



EVENT

Mexico's Mid-Term Elections: What's at Stake and What to Expect

Mexico Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center

Alejandro Moreno
ITAM/El Financiero
amoreno@itam.mx
@almorenoal

🕒 DATE & TIME

Thursday

May. 6, 2021

3:00pm - 4:30pm ET

What's at Stake

500 legislators, Cámara de Diputados (300 RM and 200 PR).

15 state governors.

30 state legislatures (1,063 state deputies).

1,926 local governments in 30 states.

President Lopez Obrador's transformation project: his party and party allies' legislative majority.

Mexico's electoral institutions and other autonomous organisms (?)

What to Expect

Turnout in mid-term elections has been below 50%. I expect that the 15 state elections might boost it to around 50%.

Morena likely to win various state elections (8 or 9 out of 15).
The largest number of female candidates for state-governor expected to win.

Majority for Morena is uncertain (voters and rules play a role). The Mexican election is very complex (partial alliances in districts and states, rules of translating votes into legislative seats, issues of enforcement of election laws, not to mention political violence).

We can confidently say that this is one of the most politically polarized elections we have seen.

Changes in the Mexican Electorate

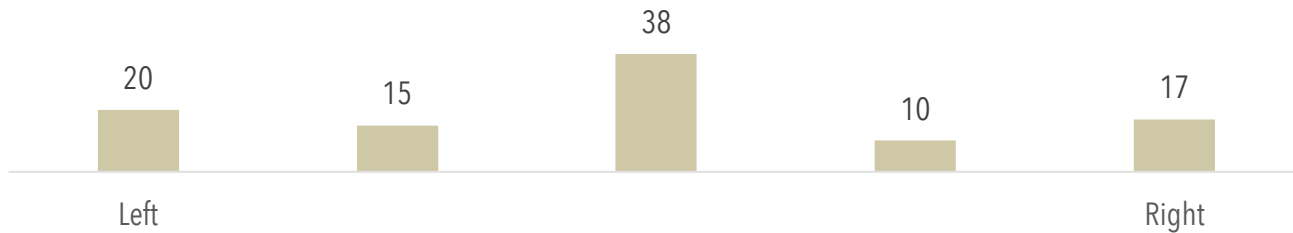
The electorate has been undergoing a long process of partisan dealignment, which means that today there are fewer loyal voters, more non partisan voters, and thus more volatility and more electoral uncertainty.

Political polarization is not new, it follows an election-cycle pattern. The extremes of the political spectrum tend to grow around presidential elections (more polarization) and the electorate moderates in non-election times.

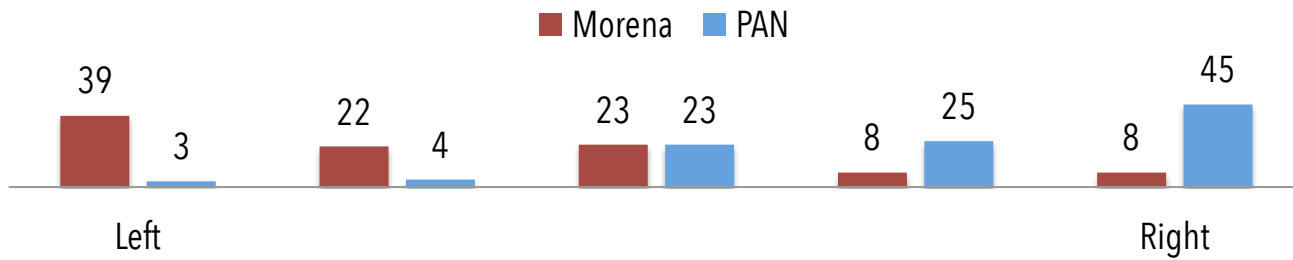
But partisan groups have become more polarized over time regardless of those election-cycles.

