June 2024

General Elections in Mexico
Post-Election report
Highlights of Election Day

After 87.22% of the votes were tallied, Claudia Sheinbaum, the candidate of the ruling coalition "Seguimos Haciendo Historia," emerged victorious with 58.97% of the vote. She is set to take office on October 1, marking a historic moment as Mexico's first female president. Her term of office will run until 2030.

Her opponents, Xóchitl Gálvez (Fuerza y Corazón por México) and Jorge Álvarez Máynez of the Movimiento Ciudadano (MC) party, secured 28% and 10.51% of the vote, respectively. These results align with the trends observed in polls throughout the electoral campaign, indicating a preference for the continuation of the Fourth Transformation (4T).

In the legislative arena, initial projections affirm that the ruling coalition will maintain an absolute majority in both chambers. It is also poised to secure the minimum number of seats needed to obtain a qualified majority in the Chamber of Deputies. While the Senate's definitive results are pending, there is a remote chance, indicated by the quick count, that the ruling party could also secure a qualified majority in this space. If the ruling coalition obtains qualified majority in both chambers, this would grant them the ability to enact constitutional reforms without needing to negotiate with the opposition. The new Congress is scheduled to convene on September 1.

Despite her victory, Sheinbaum will confront significant challenges during her tenure, including the task of building popular support independently from López Obrador's influence. Additionally, maintaining party discipline at the regional and legislative levels will be crucial to averting challenges to her authority from emerging leaderships.

The LXVI Legislature will inherit a diverse agenda of unresolved issues, including constitutional reforms proposed by the outgoing president, appointments to autonomous and decentralized entities, regulations concerning Artificial Intelligence (AI), and numerous opposition-led initiatives that have garnered affirmative opinions.
Abinader is reelected for a second mandate.

Electoral Results

Sheinbaum to be Mexico's first female president

58.97%

28%

10.51%

2.34%

Sheinbaum

Gálvez

Álvarez Máynez

Null

*Own elaboration based on the results published by the National Electoral Institute (INE, in Spanish).

Preliminary data suggests that with 87.22% of the votes tallied, Claudia Sheinbaum, the ruling-party candidate, has secured a commanding electoral victory over her rivals Xóchitl Gálvez of Fuerza y Corazón por México and Jorge Álvarez Máynez of Movimiento Ciudadano (MC).

Sheinbaum's victory marks a historic moment, surpassing the vote count that propelled Andrés Manuel López Obrador (AMLO) into the presidency, with over 30 million votes. Sheinbaum's share of nearly 60% of the votes makes her the most voted president in Mexico's history. However, voter turnout experienced a decline compared to the two previous elections, averaging around 60%.

In her victory speech, Sheinbaum pledged to serve all Mexicans "without distinction," emphasizing her commitment to "republican austerity, financial and fiscal discipline, and the autonomy of the Bank of Mexico." She also assured that there would be no increases in fuel or electricity prices and reiterated her support for the separation of economic and political powers and civil liberties. Additionally, she outlined plans to promote foreign private investment and expand social programs.
The Next President

Claudia Sheinbaum
("Seguimos Haciendo Historia")

Profile

Claudia Sheinbaum, aged 61, possesses a left-wing orientation and a technocratic background. She holds a degree in Physics from the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM), as well as a Master’s degree and a PhD in Environmental Engineering from the same university.

She embarked on her political journey in 1989 with the Partido de la Revolución Democrática (PRD), later joining MORENA in 2014. She gained prominence as Secretary of the Environment of the Federal District from 2000 to 2006 under López Obrador's administration in Mexico City. Subsequently, she served as Head of Government of Mexico City (CDMX) from 2018 to 2023, prior to her presidential bid.

Government plan

- Sustain minimum wage increases in real terms, with the goal of reaching an all-time high by 2030.
- Increase fiscal incentives for artistic and cinematographic production. Also proposes the modification of cultural sector laws, such as the Law on Culture and Cultural Rights, and social security for artists.
- Fair tax collection from large taxpayers and an increase in the tax base without increasing rates or creating new taxes.
- To continue with the Latin American and Caribbean Medicines Agency (AMLAC, in Spanish) initiatives and establish a National Pharmaceutical Policy that promotes free and effective access to medicines.
- Elimination of autonomous agencies, including the Federal Economic Competition Commission (COFECE, in Spanish) and the Federal Telecommunications Institute (IFT, in Spanish), among others.
- Promote the use of renewable energy and boost electromobility.
Challenges to Future Governance

**AMLO's influence:** One of the primary challenges for the incoming president will not arise from opposition forces but from **within her own party.** Throughout his tenure, AMLO's robust leadership and charisma not only sustained his significant popularity, averaging a 62% approval rating over 66 months in office, but also ensured strong party cohesion. This cohesion played a pivotal role in propelling Sheinbaum and the party to a resounding victory in the recent elections.

