Redistricting and the separation of incumbency and campaign effects: name recognition in Coahuila[*]

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Abstract

We investigate candidate name recognition in races for the state of Coahuila assembly in 2017. Name familiarity has been associated with efforts by representatives to cultivate a personal vote towards reeelection. We exploit redistricting prior to the races to identify differentials in name familiarity attributable theoretically to incumbency effects—and not to campaign effects, which occur simultaneously. Even if the instrument failed to include sufficient sampling points for a full separation due to few incumbents on the ballot, we detect significant shifts in name recognition in accordance with theoretical expectations. Survey evidence of the first election held after Mexico recently dropped single-term limits suggests that the few ambitious lawmakers solidified their electoral connection.

> In 1952, campaign buttons said "I like Ike," but at rallies people said "*We* like Ike." ... The transformation of "What have you done for me lately?" into "What have you done for *us* lately?" is the essence of campaigning.
>
> —Popkin, *The Reasoning Voter* (1991:12)

> Even if party identification continues to have primacy in vote choice, the syndrome of factors encapsulated by "incumbency" follows a close second
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> —Cain, Ferejohn, and Fiorina, *The Personal Vote* (1987:167)

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1 Introduction

We rely on redistricting to separate campaign and incumbency effects in congressional elections. Both effects are well established.

Vote swings can be viewed as the sum of long- and short-term forces. The district's economic and socio-demographic makeup determines long-term forces, which voters' party identifications encapsulate. This structure remains mostly unchanged from one election to the next, yielding the notion of a district's "normal vote" (Converse 1966). Short-term forces favor one candidate or another in a given year, with fluctuating intensity, but ultimately vanish, reverting the district back to its normal vote. Prominent short-term forces are the effects of campaigns (Downs 1957, Jacobson 1990, Moreno 2009) and incumbency (Erikson 1971, Gelman and King 1991, Mayhew 1974*b*), along with presidential (Ferejohn and Calvert 1984) and gubernatorial coattails (Magar 2012), national party tides (Cox and McCubbins 2007:104-7), and so forth.

Incumbency effects originate in the maintenance of and reliance upon a pre-existing coalition of voters. This would tend to place them among long-term forces, except that they are associated with a person, the candidate, and candidates can change in a snap. Incumbency effects are tantamount to what Cain, Ferejohn and Fiorina (1987:9) call the personal vote, "that portion of a candidate's electoral support which originates in his or her personal qualities, qualifications, activities, and record". Conversely, campaign effects are successful attempts to shift a prior coalition, by breaking it or by expanding it towards new groups and interests. "Campaigns transform unstructured and diverse interests into a single coalition, making a single cleavage dominant" (Popkin 1991:12).

Campaign and incumbency effects are simultaneous. Unless the seat is open, which removes the incumbency effect, challengers campaign to unseat an incumbent. Challenger success corresponds to a campaign effect larger than the effect of incumbency. But, in general, it is unclear how much vote swings owe to each of this pair of effects. We propose a separating method that relies on redistricting. Periodic changes in district boundary delimitation migrate some groups from one district to another. So even with incumbents running for another term in office, these voters will not find theirs' on the ballot. We generate expectations on name familiarity depending on the geographic location of voters. The procedure is applicable to other systems promoting the personal vote (Carey and Shugart 1995) where districts are re-drawn periodically.

We take advantage of the recent removal of single-term limits in Mexico to present the procedure. Prior to the reform, incumbents accross the board had to retire. The reform coincided with redistricting, offering some leverage to see the procedure at work. The

manuscript joins the few investigations of consecutive reelection in Mexico. Such studies focus on plenary speech. Motolinia (2021) uncovers a substantial inter-term surge in plenary time devoted to particularistic legislation in post-reform state assemblies relative to the rest. In the federal Congress, Magar (2021) finds that single-member district deputies freed of single-term limits made significantly more and longer speeches than the rest, even after controlling for other correlates such as the member's party size and majority status, seniority, and the position in the chamber hierarchy. We contribute by offering a first view of the reform from the perspective of public opinion.

We included items to tap attitudes towards reelection—including name recognition (cf. Cain, Ferejohn and Fiorina 1987)—among respondents to a pre-election survey in the state of Coahuila, in northern Mexico. Coahuila's 2017 elections were the first where incumbents of any sort were up for consecutive reelection since the 1930s (see Magar 2017). Identifying precincts that mapmakers moved across districts, we test expectations of differentials in the degree of name recognition in clear and distrinct geographical areas. While our empirical strategy had drawbacks preventing a test of the relative sizes of campaign vs. incumbency effects, survey evidence uncovers patterns of name familiarity consistent with the personal vote. Voters in the district are more familiar with their representative than those outside. And familiarity is strongest in areas that remained inside the district after the map was redrawn, than in areas that migrated to the next district.

The paper proceeds thus. Section 1 elaborates the electoral connection and notions of static and non-static ambition among politicians. Section 2 describes the Mexican reform, highlighting institutional limitations that might render reelection meaningless. Section 3 develops the procedure to separate campaign from incumbency effects by means of redistricting. Section 4 presents the survey and a multivariate model of name recognition. Section 5 concludes.

2   Political ambition and democracy

Mayhew's *Electoral Connection* (1974*a*) set a research program on congressional politics in motion. At the classic book's core is a model of purposive lawmakers. The crucial premise is motivational, stylizing members of the U.S. Congress as automatons with a unique, all-encompassing goal: reelection for another term in office. Mayhew does not deny that other worries might deny members a good night sleep—turning a prioritary program into law, climbing the chamber's hierarchy, her/his legacy are just some examples. But none of that would be achieved if the member fails to reelect.

Another premise is instrumental: reelection is a function of the member's reputation

for delivering goods to the district. Team production of legislation, where each member's effort is not immediately evident, puts obstacles for reputation building. And problems of ascription equate credit claiming for delivery to cheap talk. Hence members' preference for particularistic goods. Their distinguishing trait is that their production and/or delivery depends on the member's personal effort (Haggard and McCubbins 2001). Two instances of particularistinc goods are constituency service, such as staff offering help tracking down lost federal senior citizen entitlement paychecks, and pork-barrel legislation, such as spending and jobs earmarked for the district (Cain, Ferejohn and Fiorina 1987). The 2022 U.S. federal budget offers has thousands of examples. "I'm glad and proud of them," said Senator Richard C. Shelby of Alabama, claiming credit for $551 million covering 16 earmarks in the $1.5 trillion spending signed by President Biden. "Mr. Shelby [is] a legendary pork-barreler who has no fewer than seven buildings named after him in Alabama. The latest spending package adds another, renaming a federal building and courthouse in Tuscaloosa for him" (Broadwater, Cochrane and Parlapiano 2022). Incumbents have full control to direct pork where the political logic indicates, creating (this is crucial) a responsibility link.

Delivery need not involve every constituent in the district. Groups jeopardizing reelection by dropping support are much more important than others. Cox and McCubbins (1986) call them *core constituents*. Other things constant, it is rational (and less risky) to work in preserving a coalition that made you win in the past, by delivering to core constituents, rather than attempting to build a new one from scratch.

Cultivating a personal vote by nurturing a reputation for delivering breeds visibility. Survey evidence establishes this connection, measuring visibility with name familiarity (Abramowitz 1975). Compared to those who did not, and other things constant, respondents who met their representative personally were twice as likely in the U.S., and 1.5 times as likely in the U.K., to correctly recall their name. The same goes for respondents who heard the member speak and those who talked to staff (Cain, Ferejohn and Fiorina 1987:34). We rely on name familiarity below to gauge the personal vote in the analysis.

3   A Minimal Effects Hypothesis

It is far from evident that the North American electoral connection model extends to democracies in general, and to Mexico in particular (Jones, Saiegh, Spiller and Tommasi 2002, Samuels 2003). Skeptics feed on two lines of argument, the party lock and a lack of interest for reelection.

