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STRENGTHENING
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IN LATIN AMERICA

JUNE 2021

Mexico

Legislative Elections Post-election Report



Executive Summary

On 6 June, legislative elections were held to renew the 500 members of Mexico's Chamber of Deputies. In addition, 15 executives and 30 sub-national legislatures were elected.

Based on the mixed electoral system, the country had a double contest at the national level: on the one hand, the ruling alliance "Juntos Hacemos Historia" competed against the opposition coalition "Va por México" for the 300 deputies elected on the basis of the principle of relative majority. Likewise, all parties competed independently for the 200 deputies elected by proportional majority.

The day was characterised by episodes of political violence in different states of the country, including attacks by armed groups and threats to public security, which in some localities impeded the normal conduct of the elections.

The current state of the pandemic also had a negative impact on the population's turnout at the polling stations, with a low turnout of around 52%. This is especially important given that these elections were the first time that all states in the country were simultaneously elected to office.

With the preliminary data updated to 88.36% of the votes cast, everything seems to indicate that MORENA, together with its allies, will retain a simple majority in the Chamber of Deputies but will lose its qualified majority as of September 1, 2021. On the other hand, the ruling party would considerably increase its sub-national power.

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CONCLUSIONS

Basic Questions

What was at stake?

All 500 seats in the Chamber of Deputies. Fifteen governors were also elected and 30 sub-national legislatures.

Electoral Calendar

The [Mexican Constitution](#) states that representatives of the Chamber of Deputies are elected in their entirety for a three-year term. Elections were held on Sunday, June 6.

How was the vote cast?

Voting is universal, free, secret, direct, personal and non-transferable. Voting is considered a right and an obligation, although in practice there are no sanctions for those who do not vote. All Mexican citizens may participate, for which they must be registered before the National Electoral Institute (INE, in Spanish) and be 18 years of age or older.

How was the election conducted?

Mexico has a mixed electoral system: 300 deputies are elected by majority and 200 by proportional representation.

Which parties participated?

Due to the mixed electoral principle, there was essentially 'two elections in one', featuring different contenders. For the seats distributed by the majority principle, there were two coalitions facing each other off: "Juntos Hacemos Historia" (Together We Make History), made up of Movimiento Regeneración Nacional (Movement of National Regeneration, or MORENA), Partido del Trabajo (Labor Party, or PT) and Partido Verde Ecologista de México (Green Ecologist Party of Mexico, or PVEM) and "Va por México" (Go for Mexico), composed of Partido Acción Nacional (National Action Party, or PAN), Partido Revolucionario Institucional (Revolutionary Institutional Party, or PRI) and Partido de la Revolución Democrática (Party of the Democratic Revolution, or PRD). For these seats, the Partido de Encuentro Solidario (Solidarity Party, or PES), Movimiento Ciudadano (Citizen Movement, or MC), Redes Sociales Progresistas (Progressive Social Networks) and Fuerza por México (Force for Mexico) also participated autonomously.

For the seats assigned under the principle of proportional representation, all of the aforementioned spaces competed against each other.

When do legislators take office?

Elected members of the Chamber of Deputies take their seats on September 1, 2021 and keep them until August 31, 2024.

Keys of the election day

Violence was present

- Sunday's elections were marked by the context of political violence that Mexico has been experiencing since the beginning of the electoral campaigns in September 2020.
- In the states of Baja California and Puebla human remains were thrown into polling stations in several districts, causing the electoral process to be interrupted in several polling stations until the situation could be reestablished.
- At the same time, in other parts of the country incidents were reported related to shootings by armed groups at party offices, interruptions in voting due to threats, theft and burning of ballots, among other episodes.
- The National Electoral Institute (INE in Spanish) also reported the cancellation of 41 voting centers, 20 of which were directly not opened at all, due to various episodes of violence.
- So far, the total number of victims of violence in the Mexican electoral process is 737, making this electoral process the second most violent since 2000, behind the 2018 presidential elections.

Low turnout and COVID-19

- The elections were marked by low voter turnout due to COVID-19. Although the vaccination campaign in Mexico is in full operation, this did not prevent many people from deciding not to vote due to health issues.
- An estimated 52.06% of the 93.5 million eligible voters cast their ballots. This number represents 18% fewer voters compared to the 70% perceived turnout in the 2018 presidential elections.
- To ensure electoral participation, the INE promoted specific biosecurity protocols, however, Mexicans were reluctant to go to the voting centers.
- The Executive Branch estimates that the risk involved in public transportation, the interaction with groups of people and the agglomeration could explain the low electoral participation in this opportunity.

Legislative Elections

HOW WERE CONGRESS MEMBERS ELECTED?

