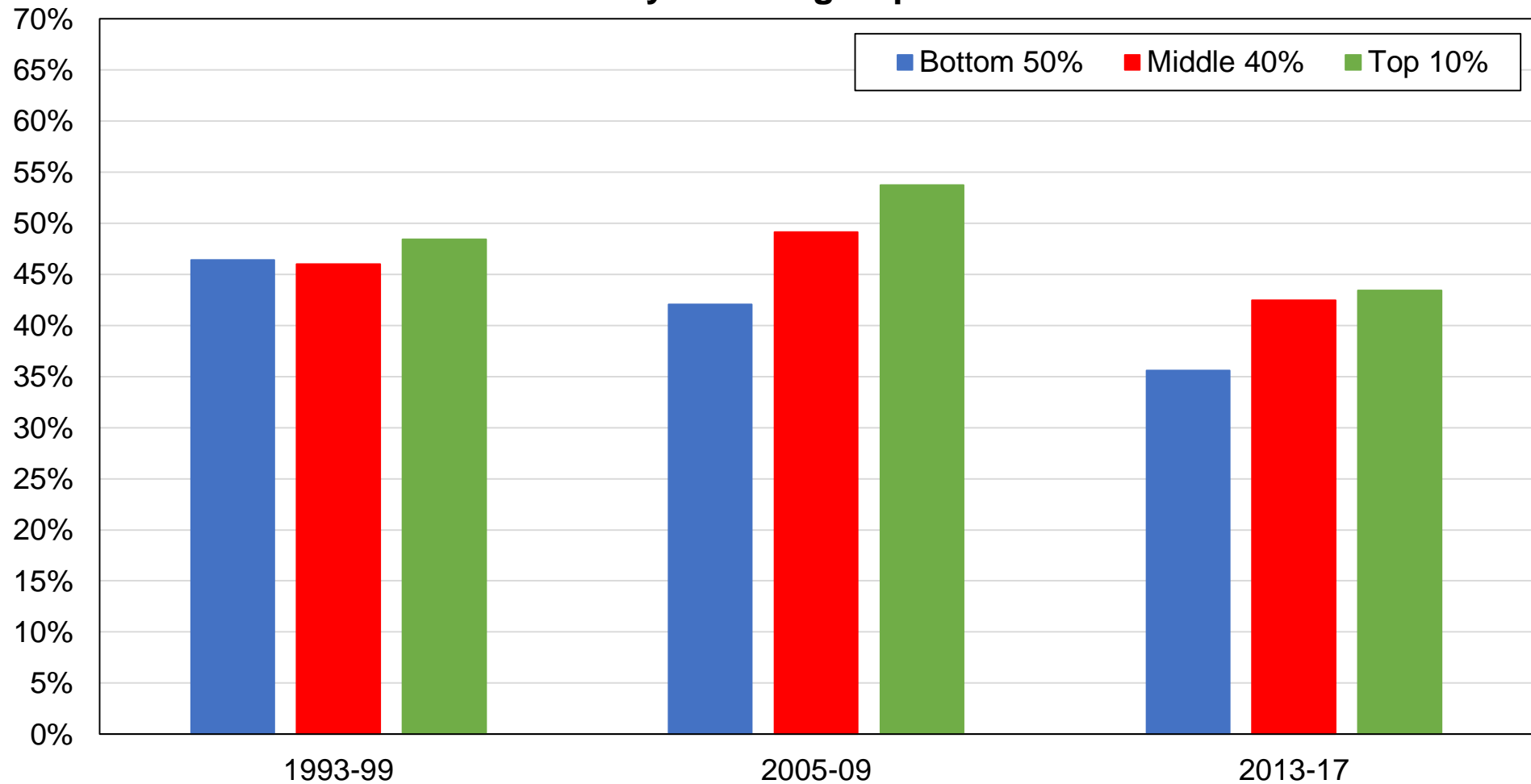
**Figure BB42 - Vote for Independent Democratic Union/National Renewal
by education group**



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Independent Democratic Union/National Renewal by education group.

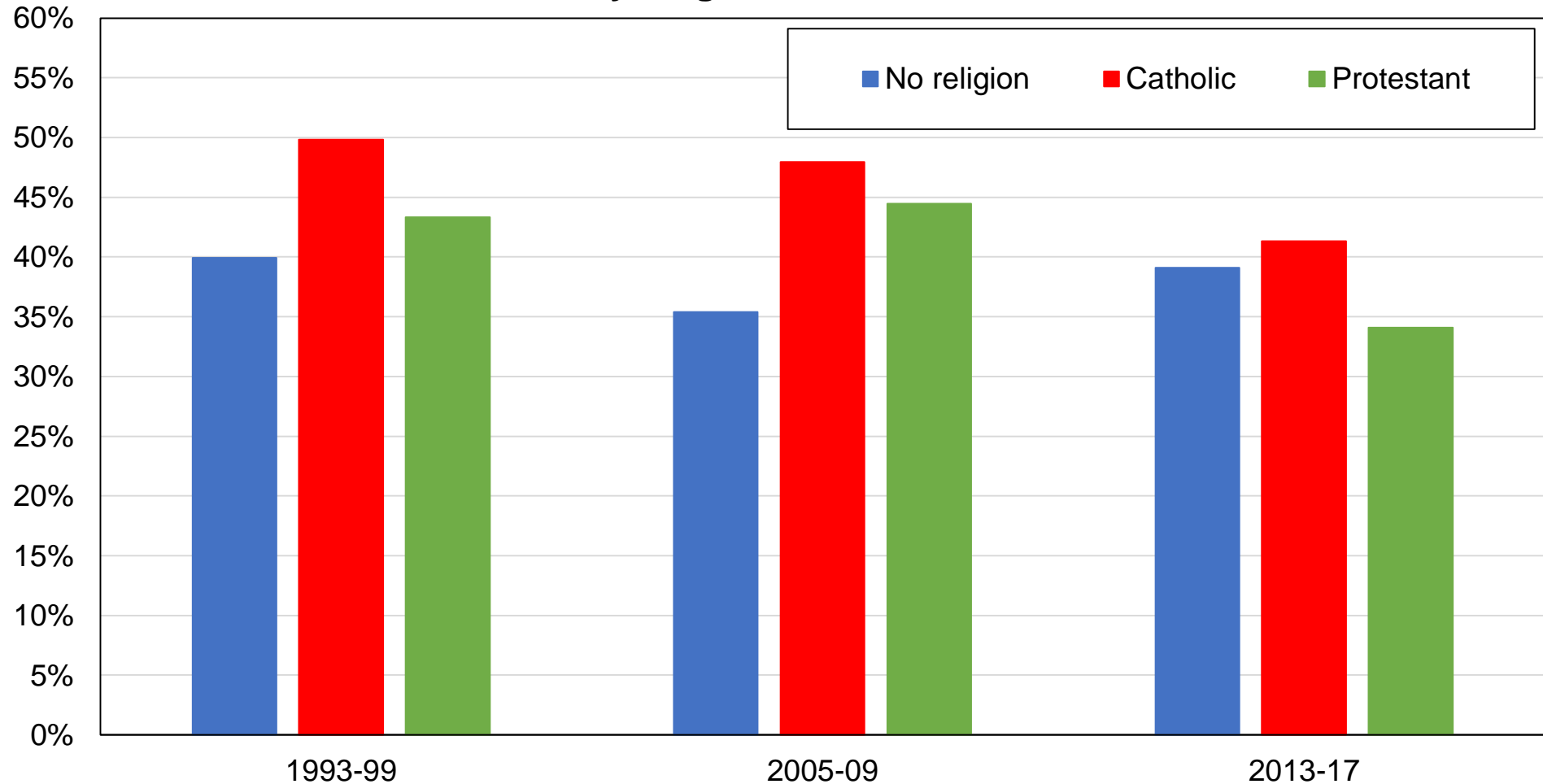
**Figure BB43 - Vote for Independent Democratic Union/National Renewal
by income group**



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Independent Democratic Union/National Renewal by income group.

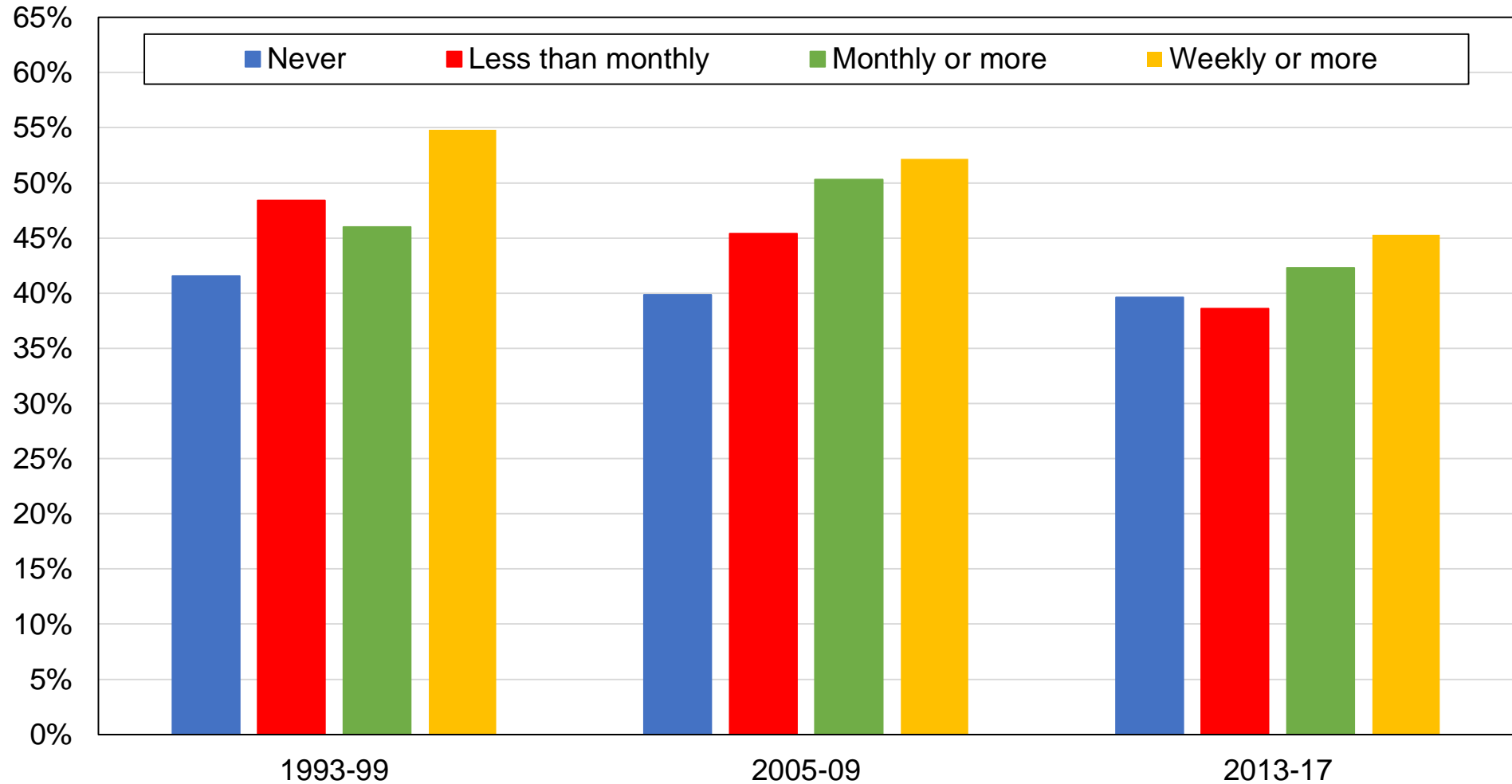
**Figure BB44 - Vote for Independent Democratic Union/National Renewal
by religious affiliation**



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Independent Democratic Union/National Renewal by religious affiliation.

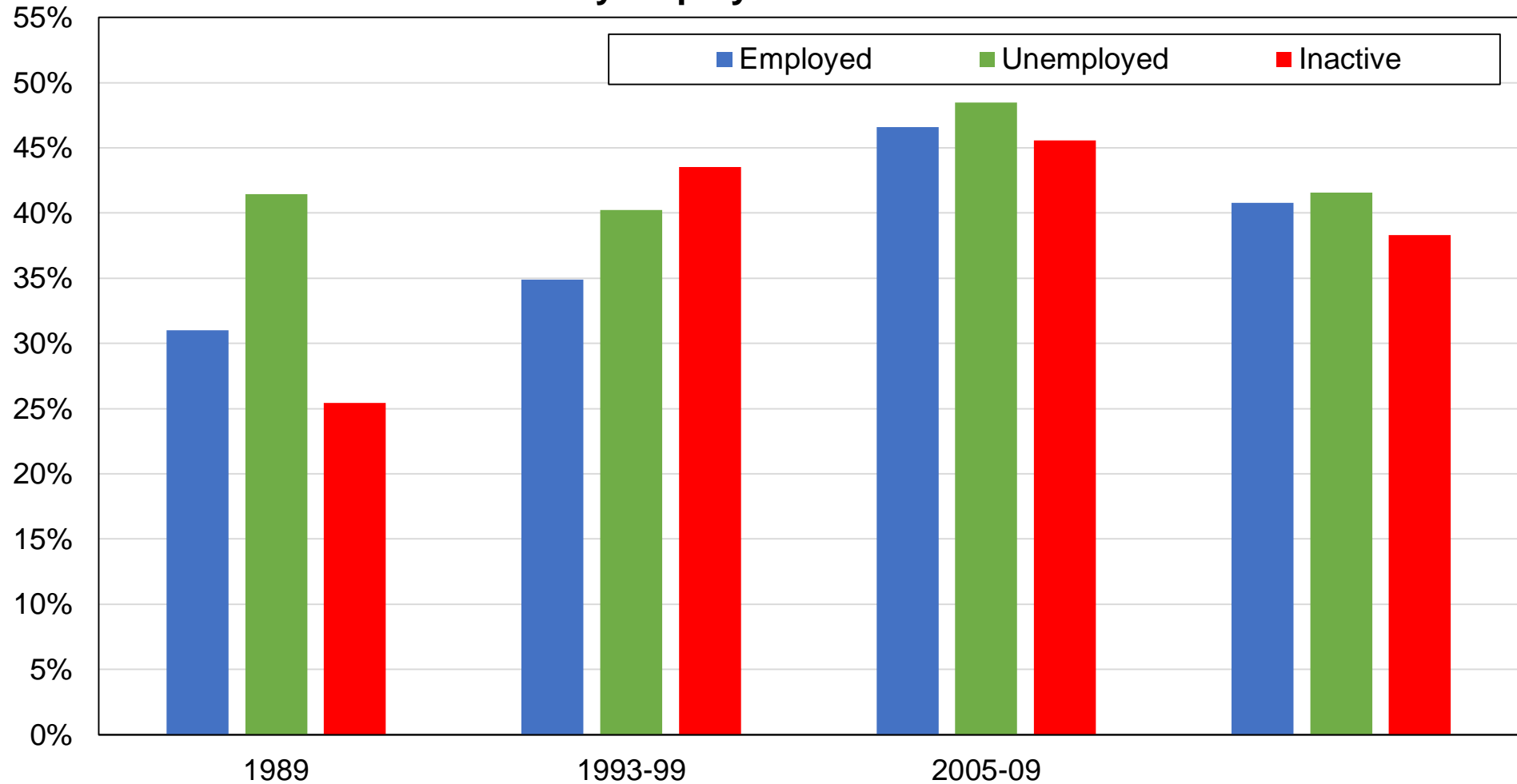
**Figure BB45 - Vote for Independent Democratic Union/National Renewal
by church attendance**



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Independent Democratic Union/National Renewal by church attendance.

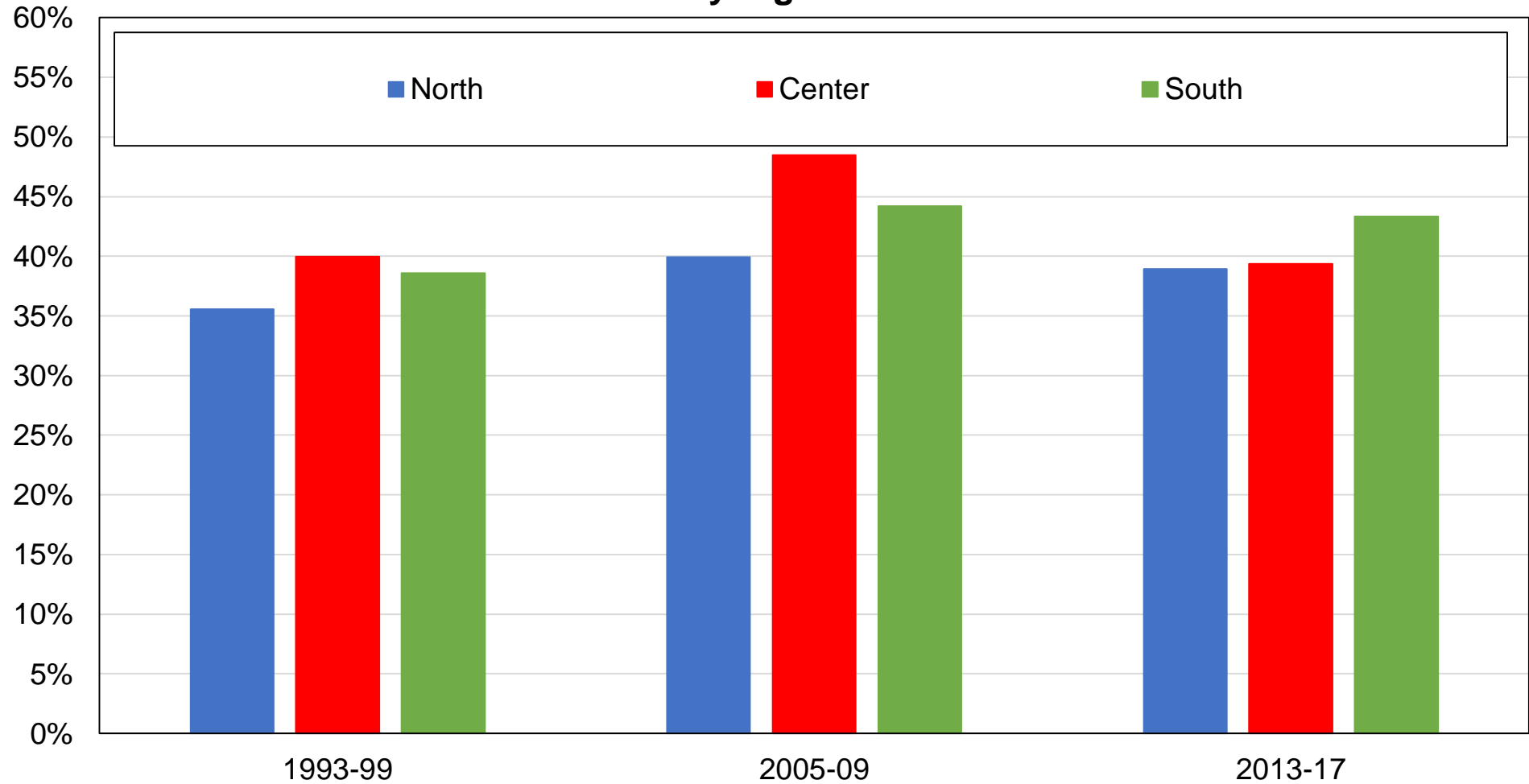
**Figure BB46 - Vote for Independent Democratic Union/National Renewal
by employment status**



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Independent Democratic Union/National Renewal by employment status.

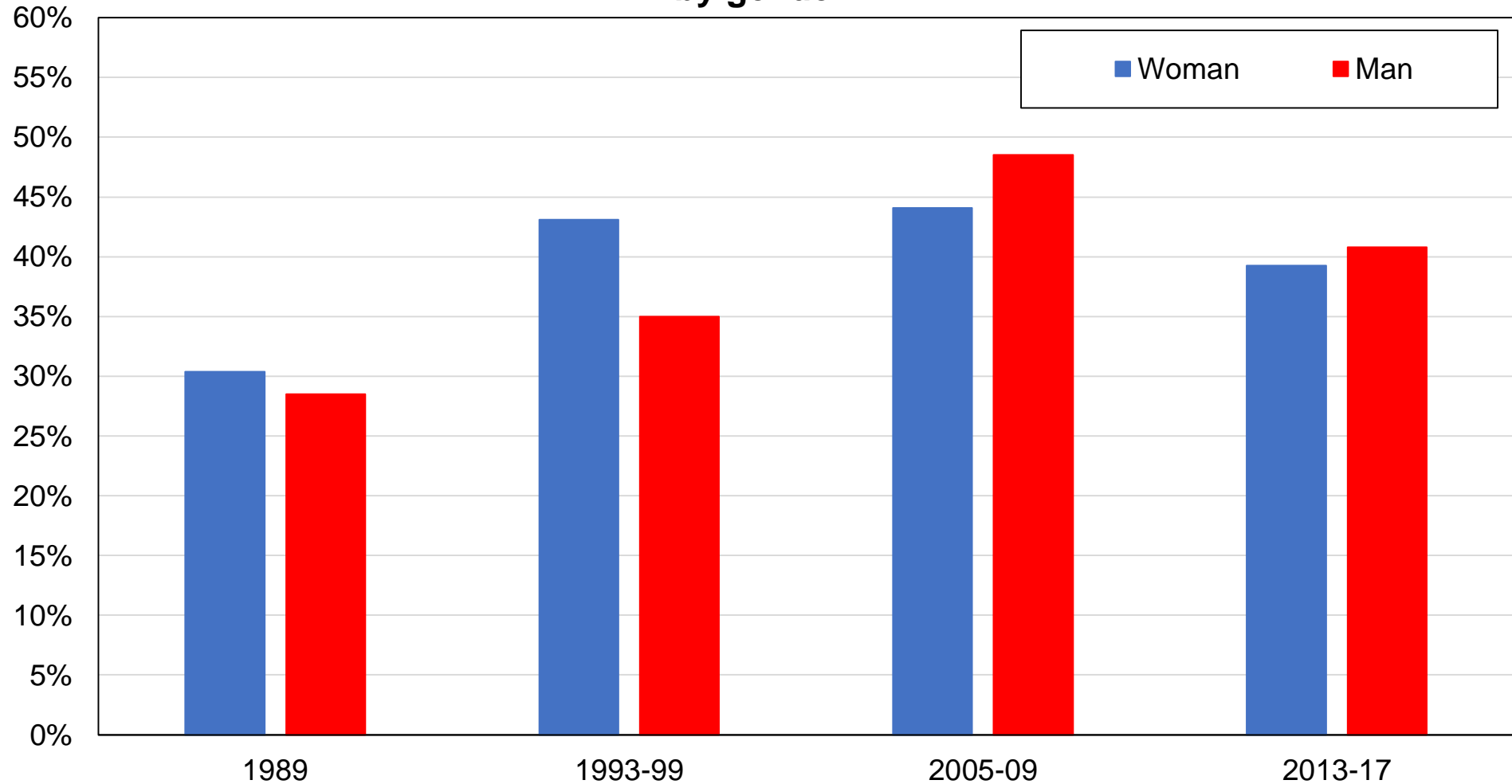
**Figure BB47 - Vote for Independent Democratic Union/National Renewal
by region**



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Independent Democratic Union/National Renewal by region.

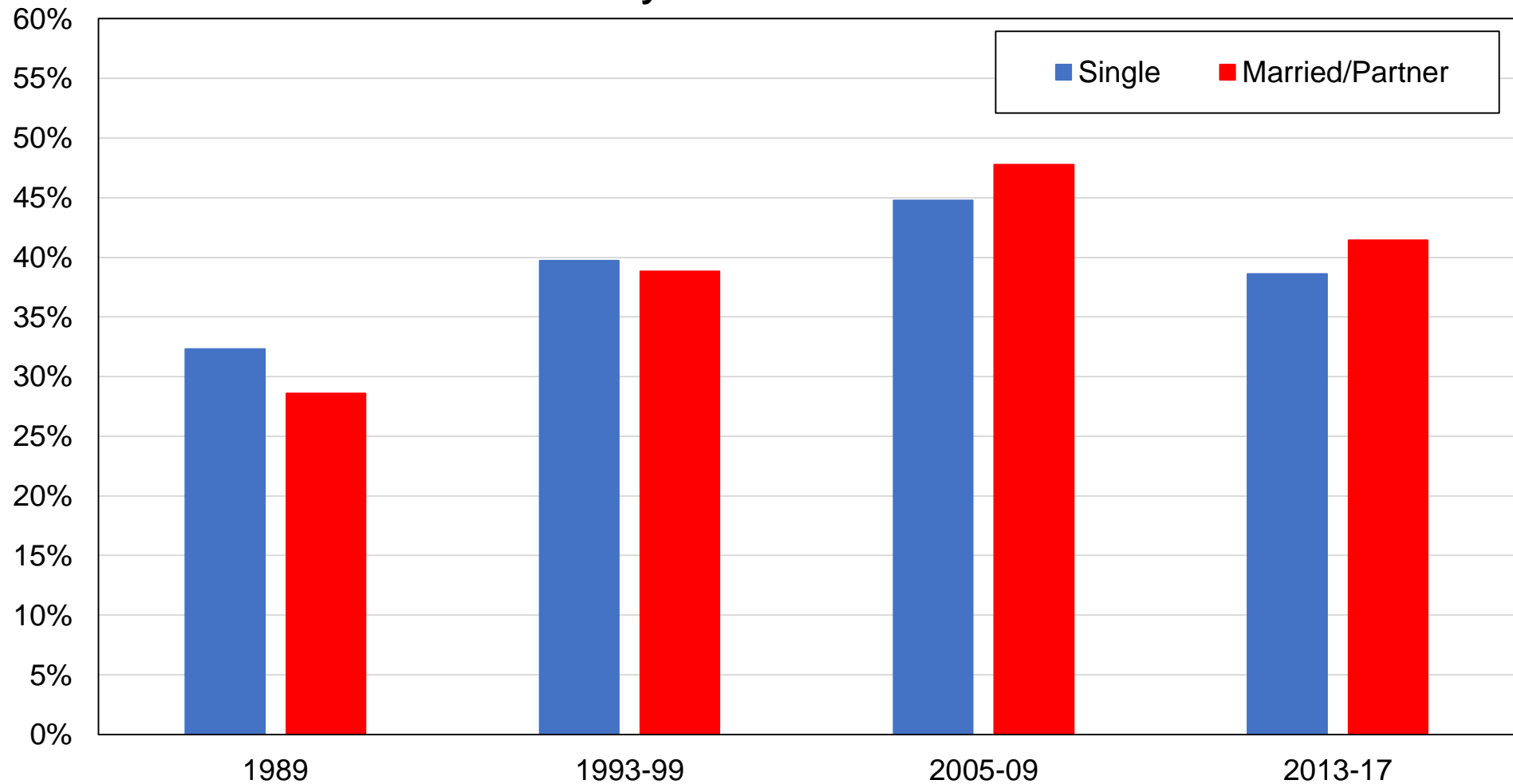
**Figure BB48 - Vote for Independent Democratic Union/National Renewal
by gender**



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Independent Democratic Union/National Renewal by gender.

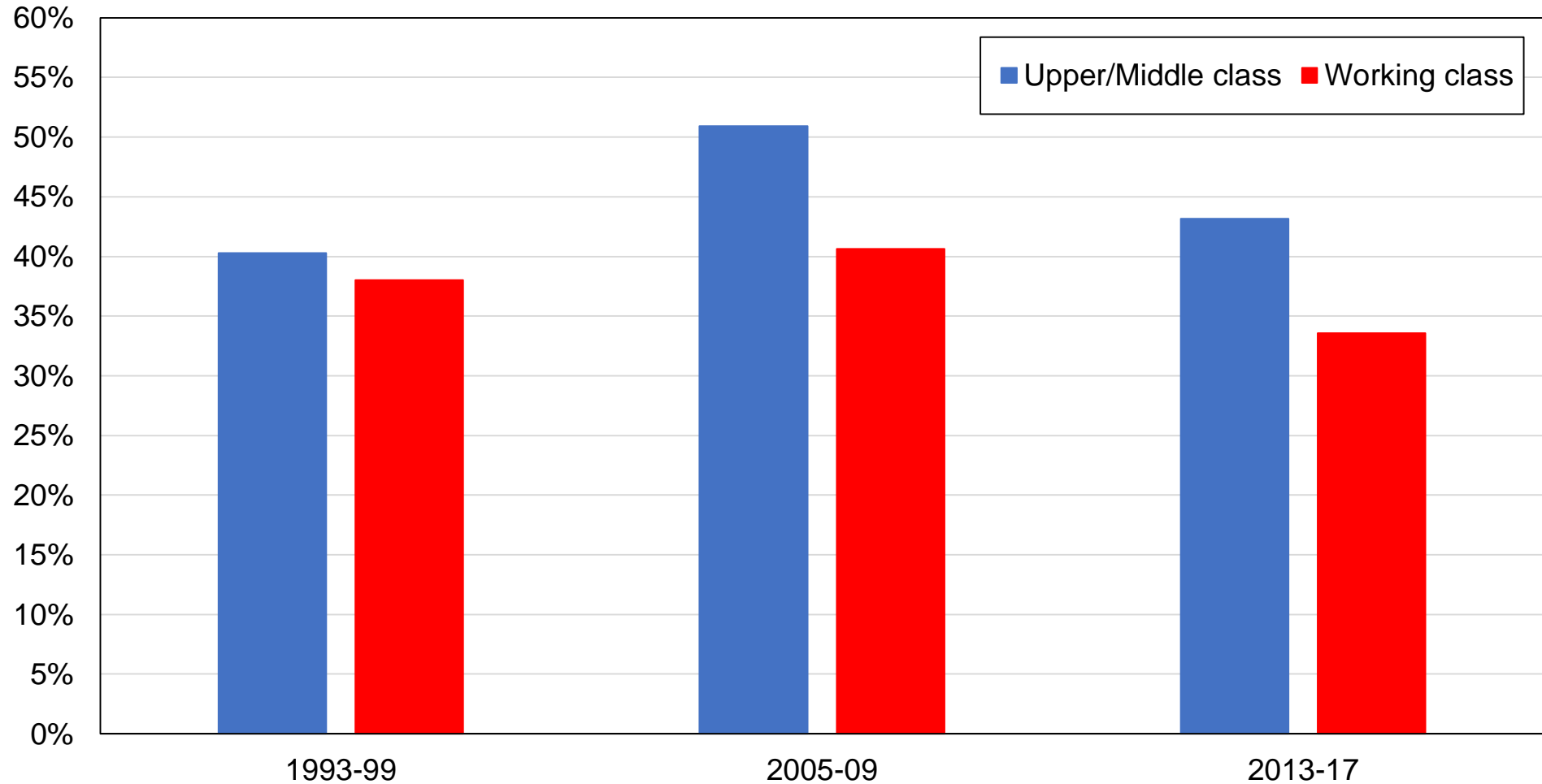
**Figure BB49 - Vote for Independent Democratic Union/National Renewal
by marital status**



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Independent Democratic Union/National Renewal by marital status.

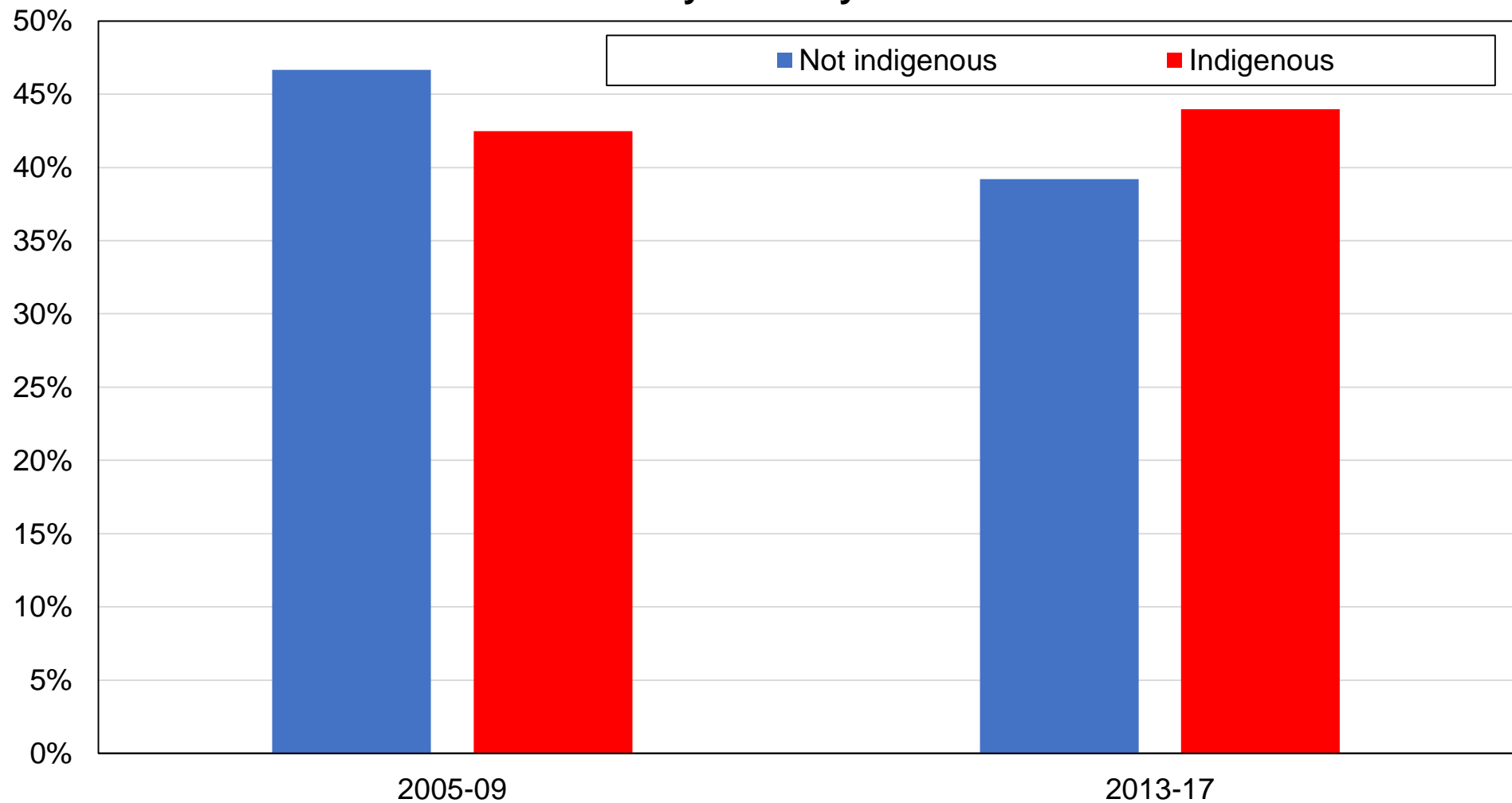
**Figure BB50 - Vote for Independent Democratic Union/National Renewal
by perceived social class**



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Independent Democratic Union/National Renewal by perceived social class.

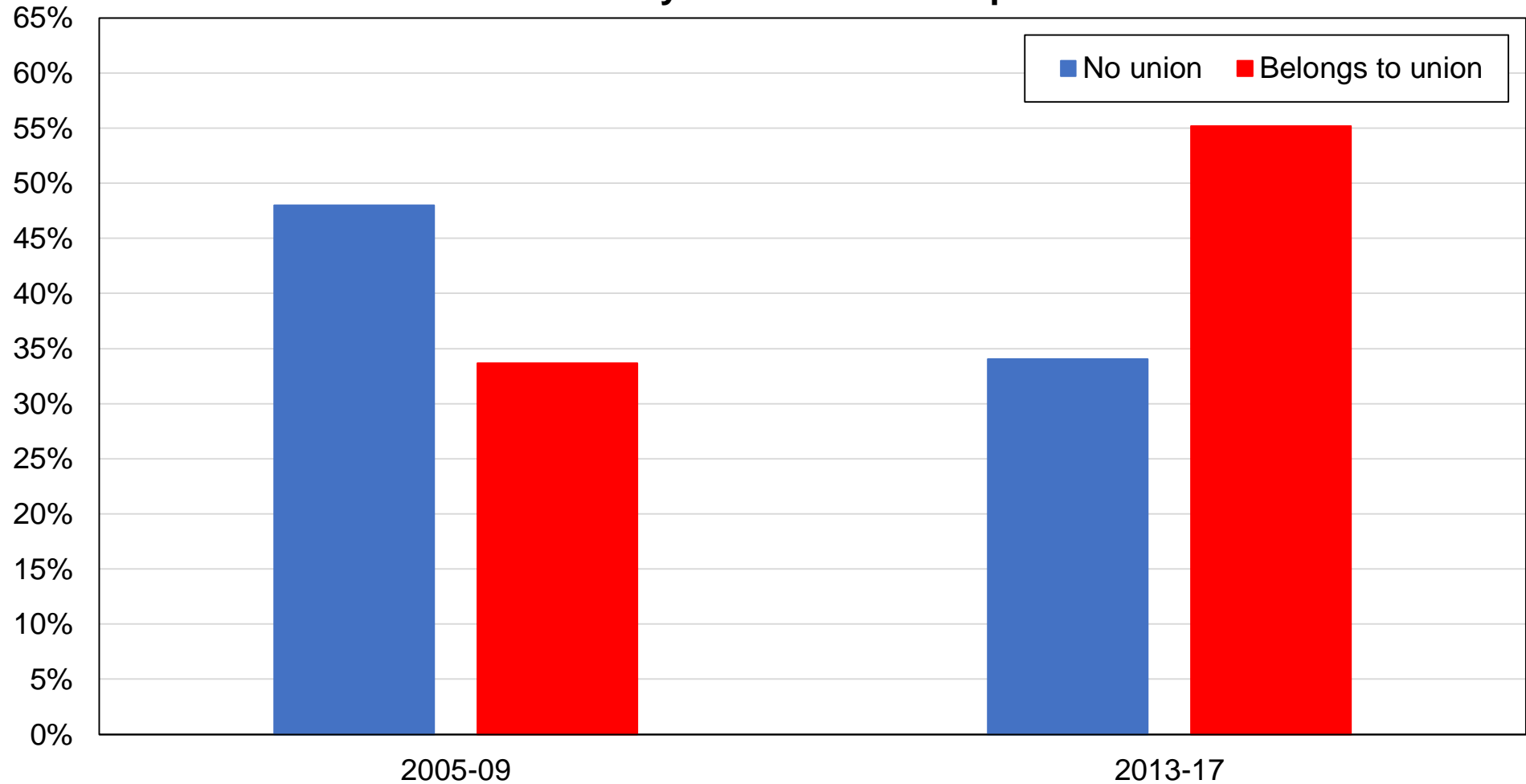
Figure BB51 - Vote for Independent Democratic Union/National Renewal by ethnicity



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Independent Democratic Union/National Renewal by ethnicity.

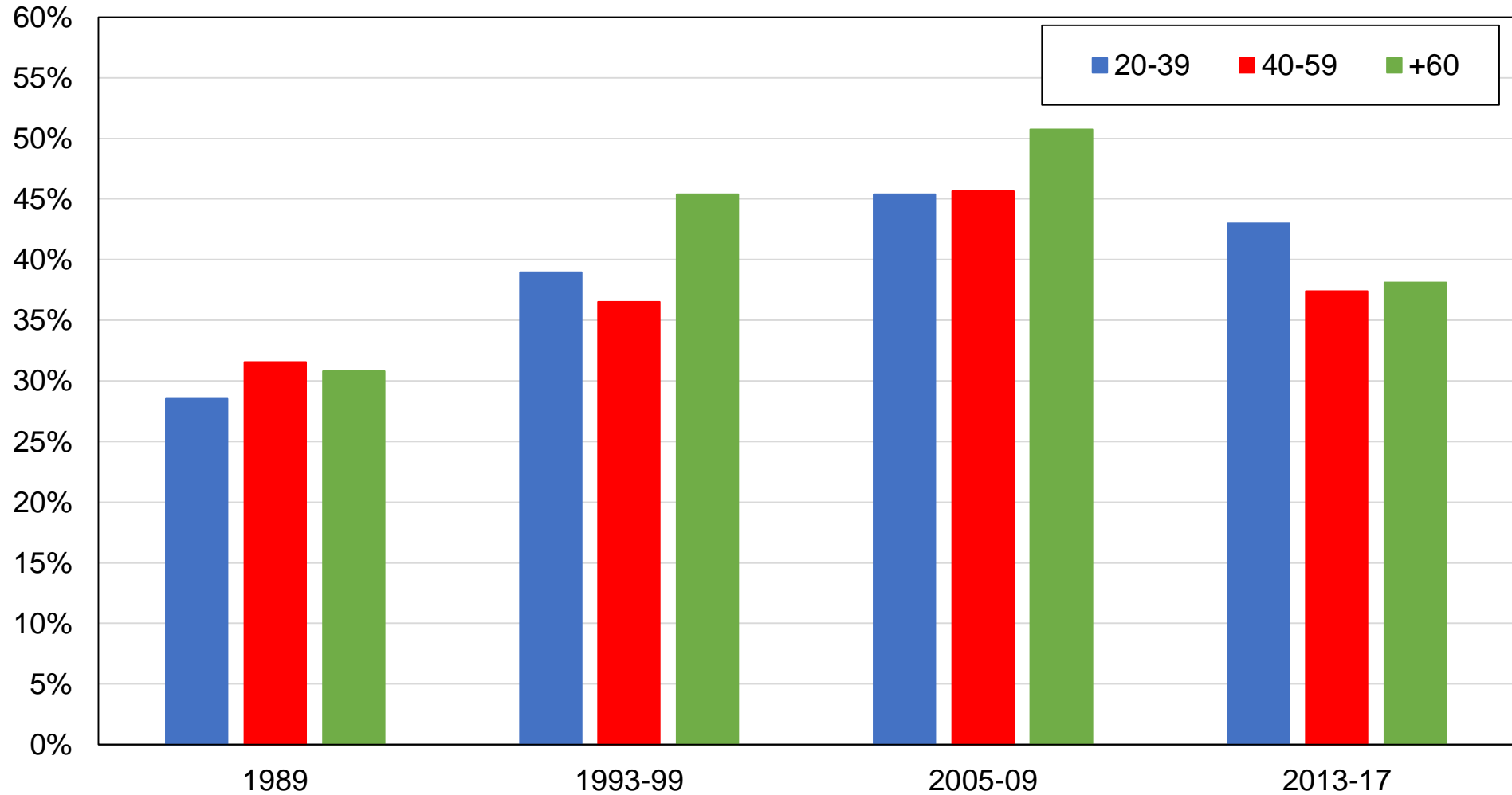
Figure BB52 - Vote for Independent Democratic Union/National Renewal by union membership



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Independent Democratic Union/National Renewal by union membership.

**Figure BB53 - Vote for Independent Democratic Union/National Renewal
by age group**



Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Independent Democratic Union/National Renewal by age group.

Table BC1 - Survey data sources

Year	Survey	Source	Sample size
1990	Encuesta CEP	CEP	1187
1993	Encuesta CEP	CEP	1832
1999	Encuesta CEP	CEP	1504
2005	Encuesta CEP	CEP	1505
2009	Encuesta CEP	CEP	1505
2013	Encuesta CEP	CEP	1437
2017	Encuesta CEP	CEP	1424

Source: authors' elaboration. CES: Centro de Estudios Públicos, available from https://www.cepchile.cl/cep/site/tax/port/all/taxport_20__1.html/.

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

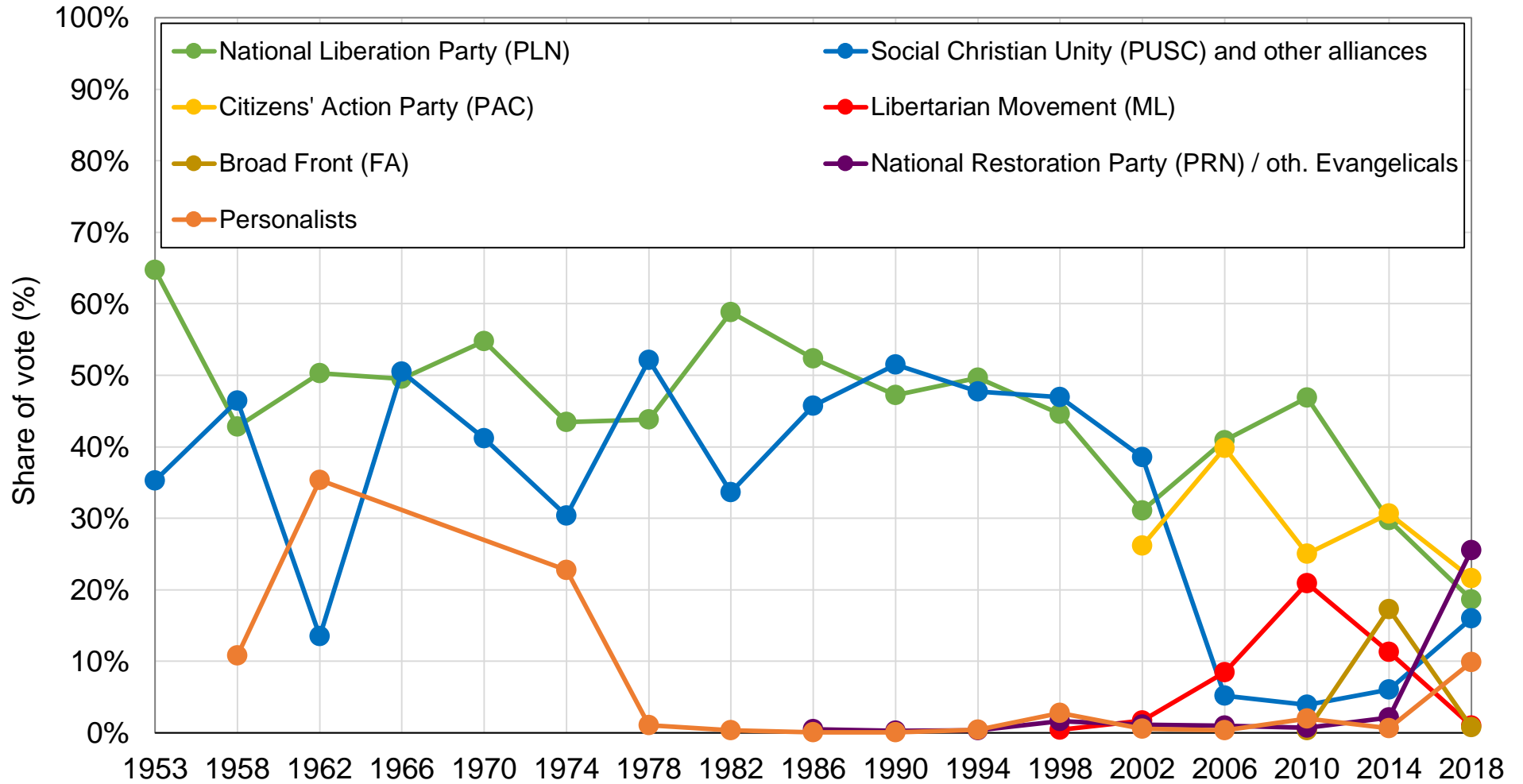
Table BC2 - Complete descriptive statistics by decade

	1989	1993-99	2005-09	2013-17
Age: 20-39	70%	57%	50%	44%
Age: 40-59	22%	30%	34%	35%
Age: 60+	9%	13%	16%	21%
Upper/Middle class	0%	50%	55%	67%
Working class	0%	50%	45%	33%
Primary	24%	24%	27%	21%
Secondary	45%	54%	42%	44%
Tertiary	31%	22%	31%	35%
Employed	53%	51%	58%	57%
Unemployed	9%	5%	6%	6%
Inactive	38%	44%	36%	37%
Renting a house	N/A	N/A	20%	N/A
Owning a house	N/A	N/A	80%	N/A
Single	22%	37%	49%	53%
Married/Partner	78%	63%	51%	47%
Not indigenous	N/A	N/A	93%	91%
Indigenous	N/A	N/A	7%	9%
North	N/A	11%	11%	12%
Center	N/A	59%	62%	62%
South	N/A	29%	27%	26%
No religion	N/A	7%	12%	19%
Catholic	N/A	75%	68%	61%
Protestant	N/A	15%	16%	17%
Other	N/A	4%	4%	3%
Never	N/A	17%	21%	35%
Less than monthly	N/A	40%	42%	37%
Monthly or more	N/A	21%	19%	15%
Weekly or more	N/A	22%	19%	13%
Woman	N/A	52%	49%	50%
Man	N/A	48%	51%	50%
No union	N/A	0%	90%	94%
Belongs to union	N/A	0%	10%	6%

Source: authors' computations using Chilean political attitudes surveys.

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

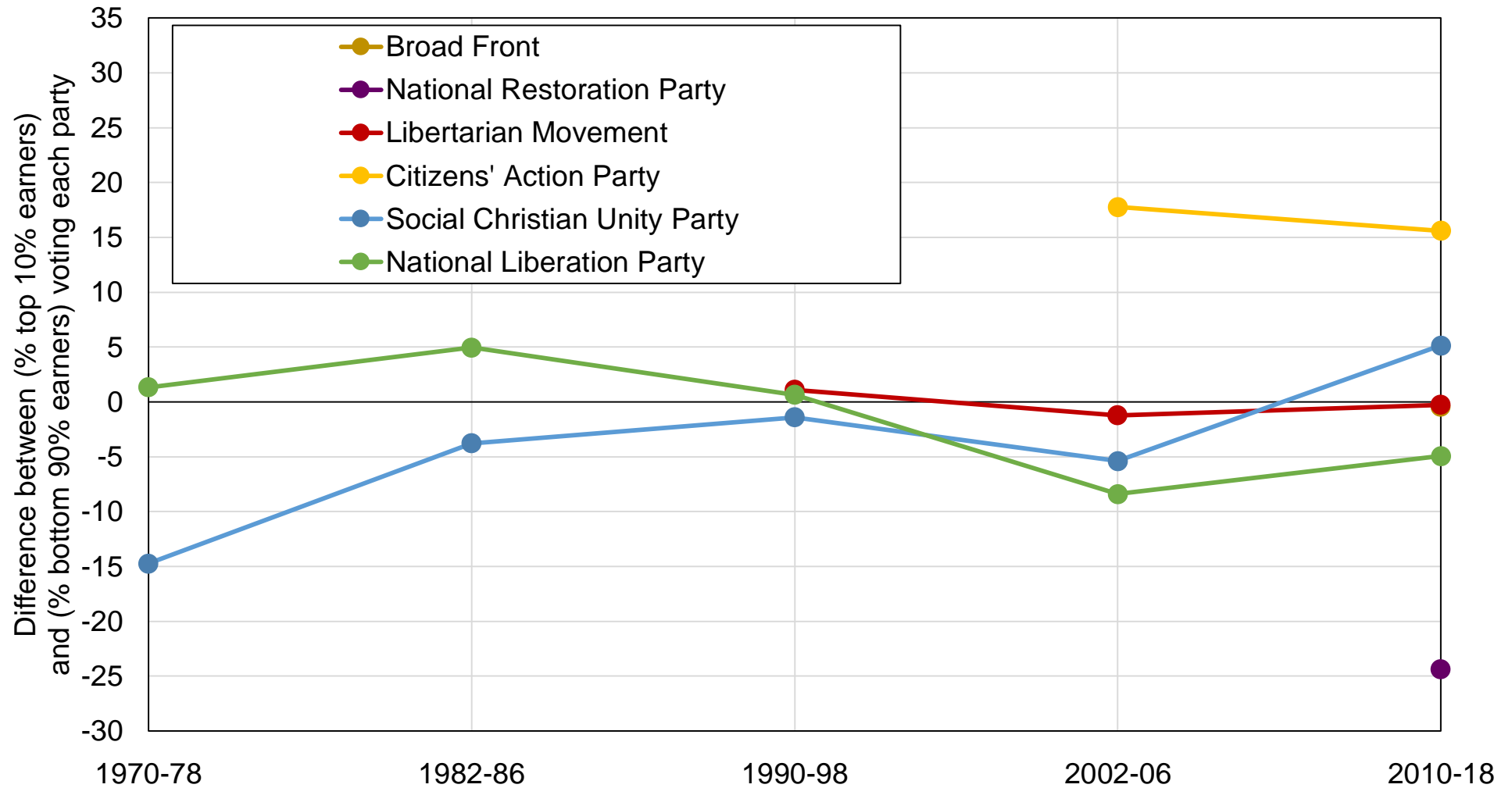
Figure C1 - Election results in Costa Rica, 1953-2018



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Costa Rican political parties in presidential elections between 1953 and 2018.

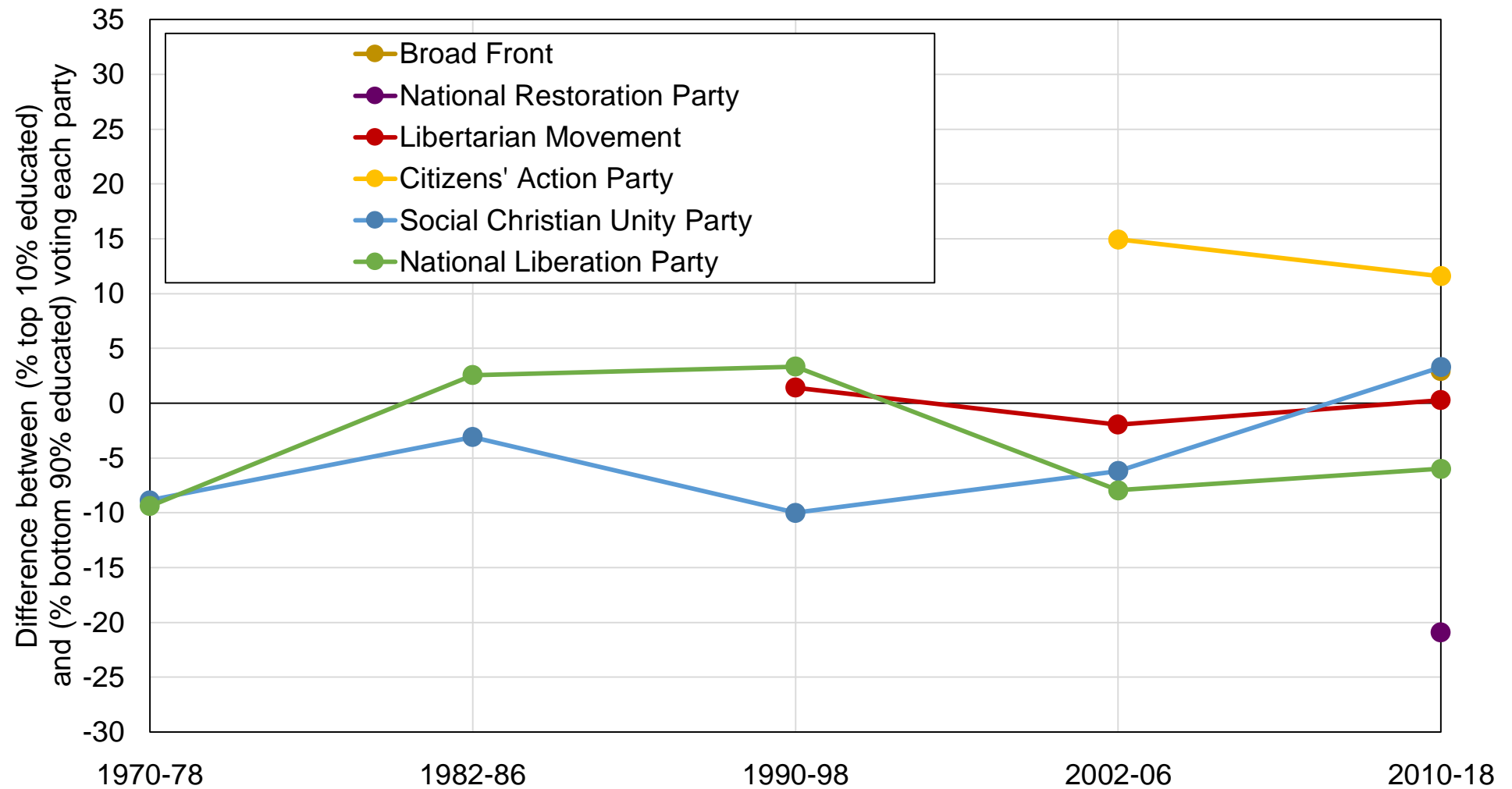
Figure C2 - The income cleavage in Costa Rica



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the relative support of top-income voters for the main Costa Rican parties.

Figure C3 - The education cleavage in Costa Rica



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the relative support of highest-educated voters for the main Costa Rican parties.

Table C1 - The structure of political cleavages in Costa Rica, 2010-2018

Share of votes (%)

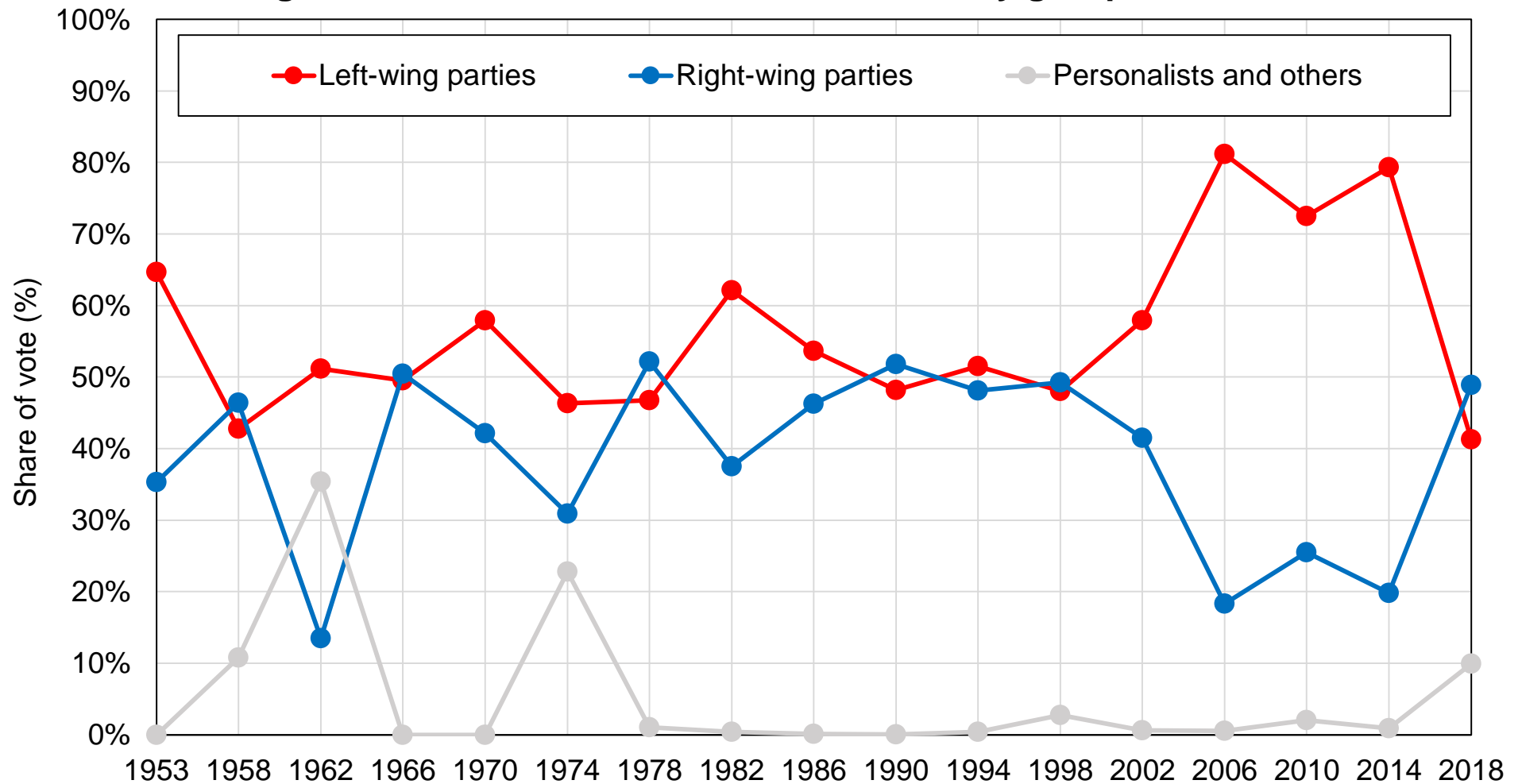
	PLN	PUSC	PAC	ML	FA	PRN
Education						
Primary	40%	5%	27%	4%	4%	15%
Secondary	26%	6%	34%	4%	6%	17%
Tertiary	20%	14%	40%	4%	8%	9%
Postgraduate	25%	10%	46%	3%	5%	7%
Income						
Bottom 50%	32%	6%	28%	3%	6%	20%
Middle 40%	27%	8%	34%	5%	5%	15%
Top 10%	25%	12%	47%	4%	5%	5%
Religion						
Catholic	35%	8%	36%	4%	5%	6%
Protestant	24%	5%	20%	4%	3%	39%
Other	16%	3%	35%	2%	13%	28%
No religion	17%	6%	40%	4%	16%	9%
Region						
Metropolitan Area SJ	27%	10%	33%	2%	7%	13%
Central-Urban	29%	6%	42%	4%	5%	8%
Central-Rural	34%	6%	31%	6%	3%	14%
Lowlands-Urban	33%	7%	27%	5%	6%	19%
Lowlands-Rural	33%	5%	28%	3%	5%	21%
Worker type						
Business owner/partner	21%	10%	37%	4%	6%	14%
Wage earner	28%	8%	34%	4%	7%	13%
Self-employed	29%	7%	33%	5%	4%	15%
Sector of employment						

Private/mixed sector	28%	7%	34%	4%	6%	15%
Public	28%	10%	37%	5%	8%	9%
Ethnicity						
White	33%	7%	31%	4%	6%	13%
Mestizo	29%	8%	35%	4%	5%	14%
Indigenous	31%	6%	34%	2%	7%	11%
Black & Mulatto	25%	5%	38%	2%	5%	18%
Other	25%	4%	35%	3%	5%	26%

Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

Notes: the table shows the average share of votes received by the main Costa Rican political parties by selected individual characteristics over the period 2010-2018.

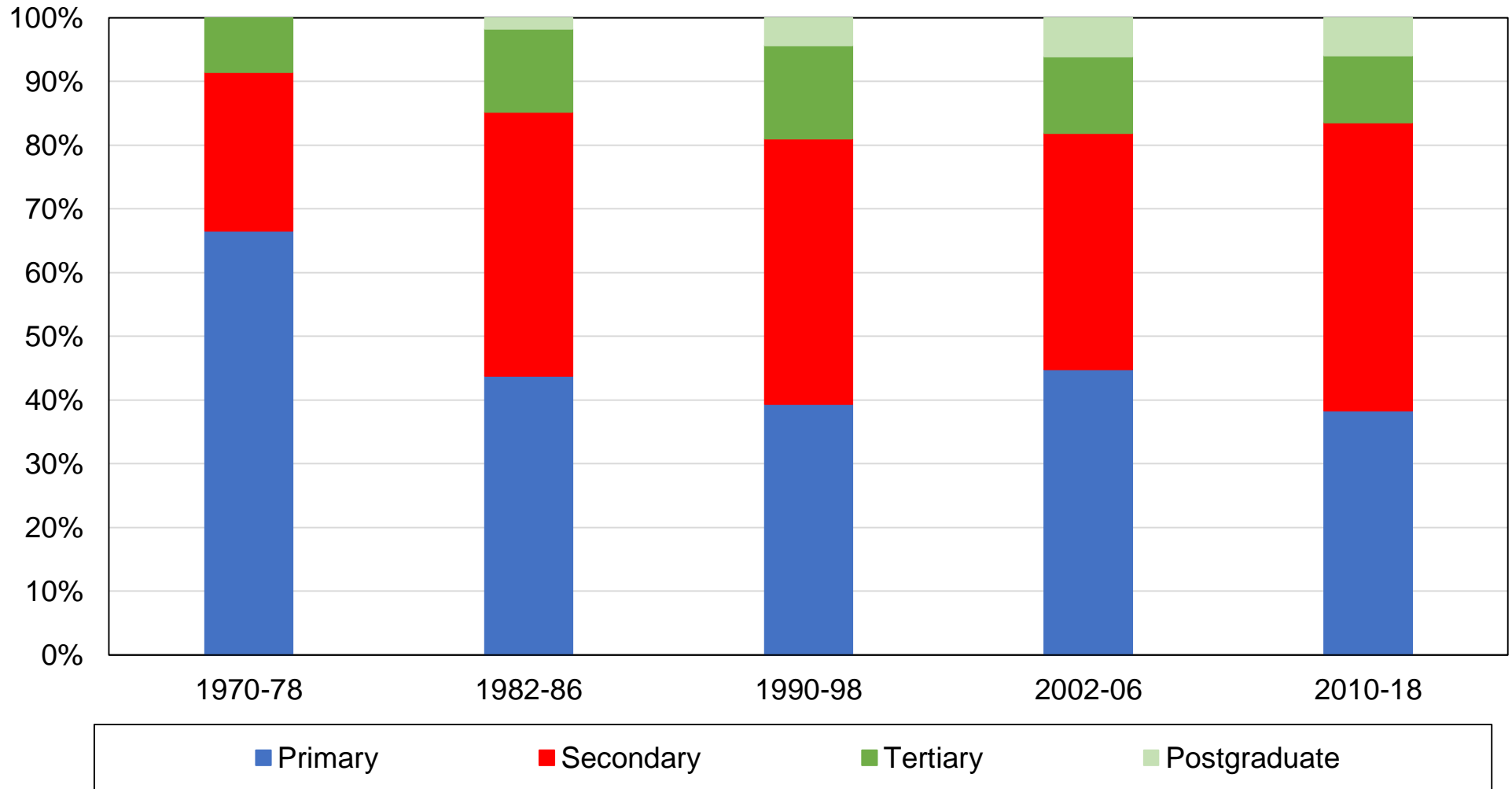
Figure CA1 - Election results in Costa Rica by group, 1953-2018



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

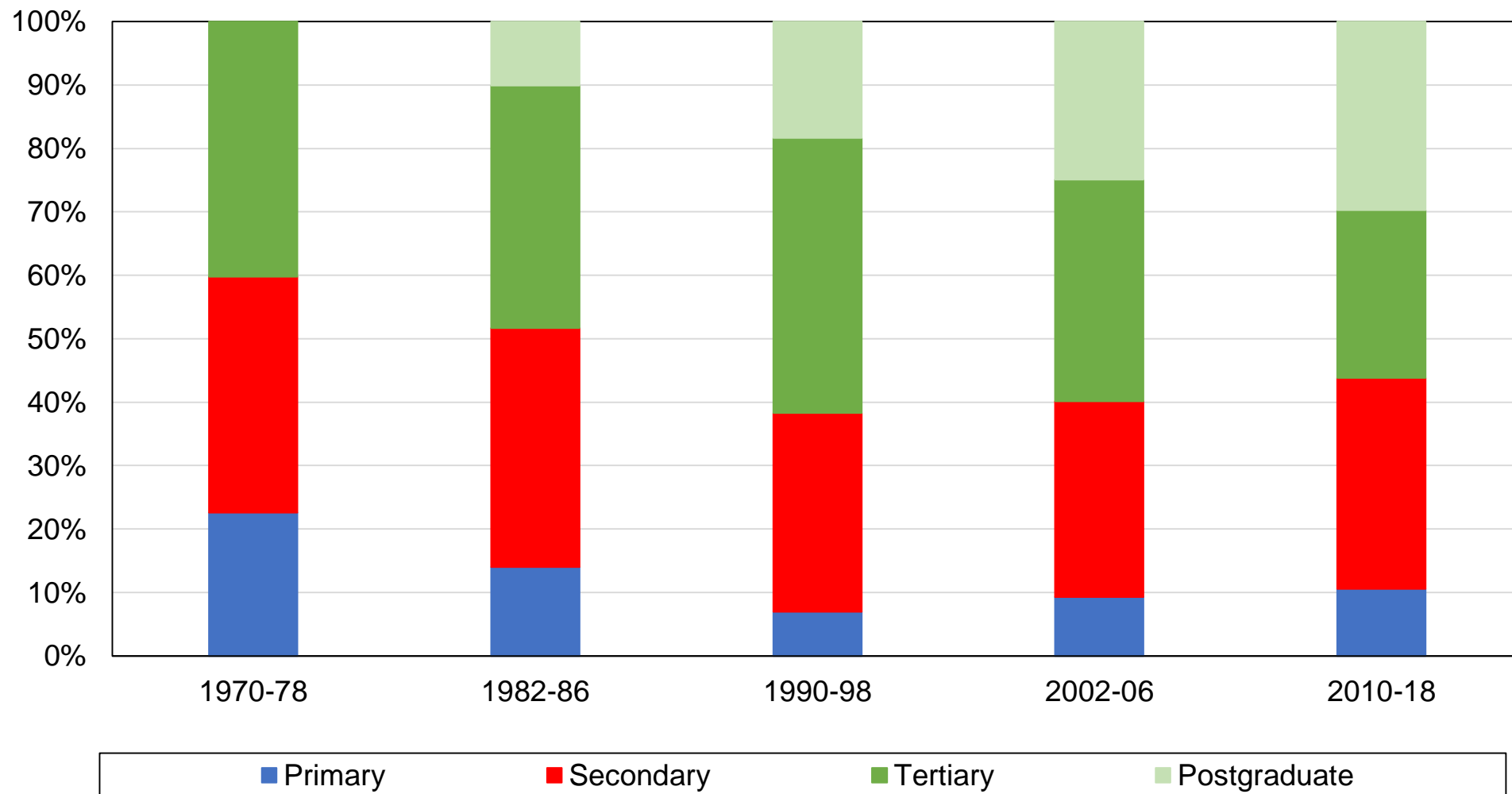
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Costa Rican political parties in presidential elections between 1953 and 2018.

Figure CA2 - The evolution of education



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

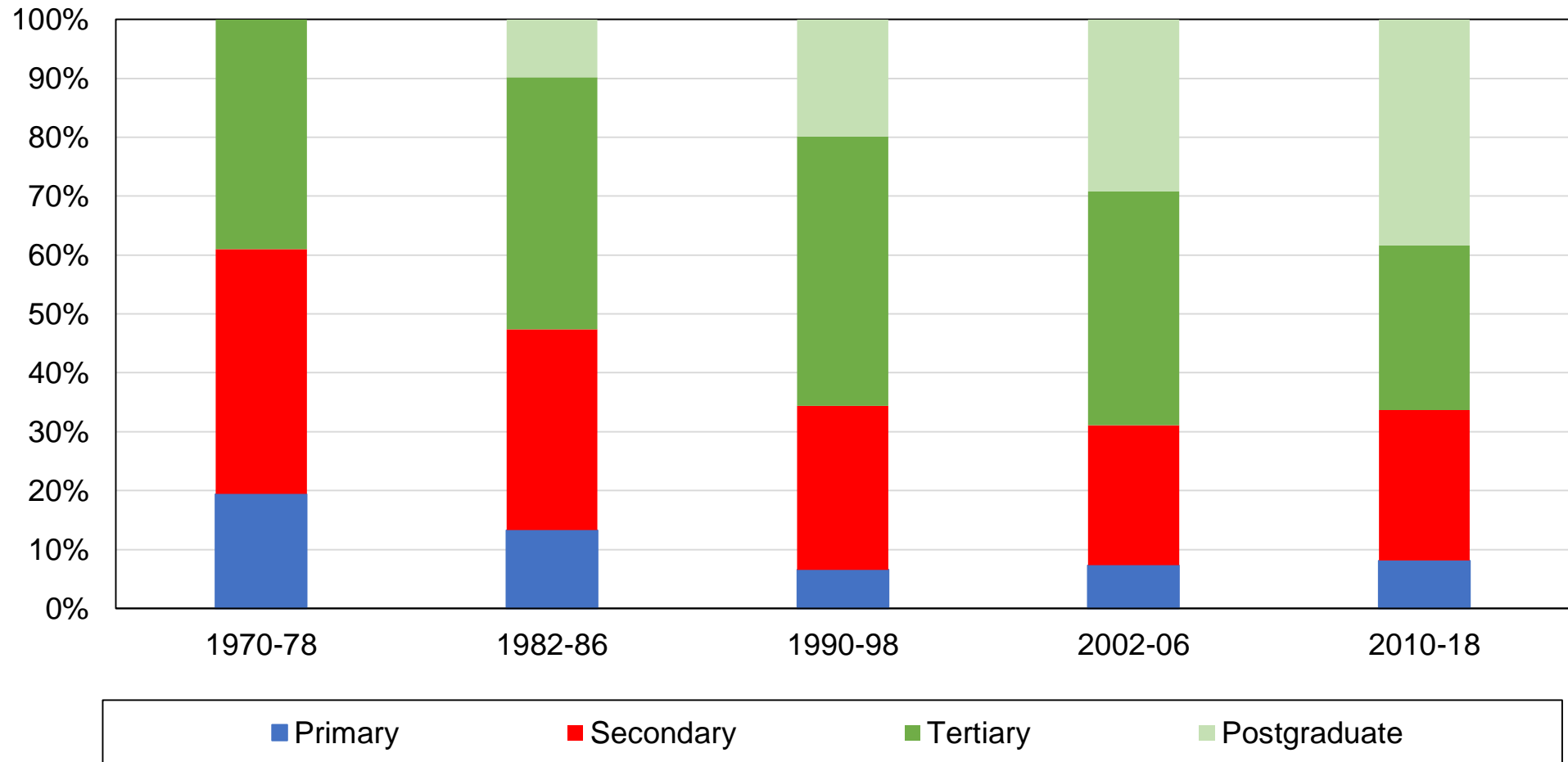
Figure CA3 - The evolution of education among top 10% earners



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows composition of the electorate by education level among top 10% earners.

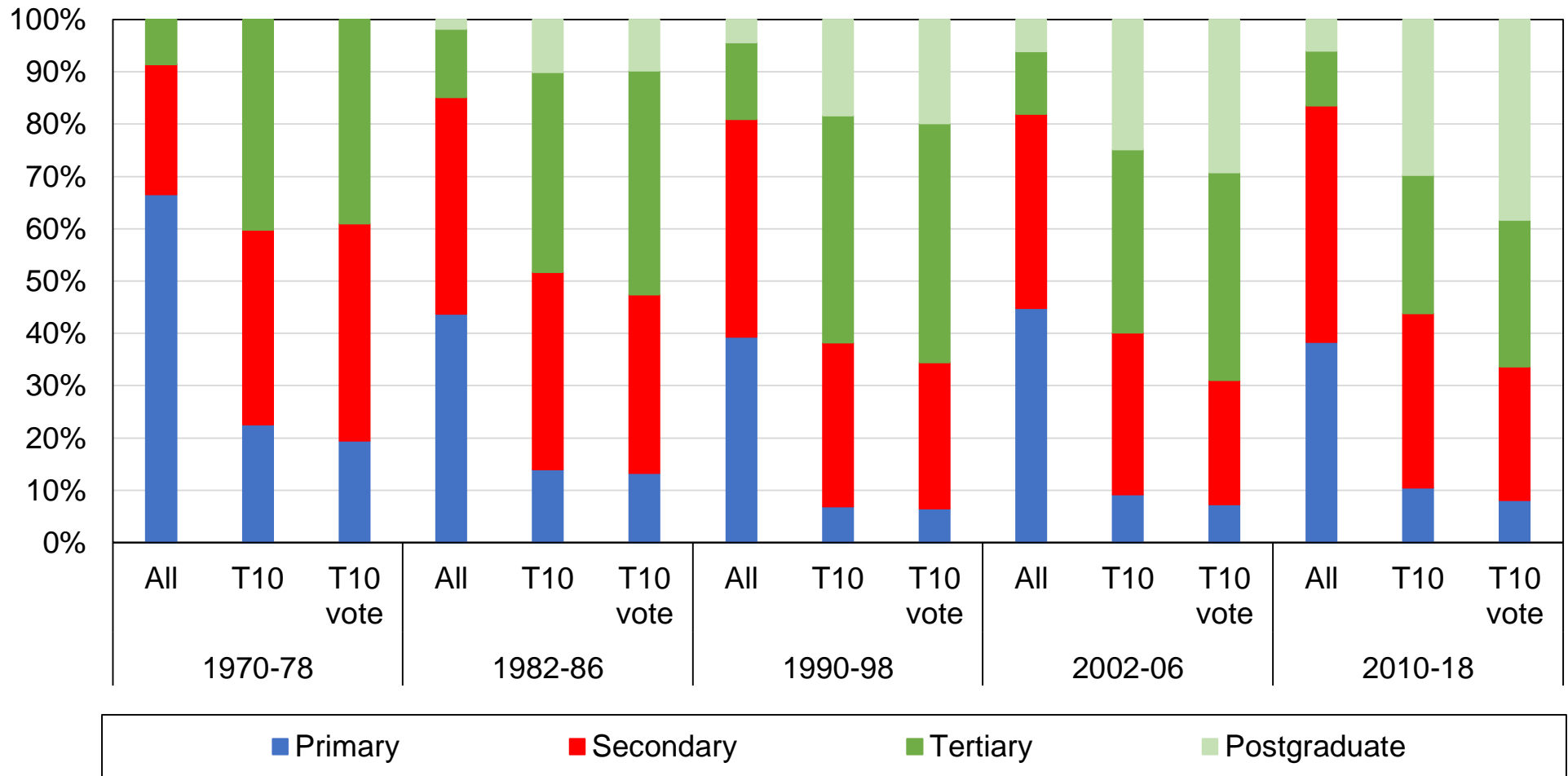
Figure CA4 - The evolution of education among top 10% earners voting for left-wing parties



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by education level among top 10% income earners voting for left-wing parties.

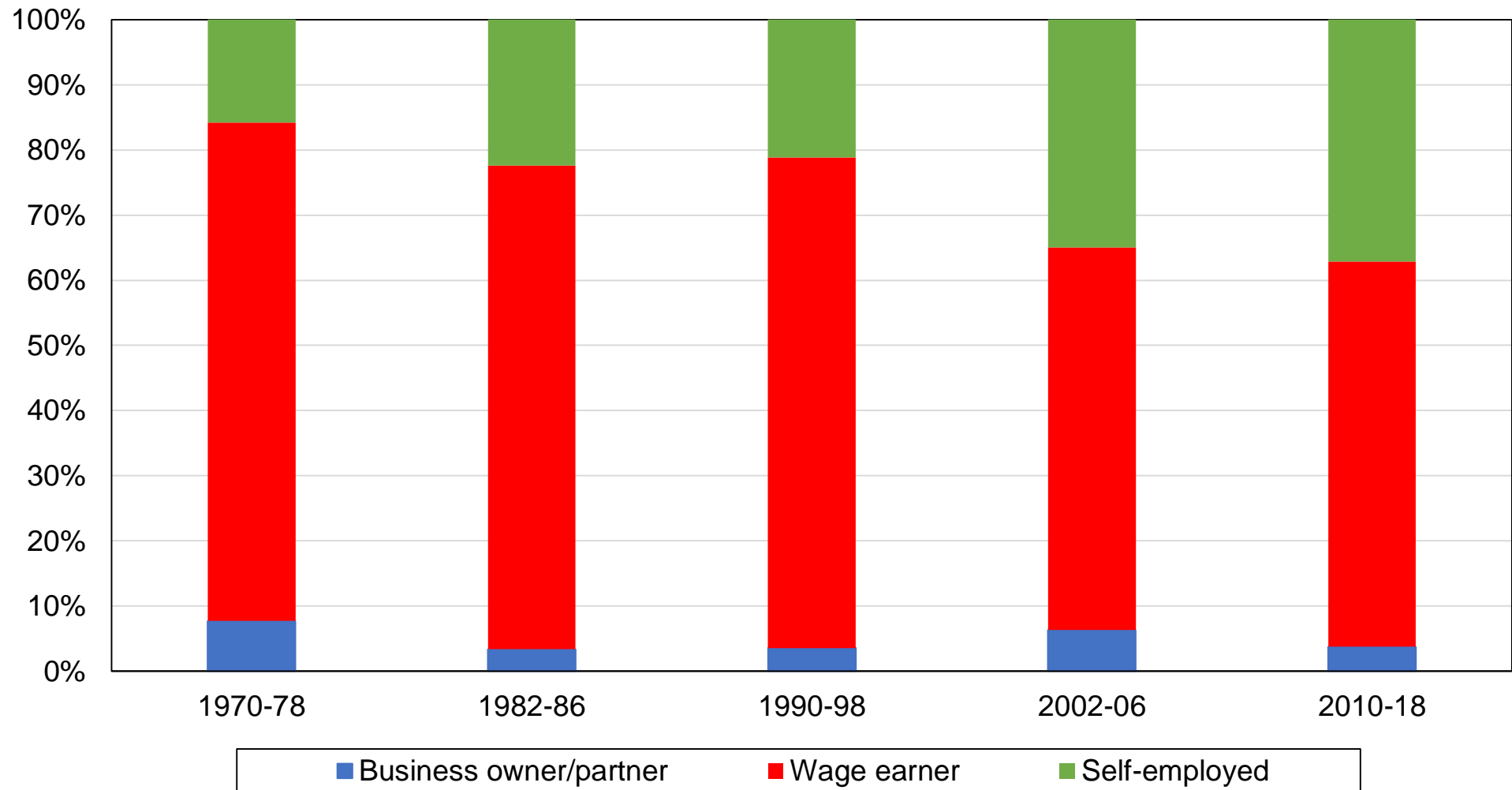
Figure CA5 - The evolution of education in Costa Rica



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

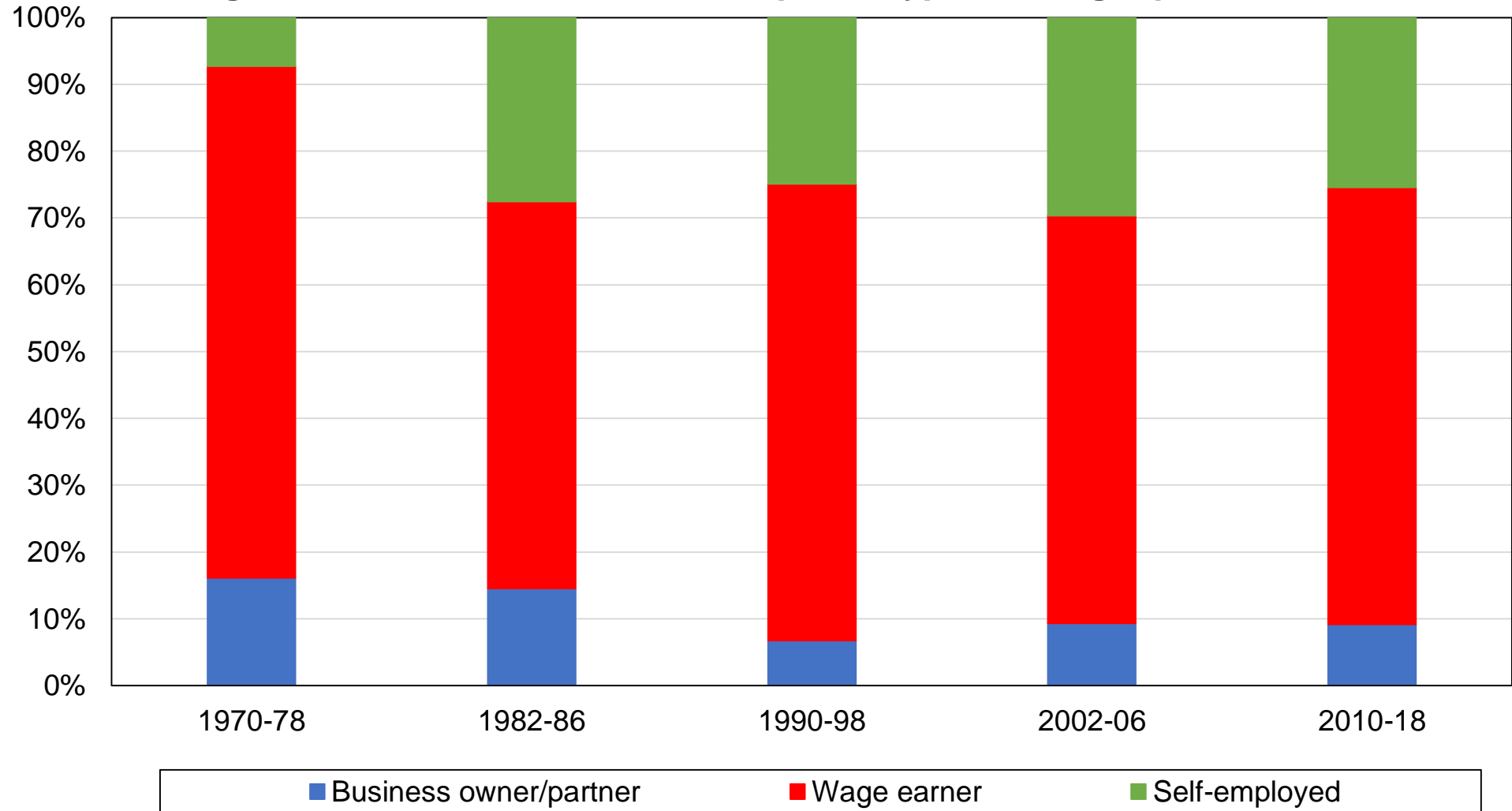
Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by education level and its evolution over time since the 1970s. All represents the whole adult population, T10 refers to top 10% earners and T10 vote to top 10% earners voting for left-wing parties.

Figure CA6 - The evolution of occupation types



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by type of occupation.

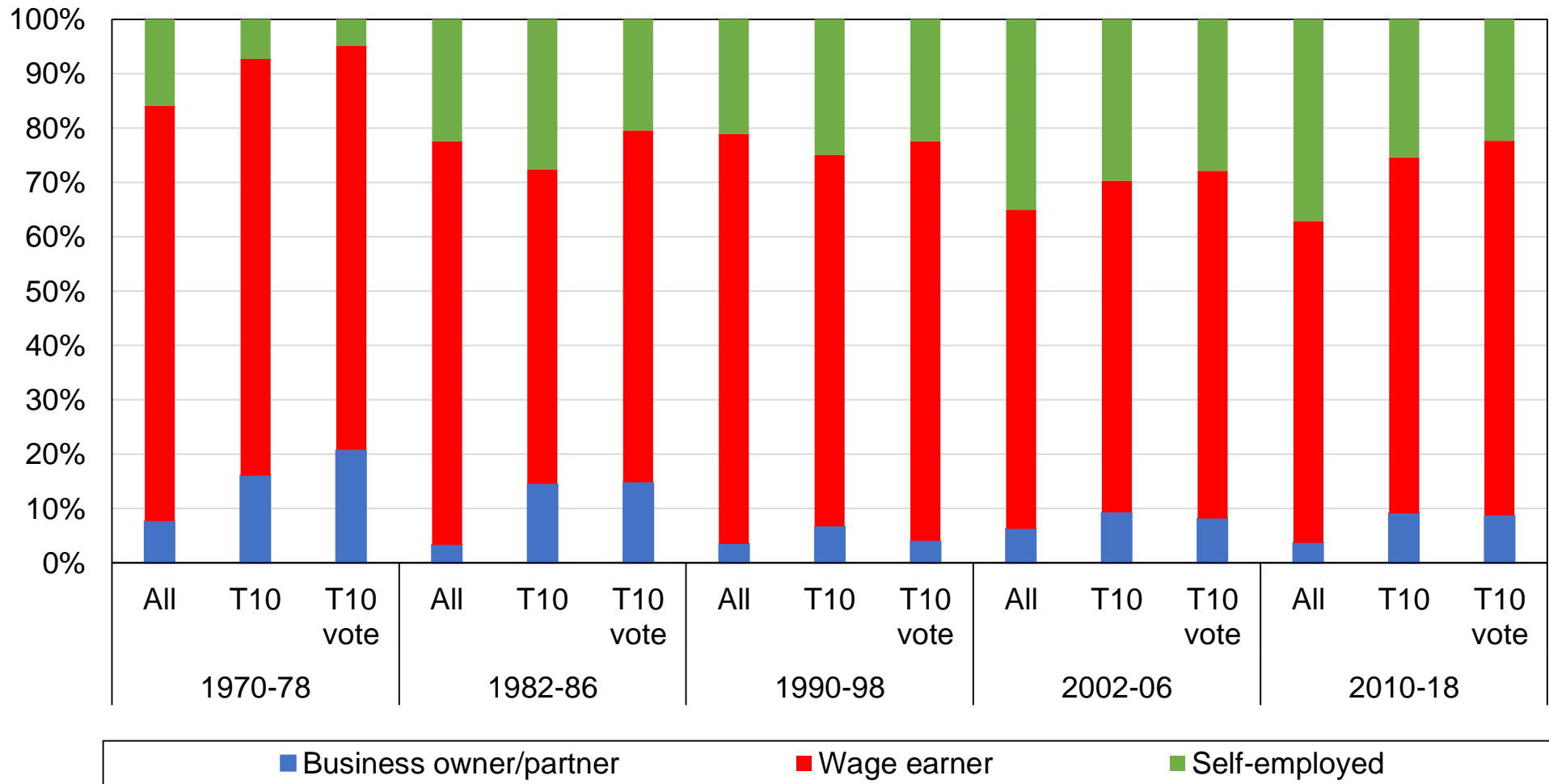
Figure CA7 - The evolution of occupation types among top 10% earners



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by type of occupation among top 10% earners.

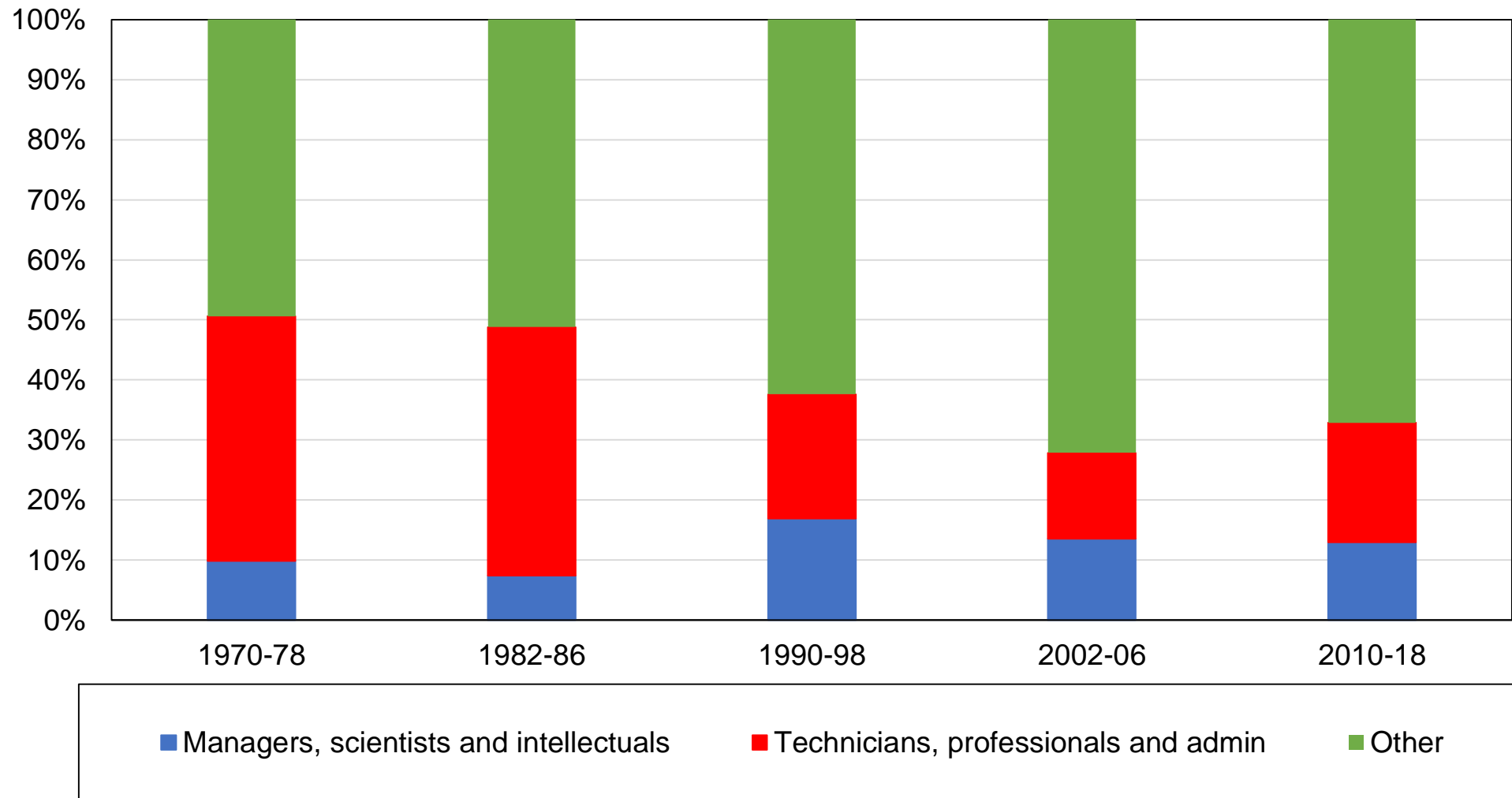
Figure CA8 - The evolution of occupation types in Costa Rica



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

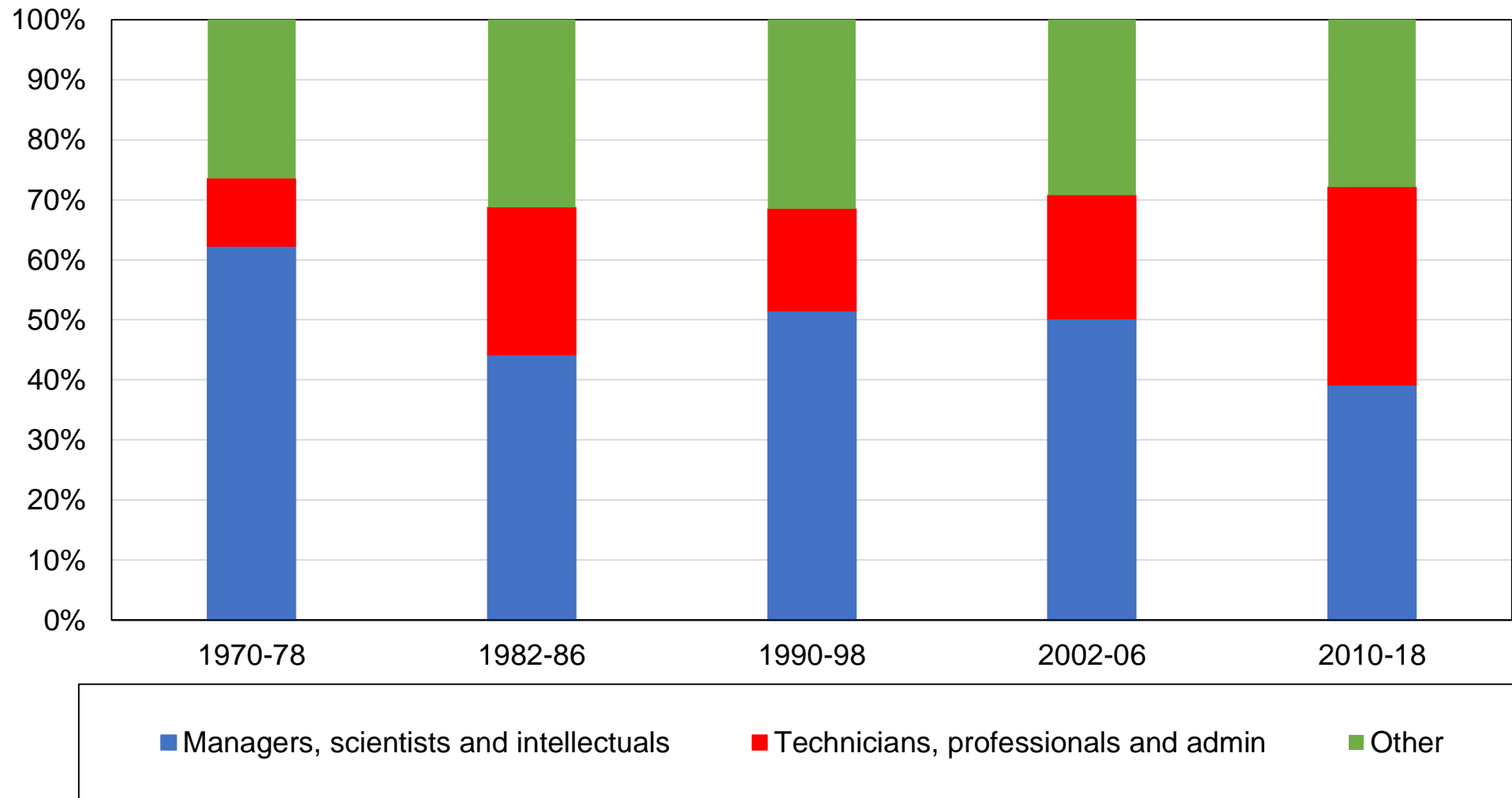
Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by occupation type. All represents the whole adult population, T10 refers to top 10% earners and T10 vote to top 10% earners voting for left-wing parties.

Figure CA9 - The evolution of occupations



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by occupation.

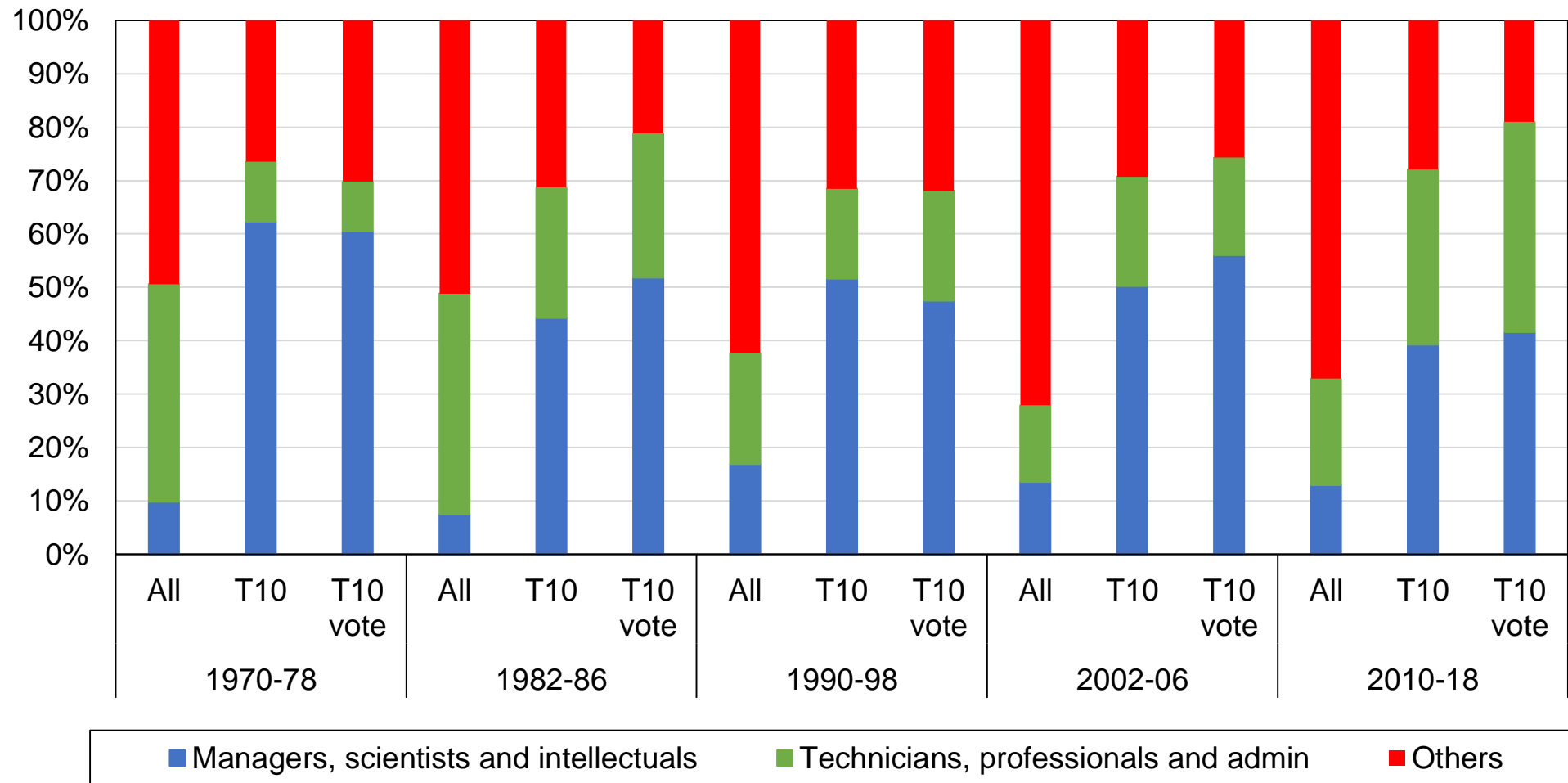
Figure CA10 - The evolution of occupations among top 10% earners



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by occupation among top 10% earners.

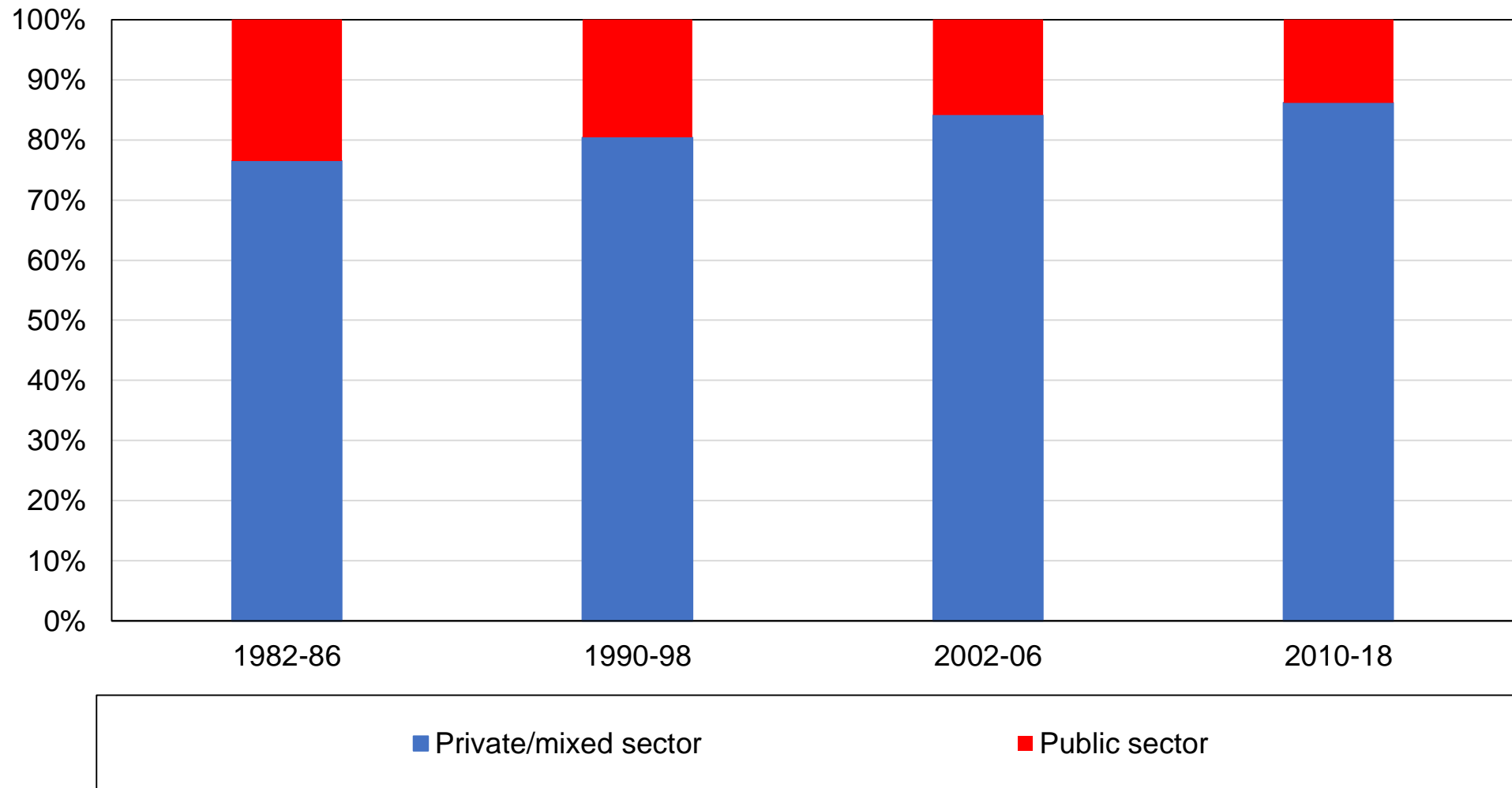
Figure CA11 - The evolution of occupations in Costa Rica



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows composition of the electorate by occupation. All represents the whole adult population, T10 refers to top 10% earners and T10 vote to left-wing voters within the top 10%.

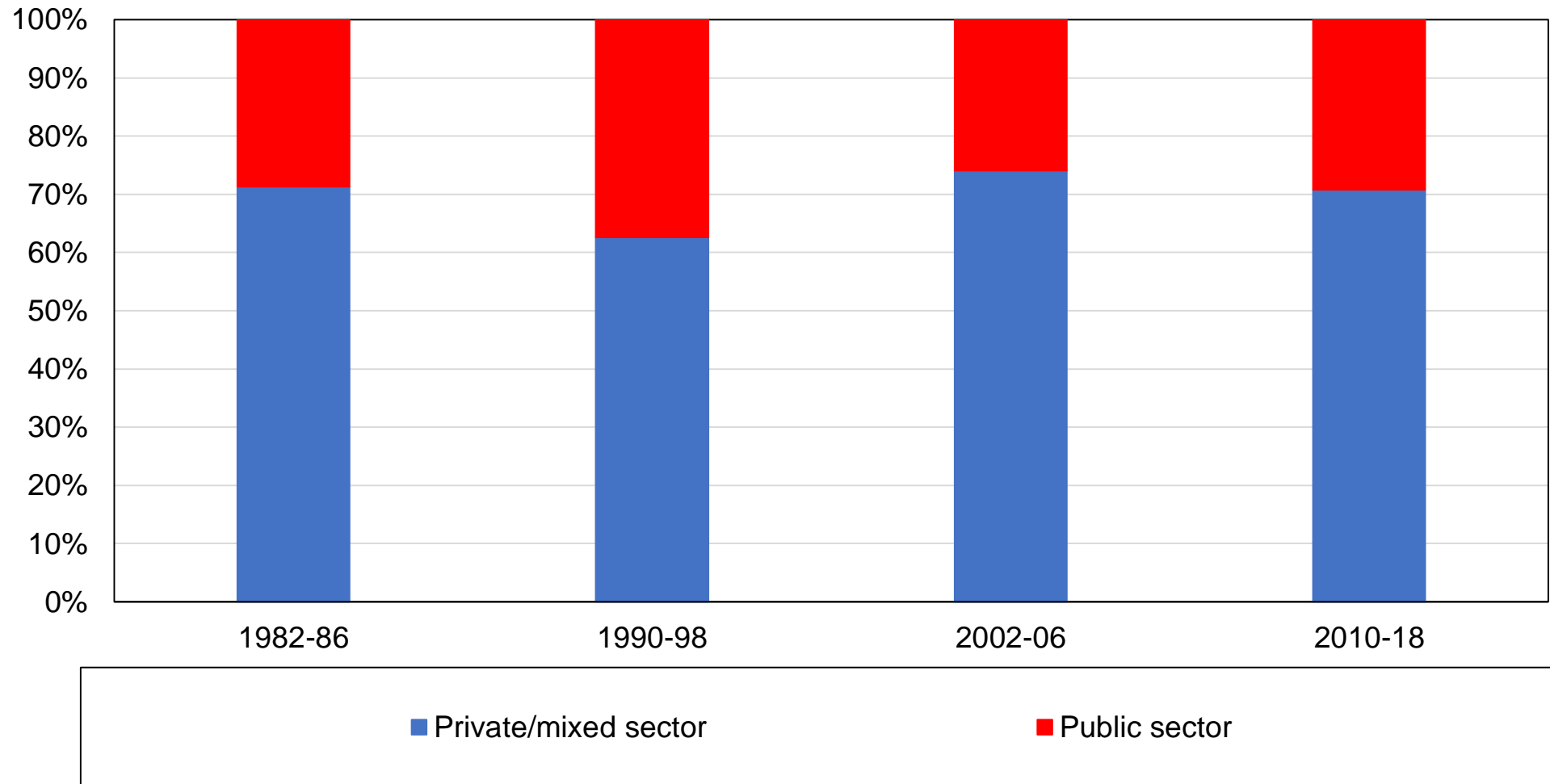
Figure CA12 - The evolution of sector of employment in Costa Rica



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

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

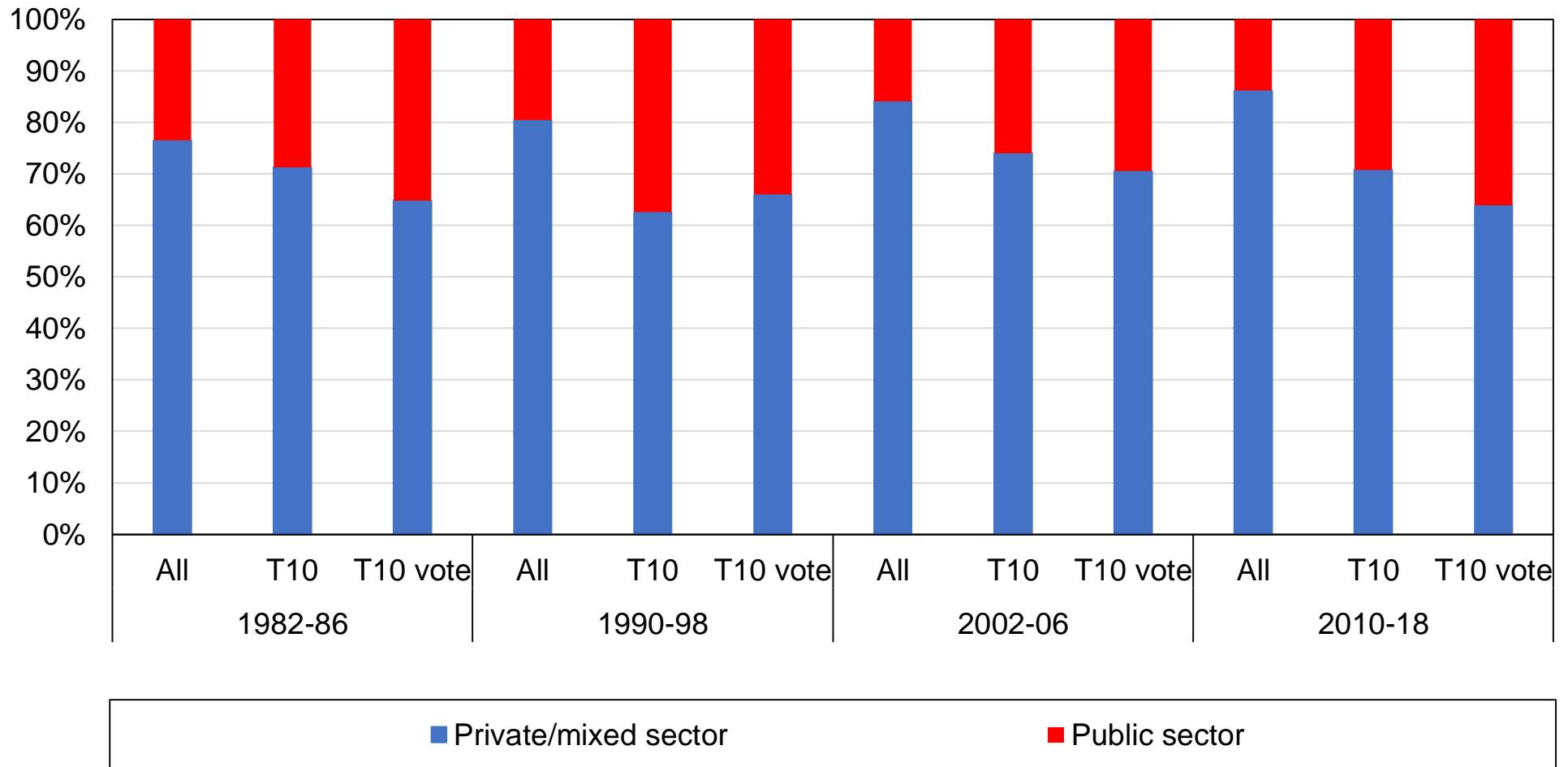
Figure CA13 - The evolution of sector of employment among top 10% earners



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by sector of employment among top 10% earners.

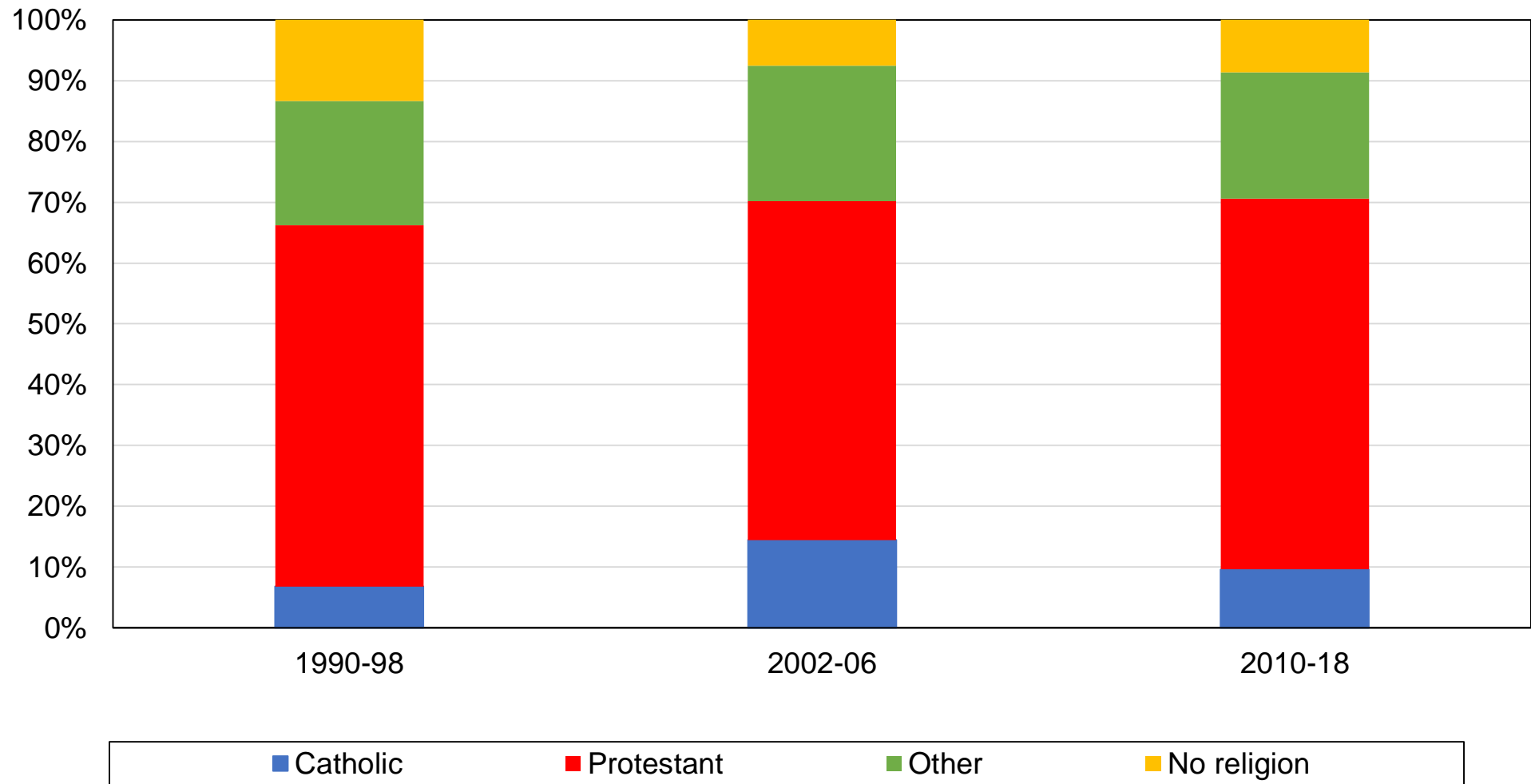
Figure CA14 - The evolution of sector of employment in Costa Rica



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

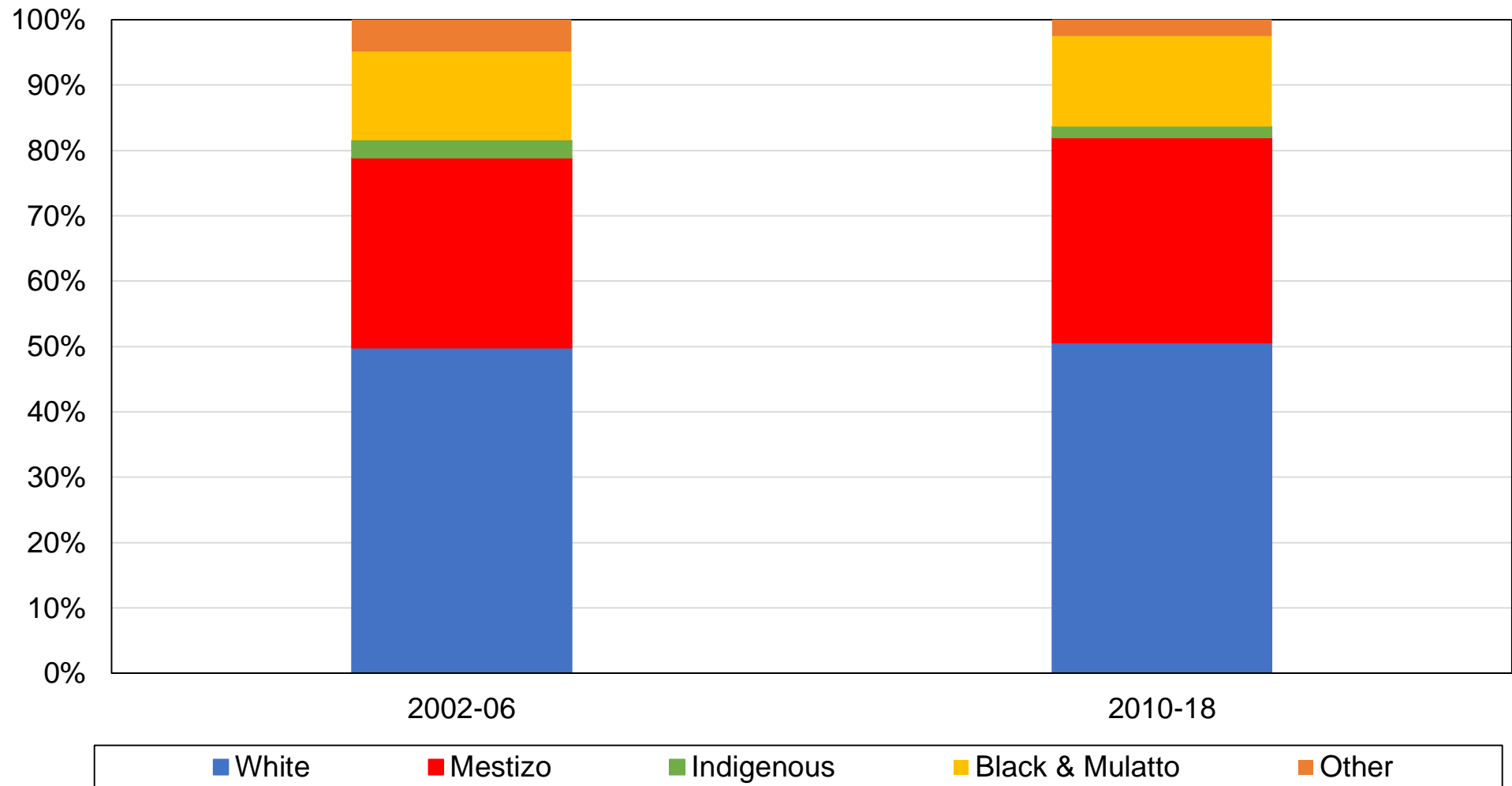
Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by sector of employment. All represents the whole adult population, T10 refers to top 10% earners and T10 vote to left-wing voters within the top 10%.

Figure CA15 - The evolution of religious affiliations in Costa Rica



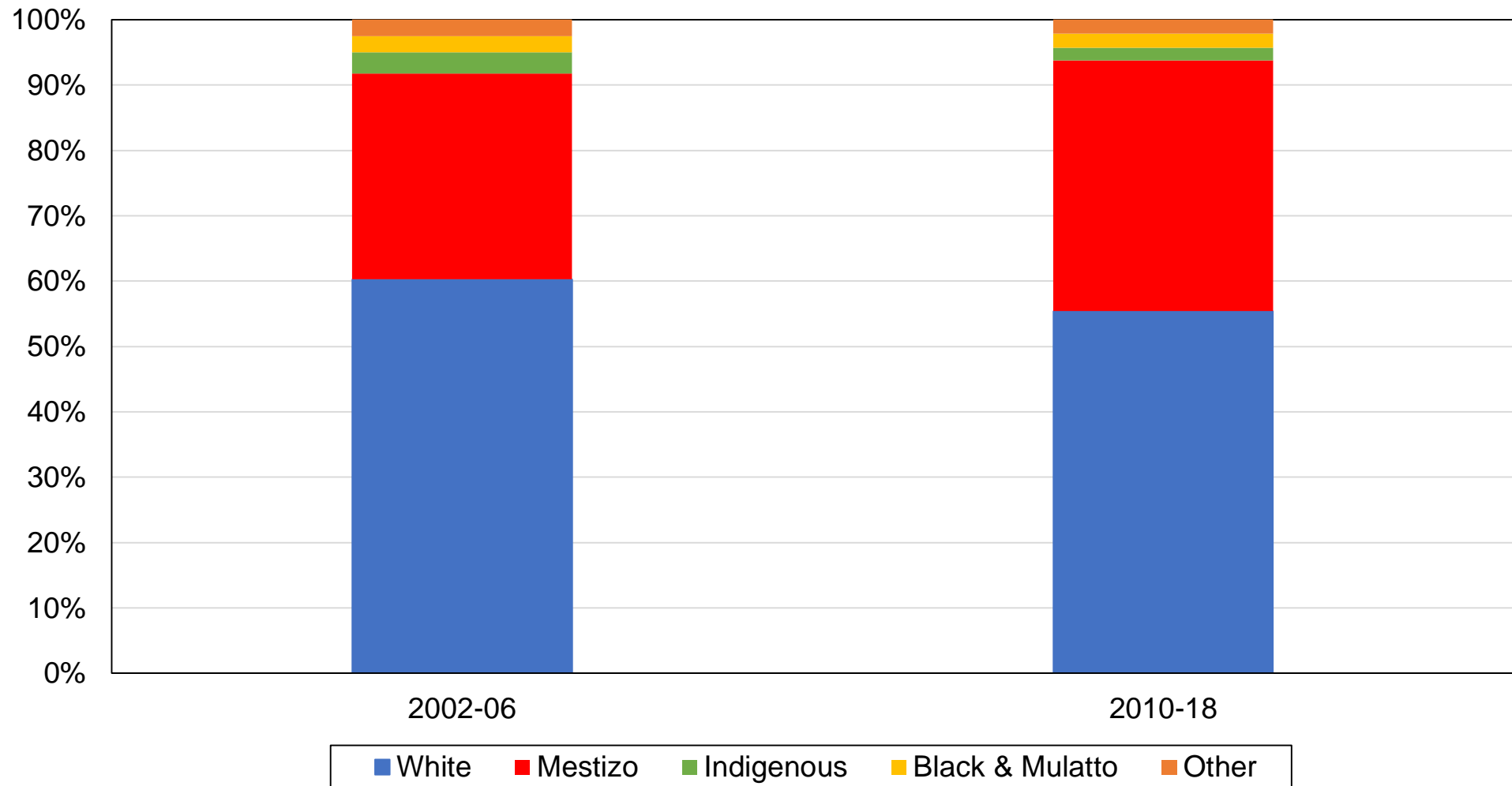
Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by religion.

Figure CA16 - The evolution of ethnicity in Costa Rica



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by ethnic group.

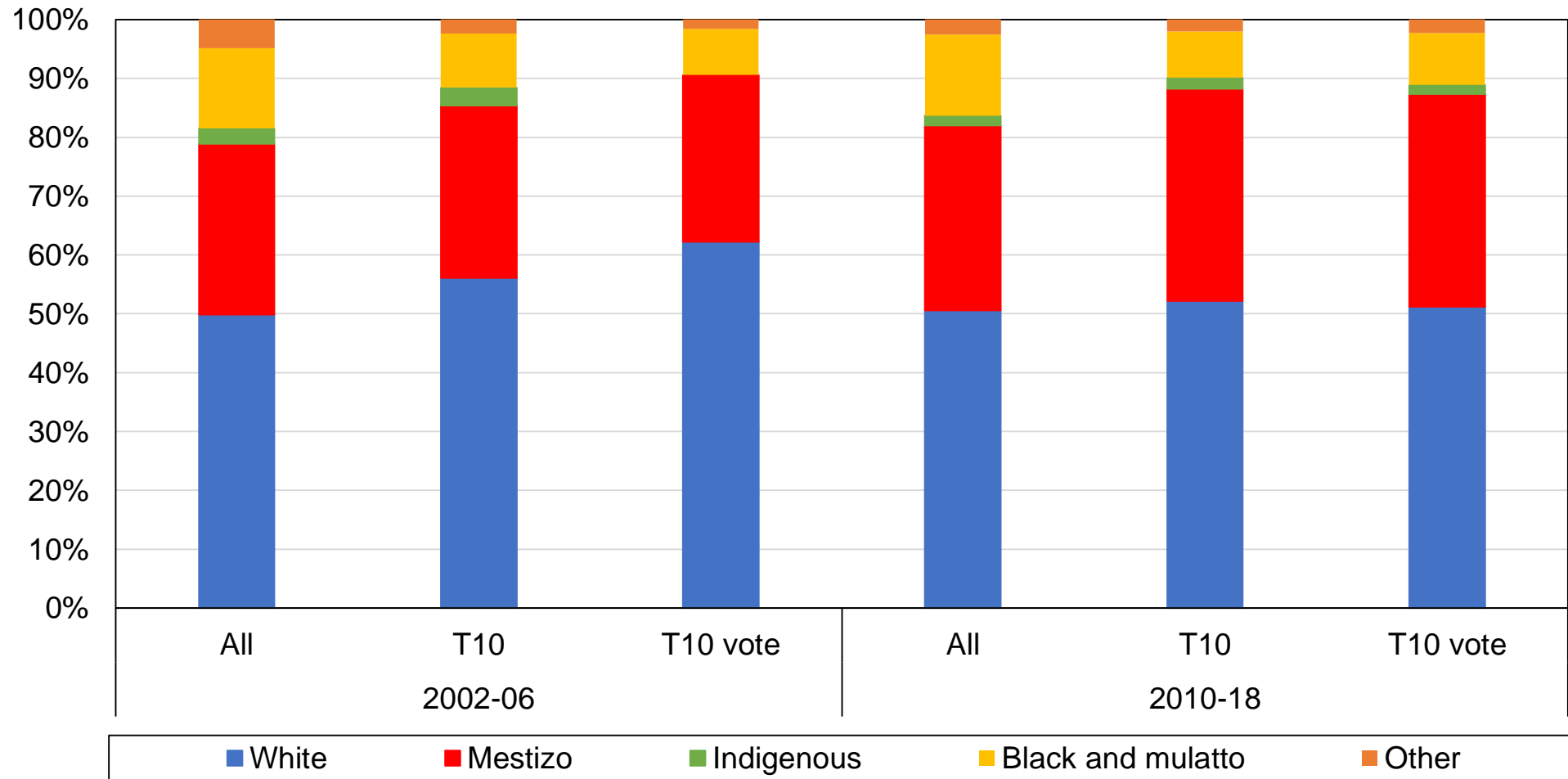
Figure CA17 - Ethnic composition of top 10% earners in Costa Rica



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by ethnic group among top 10% earners.

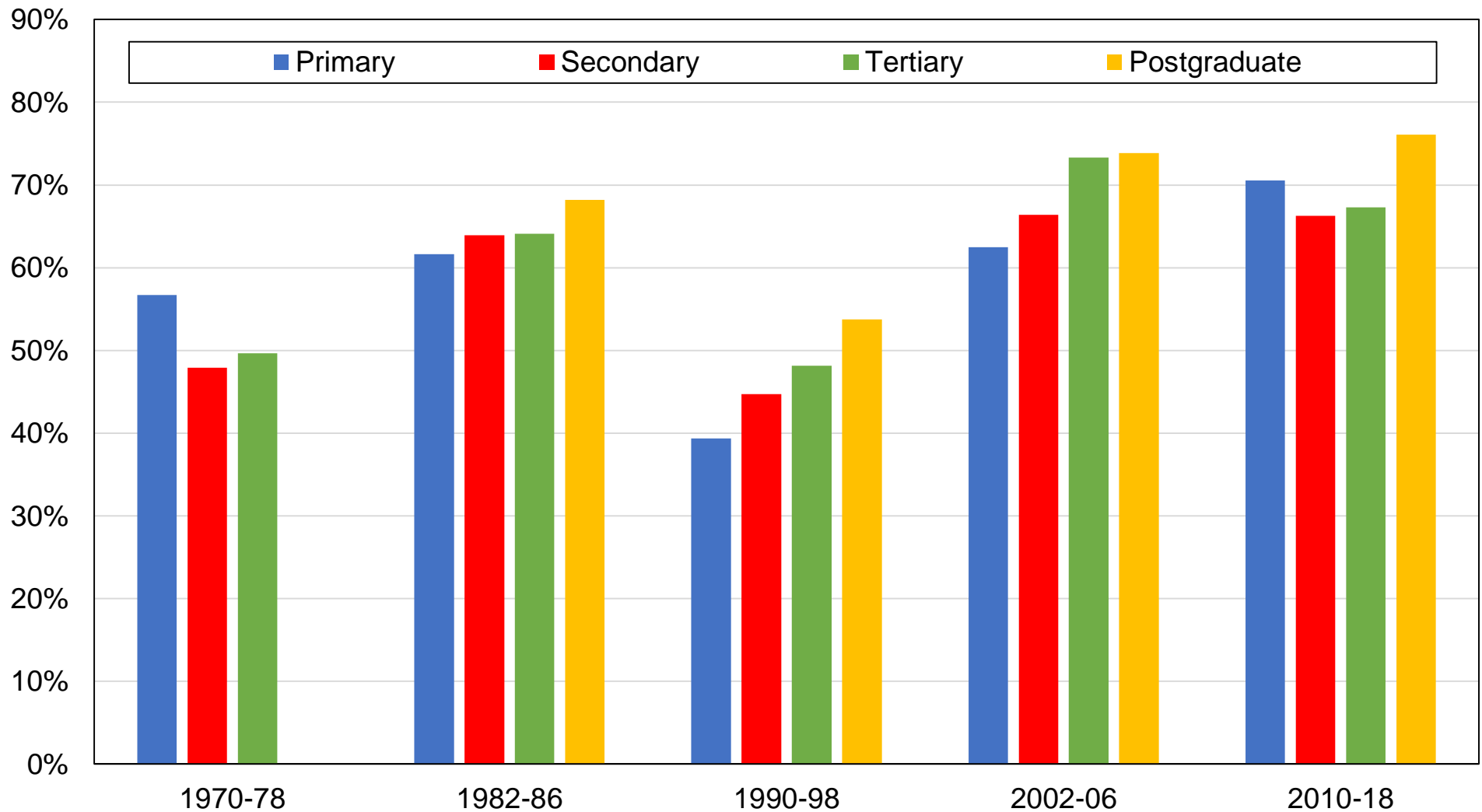
Figure CA18 - The evolution of ethnicity in Costa Rica



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by ethnic group. All represents the whole adult population, T10 refers to top 10% earners and T10 vote to left-wing voters within the top 10%.

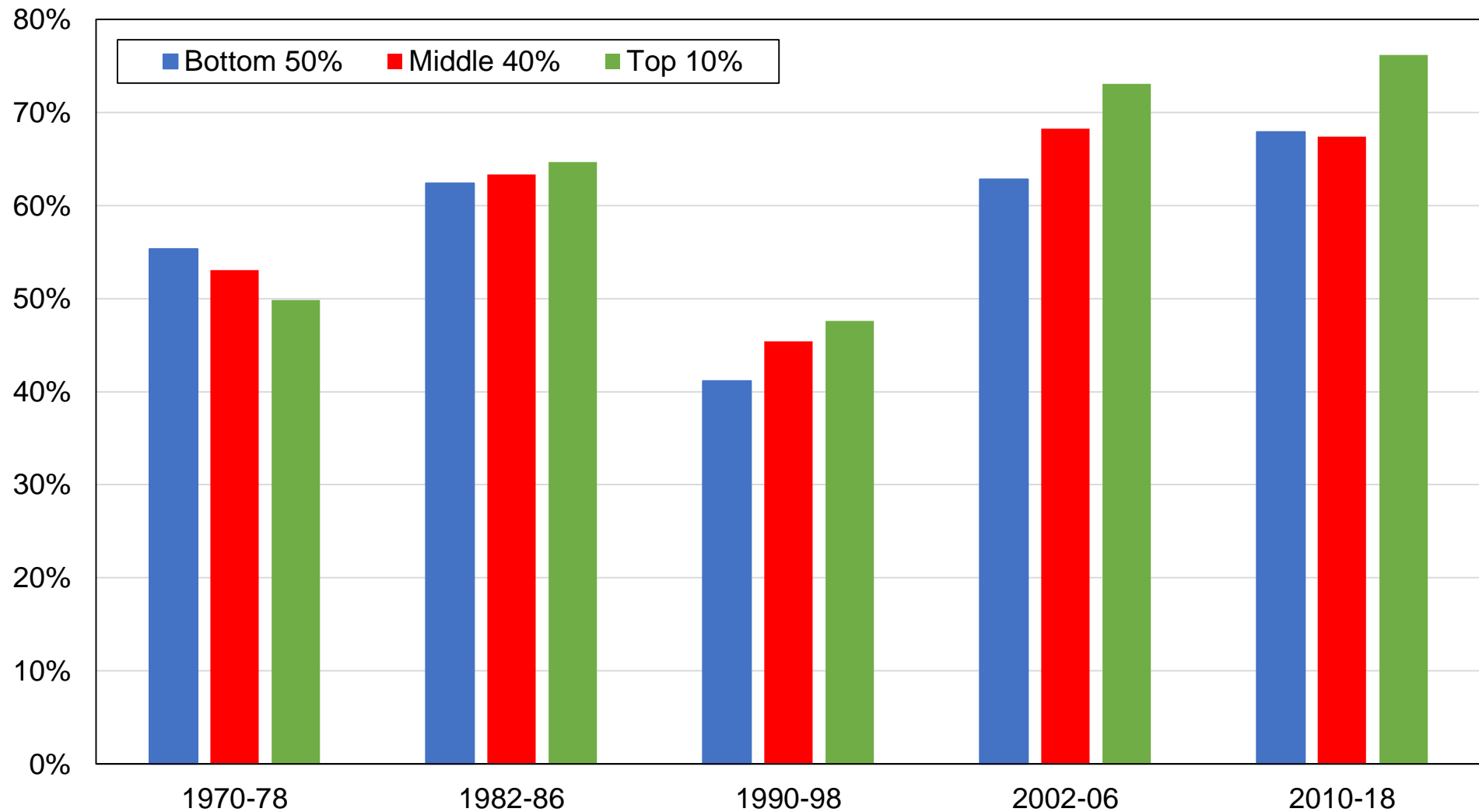
Figure CB1 - Vote for PLN / PAC / Other left by education level



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

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

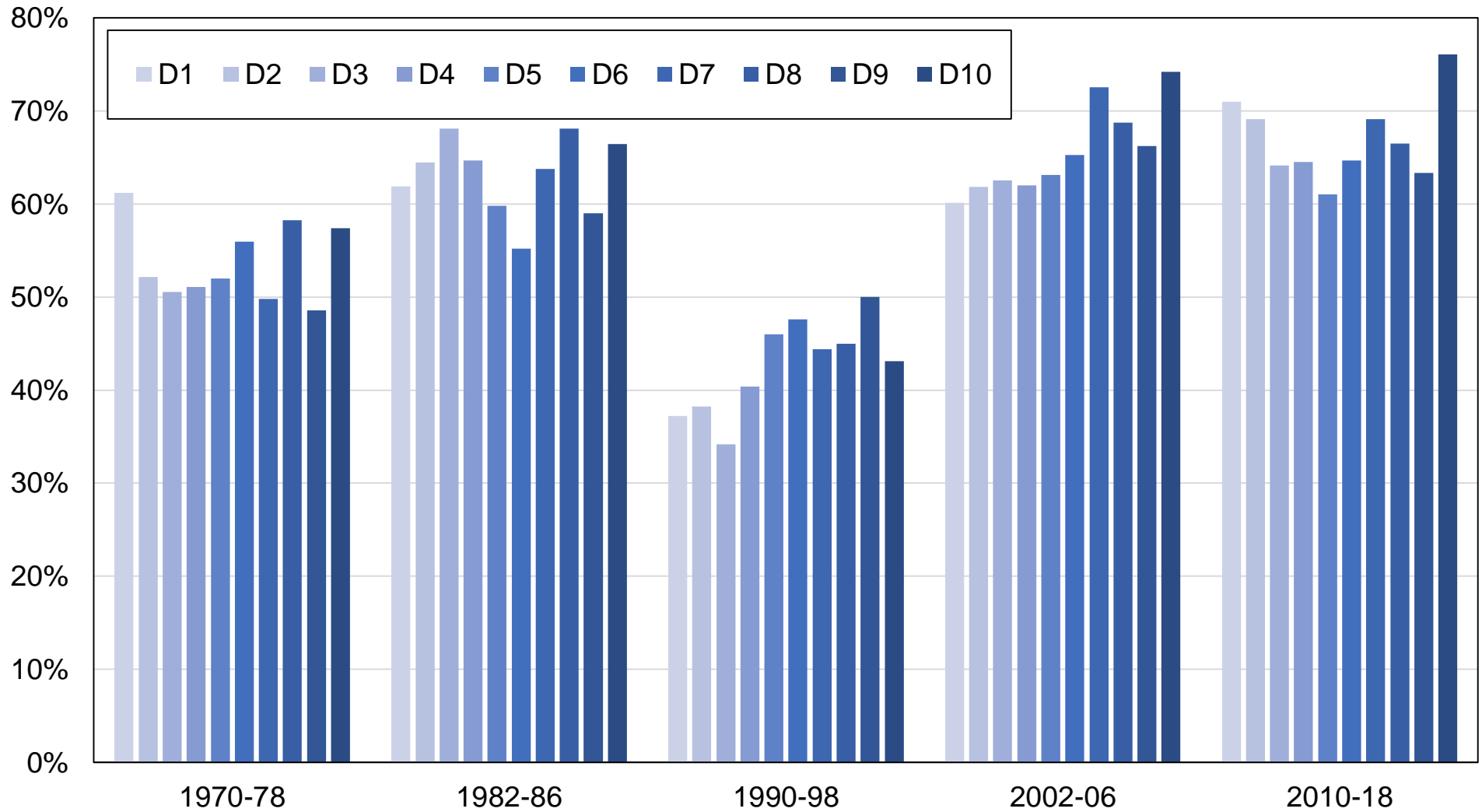
Figure CB2 - Vote for PLN / PAC / Other left by education group



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

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

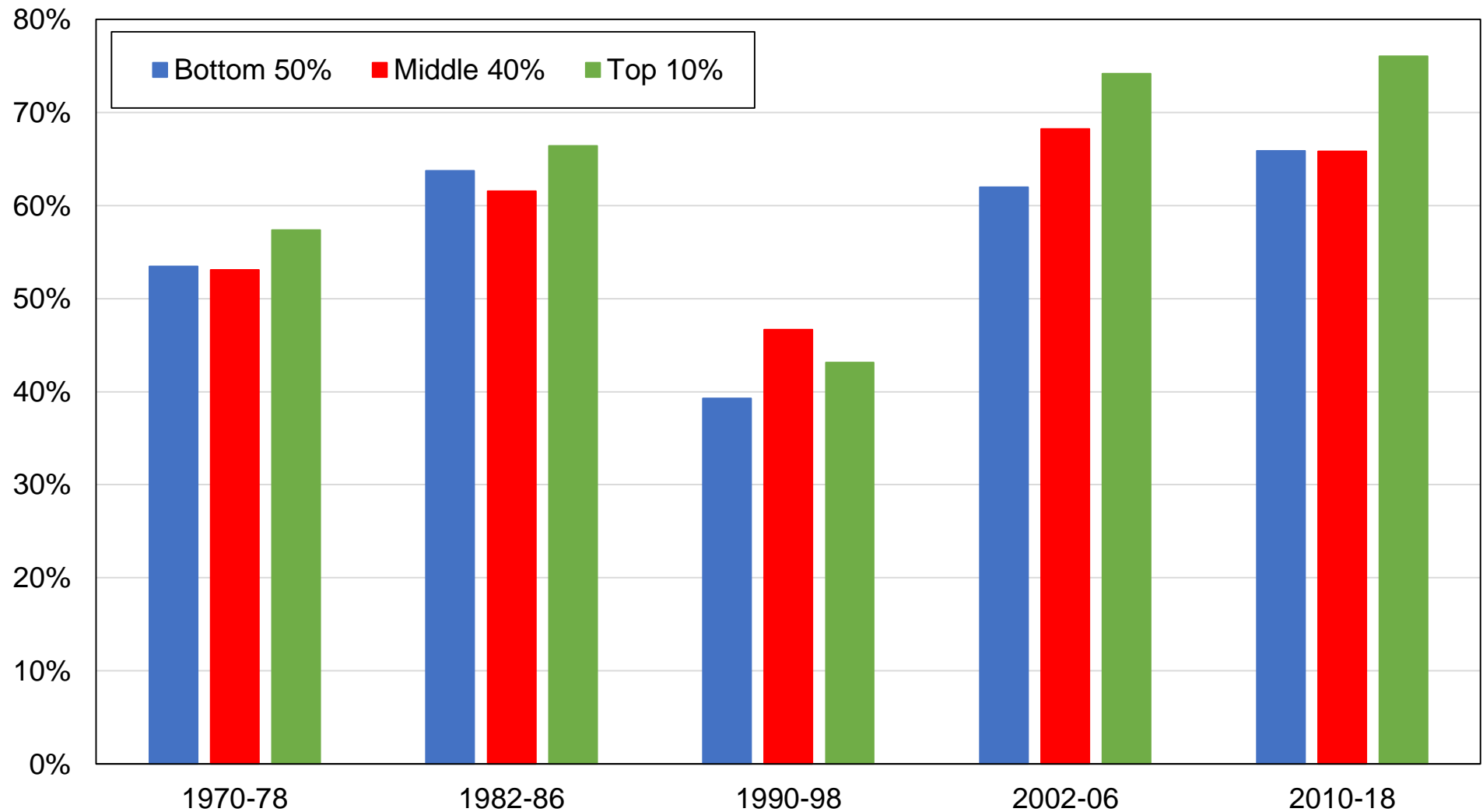
Figure CB3 - Vote for PLN / PAC / Other left by income decile



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

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

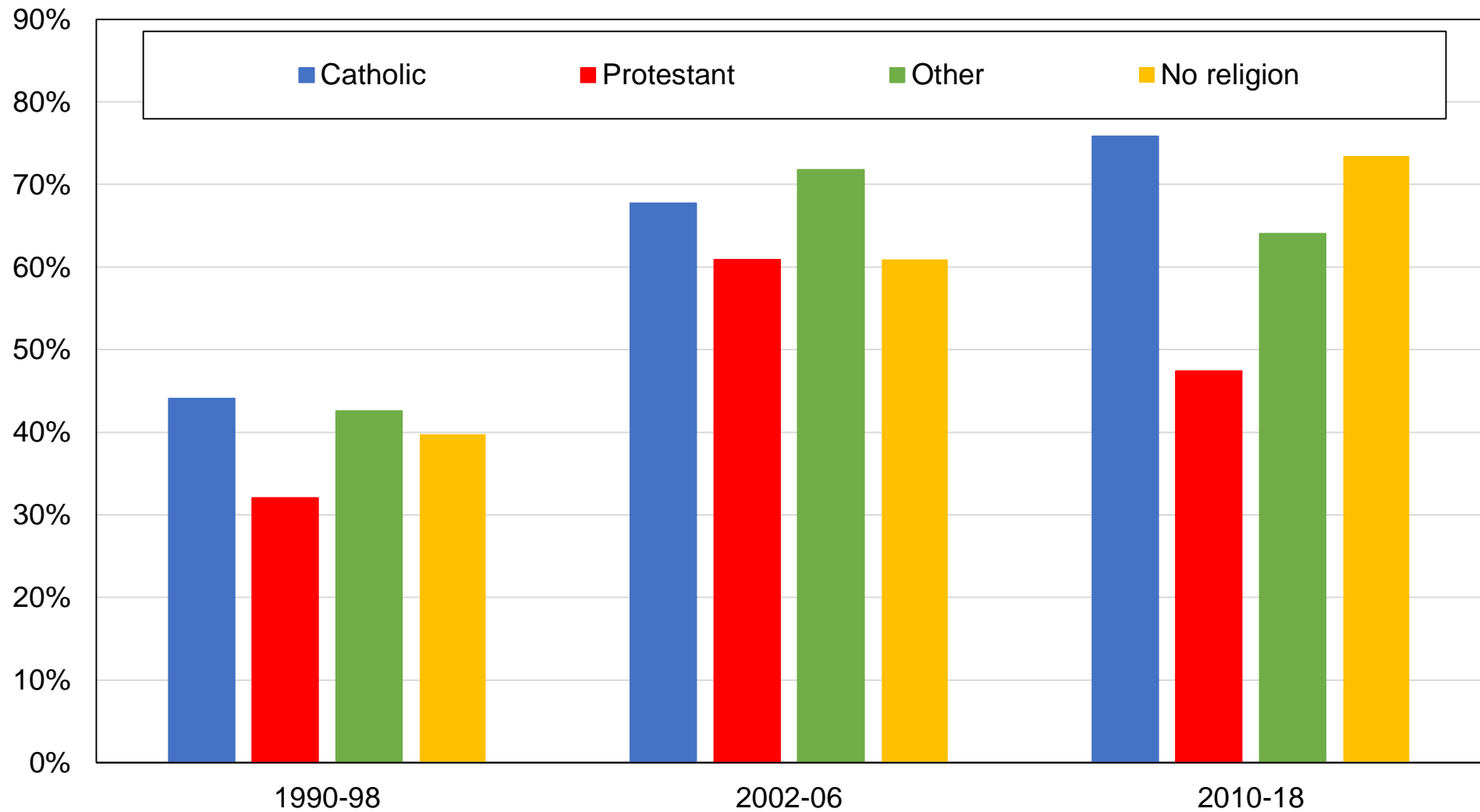
Figure CB4 - Vote for PLN / PAC / Other left by income group



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

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

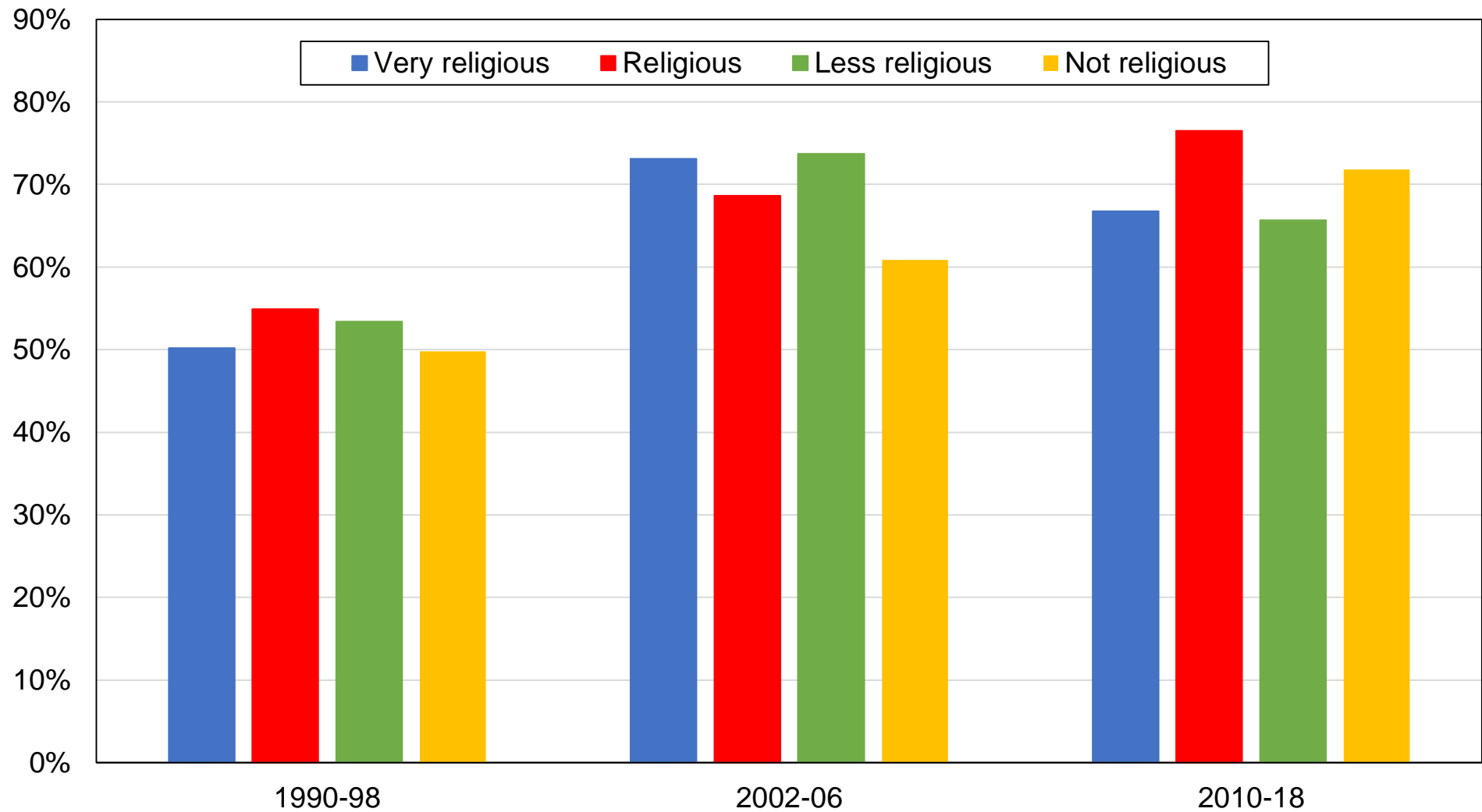
Figure CB5 - Vote for PLN / PAC / Other left by religious affiliation



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

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

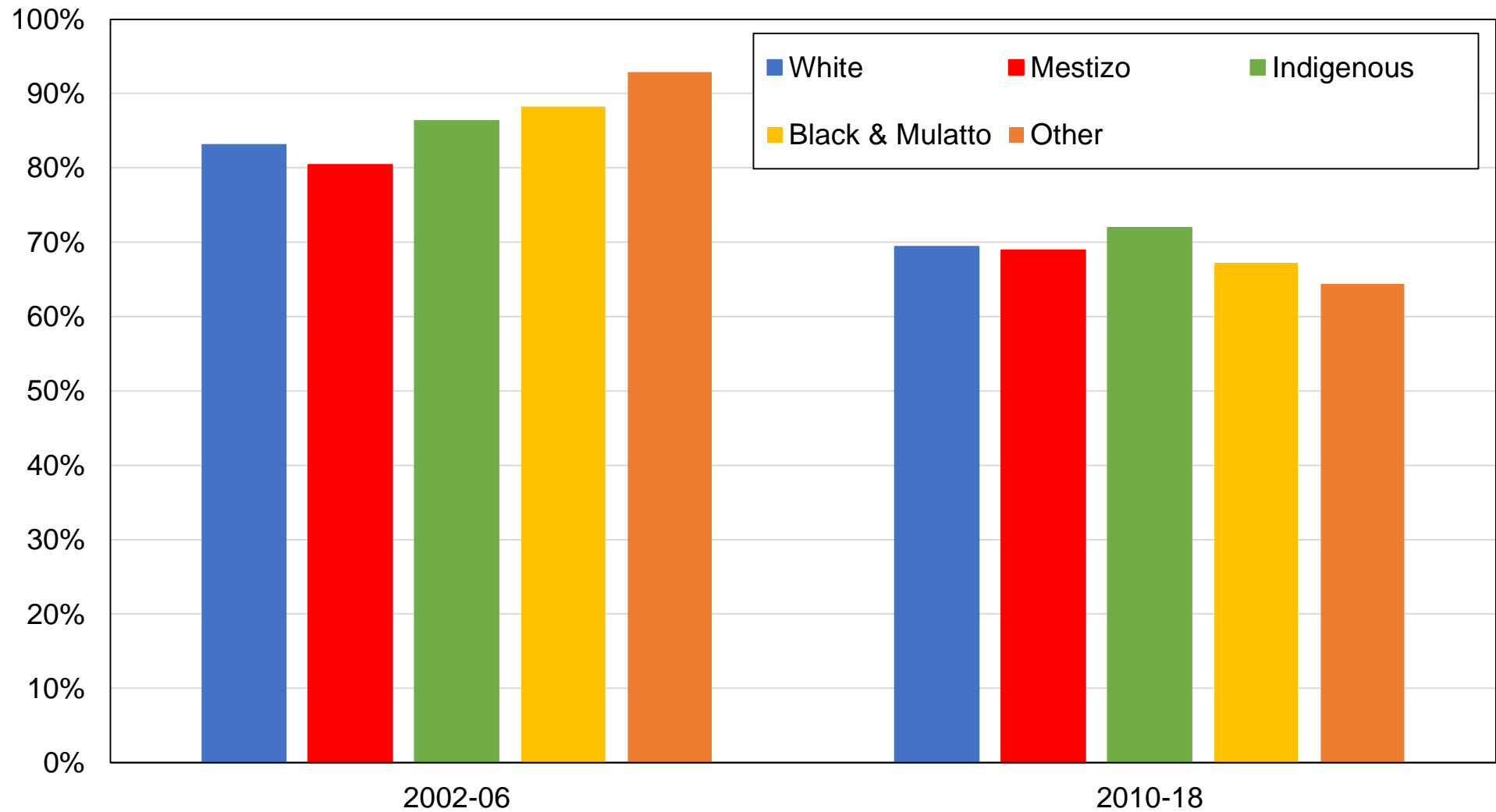
Figure CB6 - Vote for PLN / PAC / Other left by church attendance



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by frequency of church attendance.