3.1 The lock

Mexican reformers gave the right of reelection not to the representative but to her party. Incumbents can run for reelection if, and only if, the party that elected them to office nominates them again. Pundits dubbed this the "party lock," granting the apparatchik a veto on the representative's renomination. More often than not in competitive systems, parties let national leaders deny candidates the use of the party label if they choose to run (Ranney 1981:85).[1] The party lock is more formidable still. Unless she jumped ship in the first half of the term, once blocked by her party against renomination, a member cannot seek refuge in another party. Mexican party leaders can therefore veto an incumbent's renomination *even by other parties*.

As a consequence, a mayor or legislator sensing tension between core supporters' and party leaders' interests faces a predicament. Siding systematically with core supporters might expose her to the wrath of the leadership and, as retaliation, she may be excluded from the ballot—keeping the discipline mechanism of single-term limits (Weldon 1997) intact. In a blog article on the reform, Merino, Fierro and Zarkin (2013) warn that "we shall gain no political leverage over representatives, nor shall government be more responsive... with this pseudo-reelection." In other words, skeptics expect the incumbency effect in Mexico will be negligible, at best.[2]

We can also view the problem as one of shades-of-gray rather than black-or-white. Canceling the electoral connection totally requires incumbents *fully* lacking resources to fend off leadership pressure. Some politicians are, no doubt, in such a position—freshmen, personal appointees, etc. But any resource of this nature opens some room for negotiation between incumbent and party. This is the essence of legislative party theory (Aldrich and Rohde 2001, Cox and McCubbins 2007).

One resource is electoral competitiveness. Zaller (1998) models incumbents as prize

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[1] Until the Supreme Court declared it unconstitutional, Brazil's *candidato nato* clause imposed the reverse relationship between party and incumbent, giving the second power to override the leadership veto on renomination (Mainwaring 1991). Major parties in the United Kingdom rely on a mix, district parties selecting candidates that the national party can veto (Mikulska and Scarrow 2010).

[2] Draining member independence was in the minds of lawmakers. The reform bill's summary (*exposición de motivos*) does not even mention the party lock, but leaders' fear of losing their firm grip upon elected officeholders transpired in floor debate. The diario de los debates for the December 3rd, 2013 session, when the reported bill was considered and approved, registers Sen. Javier Corral's (PAN–Chihuahua) intervention in favor of the report. He mentioned legislators' opportunism against their party: "I would have preferred a direct reelection" he said, "but also believe that this report mitigates... political turncoats" Later on in the session, introducing a failed amendment to delete the party lock, Sen. Armando Ríos Piter (PRD–Guerrero) further elaborated: "it is important to drop [the lock]", he argued, "[b]ecause if we wish the evaluation be made by citizens we cannot let it depend on a political party" whom, in roll calls, will be watchful that the "legislator does not escape the sheepfold." See `http://www.diputados.gob.mx/sedia/biblio/prog_leg/135_DOF_10feb14.pdf`.

fighters and the electoral arena as selection mechanism: winners demonstrate their "natural advantage" by defeating challengers. Personal electoral machines, political dynasties, or outstanding charisma are among elements feeding incumbents' natural advantage. From this perspective, the party can stubbornly prevent a prize fighter's attempts to be on the ballot, but does so at the peril of losing the district. The party lock may prevent the incumbent from entering the race, but she retains the option of moving her machinery and competitive resources to another campaign, ensuring that her party is beaten.

To clarify, the vote share in the district or municipality can be sketched as the sum of three components: $P + I + O = 100$. Here P is the party's expected vote percentage without the incumbent's machine, I is the vote that the incumbent can mobilize personally, and O is the opposition's expected vote. Any candidate controlling $I \geq |P - O|$ votes is in a position to impose her re-nomination to party leaders.[3] The resourceful should therefore negotiate with the party without removing the electoral connection completely.

3.2 The lack

Pessimism also feeds on reelection apathy, which would further dilute incumbency effects. Disinterest by Latin American politicians for reelecting to the assembly leads Morgenstern (2002) to distinguish between static and non-static ambitions. A look towards reelection rates in a handful of the continent's cases shows the need for Schlesinger's (1966) original intuition.

Consider three indicators in Table 1. Column *a* reports the percentage of lawmakers who ran again for the same office at the end of their terms, capturing the notion of static ambition: politicians pursuing a congressional career by trying to repeat in office. Variation is notable. If 9 out of 10 U.S. incumbents regularly manifest static ambition, a bare quarter did in Argentina since the return to democracy, and about half in Mexico and Colombia. Static ambition progressively rises in Uruguay, Brazil, and Chile, none really approaching the rate of the U.S. Congress.

Desire requires ability for achievement, and columns *b* and *c* also report the conditional success rate (the percentage of renominated incumbents reelected) and the rate of return (the percentage of all members returning to the chamber in the consecutive term), respectively. The U.S. strikes the eye again, where 94 percent fulfilled their ambition, for a 20-year average return rate of 86 percent. With the exception of Uruguay, whose short sample overlaps the collapse of two-party dominance, conditional success rates are decently high. Compounding them with the low prevalence of static ambition, however,

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[3]Alternation in many states, districts, and municipalities since 1989 has, in fact, been the result of such defections and party splits [Ver manuscrito q me dio FEE].

| | Incumbents (%) who | | |
Case	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.

yields remarkably low rates of return south of the Río Bravo. Brazil and Chile, with rates between 50 and 60 percent, still remained distant from the U.S. Return rates drop to one-third in Mexico, Colombia, and Uruguay, and below 20 percent in Argentina (despite the second highest conditional success rate in the region).

The Mexican indicators in Table 1 are for the 2021 race only, when federal term limits were dropped (and exclude party-appointed members elected in the proportional representation tier of the mixed system from the counts). It stands second to last. Is static ambition in Mexico doomed to remain at near-Argentine levels? History suggests otherwise. Table 2 reports the return rate of federal deputies observed in the years prior to the adoption of single-term limits in 1934. At 18 percent, the return rate upon adoption of the Revolutionary constitution is almost indistinguishable from present-day Argentina. But it grew at rapid pace in the mid-1920s, doubling by 1928 to 40 percent, *en route* to meet present-day Brazil. Progress was arrested in 1930 when, setting the stage for the centralization of authority under the PRI, reformers removed 128 of the 281 seats Congress had had, 46 percent of all, cunningly targeting opponents of *Jefe Máximo* Calles (see Godoy Rueda 2014:23). A stable return rate that year despite a sharp denominator drop implies that the apportionment *blitz* was orthogonal to static ambition.

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).

4 Redistricting as source of hypotheses

Whether or not the shades-of-gray approach is correct and whether or not static ambition crystallizes as it did in the 1920s can be resolved empirically. We examine name recognition in Coahuila for this task. If we could find a degree of name recognition among voters in the district unseen outside the district, it still would not fully answer the empirical question. Is the finding due to the personal vote, as we argue in section 1? Or are voters familiar simply because of the campaign itself, which happens simultaneously and inevitably if the incumbent in on the ballot?

We see three approaches to improve the answer.

1. Compare name familiarity in districts with an incumbent in the ballot to districts without. A systematic difference is attributable to incumbency.

2. Compare name familiarity in each district early in the campaign and then towards the end. Systematic differences are attributable to campaigns.

3. Take advantage of redistricting to compare name familiarity among geographical groups of voters who either moved into, moved out of, or remained in the district.

We describe the third.

