# The Michigan Model in Latin America: the Mexican case and the issue voting paradigm
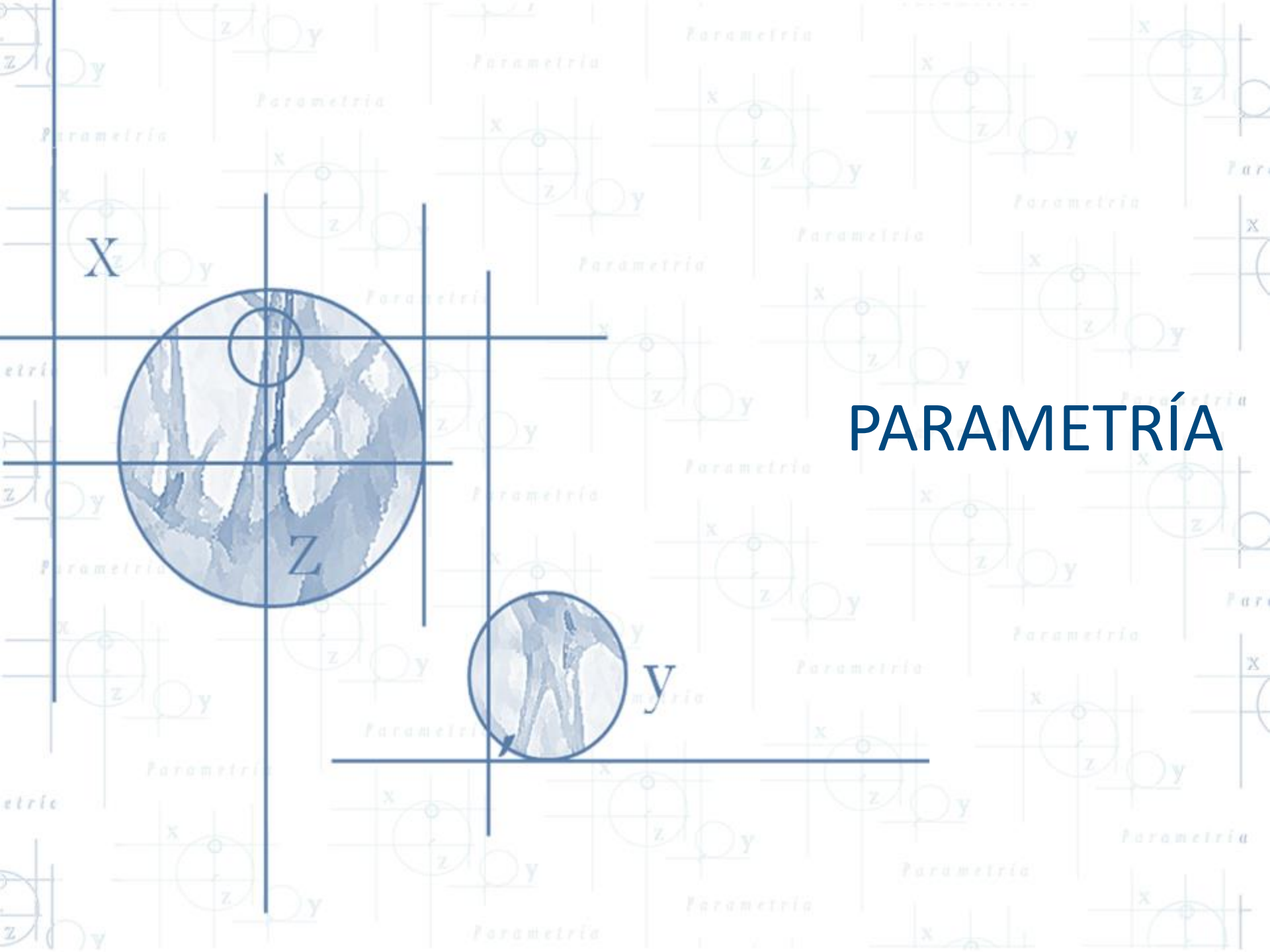
Diciembre 2018

The last Mexican electoral process was an unusual election. In public media discussions, it was perceived a certain polarization in the topics raised in discussion by candidates. However, the winning candidate —Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador— obtained the highest margin victory in the democratic history of Mexico. In addition, as a consequence of straight ticket voting, citizens voted by Obrador's party, Morena, obtaining almost the majority in Legislative branch, as well as four of the governors out of ten in dispute.

Issue voting scholars suggest that during electoral campaigns, **certain attitudes can be activated in the public.** For 2018, inequality, poverty and corruption became salient for the Mexican electorate, which could have an impact in the election day. However, this paper suggest that is necessary to analyze whether these topics were significant for Morena voting or if there were different factors inherent to candidates rhetoric which potentially polarized citizens between *us* and the *elites*.

This work it's a first glance to three relevant variables:
- Party ID
- Economic voting
- General performance

PARAMETRÍA

**Citizen's and consumer convergence**

Parametría is a pollster that understands the challenges of doing rigorous research on public opinion issues and marketing. We propose, design and apply different tools that allow a better approach **to consumers and citizens**.

Different news agencies, TV networks, newspapers, magazines and journals such as BBC, Reuters, CNN, The Economist, The Guardian, The New York Times, Wall Street Journal, LA Times have used the information we generate.
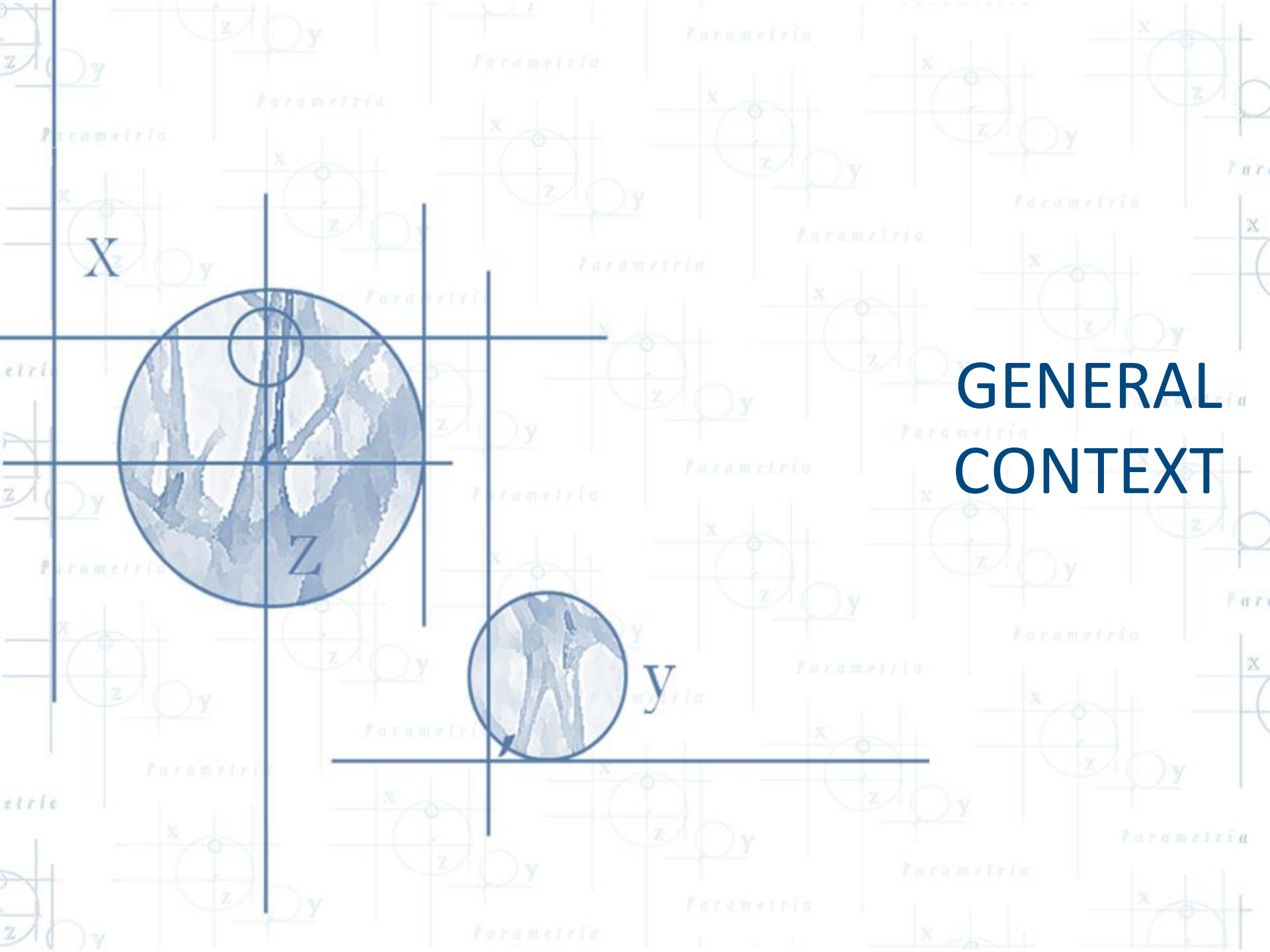
Since 2000, Parametría conducts national representative polls on social and political topics. Since that year Parametria has time series on economy expectations, presidential approval, public policy, party preference, among others. Every two years we elaborate the Public Policy Indicator: a unique study representative at the state level (Mexico as 32 states) which provides information at local level about authoritarian attitudes, institutional trust, approval on public services and public policies, and specific issues for each region.

| | |
|---|---|
| **Study** | **National survey** |
| **Objective** | Electoral preferences |
| **Dates** | **December 2017 – July 2018** |
| **Target population** | 18 years old and older with a valid voting credential |
| **Sampling** | National Electoral Institute's electoral sections |
| **Selection of voting centerse methodology** | Random selection algorithm with size proportion adjustment |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Data recollection** | Face-to-face interview | |
| **Electoral preferences recollection** | Booth simulation (secretely fiilled electoral ballot deposited in a portable box) | |
| **Representativeness** | **Observations** | **Sample error with 95% statistlcal confidence** |
| **NATIONAL** | **1,000 - 1,200** | **(+/-) 3.0 %** |