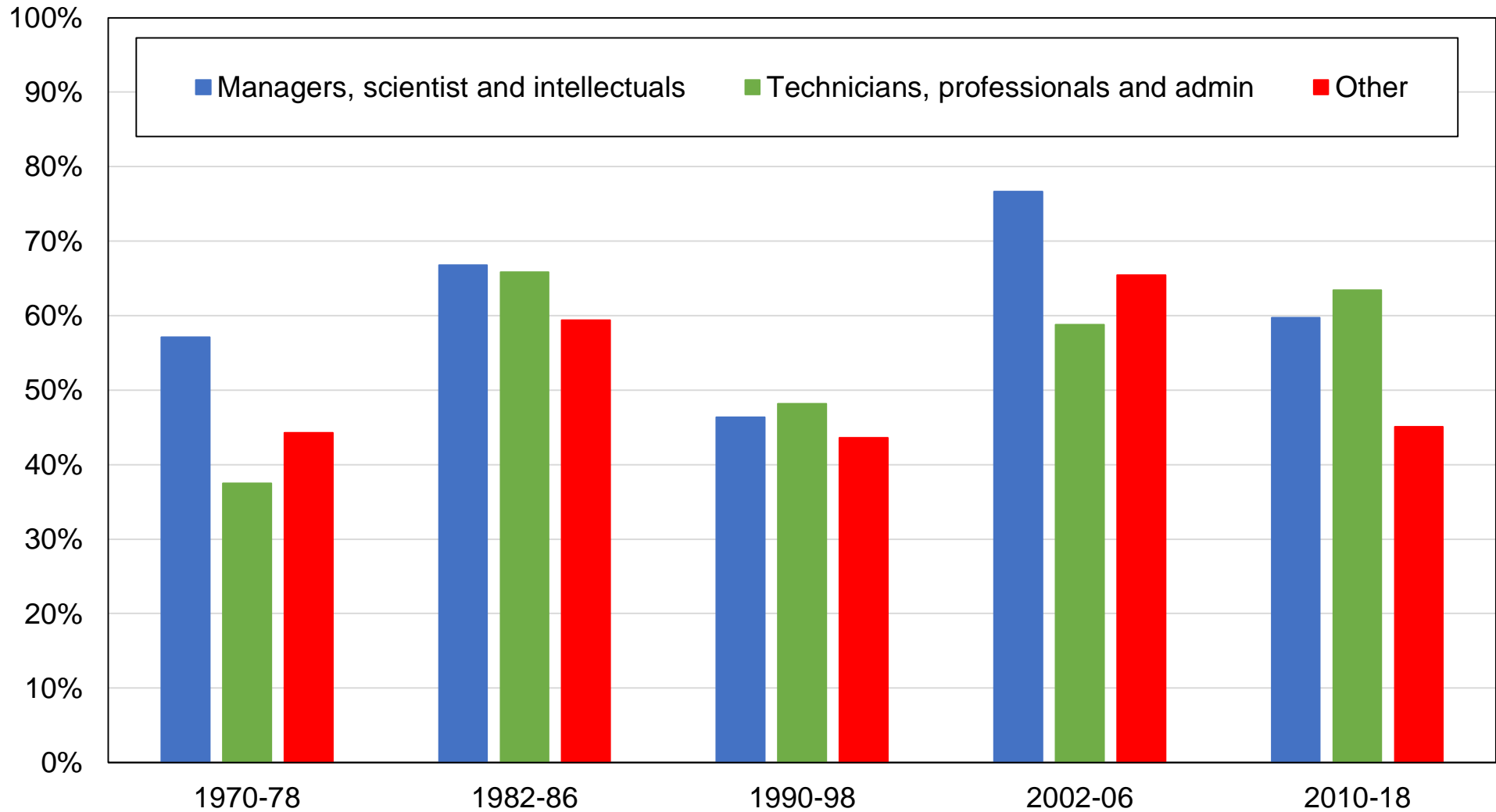
Figure CB7 - Vote for PLN / PAC / Other left by ethnicity



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

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

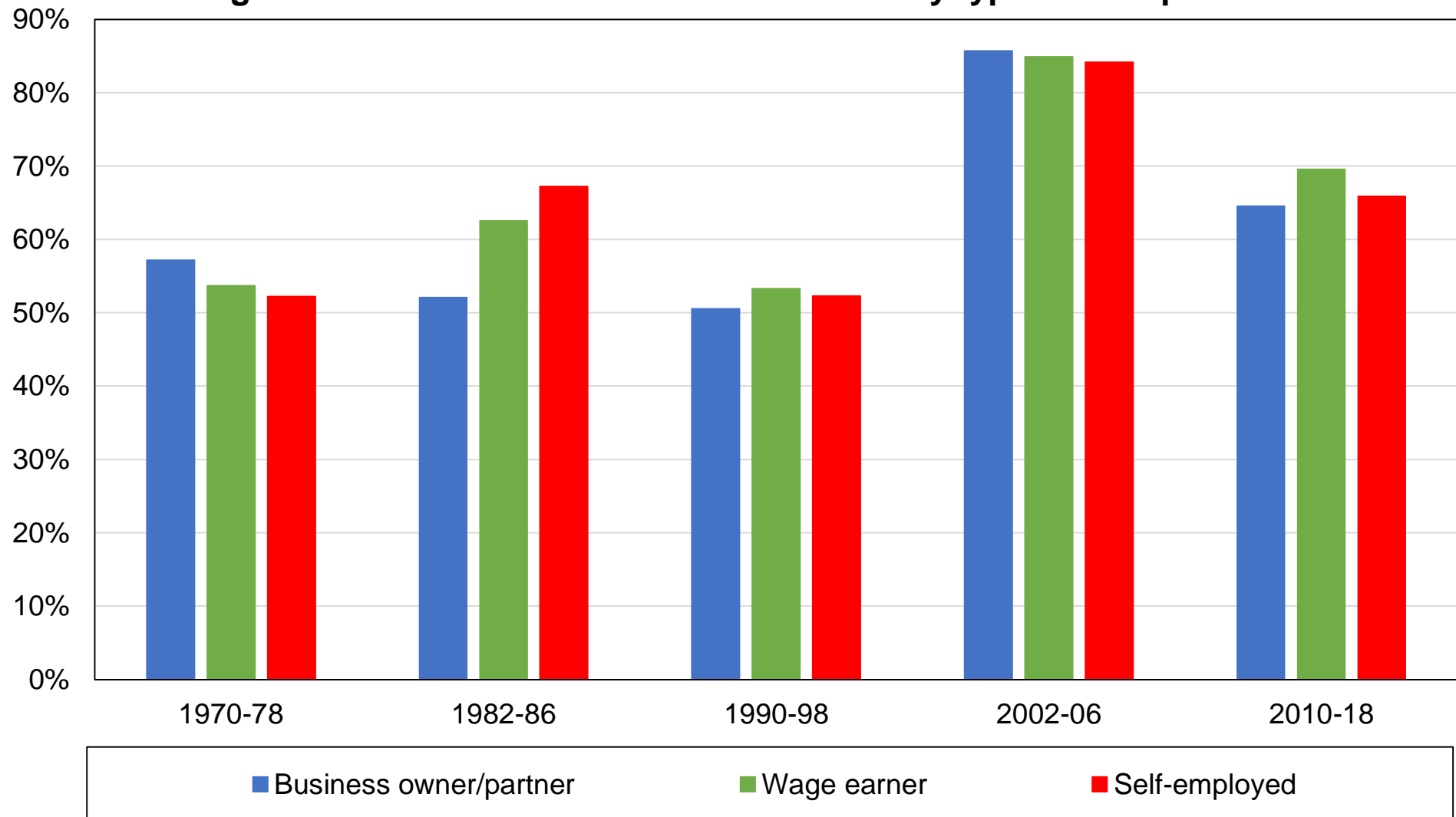
Figure CB8 - Vote for PLN / PAC / Other left by occupation



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

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

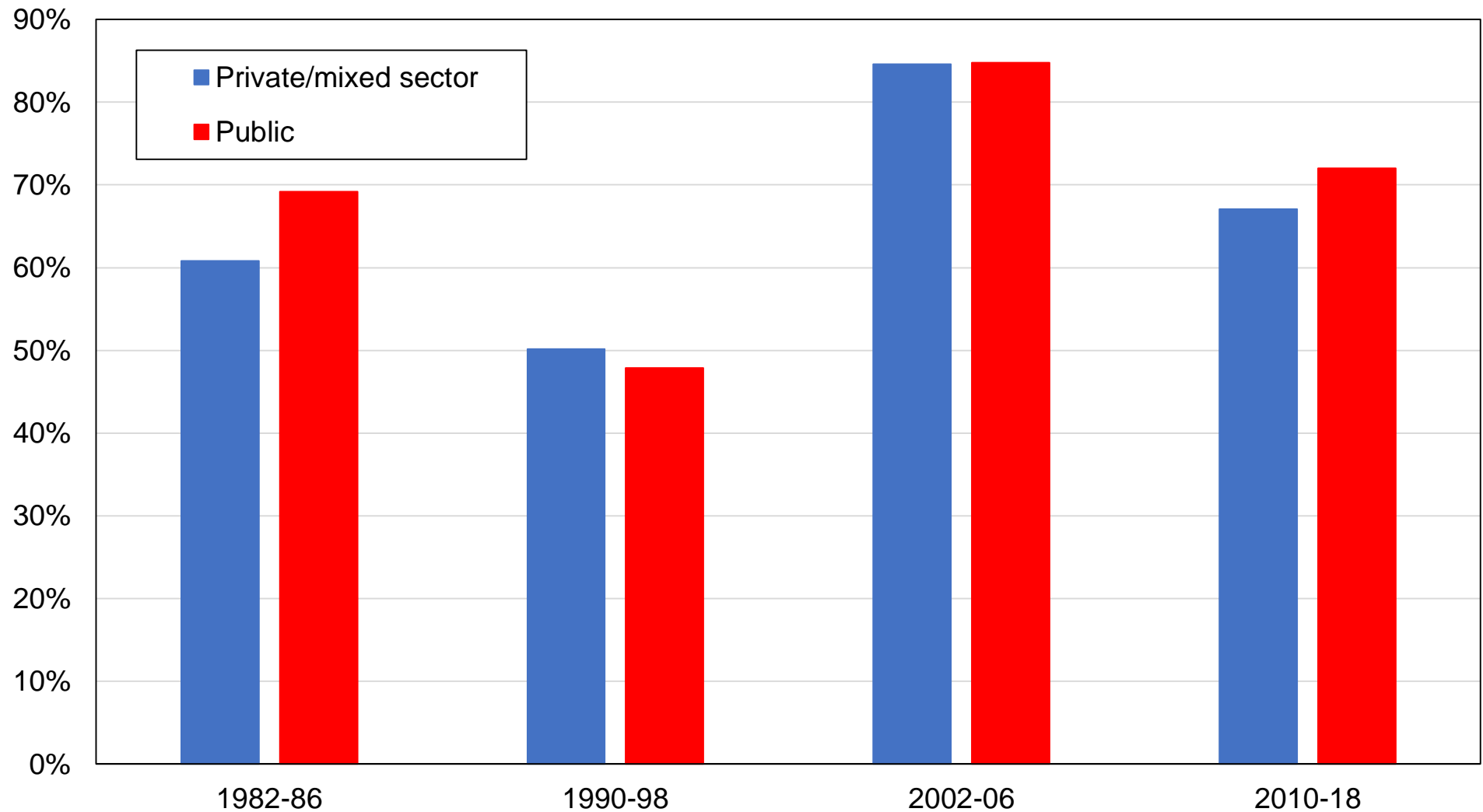
Figure CB9 - Vote for PLN / PAC / Other left by type of occupation



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

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

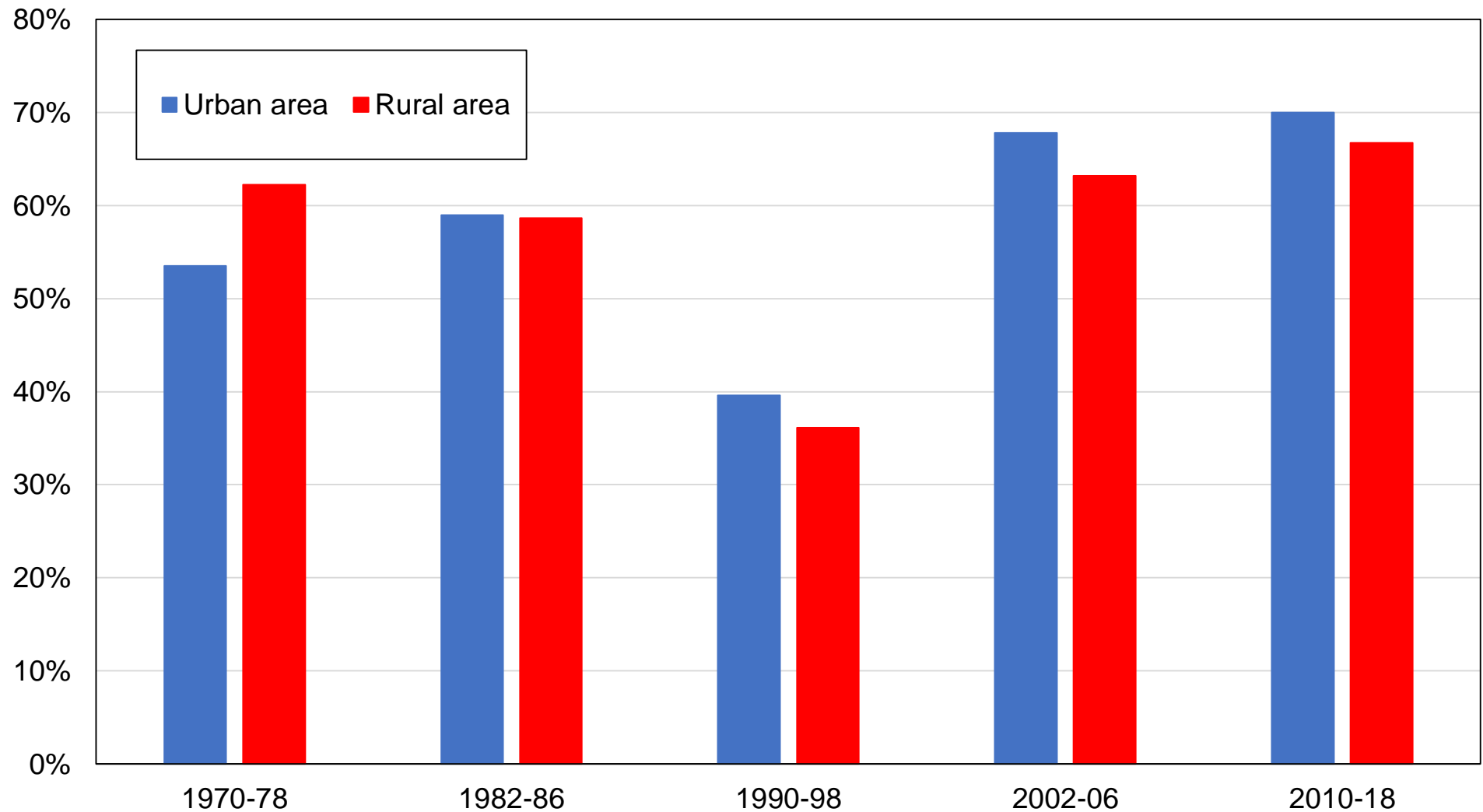
Figure CB10 - Vote for PLN / PAC / Other left by sector of employment



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

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

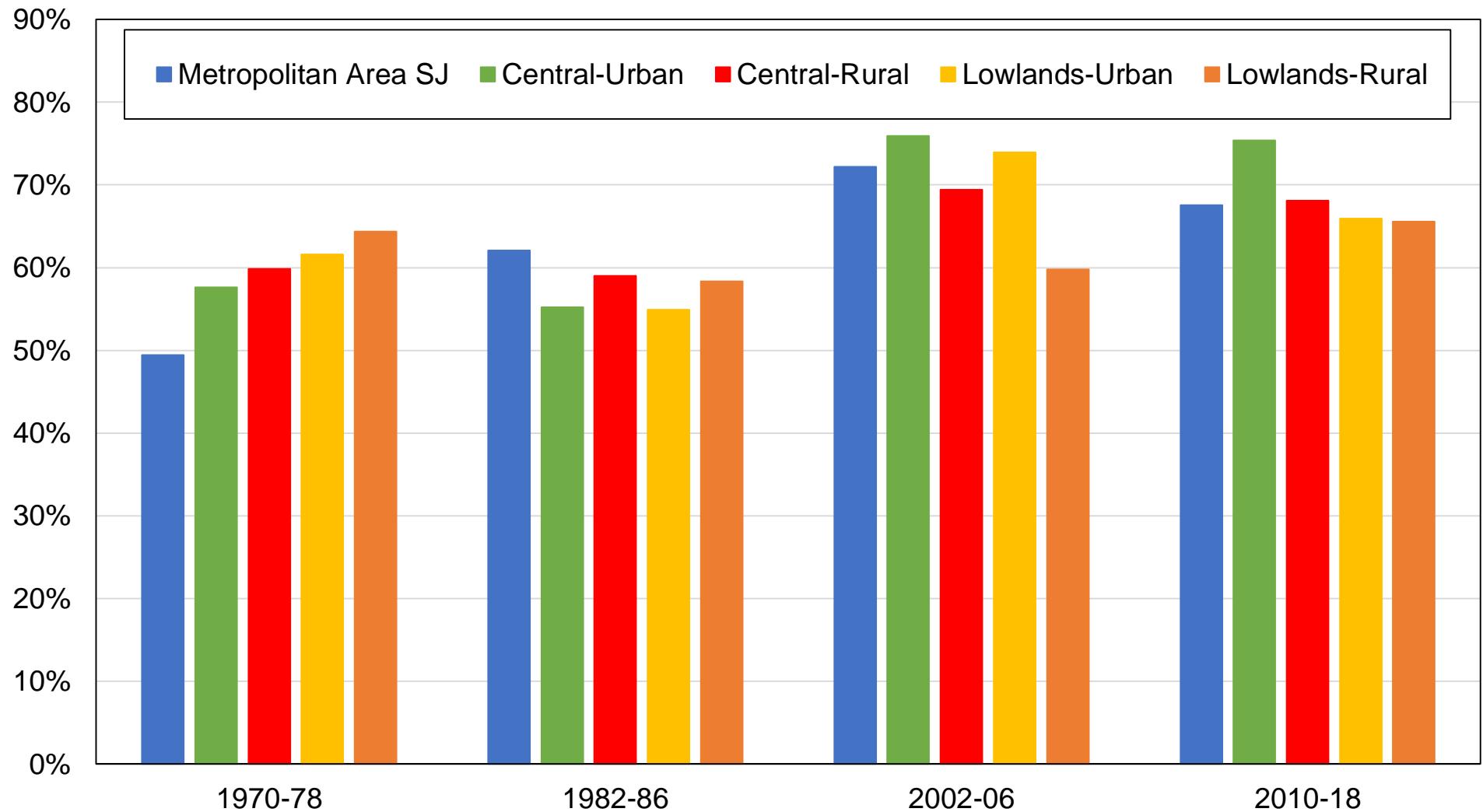
Figure CB11 - Vote for PLN / PAC / Other left by location, 1970-2018



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

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

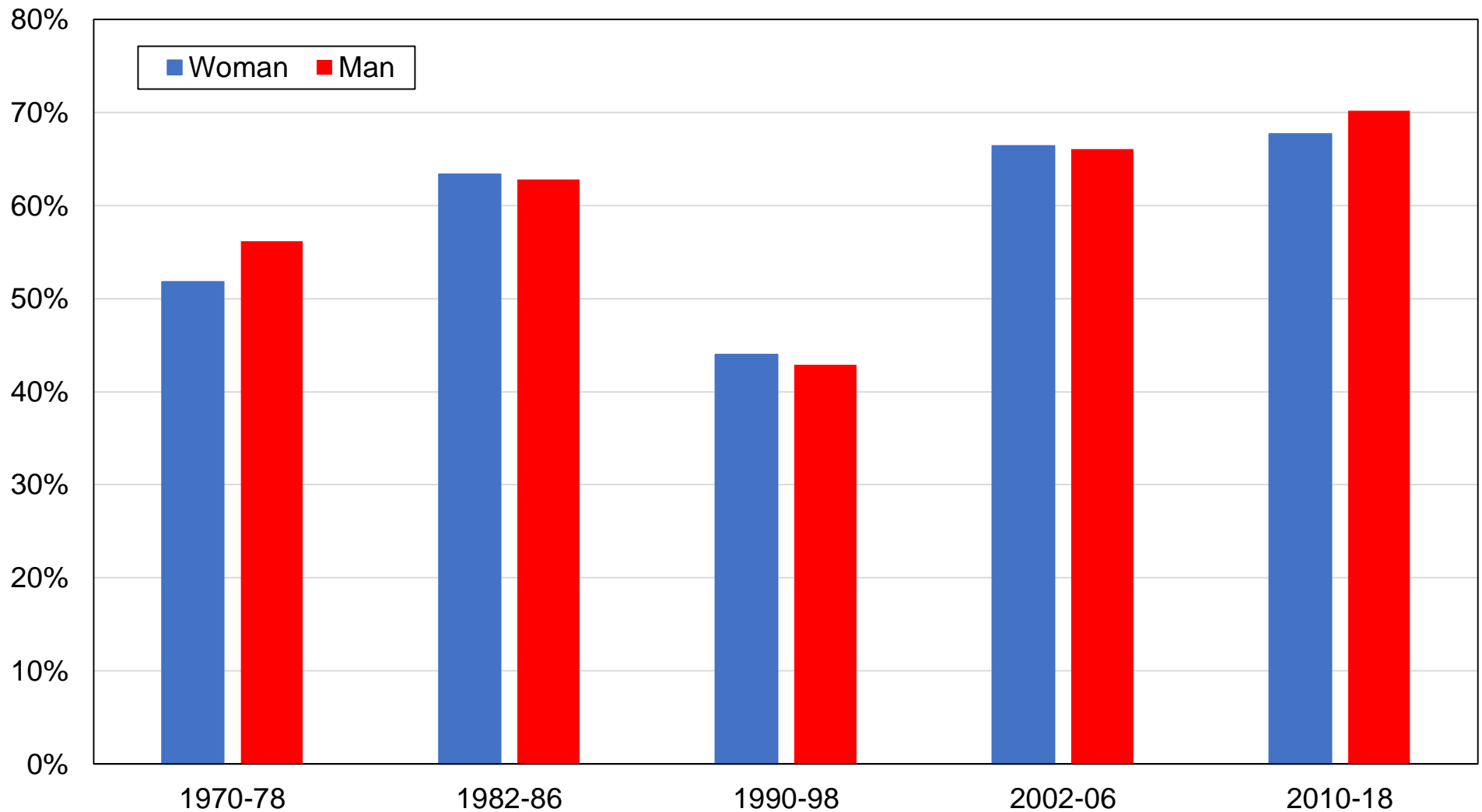
Figure CB12 - Vote for PLN / PAC / Other left by region



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

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

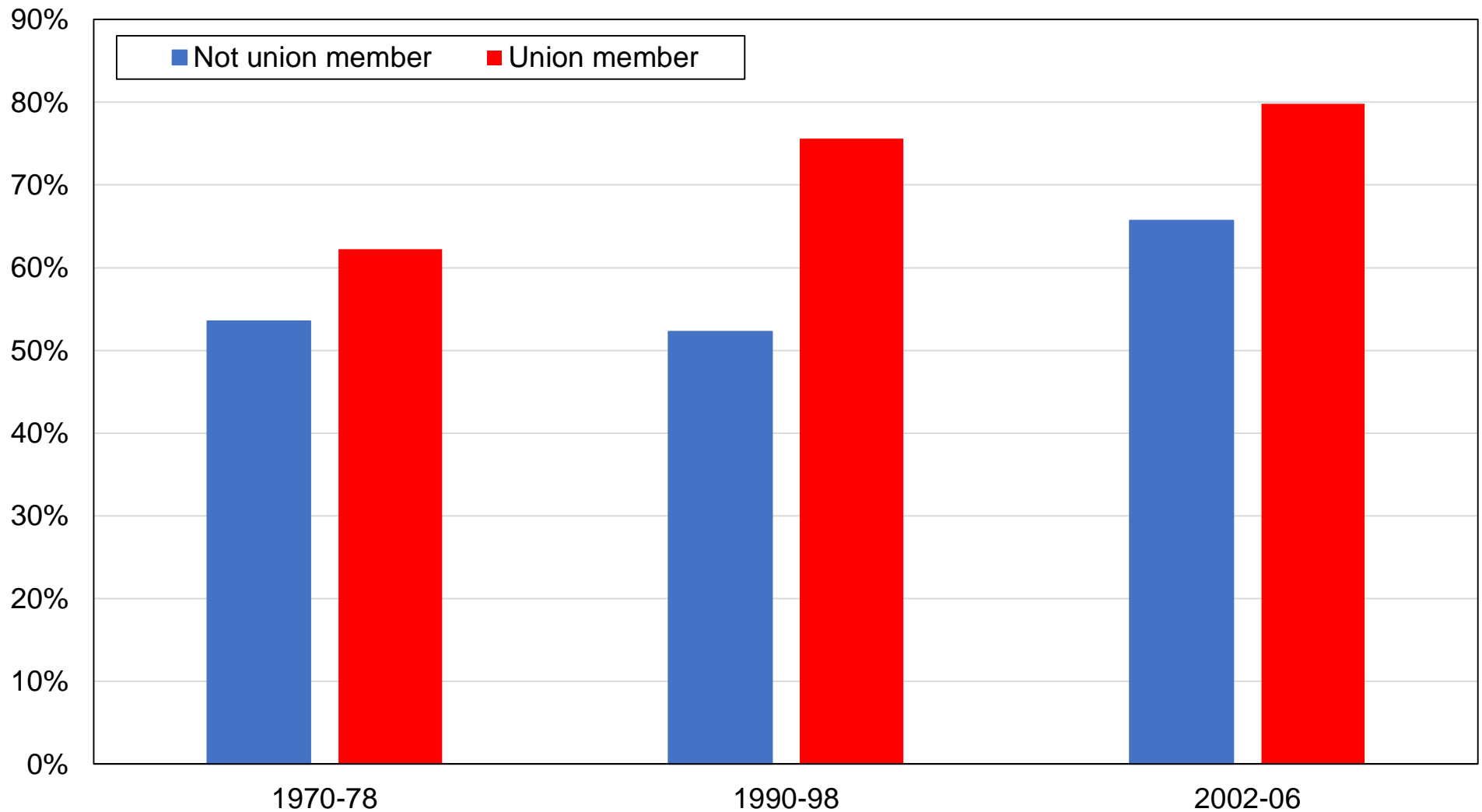
Figure CB13 - Vote for PLN / PAC / Other left by gender



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

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

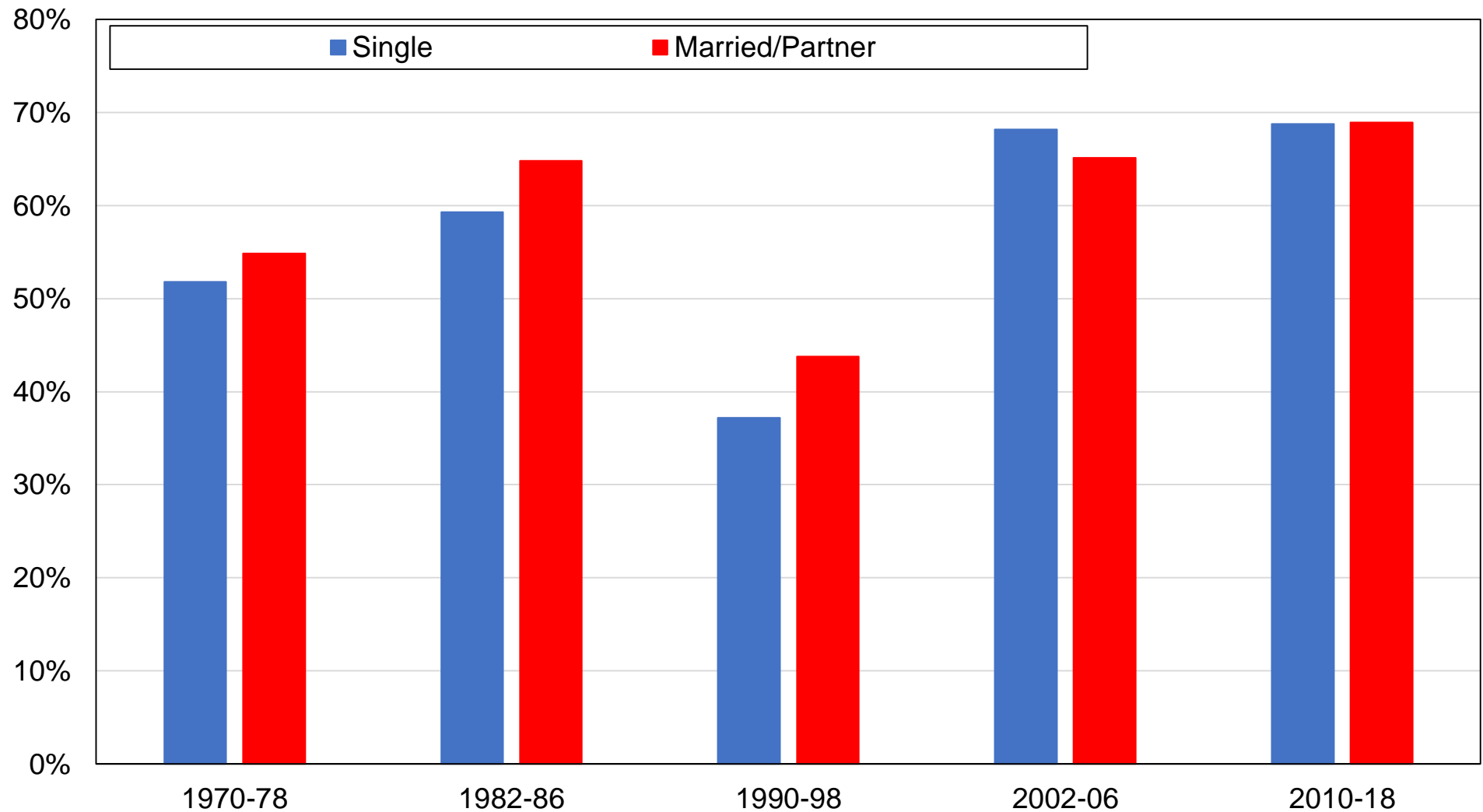
Figure CB14 - Vote for PLN / PAC / Other left by union membership



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

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

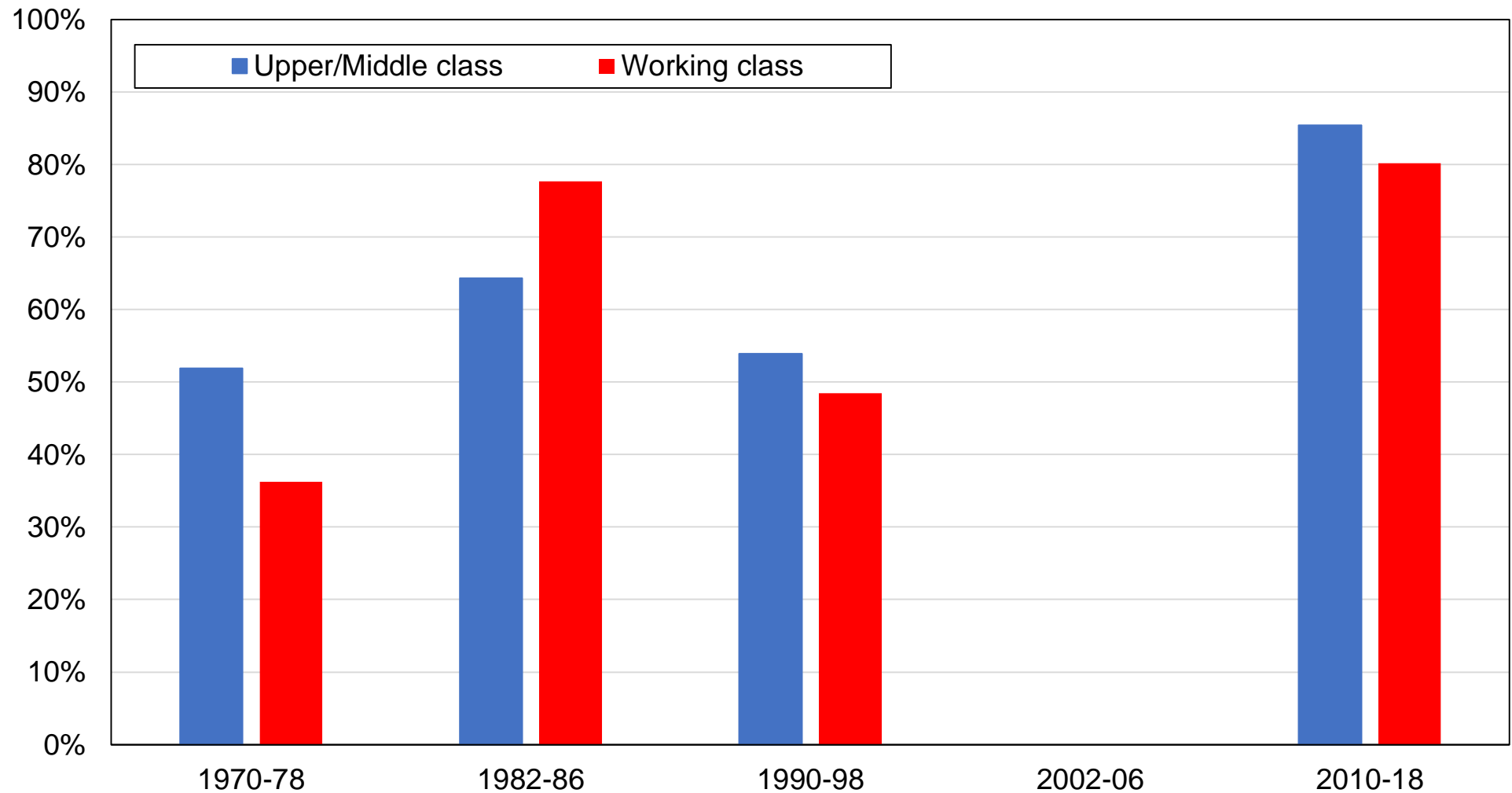
Figure CB15 - Vote for PLN / PAC / Other left by marital status



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

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

Figure CB16 - Vote for PLN / PAC / Other left by perceived social class

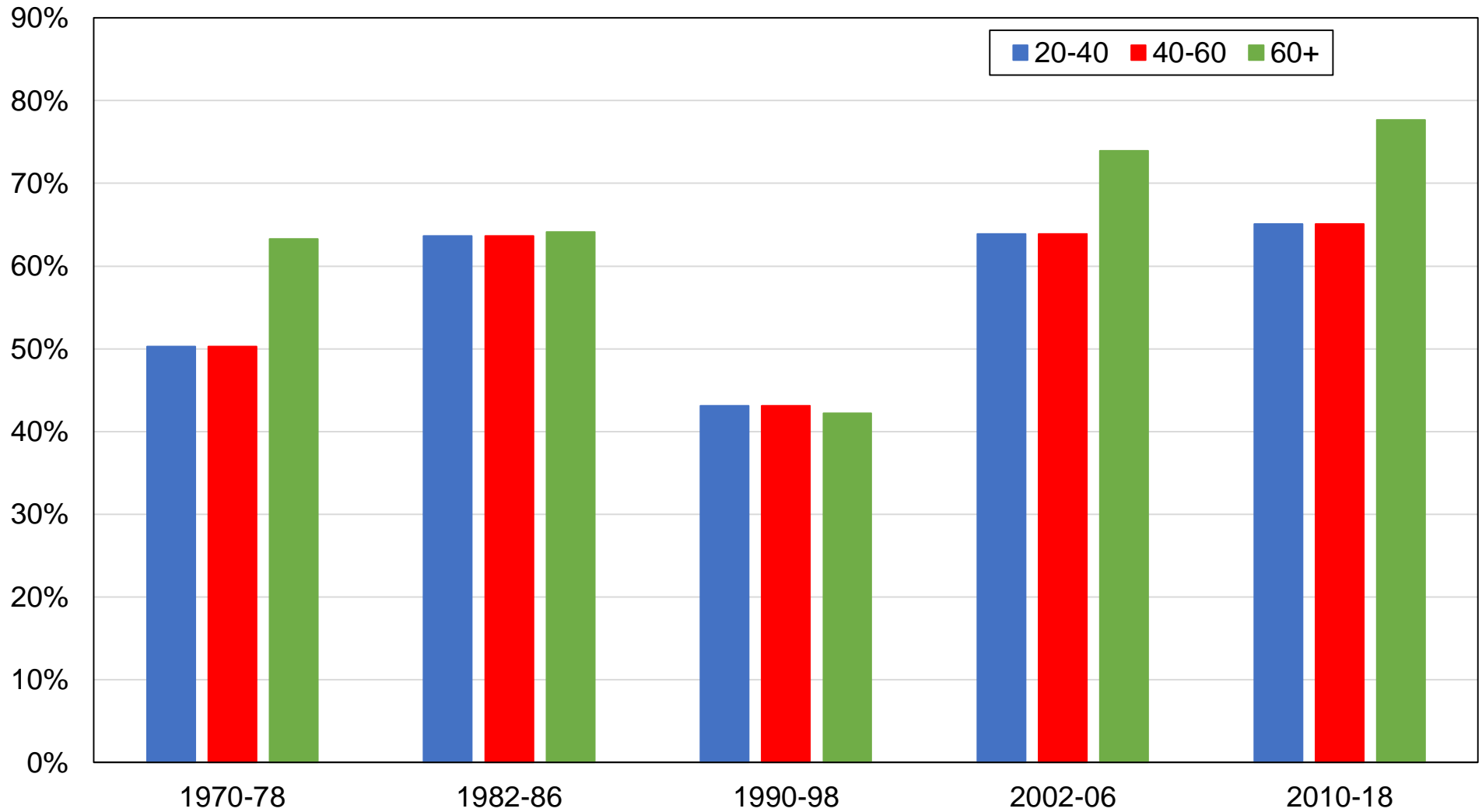


Source: authors' computations using Costan Rica political attitudes surveys.

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

Working class includes "lower class". Middle class includes "no class".

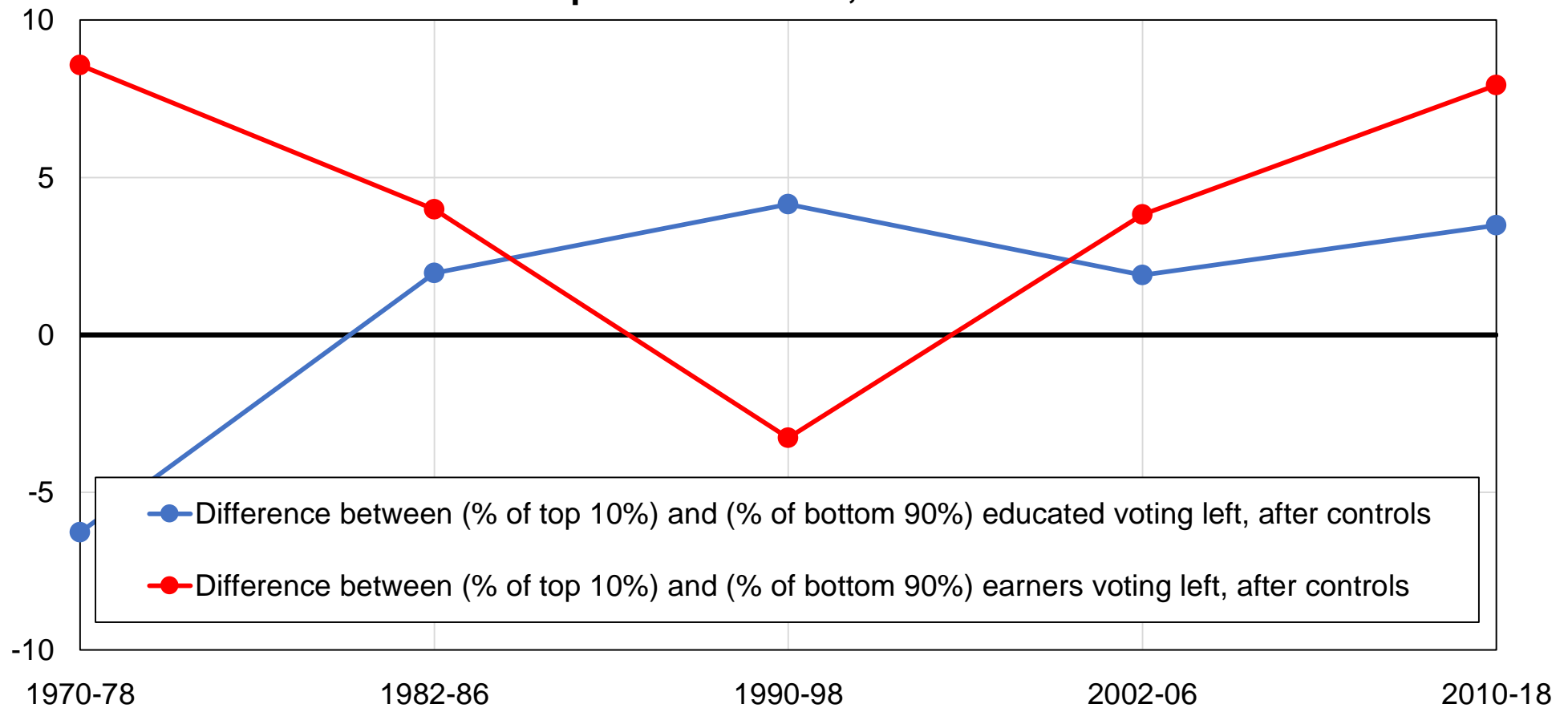
Figure CB17 - Vote for PLN / PAC / Other left by age group



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

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

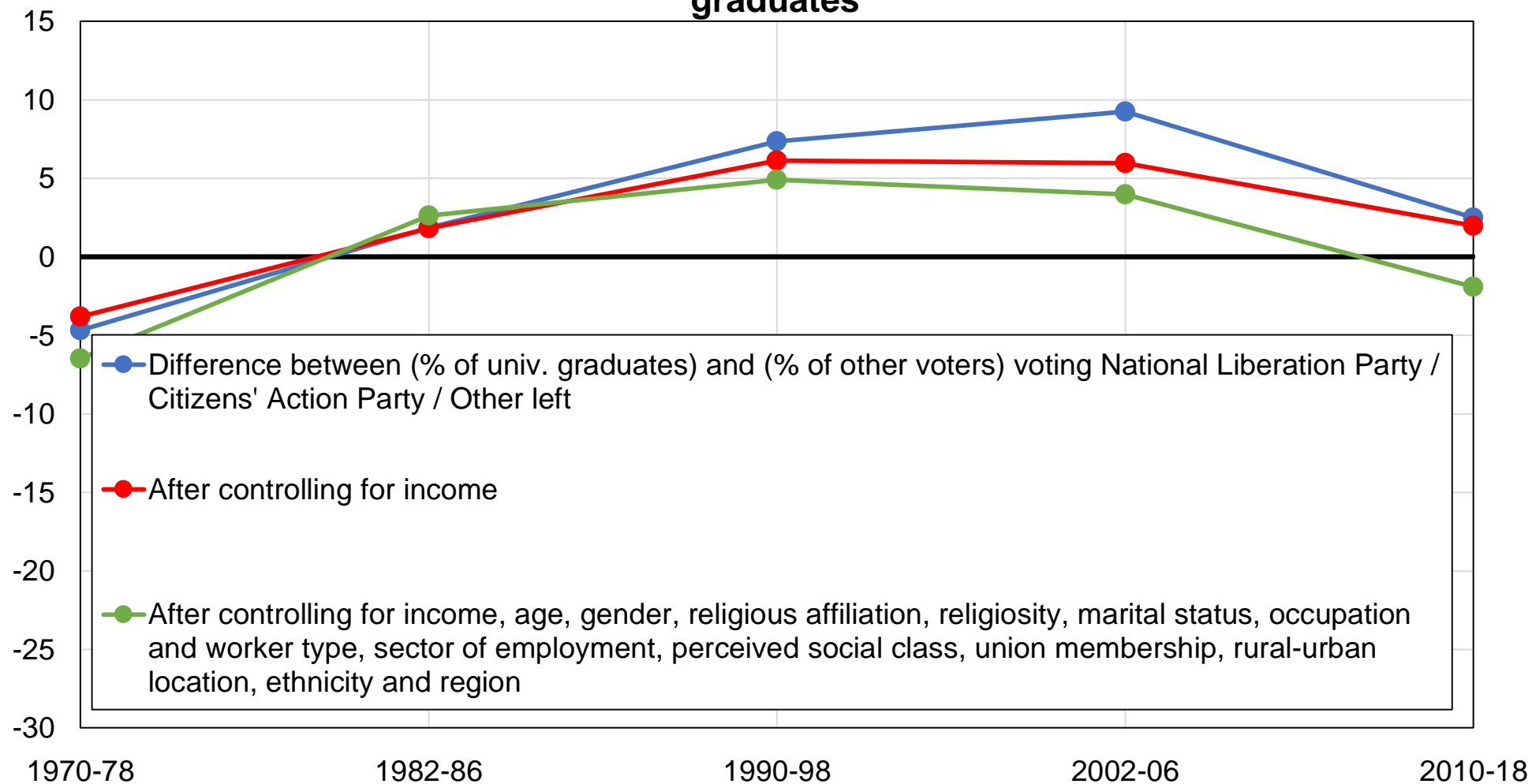
Figure CB18 - Vote for PLN / PAC / Other left among highest-educated and top-income voters, after controls



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the relative support of university graduates and top-income voters for PLN / PAC / Other left-wing parties, after controlling for age, gender, religious affiliation, religiosity, marital status, occupation, sector of employment, perceived social class, union membership, rural-urban location, ethnicity and region.

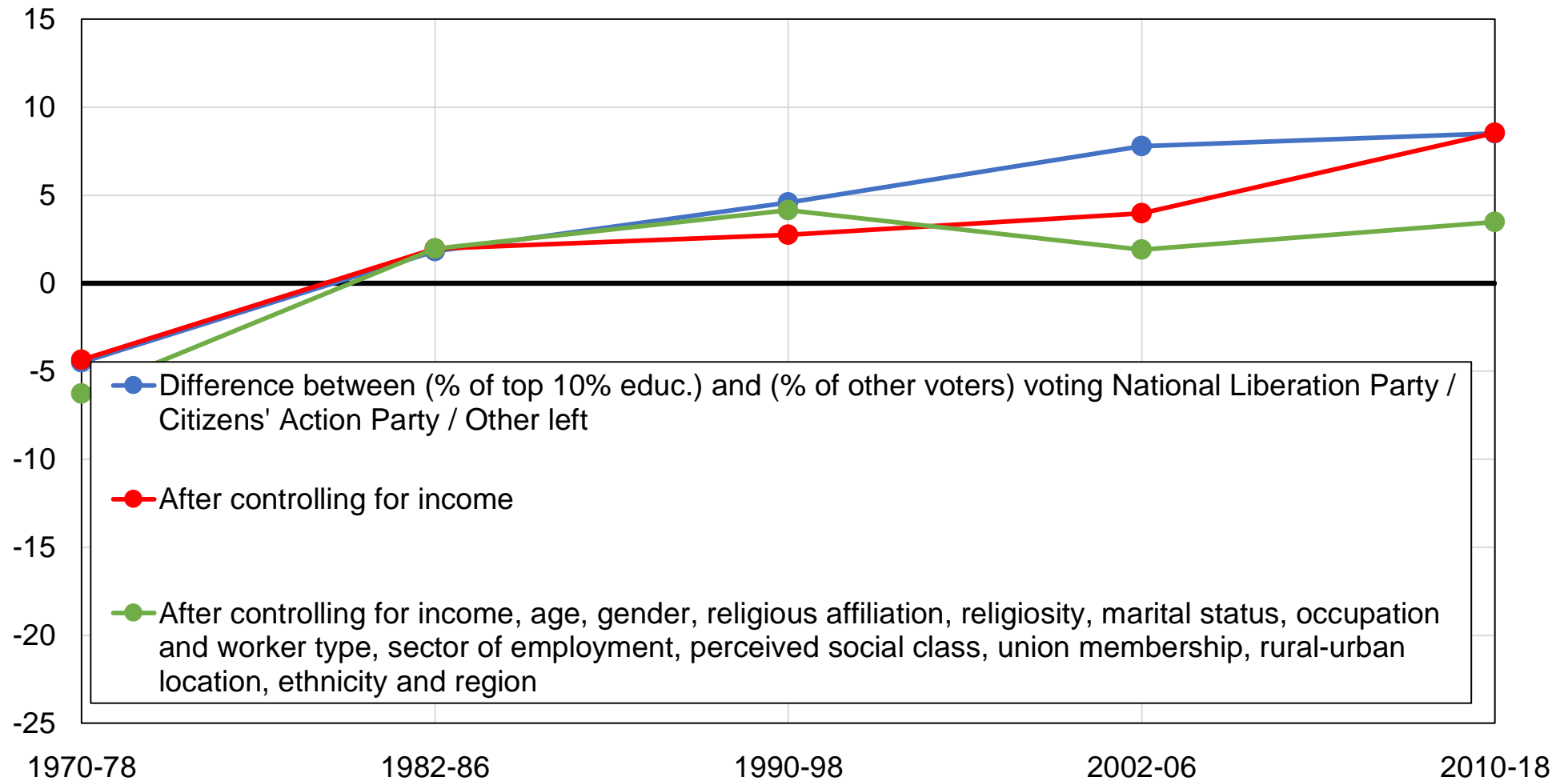
Figure CB19 - Vote for PLN / PAC / Other left among university graduates



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of university graduates and the share of other voters voting for PLN / PAC / Other left parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

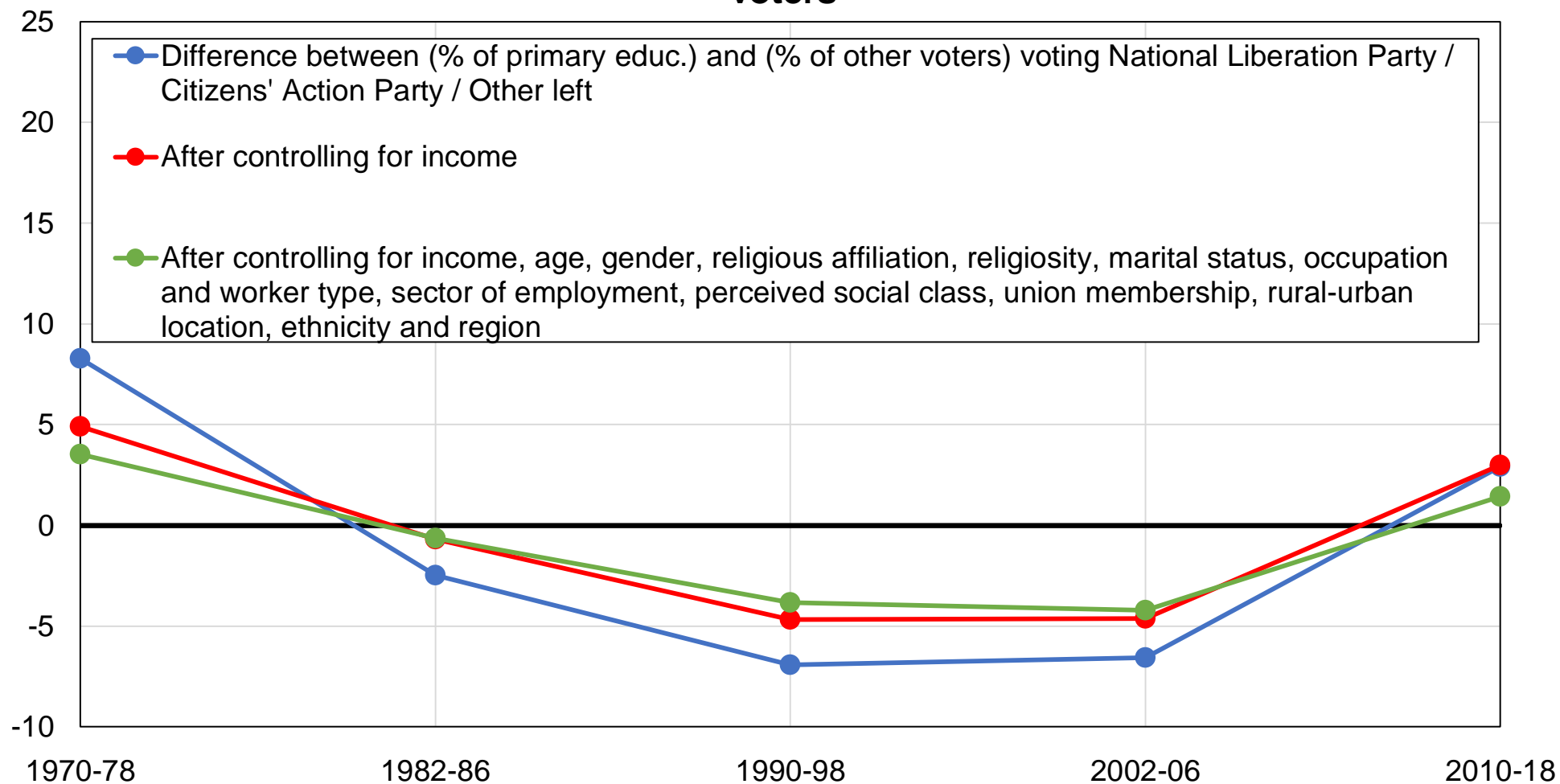
Figure CB20 - Vote for PLN / PAC / Other left among highest-educated voters



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican 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 PLN / PAC / Other left parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

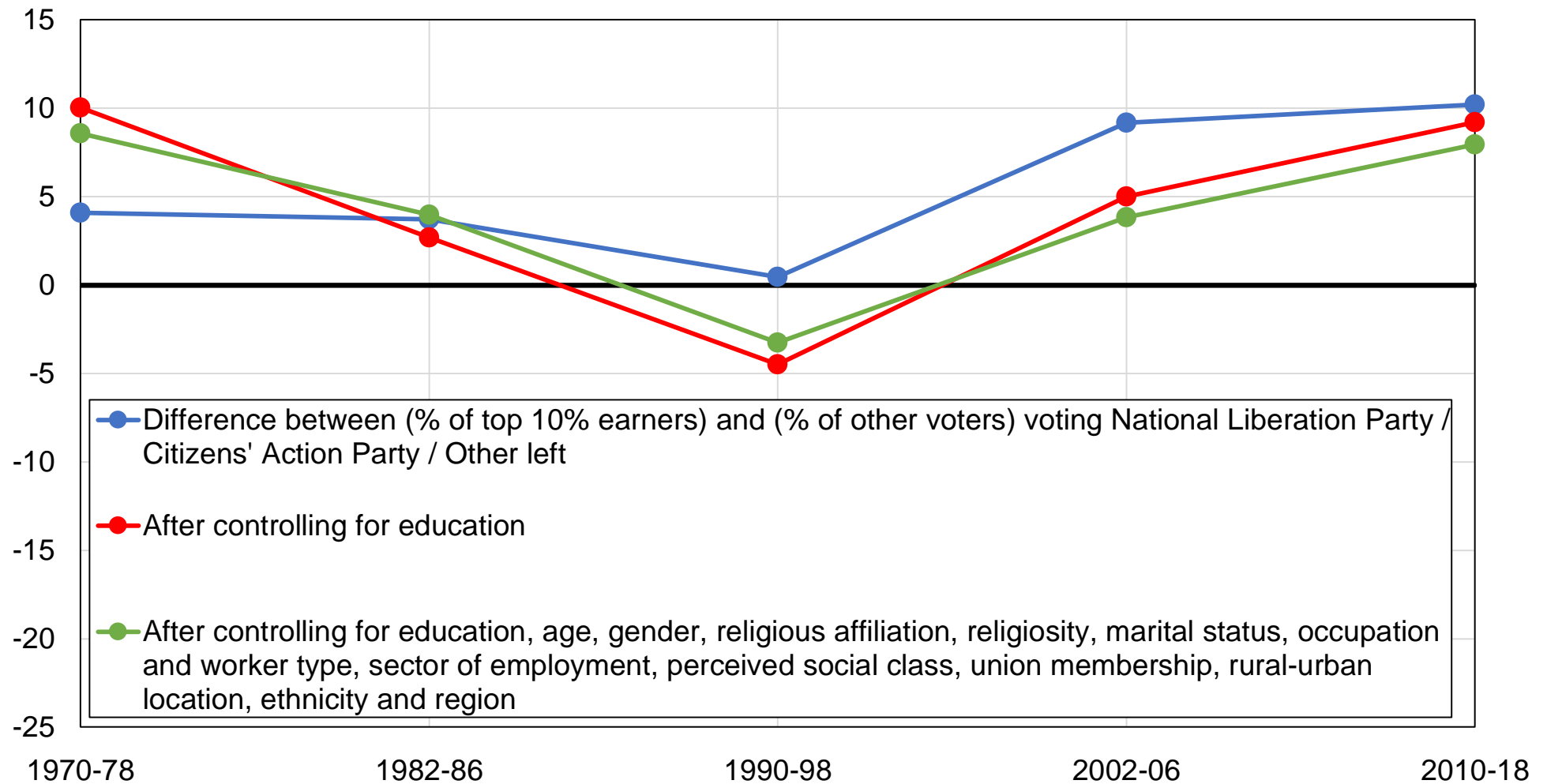
Figure CB21 - Vote for PLN / PAC / Other left among primary-educated voters



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of primary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for PLN / PAC / Other left parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

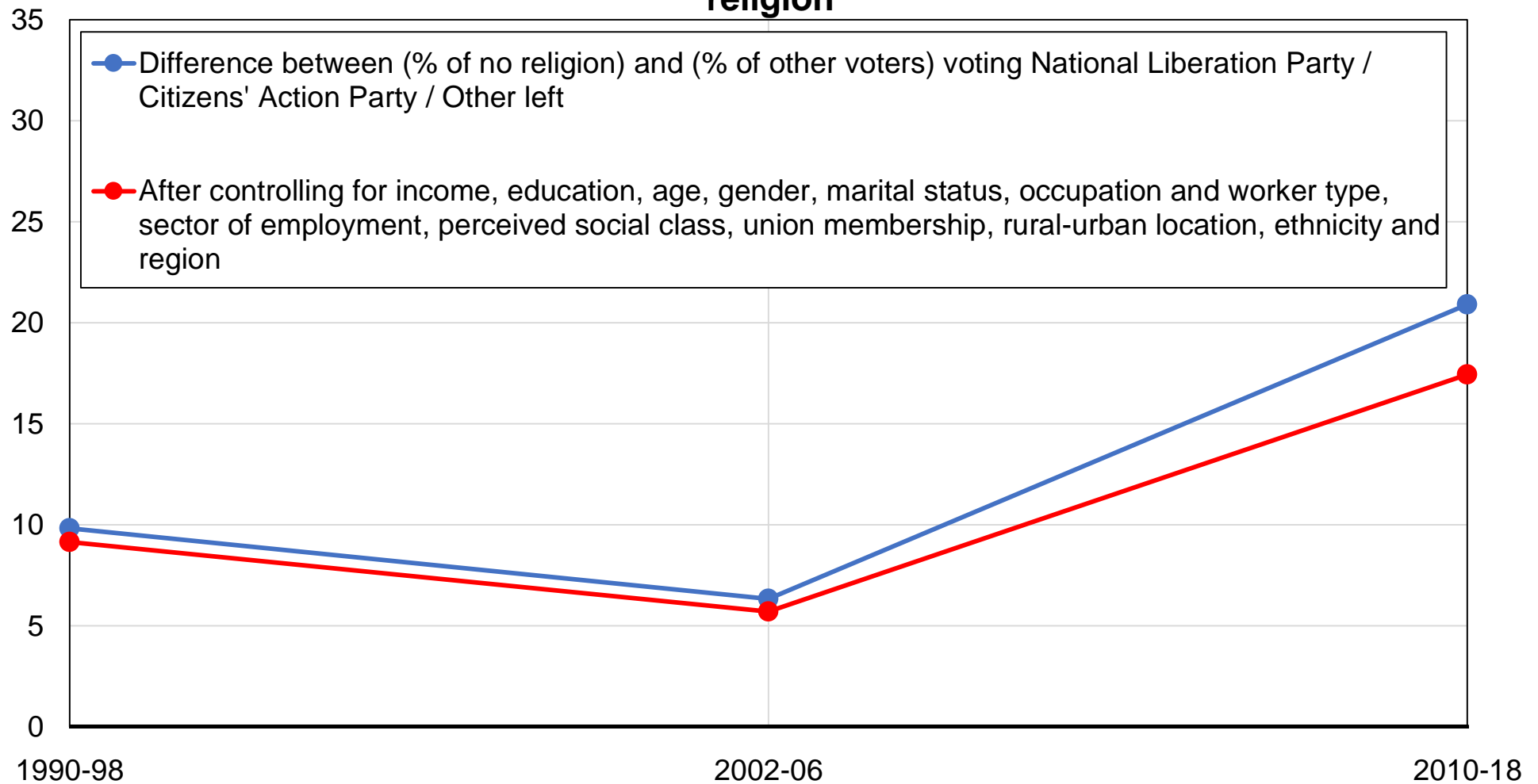
Figure CB22 - Vote for PLN / PAC / Other left among top 10% earners



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and the share of other voters voting for PLN / PAC / Other left parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

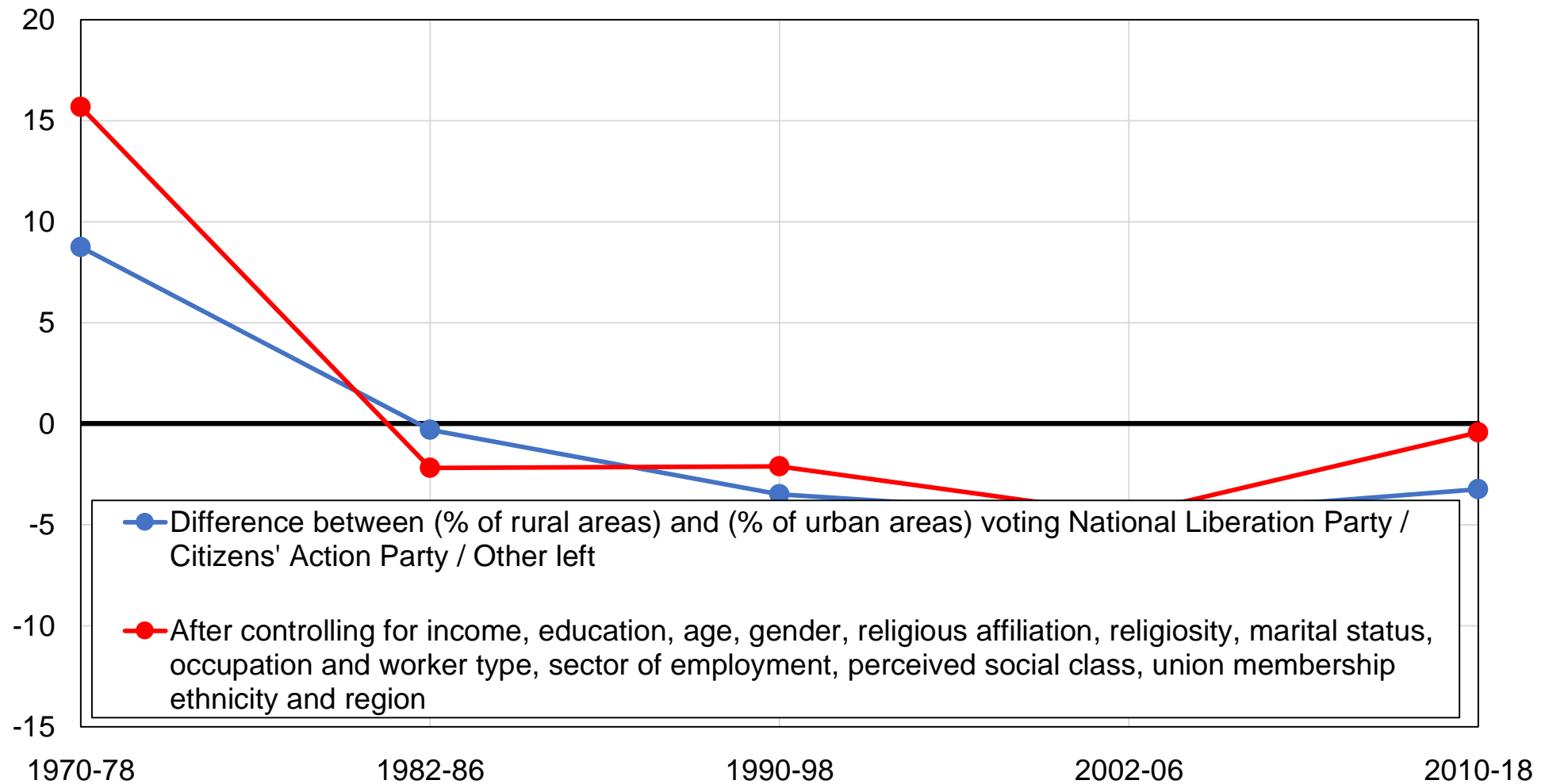
Figure CB23 - Vote for PLN / PAC / Other left among voters with no religion



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters with no religion and the share of other voters voting for PLN / PAC / Other left parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

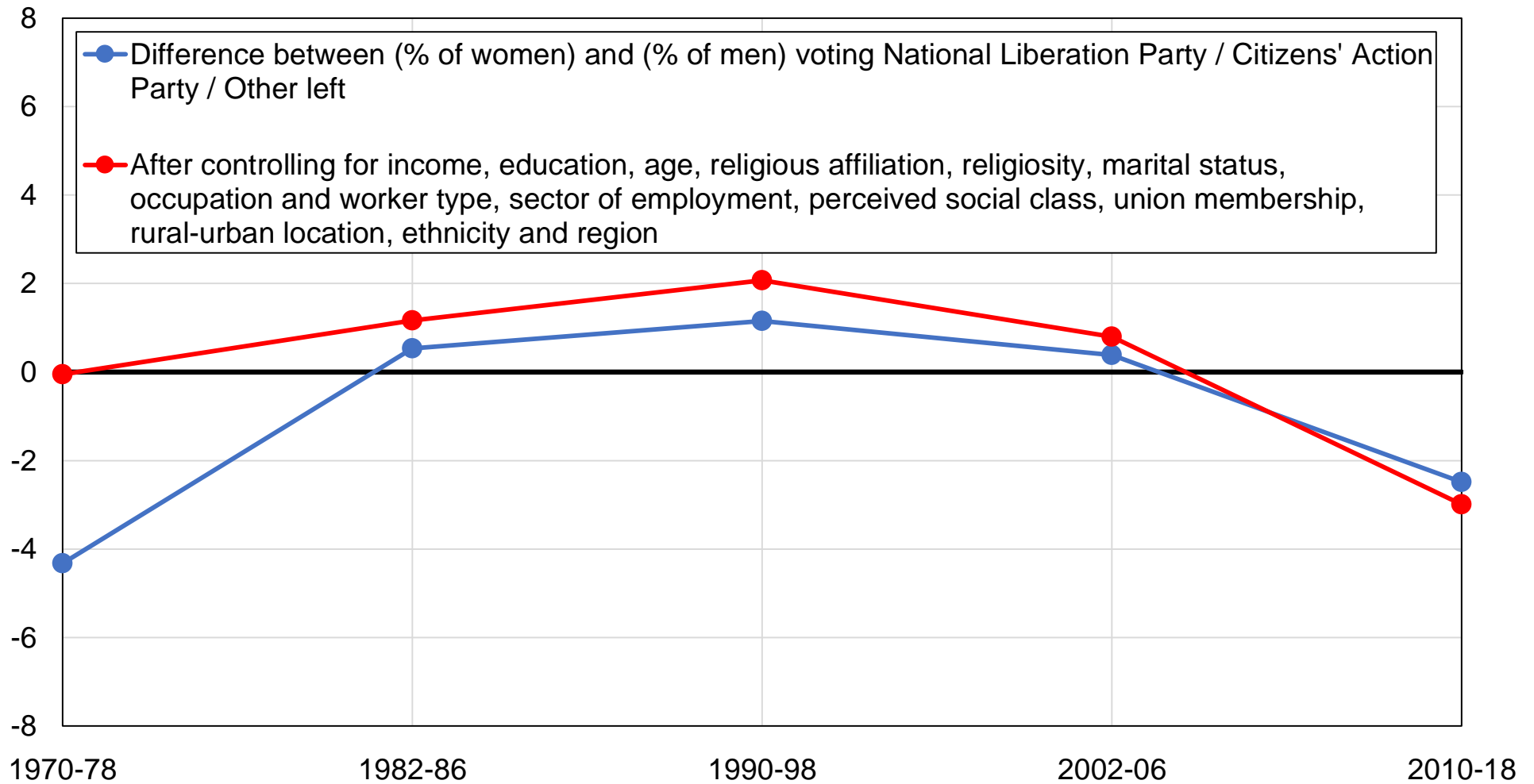
Figure CB24 - Vote for PLN / PAC / Other left among rural areas



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of rural areas and the share of urban areas voting for PLN / PAC / Other left parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

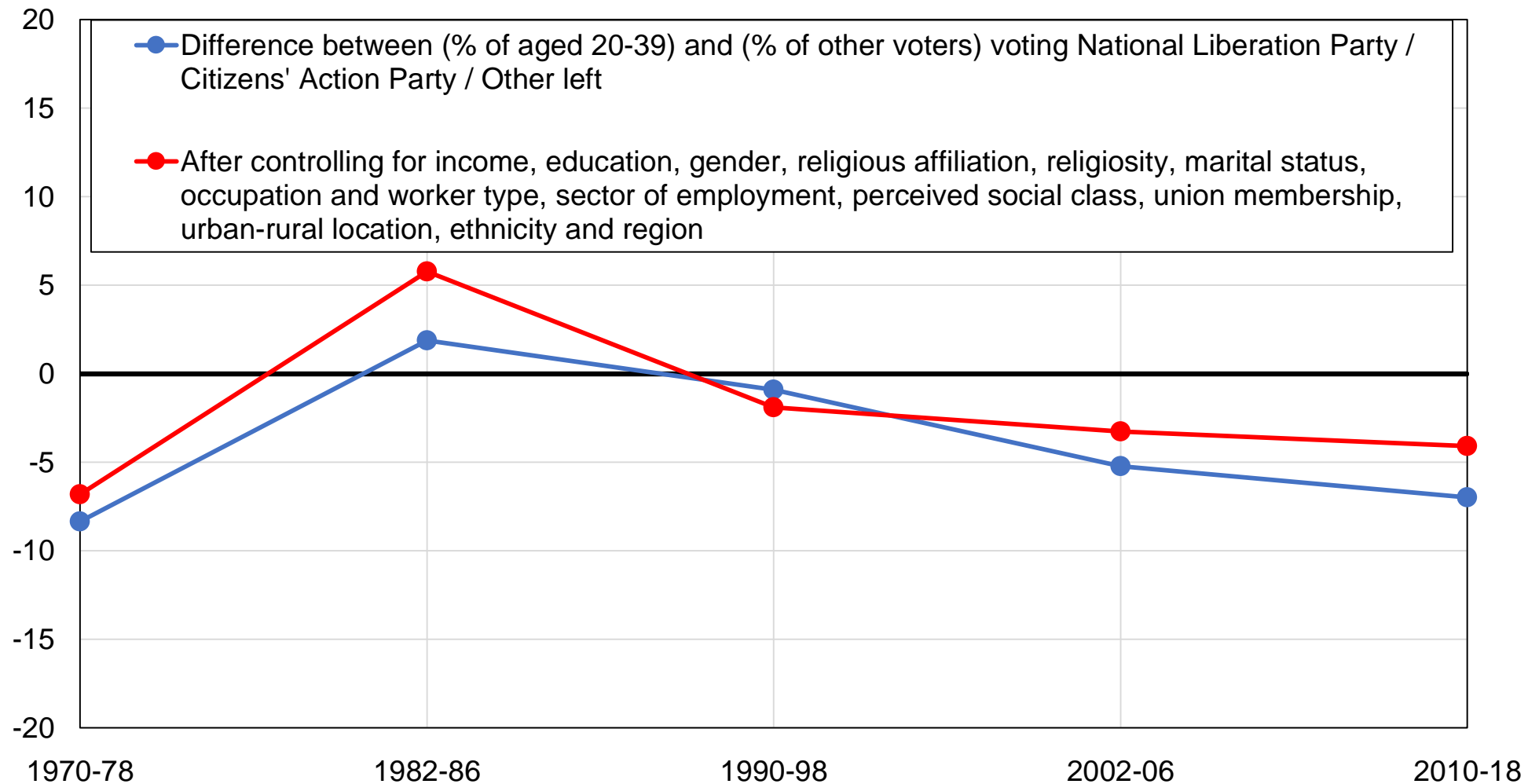
Figure CB25 - Vote for PLN / PAC / Other left among women



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of women and the share of men voting for PLN / PAC / Other left parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

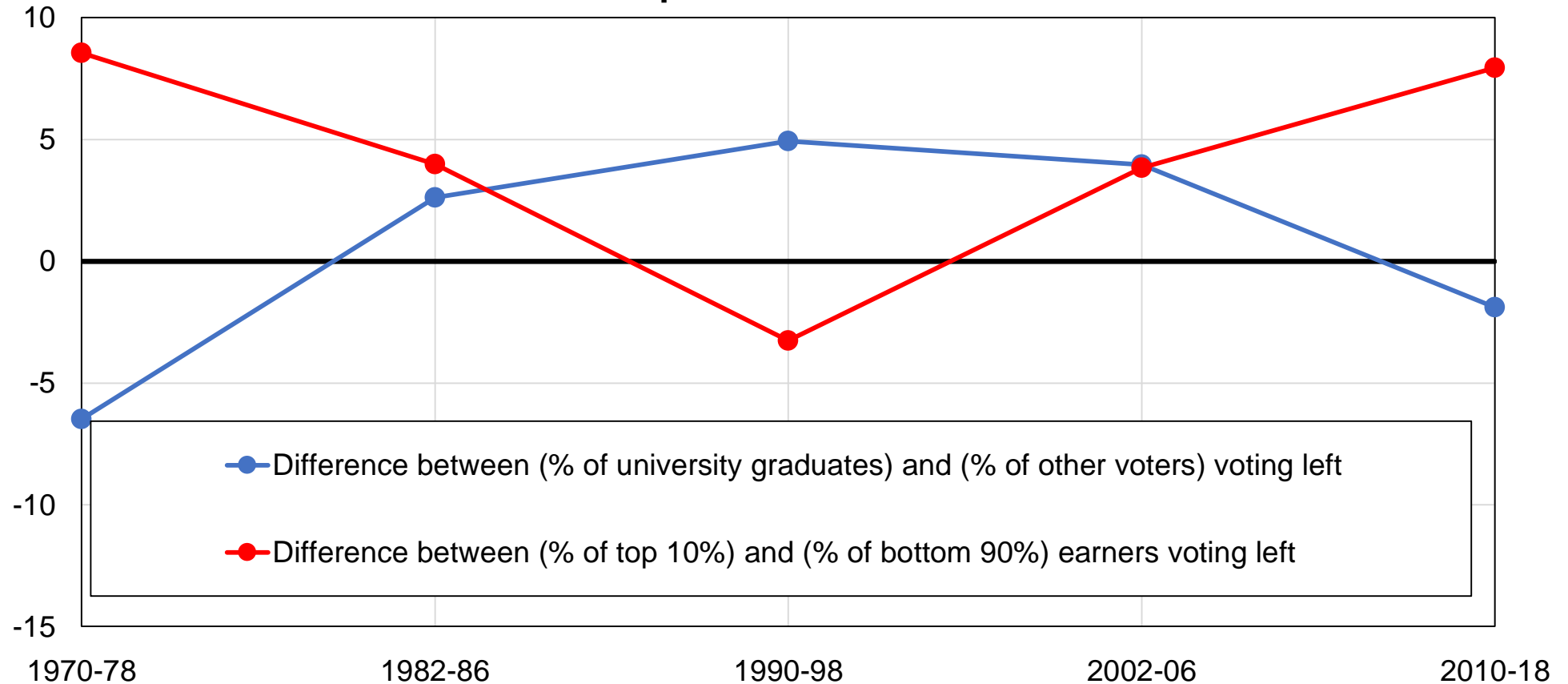
Figure CB26 - Vote for PLN / PAC / Other left among young voters



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican 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 PLN / PAC / Other left parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

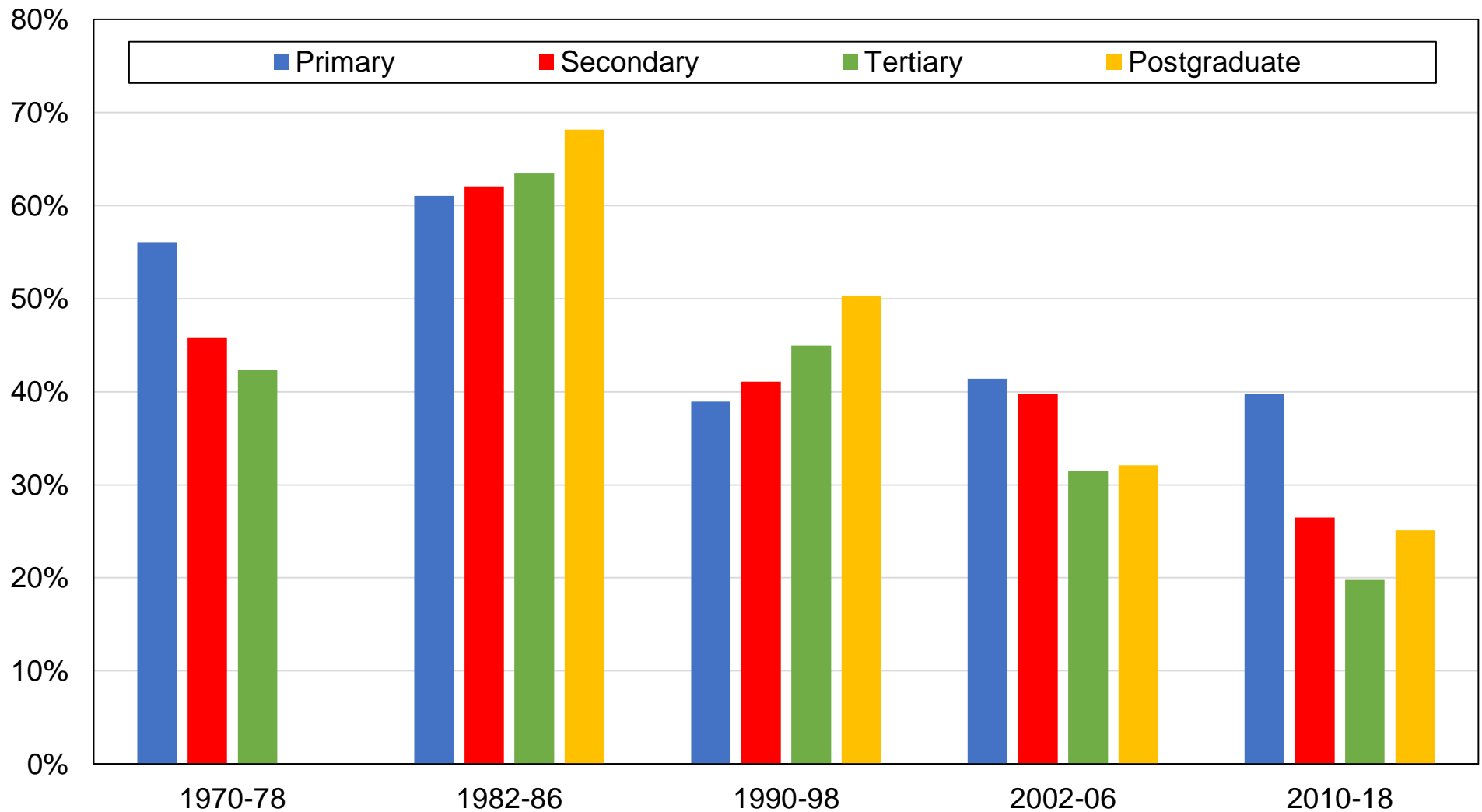
Figure C27 - Vote for PLN / PAC / Other left among highest-educated and top-income voters



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the relative support of university graduates and top-income voters for PLN / PAC / Other left-wing parties, after controlling for age, gender, religious affiliation, religiosity, marital status, occupation, sector of employment, perceived social class, union membership, rural-urban location, ethnicity and region.

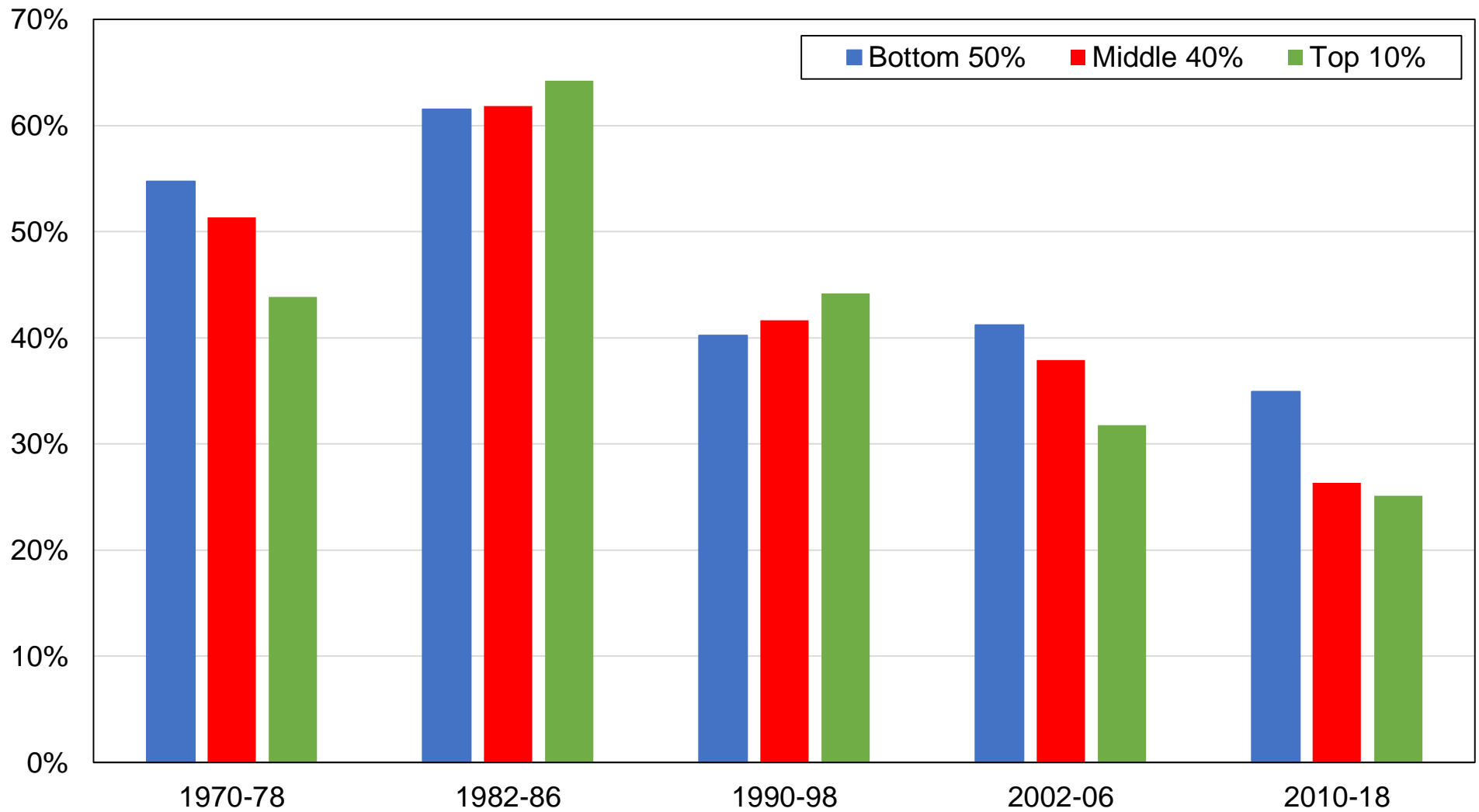
Figure CC1 - Vote for PLN by education level



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

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

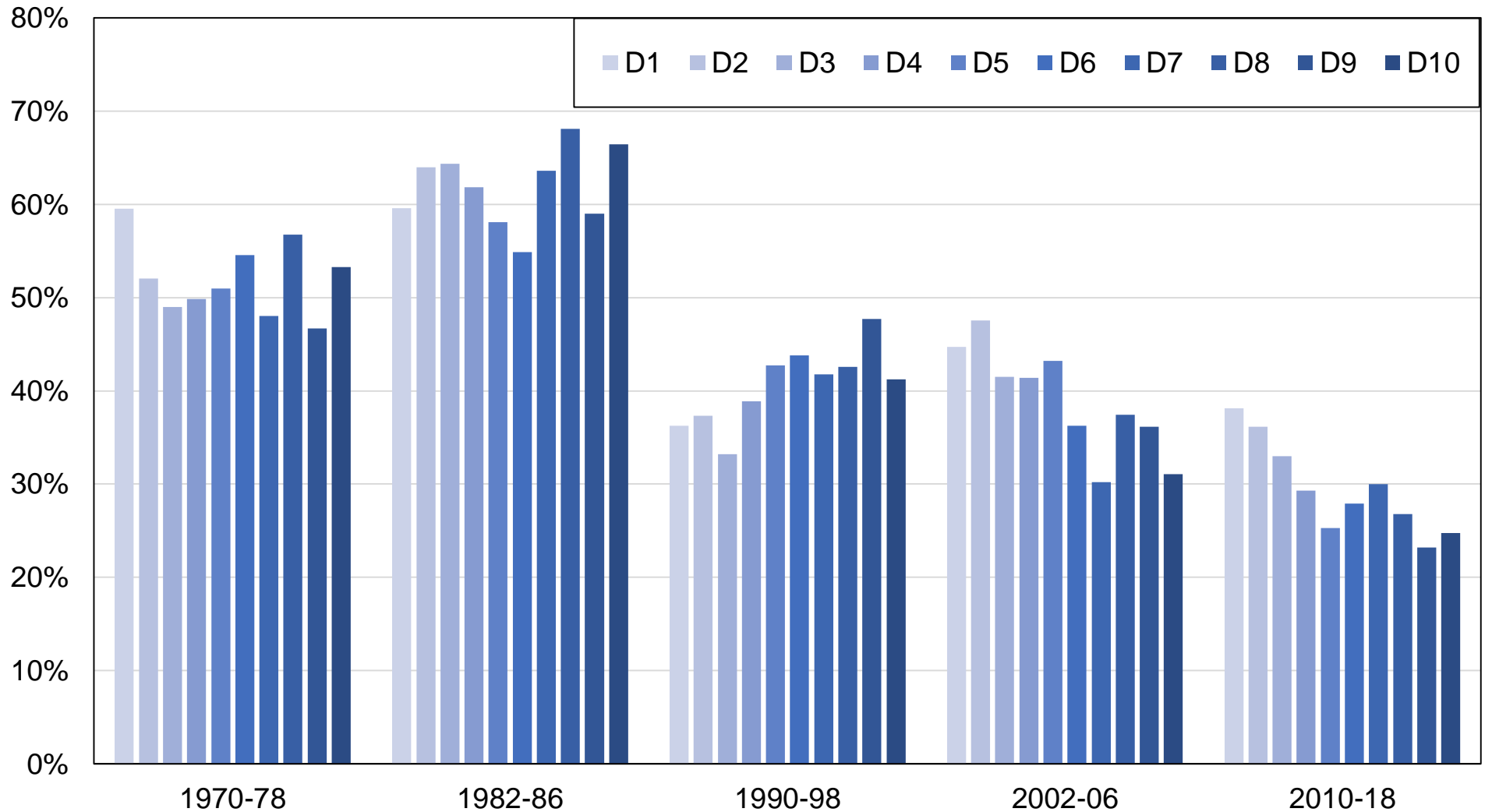
Figure CC2 - Vote for PLN by education group



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

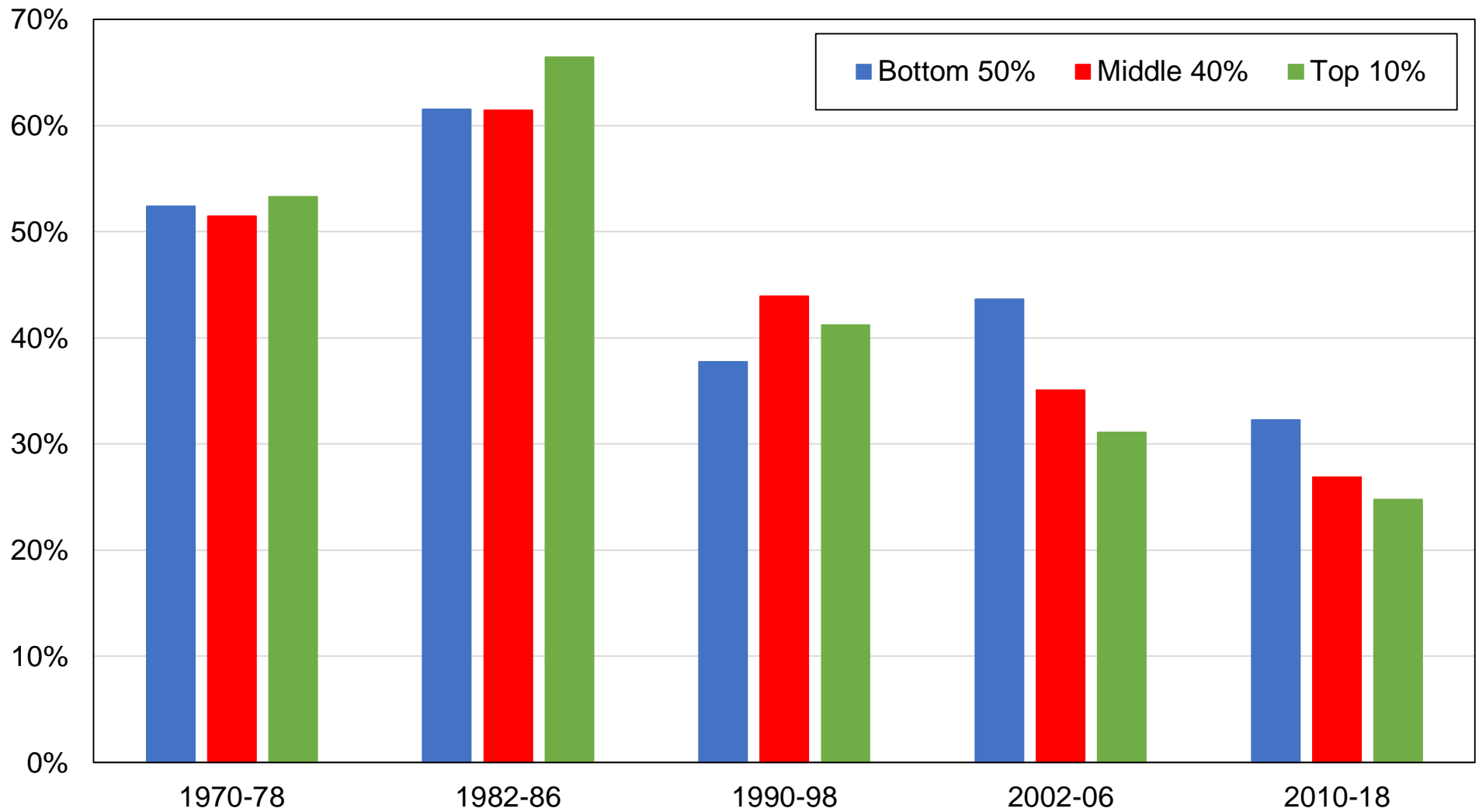
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PLN by education group.

Figure CC3 - Vote for PLN by income decile



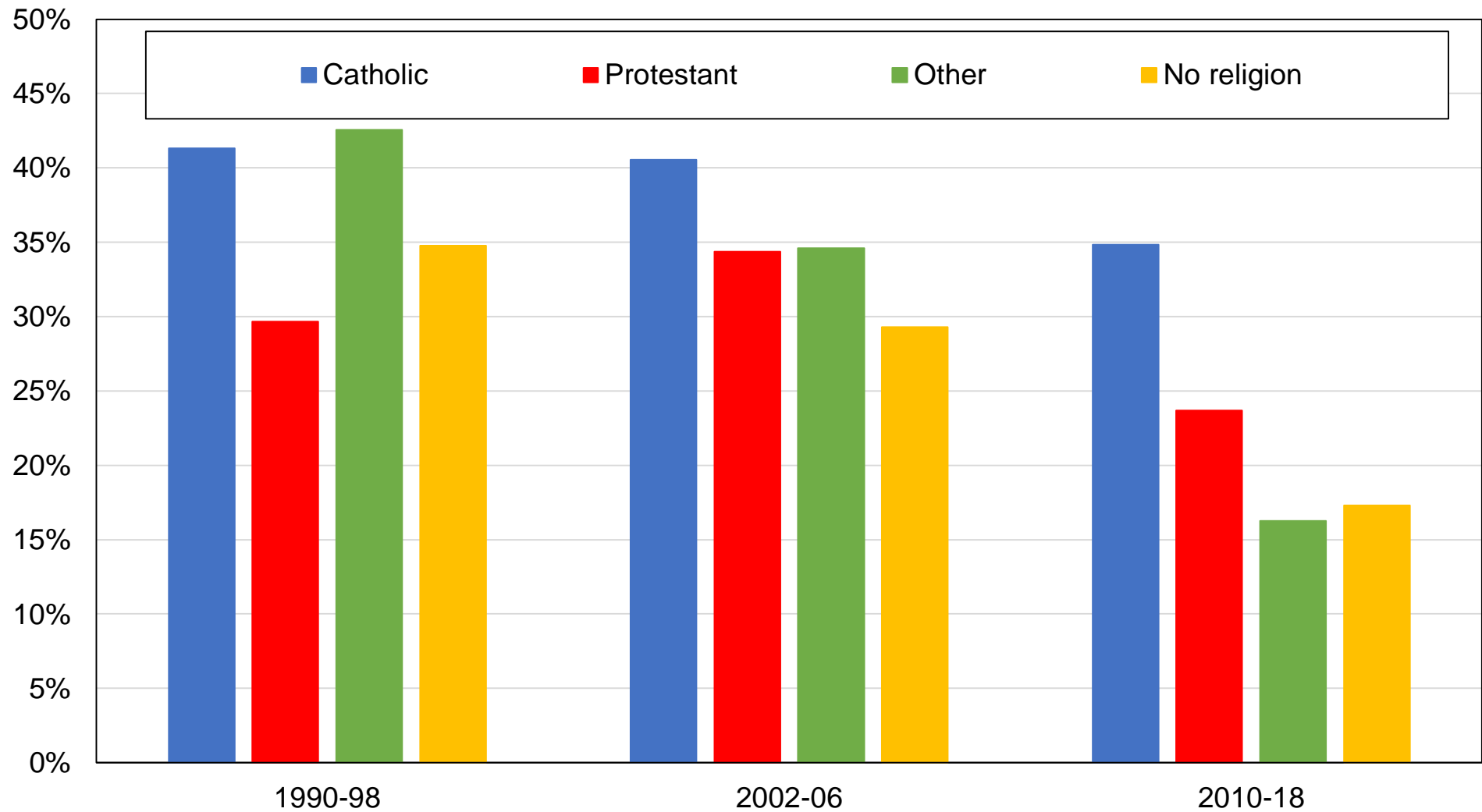
Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PLN by income decile.

Figure CC4 - Vote for PLN by income group



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PLN by income group.

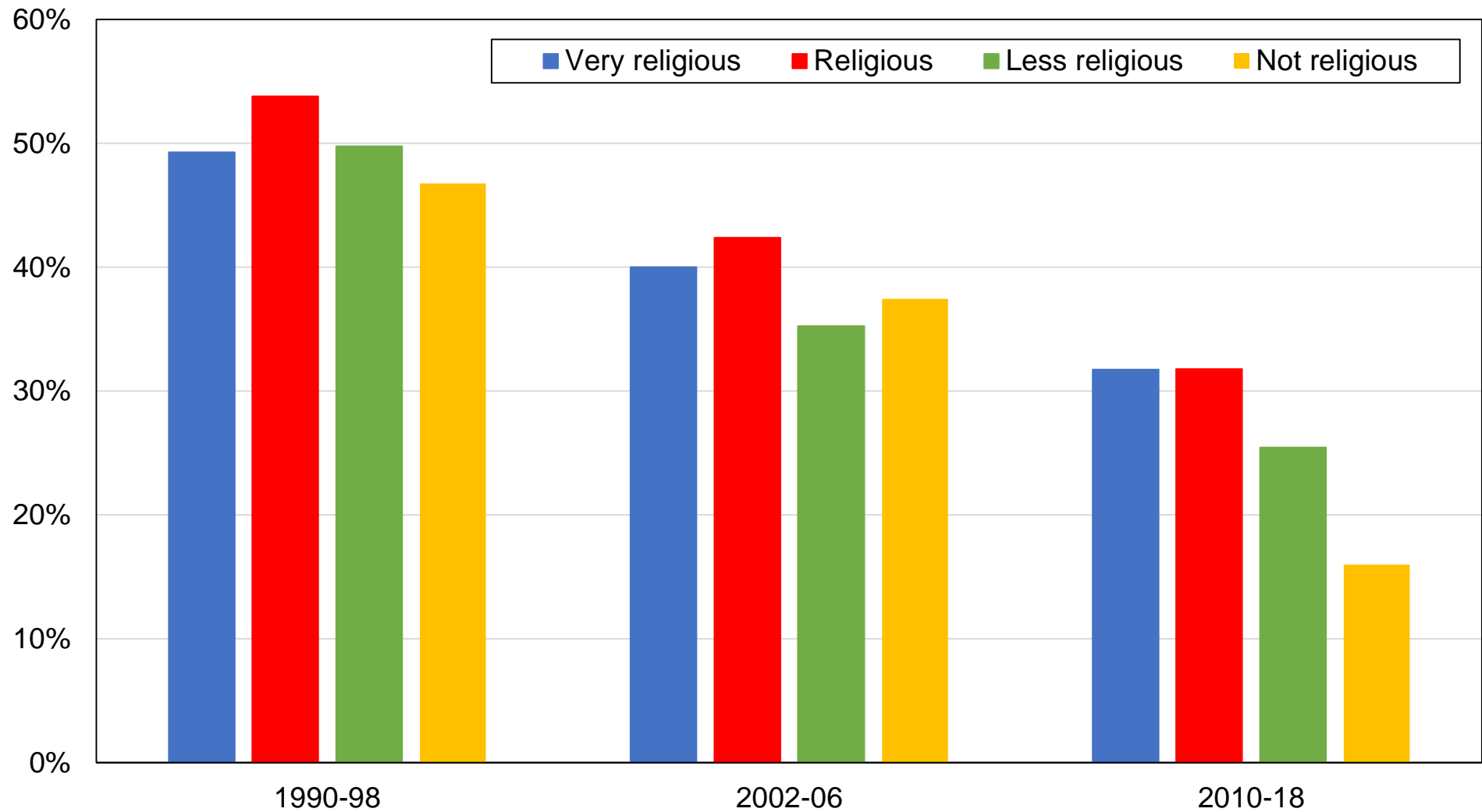
Figure CC5 - Vote for PLN by religious affiliation



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

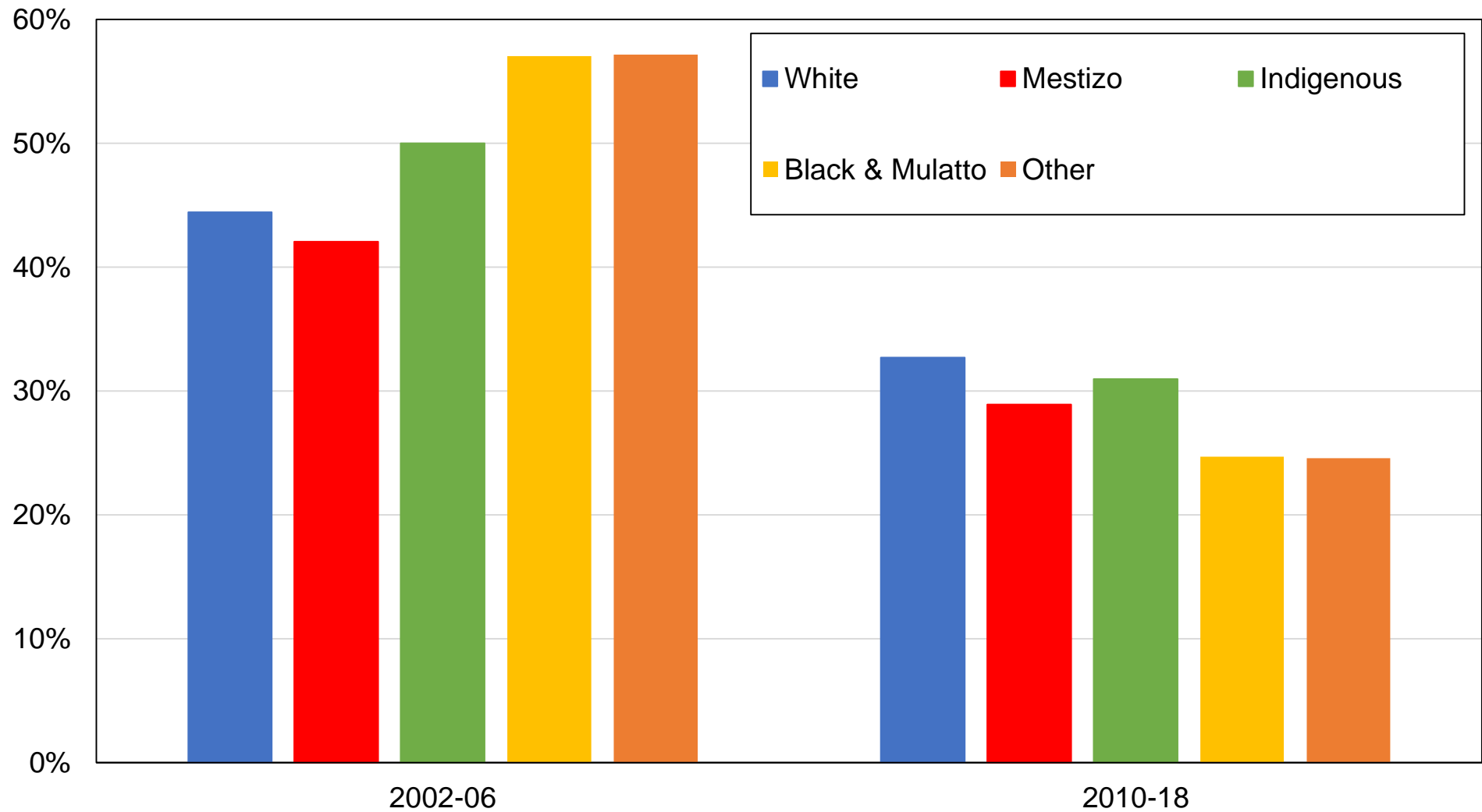
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PLN by religious affiliation.

Figure CC6 - Vote for PLN by religiosity



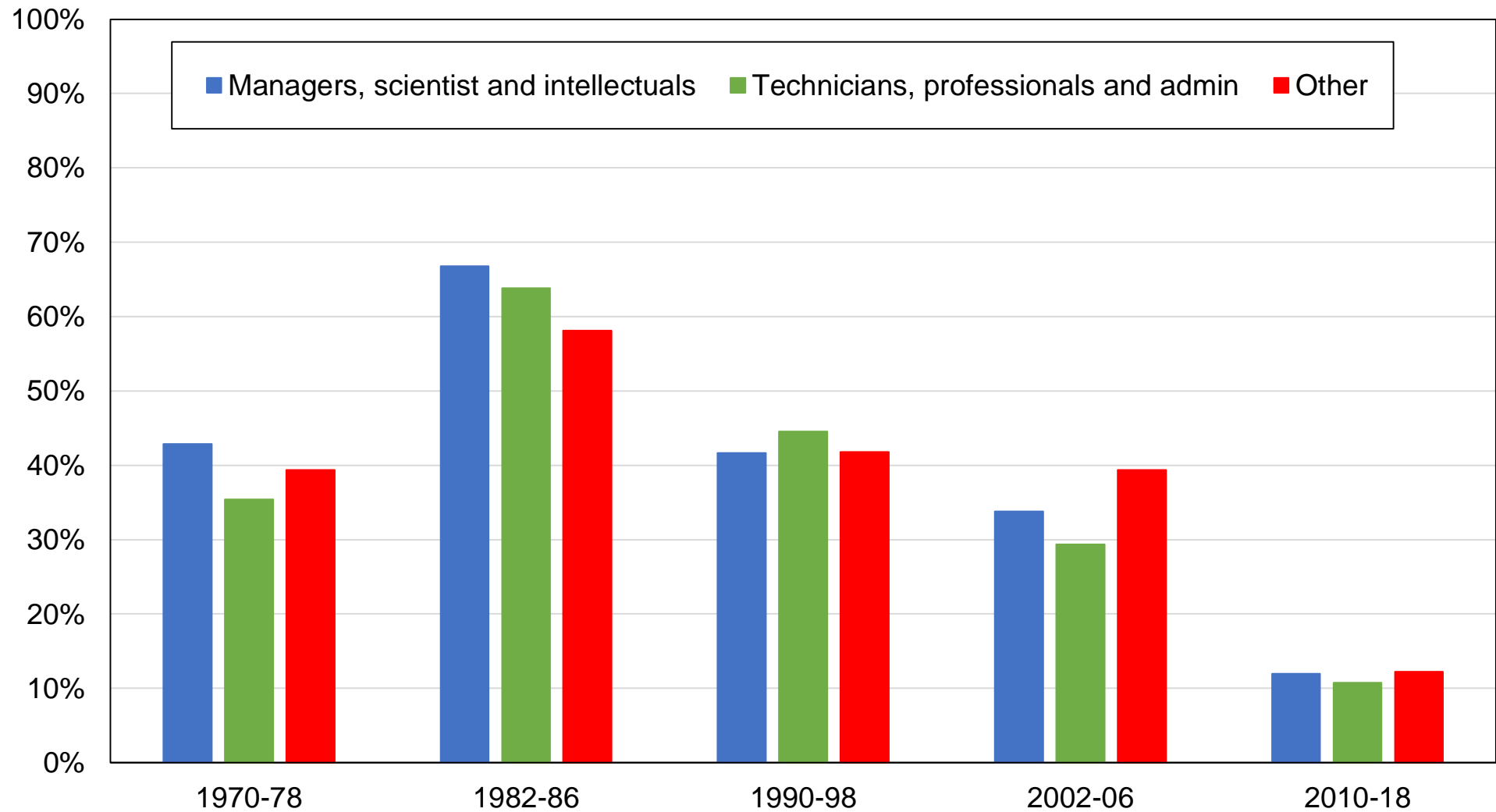
Source: authors' computations using Costa Rica political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PLN by religiosity.

Figure CC7 - Vote for PLN by ethnicity



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PLN by ethnicity.

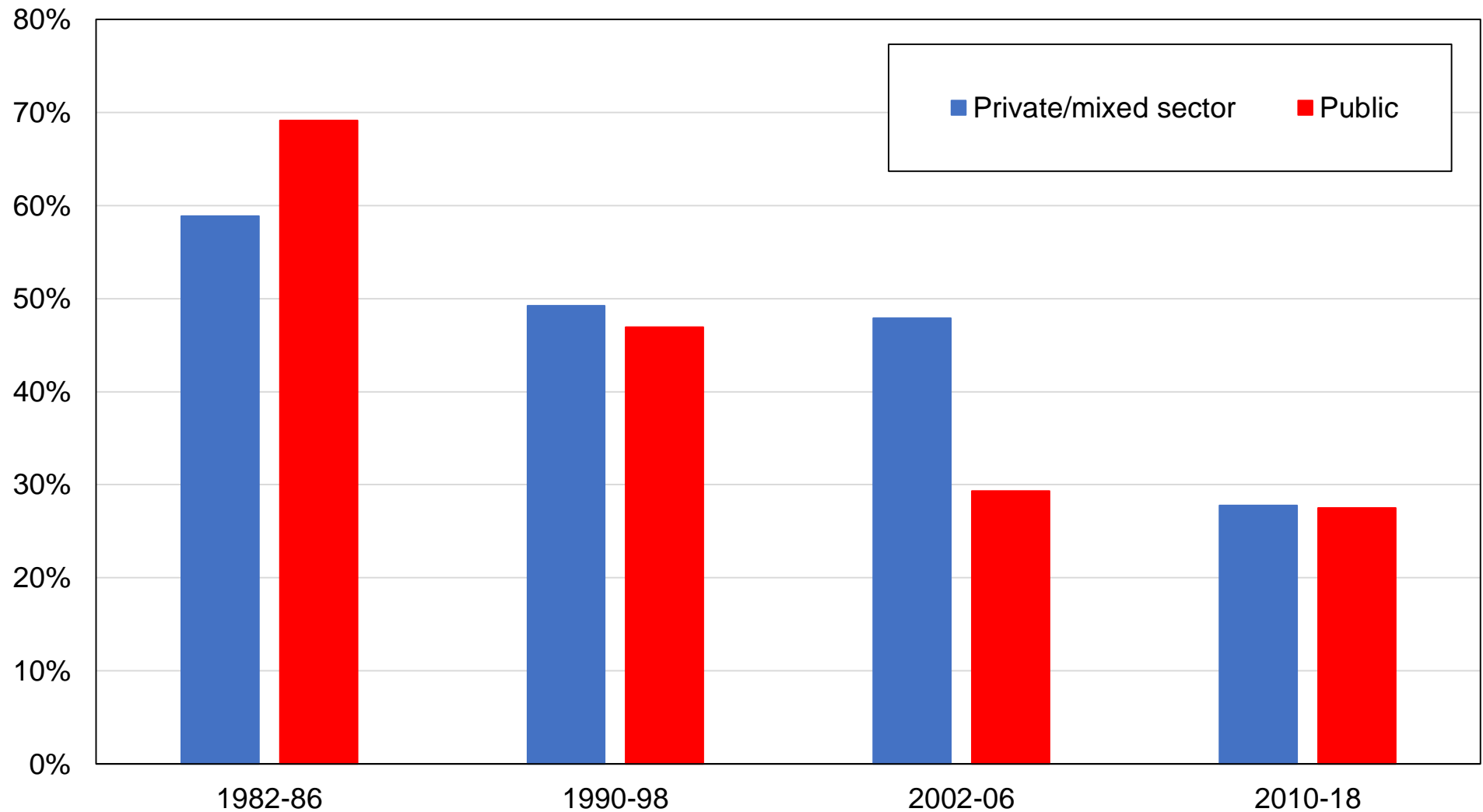
Figure CC8 - Vote for PLN by occupation



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

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

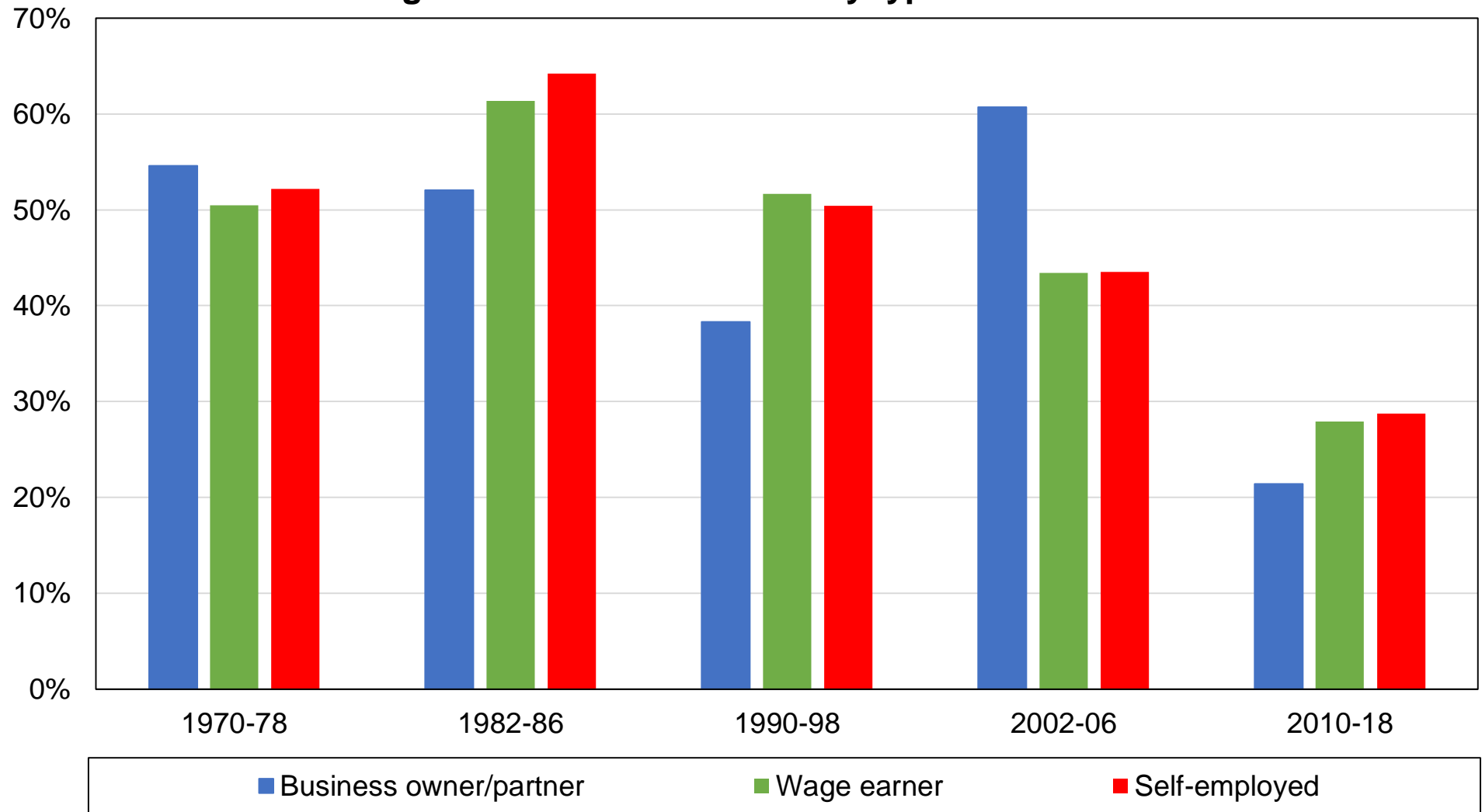
Figure CC9 - Vote for PLN by sector of employment



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

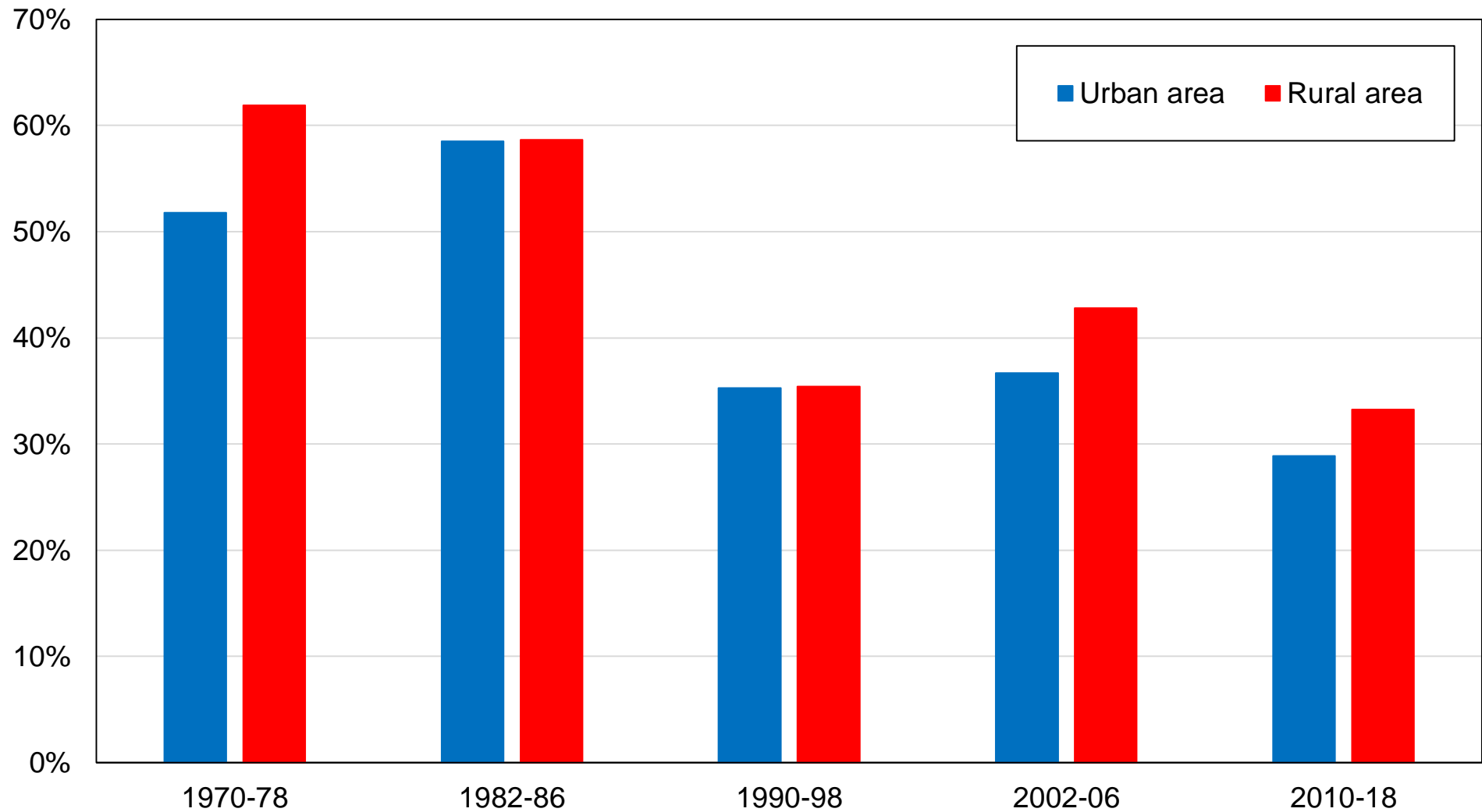
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PLN by sector of employment.

Figure CC10 - Vote for PLN by type of worker



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PLN by type of worker.

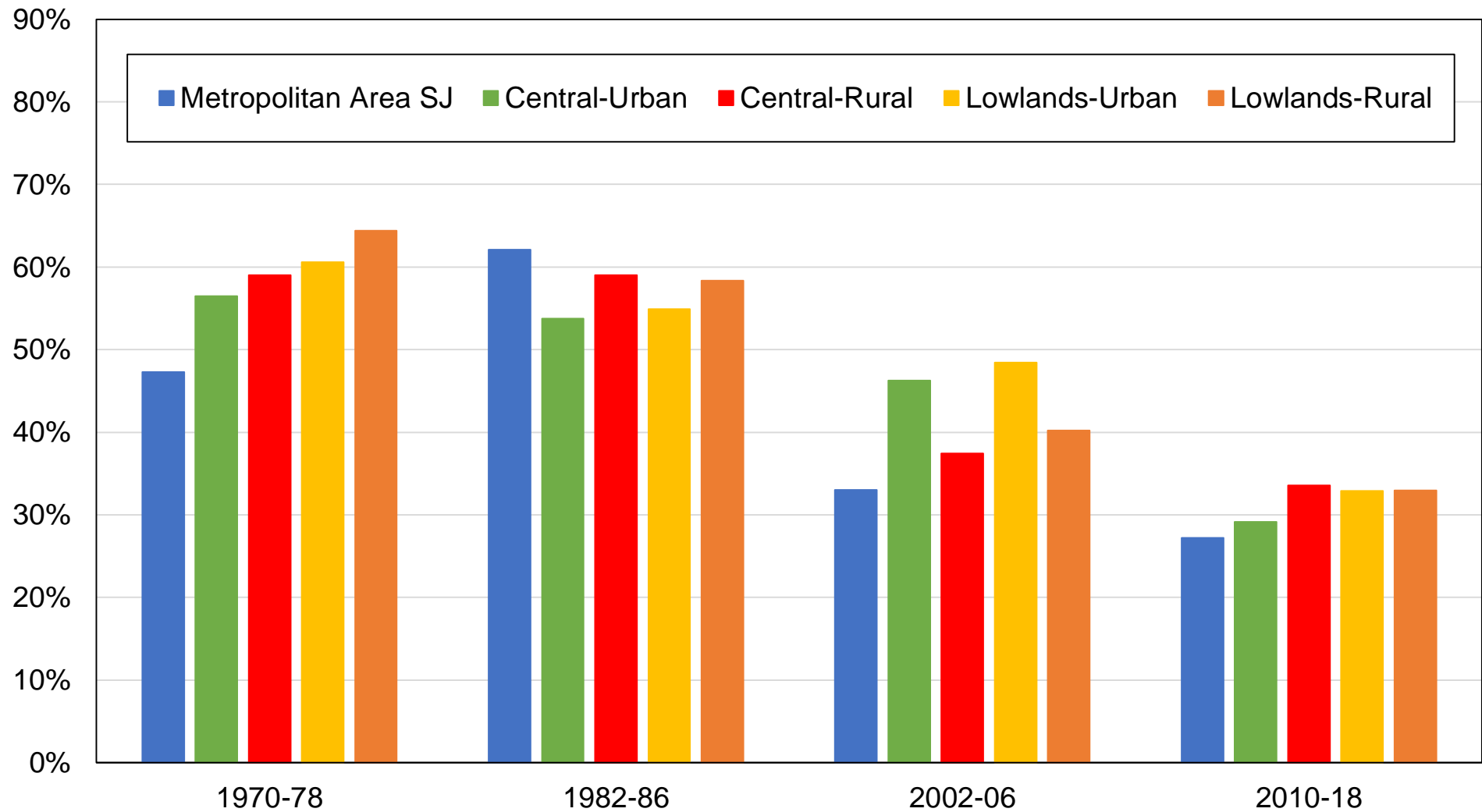
Figure CC11 - Vote for PLN by location



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PLN by rural-urban location.

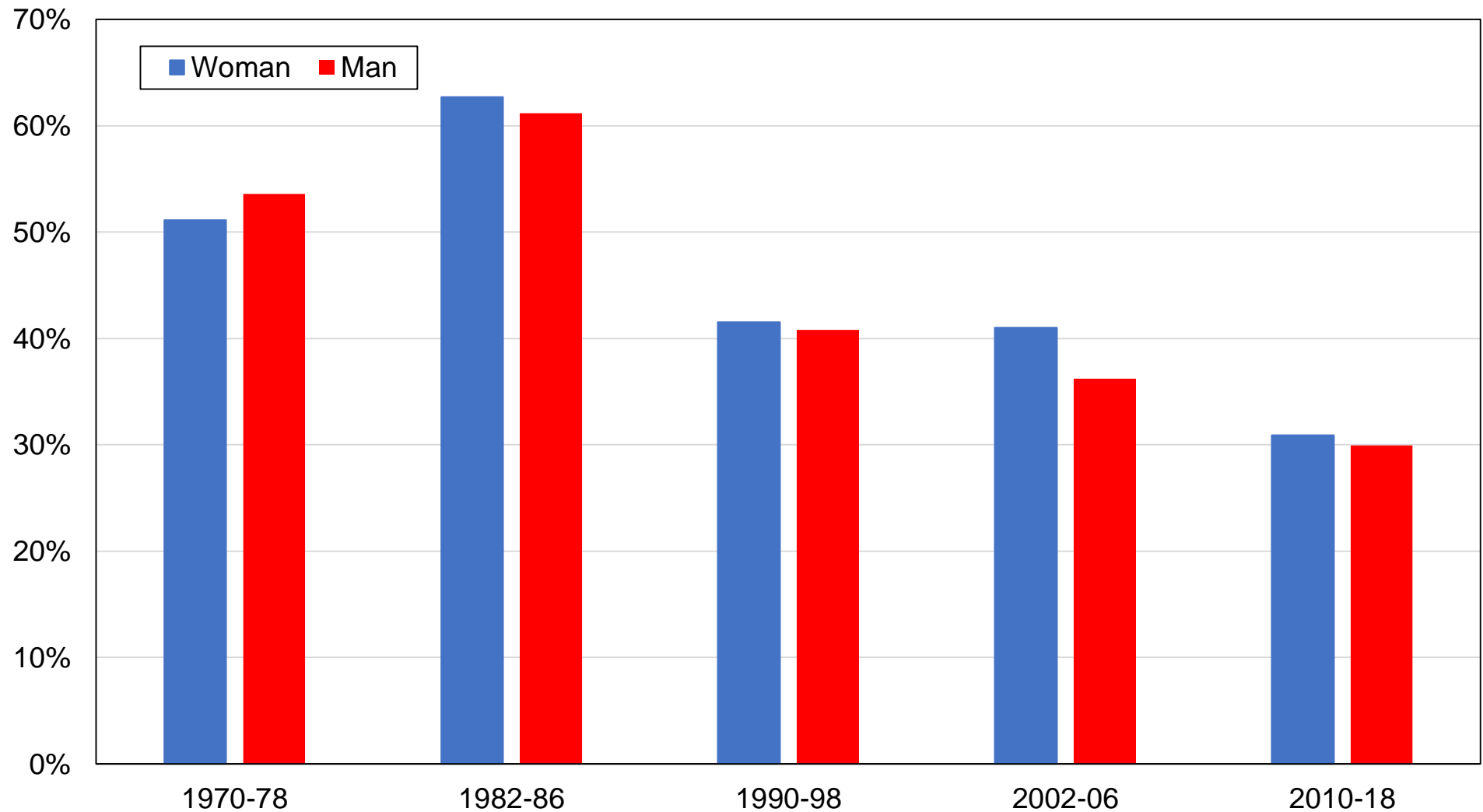
Figure CC12 - Vote for PLN by region



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

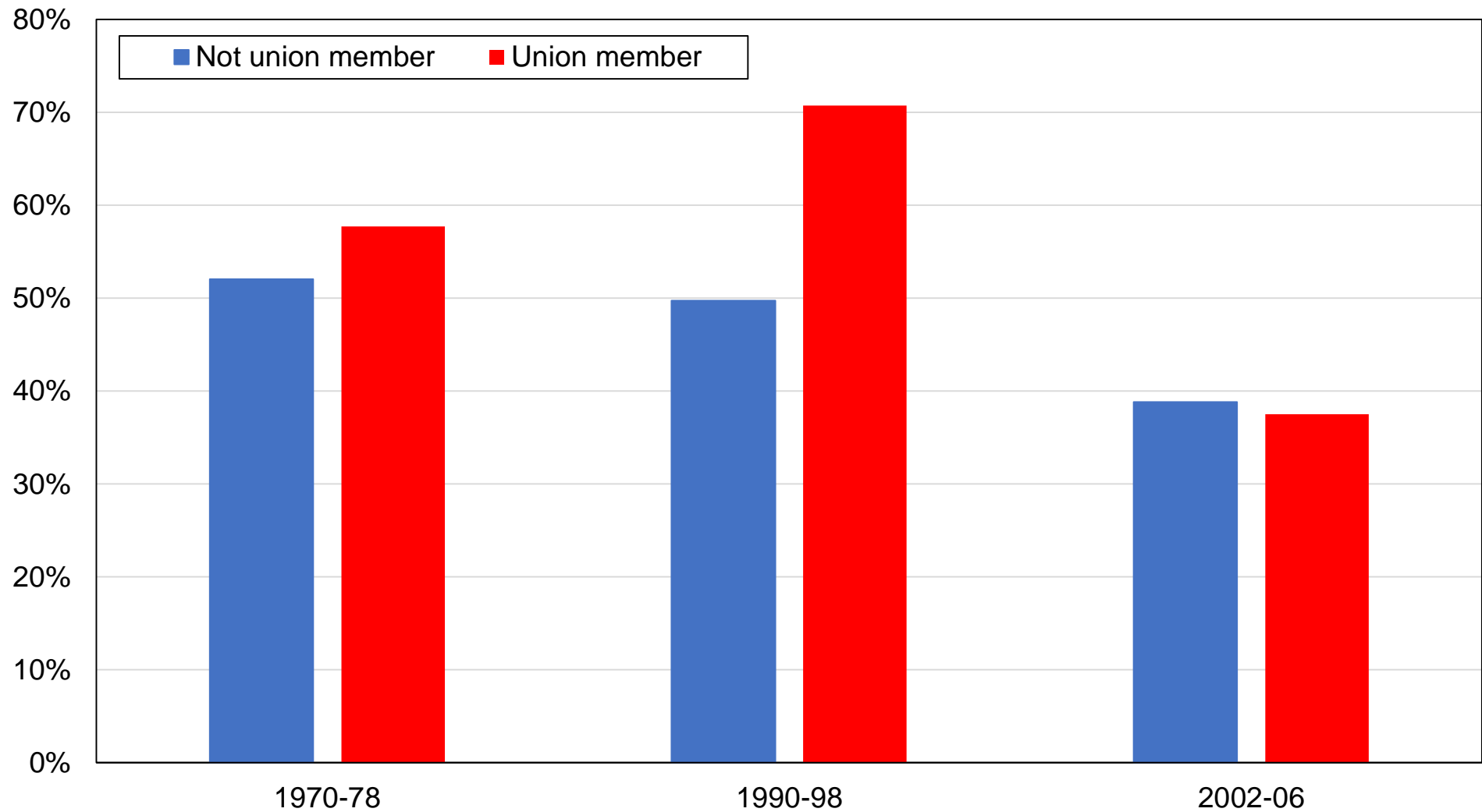
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PLN by region of residence.

Figure CC13 - Vote for PLN by gender



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

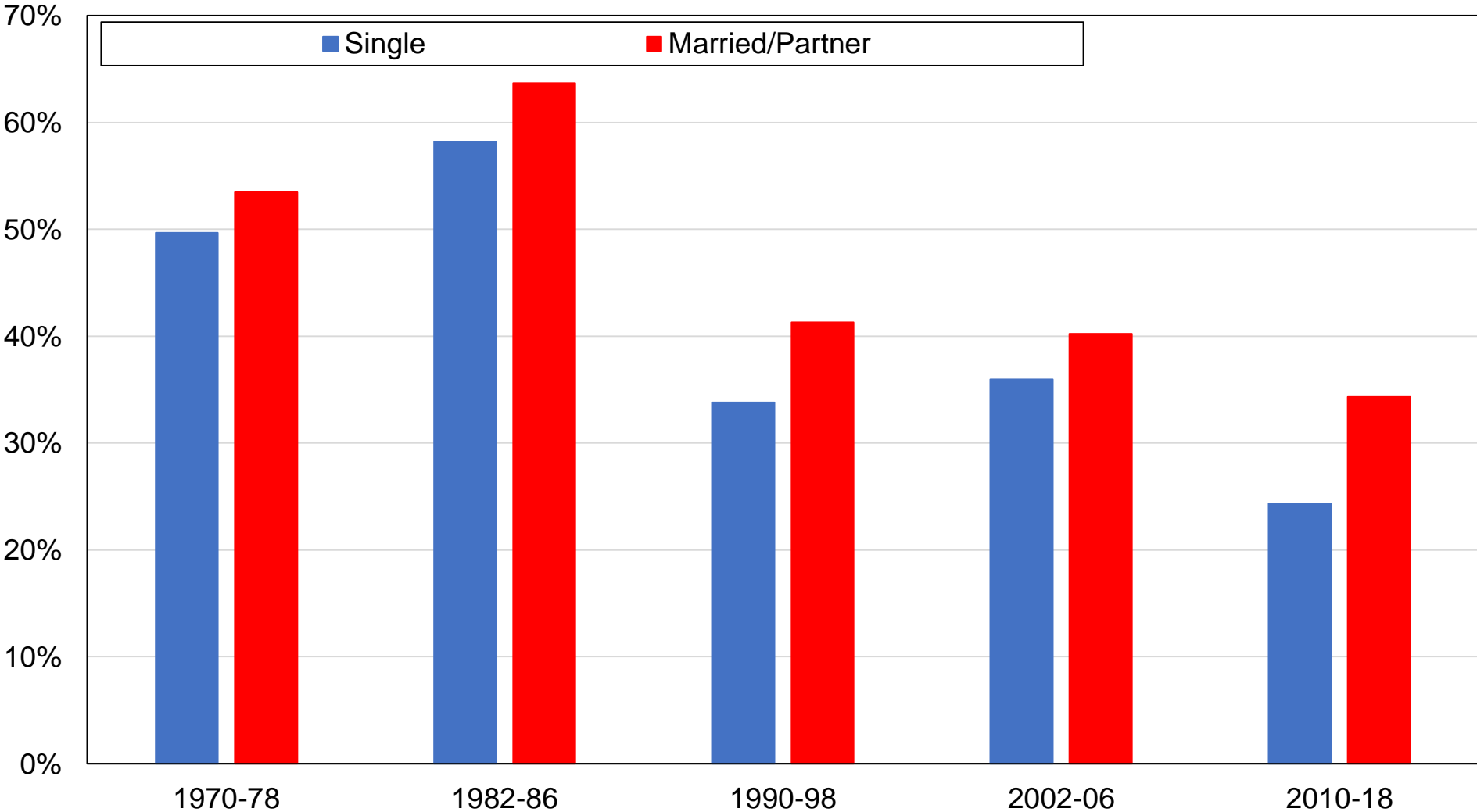
Figure CC14 - Vote for PLN by union membership



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PLN by union membership status.

Figure CC15 - Vote for PLN by marital status



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PLN by marital status.