Coahuila state legislators had single-term limits lifted in 2017 and their legislative district boundaries redrawn prior to the race (our focus is the sixteen single-member plurality districts, leaving the proportional representation lists of the mixed electoral system at the

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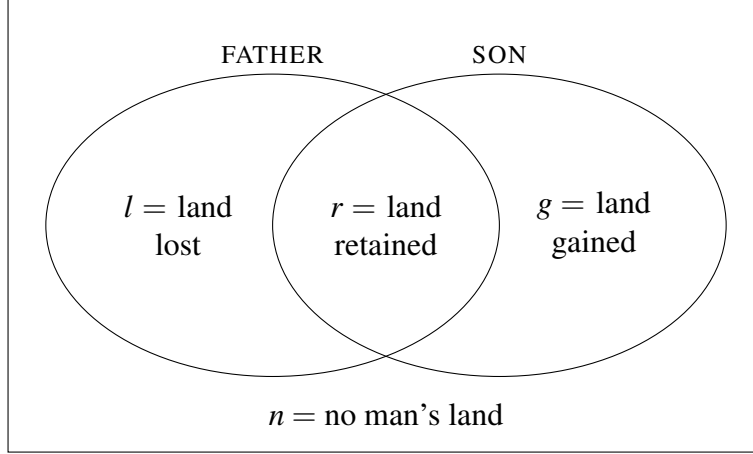
Figure 1: Four clear and distinct lands arise from redistricting. FATHER and SON represent 2014 and 2017 map districts, respectively.

hind).[4] We exploit this coincidence to generate falsifiable hypotheses. The idea is simple. Incumbents who sought to return to office competed in districts more or less different from those they erstwhile represented. We expect the degree of dissimilarity in their constituents to reveal geographically differentiated patterns of name recognition.

For this purpose, we begin by identifying 'father' and 'son' districts. We construe district genealogy as Cox and Katz (2002) do. One-by-one, we compare districts in the new map (the offspring) to those in the old map, in order to identify the district it shares the most voters with. This is the district's father. Figure 1 pictures a Venn diagram of one father (from the 2014 map) and son (from the 2017 map) pair. Ovals are simplified versions of district boundaries (minus geographic accidents typical of real-world maps). Four terrains can be distinguished. Intersection r is land (and the voters who live there) that the son has retained from its father. By construction, r is never empty (else the district would be an orphan). To the left is land l that the son has lost from the father by the redistricting, and to the right lies land g that the son has gained from one or more other old-map districts. Lands l and g represent change in the map, and one, the other, or both could be empty. Land n not belonging to any of the ovals is no man's land, with no interest whatsoever for the incumbent at hand.

The approach quantifies the degree of change in any member's electorate brought by redistricting. Comparing the land father and son share in common with land lost and won

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[4]The northern state of Coahuila, which shares a border with Texas in the United States, was the first instance where politicians could reelect consecutively after the 2014 electoral reform. As part of the same reform, state electoral boards were stripped of redistricting authority. The new national election board, the Instituto Nacional Electoral (INE) was put in charge of periodically redrawing state district lines, and was obliged to produce new maps for the first post-reform legislative elections. See Trelles, Altman, Magar and McDonald (2016) and Magar (2017).

Son district (2017)	Father district (2014)	S	Incumbent	Revealed ambition
XII-Ramos Arizpe	V-Ramos Arizpe	1.000	Lily Gutiérrez Burciaga	**static**
I-Acuña	XV-Acuña	.798	Georgina Cano Torralva	**static**
II-Piedras Negras	XVI-Piedras Negras	.791	Sonia Villarreal Pérez	progressive
X-Matamoros	VII-Torreón	.705	Shamir Fernández Hernández	none
XIV-Saltillo	I-Saltillo	.700	Javier Díaz González	**static**
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
V-Monclova	XII-Monclova	.408	Melchor Sánchez de la Fuente	none
VI-Frontera	XI-Frontera	.377	Lencho Siller Linaje	progressive
XIII-Saltillo	III-Saltillo	.236	José María Fraustro 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*.)

yields an index of district similarity S_i for district *i*. If `father`$_i$ and `son`$_i$ denote, respectively, voters in the father and son districts, then $S_i = \frac{\texttt{father}_i \cap \texttt{son}_i}{\texttt{father}_i \cup \texttt{son}_i} = \frac{r}{l+r+g}$. The index reaches maximum value $S_j = 1$ when father and son are identical (i.e., $l = g = \varnothing$), dropping gradually as intersection r shrinks relative to $l+g$. Index S tends to zero when father and son intersect minimally (as r is never empty, zero is not reached).

Table 3 reports Coahuila's district similarity in 2017. We operationalize S with electoral *secciones* an not voters directly.[5] Our survey identifies secciones where respondents registered for voting, so this suffices for the test. The median, located between districts XVI and III, shares just 55 percent secciones when reunited with its father. Similarity looks scant: if the member ran for consecutive reelection and knew personally every voter she

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[5]Data is from INE's official election returns and redistricting archives, available at `www.ine.mx`. *Secciones electorales* are analogous to U.S. census tracts (median sección population in the 2010 census was 1,280, with a maximum at 79,232; median tract population in the 2010 census was 3,995, with a maximum at 37,452). Secciones are the basic building blocks for district cartography. The old (called here 2014 for clarity, but inaugurated in 2011) and new (2017) maps relate 1,710 secciones in the state to 16 legislative districts (available at `https://github.com/emagar/mxDistritos/blob/master/mapasComparados/loc/coaLoc.csv`.) With our operationalization, S's value is the share of secciones shared by father and son share vis-à-vis secciones in any of them. If electoral secciones all had identical populations, our operationalization would be identical to Cox and Katz's, who rely on shared population instead. As population heterogeneity rises, so do discrepancies between both versions of S across districts. Electoral secciones have relatively homogeneous populations nationwide: 99 percent had between 100 and 5,700 inhabitants in the 2010 census.

	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.

represented during the term that is expiring, she would recognize only a bit overhalf of her new constituents. S's inter-quartile range is .4–.7.

From the electoral connection's perspective, changes this big in district geography should discourage static ambition, pushing incumbents to retirement. And so it did. We lack evidence to support that redistricting, and not something else, forced thirteen of sixteen SMD incumbents to not seek reelection. But the fact is that the three who did represented districts with much higher similarity indexes (the right-most column in the table reports incumbents' revealed ambition), which is consistent with this interpretation. Lily Gutiérrez Burciaga's constituents in Ramos Arizpe in fact changed nothing at all (she ran in the only district with $S = 1$). Georgina Cano Torralva from Acuña and Javier Díaz González from Saltillo retained 8 and 7 of every 10 voters, respectively.

With simple logic, we distinguish effects of campaigns and incumbency on name familiarity in lands l, r, g, and n. The more redistricting changed the son from its father, the more different the "battlefield" ahead will appear to a member in office and to a candidate on the campaign trail. Election campaigns know the precise limits of the new district where effort must be focalized (the son)—billboards and wall paintings, printed flier distribution and robocalls, meetings with neighbors alone or in the company of candidates higher in the ticket, vote-buying with construction material and debit cards, and so forth (Langston n.d.). Constituency service, however, has a less distinct perspective, at least until the new district map is published. At that point, incumbents discover that mapmakers turned past constituency service in lost land l into sunk cost, as it will not pay off towards reelection. And while retained land r remains well-treaded, they also must advance into uncharted territory g that was gained.

This generates somewhat different predictions summarized in Table 4. The quantity of interest is the expected probability that a respondent picked at random among voters registered in one of the four lands is familiar with the candidate's name. Campaign effects in name familiarity, if any, occur throughout the district (i.e., the son $r \cup g$), with negligible spillover beyond its borders. There is therefore no ground to expect a difference in name familiarity inside the district (which the table reports as $r = g$), but there is ground to expect such difference between the district and the rest. Expectations from the table's campaign column boil down to $l = n < r = g$.

Incumbent name familiarity, if any, takes place in the reunion of father and son district areas—with varying intensities. While retained land r experienced a full three-year term of constituency service, gained land g only received the member's attention with knowledge that it would be part of the new district. Cultivating a personal vote requires time, so we expect higher name familiarity in land r than in land g ($r > g$ in the table). Likewise, the incumbent with finite effort stopped servicing land l when it became certain it would be lost to redistricting, so we again expect $r > l$. And with the period between new map publication and the next election small relative to the time the incumbent spent servicing the parent district, we also expect $l > g$ in name familiarity. Expectations from the incumbency column in the table boil down to $n < g < l < r$.

Note that in table rows 2, 3, and 6, campaign and incumbency expectations on name familiarity are identical. Comparison of land areas in those rows offers no element to separate effects: detecting a signal, it must me attributed to the total effect, reported in the third column. But expectations in rows 1, 4, and 5 are contradictory, so an empirical relationship discriminates theoretical effects. Row 4 is the clearest: observing $l < g$ among respondents implies a campaign effect in name recognition larger than the incumbency effect; observing $l > g$, an incumbency larger in relative size.

