

2011 Election Results

(% of valid vote, president)

- Ollanta Humala (Gana Perú) 31.7
- Keiko Fujimori (Fuerza 2011) 23.5
- Pedro Pablo Kuczynski (APGC) 18.5
- Alejandro Toledo (Perú Posible) 13.7
- Luis Castañeda Lossio (SN) 8.6
- 6 others less than 1

2011 Election Results (seats in the legislature)

- Gana Perú (Humala) 47
- Fuerza 2011 (Fujimori) 37
- Perú Posible (Toledo) 21
- APGC (PPK) 12
- SN (Castañeda) 9
- APRA 4

CANDIDATES CRITICIZING THE 2000s

- Keiko and Humala won 55% of the vote between them. (What might have happened if they had not won more than 50%?)
- Either Keiko or Humala won in all departments of Peru except Lima (won by PPK) and Loreto (won by Toledo).

CANDIDATES FAVORING THE 2000s

Together, Castañeda, Toledo, & PPK won more votes than either Humala or Keiko. In polls, if each candidate were paired against one another, Castañeda won; Castañeda and Toledo were the two candidates who clearly defeated Humala in a runoff. But, they split the “pro-market, pro-democracy” vote three-ways.

Growth was strong for seven consecutive years and rebounded after the global financial crisis

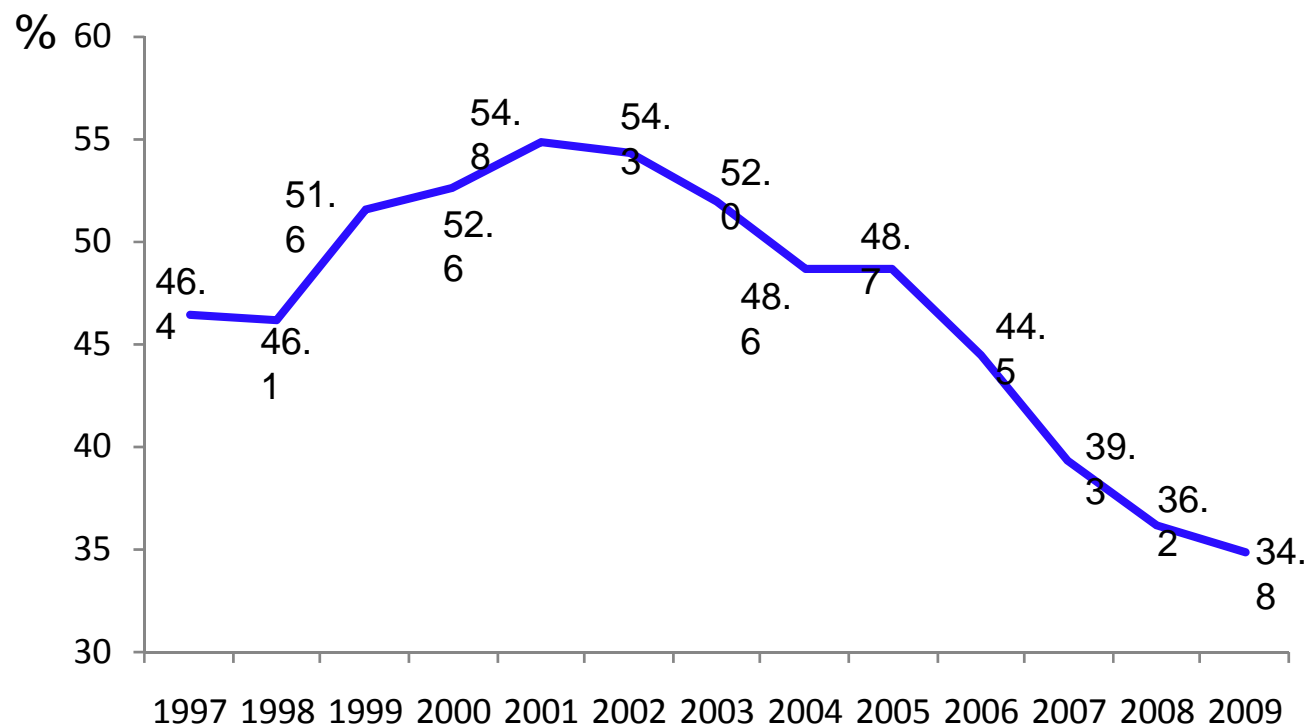
% change in GDP

(source: IMF)