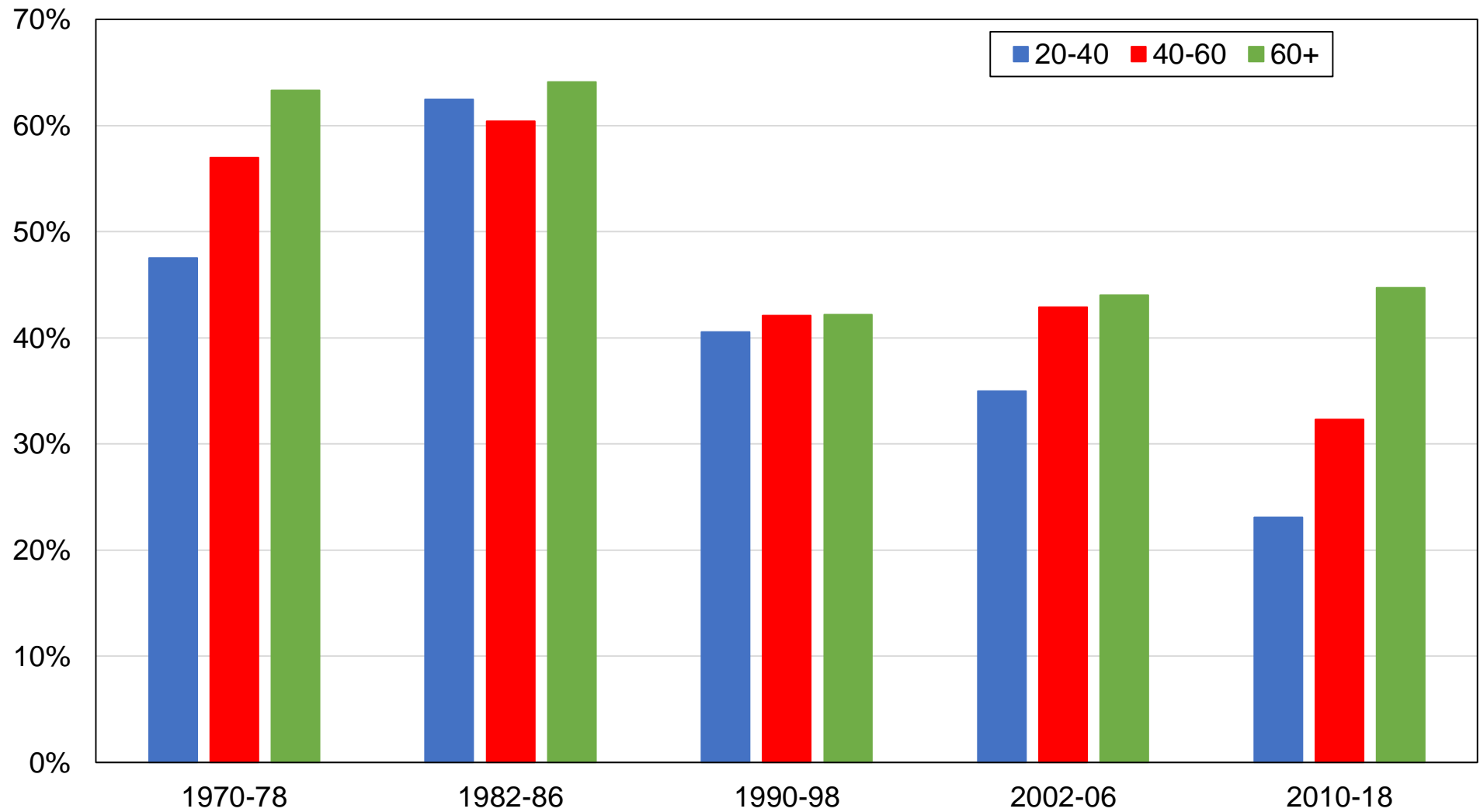
Figure CC16 - Vote for PLN by perceived social class



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PLN by self-perceived social class. Working class includes "lower class". Middle class includes "no class".

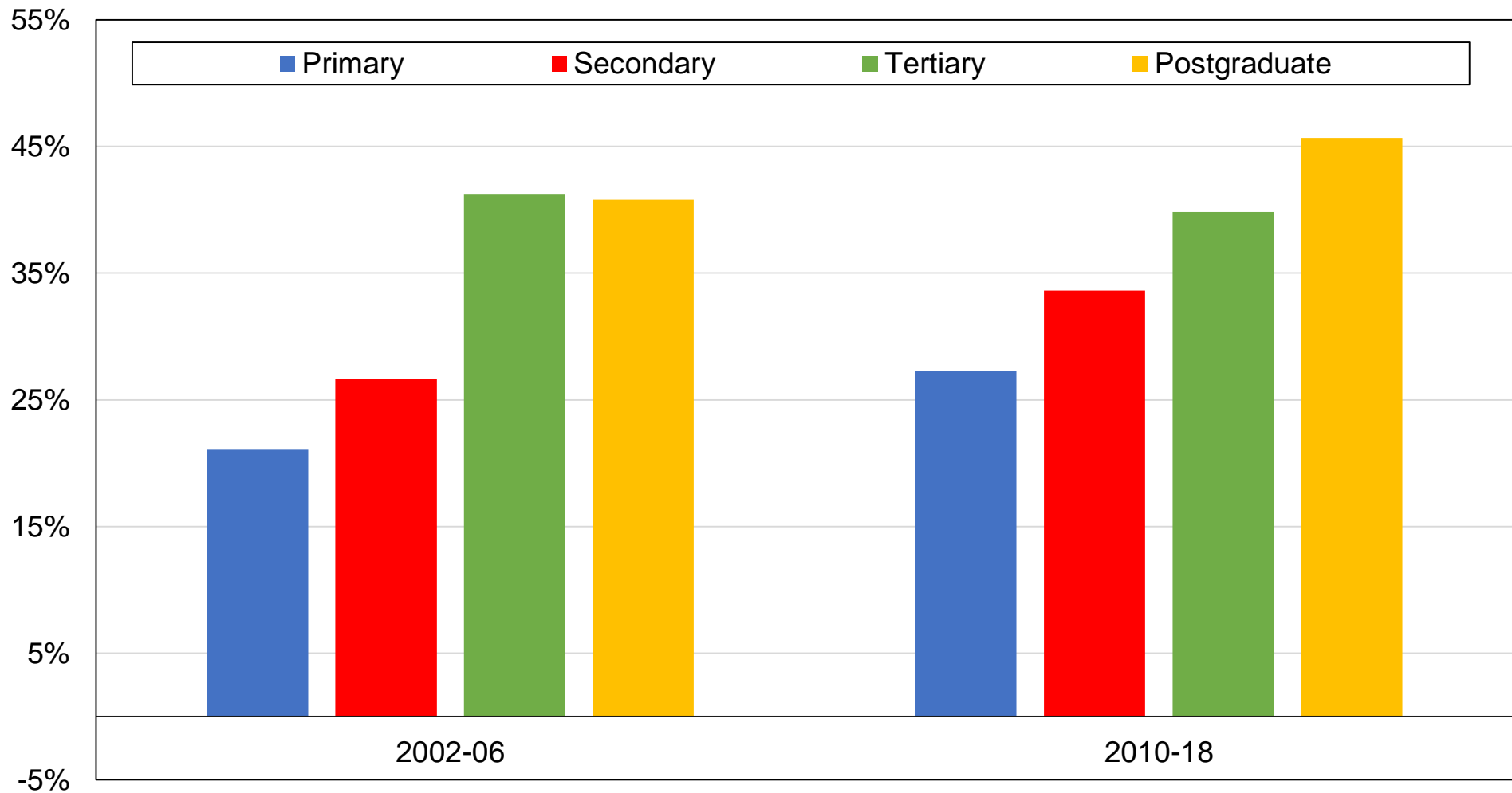
Figure CC17 - Vote for PLN by age group



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

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

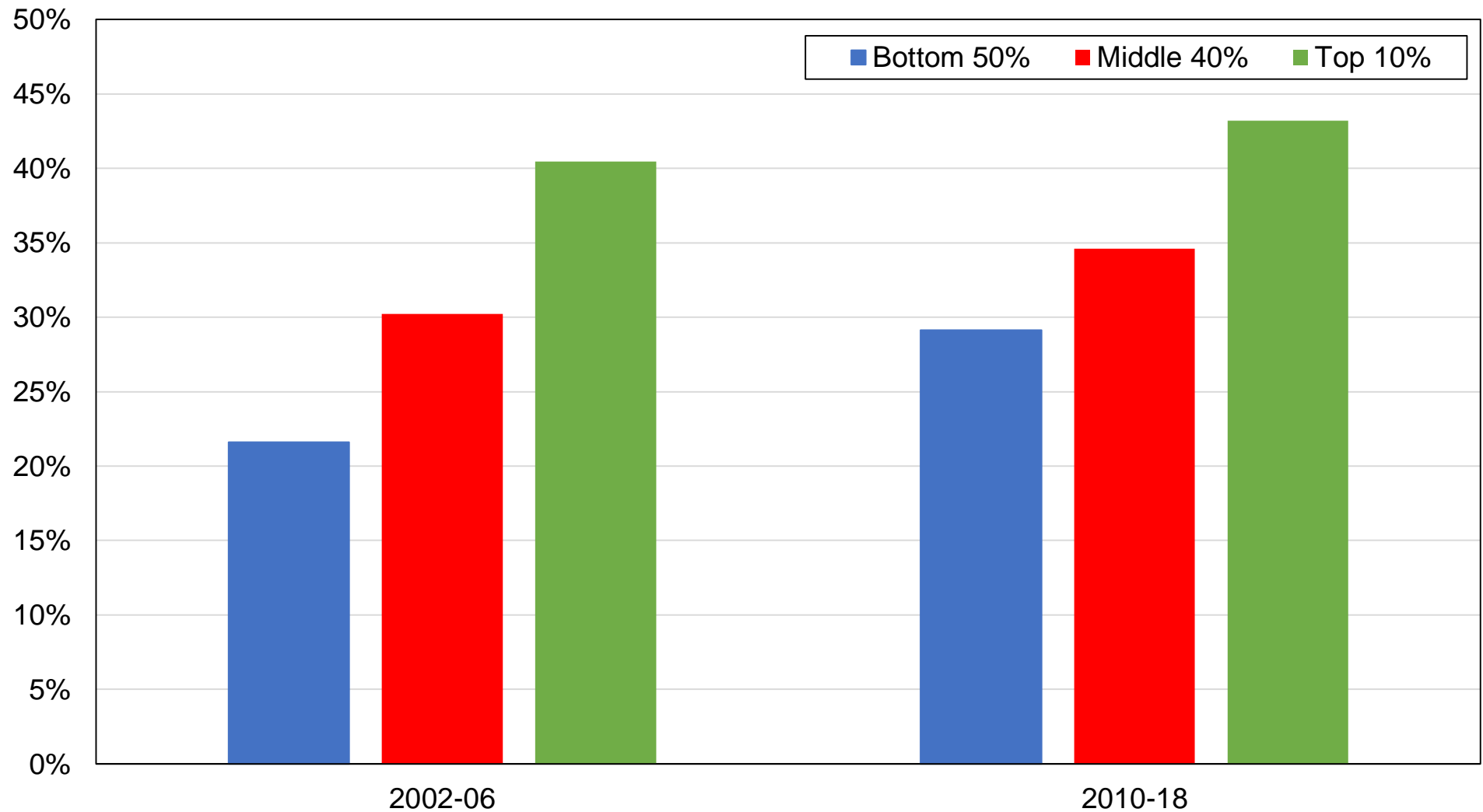
Figure CC18 - Vote for PAC by education level



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

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

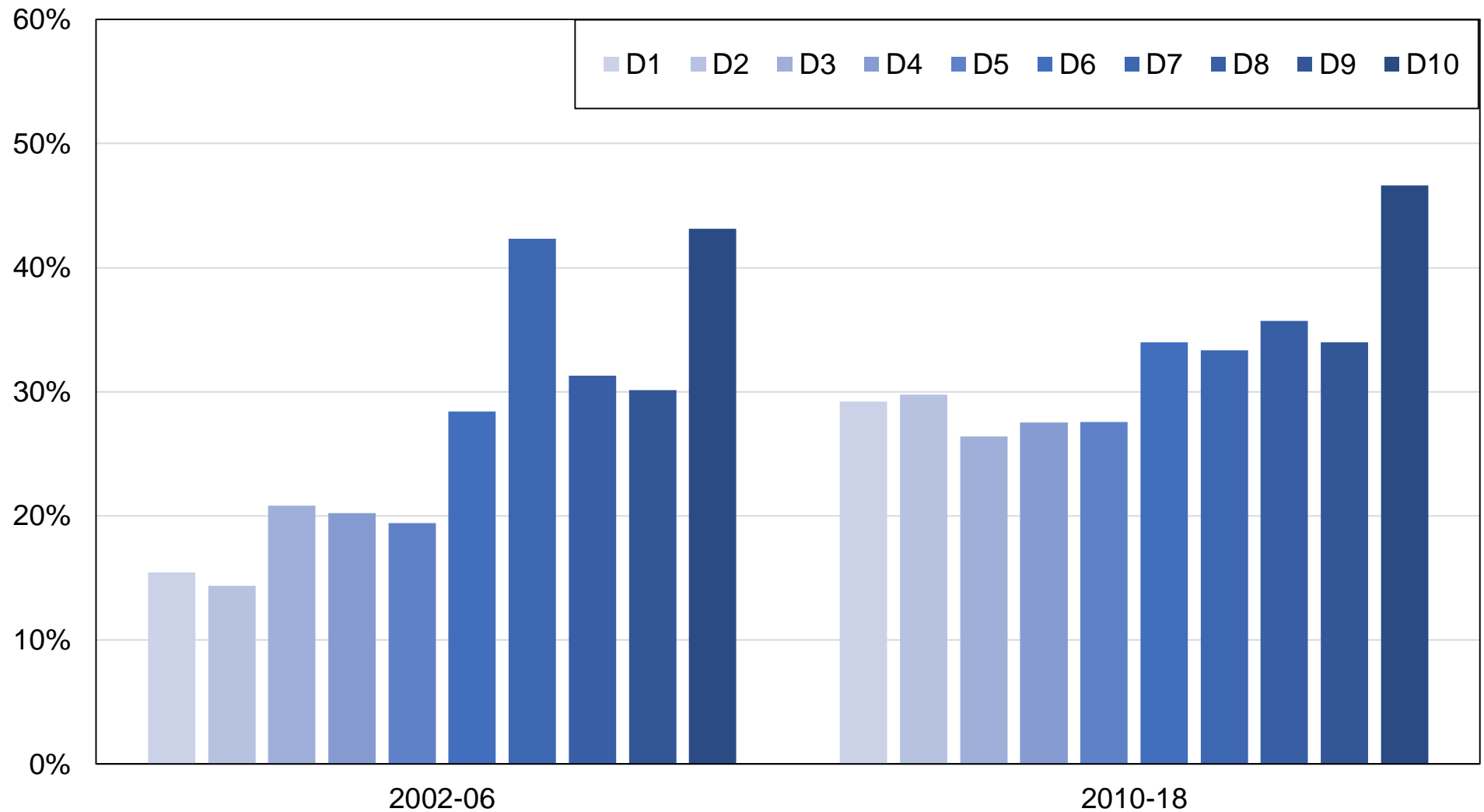
Figure CC19 - Vote for PAC by education group



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

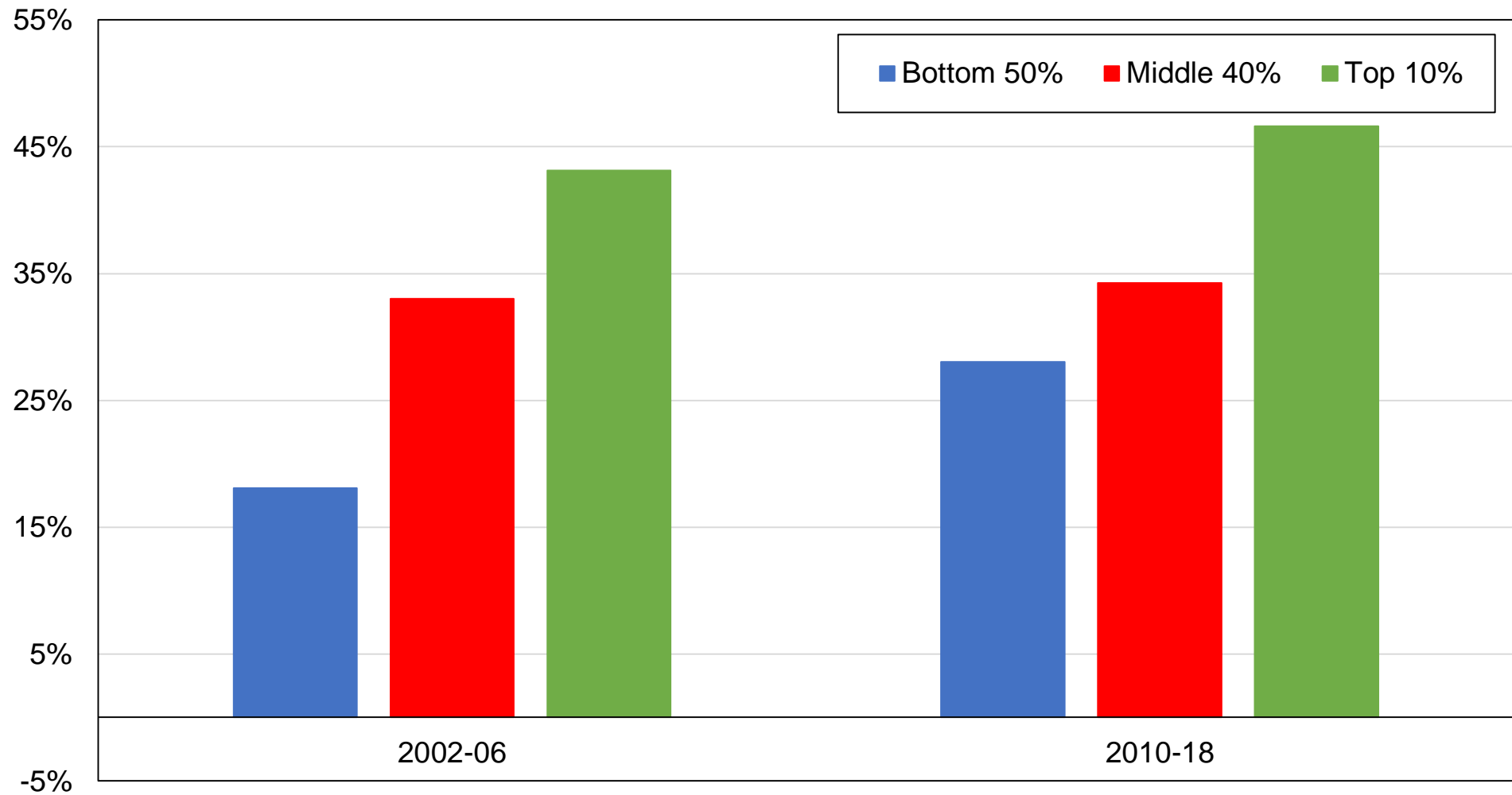
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PAC by education group.

Figure CC20 - Vote for PAC by income decile



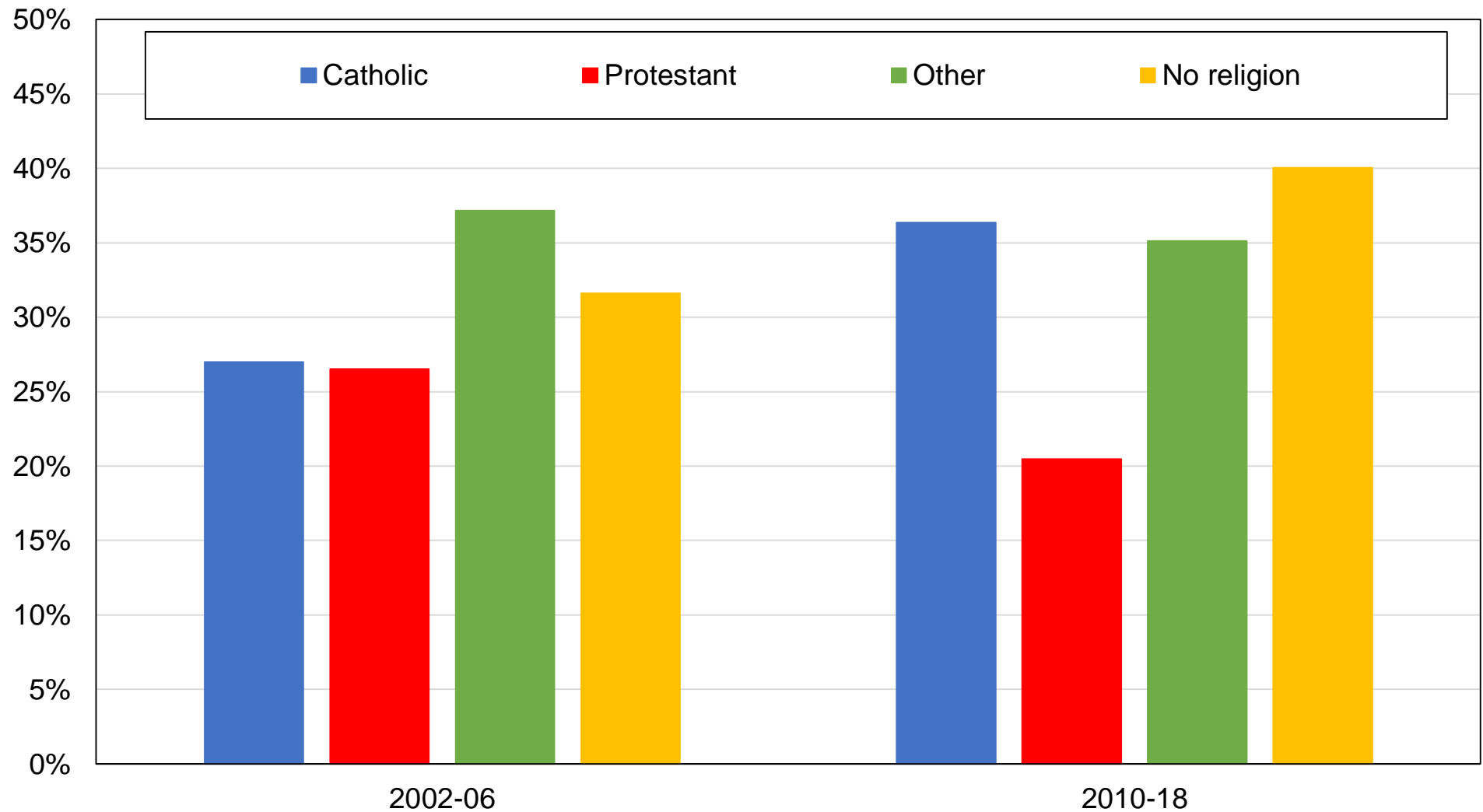
Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PAC by income decile.

Figure CC21 - Vote for PAC by income group



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PAC by income group.

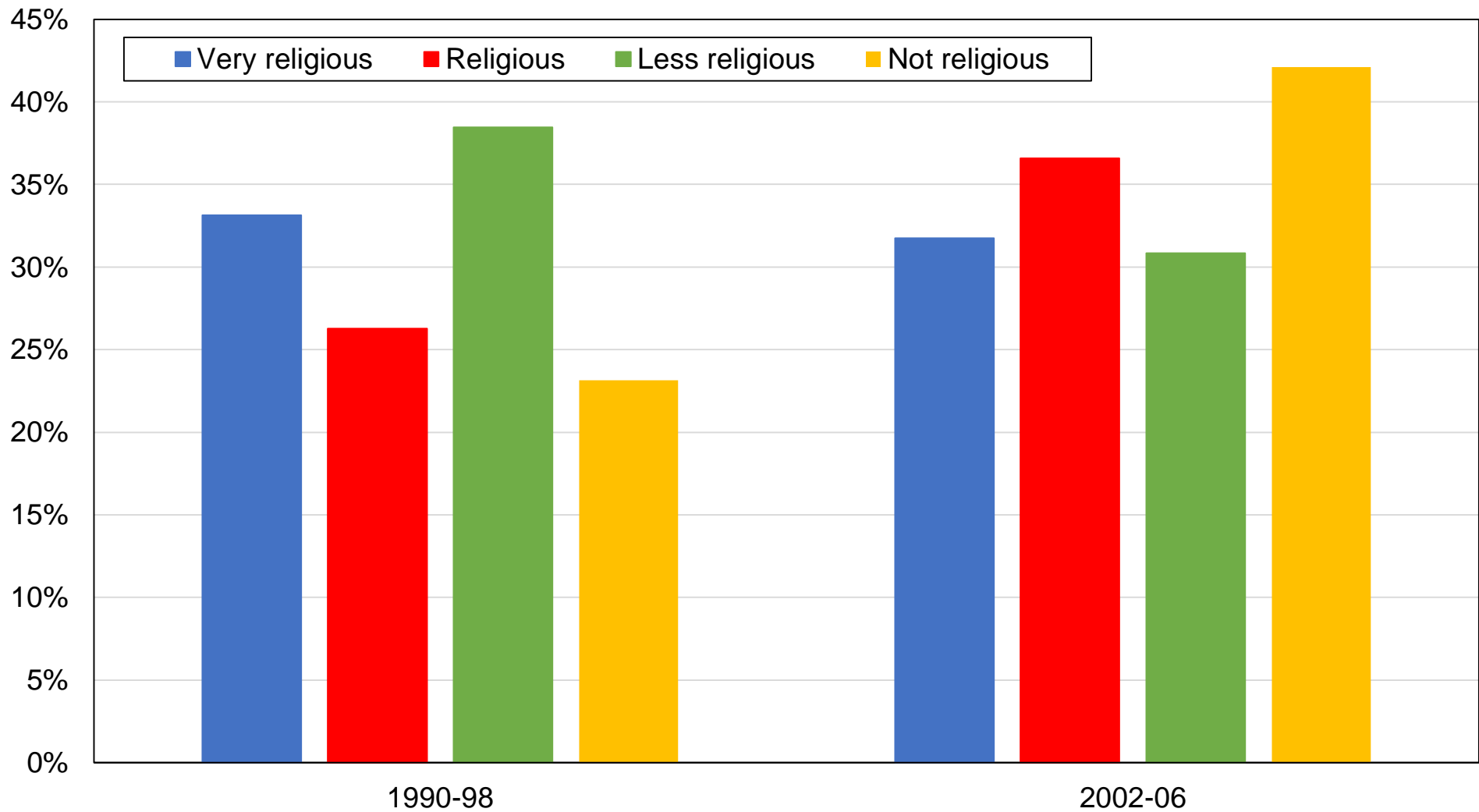
Figure CC22 - Vote for PAC by religious affiliation



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

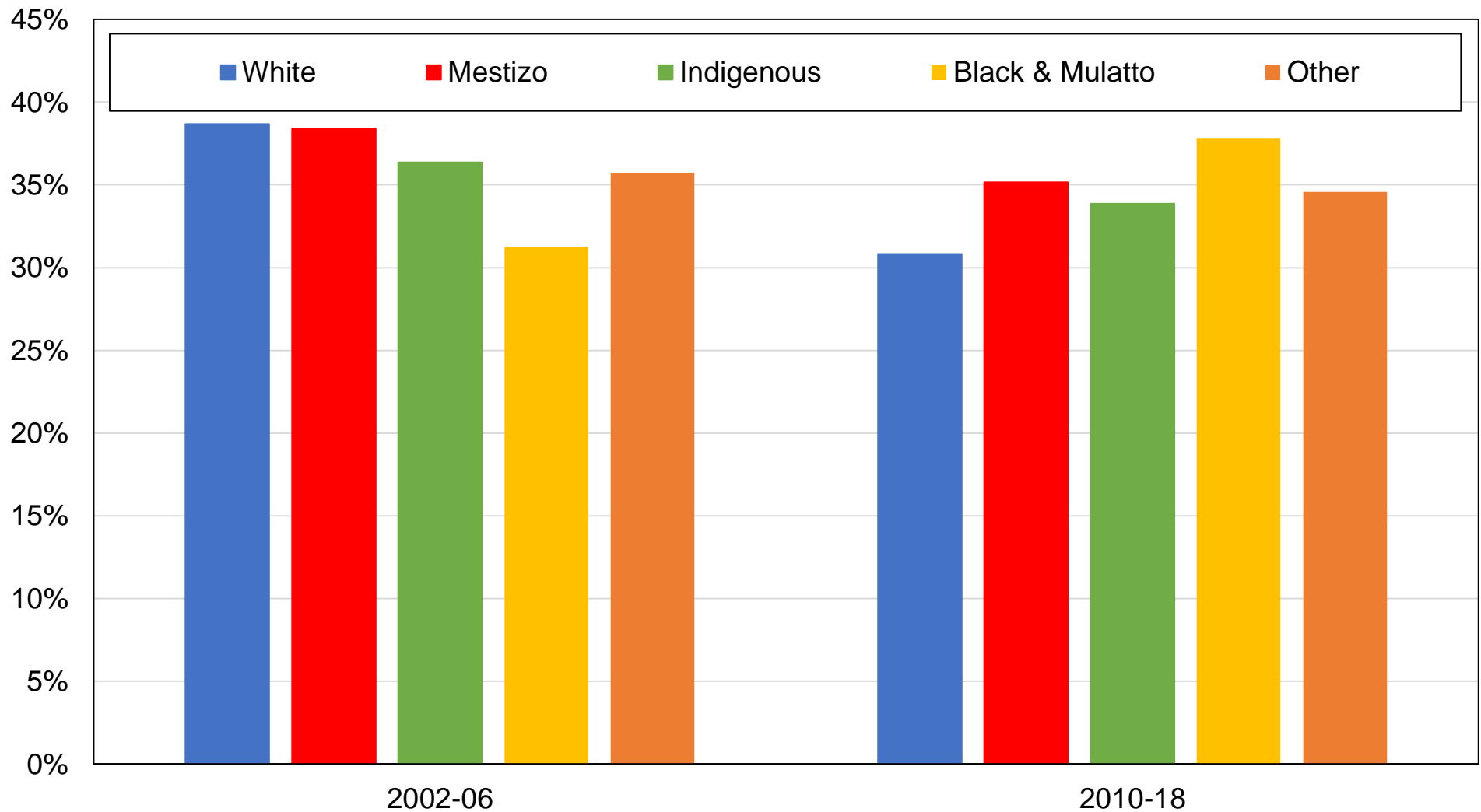
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PAC by religious affiliation.

Figure CC23 - Vote for PAC by religiosity



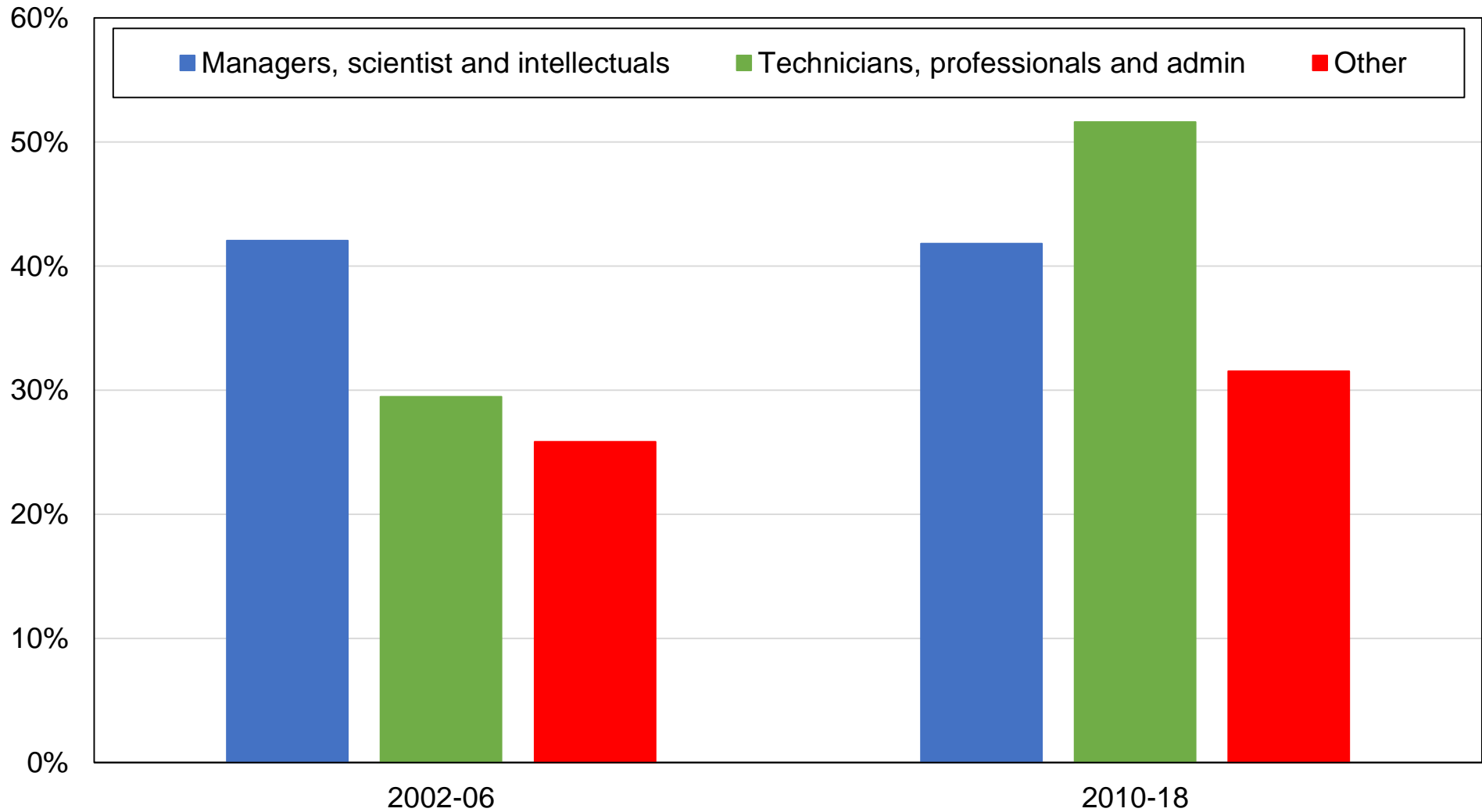
Source: authors' computations using Costa Rica political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PAC by religiosity.

Figure CC24 - Vote for PAC by ethnicity



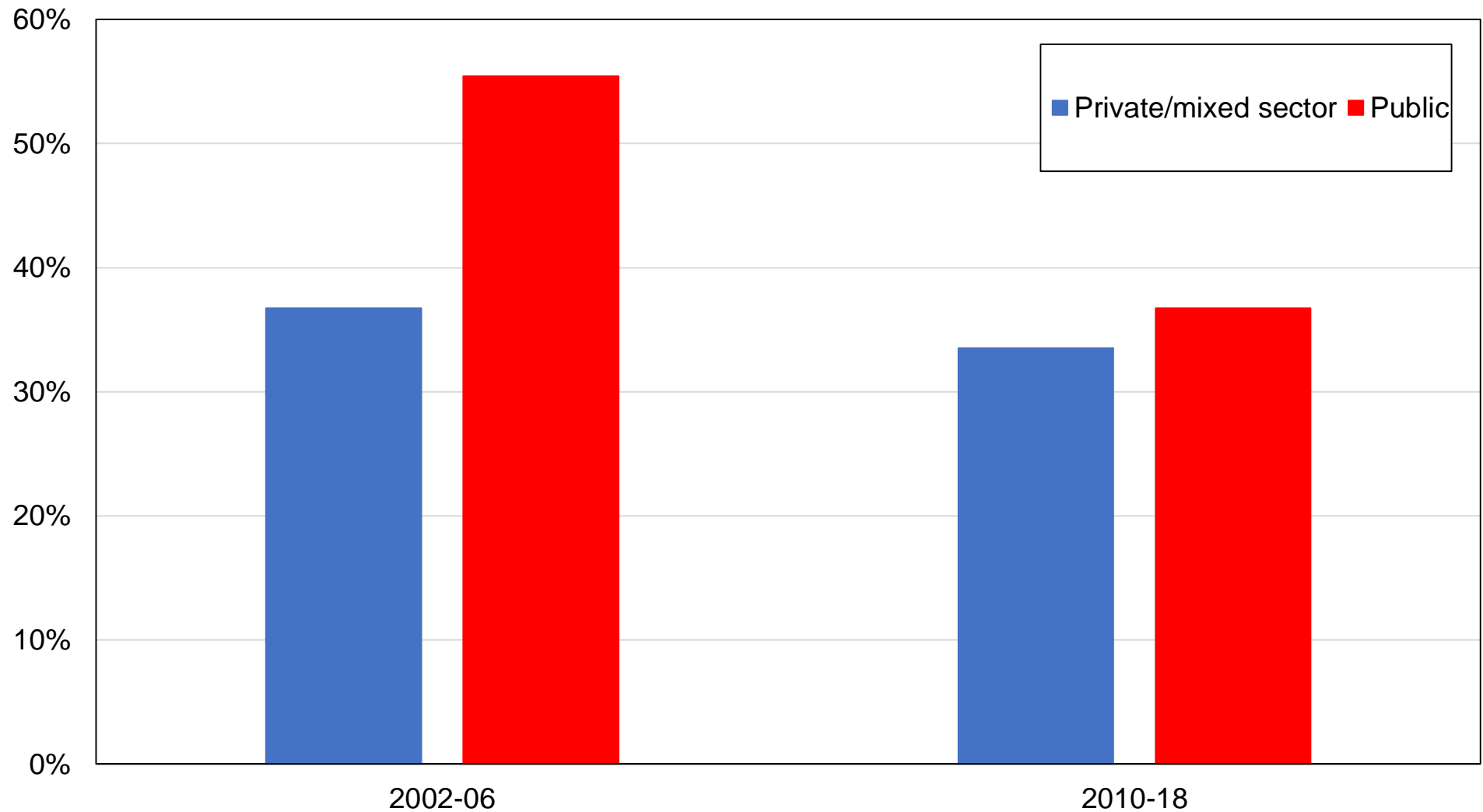
Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PAC by ethnicity.

Figure CC25 - Vote for PAC by occupation



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PAC by occupation.

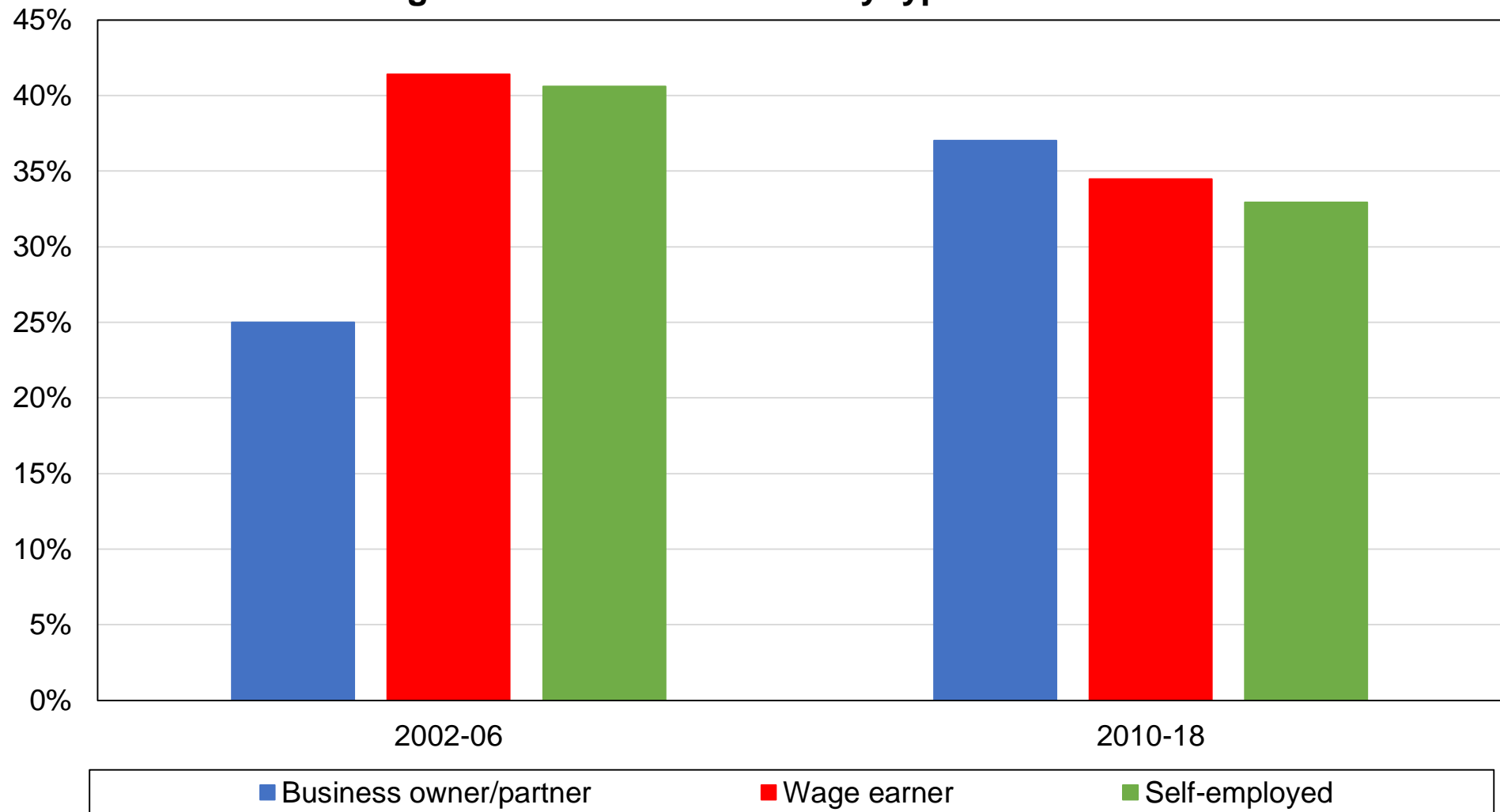
Figure CC26 - Vote for PAC by sector of employment



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

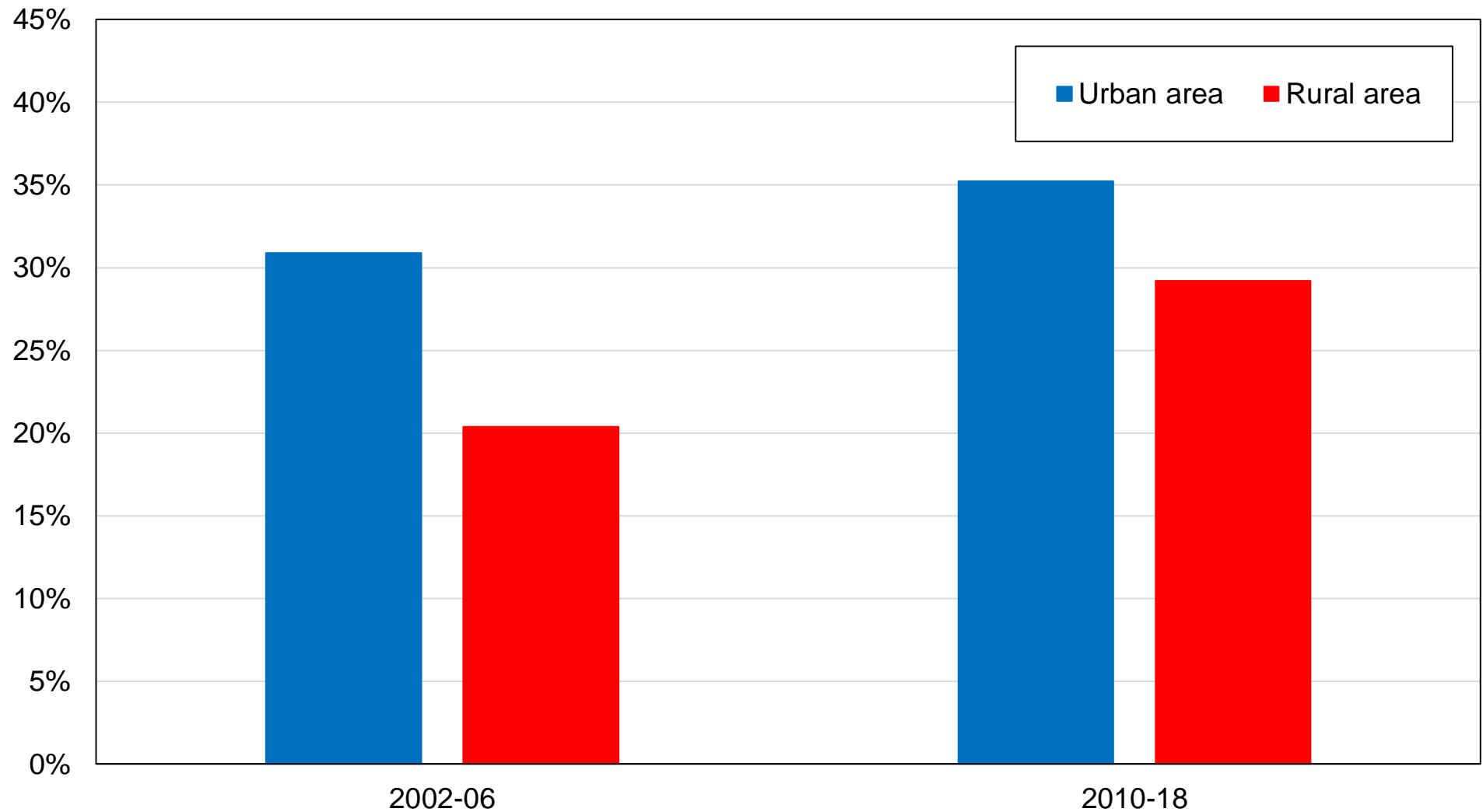
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PAC by sector of employment.

Figure CC27 - Vote for PAC by type of worker



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PAC by type of worker.

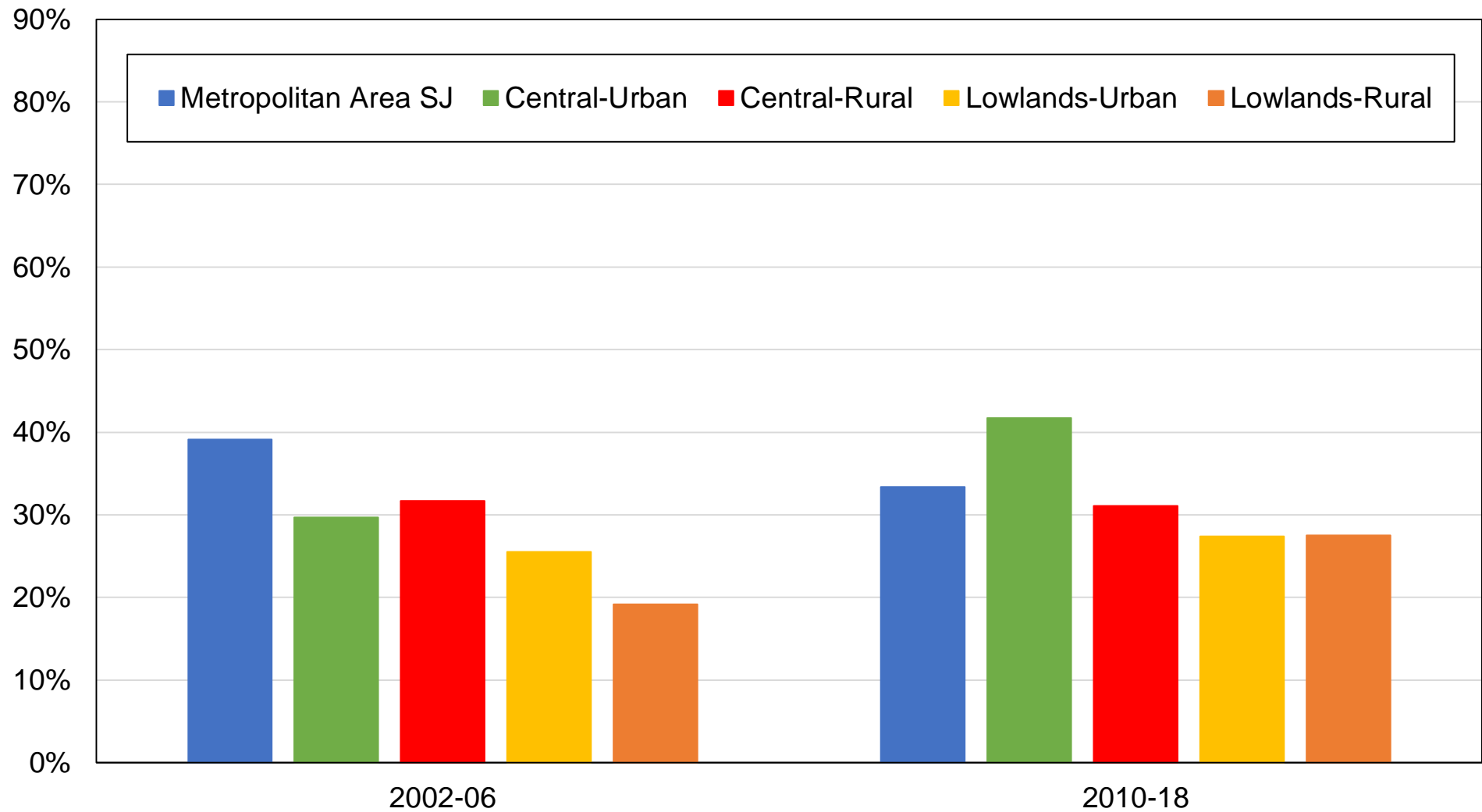
Figure CC28 - Vote for PAC by location



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PAC by rural-urban location.

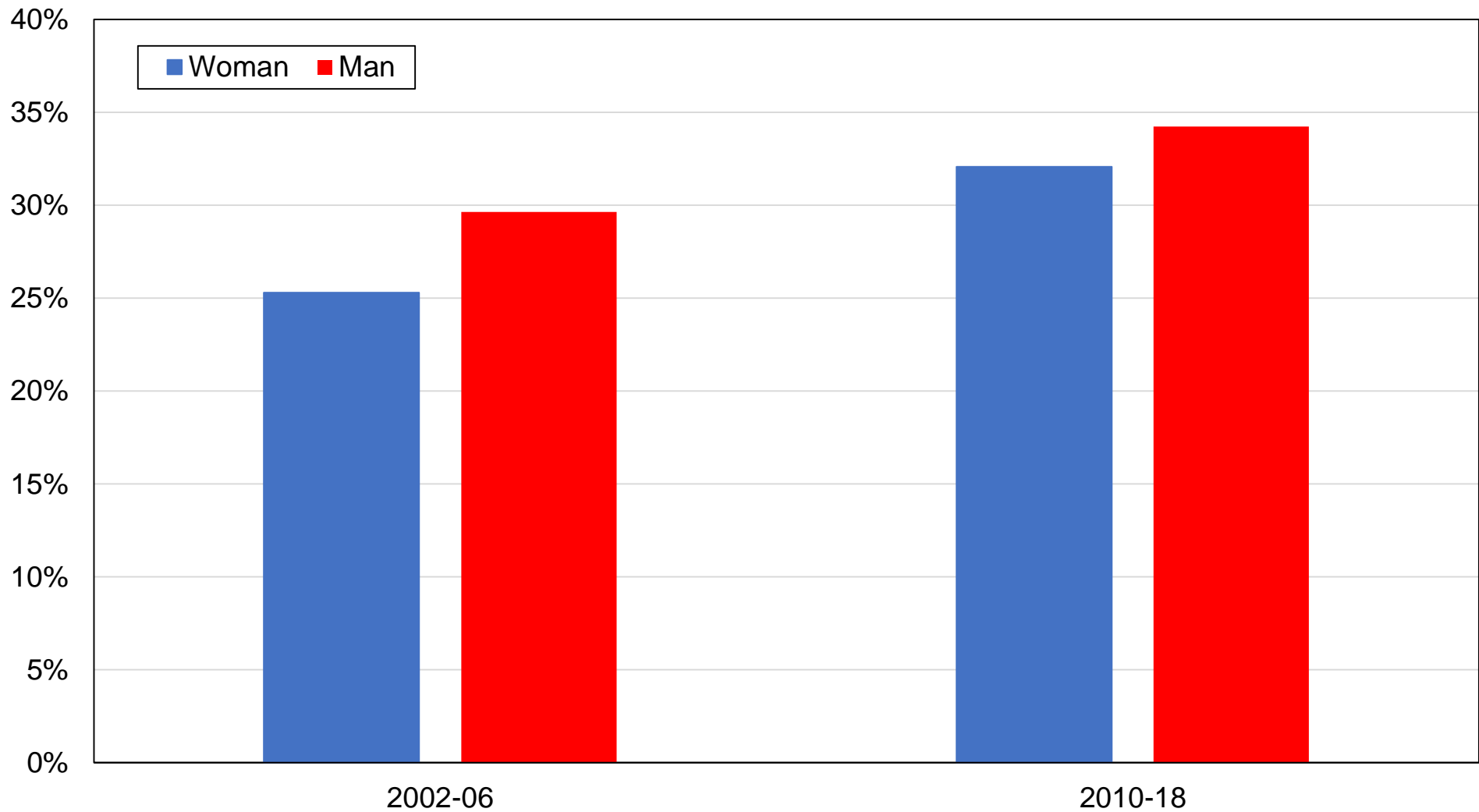
Figure CC29 - Vote for PAC by region



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

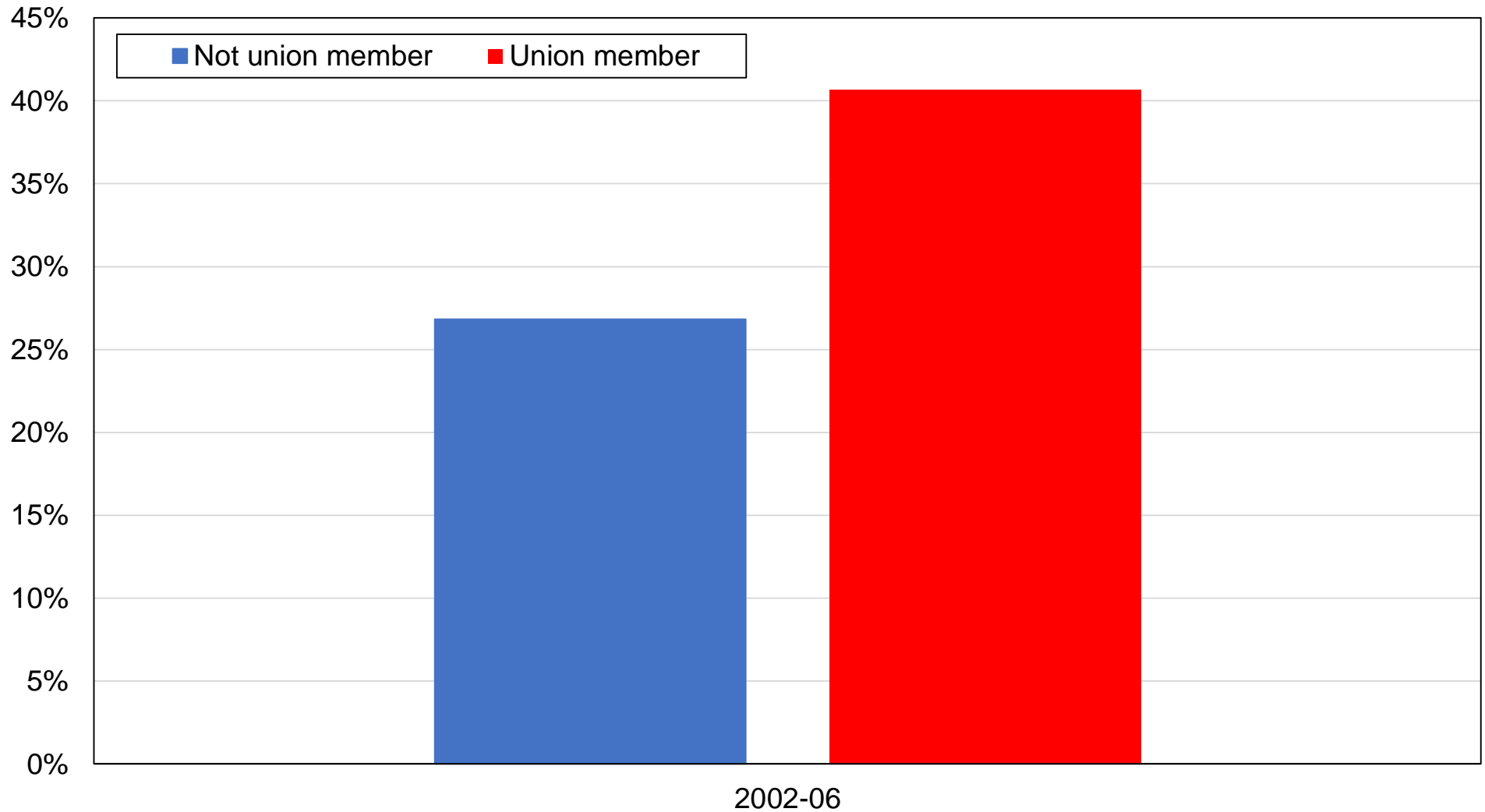
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PAC parties by region of residence.

Figure CC30 - Vote for PAC by gender



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

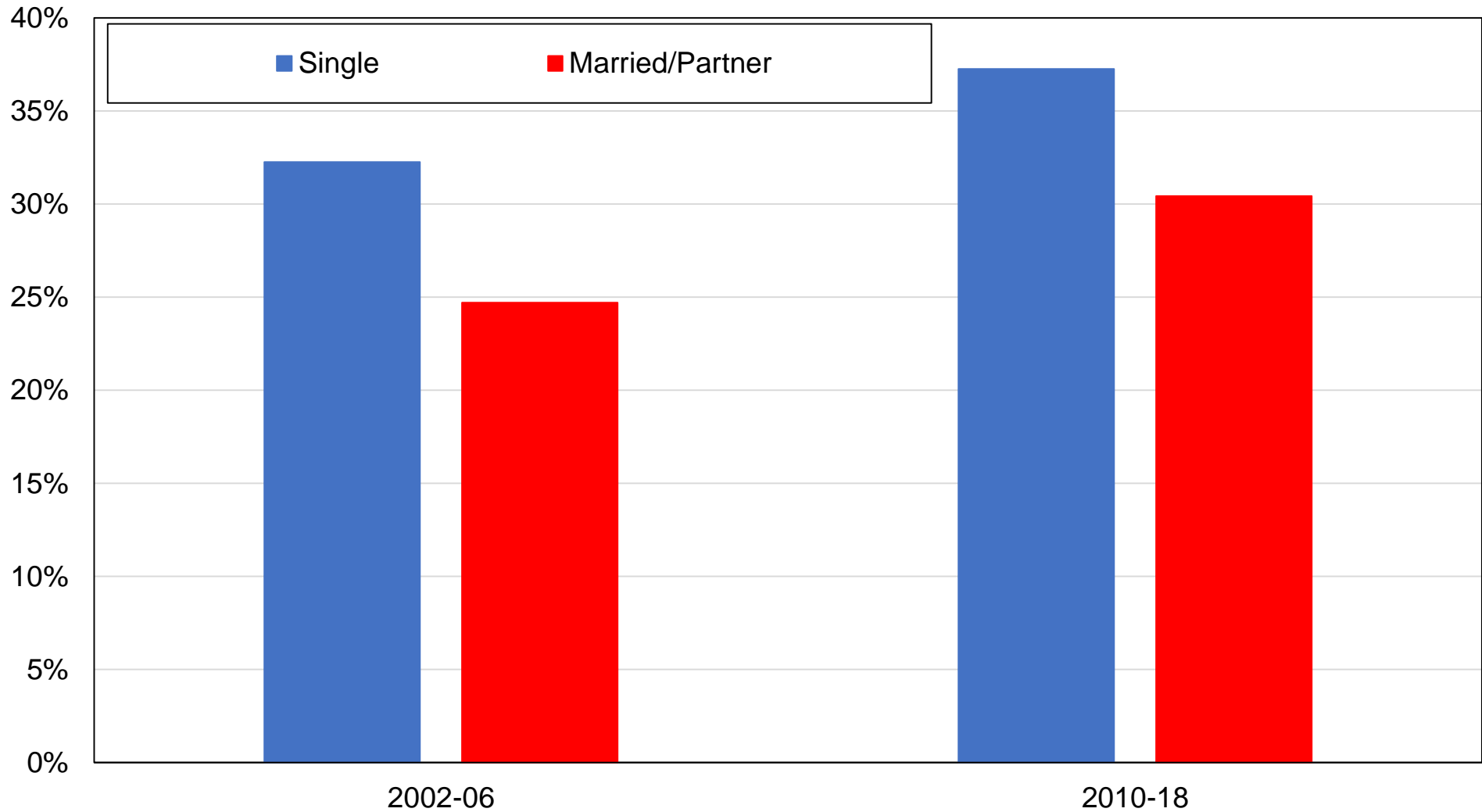
Figure CC31 - Vote for PAC by union membership



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

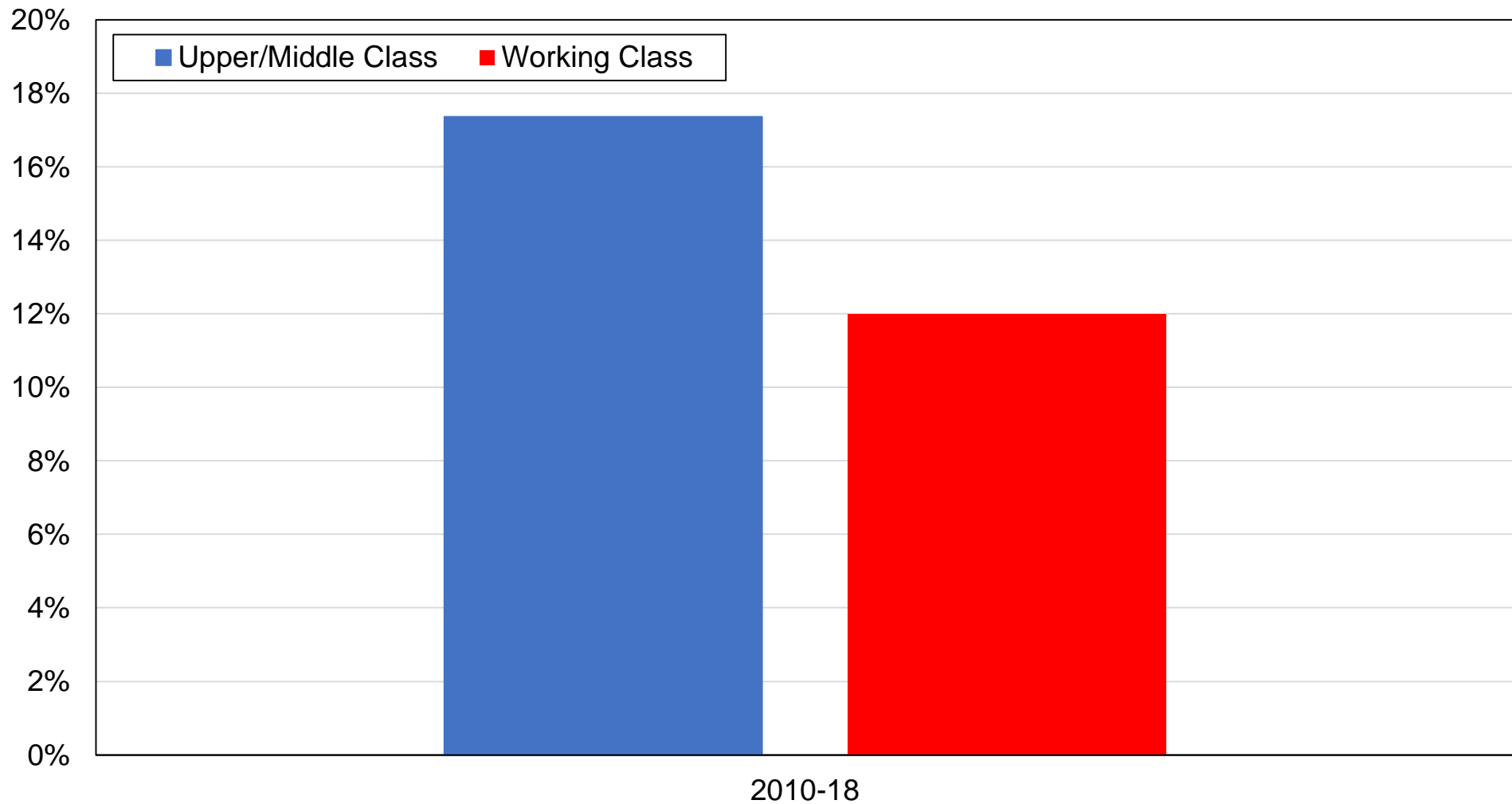
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PAC by union membership status.

Figure CC32 - Vote for PAC by marital status



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PAC by marital status.

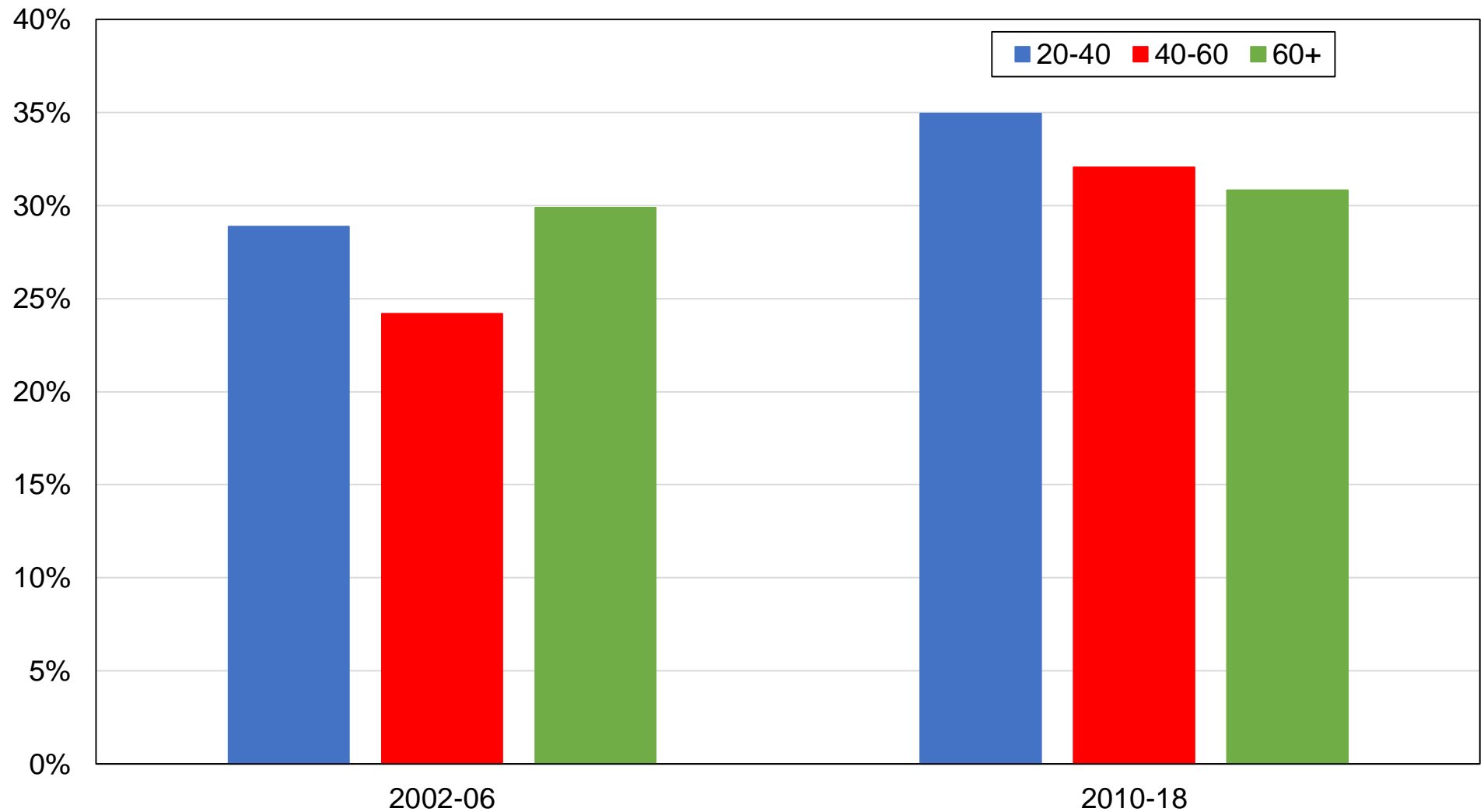
Figure CC33 - Vote for PAC by perceived social class



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PAC by self-perceived social class. Working class includes "lower class". Middle class includes "no class".

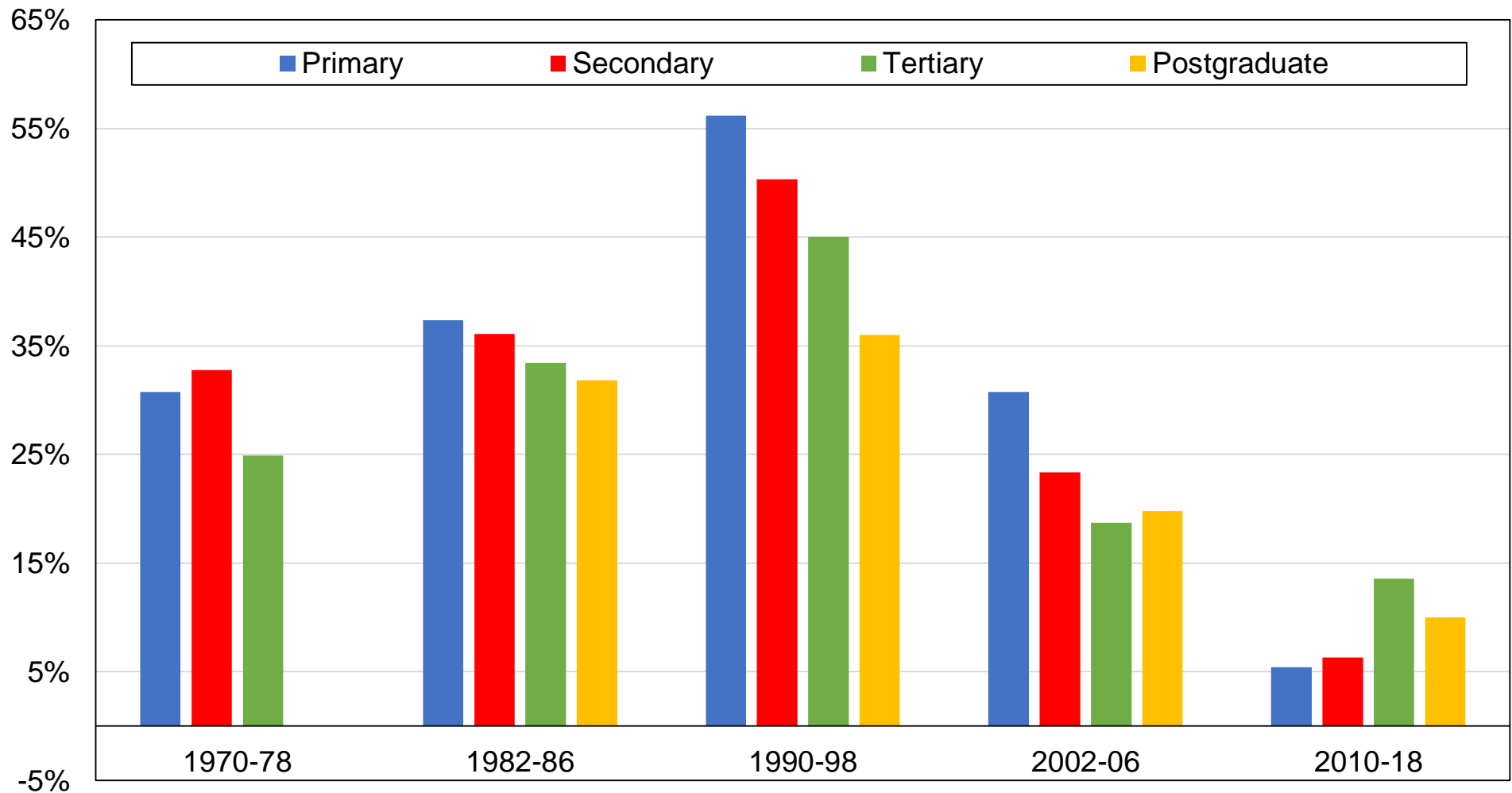
Figure CC34 - Vote for PAC by age group



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

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

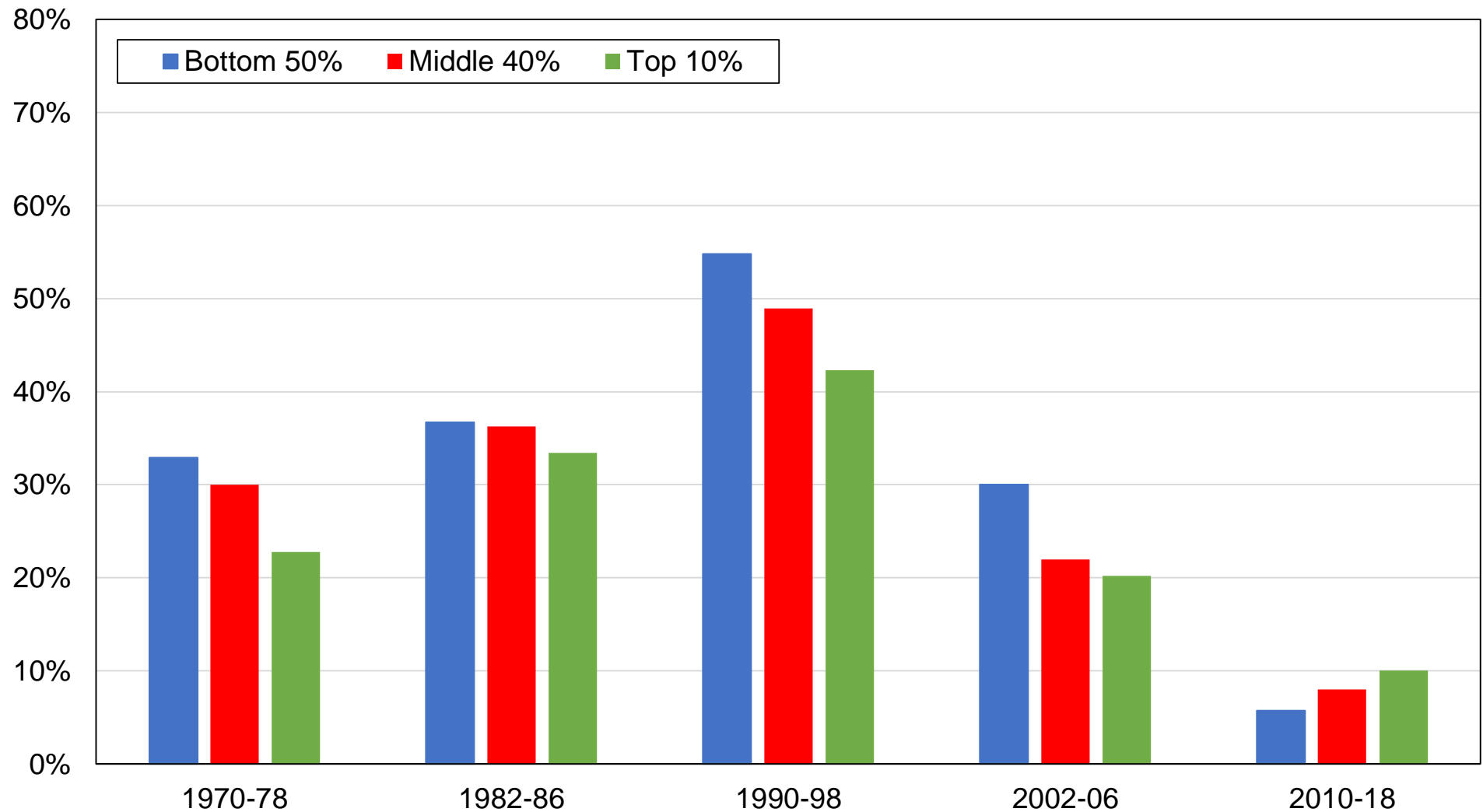
Figure CC35 - Vote for PUSC by education level



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

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

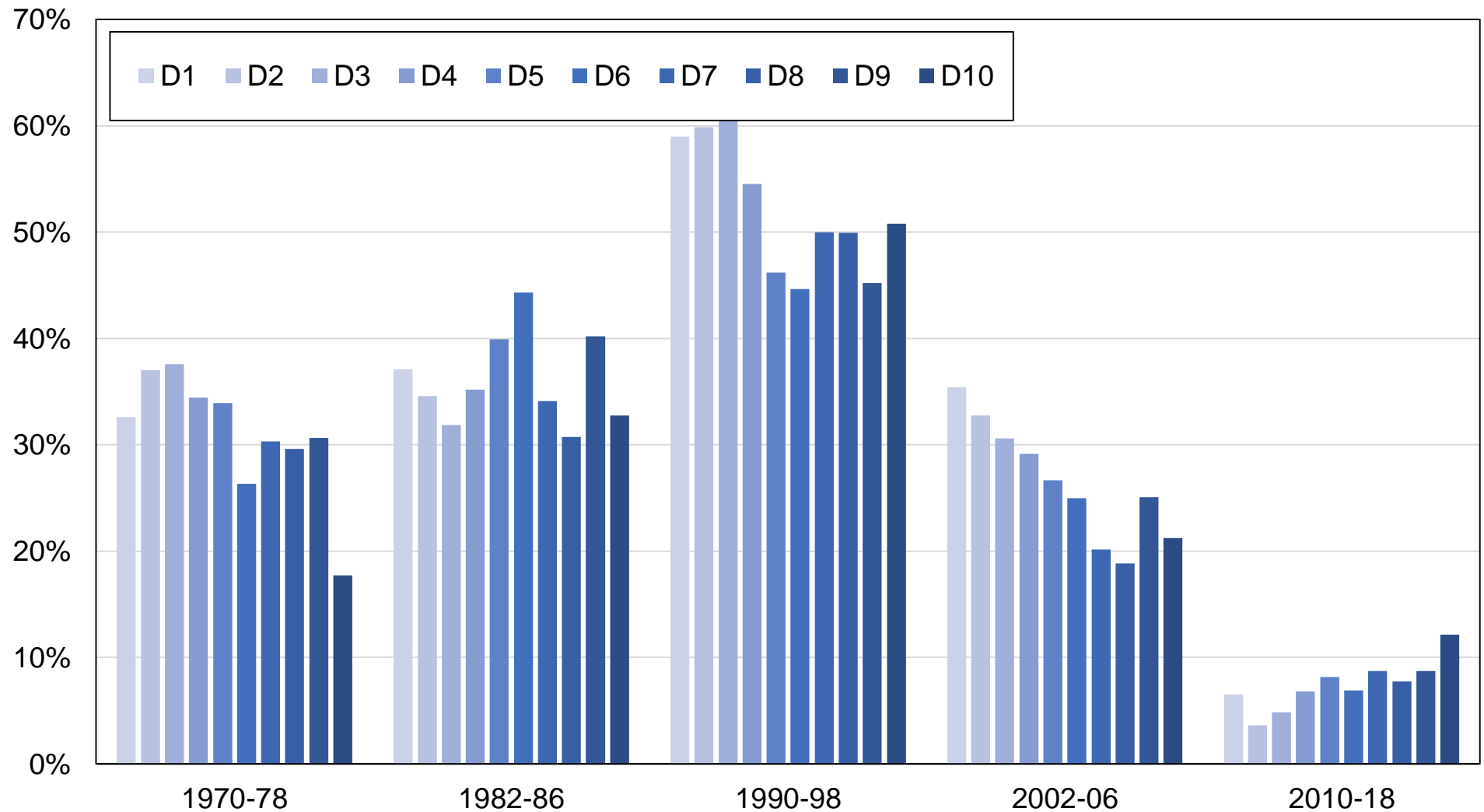
Figure CC36 - Vote for PUSC by education group



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

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

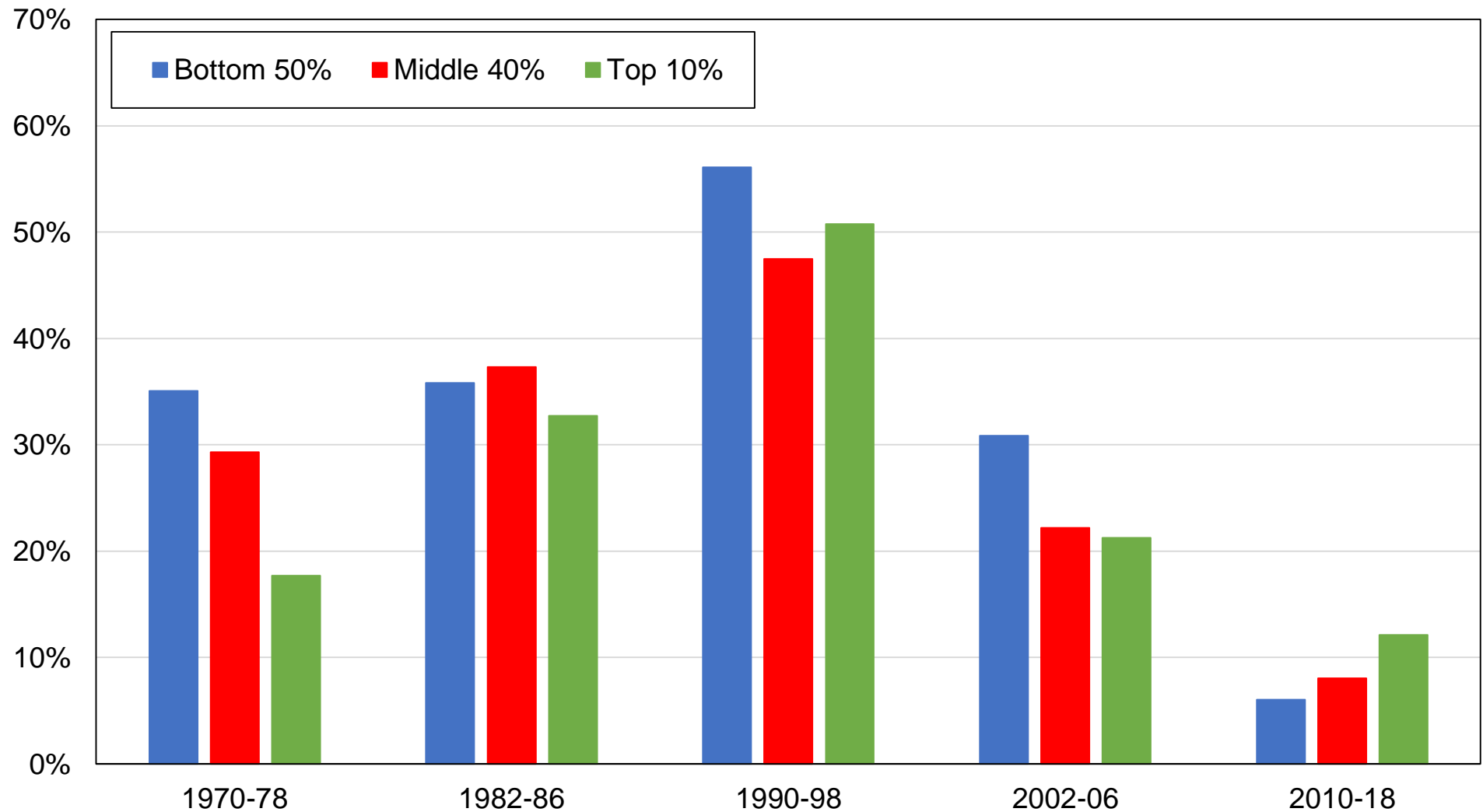
Figure CC37 - Vote for PUSC by income decile



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

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

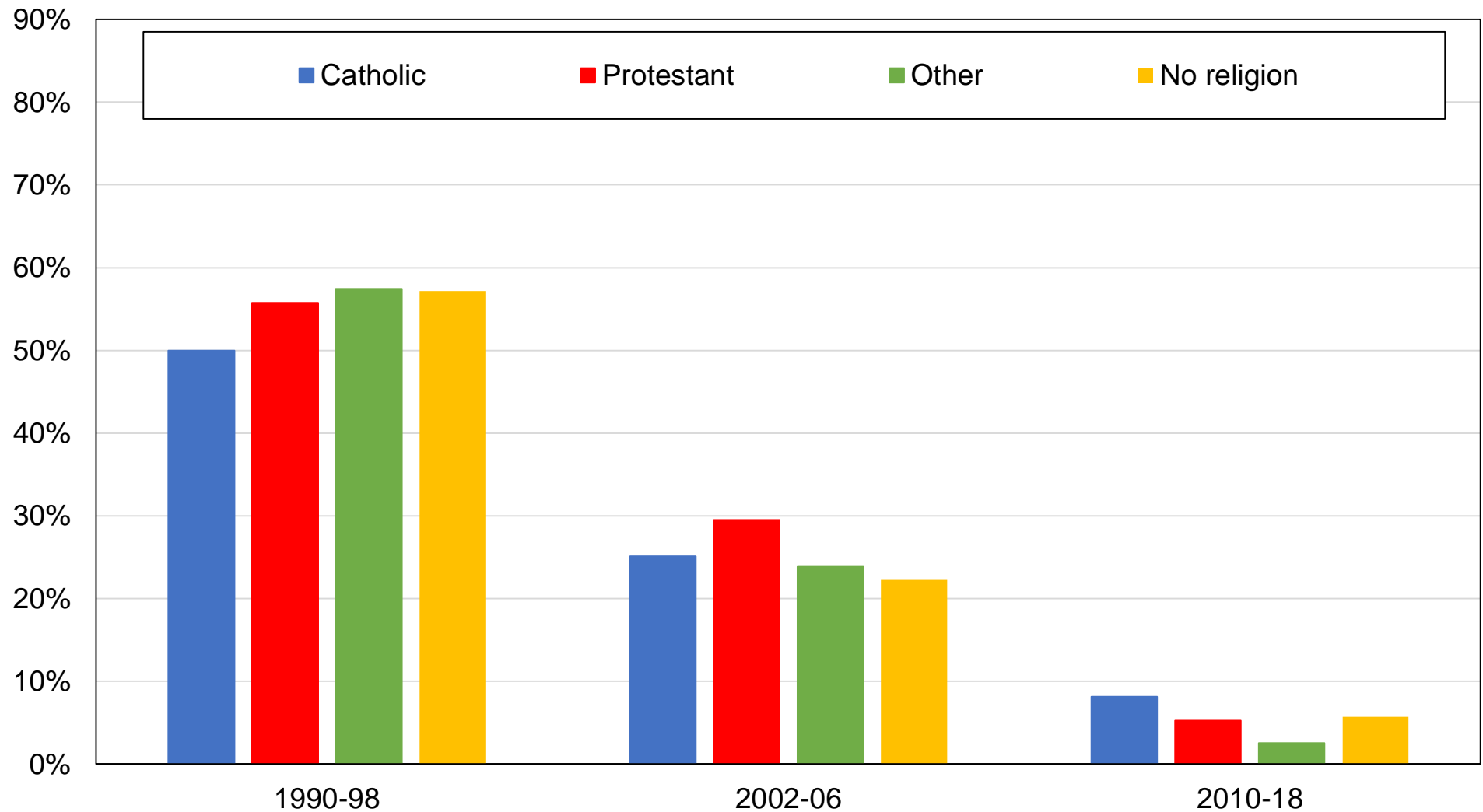
Figure CC38 - Vote for PUSC by income group



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

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

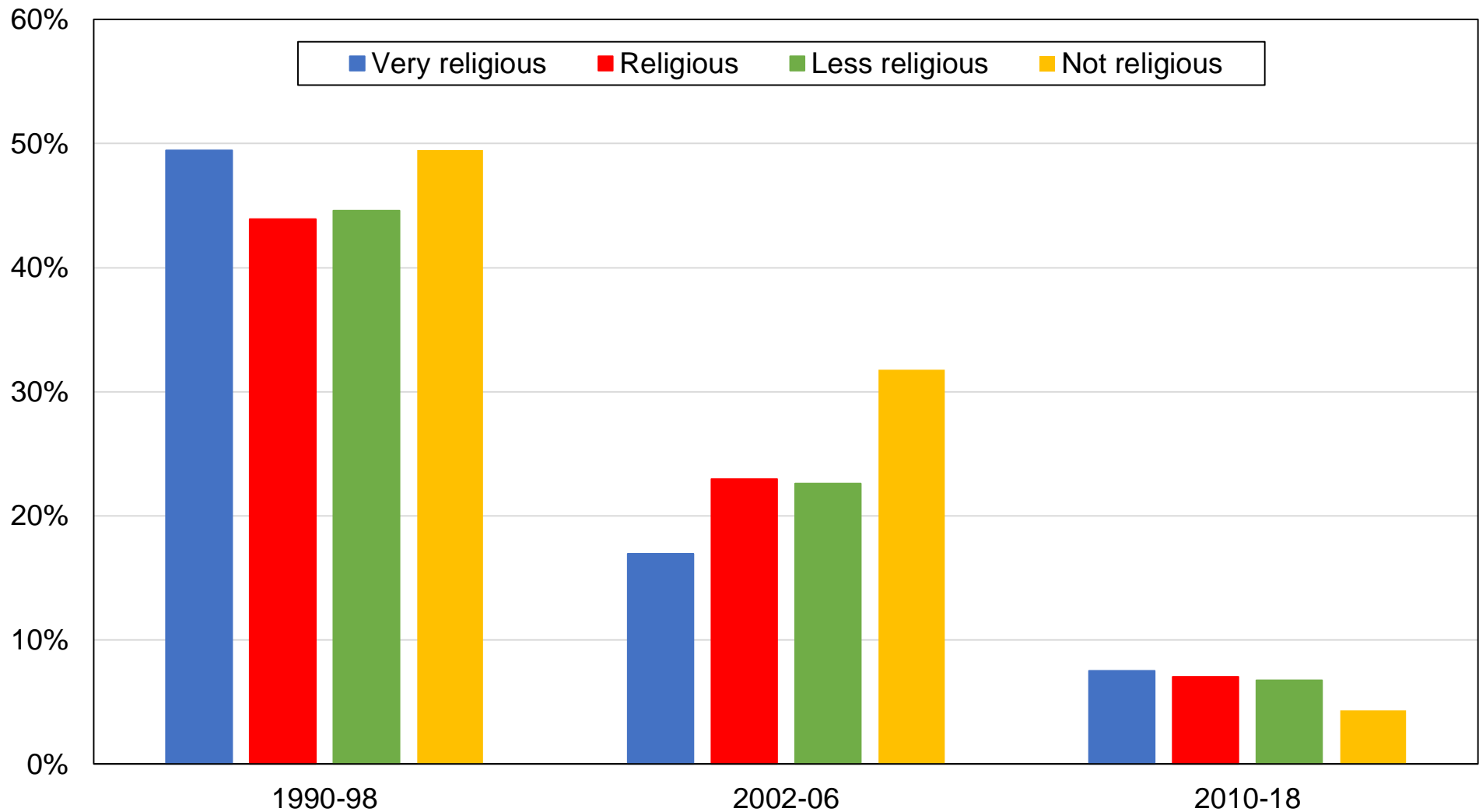
Figure CC39 - Vote for PUSC by religious affiliation



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

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

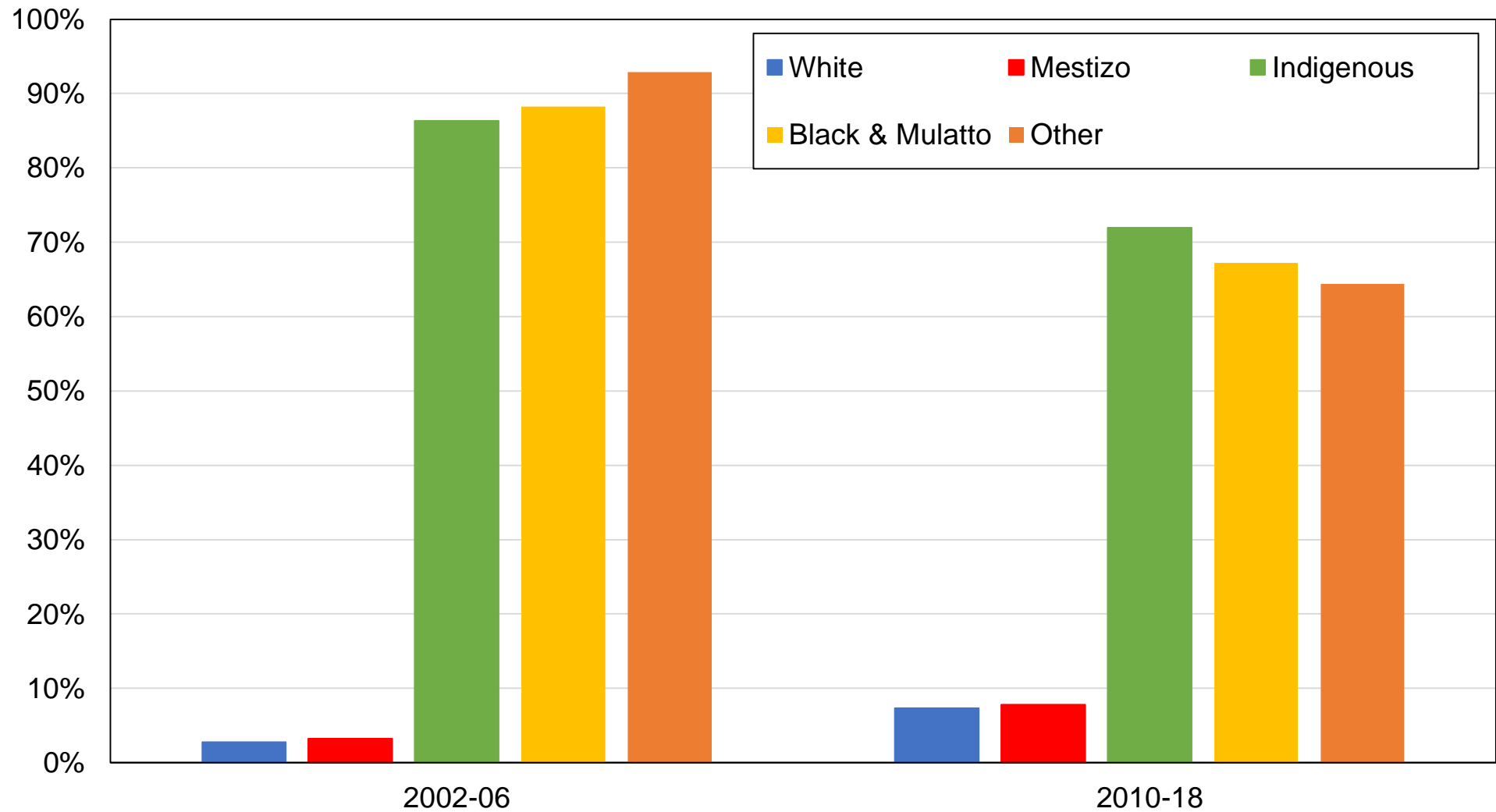
Figure CC40 - Vote for PUSC by church attendance



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

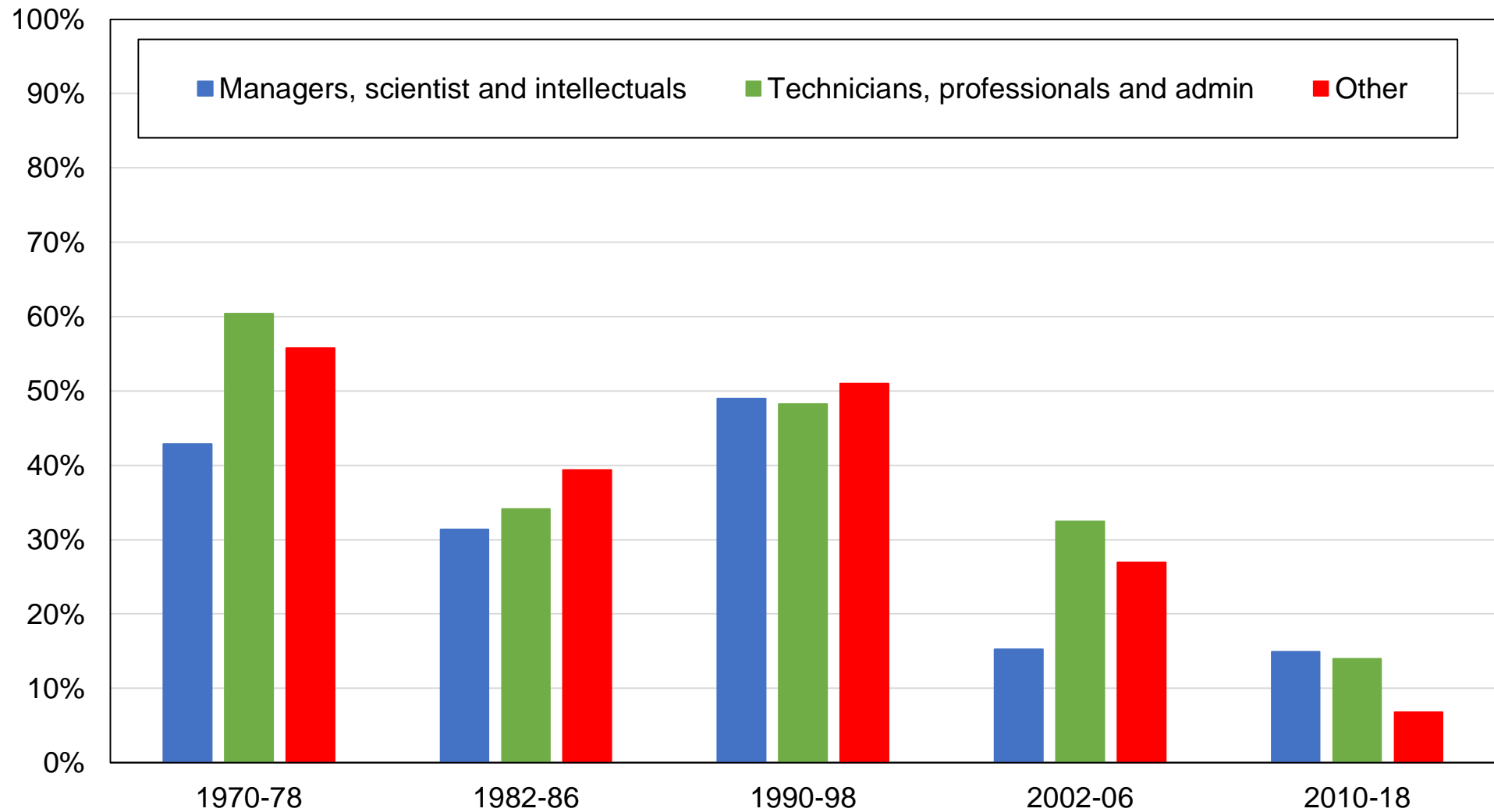
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PUSC by frequency of church attendance.

Figure CC41 - Vote for PUSC by ethnicity



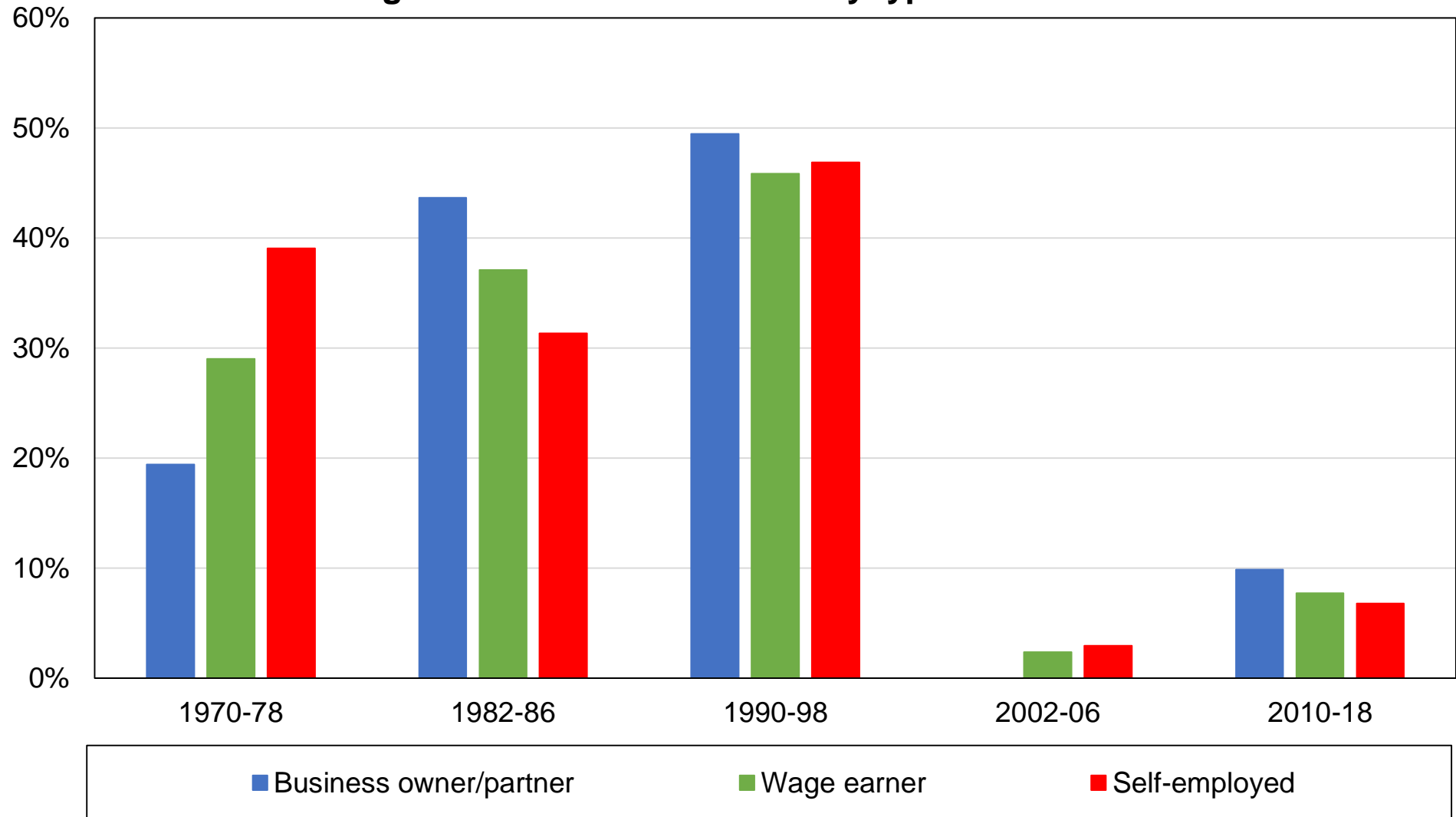
Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received PUSC by ethnicity.

Figure CC42 - Vote for PUSC by occupation



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PUSC by occupation.

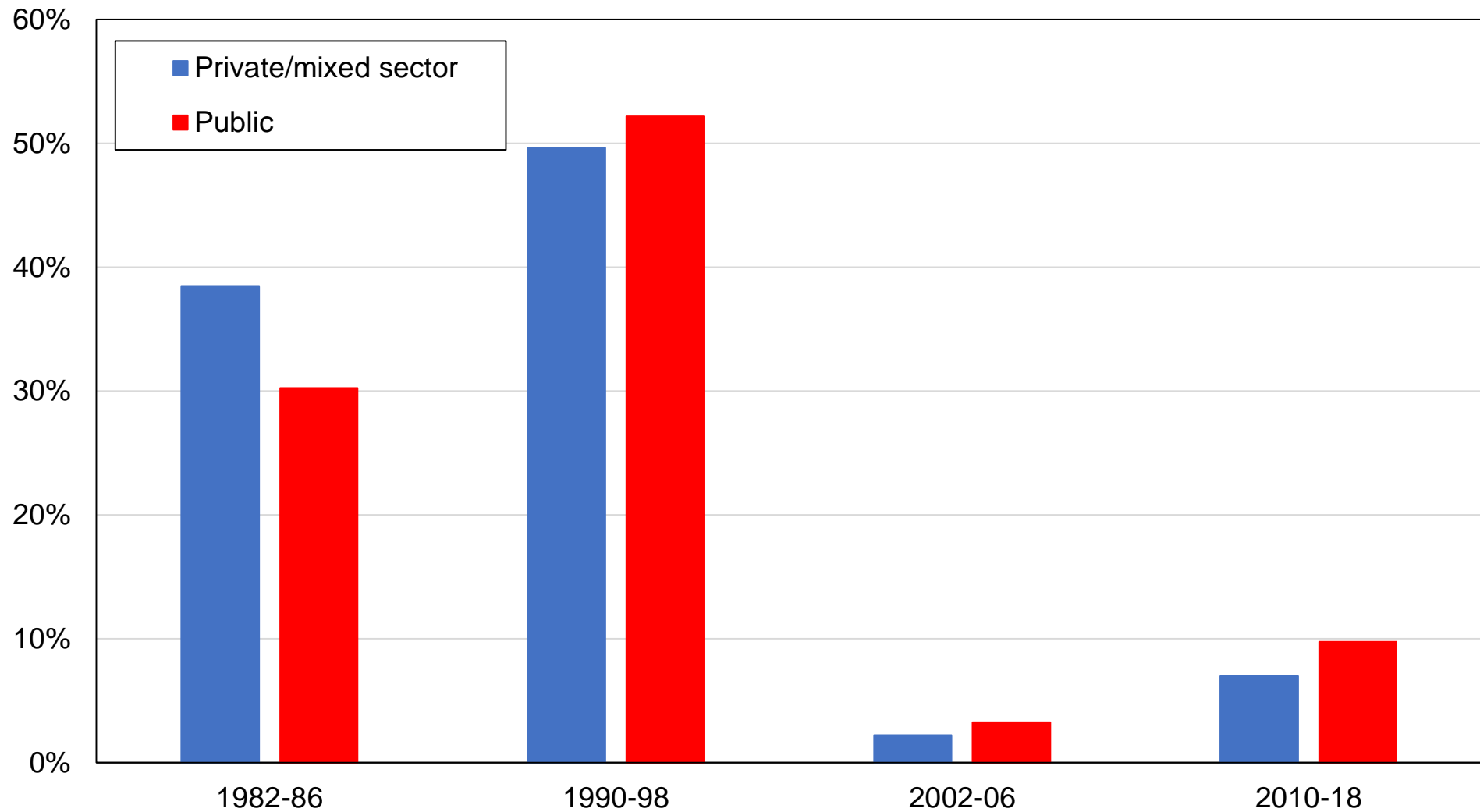
Figure CC43 - Vote for PUSC by type of worker



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PUSC by type of worker.

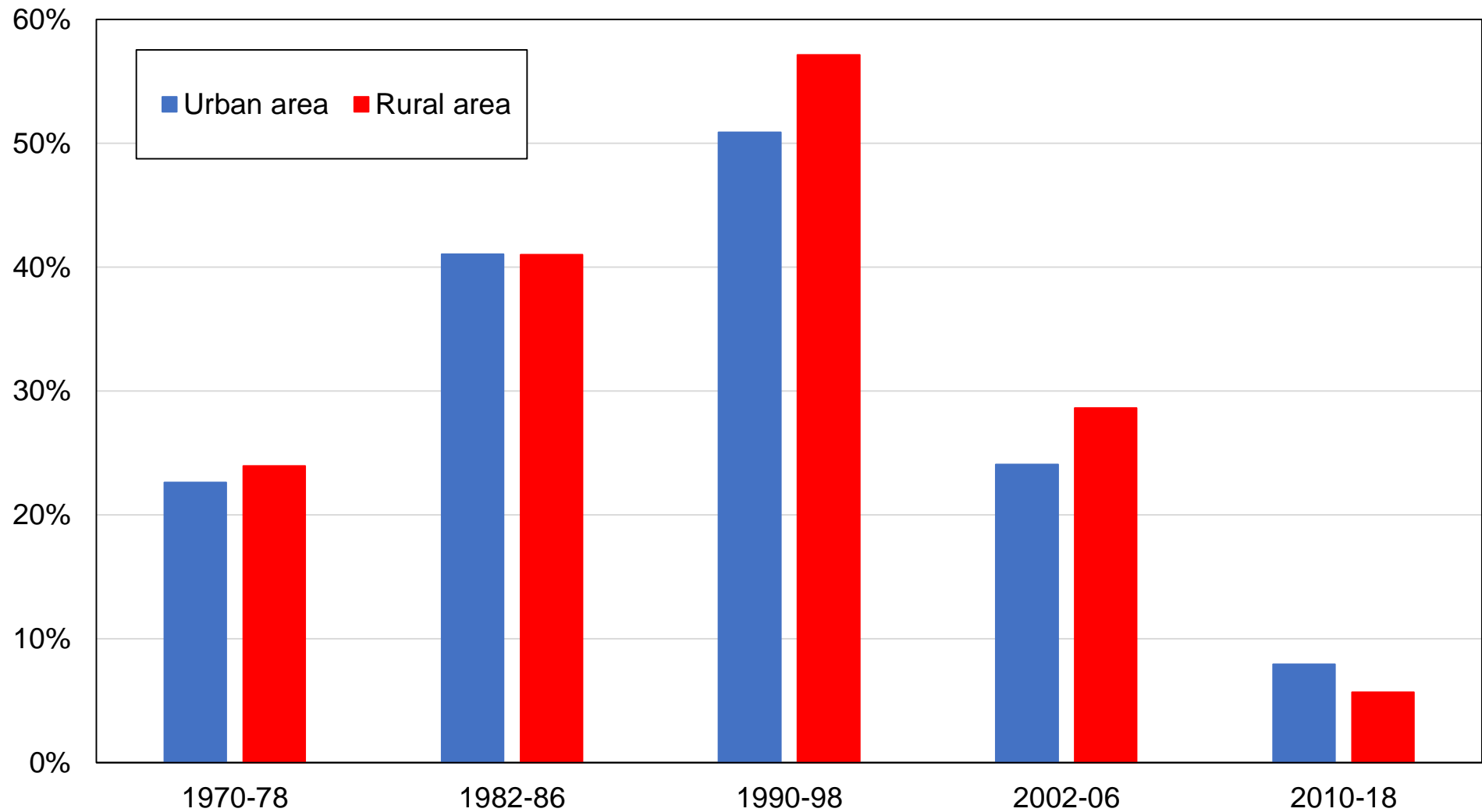
Figure CC44 - Vote for PUSC by sector of employment



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PUSC by sector of employment.

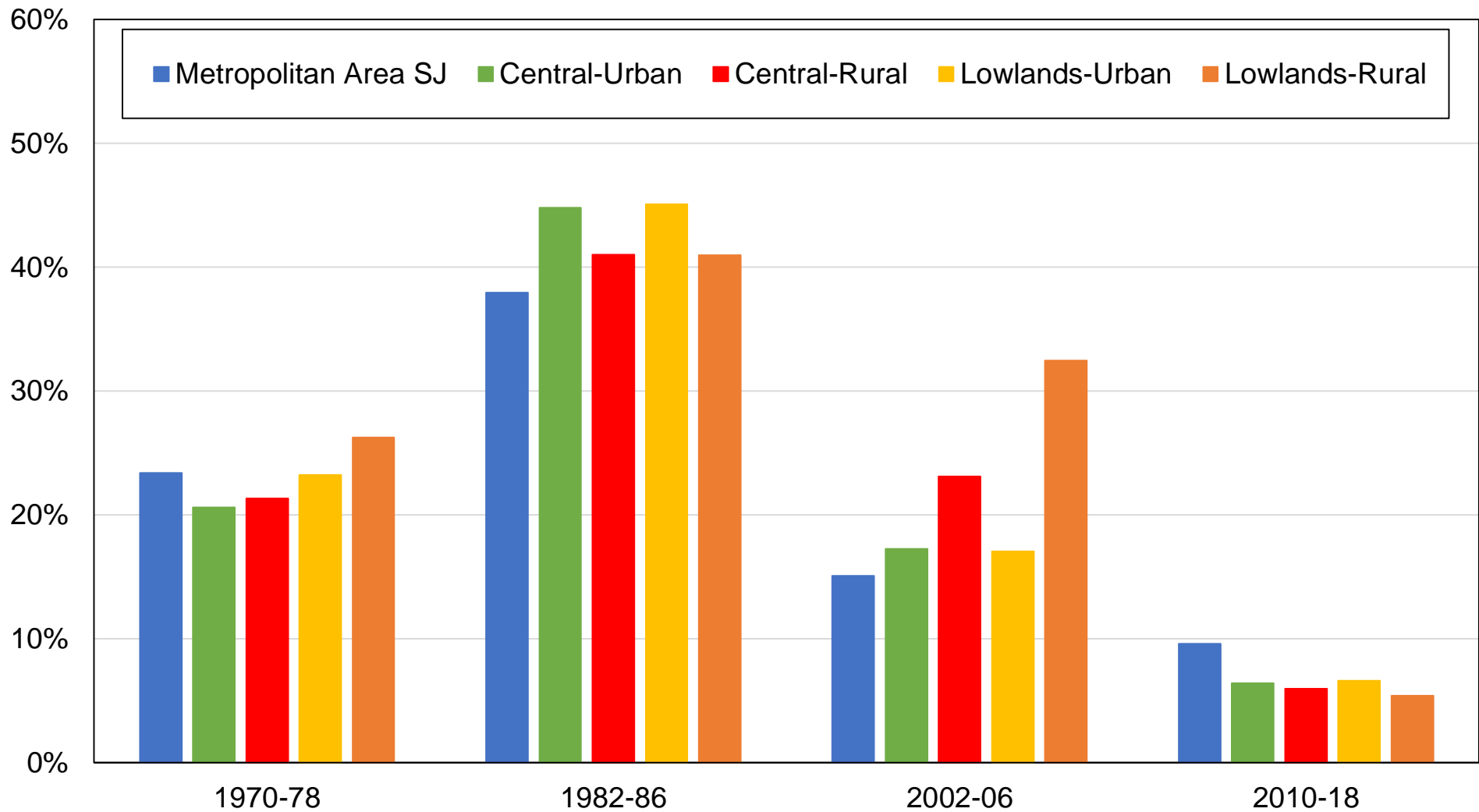
Figure CC45 - Vote for PUSC by location, 1970-2018



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PUSC by rural-urban location.

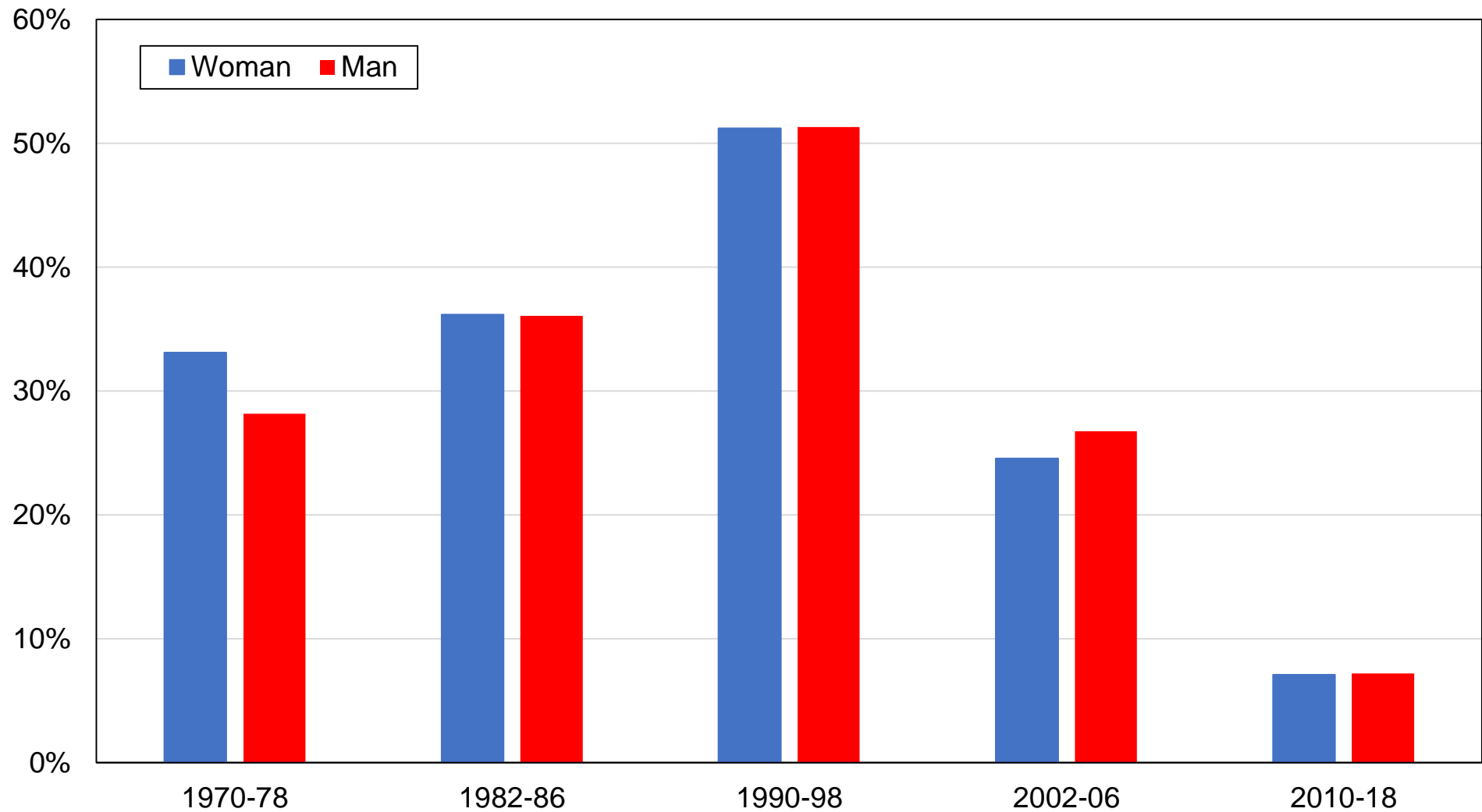
Figure CC46 - Vote for PUSC by region



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

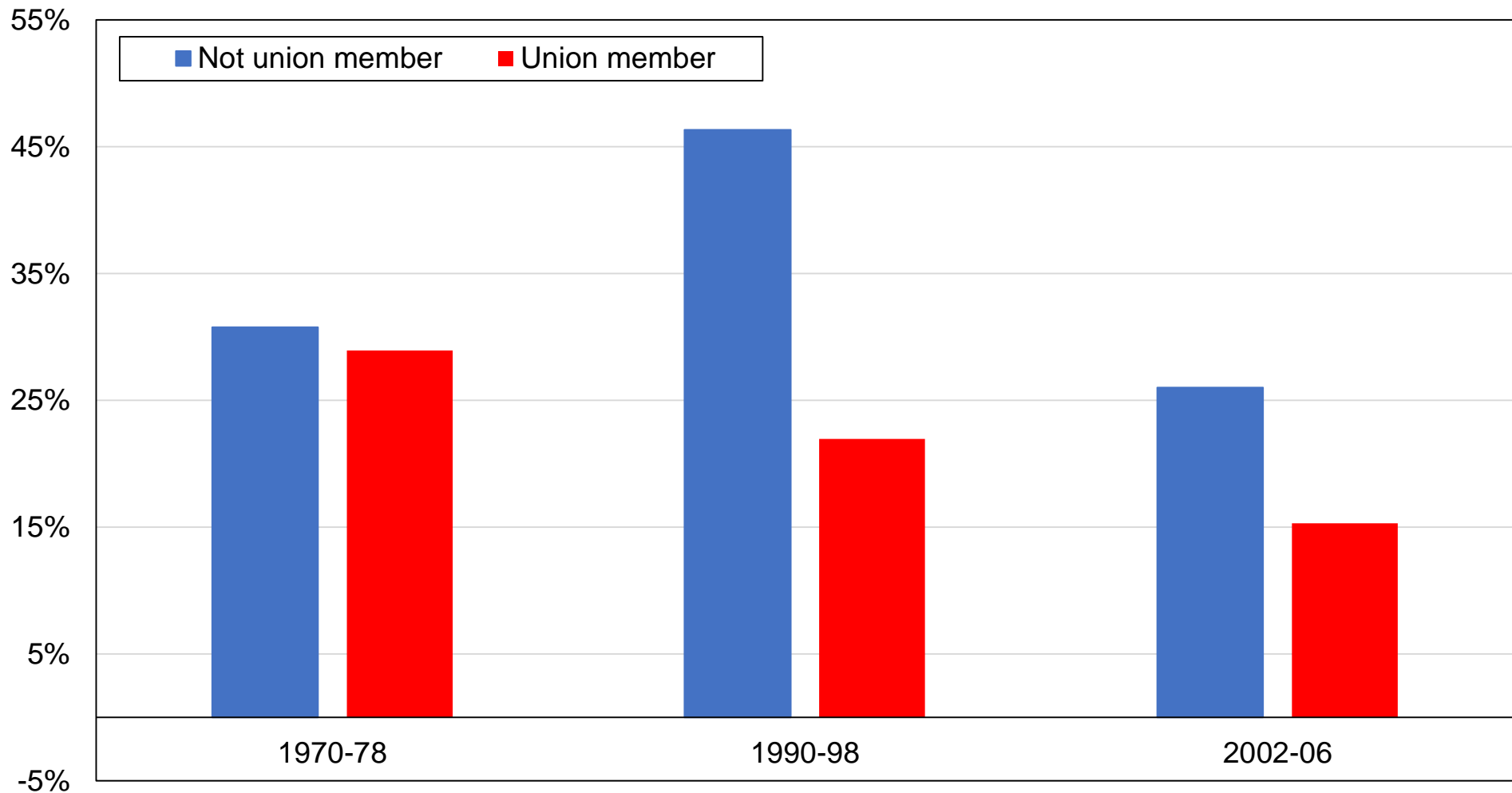
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received PUSC by region of residence.

Figure CC47 - Vote for PUSC by gender



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

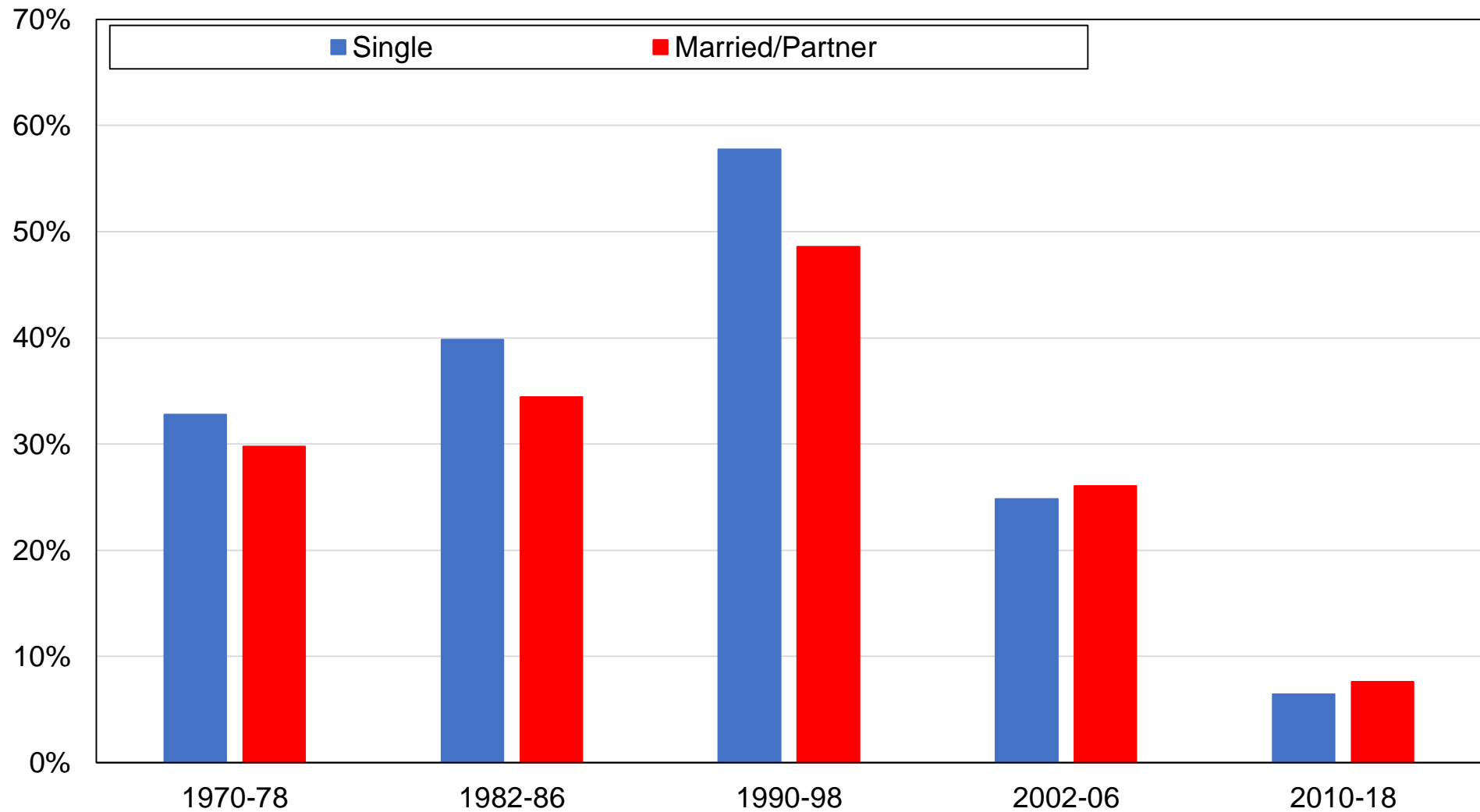
Figure CC48 - Vote for PUSC by union membership



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PUSC by union membership status.

Figure CC49 - Vote for PUSC by marital status



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PUSC by marital status.

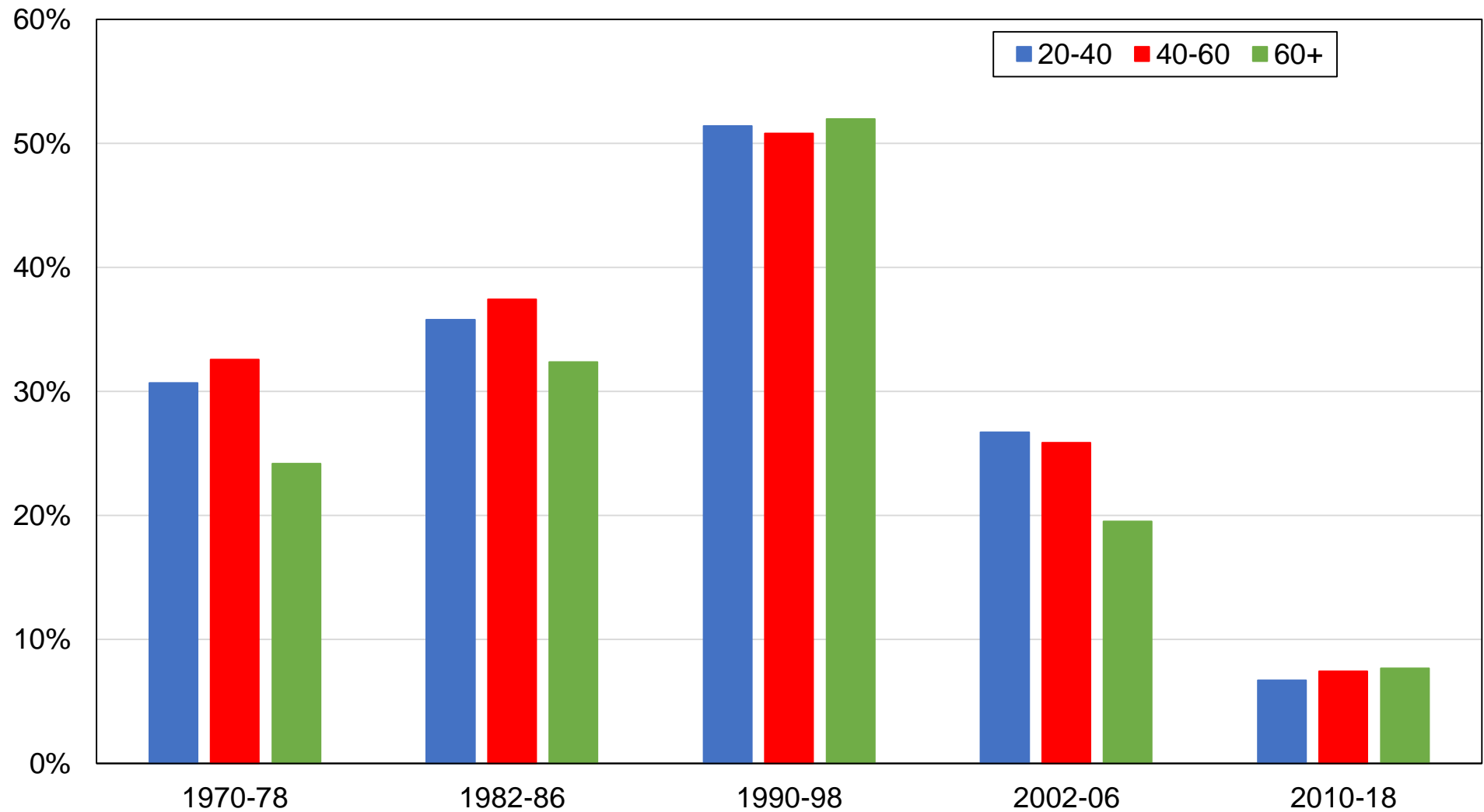
Figure CC50 - Vote for PUSC by perceived social class



Source: authors' computations using Costan Rica political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PUSC by self-perceived social class. Working class includes "lower class". Middle class includes "no class".

Figure CC51 - Vote for PUSC by age group



Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

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

Table CD1 - Survey data sources

Year	Survey	Source	Sample size
1976	LAPOP, 1976	LAPOP	1707
1980	LAPOP, 1980	LAPOP	280
1983	LAPOP, 1983	LAPOP	501
1987	LAPOP, 1987	LAPOP	927
1990	LAPOP, 1990	LAPOP	597
1995	LAPOP, 1995	LAPOP	505
1999	LAPOP, 1999	LAPOP	1428
2002	LAPOP, 2002	LAPOP	1016
2006	LAPOP, 2006	LAPOP	1500
2012	LAPOP, 2012	LAPOP	1498
2014	LAPOP, 2014	LAPOP	1537
2018	LAPOP, 2018	LAPOP	1501

Source: authors' elaboration. 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 paper, the source from which these surveys can be obtained, and the sample size of each survey.

Table CD2 - Complete descriptive statistics by decade

	1970-78	1982-86	1990-98	2002-06	2010-18
Age: 20-40	63%	74%	60%	57%	50%
Age: 40-60	28%	23%	33%	32%	33%
Age: 60+	10%	3%	6%	11%	16%
Subjective social class: Upper/Middle class	27%	52%	56%		46%
Subjective social class: Working class	73%	48%	44%		54%
Education: Primary	67%	44%	39%	45%	38%
Education: Secondary	25%	41%	42%	37%	45%
Education: Tertiary	9%	13%	15%	12%	11%
Education: Postgraduate	0%	2%	4%	6%	6%
Employment status: Employed	58%	63%	54%	52%	48%
Employment status: Unemployed	3%	1%	3%	5%	6%
Employment status: Inactive	39%	36%	43%	42%	46%
Marital status: Single	38%	35%	34%	38%	42%
Marital status: Married/Partner	62%	65%	66%	62%	58%
Occupation: Managers, scientists and intellectuals	10%	7%	17%	13%	13%
Occupation: Technicians, professionals and admin	41%	41%	21%	14%	20%
Occupation: Other	49%	51%	62%	72%	67%
Ethnicity: White				50%	51%
Ethnicity: Mestizo				29%	31%
Ethnicity: Indigenous				3%	2%
Ethnicity: Black & Mulatto				14%	14%
Ethnicity: Other				5%	3%
Region: Metropolitan area SJ	31%	33%		23%	30%
Region: Central-Urban	14%	16%		12%	21%
Region: Central-Rural	20%	18%		24%	16%
Region: Lowlands-Urban	9%	10%		13%	13%
Region: Lowlands-Rural	27%	23%		28%	21%
Religion: Catholic			75%	73%	64%

Religion: Protestant			17%	17%	25%
Religion: Other			1%	2%	1%
Religion: No religion			6%	8%	10%
Church attendance: Very religious			54%	31%	64%
Church attendance: Religious			18%	12%	22%
Church attendance: Less religious			12%	4%	9%
Church attendance: Not religious			16%	53%	5%
Rural / Urban: Urban area	53%	59%	57%	64%	63%
Rural / Urban: Rural area	47%	41%	43%	36%	37%
Sector of employment: Private / Mixed sector		76%	80%	84%	86%
Sector of employment: Public sector		24%	20%	16%	14%
Gender: Woman	54%	54%	52%	51%	53%
Gender: Man	46%	46%	48%	49%	47%
Union membership: Not union member	96%		90%	96%	
Union membership: Union member	4%		10%	4%	
Type of worker: Business owner / Partner	8%	3%	4%	6%	4%
Type of worker: Wage earner	76%	74%	75%	59%	59%
Type of worker: Self-employed	16%	22%	21%	35%	37%

Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

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

*

Table CD3 - The structure of political cleavages in Costa Rica, 2010-2018 (extended)

Share of votes (%)						
	PLN	PUSC	PAC	ML	FA	PRN
Education						
Primary	40%	5%	27%	4%	4%	15%
Secondary	26%	6%	34%	4%	6%	17%
Tertiary	20%	14%	40%	4%	8%	9%
Postgraduate	25%	10%	46%	3%	5%	7%
Income						
Bottom 50%	32%	6%	28%	3%	6%	20%
Middle 40%	27%	8%	34%	5%	5%	15%
Top 10%	25%	12%	47%	4%	5%	5%
Religion						
Catholic	35%	8%	36%	4%	5%	6%
Protestant	24%	5%	20%	4%	3%	39%
Other	16%	3%	35%	2%	13%	28%
No religion	17%	6%	40%	4%	16%	9%
Religiosity						
Very religious	32%	7%	32%	4%	3%	17%
Religious	32%	7%	37%	4%	8%	8%
Less religious	25%	7%	31%	5%	9%	11%
Not religious	16%	4%	42%	3%	14%	13%
Occupation type						
Managers, scientists and intellectuals	12%	15%	42%	3%	6%	16%
Technicians, professionals and admin	11%	14%	52%	0%	1%	14%
Other	12%	7%	32%	0%	1%	37%
Location						
Urban area	29%	8%	35%	4%	6%	12%

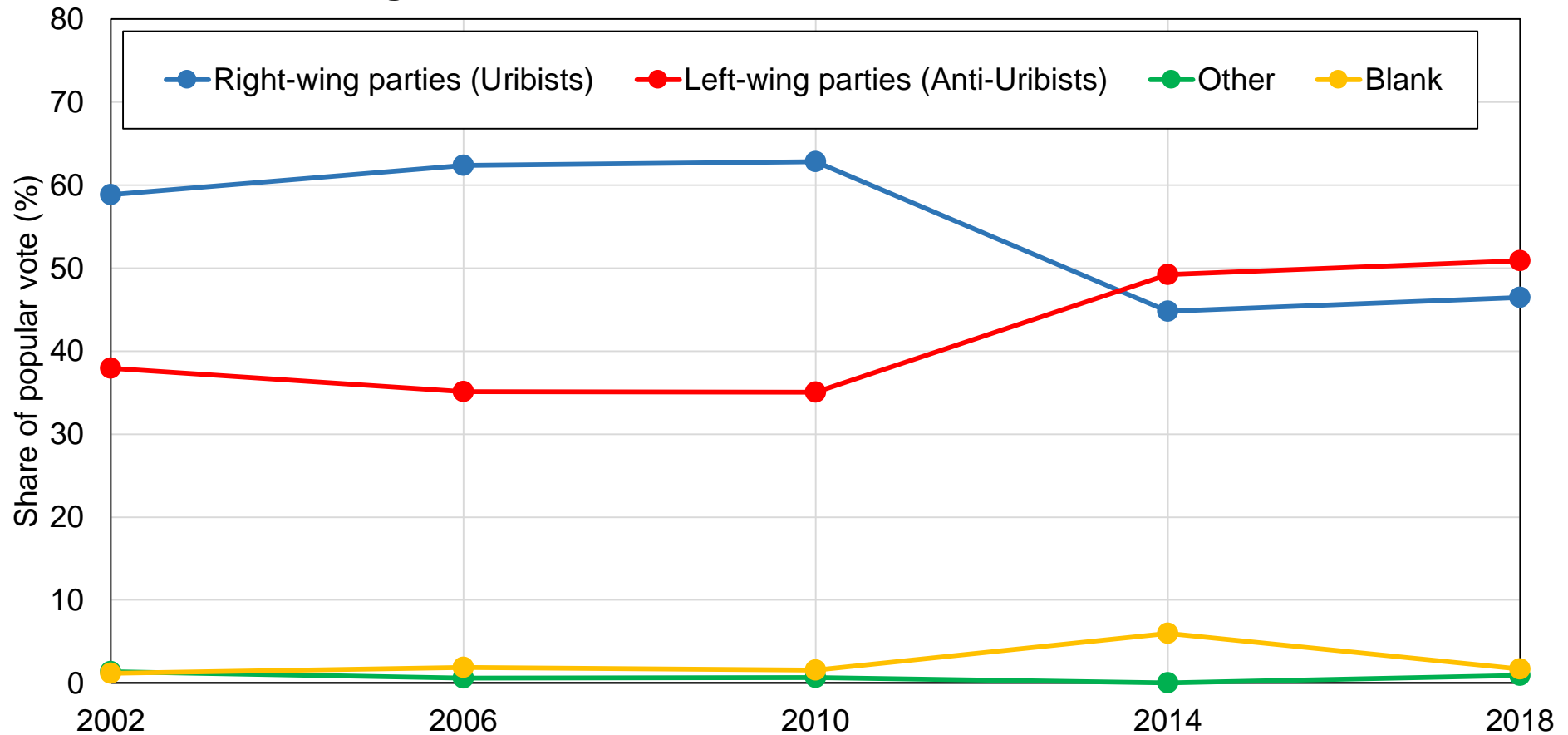
Rural area	33%	6%	29%	4%	4%	18%
Region						
Metropolitan Area SJ	27%	10%	33%	2%	7%	13%
Central-Urban	29%	6%	42%	4%	5%	8%
Central-Rural	34%	6%	31%	6%	3%	14%
Lowlands-Urban	33%	7%	27%	5%	6%	19%
Lowlands-Rural	33%	5%	28%	3%	5%	21%
Gender						
Woman	31%	7%	32%	4%	5%	16%
Man	30%	7%	34%	4%	6%	13%
Marital status						
Single	24%	6%	37%	4%	7%	14%
Married/Partner	34%	8%	30%	4%	4%	14%
Subjective social class						
Upper/Middle class	68%	7%	17%	5%	0%	0%
Working class	68%	5%	12%	11%	0%	0%
Age						
20-40	23%	7%	35%	5%	7%	17%
40-60	32%	7%	32%	3%	5%	14%
60+	45%	8%	31%	2%	2%	9%
Worker type						
Business owner/partner	21%	10%	37%	4%	6%	14%
Wage earner	28%	8%	34%	4%	7%	13%
Self-employed	29%	7%	33%	5%	4%	15%
Sector of employment						
Private/mixed sector	28%	7%	34%	4%	6%	15%
Public	28%	10%	37%	5%	8%	9%
Ethnicity						
White	33%	7%	31%	4%	6%	13%
Mestizo	29%	8%	35%	4%	5%	14%
Indigenous	31%	6%	34%	2%	7%	11%

Black & Mulatto	25%	5%	38%	2%	5%	18%
Other	25%	4%	35%	3%	5%	26%

Source: authors' computations using Costa Rican political attitudes surveys.

Notes: the table shows the average share of votes received by the main Costa Rican political parties by selected individual characteristics over the period 2010-2018.

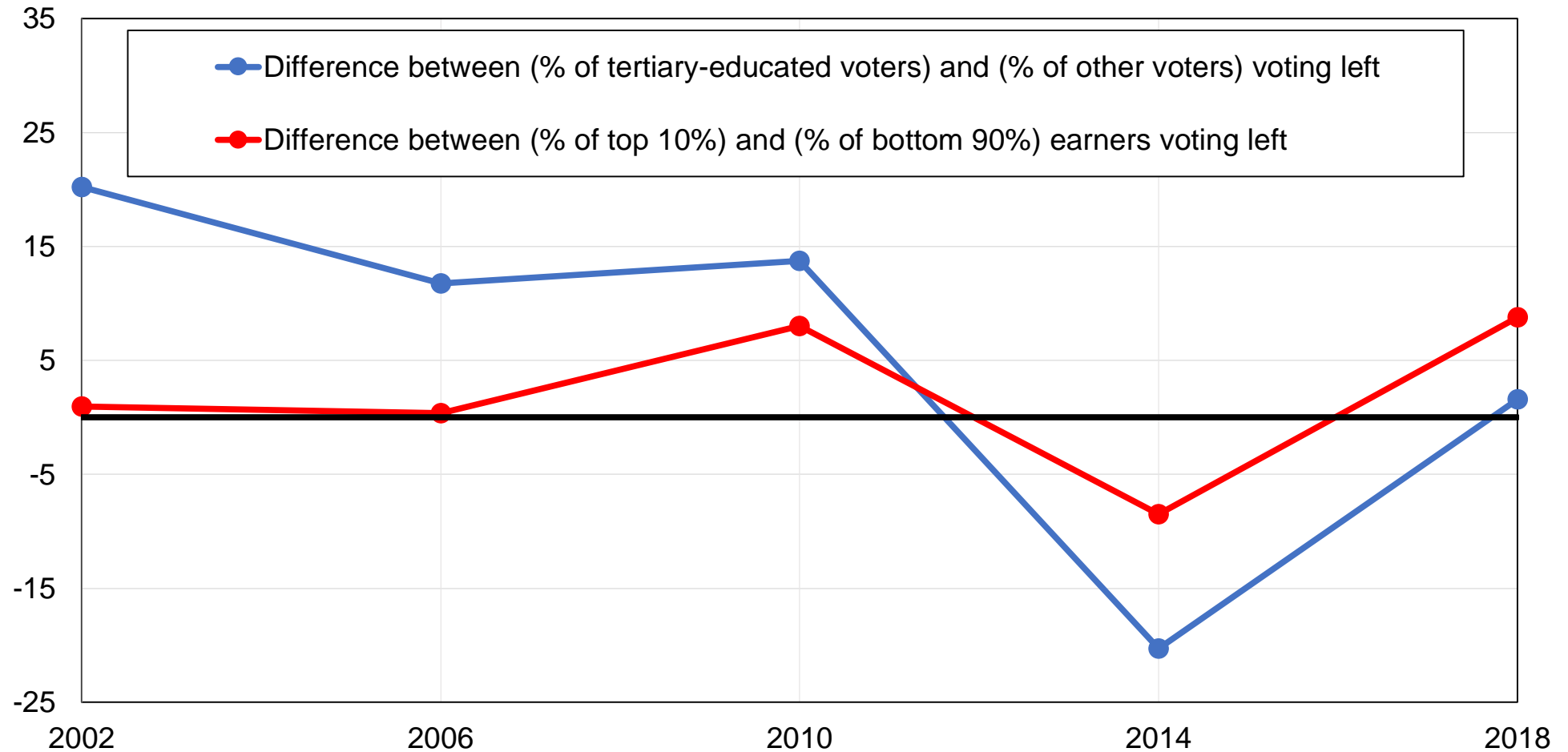
Figure D1 - Election results in Colombia, 2002-2018



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.