- Digital gap:
  - Internet coverage: 65%
  - Landlines: 55%
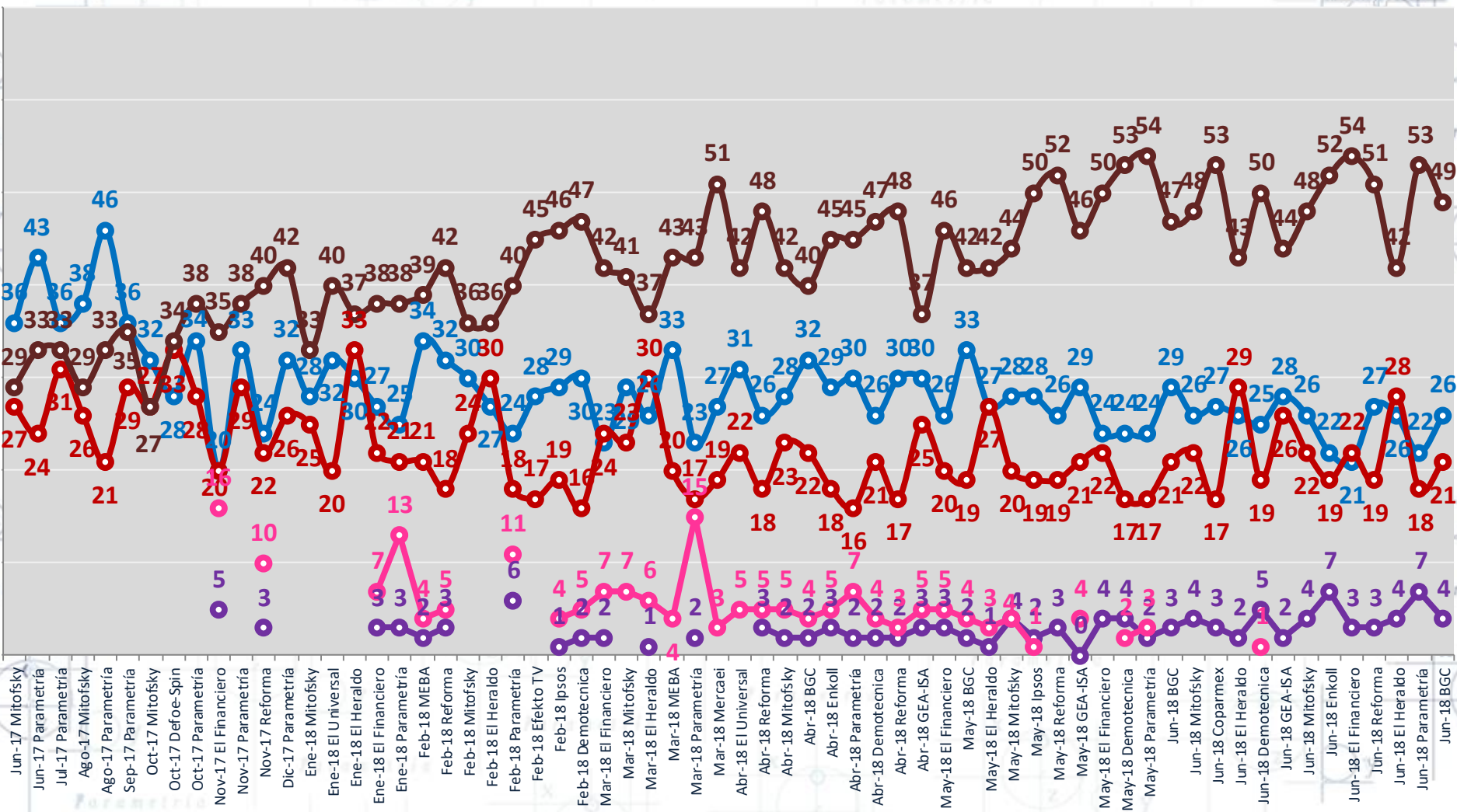- Non-response bias
- Rejection rate

# GENERAL CONTEXT

# Electoral Numeralia

| Padrón Electoral | Lista Nominal |
|---|---|
| **90'127,448** | **88'878,886** |

| Rango de edad | Padrón Electoral | Lista Nominal |
|---|---|---|
| 18 y 19 | 4'225,468 | 4'136,256 |
| 20-24 | 11'169,831 | 11'031,197 |
| 25-29 | 11'077,651 | 10'922,406 |
| 30-34 | 9'822,439 | 9'664,912 |
| 35-39 | 9'261,759 | 9'106,939 |
| 40-44 | 8'991,074 | 8'843,032 |
| 45-49 | 8'102,394 | 7'978,129 |
| 50-54 | 6'892,844 | 6'800,904 |
| 55-59 | 5'761,652 | 5'697,016 |
| 60-64 | 4'606,249 | 4'560,227 |
| 65 o más | 10'216,087 | 10'137,868 |
| **Total** | **90'127,448** | **88'878,886** |

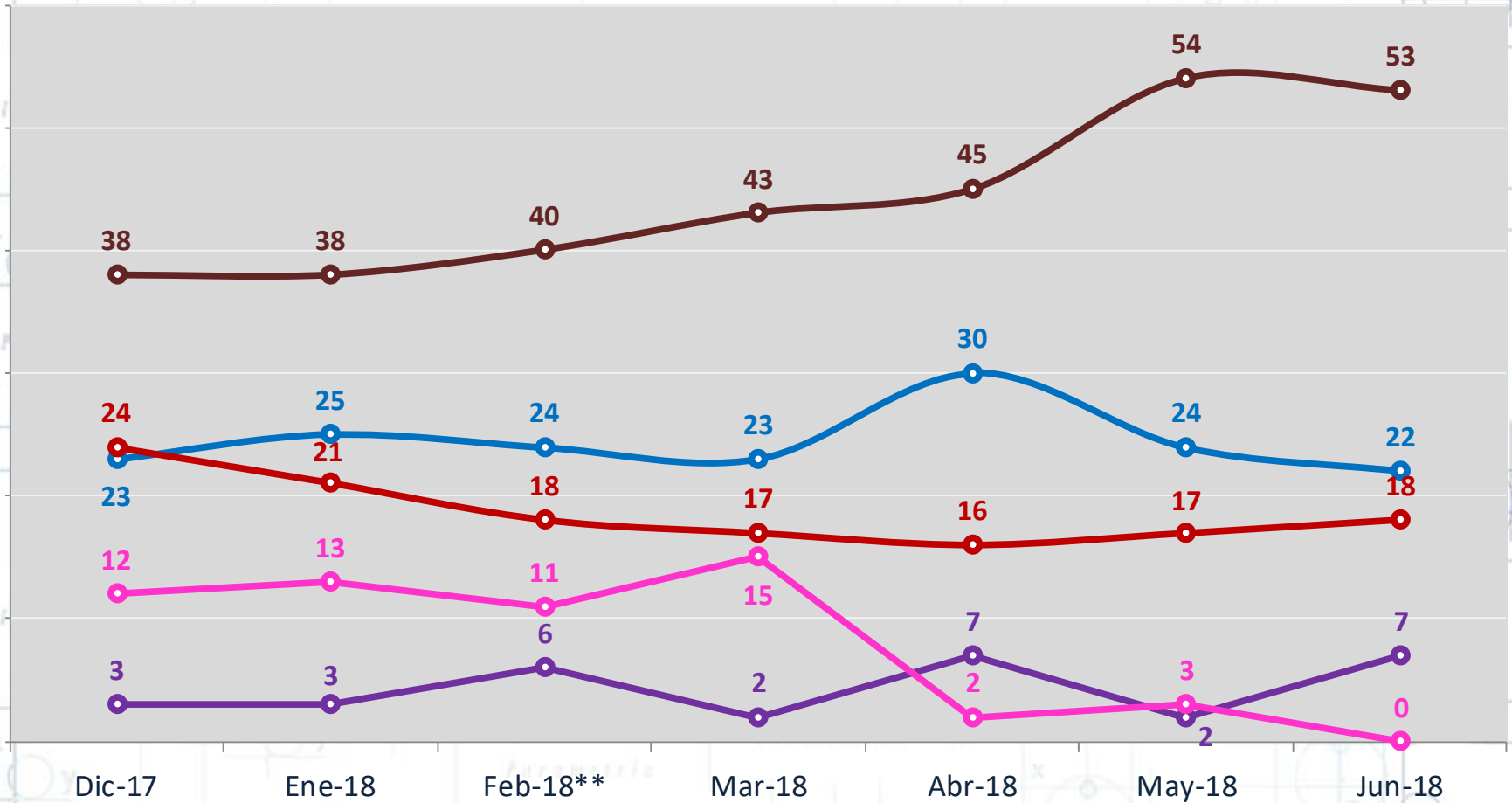Parametría

ENCUESTAS NACIONALES EN VIVIENDA

Parametría

**Ricardo Anaya del PAN / PRD / MC**

**José Antonio Meade del PRI / PVEM / NA**

**Andrés Manuel López Obrador de MORENA / PT / PES**

**Jaime Rodríguez Calderón "El Bronco" / independiente**

**Margarita Zavala / independiente**

| | Dic-17 | Ene-18 | Feb-18** | Mar-18 | Abr-18 | May-18 | Jun-18 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| López Obrador | 38 | 38 | 40 | 43 | 45 | 54 | 53 |
| Anaya | 23 | 25 | 24 | 23 | 30 | 24 | 22 |
| Meade | 24 | 21 | 18 | 17 | 16 | 17 | 18 |
| Zavala | 12 | 13 | 11 | 15 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| El Bronco | 3 | 3 | 6 | 2 | 7 | 2 | 7 |

* La preferencia EFECTIVA no contabiliza el "ninguno", "no sabe" y "no contesta".

** En febrero del 2018 suma 100% considerando a Armando Ríos Piter

**Participación : 63%**

INE
**Instituto Nacional Electoral**

**53.1936%**

Andrés Manuel López Obrador
PT morena encuentro social

22.2750%

Ricardo Anaya Cortes
PAN PRD MOVIMIENTO CIUDADANO

16.4099%

José Antonio Meade Kuribreña
PRI VERDE alianza

05.2317%

Jaime Heliodoro Rodriguez Calderon

*Parametría*

## Cuadro 1
### Error promedio de encuestas publicadas.
### Junio 1 al 27 de 2018

| Nª | Encuestadora | Error promedio |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Parametría | 1.0 |
| 2 | Promedio | 1.6 |
| 3 | La Silla Rota | 1.9 |
| 4 | Berumen-Ipsos | 2.1 |
| 5 | Gii360 | 2.2 |
| 6 | El Financiero | 2.3 |
| 7 | De las Heras - Demotecnia | 2.4 |
| 8 | Culmen Consultores | 2.8 |
| 9 | Arcop | 3.0 |
| 10 | Reforma | 3.1 |
| 11 | El Financiero | 3.1 |
| 12 | Varela y Asociados | 3.6 |
| 13 | BGC | 3.6 |
| 14 | Arias Consultores | 3.9 |
| 15 | Consulta Mitofsky | 4.1 |
| 16 | Consulta Mitofsky | 4.1 |
| 17 | Massive Caller | 4.3 |
| 18 | Arias Consultores | 4.9 |
| 19 | GEA-ISA | 5.1 |
| 20 | BGC | 5.1 |
| 21 | El Heraldo | 6.8 |
| 22 | El Heraldo | 7.1 |
| 23 | GEA-ISA | 7.6 |
| 24 | Arias Consultores | 7.8 |
| 25 | 24 horas | 8.6 |
| 26 | Pop Group | 10.5 |

