

The Personal Vote in Mexico

Separating Incumbency and Campaign Effects with Survey Evidence

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CiPol Brown Bag seminar

ITAM

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- 1 Use redistricting to separate **incumbency** and **campaign** effects
- 2 Study candidate **name familiarity** in the Mexican electorate
- 3 Rare exploration of reelection with **survey evidence** outside the U.S.

- 1 The 2014 reform and reelection obstacles
- 2 The personal vote, methodological challenge
- 3 Coahuila public opinion survey
- 4 Results
- 5 Further questions

Surprising removal of the consecutive reelection ban in effect since 1934

- Members of Congress can reelect for 12 consecutive years
- “Party lock”: incumbent must be re-nominated by same party
- Kick-off: 2021 mid-term

Reformers gave states institutional discretion

- For state lawmakers: 2-, 3-, or 4-term limits
- For municipal officers: single- or 2-term limits
- Party lock mandatory

Variable election calendars → incumbents on the ballot progressively

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Limits to (and of) political ambition

To: party lock → can veto renomination by **any** party

Of: lack of (static) ambition

		% returning
U.S.	1990–2010	86
Chile	1993–2000	59
Brazil	1994–2002	50
Uruguay	1985–1999	34
Colombia	1994–2002	34
Mexico	2021–2024	34
Argentina	1983–2001	19

Will removal of single-term limits make any difference?

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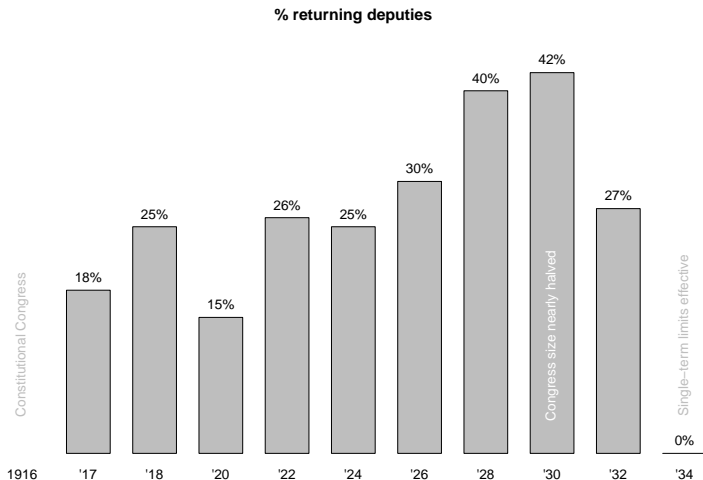
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1920s in Mexico

Some room for optimism (Godoy 2014)



The personal vote and familiarity

Reelection goal → credit claiming (Mayhew 1974)

But **ascription problems** arise with team production of legislation

Cain, Ferejohn, Fiorina (1987)

Members prefer particularistic goods (effort/delivery observable)

- constituency service
- pork

→ cultivate a personal vote and **name familiarity**

Detecting such familiarity is evidence that reform is working.
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INCUMBENCY → **NAME FAMILIARITY** ← CAMPAIGN

Need a procedure to separate the personal vote from campaign effects

Possible approaches:

- 1 compare familiarity before/after the reform
- 2 compare districts with/without incumbent running
- 3 compare beginning/end of the campaign
- 4 take advantage of redistricting to compare voters within constituency

As geographical groups of voters brought in/out of a district, candidate name familiarity should vary in predictable ways

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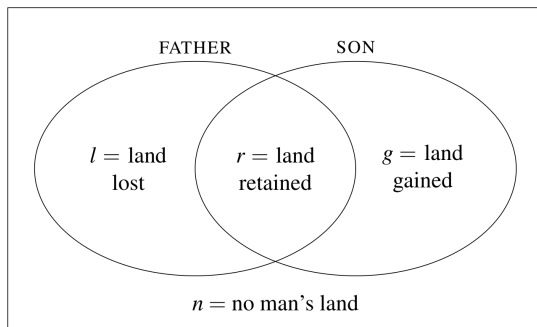
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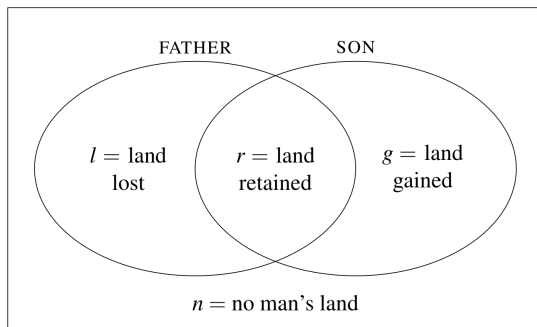
Using redistricting for separation



