# Mexico

México

Nuevo Laredo

Reynosa

Aguascalientes

Mérida

Figure by MIT OCW.

# "High corruption" vs. "low corruption"
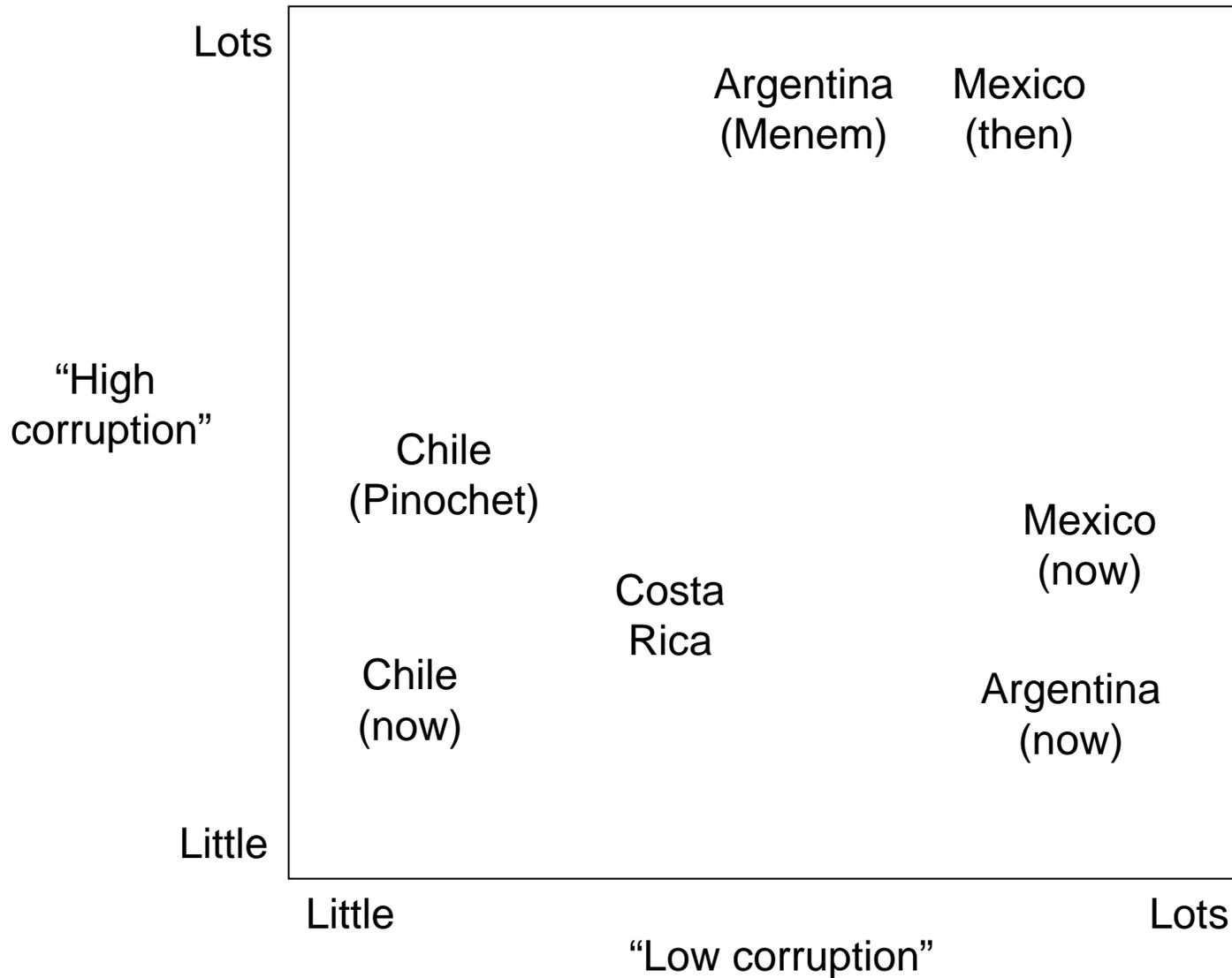
# Mexico's Political Evolution Since the Revolution