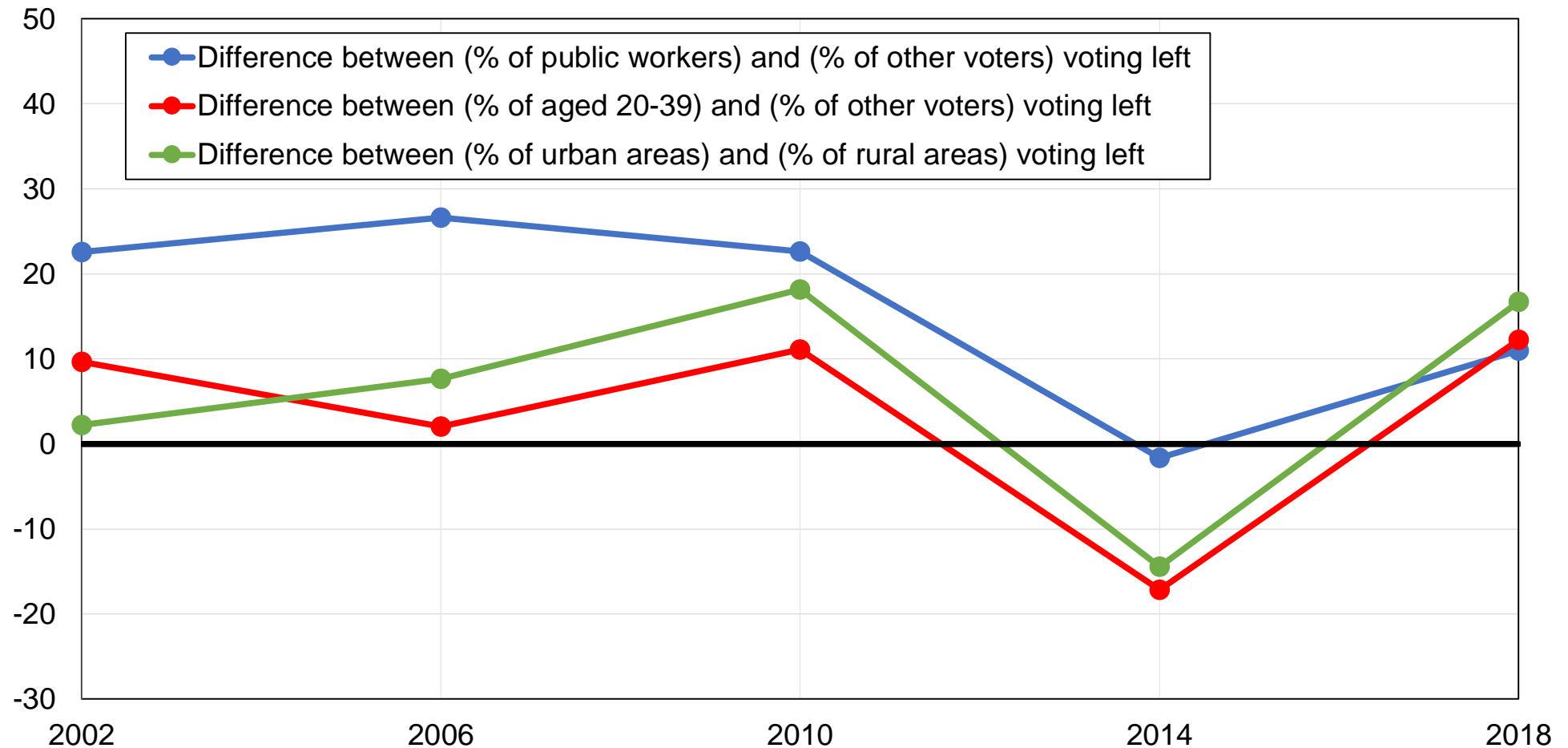
Figure D2 - Vote for left-wing parties (Anti-Uribists) among highest-educated and top-income voters in Colombia, after controls



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.

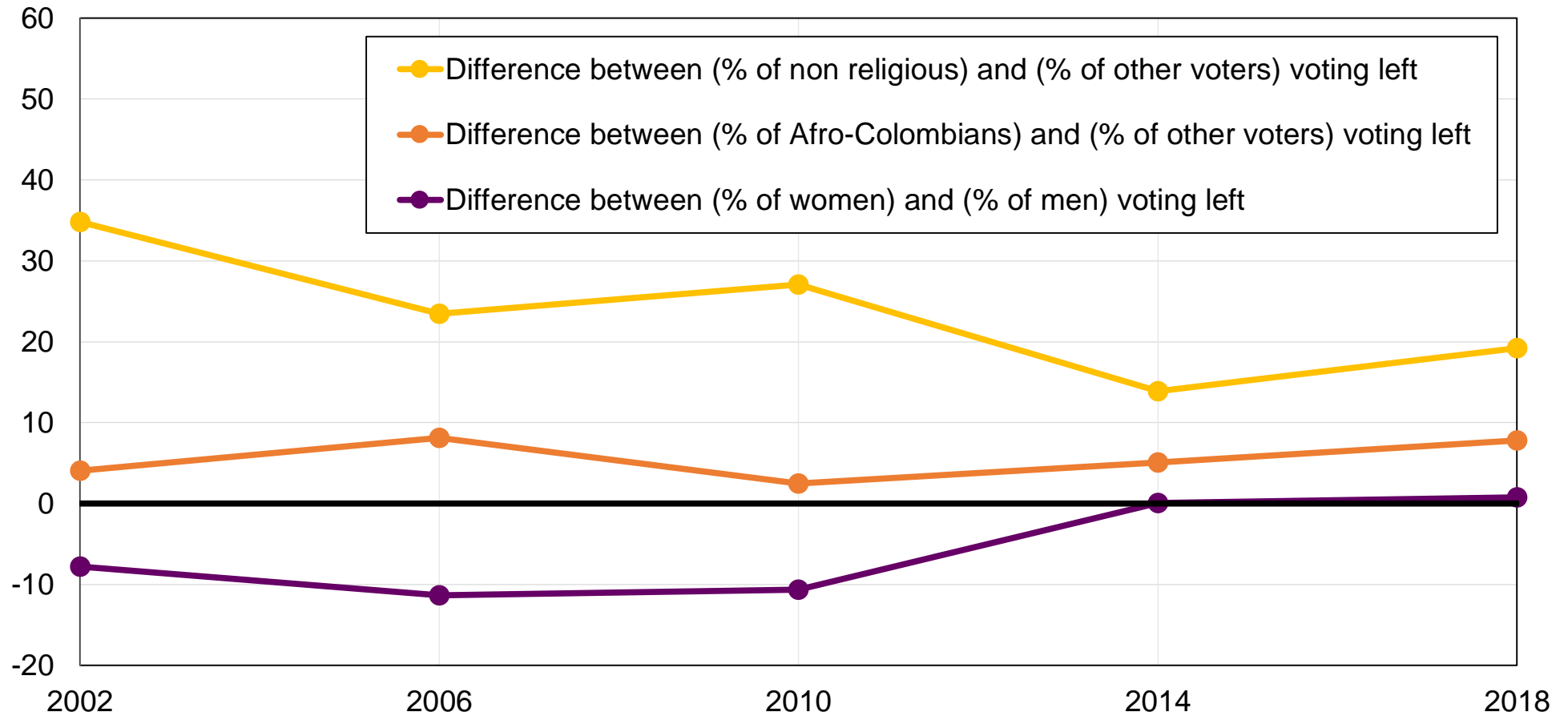
Figure D3 - Vote for left-wing parties (Anti-Uribists) among public workers, young voters, and urban areas in Colombia, after controls



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.

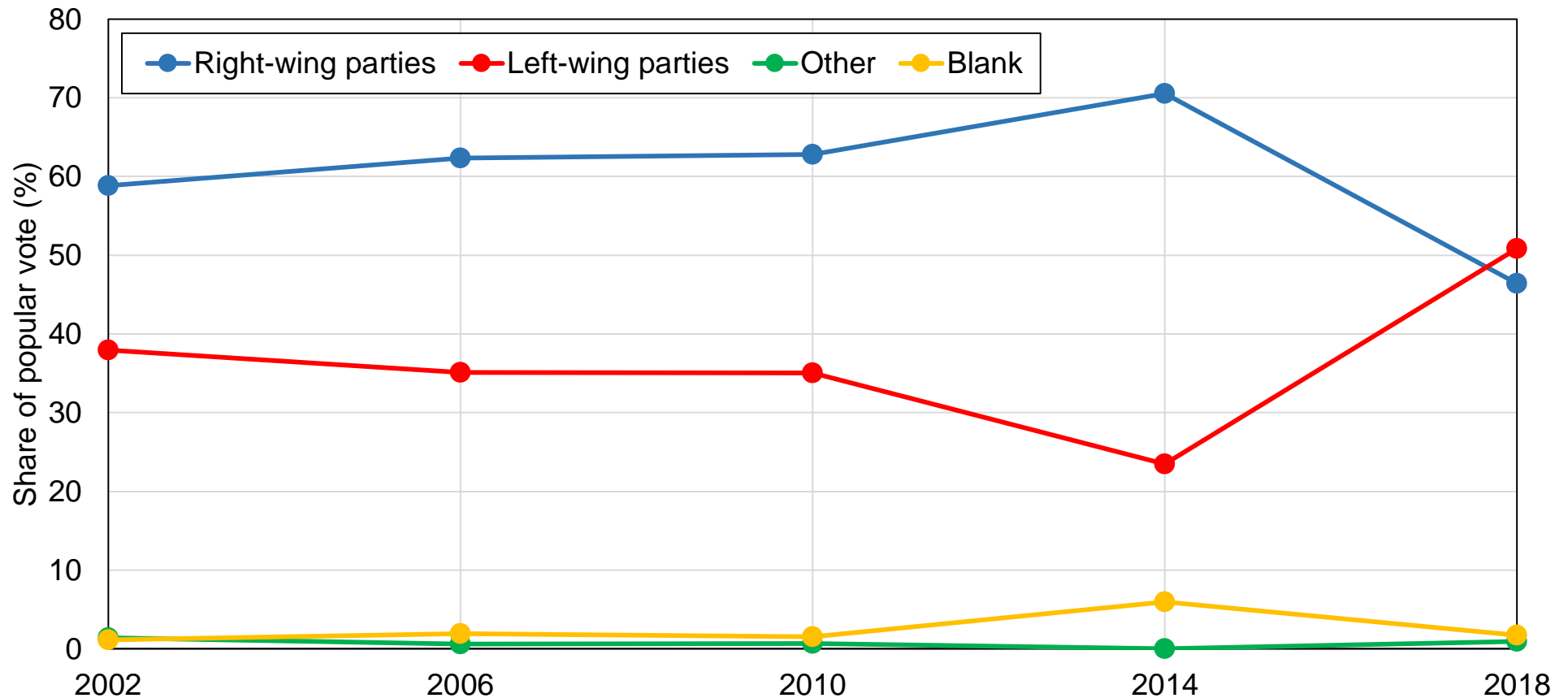
Figure D4 - Vote for left-wing parties (Anti-Uribists) among non-religious voters, Afro-Colombians, and women in Colombia, after controls



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.

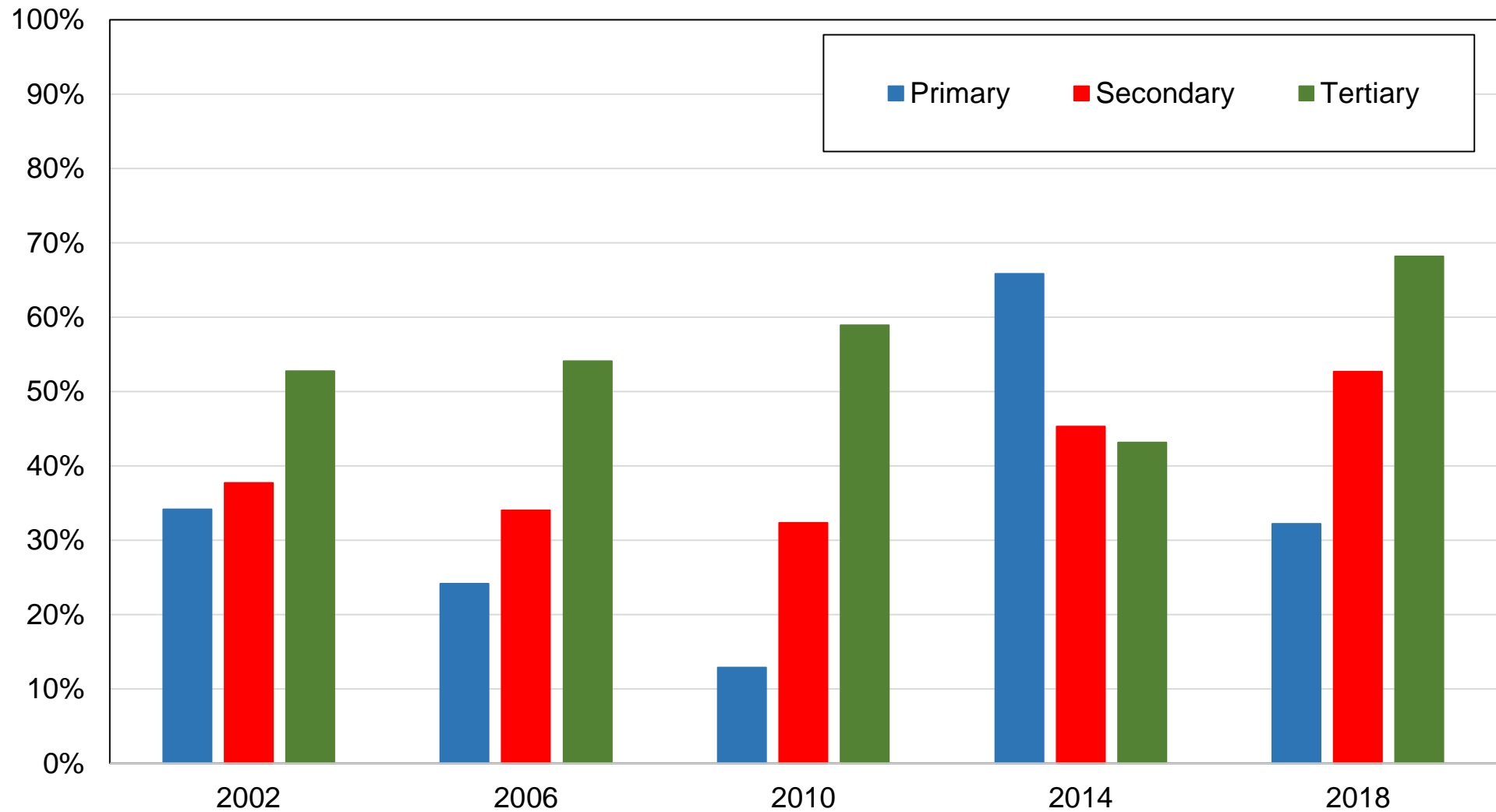
Figure DA1 - General elections in Colombia, 2002-2018 (including the Party of the U as right-wing)



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

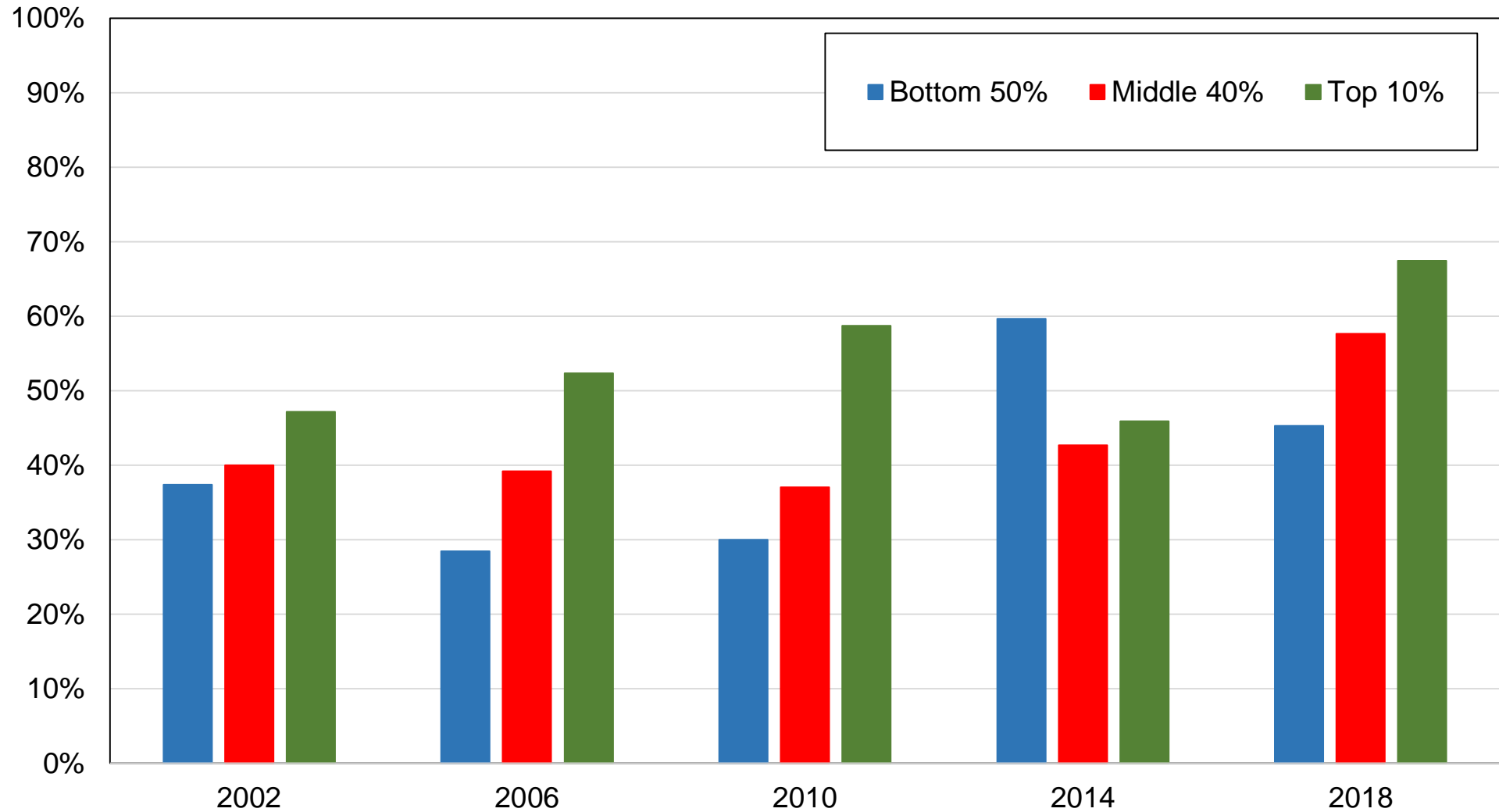
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Colombian political parties in general elections between 2002 and 2018. Right-wing parties include: Partido de la U, Partido conservador, Cambio Radical, Primero Colombia, Movimiento Si Colombia, and Centro Democrático. Left-wing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



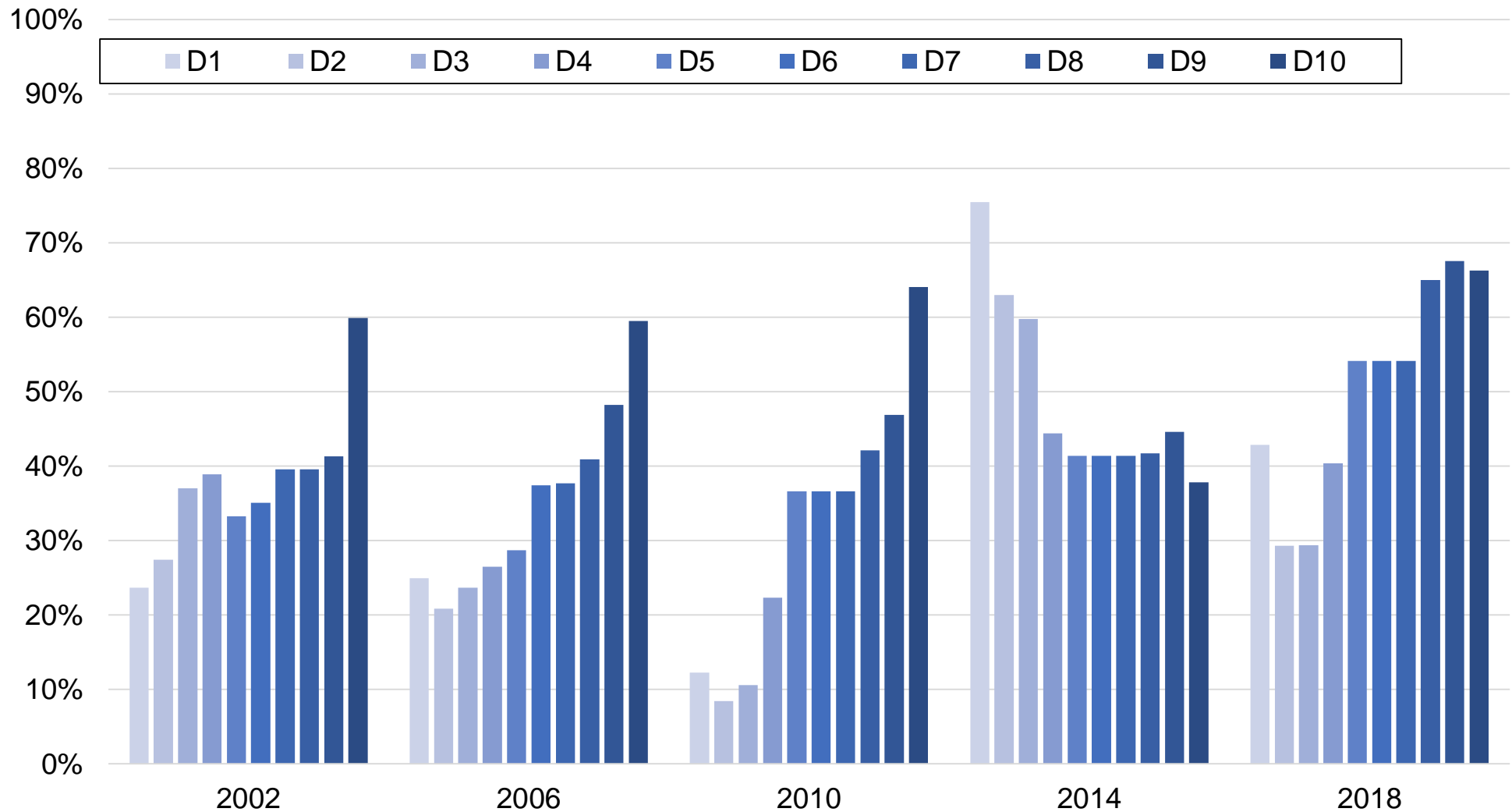
Source: authors' computations using Colombian post-electoral and political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by education level.

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.

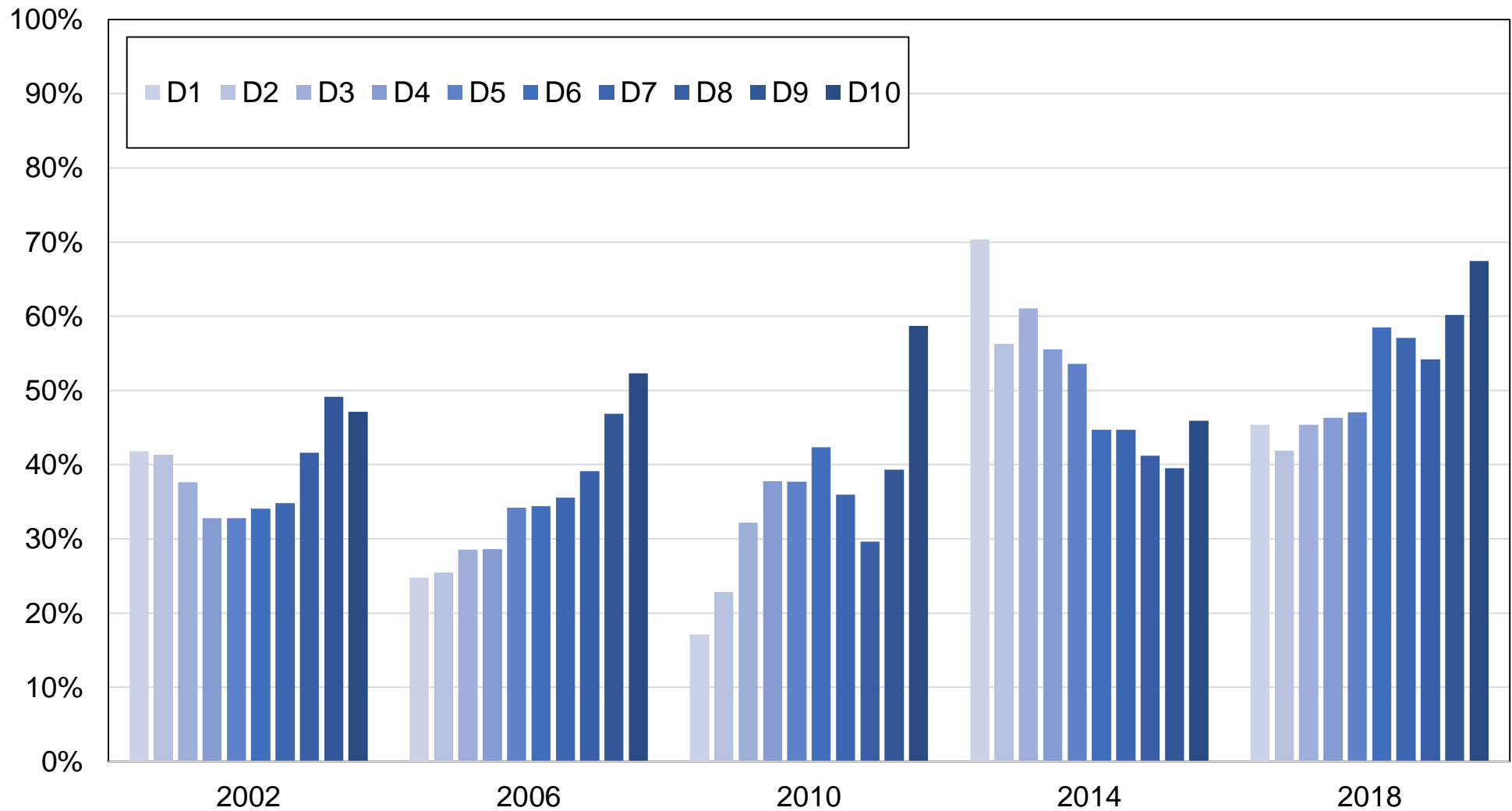
Figure DA4 - Vote for left-wing parties (Anti-Uribists) by education decile



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.

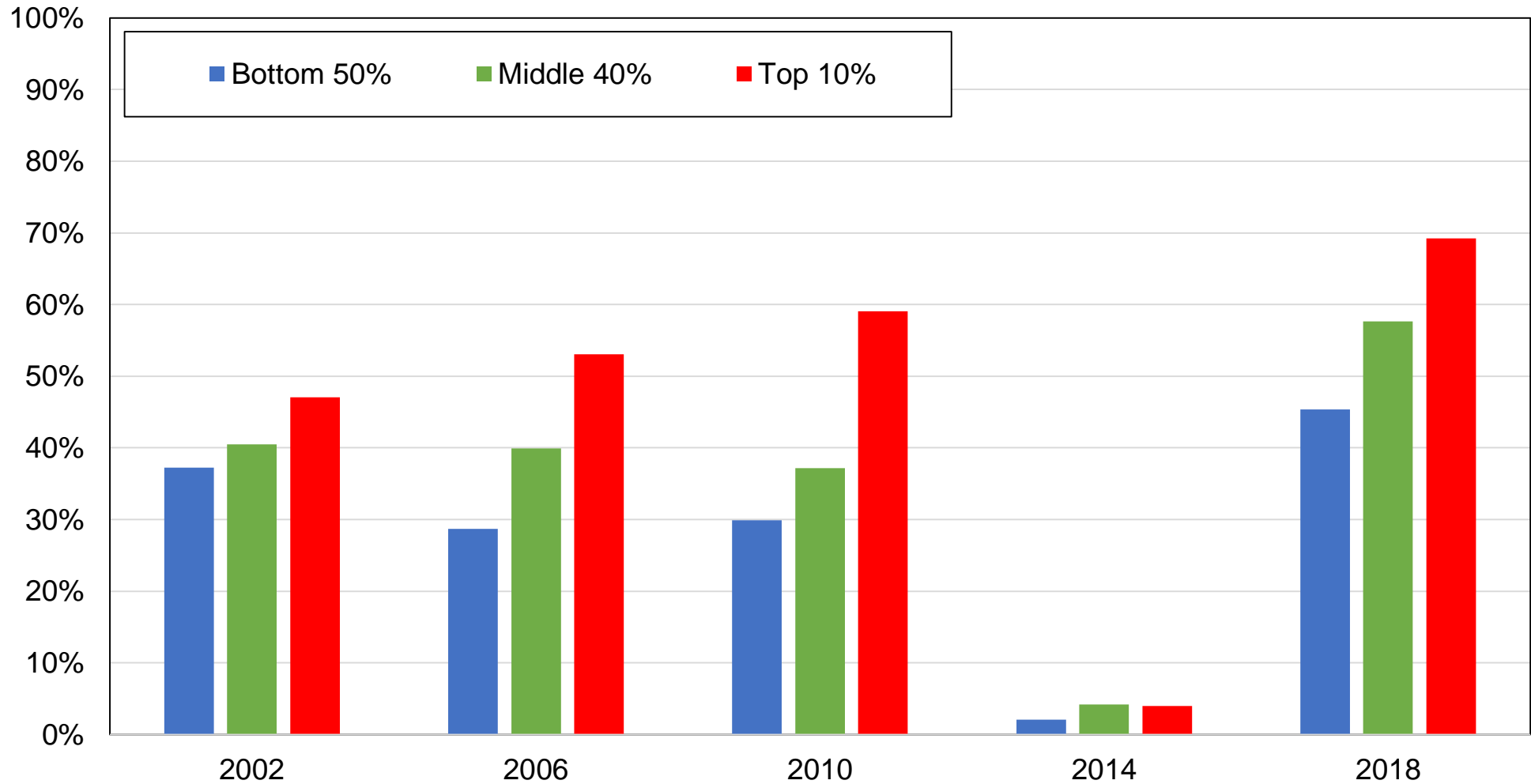
Figure DA5 - Vote for left-wing parties (Anti-Uribists) by income group



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.

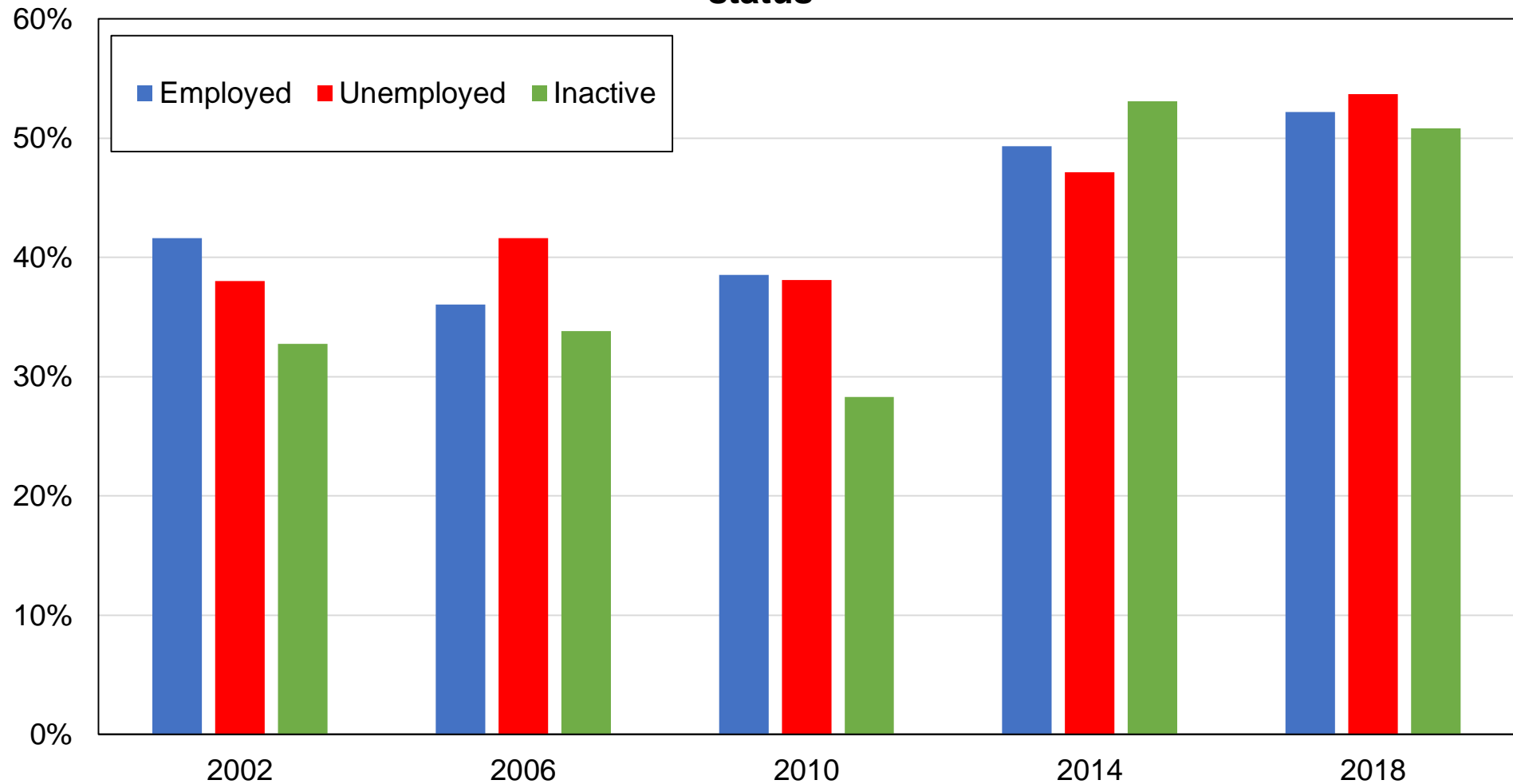
**Figure DA6 - Vote for left-wing parties (Anti-Uribists) by income group
(excluding the Party of the U in 2014)**



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

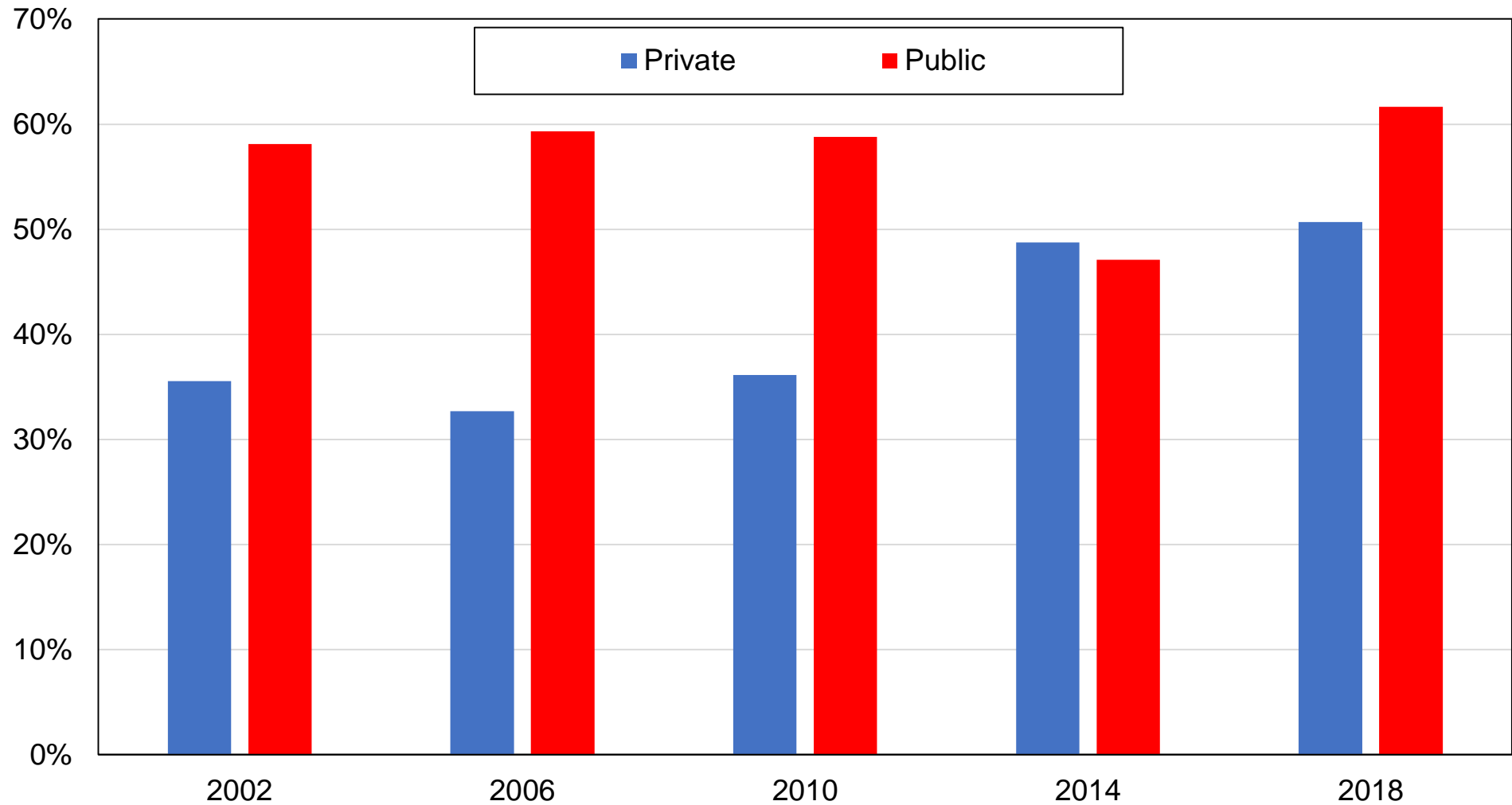
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by income decile excluding the U Party in 2014.

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



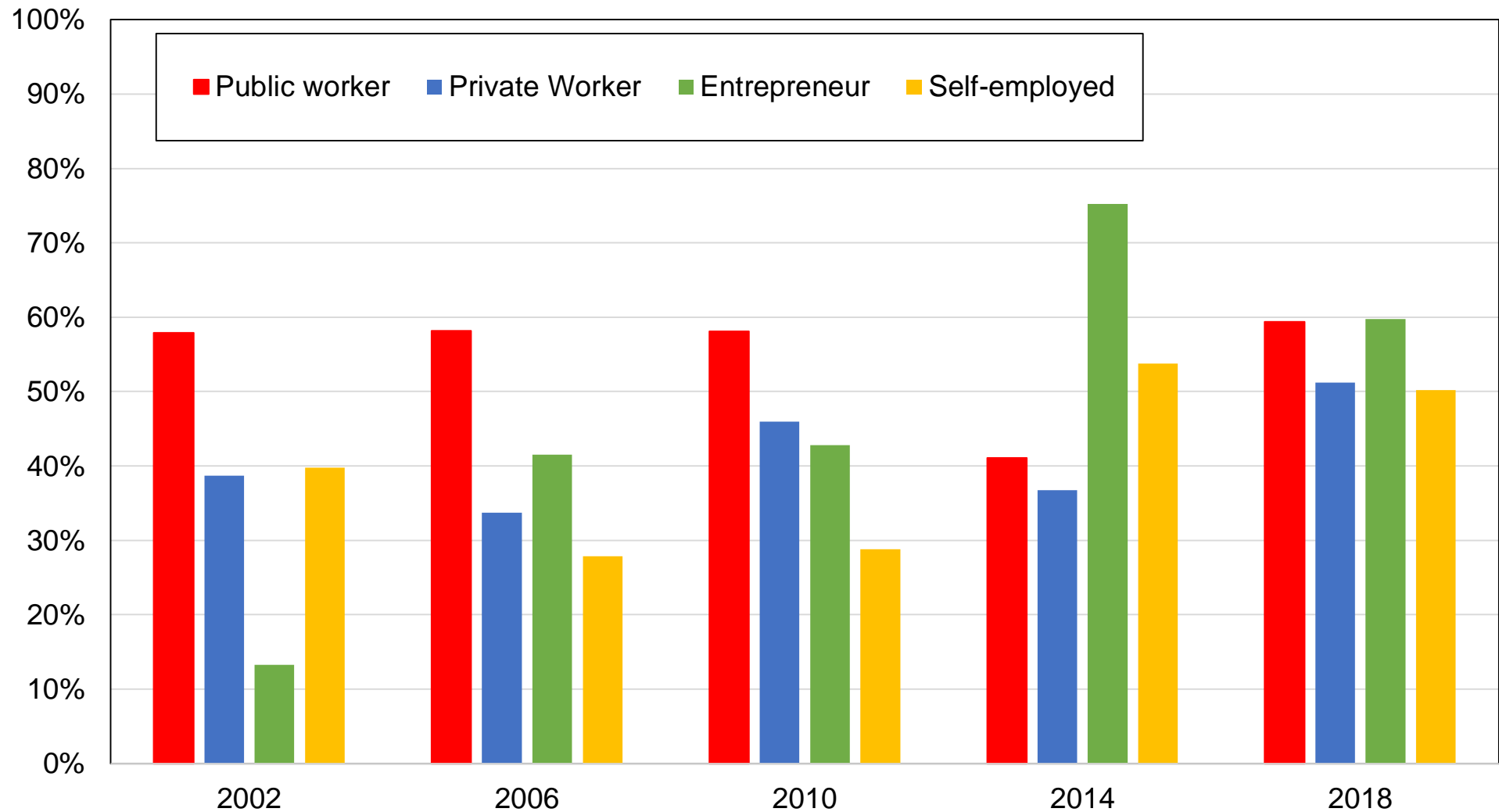
Source: authors' computations using Colombian post-electoral and political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by employment status.

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.

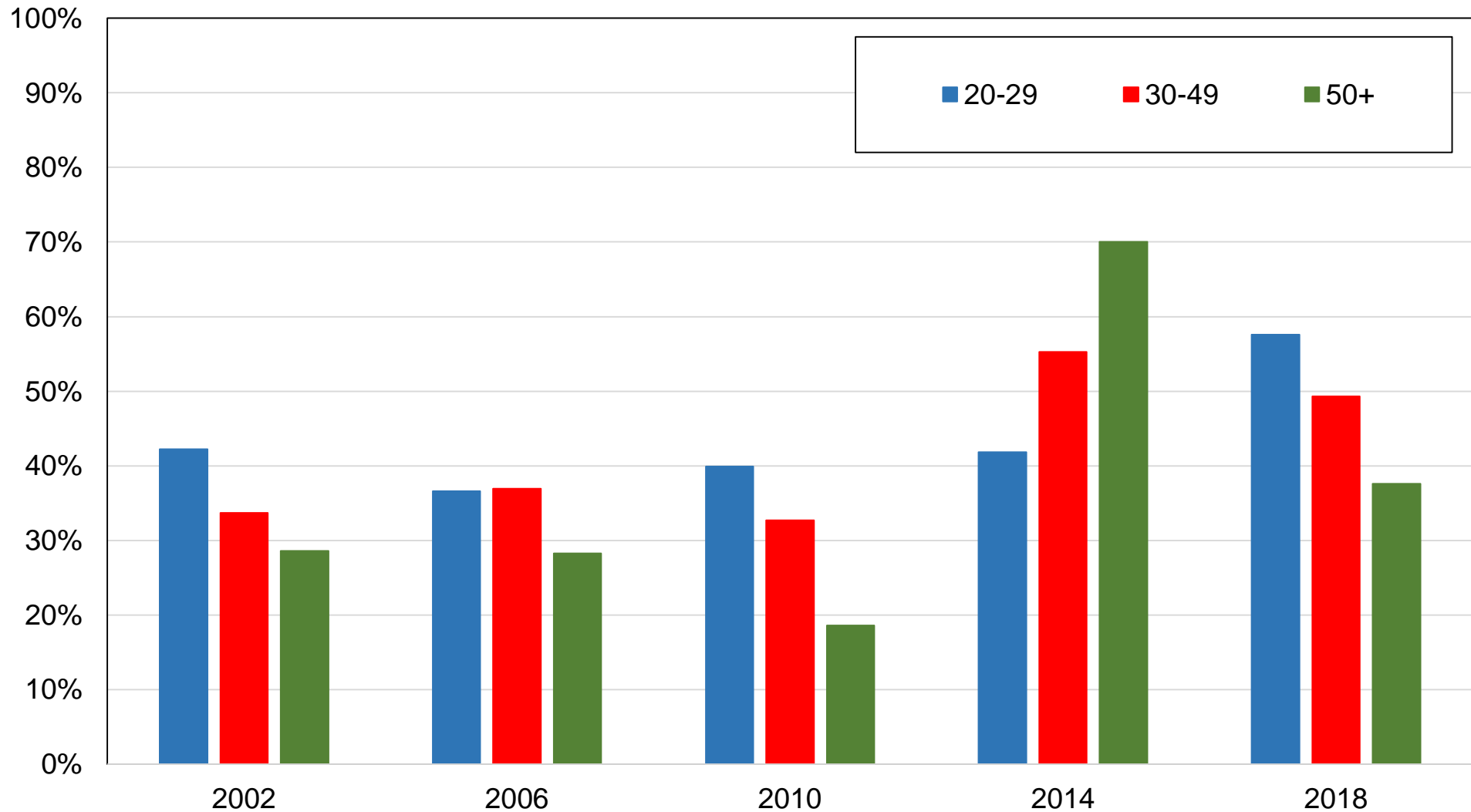
Figure DA9 - Vote for left-wing parties (Anti-Uribists) by occupation



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.

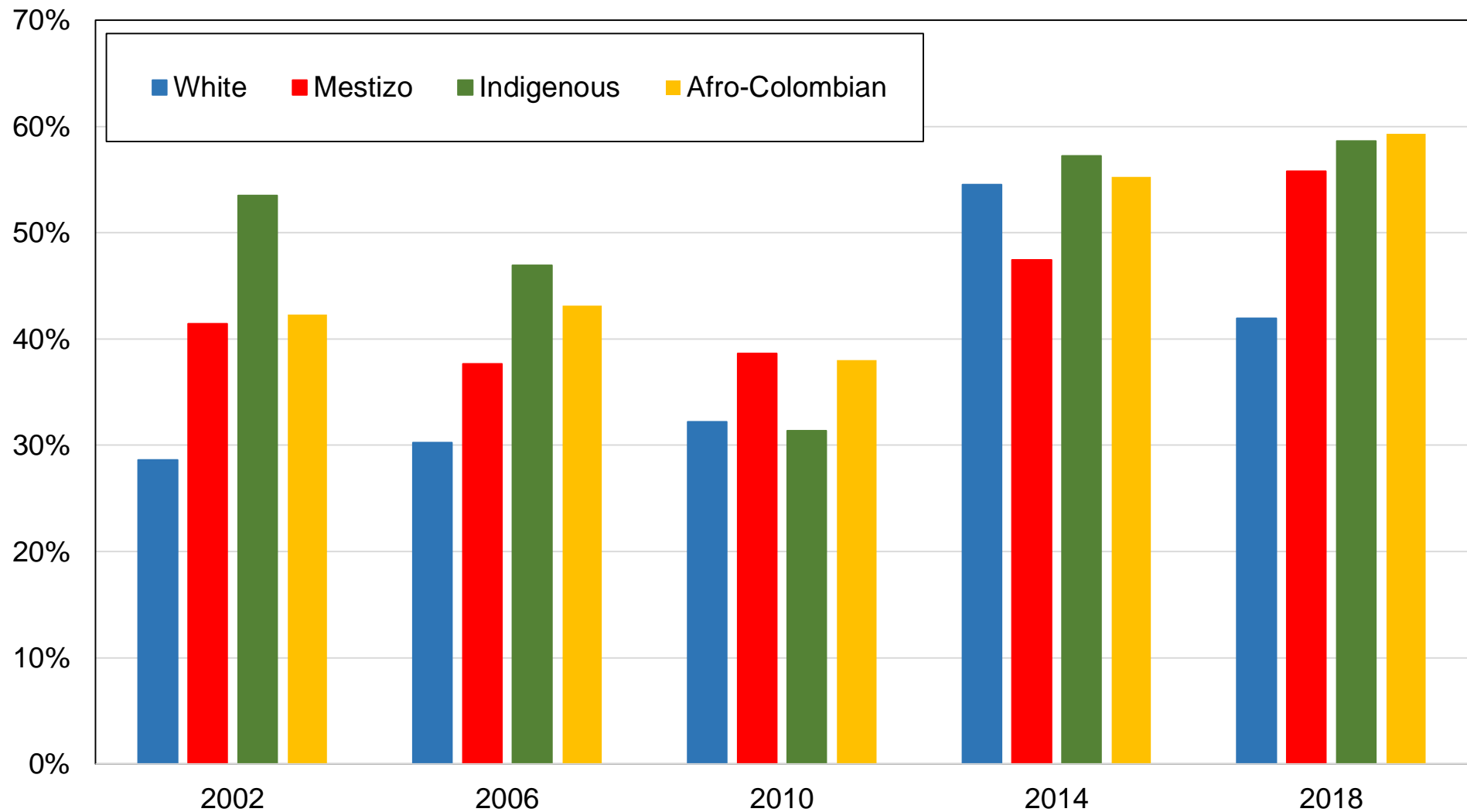
Figure DA10 - Vote for left-wing parties (Anti-Uribists) by age group



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

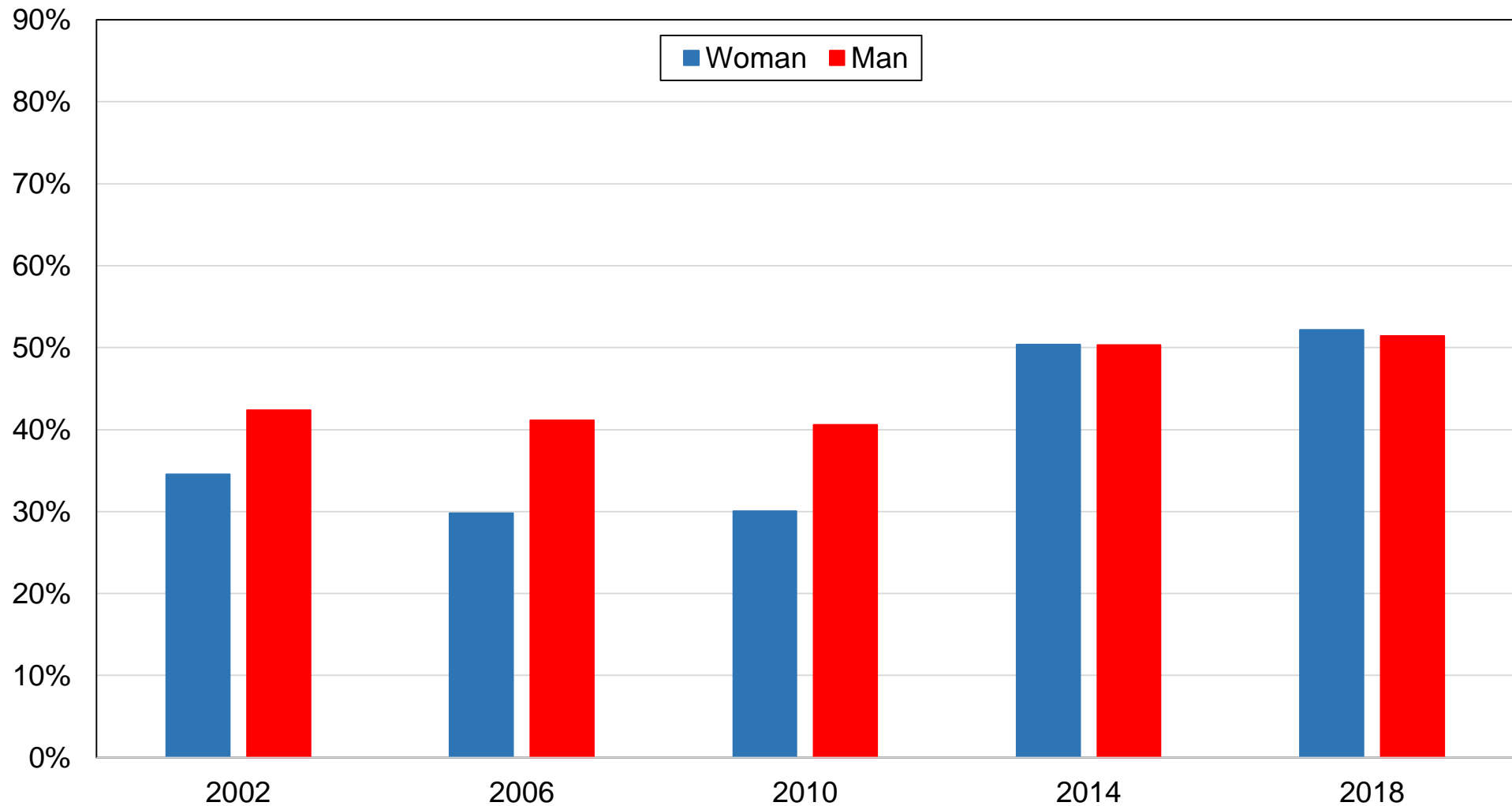
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by age group.

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.

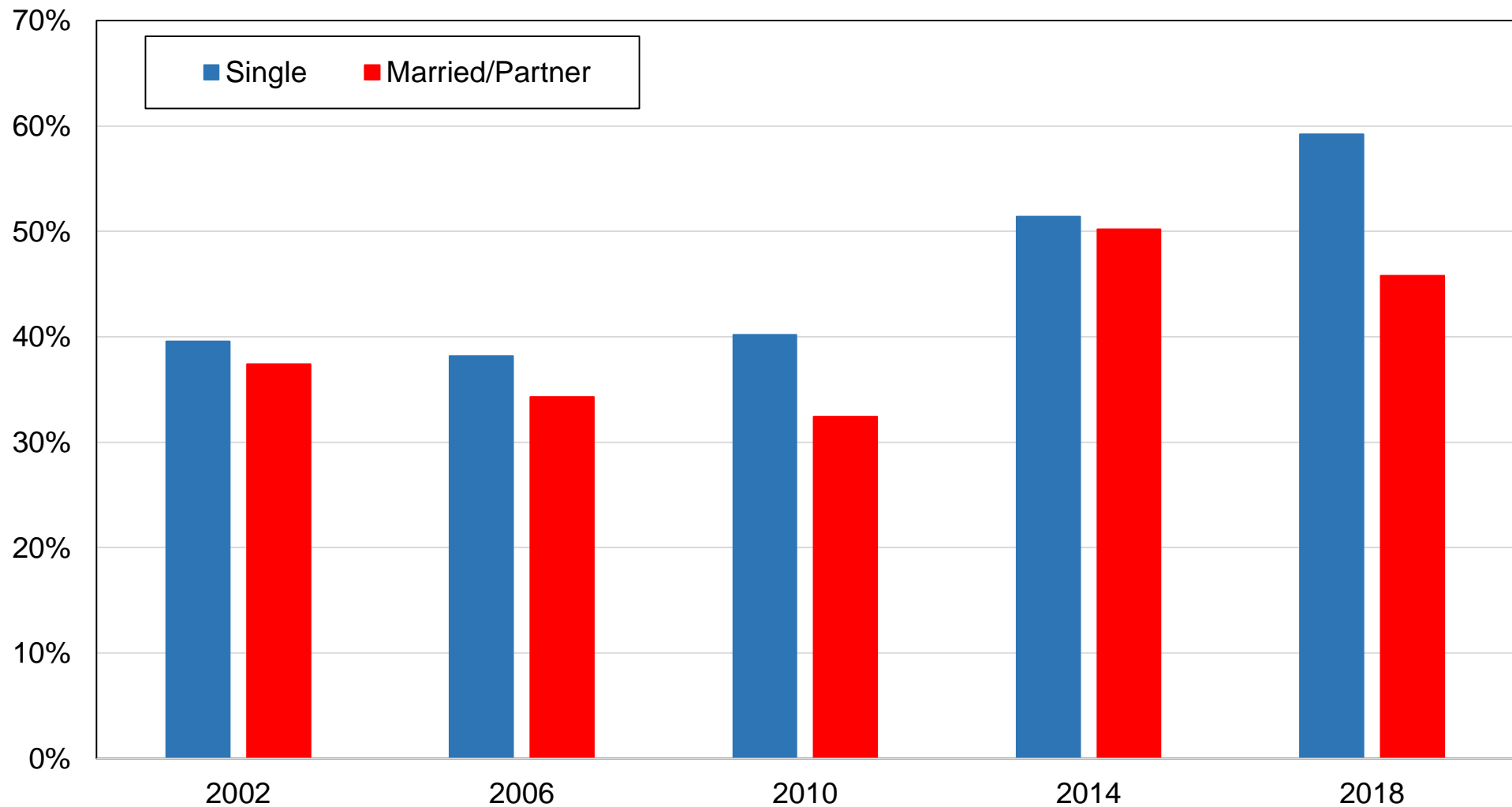
Figure DA12 - Vote for left-wing parties (Anti-Uribists) by gender



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.

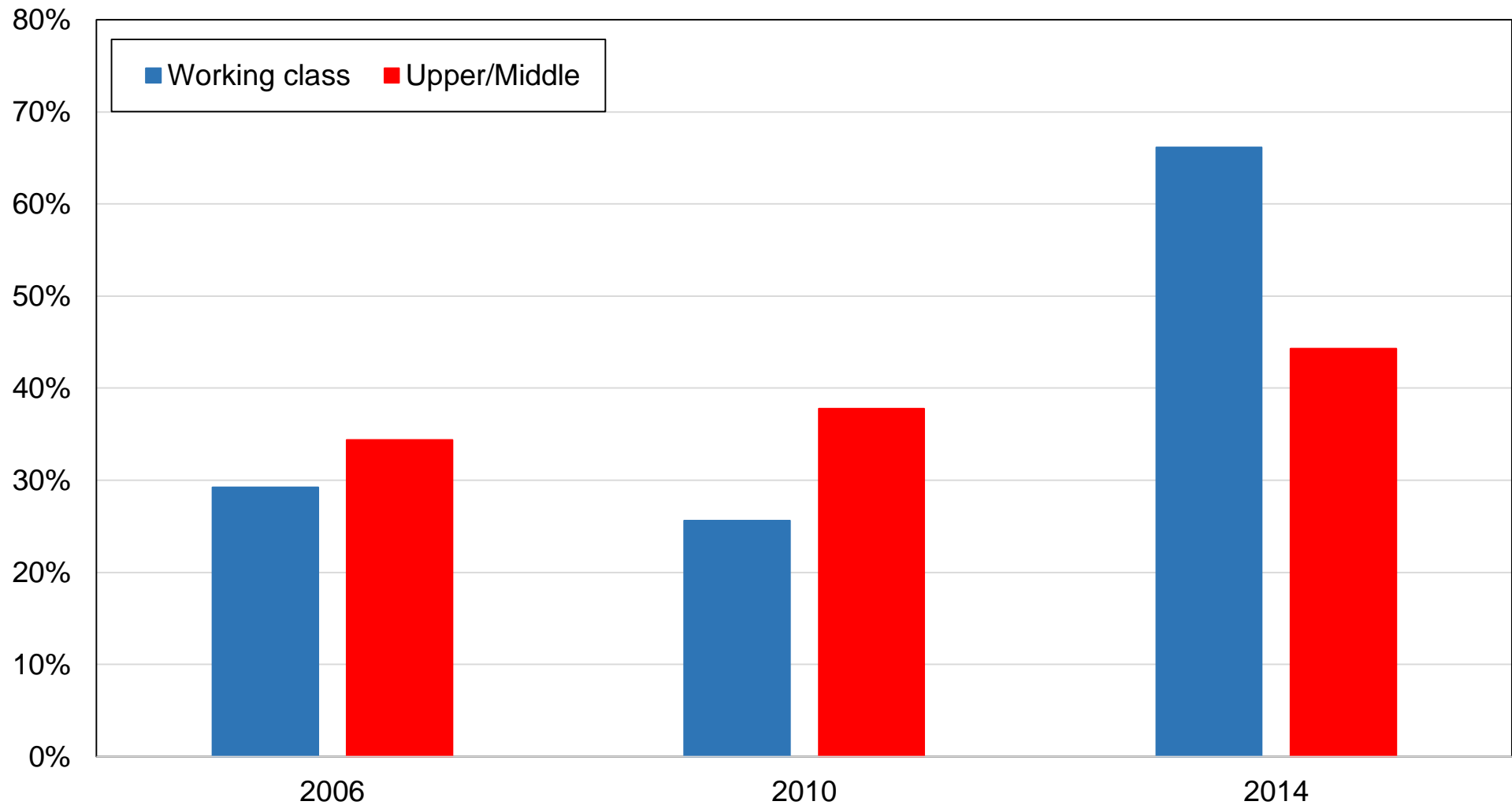
Figure DA13 - Vote for left-wing parties (Anti-Uribists) by marital status



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.

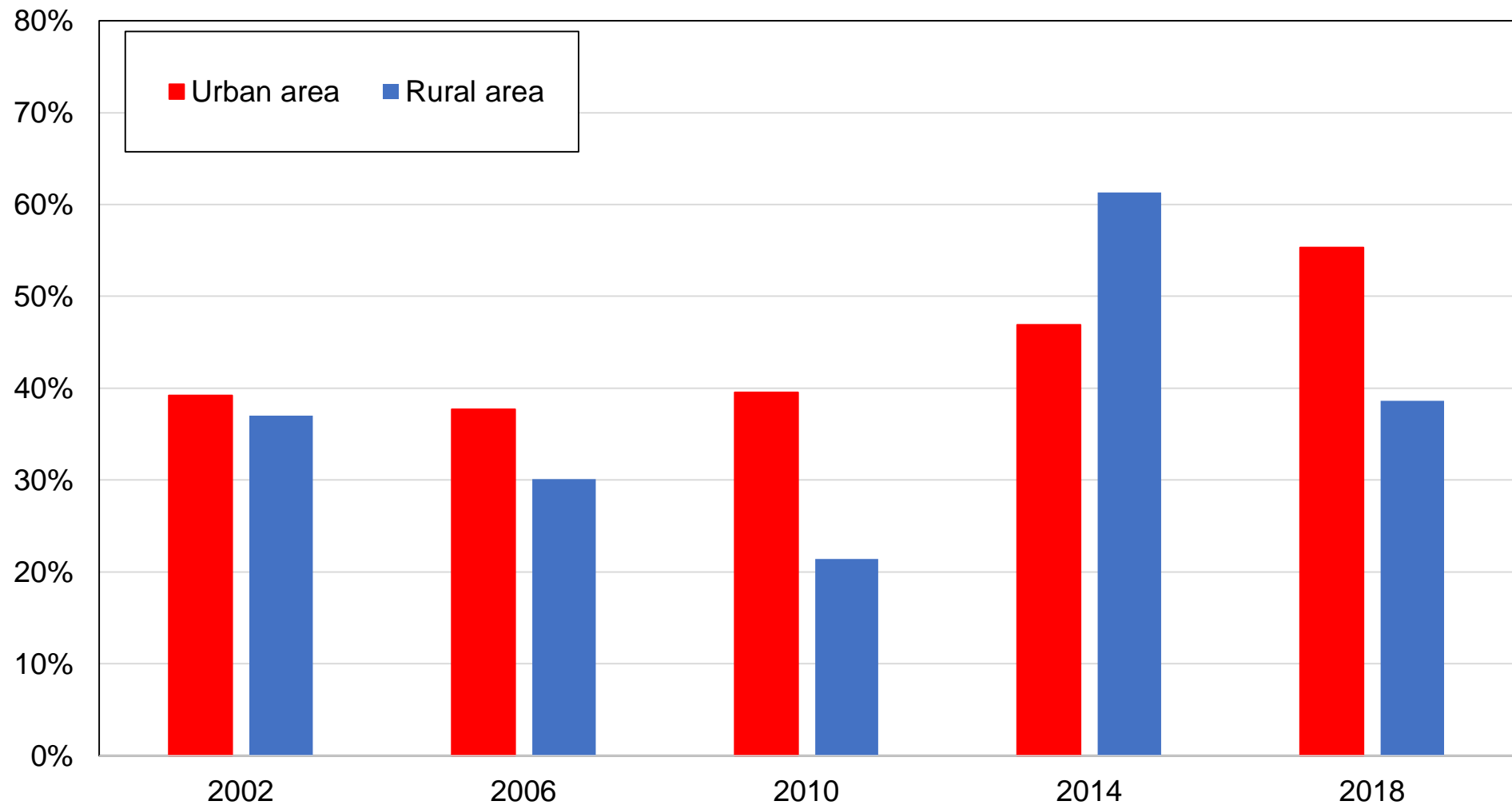
Figure DA14 - Vote for left-wing parties (Anti-Uribists) by social class



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

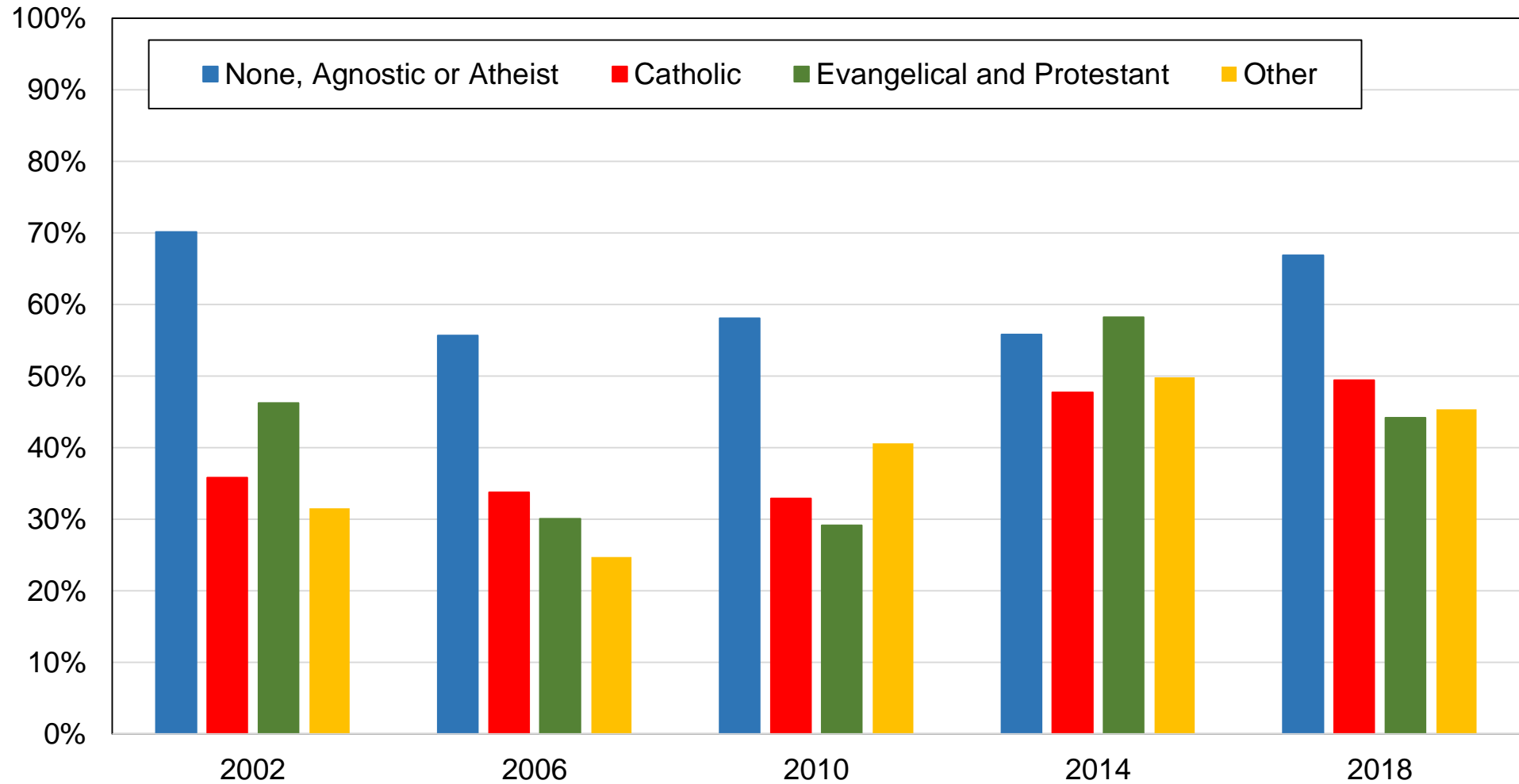
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by social class.

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



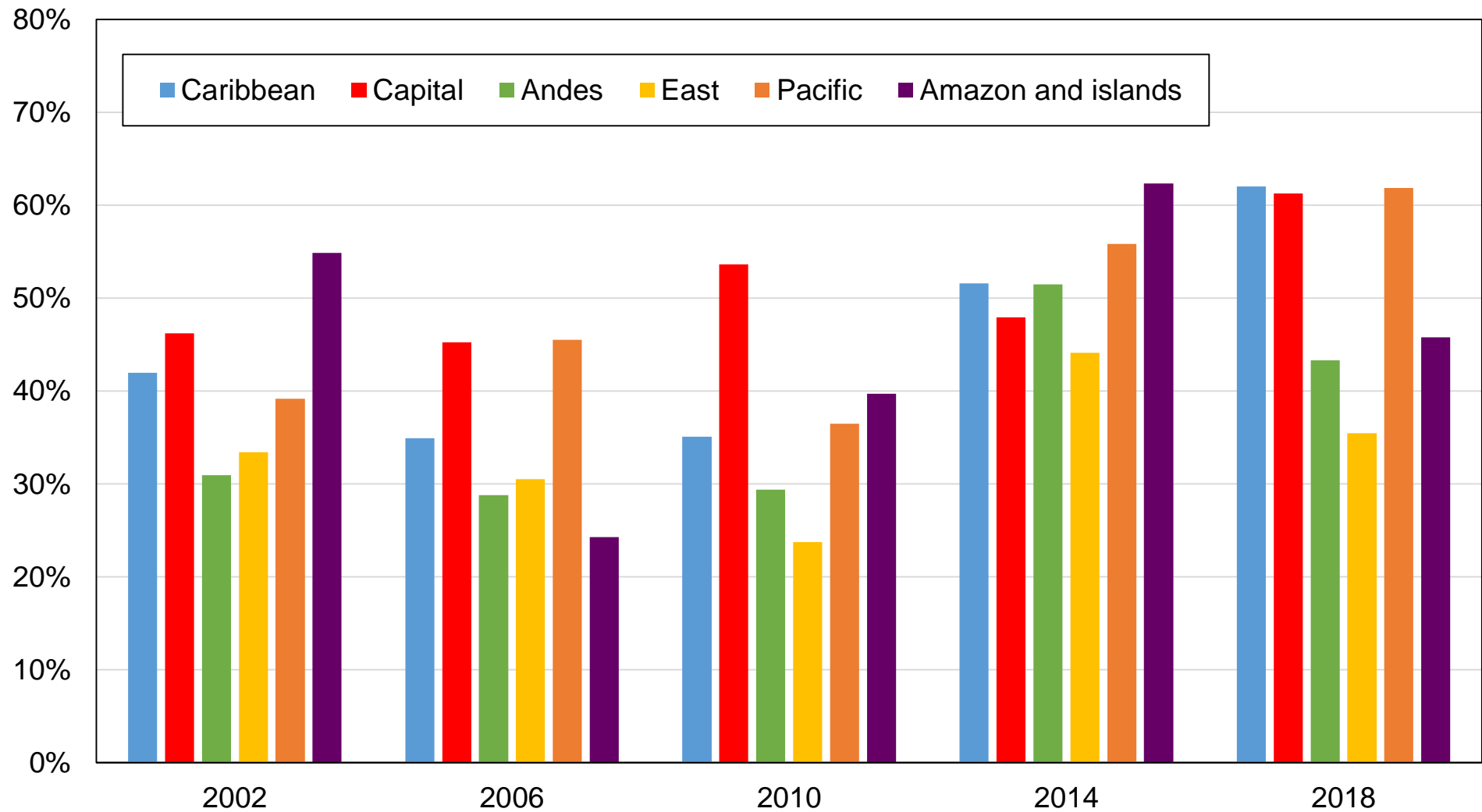
Source: authors' computations using Colombian post-electoral and political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by location.

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



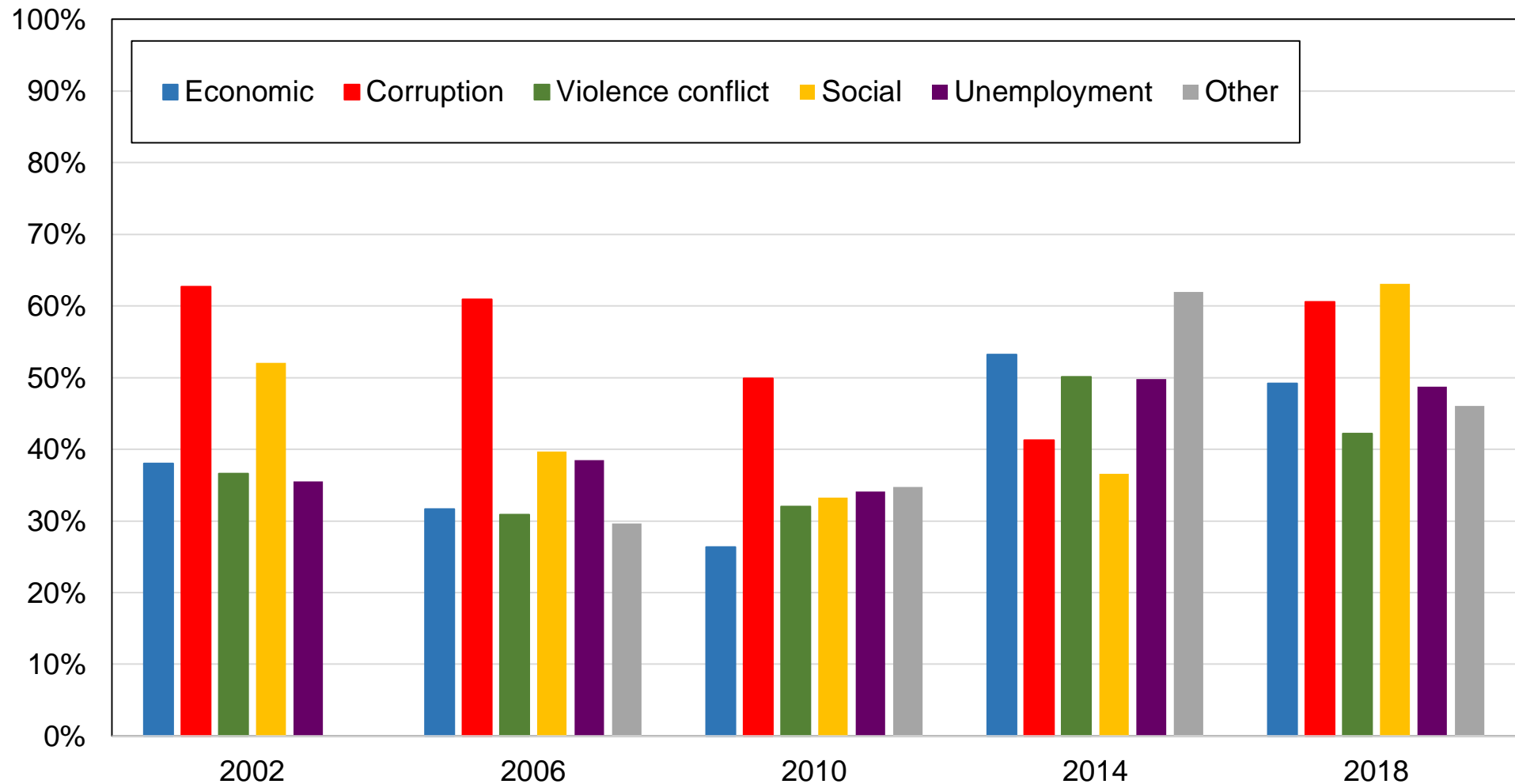
Source: authors' computations using Colombian post-electoral and political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by religious affiliation.

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.

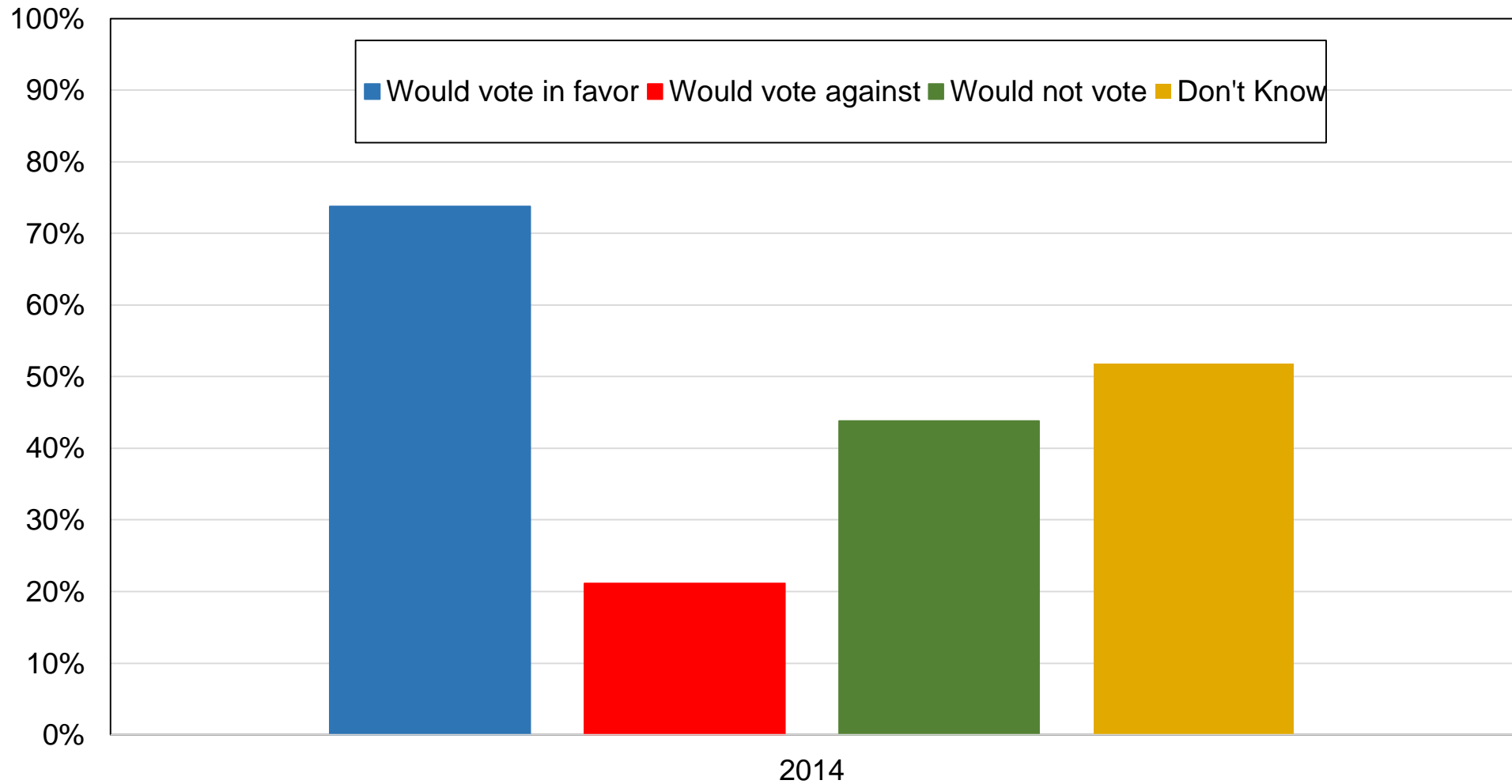
Figure DA18 - Vote for left-wing parties (Anti-Uribists) by main perceived problem



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.

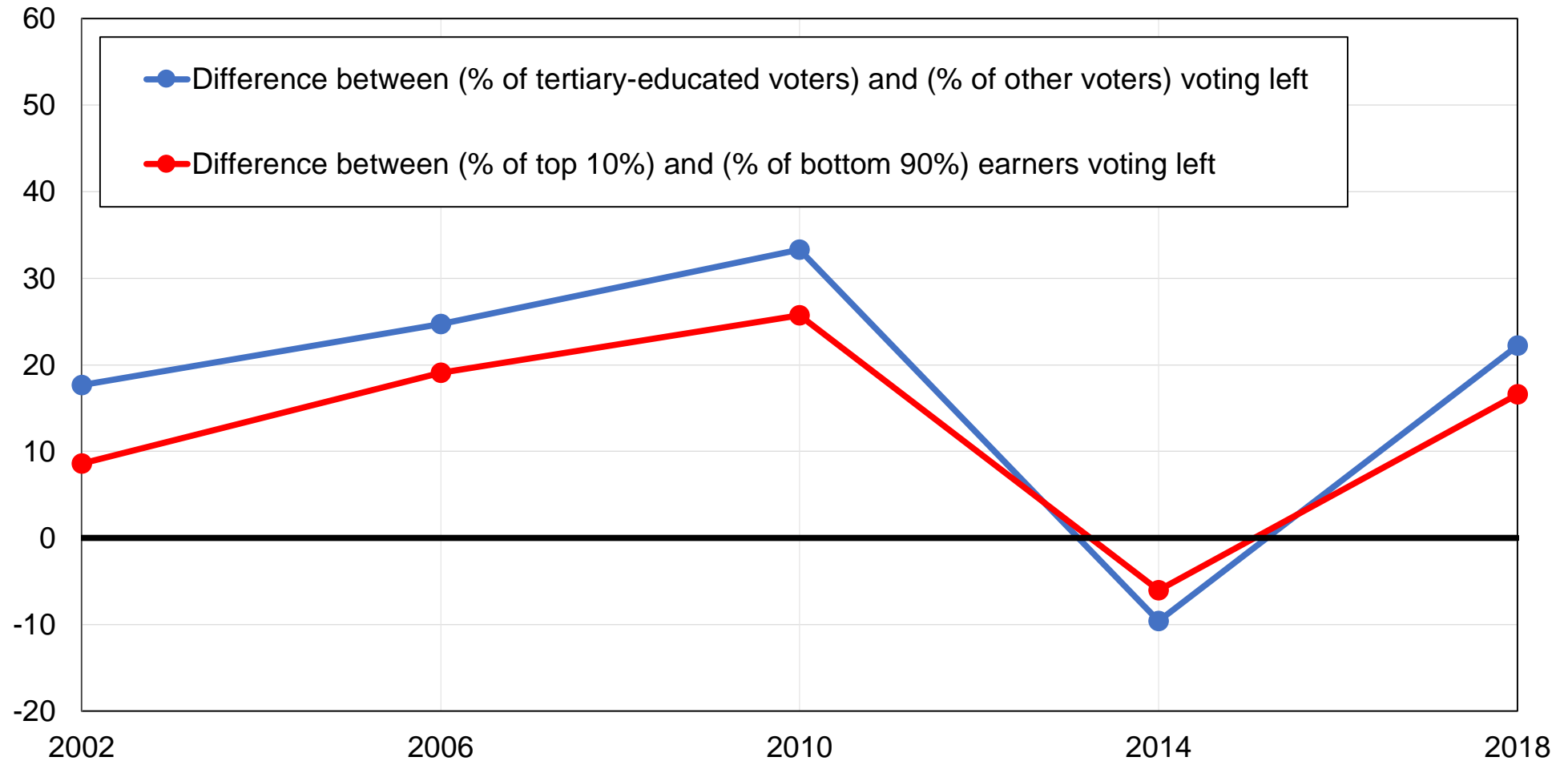
Figure DA19 - Vote for left-wing parties (Anti-Uribists) by plebiscite preferences, 2016



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.

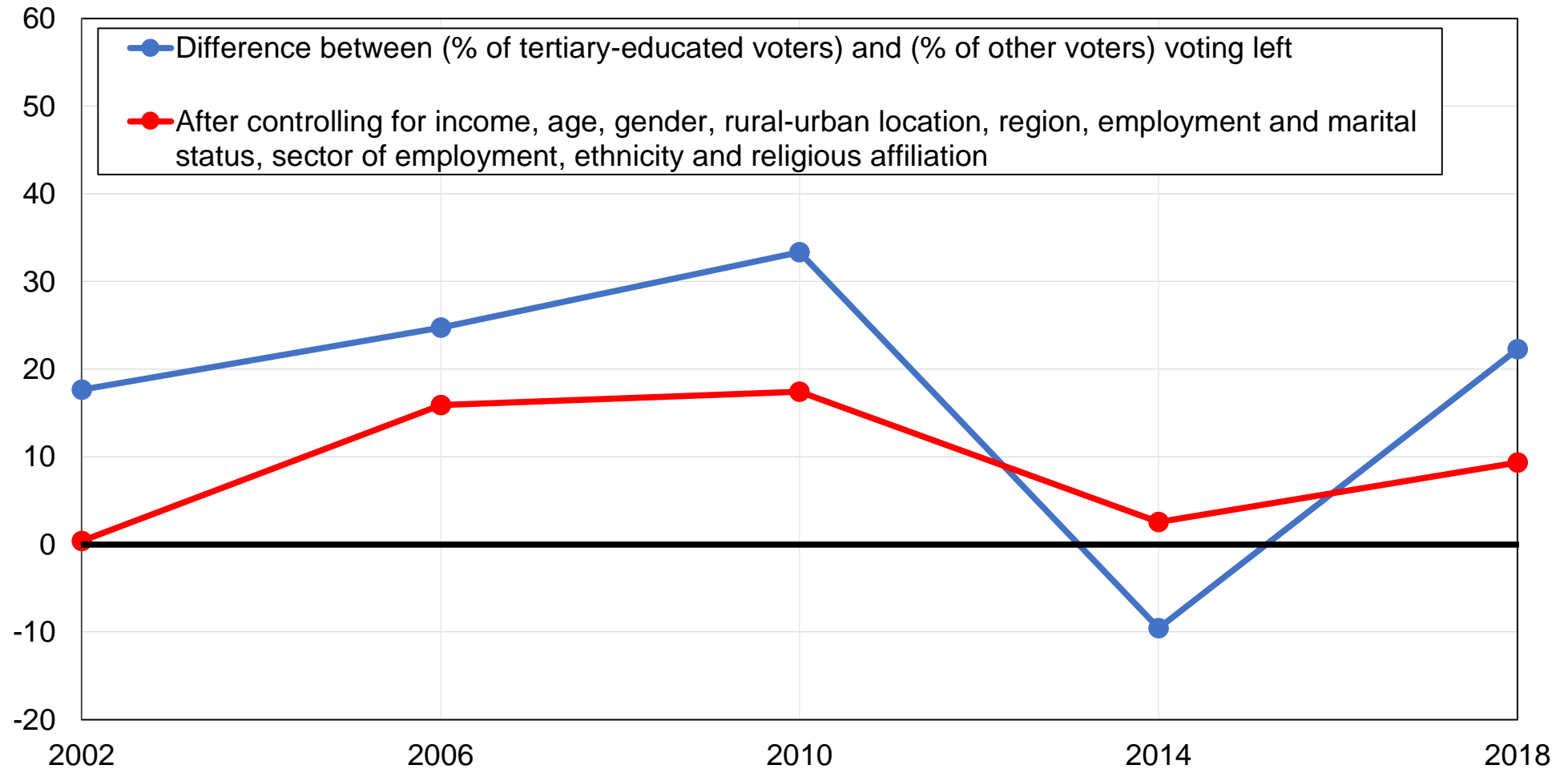
Figure DA20 - Vote for left-wing parties (Anti-Uribists) among tertiary-educated and top-income voters



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.

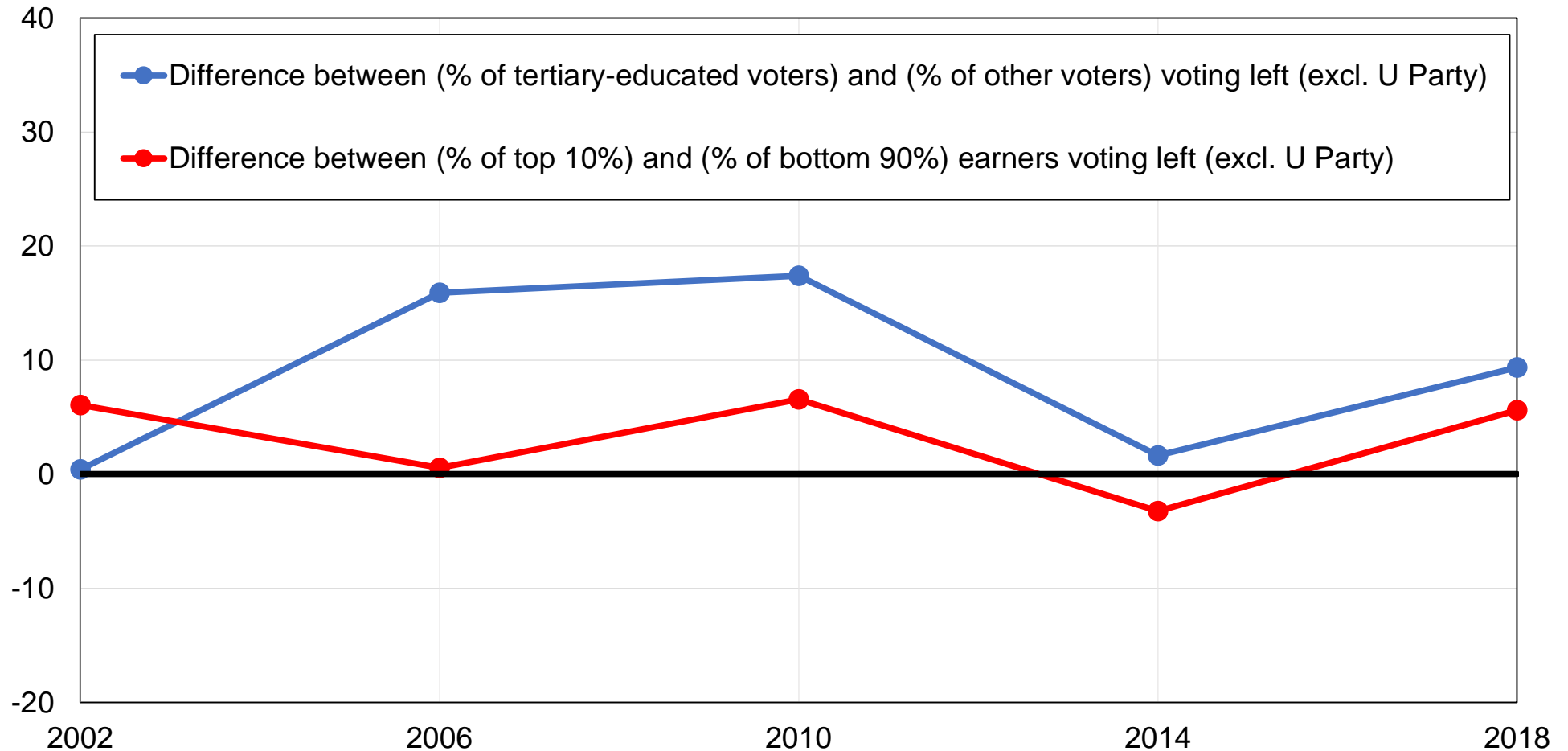
Figure DA21 - Vote for left-wing parties (Anti-Uribists) among tertiary-educated voters



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.

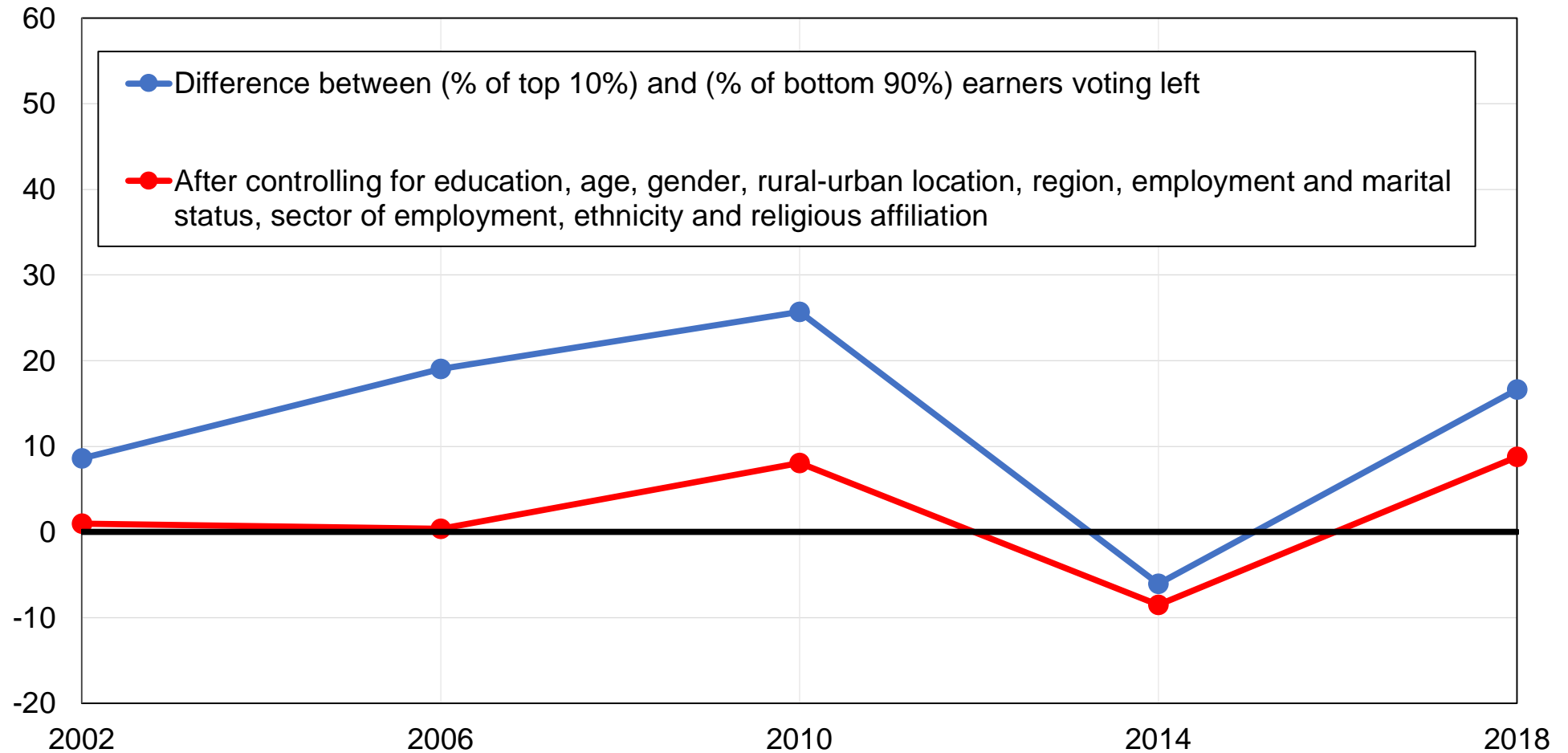
Figure DA22 - Vote for left-wing parties (Anti-Uribists) among tertiary-educated voters and top-income voters, after controls



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.

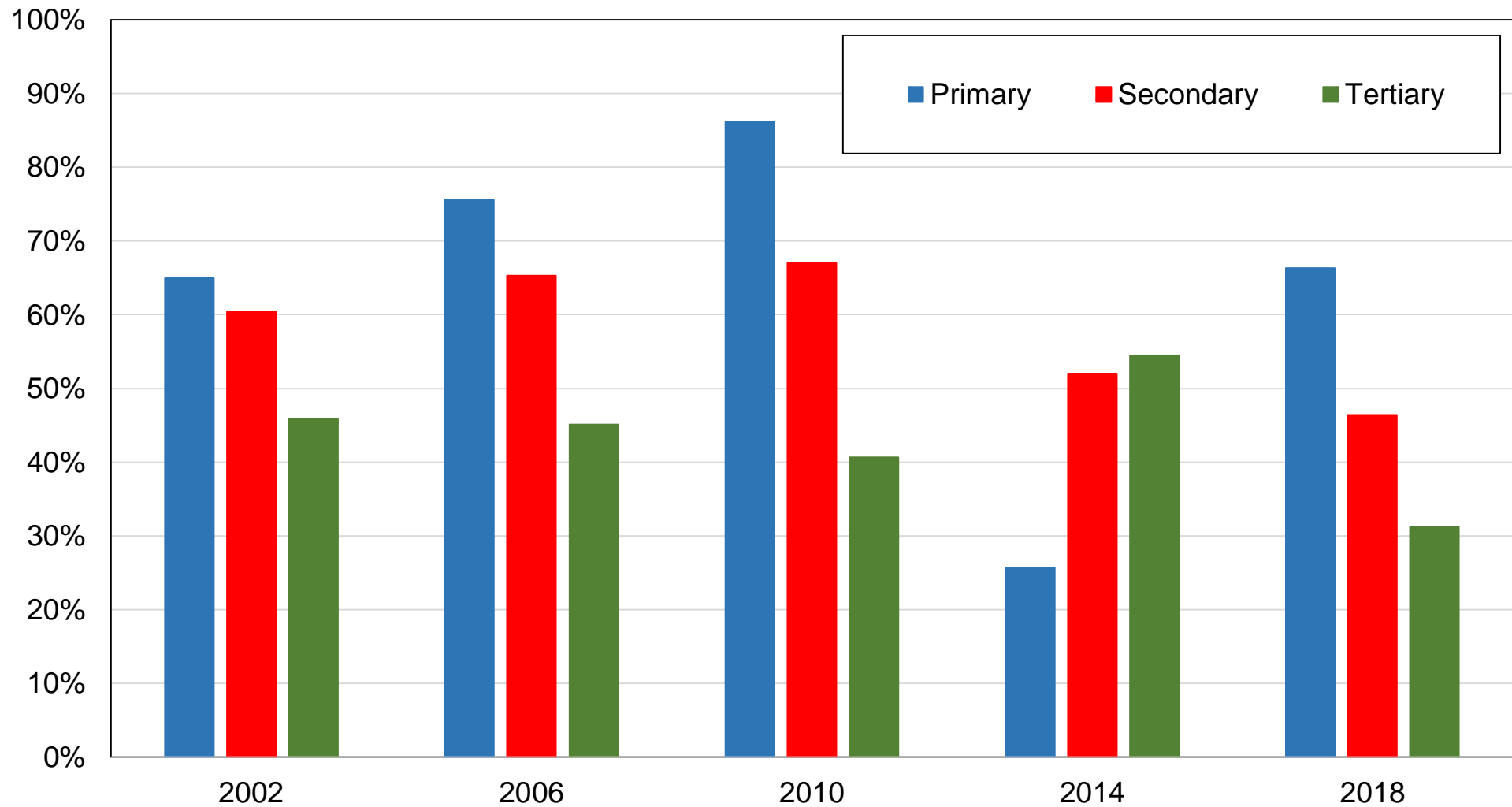
Figure DA23 - Vote for left-wing parties (Anti-Uribists) among top-income earners



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.

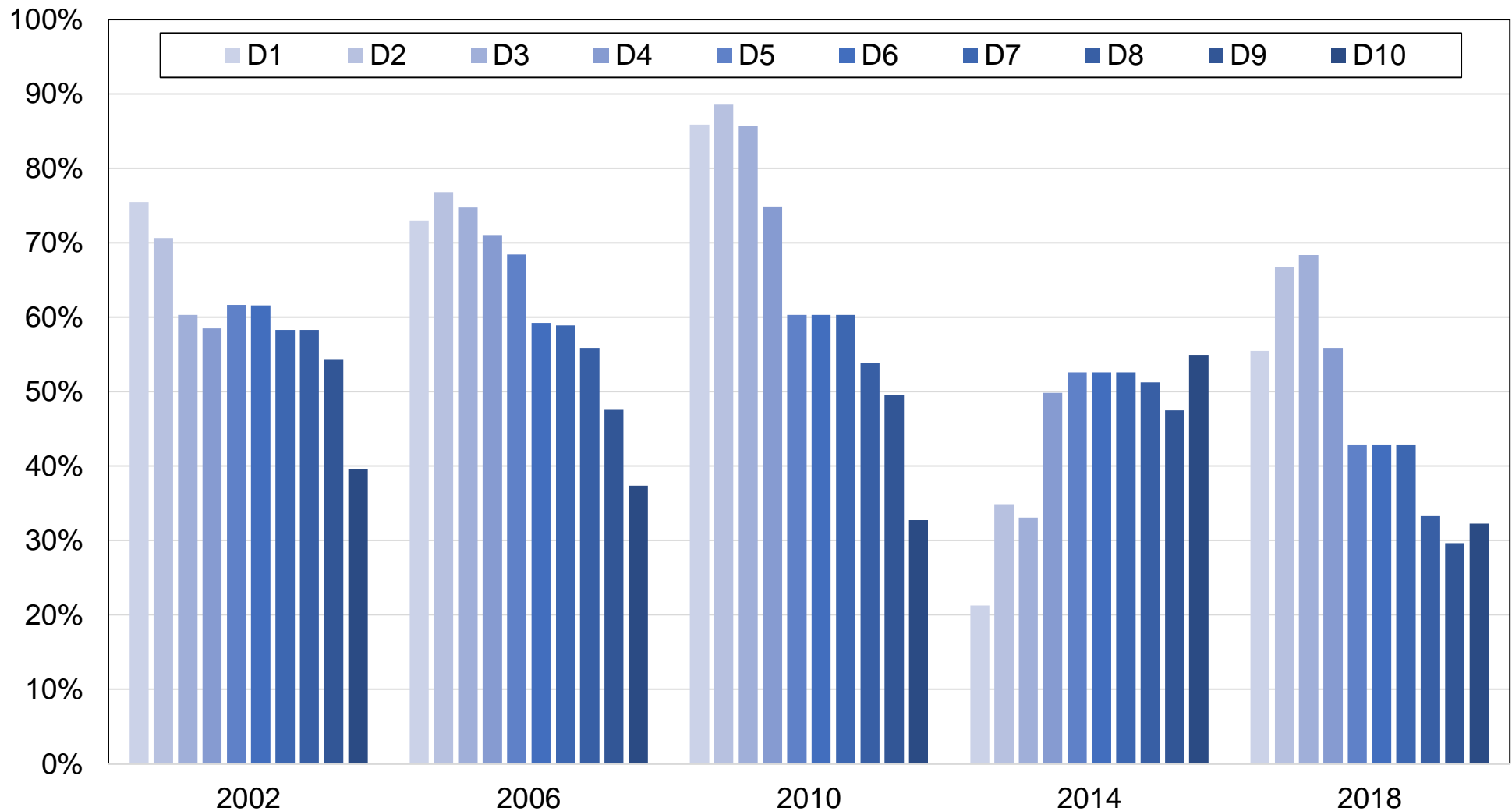
Figure DB1 - Vote for right-wing parties (Uribists) by education level



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.

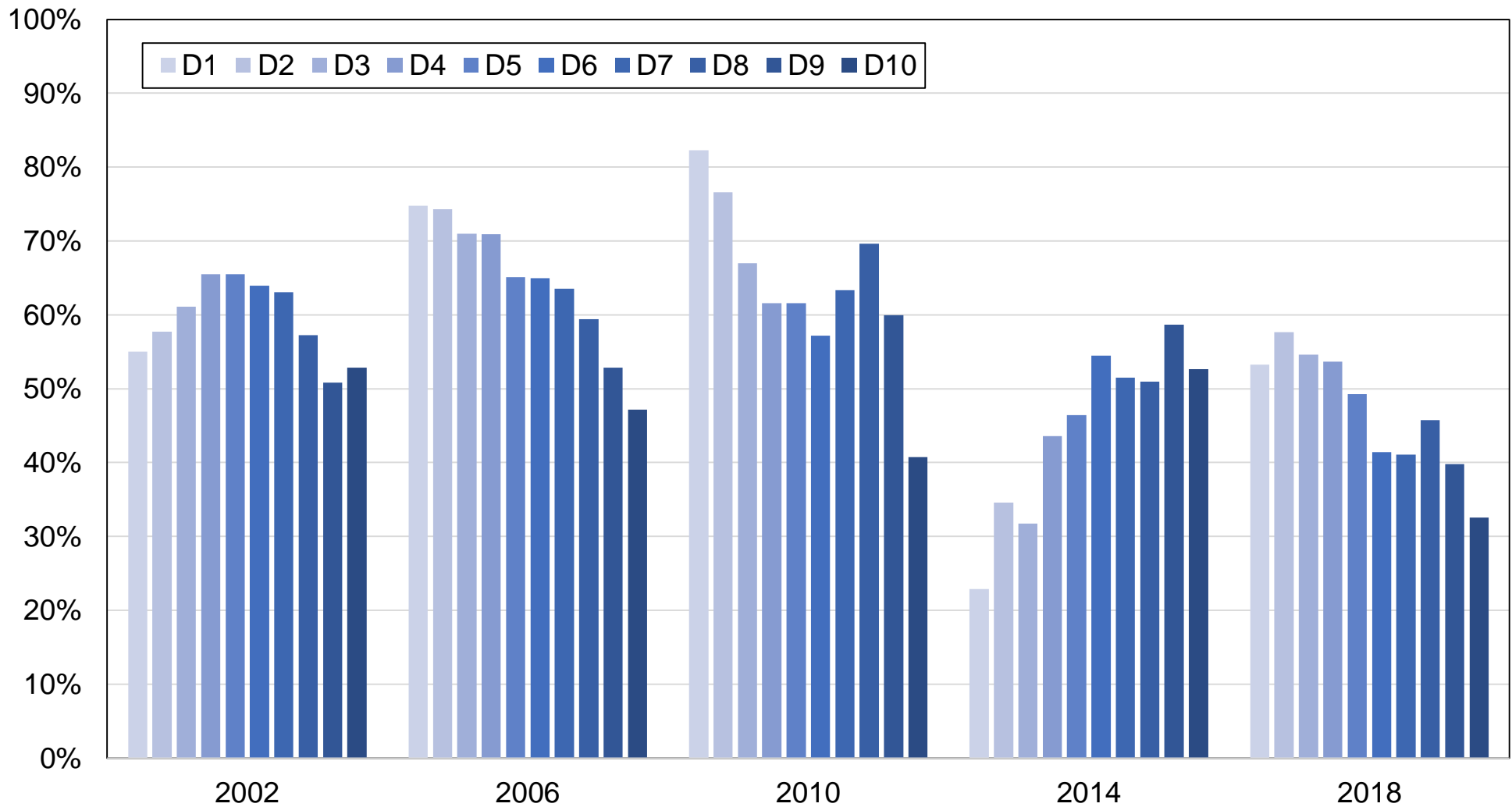
Figure DB2 - Vote for right-wing parties (Uribists) by education decile



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.

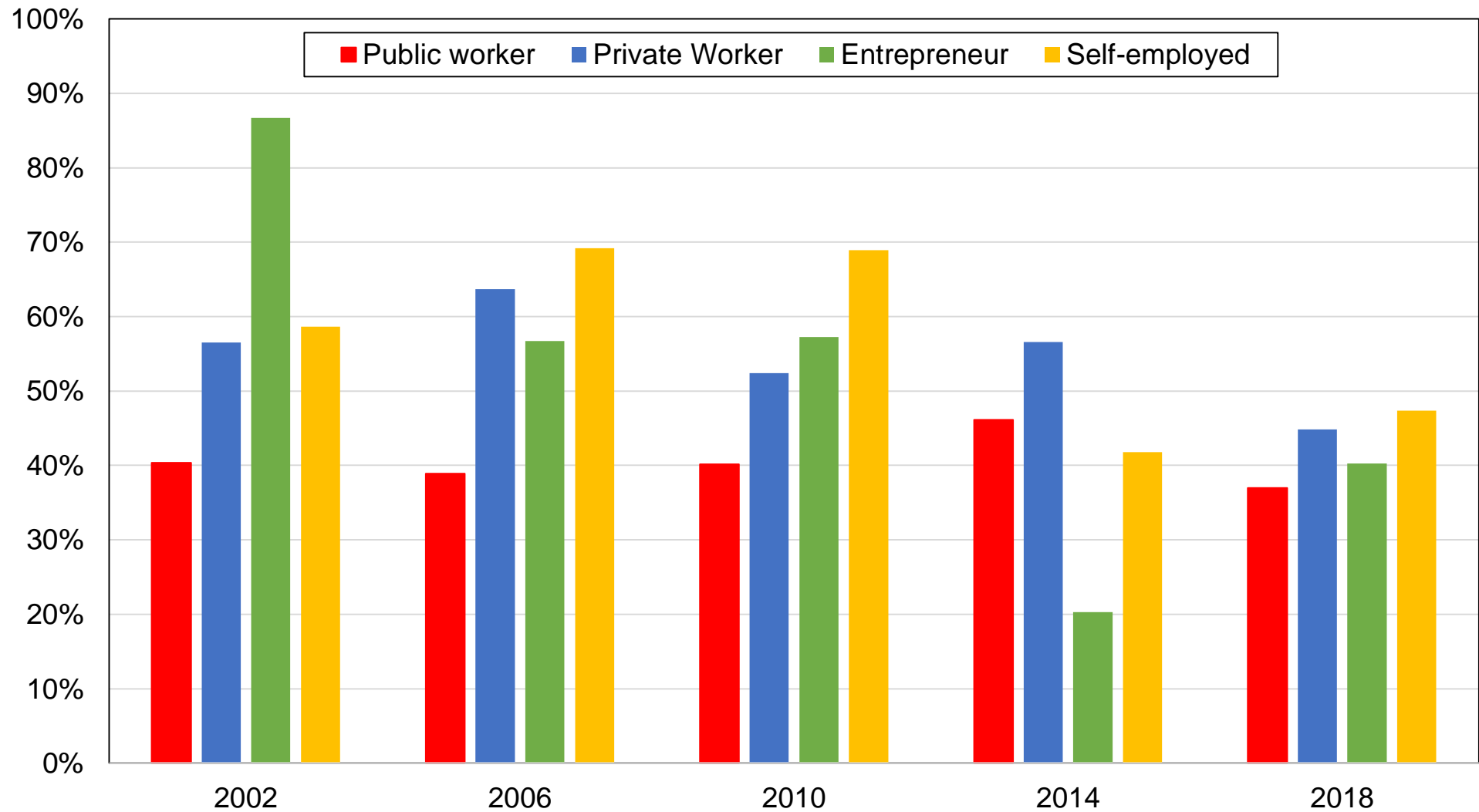
Figure DBA3 - Vote for right-wing parties (Uribists) by income decile



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.

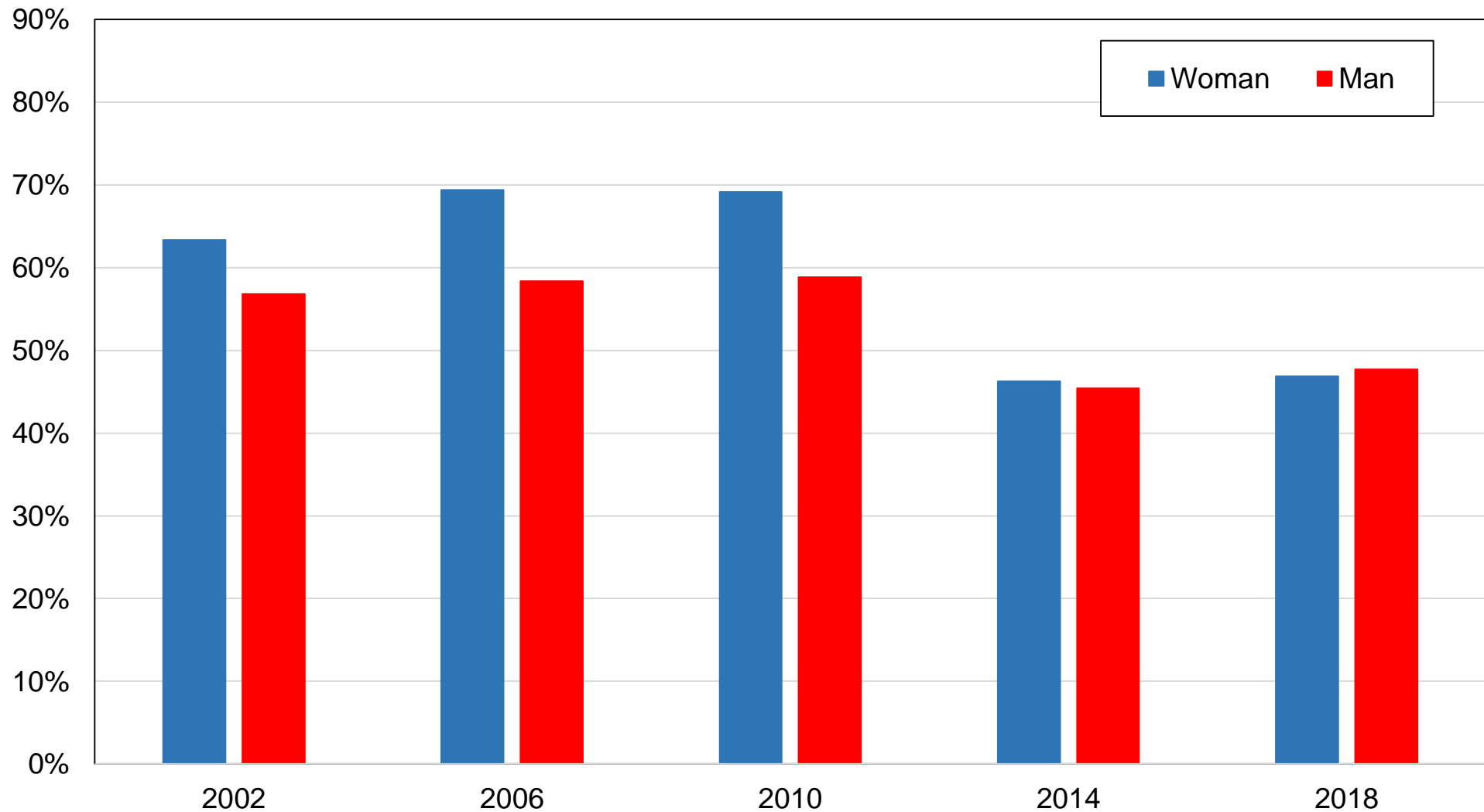
Figure DB5 - Vote for right-wing parties (Uribists) by age group



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.

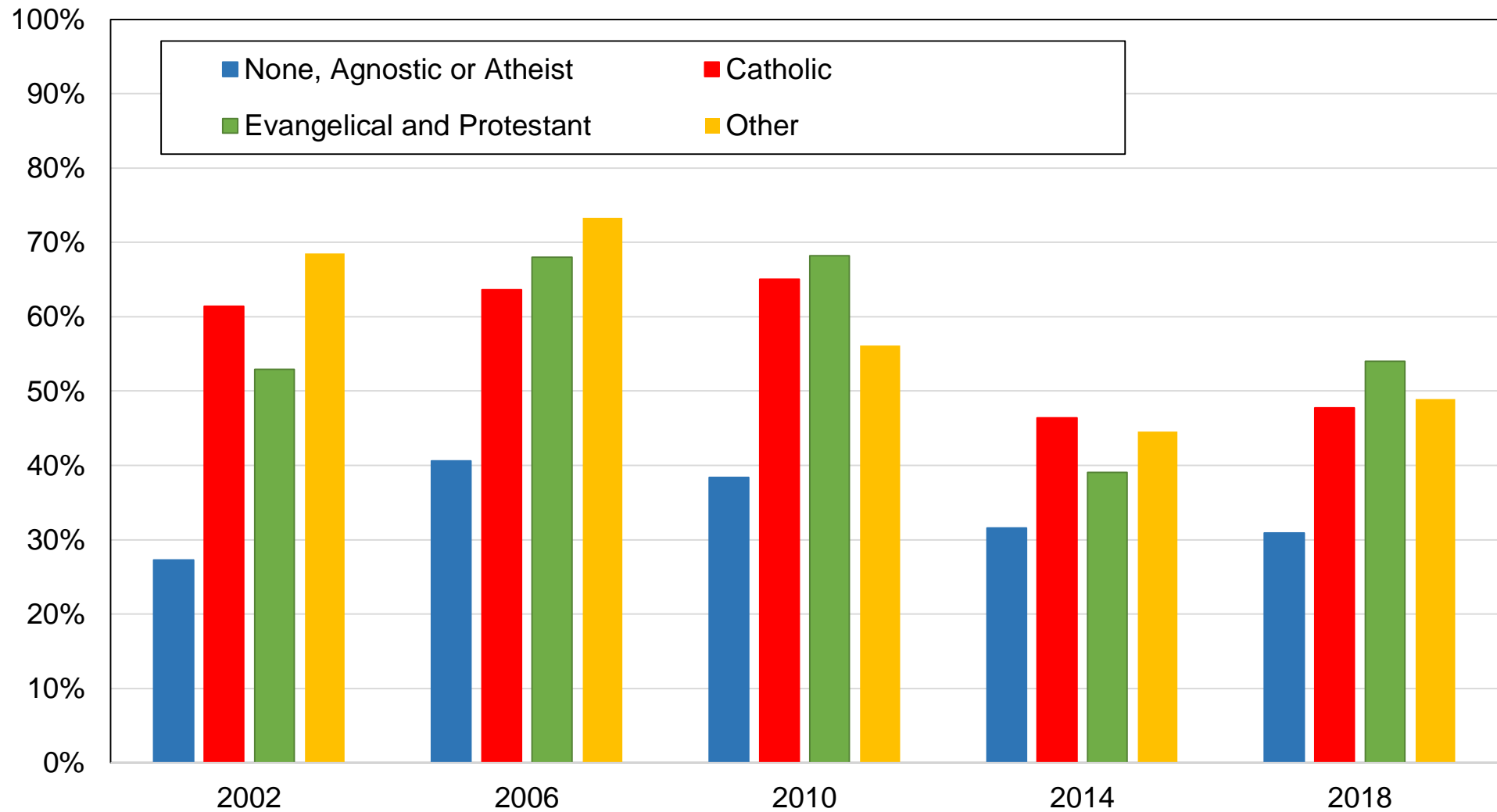
Figure DB6 - Vote for right-wing parties (Uribists) by gender



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.

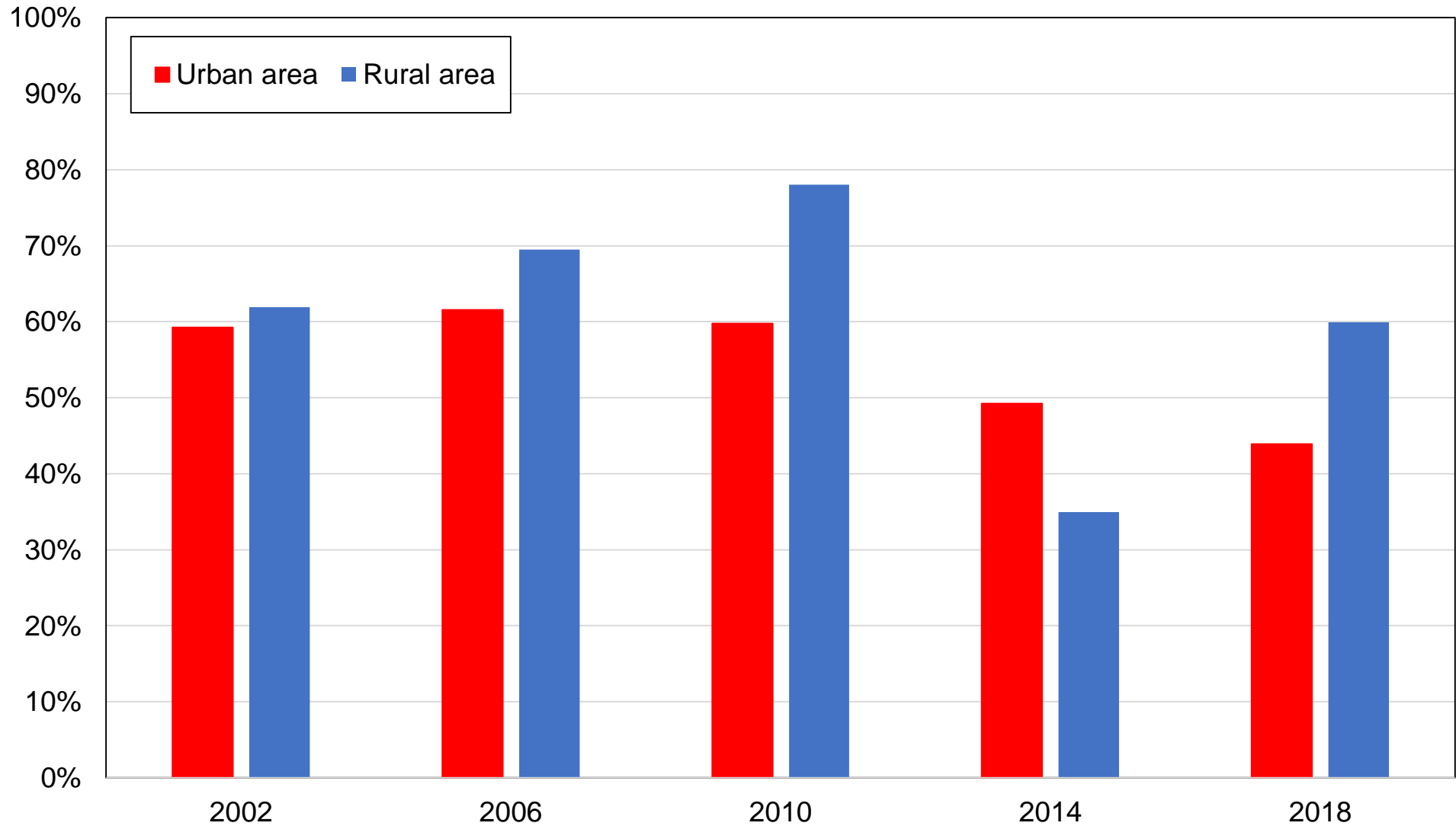
Figure DB7 - Vote for right-wing parties (Uribists) by religious affiliation



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.

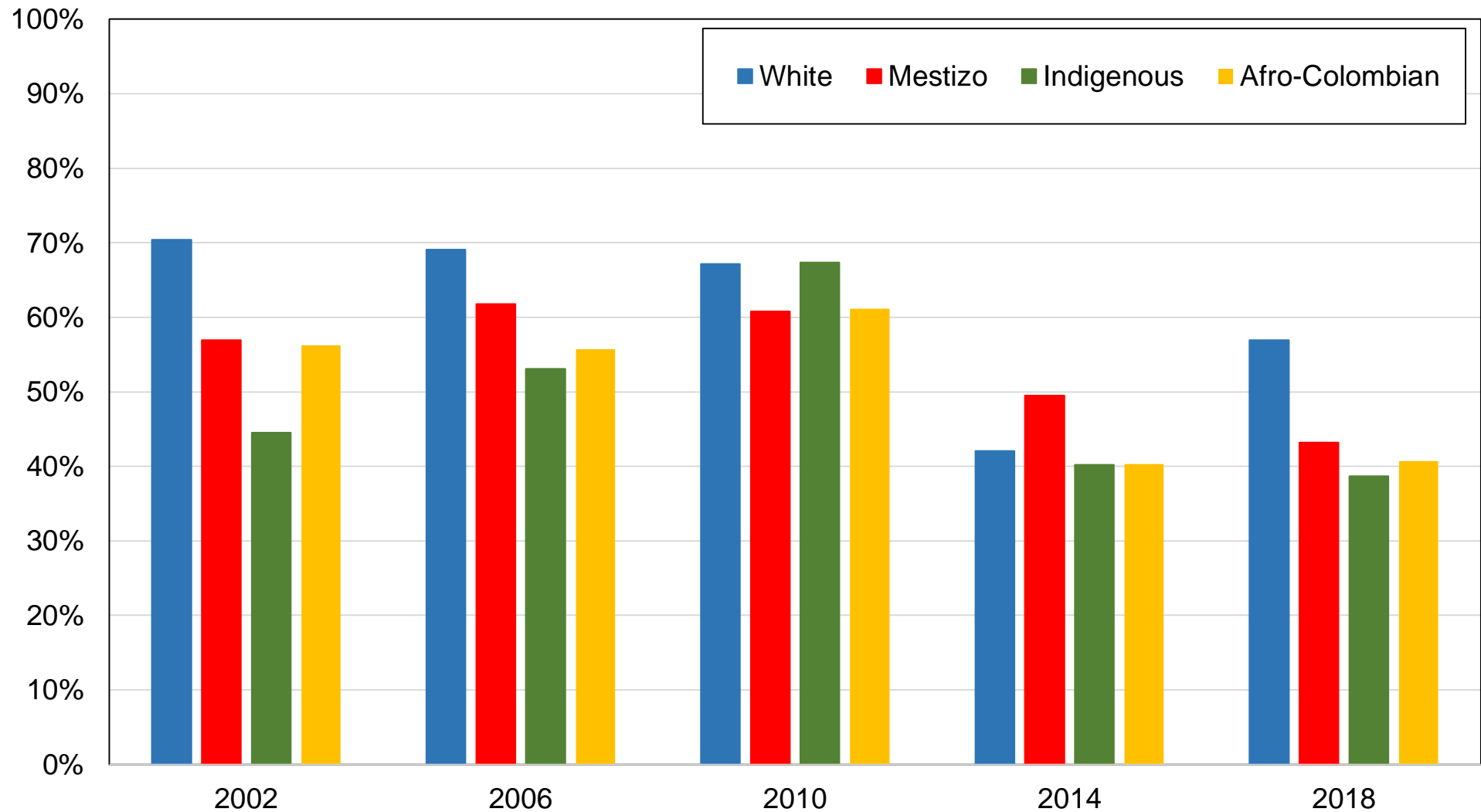
Figure DB8 - Vote for right-wing parties (Uribists) by location



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.

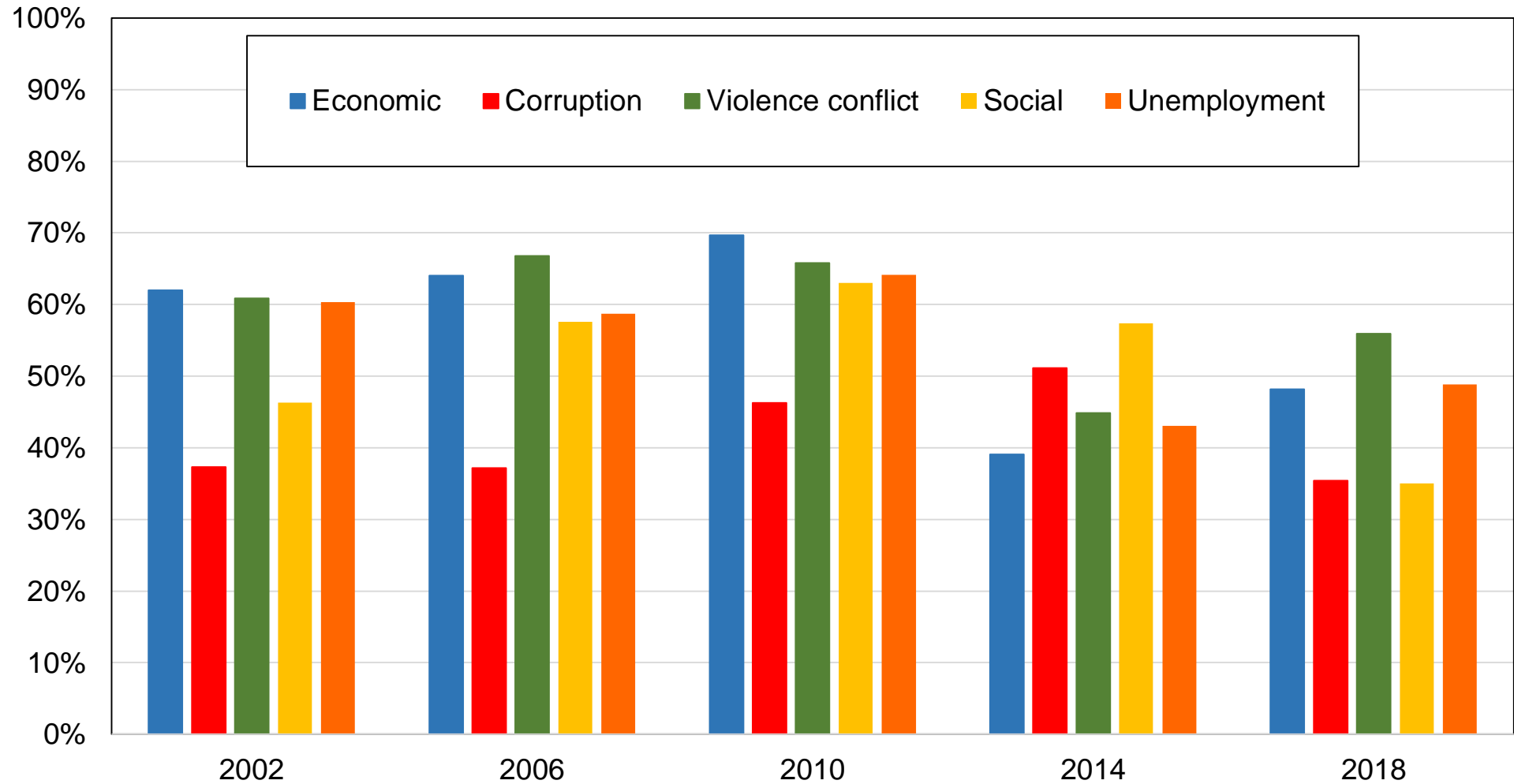
Figure DB9 - Vote for right-wing parties (Uribists) by ethnicity



Source: authors' computations using political attitudes surveys.

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

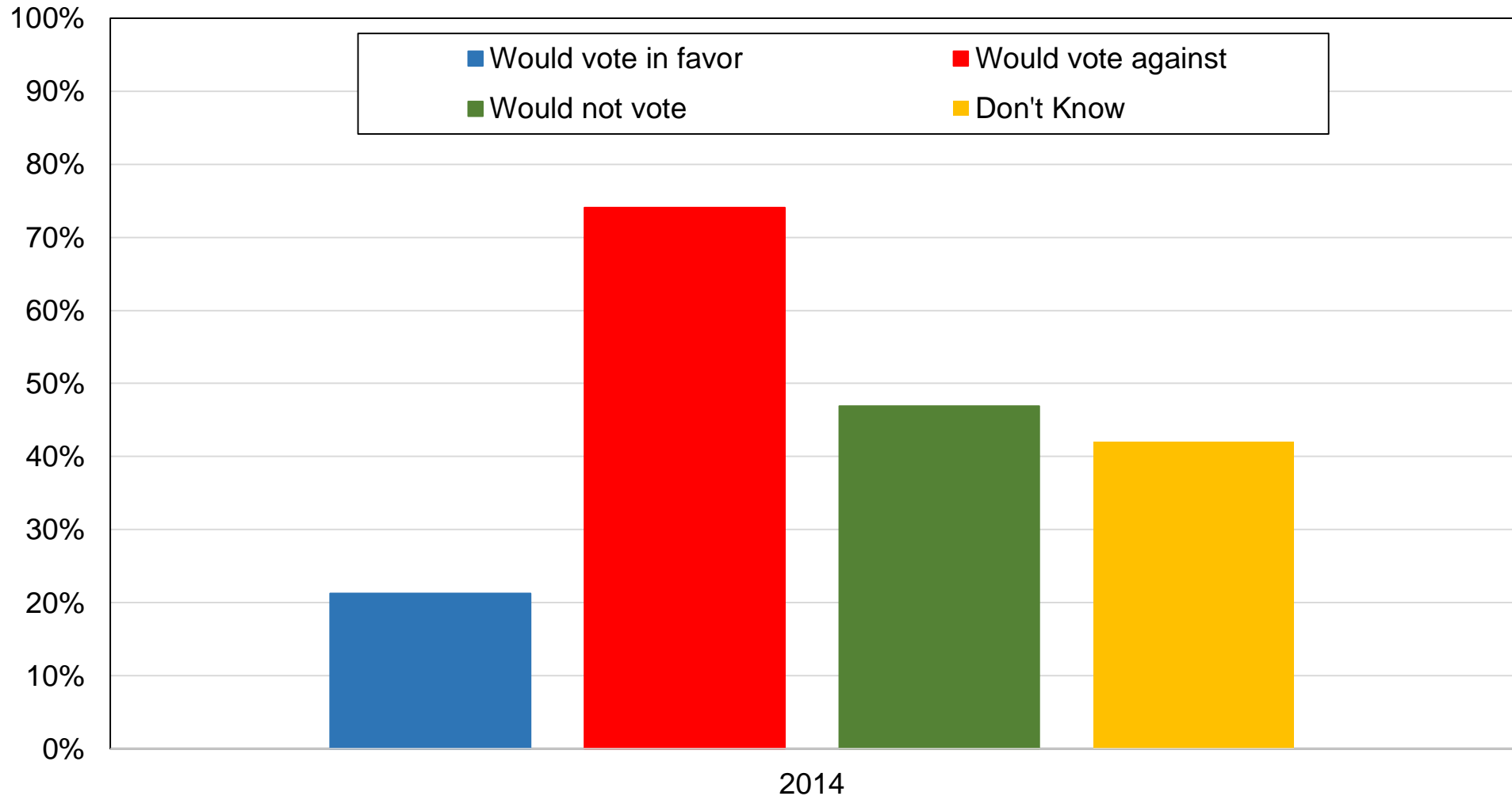
Figure DB10 - Vote for right-wing parties (Uribists) by perceived main problem



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	LAPOP, Colombia	Presidential	1479
Post-electoral	2006	LAPOP, Colombia	Presidential	7484
Post-electoral	2010	LAPOP, Colombia	Presidential	4511
Post-electoral	2014	LAPOP, Colombia	Presidential	1563
Post-electoral	2018	LAPOP, 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

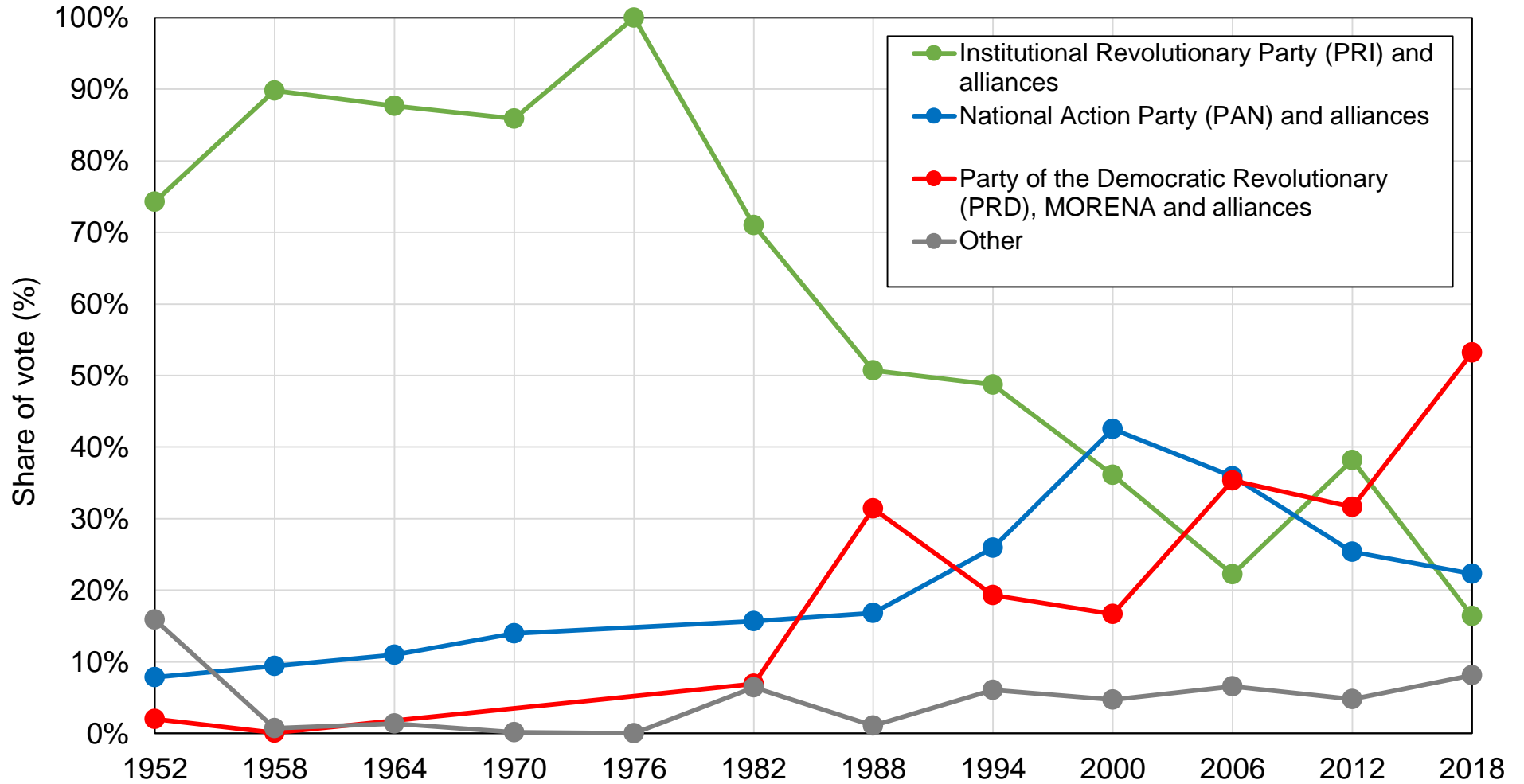
	Share of votes received (%)		
	Uribists (Centro Democrático / V Lleras)	Petrists (Colombia Humana)	Fajardists (Coalición Colombia)
Education			
Primary	38%	14%	4%
Secondary	24%	19%	8%
Tertiary	21%	22%	22%
Income			
Bottom 50%	30%	18%	7%
Middle 40%	24%	20%	13%
Top 10%	22%	19%	23%
Gender			
Woman	25%	17%	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.

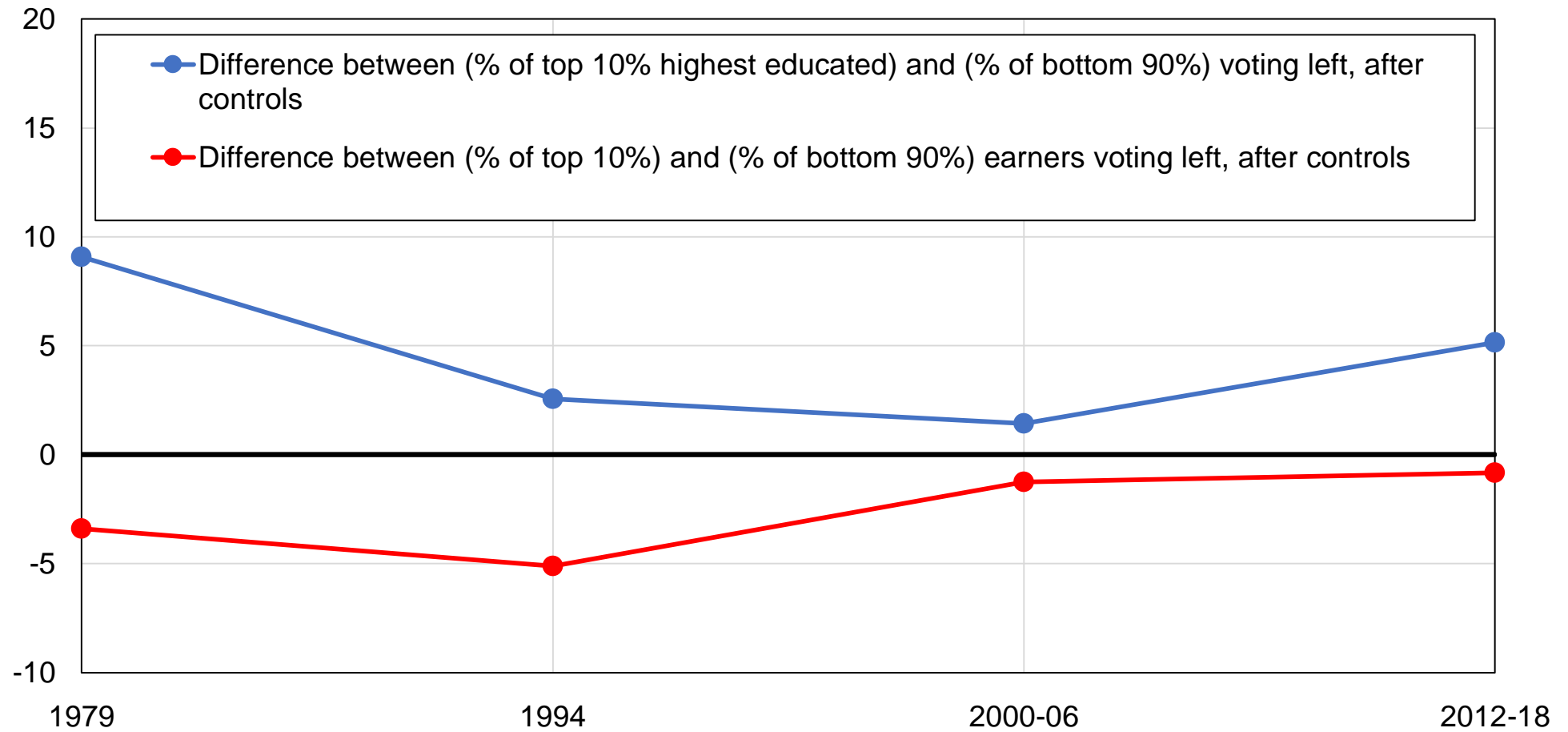
Figure E1 - Presidential election results in Mexico, 1952-2018



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Mexican political parties in presidential elections between 1952 and 2018.

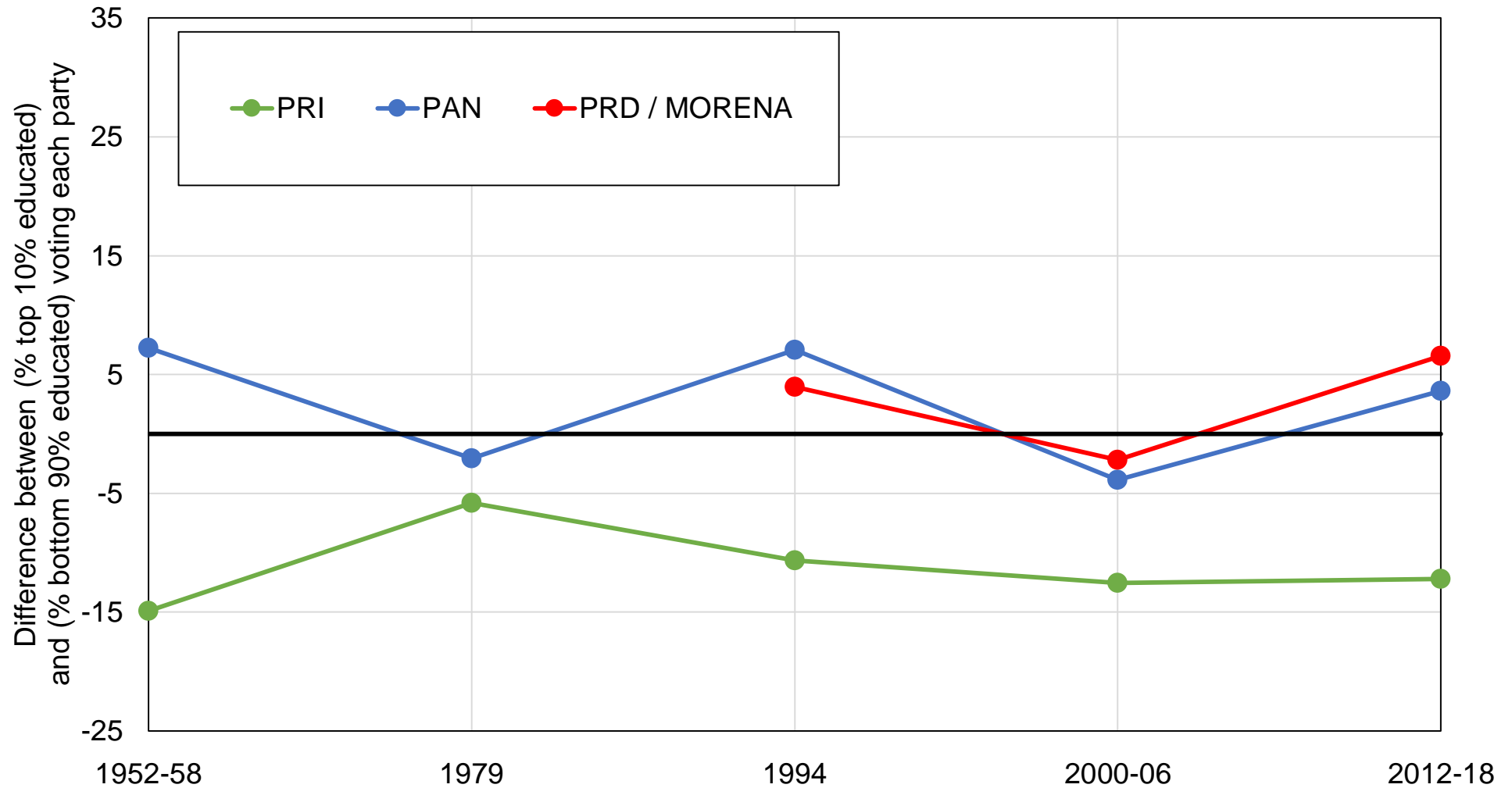
Figure E2 - Vote for PRD / Morena / Other left among highest-educated and top-income voters



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the relative support of highest-educated and top-income voters for left-wing parties, after controlling for age, gender, religion, employment status, marital status, occupation, perceived class, union membership, rural-urban location, region and ethnicity.