3. This is party polarization, no just *party sorting*.

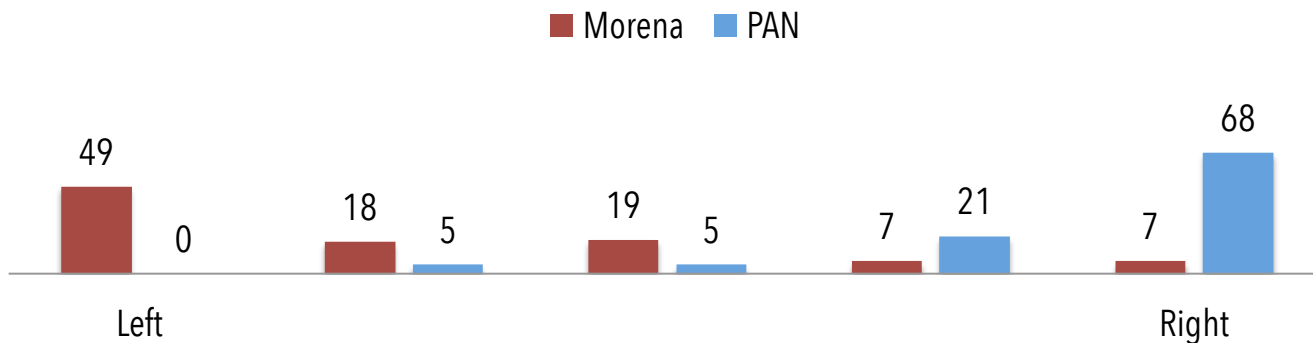
The electorate as a whole / CNEP survey 2018



Partisans (*party sorting*)



Strong partisans (*partisan polarization*)

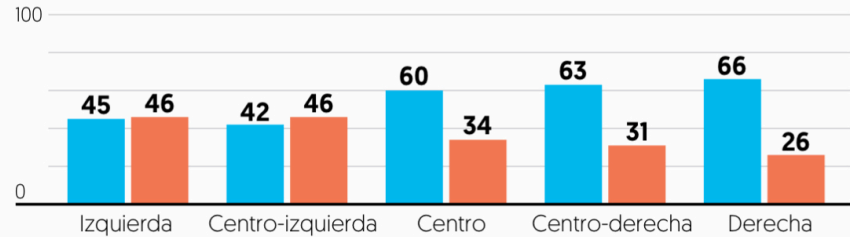


This is why we see more polarized patterns of presidential approval ratings, among other measures of public opinion.

