The Personal Vote in Mexico: Tables and Figures

June 30, 2022

Case	Incumbents (%) who sought reelection (a)	reelected (b)	returned ($c = a \times b/100$)
United States 1990–2010	91	94	86
Chile 1993–2000	71	83	59
Brazil 1994–2002	75	66	50
Uruguay 1985–1999	61	56	34
Colombia 1994–2002	53	65	34
Mexico 2021-2024	47	72	34
Argentina 1983–2001	25	76	19

Table 1: The willing and the able to return to Congress in seven democracies. Column (a) reports the percentage of incumbents in the lower chamber that were renominated, column (b) the percentage of those renominated who won reelection for a consecutive term, and column (c) the return rate. Sources: Jones et al. (2002:658) for Argentina; Botero and Rennó (2007) for Brazil and Colombia; Navia (2000) for Chile; `https://emagar.github.io/2021-06-25-reeleccion-dipfed-6-jun.html` for Mexico (single-member-district deputies only); Altman and Chasquetti (2005) for Uruguay; `https://www.opensecrets.org/overview/reelect.php` for the U.S.

Year	% returned
1916 (Constitutional Congress)	—
1917	18
1918	25
1920	15
1922	26
1924	25
1926	30
1928	40
1930 (Congress size nearly halved)	42
1932	27
1934 (single-term limits effective)	0

Table 2: Reelection in the post-Revolutionary Chamber of Deputies up to 1934. Source: Godoy Rueda (2014).

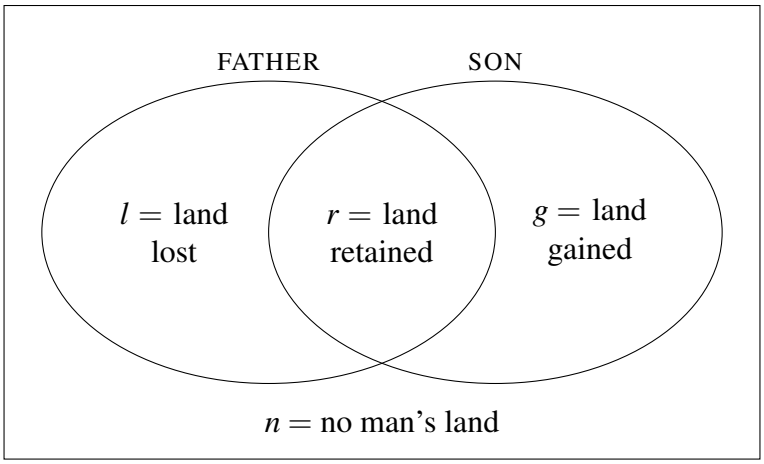


Figure 1: Four clear and distinct lands arise from redistricting. FATHER and SON represent 2014 and 2017 map districts, respectively.

Son district (2017)	Father district (2014)	S	Incumbent deputy	Revealed ambition	Margin
XII-Ramos Arizpe	V-Ramos Arizpe	1.000	Lily Gutiérrez Burciaga	**static**	+14
I-Acuña	XV-Acuña	.798	Gina Cano Torralva	**static**	−17
II-Piedras Negras	XVI-Piedras Negras	.791	Sonia Villarreal Pérez	progressive	+12
X-Matamoros	VII-Torreón	.705	Shamir Fernández Hernández	none	
XIV-Saltillo	I-Saltillo	.700	Javier Díaz González	**static**	−12
IX-Torreón	VIII-Torreón	.650	Irma Castaño Orozco	none	
VII-Matamoros	VI-Torreón	.618	Verónica Martínez García	none	
XVI-Saltillo	II-Saltillo	.553	Francisco Tobías Hernández	none	
III-Sabinas	XIII-Múzquiz	.551	Antonio Nerio Maltos	none	
XIII-Saltillo	IV-Saltillo	.459	Martha Garay Cadena	none	
IV-San Pedro	X-San Pedro	.444	Ana Isabel Durán Piña	progressive	+3
V-Monclova	XII-Monclova	.408	Melchor Sánchez de la Fuente	none	
VI-Frontera	XI-Frontera	.377	Lencho Siller Linaje	progressive	+8
XIII-Saltillo	III-Saltillo	.236	José María Frausto Siller	none	
IX-Torreón	IX-Torreón	.204	Luis Gurza Jaidar	none	
III-Sabinas	XIV-Sabinas	.197	Martha Morales Iribarrén	none	

Table 3: District similarity index S in the state of Coahuila. Mexican legislative districts rely on Roman numerals for identification, hyphenated in the Table with the district's administrative seat (*cabecera distrital*.) All members were from the PRI (opposition deputies entered via proportional representation only). The margin is the percentage difference between the winner and runner-up in the subsequent race, positive if the incumbent won, negative otherwise.