Name recognition expectations

	incumbency	campaign	
1	$r > g$	$r = g$	
2	$r = l$	$r > l$	
3	$r > n$	$r > n$	separation
4	$l > g$	$l < g$	
5	$l > n$	$l = n$	
6	$g > n$	$g > n$	

Using redistricting for separation



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The case study

- State assembly of Coahuila 2017 was first post-reform election with incumbents on the ballot
- State was redistricted year prior to that race
- Pre-election survey with reelection battery of Qs



Mixed-member system, attention to the 16 SMD races only

Few ambitious members

- 3 deputies re-nominated → static ambition
- 6 sought municipal presidencies → progressive ambition
- 16 retired → none

Questions on candidate name recognition in pre-election survey, two weeks before polling



20 ¿Está usted a favor, en contra o le es indiferente la reelección consecutiva de legisladores?

1) A favor 2) En contra 3) Le es indiferente 4) NS/NC

21 El 3 de abril iniciaron las campañas para renovar el Congreso del Estado. Si yo le preguntara los nombres de los candidatos a diputado en este distrito, ¿usted me podría decir todos los nombres, algunos nombres o no recuerda ningún nombre en este momento?

1) Todos 2) Algunos 3) No recuerda 4) No contestó

22 Ahora piense por favor en los diputados locales actuales. Si yo le preguntara las cosas que ha hecho su diputado por esta comunidad, ¿usted podría mencionarme muchas cosas, algunas, diría que no hizo nada o no recuerda en este momento? [5=NS/NC]

1) Muchas 2) Algunas 3) No hizo nada 4) No recuerda

23 Si su actual diputado compitiera para buscar la reelección, ¿usted votaría por él o no votaría por él?

1) Sí votaría por él 2) No votaría por él 3) NS/NC (NO LEER)

24 Con base en el trabajo realizado por su actual diputado, ¿cree que merecería ser reelecto en su cargo o no? [1=Sí; 2=No; 3=NC]

25 Le voy a leer unos nombres, para cada uno, ¿podría decirme si le es muy conocido, algo conocido, poco o nada conocido?

[1=Muy conocido; 2=Algo; 3=Poco; 4=Nada conocido; 5=NS/NC]

- a Javier Díaz González
- b Lily Gutiérrez Burciaga
- c Georgina Cano Torralva
- d Ana Isabel Durán
- e Sonia Villareal
- f Lariza Montiel
- g Amando Pruneda
- h Leonel Contreras Pámanes
- i Florencio "Lencho" Siller

DV: recognize = 1 if q25 ==1 or q25==2

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Few ambitious incumbents

Incumbent	District/ municipio	Margin	Secciones				Interviewees			
			<i>l</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>n</i>
A. Static ambition (SMD→SMD)										
Javier PRI	Saltillo	-12	14	64	13	1,619	14	56	0	938
Lily PRI	R. Arispe	+14	0	117	0	1,593	0	56	0	952
Gina PRI	Acuña	-17	0	78	21	1,611	0	70	0	938
B. Progressive ambition (SMD→municipio)										
Lencho PRI	Frontera	+8	83	41	0	1,586	42	28	0	938
Sonia PRI	P. Negras	+12	0	88	0	1,622	0	56	0	952
Analsabel PRI	San Pedro	+3	48	75	0	1,587	14	42	0	952
C. Progressive ambition (PR→municipio)										
Armando PAN	Frontera	-8	1,635	75	0	0	966	42	0	0
Lariza PAN	P. Negras	-12	1,635	75	0	0	966	42	0	0
Leonel PPC	Matamoros	-7	1,648	62	0	0	966	42	0	0

For respondent i , we estimate equation

$$\begin{aligned}\text{logit}(\text{recognize}_i) = & \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{retained}_i + \beta_2 \text{lost}_i \\ & + \beta_3 \text{delivered}_i + \beta_4 \text{interested}_i + \beta_5 \text{smartphone}_i \\ & + \beta_6 \text{panista}_i + \beta_7 \text{priista}_i + \beta_8 \text{morenista}_i + \text{error}_i.\end{aligned}$$