WHO TOOK PART?

HOW IS CONGRESS MADE UP?

WHO WERE THE MOST VOTED?

HOW WOULD THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES BE COMPOSED?

WHAT IS THE AGENDA OF THE KEY PARTIES?



What was at stake?

The Mexican electoral system is mixed. This implies that the renewal of the Chamber of Deputies was carried out by applying two different principles for the allocation of seats: 300 were elected by relative majority and 200 were distributed according to the principle of proportional representation.

Further details on how these principles work can be found at the following [link](#).

Who competed in the relative majority elections?

The following two main alliances participated:



Juntos Hacemos Historia. Formed by MORENA, the Labor Party (PT) and the Ecologist Green Party of Mexico (PVEM). They competed together in 183 of the 300 districts. MORENA nominated 88 candidates, PT 50 and PVEM 45.



Va por México. Integrated by the National Action Party (PAN), the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) and the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD). It competed in 219 districts in which the PRI nominated 77 candidates, the PAN 72 and the PRD 70.

In addition, the following entities also participated individually:



Encuentro
Solidario



Movimiento
Ciudadano



Redes Sociales
Progresistas



Fuerza por México

Who competed in the proportional principle election?

Under the proportional principle, all the different parties competed with their own individual lists (tickets). These were the contenders:

Ruling party and allies



Movimiento Regeneración Nacional (MORENA). Created in 2011, it managed to become the country's leading political force in the 2018 presidential elections with López Obrador at its head. It defines itself as a rupture with respect to the opposition administrations that preceded it, positioning itself ideologically in the center-left.



Partido del Trabajo (PT). It is the MORENA ally with the largest representation in Congress. It defines itself as a leftist space and has supported López Obrador since 2006, even before the creation of MORENA.



Partido Verde Ecologista de México (PVEM). Its party proposal is focused on the conservation of the environment and natural resources, as well as the fight against corruption. It did not accompany MORENA in the 2018 elections, being the most recent incorporation to the ruling coalition. It joined in 2019.



Partido Encuentro Solidario (PES). It is the successor party to the Social Encounter Party that lost its legal status in 2018 after MORENA's electoral victory. It defines itself as a social conservative space. It cannot participate in coalitions because the law prevents it from doing so as it does not have the legally required seniority.

Who competed in the proportional principle election?

Opposition



Partido Acción Nacional (PAN). It is the opposition party with the largest legislative bench. It is considered a space of Christian conservative right, which in the 2018 presidential elections was consecrated as the second national political force. It achieved access to the presidency between 2000 and 2012.



Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI). Founded in 1929, it was the governing party until 2000. Characterized as a conservative party, it is the second most important opposition party in terms of legislative strength.



Partido de la Revolución Democrática (PRD). Founded in 1989, it identifies itself as a social democratic space and is in favor of gender equality and the development of sustainable energies. In recent years it has worked in coalition with the PAN and the PRI.