**Polity IV score** (y-axis from -10 to 10, x-axis years 1920 to 2000)

Annotations on the chart:
- 2000 election
- 1997 election
- 1994 election
- 1988 election, BC state
- Consolidation of one-party rule
- López-Portillo reforms
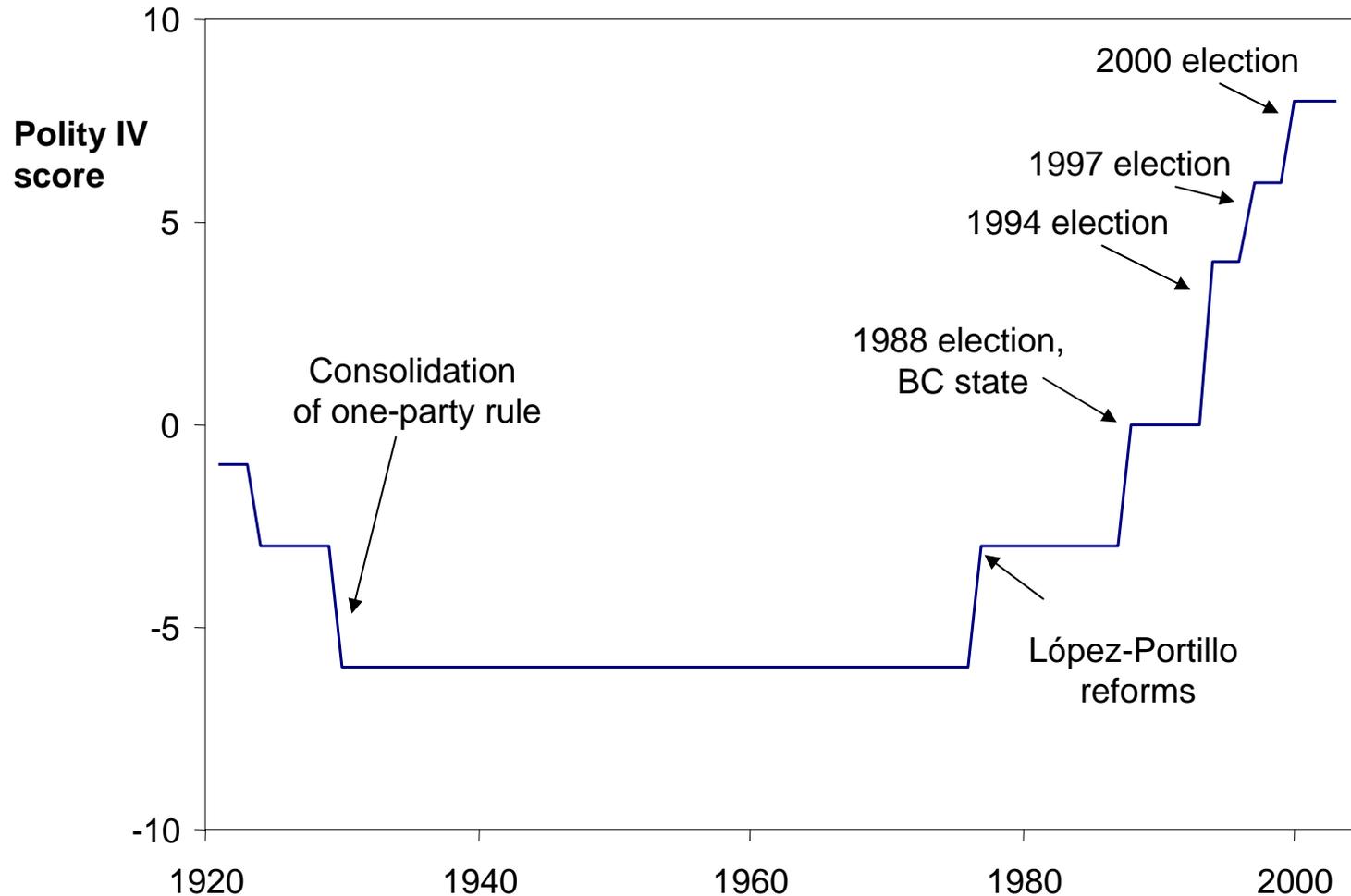
# PRI's decline was in part the continuation of a long-term trend