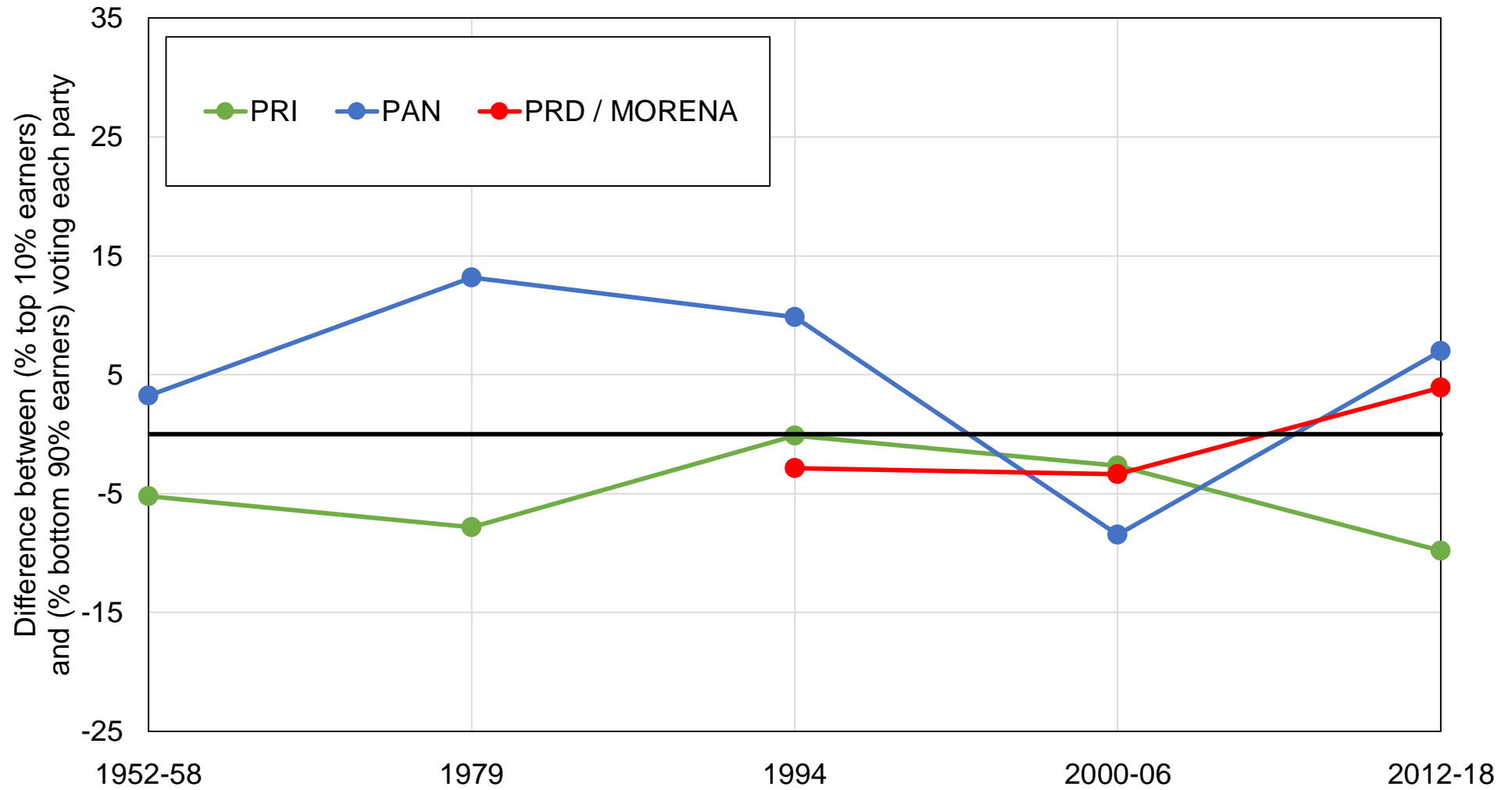
Figure E3 - The education cleavage in Mexico



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

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

Figure E4 - The income cleavage in Mexico



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

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

Table E1 - The structure of political cleavages in Mexico, 2018

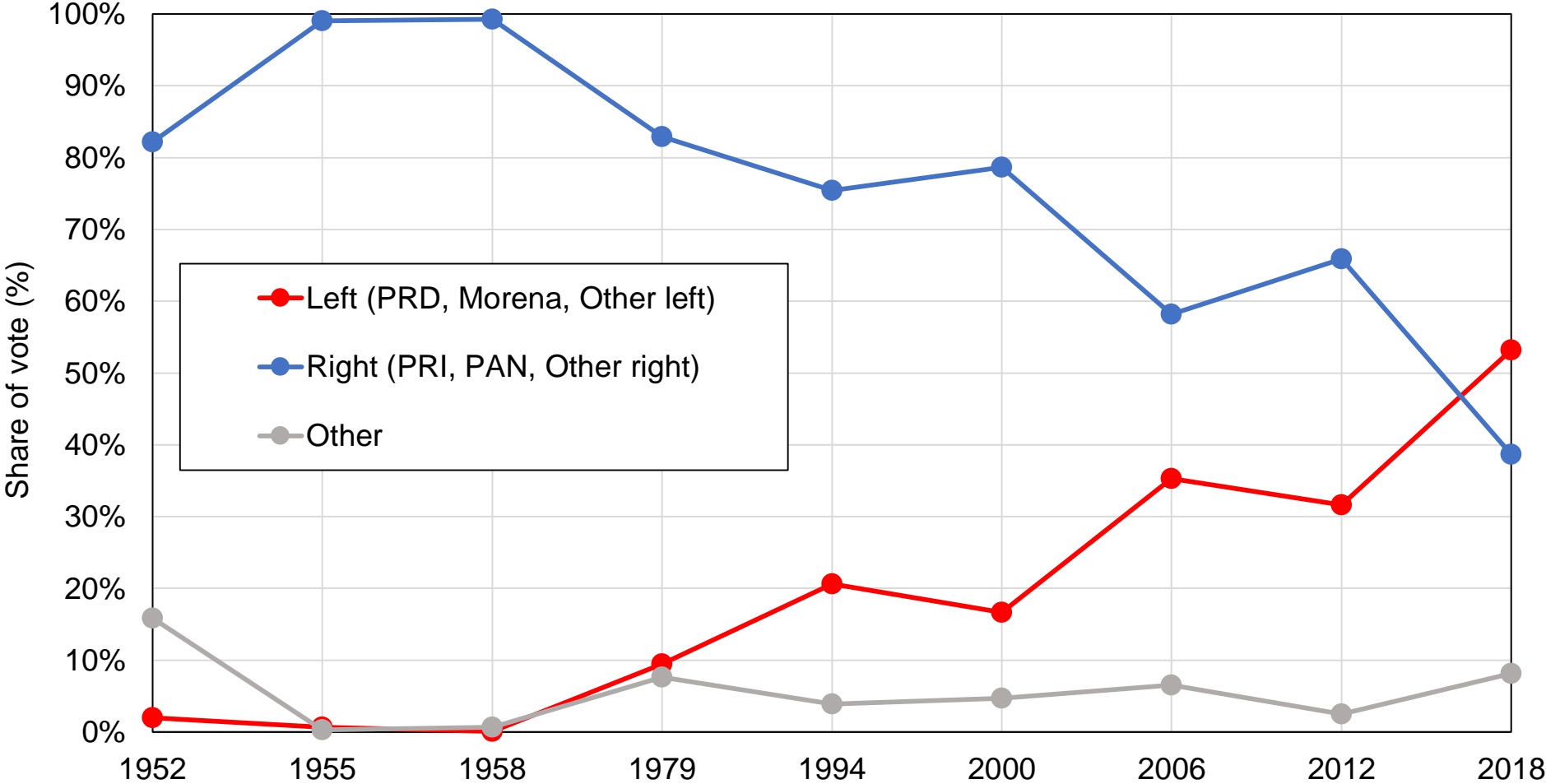
Share of votes received (%)			
	Institutional Revolutionary Party	National Action Party	Morena
Education			
Primary	25%	19%	48%
Secondary	17%	18%	57%
Tertiary	13%	26%	50%
Income			
Bottom 50%	19%	19%	54%
Middle 40%	18%	20%	55%
Top 10%	14%	26%	53%
Age			
20-39	16%	21%	52%
40-59	20%	20%	54%
60+	21%	19%	53%
Occupation			
Managers, scientists and intellectuals	14%	29%	42%
Technicians, professionals and administrative officers	24%	24%	45%
Commerce and services	9%	18%	62%
Agriculture, fisheries and forests	19%	10%	71%
Industry workers and supervisors	27%	17%	53%
Other	12%	30%	48%
Region			
North	20%	22%	53%
Center West	15%	25%	46%
Center	22%	20%	49%

South	12%	14%	69%
Ethnicity			
White	25%	30%	39%
Mestizo	18%	17%	56%
Indigenous	6%	14%	74%
Other	19%	28%	48%

Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

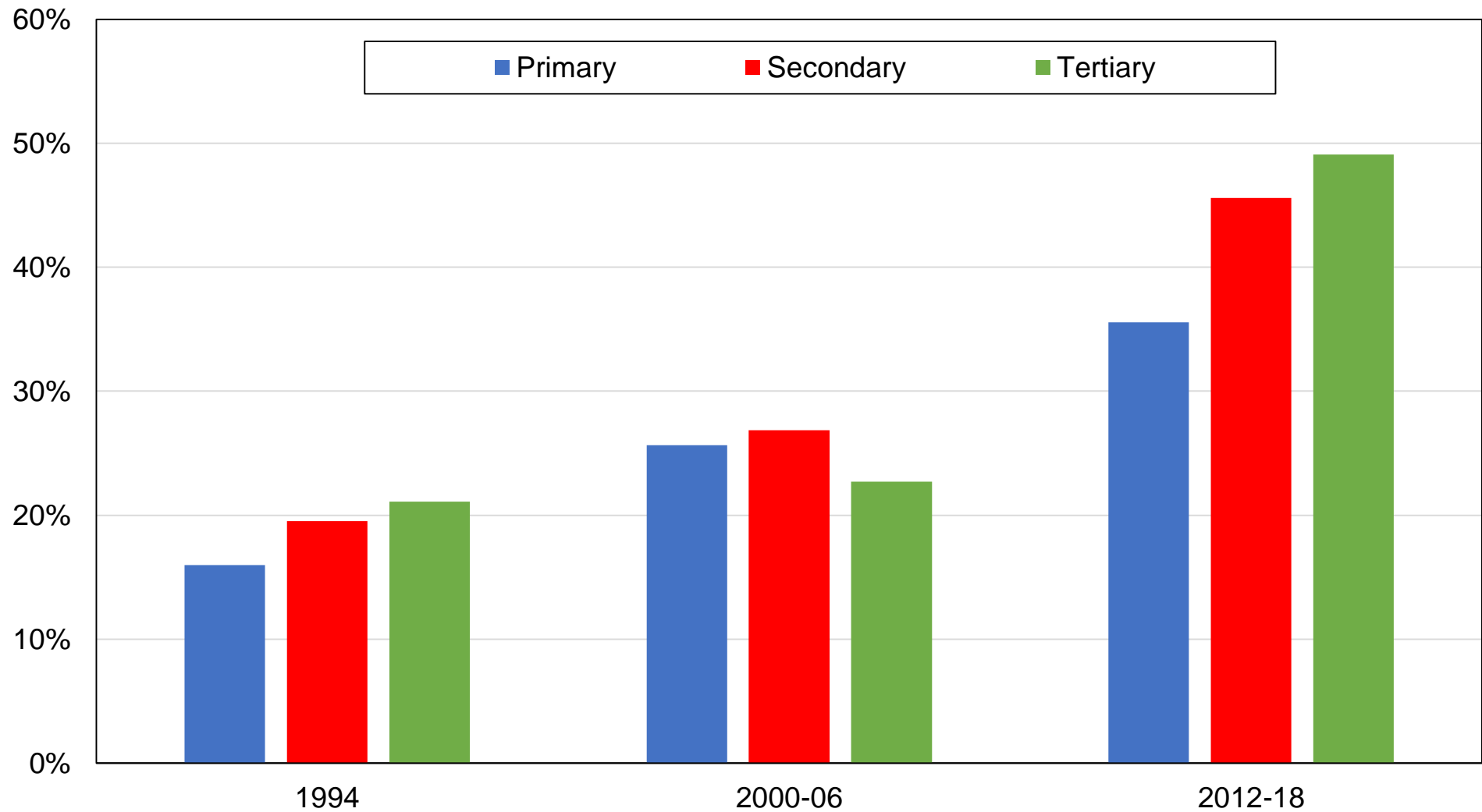
Notes: the table shows the average share of votes received by PRI, PAN and Morena by selected individual characteristics in the 2018 election.

Figure EA1 - Election results in Mexico by group, 1952-2018



Source: authors' computations using official election results.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Mexican political parties in presidential elections between 1952 and 2018.

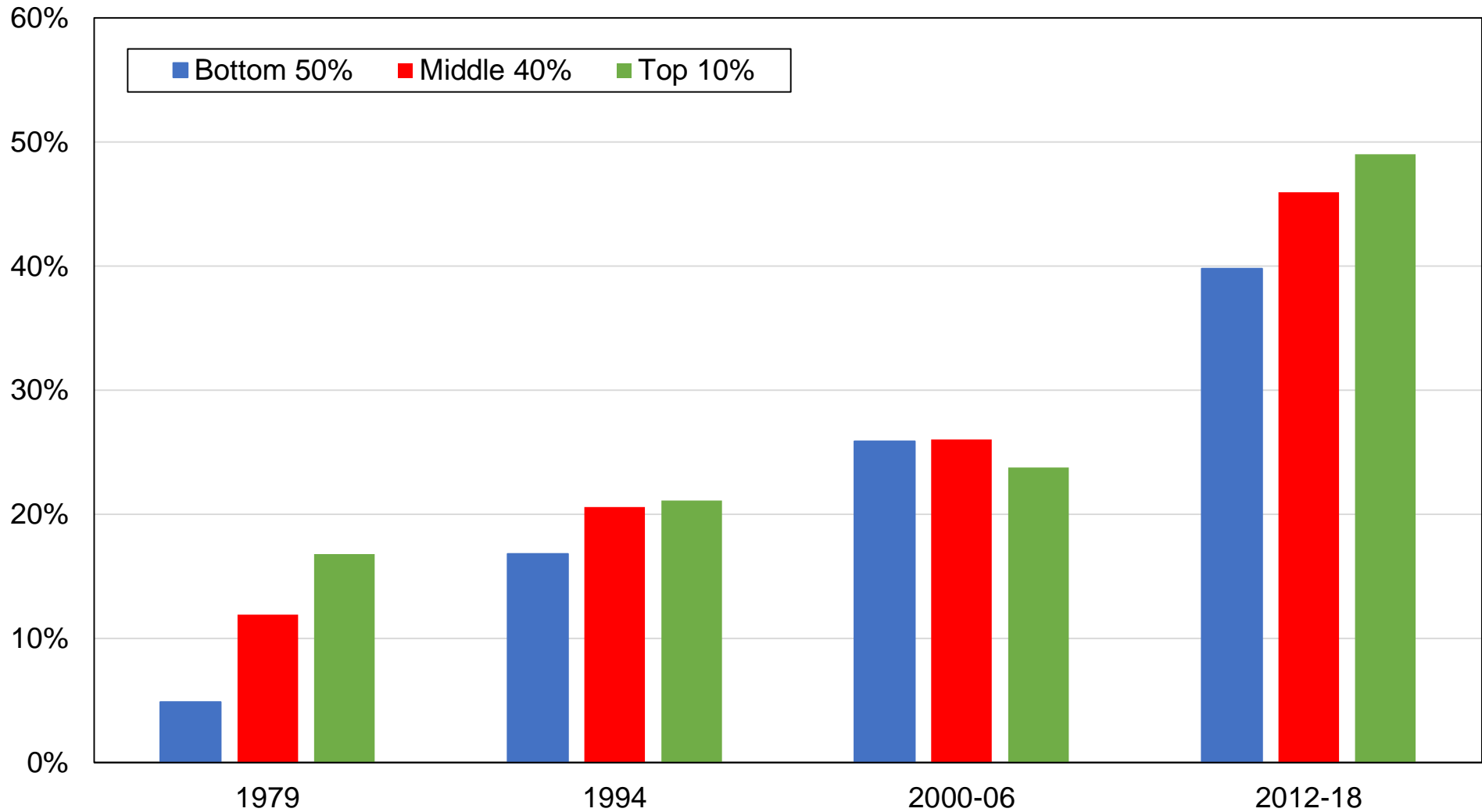
Figure EB1 - Vote for PRD / Morena / Other left by education level



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

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

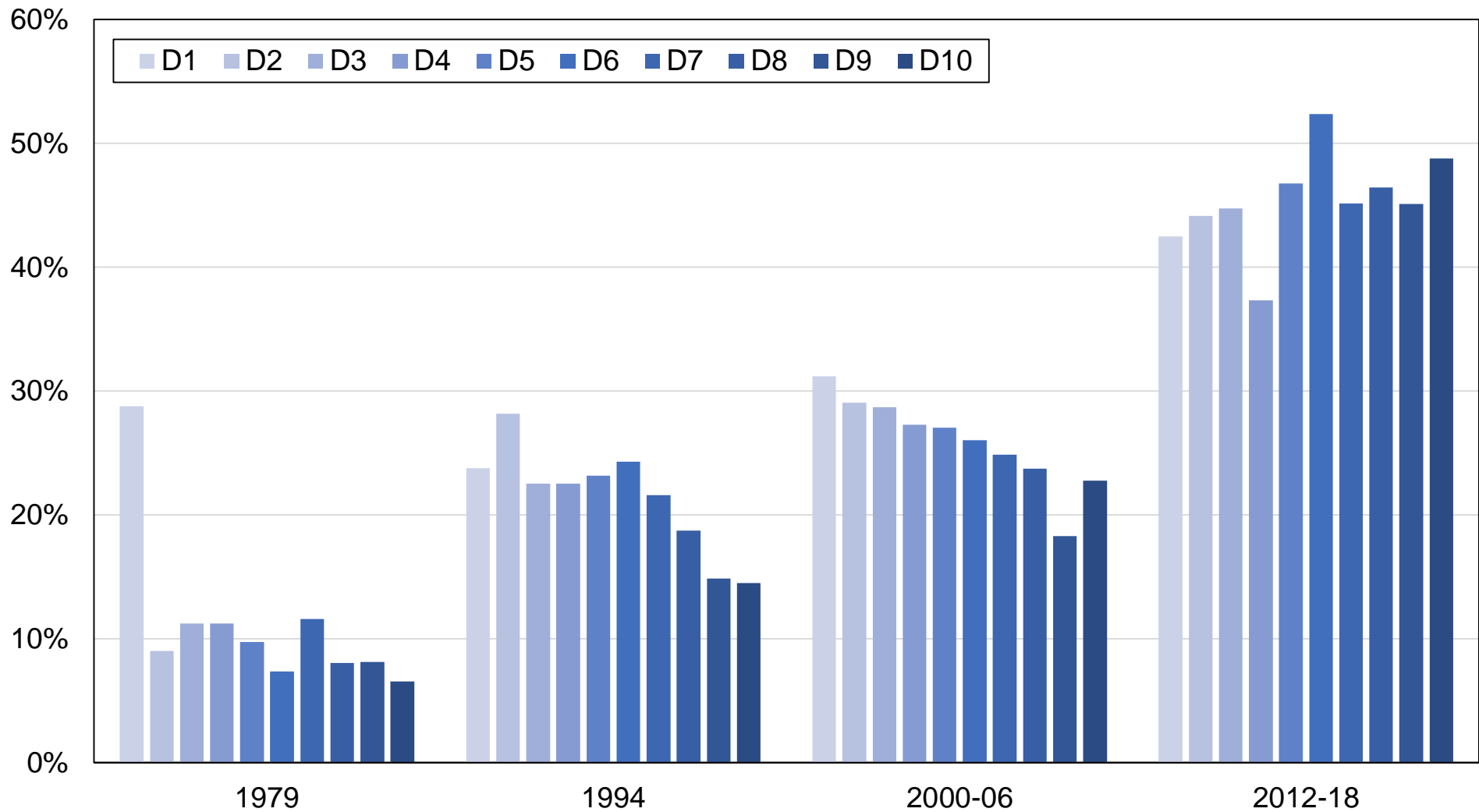
Figure EB2 - Vote for PRD / Morena / Other left by education group



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

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

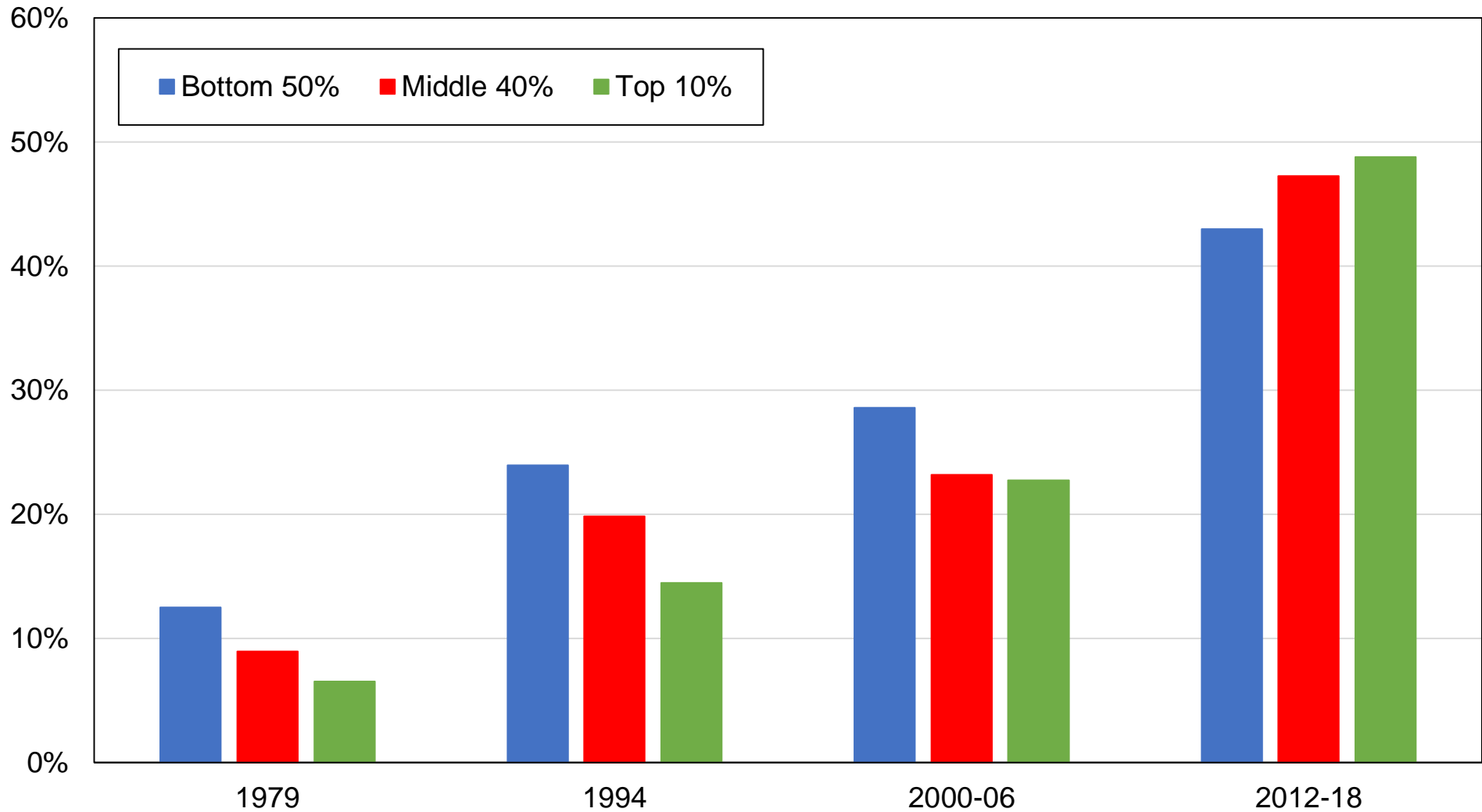
Figure EB3 - Vote for PRD / Morena / Other left by income decile



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

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

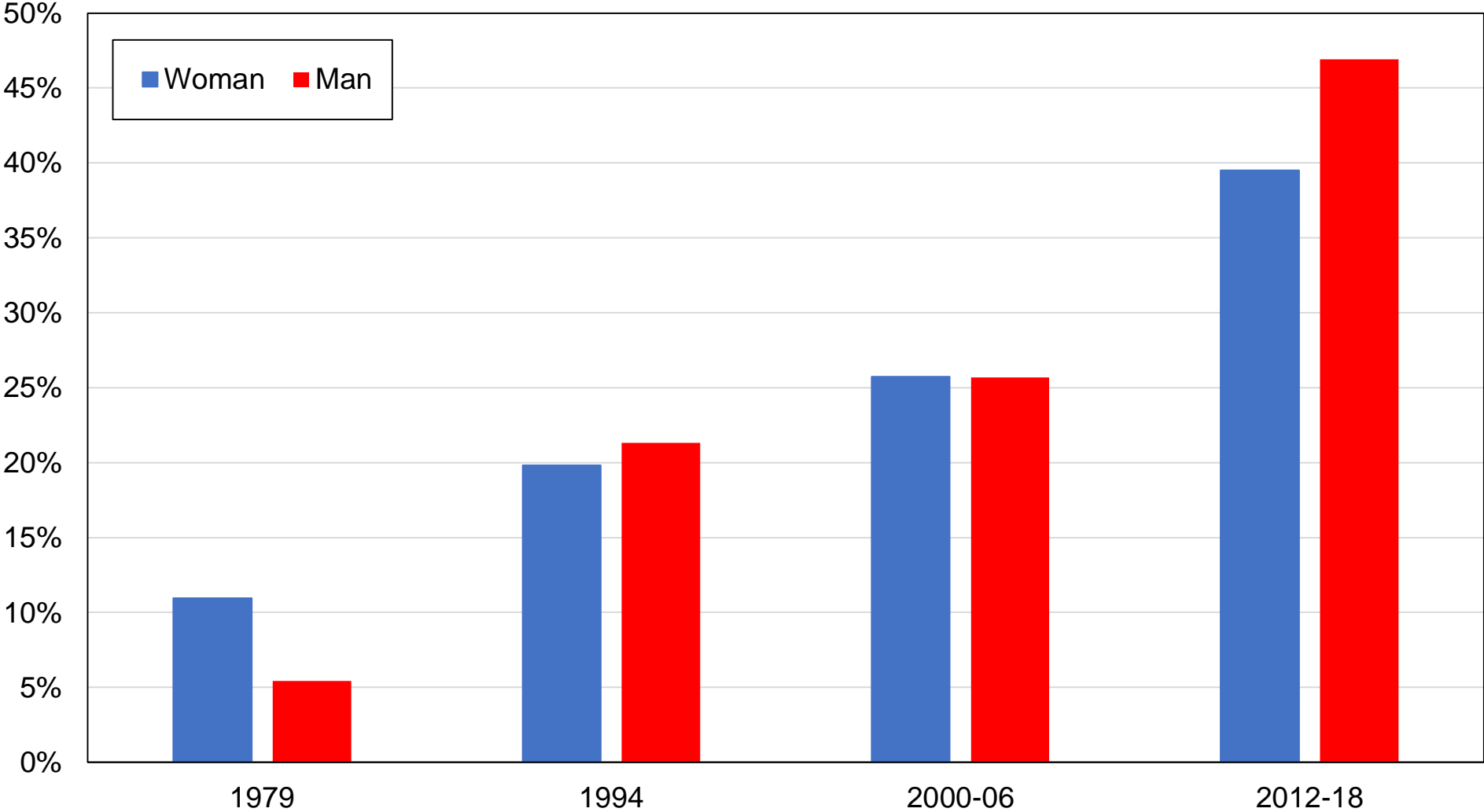
Figure EB4 - Vote for PRD / Morena / Other left by income group



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

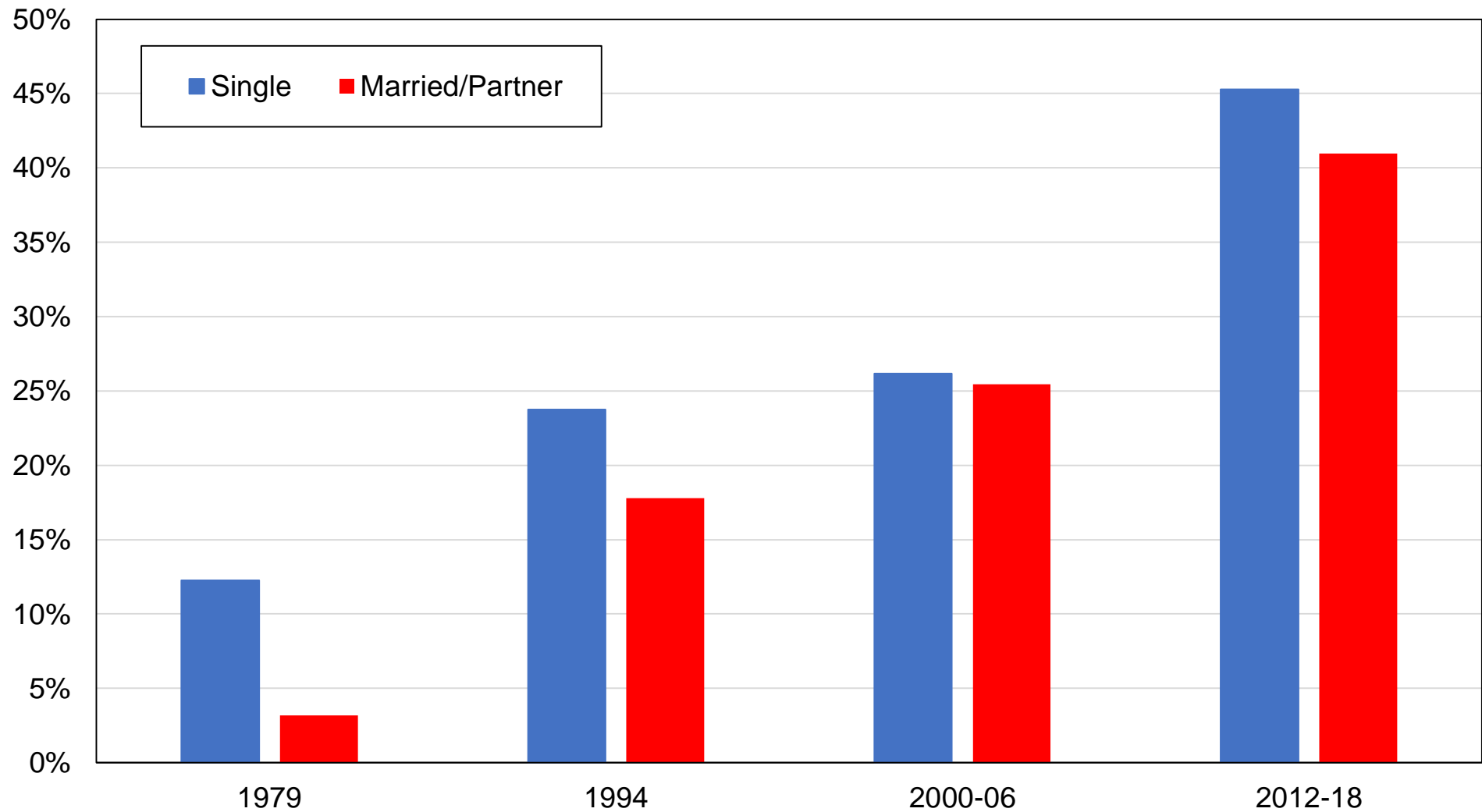
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by income group.

Figure EB5 - Vote for PRD / Morena / Other left by gender



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

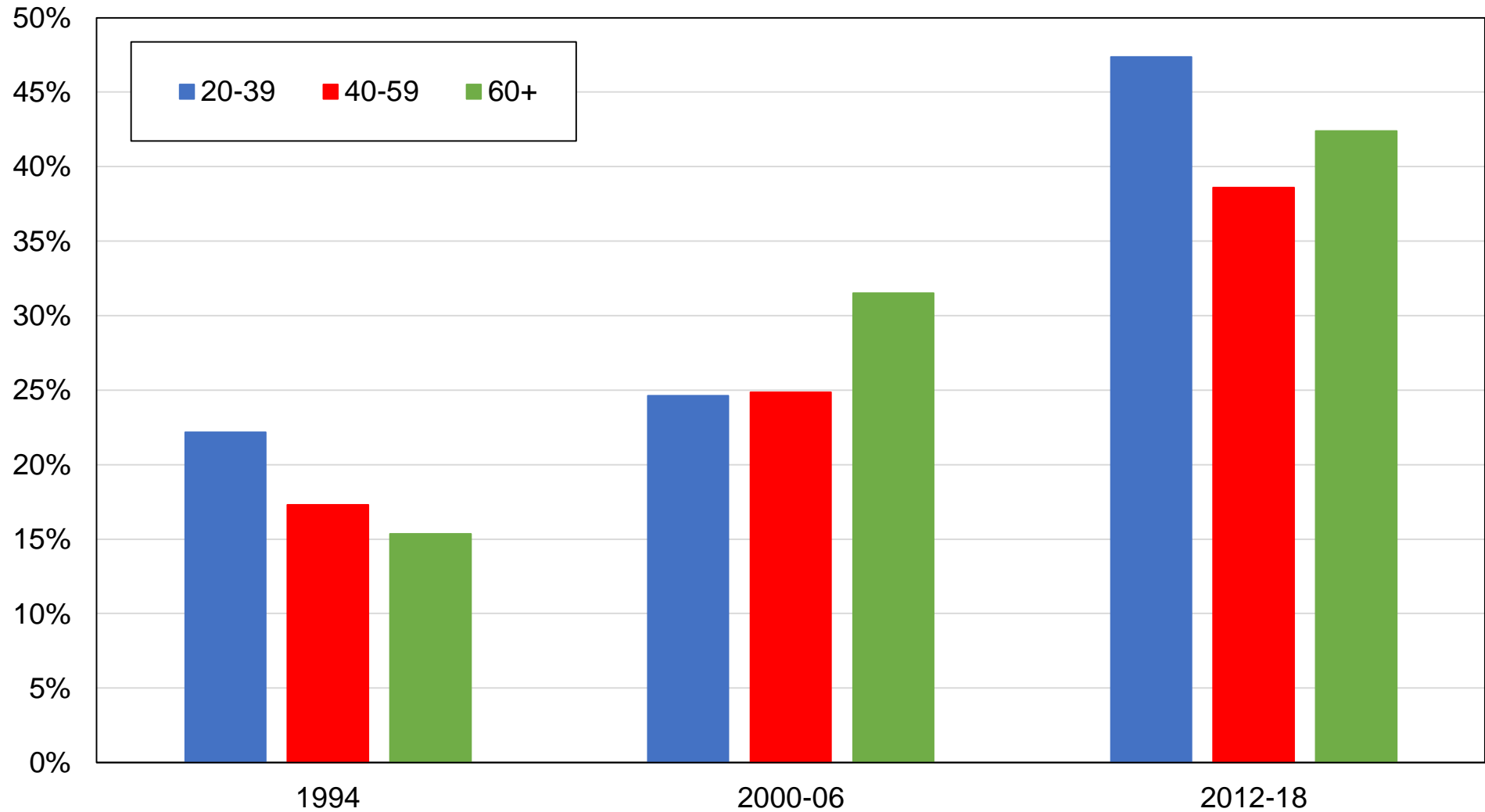
Figure EB6 - Vote for PRD / Morena / Other left by marital status



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

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

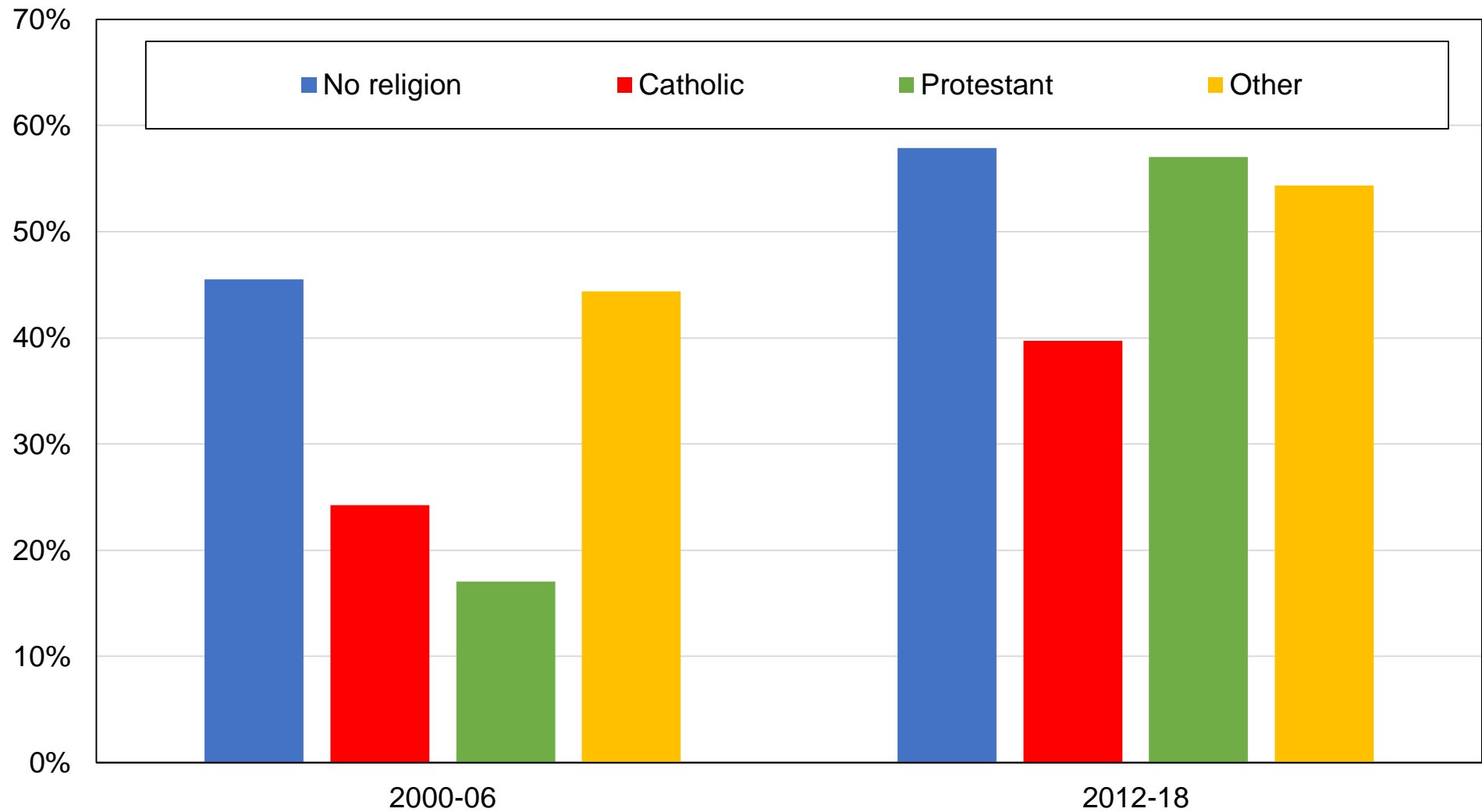
Figure EB7 - Vote for PRD / Morena / Other left by age group



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

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

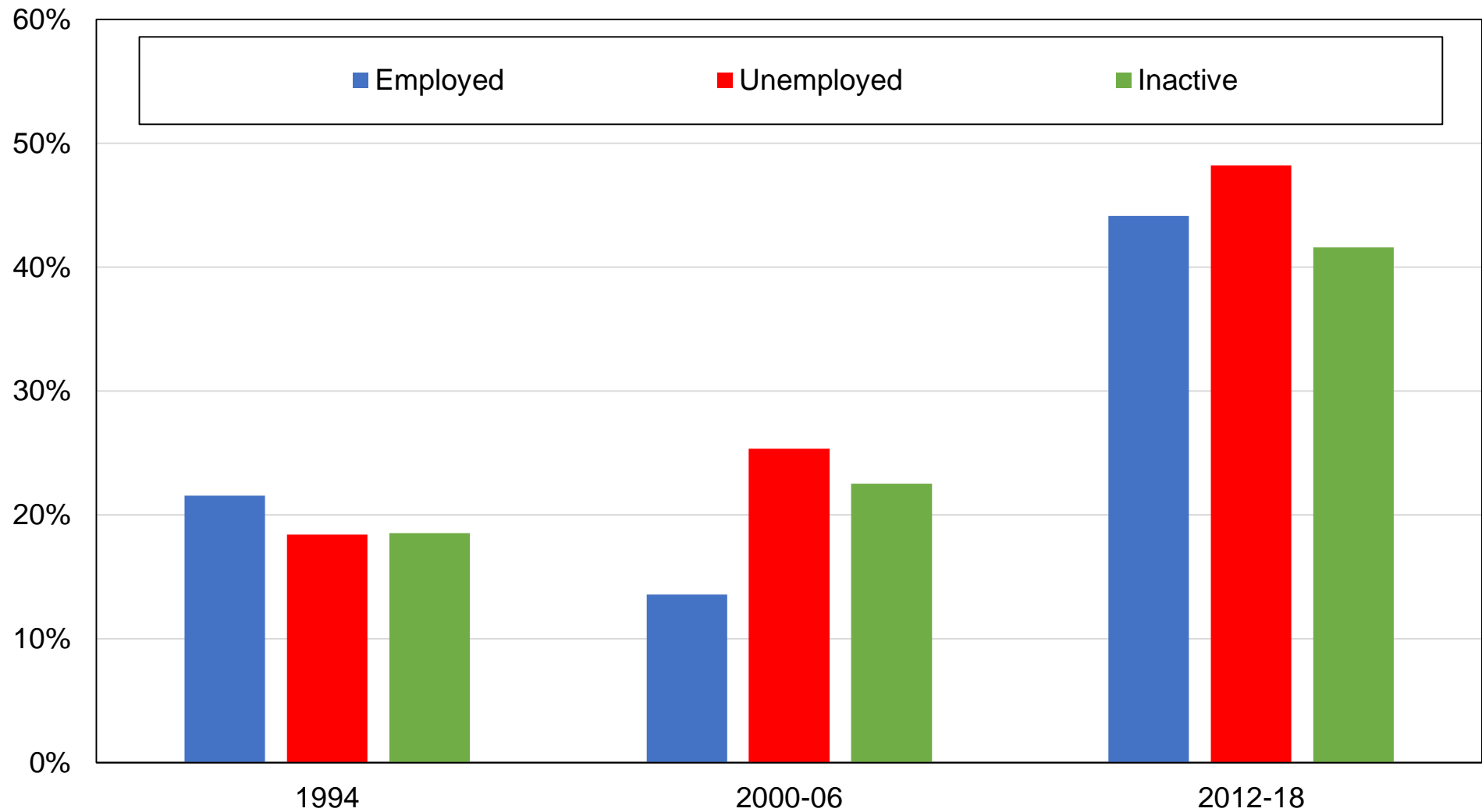
Figure EB8 - Vote for PRD / Morena / Other left by religious affiliation



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

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

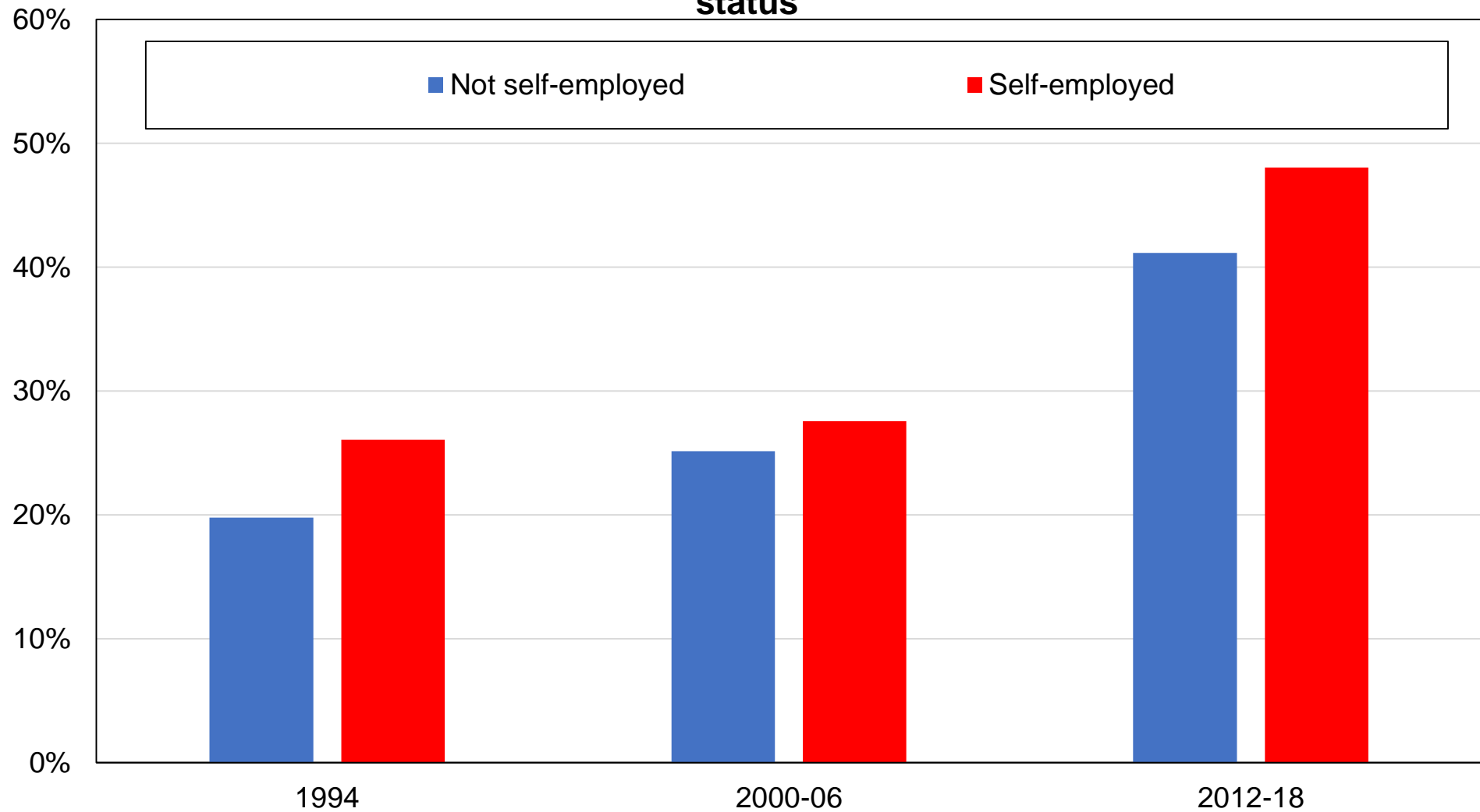
Figure EB9 - Vote for PRD / Morena / Other left by employment status



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

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

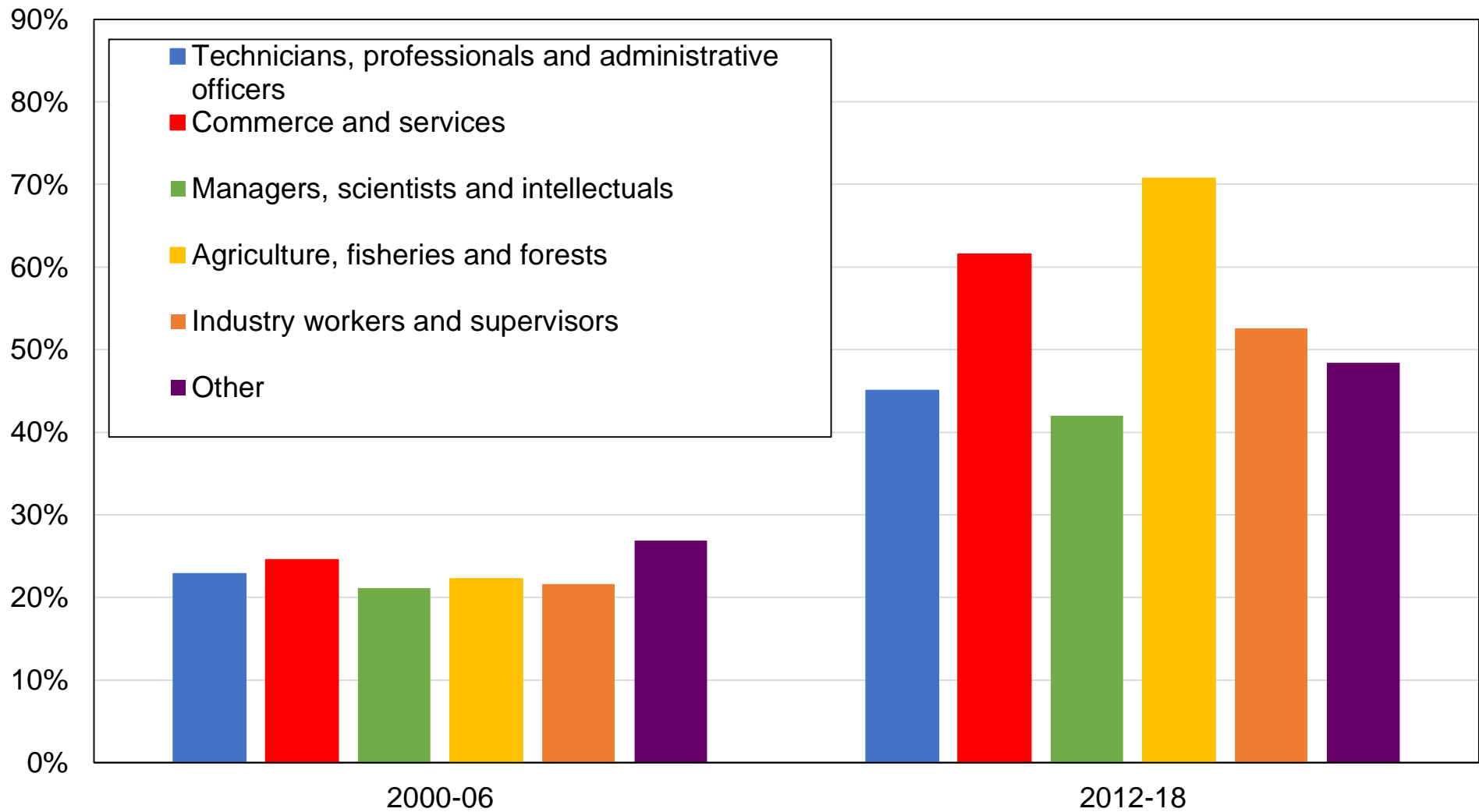
Figure EB10 - Vote for PRD / Morena / Other left by self-employment status



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

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

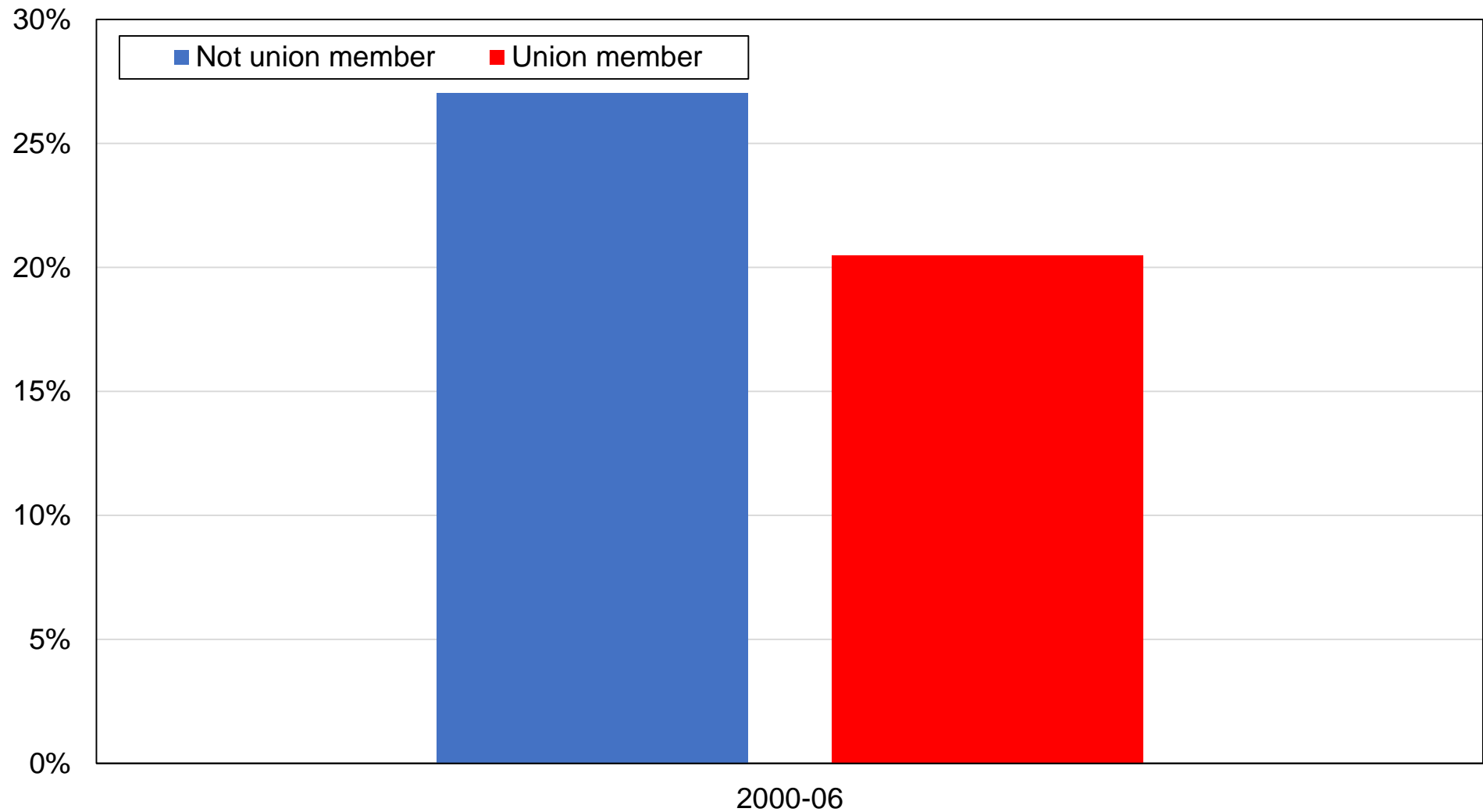
Figure EB11 - Vote for PRD / Morena / Other left by occupation



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

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

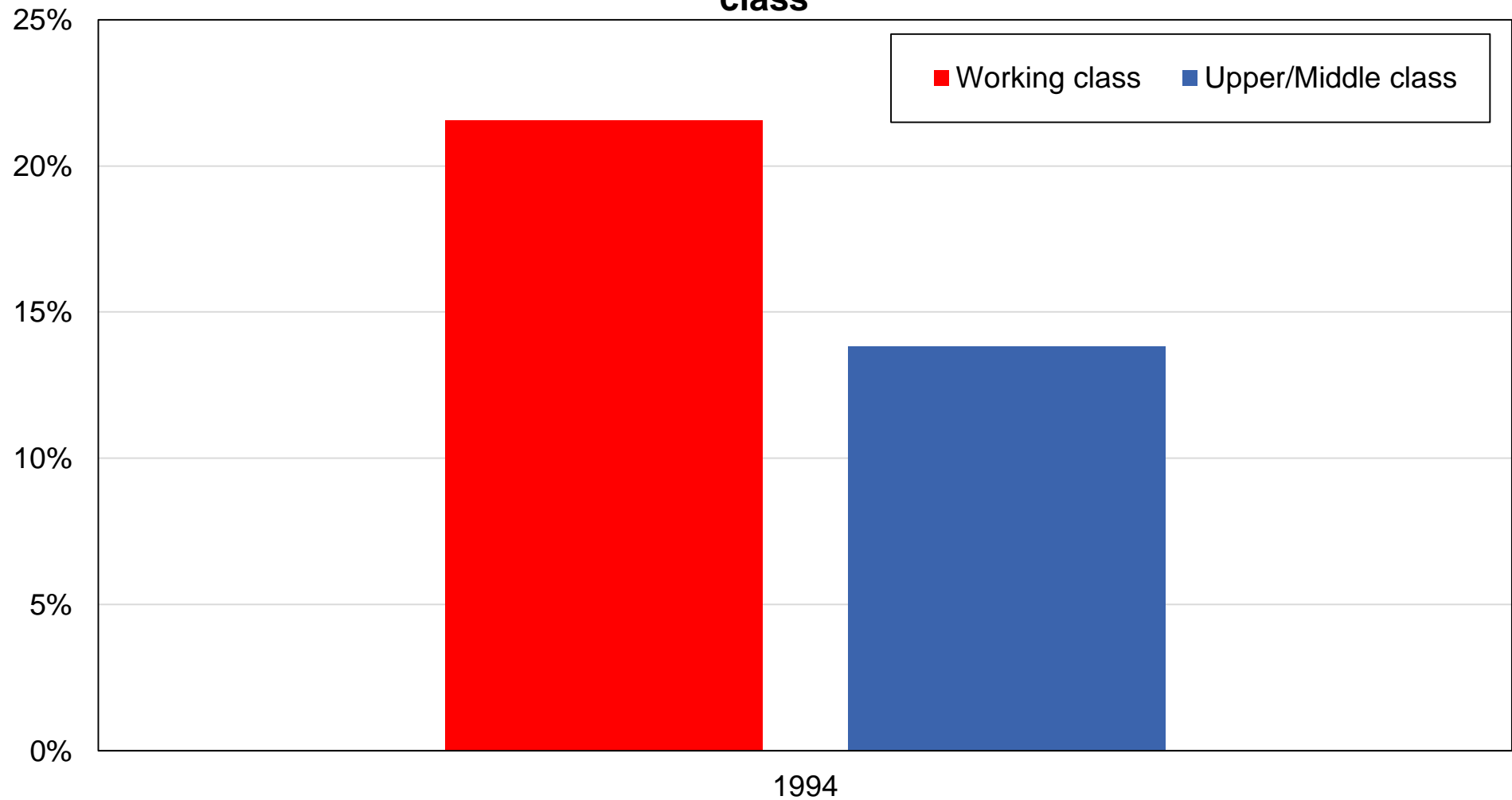
Figure EB12 - Vote for PRD / Morena / Other left by union membership



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

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

Figure EB13 - Vote for PRD / Morena / Other left by perceived social class

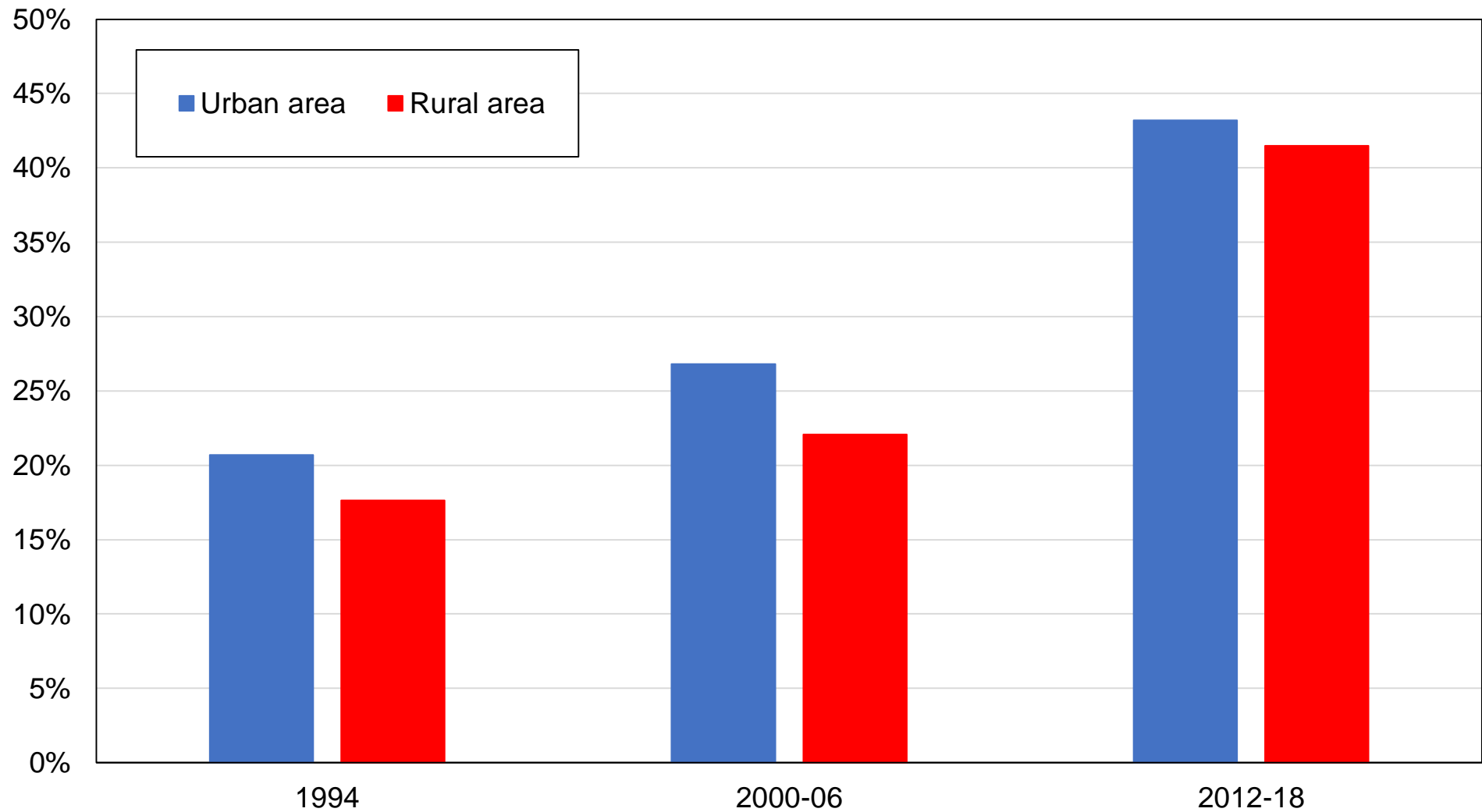


Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

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

Working class includes "lower class". Middle class includes "no class" and "upper class".

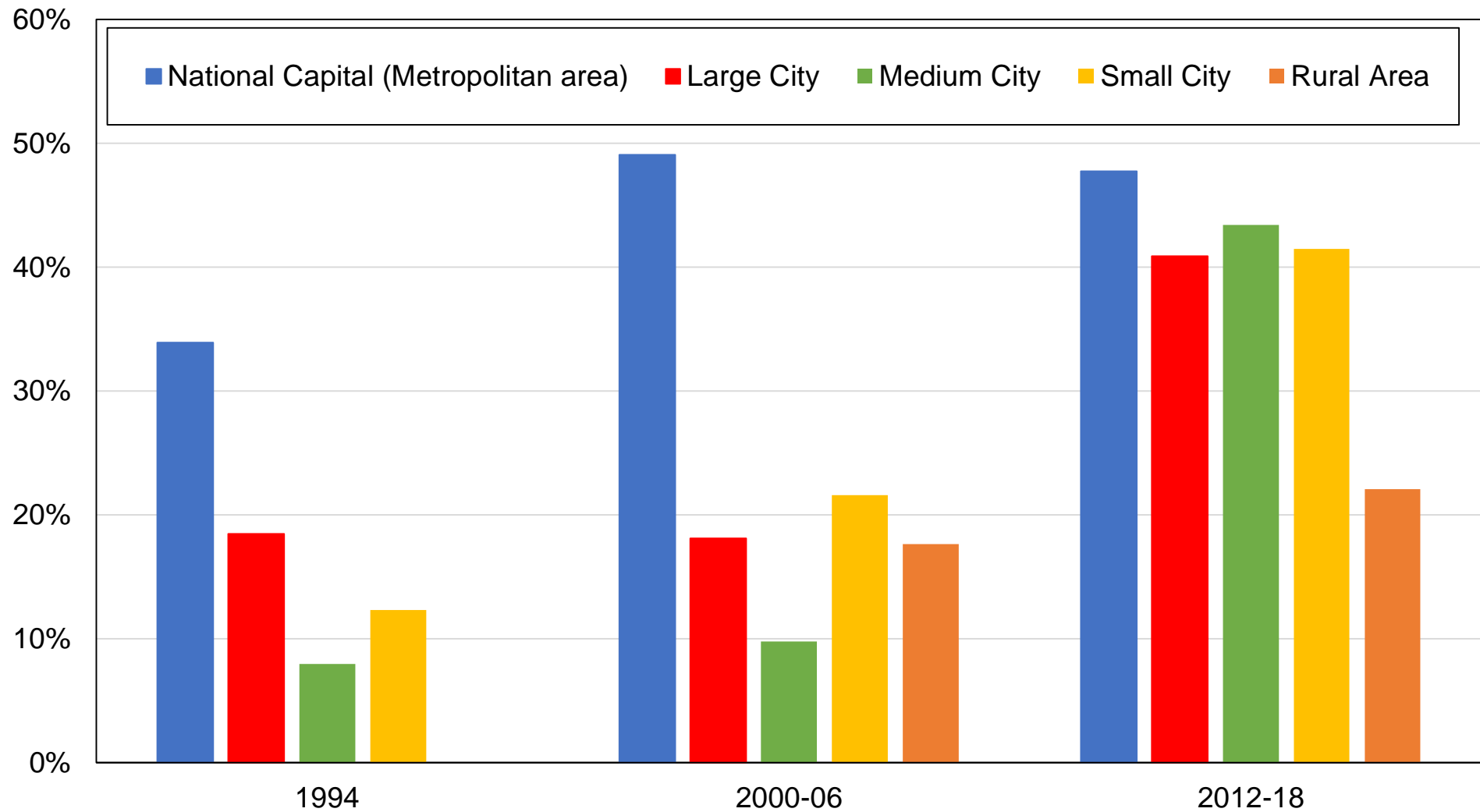
Figure EB14 - Vote for PRD / Morena / Other left by location



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

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

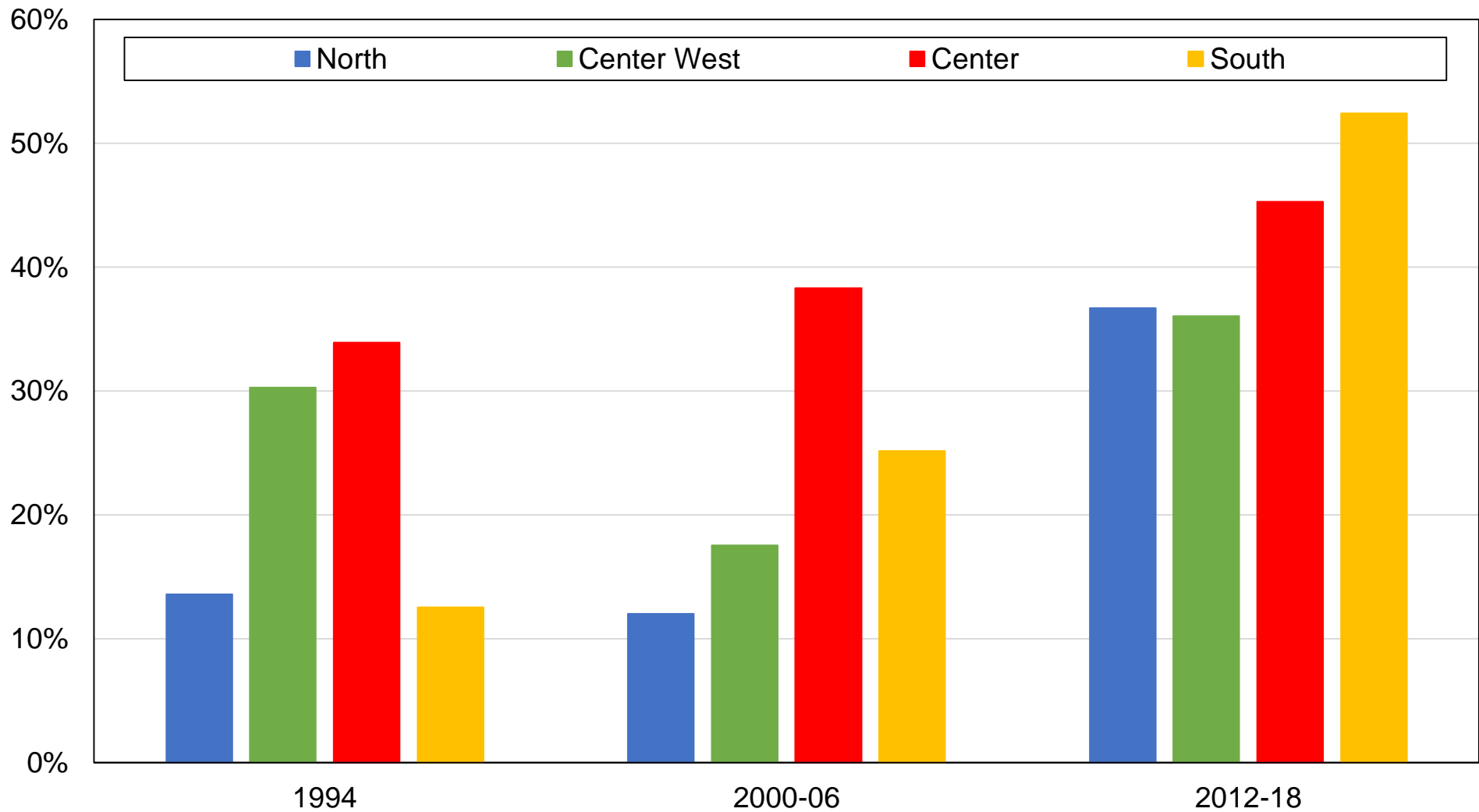
Figure EB15 - Vote for PRD / Morena / Other left by location size



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

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

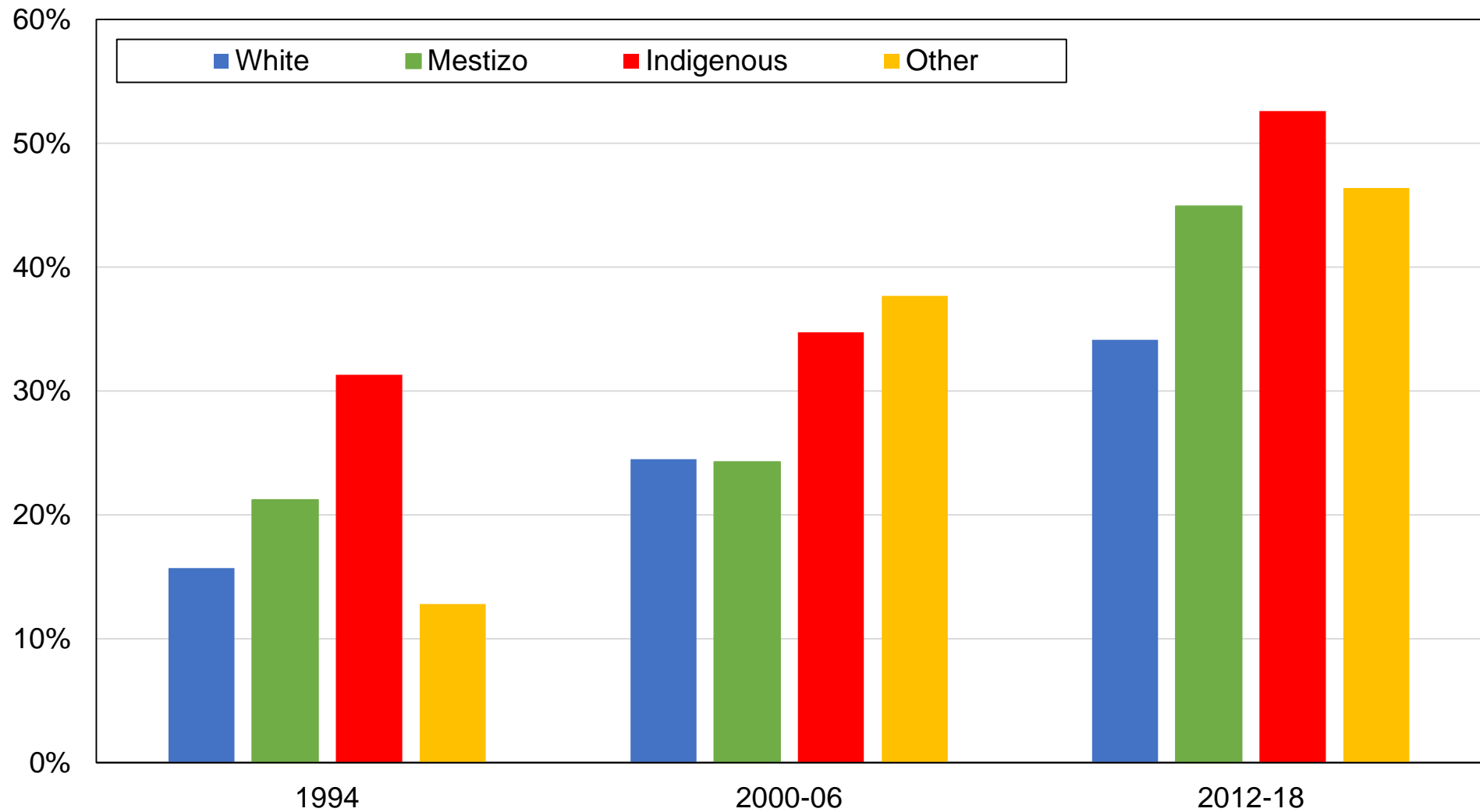
Figure EB16 - Vote for PRD / Morena / Other left by region



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

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

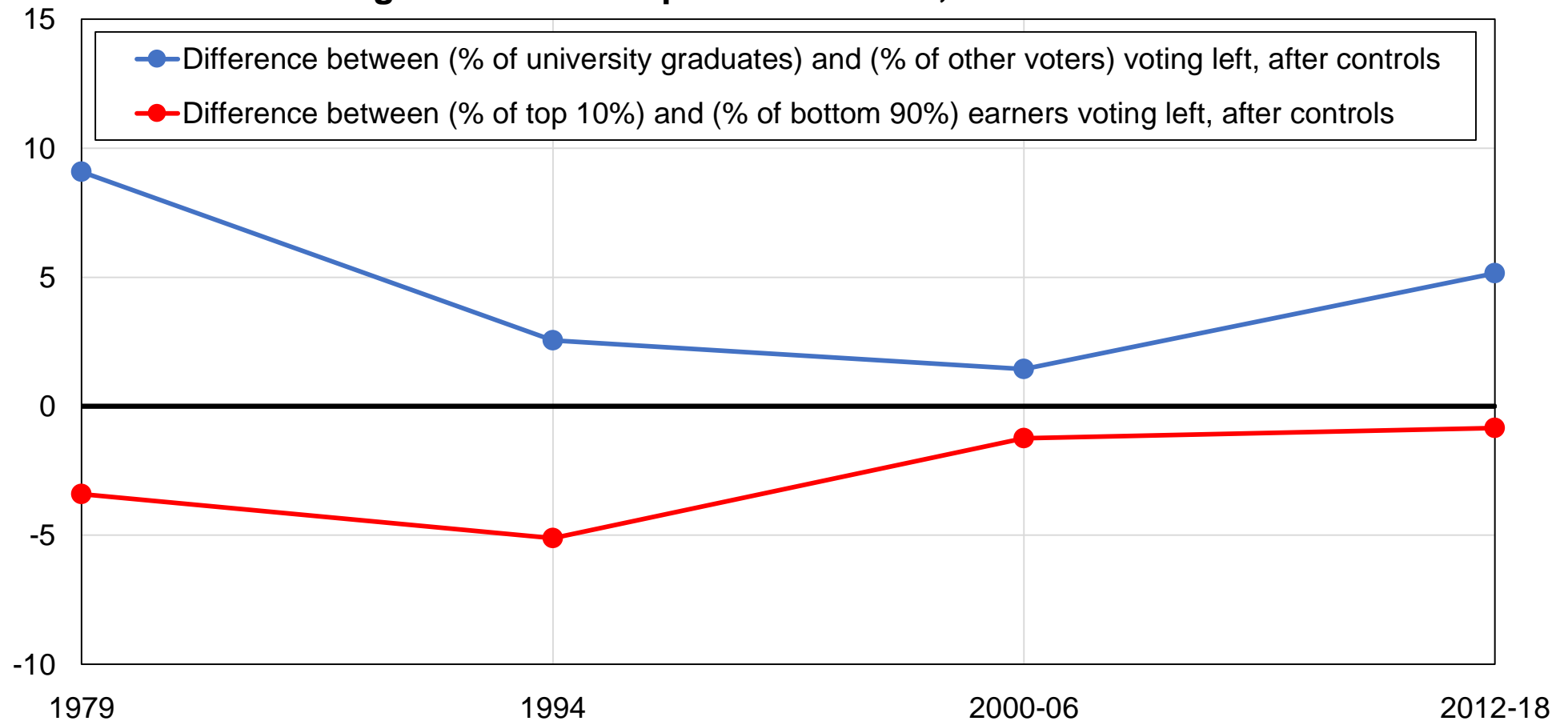
Figure EB17 - Vote for PRD / Morena / Other left by ethnicity



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

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

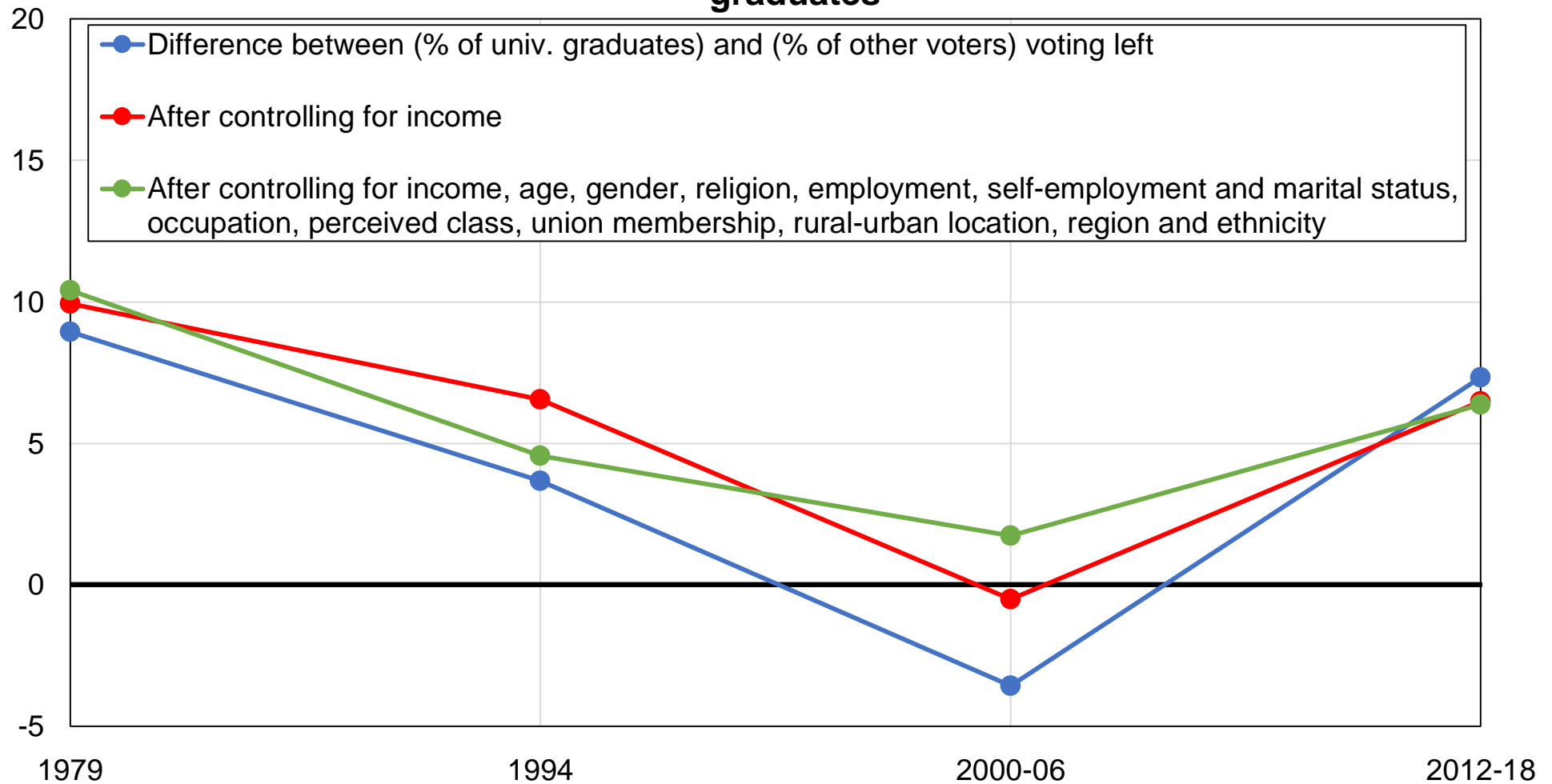
Figure EB18 - Vote for PRD / Morena / Other left among university graduates and top-income voters, after controls



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of university graduates and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, after controlling for age, gender, religion, employment, self-employment and marital status, occupation, perceived class, union membership, rural-urban location, region and ethnicity.

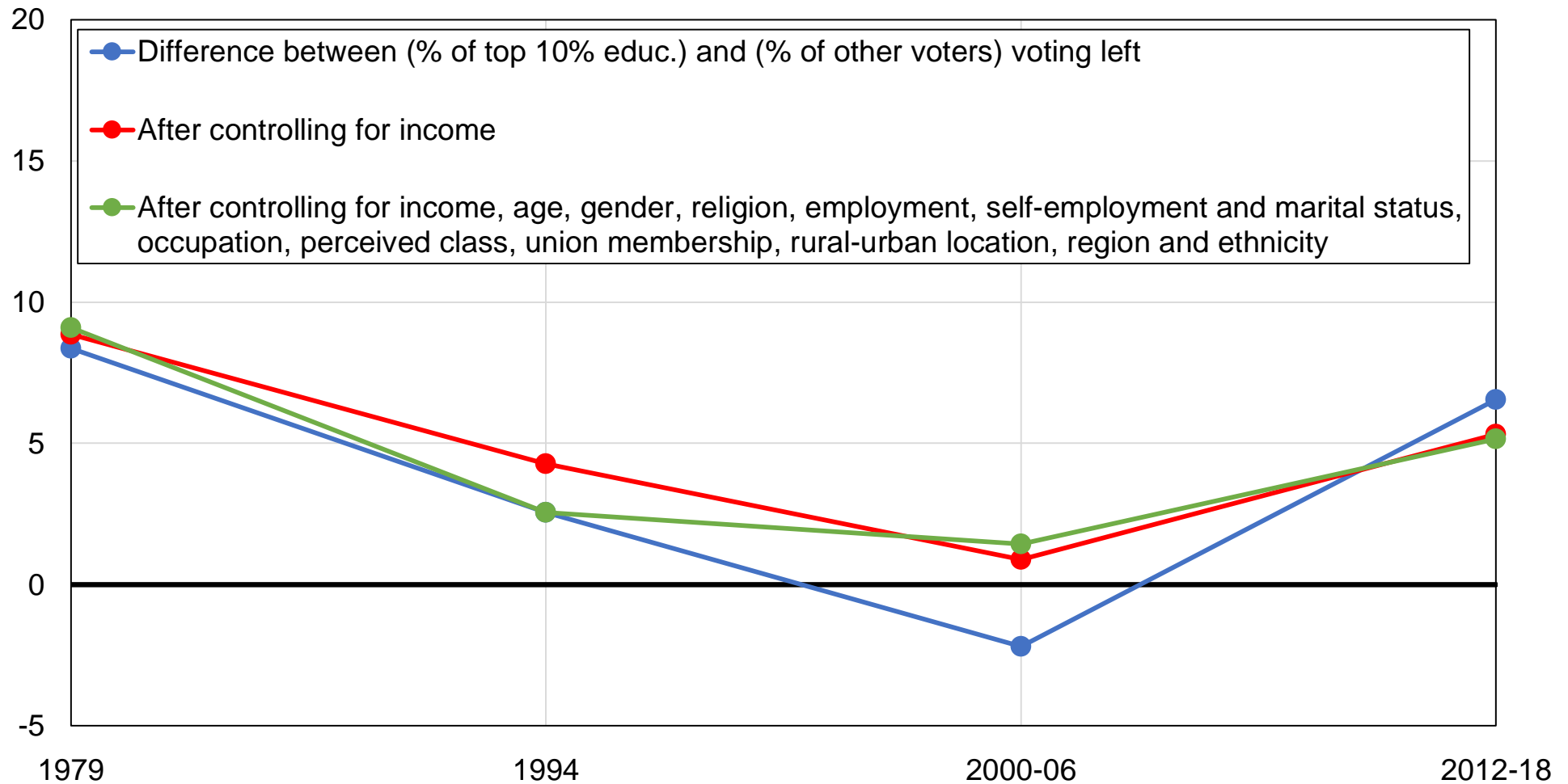
Figure EB19 - Vote for PRD / Morena / Other left among university graduates



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of university graduates and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

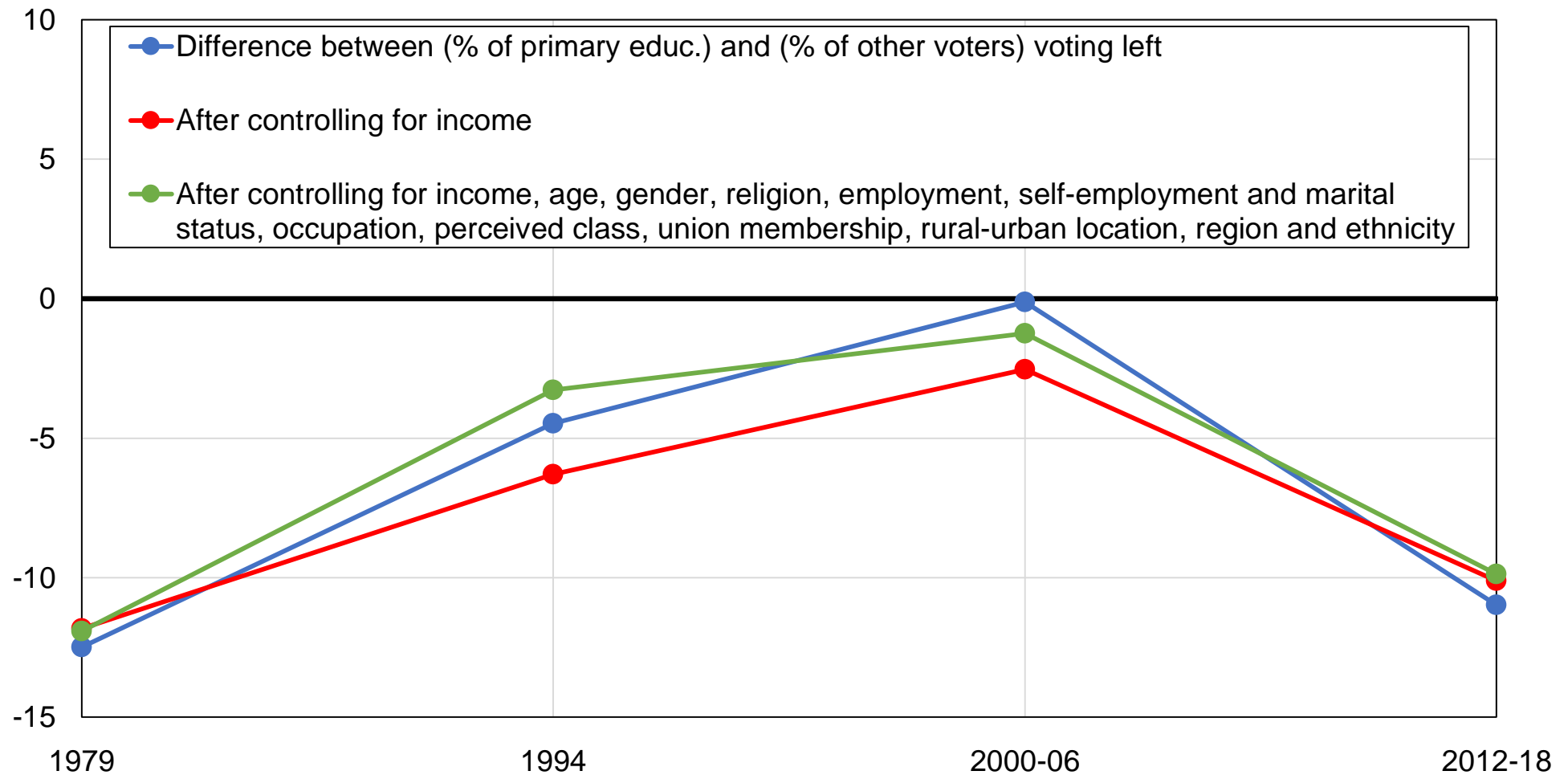
Figure EB20 - Vote for PRD / Morena / Other left among highest-educated voters



Source: authors' computations using Mexican 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 left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

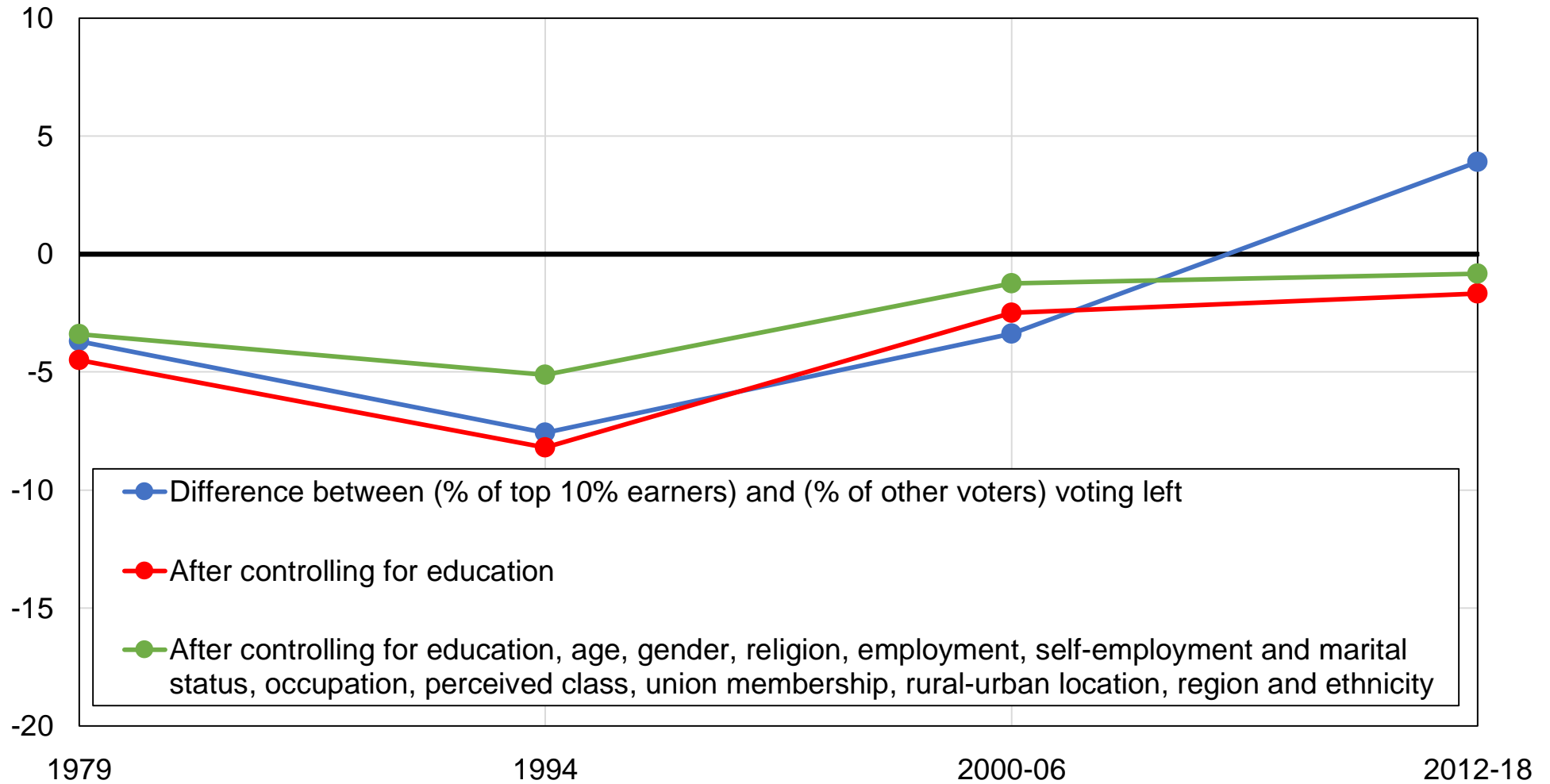
Figure EB21 - Vote for PRD / Morena / Other left among primary-educated voters



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

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

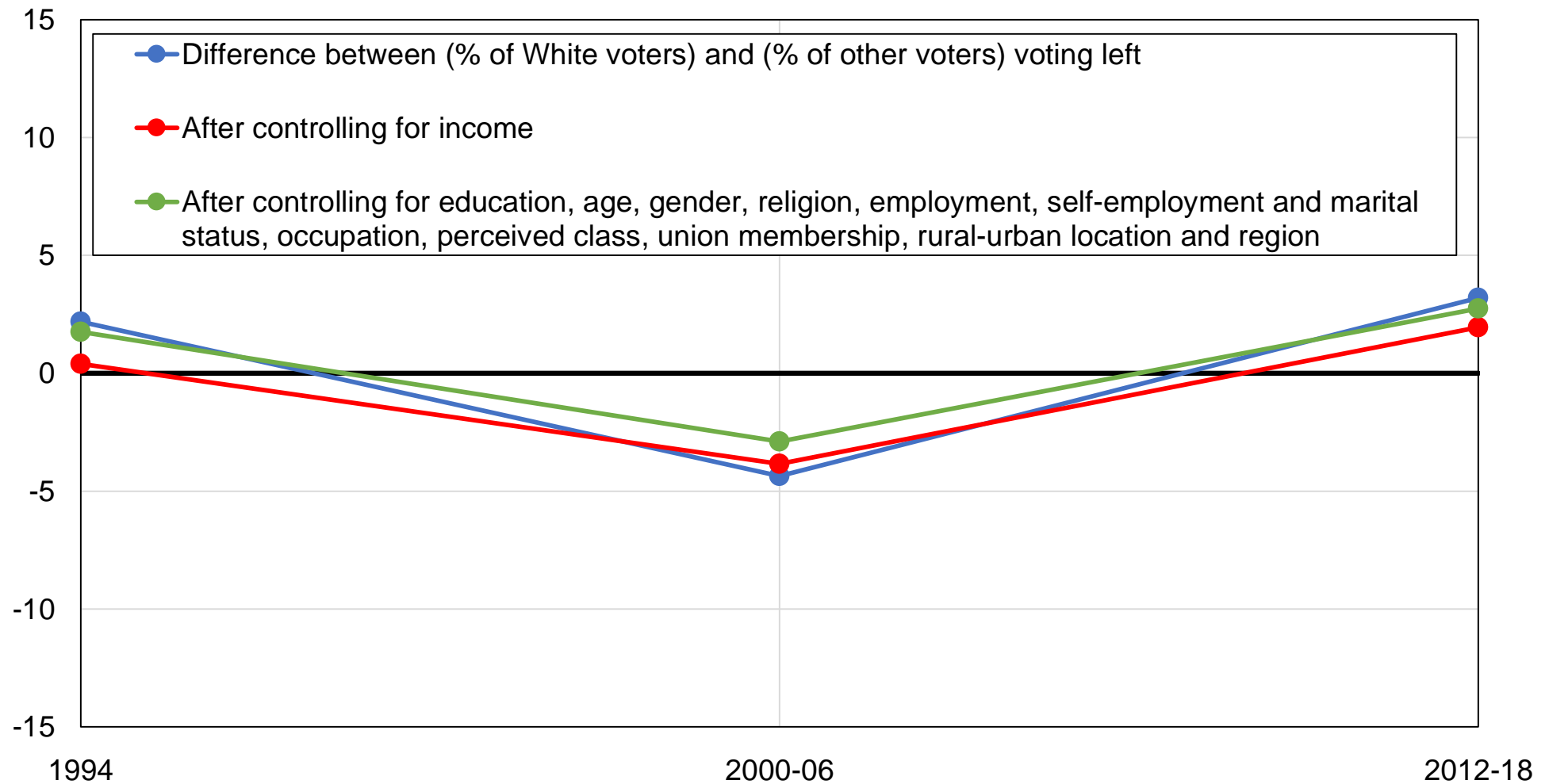
Figure EB22 - Vote for PRD / Morena / Other left among top 10% earners



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

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

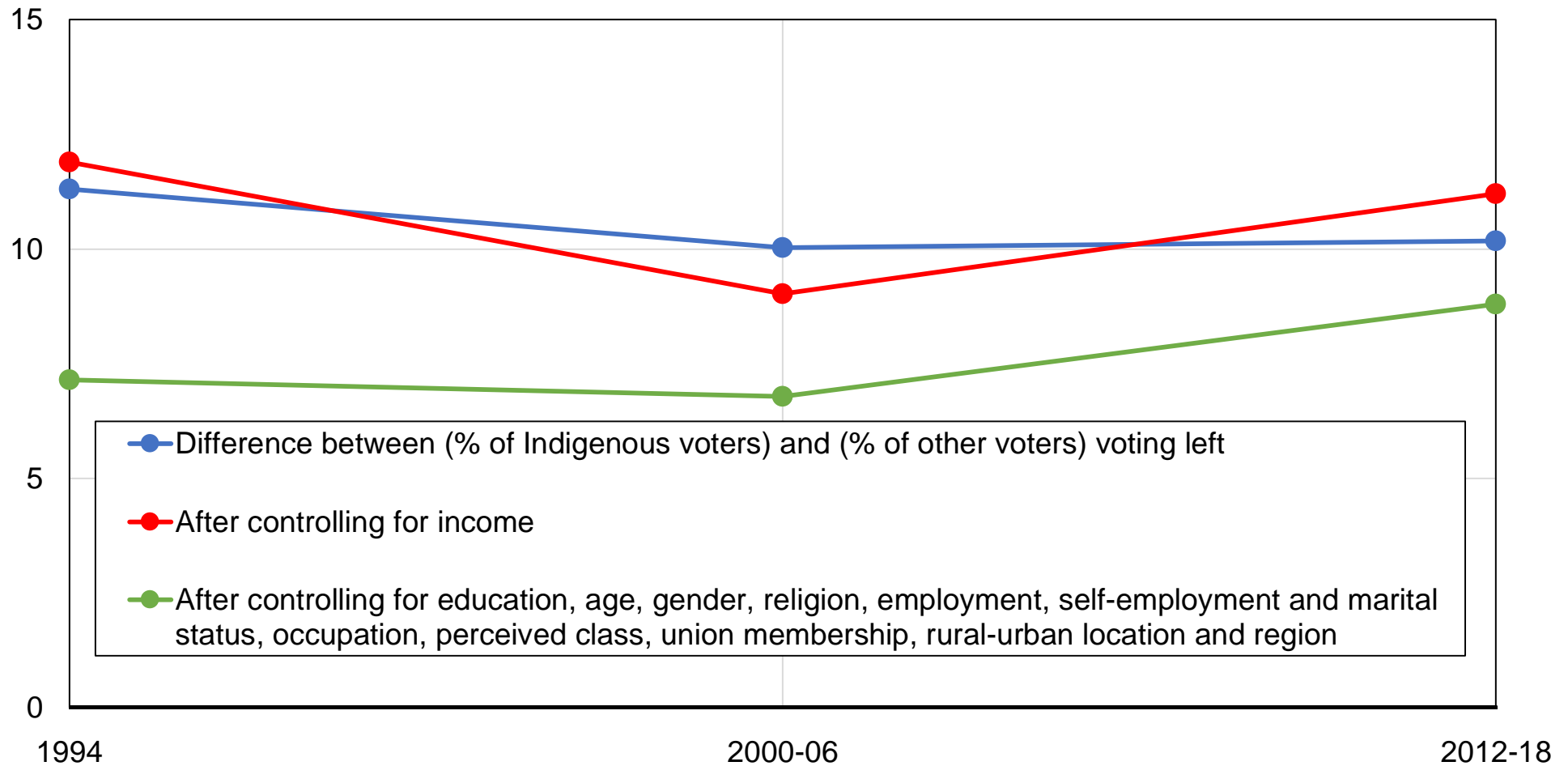
Figure EB23 - Vote for PRD / Morena / Other left among White voters



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of White voters and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

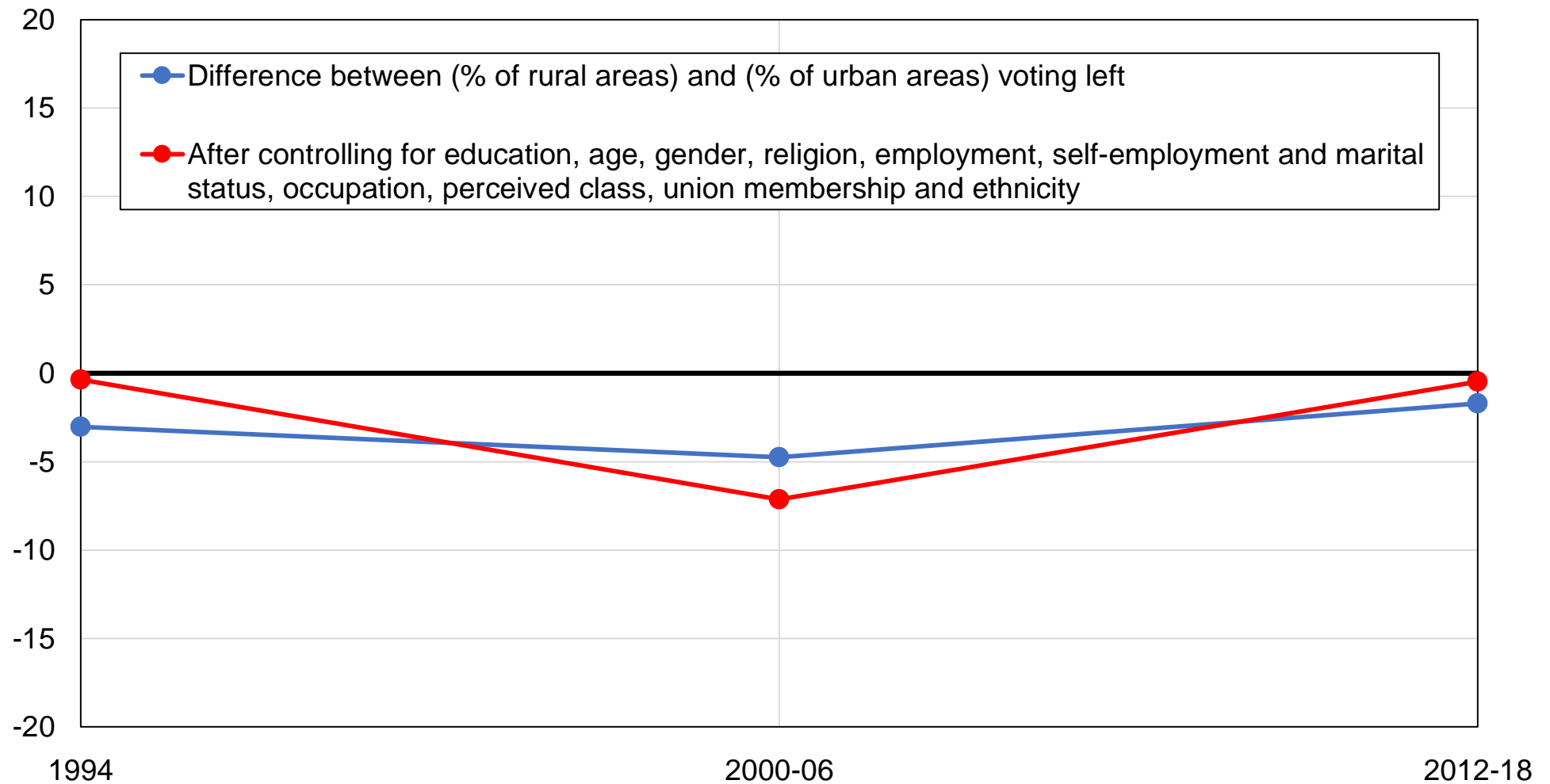
Figure EB24 - Vote for PRD / Morena / Other left among Indigenous voters



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of Indigenous voters and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

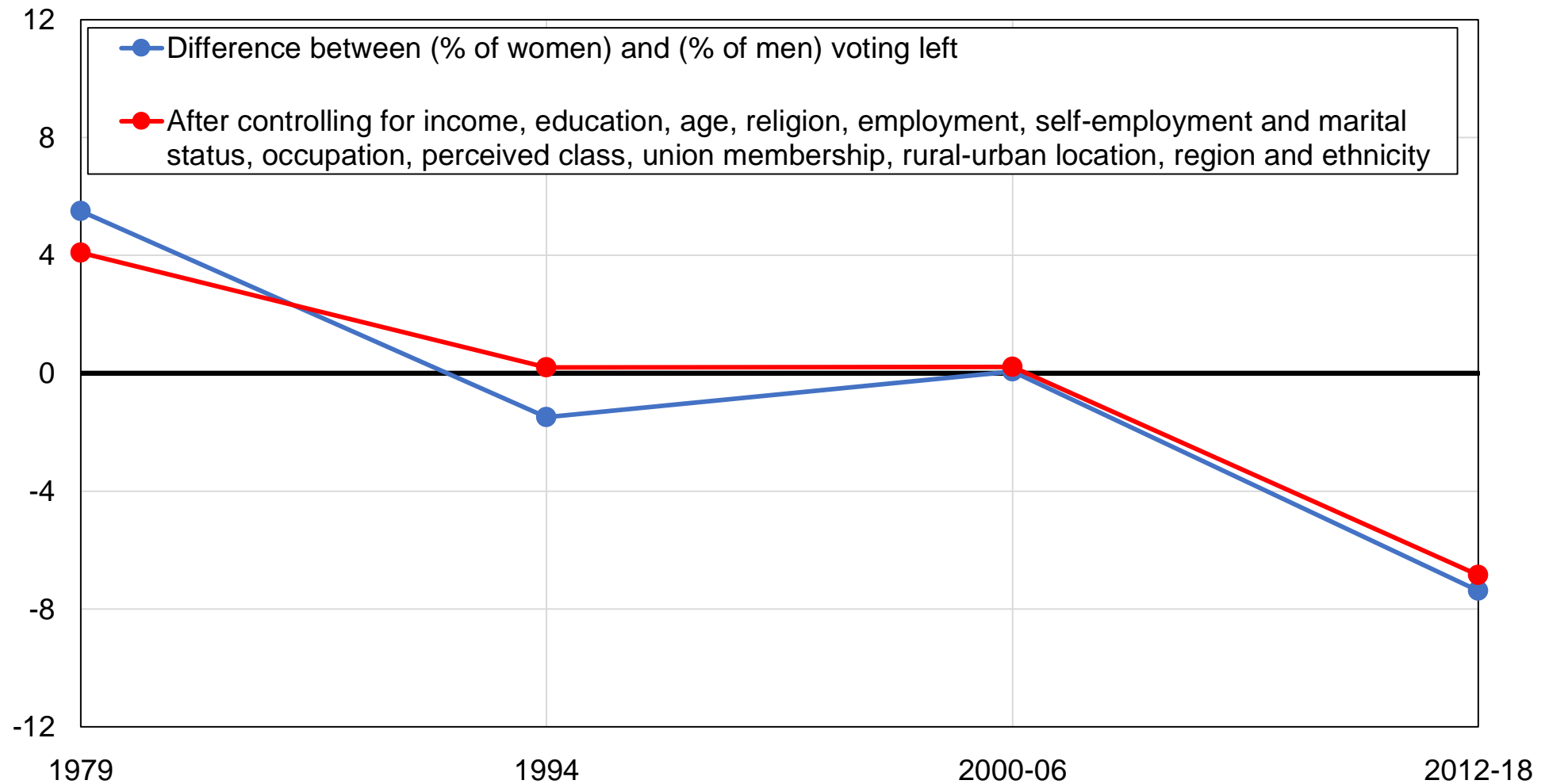
Figure EB25 - Vote for PRD / Morena / Other left among rural areas



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of rural areas and the share of urban areas voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

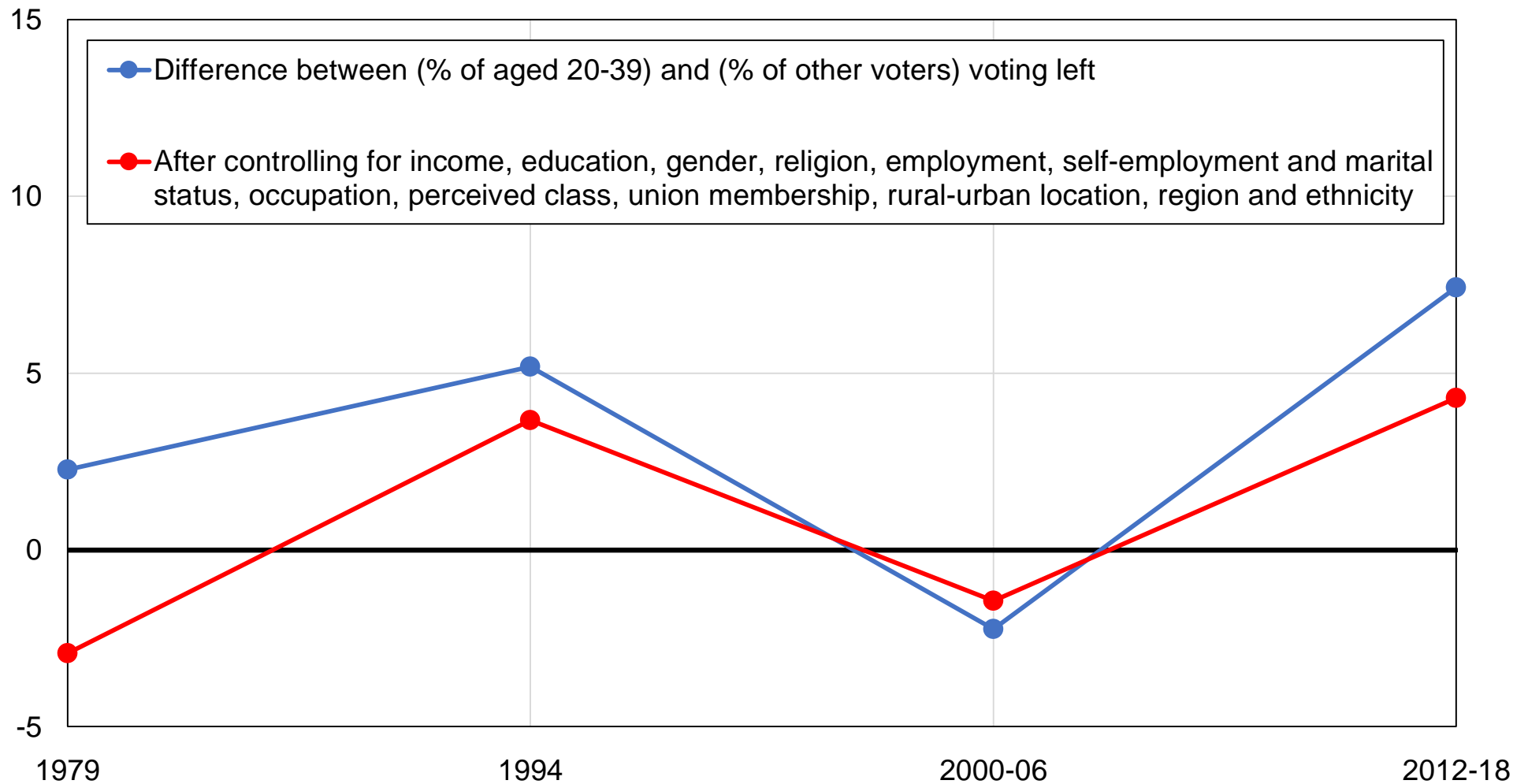
Figure EB26 - Vote for PRD / Morena / Other left among women



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of women and the share of men voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

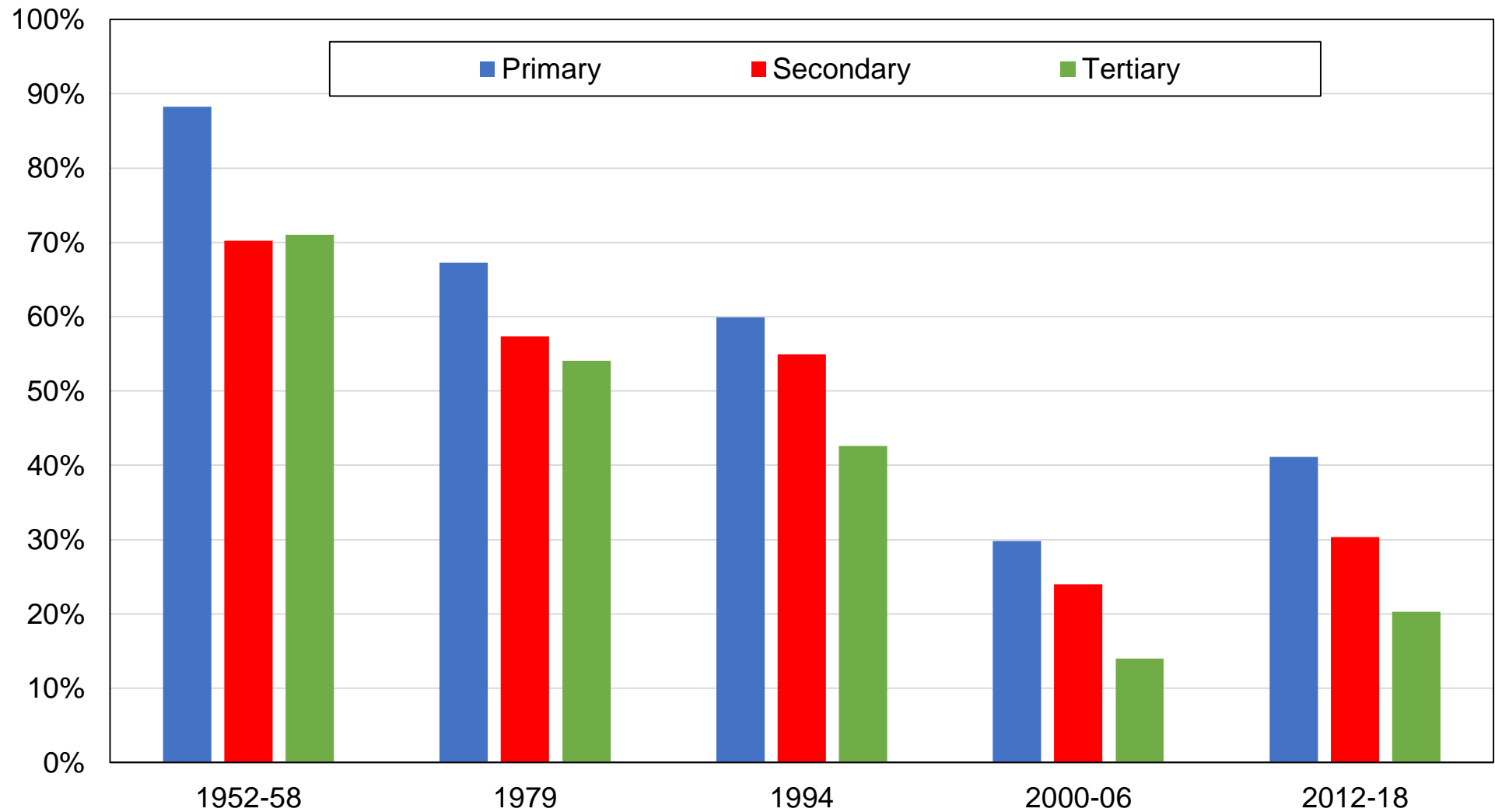
Figure EB27 - Vote for PRD / Morena / Other left among young voters



Source: authors' computations using Mexican 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 left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

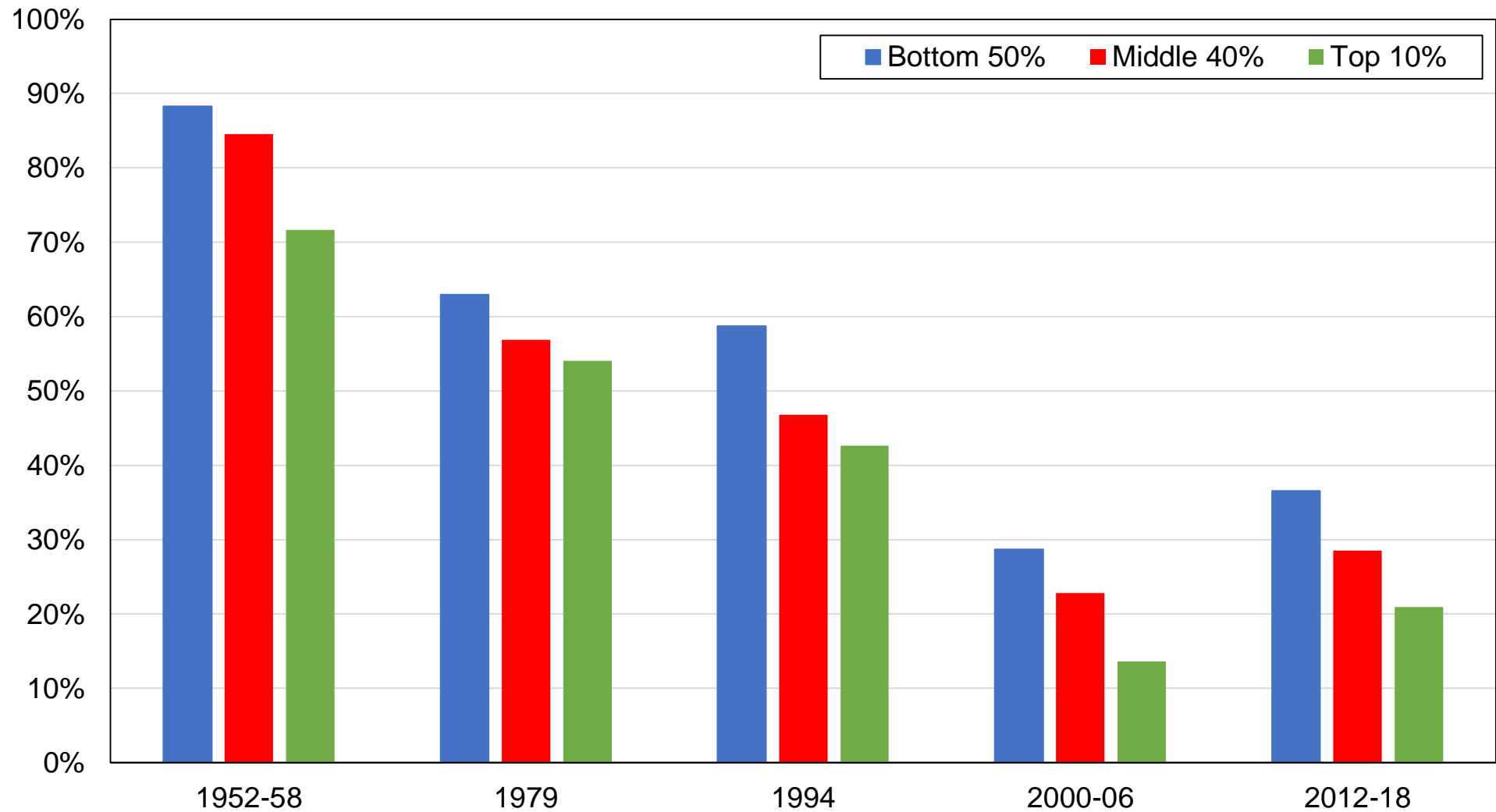
Figure EC1 - Vote for PRI by education level



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

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

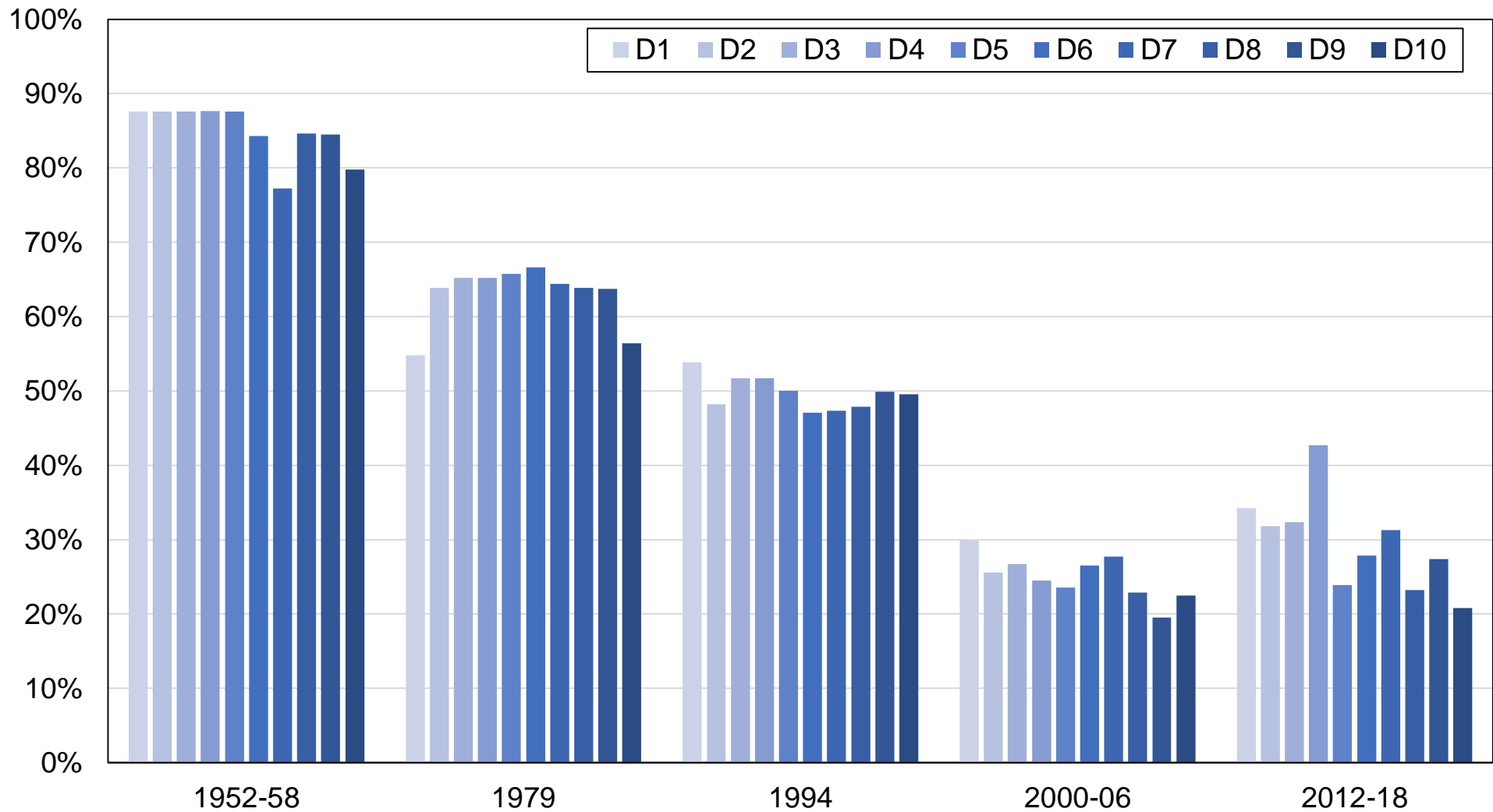
Figure EC2 - Vote for PRI by education group



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

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

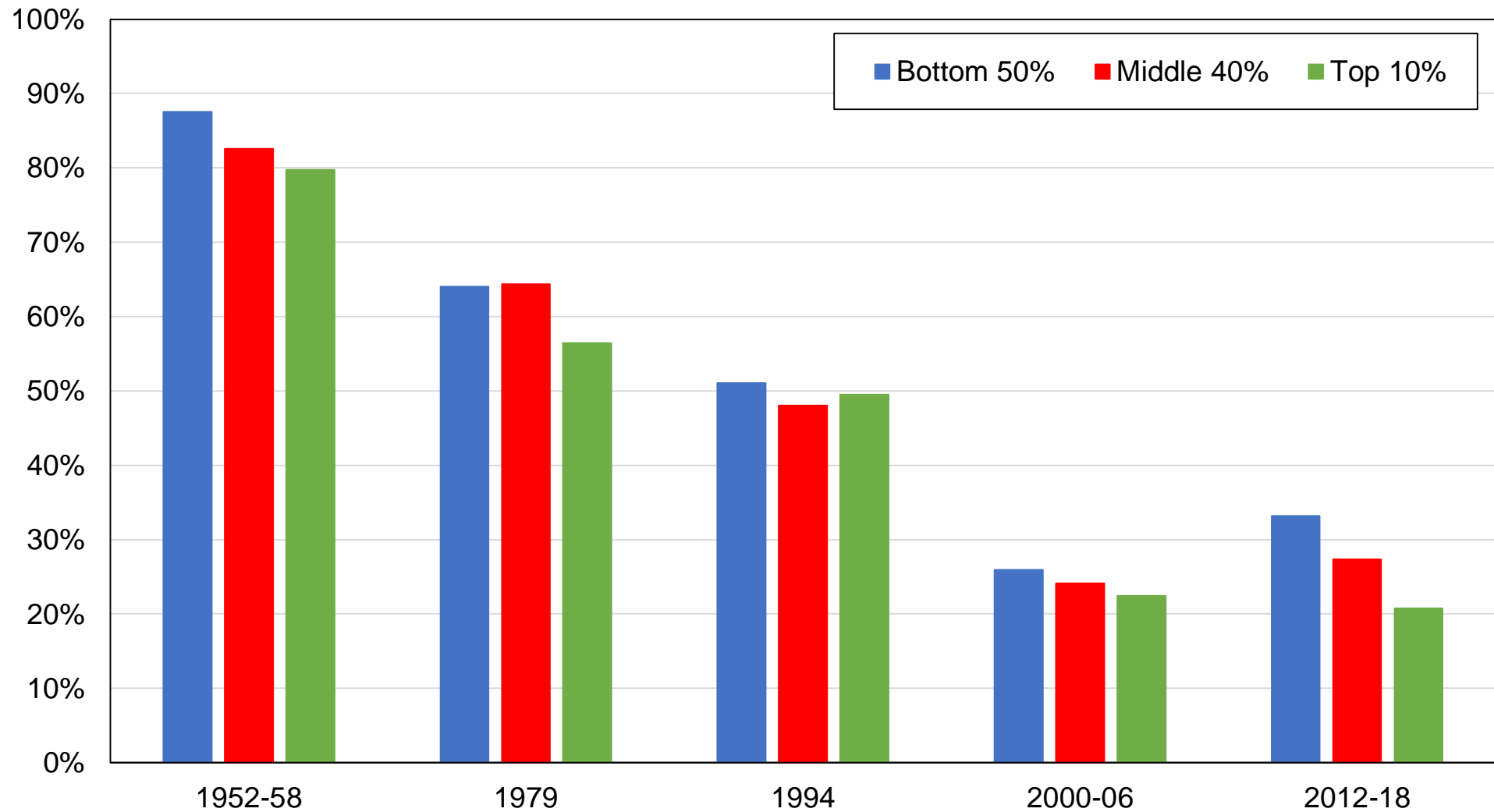
Figure EC3 - Vote for PRI by income decile



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

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

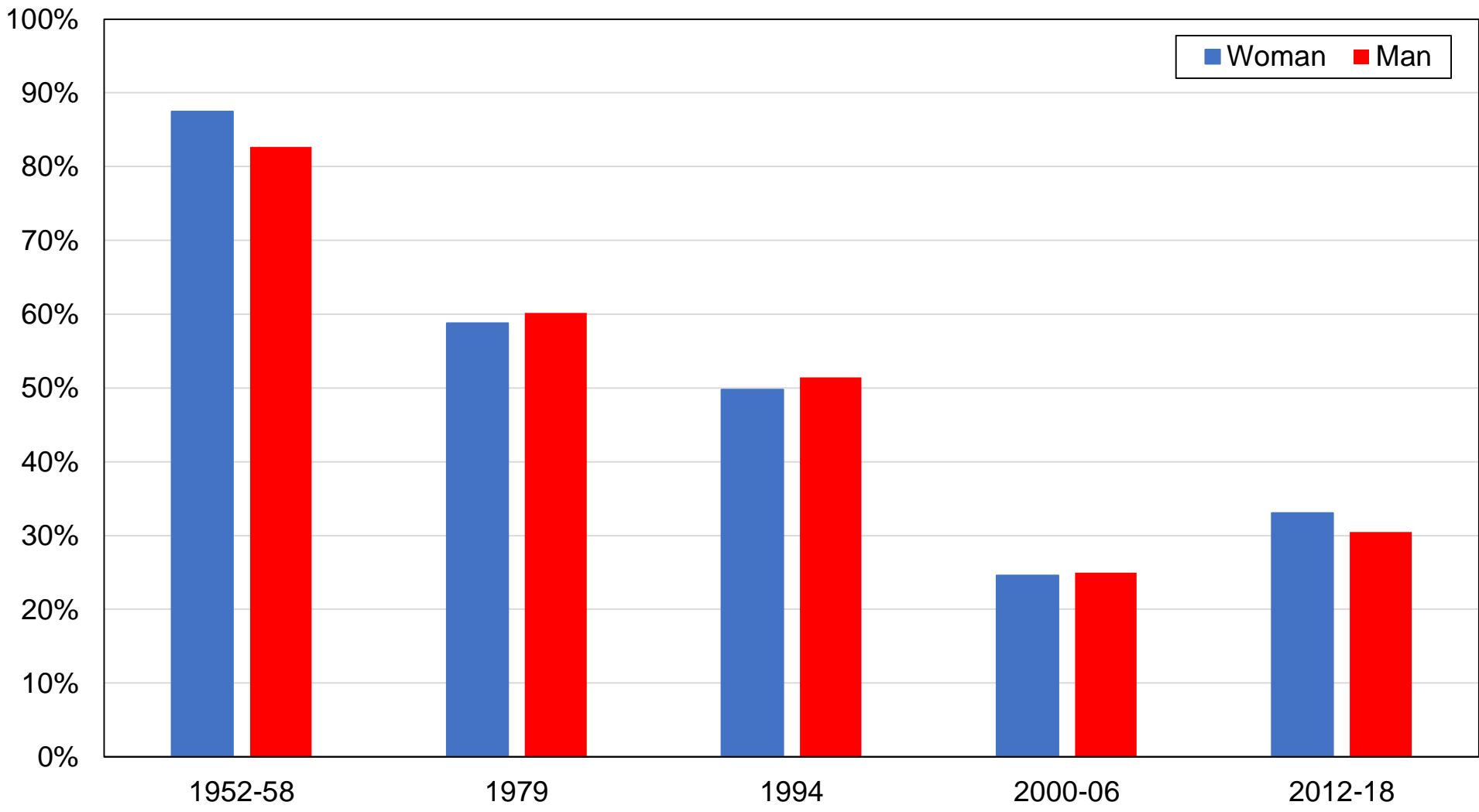
Figure EC4 - Vote for PRI by income group



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

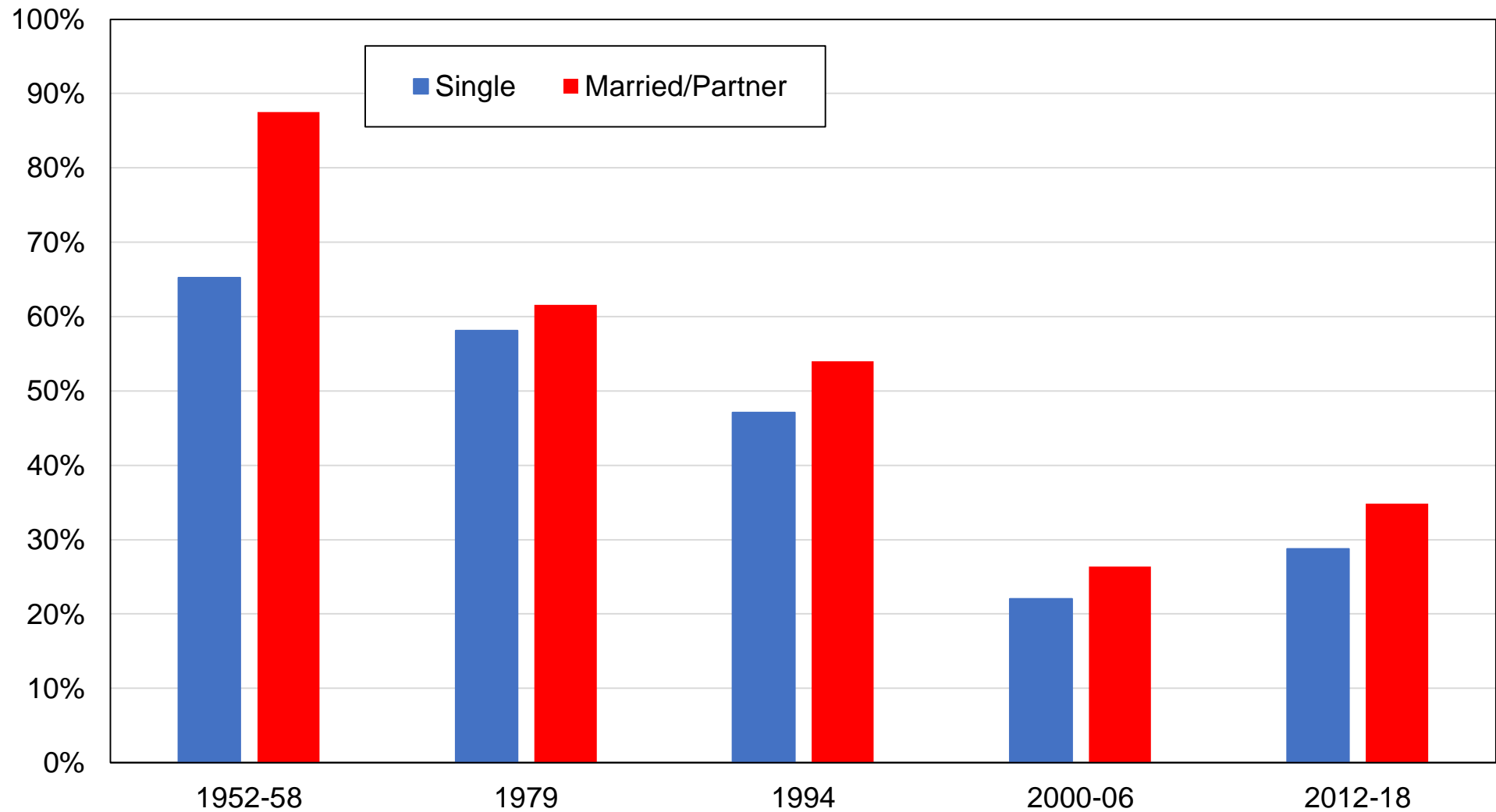
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the PRI by income group.

Figure EC5 - Vote for PRI by gender



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

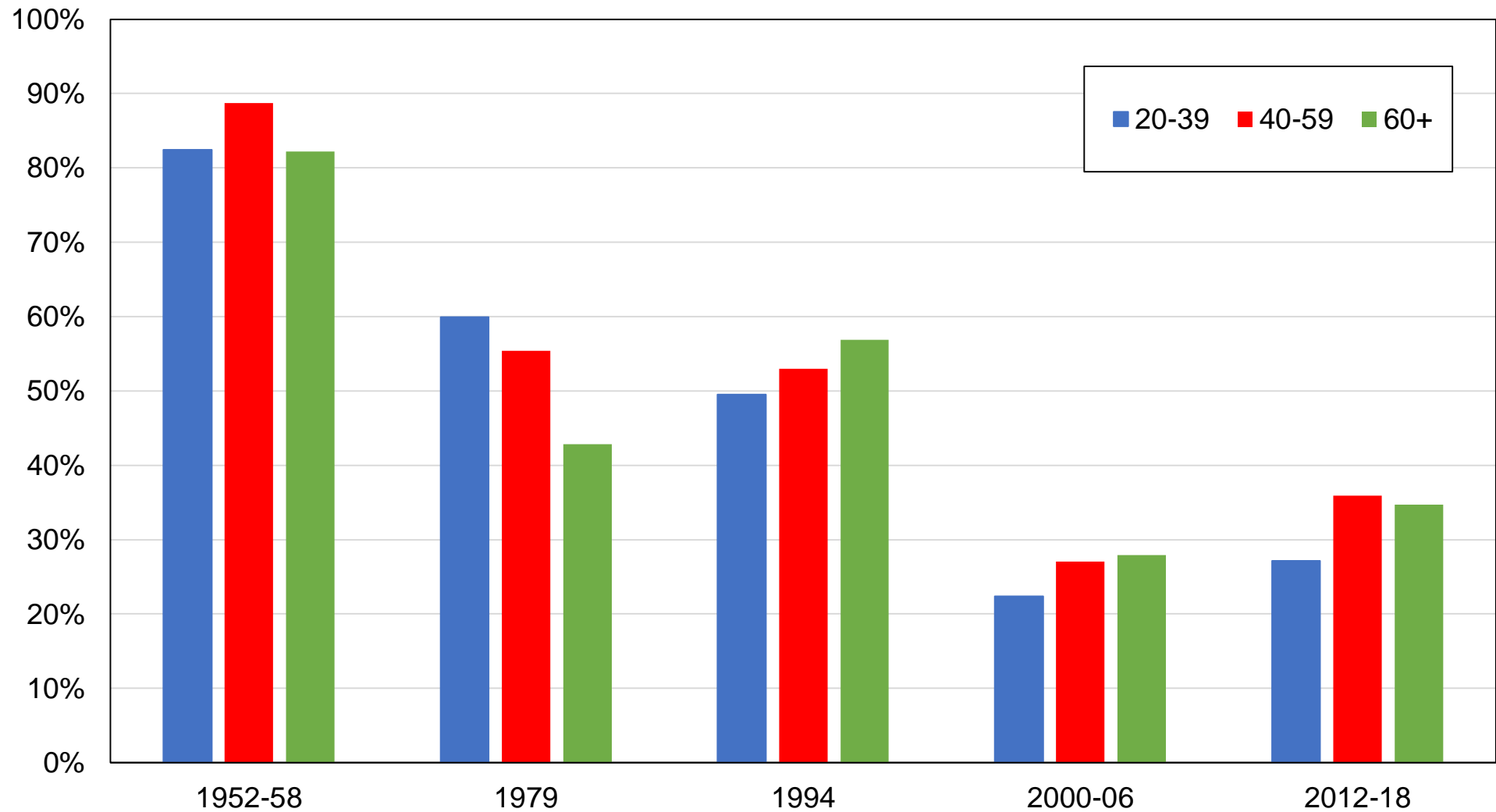
Figure EC6 - Vote for PRI by marital status



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the PRI by marital status.