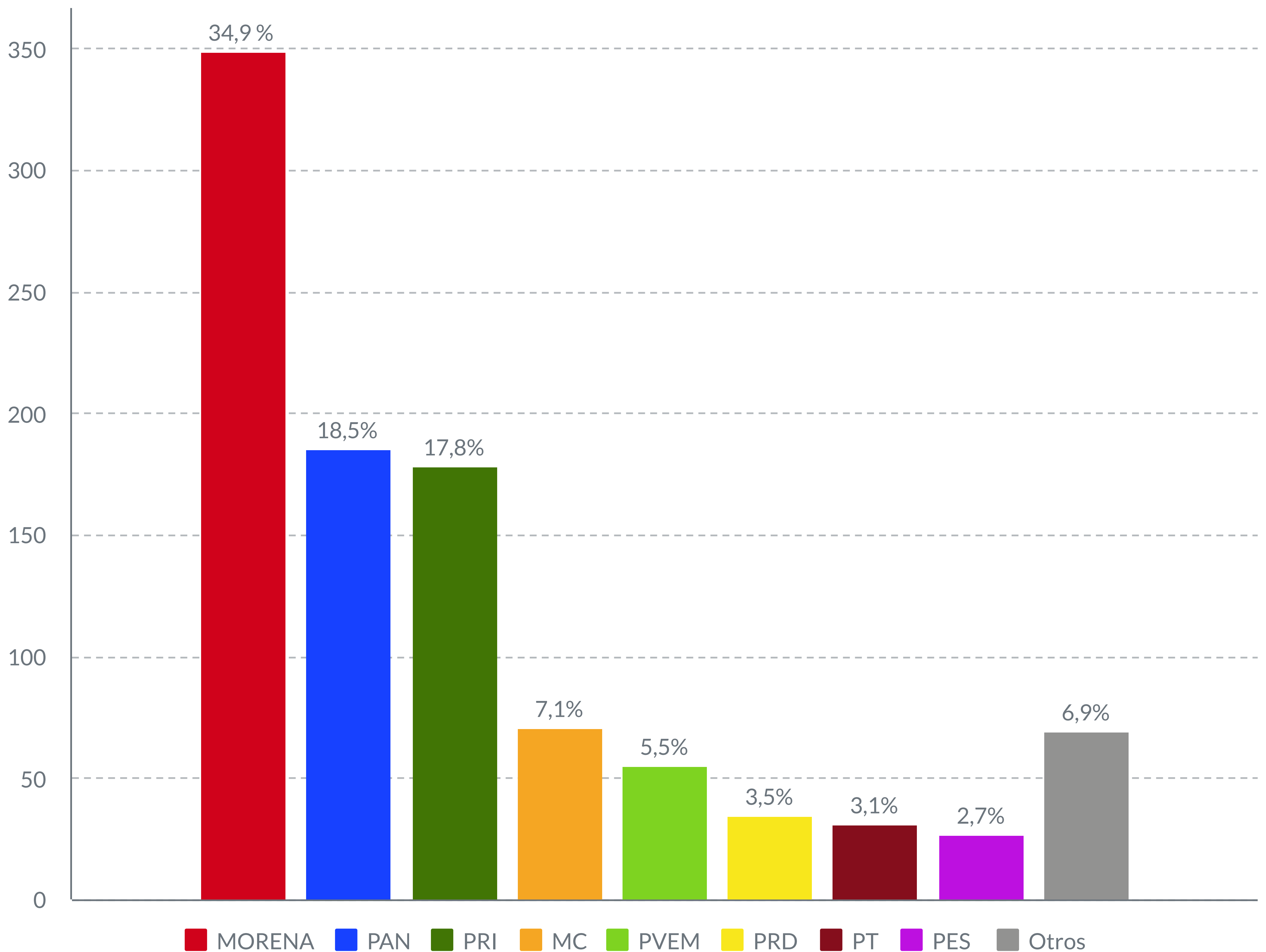


Movimiento Ciudadano (MC). It is a self-defined social democratic space founded in 1999 under the name of Convergencia por la Democracia. Having worked together with the PRI, PAN and PRD during these three legislative years, it chose to compete autonomously in these elections.

In these elections, new spaces such as Fuerza por México and Redes Sociales Progresistas also competed. [Here](#) you can access the list of all the candidates of each party in relation to each of the two electoral principles.

Preliminary Results

Based on numbers presented by the INE where the electoral percentages obtained under both the majority and proportional voting principles are combined, the results with 88.36% of the votes counted are as follows:

