

Mexico's 2018 Congressional elections

Incremental change no more

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July 1st: all seats of the bicameral Congress contested

- Less salient, yet equally important
- Forecast harder than presidential/gubernatorial races
little polling → guesstimate
- Grounds to expect **major shifts**

Majority and proportional representation seats in both chambers

Diputados One vote for a candidate in the district

- 1 Winner by plurality ($\times 300$)
- 2 Party seats by closed-list PR ($\times 200$)

Senate One vote for rankedlist in the state

- 1 Plurality list takes two seats ($\times 64$)
- 2 Runner-up takes one seat ($\times 32$)
- 3 Party seats by closed-list PR ($\times 32$)

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The coalition agreement quite favorable to minor partners

Nominees in federal districts

PT	75
PES	75
Morena	142
No coalition	8
<hr/>	
	300

Morena nominees in Senate lists

None	1
One	11
Both	19
No coalition	1
<hr/>	
	32

- No district-level polls
- Few polls at state level
- None offer geographic spread

Rule of thumb

- 1 AMLO's coalition $\%vote \approx \%seats$
- 2 Half for Morena, one-quarter each for PT and PES

Presidential coattails in Congressional elections

Winner of the presidential race pulls fellow partisans to victory

Presidential coattails			
U.S.		Mexico	
1890s	.9	PAN	.33
1940s	.5	PRI	.25
1980s	.33	PRD	.5

AMLO's likely to be larger still

Oraculus figures + rule of thumb:

AMLO 50, Anaya 28, Meade 19

Percents lower chamber (floor)

MORENA	25
PT	13
PES	12
PAN	22?
PRI	15?
Others	13
	<hr/>
	100

Upper chamber easier

- 1 Which coalitions come 1st–2nd in each state
- 2 National Senate vote shares by party

1-2 breakdown

First places

Frente	in 3	(Guanajuato, Jalisco, another)
AMLO's coalition	in 29	(rest)

Second places

PRI's	in 3	(Hidalgo, two other)
AMLO's	in 2	(Guanajuato and Tamaulipas)
Kumamoto	in 1	(Jalisco)
Frente	in 26	(rest)

Percents Senate

MORENA	48
PT	5
PES	5
PAN	20
PRD	5
MC	6
PRI	7
Others	3

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Morena's standing rules (art. 44)

SMD candidates:

- Natl party nominates half (which districts random)
- Party affiliates @ district select other half

PR lists:

- Natl party nominates every third name
- Other two-thirds by lottery
(affiliates select 10 women/men contestants @ district)

Rationale

Avoid Mexican left's secular factionalism/machine infighting

Expected behavior in hard times and in campaign mode?

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Single-term limits across the board since 1934

Surprising **removal** in 2014

- Fed. deputies can reelect up to 4 consecutive three-year terms
- Senators up to 2 consecutive six-year terms
- Incumbent must be re-nominated by same party
- Kick-off: 2021 mid-term

Potentially huge change in representation

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Will all this matter?

High turnover in many democracies allowing reelection

Incumbents and reelection

	Incumbents and reelection		
	%seek	%succeed	%return
Argentina	?	?	15
Brazil	70	60	42
Chile	71	83	59
U.S.	95	91	86

Some room for optimism

1920s Mexico

Year	%return
1918	25
1920	15
1922	26
1924	25
1926	30
1928	40
1930	42
1932	27
1934	0

Party clause further adds uncertainty

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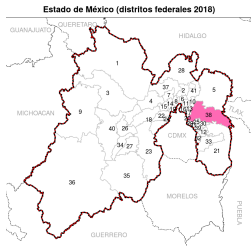
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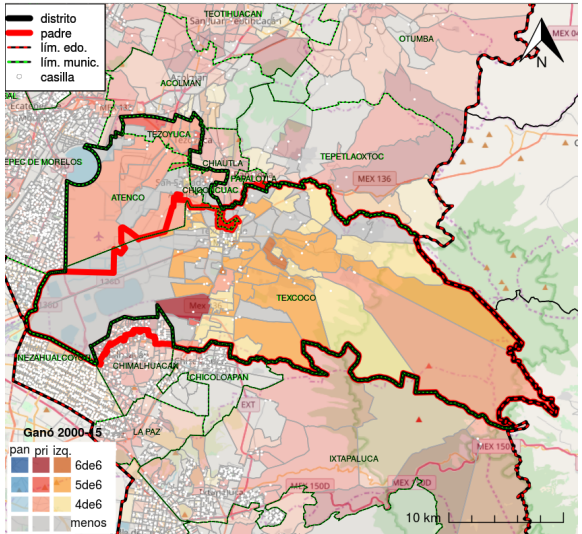
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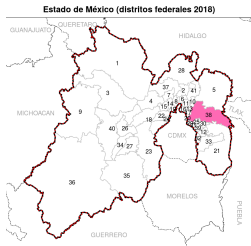
A competitive field: core v swing