**PRI share of vote**

**PAN abstains**

**Salinas midterm**

**Rural population**

**Illiteracy**

1961  1970  1979  1988  2000
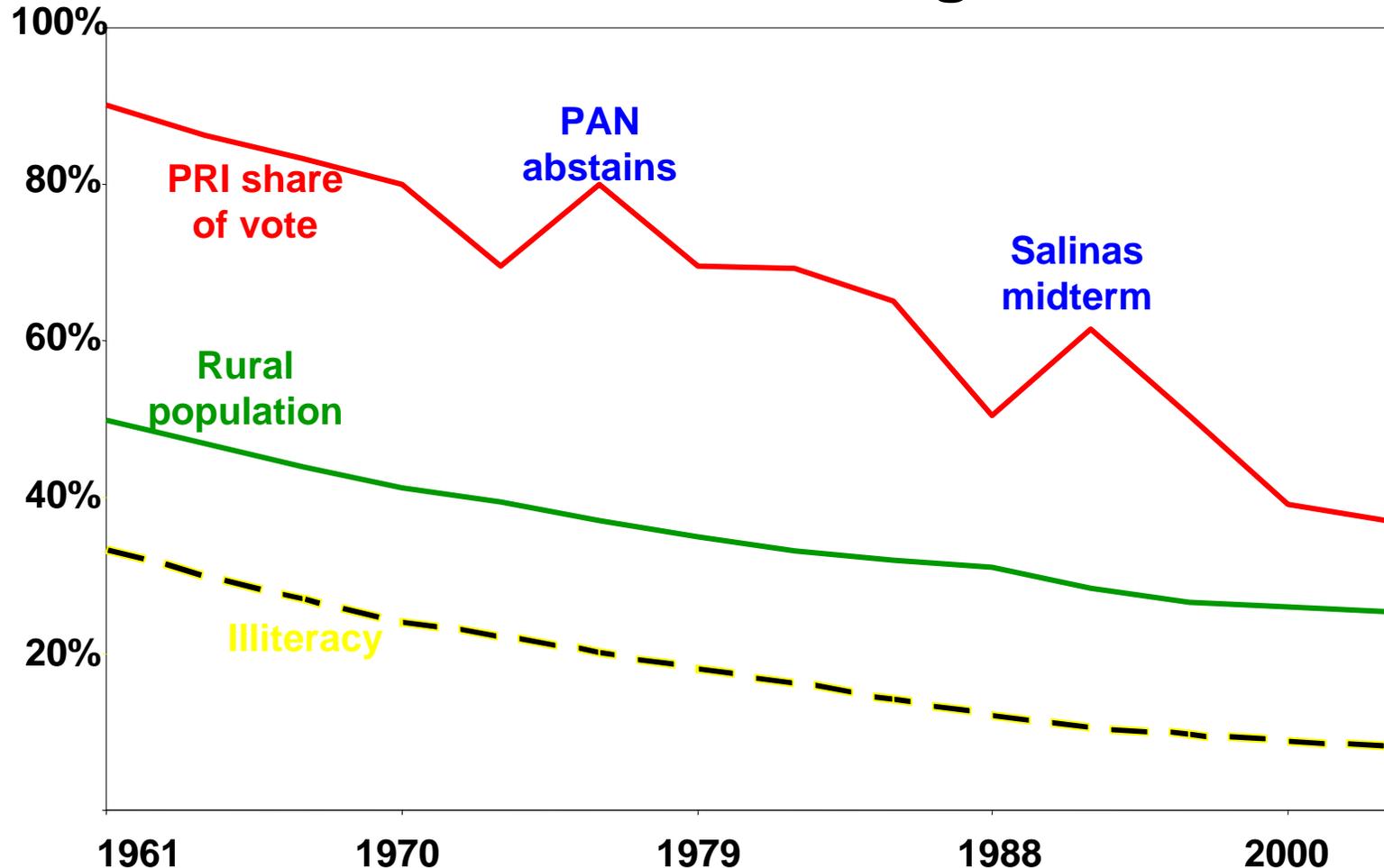
1. Secular decline of PRI, associated with modernization
2. Acceleration of trend after economic collapse in 1982