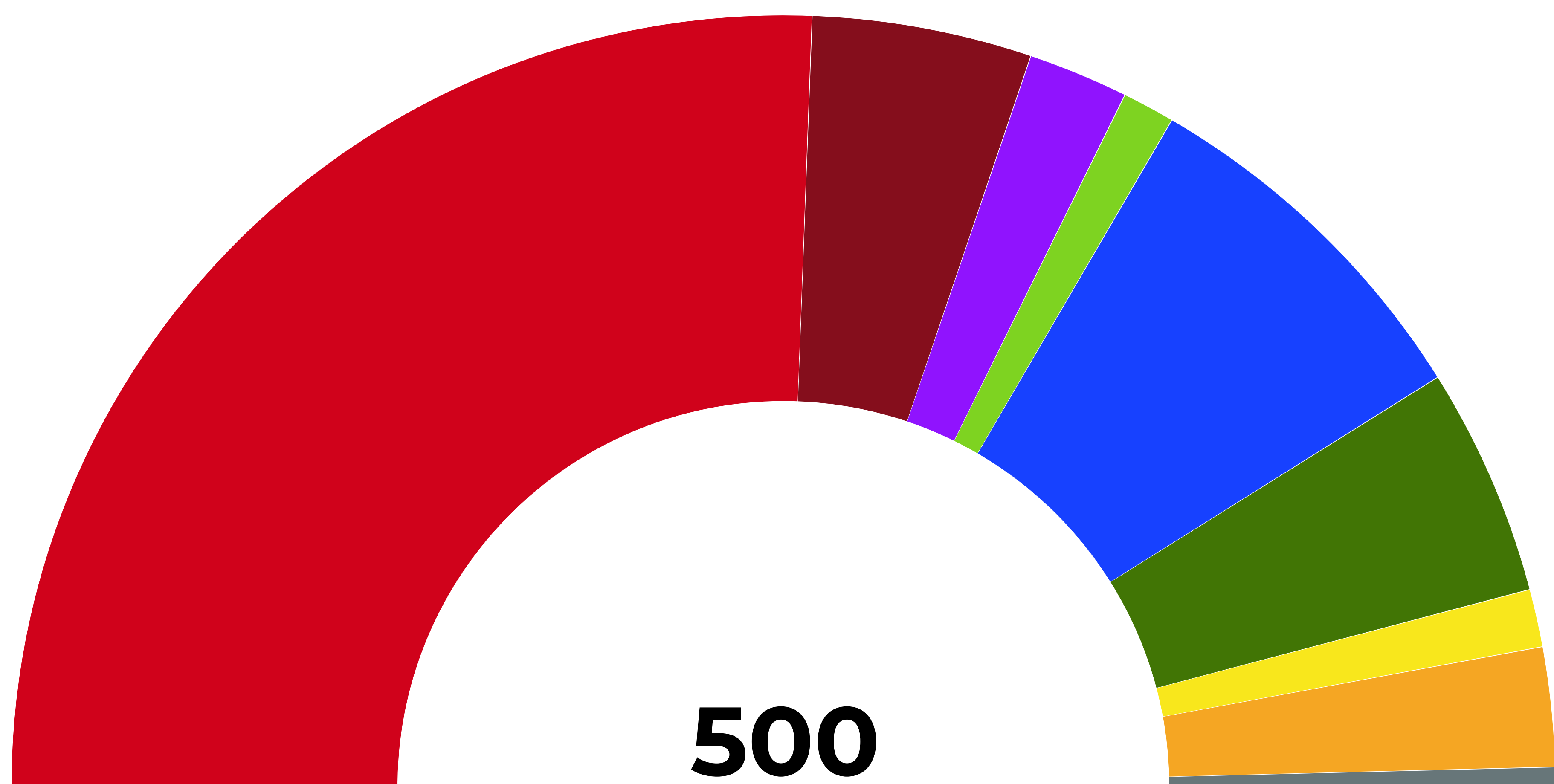


*Source: Own elaboration based on data submitted by the INE based on 88.36% of the counted votes.

What is the current composition of the Chamber of Deputies?

Until August 31, 2021, MORENA will have 256 deputies exceeding by 5 seats the absolute majority required to pass any ordinary bill. Furthermore, by adding the seats of its allies (PT, PVEM and PES), MORENA can get the support of 334 deputies. This means that it even has the number needed to push through bills that require qualified majorities (two-thirds of the total), such as constitutional reforms.

In contrast, the opposition is weak in this chamber. The PAN, with 77 seats, is the strongest opposition party, followed by the PRI with 48, then the MC with 25 and the PRD with 12 seats.



Ruling Party & Allies (334)

- MOVIMIENTO REGENERACIÓN NACIONAL (MORENA - 256)
- PARTIDO DEL TRABAJO (PT - 46)
- PARTIDO ENCUENTRO SOLIDARIO (PES - 21)
- PARTIDO VERDE ECOLOGISTA DE MÉXICO (PVEM - 11)