Results

	(1) Javier	(2) Lily	(3) Gina	(4) Lencho	(5) Sonia	(6) A.Isabel	(7) Armando	(8) Lariza	(9) Leonel
retained	1.85*** (.33)	2.37*** (.33)	4.91*** (.41)	3.10*** (.43)	3.02*** (.32)	4.59*** (.44)	1.10* (.58)	-.22 (.75)	2.93*** (.38)
lost	1.29* (.68)			1.27*** (.47)		1.46* (.81)			
delivered	.86*** (.25)	.76*** (.27)	1.46*** (.34)	.51* (.30)	.93*** (.27)	.26 (.34)	.51 (.37)	.85*** (.27)	.26 (.33)
interested	.35 (.24)	1.03*** (.27)	1.34*** (.34)	.82*** (.28)	.52** (.26)	.74** (.33)	.71** (.36)	.28 (.27)	.57* (.31)
smartphone	-.27 (.24)	.37 (.27)	-.18 (.31)	-.47* (.28)	.21 (.26)	-.05 (.31)	-.43 (.35)	.26 (.27)	-.42 (.30)
panista	.15 (.39)	-.11 (.41)	-.03 (.52)	1.18*** (.35)	.02 (.41)	.80* (.44)	.78* (.47)	.34 (.39)	1.15*** (.41)
priista	.37 (.28)	.15 (.30)	-.01 (.38)	-.21 (.37)	.17 (.29)	.74** (.35)	.43 (.41)	.19 (.31)	.16 (.39)
morenista	-.07 (.63)	.59 (.51)	.26 (.74)	.76 (.55)	-1.17 (1.04)		-.26 (1.05)	-1.01 (1.03)	.88 (.56)
Intercept	-3.03*** (.25)	-3.82*** (.30)	-4.45*** (.39)	-3.48*** (.30)	-3.49*** (.28)	-3.99*** (.35)	-3.87*** (.37)	-3.29*** (.28)	-3.58*** (.30)
Observations	1,008	1,008	1,008	1,008	1,008	1,008	1,008	1,008	1,008
Log Likelihood	-262.32	-231.34	-169.84	-205.60	-235.20	-175.64	-147.10	-229.85	-182.89

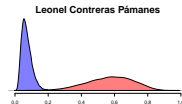
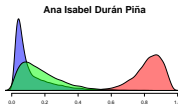
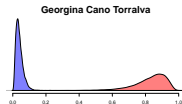
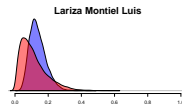
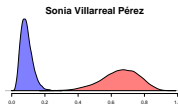
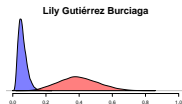
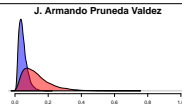
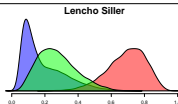
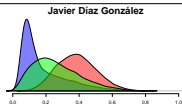
*p<.1; **p<.05; ***p<.01

Results (name recognition in x-axis)

Static ambition

Progressive ambition SMD

Progressive ambition PR



Hypotheses:

incumbency	$n < g < l = r$
campaign	$n = l < g = r$

Model and incumbent	Test		
	$n < r$	$n < l$	$l < r$
SMD, static ambition			
1 Javier Díaz González	$< .001$.029	.221
2 Lily Gutiérrez Burciaga	$< .001$	—	—
3 Gina Cano Torralva	$< .001$	—	—

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

Model and incumbent	Test		
	$n < r$	$n < l$	$l < r$
SMD, progressive ambition			
4 Lencho Siller	$< .001$.003	.001
5 Sonia Villarreal Pérez	$< .001$	—	—
6 Ana Isabel Durán Piña	$< .001$.036	$< .001$
PR, progressive ambition			
7 Armando Pruneda Valdez	.030	—	—
8 Lariza Montiel Luis	.385	—	—
9 Leonel Contreras Pámanes	$< .001$	—	—

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

- Survey evidence consistent with incumbency effect, but can't fully rule out campaign
- Separation needs more incumbents on the ballot
- **Paper re-do:**
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 - 3 further ideas?

Thank you!

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