Verde: valores menores a 3.1%, encuestas calificadas como excelentes. Sin color: encuestas buenas y con valores aceptables, con un error promedio entre 3.2% y 5.2%. Rojo: encuestas con estimaciones no aceptables bajo los criterios usuales. Elaboración de Alduncin y Asociados con datos de Wikipedia e INE.
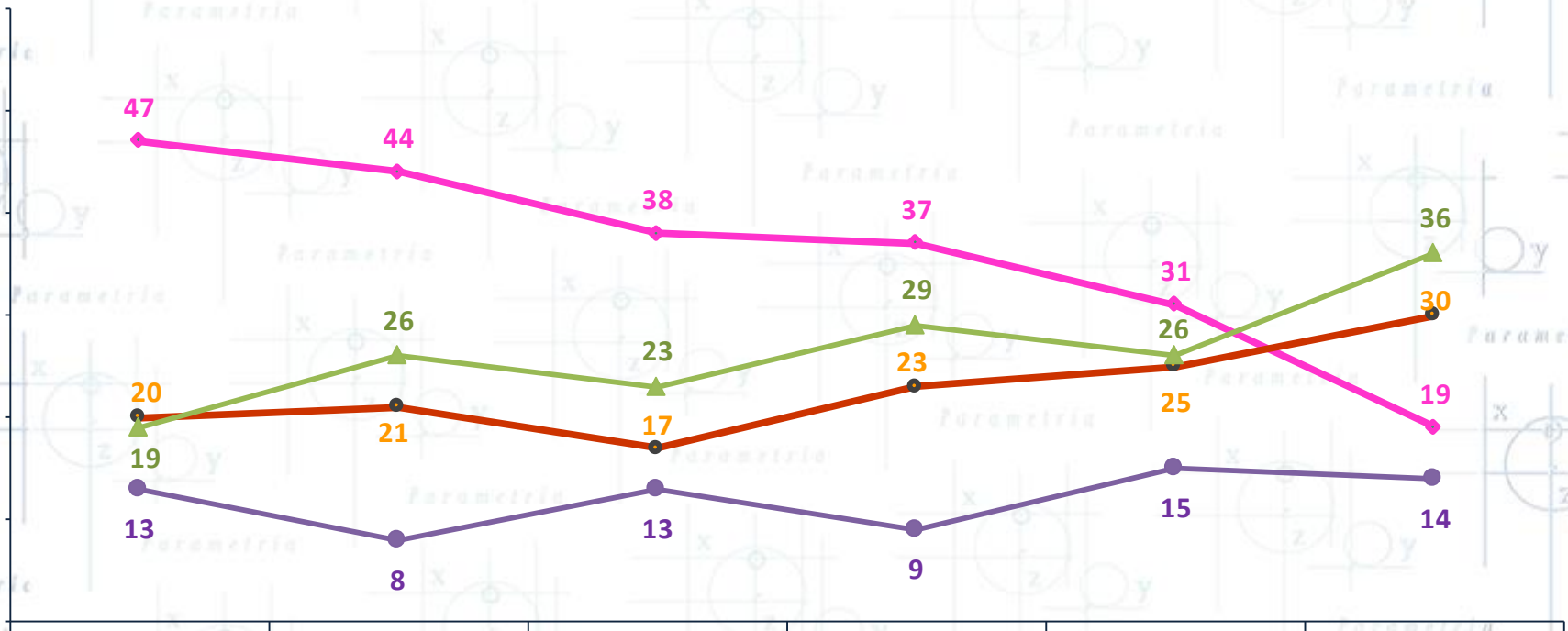
## Gráfica 1
### Error promedio de encuestas publicadas.
### Junio 1 al 27 de 2018

# ¿Cuándo decidió usted por cuál partido o candidato votar?

- Siempre vota por el mismo partido
- Cuando supe quienes eran los candidatos
- Durante la campaña
- Hoy en la urna



Suma 100% agregando "no sabe" y "no contesta".

Parametría, **ENCUESTAS DE SALIDA**

Parametría

**Andrés Manuel López Obrador**

# Mexico City, we have a problem

JILOTEPEC

### A fiery populist could become the next president

WHEN Andrés Manuel López Obrador winds up a stump speech in the main square of Jilotepec, a small town in the eastern state of Veracruz, the crowd surges forward. It takes him 15 minutes to pass through the commotion of backslapping, selfies and jabbing microphones to reach the car parked outside the tent where he spoke. The point of the rally is to promote Mr López Obrador's party, Morena, in municipal elections to be held in Veracruz in June. But his main goal is much bigger: to win Mexico's presidency on his third attempt, in 2018.

That is a prospect that thrills some Mexicans and terrifies others. A figure of national consequence for more than 20 years, AMLO, as he is often called, has fulminated against privilege, corruption and the political establishment. Sweep away all that, he tells poor Mexicans, and their lives will improve. Many others hear in that message the menace of a charismatic populist who would punish enterprise, weaken institutions and roll back reforms. The biggest worriers view him as a Mexican version of the late Hugo Chávez, an autocrat who wrecked Venezuela's economy and undermined its democracy.

But Mexico, like some richer countries, may now want more drastic politics. Voters are enraged by corruption, crime, which is rising again after a drop, and feeble economic growth. Not long after Mr López Obrador spoke in Jilotepec, the state

prosecutor in Veracruz reported that 250 skulls, belonging to victims of drug gangs, had been found in pits near the state capital. Many Mexicans have stopped believing that either of the parties that have governed Mexico this century, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) of President Enrique Peña Nieto or the opposition National Action Party (PAN), will do much about such horrors. And now they face a confrontation with an American president who wants to end free trade, deport millions of Mexicans, build a wall and force Mexico to pay for it.

AMLO proposes to answer graft with his own incorruptibility, and Donald Trump's nationalism with a fiery nationalism of his own. In Jilotepec he rails against

**Pop goes the populist**

Mexico, voting intention in presidential election
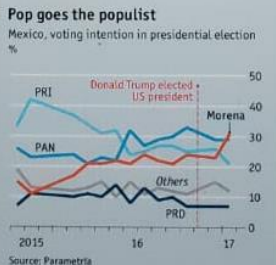%



Source: Parametría

the former governor of Veracruz, now facing corruption charges and on the run from the police. He slams the PRI, the fugitive's party, as "corrupt and cynical" and the PAN as "corrupt and hypocritical". The message strikes home. "Mexico is rich, but those who govern us rob us," says a supporter.

Mr López Obrador has taken his campaign to the United States, where he presents himself as the only politician who can stand up to Mr Trump. In New York on March 13th he denounced Mr Peña for allowing his American counterpart to rain "insolence and insults" upon millions of Mexicans living in the United States. A President López Obrador would mean "alpha males either side of the border", says Juan Pardinas of IMCO, a think-tank. Voters may like that idea.

Mr López Obrador is the early front-runner for next year's election (Mr Peña cannot run again). In a one-round election, he could win with as little as 30% of the vote (see chart). If that happens, Mexico will embark on a perilous political experiment.

He began his political career in the southern state of Tabasco as an operative of the PRI, which monopolised political power at the national level from 1929 to 2000. His renegade streak showed up early. As an official of the National Indigenous Institute he spent five years living with the Chontal, an Indian community. Hence his preoccupation with the poorest Mexicans, says Lorenzo Meyer, a historian. Mr López Obrador became the PRI's state chief, but was squeezed out of the job by priistas suspicious of his grassroots organising.
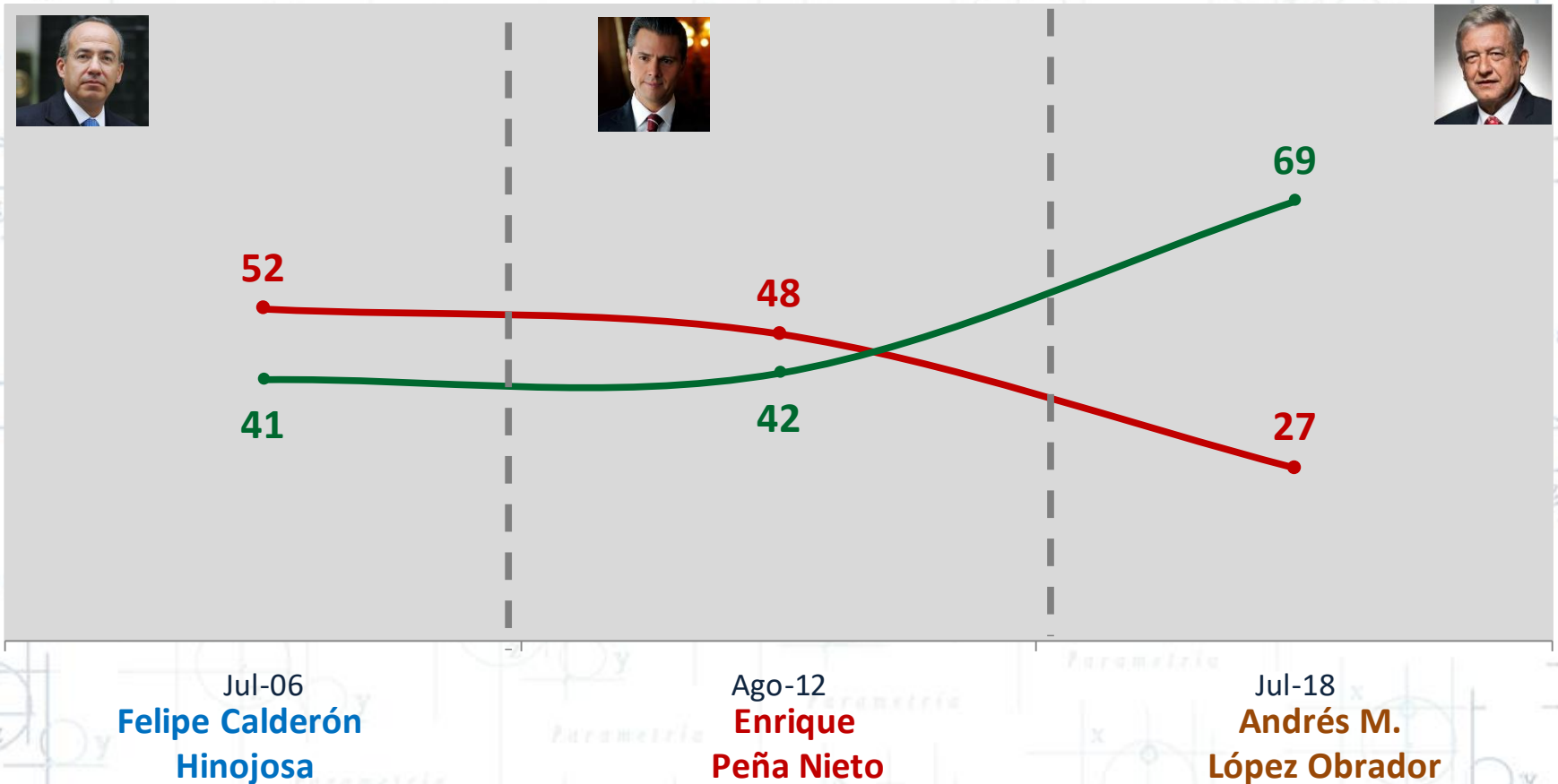
His rise to national prominence came after he lost a race to be governor of Tabasco in 1994 as the candidate of what is now the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD), a left-wing group that had broken away from the PRI. At a sit-in in the Zócalo, Mexico City's main square, Mr López ▸▸

¿Usted cree que Andrés Manuel López Obrador conducirá el gobierno
para el beneficio de algunos cuantos o para el beneficio de toda la gente?