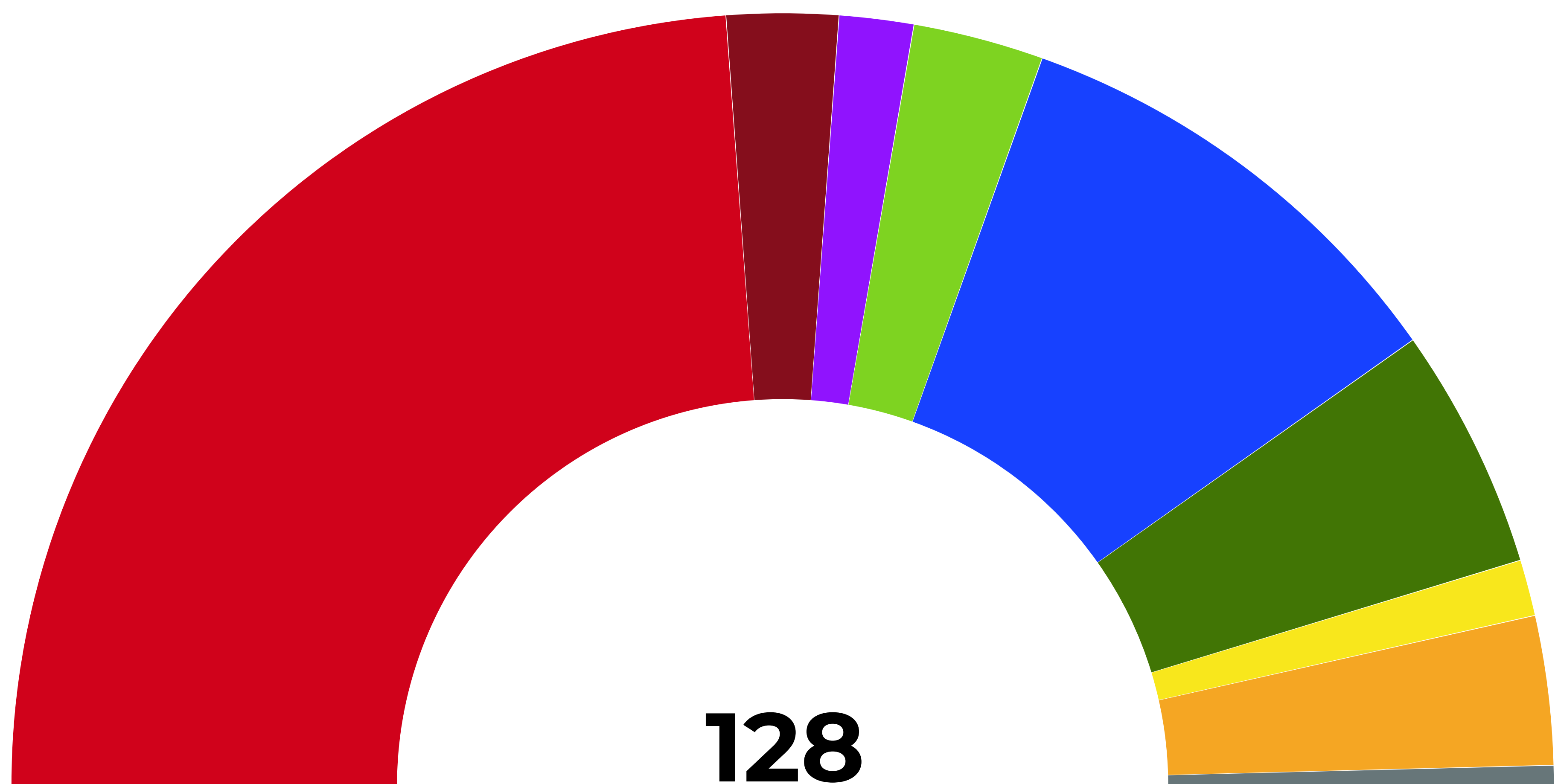
Opposition (162)

- PARTIDO ACCIÓN NACIONAL (PAN - 77)
- PARTIDO REVOLUCIONARIO INSTITUCIONAL (PRI - 48)
- PARTIDO DE LA REVOLUCIÓN DEMOCRÁTICA (PRD - 12)
- MOVIMIENTO CIUDADANO (MC - 25)
- NO POLITICAL PARTY (4)

What is the current composition of the Senate?

The ruling party has 61 senators, so it does not have enough on its own to reach the majority required to pass bills, which is 65. Thus, in this chamber it needs the votes of its allies, with whom it reaches 78 parliamentarians. Unlike in the Chamber of Deputies, here the ruling party does not have a qualified majority, even with its allies, so in order to move forward on constitutional reforms it must negotiate with the opposition.

Thus, the combined seats of the PAN, PRI, MC and PRD (49 out of 128) are enough to constitute what has been called a "blocking minority", and these are the key spaces with which MORENA will have to negotiate in order to unblock any future constitutional reform it wishes. It is important to note that this blocking capacity will be maintained until the end of AMLO's mandate in 2024, since the Senate is not set for midterm renewal.



Ruling Party & Allies (78)

- MOVIMIENTO REGENERACIÓN NACIONAL (MORENA - 61)
- PARTIDO DEL TRABAJO (PT - 6)
- PARTIDO ENCUENTRO SOLIDARIO (PES - 4)
- PARTIDO VERDE ECOLOGISTA DE MÉXICO (PVEM - 7)