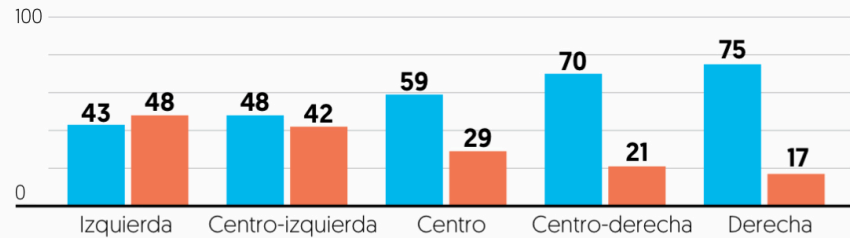
Ideología y aprobación

Aprueba Desaprueba

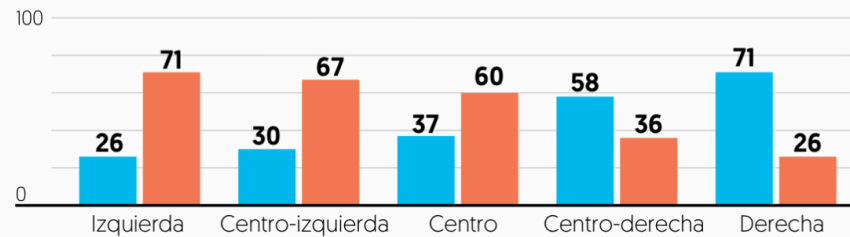
Vicente Fox, 2002



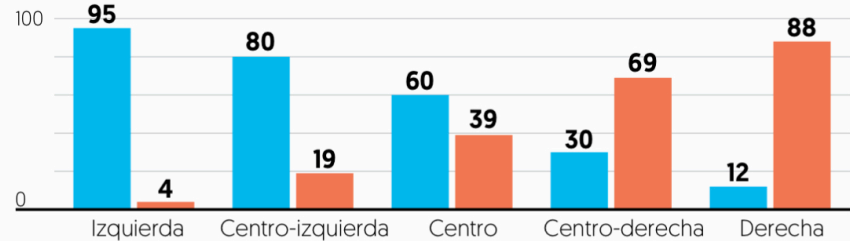
Felipe Calderón, 2008



Enrique Peña, 2014



López Obrador, 2020

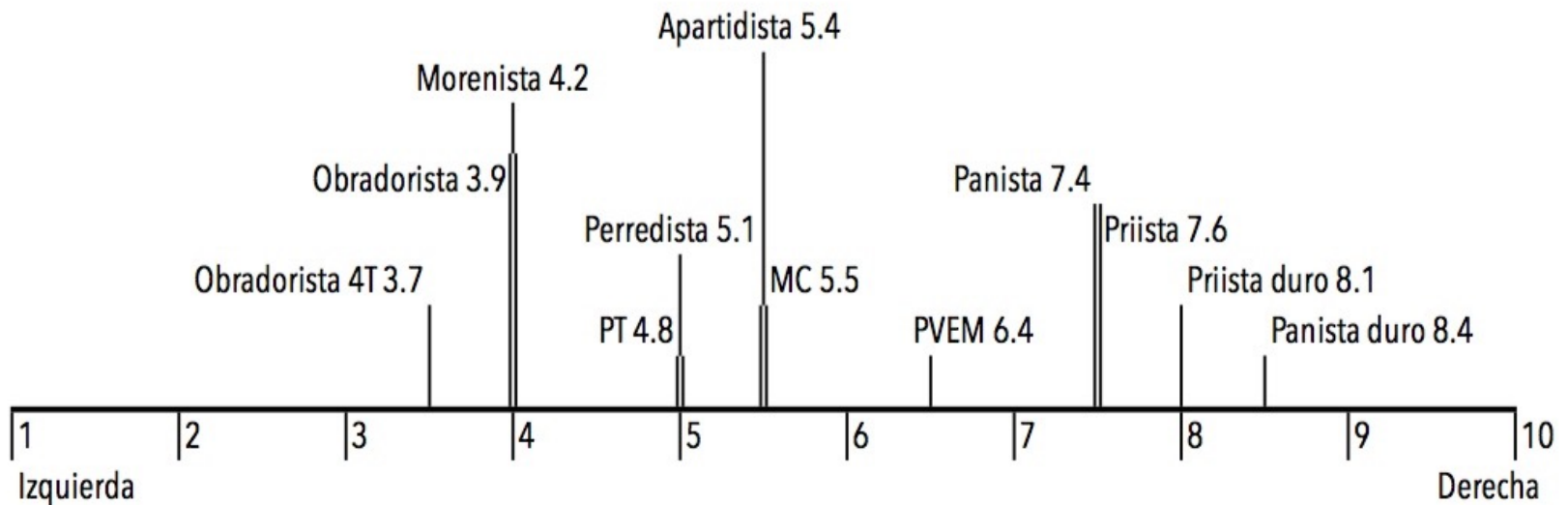


Fuentes: El Financiero, encuesta nacional telefónica agosto 2020, 820 entrevistados. Reforma, encuestas nacionales en vivienda, septiembre 2002 [n=1,500], agosto 2008 [n=1,515], julio 2014 [n=1,020]. Todas las encuestas coordinadas por Alejandro Moreno.