Since Coahuila offered few members with static ambition, we extend exploration to members with progressive ambition too. These are three deputies who sought municipal office. The trick for analysis is to make the target municipality's territory into a counterfactual son district. Identifying the corresponding l, r, g, and n distinct lands is trivial. But the important element of surprise in redistricting is absent: members know what "son district" (i.e., municipality) their progressive ambition points towards, and can therefore cultivate a personal vote *ex-ante* (Lucardi and Micozzi 2016). Comparability with static ambition is thus not ideal, but offers additional perspective.

5 The survey

We study the mass component of the personal vote with an original, face-to-face pre-election survey in Coahuila, two weeks ahead of polling for state deputies (concurrent with a gubernatorial and municipal races).[6] The survey includes a battery of questions on name recognition inspired from Cain, Ferejohn and Fiorina (1987). We coded name recognition indicators for six incumbents in Table 3, all single-member districts representatives. Three proportional-representation lawmakers, not analyzed, also ran for municipal office. Their names were also mentioned in the questionnaire.

We instrumented name familiarity as name *recognition*. We relied on close-ended questions mentioning the six incumbents' names (along the names of the three unanalyzed PR members with progressive ambition), asking respondents how much they remembered each name. The appendix reports questionnaire item #25, among others. We thus coded six dichotomous dependent variables, one per ambitious member. Respondents had four possible answers: the name is well-known (*muy conocido*), somewhat known (*algo conocido*), little known (*poco conocido*), and unknown (*nada conocido*). A member's name familiarity indicator `recognize`$_i$ takes value 1 if respondent *i* gave a somewhat-known or a well-known answer; 0 otherwise. (An anternative coding, indicating recognition in any degree was also analyzed, with similar results.)[7]. Cain, Ferejohn, and Fionina also rely on name recall—capacity to say the deputy's name correctly—which we exclude due to questionnaire size constraints. We intend to rely on recall too in future studies.

Secciones electorales were used as stratified sampling points, yielding the geographic indicators needed to identify members' four redistricting areas of theoretical interest. No sampling took place in in land areas gained by any district whose incumbent ran for re-election. This is quite unfortunate and an obstacle of our empirical study: by excluding respondents in area *g* that districts with an incumbent on the ballot gained, we cannot observe two of three separation scenarios in Table 4. And among unobserved scenarios involving land gained is the strongest prediction in row 4—predictions point in opposite directions. The very low prevalence of static ambition in Coahuila 2017 constitutes this obstacle. Future public opinion research, when static ambition becomes more prevalent (as indeed happened across the board in 2018 and 2021), will overcome this limitation with

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[6]The survey was commissioned to Alejandro Moreno by *El Financiero* newspaper (interviews were conducted from between May 19–21, 2017, published May 25). A sample of 1,008 registered voters was interviewed in person in households. Urban/rural electoral secciones were stratified, then a random sample taken to select 72 points throughout the state, obtaining 14 randomly-selected interviews in each. The 95-percent confidence interval of inferences has a $\pm 3.1\%$ error. The non-response rate was 32%, which is standard across public opinion studies.

[7]EMM: verify this claim

ease.

While unable to totally rule out the effect of campaigns, our survey reveals statistically significant and substantive total effects in name recognition consistent with the personal vote. This is an important finding.

We analyze name recognition with equation

$$
\begin{aligned}
\text{logit}(\texttt{recognize}_i) = {} & \beta_0 + \beta_1 \texttt{retained}_i + \beta_2 \texttt{lost}_i + \beta_3 \texttt{delivered}_i \\
& + \beta_4 \texttt{interested}_i + \beta_5 \texttt{smartphone}_i + \beta_6 \texttt{panista}_i \quad (1) \\
& + \beta_7 \texttt{priista}_i + \beta_8 \texttt{morenista}_i + \texttt{error}_i.
\end{aligned}
$$

The model includes two geographic indicators: $\texttt{retained}_i$ equals 1 if respondent i is a voter registered in area r, 0 otherwise; and $\texttt{lost}_i$ equals 1 if respondent i is a registered voter in area l, 0 otherwise. The geographic regressors are mutually-exclusive but not exhaustive, thus avoiding the dummy trap. The omitted category is for respondents in area n, so these indicators' coefficients are interpreted against it. The model also includes indicators for incumbent responsiveness ($\texttt{delivered}_i$ equals 1 if the respondent said the incumbent did something for the district, 0 otherwise), for interest in politics ($\texttt{interested}_i$ equals 1 if the respondent expressed interest in politics, 0 otherwise), for socioeconomic status ($\texttt{smartphone}_i$ equals 1 if the respondent said owning such device, 0 otherwise), and controls for partisanship ($\texttt{panista}_i$, $\texttt{priista}_i$, and $\texttt{morenista}_i$ equal 1 if the respondent self-identified with the party in question, 0 otherwise).

We code all dichotomous variables in the model to indicate affirmative responses. So, as the few nulls among respondents' answers (see the Appendix, reporting frequencies for all survey questions) are among non-indicated values, we do not lose any subject in the estimation (i.e., $N = 1008$).[8]

Geographic controls test hypotheses. We hold three expectations: that $\texttt{retained}_i$'s regression coefficient is positive, that $\texttt{lost}_i$'s is positive, and that the first coefficient is larger than the second. Note that the equation excludes variable $\texttt{gained}_i$ (an indicator for area g). This is a weakness in our data and study. Random sampling of survey points produced no secciones in areas gained by legislative districts. This limitation shuts out the possibility to test some of the separation hypotheses. Future research designs should explicitly include all four geographical areas into consideration.

Predictions $r > n$ and $r > l$ are common to both effects in Table 4. Only $l > n$ owes to

---

[8]So, for instance, we interpret five non-responses to the $\texttt{smartphone}$ question #30 as not owning such device, coding it zero. We do likewise for dummies $\texttt{delivered}$ (twelve non-responses to question #22) and $\texttt{interested}$ (two to question #2). There were no non-responses to the party identification questions.

Incumbent	District/municipio	Margin	Secciones				Respondents			
			l	*r*	*g*	*n*	*l*	*r*	*g*	*n*
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
AnaIsabel PRI	San Pedro	+3	48	75	0	1,587	14	42	0	952

Table 5: Incumbents and their terrain. Members with static ambition—from a single member district (SMD) running for a SMD—are distinguished from those with two types of progressive ambition—to a municipality from a SMD and from a PR seat. The margin is the percentage difference between the winner and runner-up, positive if the incumbent won, negative otherwise. The first set of l, r, g, n reports the number of electoral secciones (of 1,710 total in the state) in each category of terrain. The second reports the number of respondents sampled (out of 1,008) in each terrain category.

incumbency only, so confirmation that $lost_i$ gets a positive coefficient is not attributable to campaigns. Future design should make sure to include respondents in area g in order to get more separating predictions. We might also have included questions on challenger and open-seat candidate name recognition (they only experience campaign effects). A second survey at the start of the campaign would also have helped (campaigns swell incumbent and challenger name recognition in time, but incumbents should start from a substantially higher level).

Table 7 in the appendix reports full regression results. In the text we only summarize relevant hypothesis tests in Table 6. Most clear the test. But many missing to be confident that effects are from incumbent and not campaign.

We illustrate results through simulation in Figure 2.