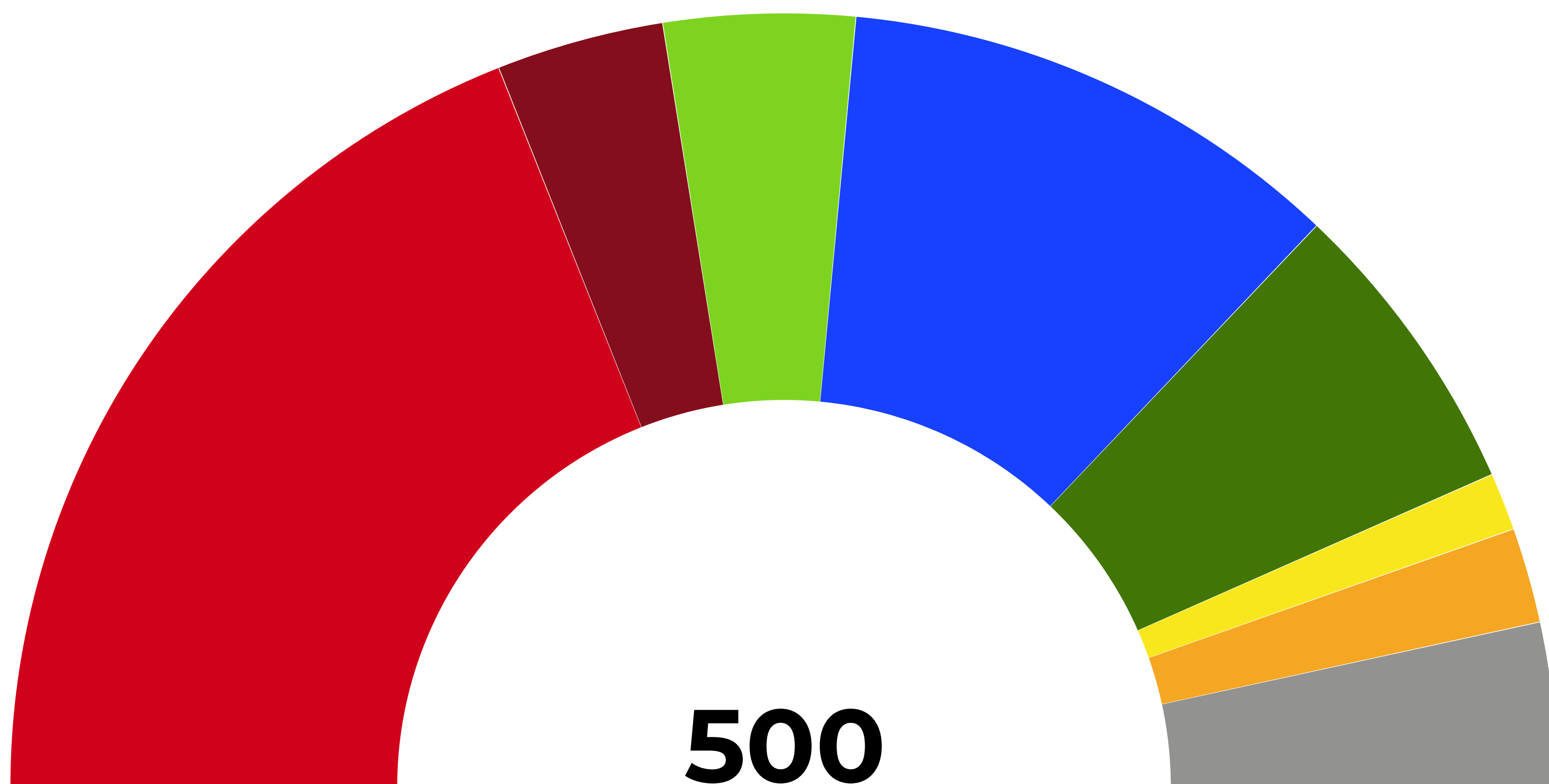
Opposition (49)

- PARTIDO ACCIÓN NACIONAL (PAN - 25)
- PARTIDO REVOLUCIONARIO INSTITUCIONAL (PRI - 13)
- PARTIDO DE LA REVOLUCIÓN DEMOCRÁTICA (PRD - 3)
- MOVIMIENTO CIUDADANO (MC - 8)
- NO POLITICAL PARTY (1)

What would the Chamber of Deputies look like with the current results?

With 88.36% of the votes counted, INE has estimated, combining the allocation of seats of both electoral principles, that MORENA would obtain at least 190 deputies of its own. In second place would be the PAN, which would obtain at least 106 seats. The PRI would obtain at least 63 seats. Further behind would be the PVEM with 40 seats, the PT with 35, the MC with 20 and the PRD with 12. There would also be 34 seats pending to be assigned, which would be defined by updating the remaining votes.

These numbers show that the ruling coalition (MORENA, PT, PVEM, PES) will have, at least, 265 deputies, retaining the simple majority that will allow it to continue approving ordinary bills. This number could increase, but in no case could it exceed the qualified majority threshold of 334 seats. This will force MORENA to take a dialogue approach with the opposition in order to unblock any structural reform it deems necessary to deepen the "Fourth Transformation".