# PRI Vote for Governor, 1973-2000
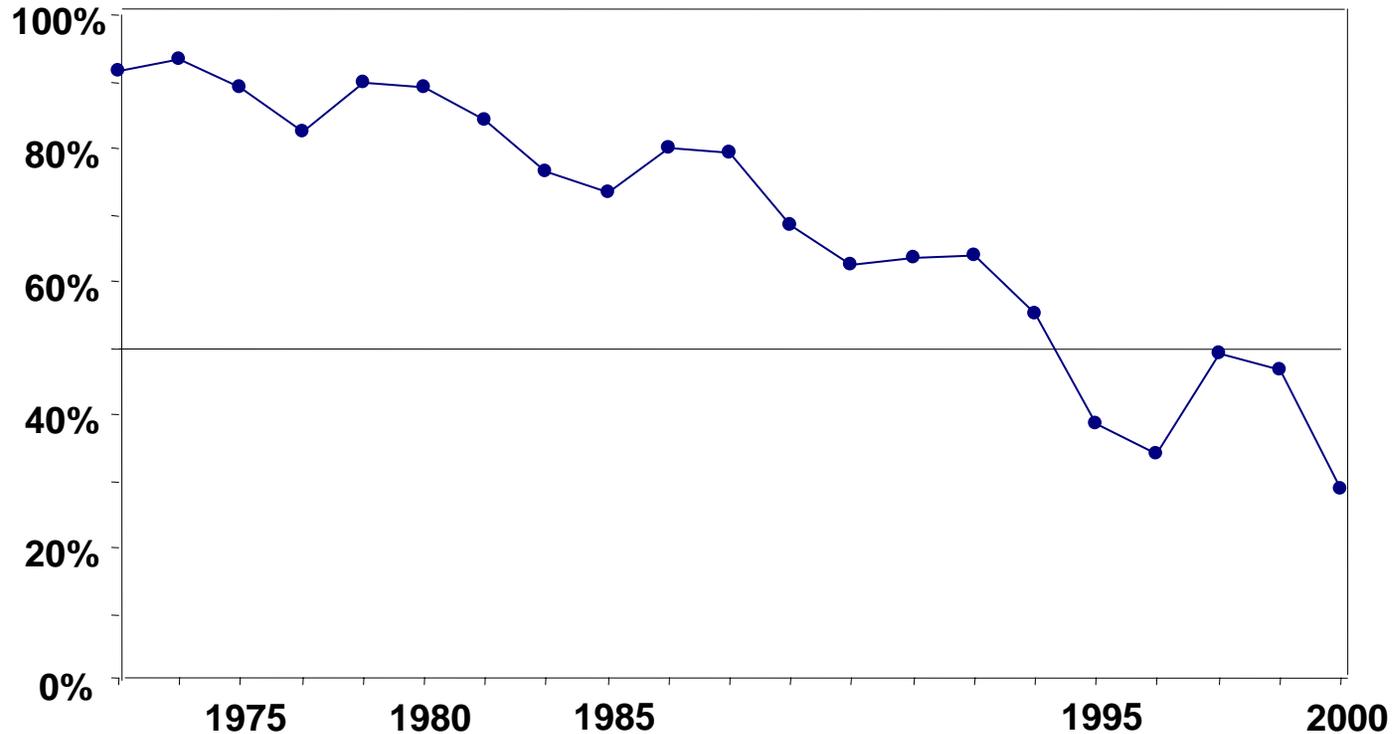


**Source:  Alfonso Hernàndez Valdez (2005)**

# Year and PRI vote
# Each point is a state-election year
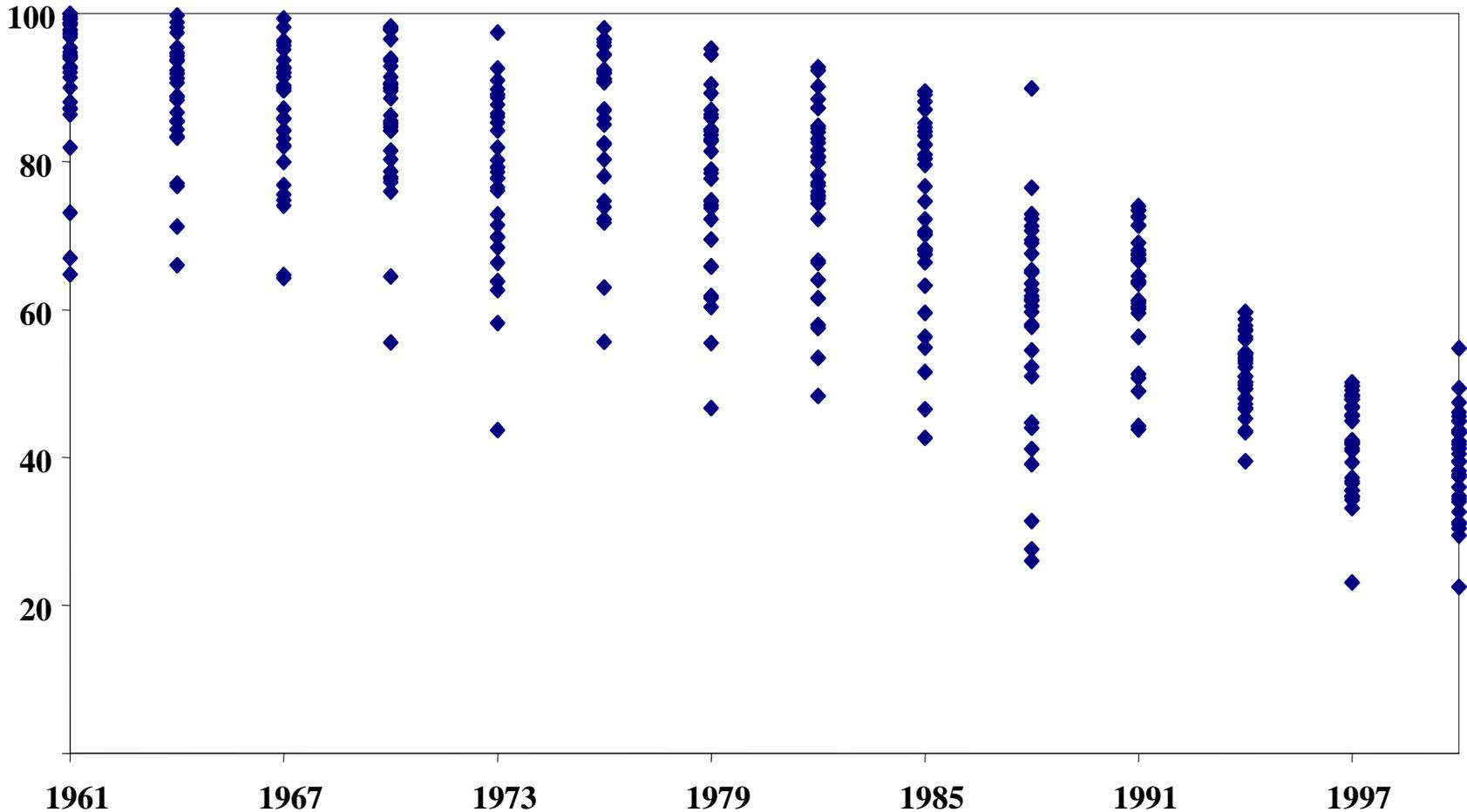


