Mexico
Mexico’s Political Evolution Since the Revolution

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PRI’s decline was in part the continuation of a long-term trend

1. Secular decline of PRI, associated with modernization
2. Acceleration of trend after economic collapse in 1982

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PRI Vote for Governor, 1973-2000

Source: Alfonso Hernández 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

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Urbanization and PRI Vote

Each point is a state-election year

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Mexico’s Transition, Compared

Democracy (Combined Polity IV score)

Year

Venezuela
Brazil
Chile
Mexico

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Politically, Mexico is Where It “Ought To” Be

![Graph showing actual versus predicted levels of democracy for Mexico.](chart)

Actual level of democracy
(Combined Freedom House score)

Predicted level of democracy
(Based on level of development, literacy, region, size, etc.)

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

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

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Main cleavage is region (1)

Results for President in 2000, by state

Figure by MIT OCW.

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Main cleavage is region (2)

Key
- States won by Felipe Calderón
- States won by Andrés Manuel López Obrador


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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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Roberto Madrazo</th>
<th>Felipe Calderón</th>
<th>AMLO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Relationship with party</td>
<td>Traditionalist within PRI</td>
<td>Heart-and-soul, lukewarm on Fox</td>
<td>PRI defector, PRD savior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Background</td>
<td>Governor of Tabasco</td>
<td>Party leader, Sec. of Energy</td>
<td>Governor of D.F., public servant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Platform</td>
<td>Zzzzz…</td>
<td>See <a href="http://www.ibrd.org">www.ibrd.org</a></td>
<td>50 ways to spend $</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implications for governance</td>
<td>Concern in some quarters</td>
<td>Democratic deepening</td>
<td>Deepening or polarization?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majority in Congress?</td>
<td>Very unlikely</td>
<td>Very unlikely</td>
<td>Even less likely</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
AMLO was ahead most of the race

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