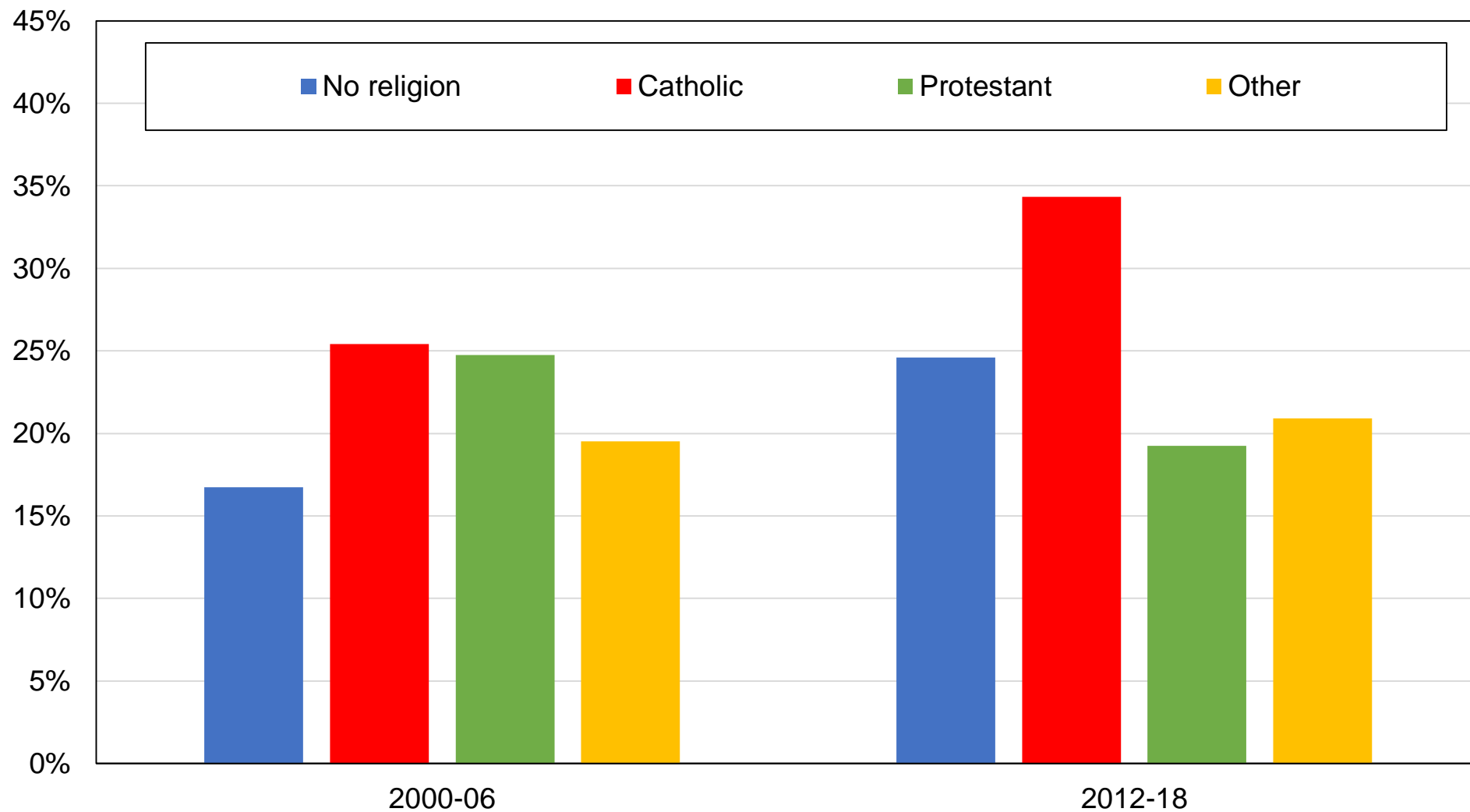
Figure EC7 - Vote for PRI by age group, 1970-2018



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

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

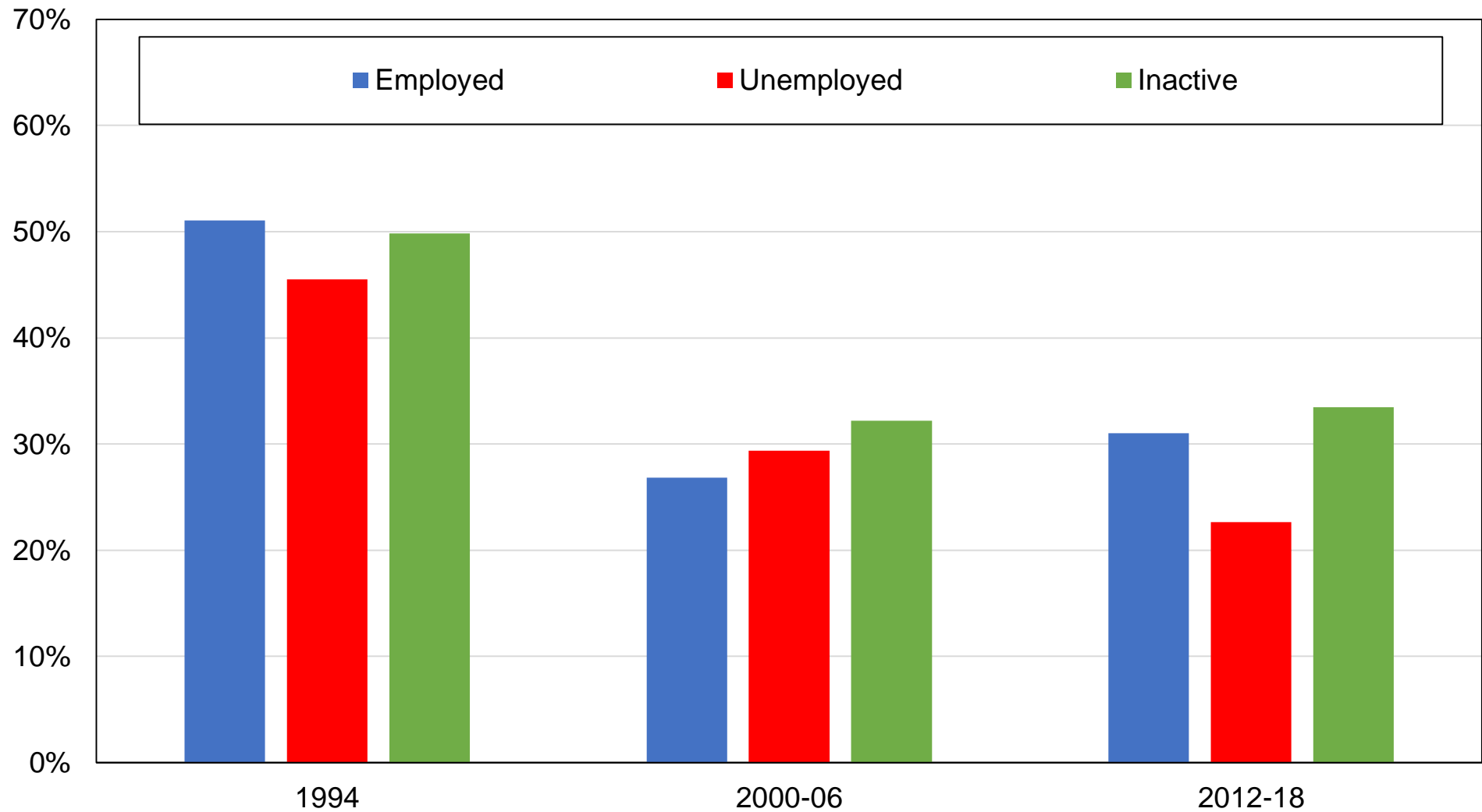
Figure EC8 - Vote for PRI by religious affiliation



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

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

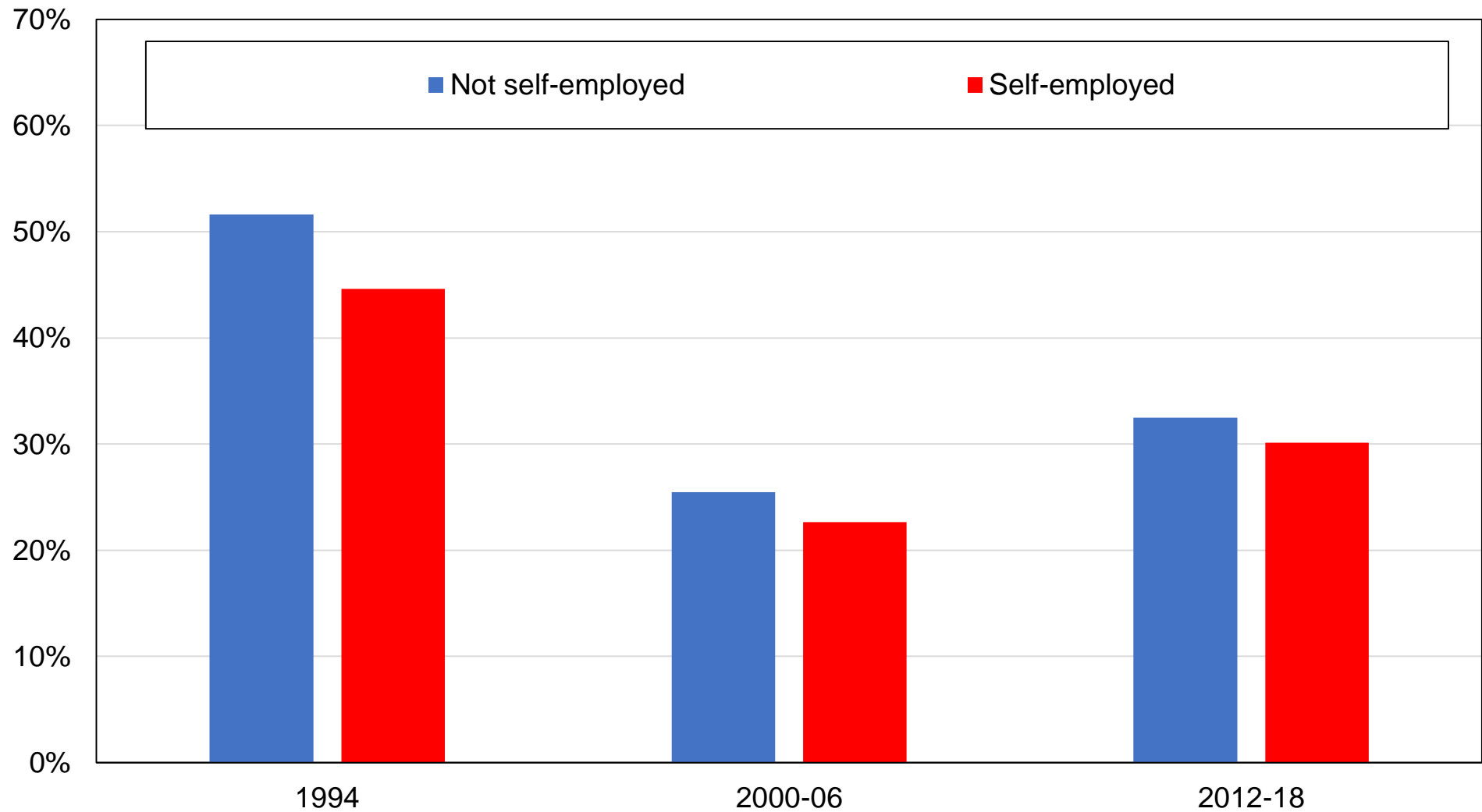
Figure EC9 - Vote for PRI by employment status



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the PRI by employment status.

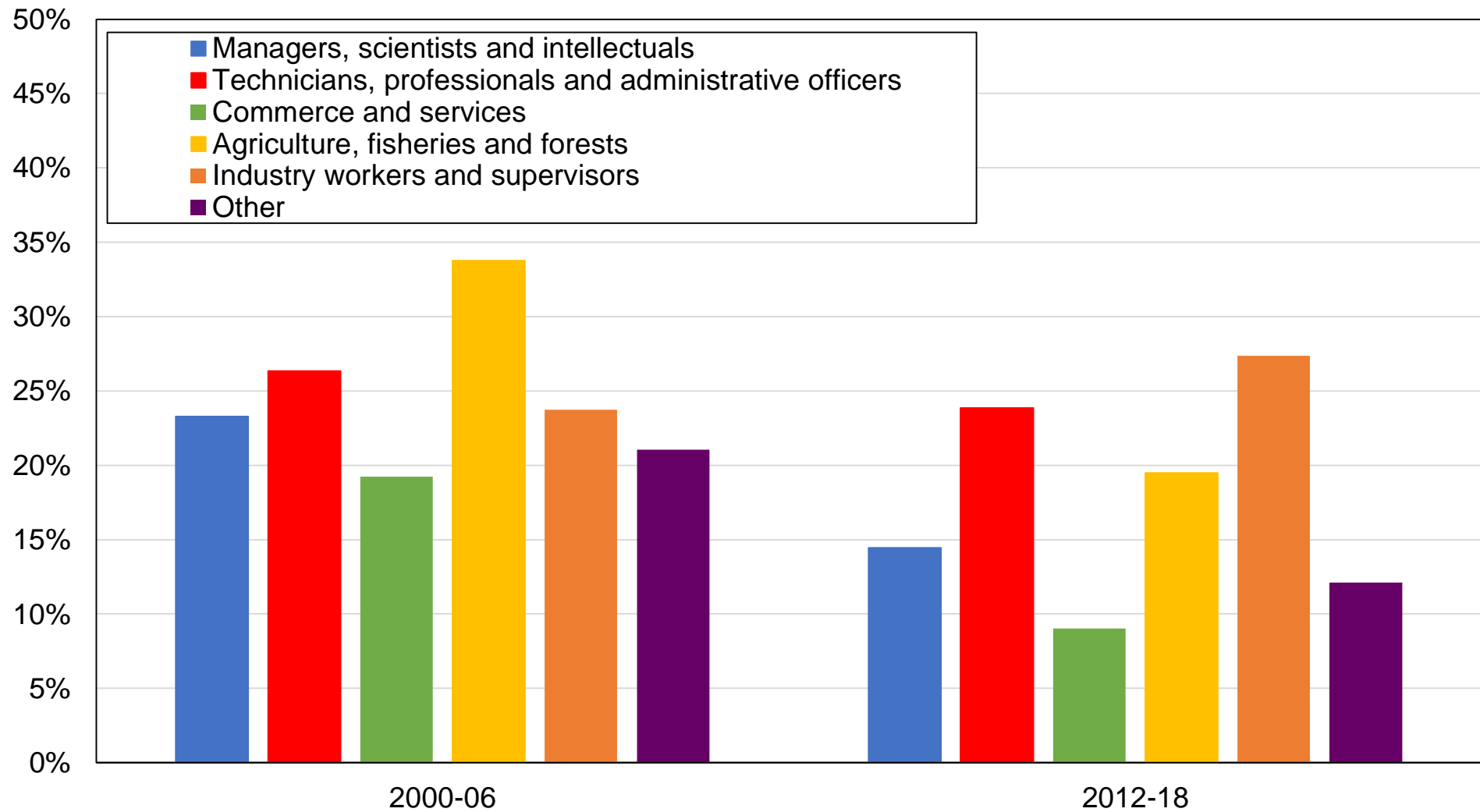
Figure EC10 - Vote for PRI by self-employment status



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the PRI by self-employment status.

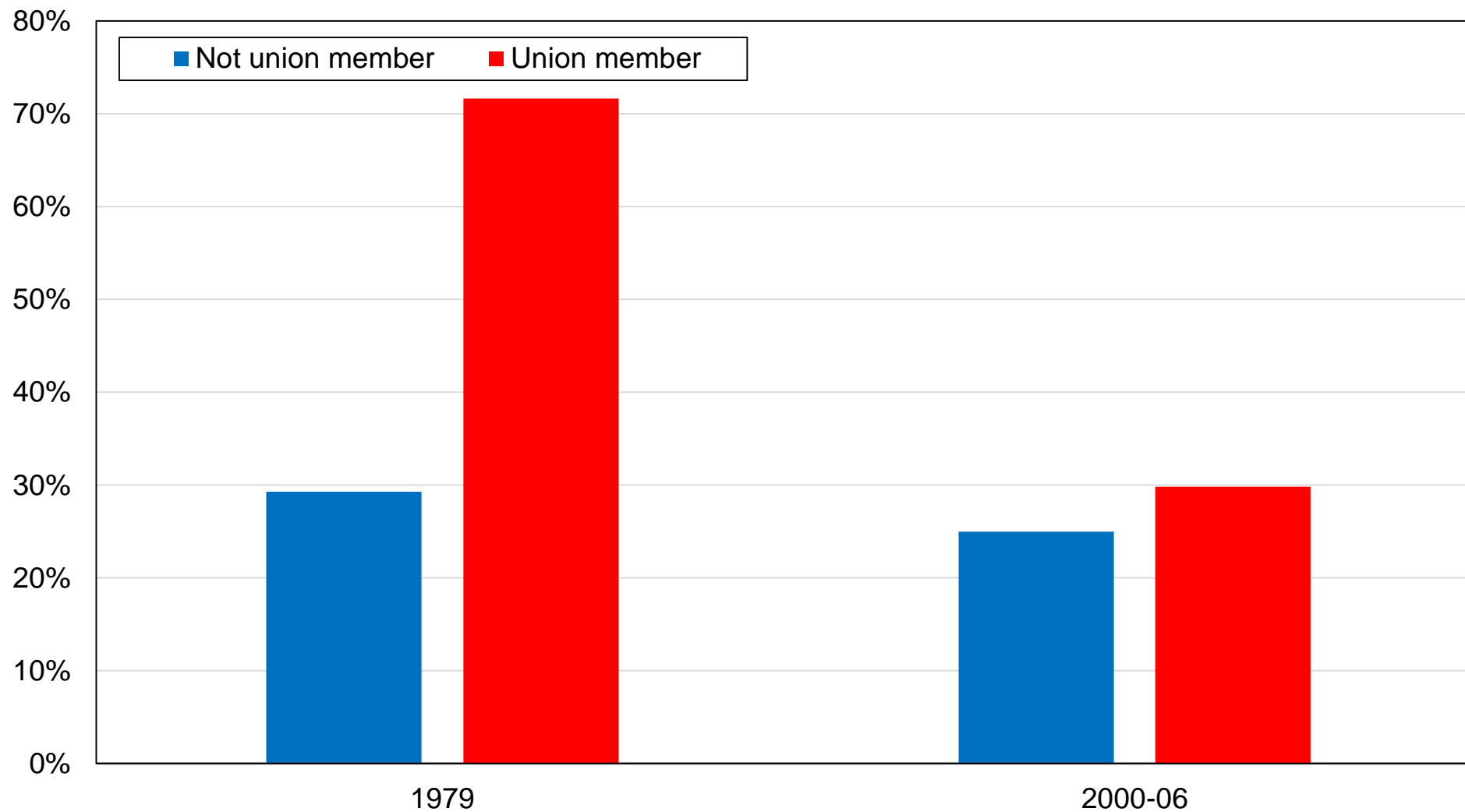
Figure EC11 - Vote for PRI by occupation



Source: authors' computations using using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

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

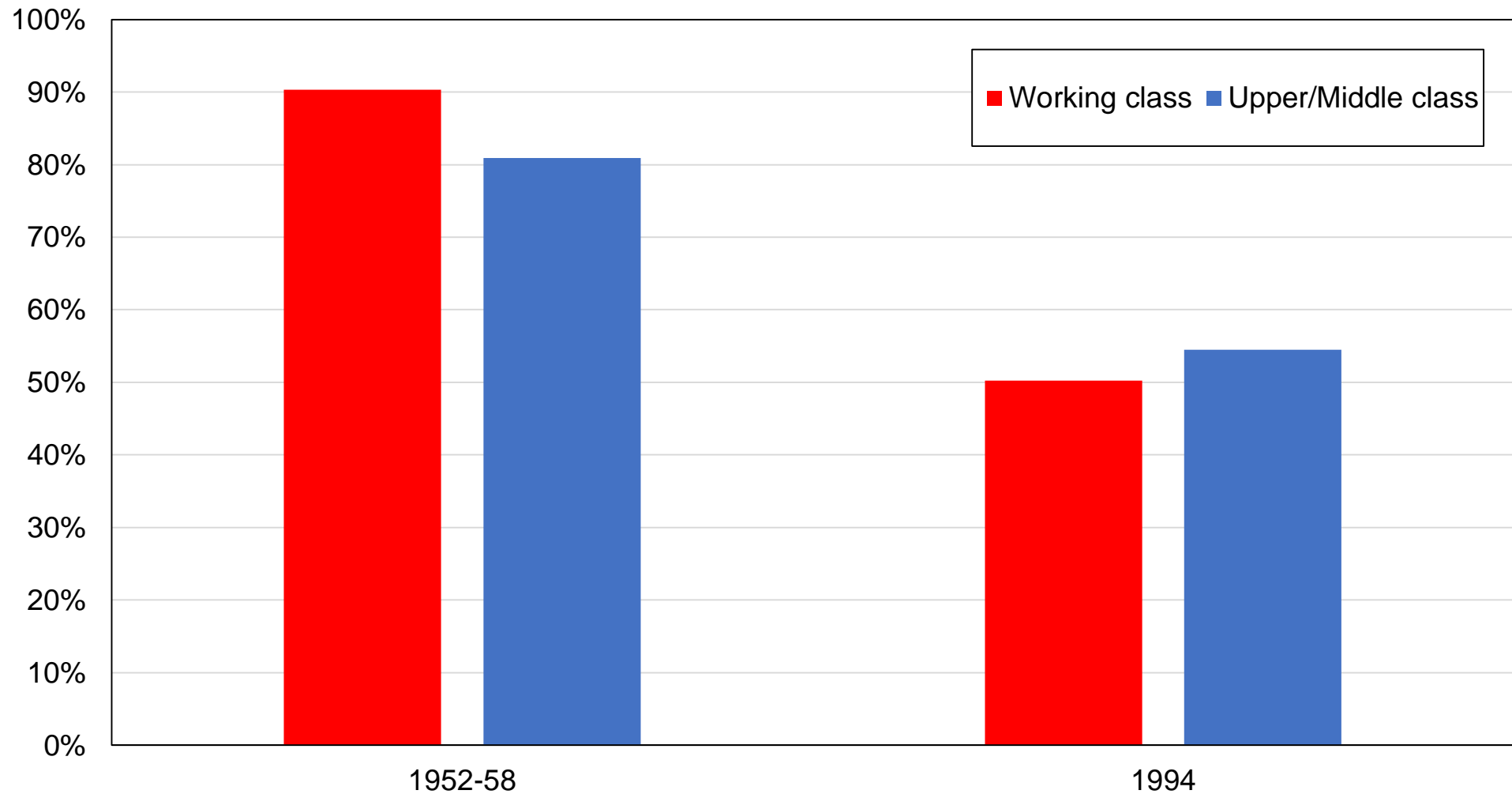
Figure EC12 - Vote for PRI by union membership



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the PRI by union membership status.

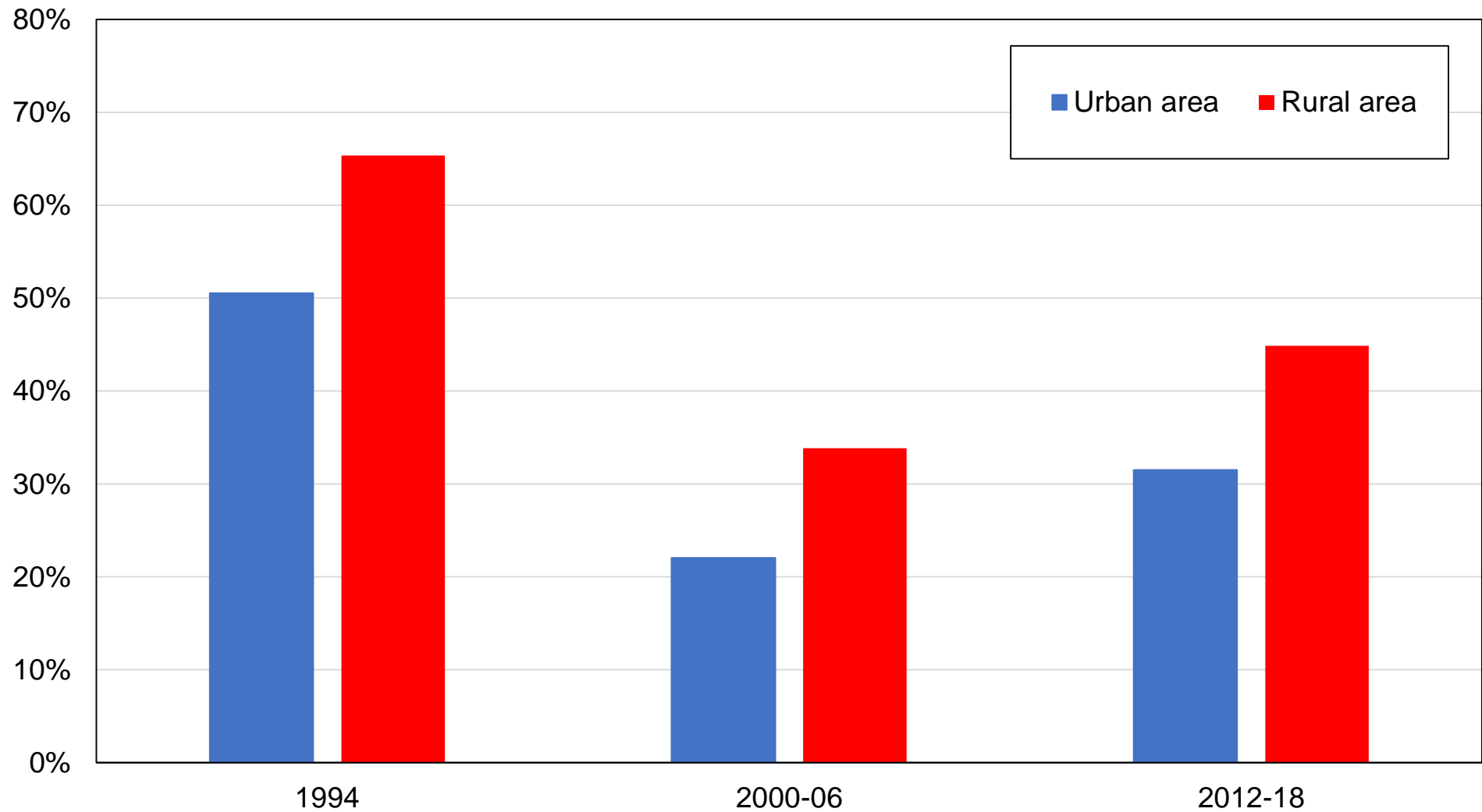
Figure EC13 - Vote for PRI by perceived social class



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the PRI by self-perceived social class. Working class includes "lower class". Middle class includes "no class" and "upper class".

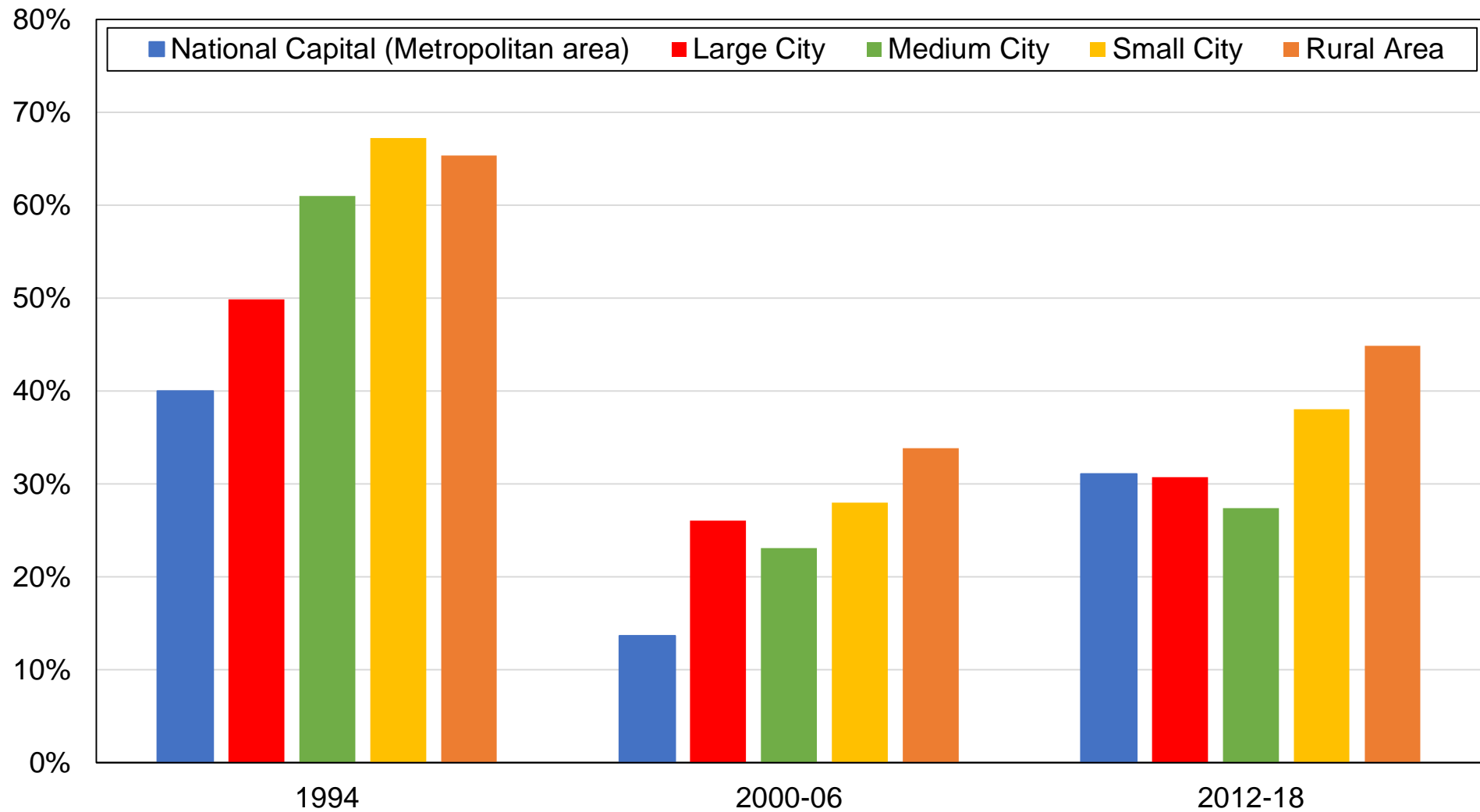
Figure EC14 - Vote for PRI by location



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the PRI by rural-urban location.

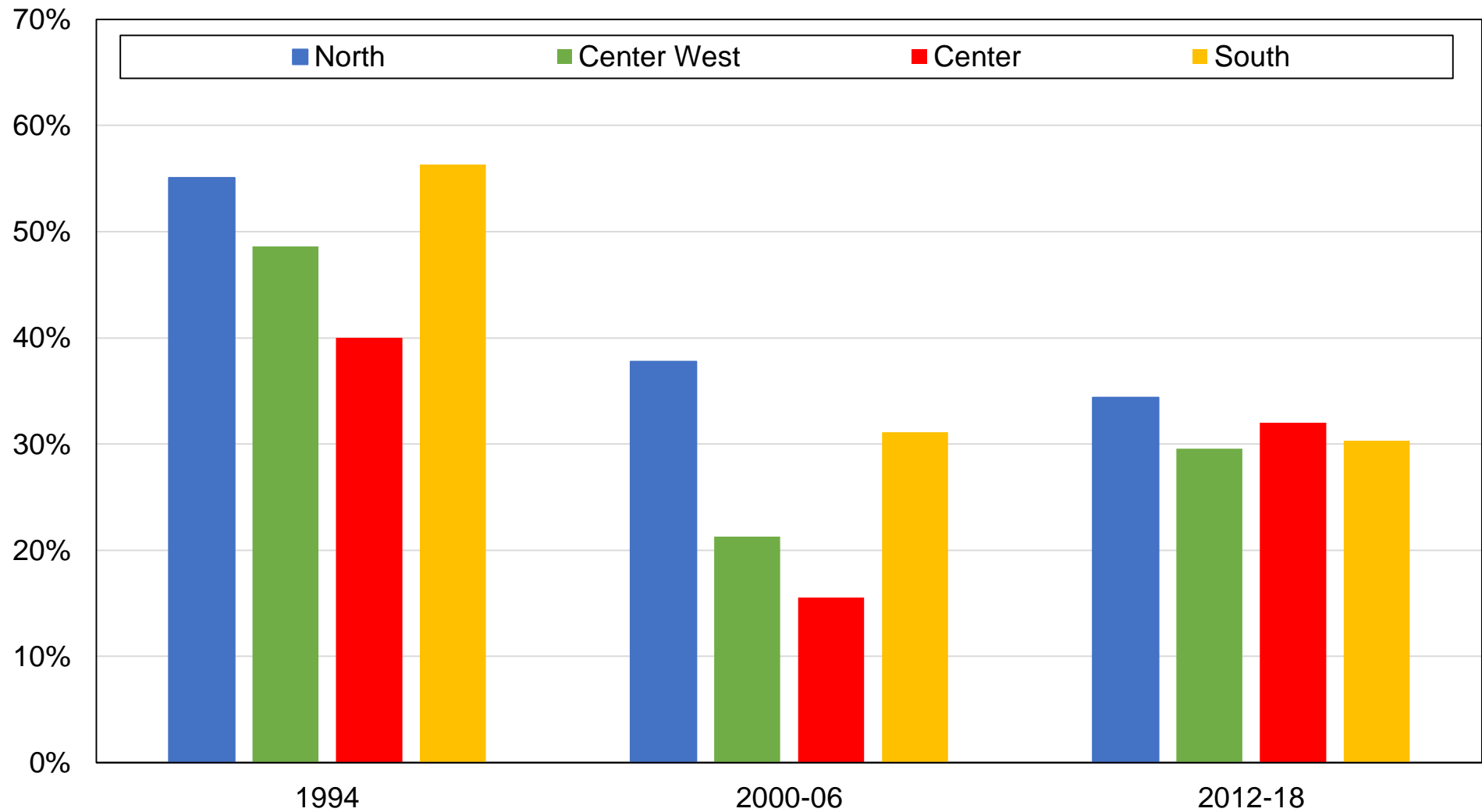
Figure EC15 - Vote for PRI by location size



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the PRI by location size.

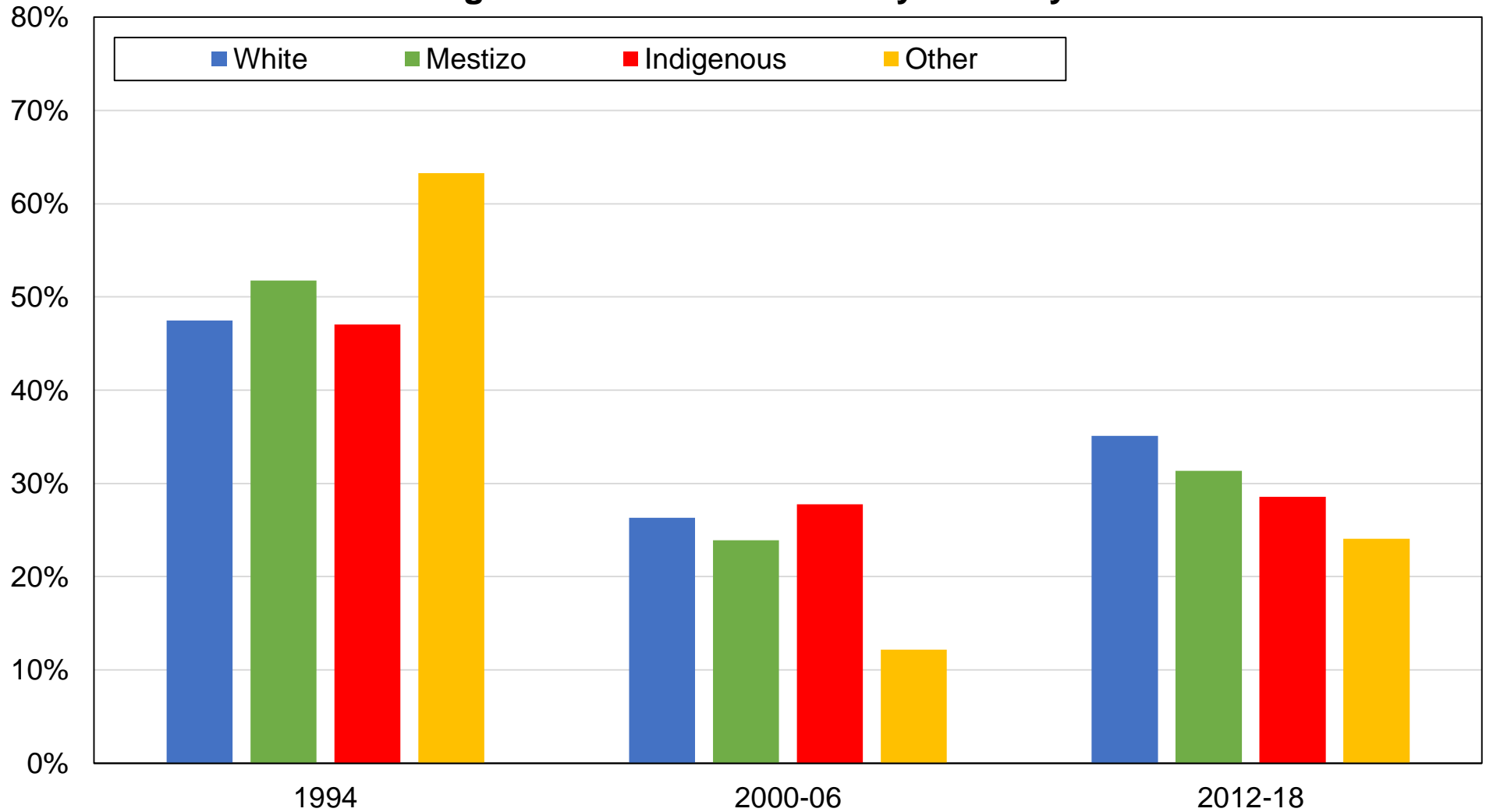
Figure EC16 - Vote for PRI by region



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the PRI by region of residence.

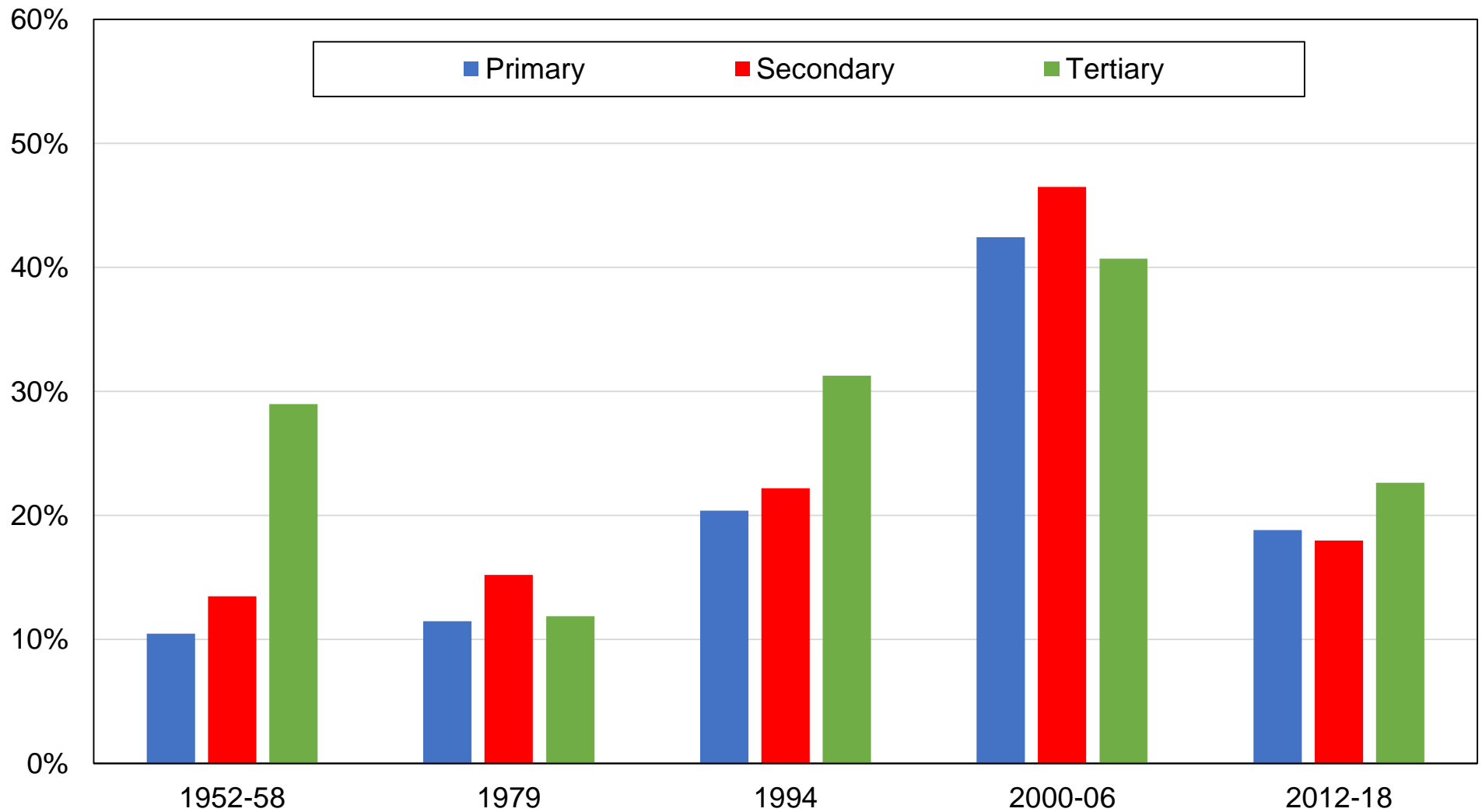
Figure EC17 - Vote for PRI by ethnicity



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

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

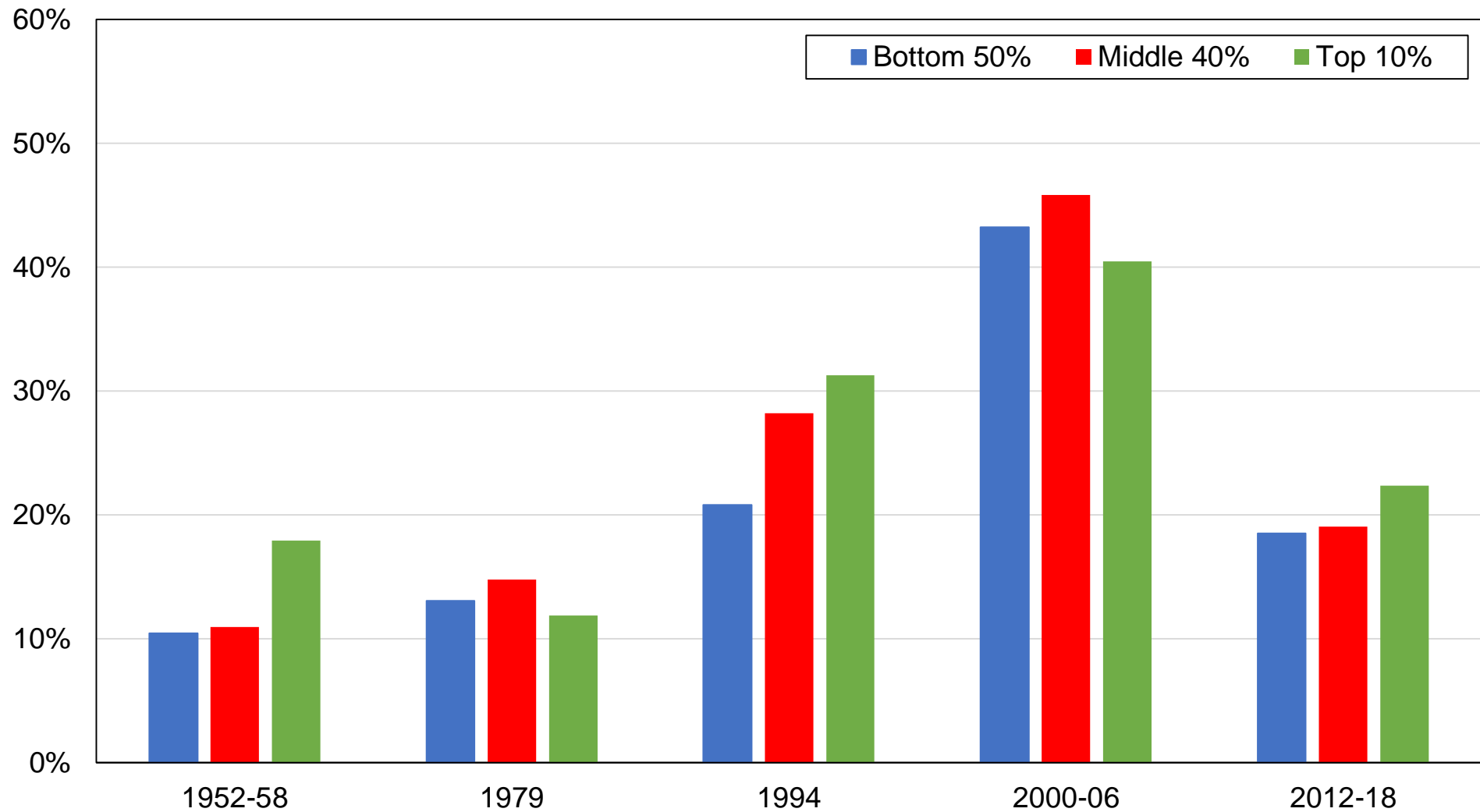
Figure EC18 - Vote for PAN by education level



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

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

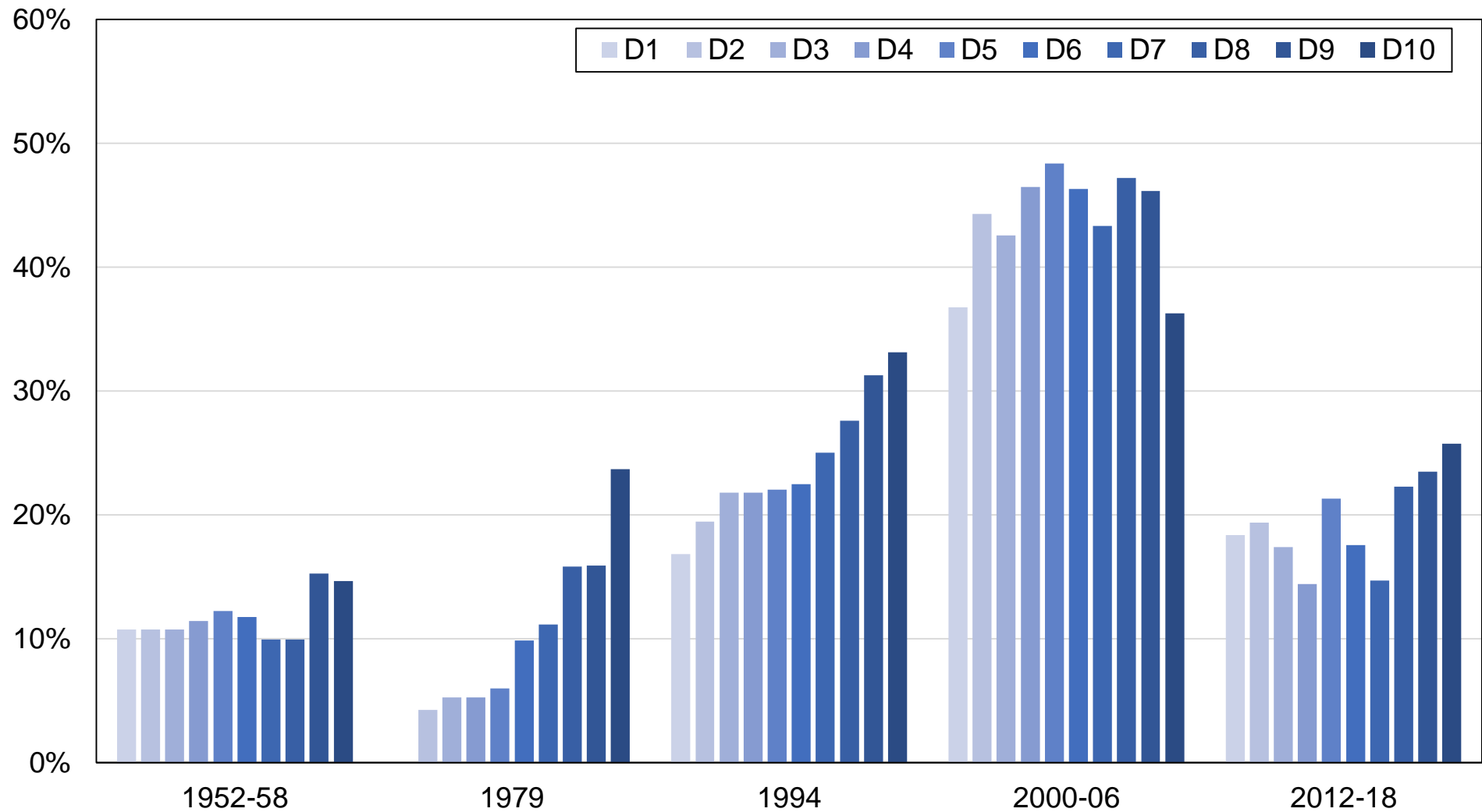
Figure EC19 - Vote for PAN by education group



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

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

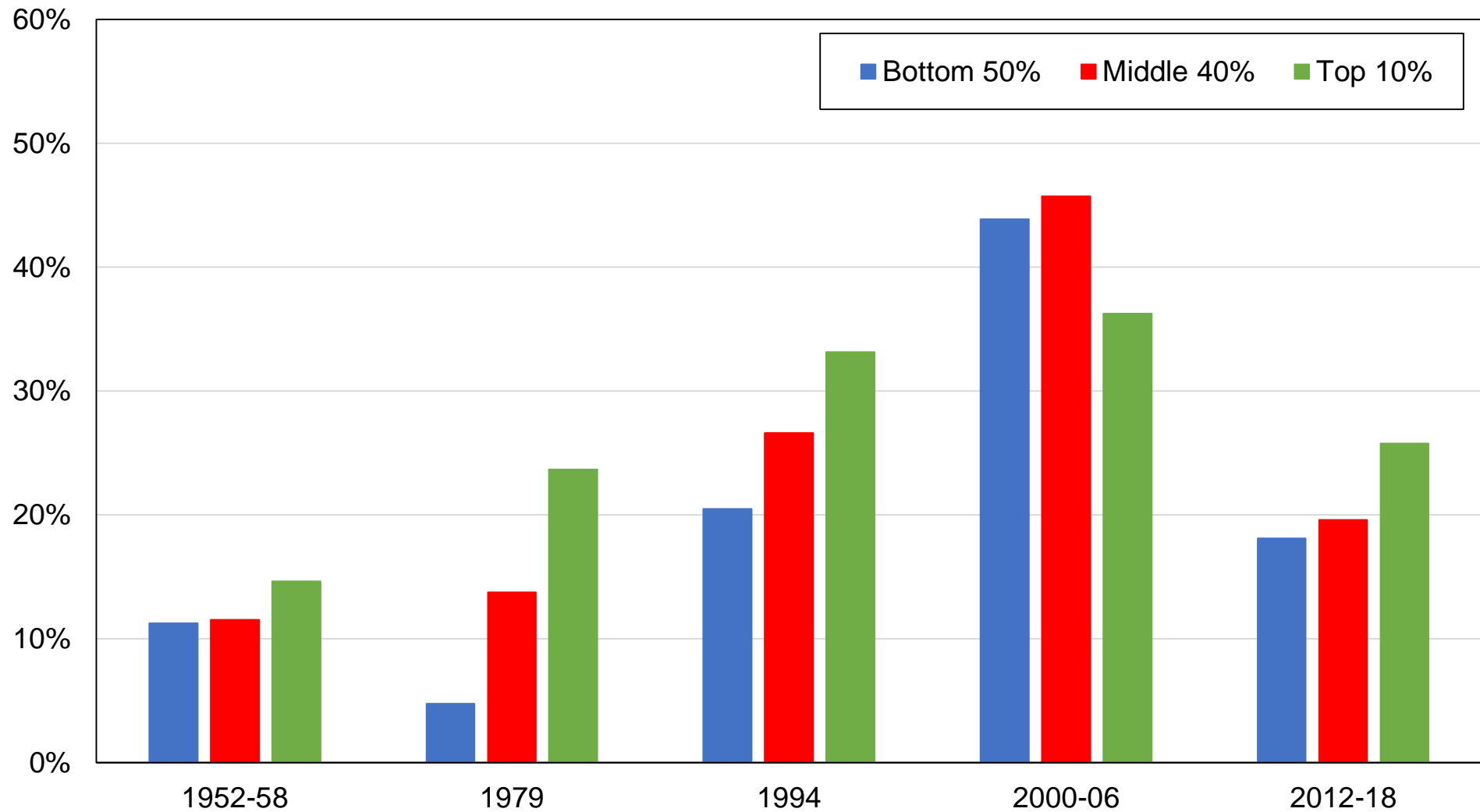
Figure EC20 - Vote for PAN by income decile



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

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

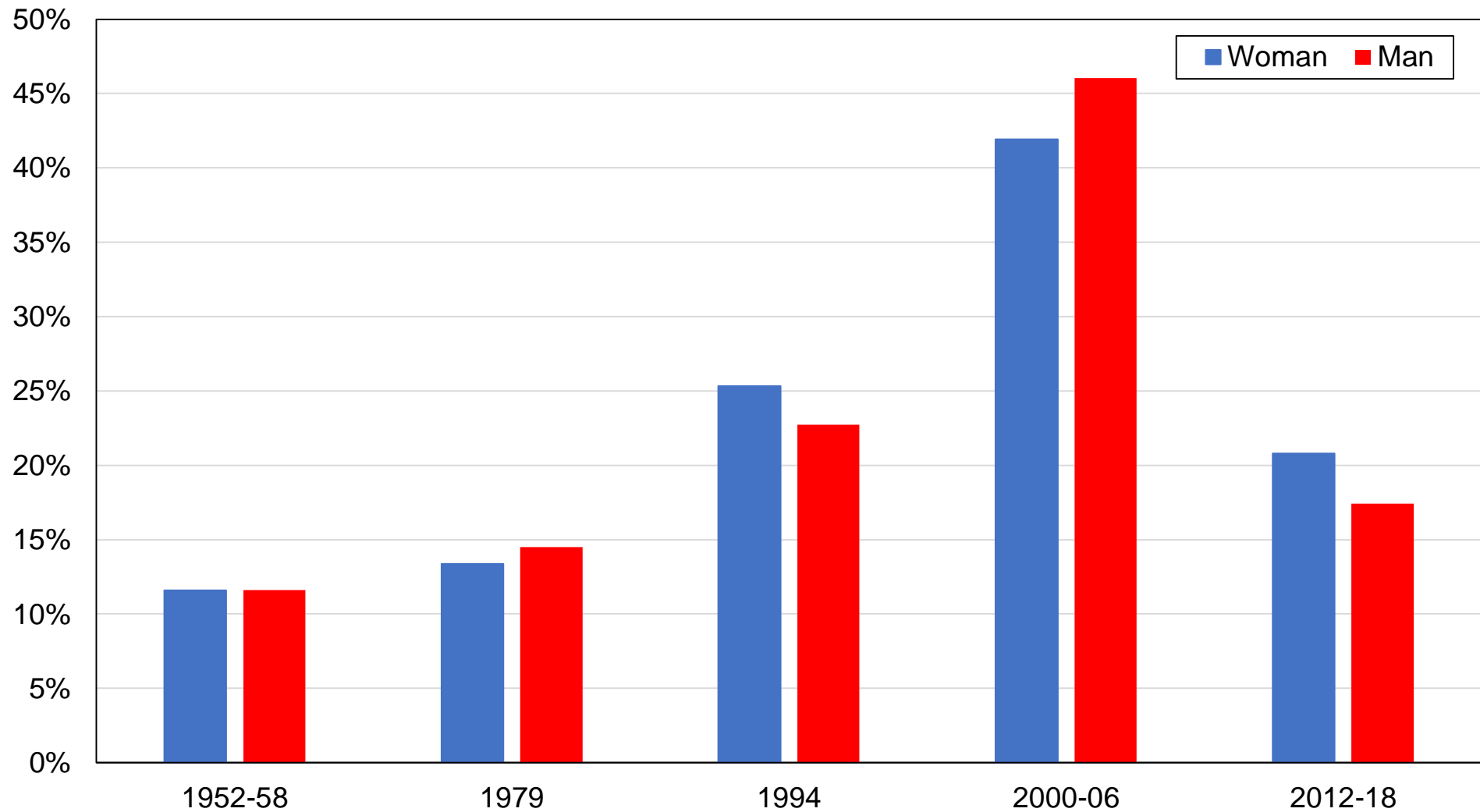
Figure EC21 - Vote for PAN by income group



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

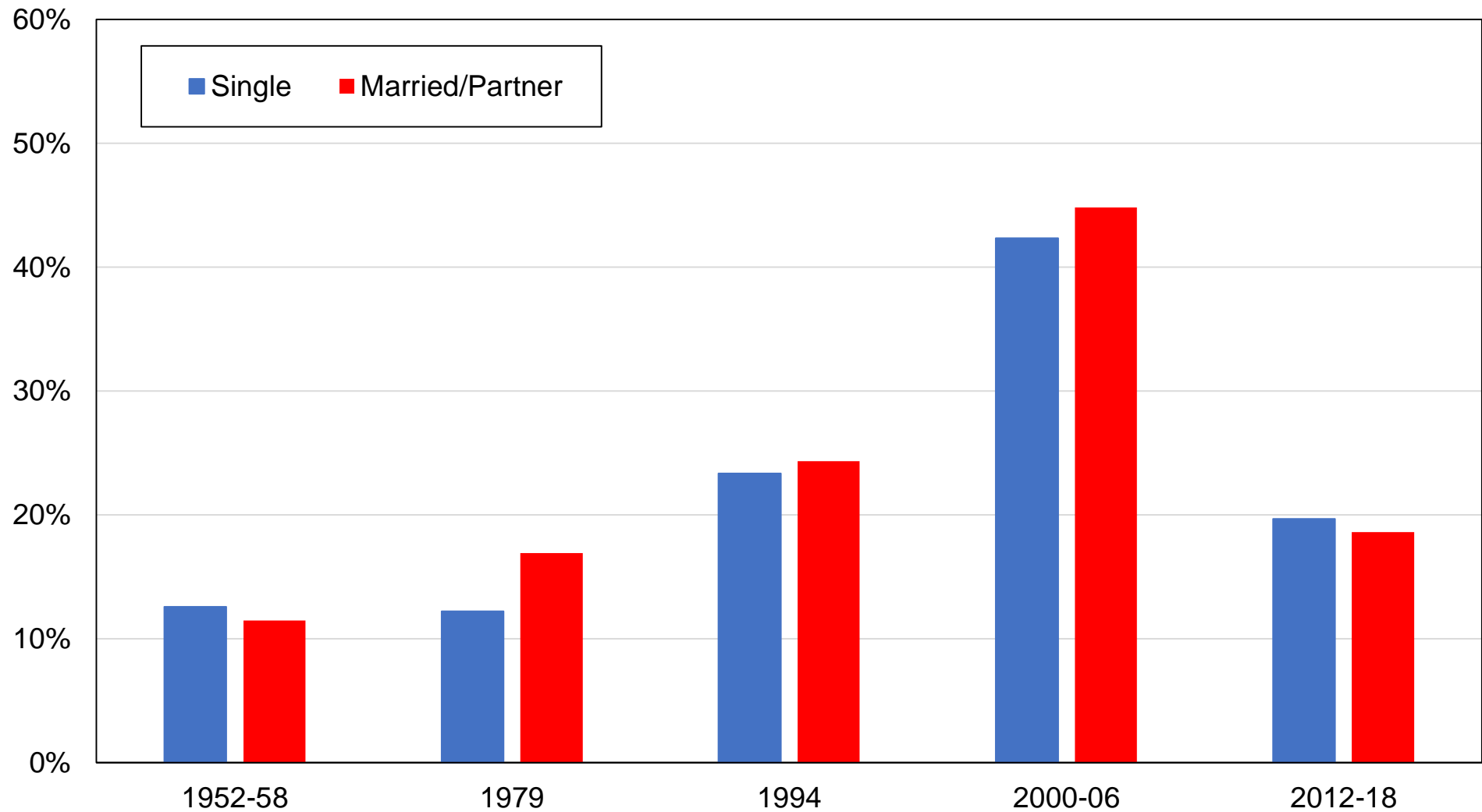
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the PAN by income group.

Figure EC22 - Vote for PAN by gender



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

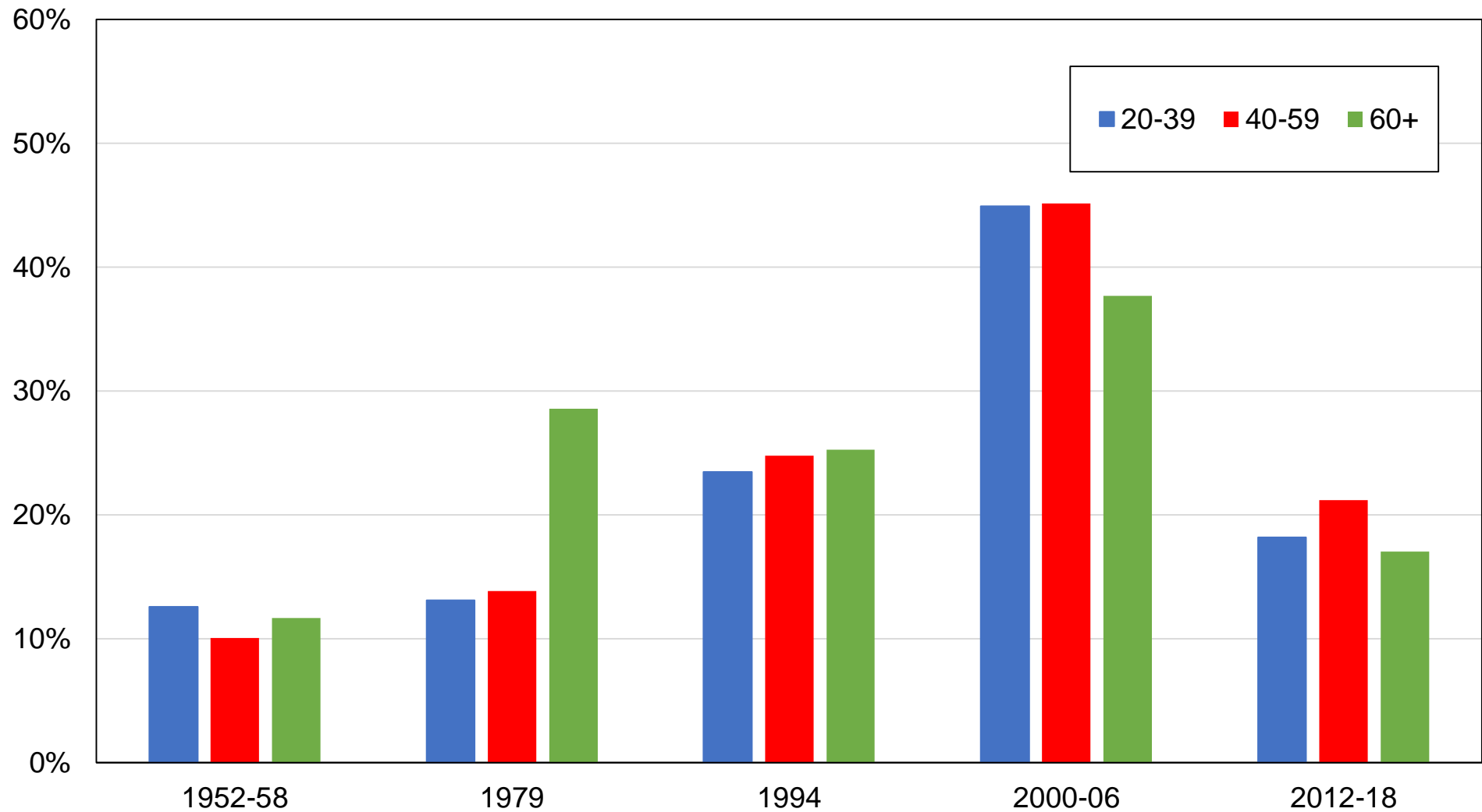
Figure EC23 - Vote for PAN by marital status



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the PAN by marital status.

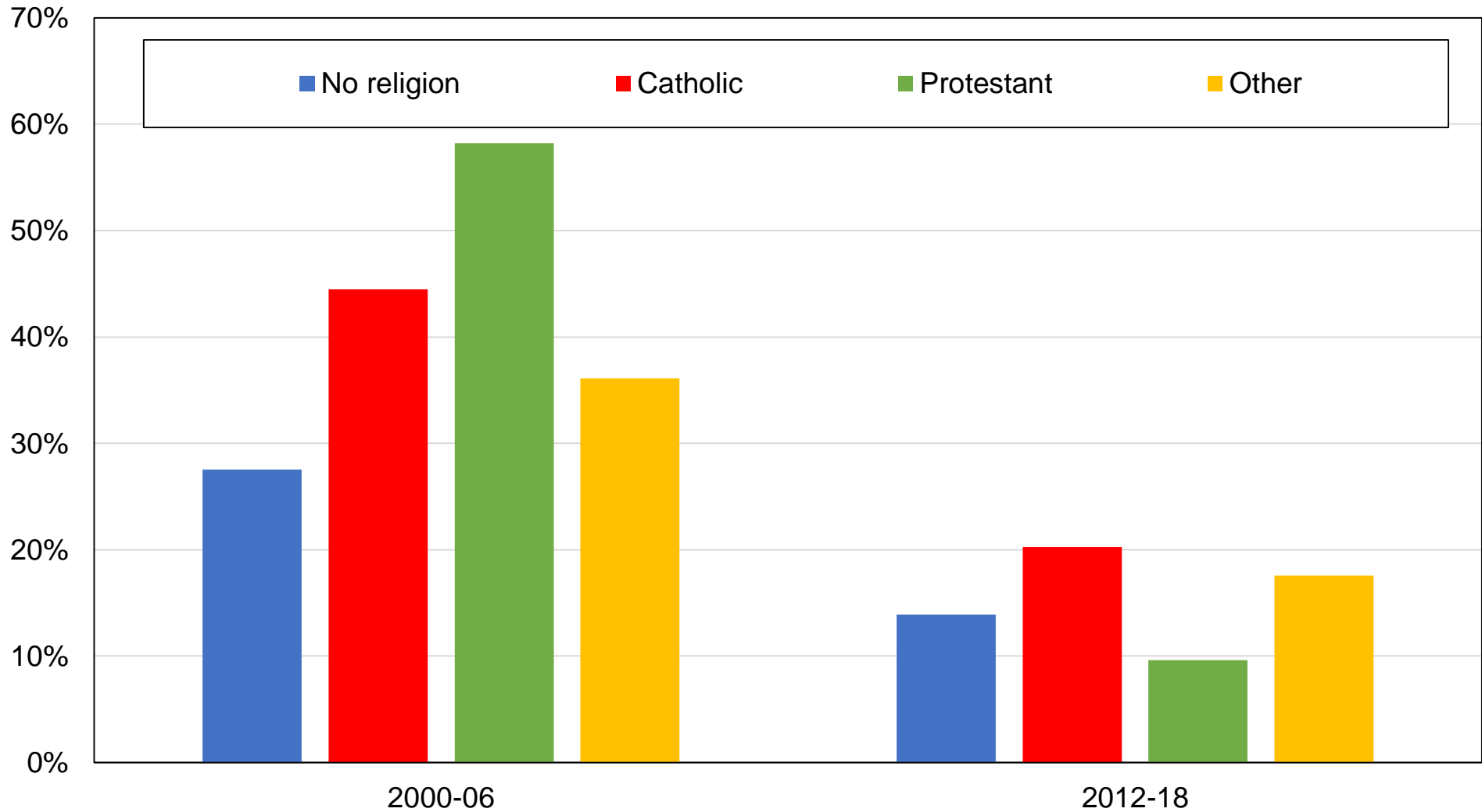
Figure EC24 - Vote for PAN by age group



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

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

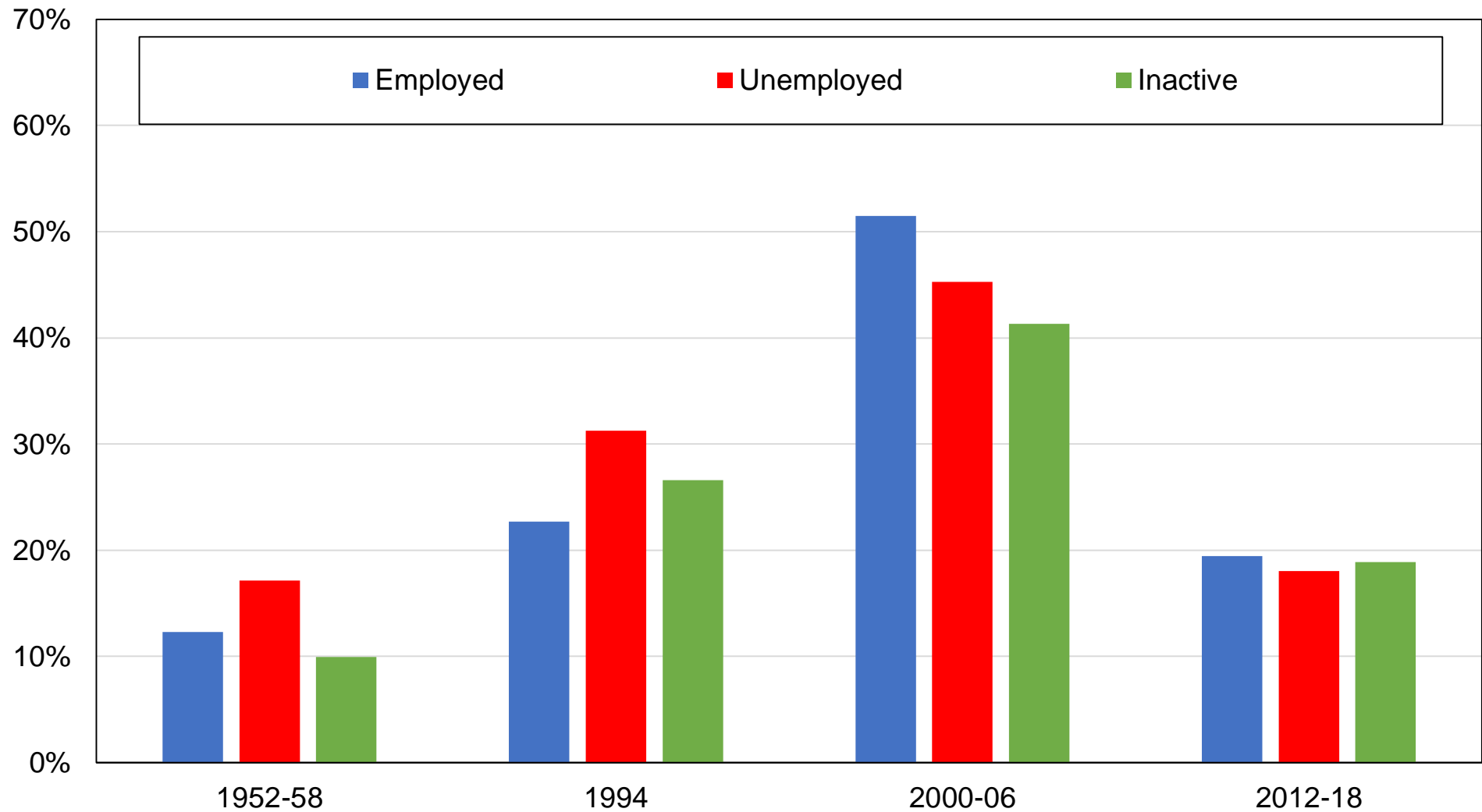
Figure EC25 - Vote for PAN by religious affiliation



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

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

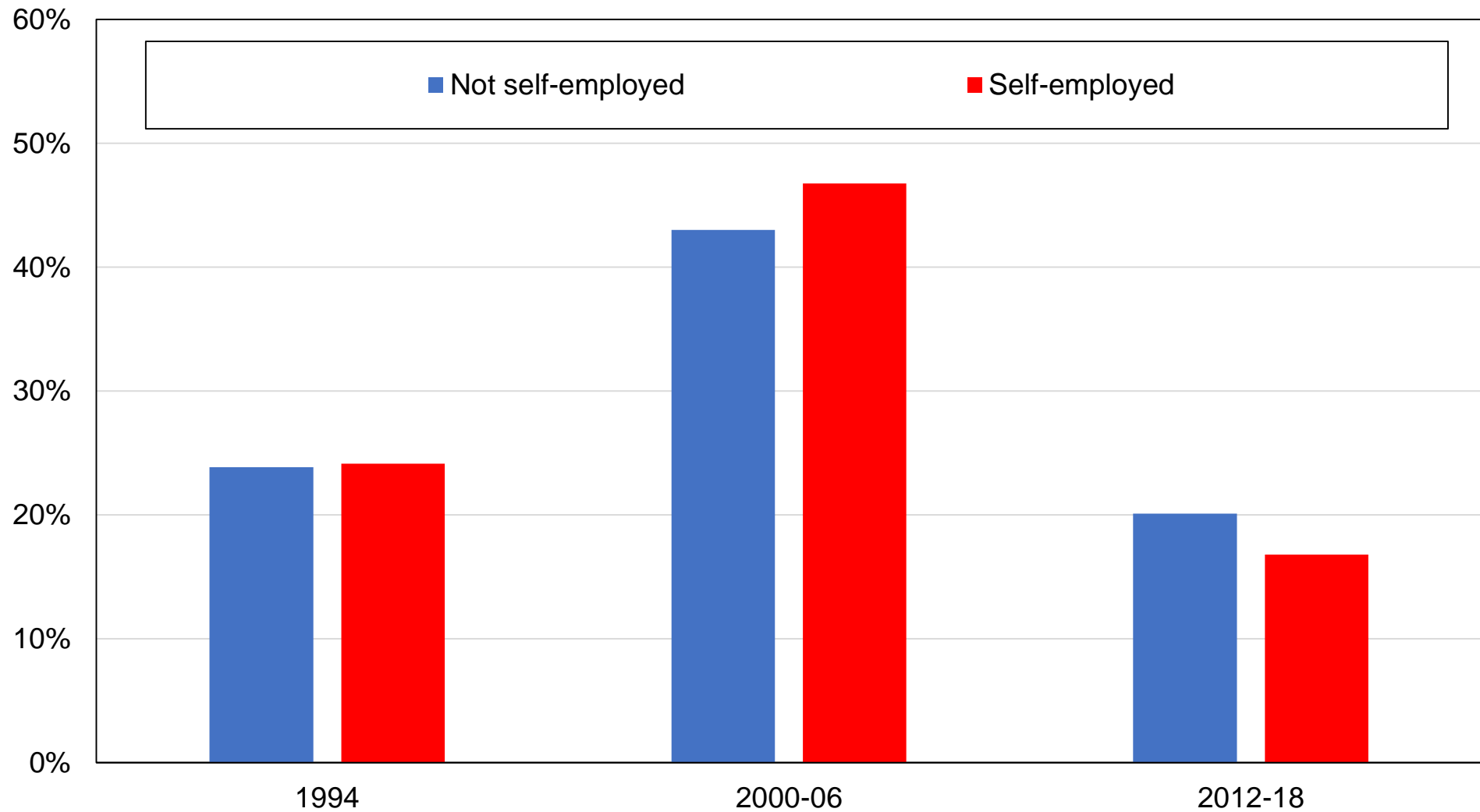
Figure EC26 - Vote for PAN by employment status



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the PAN by employment status.

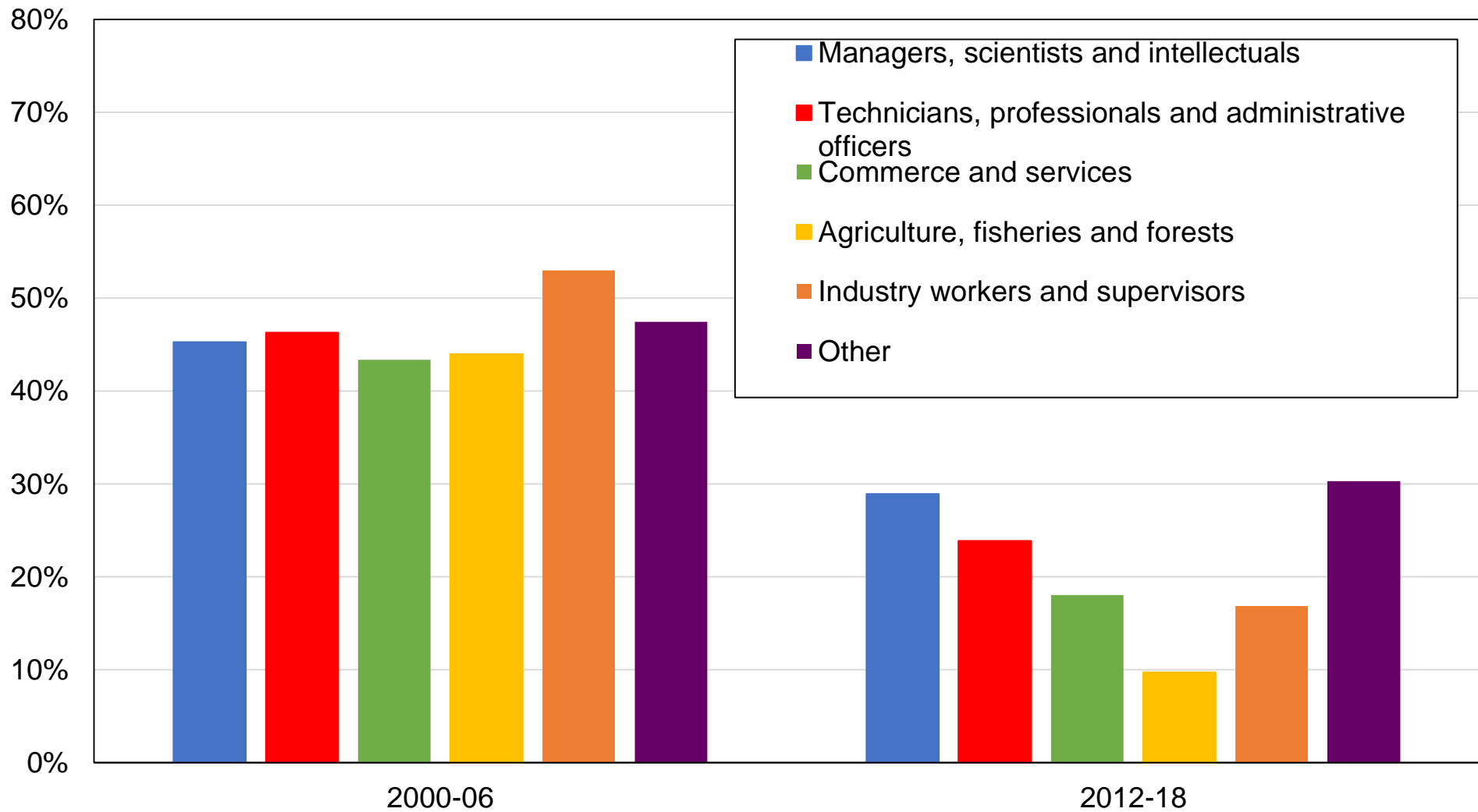
Figure EC27 - Vote for PAN by self-employment status



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the PAN by self-employment status.

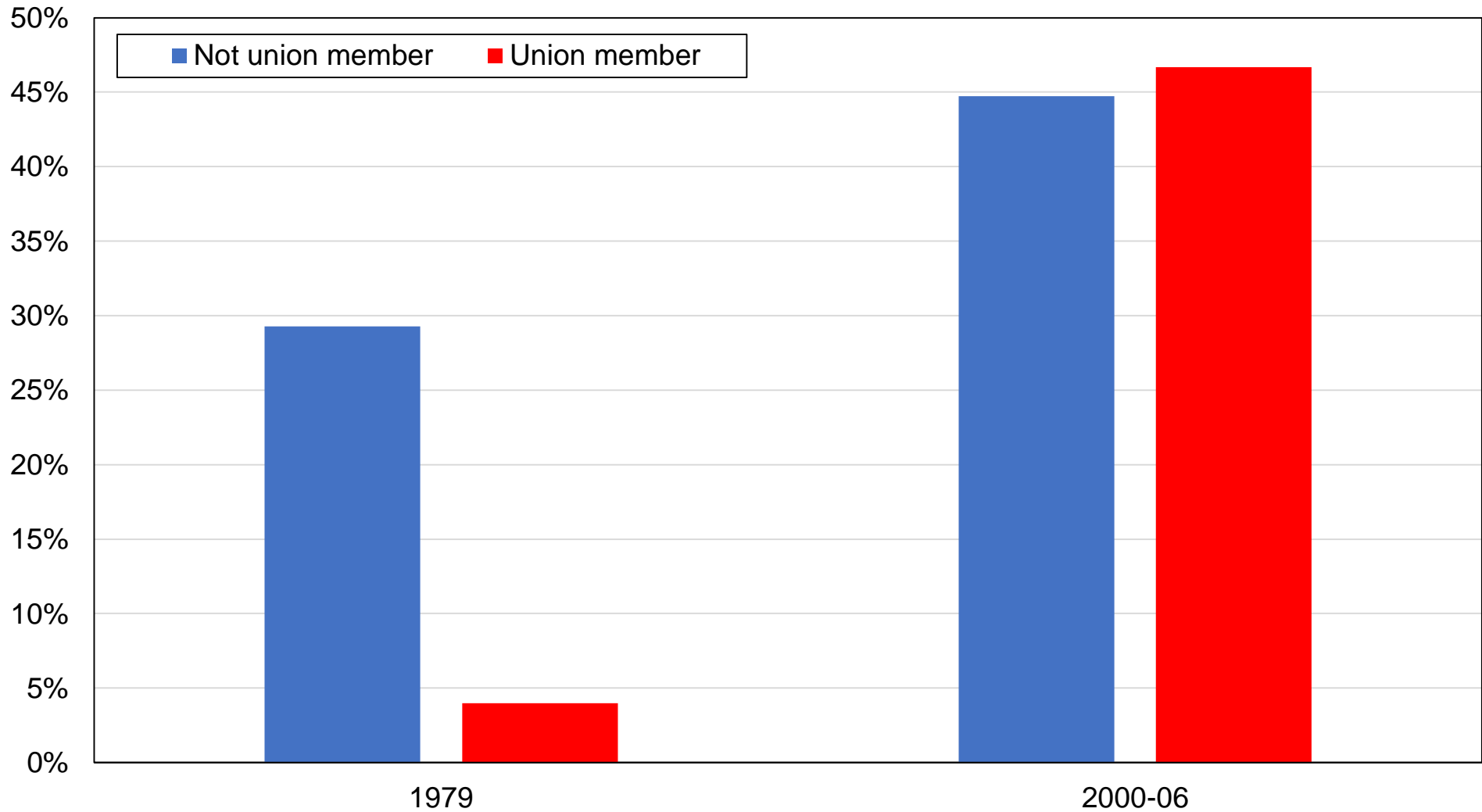
Figure EC28 - Vote for PAN by occupation



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

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

Figure EC29 - Vote for PAN by union membership



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the PAN by union membership status.

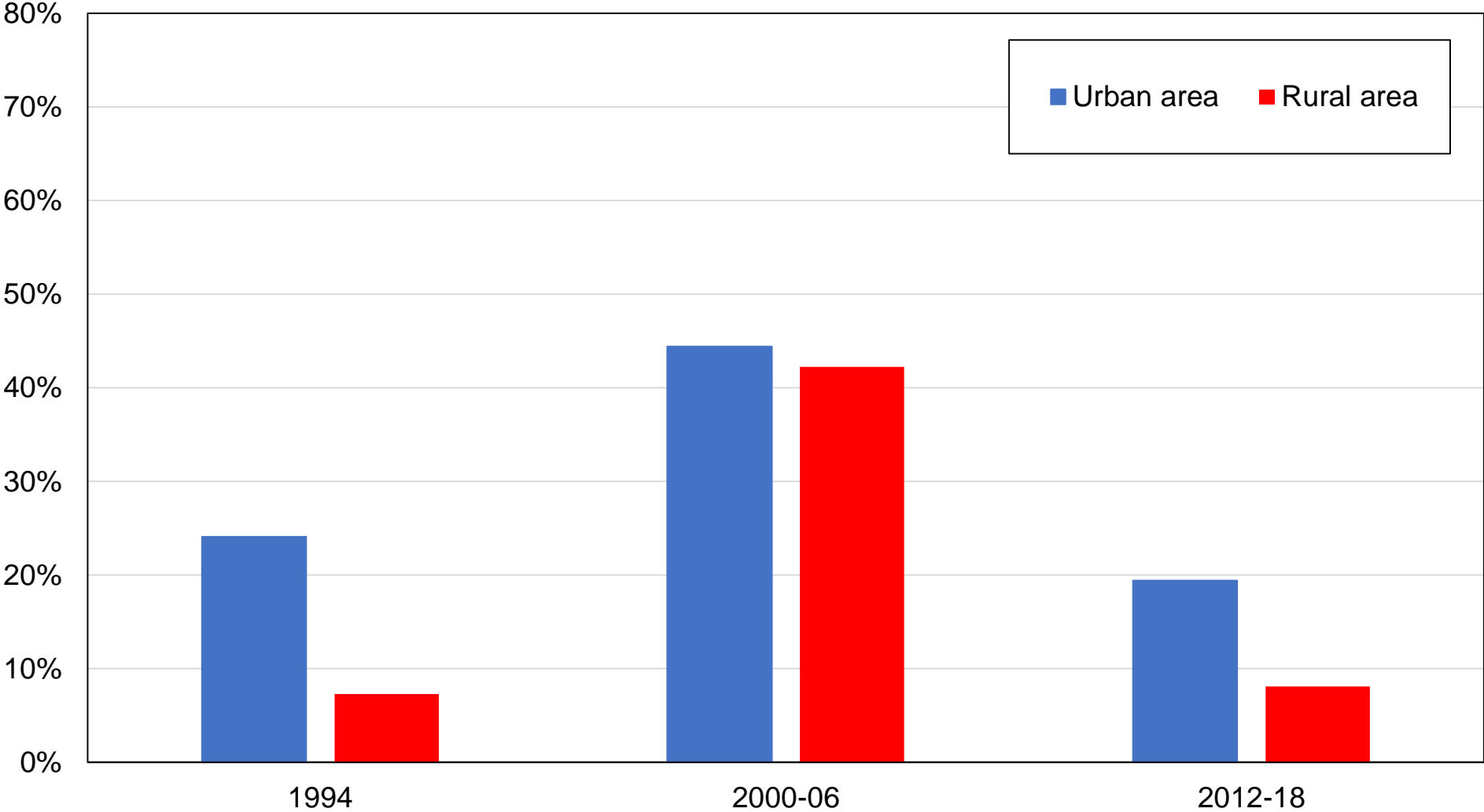
Figure EC30 - Vote for PAN by perceived social class



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

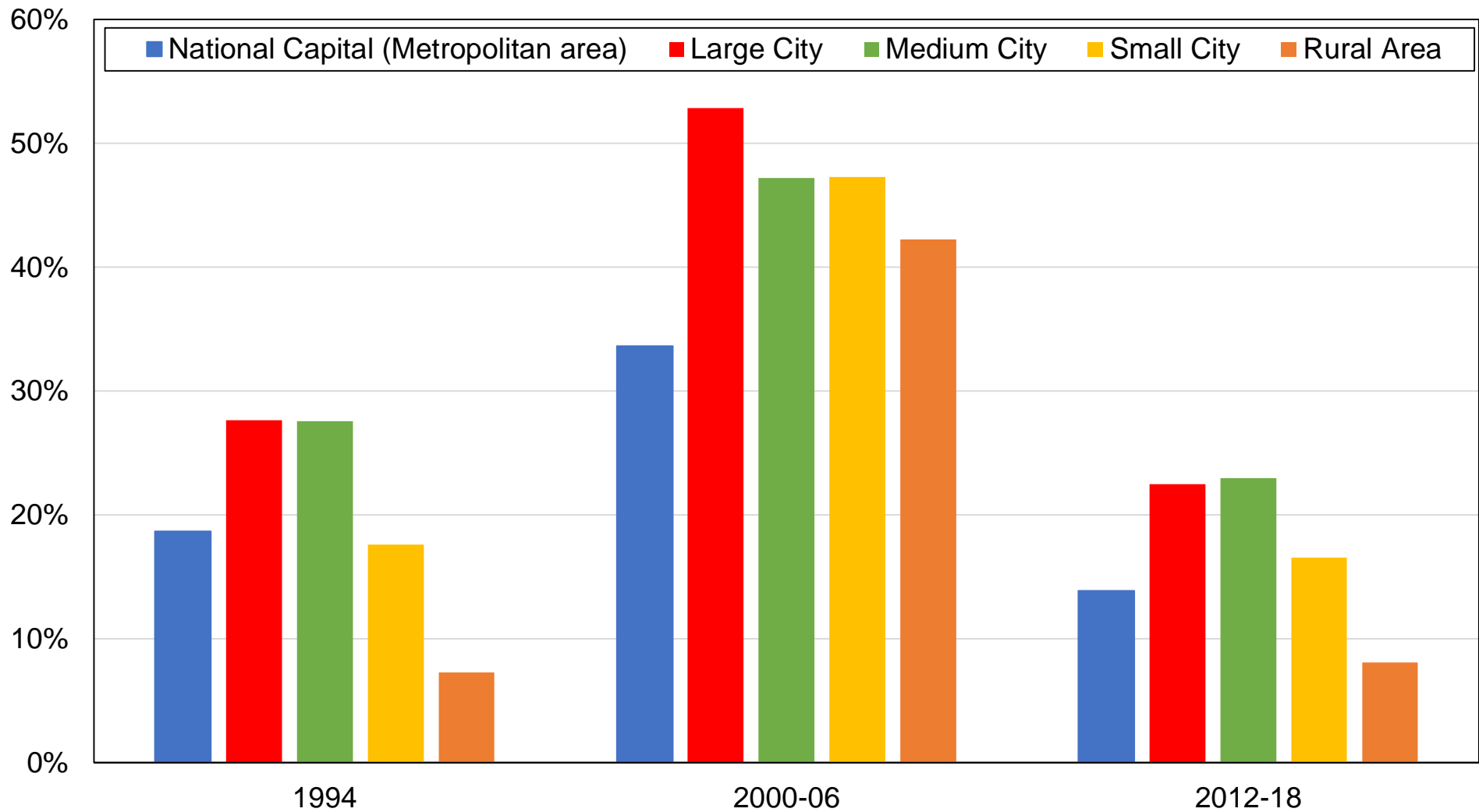
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the PAN by self-perceived social class. Working class includes "lower class". Middle class includes "no class" and "upper class".

Figure EC31 - Vote for PAN by location



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the PAN by rural-urban location.

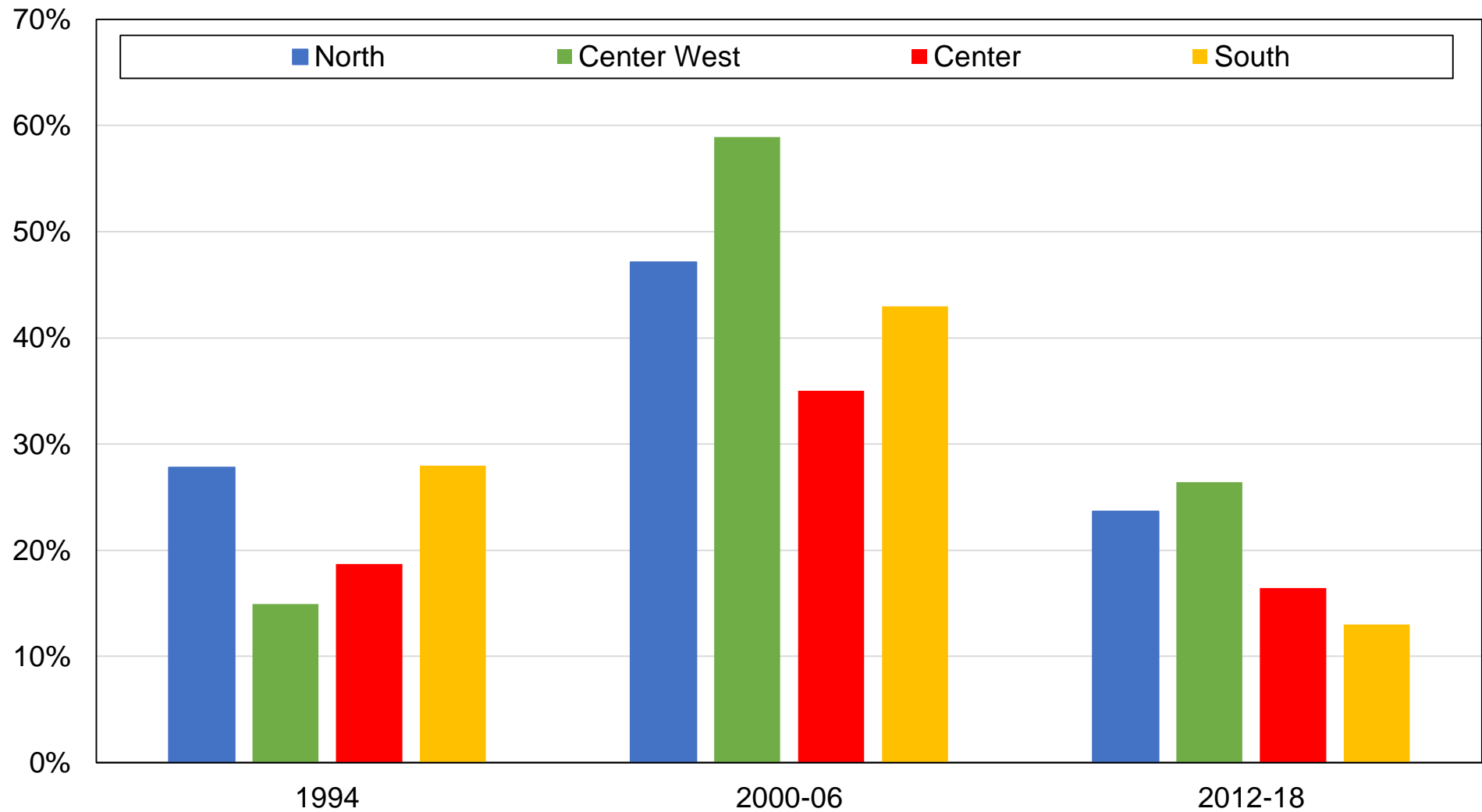
Figure EC32 - Vote for PAN by location size



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the PAN by location size.

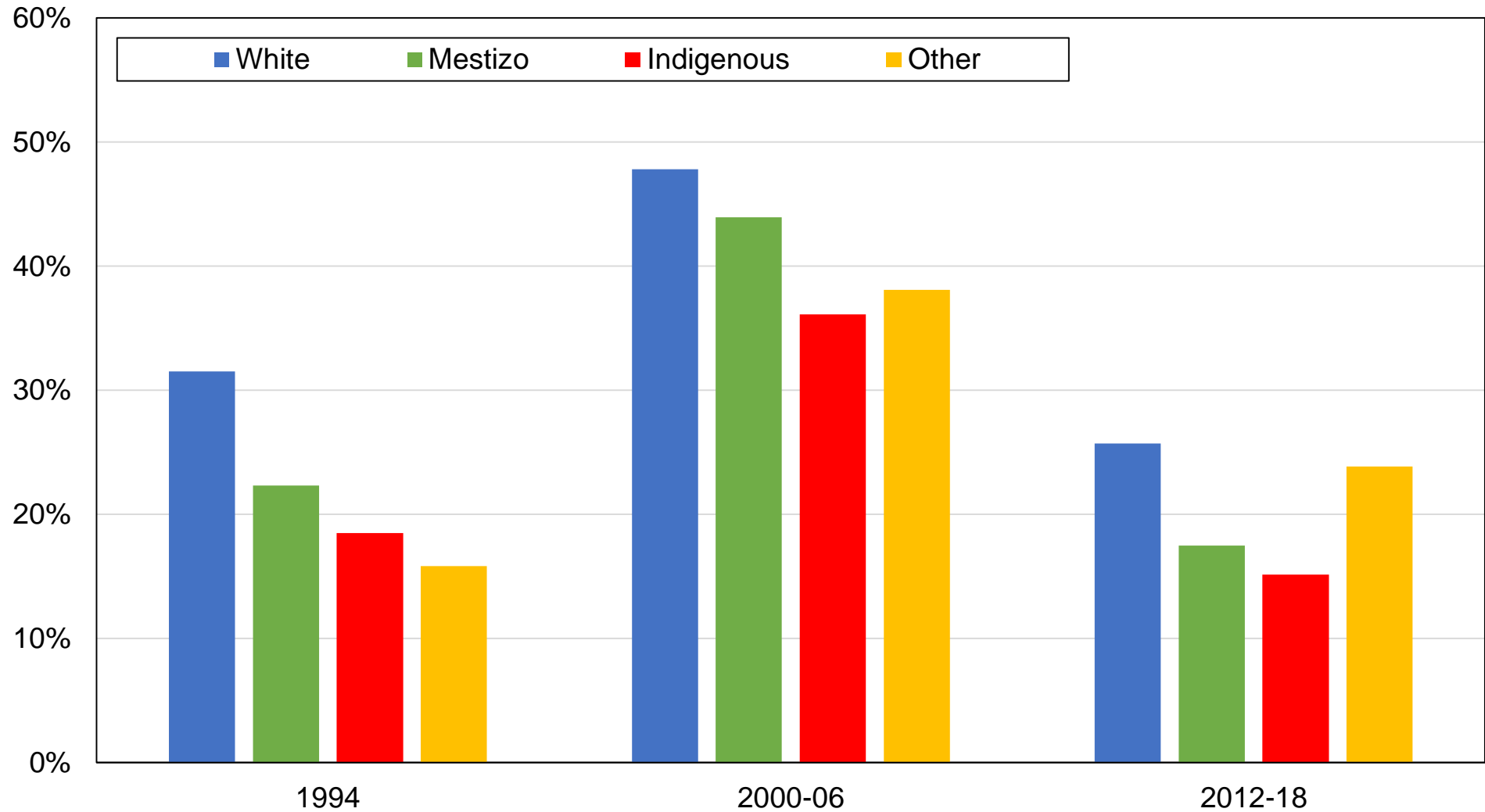
Figure EC33 - Vote for PAN by region



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

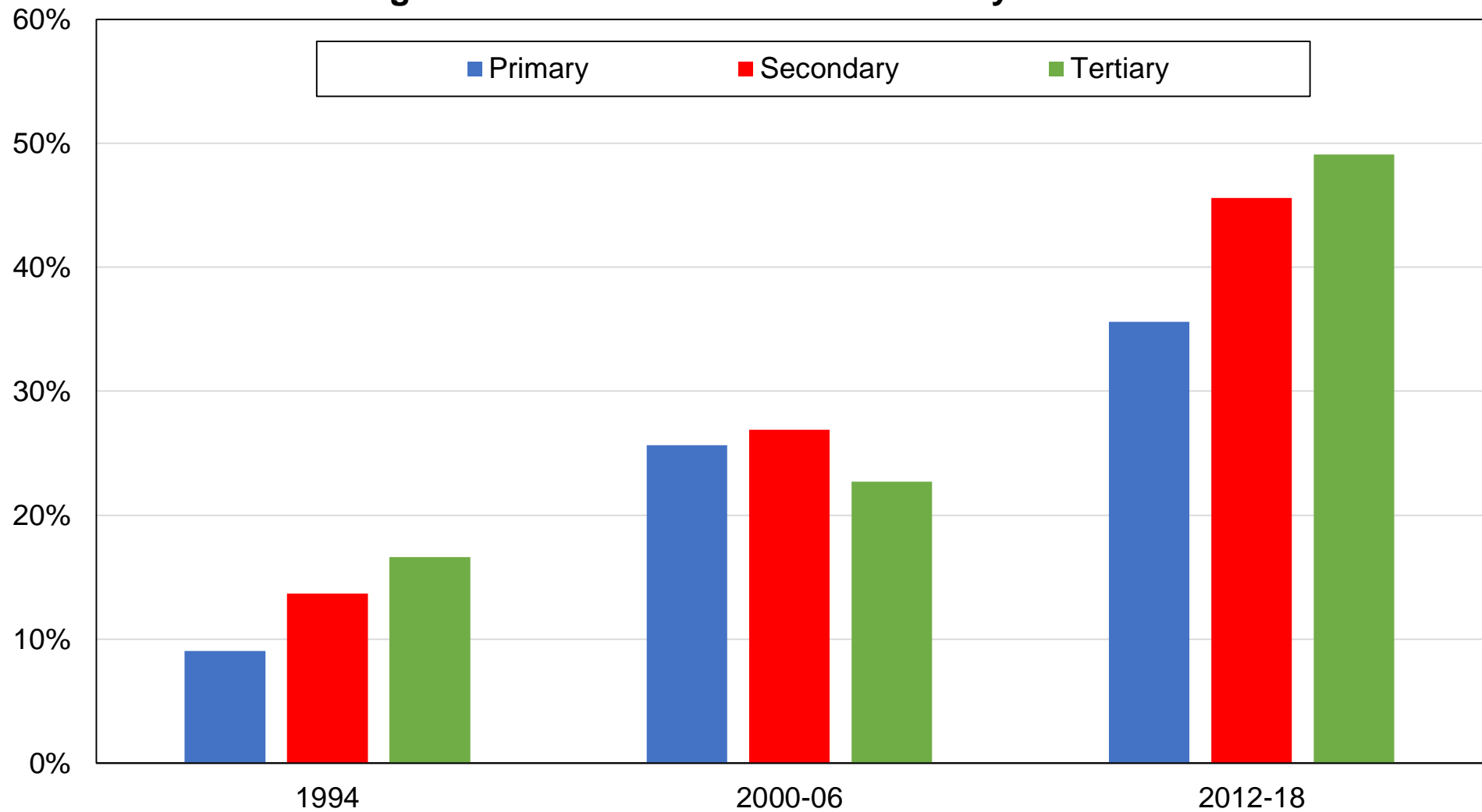
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the PAN by region of residence.

Figure EC34 - Vote for PAN by ethnicity



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the PAN by ethnicity.

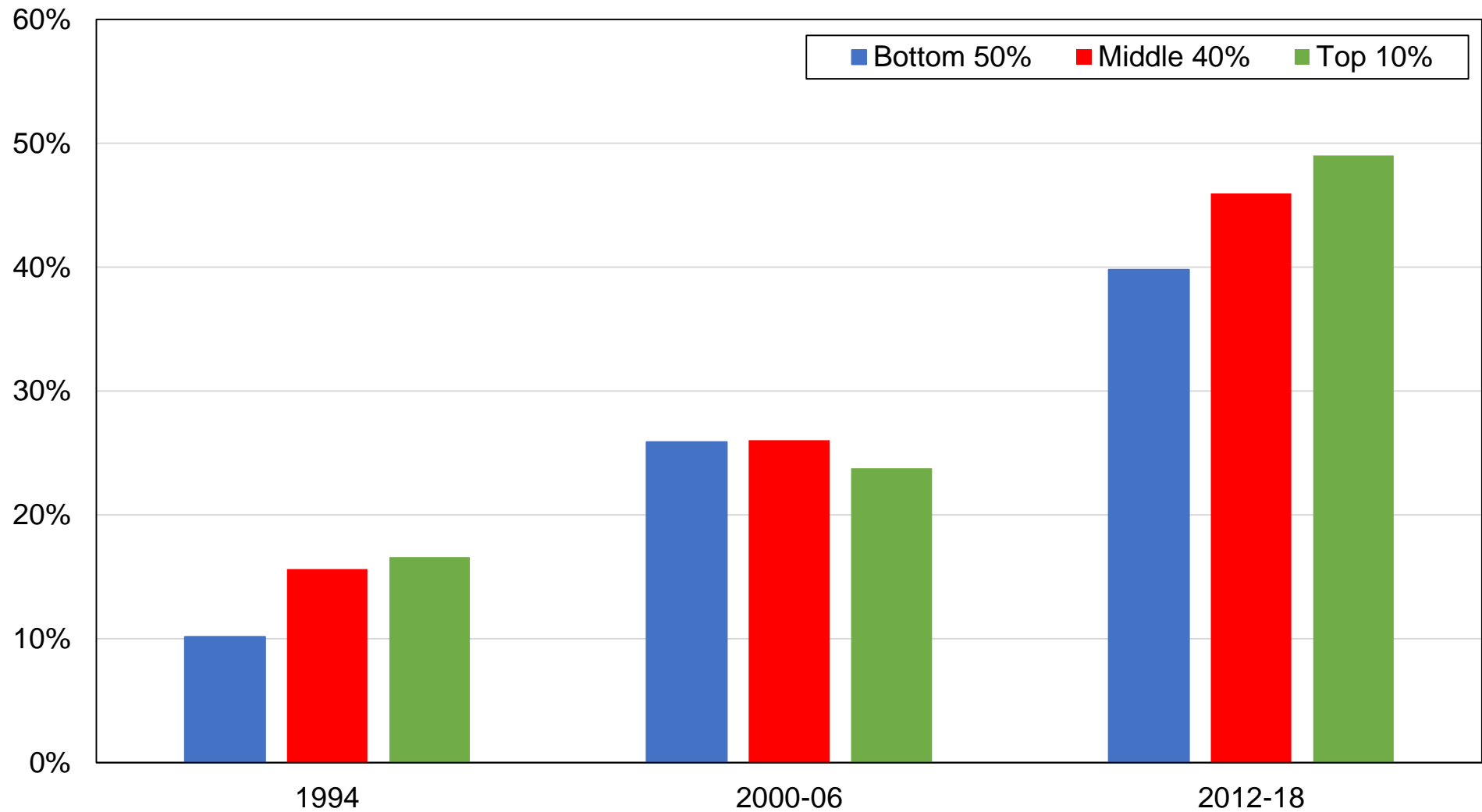
Figure EC35 - Vote for PRD / Morena by education level



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PRD/Morena by education level.

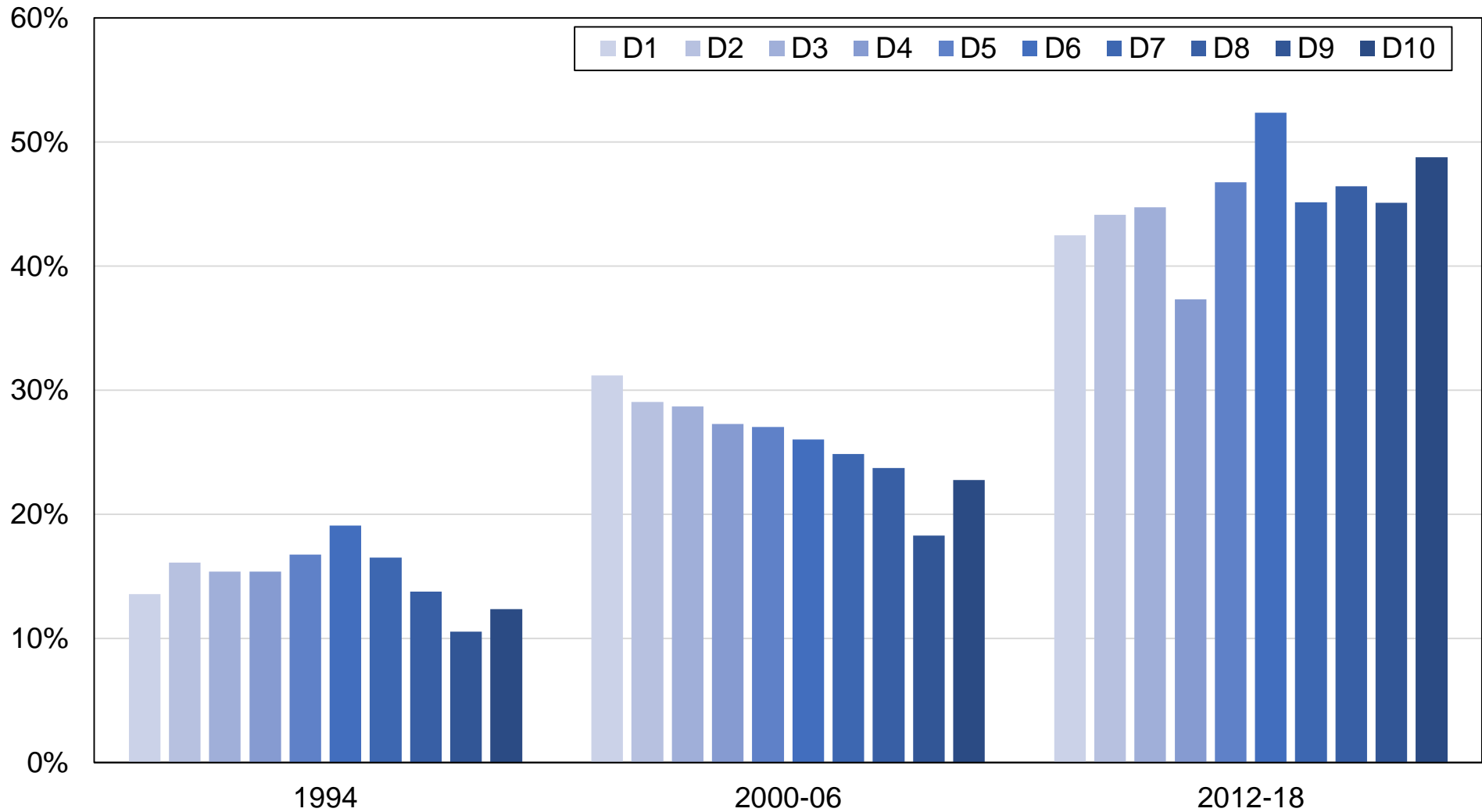
Figure EC36 - Vote for PRD / Morena by education group



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PRD/Morena by education group.

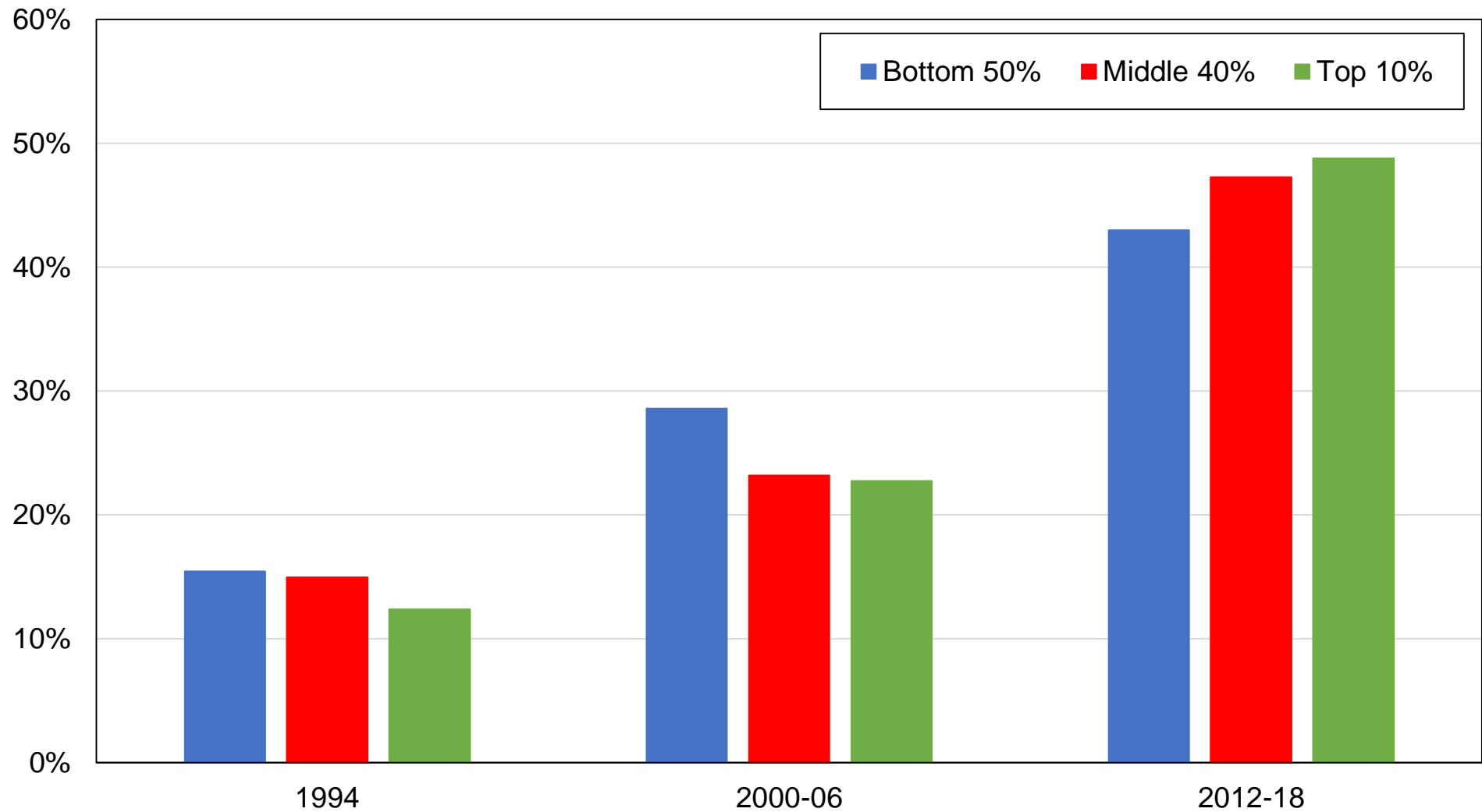
Figure EC37 - Vote for PRD / Morena by income decile



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PRD/Morena by income decile.

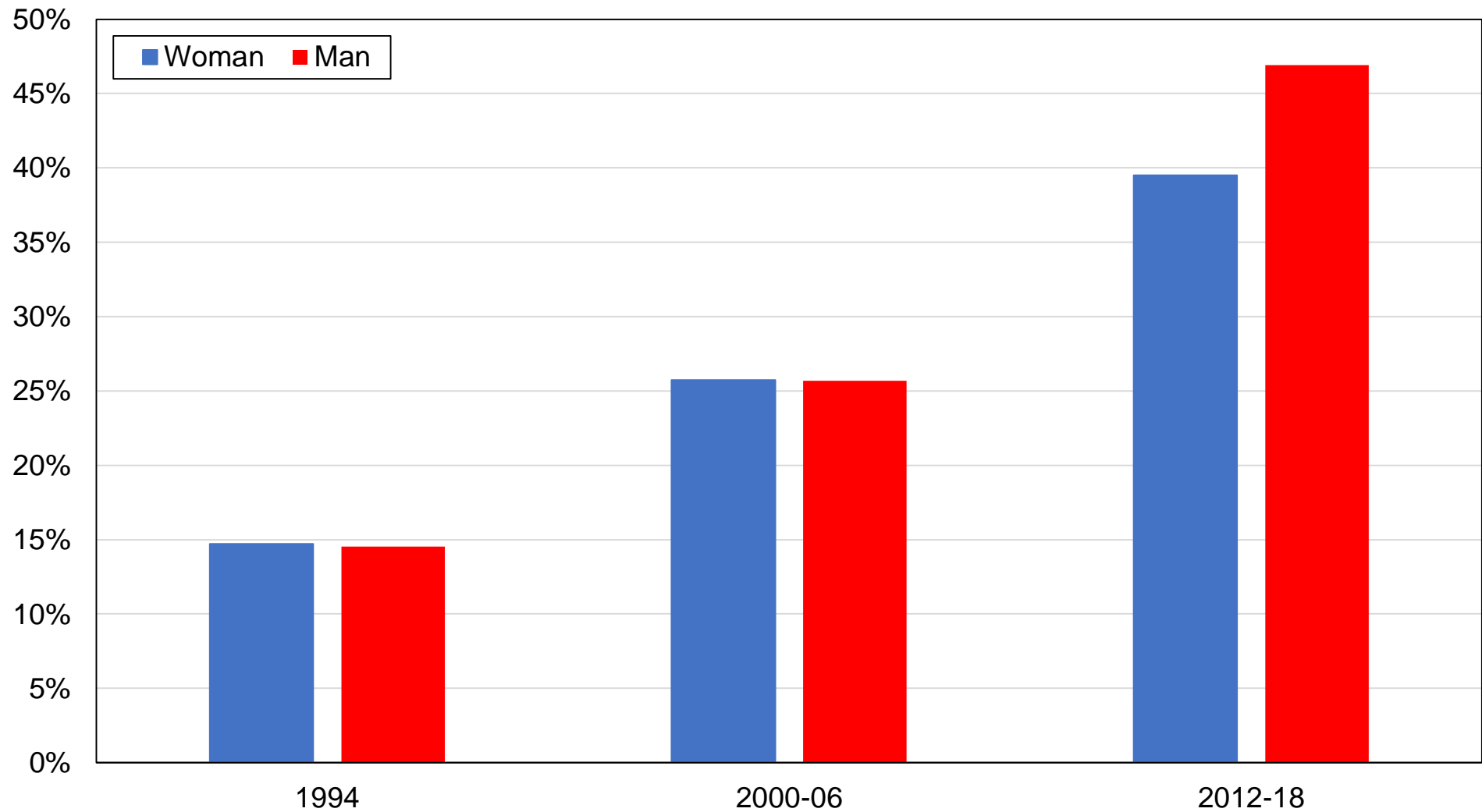
Figure EC38 - Vote for PRD / Morena by income group



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PRD/Morena by income group.

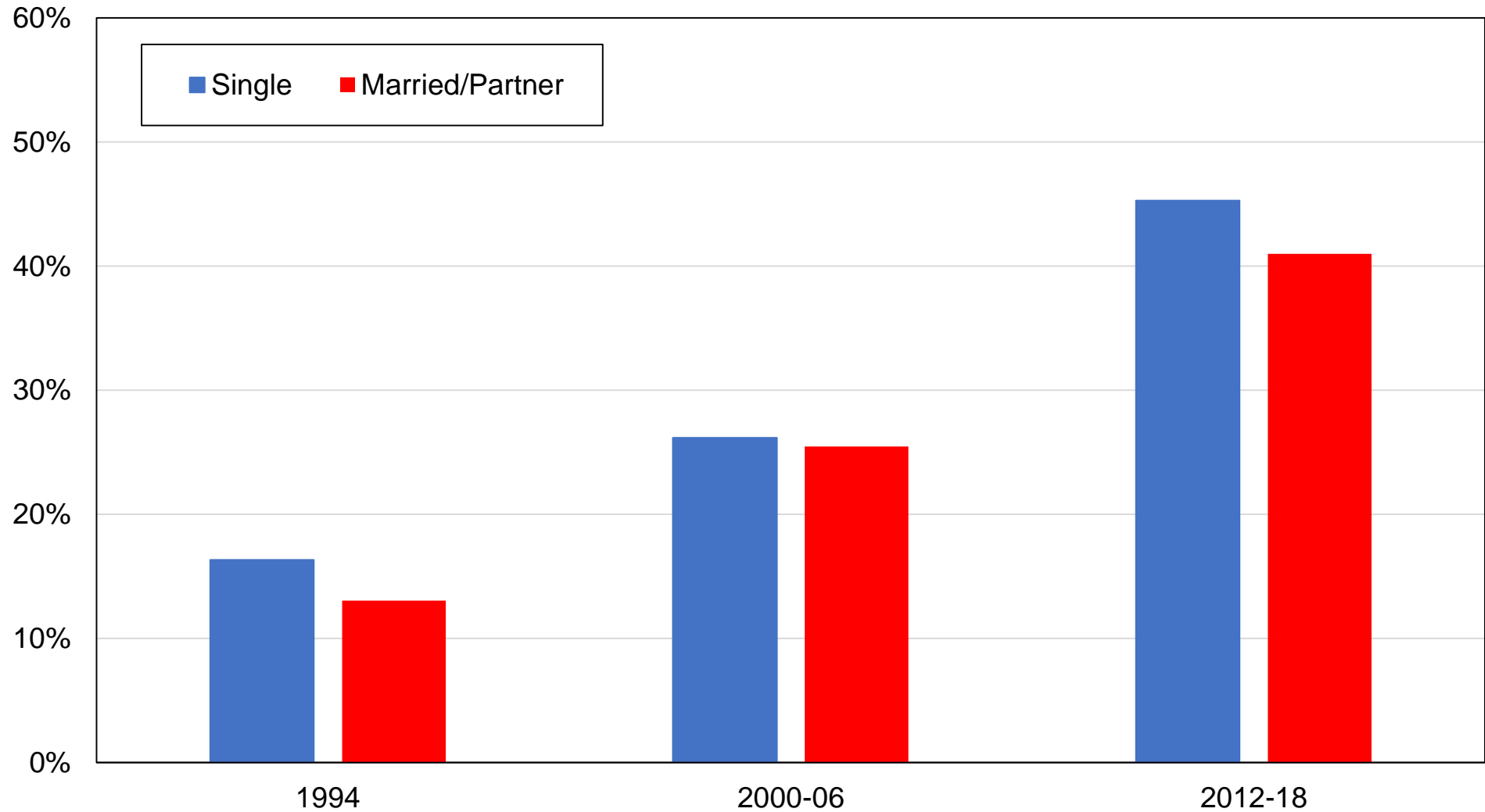
Figure EC39 - Vote for PRD / Morena by gender



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PRD/Morena by gender.

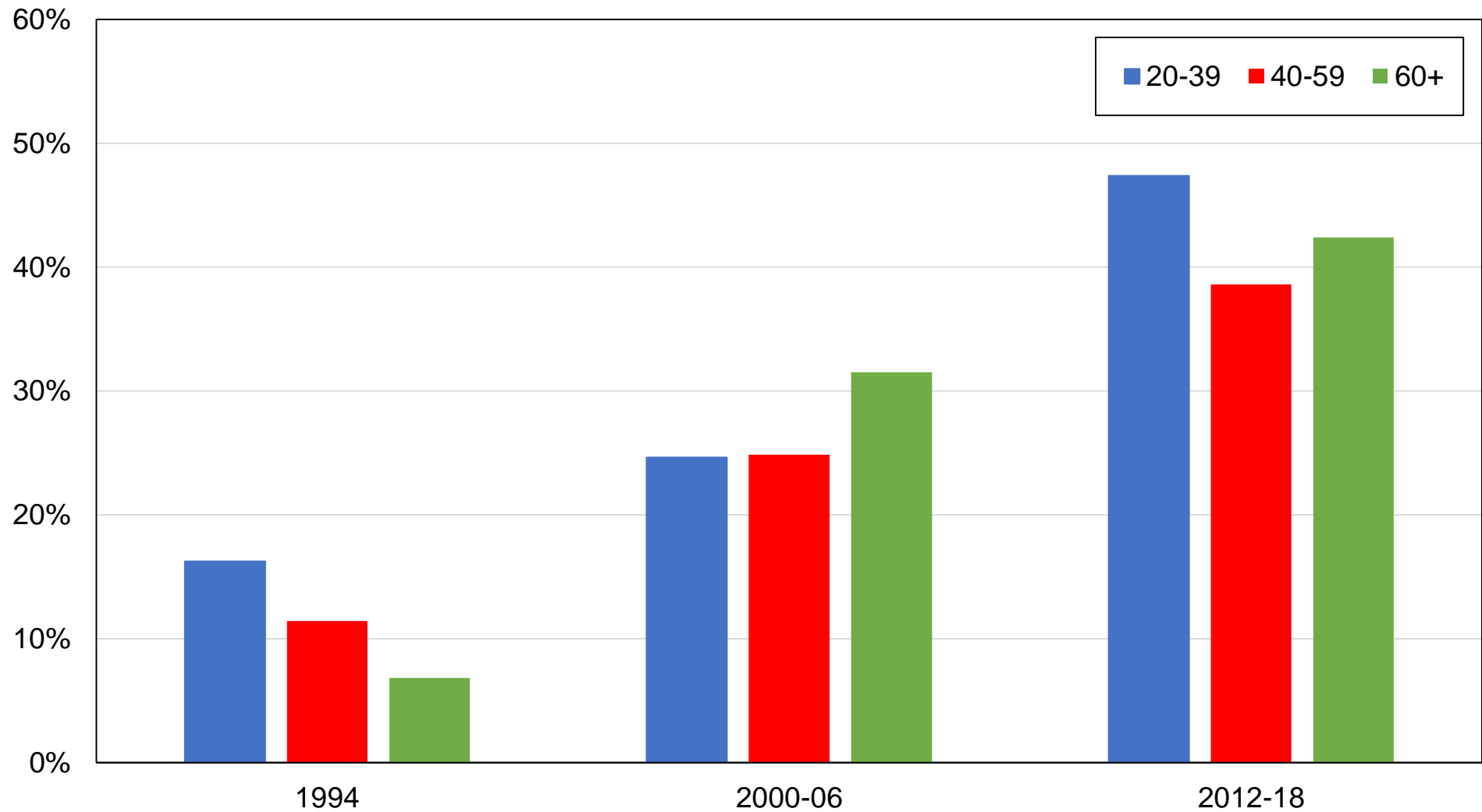
Figure EC40 - Vote for PRD / Morena by marital status



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PRD/Morena by marital status.

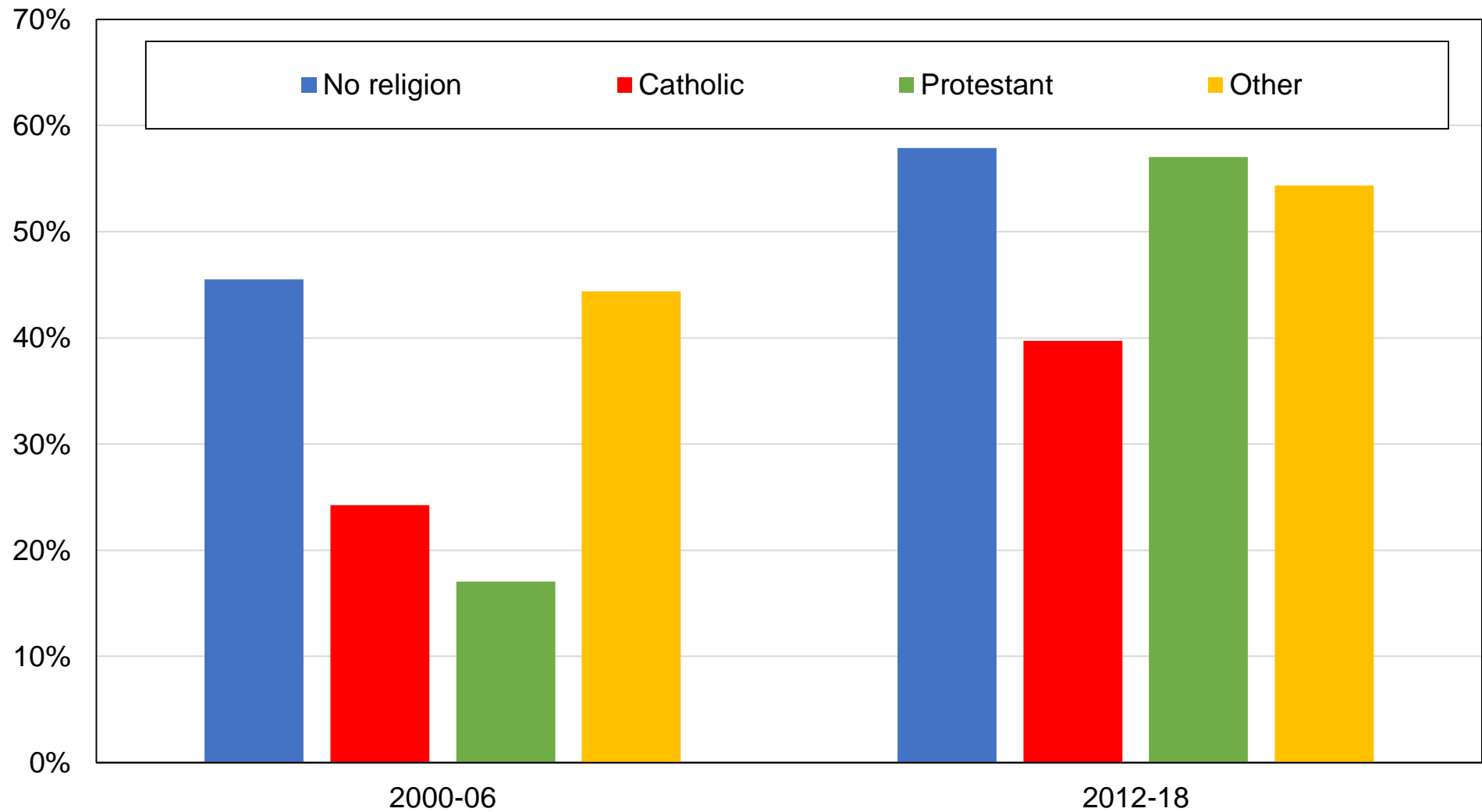
Figure EC41 - Vote for PRD / Morena by age group, 1970-2018



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PRD/Morena by age group.

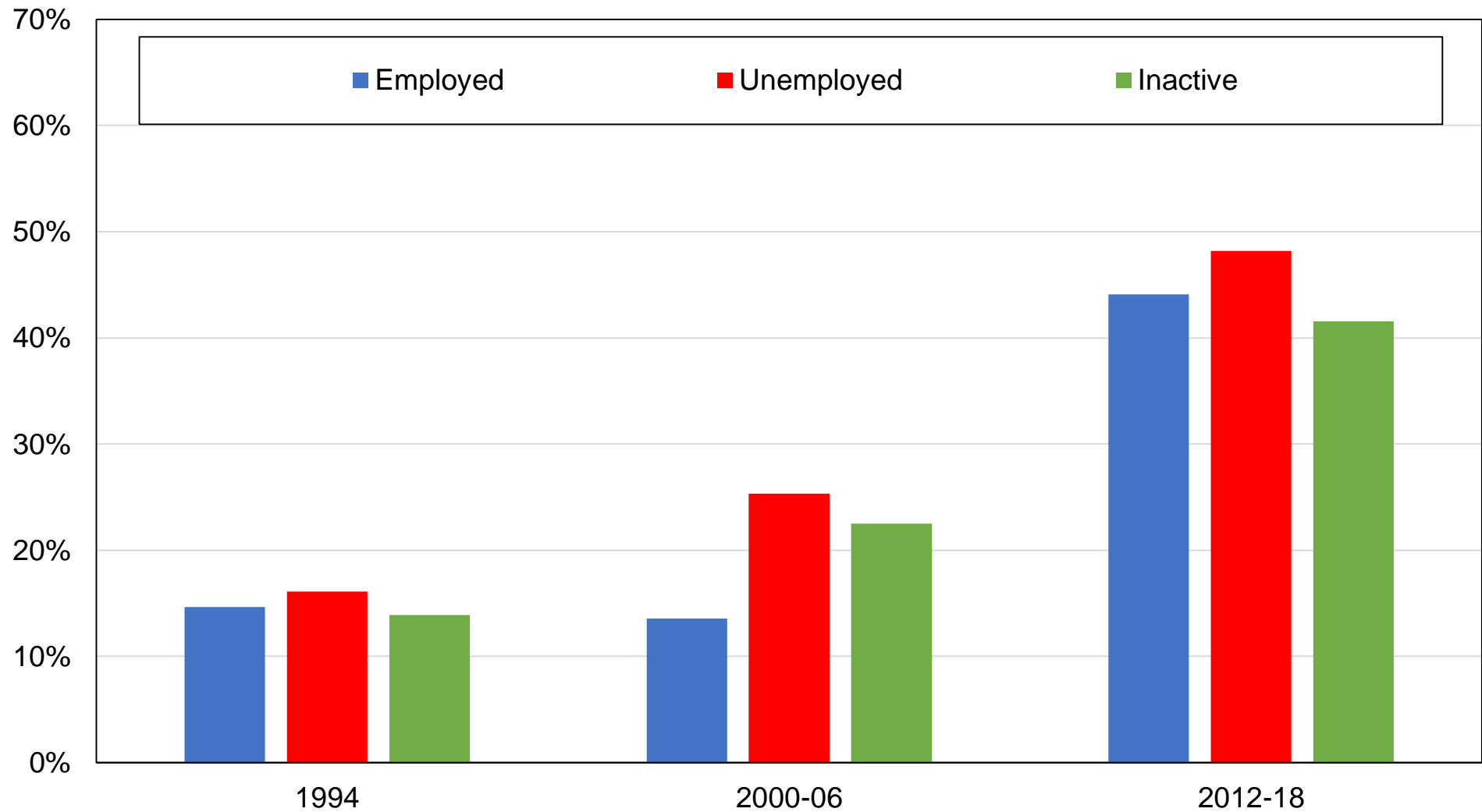
Figure EC42 - Vote for PRD / Morena by religious affiliation



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PRD/Morena by religious affiliation.

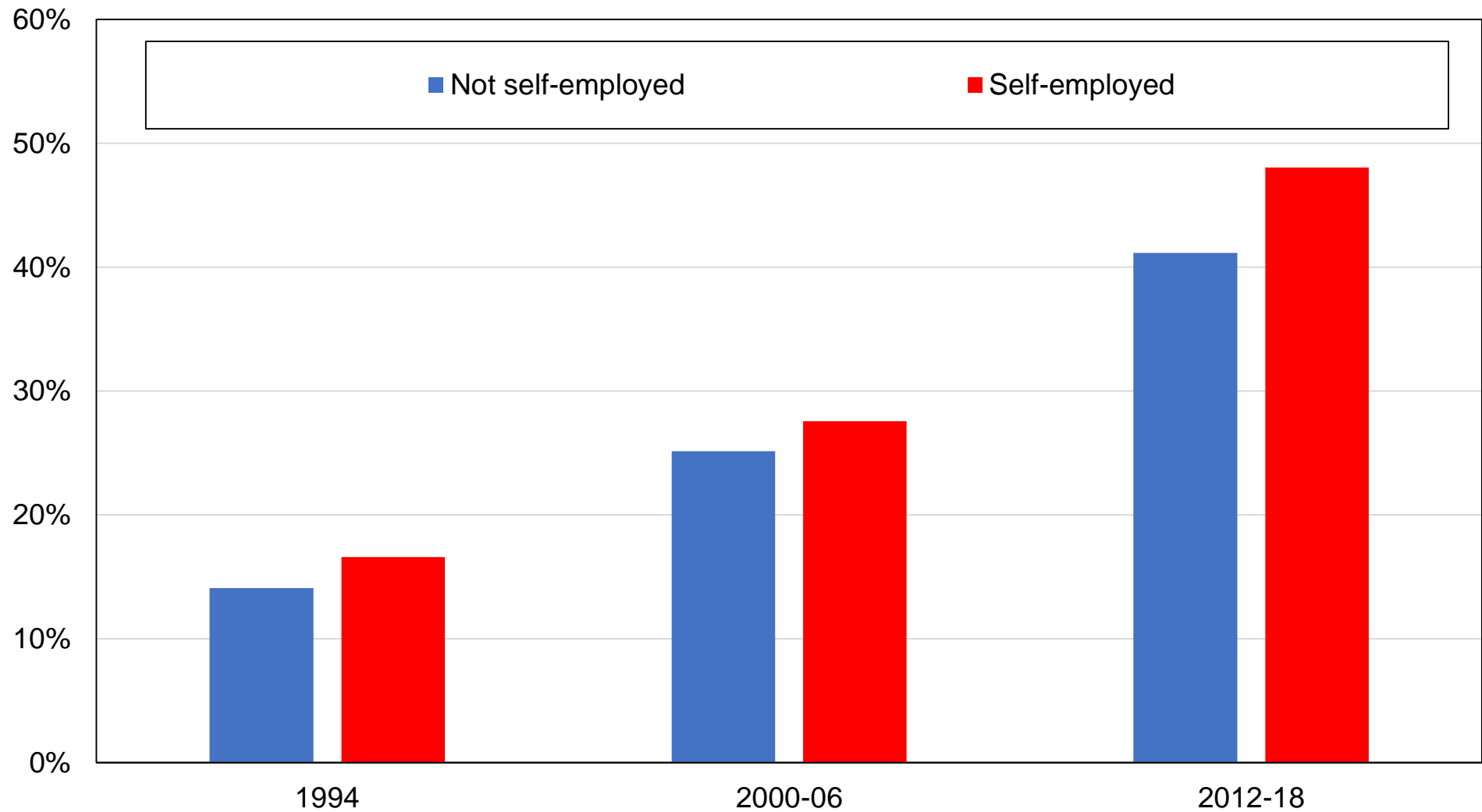
Figure EC43 - Vote for PRD / Morena by employment status



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PRD/Morena by employment status.

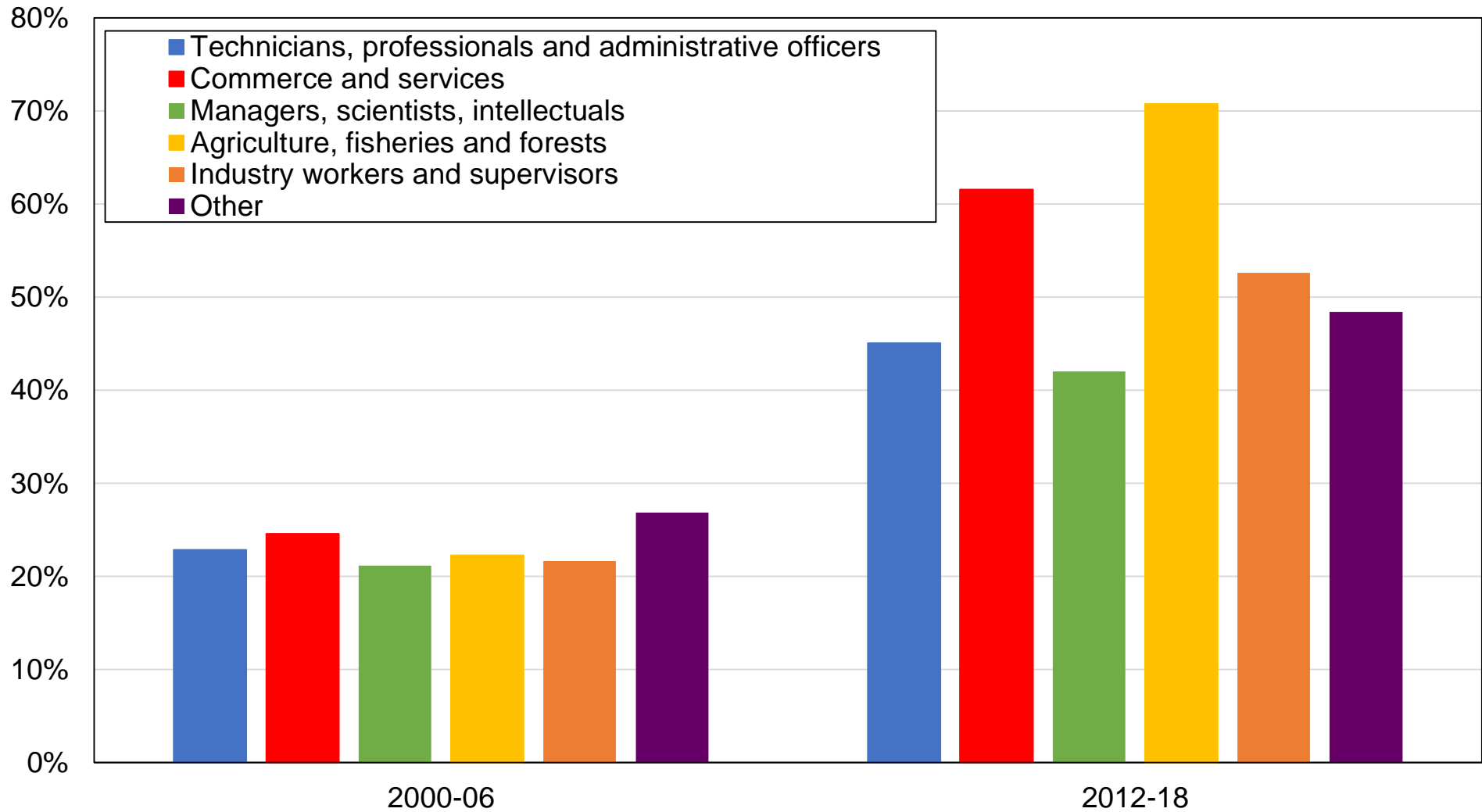
Figure EC44 - Vote for PRD / Morena by self-employment status



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PRD/Morena by self-employment status.

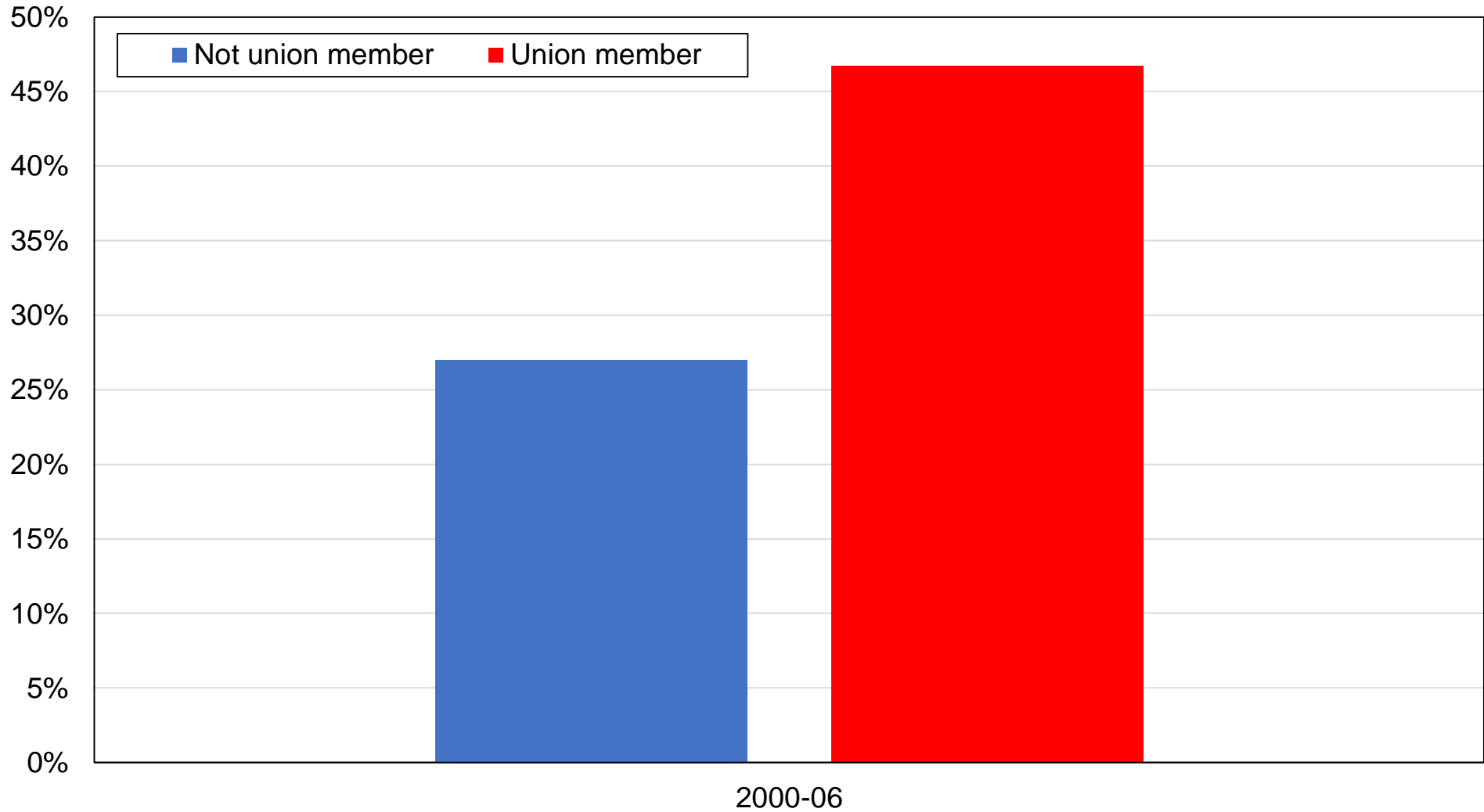
Figure EC45 - Vote for PRD / Morena by occupation



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PRD/Morena by occupation.

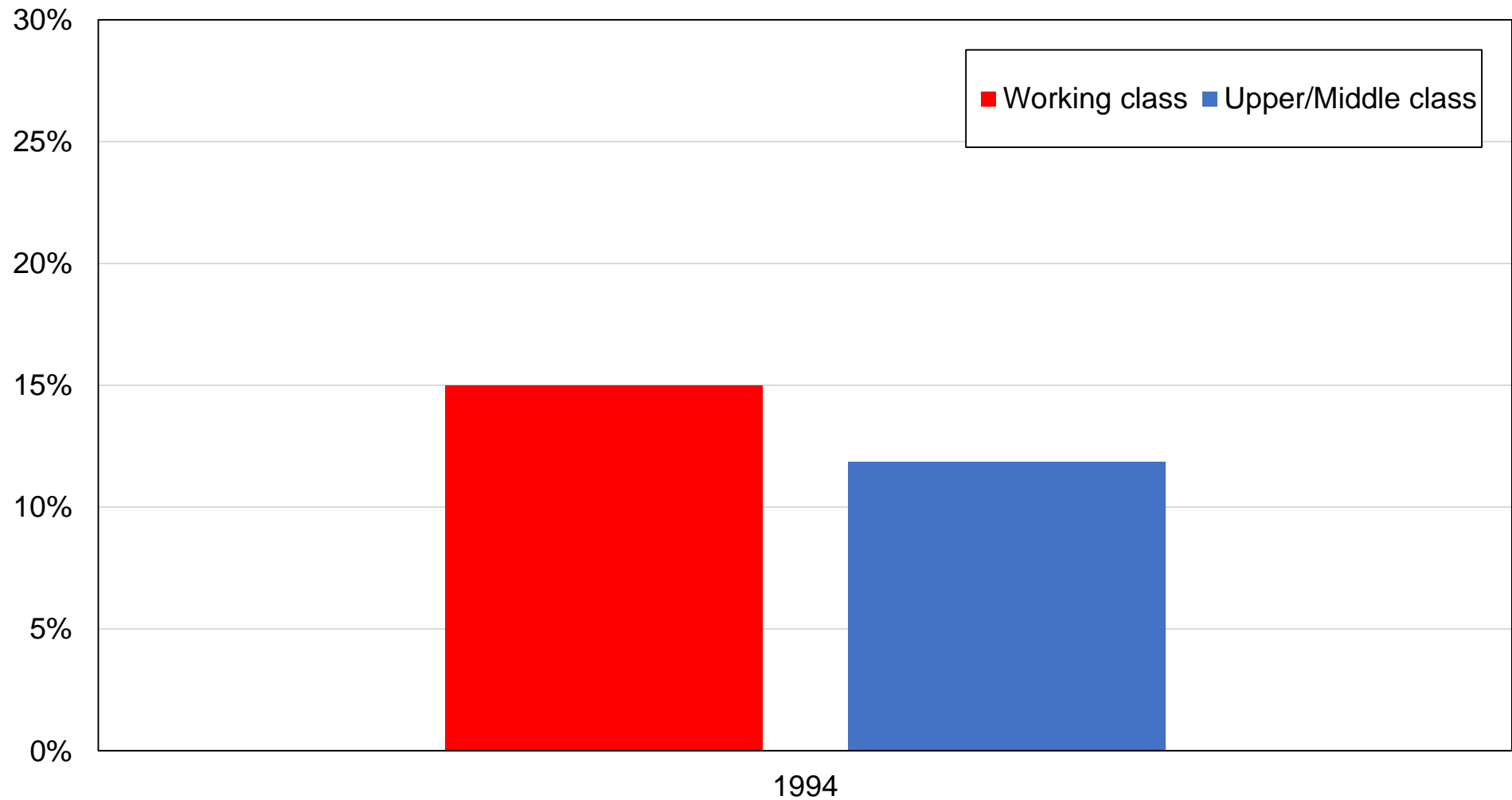
Figure EC46 - Vote for PRD / Morena by union membership



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PRD/Morena by union membership status.