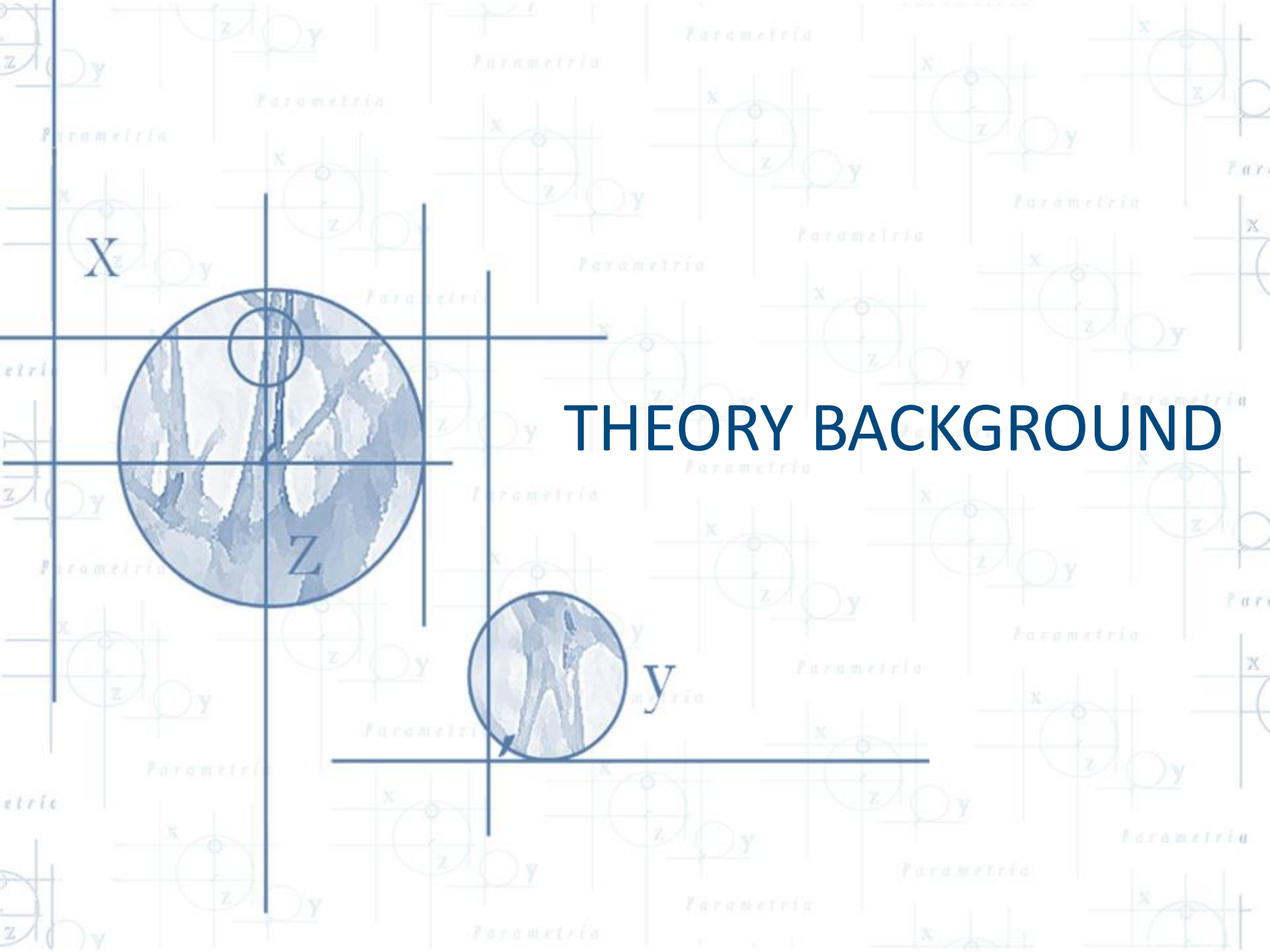━●━ Para el beneficio de algunos cuantos    ━●━ Para el beneficio de toda la gente



**69**

**52**

**48**

**41**

**42**

**27**

Suma 100% agregando "no sabe" y "no contesta".

| Jul-06 | Ago-12 | Jul-18 |
|--------|--------|--------|
| **Felipe Calderón Hinojosa** | **Enrique Peña Nieto** | **Andrés M. López Obrador** |

Parametría; **EXIT POLL** / 1,321 casos / Error (+/-) 2.7 % / 1 de julio de 2018.

| ¿Cuál es el partido o candidato por el cuál votó usted el día de hoy para Presidente de la República? | Ricardo Anaya | José Antonio Meade | Andrés Manuel López Obrador | Jaime Rodríguez Calderón "El Bronco" | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **POBLACIÓN GENERAL** | 22 | 17 | 56 | 5 | 100% |
| **Género** | | | | | |
| Masculino | 21 | 12 | 65 | 2 | 100% |
| Femenino | 23 | 19 | 49 | 9 | 100% |
| **Edad** | | | | | |
| 18 a 25 años | 18 | 11 | 55 | 16 | 100% |
| 26 a 35 años | 25 | 8 | 63 | 4 | 100% |
| 36 a 45 años | 23 | 15 | 56 | 6 | 100% |
| 46 a 55 años | 22 | 17 | 56 | 5 | 100% |
| 56 años o más | 20 | 24 | 55 | 1 | 100% |
| **Escolaridad** | | | | | |
| Nada | 21 | 31 | 45 | 3 | 100% |
| Primaria | 24 | 26 | 49 | 1 | 100% |
| Secundaria | 20 | 16 | 58 | 6 | 100% |
| Preparatoria | 23 | 10 | 59 | 8 | 100% |
| Universidad o más | 20 | 7 | 65 | 8 | 100% |
| **Ingresos** | | | | | |
| $785 o menos | 27 | 29 | 44 | 0 | 100% |
| Entre $786 - $4,551 | 24 | 14 | 57 | 5 | 100% |
| Entre $4,552 - $15,170 | 18 | 14 | 59 | 9 | 100% |
| Entre $15,171 - Más de $20,000 | 23 | 8 | 64 | 5 | 100% |

# THEORY BACKGROUND

**THE AMERICAN VOTER (CAMPBELL ET. AL)**

Electoral behavior can be described as a response to psychological forces/determinants

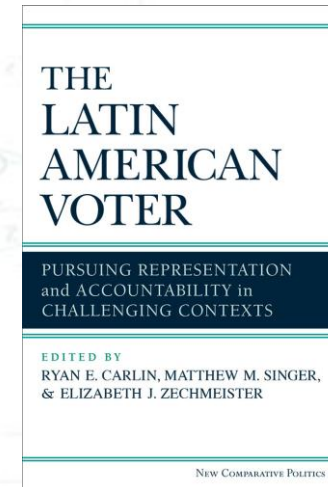Long-term and slow-term determinants over electoral preference

- Long-term: almost constant effect over time
    - Demographic and socioeconomic characteristics
- Mid-term: slow changing effect
    - Partisanship and ideology
- Short-term: malleable effect
    - Issues, economic and no economic perception, general evaluations

The Latin American Voter (Carlin, Singer, Zechmeister 2015)

- Collection of voting behavior studies
- It explores how theories of political behavior in established democracies apply to Latin America.
- There is not one single Latin American voter; however there are important characteristics that define voters in both levels: regional and national.

Latin American Elections: Choice and Change (Nadeau Lewis-Beck, Turgeon, Gélineau 2018)

- Evaluation of a single model of vote choice: Michigan Model
- Long-term vs. short-term determinants
- Analysis based on support for the incumbent with a vote intention question
- Groups of determinants:
  - Demographics: social structure
  - Socioeconomics: class and income
  - Political anchors: partisanship and ideology
  - Issues

## ¿PARTY SYSTEM CRISIS?

**EL ECONOMISTA** 30 ANIVERSARIO

COLUMNA INVITADA

¿Crisis en los partidos?

La historia de los partidos en México está marcada por rupturas de integrantes que cambian de partido. Los cambios de partido o las candidaturas independientes son válvulas de escape, cuando los métodos de definición de candidatos son inciertos.
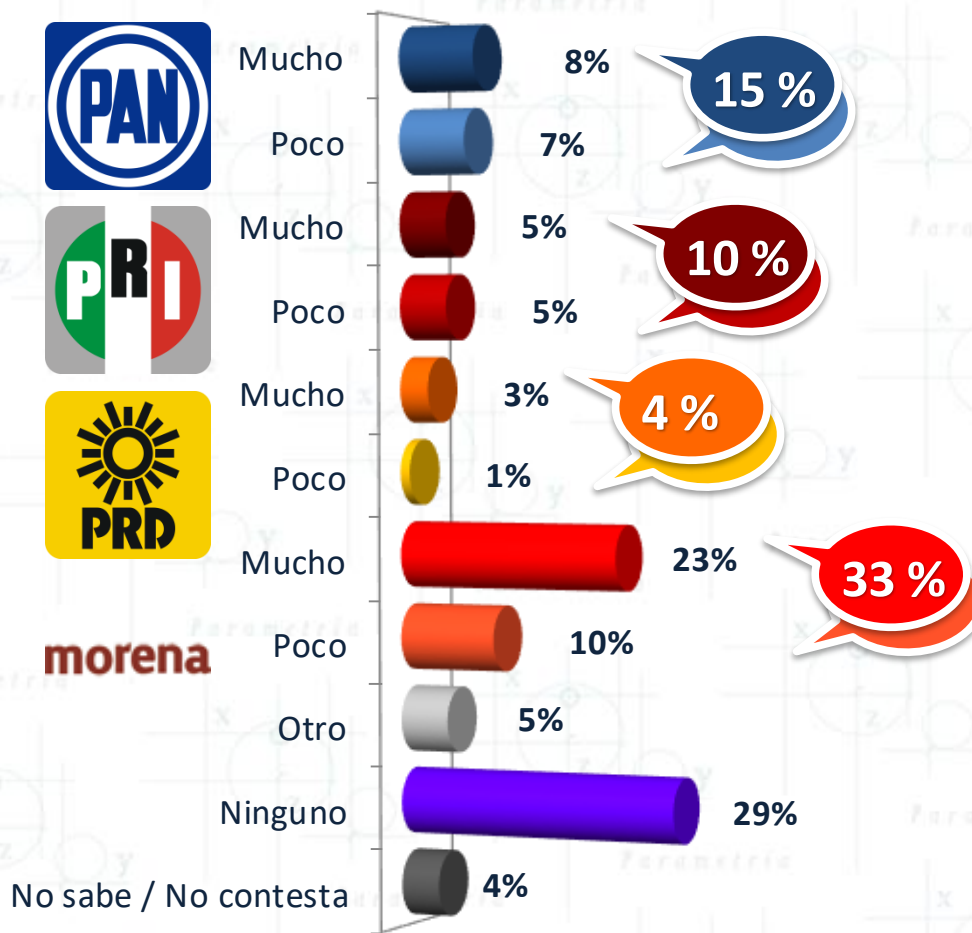
**El Sol de México** OEM

Partidos enfrentan su más severa crisis, reconocen el voto de castigo

During the electoral process, and after the electoral journey, several media declare a parties system crisis in Mexico.

- Partisanship and party ID are considered to be stable through time (Campbell et.al.) but in a non-consolidated democracy, some problems arouse.

- A fragile parties system tend to lead to a collapse in partisanship attitudes (Zechmeister and Corral 2013)

- Other studies prove that, even though Latin American parties systems tend to be unstable, certain parties' behavior create and incentivize sympathy for the party itself (Lupu 2013).

- Mexico's case its ideal to prove if party ID it's still a relevant attitude to estimate electoral preference.

Sin importar por quién ha votado en el pasado, ¿con cuál partido se identifica usted más?

nación③②①

ECONOMÍA
Si López Obrador gana 2018, ¿habría crisis económica en México?

DINERO EN IMAGEN | IMAGEN DIGITAL

Ganó AMLO, ¿de veras es un peligro para México?
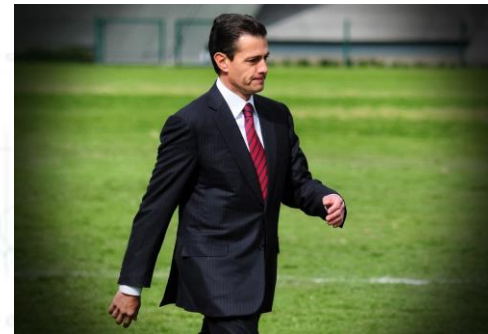
ECONOMÍA 🕐 1 JUL, 2018

**RETROSPECTIVE ECONOMIC VOTING**

- Economic voting has been one of the most consistently studied topics in the public opinion field.

- There's two types of economic voting: sociotropic and egotropic/pocketbook. For example, Gómez and Wilson (2006) established that sophisticated individuals tend to use a sociotropic evaluation rather than a pocketbook vote.

- Other studies suggests that, even though the responsibility attribution of the economy hypothesis it's not ideal for the Latin American region, economic evaluation does have an impact on voting (Valdini and Lewis-Beck 2018)

- There is also evidence that, for the Mexican election in 2006, the economic stability and the perception of it, was a variable that affect positively the support for the incumbent: Felipe Calderón ( Gélineau and Singer 2015).