	Campaign effect	Incumbency effect	Total effect
1	$r = g$	$r > g$	$r > g$
2	$r > l$	$r = l$	$r > l$
3	$r > n$	$r > n$	$r > n$
4	$l < g$	$l > g$	$l \; ? \; g$
5	$l = n$	$l > n$	$l > n$
6	$g > n$	$g > n$	$g > n$

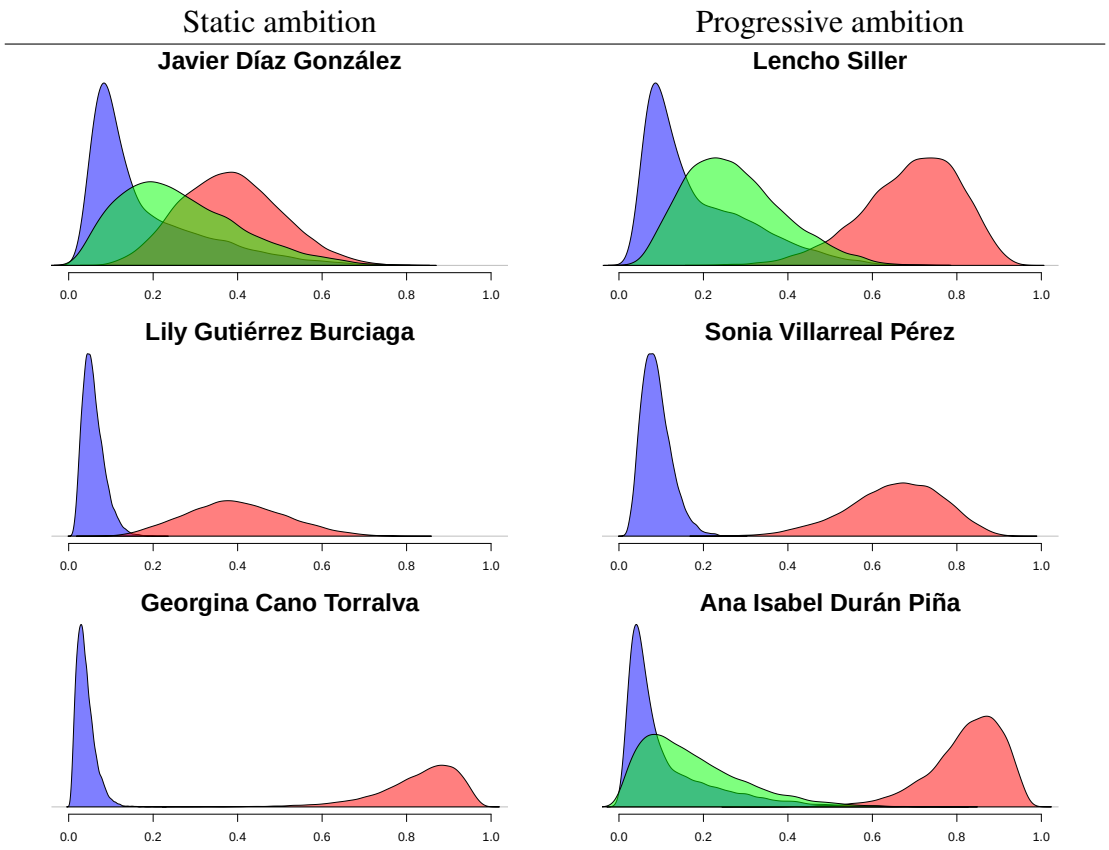
Table 4: Incumbency and campaign effects in name recognition hypotheses. Cells give expected relations in name recognition in the areas defined in Figure 1. Thus, row 1 indicates that incumbency causes higher name recognition among voters in land retained than among voters in land gained, a difference not caused by the campaign effect; combining them gives the reported total effect.

Incumbent	District/ municipio	Respondents l	r	g	n	Mean `recognize` statewide	father	son
A. Static ambition								
Javier Díaz González	Saltillo	14	56	0	938	0.082	0.286	0.304
Lily Gutiérrez Burciaga	R. Arispe	0	56	0	952	0.076	0.393	0.393
Gina Cano Torralva	Acuña	0	70	0	938	0.085	0.729	0.729
B. Progressive ambition								
Lencho Siller	Frontera	42	28	0	938	0.066	0.300	0.500
Sonia Villarreal Pérez	P. Negras	0	56	0	952	0.082	0.518	0.518
Ana Isabel Durán Piña	San Pedro	14	42	0	952	0.068	0.589	0.738

Table 5: Incumbents and their terrain. Deputies with static ambition sought reelection to the state assembly. Deputies with progressive ambition sought election to a municipal government. Columns l, r, g, and n report the number of respondents sampled (out of 1,008) in each terrain category. Dependent variable means are for all respondents (statewide), for respondents in the pre-redistricting constituency (father) only, and for respondents in the post-redistricting constituency (son) only.

Member	Hypotheses: total effect $r > n$ (one-tailed)	Hypotheses: incumbency effect $l > n$ (one-tailed)	Hypotheses: incumbency effect $r = l$ (two-tailed)
Static ambition			
1 Javier Díaz González	$< .001$	.029	.442
2 Lily Gutiérrez Burciaga	$< .001$	—	—
3 Gina Cano Torralva	$< .001$	—	—
Progressive ambition			
4 Lencho Siller	$< .001$	.003	.002
5 Sonia Villarreal Pérez	$< .001$	—	—
6 Ana Isabel Durán Piña	$< .001$	.036	$< .001$

Table 6: Hypothesis tests. Cells report p-values. Columns 1 and 2 respectively test that coefficients for `retained` and `lost` are positive, column 3 that `retained`'s coefficient equals `lost`'s (a likelihood-ratio test). Green indicates statistical evidence for incumbency effects, red lack thereof—note that column 3's incumbency hypothesis involves equality, so the aim here is to *not* reject.



Hypotheses:	
incumbency	$n < l = r$
campaign	$n = l < r$

Figure 2: The probability of name recognition (x-axis). Simulations generated with Bayesian estimations of regression models. The violet density is for respondents in area n, the green (when applicable) for respondents in area l, and the pink for respondents in area r. Incumbency leads to expect the purple to lie to the left, the pink to the right, the green between them, with clear gaps between them. All other controls held constant to represent a PAN-identifier with a smartphone, who said the incumbent has delivered but is uninterested in politics.