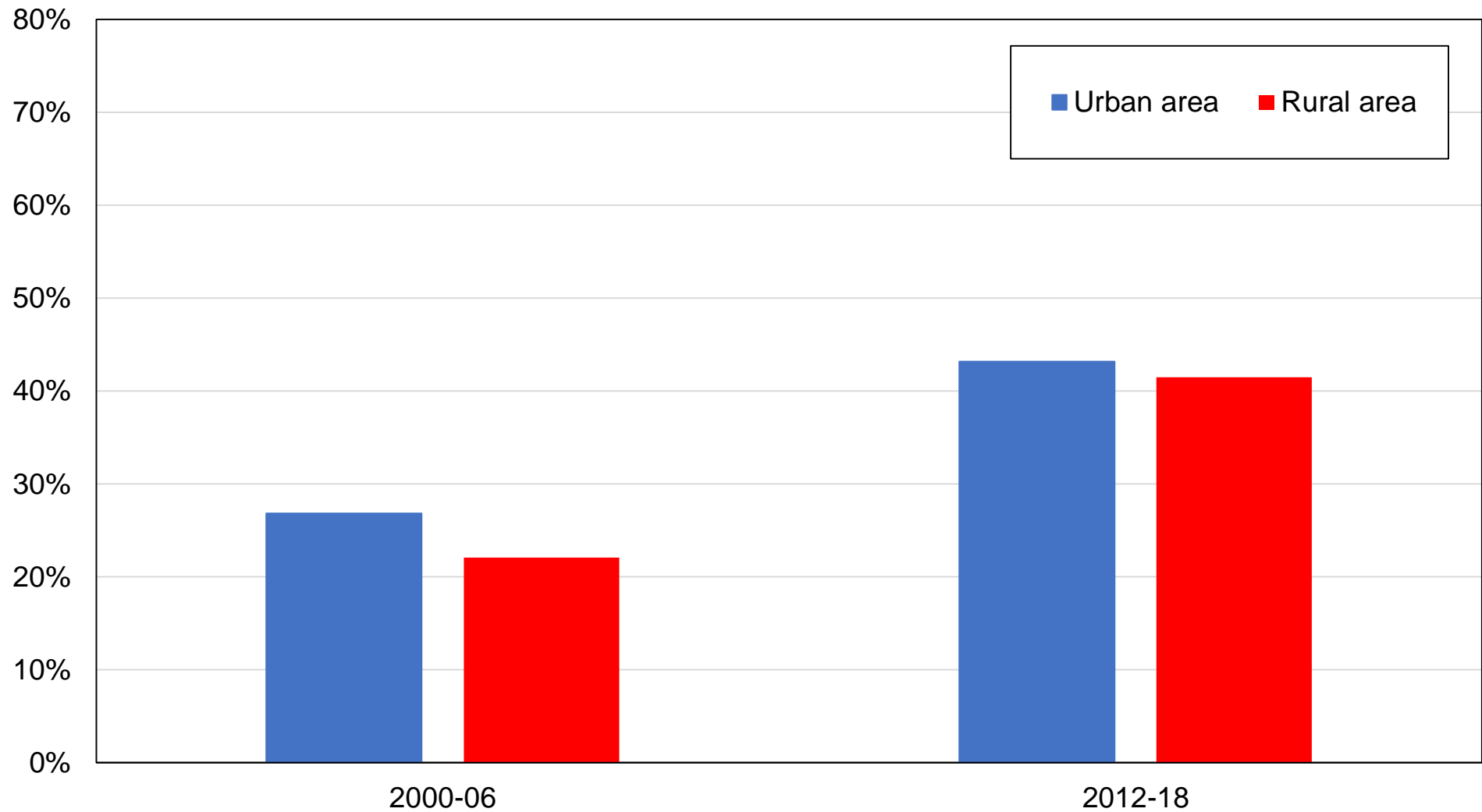
Figure EC47 - Vote for PRD / Morena by perceived social class



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PRD/Morena by self-perceived social class. Working class includes "lower class". Middle class includes "no class" and "upper class".

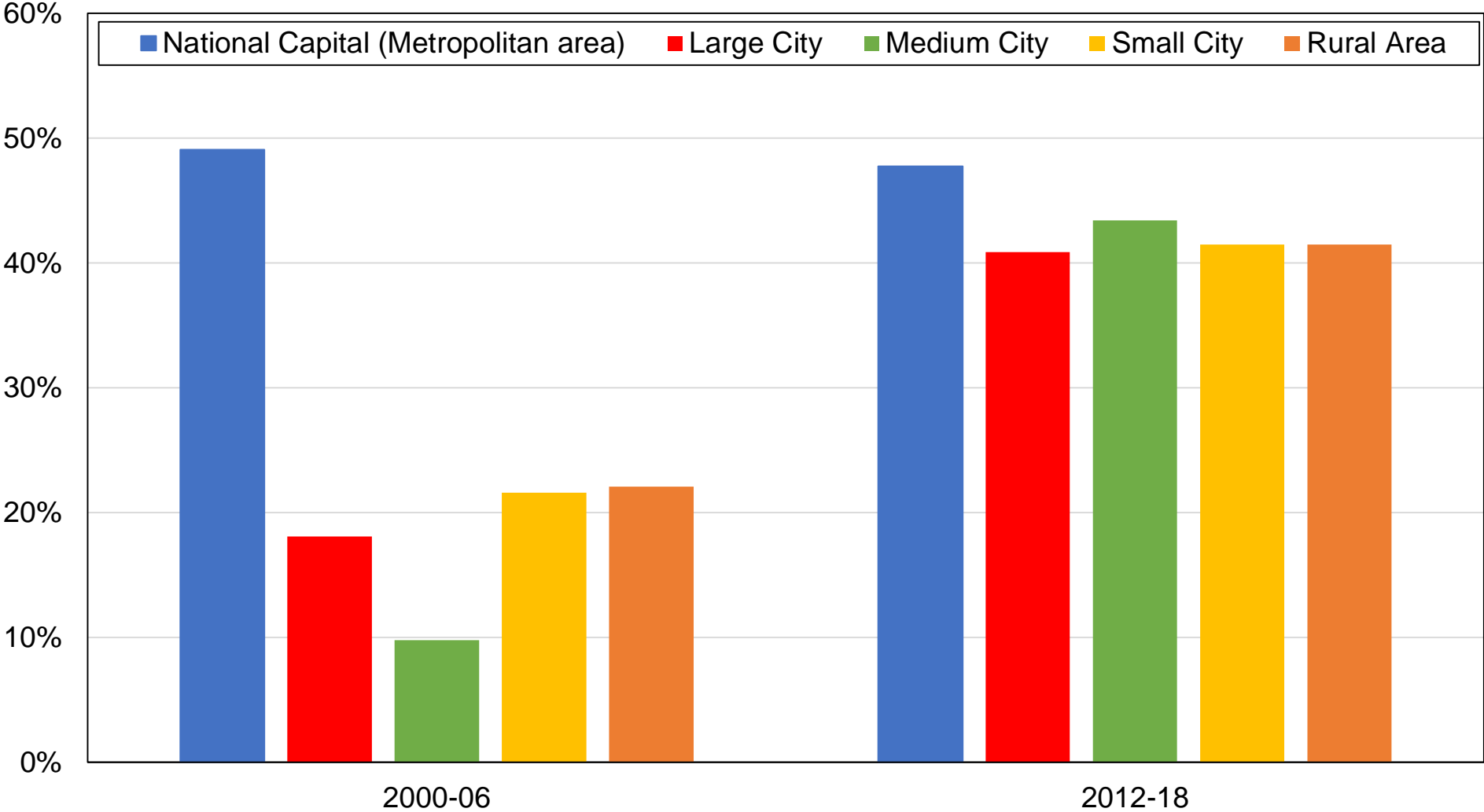
Figure EC48 - Vote for PRD / Morena by location



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

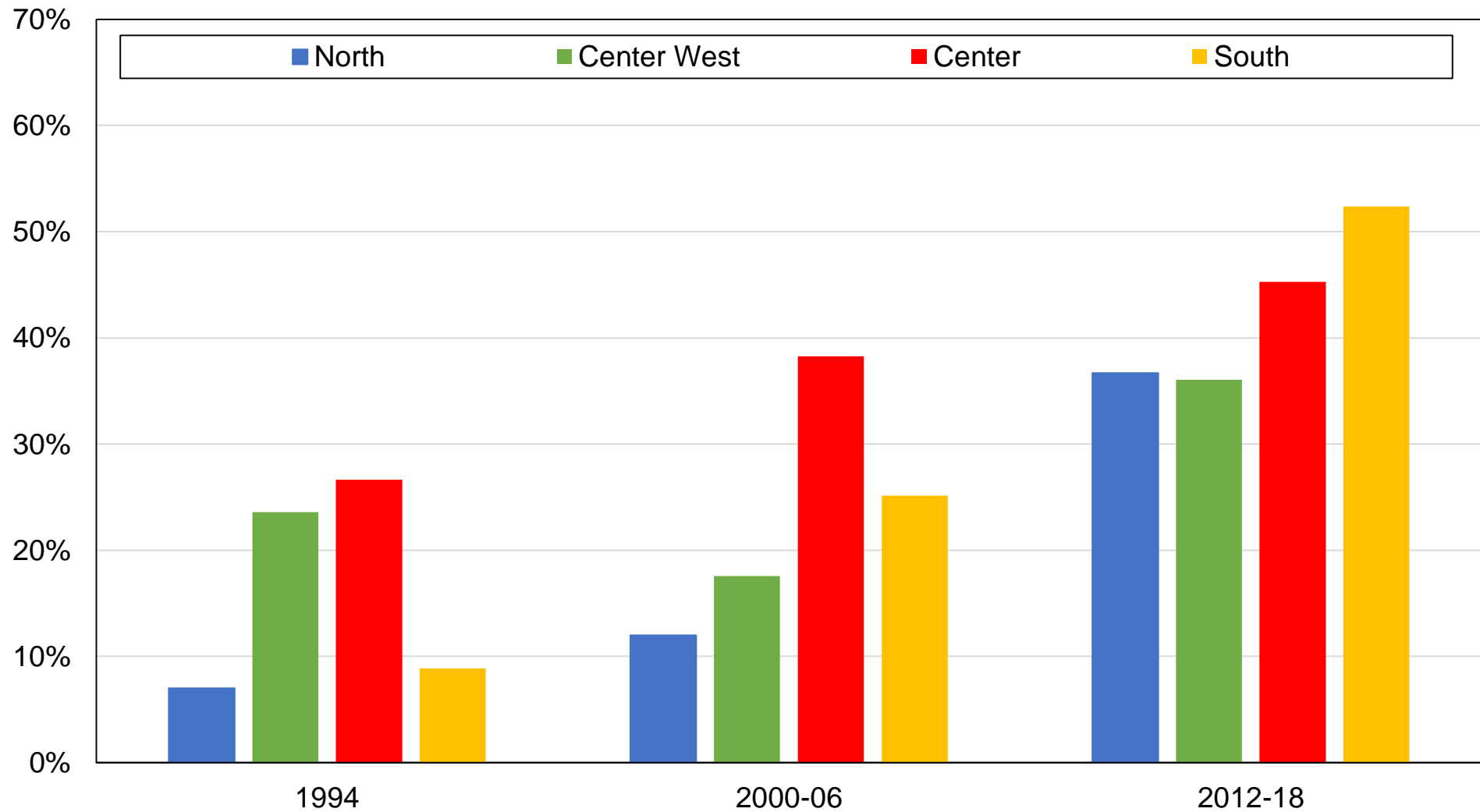
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PRD/Morena by rural-urban location.

Figure EC49 - Vote for PRD / Morena by location size



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PRD/Morena by location size.

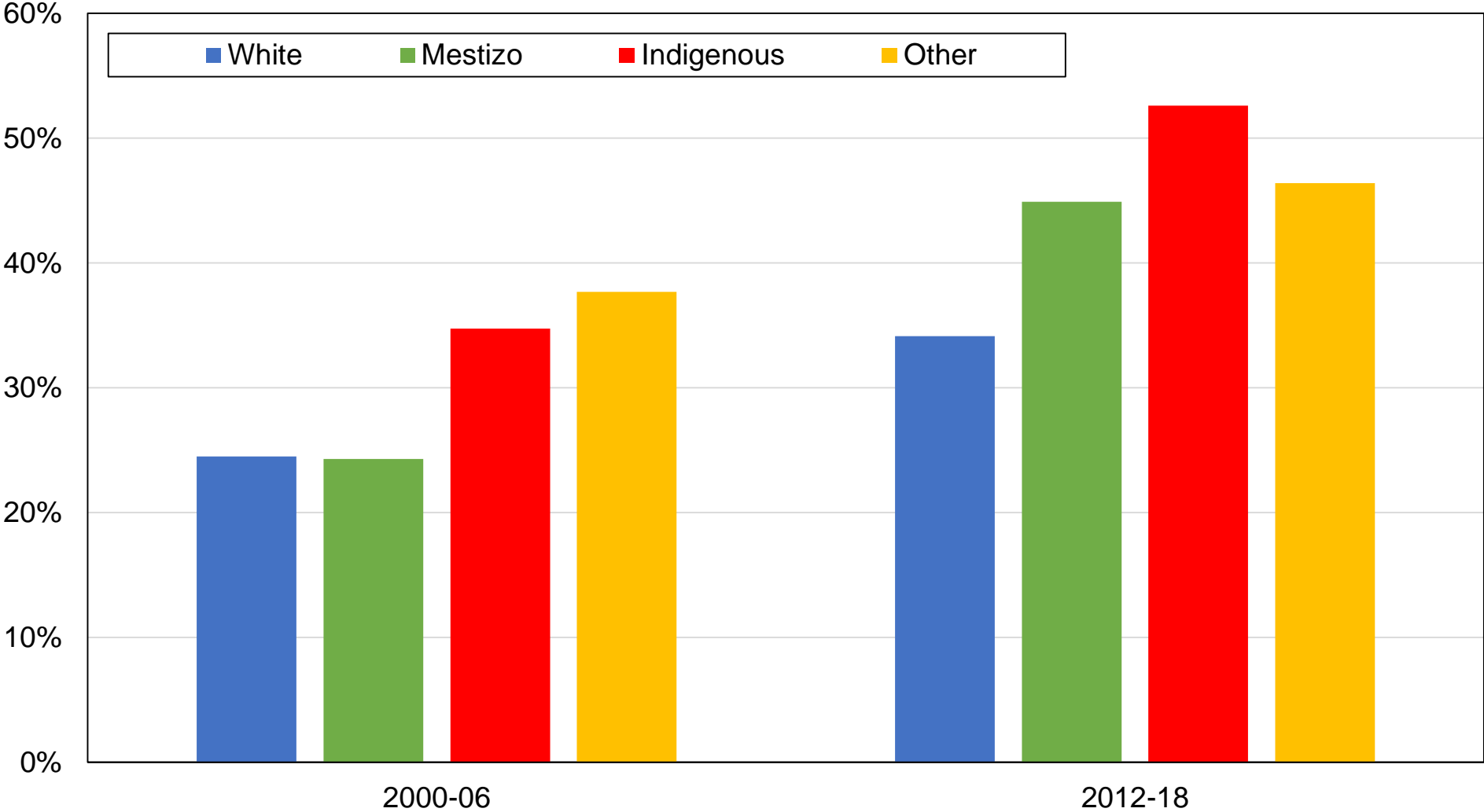
Figure EC50 - Vote for PRD / Morena by region



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PRD/Morena by region of residence.

Figure EC51 - Vote for PRD / Morena by ethnicity



Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PRD/Morena by ethnicity.

Table ED1 - Survey data sources

Year	Survey	Source	Sample size
1960	Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research	ICPSR	1008
1978	Latin American Public Opinion Project	LAPOP	839
1979	Latin American Public Opinion Project	LAPOP	430
1994	World Values Survey	WVS	9973
2000	Latin American Public Opinion Project	LAPOP	2016
2006	Latin American Public Opinion Project	LAPOP	3012
2012	Latin American Public Opinion Project	LAPOP	1528
2018	Latin American Public Opinion Project	LAPOP	1830

Source: authors' elaboration. ICPSR: available from <https://www.icpsr.umich.edu/web/ICPSR/studies/7201/summary#>. LAPOP: Latin American Public Opinion Project, available from <https://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/>. WVS: World Values Survey, available from <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/wvs.jsp>.

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

Table ED2 - Complete descriptive statistics by decade

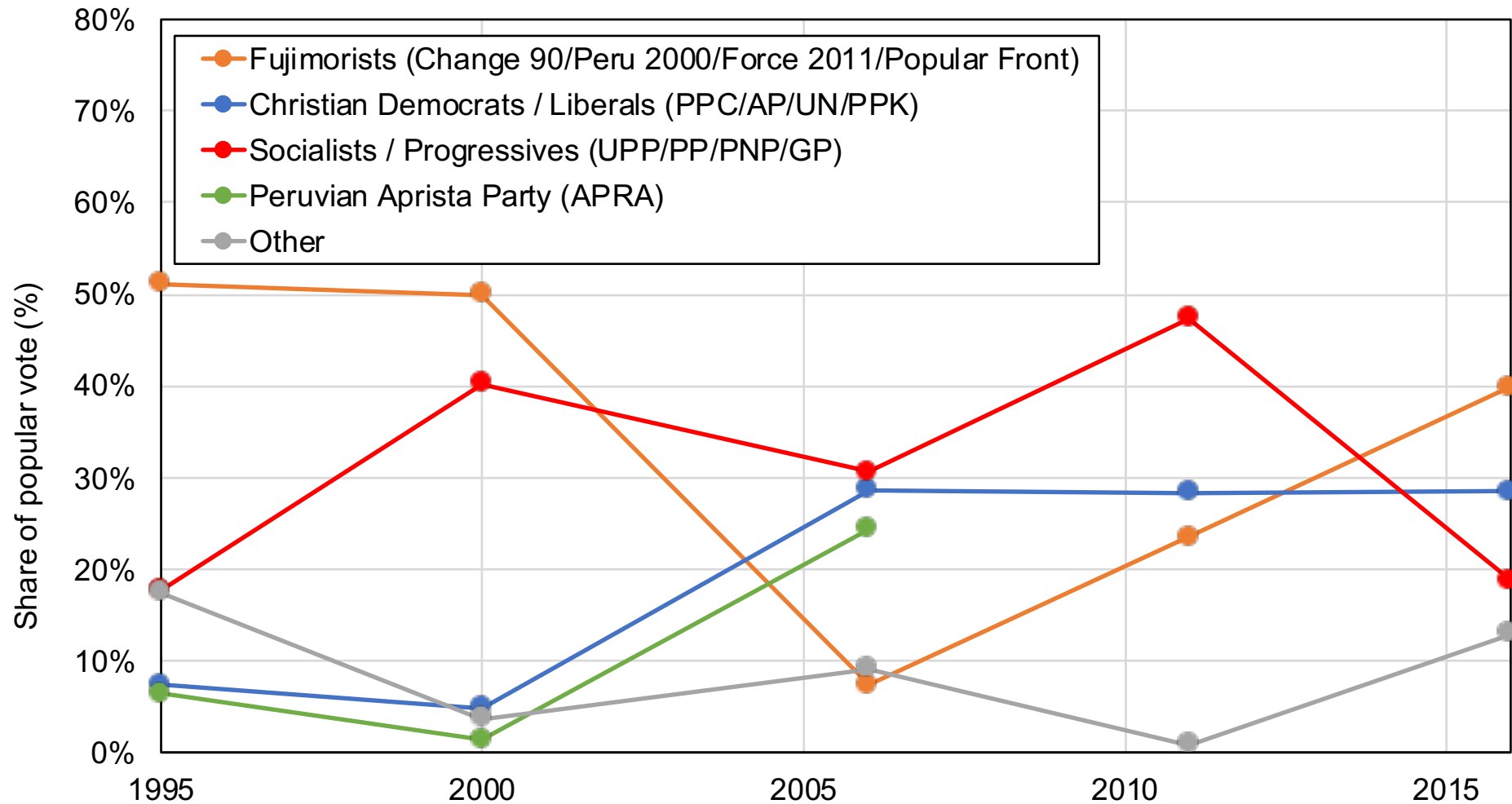
	1952-58	1979	1994	2000-06	2012-18
Age: 20-39	0.6262043	0.9387201	0.702885	0.5580862	0.5082925
Age: 40-59	0.2940188	0.0524875	0.2547571	0.3180657	0.3326963
Age: 60+	0.0797769	0.0087924	0.0423579	0.1238481	0.1590112
Subjective social class: Working class	0.4602585		0.893302		
Subjective social class: Middle/Upper class	0.5397415		0.106698		
Education: Primary	0.8409263	0.3288424	0.3801975	0.3919288	0.2881393
Education: Secondary	0.1308224	0.5225019	0.2611423	0.4647375	0.5364701
Education: Tertiary	0.0282512	0.1486557	0.3586602	0.1433337	0.1753906
Employment status: Employed	0.4695811	0.7033879	0.6694315	0.5822454	0.5337009
Employment status: Unemployed	0.0069297	0.2966121	0.0358075	0.3508331	0.0418403
Employment status: Inactive	0.5234892	0	0.294761	0.0669215	0.4244588
Marital status: Single	0.1711007	0.6763634	0.4937687	0.4117078	0.5353645
Marital status: Married/Partner	0.8288993	0.3236366	0.5062313	0.5882922	0.4646355
Occupation: Managers, scientists and intellectuals				0.0945523	0.0550789
Occupation: Technicians, professionals and administrative staff				0.1184506	0.1689205
Occupation: Agriculture, fisheries and forests				0.152479	0.0844228
Occupation: Other				0.6345181	0.6915778
Ethnicity: White			0.1932451	0.2170661	0.2078411
Ethnicity: Mestizo			0.7430187	0.6557263	0.593592
Ethnicity: Indigenous			0.0566604	0.101844	0.1106774
Ethnicity: Other			0.0070758	0.0253637	0.0878895
Region: North			0.3758808	0.23829	0.2449393
Region: Center West			0.1377032	0.1901638	0.1891072
Region: Center			0.2453639	0.362301	0.3586905
Region: South			0.2410521	0.2092453	0.207263
Religion: No religion	0.0007746			0.0578335	0.0976471
Religion: Catholic	0.9992254			0.8595097	0.785461
Religion: Protestant		0		0.0273311	0.0397086
Religion: Other		0		0.0553257	0.0771833
Location size: National capital (Metropolitan area)			0	0.2453639	0.2237418
				0.2076005	

Location size: Big city	0.3312575	0.5241201	0.2065375	0.3479994
Location size: Medium city	0.4088386	0.094689	0.1538121	0.2358888
Location size: Small city	0.2599038	0.1214133	0.1788346	0.1846912
Location size: Rural area		0	0.0144137	0.2370741
Location: Urban area	1	0.9855863	0.7629259	0.9761799
Location: Rural area	0	0.0144137	0.2370741	0.0238201
Self-employment status: Not self-employed		0.864551	0.7703556	0.7214533
Self-employment status: Self-employed		0.135449	0.2296444	0.2785467
Gender: Woman	0.6407156	0.7255115	0.4536178	0.5087073
Gender: Man	0.3592844	0.2744885	0.5463822	0.4912927
Union Membership: Not union member	0.8842563	0.1546354		0.9107333
Union Membership: Union member	0.1157437	0.8453646		0.0892667

Source: authors' computations using Mexican political attitudes surveys.

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

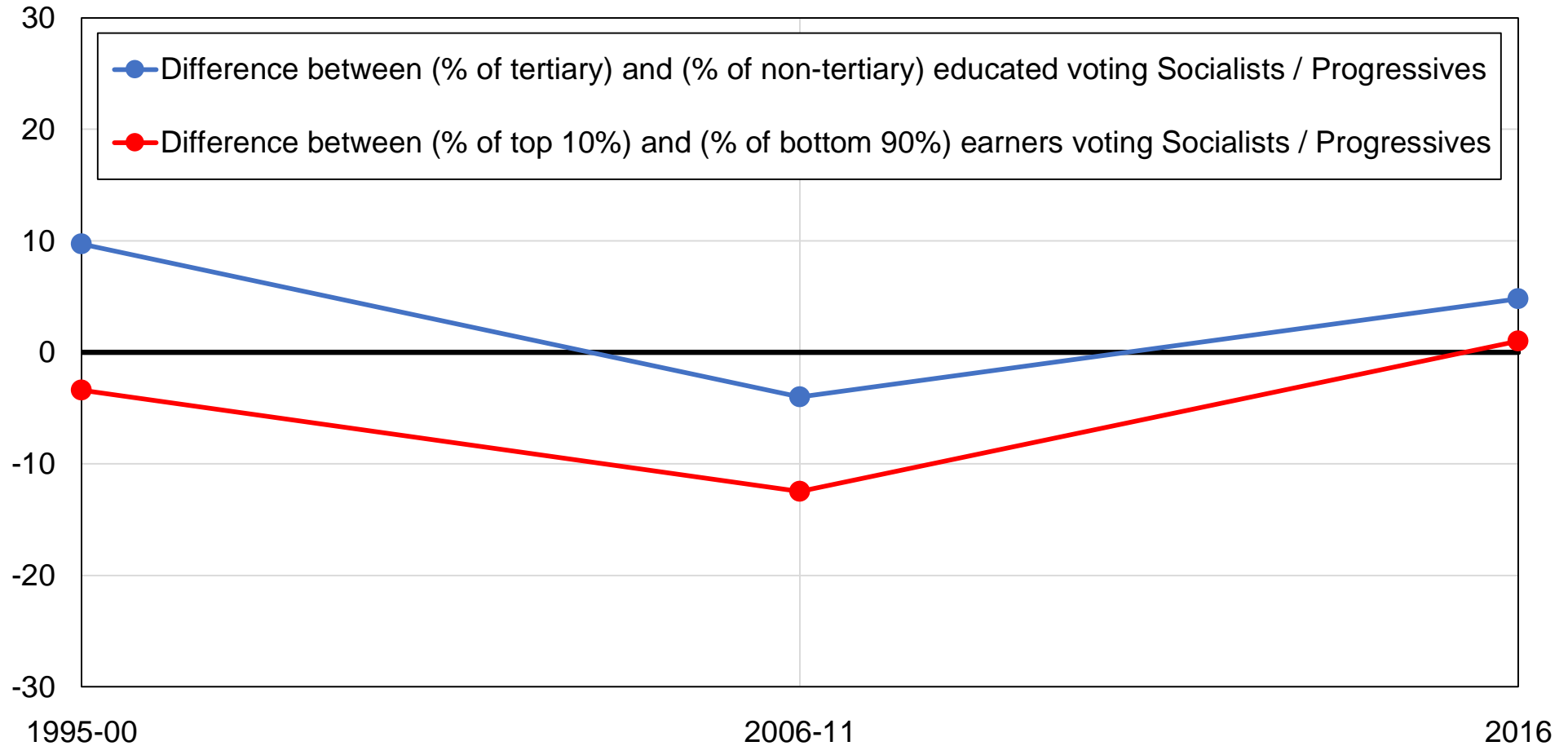
Figure F1 - Election results in Peru, 1995-2016



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 paper.

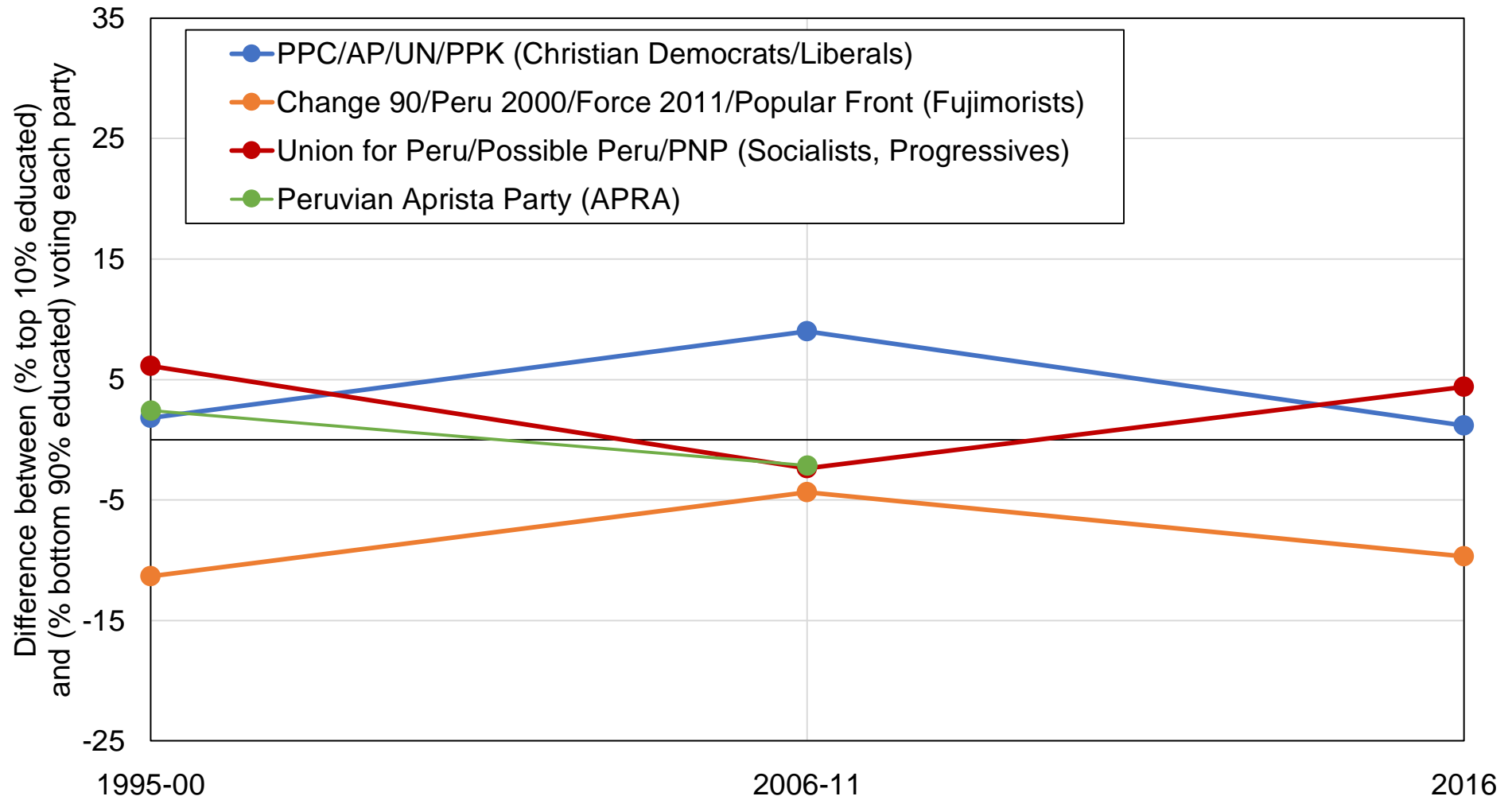
Figure F2 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives among tertiary-educated and top-income voters, after controls



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.

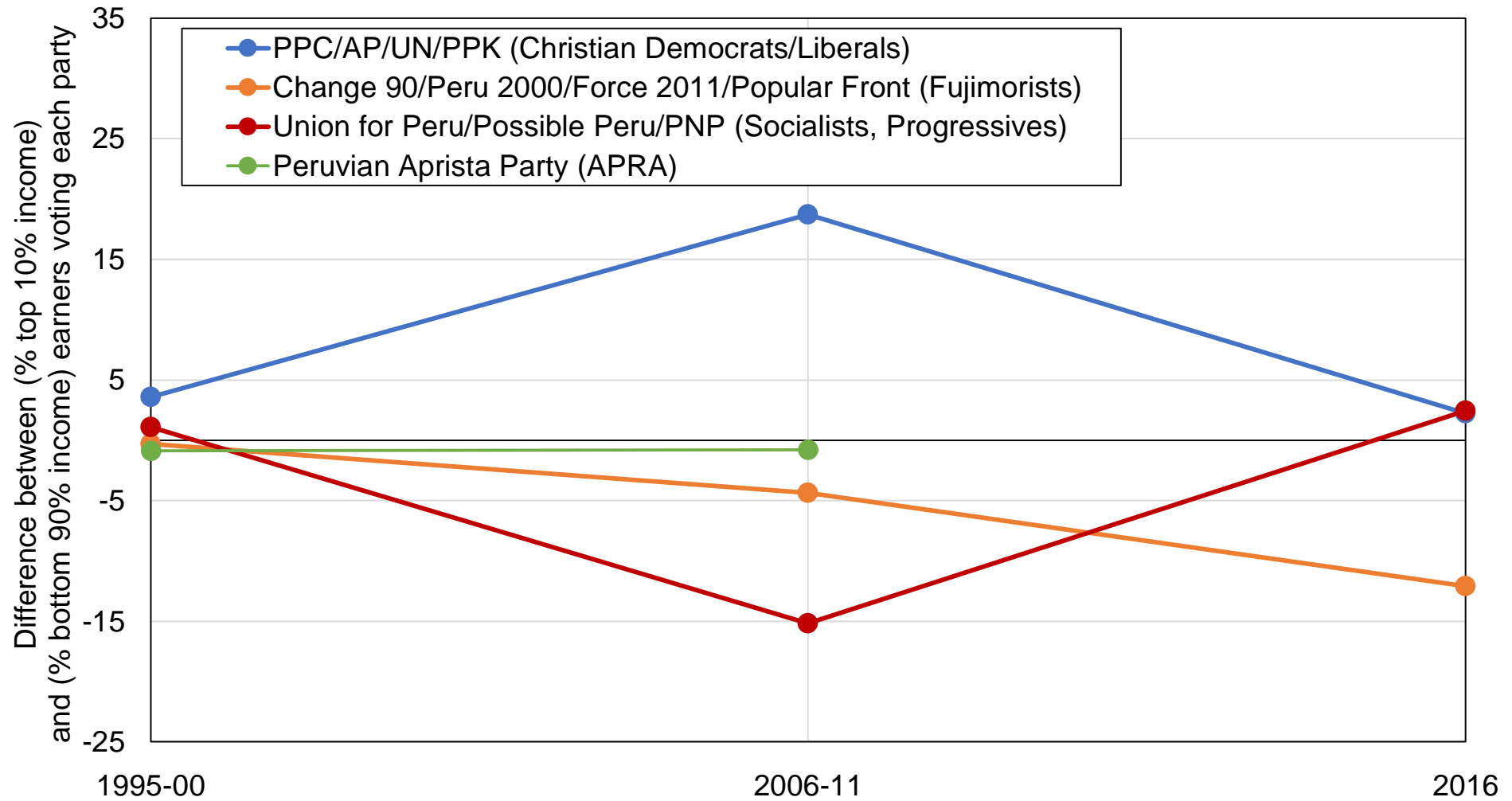
Figure F3 - The education cleavage in Peru



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

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

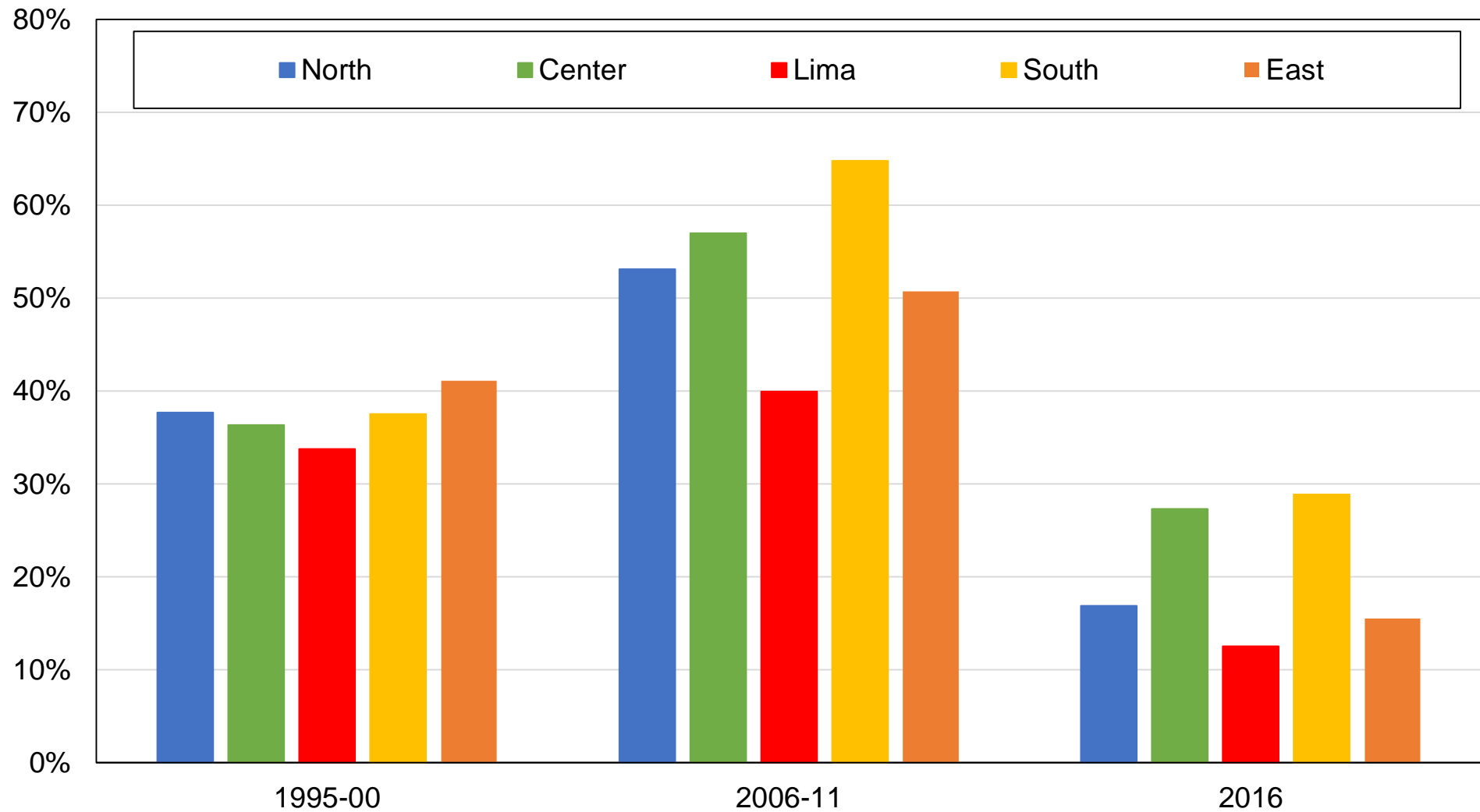
Figure F4 - The income cleavage in Peru



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

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

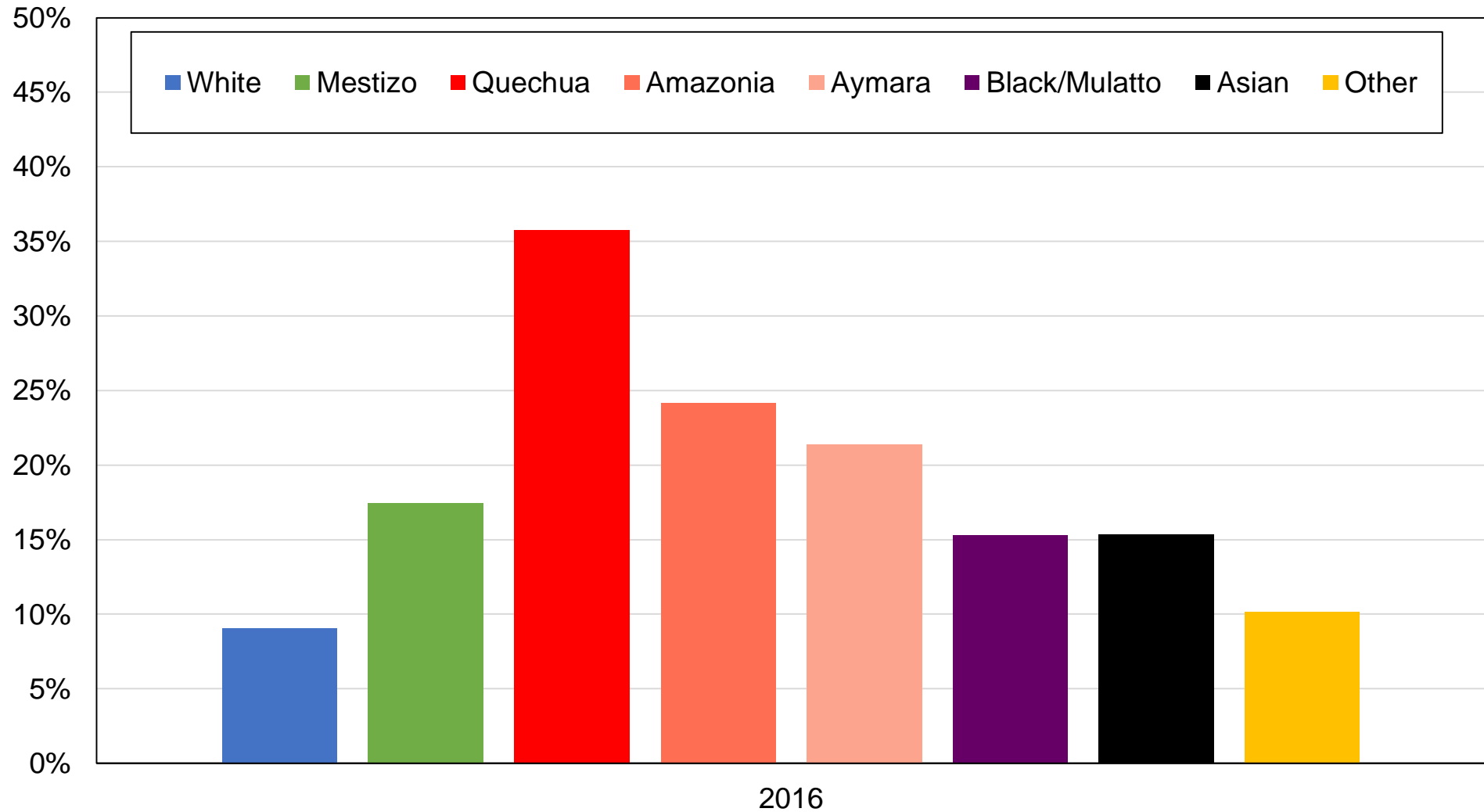
Figure F5 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by region



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.

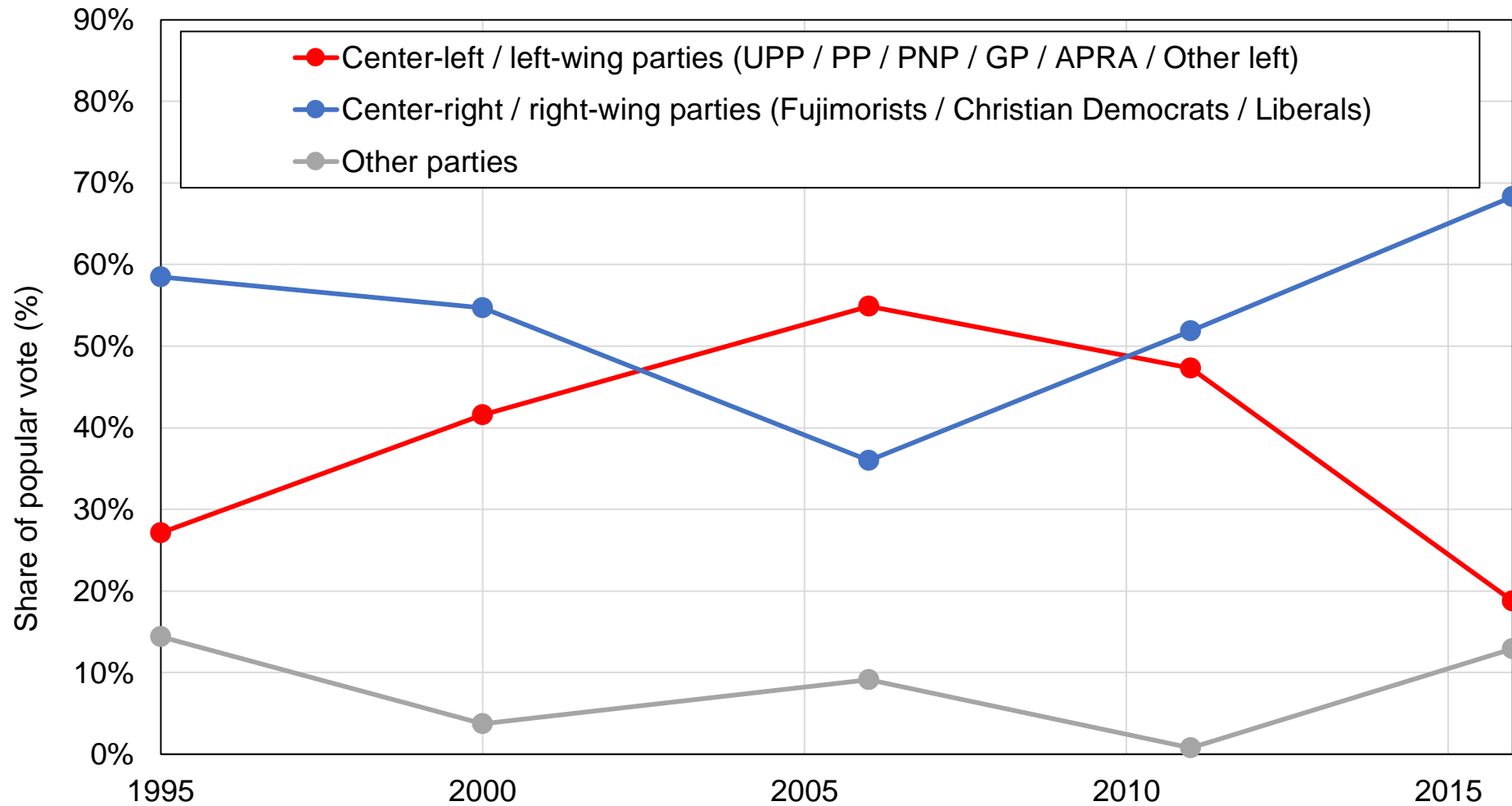
Figure F6 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by detailed ethnicity



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.

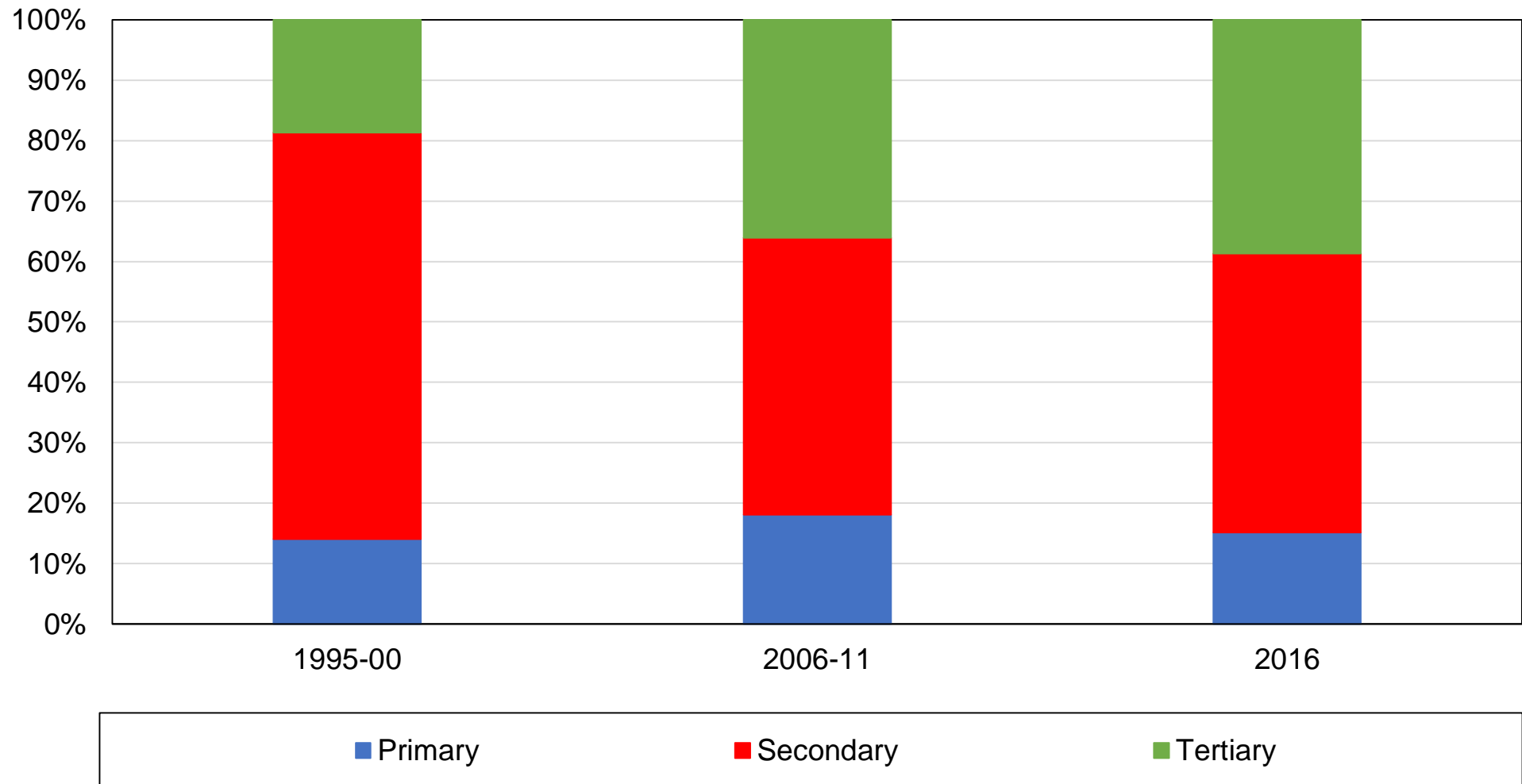
Figure FA1 - Election results in Peru by group, 1995-2016



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

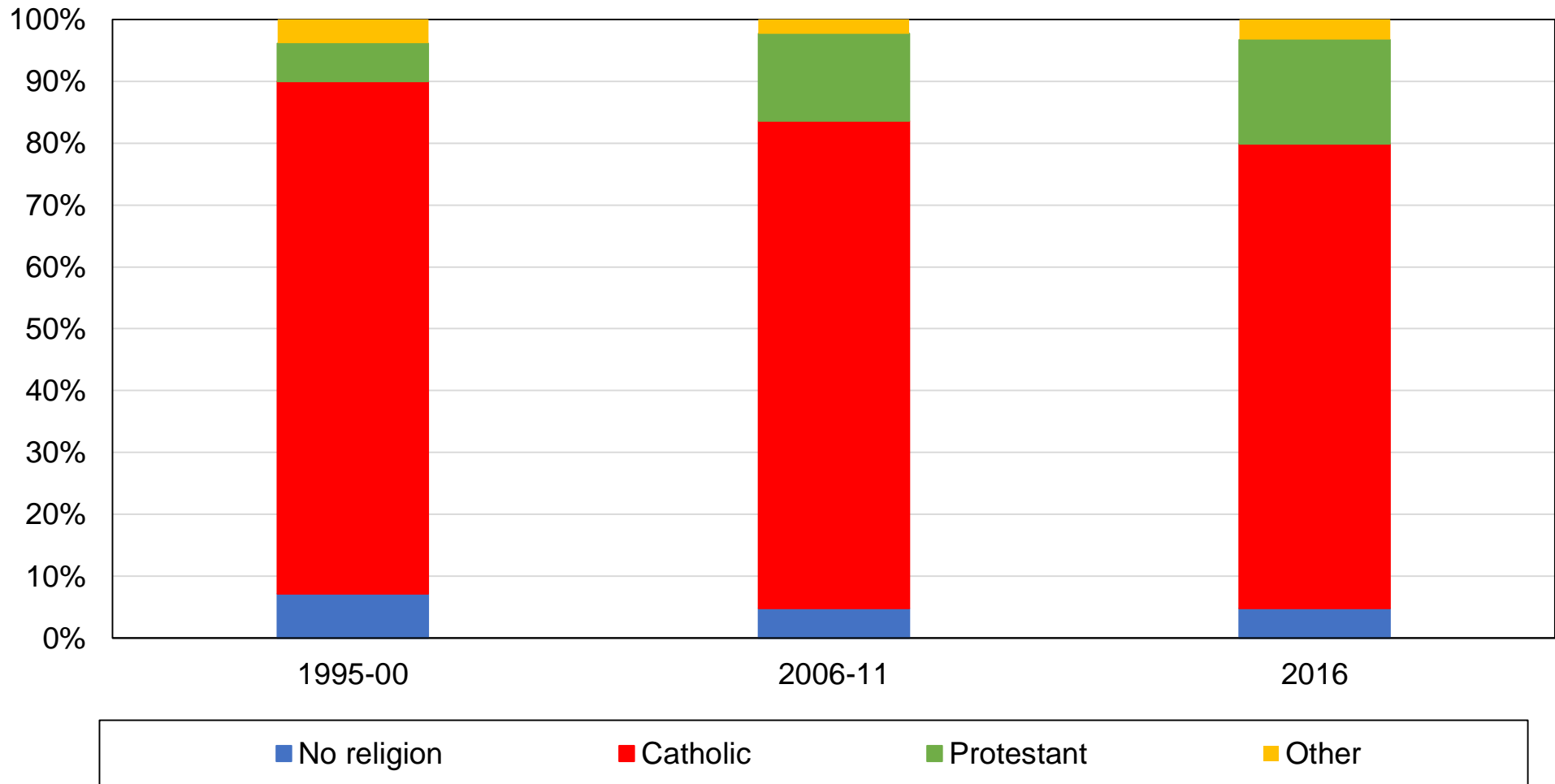
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Peruvian political parties in presidential elections between 1995 and 2016.

Figure FA2 - Composition of the electorate by education level



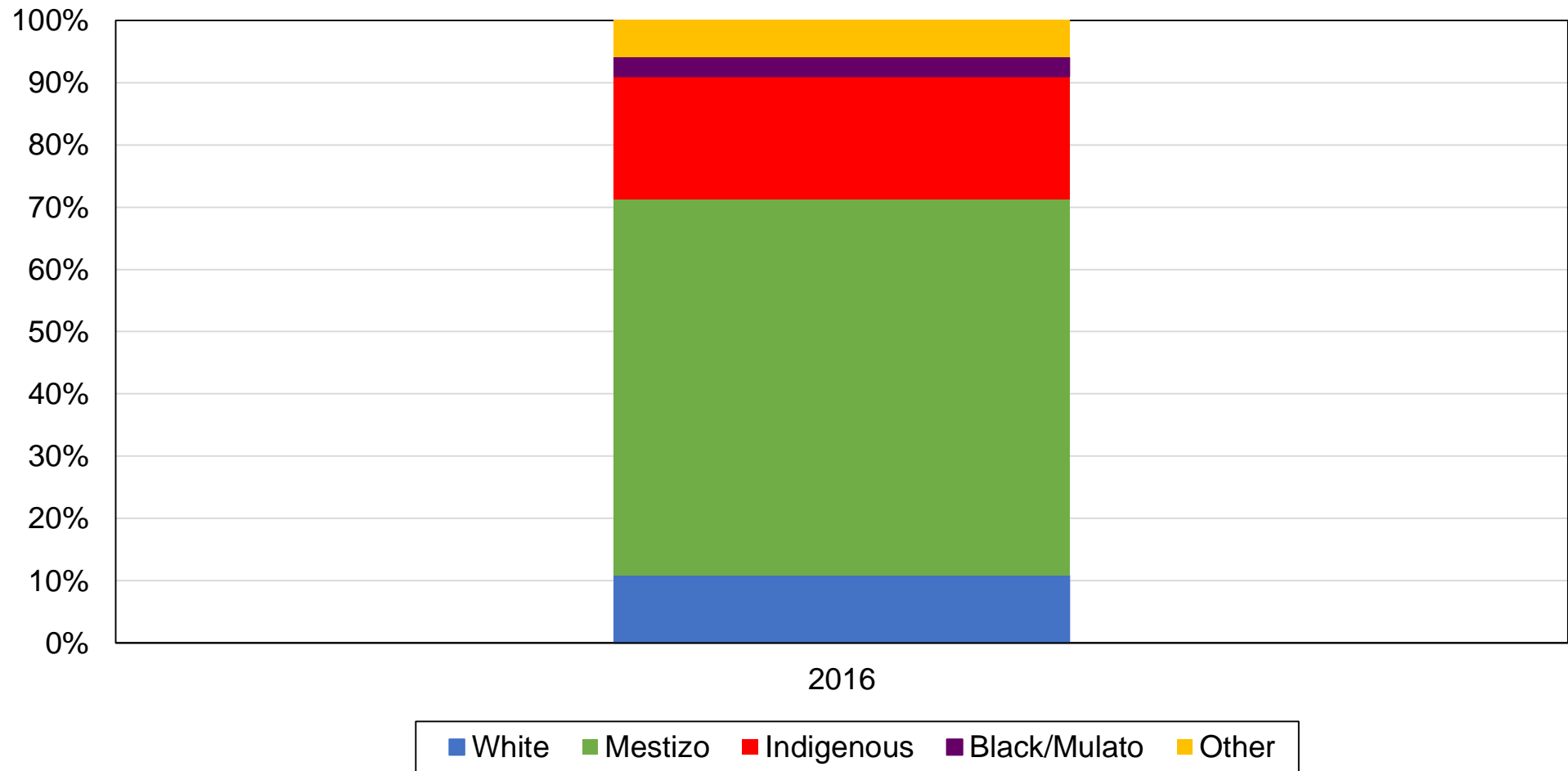
Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by education level.

Figure FA3 - Composition of the electorate by religion



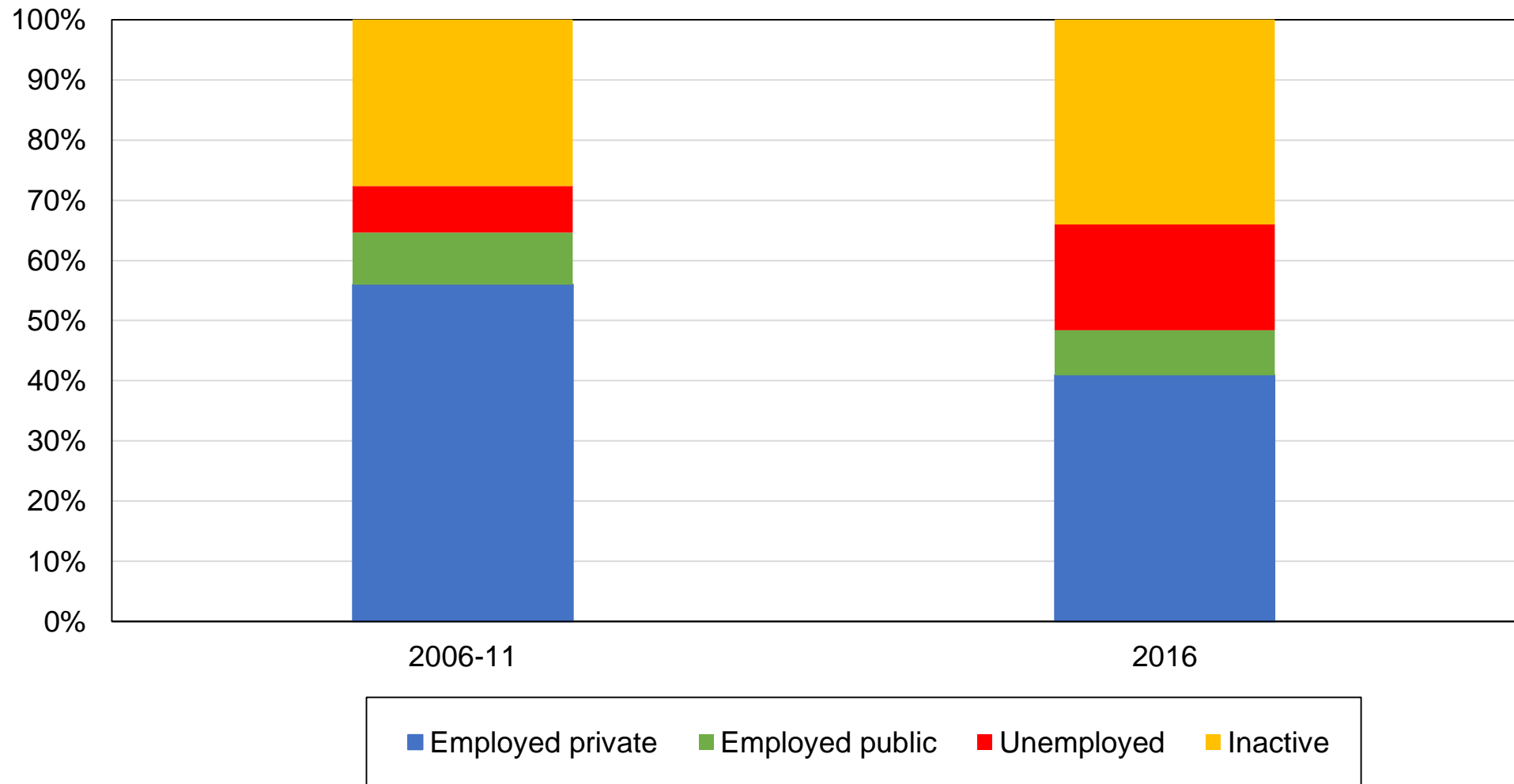
Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by religion.

Figure FA4 - Composition of the electorate by ethnicity



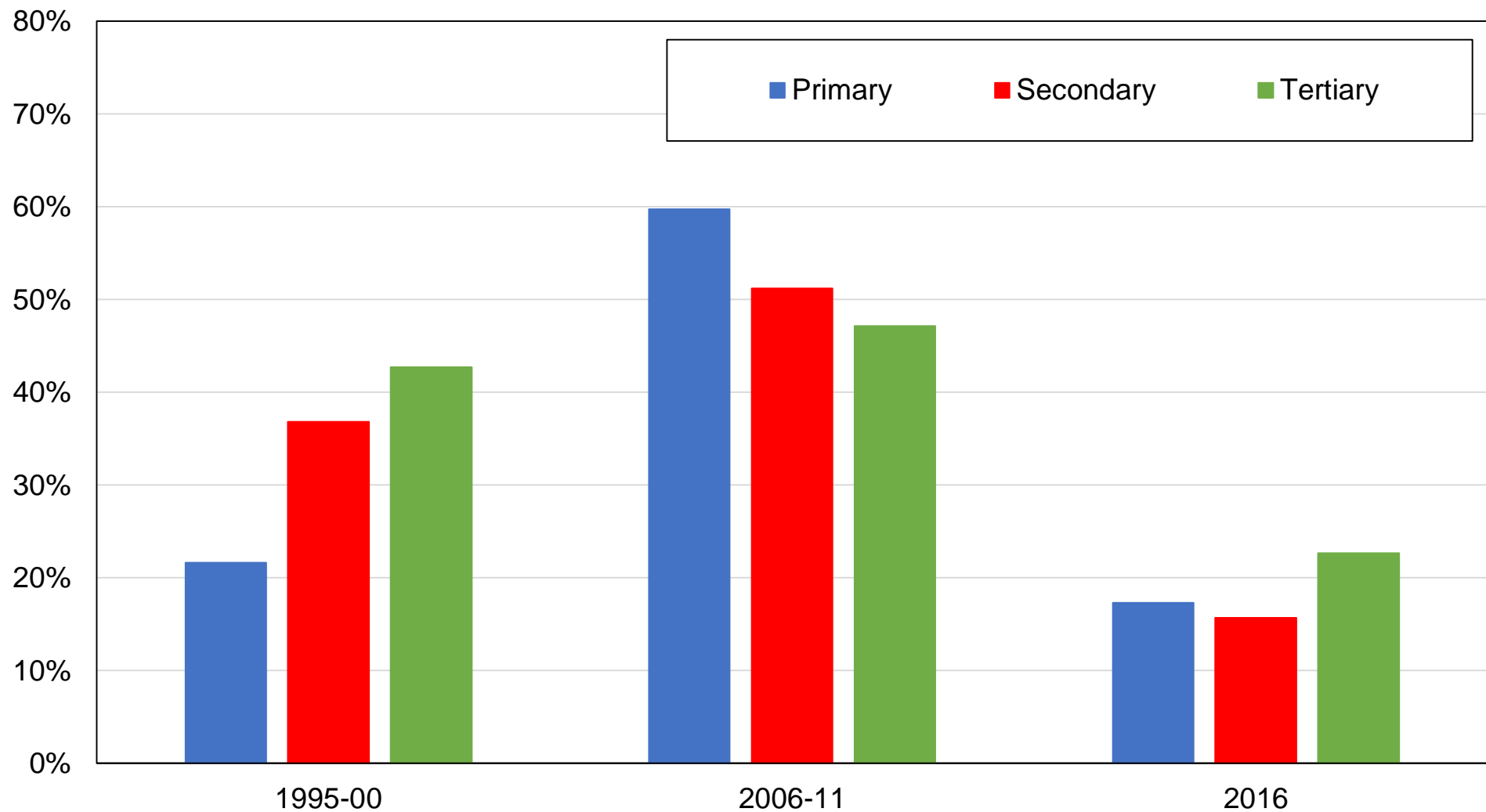
Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by ethnicity.

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.

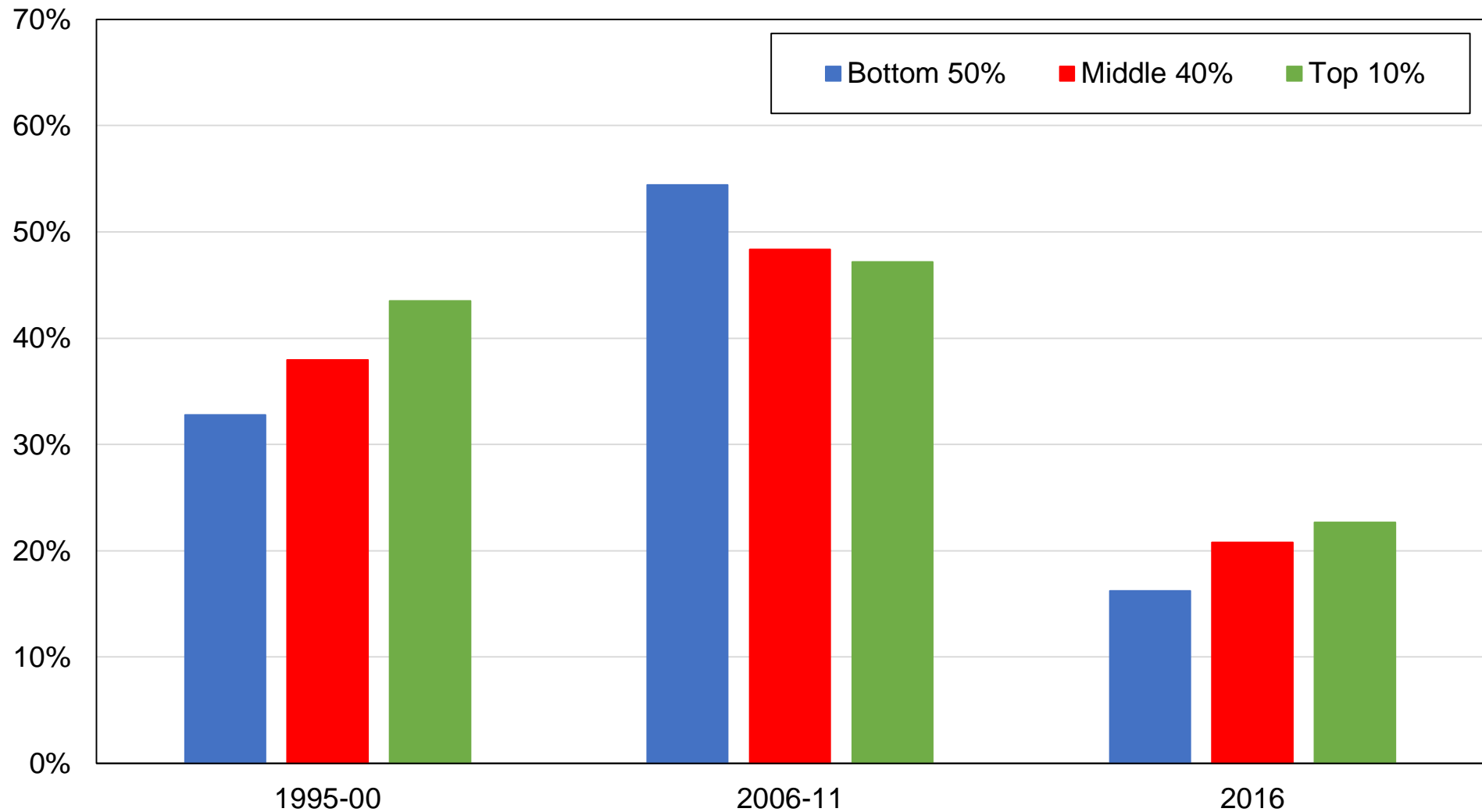
Figure FB1 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by education level



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.

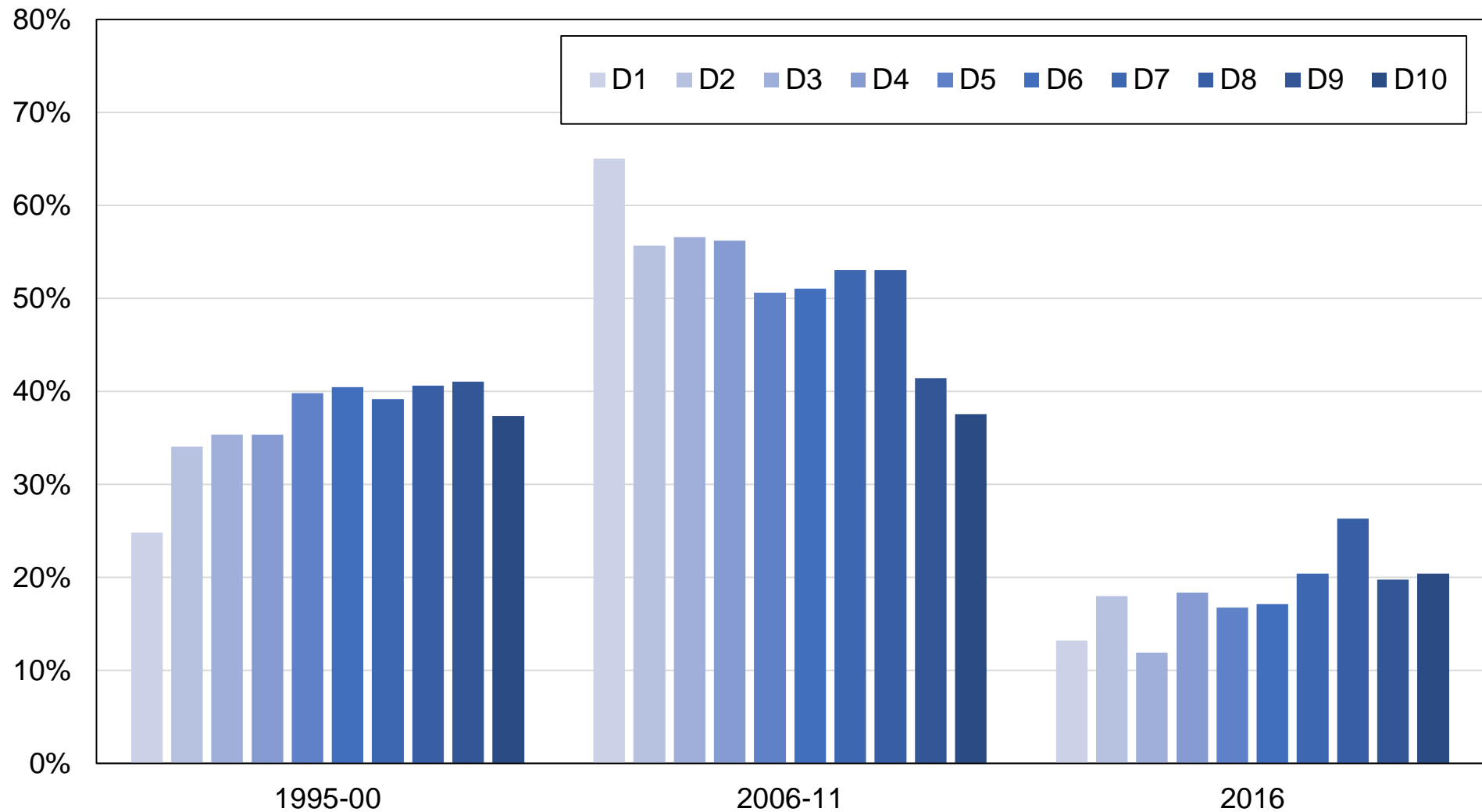
Figure FB2 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by education group



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.

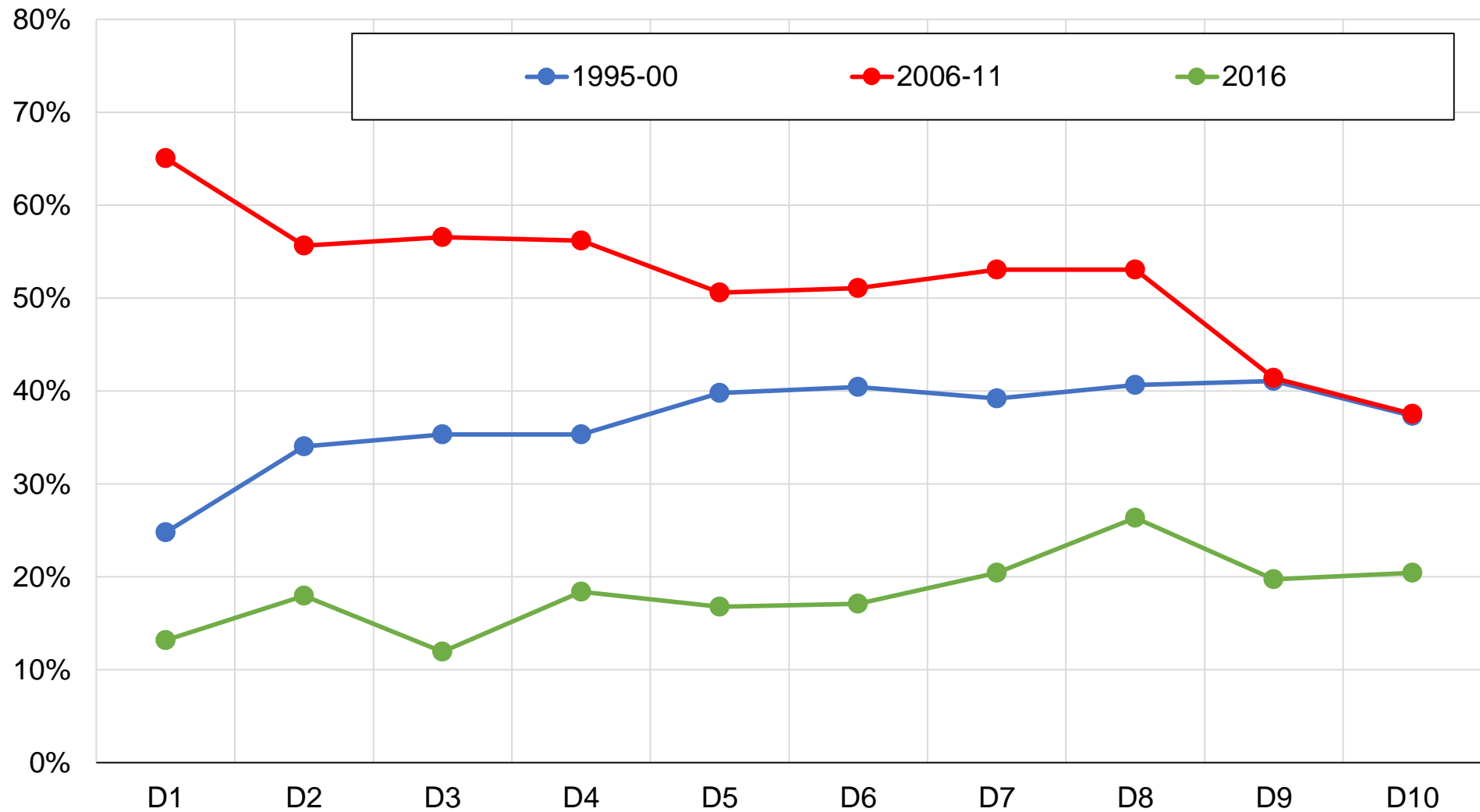
Figure B - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by income decile (bars)



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.

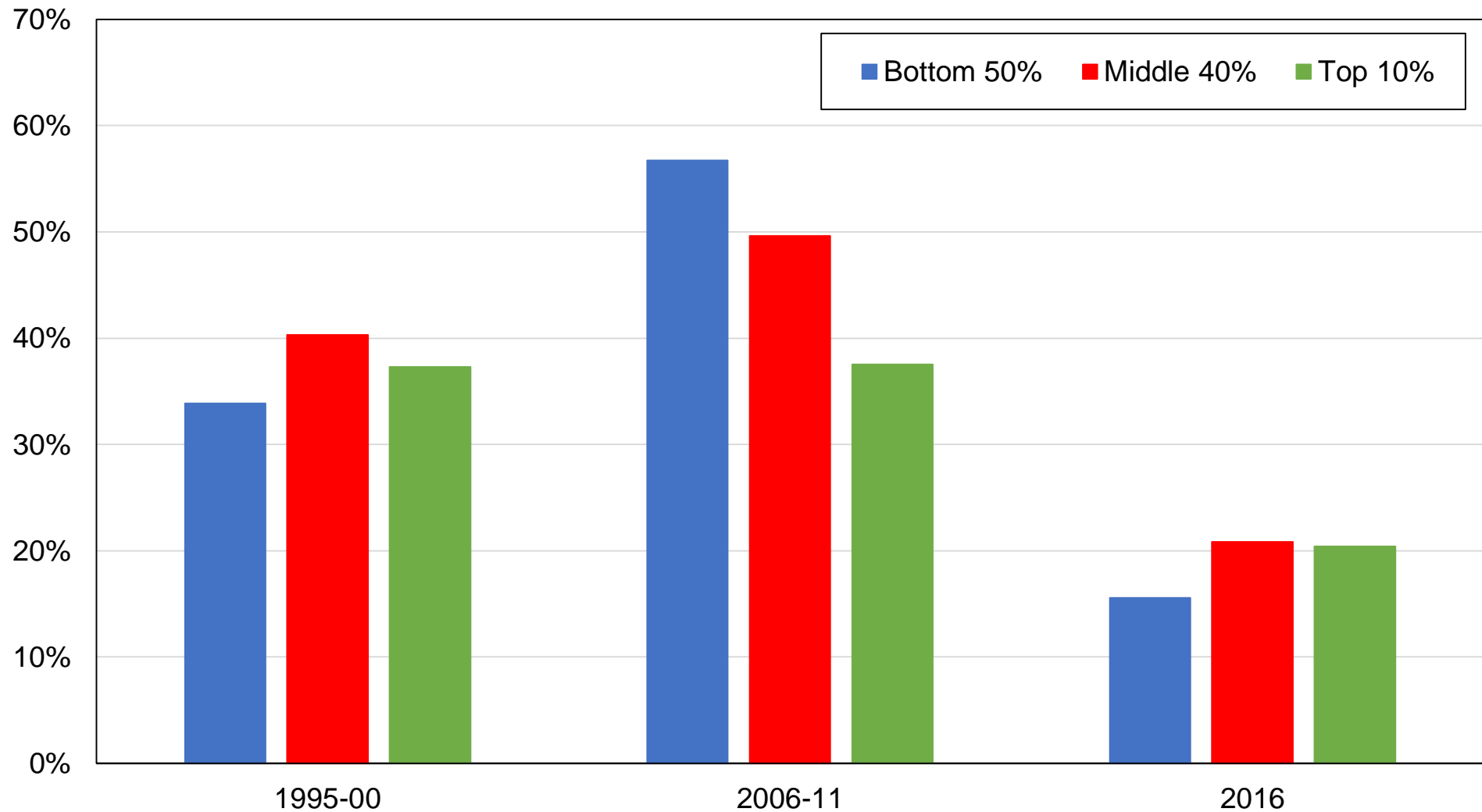
Figure FB4 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by income decile (lines)



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.

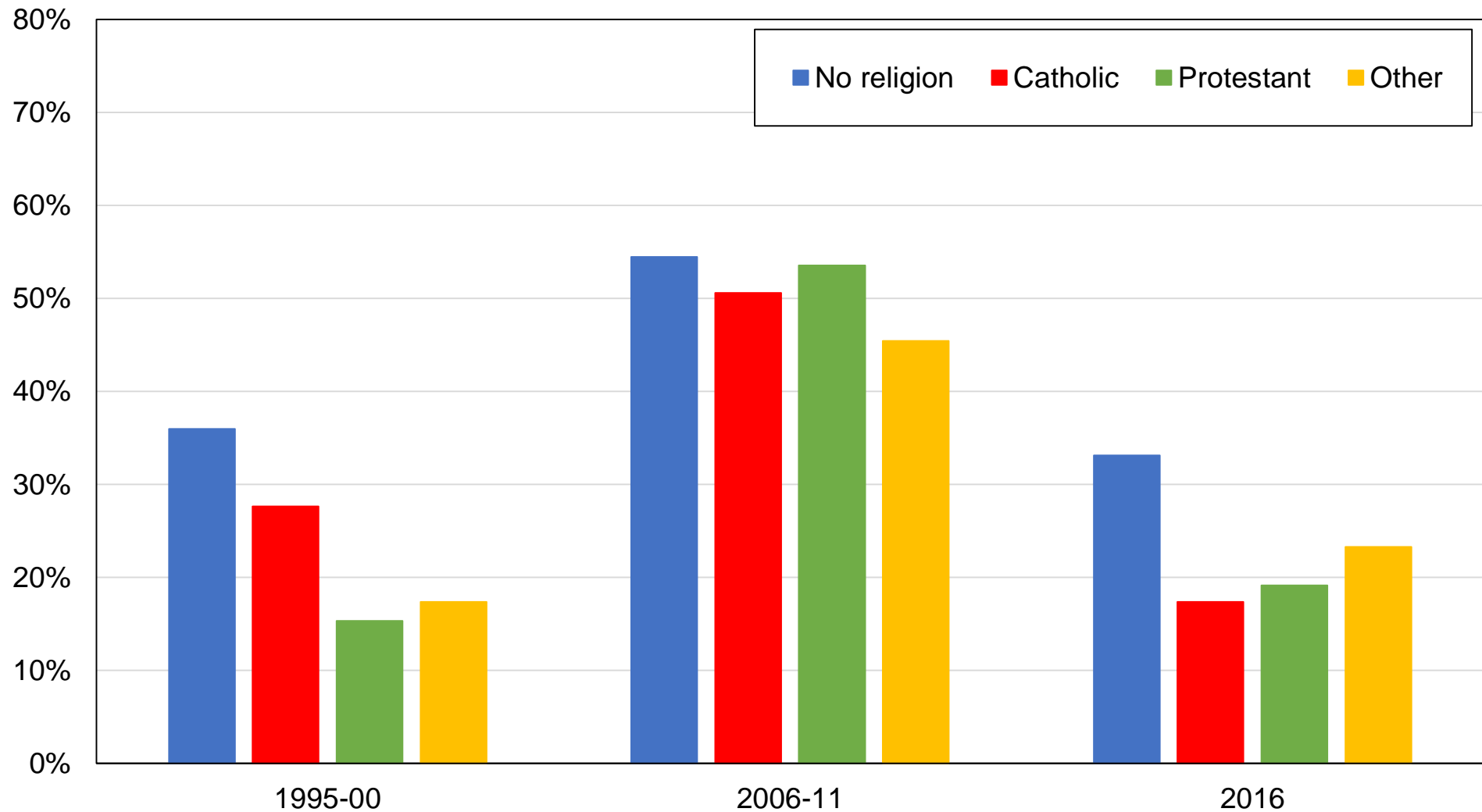
Figure FB5 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by income group



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.

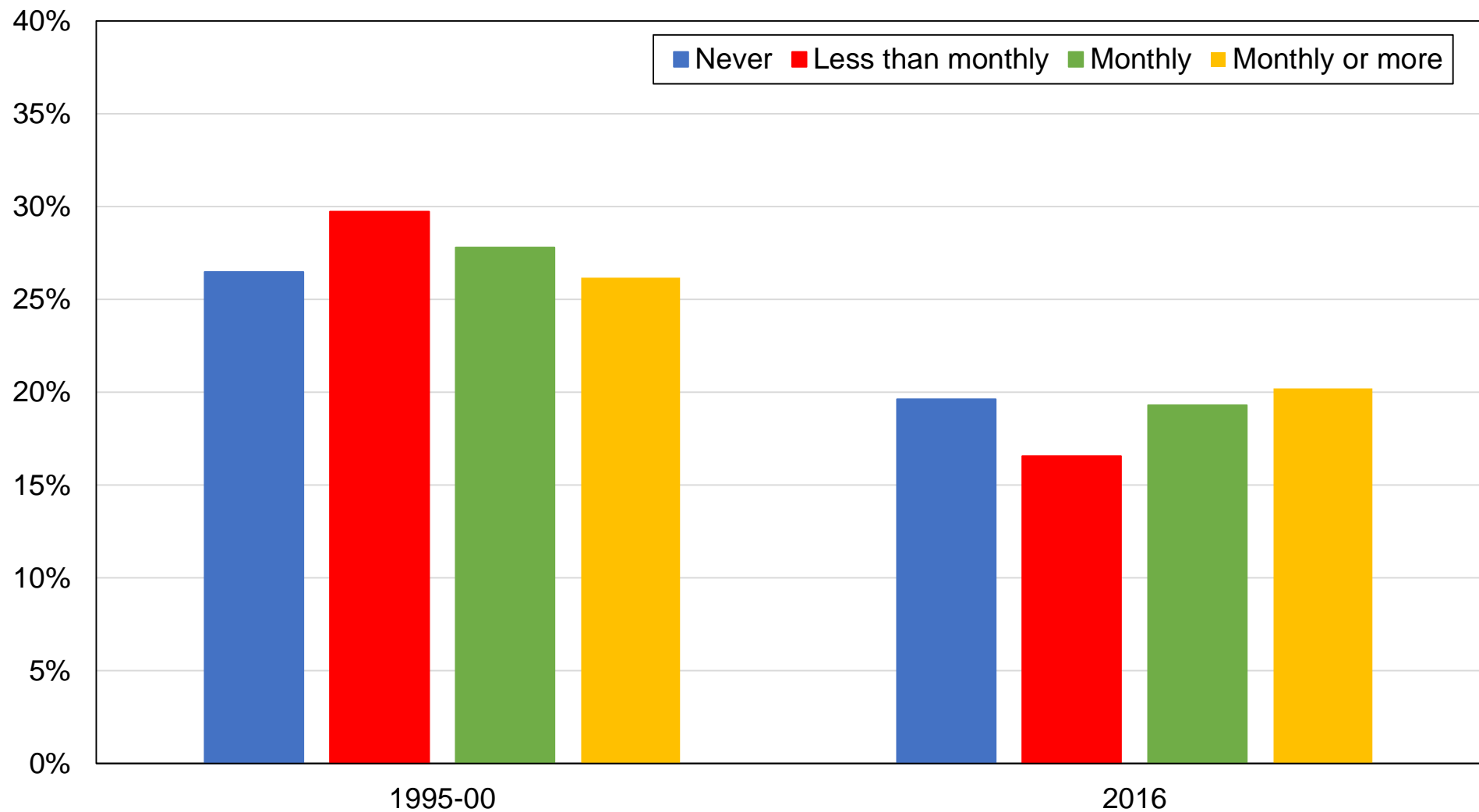
Figure FB6 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by religious affiliation



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.

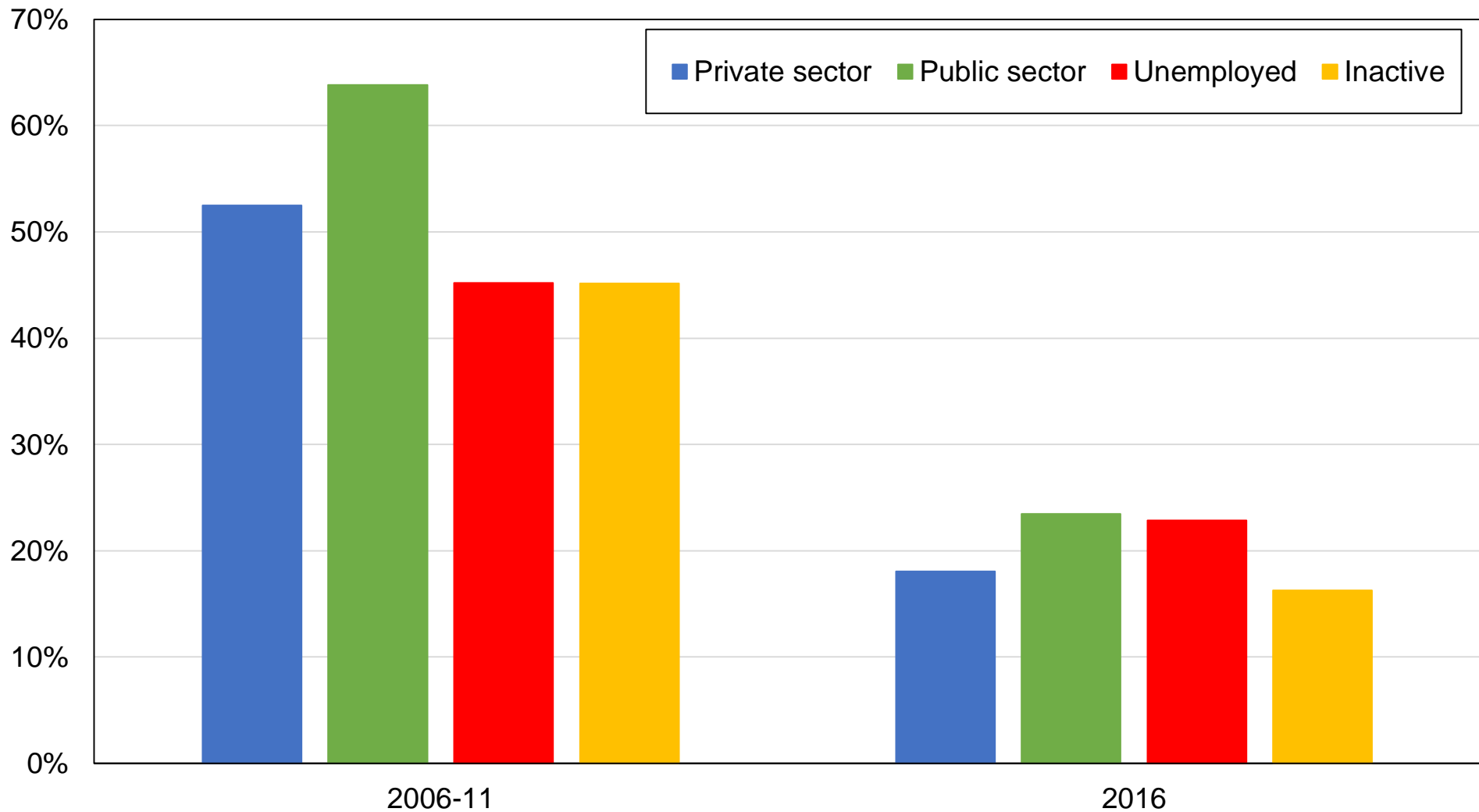
Figure FB7 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by church attendance



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.

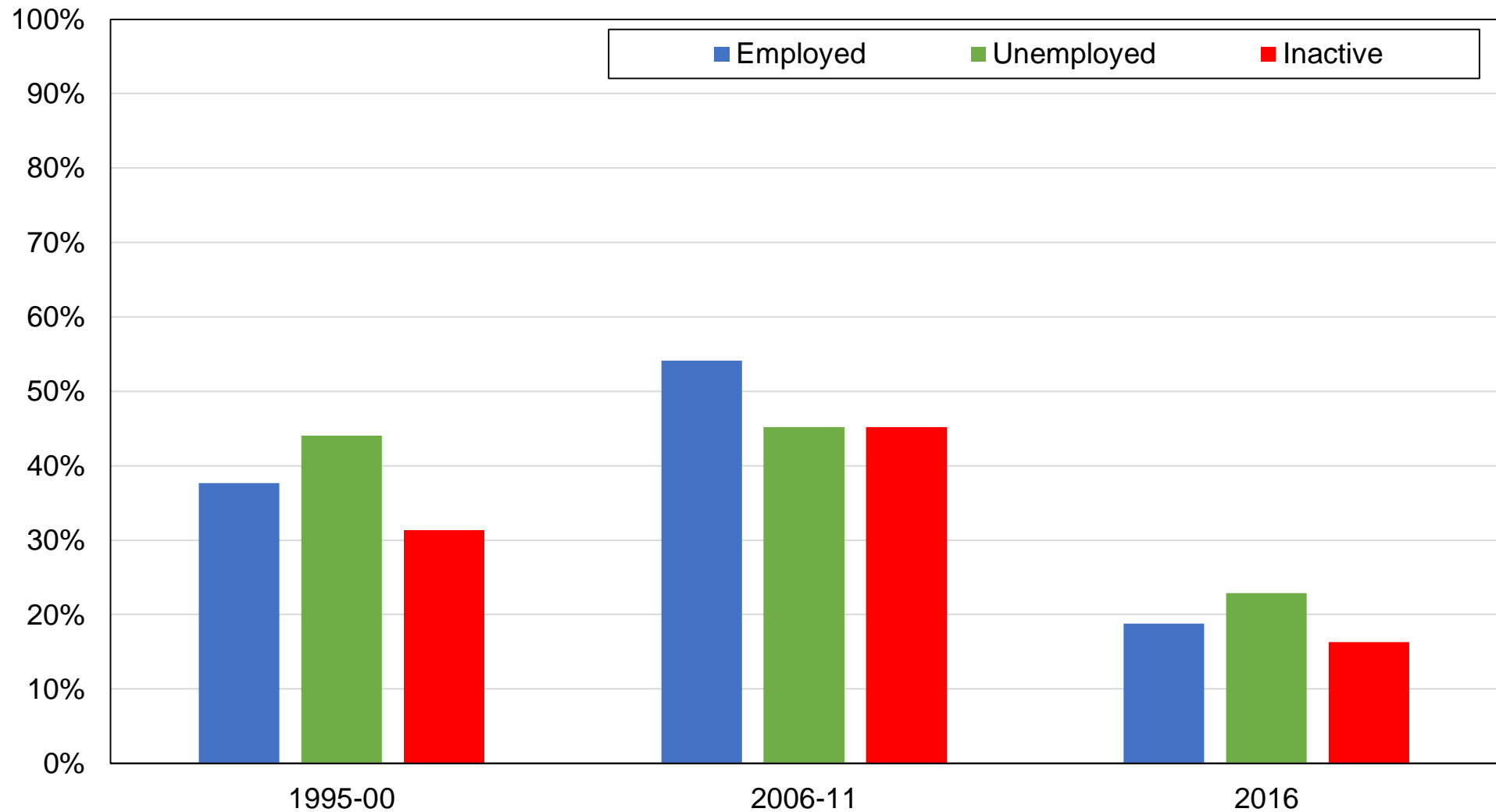
Figure FB8 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by occupation



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.

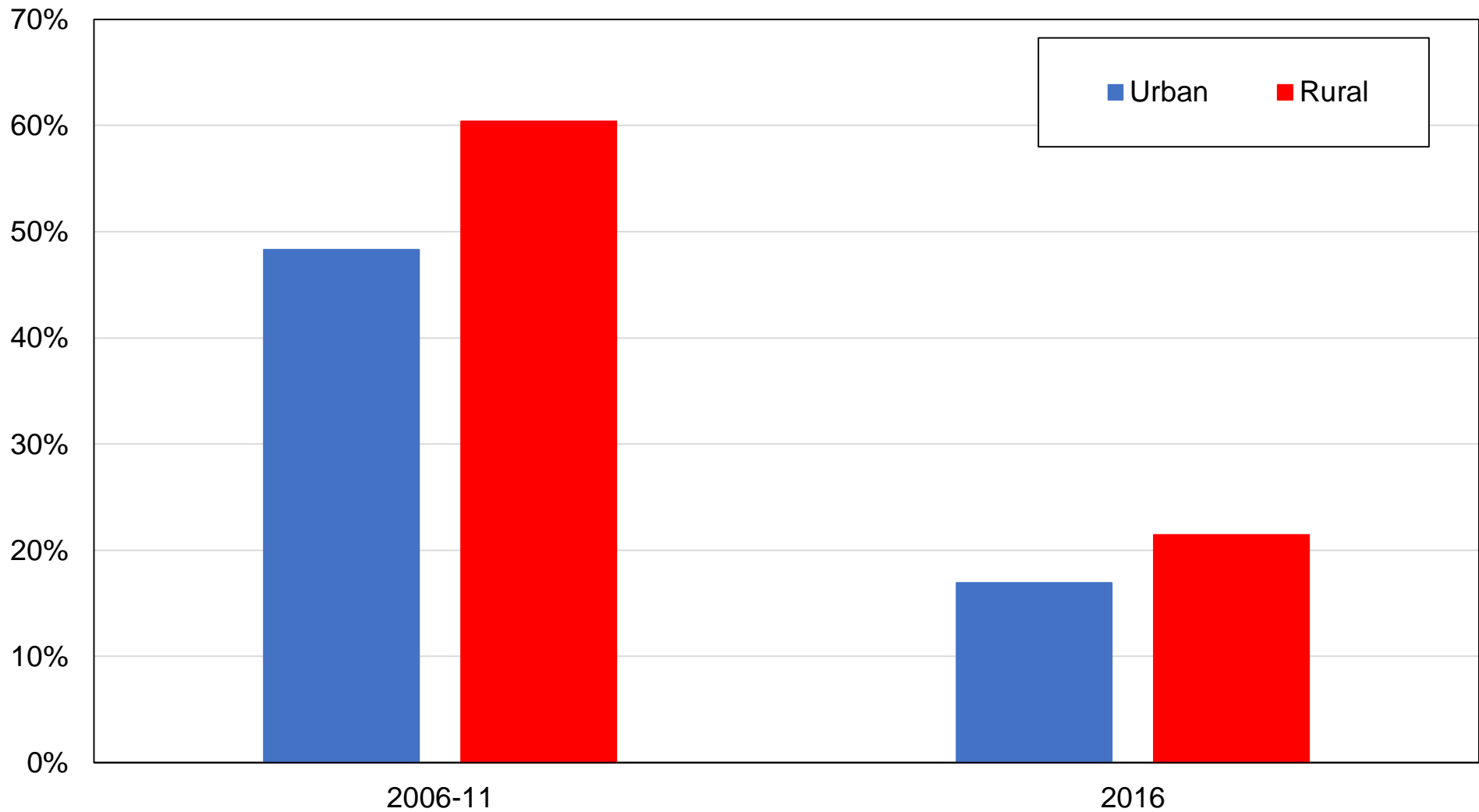
Figure FB9 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by employment status



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.

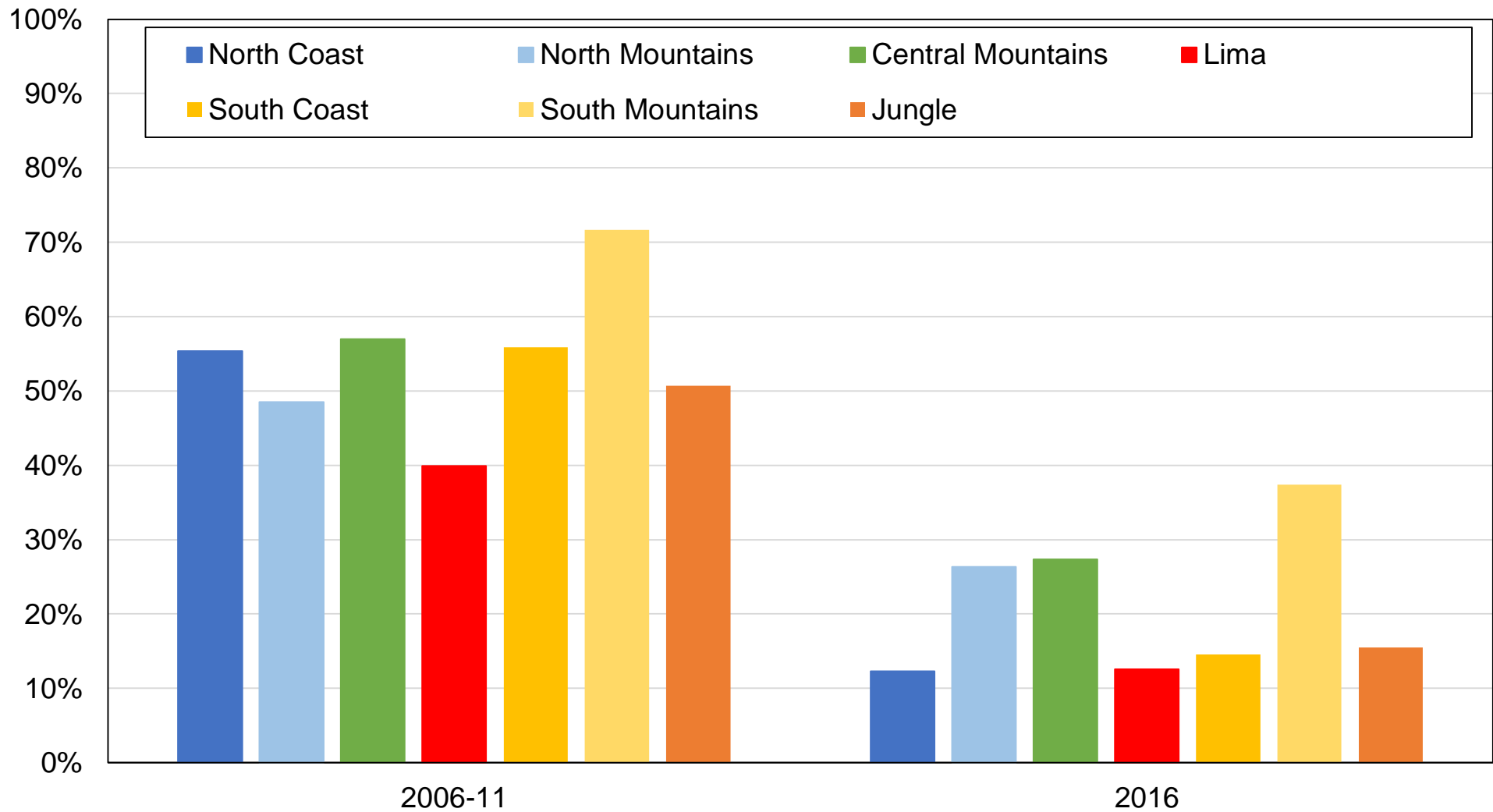
Figure FB10 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by location



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.

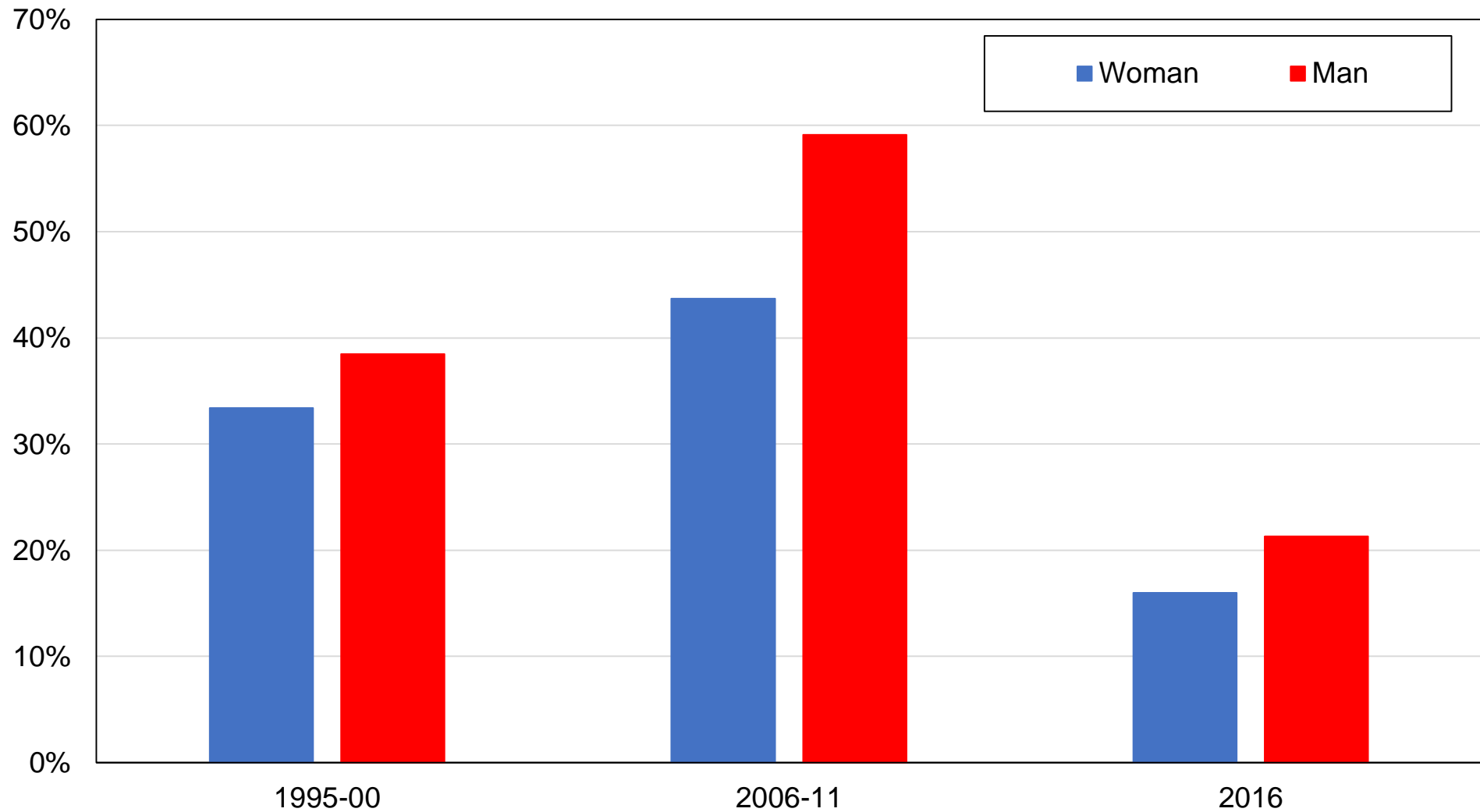
Figure FB11 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by detailed region



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.

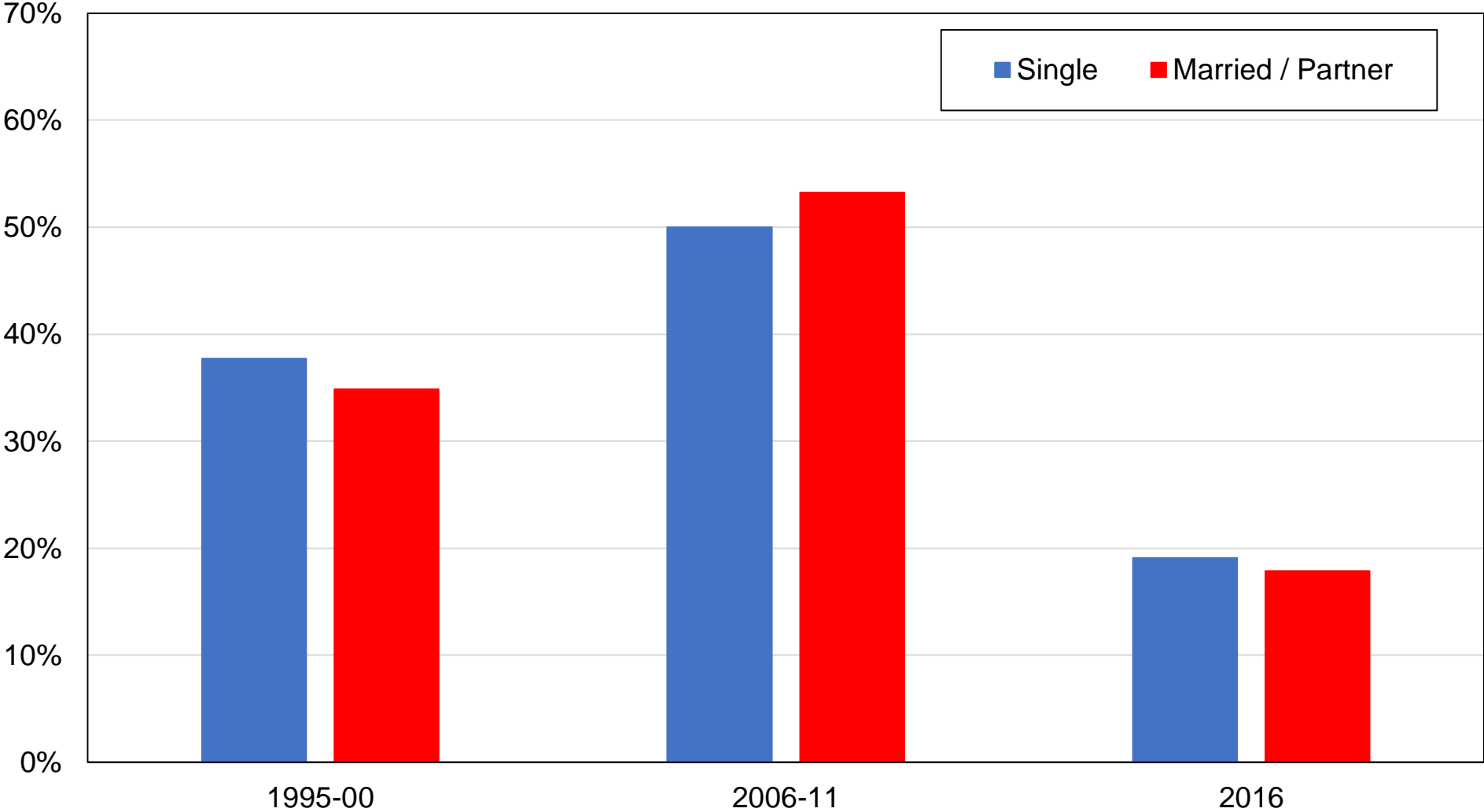
Figure FB12 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by gender



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.

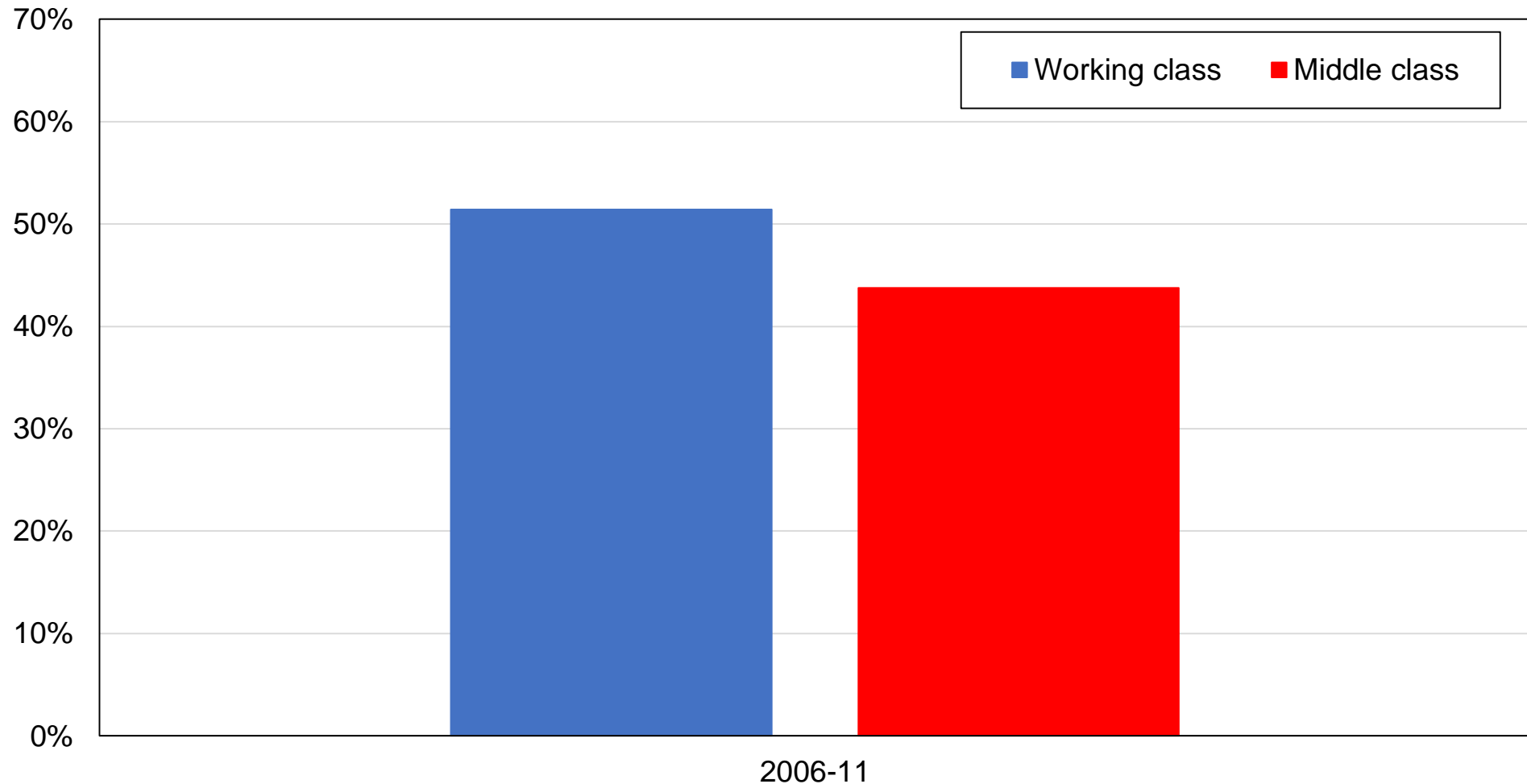
Figure FB13 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by marital status



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.

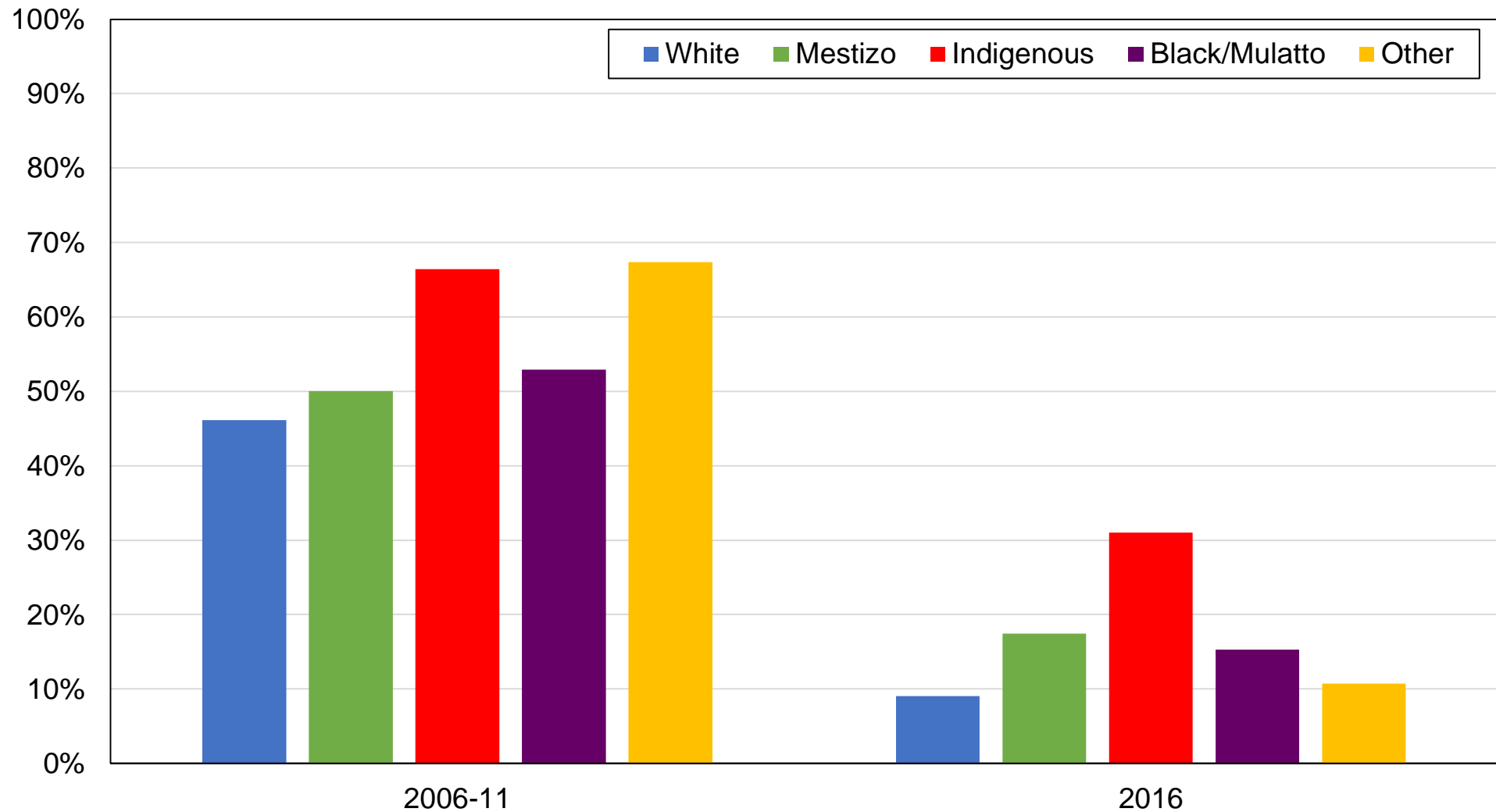
Figure FB14 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by perceived social class



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".

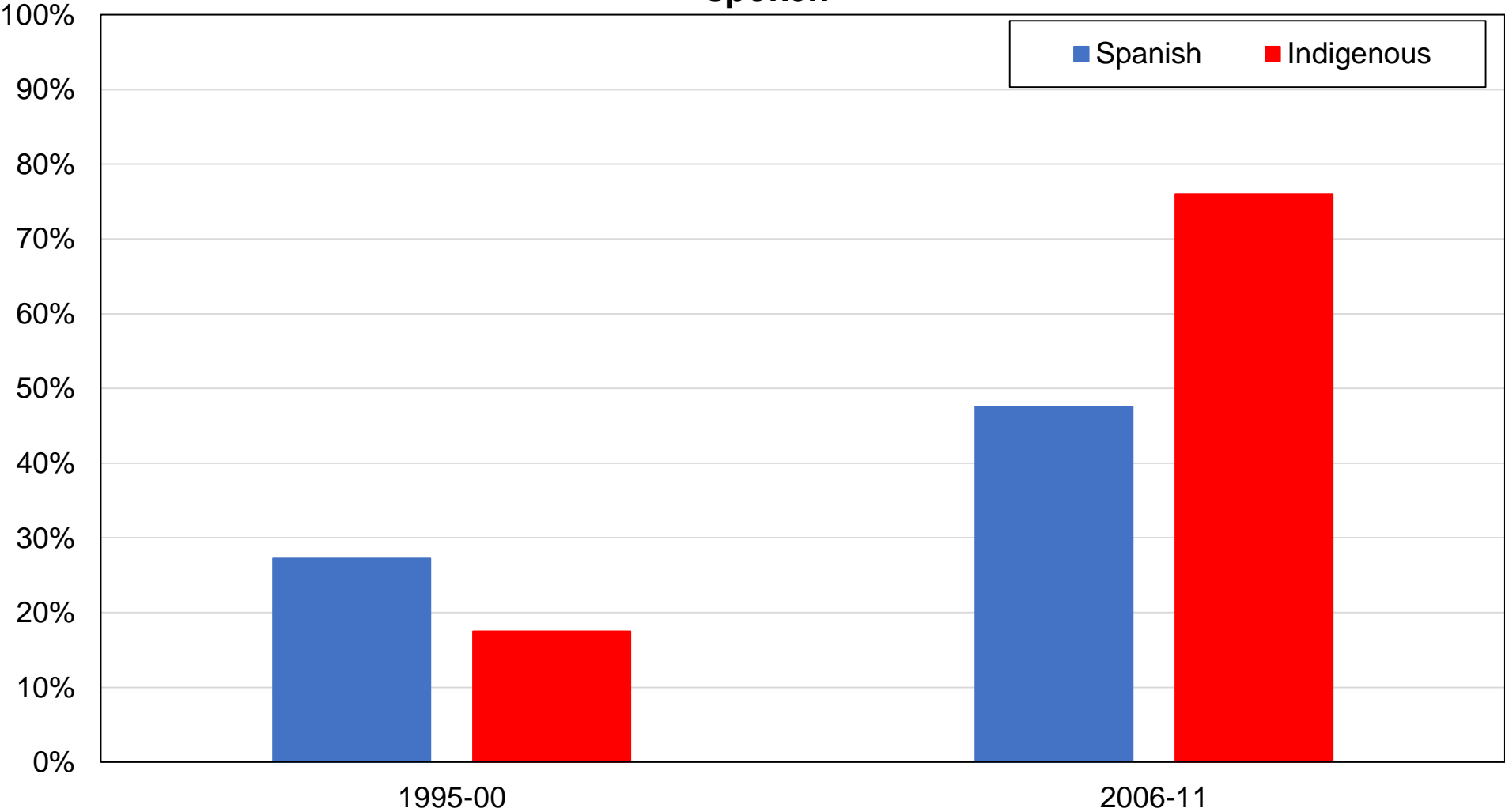
Figure FB15 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by detailed ethnicity



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

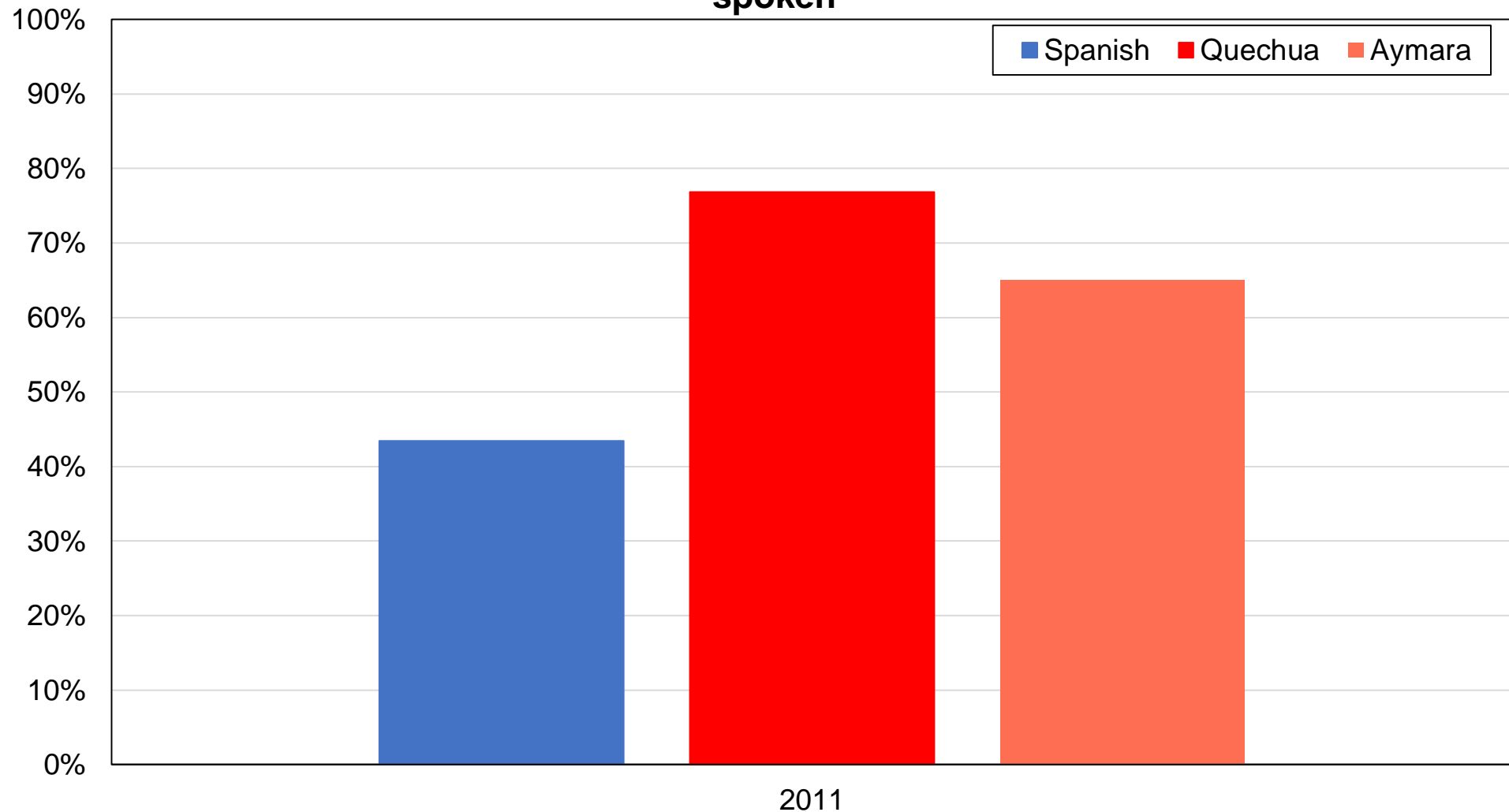
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by center-left / left-wing parties (UPP / PP / PNP / GP / APRA / Other left) by detailed ethnicity.

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.

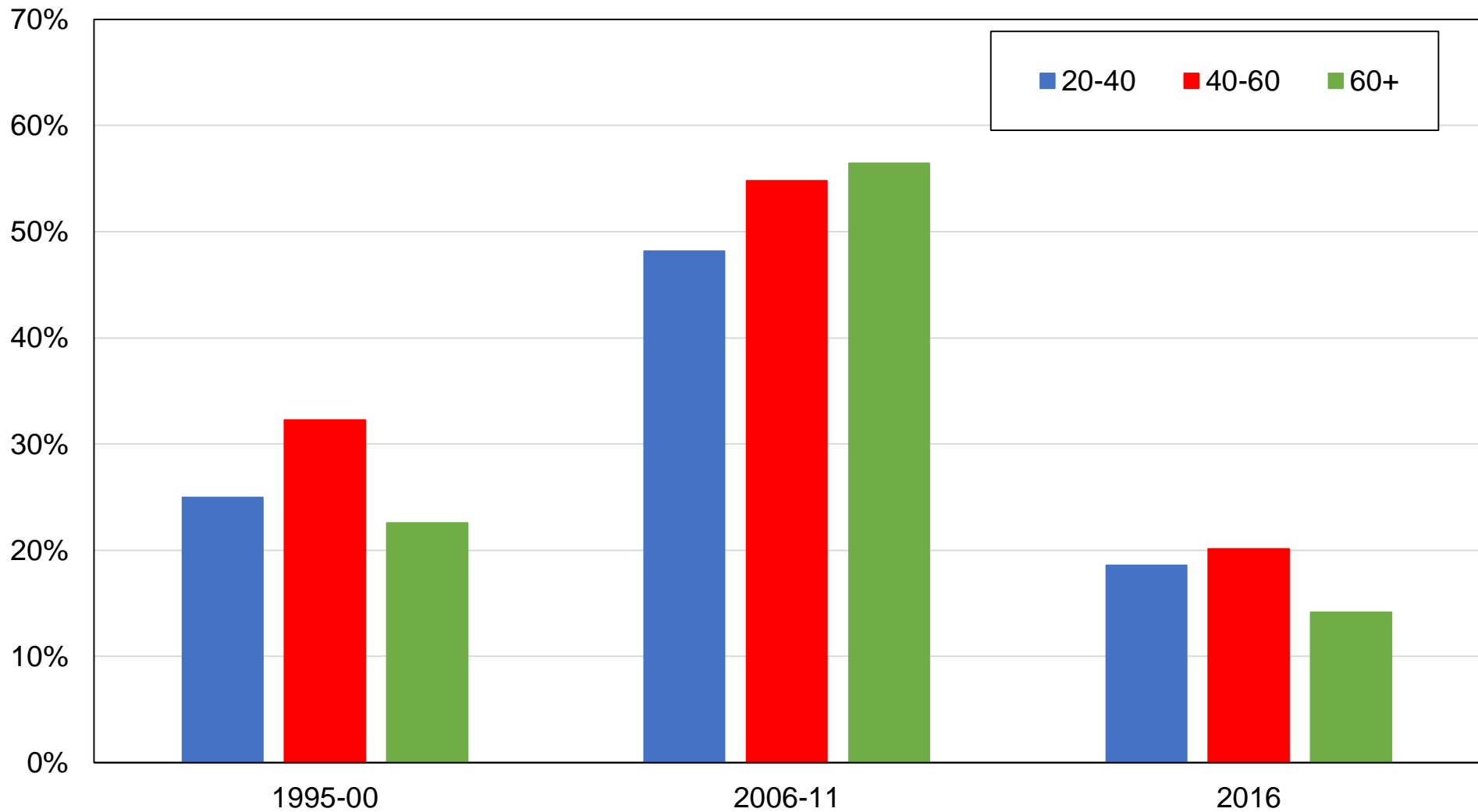
Figure FB17 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by main language spoken



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.

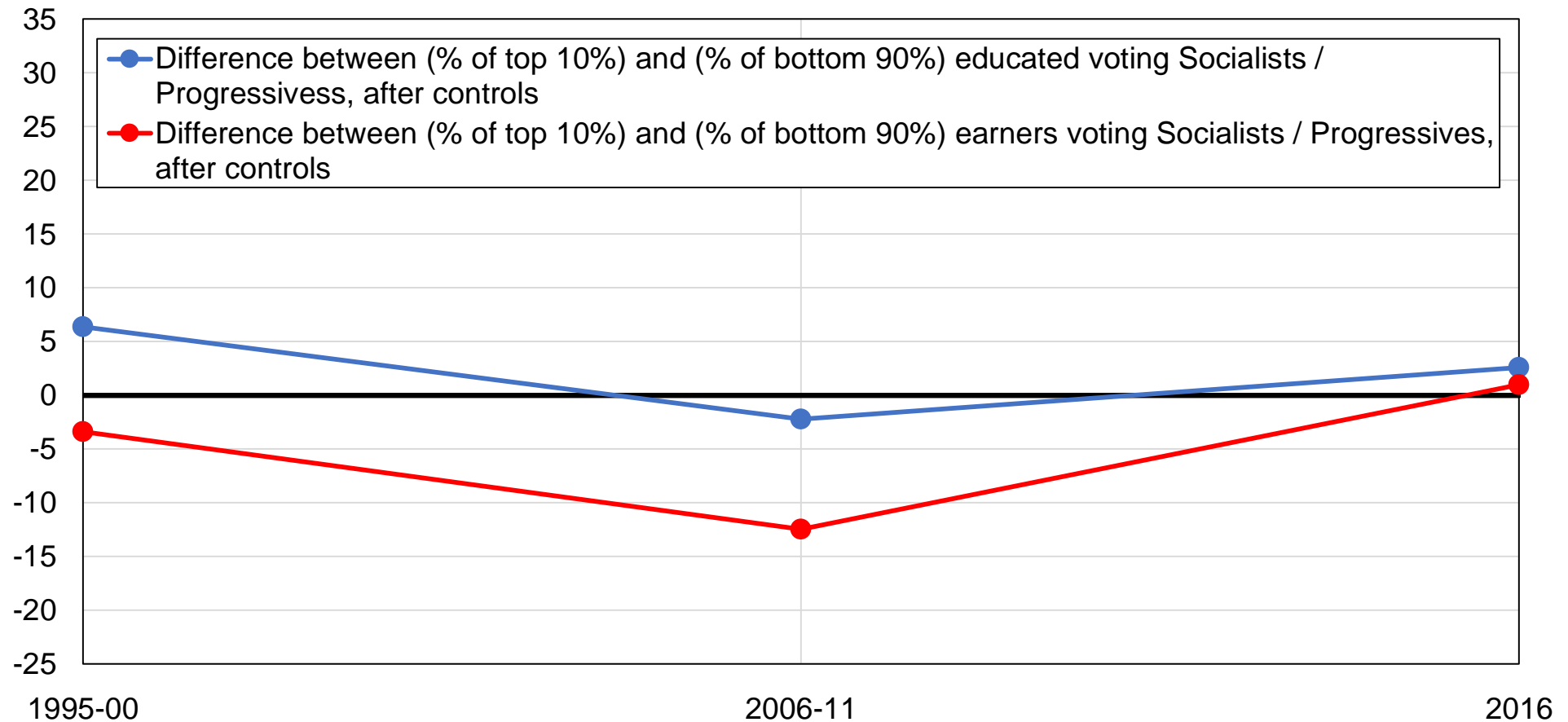
Figure FB18 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by age group



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.

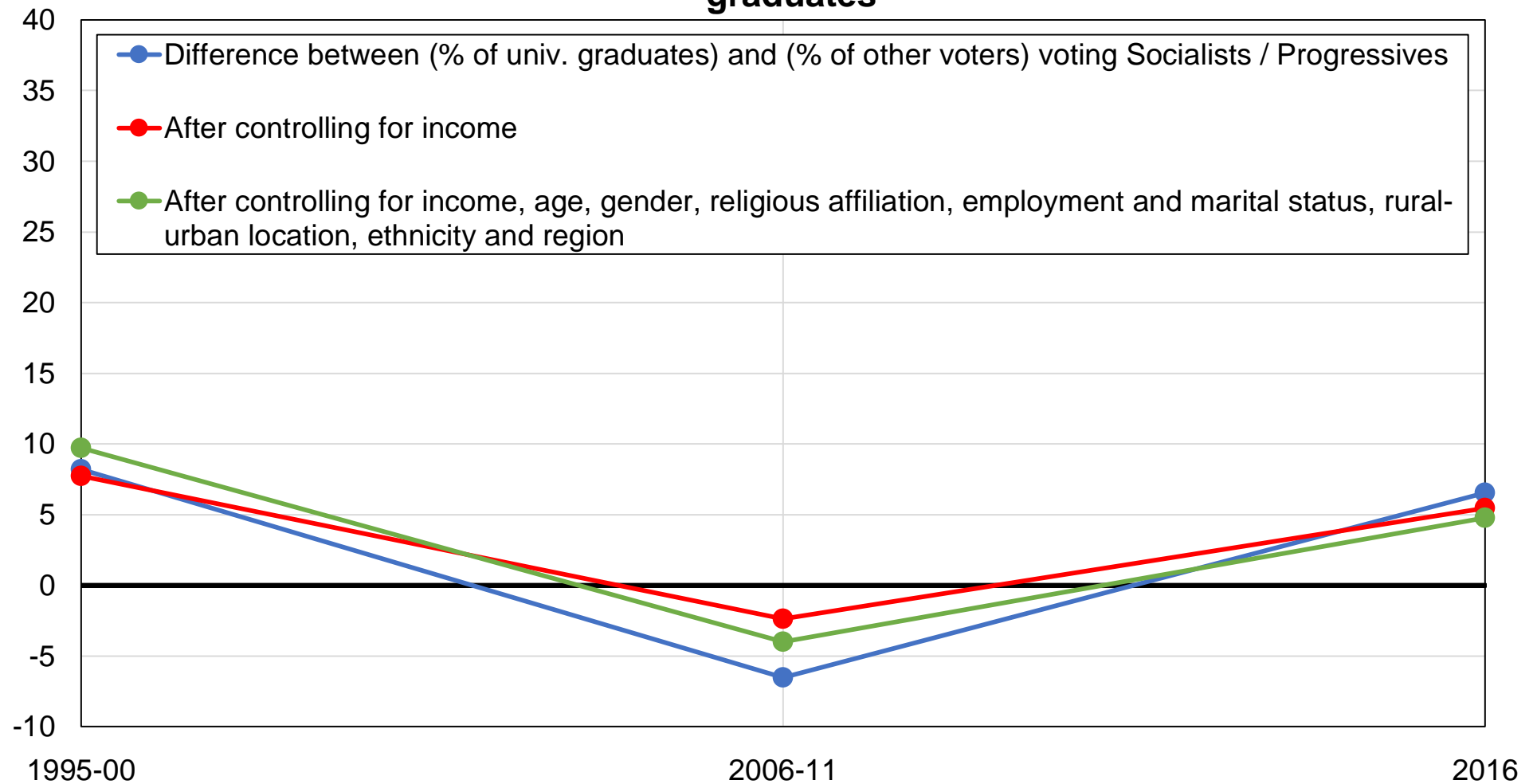
Figure FB19 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives among highest-educated and top-income voters, after controls



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.

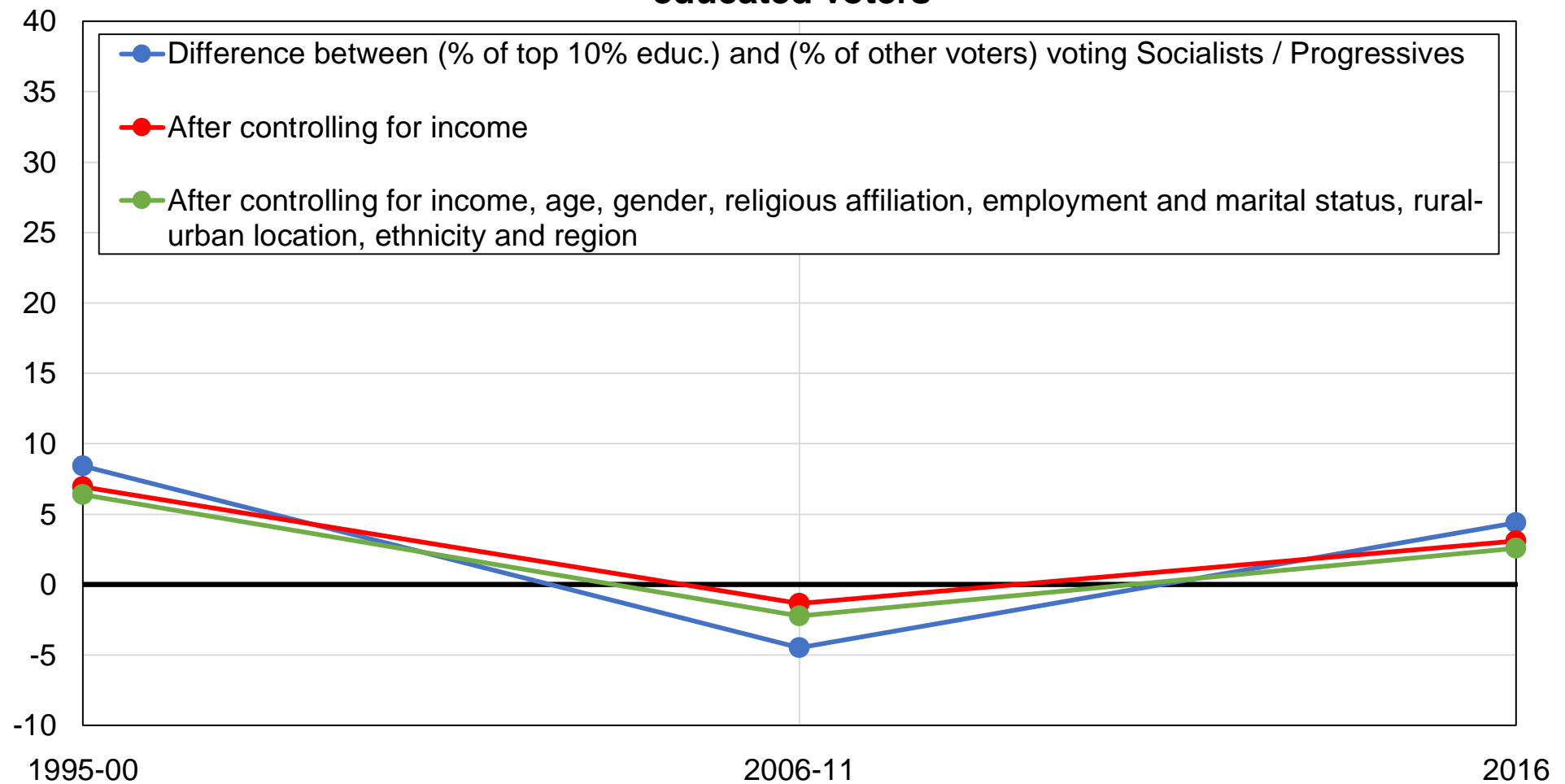
Figure FB20 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives among university graduates



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.

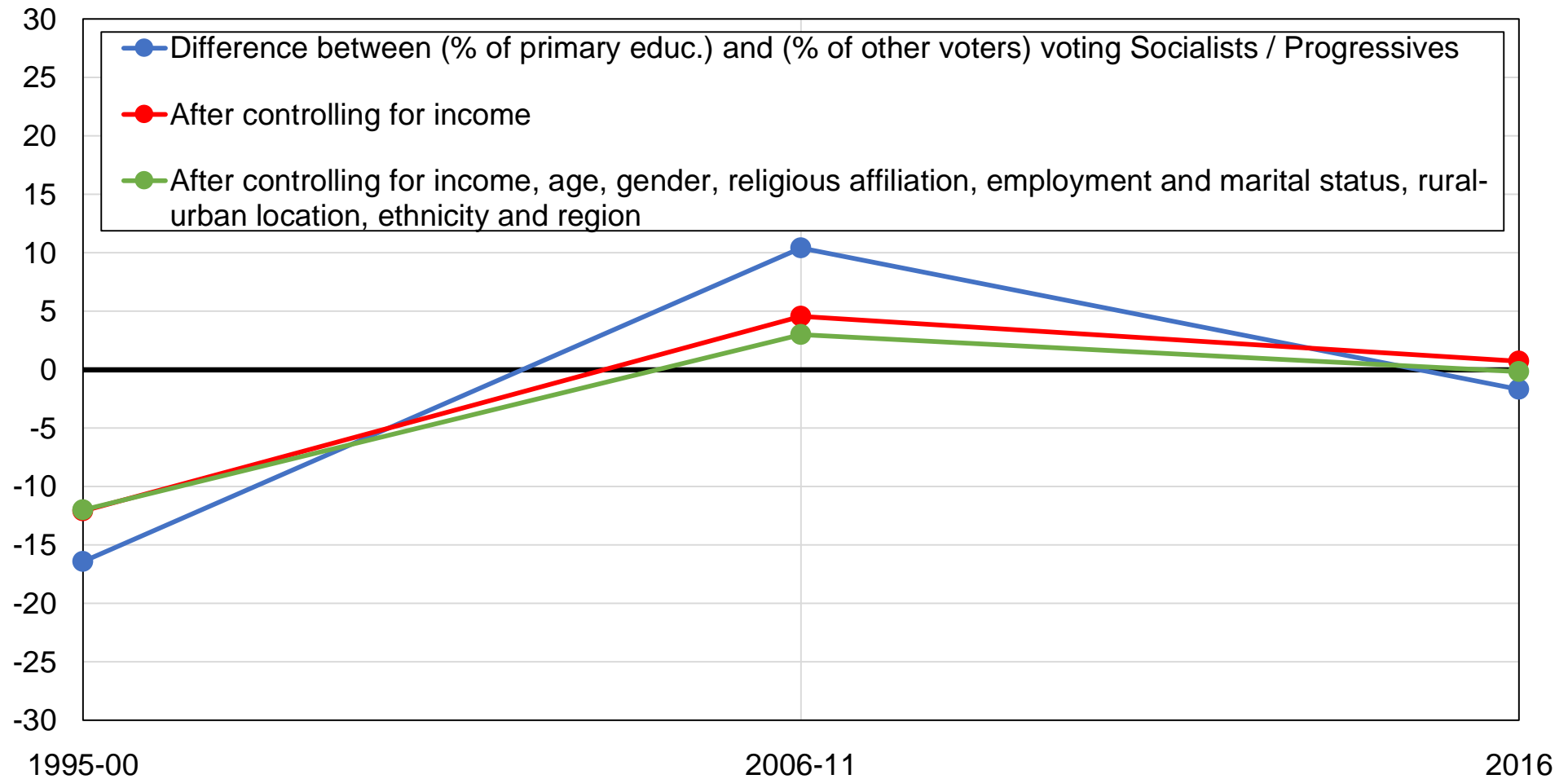
Figure FB21 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives among highest-educated voters



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.