However, this unity could now pose a double-edged sword. Sheinbaum must not only cultivate her own popularity independent of AMLO but also navigate potential challenges from emerging leaders within the party who may seek to undermine her authority. Moreover, Sheinbaum's agenda closely aligns with that of the outgoing president, further entrenching the need to balance continuity with her own policy objectives.

**The Role of the Judiciary:** Opposing forces face a significant challenge in Sheinbaum's relationship with the Supreme Court of Justice of the Nation (SCJN). Unable to thwart AMLO's legislative reforms directly, the opposition has turned to the SCJN, filing constitutional appeals to impede progress. This tactic has stalled key reforms, including electoral and energy reforms, with the judiciary citing procedural flaws in the legislation.

An opportunity for Sheinbaum to address this challenge lies in the upcoming expiration of the mandates of four SCJN judges during her term. This presents her with the chance to nominate candidates who align with her governance vision. Notably, the terms of judges Luis Aguilar Morales (2009-2024), Jorge Pardo Rebolledo (2011-2026), Alfredo Gutiérrez Ortiz Mena (2012-2027), and Alberto Pérez Dayán (2012-2027) are set to conclude. Currently, AMLO has appointed five of the eleven judges on the bench.
Based on the preliminary results released by the National Electoral Institute (INE, in Spanish), two scenarios emerge for both the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate. Current data suggests that Morena and its allies are poised to secure a minimum of 346 out of the 500 seats in the Chamber of Deputies, with a potential maximum of 380 seats.

Consequently, upon the assumption of the new Congress on September 1st, Morena will maintain an absolute majority in both chambers, holding over half of the total seats.

In the most optimistic scenario, the ruling coalition could attain a qualified majority in the Chamber of Deputies, potentially reaching the 334 seats required to approve constitutional reforms. This would facilitate the government's implementation of the president's governance agenda, particularly if it involves amendments to the Constitution.

With a qualified majority in this chamber, the opposition's ability to impede the progression of constitutional reforms would be significantly curtailed.
The Senate presents a more nuanced scenario, as the realization of the legislative strategy known as "Plan C" hinges on the number of seats the ruling coalition secures once the definitive results are tallied. "Plan C" reflects AMLO's latest approach to facilitate the approval of constitutional reforms, encompassing changes in electoral and judicial matters, as well as the elimination of autonomous bodies. To realize this strategy, the coalition aimed to secure a qualified majority in both chambers through high voter turnout on election day, actively promoting massive voting and citizen participation.

To achieve the necessary qualified majority in the Senate, the ruling coalition must secure a minimum of 86 seats. While feasible, this scenario is less assured due to the Senate's more evenly distributed seats compared to the Chamber of Deputies, necessitating a leading minority. Consequently, the allocation of seats could potentially favor the opposition, impeding the advancement of constitutional reforms in this arena. Furthermore, the role of the Movimiento Ciudadano party will be pivotal, as its stance on endorsing or obstructing reform initiatives may be influenced by the agreements it forges with various coalitions.
What pending issues await the LXVI Legislature?

The LXVI Legislature is set to inherit several pending issues, largely **influenced by the constitutional reforms initiated by AMLO's administration**. These reforms have significantly shaped the ruling party's legislative agenda and are likely to continue impacting its priorities in the upcoming term. Moreover, the initial phase of the new legislature will coincide with the final stretch of AMLO’s presidency, providing an opportune moment for him to push through ordinary legislative initiatives, given the favorable composition of the new Congress.

With a particular focus on the Senate, this chamber will play a crucial role in the **ongoing process of appointing commissioners to the plenums of autonomous and decentralized state entities**. During López Obrador's tenure, efforts were made to diminish the operational capacities of these entities through budgetary cuts and delays in commissioner appointments. Notably, entities like the **Federal Telecommunications Institute (IFT, in Spanish)** and the **National Institute for Transparency, Access to Information and Personal Data Protection (INAI, in Spanish)** are awaiting the appointment of three commissioners each.

Turning to international affairs, Mexico has shown interest in promoting regulations pertaining to **Artificial Intelligence (AI)**. However, Senator Alejandra Lagunes, who championed this agenda, did not seek re-election. Consequently, the responsibility for advancing AI regulation will fall on the incoming legislators, who will have access to the Proposal for the National Agenda for Artificial Intelligence for Mexico 2024-2030. Although this issue may not be a priority for the president-elect, the ruling party at the legislative level may decide to pursue AI regulation.

