Presidential Elections: Peru 2011

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Introduction

- Let me start by saying that most Peruvian voters endorsed the candidates that were clearly in favor of what is what been generally called as "the economic model". I will, later on, qualify this statement, but allow me to start with this fact: 65% voted for Fujimori, PPK, Toledo and Castañeda.
- I think there's very little appetite for returning to the economic policies of the 1970s: price controls, nationalizations, high tariffs, exchange controls, and a heavy-handed state intervention in the economy. Even Humala has moderated his language in this respect in relation to what he was advocating in 2006



Left-Right

- In fact, recent opinion polls reveal two things about the Peruvian electorate
 - First, the great majority (58%) does not think in terms of the left-right continuum
 - Second, among those who do (37%), most are located in the center-right



El desbalance izquierda unida vs derechas divididas ha beneficiado a Humala.



Base: Total de entrevistados que conocen los términos de izquierda y derecha en política (723)

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The April 10th Election

- How to the explain the April 10th results, then, with Ollanta Humala obtaining 32% of the vote? Had the election been held 4 or 5 weeks ago, other would've been the result, with Toledo finishing first and Keiko coming in second. We'd be talking about how Peru's impressive economic growth has finally affected political attitudes. This election could've been a repeat of the 2001 contest, where Toledo won in most of the regions where Humala won in 2006 and today
- Let's not underestimate this fact: the 2011 race was quite fluid and almost resembled a musical chairs game. At one point or another all the candidates who finished in the first four places (with the exception of PPK) were frontrunners. The music stopped when Humala happened to be ahead
- Campaigns matter. Humala ran a very good campaign, and Toledo ran a terrible campaign

Ha sido una campaña con grandes cambios

Si mañana fueran las elecciones presidenciales del 2011 ¿por quién votaría usted? (Con tarjeta mencionando candidato y partido)

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The issues in 2011

- I don't think there is a left-wing turn among Peruvian voters, or, to put it in more precise terms, they not more left-wing now than they were in the last two presidential contests
- Most voters mention crime and lack of personal safety as the most important issues confronting Peru, and these references have increased in relation to 2006
- Corruption continues to be a concern
- References to unemployment, poverty and hunger have decreased in relation to 2006
- But there are important regional differences in these attitudes

Ipsos APOYO Opinión y Mercado **Las preocupaciones de la ciudadanía varían con el tiempo y según el lugar de residencia.**

¿Cuáles de los siguientes son en su opinión los tres principales problemas del país en la actualidad? (Con tarjeta) % *Principales menciones* % Ámbito

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The Race

- Toledo made significant mistakes in his campaign: he opened his flank by raising issues that most voters disagree with (gay civil unions, decriminalization of abortion, drug consumption legalization)
- Even though he backed down from these positions, he introduced issues in which he was on the minority side, and the general effect was to muddle his overall message
- He fell into García's game by answering every single negative attack from his administration
- Limeño voters became enamored with PPK. This deprived Toledo of crucial support in the last weeks of the campaign



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- Many supporters of Toledo and Castañeda switched their votes to Humala, who ran a very disciplined campaign and happened to peak at the end of the race
- The fact that voters could switch so easily is explained in great measure by their lack of ideological thinking
- Humala was able to expand his appeal beyond the Sierra Sur. Among rural and provincial voters, issues of hunger and poverty are much more important than crime and corruption. Humala attracted these voters, as he did in 2006.
- In the Costa Norte and Costa Sur, regions where he increased his vote in relation to 2006, Humala attracted voters concerned with crime and security
- Thus, for some voters he was the social justice candidate, and for others he was the law-and-order

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At the end, Peruvians voted according to their socioeconomic status, thus manifesting Peru's deep social cleavages: those in strata D and E (poor and very poor) went for Humala and Fujimori). These voters have significant concerns with issues of social equity and wealth distribution. They favor the expansion of social programs and a greater state intervention in providing a social safety net (health care, pensions, education)

- The lower middle class (strata C) split its vote among Humala, Toledo and PPK
- The middle and upper classes (strata B and A) went overwhelmingly for PPK
- At the national level, two thirds of all voters are located in strata D and E, hence the victories of Humala and Keiko
- In Lima, only 45% of voters are in D and E. In this city,

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* Estimaciones de Ipsos APOYO con la base de datos de ENAHO 2009 y una variante de la fórmula de NSE APEIM 2010

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What next?

What is going to happen on June 5th? The swing voters are those located in the upper echelons of Peruvian society, largely residing in Lima. Whom they would vote for?

- My sense is that Ollanta Humala has an easier path to victory than Keiko Fujimori. The conservative press has embraced her, and this isprobably going to help Humala
- Middle class and upper class voters in Lima are sophisticated but there is also a nasty streak of racism among them. Humala's move to the center could attract some them, but their racism could prevent others from voting from him
- For those voters who think along ideological lines, Keiko is closer to them than Humala is. But would they embrace her given what she represents?
 - Will Limeño voters give Humala the benefit of the doubt?