6 Conclusion

Eric: Forthcoming

Despite an incomplete research design, we uncover evidence of name recognition consistent with the electoral connection model in Coahuila. Will make sure to sample respondents in g in future work, in order to compare contradictory expectations between campaign and incumbency effects.

| | Hypothesis | | |
Model and incumbent	$r > n$	$l > n$	$r > l$
Static ambition			
1 Javier Díaz González	$< .001$	.029	.221
2 Lily Gutiérrez Burciaga	$< .001$	—	—
3 Gina Cano Torralva	$< .001$	—	—
Progressive ambition			
4 Lencho Siller	$< .001$	.003	.001
5 Sonia Villarreal Pérez	$< .001$	—	—
6 Ana Isabel Durán Piña	$< .001$	.036	$< .001$

Table 6: Hypothesis tests. Cells report one-tailed p-values. The top-right cell, for instance, indicates that the null associated to model 1's $r > l$ hypothesis can only be rejected at the .221 level, way above the conventional .05 confidence level. Columns 1 and 2 test that coefficients of `retained` and `lost` are positive, column 3 that `retained`'s coefficient is greater than `lost`'s (LR test).
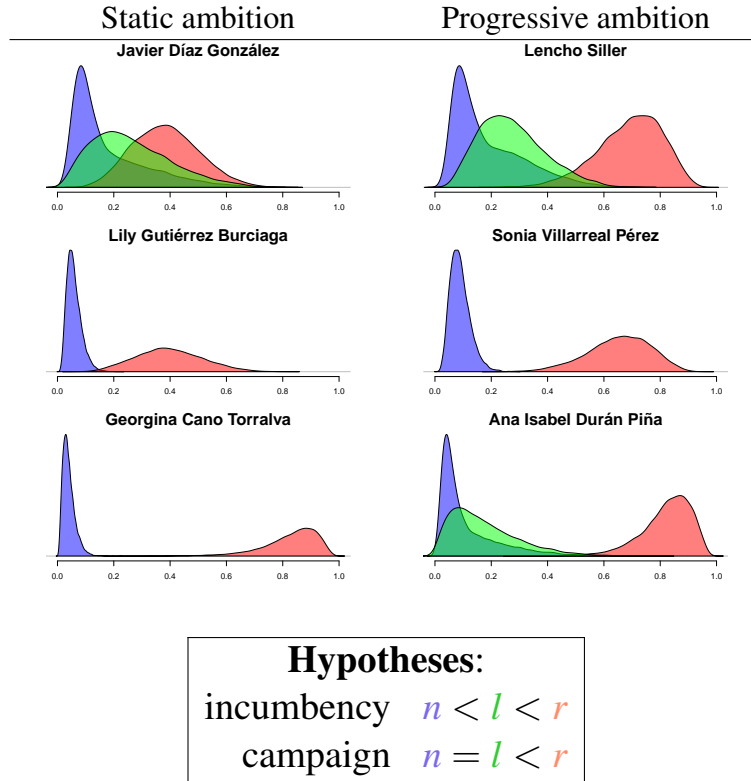
Figure 2: The probability of name recognition (x-axis). We portray simulations with Bayesian versions of regression models. The violet density is for respondents in area n, the green (when applicable) for respondents in area l, and the pink for respondents in area r. Incumbency leads to expect the purple 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.

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7 Appendix

7.1 Descriptive statistics: survey

Unlike absolute frequencies In the summaries below, relative frequencies are parenthesized (reporting percentages). All missing answers are reported (NS/NC = "No Answer/Don't Know"), so totals add to 1,008 respondents for all survey questions. Percentages may not add to 100 exactly due to rounding. The summary for 'Localidad' illustrates, afterwards labels are omitted for economy. Section 7.3 includes an English translation of the survey questions about consecutive reelection.

```
Localidad
  Urbana         Rural         Mixta         Total
  N     (%)      N     (%)      N     (%)      N     (%)
---------------------------------------------------
840    (83)     70    (7)      98    (10)    1008  (100)


Municipio (% only)
          ABASOLO              ACUÑA              ALLENDE              ARTEAGA
          (0.00)              (5.56)              (0.00)              (0.00)
          CANDELA             CASTAÑOS         CUATROCIENEGAS          ESCOBEDO
          (0.00)              (1.39)              (1.39)              (0.00)
FRANCISCO I. MADERO           FRONTERA        GENERAL CEPEDA          GUERRERO
          (1.39)              (2.78)              (1.39)              (0.00)
          HIDALGO             JIMENEZ              JUAREZ              LAMADRID
          (0.00)              (1.39)              (0.00)              (0.00)
          MATAMOROS           MONCLOVA             MORELOS             MUZQUIZ
          (4.17)              (6.94)              (0.00)              (2.78)
          NADADORES             NAVA               OCAMPO              PARRAS
          (0.00)              (1.39)              (0.00)              (1.39)
      PIEDRAS NEGRAS          PROGRESO         RAMOS ARIZPE            SABINAS
          (5.56)              (0.00)              (2.78)              (2.78)
          SACRAMENTO          SALTILLO      SAN BUENAVENTURA  SAN JUAN DE SABINAS
          (0.00)              (26.39)             (1.39)              (1.39)
          SAN PEDRO         SIERRA MOJADA           TORREON             VIESCA
          (4.17)              (0.00)              (23.61)             (0.00)
          VILLA UNION         ZARAGOZA              Total
          (0.00)              (0.00)              (100.00)


Sección electoral (N only)
   4    8    10   84  119  141  192  197  214  242  258  263  269  325  328  370
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------
  14   14   14   14   14   14   14   14   14   14   14   14   14   14   14   14
===============================================================================
 378  411  454  473  508  550  580  586  617  627  653  661  692  712  734  737
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------
  14   14   14   14   14   14   14   14   14   14   14   14   14   14   14   14
===============================================================================
 788  800  816  843  847  869  871  897  905  907  920  922  932  977  979 1042
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------
  14   14   14   14   14   14   14   14   14   14   14   14   14   14   14   14
```

```
================================================================================
1068 1109 1145 1157 1173 1184 1214 1221 1263 1272 1303 1314 1316 1351 1377 1388
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------
  14   14   14   14   14   14   14   14   14   14   14   14   14   14   14   14
================================================================================
1402 1447 1449 1464 1469 1623 1678 1703  Total
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------
  14   14   14   14   14   14   14   14  1008
```

Congressional district
```
        1        2        3        4        5        6        7     Total
------------------------------------------------------------------------
140 (14) 154 (15) 154 (15) 154 (15) 140 (14) 154 (15) 112 (11) 1008 (100)
```

State assembly district
```
     1       2       3       4       5       6       7       8       9      10      11      12      13
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
70 (7) 70 (7) 70 (7) 70 (7) 56 (6) 56 (6) 56 (6) 70 (7) 84 (8) 42 (4) 42 (4) 56 (6) 84 (8)
=====================================================================================================
    14      15      16    Total
-------------------------------
 56 (6) 84 (8) 42 (4) 1008 (100)
```

(Si tiene credencial para votar vigente) ¿Está registrada en este domicilio o en otro?
```
   En este        En otro
-------------------------
813   (81)      195   (19)
```

Sexo
```
   Hombre        Mujer
--------------------
502  (50)      506  (50)
```

Edad (grouped)
```
 [18,28)   [28,38)   [38,48)   [48,58)   [58,68)   [68,+)
---------------------------------------------------------
211 (21) 205 (20) 203 (20) 180 (18) 117 (12)  92  (9)
```

1 En su opinión, ¿cuál es el principal problema que hay actualmente en el Estado de
Coahuila? (ANOTAR TEXTUAL)   (%)
```
-----------------------------------------------
                           Campo    (0.2)
                       Corrupción  (13.7)
                        Desempleo  (12.4)
                         Economía   (6.5)
                        Educación   (0.8)
        Falta de buenos gobernantes  (0.9)
              Fenómenos naturales   (0.1)
Inflación/alza de precios/precios altos  (0.8)
             Inseguridad pública  (45.0)
                     Narcotráfico   (1.0)
                          Ninguno   (1.0)
                    Obras públicas   (0.4)
                          Pobreza   (3.1)
```

22

```
                Problemas políticos    (0.5)
                 Gobierno de epn       (0.3)
                Problemas sociales     (1.1)
                           Salud       (0.9)
              Servicios públicos       (9.7)
                           Todos       (1.0)
                           Otros       (0.4)
         Falta de ayuda a la gente     (0.2)
      Demasiados programas sociales    (0.1)
```

2 Por lo general, ¿cuánto le interesa la política? (LEER)

```
     Mucho       Algo       Poco       Nada       NS/NC
---------------------------------------------------------
122 (12.1)   259 (25.7)  324 (32.1)  301 (29.9)    2  (0.2)
```