Ruling Party and Allies (265)

- MOVIMIENTO REGENERACIÓN NACIONAL (MORENA - 190)
- PARTIDO DEL TRABAJO (PT - 35)
- PARTIDO VERDE ECOLÓGISTA DE MÉXICO (PVEM - 40)

Opposition (201)

- PARTIDO ACCIÓN NACIONAL (PAN - 106)
- PARTIDO REVOLUCIONARIO INSTITUCIONAL (PRI - 63)
- PARTIDO DE LA REVOLUCIÓN DEMOCRÁTICA (PRD - 12)
- MOVIMIENTO CIUDADANO (MC - 20)

Unassigned (34)

- Not assigned so far (34)

* Source: Own elaboration based on data submitted by the INE based on 88.36% of the counted votes.

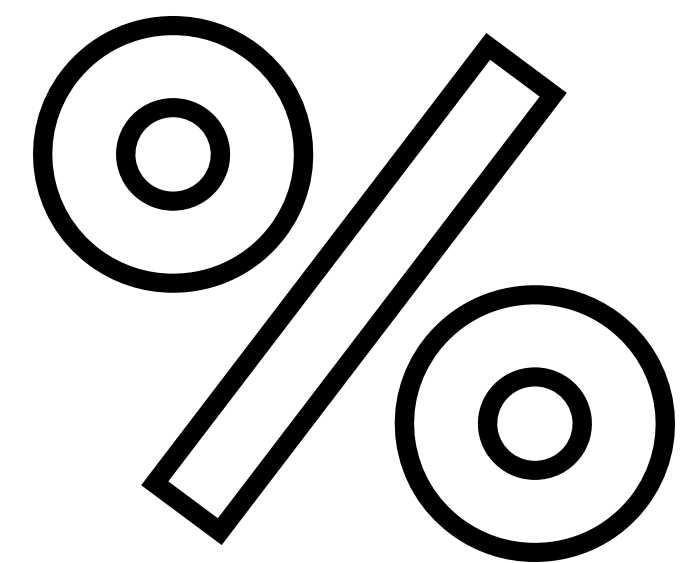
What priorities would the new majority have?

With its electoral victory and the majority obtained, the ruling party and its allies will have enough strength to promote their [legislative agendas](#) without the need to make agreements with the opposition.

Thus, it is important to know the priorities that MORENA, the [PT](#), the [PVEM](#) and the [PES](#) will have, focusing on the first one, which will be the strongest member of the coalition. Among them, the following stand out:

Economy

- Reduce tax burden
- Combat tax evasion
- Encourage private investment



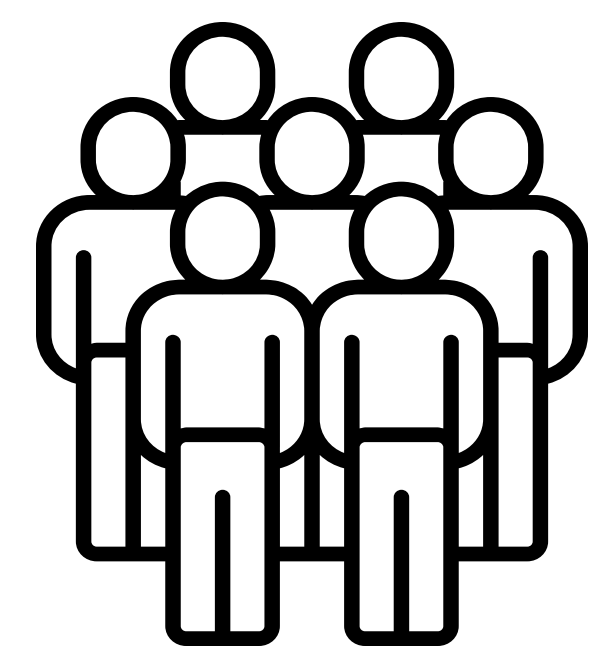
Health

- Strengthen free and accessible provision of medicines to vulnerable sectors



Social

- Promote employment creation
- Advocate for migrants' rights



Meanwhile, the coalition might also pursue the following bills:

- [Bill to enact the Federal Law on Cinematography and Audiovisuals](#). With the aim of promoting the production of national films, it will establish a 10% screen quota for the exhibition of this content in cinemas.
- [Bill to enact the Law to regulate the protection of digital users](#). The text proposes to delimit the rights that digital service providers must guarantee to their users.

On the other hand, the opposition, led by the [PAN](#), the [PRI](#) and the [PRD](#), will have less chance of promoting their legislative plans. The same will happen with [MC](#). Despite this, these spaces will seek to promote bills that promote access to medicines, boost the audiovisual industry and regulate security in the digital economy.