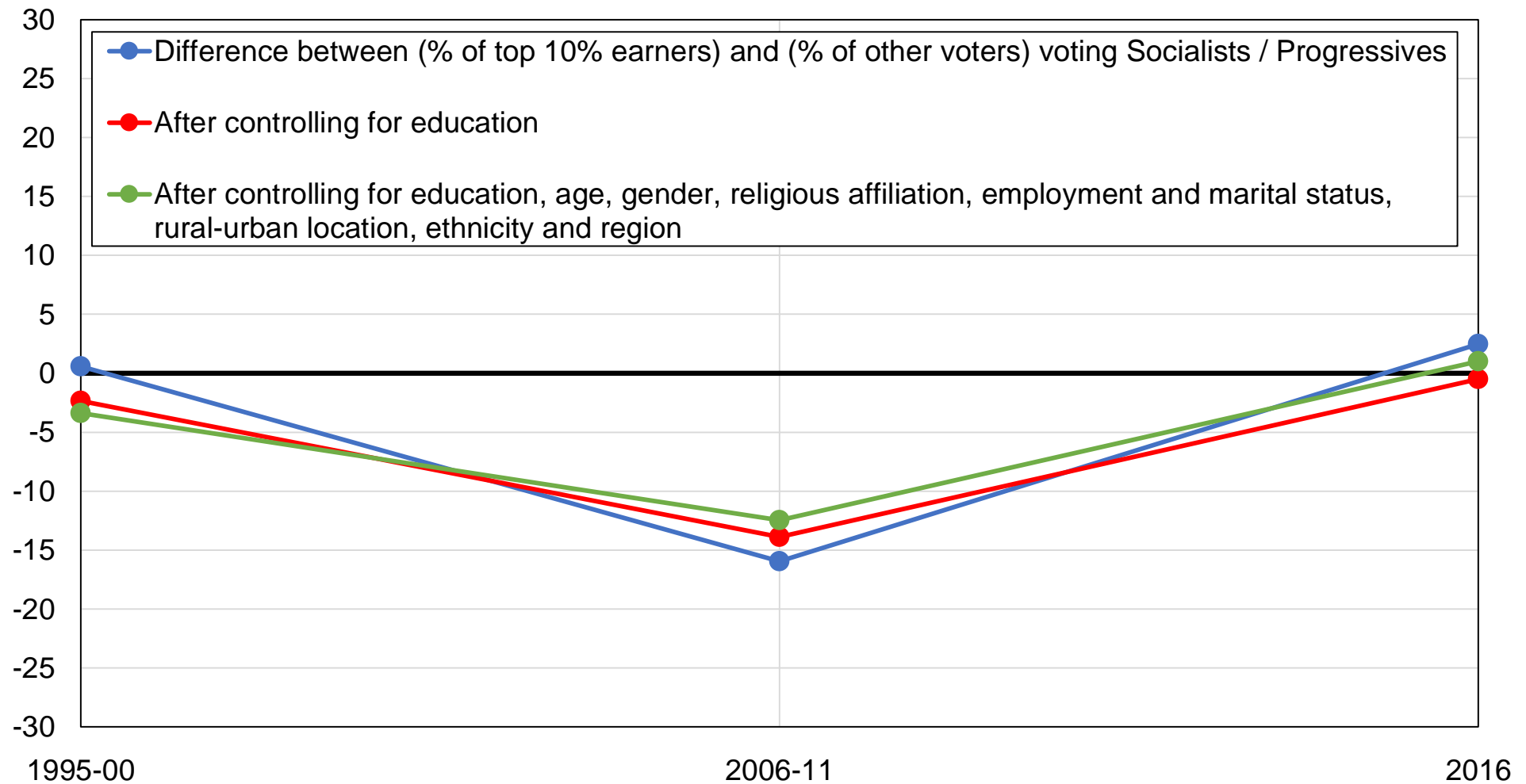
Figure FB22 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives among primary-educated voters



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.

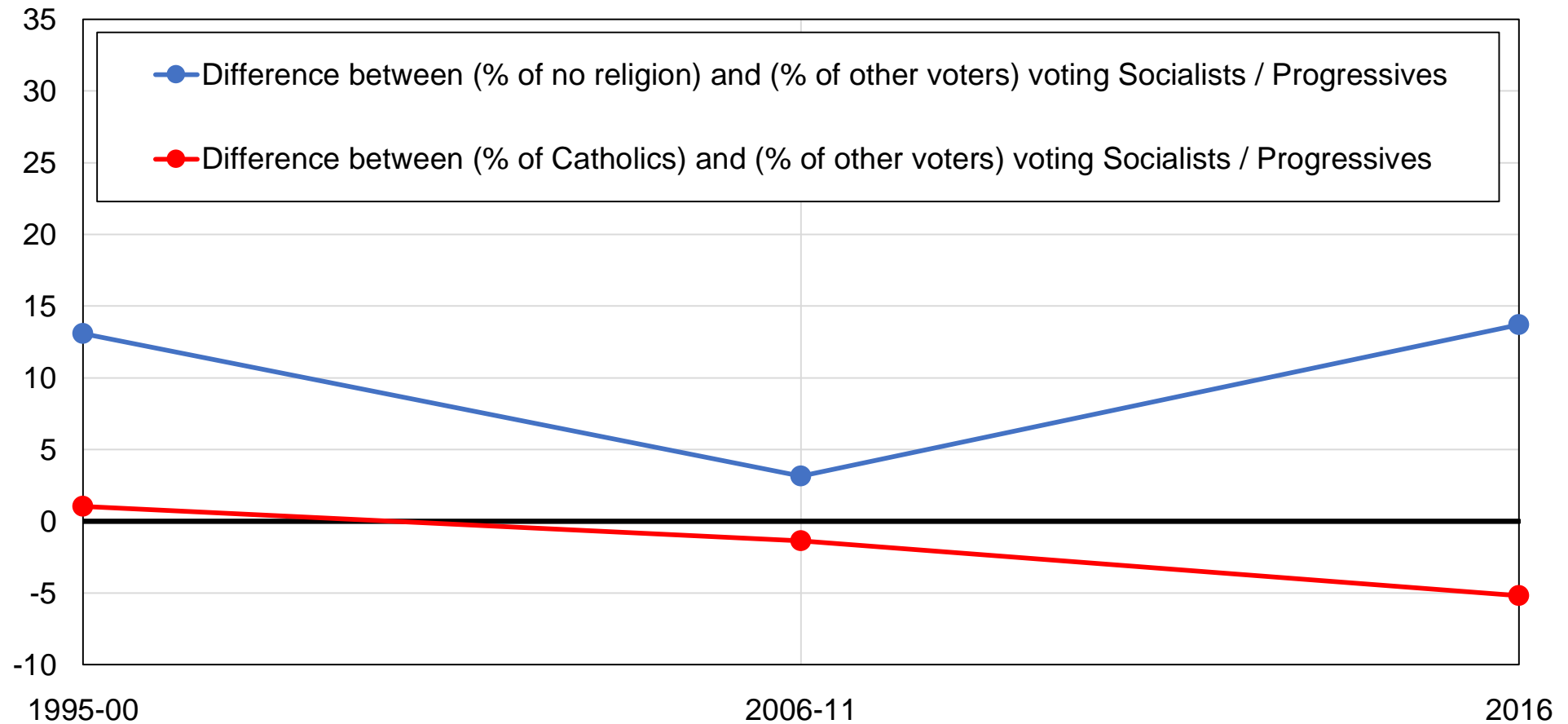
Figure FB23 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives among top 10% earners



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.

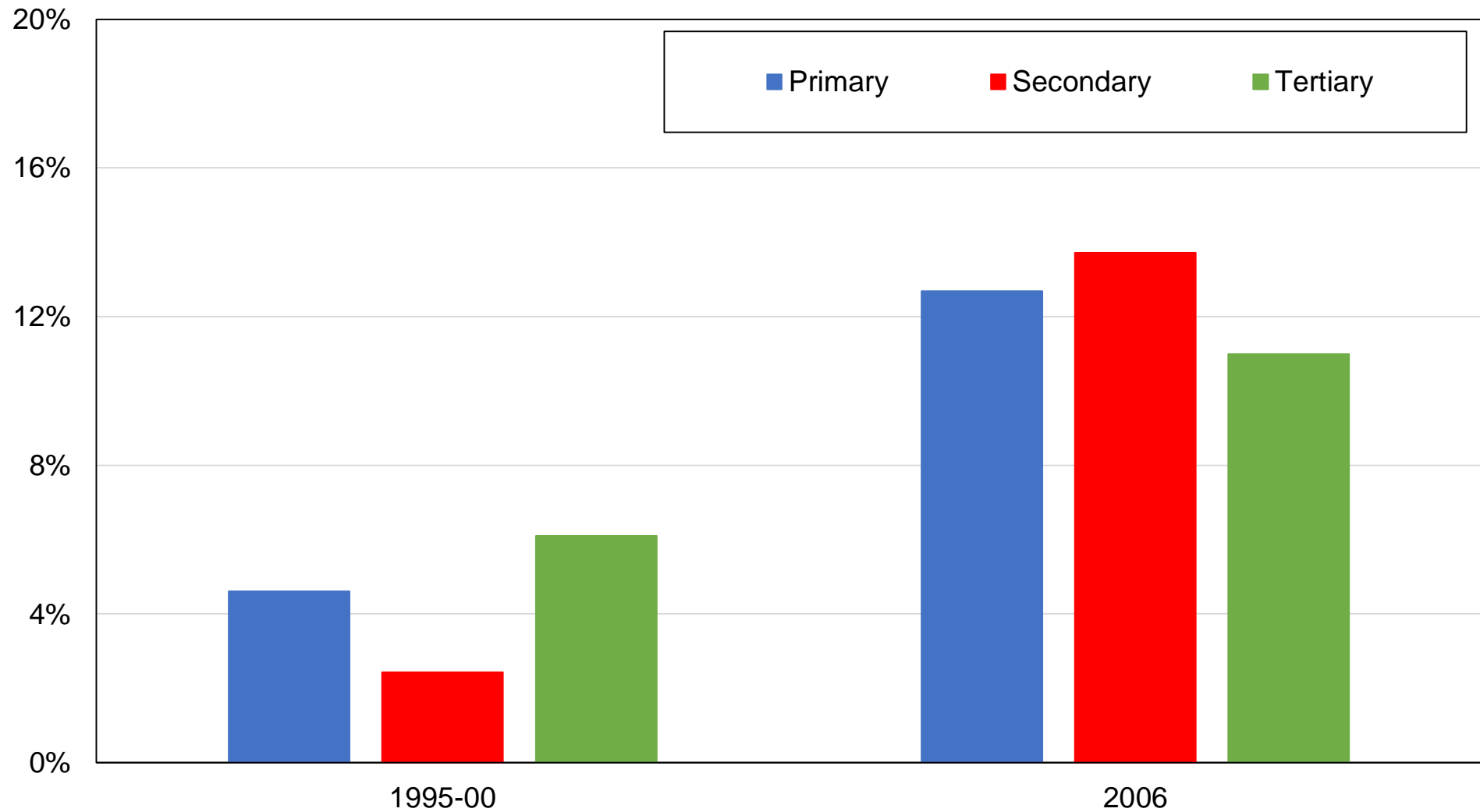
Figure FB26 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives among young voters



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.

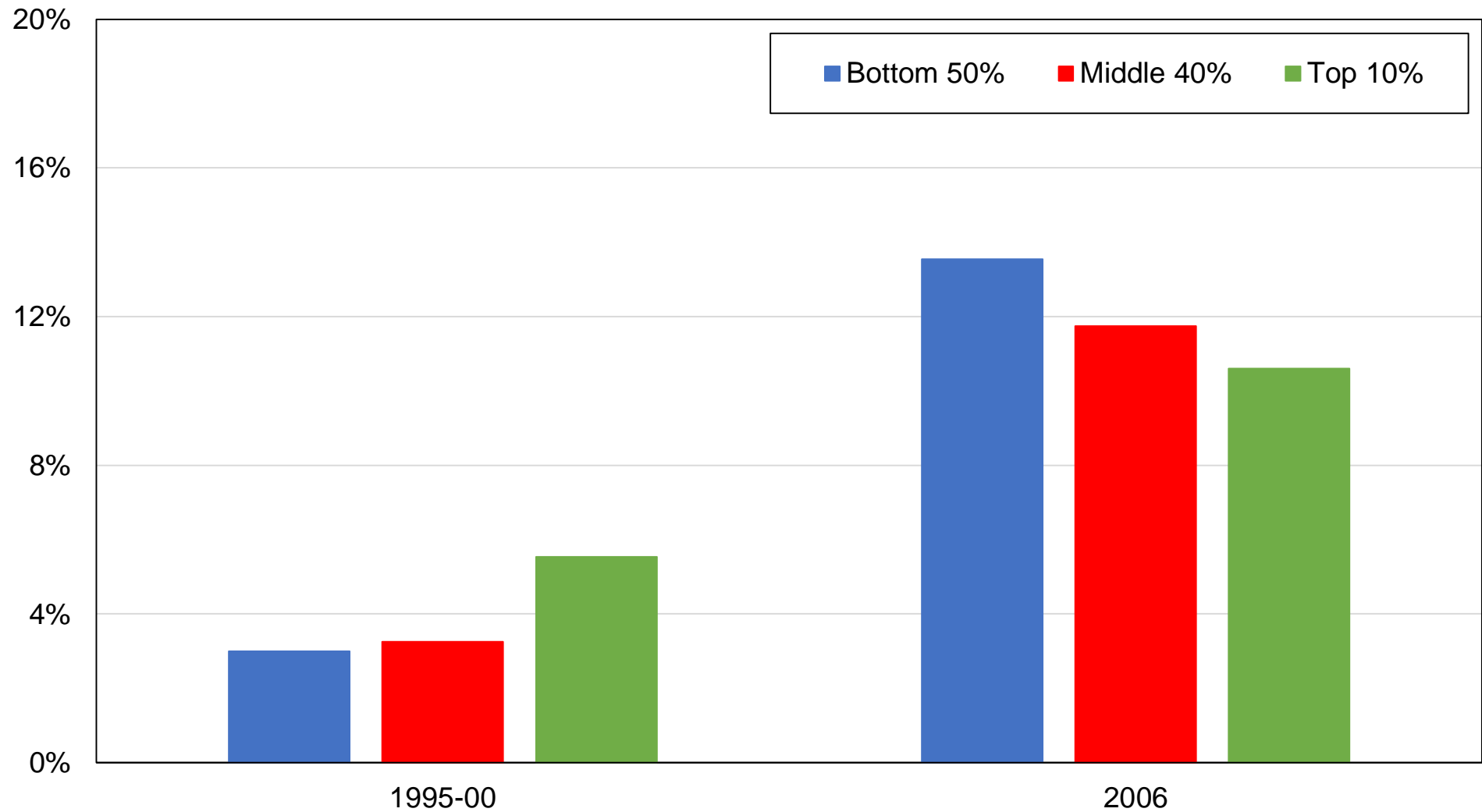
Figure FC1 - Vote for the Peruvian Aprista Party by education level



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.

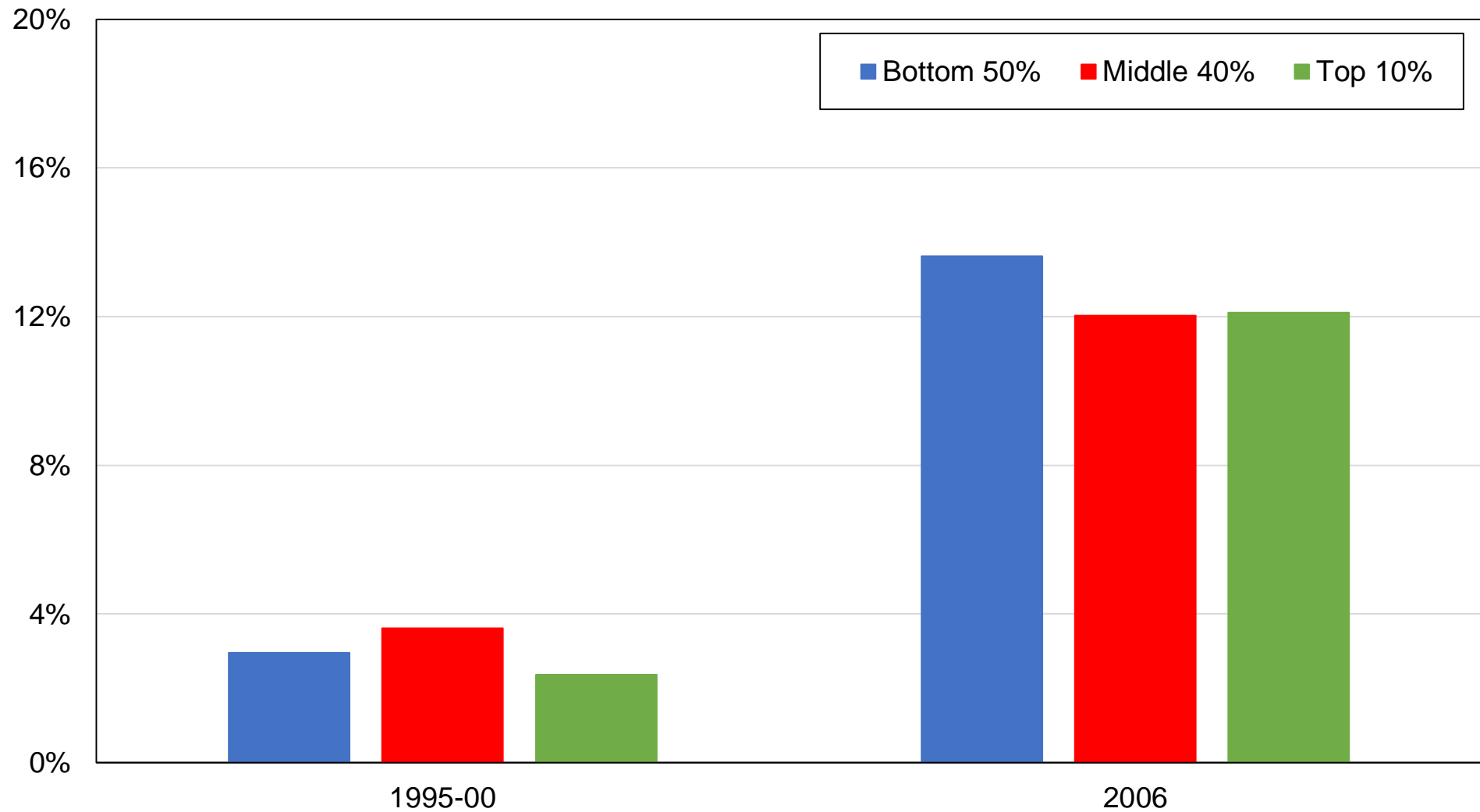
Figure FC2 - Vote for the Peruvian Aprista Party by education group



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.

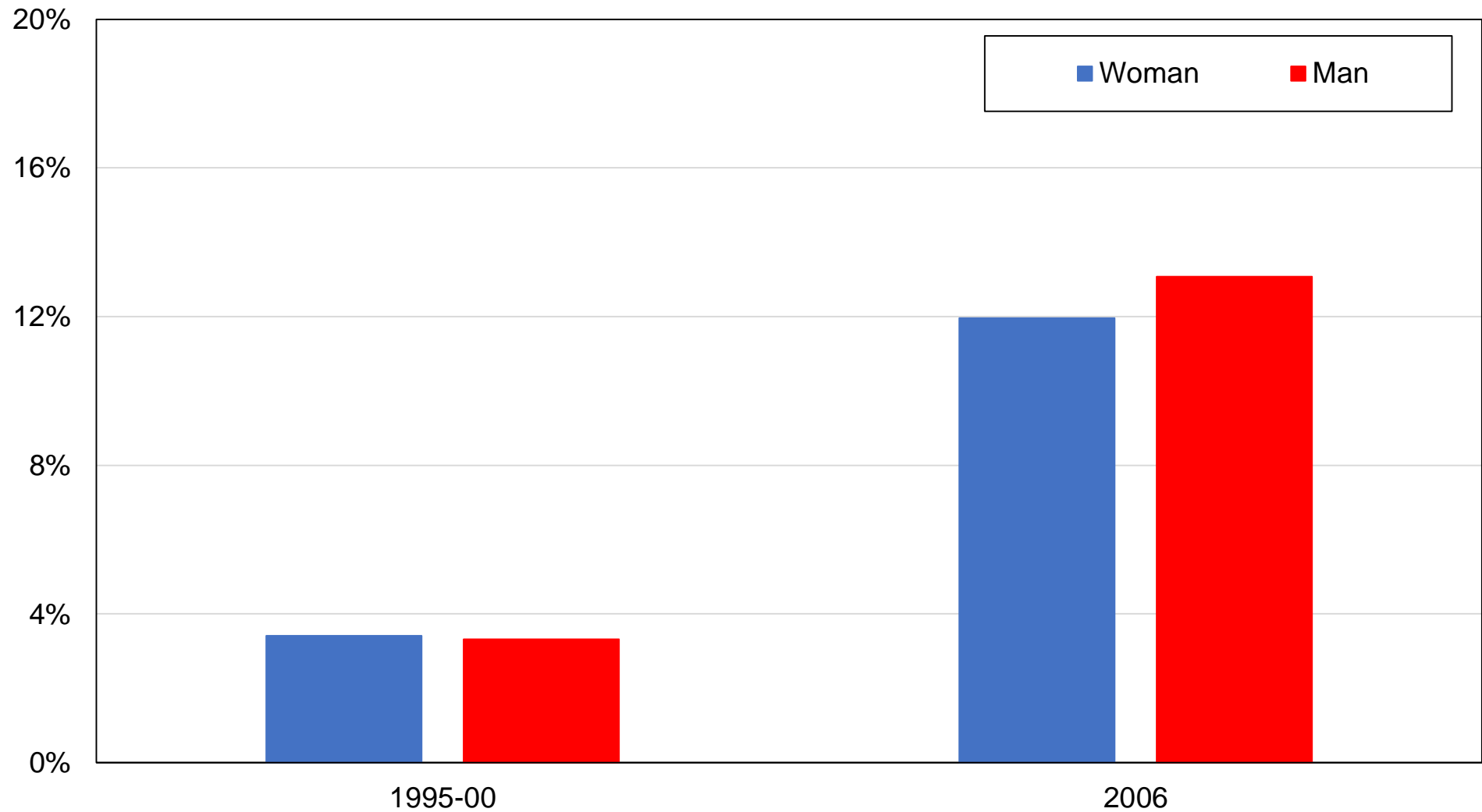
Figure FC3 - Vote for the Peruvian Aprista Party by income group



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.

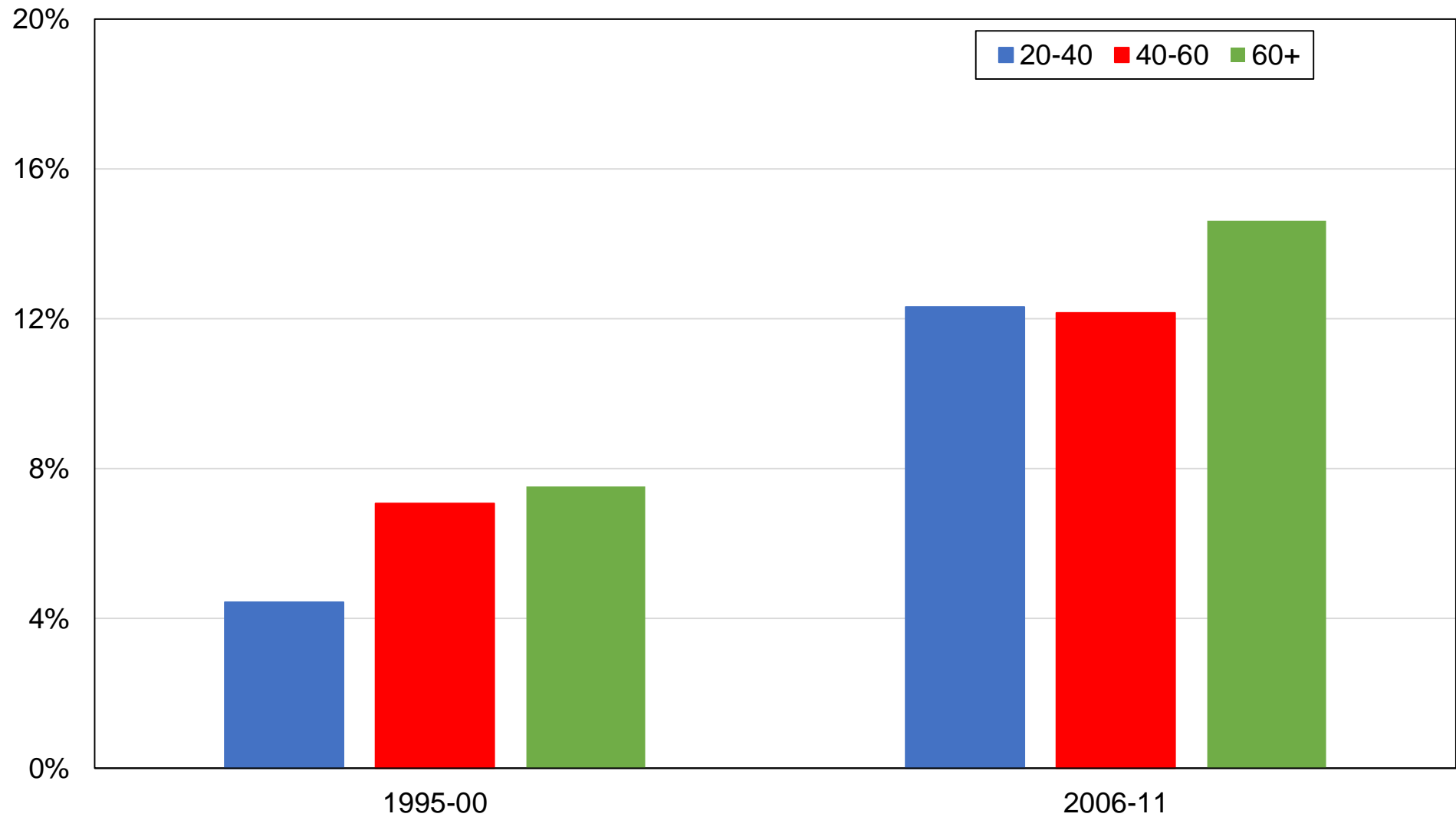
Figure FC4 - Vote for the Peruvian Aprista Party by gender



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

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

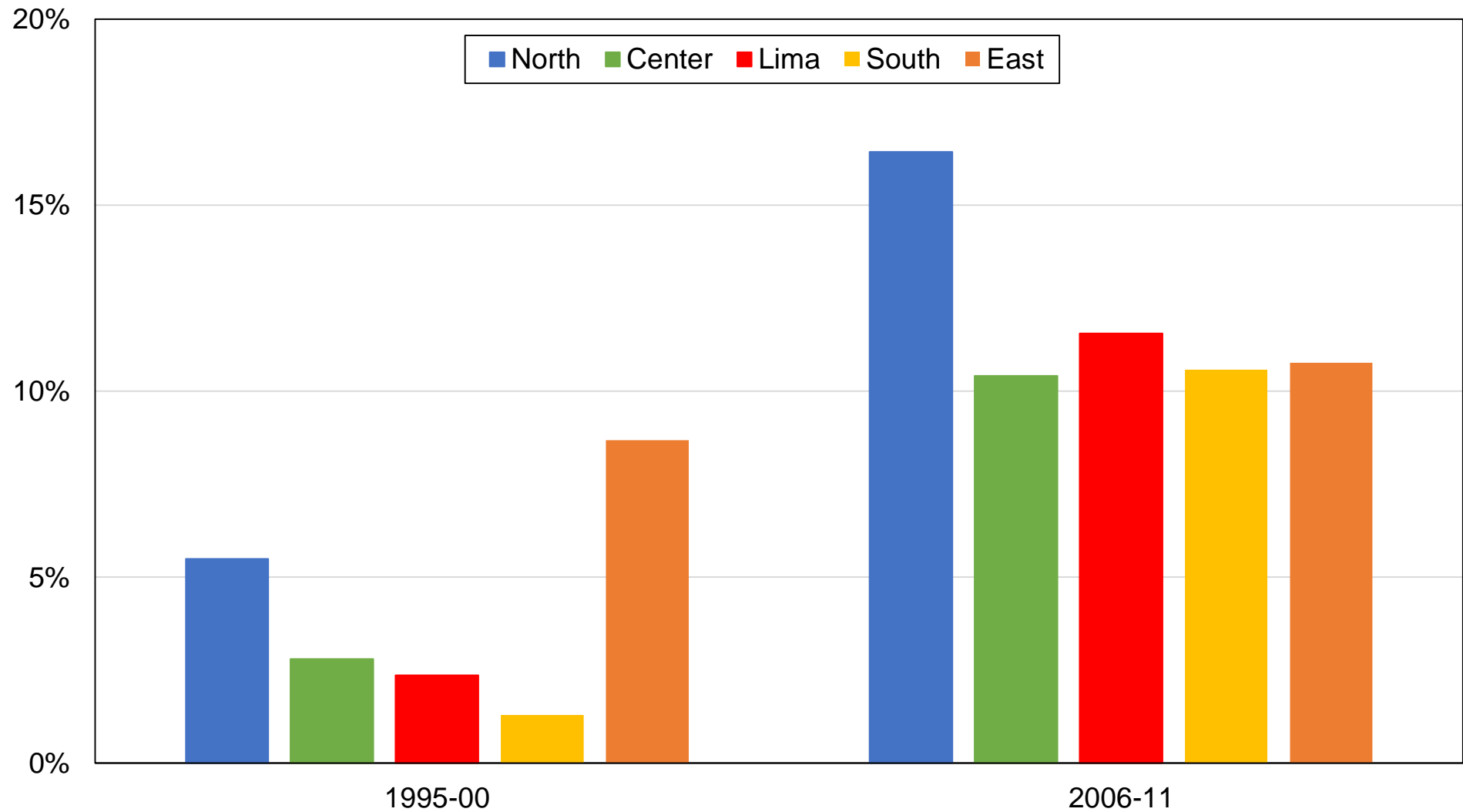
Figure FC5 - Vote for the Peruvian Aprista Party by age group



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.

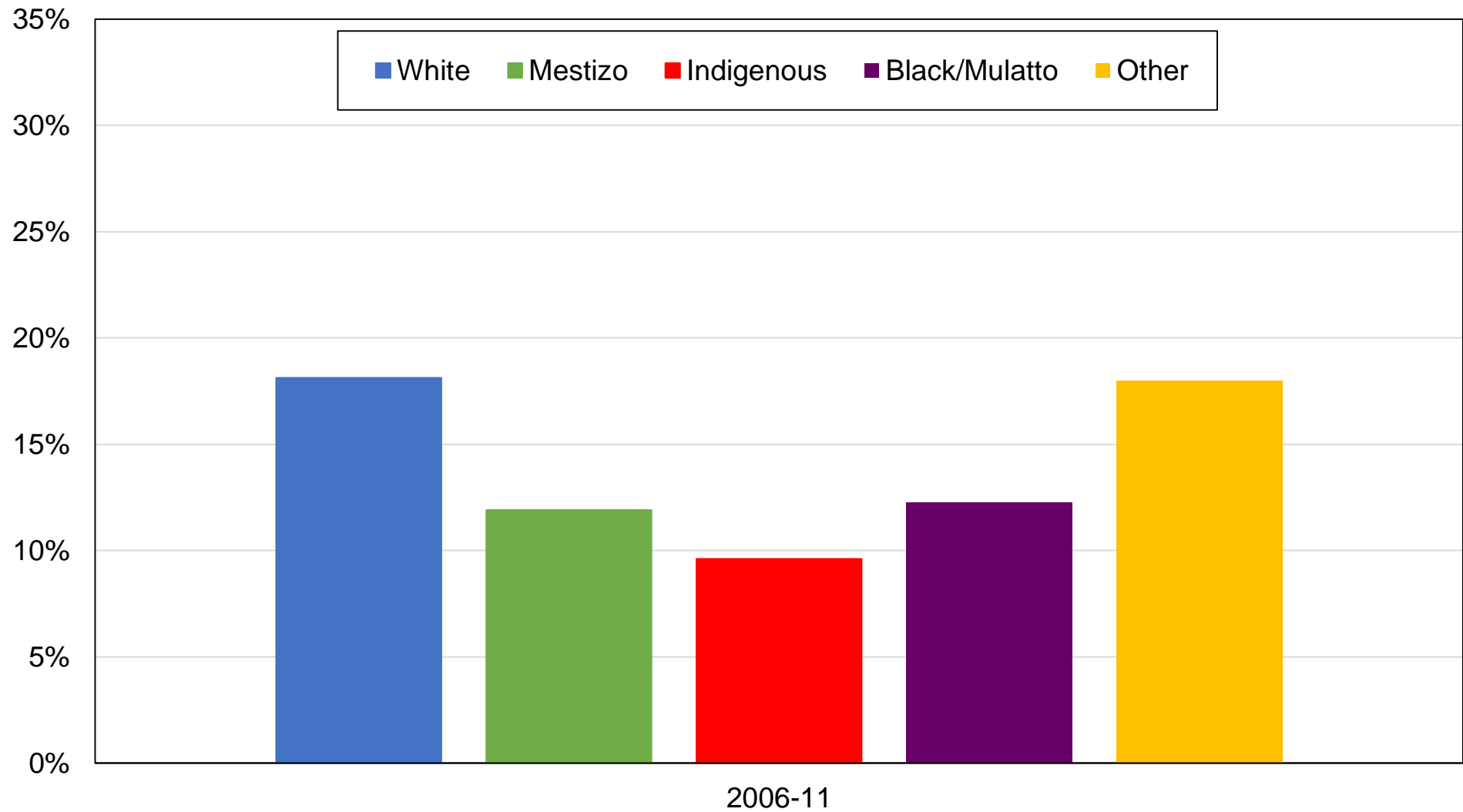
Figure FC6 - Vote for the Peruvian Aprista Party by region



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

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

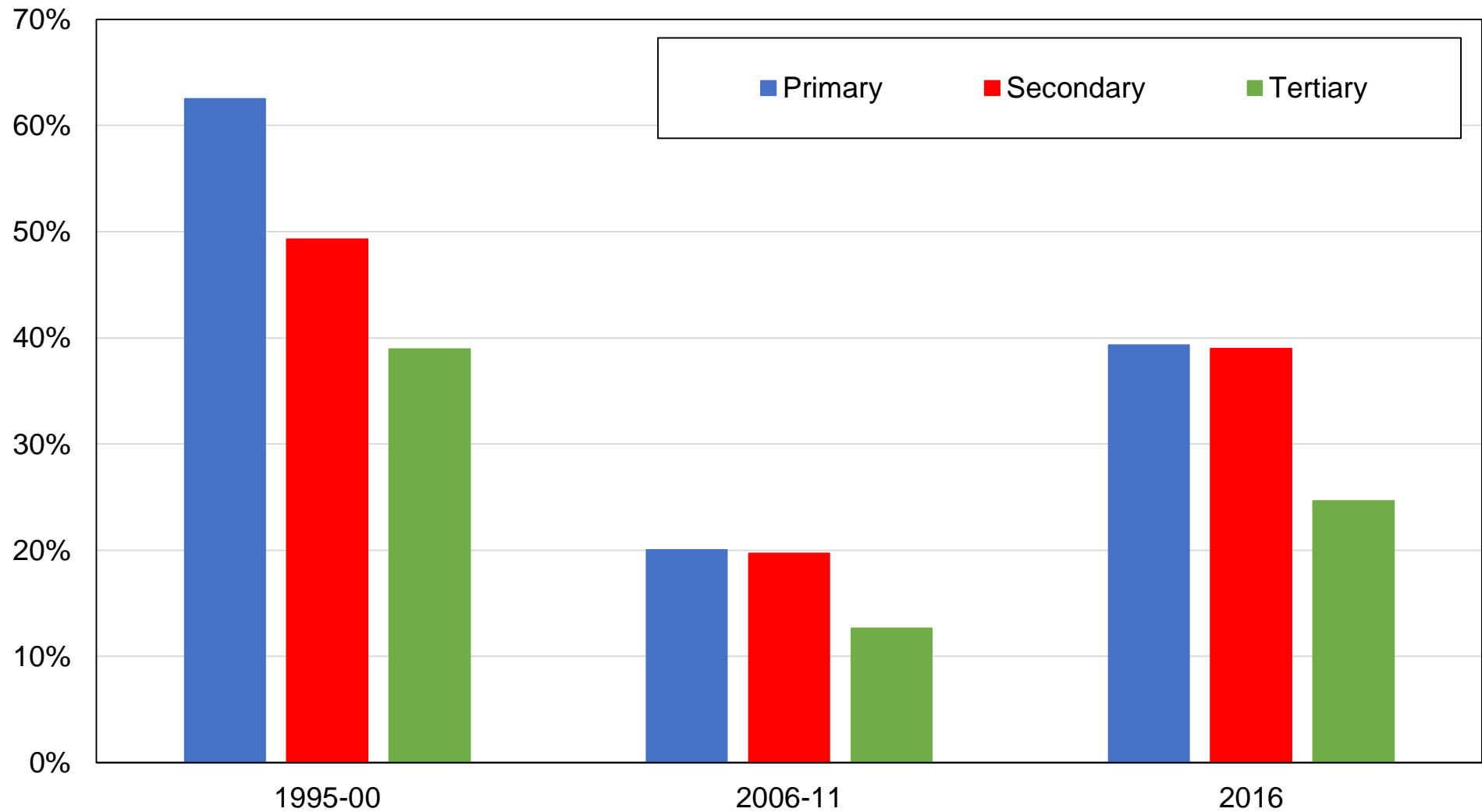
Figure FC7 - Vote for the Peruvian Aprista Party by ethnicity



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

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

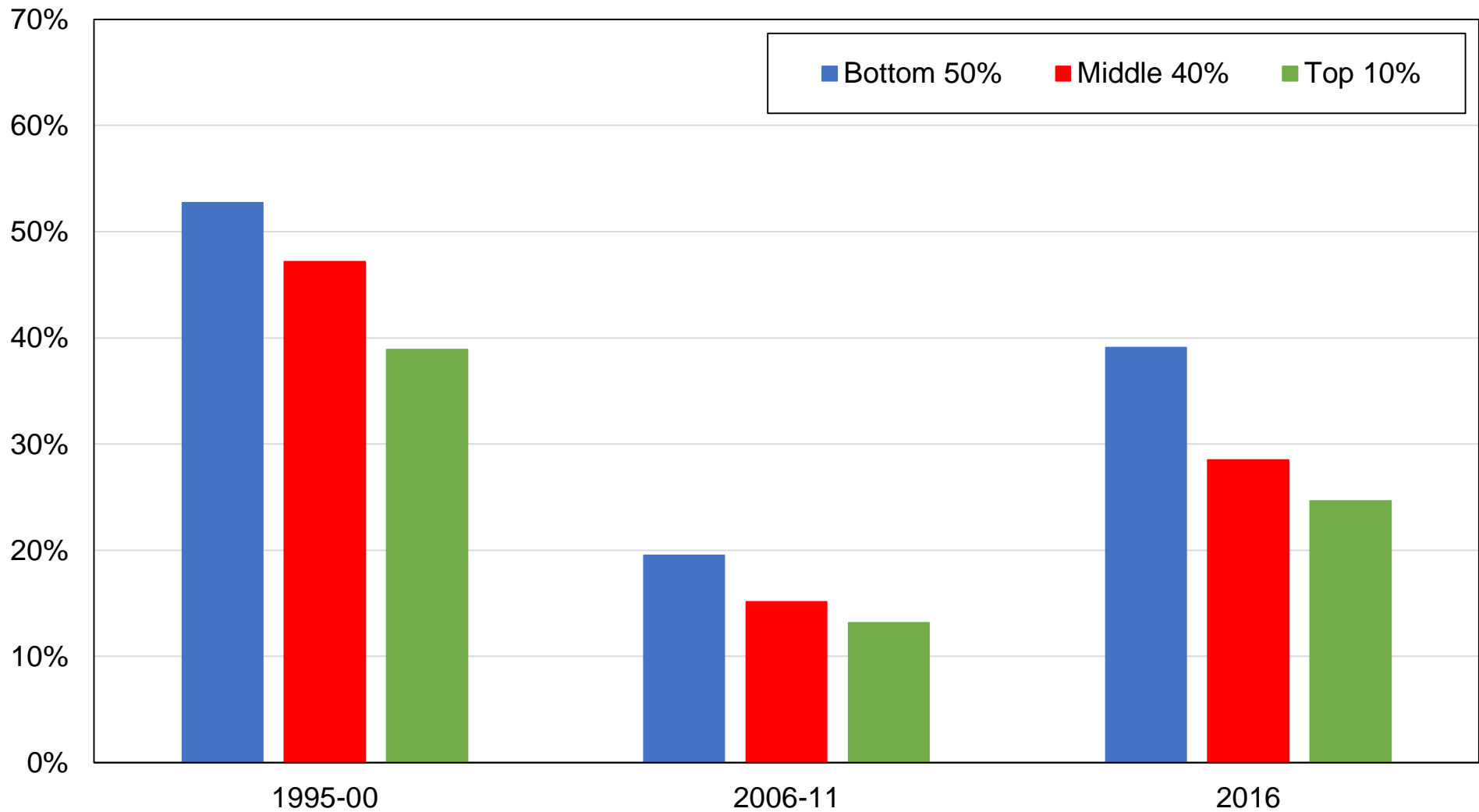
Figure FC8 - Vote for Fujimorists by education level



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

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

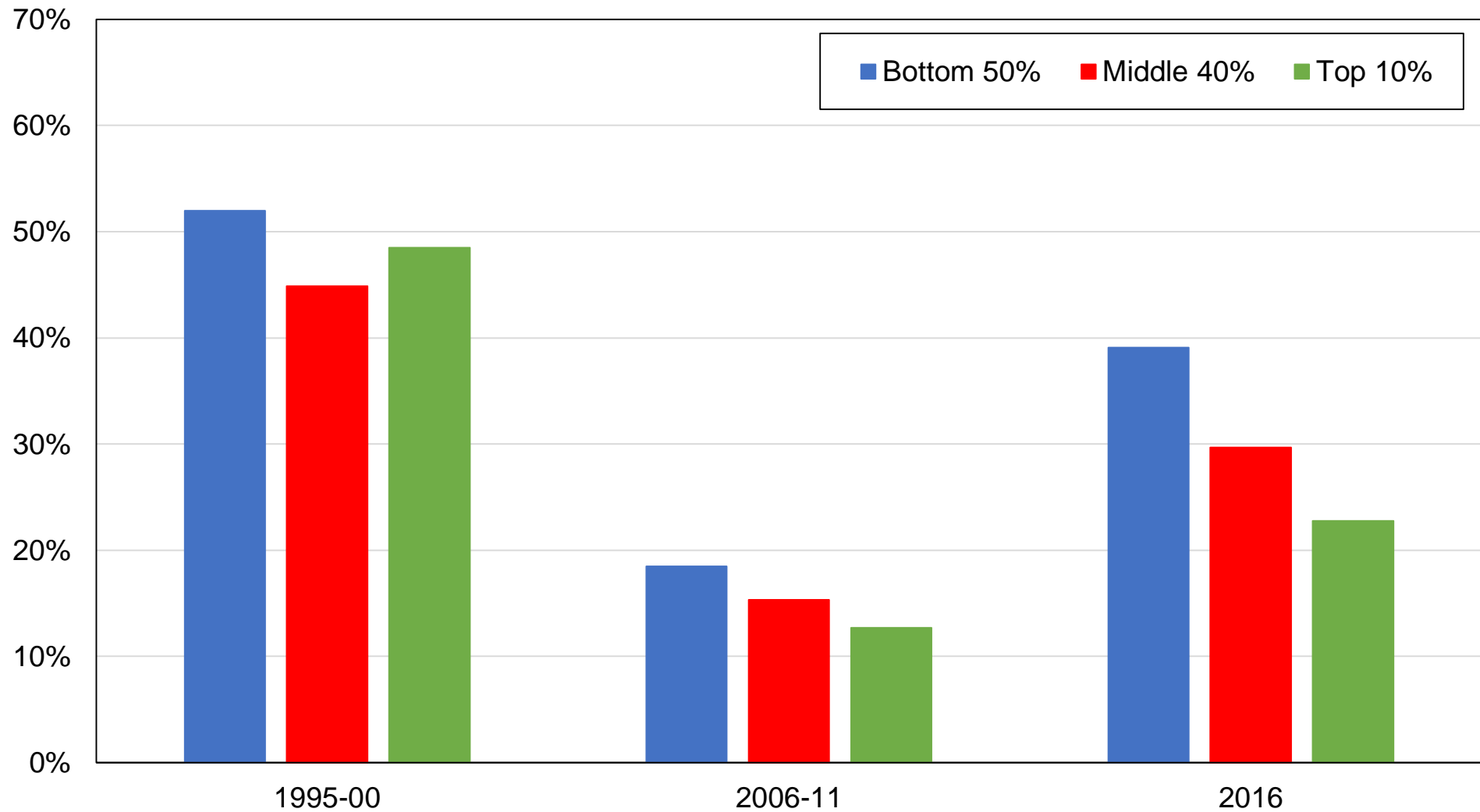
Figure FC9 - Vote for Fujimorists by education group



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

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

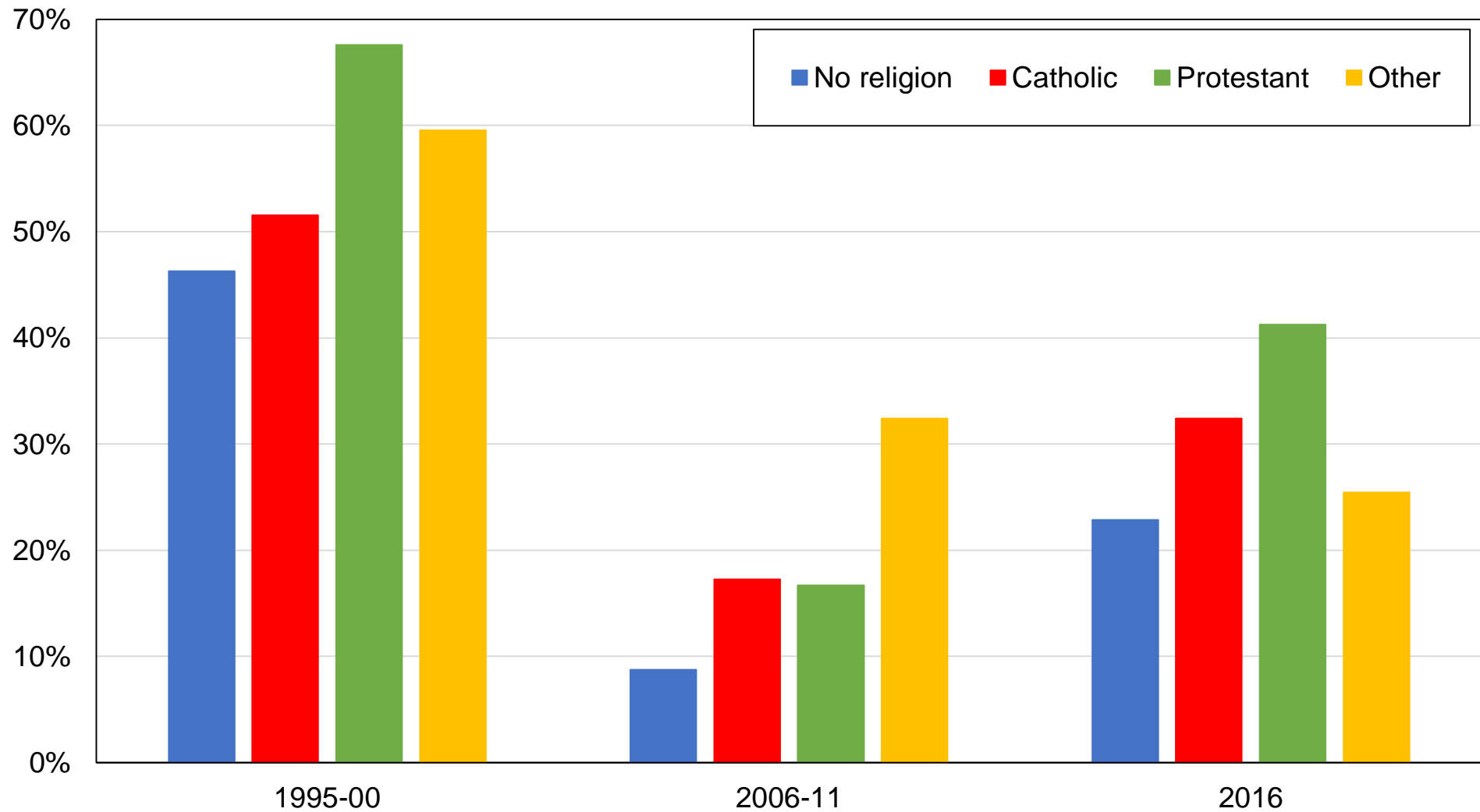
Figure FC10 - Vote for Fujimorists by income group



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

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

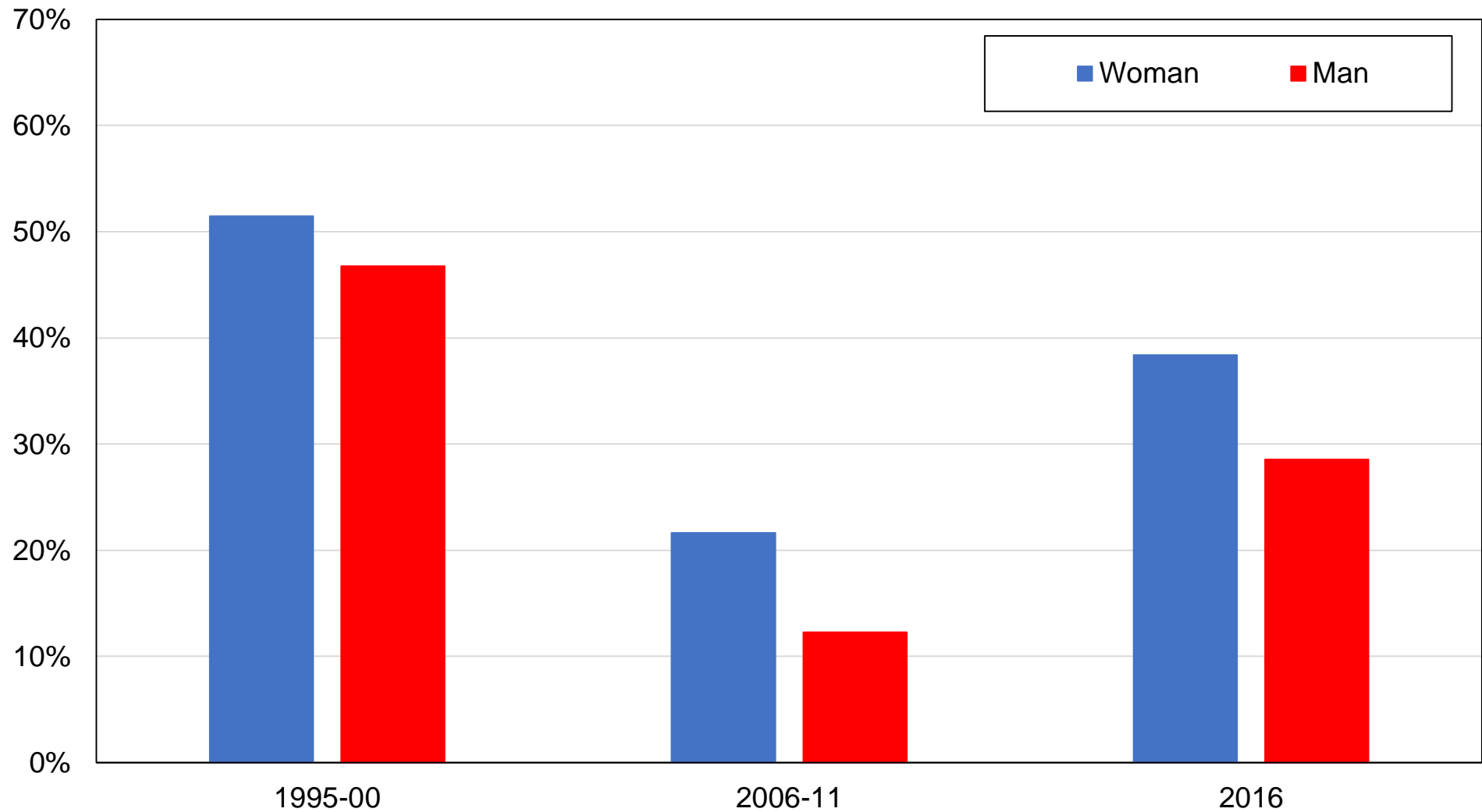
Figure FC11 - Vote for Fujimorists by religious affiliation



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

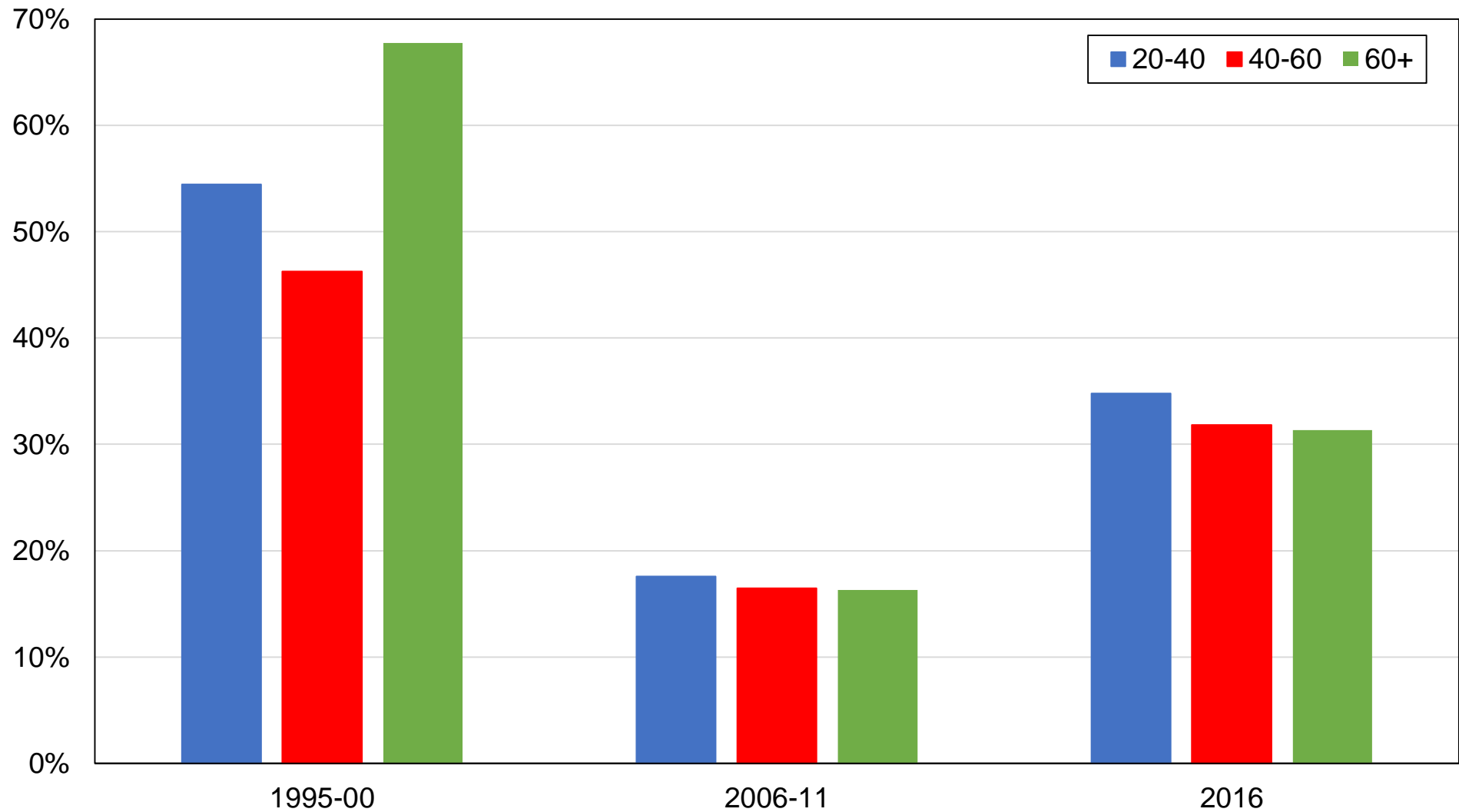
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Fujimorists by religious affiliation.

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.

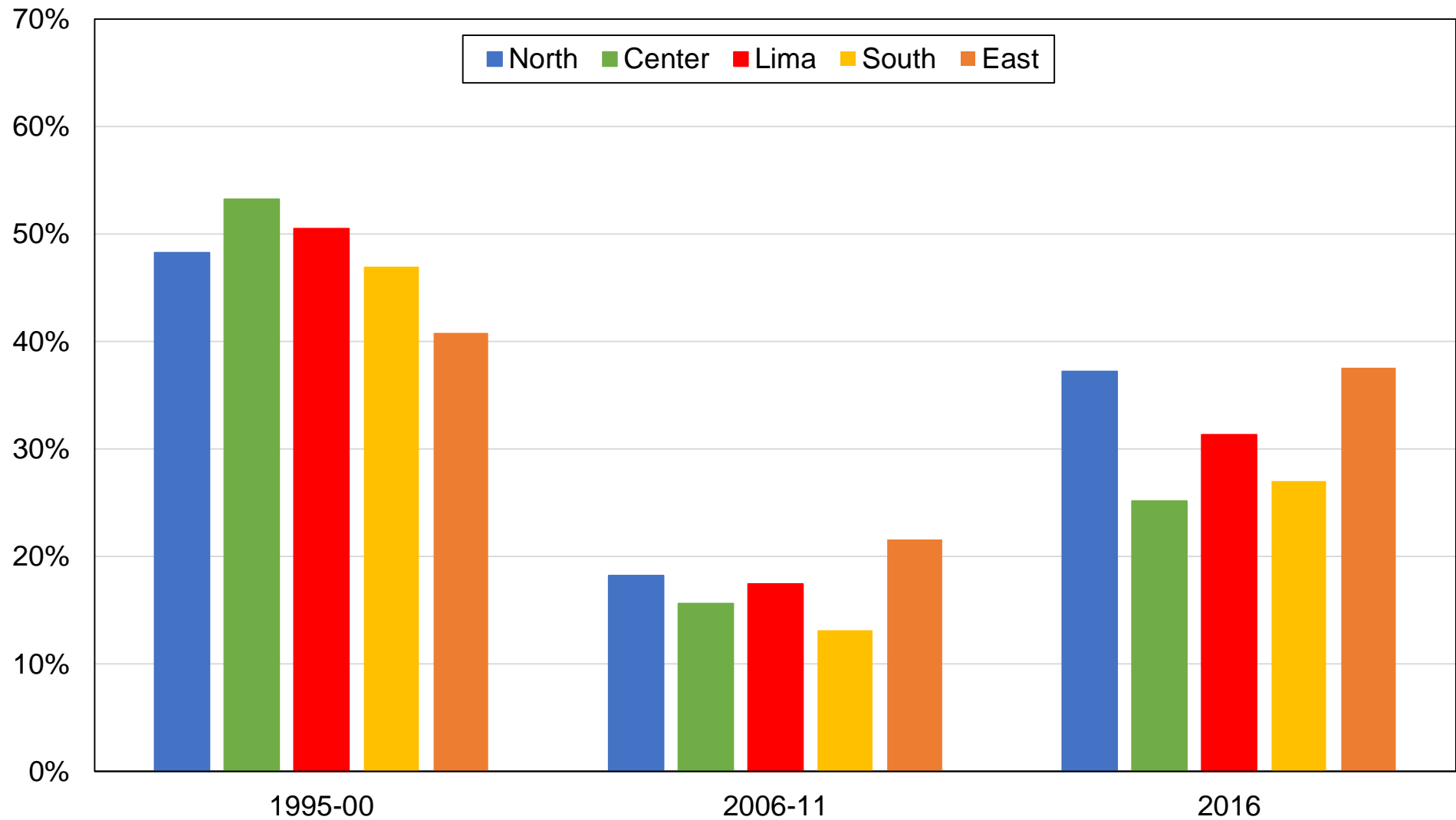
Figure FC13 - Vote for Fujimorists by age group



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

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

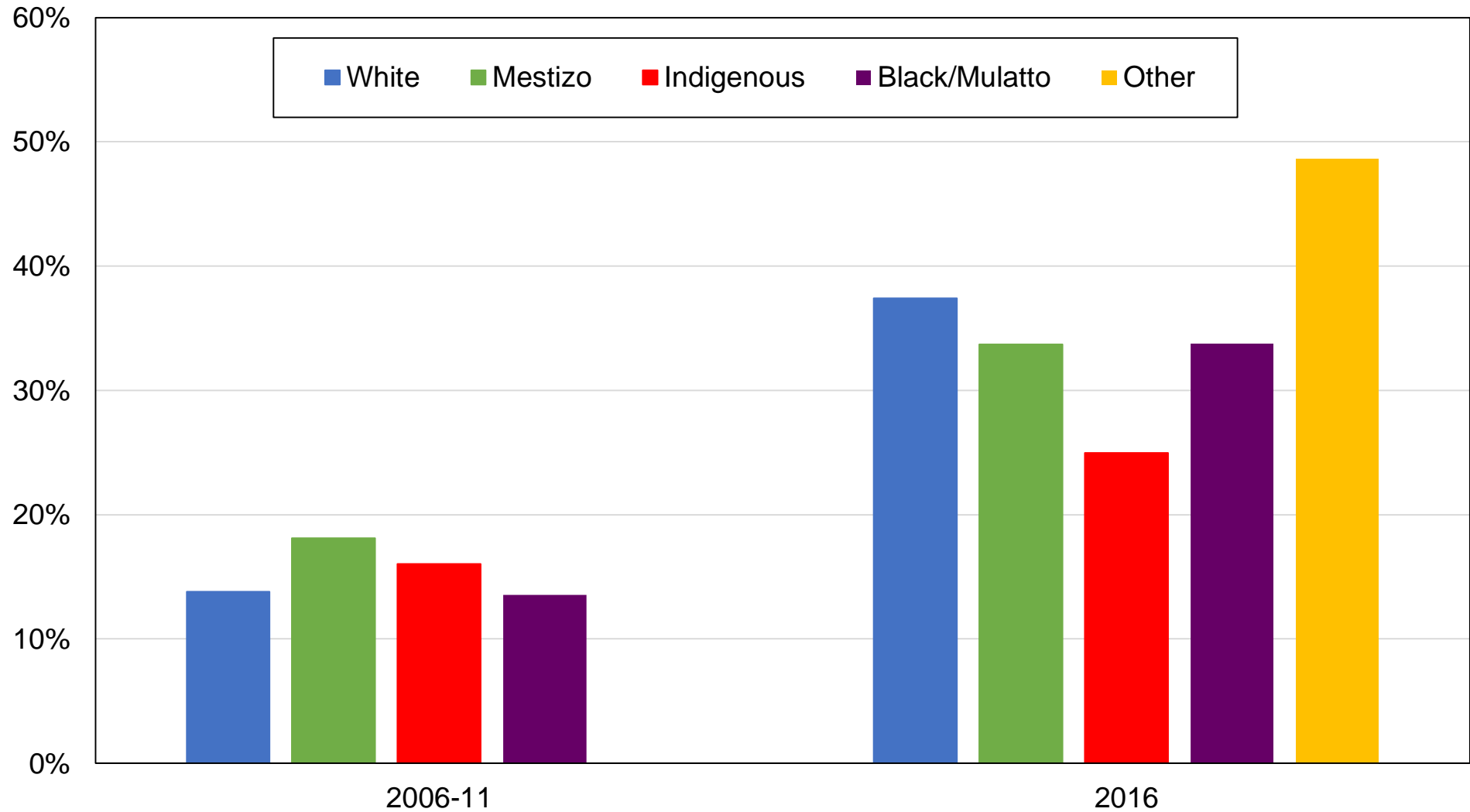
Figure FC14 - Vote for Fujimorists by region



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

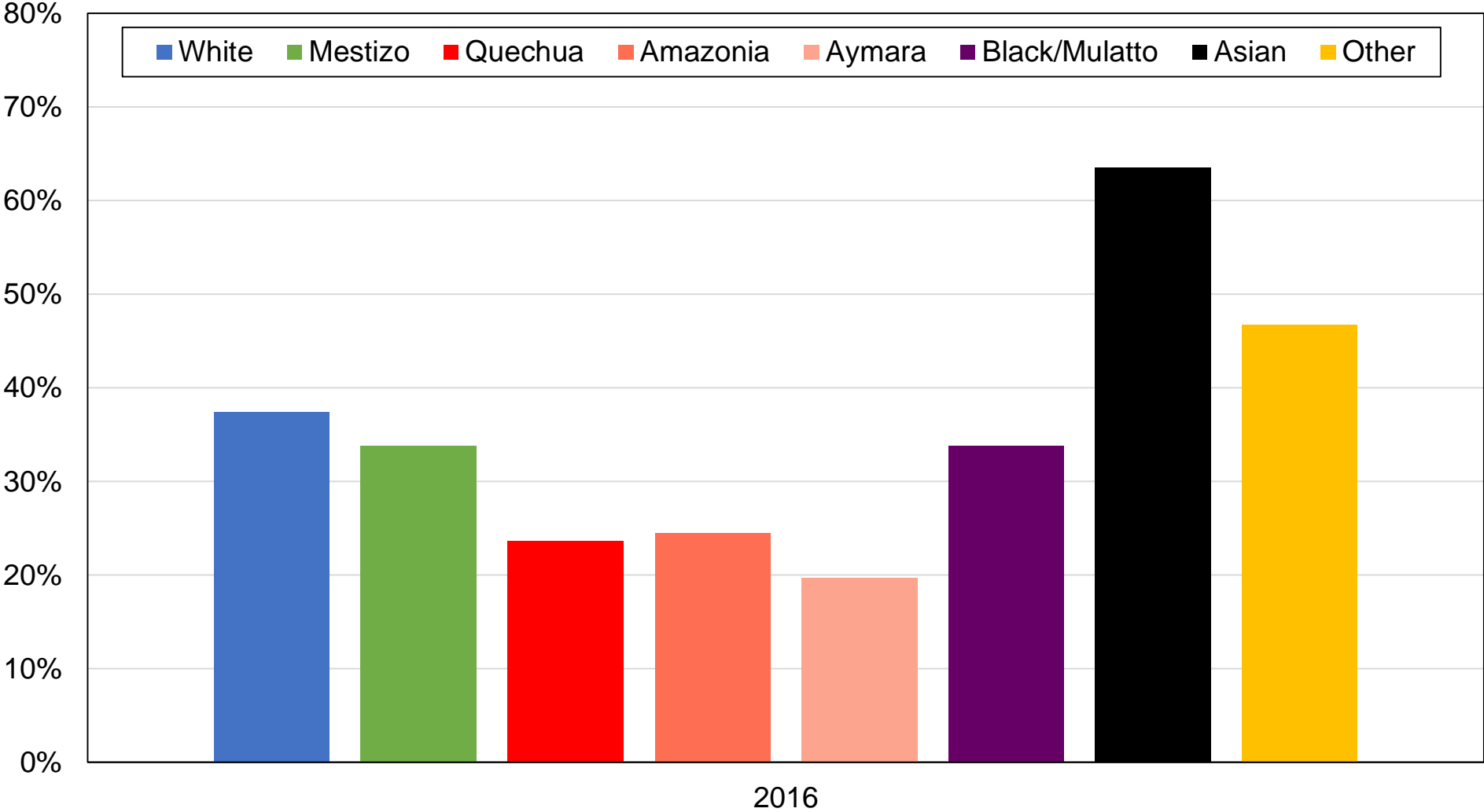
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Fujimorists by region.

Figure FC15 - Vote for Fujimorists by ethnicity



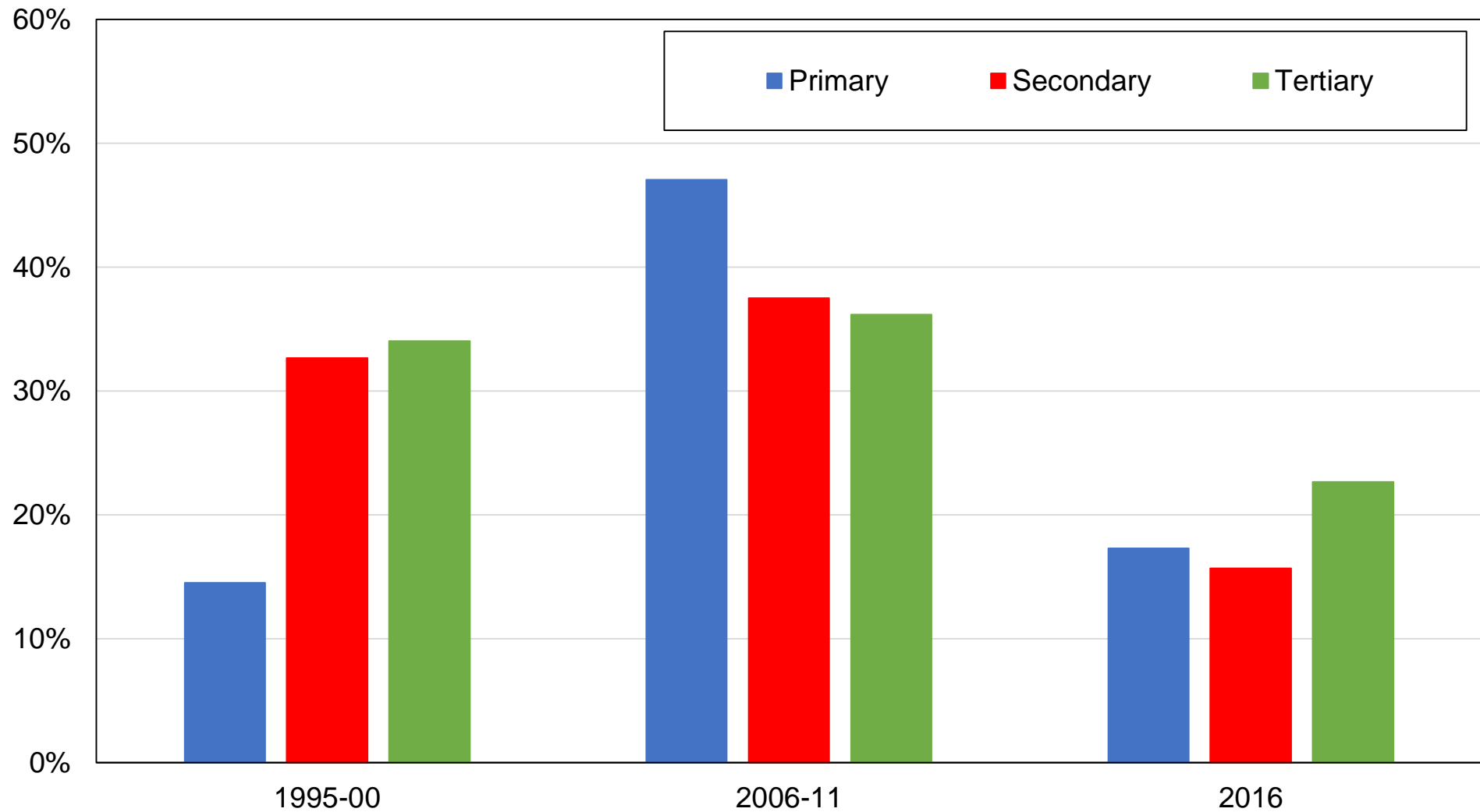
Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Fujimorists by ethnicity.

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.

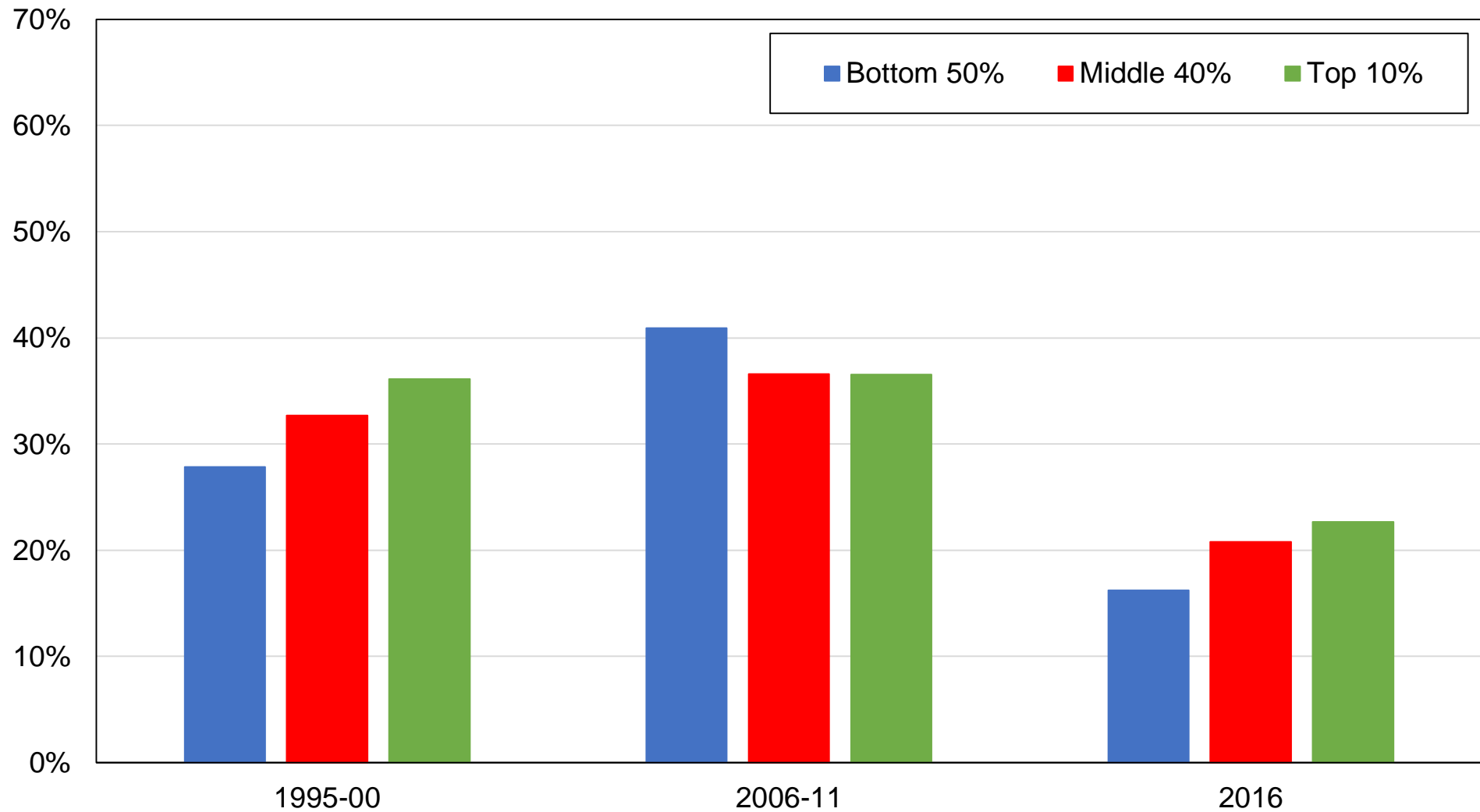
Figure FC17 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by education level



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.

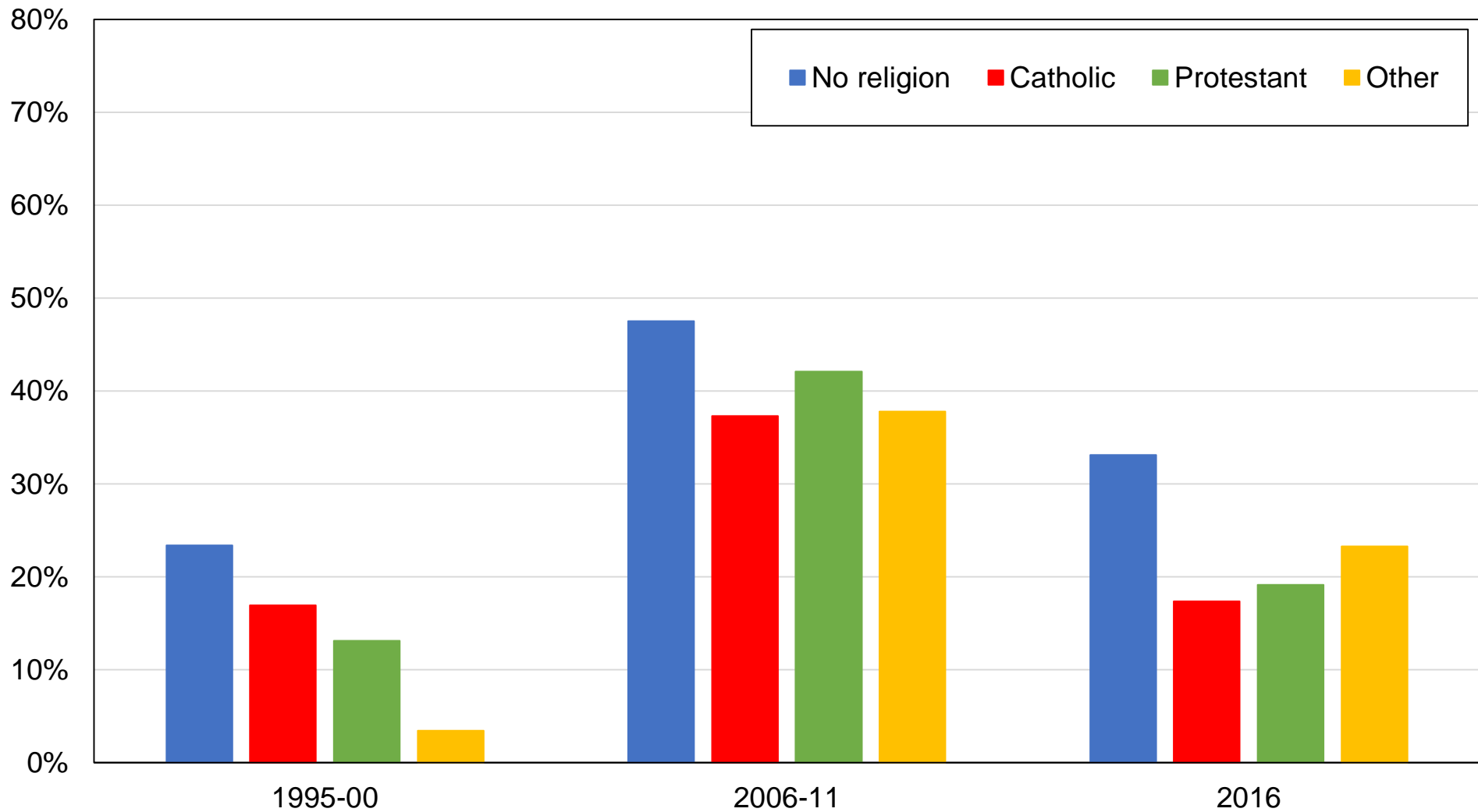
Figure FC19 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by income group



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.

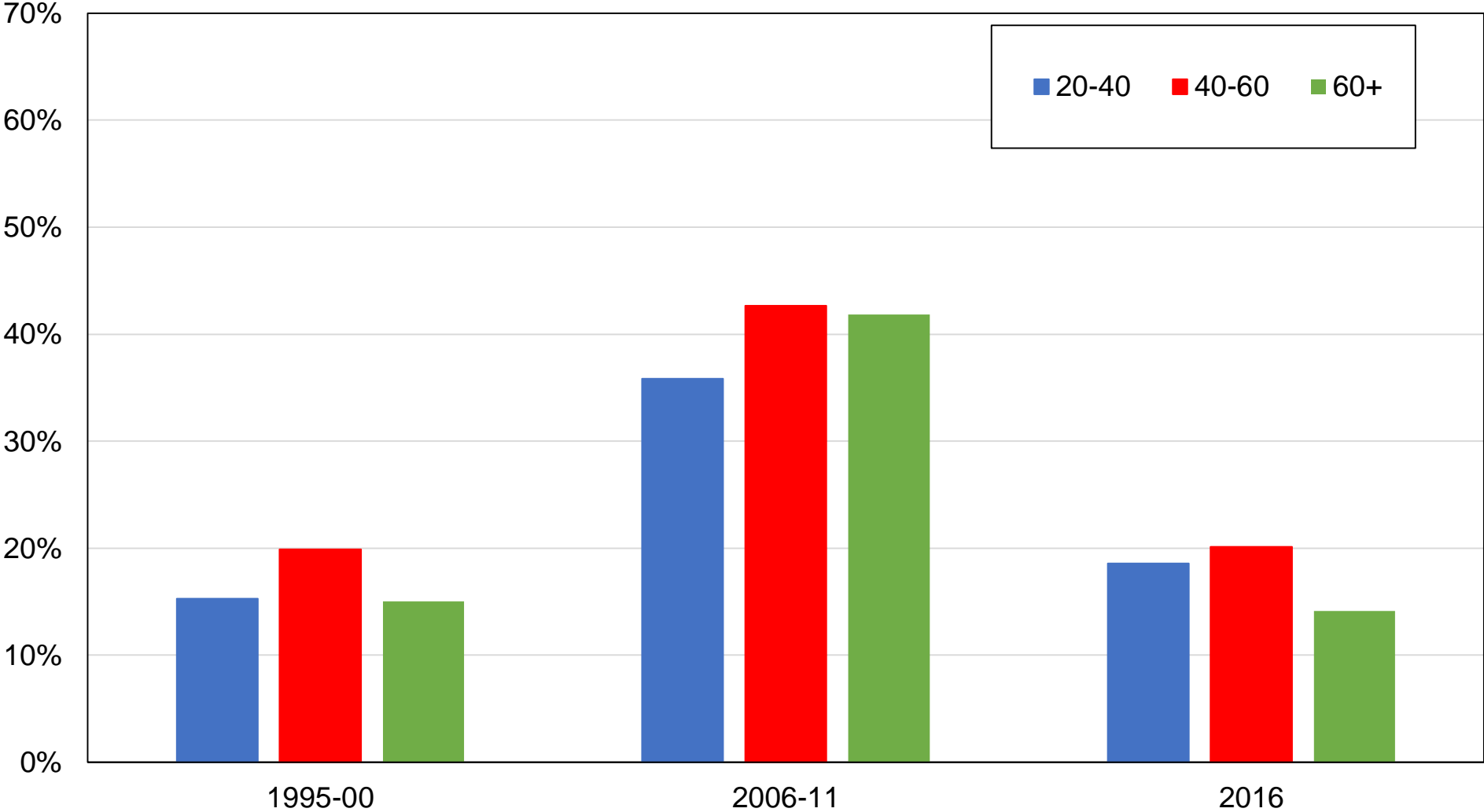
Figure FC21 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by gender



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

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

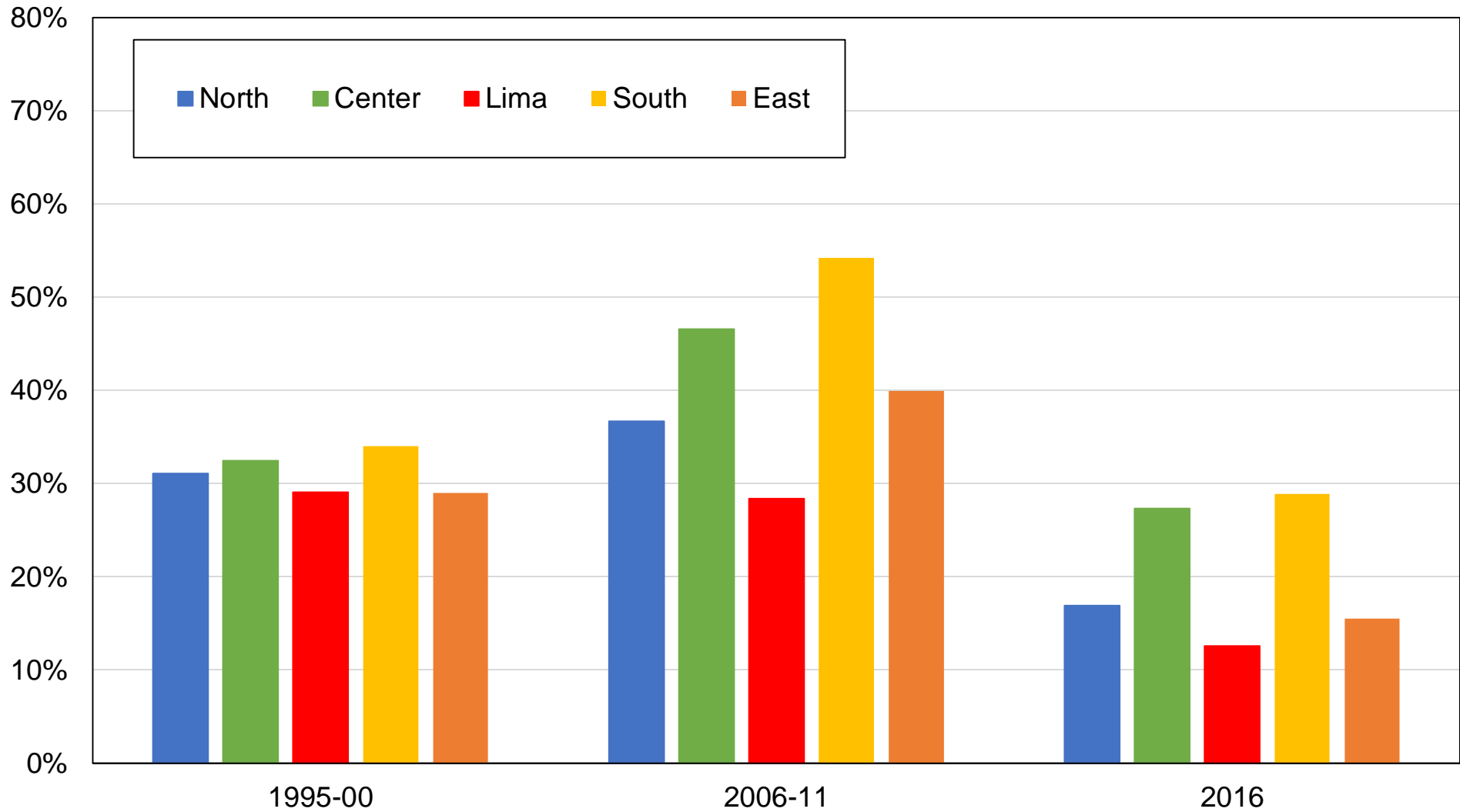
Figure FC22 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by age group



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

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

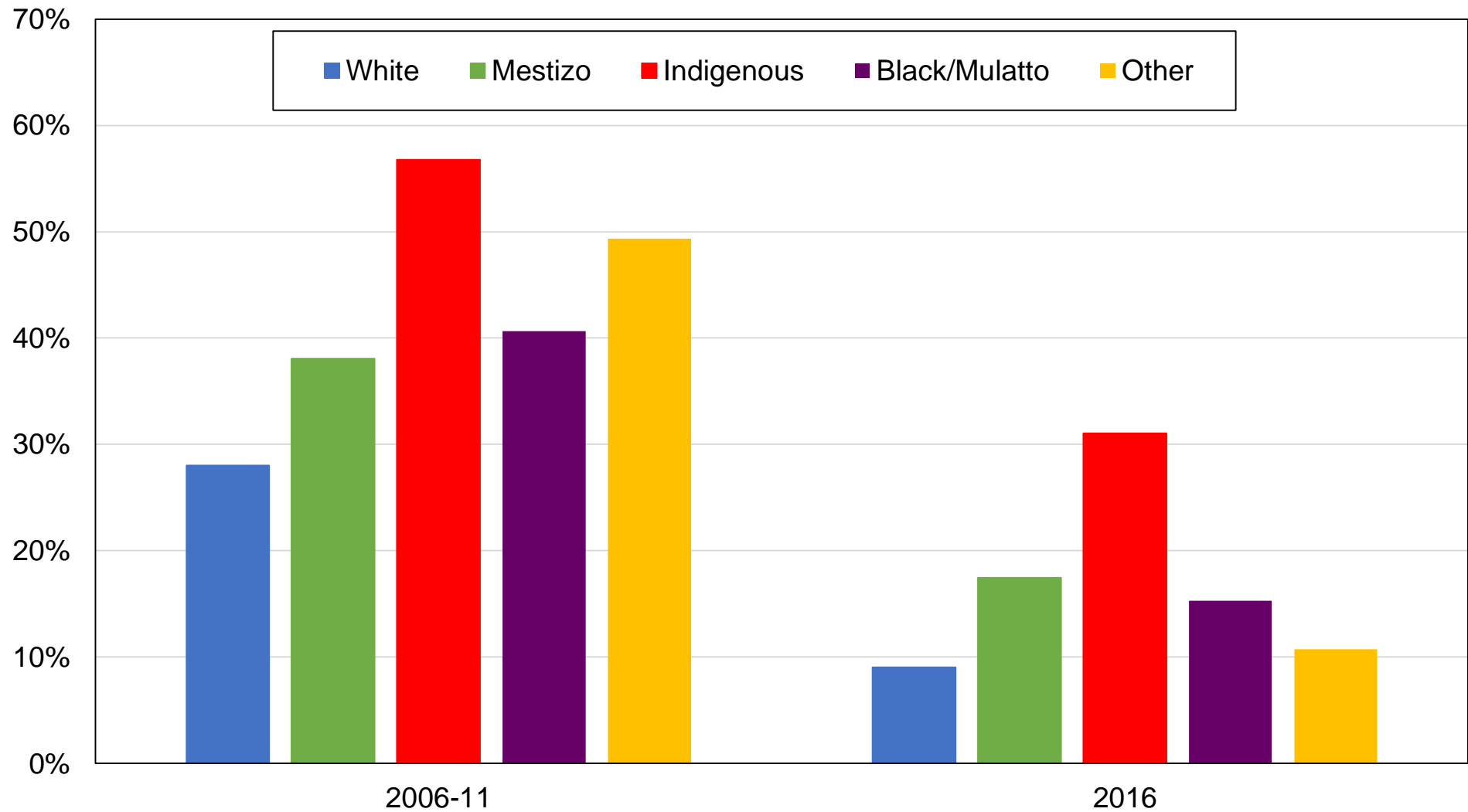
Figure FC23 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by region



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

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

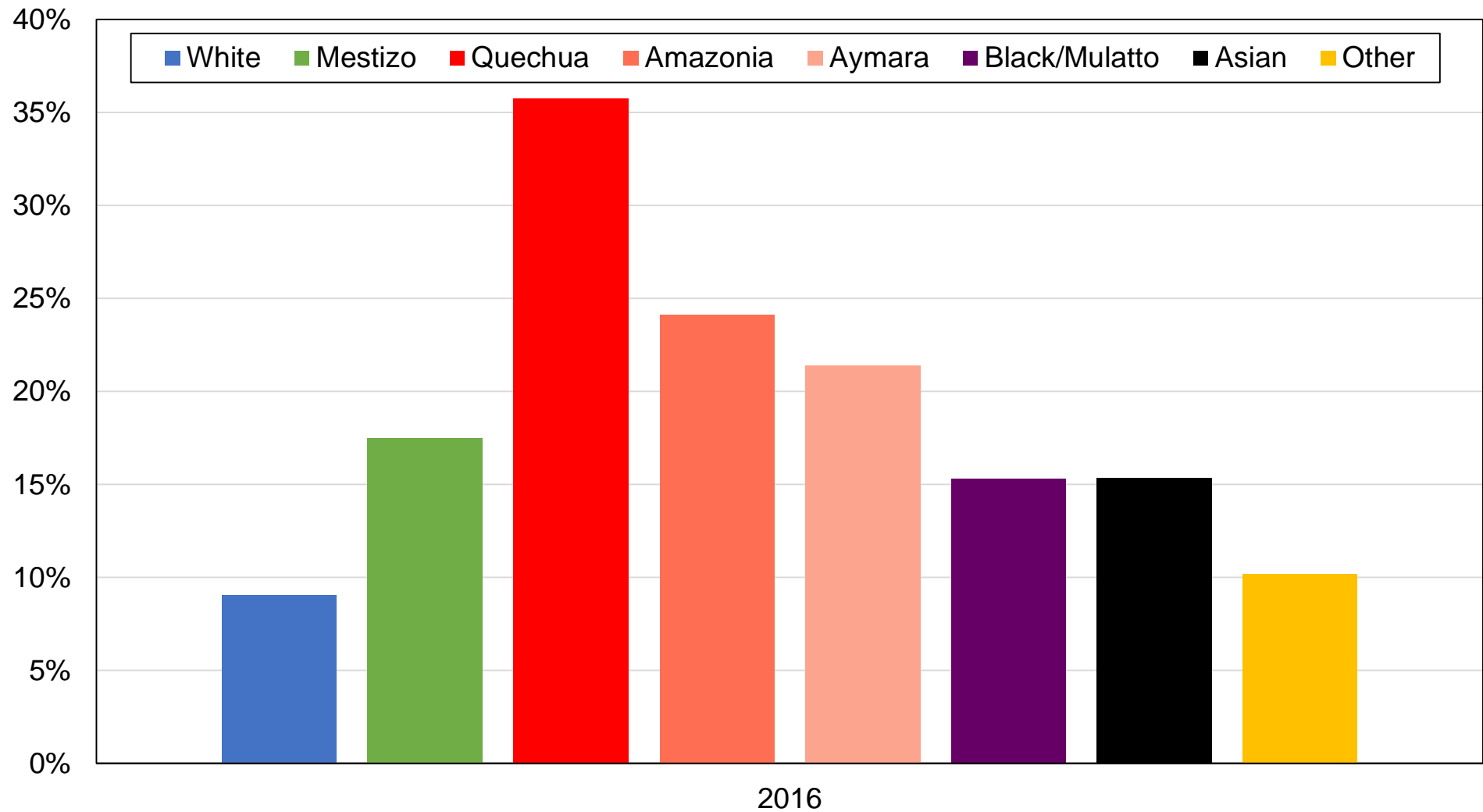
Figure FC24 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by ethnicity



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

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

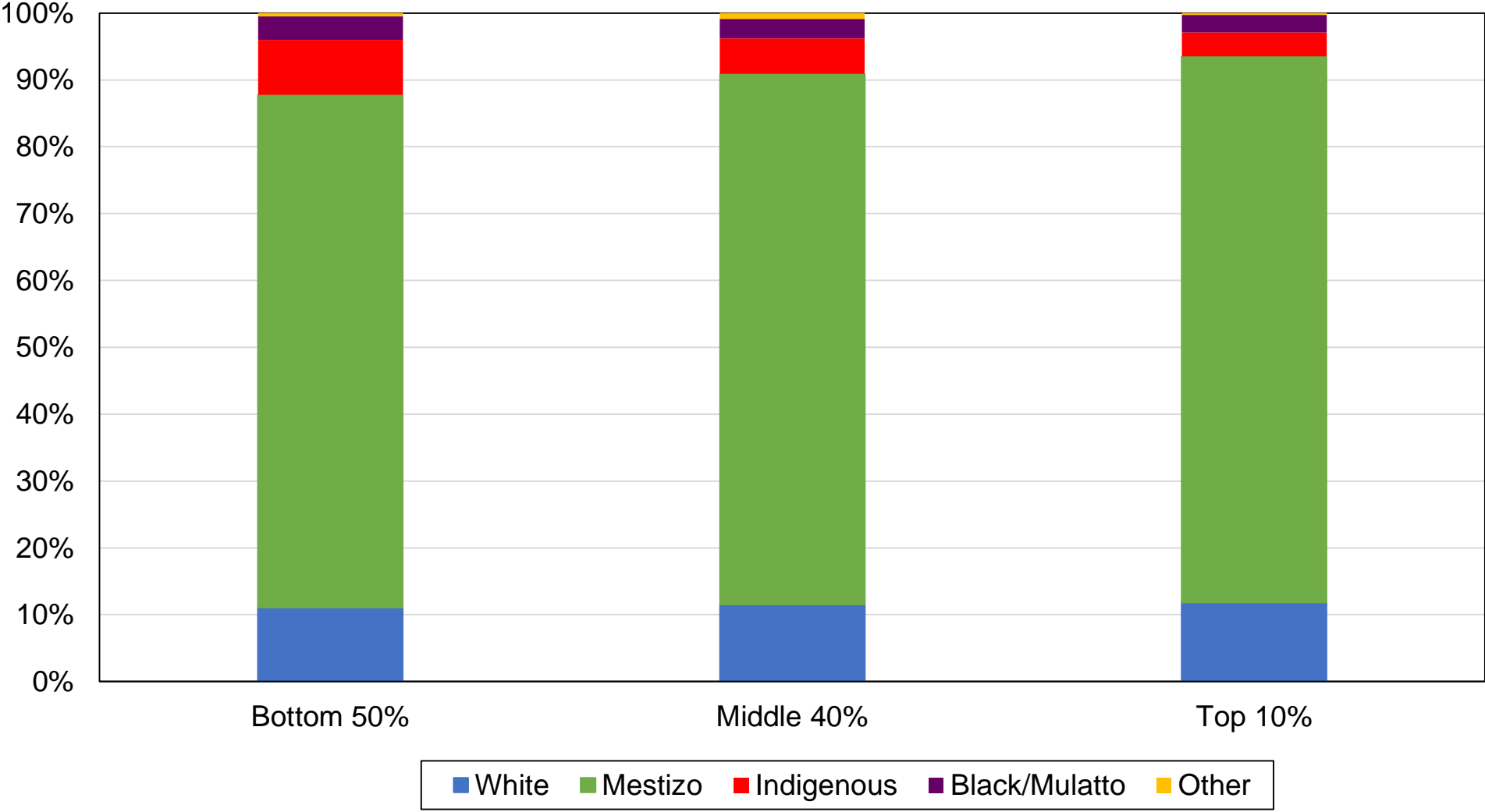
Figure FC25 - Vote for Socialists / Progressives by detailed ethnicity



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

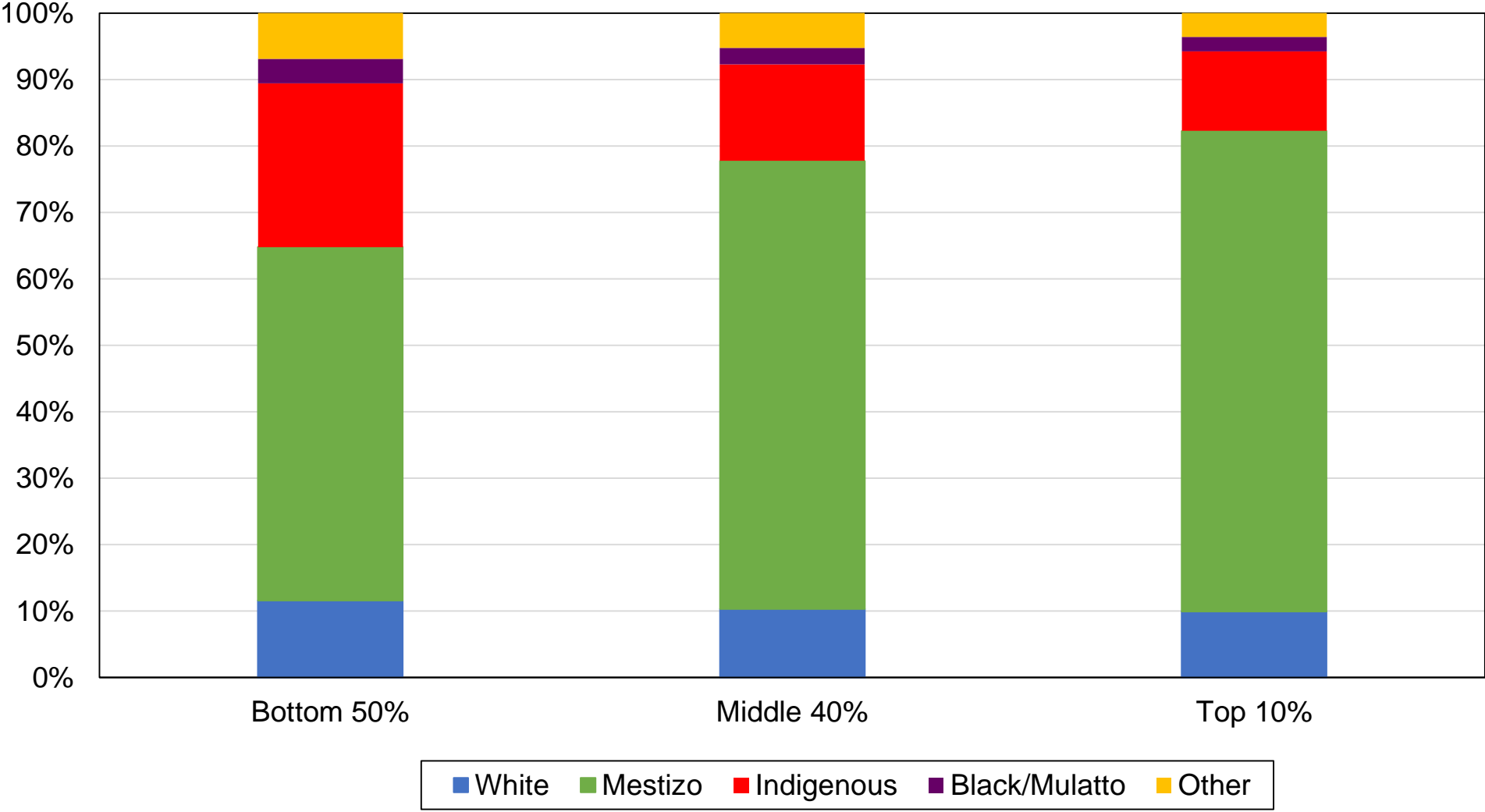
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Socialists/Progressives by detailed ethnicity.

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



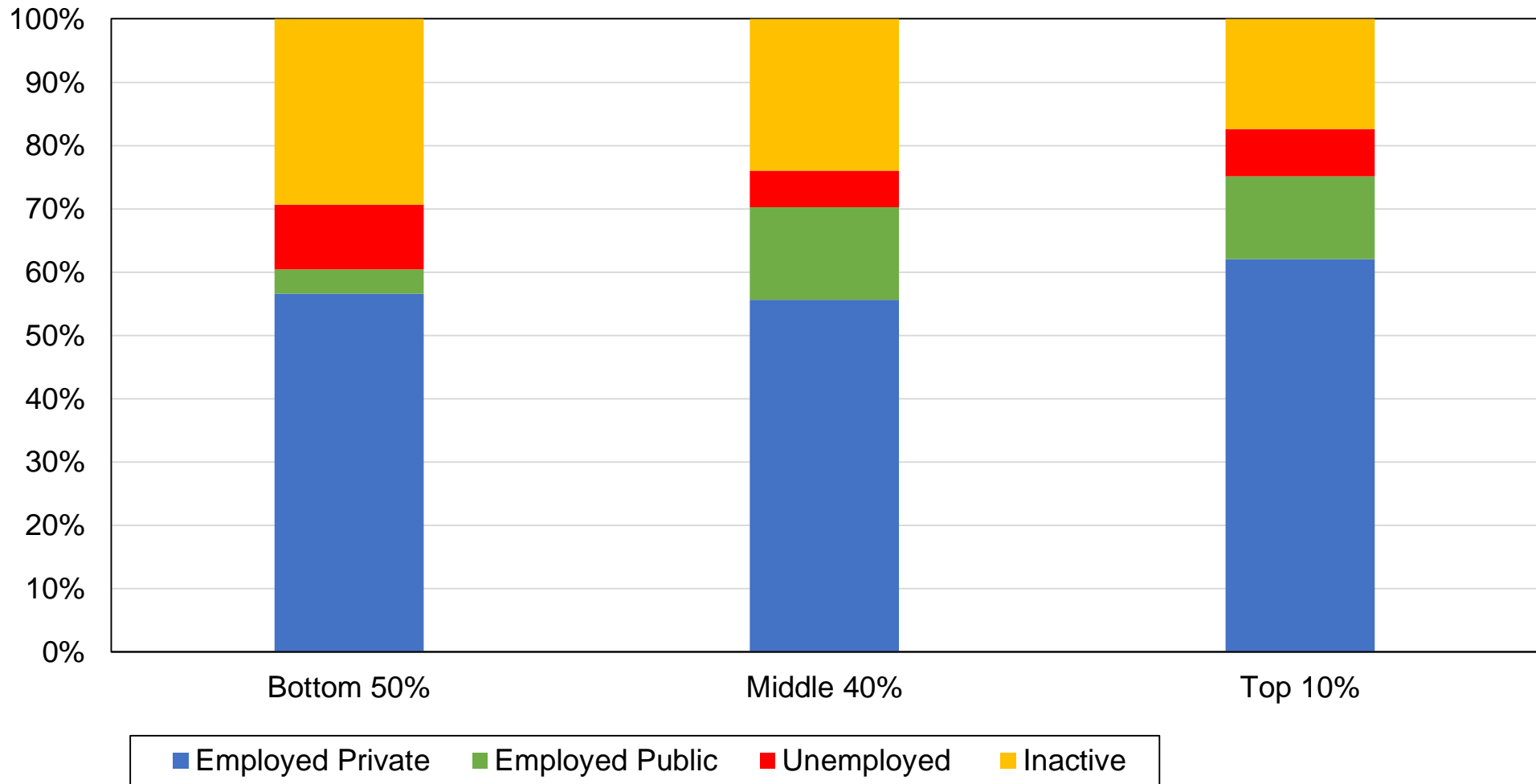
Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the composition of income groups by ethnicity in the 2000s.

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.

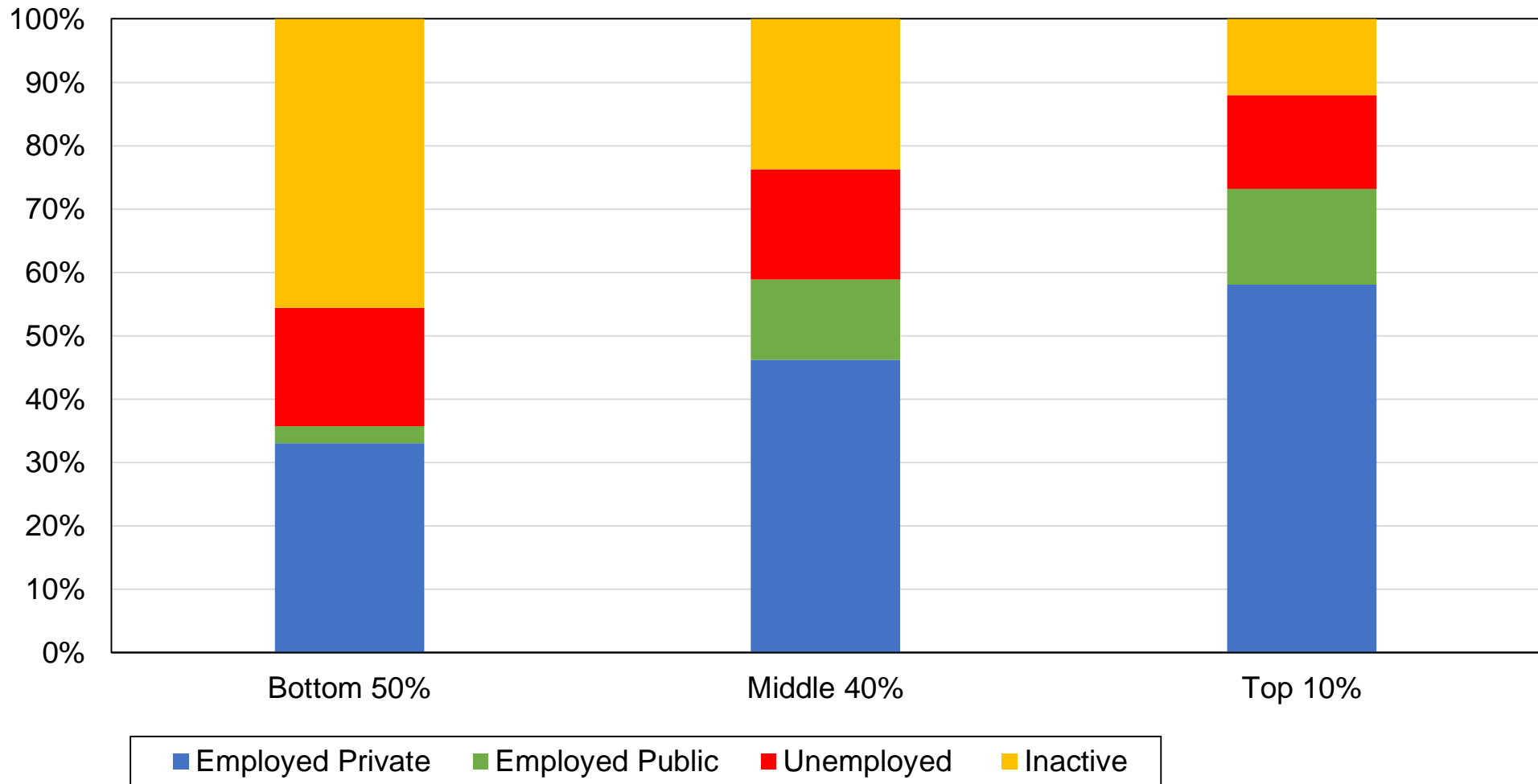
Figure FD3 - Composition of income groups by employment status, 2000s



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

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

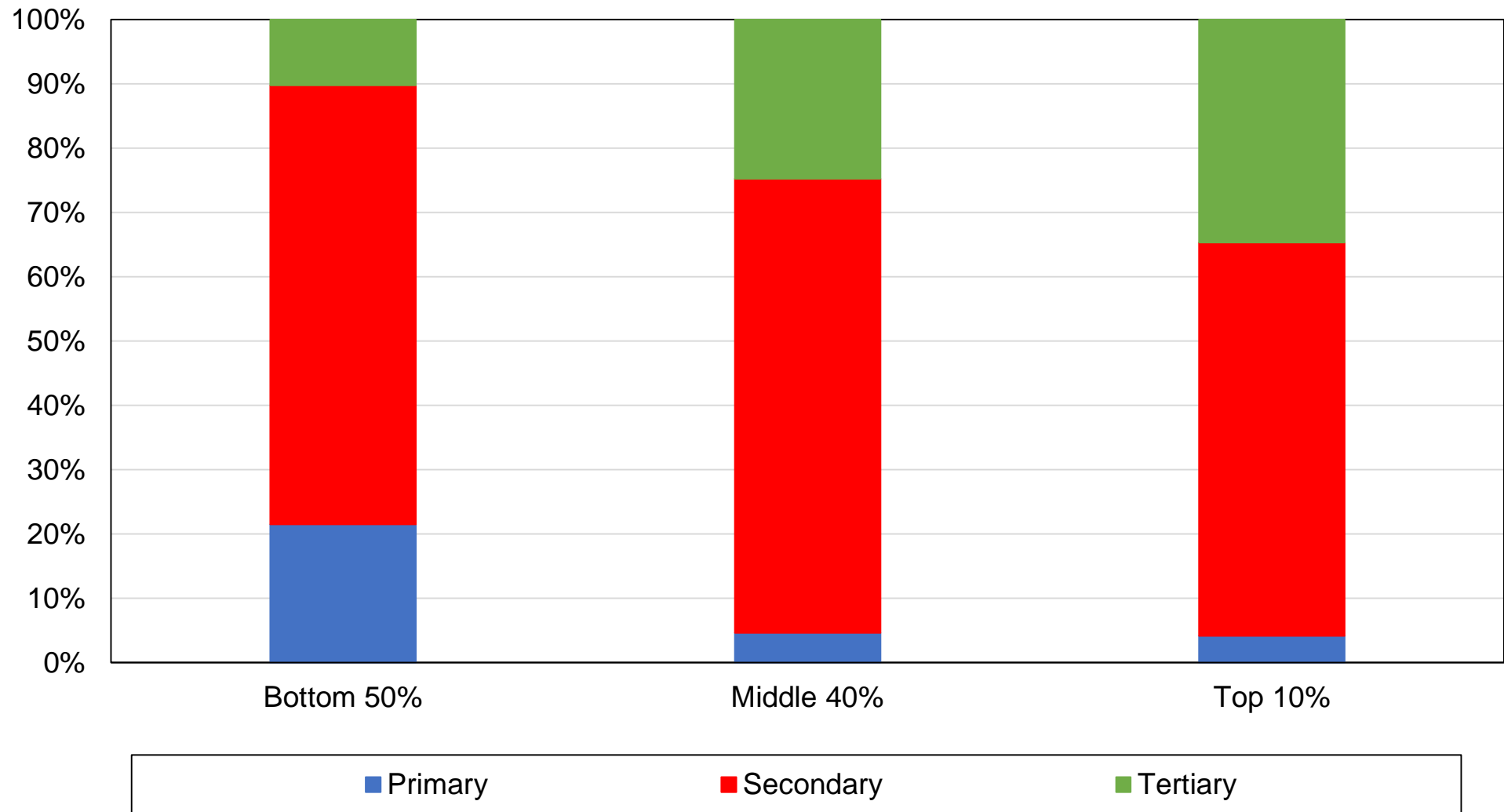
Figure FD4 - Composition of income groups by employment status, 2010s



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

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

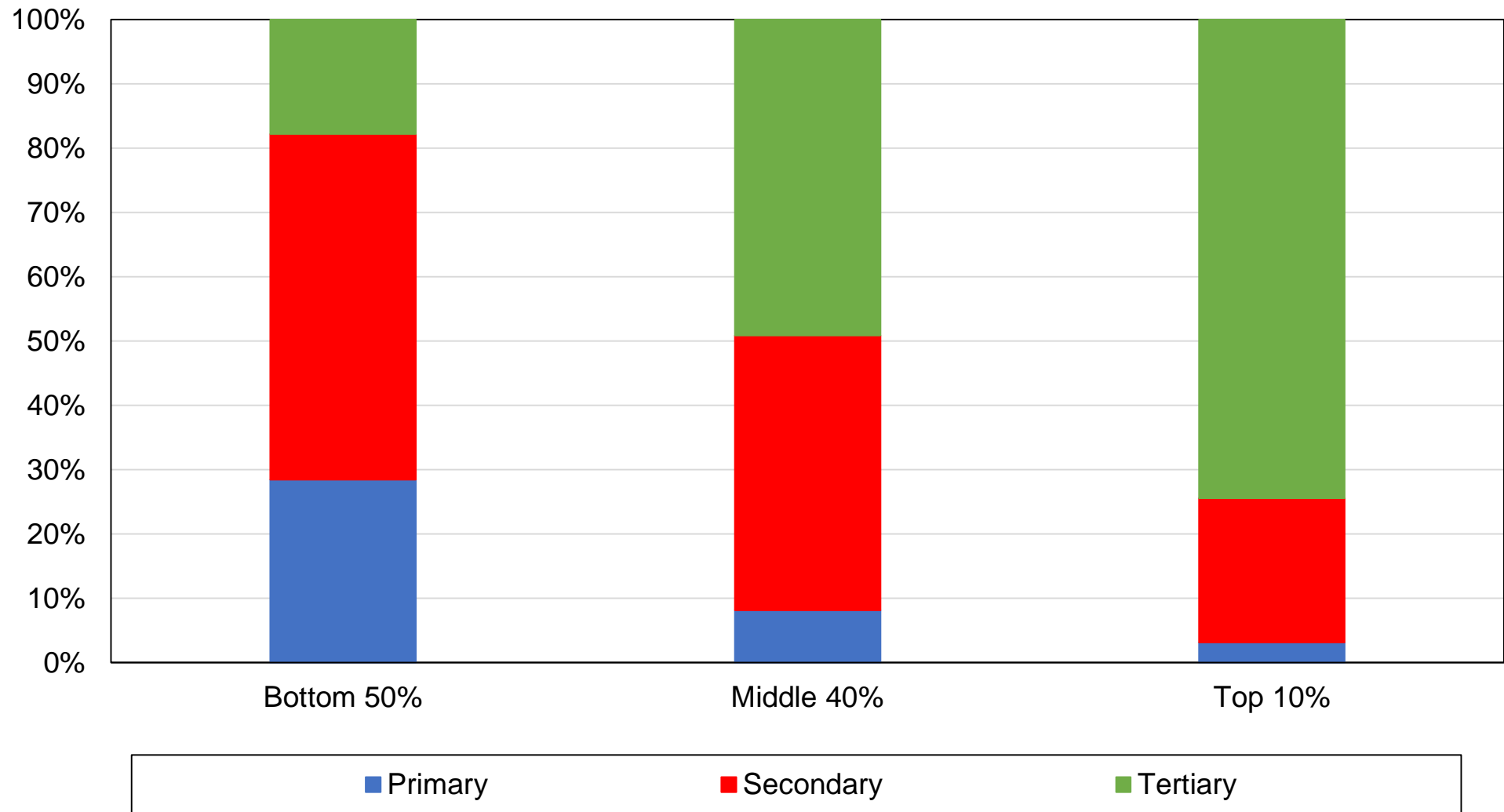
Figure FD5 - Composition of income groups by education level, 1990s



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

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

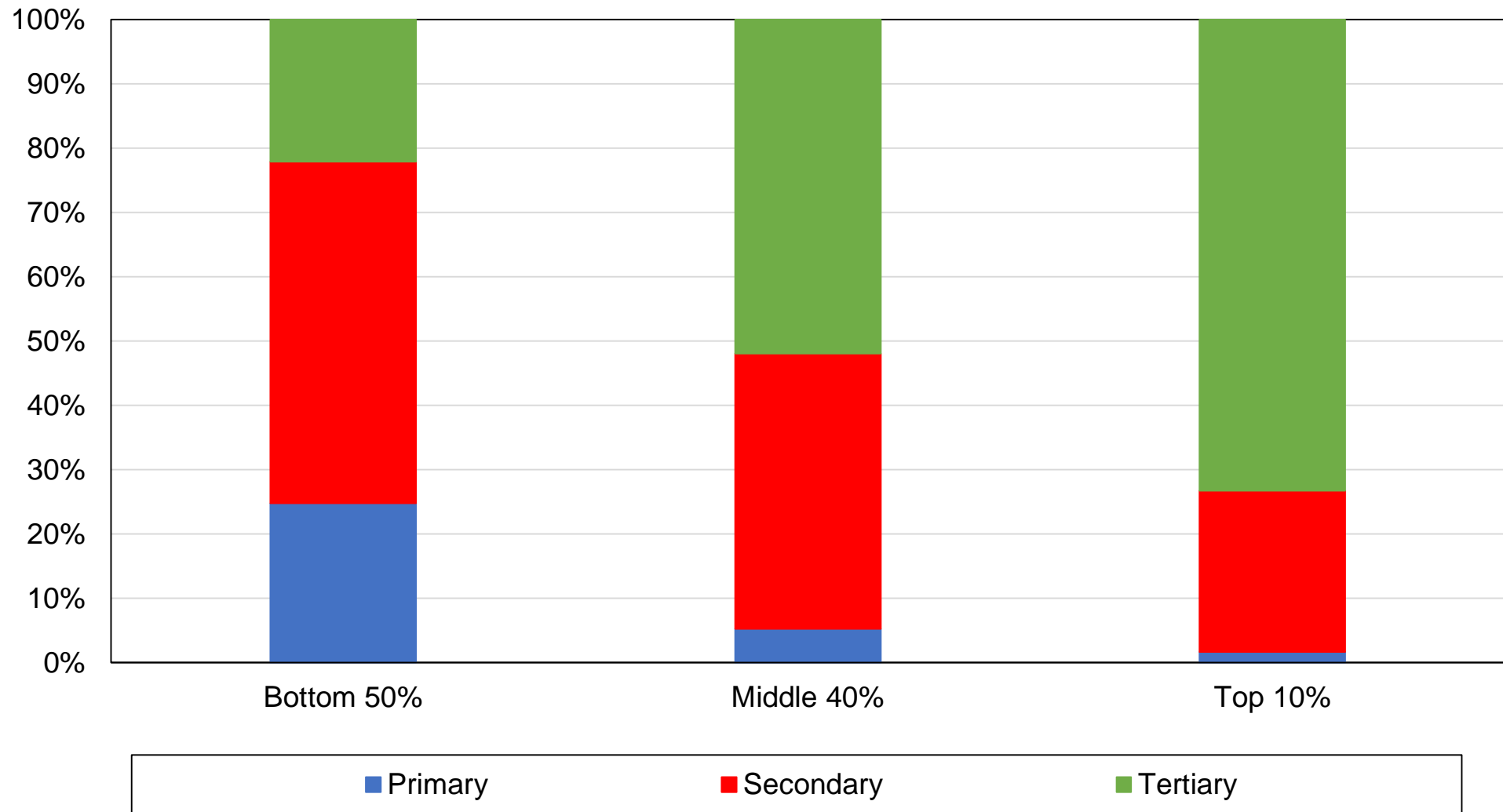
Figure FD6 - Composition of income groups by education level, 2000s



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

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

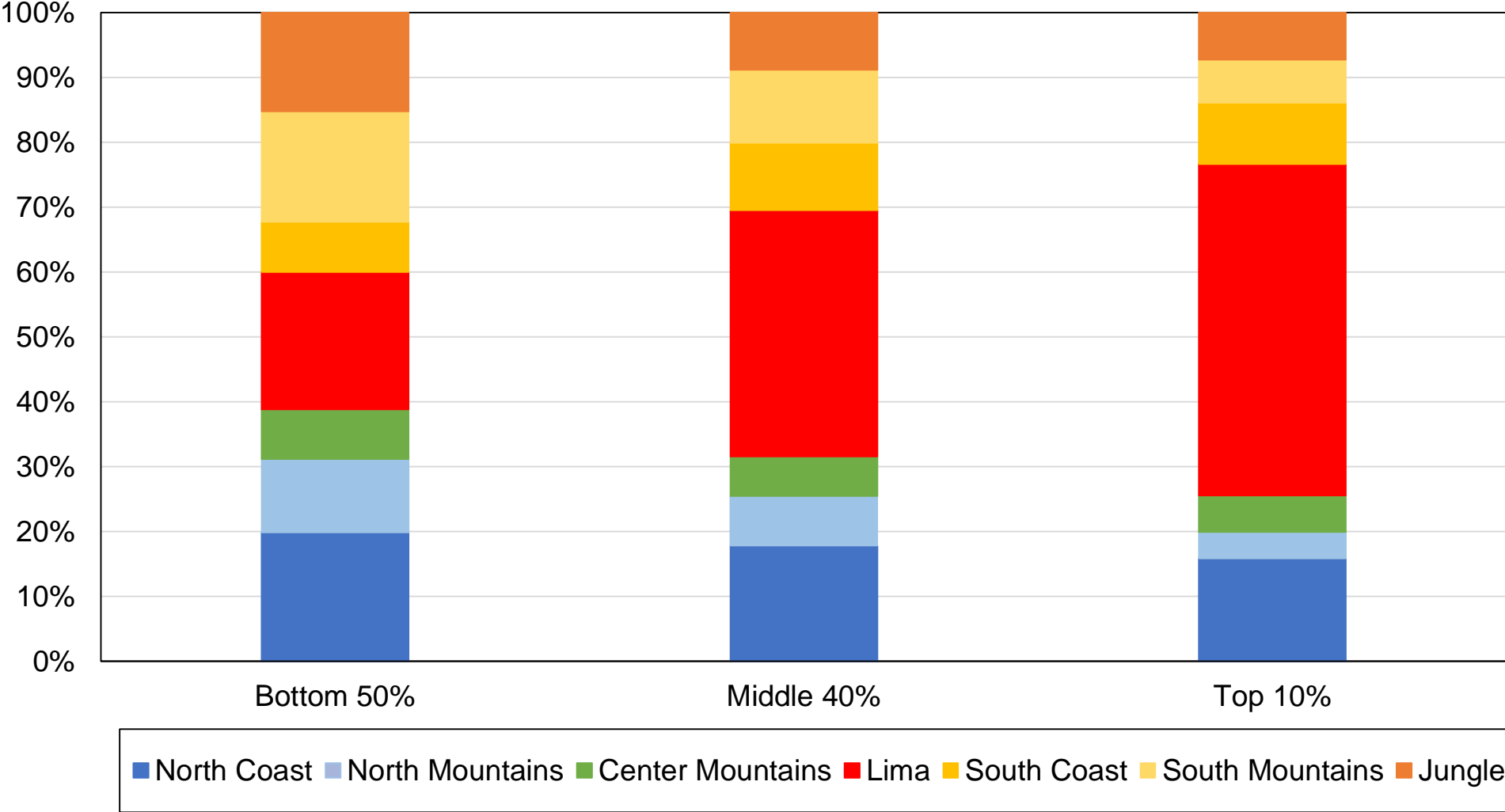
Figure FD7 - Composition of income groups by education level, 2010s



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

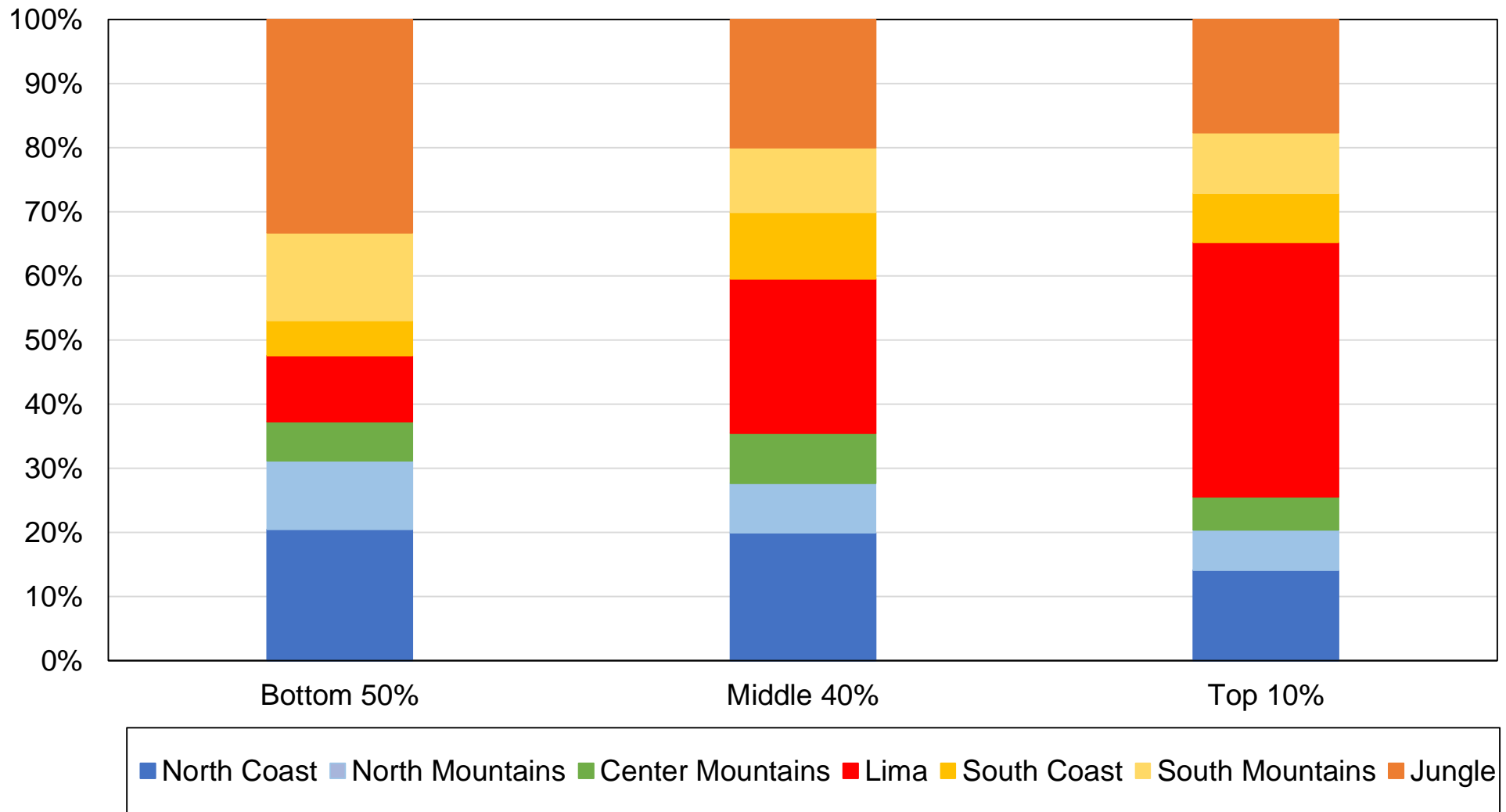
Note: the figure shows the composition of income groups by education level in the 2010s.

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.

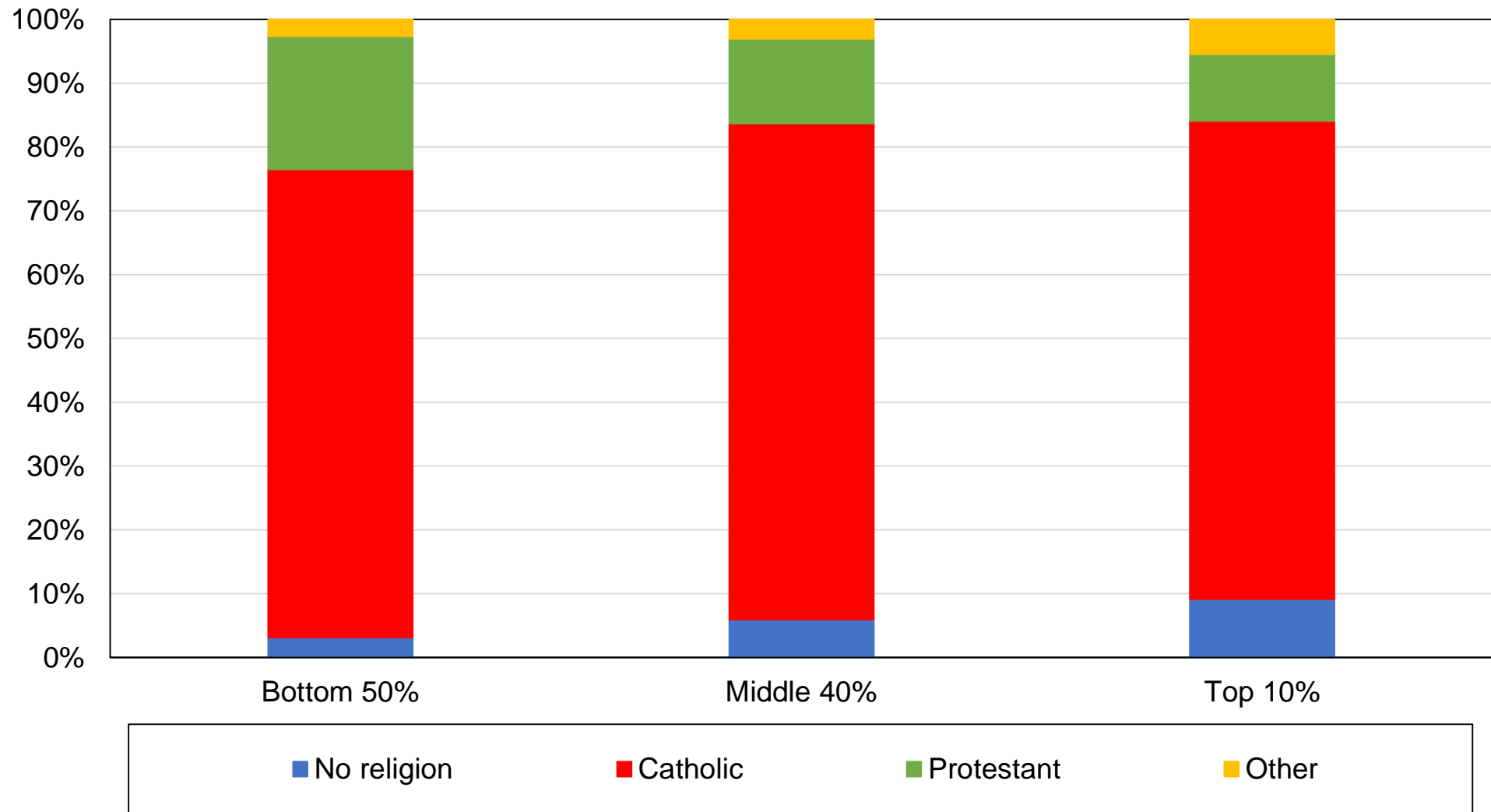
Figure FD9 - Composition of income groups by region, 2010s



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

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

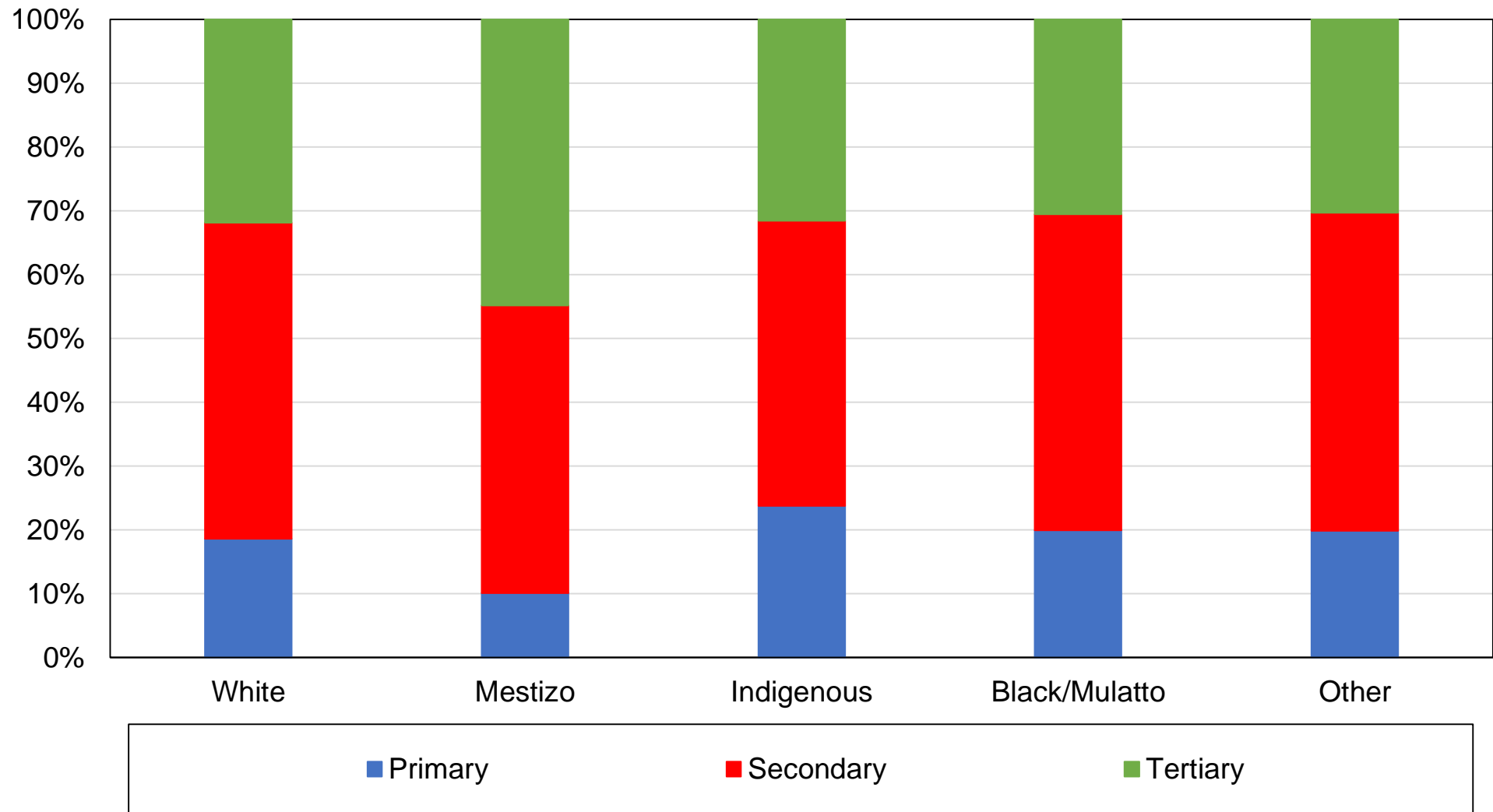
Figure FD10 - Composition of income groups by religion, 2010s



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

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

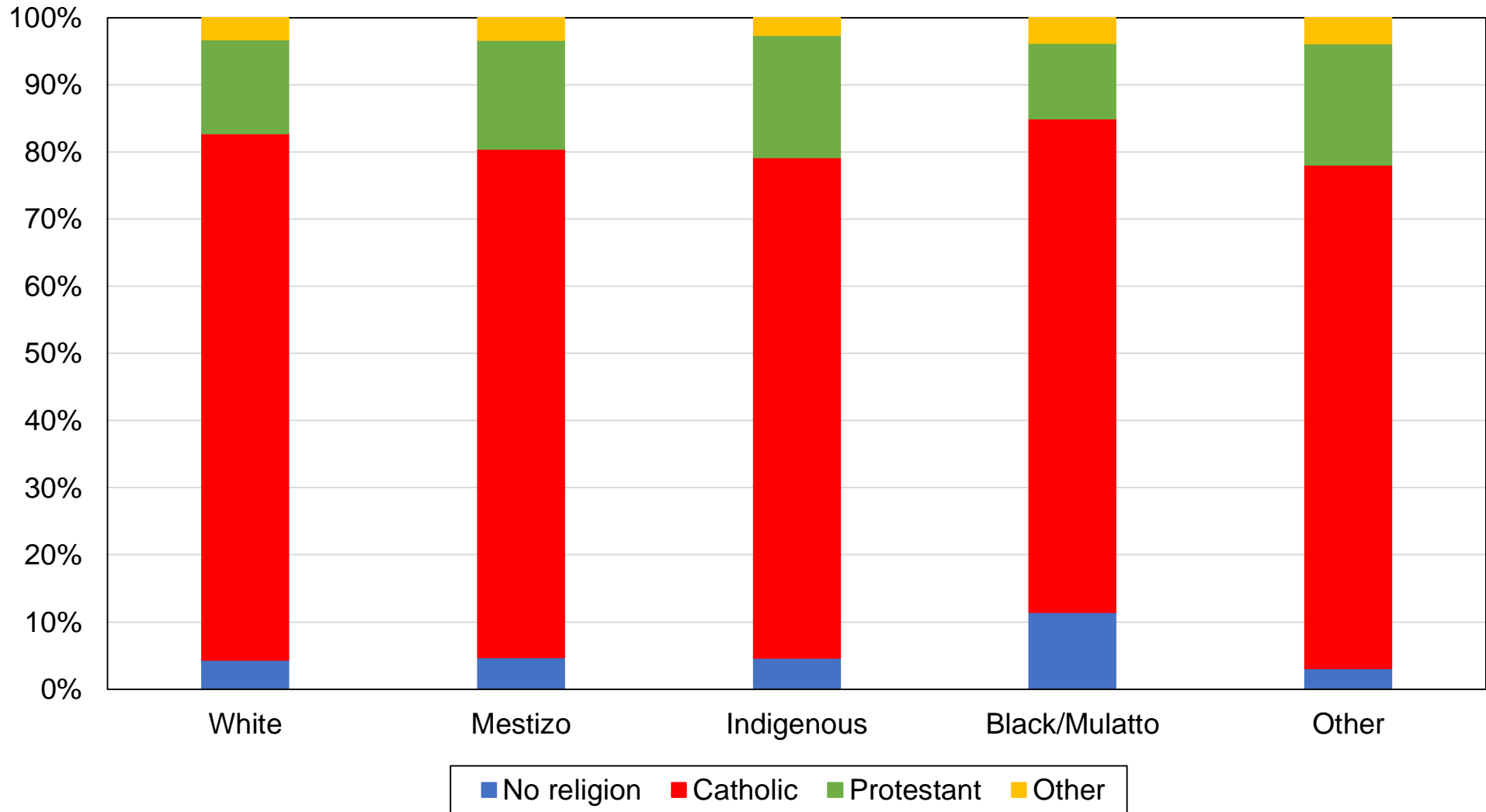
Figure FD11 - Composition of ethnic groups by education level, 2010s



Source: authors' computations using Peruvian political attitudes surveys.

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

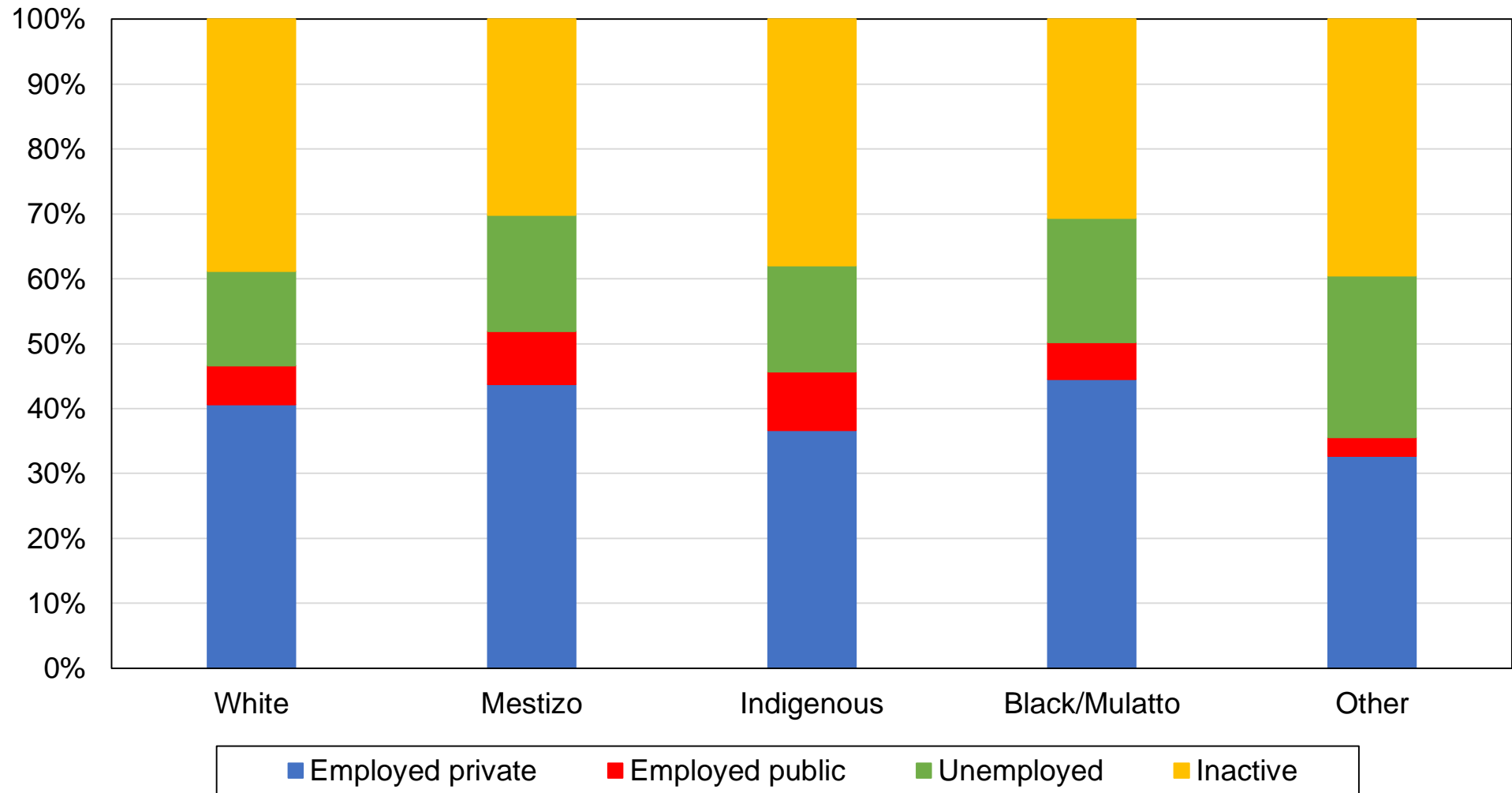
Figure FD12 - Composition of ethnic groups by religion, 2010s



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 draft, 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)
Education			
Primary	39%	36%	17%
Secondary	39%	34%	16%
Tertiary	25%	36%	23%
Income			
Bottom 50%	39%	34%	16%
Middle 40%	30%	35%	21%
Top 10%	23%	37%	20%
Religious affiliation			
No religion	23%	26%	33%
Catholic	32%	36%	17%
Protestant	41%	32%	19%
Other	25%	35%	23%
Age			
20-40	35%	35%	19%
40-60	32%	34%	20%
60+	31%	38%	14%
Employment status			
Employed private	35%	35%	18%
Employed public	21%	40%	23%
Unemployed	30%	33%	23%
Inactive	37%	35%	16%
Region			
Lima	31%	38%	13%
North	37%	33%	17%
Center	25%	40%	27%
South	27%	33%	29%

East	38%	35%	16%
Ethnicity			
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.