**Things start to look much worse in the 1980s**

# Literacy and PRI vote
# Each point is state-election year
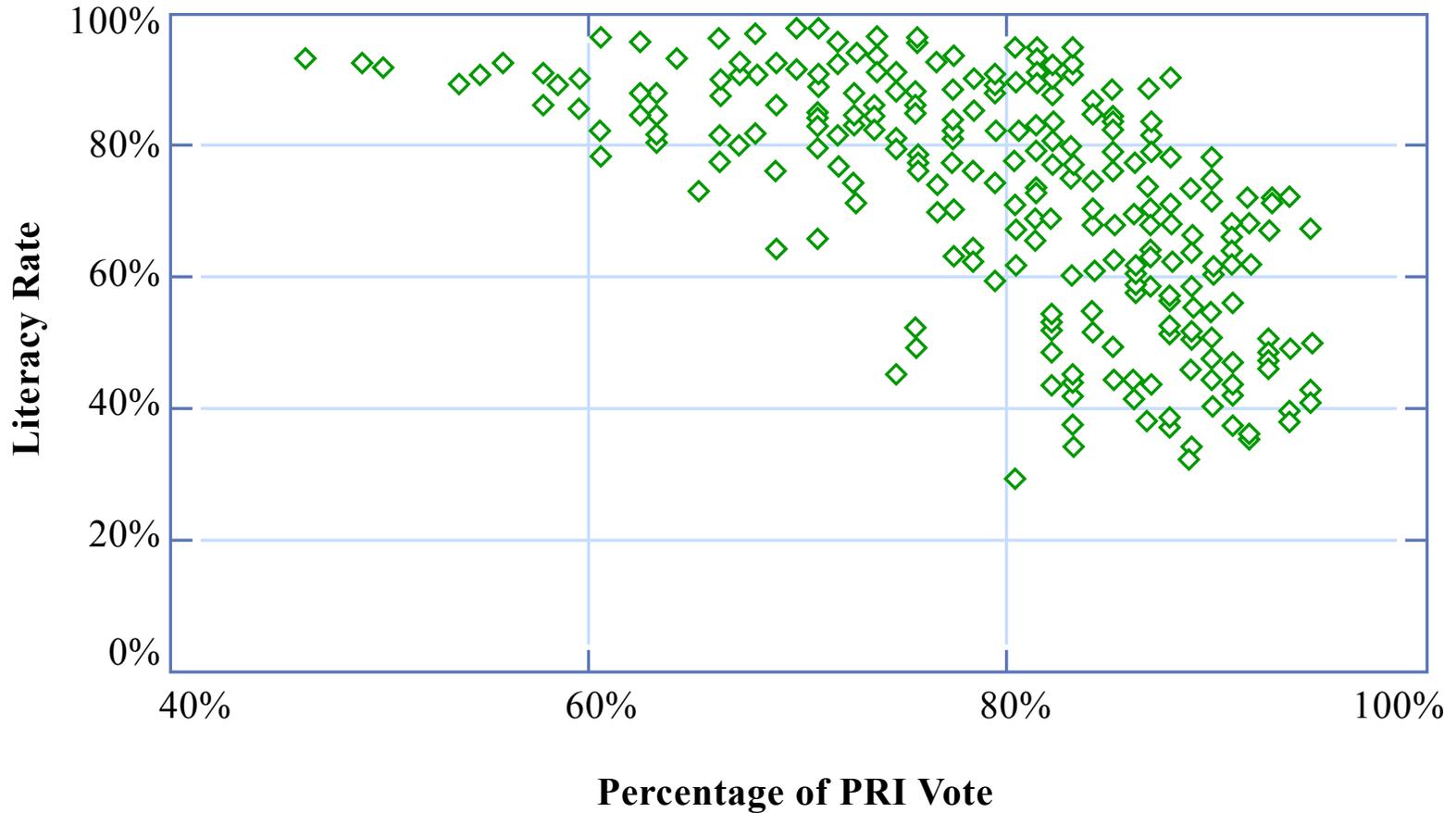


Figure by MIT OCW.