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Latin America	1.1	3.2	5.2	5.3	6.1	5.9	4.3	-1.4	3.5
Peru	5.0	4.0	5.0	6.8	7.7	8.9	9.8	0.9	8.8



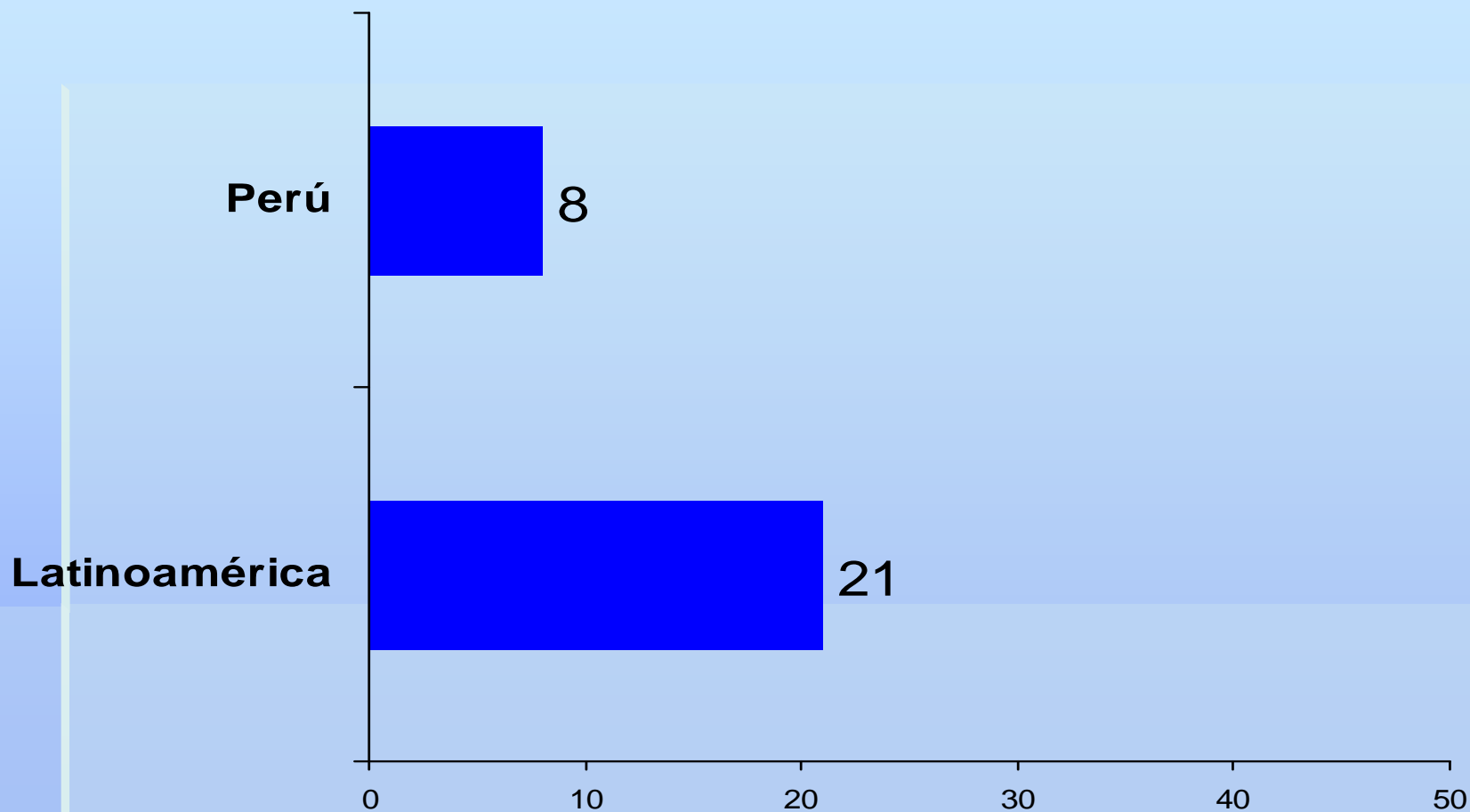
National poverty rate (% of the population)



