

Incumbency advantage upon removal of single-term limits: Mexican municipal elections

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Abstract

En route

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1 Introduction

En route

2 Reform, consequences

2014 reform surprising removal of term limits. Adopted in 1934, cornerstone of partisan centralization of power under the PRI. Removed immediate reelection at all levels.

PAN placed removal among its requests, as was standard. Unlike the past, when left and PRI would veto, it was adopted along other changes.

Federal deputies can reelection for up to four consecutive three-year terms, senators for two consecutive six-year terms. Fearing that members of Congress might gain too much independence from party leaders, reformers retained some control: incumbents must be renominated by the same party in whose ticket they originally ran. Elaborate.

Kick-off in the 2021 mid-term election.

At subnational level, reformers left some discretion to state legislatures. State law-makers: either 2-, 3-, or 4-term limits. For municipal officers single- or 2-term limits. Two states only retained single-term limits for municipal presidents, Hidalgo and Veracruz. Unelected municipal officers in Oaxaca's *usos y costumbres* Party clause mandatory. Variable election calendars: incumbents on the ballot progressively.

Bring from ITAM Schlesinger, Cain Ferejohn Fiorina, Mayhew, Jacobson, Samuels.

Figure 1 reports relative frequencies of municipalities with different institutions since the reform. Each vertical bar accounts for 2,016 to 2,039 municipalities with elected officeholders (the variation is due to new units that were carved out in the period). Gray segments correspond to

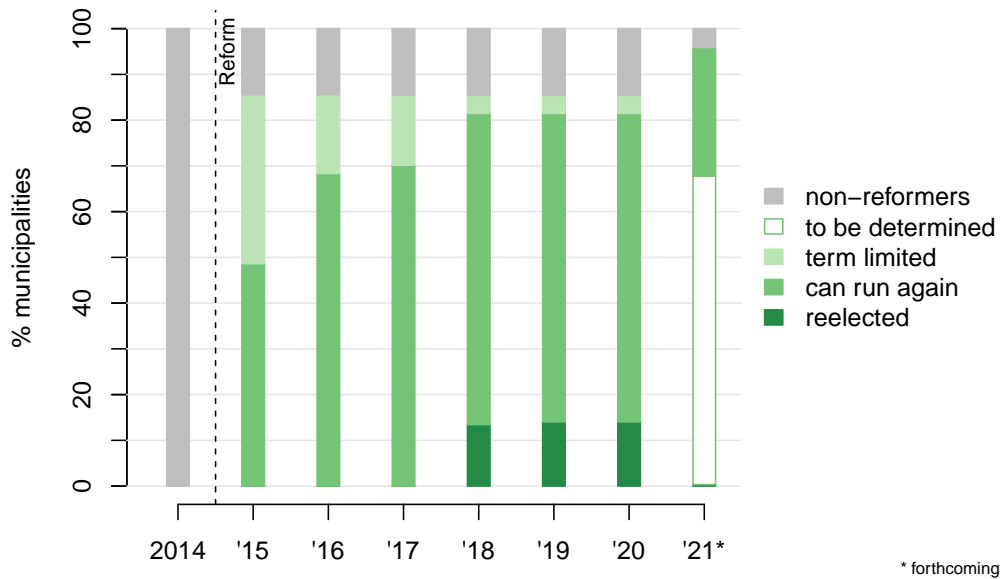


Figure 1: Extending the electoral horizons of municipal incumbents. Columns classify $N \approx 2,030$ municipalities according to the yearly reelection status of elected officeholders (430 municipalities with unelected indigenous governments are excluded).

non-reformer states that kept the limits all municipalities nationwide had before 2014 in place. Veracruz, which has a large number of units, eventually joined reform states in 2020, dropping term limits for municipal officers that will be elected next year. Hidalgo now remains as the sole state banning consecutive municipal reelection.

The light-green segments include the gradually but steadily vanishing term-limited municipal officers. This category had about 35 percent of observations in 2015, and less than 5 percent in 2018. Unlike gray segments, however, officeholders in this group remained ineligible for consecutive reelection due to reforms coming into force further down in time. None will remain by 2021. In mid-green are freshmen eligible for another term in office. This is the modal group, including nearly 50 percent of observations in 2015, and over two-thirds afterwards. They enjoyed extended horizons for the first time in decades: at the end of the three-year term, ambitious incumbents in this group could opt, unlike all predecessors, to fight and secure renomination to run for the same office. The reform inaugurated the possibility of holding what Schlesinger (1966) calls *static ambition*. The theoretical expectation is that such incumbents will behave systematically different from the rest.

The first batch of returning incumbents, in darker-green segments, arrived in 2018. A total of 273 municipal presidents from 17 states secured reelection that year, and 12 more in 2019. Together, these account for 14 percent of observed municipalities, or just shy of 20 percent when population-weighted. The inaugural proportion is remarkable because the 2018 races concurred with a presidential election won by a landslide that, we will see, probably depressed reelection rates. (The large white indetermined category in 2021 will fill up when those races take place next year; it will break up in mid- and darker-green segments.)

Freshmen elected in 2015, representing nearly 50 percent of municipal officers, had a very different perspective from their predecessors, as they were not barred from running again at the

In party	Incumbent on the ballot				Open seat			
	%won	%lost	sum	(N)	%won	%lost	sum	(N)
PAN	66	34	100	(121)	39	61	100	(1,663)
PRI	49	51	100	(219)	50	50	100	(3,546)
PRD	55	45	100	(88)	39	61	100	(1,082)
Morena	100	0	100	(8)	88	12	100	(18)
Other	45	55	100	(99)	25	75	100	(631)
Total	54	46	100	(535)	44	56	100	(6,940)

Table 1: Success and failure with and without incumbent running

end of the term.