Additionally, numerous bills introduced during the LXV Legislature, such as those concerning **digital platforms, e-commerce, advertising, paternity leave, debit and credit card commissions, and social security for artists**, have received affirmative opinions. These initiatives could be resurrected for consideration in the incoming Legislature. Observing whether these pending issues reappear on the legislative agenda will be crucial once the new Congress assumes office.
The ruling party in the Congress

**Ricardo Monreal Álvila**
Currently a senator, Monreal will seek a seat in the Chamber of Deputies for the 2024-2027 term. His great capacity for political arming has led him to preside over the Senate's Political Coordination Board (JUCOPO, in Spanish), which gave him control over the agenda.

**Ignacio Mier Velazco**
Currently a deputy, he will seek a seat in the Senate for the 2024-2030 term. He coordinates the Morena bloc in the Chamber of Deputies, seeking to maintain party discipline and cohesion in voting.

**Susana Harp Iturribarría**
She currently holds a seat in the Senate, which she will seek to renew for six more years. With special interest in issues related to culture, it is also rumored that the senator could become Sheinbaum’s Secretary of Culture.

**Napoleón Gómez Urrutia**
Currently a senator, he will seek a seat in the Chamber of Deputies (2024-2027). A union leader and president of the Senate Labor and Social Welfare Committee, Gómez Urrutia has a special interest in labor issues, which are of great importance to Morena.

**Marcelo Ebrard**
He was AMLO’s Chancellor and competed with Sheinbaum in Morena’s internal process to define the presidential candidacy. Now, he is seeking a seat in the Senate. His leadership capacity could be an advantage or a risk for the future president.

**Ana Lilia Rivera**
She currently holds a seat in the Senate, which she will seek to renew for six more years. Senator Rivera is the president of the Senate, which has allowed her to have stronger control over the legislative agenda.
### The opposition in the Congress

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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position and Highlights</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Marcela Guerra Castillo</strong></td>
<td>She currently holds a seat in the Chamber of Deputies, which she will seek to renew for another term (2024-2027). She has also chaired the Board of Directors of the Chamber of Deputies since 2023, which allows her to have great control over the legislative agenda.</td>
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<td><strong>Kenia López Rabadán</strong></td>
<td>Currently a senator, she will seek a seat in the Chamber of Deputies (2024-2027). Campaign manager of Xóchitl Gálvez, and strong critic of AMLO's government, she has been one of the most controversial and active profiles of the opposition.</td>
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<td><strong>Lilly Téllez</strong></td>
<td>She currently holds a seat in the Senate, which she will seek to renew for six more years. Like López Rabadán, Téllez has been openly critical of the government, being one of the strongest voices of the opposition.</td>
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<td><strong>Patricia Mercado</strong></td>
<td>Currently a senator, she will seek a seat in the Chamber of Deputies (2024-2027). With special interest in labor issues, Mercado has promoted bills with broad agreement between the ruling party and the opposition. She could replicate this dynamic in the Deputies.</td>
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<td><strong>Jorge Romero Herrera</strong></td>
<td>He holds a seat in the Chamber of Deputies, which he will seek to renew for another term (2024-2027). He currently presides over the Political Coordination Board (JUCOPO) of the Chamber of Deputies, which allows him to have great control over the issues on the agenda.</td>
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<td><strong>Rubén Moreira</strong></td>
<td>He holds a seat in the Chamber of Deputies, which he will seek to renew for another term. In addition, he coordinates the PRI bloc in said chamber. Moreira has been openly critical of the government, especially in security matters.</td>
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What can Mexico expect in the coming years?

Governorships prior to the elections

Governorships after the elections

In the coming years, Mexico is likely to experience continued dominance by the ruling party, Morena, as indicated by its success in retaining existing governorships and securing additional wins in states like Yucatán. With control over 24 out of 32 governorships, Morena's influence across the country is extensive.

The outcome of the renewal of 30 local congresses is equally crucial, as these bodies play a significant role in endorsing constitutional reforms proposed by the federal government. For such reforms to pass, Morena will need the support of at least 17 governorships. Since these reforms must also be approved by the local congresses, their composition becomes pivotal in shaping the legislative landscape and determining the success of the ruling party's agenda. Overall, Mexico appears poised to witness a continuation of Morena's political dominance, with implications for governance, policy-making, and the trajectory of the country's socio-political landscape.
Directorio Legislativo is a non-partisan and independent organization that for 10 years has been promoting the strengthening of legislative powers and the consolidation of democratic systems in Latin America through transparency, access to public information and dialogue with actors from the public, private, academic and civil society sectors.

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