Subnational Elections

WHAT WAS CHOSEN?

WHY IS IT IMPORTANT?

WHAT IS THE CURRENT POLITICAL POWER MAP? HOW WILL IT BE
MODIFIED?



Why are subnational elections important?

Mexico is a federal country, which means it is divided into 32 subnational territories that have autonomy to govern themselves in different areas. Thus, in order to understand the political distribution of power in such a country, it is important to know how many subnational territories each party controls, since each one of them represents a source of authority from which political power can be built.

In addition, whoever controls the states, and specifically their legislative branches, has a greater chance of promoting constitutional reforms, since the Mexican Constitution establishes that no reform will enter into force unless it has the endorsement of 17 subnational legislatures. Thus, the sub-national elections had a special significance for MORENA's ambitions to consolidate his "Fourth Transformation".

What is the current political power map?

The subnational political power map is different depending on the state power we consider. In terms of subnational executive powers or, in other words, governorships, the PRI controls 11 districts (in green in the lower left map), followed by the PAN with 9 (in blue). MORENA has 6 (in red).

This panorama changes diametrically when we observe which is the party with the most seats in each sub-national Legislative Branch. Here, MORENA has holds more seats than its rivals in 19 (in red in the lower left map) of the 32 legislatures. PAN barely achieves those numbers in 6, while the PRI only in 3.



Governorships by party



Larger political parties per Legislative branch

What was chosen?

New governors were elected in Baja California, Baja California Sur, Campeche, Chihuahua, Colima, Guerrero, Michoacán, Nayarit, Nuevo León, Querétaro, San Luis Potosí, Sinaloa, Sonora, Tlaxcala and Zacatecas. In addition, 30 of the 32 state legislatures were renewed in their entirety (except Coahuila and Quintana Roo).

Who won at the subnational level?

At the sub-national level, MORENA performed better than at the national level. Thus, it managed to win 11 governorships, and its allies PT and PVEM managed to win one more district (San Luis Potosí). On the other hand, PAN won two governorships and MC won one. These results have confirmed the historical retraction of the PRI, which failed to win any sub-national Executive on its own.



- **MORENA:** Baja California, Baja California Sur, Campeche, Colima, Guerrero, Michoacán, Nayarit, Sonora, Sinaloa, Tlaxcala and Zacatecas
- **PAN:** Querétaro and Chihuahua
- **PT y PVEM:** San Luis Potosí
- **MC:** Nuevo León
- **No election for governor**

Source: Results based on percentages presented by INE's Preliminary Electoral Results Program (PREP, in Spanish) 2021 for each state.

In terms of sub-national legislatures, although not all races are yet defined, MORENA would ratify its position as the strongest space in more than the 17 legislatures necessary for the ratification of any constitutional reform approved in the National Congress.

In sum, and unlike what happened in the election for national deputies, MORENA has seen its power grow at the sub-national level. This will allow it to manage a wider range of districts and their respective legislative powers, being able to promote reforms that make the "Fourth Transformation" viable in the sub-state territories.

Conclusions

On June 6, Mexico held the largest election day in its history, electing for the first time simultaneously 500 seats in the Chamber of Deputies, 15 governorships and 30 sub-national legislatures, as well as thousands of mayors and city councils. The elections took place in the midst of a harsh and violent electoral campaign that made no distinction between political parties, with aggressions that prevented a normal voting in some places. Likewise, health risks due to the COVID-19 pandemic discouraged electoral participation.

The first results indicate that MORENA will continue to be the strongest space at the legislative level. Thus, it will have a simple majority, together with its allies, until 2024 both in the Senate (this chamber was not renewed) and in the Chamber of Deputies. In spite of maintaining those numbers, the rest of the results in the legislative elections are not so positive for the space led by AMLO. This is because MORENA will lose, even with its allies, the qualified majority in the lower house. This implies that it will not be able to gather the 334 deputies necessary to pass constitutional reforms, which will force it to negotiate with the opposition in order to move forward with these initiatives.

On the other hand, and at the sub-national level, MORENA achieved a wide victory by winning 12 governorships together with its allies. It would also retain the majority of the sub-state legislatures necessary to ratify any constitutional reform approved at the national level. This makes it the strongest party at the subnational level.

There is no doubt that with the results for the National Congress, the political landscape has changed in Mexico. From now on, MORENA will have to adopt a different position since it will not have its own majorities to move forward with its agenda without the support of other parties (allies or opponents). Thus, a new challenge begins for AMLO: building new consensus to ensure the achievement of his "Fourth Transformation" of Mexico before the end of his term in 2024.

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