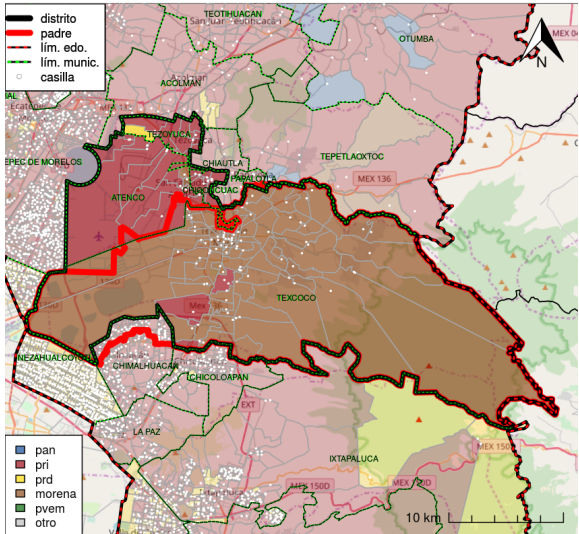
México 38 - TEXCOCO



A competitive field: winner in 2015

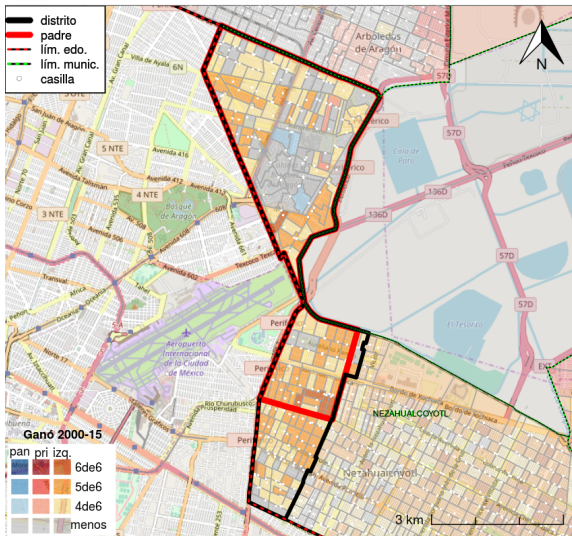
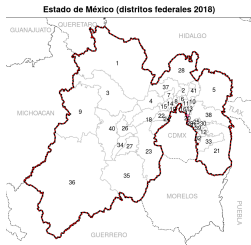


México 38 - TEXCOCO



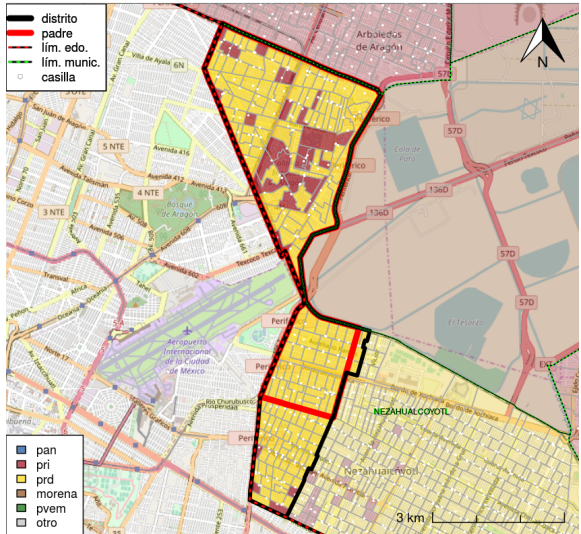
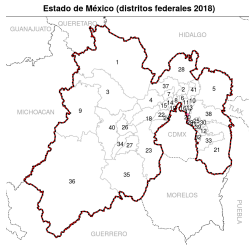
A competitive field: core v swing

México 20 - NEZAHUALCOYOTL



A competitive field: winner in 2015

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- Unified non-PRI government
- Divided opposition, PAN warfare?
- New party system likely
 - Two new + fringe party will control the majority
 - Collapse of the former majors
 - New entrants?
- Reelection starts next mid-term races

Thank you!

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Thank you!