**EL UNIVERSAL**

‹ ▸ Seguridad ▸ Política ▸ Sociedad

**Peña cierra su mandato con 20.5% de aprobación**

**EPN cierra su sexenio presidencial reprobado, de acuerdo con encuestas**
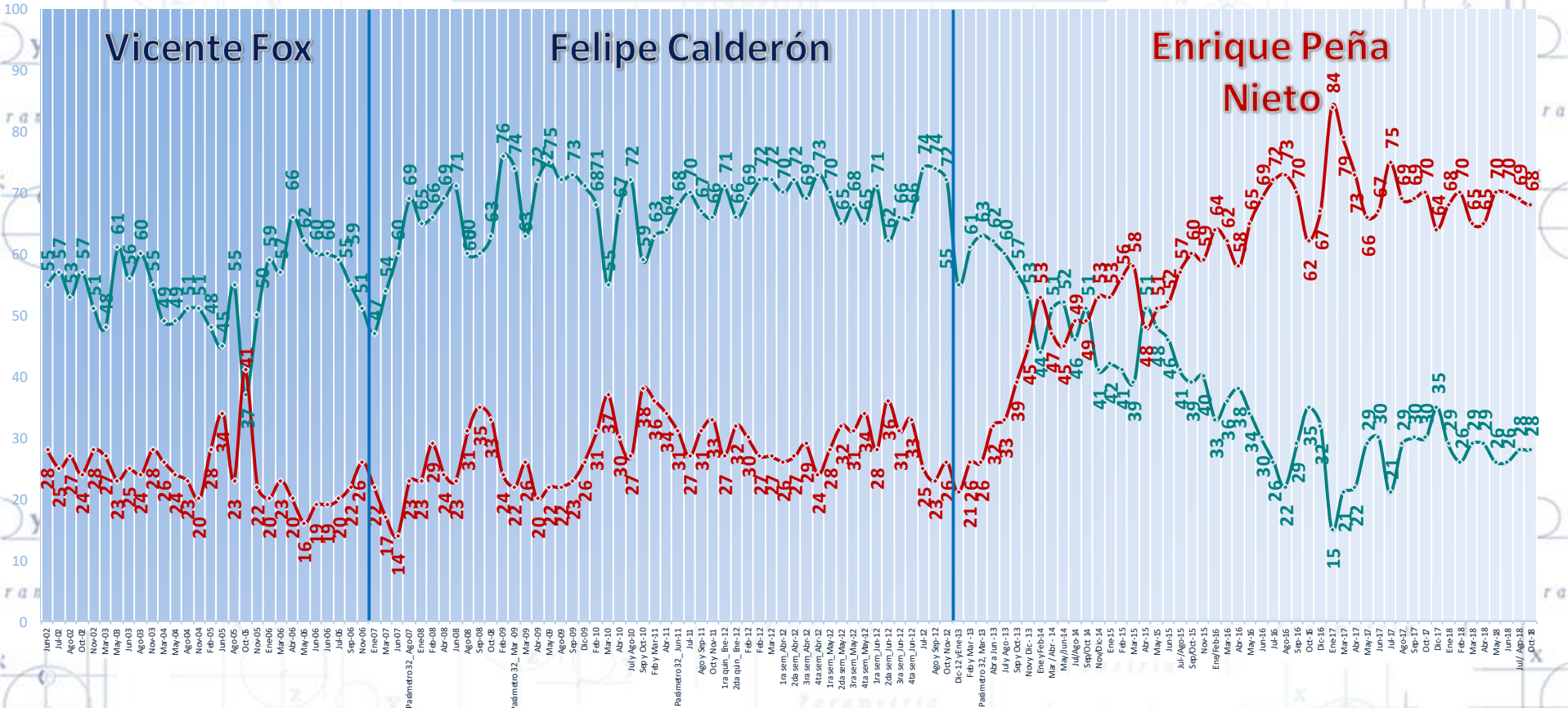
**adn político**

## PERFORMANCE, EVALUATION AND VOTING

Does voters respond to policies and performance?

- There's two main visions from the public opinion studies: the incumbent performance matters *per se* (Harrington 1993) or how elites present and manage performance information is what affect political behavior (Lenz 2012).

- Other studies suggest that variables, such as partisanship and party ID, shape performance perception and responsibility attribution (Tilley and Hobolt 2011)
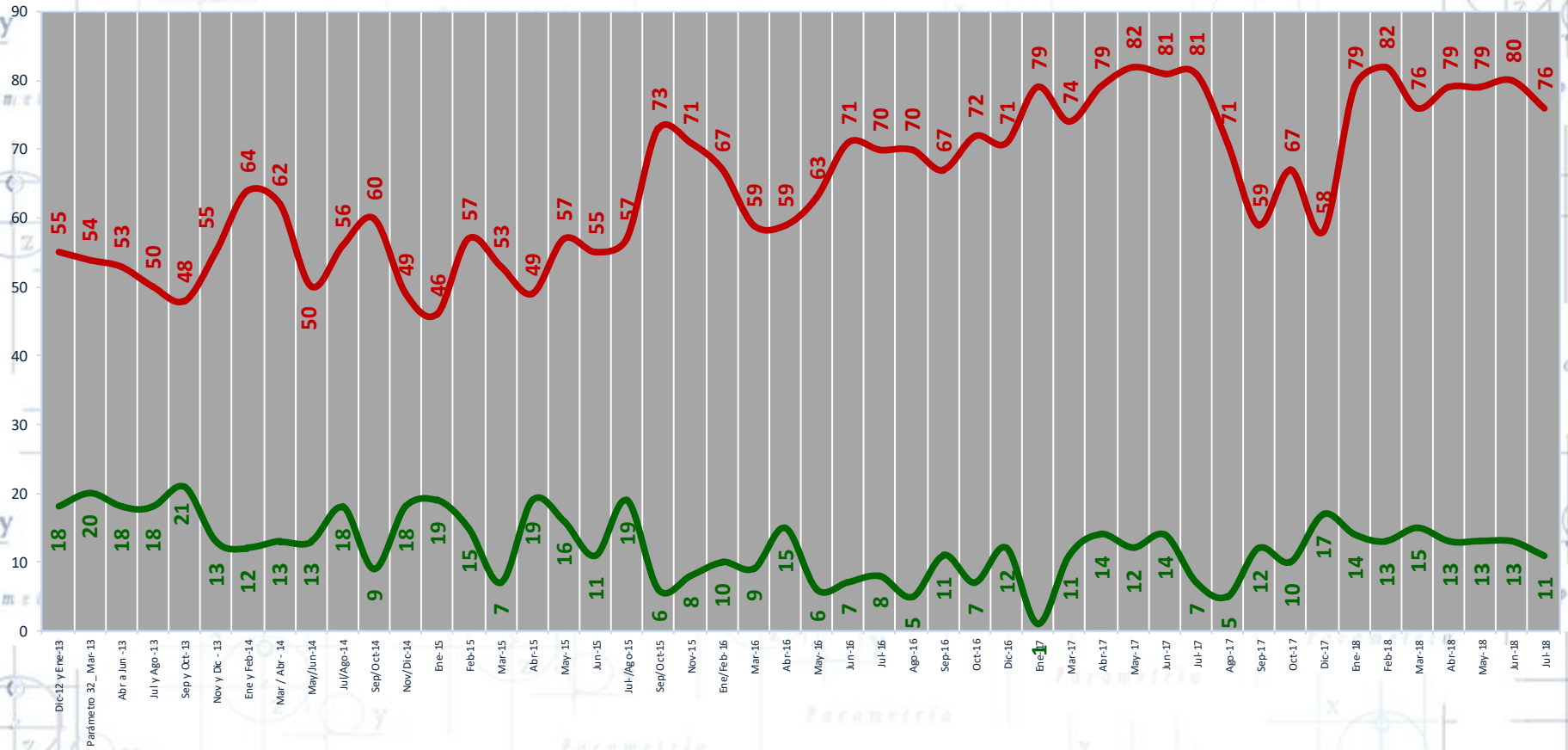
En general, ¿usted aprueba o desaprueba la forma en que
**el presidente de la República** realiza su trabajo?

—— Aprueba    —·— Desaprueba



Suma 100% agregando "no sabe" y "no contesta".

Durante los últimos 12 meses,

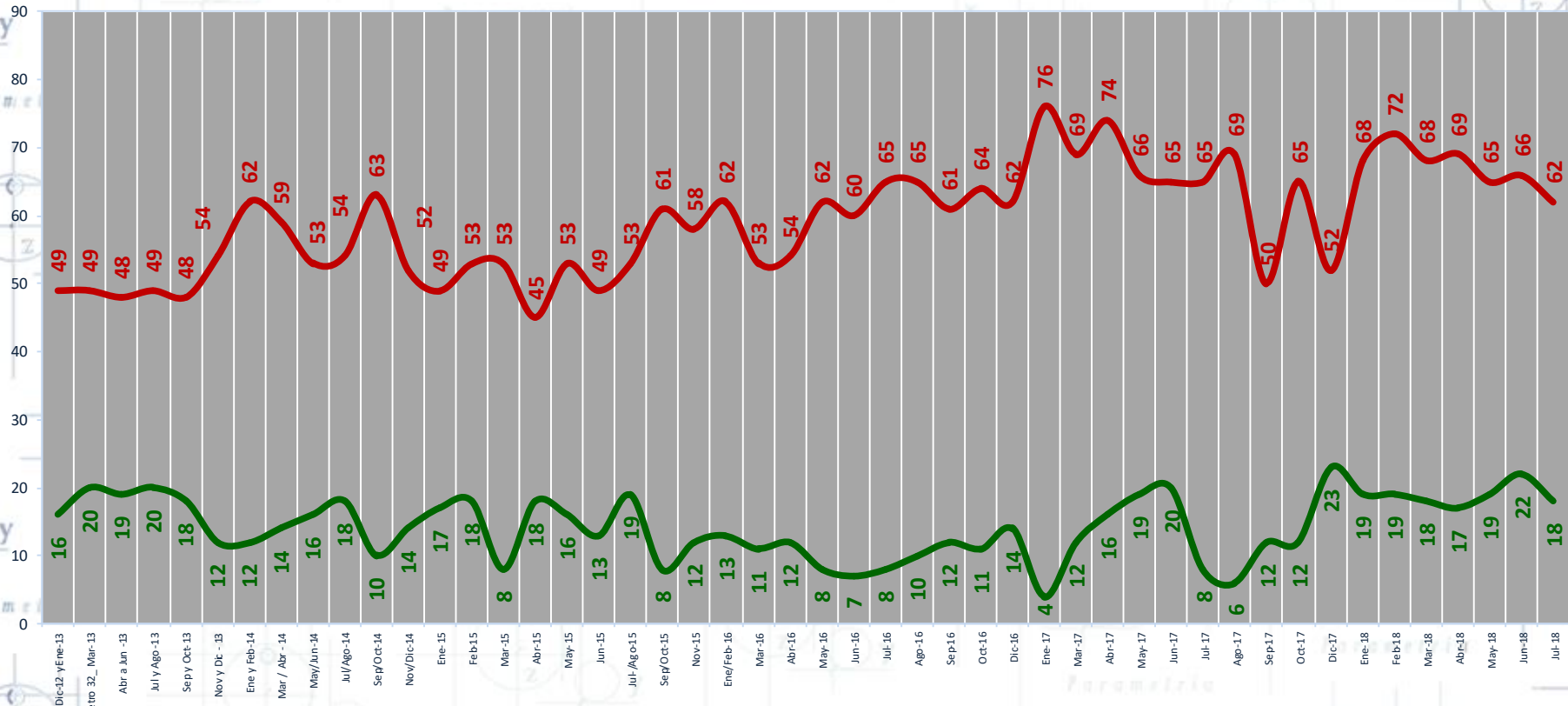¿usted diría que **la economía del país** ha mejorado o ha empeorado?