# Urbanization and PRI Vote

## Each point is a state-election year



Urbanization (y-axis), Percentage of PRI Vote (x-axis)
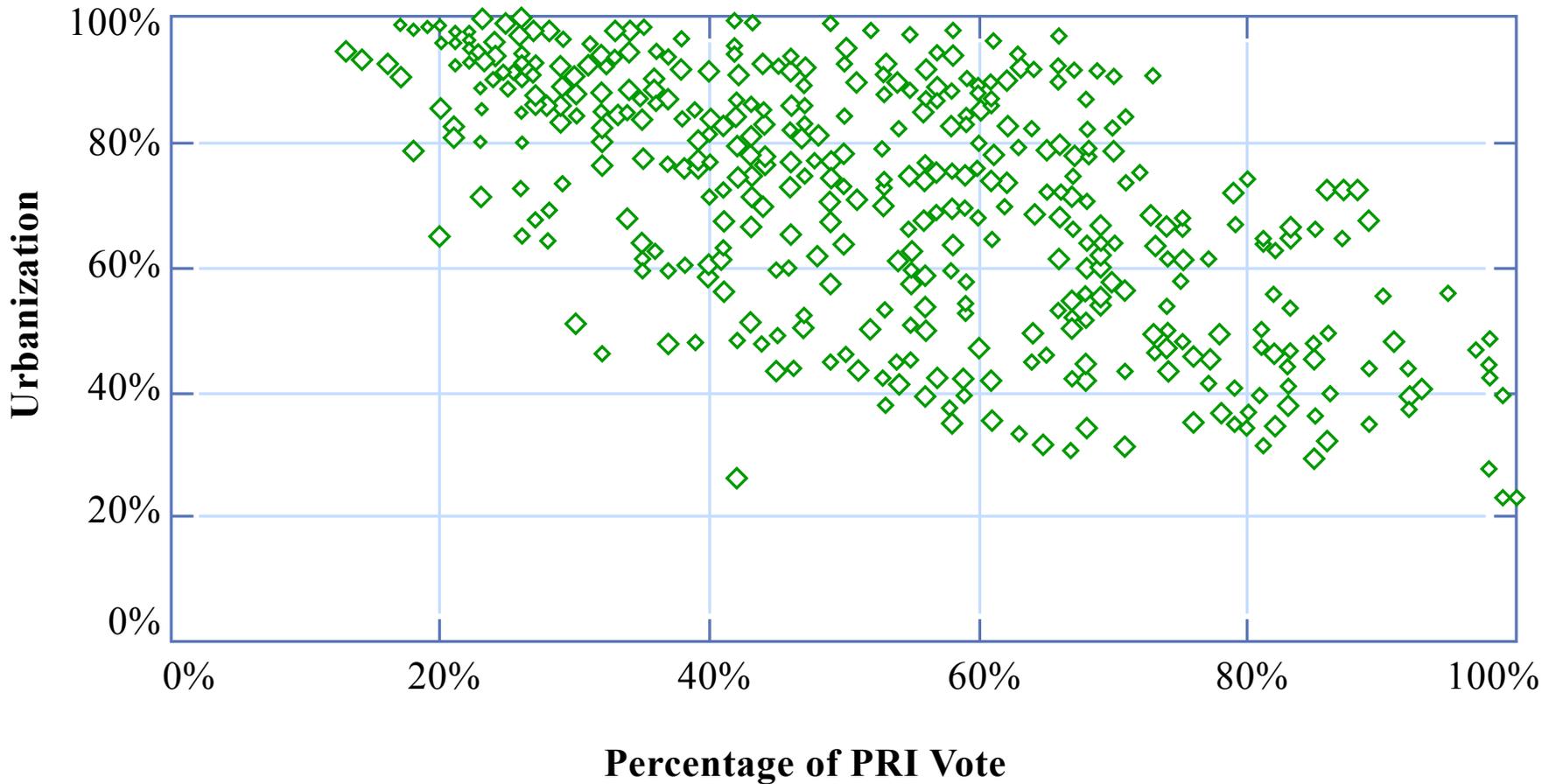
Figure by MIT OCW.