Source: INEI

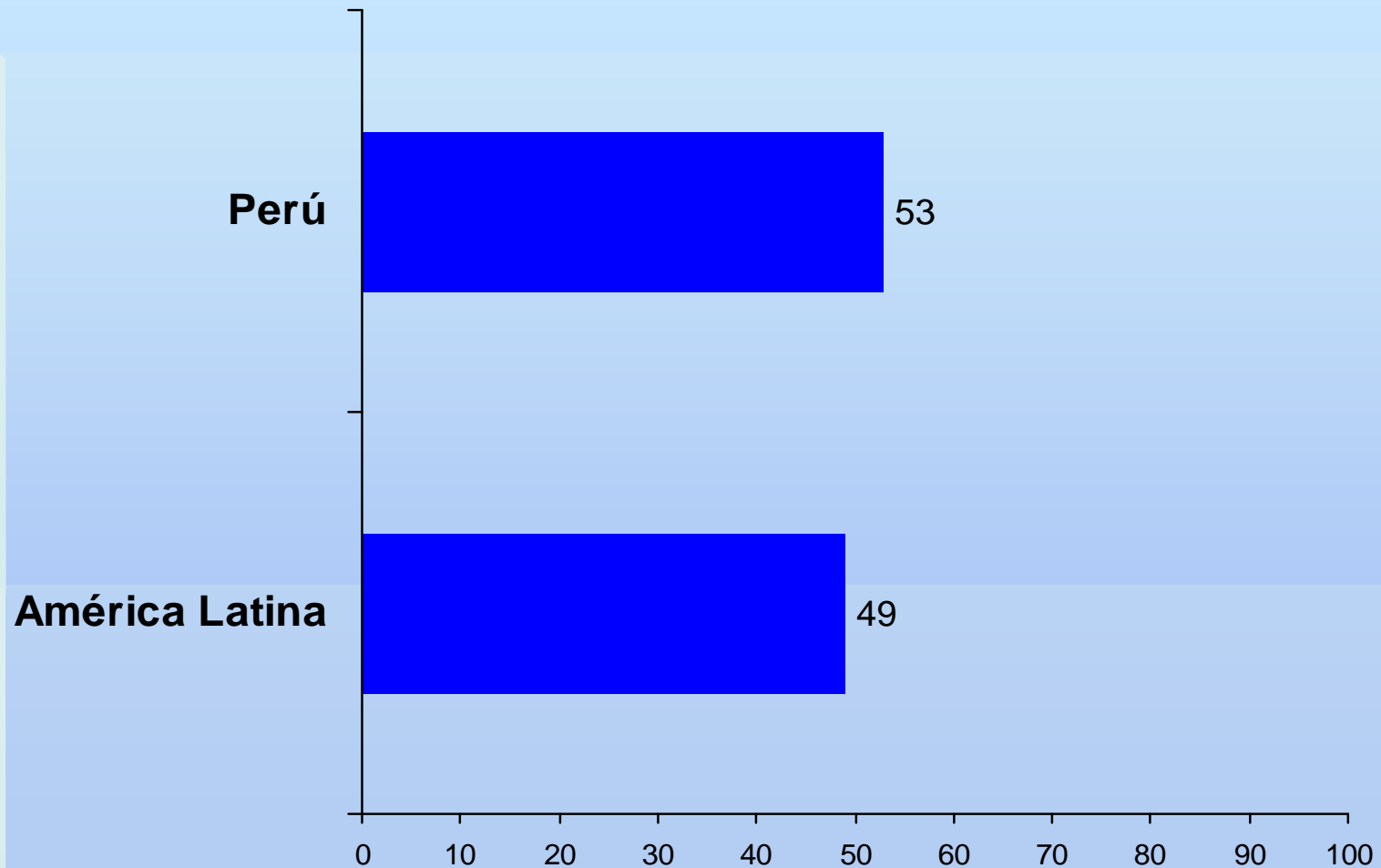
The Distribution of Wealth Is Fair, 2007

*P. ¿Cuán justa cree Ud. que es la distribución del ingreso en (país)? *Aquí solo 'Muy justa' y 'Justa'*