3 ¿Sabe cuándo son las próximas elecciones para Gobernador del estado?
(NO LEER: 4 DE JUNIO 2017)

```
Sabe completa   Incompleta      NS/NC
--------------------------------------
   719  (71)    160  (16)    129  (13)
```

4 Del 0 a 10, donde 0 es nada probable y 10 muy probable, ¿qué tan probable es que
usted vote en las próximas elecciones para gobernador?

```
          0        1        2        3        4        5
---------------------------------------------------------------
 64 (6.3)  37 (3.7)  21 (2.1)  25 (2.5)  14 (1.4)  90 (8.9)
===============================================================
          6        7        8        9         10      NS/NC
---------------------------------------------------------------
 36 (3.6)  50 (5.0) 113 (11.2)  49 (4.9)  505 (50.1)    4 (0.4)
```

5 (USAR BOLETA 1) Si hoy hubiera elecciones para Gobernador del estado, ¿por
quién votaría

```
                                        N        (%)
-------------------------------------------------------
                 Guillermo Anaya, PAN   194    (19.2)
                Miguel A. Riquelme,PRI  238    (23.6)
                Mary T. Guajardo, PRD    15     (1.5)
                    José A. Pérez, PT    15     (1.5)
               Miguel A. Riquelme, PVEM  16     (1.6)
                 Guillermo Anaya, UDC    14     (1.4)
              Miguel A. Riquelme, PANAL   8     (0.8)
                Miguel A. Riquelme, PSI   4     (0.4)
                  Guillermo Anaya, PPC    2     (0.2)
        Miguel A. Riquelme, Partido Jóven  9    (0.9)
               Miguel A. Riquelme, PRC    3     (0.3)
               Miguel A. Riquelme, PCP    4     (0.4)
              Armando Guadiana, Morena  102    (10.1)
        Guillermo Anaya, Encuentro Social  7    (0.7)
           Javier Guerrero, Independiente  45   (4.5)
     Luis Horacio Salinas, Independiente  12    (1.2)
                        No registrado     5     (0.5)
                               Nulo      88     (8.7)
                            Ninguno      52     (5.2)
                              NS/NC     175    (17.4)
                              TOTAL    1008   (100.0)
```

```
6 ¿Usted ya decidió definitivamente por quién votar para gobernador,
tiene idea pero podría cambiar o aún no decide su voto?
                                  N      (%)
---------------------------------------------
Ya decidió definitivamente      558    (55)
Tiene idea, podría cambiar      150    (15)
            Aún no decide       246    (24)
                   NS/NC         54     (5)


7 ¿Cuál es su opinión acerca de los siguientes personajes políticos: muy buena, buena, mala,
muy mala,... o no lo conoce suficiente para opinar? (LEER Y ROTAR NOMBRES)


a Guillermo Anaya Llamas
    Muy                           Muy   Ni buena              No lo
   buena     Buena      Mala     mala   ni mala     NS/NC    conoce      Total
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------
 41 (4)   260 (26)   191 (19)  106 (11)  260 (26)  100 (10)  50 (5)  1008 (100)


b Miguel Ángel Riquelme
    Muy                           Muy   Ni buena              No lo
   buena     Buena      Mala     mala   ni mala     NS/NC    conoce      Total
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------
 45 (4)   224 (22)   225 (22)  187 (19)  195 (19)   93 (9)   39 (4)  1008 (100)


c Mary Telma Guajardo Villareal
    Muy                           Muy   Ni buena              No lo
   buena     Buena      Mala     mala   ni mala     NS/NC    conoce      Total
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------
  3 (0)    77 (8)    96 (10)   64 (6)   162 (16)  254 (25) 352 (35)  1008 (100)


d José Ángel Pérez Hernández
    Muy                           Muy   Ni buena              No lo
   buena     Buena      Mala     mala   ni mala     NS/NC    conoce      Total
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------
 15 (1)    95 (9)    95 (9)    76 (8)   164 (16)  274 (27) 289 (29)  1008 (100)


e Armando Guadiana Tijerina
    Muy                           Muy   Ni buena              No lo
   buena     Buena      Mala     mala   ni mala     NS/NC    conoce      Total
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------
 21 (2)   159 (16)   88  (9)   71  (7)   180 (18)  210 (21) 279 (28)  1008 (100)


f Javier Guerrero García
    Muy                           Muy   Ni buena              No lo
   buena     Buena      Mala     mala   ni mala     NS/NC    conoce      Total
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------
 16 (2)   137 (14)    74 (7)    61 (6)   180 (18)  256 (25) 284 (28)  1008 (100)


g Luis Horacio Salinas Valdez
    Muy                           Muy   Ni buena              No lo
   buena     Buena      Mala     mala   ni mala     NS/NC    conoce      Total
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------
  6 (1)    56 (6)    71 (7)    60 (6)   138 (14)  284 (28) 393 (39)  1008 (100)
```

```
8 ¿Si la elección para gobernador solamente fuera entre Guillermo Anaya y Miguel
Riquelme, ¿por quién votaría usted?                                N    (%)
----------------------------------------------------------------------
                    Guillermo Anaya del PAN-UDC-PPC-PES    334   (33)
Miguel Ángel Riquelme del PRI-PVEM-PANAL-PSI-PJ-PRC-PCP    314   (31)
                                             Ninguno       273   (27)
                                               NC/NC        87    (9)
```

```
9 ¿Quién cree que gane la elección para gobernador? (LEER)
Guillermo Anaya del PAN  Miguel Ángel Riquelme del PRI    Otro    NS/NC
----------------------------------------------------------------------
         258 (26)                   487 (48)   0 (0)   263 (26)
```

```
10 De los siguientes asuntos que le voy a leer, dígame por favor cuál es el
más importante que debe atender el próximo gobernador del estado:
(LEER)              N    (%)
------------------------------
        Inseguridad   319   (32)
            Pobreza   193   (19)
            Empleos   170   (17)
          Corrupción  170   (17)
           Educación   41    (4)
      Medio ambiente   10    (1)
La deuda del estado    66    (7)
               Otro     0    (0)
              NS/NC    39    (4)
```

```
11 (USAR BOLETA 2) Si hoy hubiera elecciones para Diputados Locales, ¿por cuál partido
votaría usted?
        PAN      PRI     PRD     PT    PVEM    UDC     MC   PANAL    PSI    PPC
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
206 (20) 264 (26)  16 (2)  20 (2)  17 (2)  23 (2)  6 (1)  13 (1)  1 (0)  7 (1)
==============================================================================
     PJ     PRC    PCP  MORENA    PES  Independiente    <NA>      Total
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
 15 (1)   3 (0)   6 (1)  88 (9)   5 (0)       35 (3)   283 (28)  1008 (100)
```

```
12 (USAR BOLETA 3) Si hoy hubiera elecciones para Presidente Municipal, ¿por cuál partido
votaría usted?
        PAN      PRI     PRD     PT    PVEM    UDC     MC   PANAL    PSI    PPC
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
218 (22) 287 (28)  17 (2)  14 (1)  11 (1)  22 (2)  8 (1)   5 (0)  1 (0)  9 (1)
==============================================================================
     PJ     PRC    PCP  MORENA    PES  Independiente    <NA>      Total
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
 13 (1)   2 (0)   6 (1)  78 (8)   5 (0)       38 (4)   274 (27)  1008 (100)
```

```
13 ¿Votó usted en las elecciones para gobernador en julio de 2011? (SÍ)
¿Por quién votó usted? (LEER OPCIONES)    N     (%)
----------------------------------------------------
     Guillermo Anaya Llamas, PAN-UDC      211    (21)
Rubén Moreira, PRI-PVEM-PANAL-PPC-PSI     367    (36)
                                Otro        0     (0)
                        No registrado      22     (2)
                                Nulo       21     (2)
```

```
                    No votó    255    (25)
                    NS/NC      132    (13)
```