The Left-Right spectrum in 2021

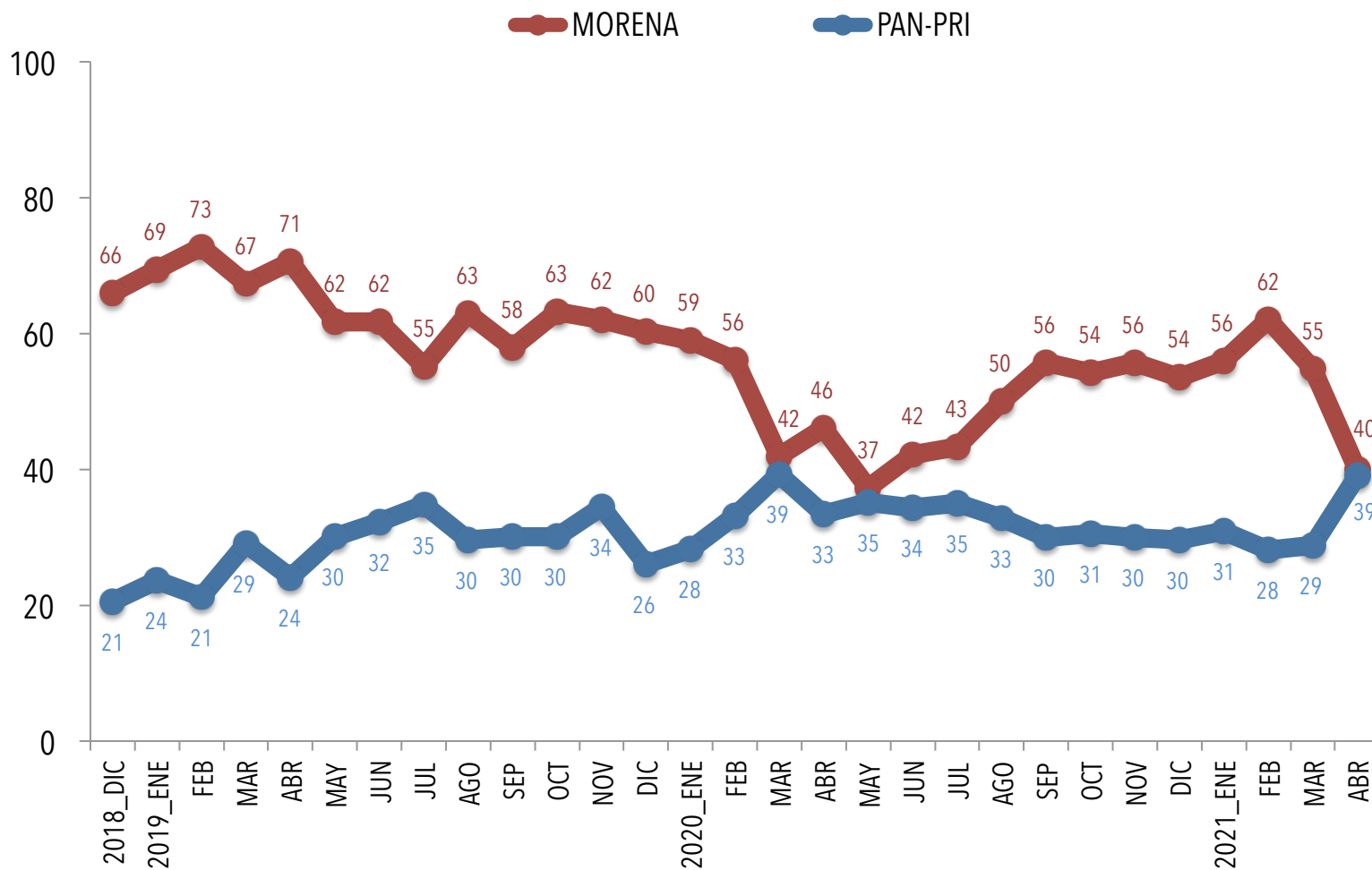
Espectro ideológico 2021

Posición promedio de los electores partidarios y apartidistas en la escala política de izquierda y derecha