# Mexico's Transition, Compared
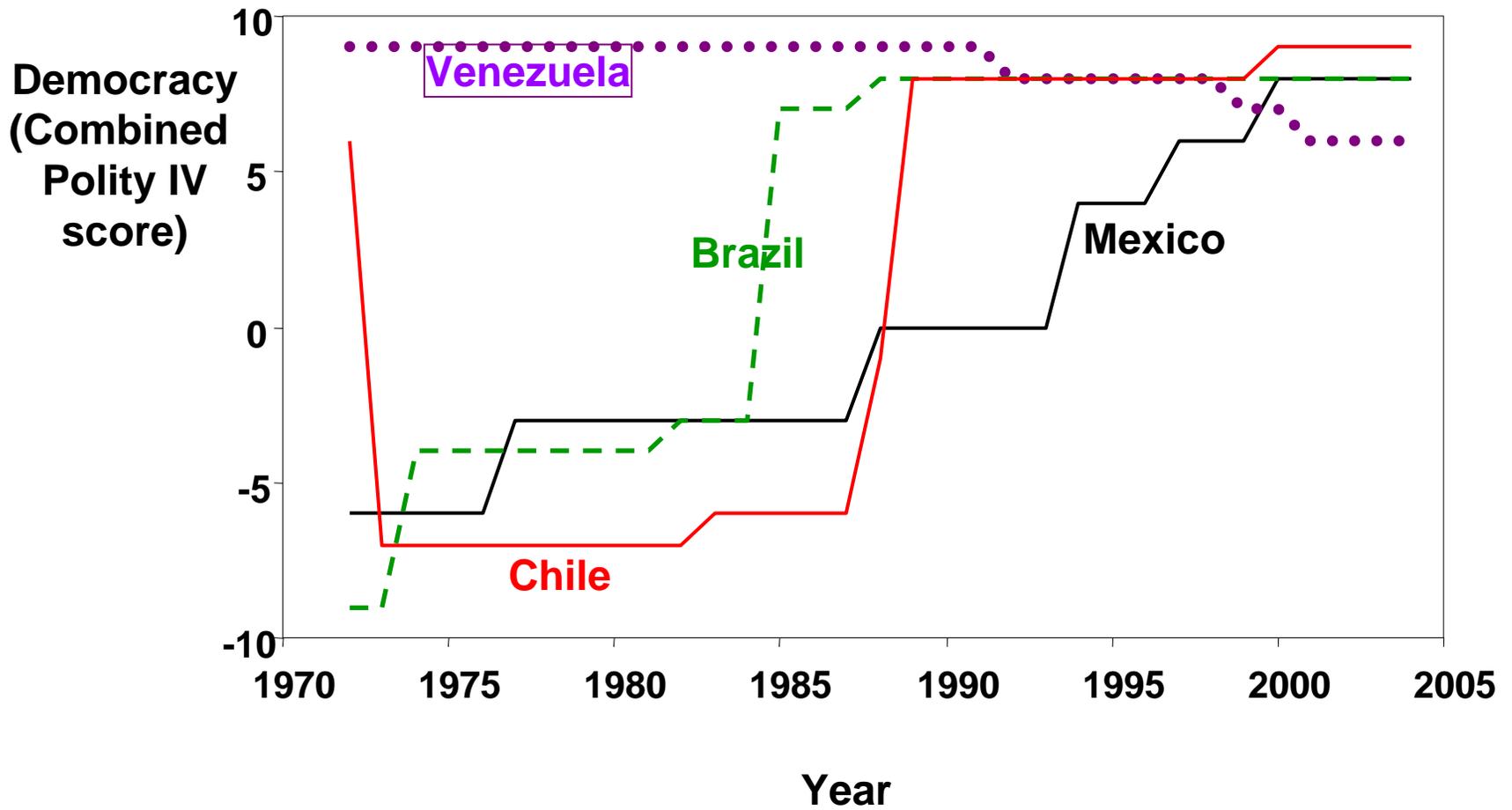
# Politically, Mexico is Where It "Ought To" Be



**Actual level of democracy**

**(Combined Freedom House score)**

**Mexico**

12

8

4

0

5

10

15

**Predicted level of democracy**
**(Based on level of development, literacy, region, size, etc.)**
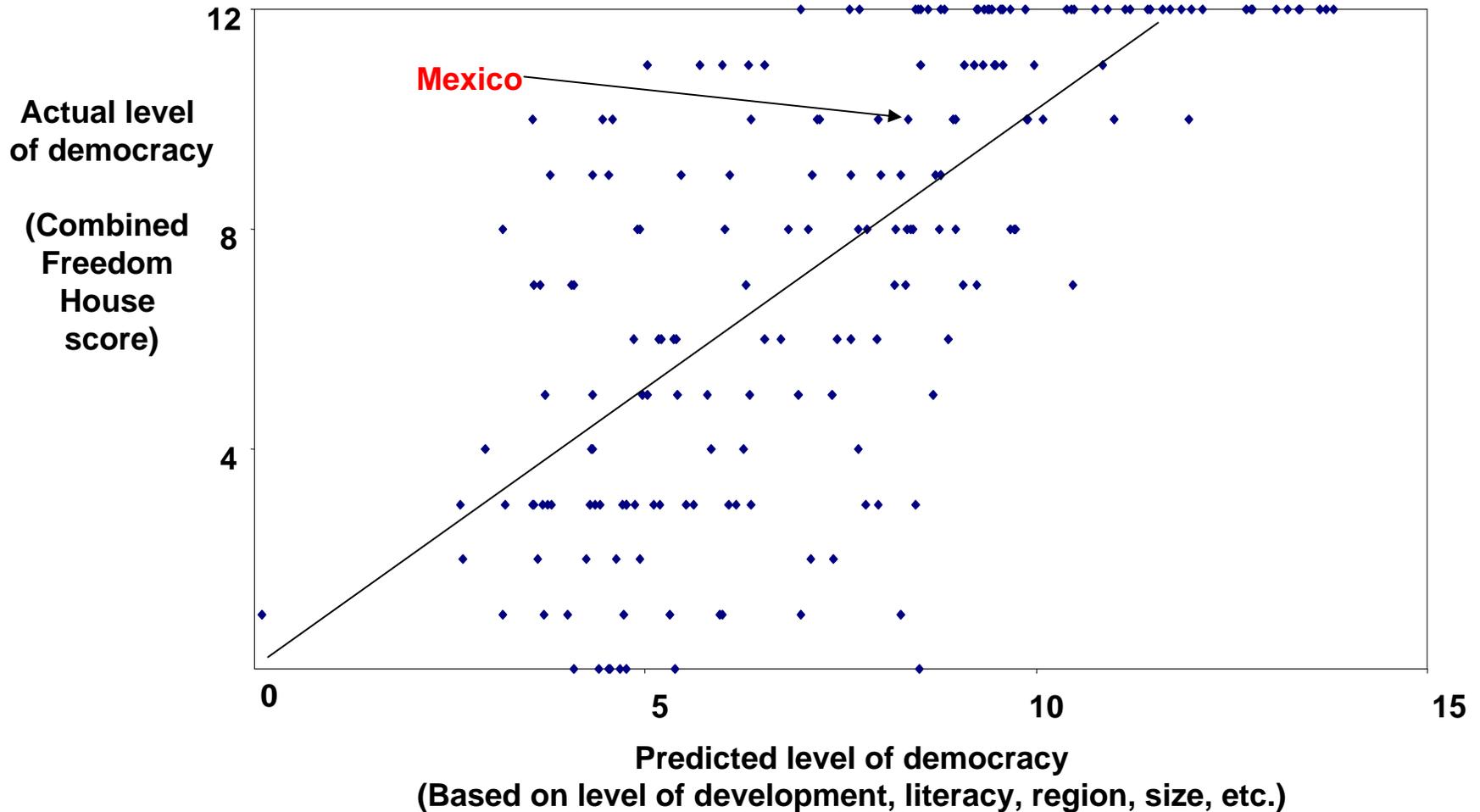
# Parties are the central organizing institution

**Democracy**

- Founded in 1990s
- Left of PRI, plus leftist opposition
- Strong in D.F. and points south

**Political reform**

**Old regime**

PRD

PAN

PT

PVEM

PRI

**Left**

**Right**

**Ideology**

- 1930s
- Urban middle classes, north, Bajio, Yuc.
- Christian Democracy
- Socially retrograde
- Balanced budget
- Human K
- Open energy sector
- Favorite 2nd choice

- Party of the state"
- Founded after revolution (1929)
- Strong in rural areas, unions, big K
- Ideologically eclectic
- Associated with autocracy, economic crisis, and corruption

# Main cleavage is region (1)



PAN / Fox

PRI / Labastida

PRD / Cárdenas

Results for President in 2000, by state

Figure by MIT OCW.

# Main cleavage is region (2)

**Key**

States won by Felipe Calderón

States won by Andrés Manuel López Obrador

# Mexico's 2006 presidential election:  an overview

Two main trends
1.  Decline in AMLO relative to Felipe
2.  Decline in Madrazo, relative to both