ENCUESTAS NACIONALES EN VIVIENDA

Durante los últimos 12 meses,

¿usted diría que **su situación económica personal** ha mejorado o ha empeorado?

Considerando todas las cosas,

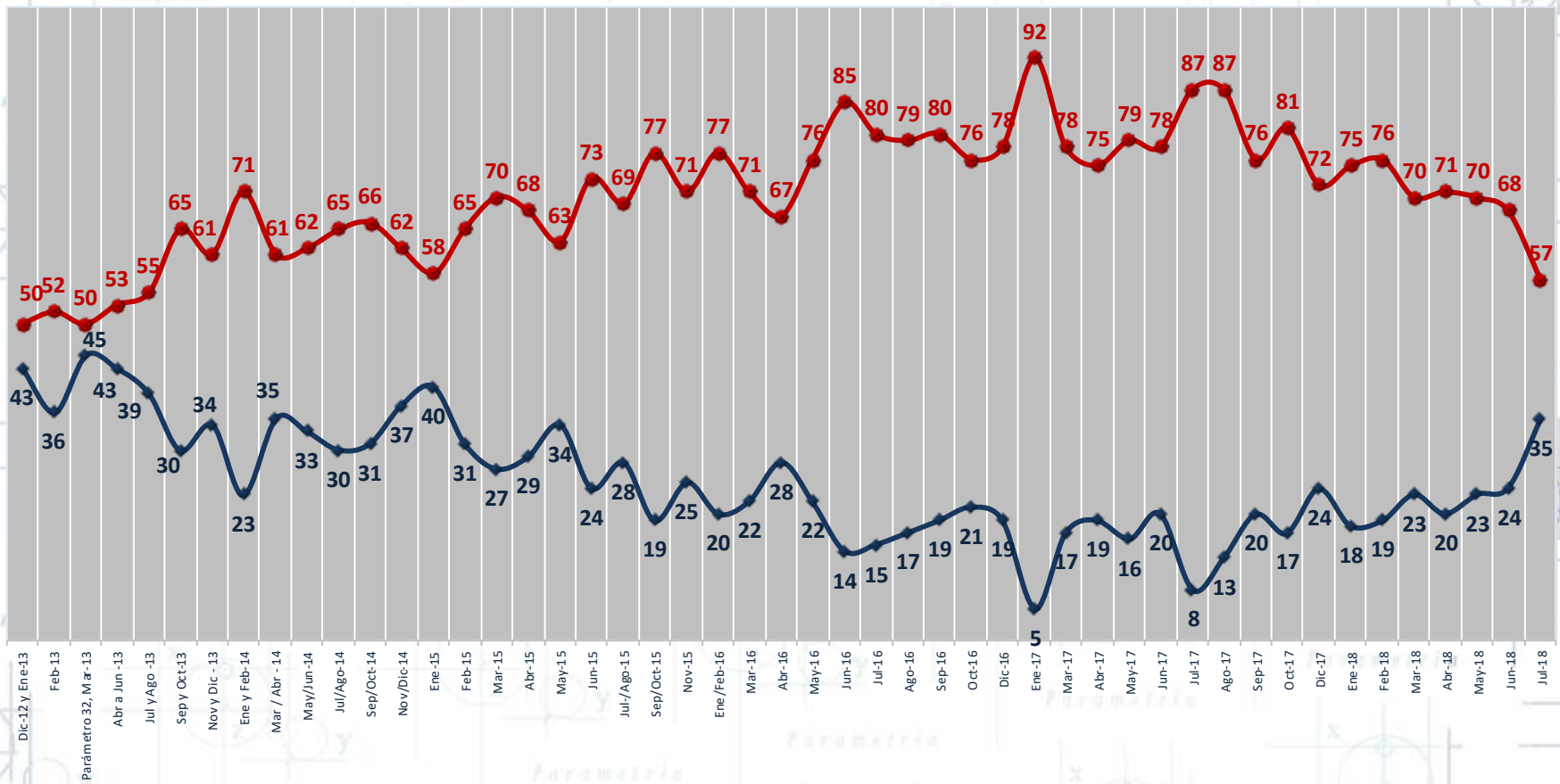¿cree usted que **el país** va por el camino correcto o por el camino equivocado?



Suma 100% agregando "no sabe" y "no contesta".
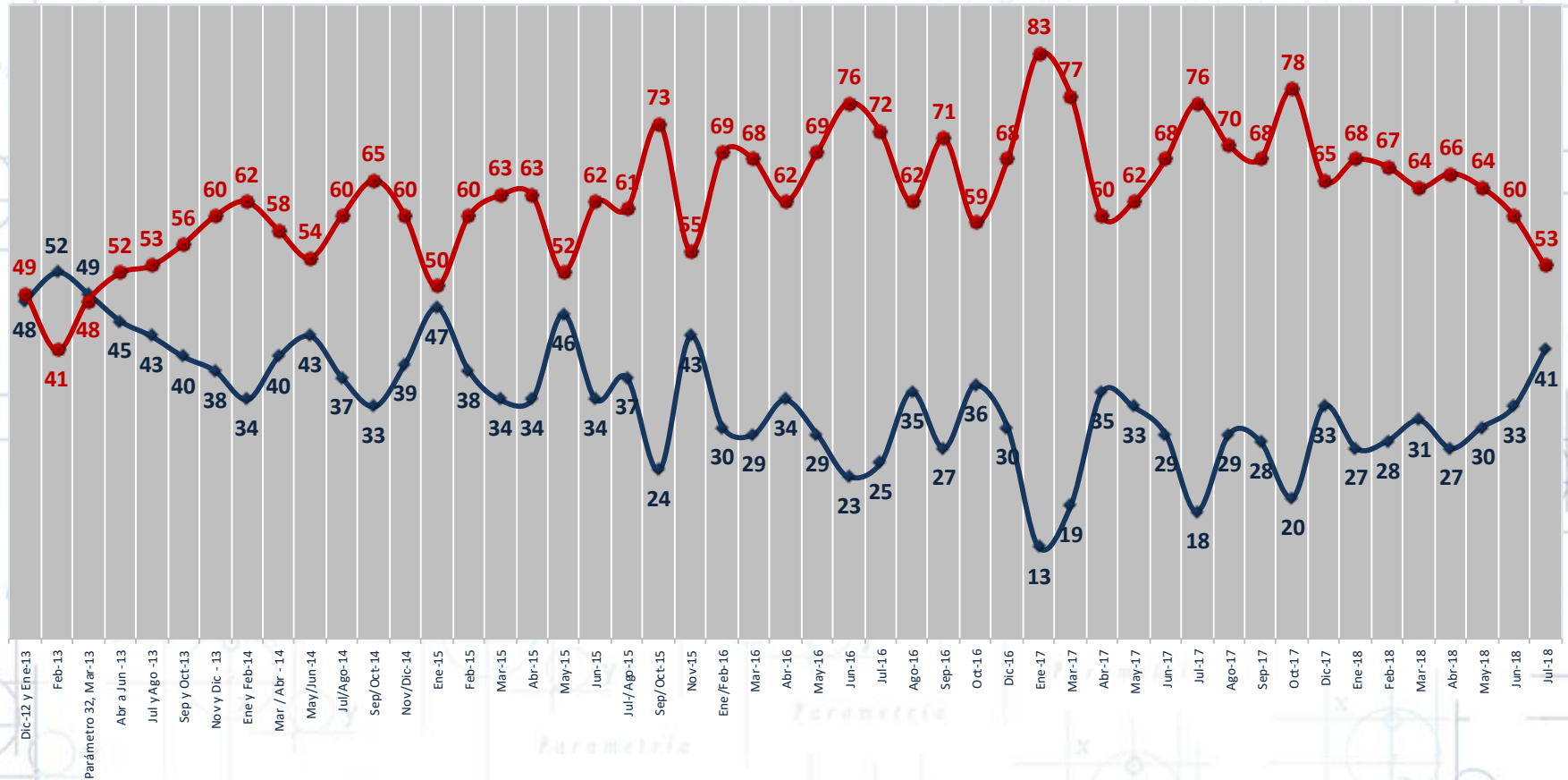
*Parametría*  **ENCUESTAS NACIONALES EN VIVIENDA**

Considerando todas las cosas,

¿cree usted que **su estado / la Ciudad de México** va por el camino correcto o por el camino equivocado?
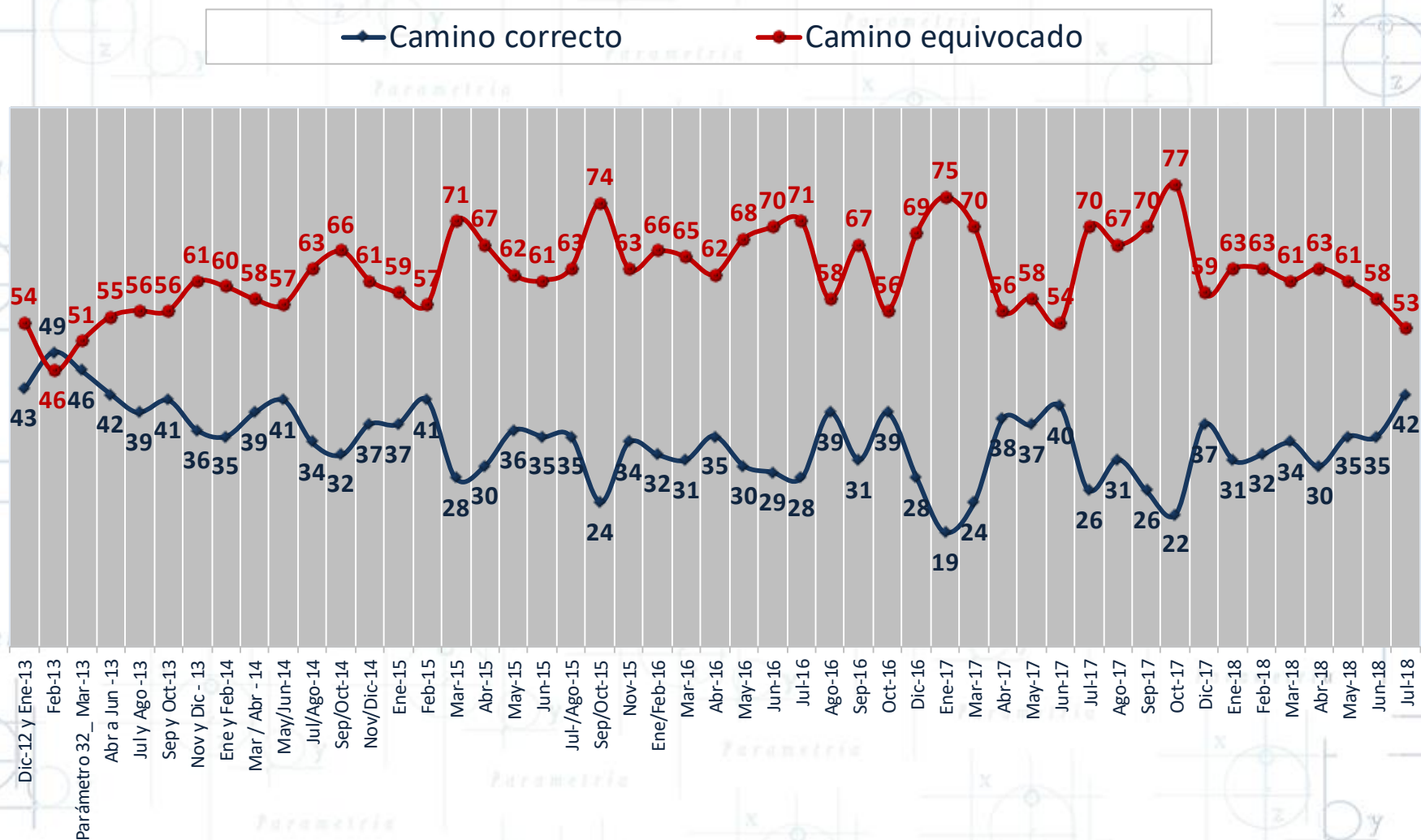


Suma 100% agregando "no sabe" y "no contesta".