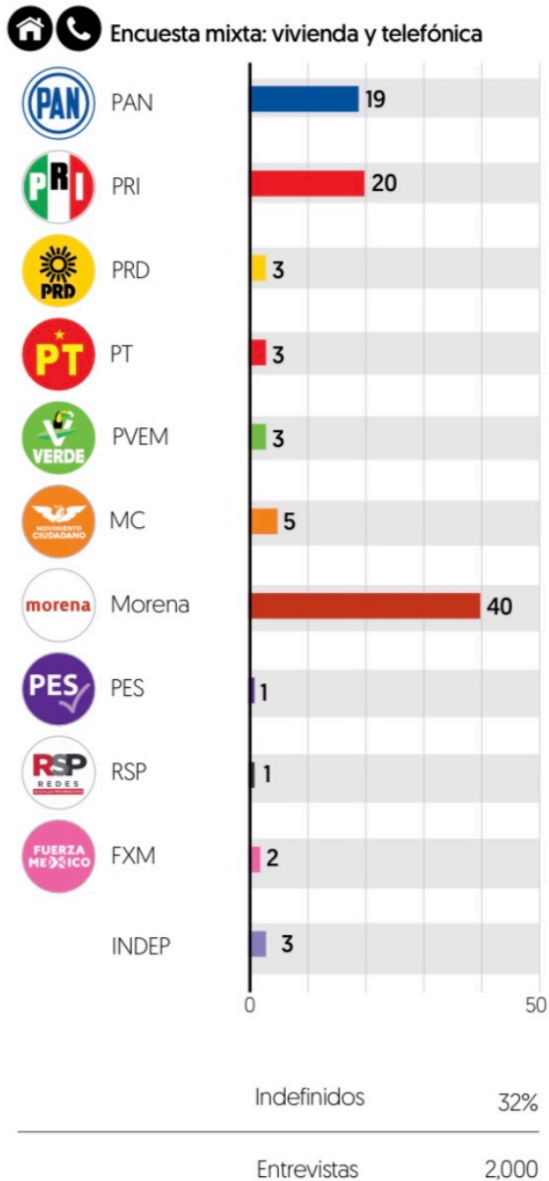
Party preferences at the national level

Party support (effective %)



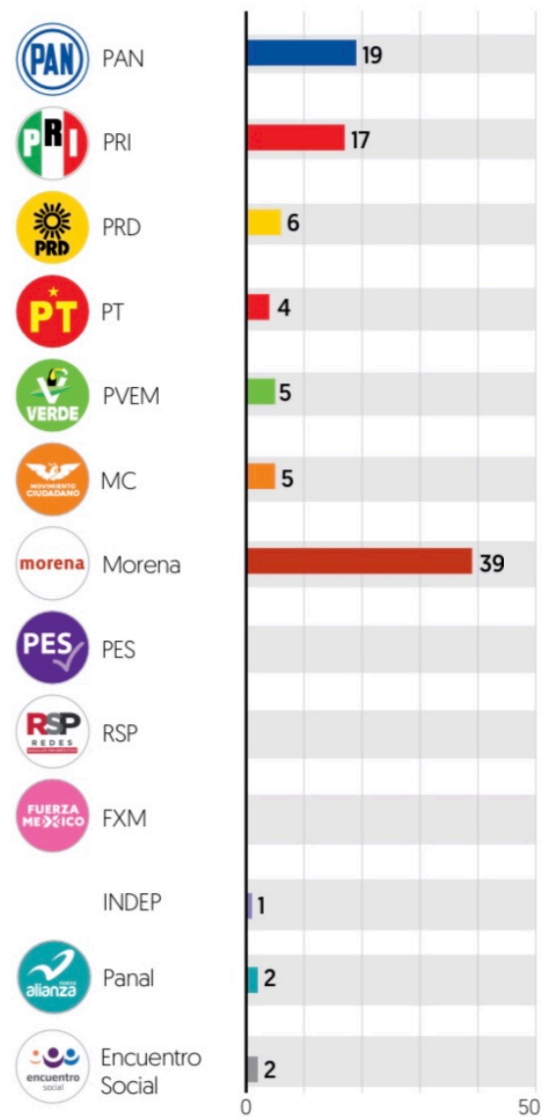
Plus ça change...?