14 En general, ¿usted aprueba o desaprueba el trabajo que Rubén Moreira está haciendo
como Gobernador del estado? (INSISTIR): ¿APRUEBA/DESAPRUEBA mucho o algo?

```
Aprueba mucho    Aprueba algo   Desaprueba algo   Desaprueba mucho   NS/NC
--------------------------------------------------------------------------
    88 (9)         294 (29)        233 (23)          357 (35)   36 (4)
```

15 En general, ¿está satisfecho o insatisfecho con la manera en que marchan las cosas
en el estado? (INSISTIR: ¿Muy o algo?) (5=NS/NC)

```
Muy satisfecho    Algo satisfecho    Algo satisfecho    Muy insatisfecho    NS/NC
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------
    52 (5)            329 (33)           318 (32)           297 (29)    12 (1)
```

16 En general, ¿usted aprueba o desaprueba el trabajo que Enrique Peña Nieto está
haciendo como Presidente de la República? (INSISTIR): ¿APRUEBA/DESAPRUEBA mucho o algo?

```
Aprueba mucho    Aprueba algo   Desaprueba algo   Desaprueba mucho   NS/NC
--------------------------------------------------------------------------
    72 (7)         199 (20)        184 (18)          531 (53)   22 (2)
```

17 ¿Cómo calificaría en estos momentos... (LEER):? muy bien, bien, mal o muy mal?

a La situación económica del estado

```
Muy bien     Bien     Mal   Muy mal   Ni bien ni mal   NS/NC
------------------------------------------------------------
  10 (1)  164 (16)  319 (32)  330 (33)    182 (18)   3 (0)
```

b Su situación económica familiar

```
Muy bien     Bien     Mal   Muy mal   Ni bien ni mal   NS/NC
------------------------------------------------------------
  20 (2)  344 (34)  231 (23)  130 (13)    282 (28)   1 (0)
```

c La seguridad pública en la comunidad donde vive

```
Muy bien     Bien     Mal   Muy mal   Ni bien ni mal   NS/NC
------------------------------------------------------------
  33 (3)  290 (29)  277 (27)  223 (22)    177 (18)   8 (1)
```

18 Generalmente, ¿usted se considera priista, panista, perredista morenista? (INSISTIR):
¿Se considera muy o algo?

```
        Priista        Panista       Perredista     Morenista
    muy    algo    muy   algo    muy    algo    muy    algo   NS/NC   Otro   Ninguno
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------
151 (15) 101 (10) 70 (7) 43 (4)  9 (1)   3 (0)  23 (2)  22 (2)   0 (0) 538 (53)  48 (5)
```

19 (TARJETA 1) En política la gente habla de "la izquierda" y "la derecha". En general,
¿cómo colocaría usted sus puntos de vista en esta escala, donde 1 es izquierda y 10 es
derecha? También puede escoger un punto intermedio.

```
        1       2      3      4      5      6     7      8      9     10    NS/NC
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------
115 (11) 29 (3) 52 (5) 48 (5) 214 (21) 87 (9) 49 (5) 79 (8) 32 (3) 127 (13) 176 (17)
```

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

```
 A favor  En contra  Le es indiferente   NS/NC
```

```
------------------------------------------------
121 (12)   511 (51)        320 (32)  56 (6)
```

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?

```
Todos   Algunos  No recuerda  No contestó
------------------------------------------
9 (1)   144 (14)     783 (78)      72 (7)
```

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?

```
Muchas  Algunas  No hizo nada  No recuerda   NS/NC
--------------------------------------------------
18 (2)  217 (22)     495 (49)      266 (26)  12 (1)
```

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

```
Sí votaría por él   No votaría por él      NS/NC
------------------------------------------------
        156 (15)            731 (73)   121 (12)
```

24 Con base en el trabajo realizado por su actual diputado, ¿cree que merecería ser reelecto en su cargo o no?

```
      Sí       No       NC
--------------------------
158 (16)  751 (75)  99 (10)
```

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

a Javier Díaz González

```
Muy conocido    Algo     Poco   Nada conocido    NS/NC
------------------------------------------------------
     17 (2)   30 (3)   36 (4)       889 (88)   36 (4)
```

b Lily Gutiérrez Burciaga

```
Muy conocido    Algo     Poco   Nada conocido    NS/NC
------------------------------------------------------
     14 (1)   34 (3)   29 (3)       895 (89)   36 (4)
```

c Georgina Cano Torralva

```
Muy conocido    Algo     Poco   Nada conocido    NS/NC
------------------------------------------------------
     22 (2)   40 (4)   24 (2)       884 (88)   38 (4)
```

d Ana Isabel Durán

```
Muy conocido    Algo     Poco   Nada conocido    NS/NC
------------------------------------------------------
     10 (1)   34 (3)   25 (2)       901 (89)   38 (4)
```

e Sonia Villareal

```
Muy conocido    Algo     Poco   Nada conocido    NS/NC
------------------------------------------------------
```

```
     20 (2)    41 (4)    22 (2)        888 (88)   37 (4)
```

f Lariza Montiel
```
Muy conocido    Algo    Poco    Nada conocido    NS/NC
------------------------------------------------------
     18 (2)    33 (3)    13 (1)        906 (90)   38 (4)
```

g Armando Pruneda
```
Muy conocido    Algo    Poco    Nada conocido    NS/NC
------------------------------------------------------
      6 (1)    20 (2)    10 (1)        933 (93)   39 (4)
```

h Leonel Contreras Pámanes
```
Muy conocido    Algo    Poco    Nada conocido    NS/NC
------------------------------------------------------
      6 (1)    25 (2)    25 (2)        912 (90)   40 (4)
```

i Florencio "Lencho" Siller
```
Muy conocido    Algo    Poco    Nada conocido    NS/NC
------------------------------------------------------
      7 (1)    29 (3)    31 (3)        902 (89)   39 (4)
```

26 En los últimos 12 meses, ¿usted o alguien de su familia... (LEER)

a Perdió su empleo o fuente de ingresos económicos?
```
Sí, usted   Sí, un familiar   Sí, ambos        No    NS/NC
----------------------------------------------------------
 141 (14)        212 (21)       17 (2)   635 (63)    3 (0)
```

b Fue víctima de algún delito o un asalto?
```
Sí, usted   Sí, un familiar   Sí, ambos        No    NS/NC
----------------------------------------------------------
  97 (10)         93 (9)       20 (2)   796 (79)    2 (0)
```

c Tuvo que dar alguna mordida
```
Sí, usted   Sí, un familiar   Sí, ambos        No    NS/NC
----------------------------------------------------------
  99 (10)         54 (5)       12 (1)   839 (83)    4 (0)
```

27 Por lo general, ¿cuánto se entera de las noticias por medio de... (LEER),
mucho, algo, poco o nada?

a Televisión
```
   Mucho      Algo      Poco      Nada     NS/NC
------------------------------------------------
413 (41)   242 (24)   228 (23)   123 (12)    2 (0)
```

b Radio
```
   Mucho      Algo      Poco      Nada     NS/NC
------------------------------------------------
188 (19)   222 (22)   190 (19)   404 (40)    4 (0)
```

c Periódico
```
   Mucho      Algo      Poco      Nada     NS/NC
------------------------------------------------
```

132 (13)   167 (17)   173 (17)   530 (53)   6 (1)

d Pláticas con gente
   Mucho   Algo   Poco   Nada   NS/NC
----
190 (19)   271 (27)   183 (18)   355 (35)   9 (1)

e Internet
   Mucho   Algo   Poco   Nada   NS/NC
----
274 (27)   149 (15)   99 (10)   474 (47)   12 (1)

f Redes sociales
   Mucho   Algo   Poco   Nada   NS/NC
----
278 (28)   153 (15)   82 (8)   482 (48)   13 (1)

28 ¿Utiliza Facebook?
      Sí   No   NC
----
559 (55) 444 (44)   5 (0)

29 ¿Utiliza Twitter?
      Sí   No   NC
----
138 (14) 868 (86)   2 (0)

30 ¿Tiene Smartphone o teléfono inteligente?
      Sí   No   NC
----
562 (56) 441 (44)   5 (0)