**Parametría** | **ENCUESTAS NACIONALES EN VIVIENDA**

Considerando todas las cosas,

¿cree usted que **su municipio / alcaldía** va por el camino correcto o por el camino equivocado?



Suma 100% agregando "no sabe" y "no contesta".

**Parametría**   **ENCUESTAS NACIONALES EN VIVIENDA**

METHODOLOGY

We select three social attitudes that impact electoral behavior. This is just a first glance of a much more complex study conducted by Parametría's team.

- Data: over 6,400 observations from Parametrías electoral polls.
- Time lapse: December 2017 – June 2018; no exit polls were considered
- Statistical modeling: multinomial estimation for electoral preference for each variable (partisanship, economic retrospective voting, general evaluation)
- Probability estimation: statistical simulation using Rstats

Hypothesis

- **H1:** Although skepticism, party ID it's still a variable that affects in a positive direction electoral preference.
- **H2:** Economic retrospective evaluations will have a positive effect for AMLO's vote in sociotropic and egotropic level.
- **H3.** A bad general evaluation will affect positively to AMLO's electoral preference.
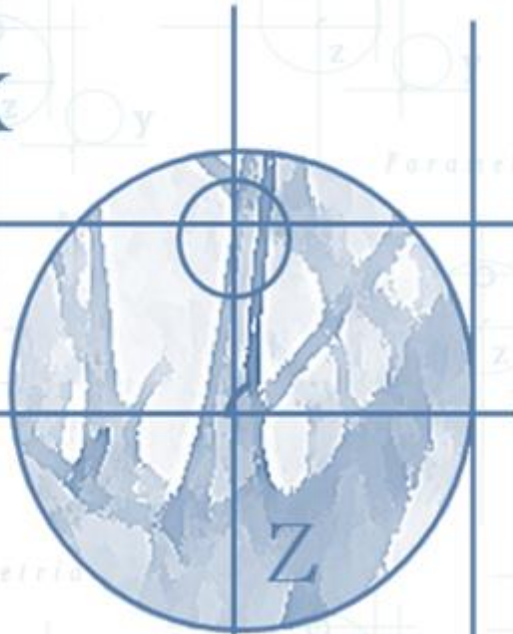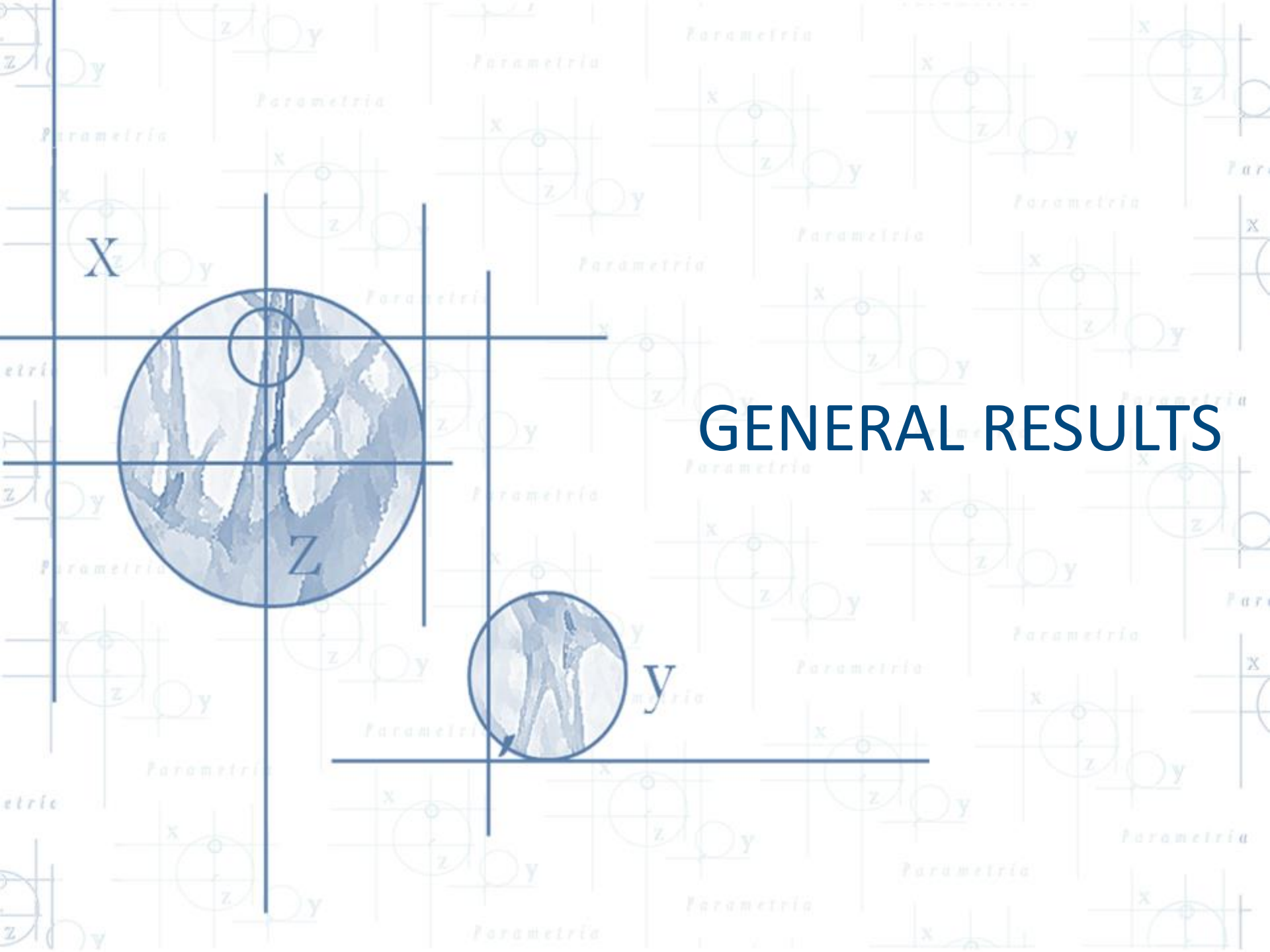
# GENERAL RESULTS

**Table 1. Sociodemographics**

| | Electoral preference | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | PRI/PVEM/PNAL | Morena/PT/PES | Independie |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) |
| PRI party ID | 4.116*** | 1.392*** | 1.346*** |
| | (0.159) | (0.141) | (0.224) |
| Morena party ID | 1.382*** | 4.980*** | 2.482*** |
| | (0.170) | (0.136) | (0.215) |
| Other party ID | 1.593* | 1.711*** | 4.034*** |
| | (0.824) | (0.624) | (0.916) |
| Age | 0.008** | 0.011*** | 0.004 |
| | (0.004) | (0.003) | (0.005) |
| Sex | 0.070 | -0.216** | 0.184 |
| | (0.124) | (0.105) | (0.167) |
| Education (years) | 0.014 | 0.110*** | 0.045 |
| | (0.033) | (0.028) | (0.044) |
| Socio-economic level (AMAI) | -0.005 | 0.109*** | 0.034 |
| | (0.046) | (0.039) | (0.062) |
| Days between interview and election | 0.002* | -0.005*** | -0.009*** |
| | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) |
| Constante | -3.242*** | -2.057*** | -2.565*** |
| | (0.486) | (0.407) | (0.633) |

- Although the skepticism about party ID, for those people that do identify with a party, this variable seem to have the expected effect stablished by the traditional partisanship literature.

Sin importar por quién ha votado en el pasado, ¿con cuál partido se identifica usted?

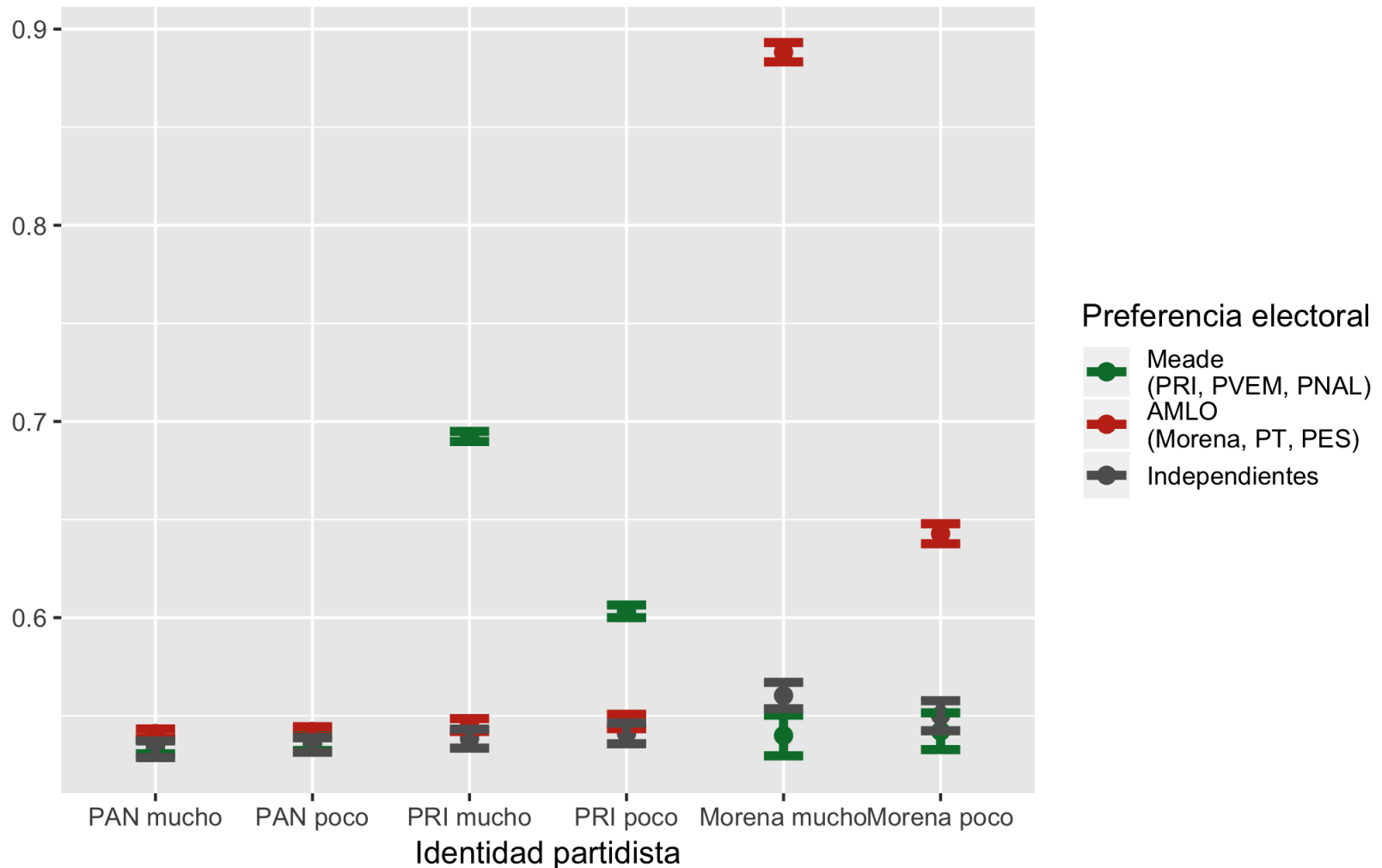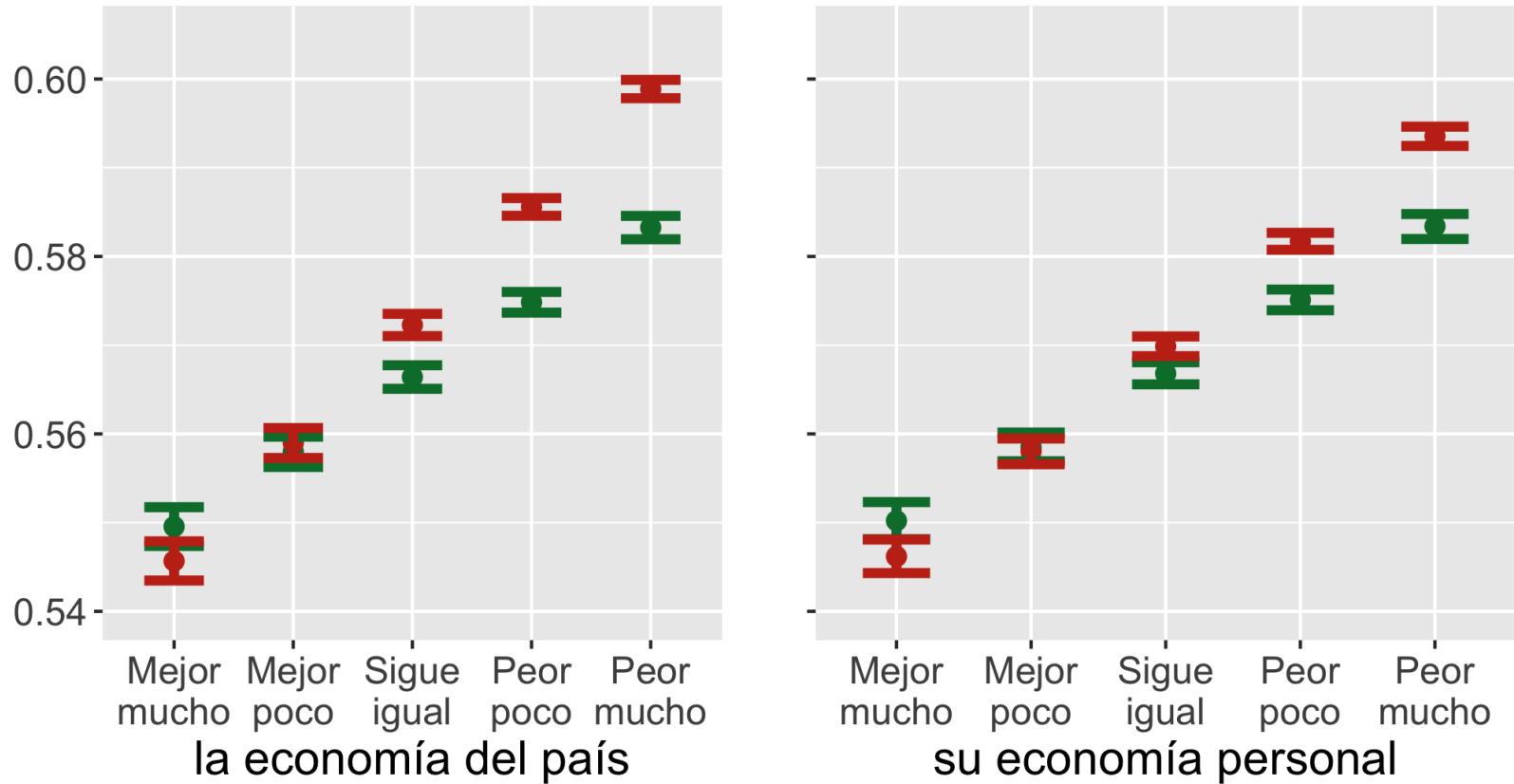Probabilidad predicha con intervalos de confianza al 95%