Members of Congress can be reelected for up to 12 consecutive years. With 3-year terms,

Term limits sever the personalized electoral connection, collective reputation only without the personal element.

See Cain, Ferejohn and Fiorina (1987) for argumentation.

3 A hypothesis perhaps

Hypothesis 1: Presidents are more likely to fast-track bills when the committee chair with jurisdiction over the bill belongs to the president's party than otherwise.

4 Incumbents running v. open seats

In party	incumbent on the ballot				open seat, party			
	won	lost	sum	(N)	won	lost	sum	(N)
left	58	42	100	(96)	39	61	100	(1100)

5 Regression model

6 Discussion

Acknowledgements

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References

Cain, Bruce E., John A. Ferejohn and Morris P. Fiorina. 1987. *The personal vote: constituency service and electoral independence*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Dependent variable: vote share - E(vote share)

	PAN (1)	PRI (2)	Left (3)	PAN (4)	PRI (5)	Left (6)
vote share (lagged)	-0.216*** (0.011)	-0.051*** (0.013)	-0.303*** (0.013)	-0.260*** (0.013)	-0.049*** (0.014)	-0.210*** (0.014)
party incumbent	0.237*** (0.013)	0.173*** (0.014)	-0.077*** (0.019)	0.217*** (0.013)	0.171*** (0.013)	-0.033* (0.017)
other-party incumbent	-0.014 (0.010)	-0.007 (0.009)	0.062*** (0.010)	-0.021** (0.010)	-0.009 (0.009)	0.072*** (0.009)
party open seat	0.176*** (0.005)	0.123*** (0.004)	0.087*** (0.006)	0.182*** (0.004)	0.125*** (0.003)	0.118*** (0.005)
concurrent gub. race	0.027*** (0.010)	0.013 (0.009)	0.068*** (0.014)	0.031*** (0.010)	-0.002 (0.009)	0.133*** (0.014)
governor	-0.017*** (0.005)	0.027*** (0.004)	0.010 (0.006)	0.012** (0.005)	0.024*** (0.004)	0.040*** (0.007)
population (log, 10k)	-0.005*** (0.001)	-0.004*** (0.001)	-0.003*** (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.009*** (0.001)
sd elevation (pop. weighed)	-0.008 (0.015)	-0.063*** (0.014)	0.041*** (0.016)	0.036** (0.016)	0.010 (0.015)	0.045*** (0.016)
post reform	0.077*** (0.005)	-0.157*** (0.005)	-0.114*** (0.006)	0.075*** (0.005)	-0.159*** (0.005)	-0.114*** (0.006)
Constant	0.020 (0.013)	0.015 (0.014)	-0.051*** (0.013)	-0.088*** (0.026)	0.022 (0.025)	0.066** (0.026)

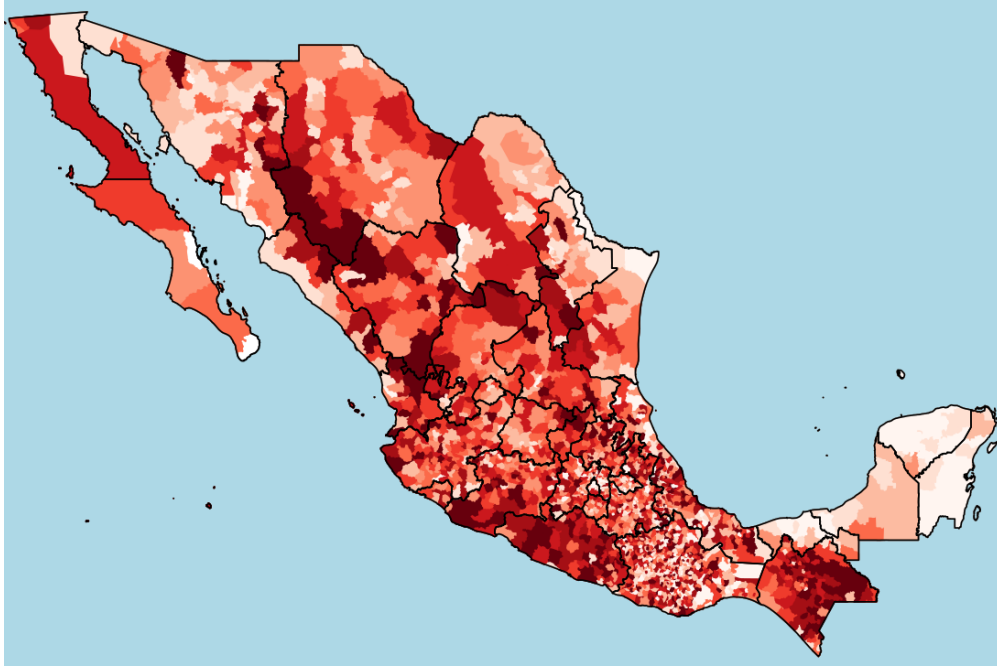
Fixed state effects	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	8,310	8,310	8,310	8,310	8,310	8,310
R ²	0.221	0.294	0.112	0.293	0.344	0.241
Residual Std. Error	0.162	0.151	0.171	0.155	0.146	0.159
F Statistic	262.2***	384.9***	116.3***	90.3***	114.4***	69.1***

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 2: Models

Figure 2: Population-weighted altitude deviations in municipalities



Schlesinger, Joseph A. 1966. *Ambition and Politics: Political Careers in the United States*. Chicago: Rand McNally.