31 ¿Usted o alguien en su hogar es beneficiario de... (LEER)?

a Oportunidades/Prospera
Sí, usted   Sí, un familiar   Sí, ambos   No   NS/NC
----
   94 (9)   98 (10)   10 (1)   797 (79)   9 (1)

b Seguro Popular
Sí, usted   Sí, un familiar   Sí, ambos   No   NS/NC
----
 162 (16)   84 (8)   67 (7)   688 (68)   7 (1)

c Algún programa social del gobierno del estado
Sí, usted   Sí, un familiar   Sí, ambos   No   NS/NC
----
 120 (12)   65 (6)   11 (1)   802 (80)   10 (1)

32 Durante estas campañas electorales, ¿a usted o alguien en su hogar... (LEER)?

a Le han dado algún obsequio los partidos o candidatos
Sí, usted   Sí, un familiar   Sí, ambos   No   NS/NC
----
 110 (11)   67 (7)   25 (2)   803 (80)   3 (0)

b Ha asistido a eventos de los partidos o candidatos

Sí, usted	Sí, un familiar	Sí, ambos	No	NS/NC
135 (13)	52 (5)	22 (2)	796 (79)	3 (0)

33 Si los candidatos a la Presidencia de la República en 2018 fueran los siguientes, ¿por quién votaría usted? (LEER Y ROTAR)

[[NOT INCLUDED IN DATABASE???]]

34 ¿Cuál es su opinión acerca de los siguientes personajes políticos: muy buena, buena, mala, muy mala,... o no lo conoce suficiente para opinar? (LEER Y ROTAR NOMBRES)
a Andrés Manuel López Obrador
b Margarita Zavala
c Miguel Ángel Osorio Chong
d Humberto Moreira

[[NOT INCLUDED IN DATABASE???]]

35 Juntando el dinero que usted y otros miembros de su familia ganan al mes, ¿diría que...? (LEER)

Les alcanza bien	207	(21)
Les alcanza con algunas dificultades	459	(46)
No les alcanza	238	(24)
No les alcanza y tienen grandes dificultades	99	(10)
NS/NC	5	(0)

A ¿Hasta qué año o grado aprobó (pasó) en la escuela? ¿Cuál es su último grado de estudios? [NS/NC=9]

Ninguno	30	(3)
Hasta primaria	234	(23)
Secundaria	338	(34)
Preparatoria o bachillerato	226	(22)
Normal/Carrera técnica o comercial	59	(6)
Universidad sin terminar	36	(4)
Universidad terminada	69	(7)
Posgrado/Maestría/Doctorado	15	(1)
NS/NC	1	(0)

B ¿Cuál es su principal ocupación, a qué se dedica usted? (ANOTAR TEXTUAL)

Patrón/ Gerente/ Directivo Funcionario/ Empresario	7	(1)
Profesionista	48	(5)
Trabajos de oficina con cargo de jefe o supervisor	7	(1)
Trabajador de oficina bajo supervisión (oficinistas)	9	(1)
Trabajador manual especializado	67	(7)
Trabajador manual semi-espicalizado	191	(19)
Trabajador manual no especializado	11	(1)
Trabajador agrícola	27	(3)
Comerciante: Ventas (cuando no menciona lo que vende)	56	(6)
Vendedor ambulante	1	(0)
Empleado	99	(10)
Desempleado	37	(4)
Jubilado/ Pensionado	63	(6)
Estudiante/ Becarios	36	(4)

```
                                                Ama de casa   343  (34)
                                        No tiene actividad     3   (0)
                                                No contestó     3   (0)


C ¿De qué religión es usted? (LEER Y ROTAR)
Católica   Cristiana/Evangélica/Protestante   Otra   NS/NC    Ateo
---------------------------------------------------------------------
 735 (73)              119 (12)                8 (1)  99 (10)  47 (5)


D ¿Con qué frecuencia asiste usted a servicios religiosos? (LEER)
    Más de una        Una vez   Una vez   Sólo ocasiones      Nunca,
vez por semana      por semana   al mes      especiales   casi nunca   NS/NC
---------------------------------------------------------------------------
     93  (9)         282  (28)  159 (16)        260  (26)    140  (14) 74 (7)
```

7.2 Definitions and descriptive statistics: variables in the models

- The `recognize` variables (one for each of the six candidates analyzed) were coded with question 25 items. So `recognizeJavier`$_i$ equals 1 if respondent i expressed much, some, or mild knowledge when told the name Javier Díaz González in item 25a; equals 0 otherwise. We proceeded likewise with items 25b (Lily), 25c (Gina), 25d (Ana Isabel), 25e (Sonia), and 25i (Lencho).

- `delivered`$_i$, coded with question 22, equals 1 if respondent i answered that his/her state deputy brough many or some things to the community; equals 0 otherwise.

- `interested`$_i$, coded with question 2, equals 1 if respondent i expressed much or some interest in politics; equals 0 otherwise.

- `handout`$_i$, coded with question 32a, equals 1 if respondent i answered that a party or candidate handed her/him or someone in the family a present; equals 0 if the answwer was no.

- `panista`$_i$, coded with question 18, equals 1 if respondent i answered strong or weak panista; equals 0 otherwise. `priista`$_i$, `perredista`$_i$, and `morenista`$_i$ coded likewise with the corresponding items. The reference category for these mutually exclusive indicators are respondents who identify with another party, with no party, or gave no answer.

- The geographic indicators were coded by mapping `sección` to the father and son district maps.

Variable	0	1	N
delivered	773	235	1008
interested	627	381	1008
smartphone	446	562	1008
handout	803	202	1005
panista	895	113	1008
priista	756	252	1008
morenista	963	45	1008

	Javier		Lily		Gina		Lencho		Sonia		AnaIsabel		
	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	N
recognize (DV)	925	83	931	77	922	86	941	67	925	83	939	69	1008
lost	994	14	1008		1008		966	42	1008		994	14	1008
retained	952	56	952	56	938	70	980	28	952	56	966	42	1008
gained (dropped)	1008		1008		1008		1008		1008		1008		1008
nomans (dropped)	70	938	56	952	70	938	70	938	56	952	56	952	1008

7.3 Survey questions

Thirteen items in the survey questionnaire involved reelection and name recognition (from question 20 to question 25.i) . We used questions 25.a–25.i to code our dependent variables. Responses much/some/little (*mucho/algo/poco*) coded as 1 in the incumbent's name recognition indicator; 0 otherwise.

```
20 Are you in favor, against or indifferent
towards the consecutive reelection of
lawmakers?

1) In favor
2) Against
3) Indifferent
4) Don't know / No answer

21 On April 3, campaigns to renew the State
Congress began. If I asked you the names of
the candidates for deputy in this district,
could you tell me all the names, some names
or do not remember any names at this moment?

1) All
2) Some
3) Don't remember
4) No answer

22 Now please think about the current local
deputies. If I asked you the things your
deputy has done for this community, could
you mention many things, some, would you
say he did nothing or do not remember at
this moment? [5=NR/NA]

1) Many
2) Some
3) Did nothing
4) Don't remember

23 If your current deputy were running for
reelection, would you vote for him or not
vote for him?

1) Yes, I would vote for him/her
2) Would not vote for him/her
3) Don't known / No answer (DO NOT READ)

24 Based on the work done by your current
deputy, do you think he/she would deserve
to be reelected in his position or not?

[1=Yes; 2=No; 3= No answer]

25 I'm going to read you some names, for
each one, could you tell me if he/she is
well known, somewhat known, little known
or not known at all?

[1= Well known; 2=Somewhat known;
```

3= Little known; 4=Not known at all;
5= DK/NA].

a Javier Díaz González
b Lily Gutiérrez Burciaga
c Georgina Cano Torralva

d Ana Isabel Durán
e Sonia Villareal
f Lariza Montiel
g Armando Pruneda
h Leonel Contreras Pámanes
i Florencio ''Lencho'' Siller

7.4 Regression 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

Table 7: Regression results. All models estimated with logit, standard errors in parentheses.