**Preferencia electoral**

- Meade (PRI, PVEM, PNAL)
- AMLO (Morena, PT, PES)
- Independientes

Identidad partidista

PAN mucho · PAN poco · PRI mucho · PRI poco · Morena mucho · Morena poco

**Table 2. Economy retrospective**

|  | ELECTORAL PREFERENCE | |
|  | PRI/PVEM/PNAL | Morena/PT/PES |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Sociotropic | -0.096** | 0.280*** |
|  | (0.042) | (0.037) |
| Egotropic | -0.111*** | 0.040 |
|  | (0.042) | (0.035) |
| Age | 0.017*** | 0.009*** |
|  | (0.003) | (0.002) |
| Sex | 0.095 | -0.415*** |
|  | (0.093) | (0.074) |
| Years | 0.016 | 0.120*** |
|  | (0.025) | (0.020) |
| Socio-economic level (AMAI) | 0.062* | 0.103*** |
|  | (0.035) | (0.028) |
| tiempo | 0.001* | -0.005*** |
|  | (0.001) | (0.001) |
| Constant | -0.970*** | -1.107*** |
|  | (0.365) | (0.299) |
| Akaike Inf. Crit. | 10,578.830 | 10,578.830 |

- Both, sociotropic and egotropic pereception appear to be significant, but, surprisingly, the macro perception of the economy has a bigger effect

# Durante los últimos 12 meses, ¿usted diría que...
## ha mejorado o empeorado?
### Probabilidad predicha con intervalos de confianza al 95%



**Preferencia electoral** — Meade (PRI, PVEM, PNAL) — AMLO (Morena, PT, PES)
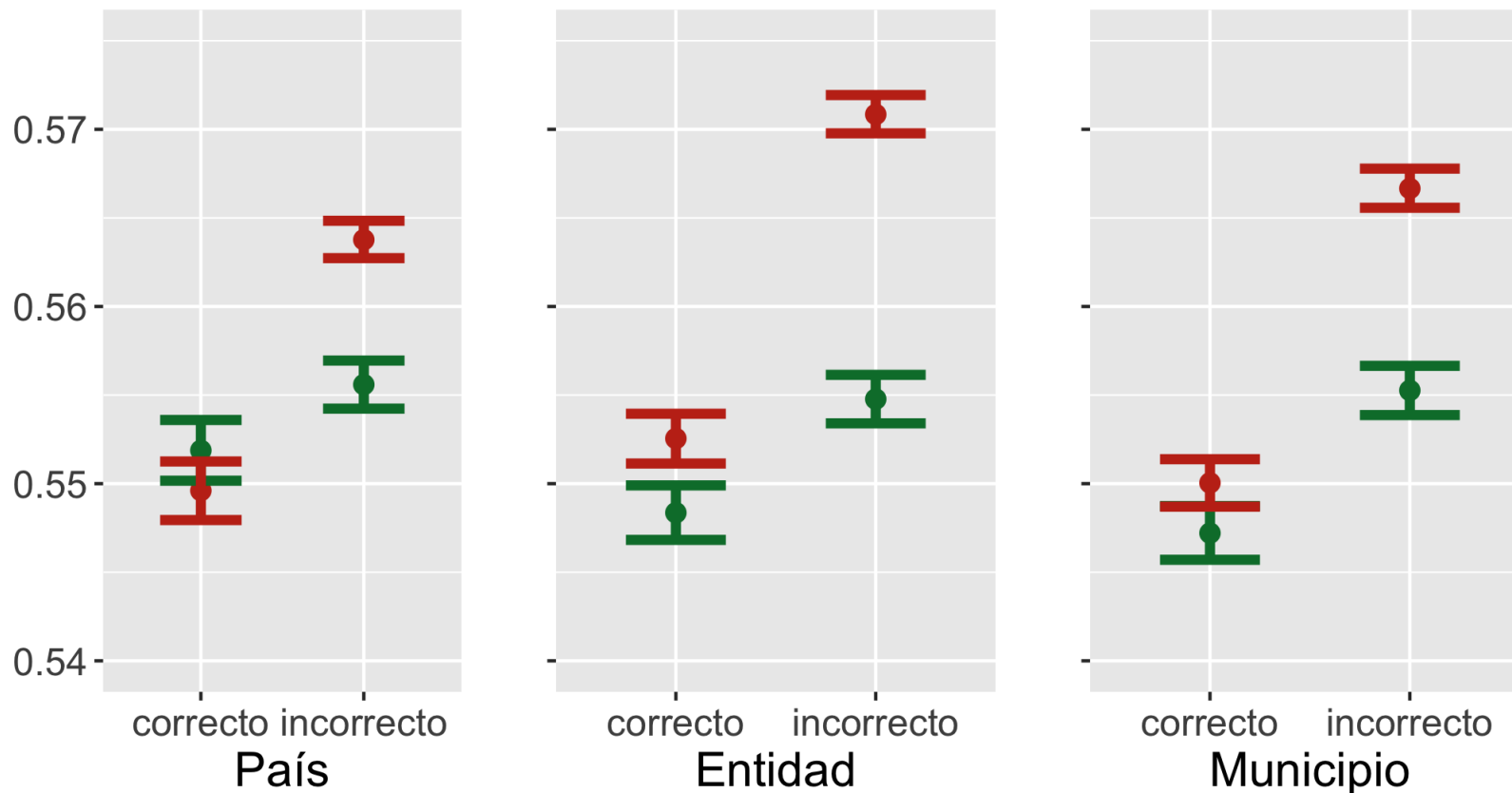
**Table 3. General evaluation**

| | ELECTORAL PREFERENCE | | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | PRI/PVEM/PNAL | Morena/PT/PES | |
| National level | -1.233*** | -0.063 | |
| | (0.132) | (0.113) | |
| State's level | 0.078 | 0.560*** | |
| | (0.143) | (0.113) | |
| Local level | 0.344*** | 0.280*** | |
| | (0.129) | (0.101) | |
| Age | 0.019*** | 0.010*** | |
| | (0.003) | (0.003) | |
| Sex | 0.075 | -0.465*** | |
| | (0.097) | (0.077) | |
| Years | 0.038 | 0.140*** | |
| | (0.026) | (0.021) | |
| Socio-economic level (AMAI) | 0.063* | 0.117*** | |
| | (0.037) | (0.029) | |
| Days between interview and election | 0.002** | -0.005*** | |
| | (0.001) | (0.001) | |
| Constant | -0.572 | -1.143*** | |
| | (0.400) | (0.330) | |
| Akaike Inf. Crit. | 9,733.423 | 9,733.423 | |
| Note: | | *p**p***p<0.01 | |

# Usted considera que el/su... ¿va por el camino correcto o equivocado?

## Probabilidad predicha con intervalos de confianza al 95%



Preferencia electoral — Meade (PRI, PVEM, PNAL) — AMLO (Morena, PT, PES)

# FINAL COMMENTS

**Socio-demographics: they matter.** Positive tendency to vote for Obrador when you are older, man, with education in a high socio-economic stratus.

**Partisanship: it matters a lot.** With everything else constant, partisanship for each candidate appears to have the most significant effect. For the "independent" candidates, this variable it's not significant: this type of candidates will have to build sympathy with voters in other ways. Given the actual electoral and political institutions, this seems to be not plausible

**Economy perception.** The general expectation consists in the belief that egotropic voting matters way more than the sociotropic one: voters evaluate with much more importance their individual situation than the country's itself. For our model, this appear does not appear to be so clear: the probability to vote for Obrador when you evaluate negatively the macro economy it's, in fact, greater than the probability to vote for the same candidate when your pocketbook perception is worse.

**General evaluation.** A bad general evaluation, as we expected, results in less support for the incumbent candidate. The desegregation of the national, state's and local level appear to have a similar effect.
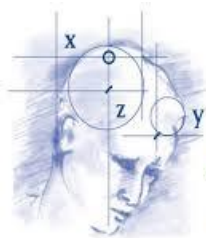
# Thank you

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