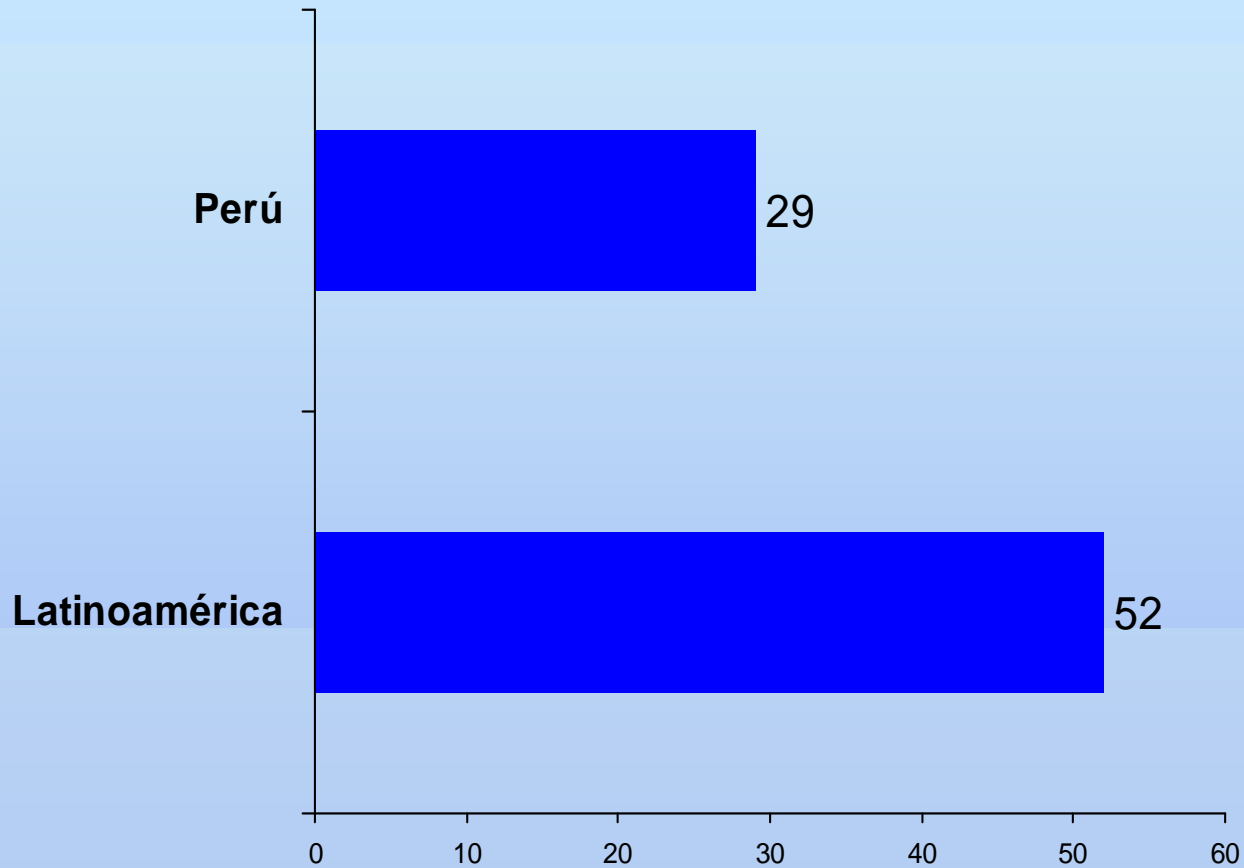
“With my salary, I can’t make ends meet,” 2007

**Aquí sólo ‘No les alcanza tienen dificultades’ más ‘No les alcanza tienen grandes dificultades’*



GOVERNMENT APPROVAL 2007 (& 2010)

P. ¿Usted aprueba o desaprueba la gestión del gobierno encabezada por el presidente (Nombre)? Aquí sólo 'Aprueba'



Why was the García Government Unpopular?

- Perceptions of corruption (the “Petroaudio” scandal)
- Perceptions of social exclusion (“The dog and the manger” ideology; protests in Bagua in 2009)
- Increase in crime
- Increase in food prices

Bagua, 2009: Indigenous protest, at least 33 deaths



The campaigns

- The frontrunners—first Castañeda and then Toledo—were the primary target of the rival campaigns, especially because they would be the hardest for their rivals to defeat in the runoff.
- In particular, PPK needed the Toledo vote. Said PPK: “Atrevete.” But, at 6% in February, PPK was not targeted.

Luis Castañeda Lossio



Alejandro Toledo



Pedro Pablo Kuczynski





Why did the candidates fail to unite?

- Over-confidence that one of the three would succeed. They were confident the 2000s economic model was popular. They believed the polls that, three weeks before the first round, showed Humala in 3rd behind Toledo & Keiko. The Humala-Keiko runoff was not forecast until a week before the election—very late.

Poll forecasts

- Through February, no pollster gave Humala as much as 15% of the vote. Was this credible given that Humala was the only candidate on the left?

- Datum poll forecasts

Vote for Humala, April 1 21.4%

Vote for Humala, April 3 29.7%

(April 3 was the date of the debate but poll was done prior to evening debate)

Keiko Fujimori



Ollanta Humala