Main reasons for these trends
1.  For PRI, a Greek tragedy
2.  For AMLO, mainly a Christian tragedy (AMLO's to lose)
    •     Fox factor and incumbent performance
    •     Success of negative campaign against AMLO
    •     Other factors far less important
3.  Monday morning quarterbacking?

Conclusions for Mexican voting behavior
1.  Region over class
2.  Valence over positional issues (exception: electricity sector)
    •     Candidate traits and issue-ownership
    •     Incumbent performance
    •     A referendum on AMLO
3.  Downsian model largely useless

Implications for Mexican democracy
1.  Worst possible outcome

# Presidential race focuses on candidates

|  | **Roberto Madrazo** | **Felipe Calderón** | **AMLO** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Party** | PRI, with PVEM | PAN | PRD, with PT, Conv. |
| **Relationship with party** | Traditionalist within PRI | Heart-and-soul, lukewarm on Fox | PRI defector, PRD savior |
| **Background** | Governor of Tabasco | Party leader, Sec. of Energy | Governor of D.F., public servant |
| **Platform** | Zzzzz… | See www.ibrd.org | 50 ways to spend $ |
| **Implications for governance** | Concern in some quarters | Democratic deepening | Deepening or polarization? |
| **Majority in Congress?** | Very unlikely | Very unlikely | Even less likely |

# AMLO was ahead most of the race