May 2021



Comparativo con 2018

Porcentaje efectivo de votación para diputados federales (Resultados oficiales válidos 2018*)

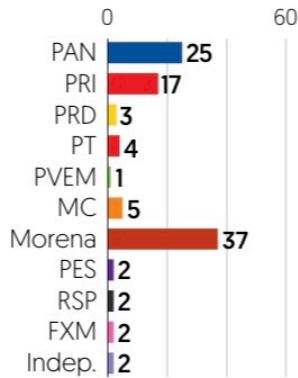


* Votación válida sin candidatos no registrados y votos nulos.

Intención de voto por circunscripción

Si hoy hubiera elecciones para diputados federales, ¿por qué partido votaría usted? (% efectivo)

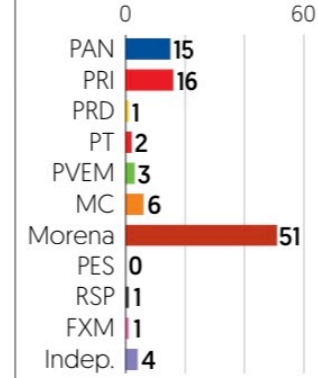
Circunscripción 1



Circunscripción 2



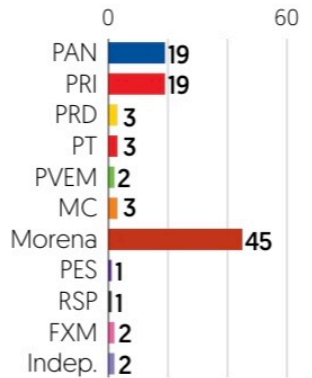
Circunscripción 3



Circunscripción 5



Circunscripción 4



Circunscripción 1: Baja California, Baja California Sur, Chihuahua, Durango, Jalisco, Nayarit, Sinaloa y Sonora.
 Circunscripción 2: Aguascalientes, Coahuila, Guanajuato, Nuevo León, Querétaro, San Luis Potosí, Tamaulipas y Zacatecas.
 Circunscripción 3: Campeche, Chiapas, Oaxaca, Quintana Roo, Tabasco, Veracruz y Yucatán.
 Circunscripción 4: Ciudad de México, Guerrero, Morelos, Puebla y Tlaxcala.
 Circunscripción 5: Colima, Hidalgo, Estado de México y Michoacán.

Governor races: 15 states

	Incumbent	Frontrunner	My forecast	Volatility
Baja California	Morena	Morena	Very likely	Medium
Colima	PRI	Morena	Very likely	Medium
Sinaloa	PRI	Morena	Likely	Medium
Tlaxcala	PRI	Morena	Likely	Medium
Zacatecas	PRI	Morena	Likely	Medium
Guerrero	PRI	Morena / PRI-PRD	Close	Medium
Nayarit	PAN-PRD	Morena / PAN-PRI-PRD	Close	Medium
Sonora	PRI	Morena / PAN-PRI-PRD	Close	Medium
Michoacán	PRD	Morena / PAN-PRI-PRD	Close	Medium
San Luis Potosí	PRI	PVEM-PT / PAN-PRI-PRD	Too close to call	High
Campeche	PRI	MC / PAN-PRI-PRD / Morena	Too close to call	High
Nuevo León	Independent	MC / PRI-PRD	Too close to call	High
Chihuahua	PAN	PAN / Morena	Close	Medium
Baja California Sur	PAN	PAN	Very likely	Medium
Querétaro	PAN	PAN	Very likely	Low